

The **challenge of xenophobia** for **international tourism**: A case study of **Salzburg**

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Abstract | Several countries in the European Union are struggling with the consequences of the global financial and economical crises at different levels. One social outcome of the crises seems to be re-nationalization, the renaissance of values, preserving order and denying egalitarianism and tolerance. These developments in Europe can also affect international tourism. Ethnic minorities in the tourism business, as well as tourists from specific countries, may find themselves in a difficult situation because of certain tendencies of (cultural) racism.

This article presents a case study of ethnic prejudice in Salzburg and highlights that negative attitudes towards immigrants are prevalent in the Austrian society. Between April and June (2009) inhabitants of the autochthonous population in Salzburg (without migration background) were interviewed (n = 253). The standardized questionnaire measures how the host society assesses the living conditions of foreigners in Salzburg, gives insights about intercultural relations to certain immigrant groups and explores which individual, structural or societal-based factors influence ethnic prejudice. The study shows that the host society interprets the demographic and socioeconomic situation of immigrants quite realistically but they demonstrate a high level of xenophobia towards specific groups.

Therefore it has to be concluded that even a city which is familiar with a lot of different cultures due to a high worldwide tourism demand is not free of ethnic prejudices especially towards groups with a higher social distance to the local population (e.g. Muslims). This may also have certain implications for future tourism. Ethnic prejudice may lead to intercultural misunderstandings, problematic host-guest relations and may affect immigrants working in the tourism sector.

Keywords | Ethnic prejudice, Ethnic minorities, Host-guest relations, Quantitative study, Salzburg.

Resumo | Diversos países da União Europeia vêm sofrendo as consequências da crise financeira e económica global a diferentes níveis. Um dos efeitos, em termos sociais, da crise parece ser a renacionalização, a renascença de valores, que preserva a ordem e rejeita o igualitarismo e a tolerância. Tais desenvolvimentos na Europa podem também afetar o turismo internacional. Minorias étnicas presentes na indústria do turismo, bem como turistas de determinados países, podem vir a encontrar-se em dificuldades devido a certas tendências racistas (também a nível cultural).

Este artigo apresenta um estudo de caso sobre preconceito étnico em Salzburgo e ressalta que atitudes negativas para com imigrantes são predominantes na sociedade austríaca. Entre abril e junho (2009), foram entrevistados habitantes (n

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= 253) da comunidade autóctone em Salzburgo (sem histórico de imigração). O objetivo do questionário padronizado é aferir como a sociedade anfitriã avalia as condições de vida de estrangeiros em Salzburgo, proporcionar uma visão das relações interculturais de certos grupos de imigrantes, bem como investigar quais os fatores individuais, estruturais ou sociais que influenciam o preconceito étnico. O estudo mostra como a sociedade anfitriã interpreta a situação demográfica e socioeconómica dos imigrantes de forma bastante realista, demonstrando, porém, alto nível de xenofobia para com grupos específicos.

É preciso concluir, portanto, que mesmo uma cidade familiarizada com inúmeras culturas distintas, como consequência da forte procura do turismo mundial, não está imune ao preconceito étnico, especialmente dirigido a grupos de maior distância social da população local (por exemplo, muçulmanos). Isto pode levar a certas implicações para o turismo no futuro. O preconceito étnico pode levar a mal-entendidos entre culturas, relações hóspede-anfitrião problemáticas, e afetar imigrantes empregados no setor turístico.

Palavras-chave | Preconceito étnico, Minorias étnicas, Relações hóspede-anfitrião, Estudo quantitativo, Salzburgo.

1. Introduction

Despite the rich Austrian tradition as a country of emigration and immigration, empirical studies and cross-national comparisons regularly confirm a high level of xenophobia in Austria. Also the political discourse in Austria is dominated by viewing migrants as outsiders, which is reflected by restrictive regulations for citizenship access, by a lack of successful integration policies¹ and currently also by the public debate in Austria concerning ethnic minorities and asylum seekers.

A second tendency, which can also be observed in other Western European countries, is the particular rejection of Muslim groups (mainly Turkish minorities in Austria) which are considered unwilling to integrate. All problems of Muslim immigrants, such as unemployment, discrimination, poverty and marginalization, are interpreted through a cultural filter. Several studies (e. g. Boomgarden and Vliegenthart (2007) on the example of Holland) also highlight a connection between media reporting and election behaviour: the more space is dedicated to the topic of Europe being "foreignised" and the more strongly a rejecting attitude towards immigrants is spread by

the media, the stronger is the support of right-wing parties. Remarkable in the context of these developments is the fact that the openly practiced policy of exclusion is not restricted to the right wing of the political spectrum but achieves ever more approval also in the political centre (see Seidel, 2008: 258).

Tourism can be affected by xenophobia in two important areas. The tourism industry is dependent on a positive destination image and experiences of hospitality. Rising levels of ethnic prejudice can influence host-guest relations in touristic places especially concerning travellers with a high cultural distance. There is a long-lasting controversial discussion, if intercultural contacts in tourism are able to reduce prejudice and improve the understanding between different cultures (see e.g. Litvin, 2003).

