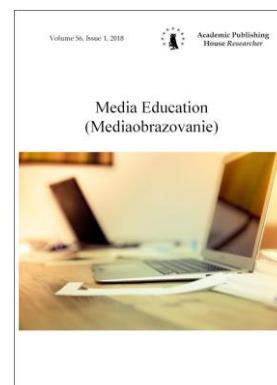


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## The Creators of Oikophobia: To Methodology of Research of Domestic Space Demonization as Pragmatic Mass Media Effect

A.Yu. Kazakova <sup>a,\*</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Kaluga State University, Russian Federation

### Abstract

On the basis of theoretical analysis of sociological, cultural, psychological, medical, demographic and psycho physiological scientific sources, the author defines the methodological basis of research and quantification of mystical fear as a factor of housing prejudices, preferences and attitudes of the population, as a component of housing deprivation, which occurs as a result of demonization of the house and the formation of magical stigma in mass culture. Modern Russian sociology pays little attention to “mystical”, “supernatural” component of relationships between Man and Space, but the theme is legitimized by W.L. Warner, by E. Goffman's concept of “involvement”. This concept removes the question of the scope of the supernatural faith in a secular society as supposedly mandatory for susceptibility to magical stigma. This is confirmed by some empirical sociological and anthropological studies of housing prejudices in UK, Canada and Russia (P. Cowdell, D. Kelso, I.V. Utekhin). Having identified the key components of the process of demonization of home space by means of mass media, we find the probable points of its intersection with the processes of stratification in the housing sector. Suburbanisation and “privatization” as a part of suburbanism as a way of life, living in historic buildings as well as in communal apartments are the types of living conditions that create the frame most suitable for the “context-induced” experience of external evil invading personal space, especially against the background of high viewer involvement in horror films watching.

**Keywords:** horror, commercialization of fear, magic stigma, oikophobia, involvement, housing deprivation

### 1. Introduction

This article provides a methodological justification for the ways of research and methods of quantification of mystical fear as a factor of housing prejudice, preferences and attitudes of the population as a component of housing deprivation. The theme of demonization of the house/home in popular culture is directly related to the theme of the myth on TV (Kazyuchits, 2010), to the theory of representations of S. Hall (in: Gritsanov, 2000) and is genetically related to sociological analysis of Cinema and reading, semiotics and literary studies. But at the level of empirical data, it is so rare in the scientific literature that it may be thought of its artificiality, the absence of any trends behind it, except for personal, individual psychological oikophobic states.

Sociology remains aloof from the study of social effects of “horror”, which cinema and mass culture produce in the home space. But it is wrong to say that this topic lies outside the sociological

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\*Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: [kazakova.a.u@yandex.ru](mailto:kazakova.a.u@yandex.ru) (A.Yu. Kazakova)

tradition. E. Durkheim (Durkheim, 1998) justified the fundamental possibility and necessity of studying the supernatural as a social fact, because the world of the mysterious and incomprehensible supernatural is the fundamental content of religion. But the Durkheimian line represents mainly institutional forms of religious life. Non-institutional quasi-religious life remains a poorly investigated sphere of modern society, since mystery and deviation constitute an ontological property of this sphere.

After the release of a small work "Sociology of secrecy and of secret societies" by G. Simmel (Simmel, 1906), the theme of secrets and regime of secrecy was not developed almost completely until the last decade (Vakhstein, 2016), which is marked by the appearance of two significant works. They comprehend this phenomenon at the fundamental level of macro-theory and at the empirical level of the study of micro-society.

The first work is the article "Towards the sociology of esoteric culture", which was written by E. Tirikyan. The article deals with the complex of phenomena that received in the West the name "occult revival". Among them E. Tirikyan mentions "different forms of pop culture, associated with occult themes" (Tirikyan, 2013: 247), including musicals, feature films and television series, witches and psychics shows, famous crimes, ritual suicides and murders that become widely publicized newsbreaks, occult books and magic items trading.

The given historiography of the new occult contains a number of valuable postulates. This is a translation of the occult "pop religion" into the sphere of public space. The interest of young people in occult practices can be seen as a search for identity in conditions of universal alienation (it is no coincidence that there is a similarity between students - occultists and students belonging to the "new left", as well as youth hobby crafts as the search for personal ways to restore its integrity, reunification with the product of work). In the course of the review of the results obtained by the Western colleagues, the author refutes the stable idea of how the Magic-superstitious views and practices are distributed in the social structure. According to his conclusion, they are more typical for people with a high level of education (Tirikyan, 2013: 255). Introduction to the occult can be accompanied by an acquaintance with the core of esoteric culture, and then there is a ritual cycle of tests-temptations, the result of which is desocialization in relation to the exoteric culture.

Mysterious, metaphorical, and symbolic codes used for inclusion of new members and their isolation from the worldly environment, a special, inaccessible and even invisible from outside of the organization, are the Central ideas in the work of E. Tirikyan. That is common for it with the second research (project of Higher school of Economics, Khamovniki Foundation). It is A.A. Pozanenko's "The social structure of local communities, spatially isolated from the institutions of public authority" (Pozanenko, 2016). A. Pozanenko considers the self-isolated settlement of the community, emphasizing the social structure and composition of the inhabitants, hidden from the eyes of official statistics, the forms of their self-organization.

Mystery and self-isolation generate stigma, which has a magical genesis and negative (demonic) connotations and is fixed not for people, but for the "defiled" physical space. It tends to persist even if the activity is stopped and the "secret society" leaves its territory.

S. Freud with his Essay of 1919 "Uncanny" in Psychology, and W.L. Warner in Sociology can be considered as the founders of the tradition of studying the supernatural outside religion as a social institution, which would allow methodologically justify the mystical perception of the house and other spaces that have a culturally conditioned set of social functions.

The main categories of S. Freud's Essay are applied to the horror film, as A.Y. Ionov (Ionov, 2015) told in one of recent articles. Ionov is one of the authors mostly consistent in their interest to horror movie. The specifics of the creepy, ugly, scary as medical and psychotherapeutic category, in its relationship with the categories and artifacts of culture, attract the attention of other researchers too. Philosophers (Marushchenko, 2015) and Cultural researchers (Chesnokova, 2015), Physicians (Kozlovskaja et al., 2005) and Psychiatrists (Krasnov, 2016) can be named among them. The works by P.I. Sidorov (Sidorov et al., 2014; Sidorov, 2016) and Social Psychologists, including those specializing in the field of Media Psychology and environmental socio-communicative space analysis (Ormanbekova, 2015) should be pointed out. But in general, this is a rare topic.