¹ A most recent study by the British Council and the Migration Policy Group (2010) calculates the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) for 25 European and six non-European countries. Austria – immediately behind Switzerland – occupies the 24th position. The state offers migrants one of the least favourable accesses to nationality (rank 28 only slightly above the Baltic States). Policies of family reunification are also one of the most restrictive in comparison to other European countries (rank 27). Regarding labour market access, the integration measures are critically unfavourable. There is an extremely complicated bureaucratic way to get qualifications recognized.

As Singh states (1993: 68), “misconceptions, false images and stereotypes often dissolve when there are person to person contacts during a holiday”. On the other hand, Krippendorf (1987: 58) mentions that “today, when travelling has become a mass phenomenon, tales of understanding among people are nothing more than wishful thinking.”

A high amount of xenophobia within a society can also affect the working conditions of immigrants in the tourism sector. Immigrants form a significant part of the workforce because the locals are often not willing to engage in low status and seasonal employment (see Janta *et al.*, 2011: 1323). In times of economic crises migrants can be perceived as a burden for the labour market and tensions between the locals and immigrants due to competition at the labour market may arise. On the other hand, several studies consistently conclude that tourism employment offers higher opportunities for social inclusion and therefore facilitates integration into the host society. Working in the tourism business increases language learning and intercultural competence and offers opportunities for social adjustment and acculturation (getting in closer contact with locals) (e.g. Ward and Rana-Deuba, 1999).

In this article, one of the most popular tourist destinations of Austria, the city of Salzburg, was chosen as the setting of an empirical study about the view of the local population on immigrants. The main aim of the study was to detect attitudes of the host society towards ethnic minorities and to explore the main influential factors of perceiving an ethnic threat. Therefore the sociological findings, presented here, can be seen as a valuable case example, which may be relevant for several European destinations. Considering the implications and further challenges relating to tourism, which are discussed in the last section, further empirical studies are needed which should try to shed light on the connection between ethnic prejudice and intercultural contacts in tourism or the situation of immigrants working in the tourism sector.

2. Ethnic minorities and tourism – two fields of intercultural experience in Salzburg

2.1. Tourism

Austria, despite being a small country with a small population, is considered one of the most popular tourist destinations and belongs to the top ten countries of international tourist receipts in the world (see UNWTO, 2010: 6). The region of Salzburg, together with Tyrol and Vienna, is the most attractive tourism hot spot in Austria. The main tourism types are particularly cultural tourism (city tourists visiting Salzburg nearly the whole year), as well as active and recreation tourism (travellers enjoying the numerous skiing areas in winter and the landscapes of lakes and mountains in summer).

The national background of tourists visiting Salzburg is widespread, although travellers from Germany remain clearly predominant. Table 1 gives an overview of the main tourist markets in the region and the city of Salzburg in the year 2010 (from January to July).

Besides the relation of inbound and foreign tourists, the numbers of the top fifteen markets in the federal state, as well as in the city of Salzburg, are given. Additionally, the growth rates (in comparison to the year before) and the proportion of tourists from a specific country in comparison to the total number of tourist arrivals are illustrated.

In general, the relation of national tourists (from Austria) and foreign tourists is rather similar for the region and for the city. Nearly seven out of ten tourist arrivals have to be considered to be international. The proportion of foreign EU-tourists in the countryside is considerably higher than in the city. The three strongest markets for winter and summer tourism (Germany, Netherlands and Denmark) account for more than 40% of the total arrivals, while the number of German tourists alone makes one third of all tourist arrivals. Also in the city, Germany occupies the first position, but followed by major countries like the United States, Italy, UK and Japan. In general,

Table 1 | Tourist arrivals 2010: selected markets in the region and the city of Salzburg

Region				City			
Nations	Arrivals	% prev. year	% total	Nations	Arrivals	% prev. year	% total
Total	3.678.135	3,7	100	Total	651.922	8,2	100
Inbound	1.059.361	4,6	28,8	Inbound	202.905	13,4	31,1
Foreign	2.618.774	3,4	71,2	Foreign	449.017	6	68,9
Foreign EU	2.242.743	2,2	61,0	Foreign EU	260.247	3,6	39,9
Germany	1.245.498	1,2	33,9	Germany	119.198	5,4	18,3
Netherlands	271.962	4,8	7,4	United States	48.196	11	7,4
Denmark	109.612	6,8	3,0	Italy	35.837	-2,6	5,5
UK	109.158	-1,4	3,0	UK	23.028	-9,9	3,5
Czech Rep.	105.625	-1	2,9	Japan	19.071	10,1	2,9
Italy	71.775	-3,8	2,0	Switzerland	17.232	11,3	2,6
Belgium	64.273	9,6	1,7	Central and Southern America	12.731	18,2	2,0
United States	60.629	8	1,6	France	12.131	7,5	1,9
Poland	49.362	1,9	1,3	Spain	12.002	7,5	1,8
Sweden	47.082	10,8	1,3	Netherlands	11.103	3,8	1,7
Hungary	45.400	8	1,2	Australia	10.542	32,2	1,6
Switzerland	42.586	6,6	1,2	Russia	8.561	30,6	1,3
Arabic States	30.005	59,5	0,8	China	8.017	-8,1	1,2
Russia	29.143	39,5	0,8	Arabic States	7.968	46	1,2
France	28.591	3	0,8	Canada	6.847	-2,5	1,1

Source: Tourmis, 2012.

the city of Salzburg appears to be a destination for holidays, as well as for business purposes, while the region is predominantly a destination for European holiday-makers.

If a closer perspective is drawn to source countries like Arabian states and Russia, the growth rates of these emerging markets are remarkable. Tourists from Arabic countries and from Russia have already overtaken classical markets like French tourists and seem to gain considerably more importance in the future. Also in the city, the three outbound markets of China, Arabian countries and Russia already belong to the top fifteen foreign markets, and the highest growth rates have been achieved this year (except China).

While in comparison to the total number of tourist arrivals the proportion of these tourists is still low, single destinations during the winter or summer season have to react to new tourist streams with a clearly different cultural background. Arabian tourists (mainly in the summer season) in Zell am See, a small city near the national park of the Upper Tauern mountain range, as well as Russian tourists in the ski areas of Salzburg and Tyrol in January are

notable examples where the number of tourists in single months exceeds proportions of up to 20% of the total tourist population. These developments thus lead to challenges for the tourism business and for the intercultural understanding between tourists and locals.

2.2. Ethnic minorities

Besides tourism, Austria has been confronted with massive waves of immigrants since 1950. The long phase of economic boom in the post-war period came along with an internal labour deficit in numerous Western European societies. Labour migration functioned as a cyclical shock absorber and was also propagated as a win-win situation by international organizations (e.g. OECD) in the 1960s (see Zolberg, 1991: 313-316). In the 1970s Austria got an inflow of foreign workers. The immigrants, arriving mainly from former Yugoslavia and Turkey, hired also friends and relatives, who travelled to the country as tourists and got labour permits quite easily. The important change from

migrants as guest workers to permanent settlement was introduced by family reunification. Due to the birth and school education of children, the planned return to the countries of origin became an illusion (see Bauböck, 1986: 233).

In the 1990s lots of migrants chose Austria as a place of settlement. These migration streams cannot be traced back to the fall of the Iron Curtain, they were rather a result of economic prosperity. In addition, numerous refugees reached Austria due to the Balkan War. The migration streams, doubling between 1987 and 1994, can be seen as a starting point of polarizing attitudes in society and growth of right-wing power (see Bauböck, 1996: 12-21). Currently 17,3% of the Austrian population have a migrant background. Thereof are 13%, who are not born in Austria and thus considered as migrants of the first generation, while 4,4% are counted to the second generation. Most of the migrants come from Germany (2,1%), followed by migrants from Turkey (1,9%) and several states from Ex-Yugoslavia (1,8% Bosnia and 1,4% Serbia) shortly behind. All in all, 850.000 persons have to be classified as foreign state residents (10,2% of the population) (see Statistik Austria, 2009). Comparing the population statistics of migrants with their economic performance, it becomes clear, that migrants are often employed in less prestigious and lower-paid working sectors. A secondary data analysis of the population census from 2001 demonstrates that foreign citizens are frequently working in the tourism business (13,59%

foreigners vs. 3,89% locals), in other service areas (17,24% vs. 12,01%) and in the building industry (8,47% vs. 4,03%). In addition, immigrants are higher affected by unemployment. The unemployment rate of Austrians in 2007 was about 5,5% compared to 8,8% of foreign citizens. In particular these rate are high for Turkish migrants (11,7%) and citizen of the former Yugoslavia (9,5%) (see Land Salzburg, 2008).

In comparison to nationwide statistics, the city of Salzburg is also highly frequented by immigrants. While in the region of Salzburg as a whole, 12,5% of the inhabitants have a foreign citizenship, the proportion of foreigners exceeds 20% in the city. From 150.000 inhabitants, most immigrants are from former Yugoslavian states, particularly from Bosnia (4.832 inhabitants), Croatia (2.152) and Serbia (2.141). Additionally a large number emigrated from Germany (4.970) and Turkey (2.651) (Table 2).

After this overview of Salzburg, on the one hand, a highly frequented world-wide tourist destination and, on the other hand, a city with a considerable number of ethnic minorities (mainly from Germany, former Yugoslavian states and Turkey), the theoretical approach as a starting point of the study is presented. The theoretical model tries to find explanations why ethnocentrism is on the rise in many Western European countries and which factors are responsible for that. These explanations are then operationalised and tested in the study on the local population in the city of Salzburg.