Freud himself (Freud, 1995) points out E. Yench as his predecessor, who highlights intellectual uncertainty in General as a prerequisite for the emergence of a sense of uncanny in relation to a new and unknown object. That is, the worse the orientation in certain sphere or space, each individual object belonging to them is the creepier. Commenting on the linguistic part of the

Essay, V. Mazin said: *"for Freud in the analysis of the uncanny are important, first, the denial of 'un', and secondly, the root of 'heim' (the root of the word, which means 'native', 'close')/.../ in Freud's English collected works, text translators write that if the word 'unhomely' existed, then 'uncanny' would have to be translated that way... 'creepy' is something not home – mad"* (Technology and Ghosts).

Mentioning Schelling's remark that *"creepy is all that should have remained secret, hidden, and betrayed itself"* (Freud, 1995) and starting from the linguistic comparison of the equivalents of the word in other languages, Freud himself concludes that *"uncanny - this is the kind of frightening, which has a beginning in the long-known, in the long-familiar"* (Freud, 1995). Thus, the origins of the creepy are rooted in childhood, and a kind of "ideal type" of creepy, like its antipode, is the home. We think it is necessary to add to this the following: to make Freud's "uncanny" truly frightening, Freud's set of cognitive and emotional states (intellectual uncertainty, disturbing suspicion, bewilderment secret) must be accompanied by the inability to get rid of them. In other words, from the "uncanny" you can escape, refusing to solve the puzzle, but the horror is hopeless: it appears in a space where we are left alone with the discovered "uncanny" and which we cannot leave. It is also very symptomatic that S. Freud connects fear with deprivation: its appearance is a consequence of unsatisfied drives and needs (Freud, 2001).

Huge research projects of W.L. Warner during his work at the University of Chicago were implemented on the basis of a combination of structural-functionalist and cultural-anthropological (ethnographic) approach to the analysis of functions and forms of modern symbolic behavior, relational (areal) approach to the identification of the boundaries of communities as local social systems. The result is a theoretical model of these systems as a Trinity of technical, moral and supernatural components, inscribed in the social and natural environment. His work in 1959 "Living and dead: the study of the symbolic life of Americans" (Warner, 2000) in relation to the conventionally "terrible" mystical space (cemetery) is one of the first examples of scientific research of this space in General and perhaps the only such model in sociology. The cemetery reflects social hierarchies. The cemetery as a place of celebration of important dates for the local community (the rituals of unification) becomes a common idea of the territorial settlement group, a symbol of its identity. For individuals, families, families, the presence and old age of graves is a means of demonstrating community membership and legitimacy of the right to public attention and respect, that is, part of the symbolic capital. The cemetery is a sacred space, a sign of continuity of traditions, a channel of social memory.

But in the context of such absolutely positive functions of the terrible space as family and territorial-settlement integration and integrity, intergenerational transmission of traditions and other socially significant information, it remains unclear, if negative consequences of contact with this terrible space are possible.

## 2. Material and methods

Theoretical Desk research, which resulted in the present review, based on a synthesis of the results obtained during the analysis of secondary research sources, as well as on a statistical analysis of the material collected and processed by praximetry methods. In the first case, we inductively searched for patterns in the authors' explanations of how and why virtual reality penetrates into physical and social reality. Since the answer to the question about the degree of influence that horror has on the attitude to the house, on the reduction of satisfaction of the population with housing conditions in society or its several segments, depends primarily on the dynamics of its audience, we have also resorted to content analysis of the products of mass communication and their assessments by the audience.

Titles and annotations of films dedicated to the house, for the period from 1913 to 2018, presented on the website <https://my-hit.org>, acted as units of selection. We used two samples derived from this base. The first sample is represented by films of all genres. It contains 572 observation units obtained by the method of the main array of 9452 meta-descriptions of films automatically found in the catalog as a result of the query for the keywords "house", "housing", "home", "apartment", "room", etc. The second sample was based on the typological principle. It is get by a total selection from all the horror films presented on the site (4532 films on 14.08.2017) of those films in the title or descriptions of which there is the word "house" or synonyms (900 were selected). We transformed the continuous variable of cinema production year into an ordinal

variable with six intervals: 1900 – 1929=1; 1930-1949 = 2; 1950 – 1969 = 3; 1970-1989 = 4; 1990 – 2009 = 5; 2010 etc = 6. The average movie rating were fixed in our data for the entire period of the film's stay on the site for each of them in the array. Values of quantitative variables by which we coded certain elements of content of the housing representations were put into data too, in order to identify the dependence on some movie or housing peculiarities of those estimates given by horror audience.

### 3. Discussion

#### *Horror, mental health and socialization*

The medical and biosocial significance of horror films has been little studied. Periodically there are works linking medical and philosophical understanding of fear *"as an epiphenomenon of human existence, symptoms of disease, "bad habits of the soul"* (Nikulina, 2014: 155), and fear study in any field of knowledge is marked as marginal (Nikulina, 2014: 155).

In 2001, an American doctor in a short note "Chief complaint: Haunted House" described the case of an elderly woman who is confident in "attendance" of her house. In the end, he concluded that the cause of complaints and fears was the patient's loneliness and lack of communication (Gilson, 2001). In 2011, a team of physicians from California presented the results of an experimental study that confirmed the relationship of fear and the intensity of his experience with the state of human tonsils (Feinstein et al., 2011). At the same time, the subject was characterized not only by the defeat of the tonsils, but also by a rich traumatic life experience. This means that the question of the "root cause" of complete insensitivity to live spiders and snakes, virtual monsters from horror films and technical effects from the "haunted house", contrary to the conclusion of the authors of its biological nature, cannot be considered unambiguously solved.