Table 2 | Top six foreign ethnic groups in the city of Salzburg

Citizens ship	Count	Male	Female
1. Austria	117.663	54.294	63.369
2. Germany	4.970	2.463	2.507
3. Bosnia/Herzegowina	4.832	2.625	2.207
4. Turkey	2.651	1.480	1.171
5. Croatia	2.152	1.087	1.065
6. Serbia/Montenegro	2.141	1.083	1.058
Total inhabitants	149.108	70.296	78.812

Source: Archive of the city statistics (2009). Institution: Magistrat Stadt Salzburg.

3. Theoretical approach – analysing ethnic prejudice in Western European Societies

To explain negative attitudes of the host society towards immigrants it is necessary to adopt a broad sociological perspective. Nowadays European citizens are living in societies filled with tensions because societal developments on the macro-level (e.g. globalization, EU-integration and global threats) have unwanted side effects for the individuals. Globalization, for instance, favours a worldwide western-style modernization, while specific social groups experience regional disparities and social inequality. The European integration is promoted by political institutions, while the citizens demonstrate scepticism towards the EU-enlargement. Global risks like the financial and economical crises or terrorism increase the pressure of cooperation and lead to worldwide crisis intervention efforts, but the threats transgress borders, can no longer be related to specific nations or regions, and produce a global culture of fear (see Beck, 2003: 278-285). These gaps between these

promoted political and economic strategies and the reactions of the public are getting deeper and explain the disorientation individuals perceive in the face of modern developments.

In the theoretical approach of the study, the macro-level of societal developments is combined with perceptions of the citizens, which is illustrated in Figure 1. In summary, cracks of social order (see Hitzler and Reicherts, 2003) emerge from rapid transformations (e.g. EU-Enlargement), inequalities between different social groups and insecurities in the context of global threats. But the acting of politics and mass media functions as an interface, as a national filter between the Macro-Level (the specific societal conditions) and the Micro-Level (attitudes of individuals). Societies may be susceptible to a defensive reaction to immigrants if negative views against the European Integration dominate the public, if the socioeconomic development is associated with tensions between social groups, if the legal system causes a restriction of individual freedom and if the main political strategies favour

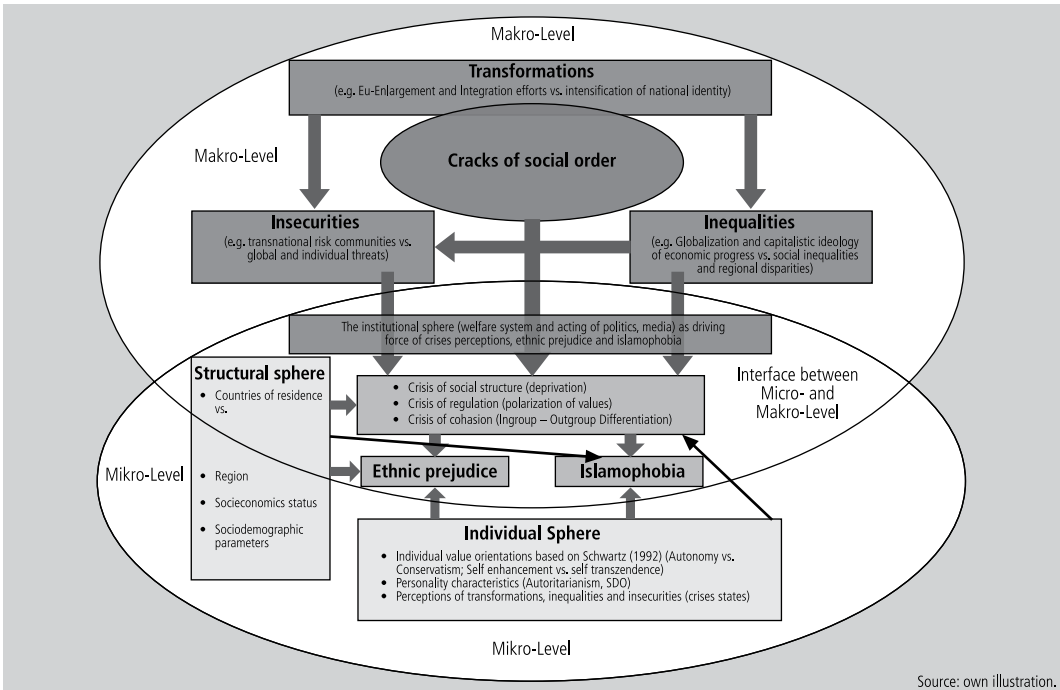


Figure 1 | Theoretical model of ethnic prejudice and Islamophobia.

the exclusion of foreigners. Ethnic prejudice thus increases mainly in specific nations and regions and specific social groups exposed to processes of social disintegration.

Heitmeyer (2002-2009) have found clear indicators of crises states in their research about Group-focused Enmity (GFE) in Germany, which can also be transferred to other European countries.

- The crisis of social structure is demonstrated by an increase in social inequality. Individuals express these crisis states in a fear of social descent (e.g. deprivation). The lines, drawn between structural crises, social inequalities and experiences of deprivation, provide similar explanations in comparison to well-known sociological theories of ethnic prejudice².
- The crisis of regulation is aimed at the social integration of individuals. Crises states are obvious when a high disenchantment with politics and a lacking coherence of values and norms in society exist. Also the value concept of Klages (1984) highlights the value pluralisation in western societies, measuring conservative values in contrast to creativity and hedonism, as well as mastery values in contrast to social engagement. So – in line with the Klages approach – specific groups of society remain progressively orientated towards challenges of societal developments, while other groups may shift their values in a defensive direction. They may react with a conservative handling of reality and use their own culture as a shield against foreigners and strengthen their identity in reference to their own nation (see Müller, 1998: 58-62).
- The crisis of cohesion represents the loss of solidarity between individuals. Modern societies offer a broad spectrum of possibilities, but the predictability of life is declining and the responsibility of decisions is assigned to the

individual (individualization theses, e.g. Schroer, 2000). It becomes necessary for the individuals to build and maintain a social identity. Social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) tells us that the identification with in-groups leads to a feeling of superiority and that by the exclusion of out-groups (e.g. migrants) power is re-achieved.

These disintegration feelings in Western societies can thus easily be connected with ethnic prejudice. In this respect, it is one of the main research questions of the empirical study, if structural factors (socioeconomic status), psychological explanations (e.g. personality characteristics) or these perceptions of disintegration are mainly responsible for ethnic prejudice.

4. The empirical approach

4.1. Research aims, operationalisation and research questions

This study on ethnic prejudice in the city of Salzburg has two primary goals. In a first step, the view of the host society on the living conditions of migrants was analysed. To compare statistical facts of the living standards of immigrants with estimations of the host society, several reports of the demographic and structural situation of migrants (e.g. Statistic Austria, 2009) were used. In a second step, the questionnaire measures several factors influencing ethnic prejudice on the basis of the assumptions of the theoretical model. To measure societal and individual explanatory factors theories from social psychology (e.g. Zick, 1997; Pettigrew *et al.*, 2008) were combined with sociological approaches. Thus, besides individual influence factors (e.g. authoritarianism, conservatism, deprivation), also societal crises states leading to ethnic prejudice (e.g. Heitmeyer, 2002-2009) were operationalised in the questionnaire. Ethnic prejudice as dependent

² For instance, the ethnic group threat theory (e.g. Quillian, 1995), the inter-group competition theory (e.g. Coenders and Scheepers, 1998) or the Split Labour Market Theory (e.g. Bonacich, 1972).

variable of the study was measured, using classical item-batteries from existing population surveys (e.g. Wasmer *et al.*, 2007).

Considering the theoretical approach, it is necessary to adopt an explorative view because there is a lack of quantitative studies combining societal and individual explanations regarding attitudes towards immigrants in Austria. Instead of clear assumptions and hypotheses, three broad research questions were developed, showing the main direction of the empirical research:

1. *How does the host society assess the demographic situation of migrants in Salzburg?*
2. *What attitudes against specific ethnic groups are demonstrated?*
3. *Which individual, structural or societal-based factors can serve as driving forces for perceiving an ethnic threat?*

The first two research questions are answered with a descriptive overview of the main results. Considering the third research question, multiple regressions, based on the stepwise procedure, were run to identify influence factors which lead to open vs. critical attitudes towards immigrants.

4.2. Study procedures

Between April and June 2009, 253 respondents of the autochthonous population in Salzburg (without migration background) were interviewed. The study was based on a quota sample, 30 students of the sociological department at the University of Salzburg acted as interviewers and fulfilled the quota based on sex, age, education and city districts. The sample may be considered to be largely coherent with the socio-demographic characteristics of the inhabitants of Salzburg. There is a slightly higher proportion of women in the sample (55,3%, compared to 52,45% in the city of Salzburg). Concerning the city district of the urban population, the sample is also highly equivalent. Concerning age

and education, the sample cannot be regarded as being representative because of a higher proportion of younger people (median age: 38, mode: 23 years) and a higher proportion of highly educated individuals. Also results concerning the election behaviour indicate a higher percentage of left and liberal voters in comparison to former Salzburg election results³.

5. Empirical results

5.1. Estimations of the locals regarding the demographic situation and structural integration of migrants

Asking the population about migration streams in general, at least one third of the sample interprets the number of foreigners (following the city statistics 31.000 persons) quite realistically (between 20.000 to 40.000 people). Half of the locals slightly (33,2%) or significantly underestimate the number of migrants (19,8% think that there are less than 10.000 foreigners). Only a small proportion overestimates the migration stream, and only 7% presume exorbitantly high rates of immigrants. Belonging to the high social stratum (particularly higher education and income) leads to an underestimation of the proportion of foreigners. Only 20% with a high social status estimate the population of foreigners correctly, while 35% of the locals with a lower status gave the right answer (Figure 2).