Perhaps to a greater degree overcome the cruel circumstances of life "trains" the insensitivity. Perhaps, the satiety of the audience contributes to the dulling of fear: increasingly, researchers talk about the transformation of death from the sacrament into a play: *"by the efforts of the state, the media, modern cinema, fiction and art... the mass invasion of death in everyday life not only contributes to the escalation of the fear of death, but also devalues its humanistic status and personal significance"* (Gerasimova, 2015: 30). However, it creates the illusion of overcoming death (Dolgikh, 2014). In parallel with the growth of social anxiety (Nikitina, Kholmogorova, 2010), doctors note the growth of anxiety disorders (Psychotherapists, 2015), especially in children (Aseev, 1994). The study of A.A. Vasilenko and E.S. Plotnikova on the basis of the classification of I. Dashkevich and L. Zhoglo (Dashkevich, Zhoglo, 2011) showed that it is spatial phobias along with archaic fears that are most common in boys and girls of the age group of 6-10 years (Vasilenko, Plotnikova, 2014). According to a number of recognized scientific experiments (in particular, D. Watson), most fears, as well as general anxiety as a personal trait, are laid in childhood (Aseev, 1994). Employees of the Institute of socio-economic development of the Russian Academy of Sciences, since 2002, leading the monitoring of mental health of the population of Vologda region, consider depression and anxiety as *"significant factors negatively affecting the stability of public life"* (Morev, Popova, 2011:31). S.N. Ilchenko (2009) indicates that *"the destabilization of mental health audience (and hence the nation) in radios and televisions, occurs in a craze of mysticism, apocalyptic predictions and fear as the dominant theme in many journalistic materials"* (Ilchenko, 2009: 289). Based on G. Gerbner's theory of cultivation, S. Ilchenko considers the role of the media in creating the myth of maniac with "Chikatilo's brand" in the center: *"the maniac did not hide the fact that for samples of crimes took those situations which are seen in numerous American thrillers about murderers, shown on television"* (Ilchenko, 2009: 292).

Researchers from Kazan list the most frequent student phobias they have revealed (Islamov, Valeeva, 2016: 64), and as part of these phobias, we meet the entire set of "eye-stoppers" acting as a source of threat in a horror movie: snake, spider, sharp stabbing objects, height, enclosed space and open space. We do not find among them a special kind of fear of the house, but a rather voluminous (11 % in all identified, the second rank in frequency of representation) segment of auto-, or monophobia, i.e. fear of being alone, attracts attention. Given the fact that the place where the person stays alone is primarily his own house, it is highly likely that these 11 % of students are characterized by more or less pronounced oikophobia. The scientific literature does not yet give us an answer to the question to what extent the theory of cultivation (and a number of other theories) is applicable to the negation of the image of home space in the individual and mass consciousness.

Doctors do not set themselves the task of identifying the presence or absence of correlations between the consumption of media and phobias, and psychologists of media and journalists do not have representative arrays of primary medical data.

Psychologists recognize the psychotherapeutic effect of overcoming fears (Romanova, Skripkar', 2010), but still tend to the idea of the devastating impact of horror not only on the psyche but also on the entire human body: *"in 2009, "RBC daily" ... the results of an experiment conducted by biochemists from Washington are published. / ... / strong fear and inner anxiety of a person when watching a violent film are a signal of danger to the body. But since a person does not try to stop this process and reacts to the instinct of self-preservation, ie. "escape", the body believes that the "focus of infection" is inside. In search of him sent antibodies that begin to destroy healthy cells of the body. Generalization of medical materials allowed doctors to conclude that such stress causes not only temporary biochemical changes in the human body, but also contributes to the emergence of various diseases. Thus, the inability to remove aggression leads to the fact that a person develops hypertension and peptic ulcer disease, increases the likelihood of heart attack, stroke and even migraine"* (Muromova, 2014). The inadmissibility of viewing horror in the most suggestible part of the audience, in particular children 6-9 years (Muromova, 2014) and young people 14-19 years (Romanova, Skripkar', 2010) can be considered absolutely proven. Psychologists most consistently represent this line (Chernianovskaja, 2003; Volkov, Chursinova, 2017).

Sociologists consider films as a "didactic manual" on dangerous and safe behavior, intended for the younger generation, despite the brutal, shocking form. Therefore, D.M. Rogozin (Rogozin, 2011), for example, following the results of the experimental projective procedure on the material of a parody zombie horror reveals in the screen-role structure patterns of parenthood and friendship as the leading. With regard to the space of the house the horror movie can be considered one of the forms of territorial socialization, which are considered in detail by M.V. Osorina: "horror stories", initiational visits to "terrible places", bookmarking of "secrets", the creation of secret headquarters and other points of assemblage of children's group (Osorina). Film scholars, drawing on the structural-morphological analysis of horror, also pay attention to the process of mythologizing the living space of a modern audience.

So, A.Y. Ionov (Ionov, 2016-1), especially considering this process, draws attention to two main channels for the broadcast to modern teenager territorial experience, which helps him to master and "tame" urban space. This is a narrative as a form of intra-group leisure (telling horror stories or "urban legends" in the summer camp, which inherits to the genre of traditional folklore "bylichka"), and the transfer of similar content in the Internet communication, which, in turn, becomes the material for the creation of new films. The specificity of urban legends is determined by the universally understandable "wandering stories" that have received a new life in the global Network. The urban legend, *"getting from the local to the global context, ... is easily adaptable /.../ When half the world communicates in "Facebook", the story of a dead friend who appeared online, becomes equally clear to all/.../ there is a certain global folklore /.../ Everyone can create and spread the legend himself, while maintaining one of its important properties – anonymity"* (Ionov, 2016-1: 81). Considering, after Western culturologists, watching a horror film as a ritual, which, in turn, introduces a number of ritualized actions, cultural norms and taboos, A.Y. Ionov shows that most often the meaning of terrible events is associated with the violation of the subject's relations with space. These rules are simple and known in advance: *"don't open the damn children's camp, don't sleep in the house, which is considered to be inhabited by ghosts, don't watch mortal videotape, and so on"* (Ionov, 2016-1: 78).

And although A.Y. Ionov says about the presence of films where there is no "moralite", which violates the canonical structure of prohibition-violation – consequences – attempt to escape, it seems to us that it is indestructible even in those cases which he considers opposite to this logic and modern morality. Arguing about the plot with a vanishing from the car companion (long dead), the author wonders: *"what is the prohibition of this story? Is it about not picking up stray loners on the road? What about kindness and mutual aid?"* (Ionov, 2016-1: 79).

Yes, that's exactly it. The ban on communication with an alien is so ancient and fundamental that it does not comply with the norms of modern morality. Horror is not a genre that is designed to teach kindness and mutual help. It is designed to teach how to survive in a dangerous world filled with strangers, and in this sense fully corresponds to the main intended to children's parental

ban: do not open the door to anyone and do not talk to strangers. The same regulatory, socialization functions are performed by the image of the victims-teenage couples who have fun in a dangerous place: the prohibition *"on an implicit level ... may be implied in the undesirability of premarital sexual emancipation of teenagers, especially in secluded, potentially dangerous places"* (Ionov, 2016-1:79).

Thus, horror is always based on violation of taboos or restrictions, revealing the essence of cultural norms, including in connection with the behavior in relation to the house, as well as in the house and beyond, that is, in connection with the territorial behavior as such. This makes horror one of the regulators of social behavior, along with other media as channels of socialization. However, it seems that the taboo side of horror films in some cases can lead to the formation of spatial fears. Spatial fears are most common in children, adolescents, youth, and the elderly, but perhaps a strong traumatic experience reduces susceptibility to fear. Can we assume that only the polar age groups as the most suggestible are exposed to horror? And is it possible to speak only about the individual suggestibility?

#### *Commercialized fear*

American scientific literature and journalism has long referred to practical consequences of physical and social space "horrorization", including a home. For example, D.S. Moss reports on the decision of the Court in New York, according to which the bond trader, who refused to establish contractual obligations to buy an old (circa 1900) house because of the rumors about paranormal activity of that house, loses the advance payment made to them for this property (Moss, 1990:31). Marketers calculate the profit from the continuation and support of the film industry attractions, which exploited the image of "scary house" (Deckard, 2001; Mooradian, 2002; Muret, 1997). Horror and haunted houses have become so natural, a necessary part of mass culture, including youth and children's segment, that an employee of EBSCO Publishing house Becky Spratford (Becky Siegel Spratford) became known as the author of the guide on "Vampires, Killer Tomatoes, and Haunted Houses" (Spratford, Clausen, 2004), the release of which has been marked as a significant event by "Bulletin of the school library" (Evarts et al., 2004). Three years before, that Bulletin published another review of the horror fiction with a markeable name "Ghost States of America" (Callaghan et al., 2001). The trend is accurately summarized by the title of an article by one of the authors of the magazine "Cablevision": *"Home is where The Haunt is"* (Hendrickson, 2000). Finally, we found an extremely interesting Canadian study by J. Kelso (Kelso, 1999). It lies at the intersection of folklore, Economics and marketing and is devoted to the question of how superstitions associated with death and supernatural phenomena affect the real consumer behavior in the housing market. Thus, it is possible to consider existence of a magic brand as one of independent types of stigmatization of the territory, a source of dissatisfaction with housing conditions and the market mechanism proved.

This output of virtual reality in physical reality is part of the General trend, which is noted by many experts: horror movies' desire for more realism. This *"can be traced throughout its history. Currently, the horror Genre reaches the maximum realism either through clear and true manifestation of violence, or using ... "mocumentary"* (Ionov, 2016-2: 34). Commercialization of fear leads to changes in the market of Museum and tourist services. Researchers-geographers specializing in the study of the tourist attractiveness of the territories write: *"An interesting feature of modern interactive museums devoted to legends, myths, horrors of urban folklore can cause bewilderment and even contempt in sophisticated intellectually and educated on traditional forms of representation of visitors to the Museum exhibition"* (Afanas'ev, Afanas'eva, 2016: 39). They noted the increased attention of their Western colleagues to the phenomenon of mystical tourism, based on the mythologization of urban space, including residential real estate – castles, mansions and estates, houses with an aura of mystery legend. This phenomenon in the English language has received a special designation: "haunted house". It is both a cliché of the horror genre, and the house-attraction, seasonally demanded, dedicated to Halloween. The most famous examples of the mystical tourist brand are Vlad Dracula's castle Bran in Romania and Bulgakov's "bad apartment" in Moscow.

The commercialization of fear is particularly evident in the flow of everyday informal communications on the Internet. In order to identify attributes of "terrible houses" and stigmatized spaces, 15.05.2017 we searched for the words "terrible/scary/ horrible etc house/place" in materials of posts in social network Facebook. The materials were found on the users' personal

pages, on the thematic pages devoted to travel, tourism, amusement business (for example, "Your London" - <https://www.facebook.com/tvoylondon/posts/1273448646068046>; "Around Tenerife" <https://www.facebook.com/groups/180009632377778/permalink/383361945375878> / etc.), and on the pages devoted to mysticism, paranormal, unknown (for example, "esoteric world" - <https://www.facebook.com/groups/mirezoteriki/permalink/388901221480903/>). But links to external sources, placed on these pages, always lead to the sites of travel agencies and real estate agencies.

So, we can conclude that horror, by creating a "supportive" commercial infrastructure, transforms the physical space and directly creates, produces conditionally scary places marked by a magical, paranormal stigma. The fact that these places often become attractive for tourists proves horror's influence on adults, active, mentally healthy people, not only gullible and inspired children and old people. In these cases, horror performs an entertaining and hedonistic function, but we do not know what is happening in the mind, mood, behavior of tourists after they got the desired pleasure from the deliberately safe fear. As one can see, some studies indicate that the consequences of these visits can go beyond the game with fear, be postponed in the mind and directly affect housing and consumer attitudes and prejudices.

#### *Oikophobia as the effect of horror*

What is said, however, does not explain how and why the depiction of fear and scary spaces with its "educational", imitation nature can be transformed into real fear. P. Cowdell (Cowdell, 2011) refers to data from predecessors who say that the superstition of the population after the Second World War doubled, and explains this by the fact that the supernatural is inextricably bounded in English culture and language, that these beliefs are not marginal, but constitute an important and natural part of English daily life. But even if the real number of people who believe in the beyond is much greater than the number of people who admit it, between faith as recognition or denial of the existence of a phenomenon and faith as an action that can be done because of this cognitive component, the distance is quite large. People of modern secular society have gone through a system of school education based on the natural science picture of the world; most of them live in urban apartment buildings, where nothing is reminiscent of the characters of traditional folklore; witches, healers, shamans are not part of their daily social environment. It is not clear what makes such people leave places marked by memories of negative events, avoid them when choosing a place of residence and even walking routes, carry out magic cleaning rituals in their houses, that is – really afraid.