Another question deals with the occurrence of specific ethnic groups in Salzburg. The majority thinks that Turks are the main ethnic group, but in reality they occupy the third position. The leading position of German migrants is only known by 15%

³ So results referring to the whole sample should be treated with caution because they do not really demonstrate an image of the Salzburg population. By contrast, results based on influential factors on attitudes towards migrants can be seen as valid, because the group sizes (of different age and education groups) are high enough to analyze socio-demographic and structural differences between the participants.

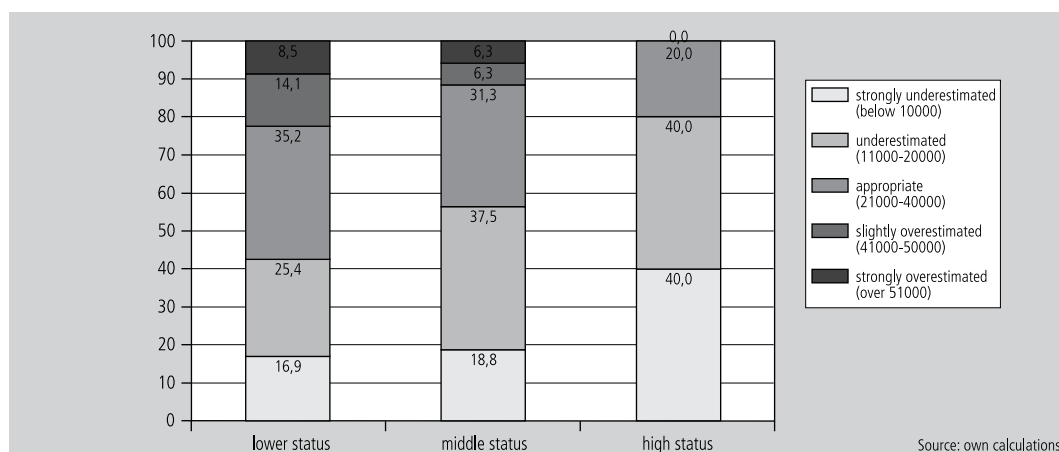


Figure 2 | Estimations on the proportion of foreigners depending on status.

of the participants. People from the Balkan states, which form altogether the majority of foreigners, are only named by 10% of the population.

Analysing the assessment regarding the life situation of migrants, the native population in general perceives migrants at the lower bottom of the social hierarchy. Three fourths of the respondents are of the opinion that migrants are confronted with low income, two-thirds admit that they have to grapple with disadvantages and low respect for their religion, and over 60% of the population know about their underprivileged housing situation. Three thirds of the population is of the opinion that migrants are only lowly educated and that they often get jobs which are not adequate to their qualifications. The population emphasizes also reasons for this underprivileged job situation, namely language barriers (70,9%), the lack of approval of their

qualifications (56,7%), the positive discrimination of locals (49,3%) and the lacking possibilities to find adequate jobs (34,3%).

5.2. Attitudes towards specific ethnic groups

The attitudes towards specific ethnic groups, summarized in Table 3, demonstrate the socio-cultural climate towards migrant groups in Salzburg.

In general, the local population makes a rather positive judgment on migrants with a low cultural distance, mainly towards Western Europeans (more than 90% adopt a positive view), as well as towards migrants from Ex-Yugoslavia (56% positive judgments) and Eastern Europe (55%). Also towards Asian migrants a positive attitude is shown, they occupy the second position, immediately after West-

Table 3 | Attitudes from the host society towards the main ethnic groups in Salzburg

Aspects	Western Europe	Asia	Balkan states	Eastern Europe	Africa	Arabian states	Turkey
Wish to stay (% forever)	8,8%	26,9%	40,2%	17,1%	51,8%	34,8%	52,3%
Sense of belonging to Salzburg (% rather high, high)	36,2%	22,1%	22,1%	24,6%	24,4%	12,1%	8,9%
German language skills (% good)	72,6%	16,0%	24,8%	43,0%	6,3%	7,1%	11,7%
Not exceeding compulsory education	6,4%	45,6%	61,7%	41,6%	88,8%	67,8%	78,0%
Quality of contact (% positive)	64,4%	43,3%	47,7%	37,5%	29,2%	17,3%	26,3%
General attitude (% positive)	91,2%	67,7%	56,1%	55,4%	45,3%	39,4%	33,1%

Source: own construction.

ern Europeans. Towards refugees (particularly from Africa and Arabic countries) and towards migrants from Turkey, a completely different image appears. Only one third of the population shows a positive opinion towards Turks. This ranking persists also in other aspects. The quality of contacts is interpreted positively with respect to Western Europeans and migrants from the Balkan region, while again negative contacts to Arabs and Turks are reported. The stereotype that Arabian and Turkish migrants show no motivation to develop a sense of belonging or to learn the German language is widely present in the host society. African migrants are graded at the lower bottom of society. They are characterized as having low education and lacking language skills. The majority of the locals believe that only Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans and Asian migrants are capable of achieving higher education.