A very important observation makes J. Kelso on the basis of a series of interviews with real estate agents and buyers: *"The connection of a good price with a home wherein a violent death occurred can be used to the buyers advantage, even when the buyer has no fears associated with living in close proximity to a death. /.../ the lowering of the house's price because of a violent event fuels the belief that death damages a property and ultimately leads to situations such as ... being able to get an even lower price from an already good deal"* (Kelso, 1999: 51-52). In other words, to be afraid, it is not necessary to believe in the real possibility of harm that the house itself can cause.

One can fear – and rightly so - the consequences of the social stigmatization of a resident that results from his Association with a stigmatized space. J. Kelso clearly denotes a public condemnation, which is almost inevitable when it comes to real estate, "stained" in the eyes of the local by the name of a maniac, widely known through the media. For such estate *"any price is too high/.../As Susan Gamble asked in reference to the Bernardo's home: "Would anyone trust someone who chose to live there?"* (Kelso, 1999: 53). We believe this conviction is based on a sense of community dissatisfaction with the offender's punishment: biological death is not enough, it must be accompanied by social death, complete oblivion, taboo on any "resuscitation" of the villain's personality embodied in house, which violates too brave or careless buyer. It is no accident, as the author shows, most often such houses are destroyed, and sometimes, for the purpose of subsequent destruction, they are specially purchased by real estate agencies, so that stigmatized houses do not "pollute" neighboring ones and do not knock down the price for them.

Finally, the fragments of many of the interviews given by J. Kelso contain a motive of describing the discomfort of being in "haunted houses" by people who do not believe in the existence of ghosts. For example, here is one of the characteristic interviews: *"In my case it's not fear of external danger (i.e. being murdered by ghosts or being forced to commit copycat*

*suicides) so much as the fear of inner turmoil that makes me uncomfortable with the idea of living in a place where something like that has happened. I'm afraid I'd obsess about it, have bad dreams about it, get nervous when I was home alone at night--that sort of thing. I don't expect I'd ever have any physical trouble, except for what I caused myself with my own irrational fear. I know that the fear is irrational, but I also know I would have it. I'm already afraid of the dark, afraid of UFO abduction, and a host of other silly things that nonetheless scare the bejeezus out of me when I'm left alone to think about them too long" (Kelso, 1999: 87-88).*

Kelso's respondents who did not face ghosts and do not believe that they can meet with them in reality, are already "lost" in the imagination of the situation of this meeting. Such a meeting seems for them familiar, clear, filled with specific details. This situation is unpleasant and scares in advance because it is formed in the mind in the flow of social communications.

Thus, the mechanism of influence of the horror-cliché on the formation of oikophobic attitudes, States and disorders in relation to adult, sane people of a secular society is explained through the opposition of "game, fiction – serious things", which leads us to the constructivist theory of frames of W.L. Warner's student, E. Goffman.

Starting with the famous work of J. Huizinga (Huizinga, 2011), the large-scale cross-cultural longitudinal study of modern leisure, conducted by G. Pronovost (Pronovost, 1986), more and more popular in philosophical, cultural, socio-cultural research becomes the idea of the game as the main form of modern sociality. The game and mass media provide an opportunity for existential experience of many situations and roles in a short time, which loses authentic, but gives the advantage of simultaneous access to a range of emotions, life styles, motives for choosing behavioral strategies.

Communication, identification, euphoric involvement is the Central concept of E. Goffman's "Fun in games" (Goffman, 1961). Goffman is not limited to the fact that postulates the dependence of the actions of individuals on their understanding of the essence, the social meaning of the situation, which is determined by a particular organization of its frame. Frames are classified by E. Goffman on the basis of the expected or prescribed regularity and depth of involvement of the individual in a particular situation: *"Some of them, like systems of traffic rules, require deep involvement of the participant, another are maintained in the focus only from time to time, only when there is a need to avoid unexpected trouble. Other frames require in ... literally and figuratively comprehensive engagement" (Goffman, 2003: 116-117).*

It seems to us that it is E. Goffman's category of involvement that allows us to explain the projection of the stigma of "paranormal", "creepy", "supernatural" place on the economic, consumer characteristics of a particular dwelling and the territoriality of their inhabitants.

This involvement is a psychobiological process, *"in which the subject ceases, at least in part, to be aware of the direction of his experiences and cognitive attention. It actually means the concentration, absorption (engrossment) /.../the only real spontaneous involvement produces an adequate behavior" (Goffman, 2003:117).* Examples of how a conventional, by definition, "fake", "imaginary" game frame captures participants, causing a completely "real" consequences of role-playing behavior with "excessive realism", which E. Goffman lists (theater, Boxing, military exercises and training, ritual insults, reproduced by the carriers of the sociolect for the ethnographer, etc.), can be continued by examples of how the frame of a terrible, abnormal, demonic home or space (the haunted) gradually "captures" the resident, organizing his perception of his own living environment, and perhaps, the actual behavior according the "rules" of horror films or mystical thrillers. E. Goffman calls the coming out of obedience playfulness a "downward switching". It especially clearly finds itself in the field of mass communication: *"someone from the audience discovers that for them the characters of radio and television series are gradually becoming reality, and they pour out this strange faith in writing letters to favorite characters with advice, warnings, support, etc. to the address of the appropriate Studio" (Goffman, 2003: 135).*

E. Goffman's concept of "game" involvement finds empirical confirmation in the model of "context-induced" supernatural experience of R. Lange and J. Huran (Lange, 1997), who believe that quite understandable unpleasant conditions (for example, a sense of temperature discomfort, temperature difference under the influence of physical factors) are repeatedly amplified and acutely experienced in a certain context (belief in the supernatural, especially the place - in particular, we are talking about the legendary haunted houses, the place of the recent accident,



etc.). Even within the framework of the behavioral approach experiments of D. Watson (white rat and baby Albert) proved the ability of fear to be projected on similar objects that previously did not cause fear (Shcherbatyh, 2001). Physicians from Arkhangelsk (Sidorov et al., 2014) similarly explain mental epidemics, which are ethnically and confessionally marked. Psycho-emotional tension (function, which successfully cope media and means of mass influence) and narrowing the consciousness of the recipient under the influence of a number of endogenous and exogenous factors (among the latter, an important role is played by poor sanitary-hygienic and socio-psychological factors of housing) are necessarily.