5.3. Factors influencing positive attitudes towards migrants

Figure 3 shows the results regarding general attitudes towards migrants in Salzburg. This index variable which represents an open vs. hostile attitude towards migrants (Cronbach alpha = 0,88) is based on eight indicators which give an overview of diverse attitudes towards immigrants.

The figure clearly indicates that the locals express an almost consistent claim for an adaptation of lifestyle. In addition, the majority of the population thinks that the crime rate increases due to immigrants. Regarding the other indicators, a heterogeneous view of the society appears which represents polarizing attitudes. The local population is not sure if immigrants undermine or enrich the local culture or if they strengthen or weaken the local economy. The majority of the population is sceptical regarding increased insecurity due to the presence of migrants, and they doubt that migrants take jobs away from the local population.

Table 4 demonstrates the main results of the multiple regression analysis about predictors on xenophobic attitudes. Several multiple regressions (stepwise procedure) were run separately, based on the factors belonging to a specific level. This way it is possible to explore the effect sizes of every level (structural, personal and societal predictors)⁴. Concerning the demographic and structural levels, only weak influences can be reported. A higher social status (mainly education) leads to an open attitude towards migrants, while Catholic affiliation causes a negative effect. Men show a marginal higher level of xenophobia compared to women.

⁴ Only significant influence factors were reported in the table.

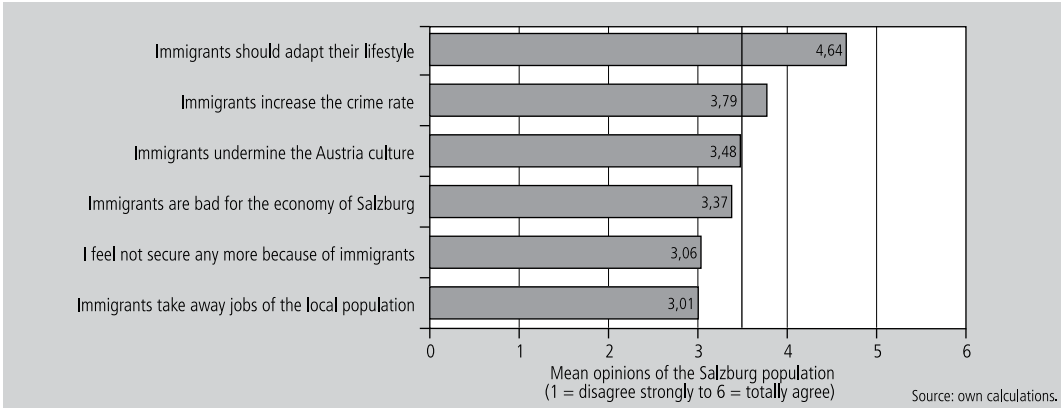


Figure 3 | Attitudes of the host society towards immigrants.

Table 4 | Explanations for open vs. hostile attitudes towards migrants

Sociodemographic-structural level	Beta	Individual sphere and societal perceptions	Beta	Adj. r² 1	Adj. r² 2	Attitudes towards migrants
Demographic – structural sphere: Social status (education, job position, income) Religious affiliation (roman catholic) Sex (female)	-0,278 0,152 -0,141			10,6%		Open attitude towards migrants vs. xenophobic attitude
		Individual Sphere: Anti-egalitarianism Konservatism Social engagement Authoritarianism Power orientation (SDO)	0,373 0,303 -0,181 0,176 0,123		58,8%	
		Societal perceptions: Voting for right-wing parties Positive effects of European Union for Europe Social trust (cohesion) Negative effects of EU-policy for Austria	0,310 -0,303 -0,233 0,160		48,2%	

Source: own calculations.

Particularly, individual and societal based attitudes and perceptions exert a high influence on the view of foreigners. On the individual level, the classical predictors of the psychological research on prejudice are replicated. A conservative value orientation, as well as anti-egalitarian, views significantly influence a hostile view on migrants. In addition, also power orientation and authoritarian tendencies strengthen the hostility towards foreigners. Higher social commitment leads to a decrease in xenophobia. Altogether, a remarkable effect size of all these individual factors can be reported (58,8%).

Besides those widely documented influential factors on the individual level, a new approach, adding societal factors to a higher weight to the explanation of prejudice, was adopted. Also at this level, remarkable effects on attitudes towards migrants can be reported, whereas causality is not easy to define. A strong interaction has to be assumed between the preference for right-wing parties, connected with a critical attitude towards the European Union and xenophobic tendencies. In addition, perceptions of

lacking cohesion in society which are demonstrated by social distrust can be seen as an important explanation for hostile attitudes.

In total, society-based predictors are similarly relevant in comparison to individual dispositions. With regard to perceptions of societal transformations, social cohesion (social trust), election behaviour, as well as critical attitudes towards the European Union account for a considerable amount of variance (48,2%).

6. Summary of the results and implications for tourism

In this article, an empirical study about attitudes towards migrants in the Austrian city Salzburg was conducted. Till now, Austria has failed to define itself as immigration country, although statistical data argue for that⁵. A sophisticated study on perceptions and attitudes towards migrants tried to find explanations for critical attitudes towards immigrants. Psychological approaches of the research on prejudice (e.g. value orientations, authoritarianism and anti-egalitarianism) were integrated as

⁵ Measuring the proportion of foreign citizens, Austria is on the fourth position in Europe, coming after Luxembourg (38,6%), Latvia (22,2%) and Estonia (20,0%) (see Lavenex, 2009).

individual factors and sociological approaches (e.g. deprivation, perception of societal crises states) were defined as societal explanations of negative perceptions towards ethnic minorities.

In general, the view of the host society is full of stereotypes of the immigrant at the lower bottom of the social stratum but in consideration with official statistics, the estimations are quite realistic. Latest data show that highly qualified migrants are a minority in Austria and that a successful carrier of migrants from Turkey and from ex-Yugoslavia has to be seen as exception (see Statistic Austria, 2009).

Regarding intercultural relations, the local population of Salzburg demonstrates a high degree of hostility, particularly against specific ethnic groups. While the impressions of Western Europeans, Asian immigrants and also Eastern and South Eastern immigrants from Balkan states are widely positive, critical attitudes appear against Africans (assumed at the lower bottom of society) and against Muslims (assuming a lack of integration).

In general, it turns out that there is a uniform demand for assimilation and prejudices (especially concerning criminality) are widespread. The clear demand for assimilation is based on impressions, that migrants show no motivation for cultural adaptation. Insofar ethnic prejudice is rooted in diffuse fears of foreign influences, which are seen as incompatible with the Western world.

The high amount of xenophobia can be explained with remarkable effect sizes with individually and societal based predictors. Hostility towards migrants is based on low education and social status (on the structural level), conservatism and power orientations, anti-egalitarianism and authoritarianism (on the individual level) and on a preference for right-wing populism, EU-scepticism and a lack of social trust (on the societal level).

The study shows that, even a city which is familiar with a lot of different cultures due to a high demand by worldwide tourism, is not free of ethnic prejudices, especially towards groups with a higher degree of cultural distance to the local population (e.g. Muslims).

But how can these results be transferred to tourism, and what are the further challenges for intercultural host-guest relations in Austria? The inhabitants of Salzburg, which is one of the world-wide leading tourist places, have long-lasting experience with guests from several different cultures and regions, thus in contrast to migrants they may demonstrate rather open attitudes towards international tourists. This assumption is based on the contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998) coming from the Social Psychology of Intergroup conflict. For tourism, the relevant literature (e.g. Pizam *et al.*, 2000) reveals that intercultural contacts between tourists and the host society may lead to positive relations if certain conditions are met. Amir (1969) already stated that an equal status between interacting members, intergroup cooperation in the pursuit of common goals, close contacts among people, a social climate approving intergroup contact and initial attitudes that are not extremely negative may induce positive intercultural relations. Thus, these findings of contact theory may explain the functioning of host-guest relations in Austria, as well as negative attitudes towards immigrants because those certain conditions seem to be met regarding tourism, and they seem to be lacking concerning ethnic minorities.

Nevertheless, tourists from specific countries with completely different cultural backgrounds may find themselves in a difficult situation because of a lack of intercultural understanding. According to the analysis of the results concerning attitudes towards specific ethnic groups, hospitality towards travellers from Western and European countries, as well as Asian countries is not challenged by ethnic prejudices. But if destinations break into new markets (e.g. tourists from Russia, Arabic countries), it seems to be necessary to integrate the locals in terms of destination management and to transfer the benefits of the emergence of new markets to the public to establish common goals and to provide a social climate approving intergroup contact. These destination strategies may avoid prejudice and conflicts and ensure a better intercultural understanding.

The living conditions of ethnic minorities working in the tourism business are another potential future challenge for the tourism business, because there is a tendency towards discrimination, especially towards Muslim groups. As Murphy (1985: 133) argues, "if tourism is to merit its pseudonym of being the "hospitality industry", it must look beyond its own doors (...)". Regarding ethnic relations, immigrants working in the services sector often find themselves at the lower bottom of the social stratum in society. Here it seems to be necessary to have a closer look at the explanation factors of xenophobia to improve intercultural relations. A clarification of the positive aspects of migration has to be transferred to less educated people and unprivileged social groups, because they are mainly competing with migrants on the labour market. Constructive political solutions should focus on a progressive, egalitarian and positive handling of reality to strengthen the view of Austria as a transnational and globally connected country and to combat defensive solutions creating borders between in- and out-groups.

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