Goffman's concept best explains the special role of media in the negation or, on the contrary, the poesy of the image of home space. Modern television, as shown by V.P. Kozyr'kov (Kozyr'kov, 2001), has the properties of interactivity, complicity, suggestiveness, in no small measure because of being entirely "domesticated". That "domesticated" visuality is strengthening and even creating the archaic forms of experience of the world: *"viewers as residents of the house and members of their families are scattered throughout the social space, but are connected with each other by their spiritual involvement in the world of life, which is created by television. Television is an information technology, created for the construction of housing ... to create additional conditions for the development of the individual at home / ... / its symbolic content television acquires what can represent and replace for viewers the whole world of culture. The same function for a person is performed by the house, but in the material and social sense"* (Kozyr'kov, 2001: 74-75).

It is clear that watching a film about the home at home creates a better situation of the "context-induced experience", which is mentioned above.

#### 4. Results

At the dawn of Cinema, the modern era was marked by a real boom of mysticism, Gothic, occultism, which was expressed in the aestheticization of the terrible, which, according to L.E. Kireeva, *"is a special cultural mechanism to overcome the fear of death and non-existence. The socio-cultural crisis in the modern era and the accompanying process of secularization became fertile ground for the emergence and development of different kinds of artistic tools that facilitate experience the fundamental of human fears in the framework of elitist and mass culture"* (Kireeva, 2016: 72). During the First World War, as shown by V.V. Ustyugova, the processes of mass social life accelerated and for the first time along with the escapist function, cinema began to perform the function of verbalization of social problems; for their embodiment, most often were used *"narrative forms of adventurous cinema, "romance" and psychological drama"* (Ustyugova, 2016: 268). In an era of real horror, cinematic horrors receded into the background. The relevance and high practical value of a comprehensive socio-psychological analysis of the "terrible" films as a repository of the main constructs of the collective unconscious, according to V.M. Chalilov, began to realize towards the end of the twentieth century: *"the researcher Paul Wells ... lists the largest narratives of horror films: social alienation, the collapse of moral and spiritual foundations, a deep crisis of evolutionary identity, direct articulation of the most intimate imperatives of humanity, the need to Express the meaning of human existence in a suitable aesthetics..., stepping over various epochs and cultures. Thanks to the critical re-evaluation that began in the 1970s, horror films have become from the once "low" and despised genre one of the most seriously researched and extensively discussed in Western film theory, and through the prism of a wide variety of scientific areas"* (Chalilov, 2013: 74).

In the context of globalization, the popularity of the genre is growing everywhere: in Russia and the post-Soviet space, in Japan, in the US and Europe (Dutkina, 2016). Horror subgenres are multiplying, and everyone finds his regular audience. T.N. Shemetova deals with problems of partitioning genre of horror, and specificity of its sub-genres, *"highlighting films about zombies, monsters, demons, mystical movies, movies mythical-Gothic type, "the slasher"* (Shemetova, 2011:74). M.V. Shaidullina (Shaidullina, 2016), especially considers the genetic successor of the disaster movie - a post-apocalyptic story, which is based on cyberpunk and splatter punk. Many authors investigated the question of national-cultural styles of "scary movie", of specially Russian horror possibility, of intercultural contact and typological convergences in the representation of mythological, folklore and literary stories, of national cinematic traditions (Chvostov, 2011; Grabuzov, 2012; Ionov, 2013; Ivanova, Kazurova, 2013; Omelyanenko, 2014; Yakovenko, 2010).

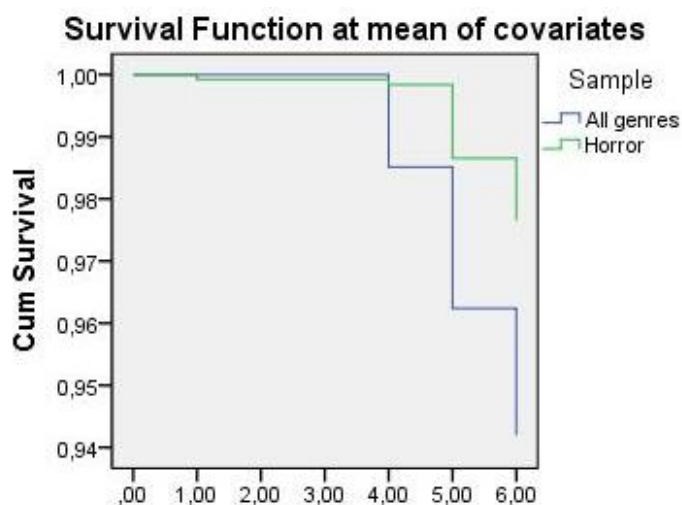
Referring to the long-revealed pattern – the growing popularity of mysticism, occultism, spiritualism, eschatology in the crisis moments of history – the researchers pay attention to the unprecedented boom of "terrible" on the turn of the 1980s – 1990s, when so long-awaited by someone collapse of Soviet totalitarianism came, and the country suddenly swept a real "epidemic" of faith in various witches, healers, psychotherapists, Messiahs, leaders of authoritarian sects, not to mention the various political crooks" (Komissarov, 2015: 69). In his study of the terrible as a socio – cultural category A.A. Chvostov has marked a special tendency of young people to mysticism, expressed in the appearance of special subcultures (the most striking example are Goths), and in the huge popularity of the genre of horror (Chvostov, 2011). According to the data given in the article of Yu.V. Muromova, "in recent years, more and more people are watching the horrors. Movies genre "horror" increased by 65 % (1970s – 3 %, 2010 – 68 %)" (Muromova, 2014: 11). The same trends are noted by literary critics who study the demonological and Gothic traditions of Russian and foreign literature (Litsareva, Semerikova, 2016). Against this background, the interest in the terrible and otherworldly, which has not subsided since the 1990s, as researchers' data show, points to the depth and consistency of Russian crisis.

For our array of films, the results reliably show (Livin's statistics 12.72 with a significance of 0.000, F-criterion when checking the homogeneity of variances 38.88 about the significance of 0.000, n=1467) a pronounced tendency to decrease in audience ratings. Films between 1930 and 1969 enjoy the greatest and most stable (homogeneous) audience sympathies (average scores are the highest, exceeding the upper line of the control range in  $3\sigma$ , the values of standard deviations are the lowest and also beyond the lower limit of the control range in  $3\sigma$ ). The same General trend is objectively typical for the viewer's perception of films from two samples separately. The difference is that in a sample of films about the house of all genres, the estimates decrease smoothly, while the estimates of horror films about the house fall sharply (which visually reflects the angle of the interpolation line of the average values of the estimates, which is actually a downward straight line).

To determine how these trends are stable, natural and able to determine the future, applicable to similar films that are not presented on the site, we have resorted to the analysis of survival by Cox regression method, revealing "the probability of occurrence of an event for objects that are at risk" (Sharashova et al., 2017: 7). Although this method originated in clinical practice to predict the probability of deaths after surgery, it is also valid to extend to the situation of "death of the film", measured by us, when its rating is zero, that is, the film no one wanted to watch, or, in accordance with the threshold in 10% we have introduced, is extremely low. Later, the threshold was raised to 33 % to reduce the number of censored values, but the data configuration remained the same. All censored data is right-hand, because the only undated film we excluded from the array. Thus, the number of events (rating 0-33) is 165, incomplete data 1233. Strata were determined from sample 1 and 2. In the model without predictors to the last stage, the cumulative risk of rejection by the audience for films about the house of different genres is 0,164, and for the category of horror 0,352. The -2LL value for the model without predictors is 1969,920. In models with different predictors of statistics do not change significantly, Wald's criterion indicates the absence of their statistical significance, including depending on the country of production of the film, and hence on the poetics of individual Directors and subgenres, which could be associated with the "existential European" or "pragmatic American" dominant model of horror (Tikhomirov, 2008). The audience of horror is constant and omnivorous. The main product, which it consumes, is characterized not in aesthetic, but in socio-psychological categories This is indicated by the following. Only if we add to the model a predictor of the presence in the title or in the annotation of the film of words that characterize the house in terms of its security, danger or safety, as well as a predictor of the presence or absence of positive or negative emotional evaluation, expressively colored epithets relating to the house, the predictive ability of the model improves (the value-2LL decreases, Chi-square increases, the Wald criterion shows the statistical significance of regression coefficients). The baseline cumulative risk at the last stage is aligned for both subsamples, accounting for multi-genre of a sub-sample of 1,224 for the horrors of 1,577.

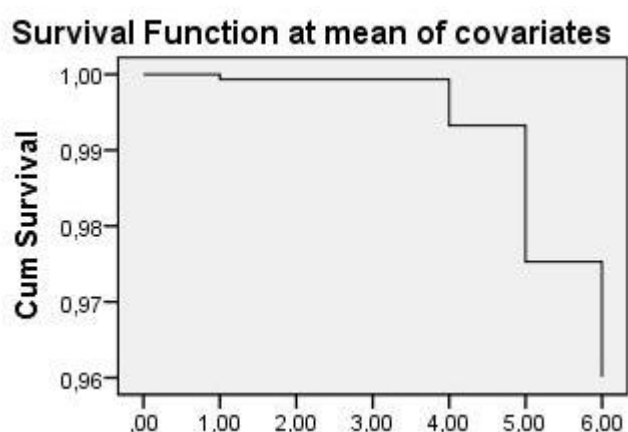
The survival and risk functions for films about the house of different genres in comparison with horror films show the presence of a delayed effect. The terminal event for horror comes at the first stage of its existence, although the risk is minimal up to the fourth stage, which can be

considered critical for the image of the house in all genres). But in the end, the rate of deterioration in the ratings of films about the house of all genres are sharper than in the case of horror (Figure 1).



**Fig. 1.** The dependence of the audience rejection of films about the house from the time of the film

In the sample as a whole (horror films and films of other genres together), the relationship of viewer ratings with the image of the house (negative, neutral or positive epithets in titles or annotations) is quite close ( $r = 0.508$ ). Its critical deterioration (the value of the terminal event – "the image of the house is negative"), as shown by the use of the same technique (Cox regression), also falls on the fourth period. The value  $-2ll$  of the initial block = 15745,103, and when the predictors "Sample", "Country" (still weak, but statistically significant predictor), "Security" it falls to 15639,622. Chi-square 98,617 with three degrees of freedom and a significance of 0,000 and the Wald criterion indicated that the "group at risk" from the point of view of placing of the audience lowest ratings are horror movies and movies in General, especially emphasizing the safety of the house and its inhabitants; the movies that were released outside the Slavic and European countries. As already mentioned, the expressed risk of negativity appears at the fourth time stage (0,167, while at the third stage 0,049), and the basic risk accumulated by the sixth, modern stage, = 2,101 (Figure 2).



**Fig. 2.** Dependence of negativization of the image of the house in the movie on time of creation of the movie

Our conclusion that the accumulation of negative representations of the house in time reached a critical mass in the fourth period, that is, from 1970 to 1989, was unexpectedly confirmed by another author. This is a short article by an architect Edwin Heathcote «House of horror: the

role of domestic settings in scary movies». Connection of penetration horror in everyday home life with suburbanization and privatization, which we pointed out in the previous article on the types of "terrible" home in the movie (Kazakova, 2018) as it turned out, E. Heathcote designated in 2014: *"When the movies started out, the haunted house or the house of horror was a gothic fantasy. They were not the houses we lived in but the homes we imagined would be haunted. At some point in the 1970s these melodramatic leftovers were replaced by more ordinary houses and horror was brought closer to home. Whether it was the haunted house or a crazed individual menacing a neighborhood, the horror moved to the suburbs. From Halloween (1978) and Poltergeist (1982) to A Nightmare on Elm Street (1984), the suburban home has become the default setting of horror's slasher sub-genre.*

*The suburb has been designed and made to feel safe. It is a reaction to the fear of the city – the anodyne, predictable counterpart to the unpredictable chaos of urban life with its mixed society and crime. But the city offers a sense of proximity the suburb doesn't. And despite the image of cosy domesticity, the suburb is left as an alienating place./.../ This psychogeography of the home is intriguing because it assumes that lingering psychic trauma is somehow tangible. Yet who knows what has gone on in a home? Estate agents are obliged to tell potential buyers of disputes with neighbours over hedges or drains but not about murders that may have taken place there. Whatever our rational selves might say, there is a tangible fear, a tingle of recognition once a house is tainted with trauma. We see our homes as receptors. Because they are so intimately intertwined with our daily lives and our images of our existences, memories and families, their violation carries a special fear. In more extreme cases the house might be a gateway to hell or to another dimension" (Heathcote, 2014).*

Thus, the connection of a negative image of the house in the film, with its low audience ratings, and the relationship oikophobia of social psychology with the accumulation of "horror" movie can be considered confirmed.

## 5. Conclusion

In addition to the fact that a person owns his home as an object of property, performs in it and in relation to it as to a social institution certain, often quite strictly prescribed, roles, a person also "consumes" the home space in accordance with the cultural standards known to him. So, as in the case of any other objects, the "consumption" of one's home can be rational and irrational. Starting with coming of D. Galbraith's "Society of plenty", economists are increasingly inclined to believe that the second dominates the first (Scitovsky, 1993: 370).

According to P. Cowdell, the basis of supernatural fears, belief in ghosts that inhabit certain houses and spaces and "fight" for them with the living, is a mass, generalized, neurotic anxiety related to property issues, which can take a lot of specific forms. Among them, P. Cowdell calls the conviction of individual informants that paranormal activity is "monitoring" by the spirits of how the living treat their property, the designation by ghosts in the legends of "true", original boundaries of someone's possessions, later divided administratively. In this the author sees *«a shift from the boundary-related revenants of agrarian society to a generalised property anxiety» (Cowdell, 2011: 57)*. Ownership as a foundation of faith in the supernatural becomes especially noticeable in the post-Soviet countries and in General there, *«where there has been a shift in, or an intensification of pressure on, property relations ... Property is key there because of general anxiety about it in the post-Soviet economic environment» (Cowdell, 2011: 57)*.

So, it is possible to formulate, than our rationality in the process of "consumption" of own housing environment is extinguished, than possibility of its allotment with negative magic properties is caused.

First of all the stress of urbanism acts unnoticed by man. It supports negative macro-social (economic, political and legal) processes that form a general anxiety and uncertainty in the future, the feeling that the environment and own life is out of control, has become completely unmanageable, property is not guaranteed, personal space, including in its most intimate, home, borders at any time can be violated by the invasion from the outside. Against the background of the perceived complexity, incomprehensibility, unpredictability of the social environment, the social need for simple, understandable, even primitive forms of leisure, standardized and ritualized cultural and social practices are growing (Zarubina, 2014), which explains the scrapping of the traditional stratification of culture, in which the horror film and the supernatural narrative was

among the "low", despised genres, unworthy of a thinking person. Then comes the turn of Goffmann's "involvement" in the "game" with the meanings generated by the media and the means of mass influence, which could not have had a serious impact (even at the stage of simple decoding), if not lay on the favorable ground of Freud's "uncanny", familiar from childhood and prepared by social memory. The culture of interaction with the "supernatural component" of our living environment (Warner, 2000) is formed by traditional folklore, oral narrations, literary and cinematographic allusions, daily superstitions, and rituals associated with the house, which are considered by anthropological tradition, and in Russia in the most detail by A.K. Baiburin (Baiburin, 1983). This "involved", exciting game in the context of greater or lesser similarity of own living conditions (direct, or iconic and associative-metaphorical) generates a "context-induced" experience of confusion, awe, frustration, fright at the first event, which is perceived as a sign of a demonic invasion from the outside, manifestations of alien and evil will. Creaks of floorboards, the collapse of plaster, flooding or wiring fire in an old house, a casual look of unsympathetic neighbor or a sudden appearance within the "own" space in a communal apartment of objects accidentally forgotten, left by someone from the guests, the invasion of insects or rats are easily interpreted by a person who is already suffering from chronic and severe housing deprivation, as a sign of demonic presence, the evil eye, magic damage.

Recently, we have found a theoretical support for our conclusions in the article of I.V. Utekhin, who has been engaged in anthropology of post – Soviet communal apartments for a long time (Utekhin, 2003). The term "housing paranoia" was introduced by psychiatrist A. Medvedev in reference to a special, characteristic for the elderly, state of "involutional psychosis", which is always associated with their home. They suspect their neighbors of systematic theft and intentional damage to things, in an effort to harm them for the sake of material or moral benefits. In all other respects, their intellectual activity is common. For all who received psychiatric care in connection with such a disorder, it is characteristic to live in communal apartments, which in the Soviet practice of resettlement led to the disclosure of *"the worst moral qualities of people included in the struggle for survival in difficult conditions of overpopulation"* (Utekhin, 2003: 522) and super-control by both the owner and the Manager state, and by the tenants themselves in relation to each other. I.V. Utekhin notes that lack of privacy leads to increased sensitivity to any violation, including the symbolic side of this violation (Utekhin, 2003: 523).

I.V. Utekhin formulates very valuable to us idea of jealousy, inherent in the mentality of such living conditions. In conditions when the order of use of the common space and the share of expenses on its maintenance which each inhabitant of a communal flat has to bear in strict accordance with the principle of justice is in detail regulated, there is a certain mysteriously painted "super-idea" of fair distribution of vital benefits. This justice is not limited to plumbing, cooking and the order of cleaning, but extends to all other benefits received or produced by the resident independently, regardless of other residents: *"The idea of a 'limited good'... gives the feeling that all resources come from one source and therefore their distribution should be strictly controlled/.../such a symbolic 'sharing' as a treat (inviting others to taste cooked food) and a ritualized demonstration of new things – clothes or shoes – are intended to protect against the possible consequences of envy: theft, harm or evil eye"* (Utekhin, 2003: 523-524).

So, it can be concluded that the ungovernability and uncontrollability of space, a sense of own weakness, powerlessness in the face of Fate and constantly spying on you Another (a neighbor, a state, a social environment), limited material resources create extremely favorable ground for the formation of not just superstitions, and superstitious, suspicious-wary, anxious attitude to their own home, which is characteristic of people in conditions of housing deprivation.

If all of the above is true, the housing-deprived population in comparison with their prosperous fellow citizens should be characterized by:

- 1) greater superstition;
- 2) greater sensitivity to horror films (not "love", namely increased sharpness, sharpness of their both acceptance and rejection, as the latter indicates the displacement of fear);
- 3) a particularly large sensitivity to the horror movies where the scary house is central, is a full-fledged hero of the story, unlike films where the horrible was not in the house, but somewhere else outside the house. Thus, if we offer horror fans a choice of a list of cult, all well-known films, in the case of correctness of the hypothesis, people who evaluate their living conditions very

negatively, will steadily choose as the "most terrible" first option, statistically significantly differing from the audience, satisfied with their living conditions.

The results of the experimental test will be presented in the final part of our work on "the house of horror".

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