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New Minorities and Tourism

Harald Pechlaner, Timothy J. Lee, Giulia Dal Bò (eds.)

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Proceedings of the International Scientific Workshop
on New Minorities and Tourism

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Foreword

The challenges of globalisation, human mobility, global migration, minorities, and ethnic societies have increased significantly in the 21st century. How do these trends influence the tourism and hospitality industries? This question is one of the most commonly examined in tourism and hospitality studies. This book presents the industry's understanding of these trends with a range of examples in relation to ethnic groups and minority issues from several countries. It introduces and discusses the term "new minorities" since it differs from the social/anthropological term "minorities". The book argues there is huge potential for further research of minorities and underlines how these influence to a great extent destination image, human resources management, management, and marketing opportunities in the tourism industry.

The book first introduces the basic concept of "new minorities" with the theoretical background presented by Roberta Medda-Windischer. She introduces the historical and social background of minorities and how "new minorities" is different from the conventional concept of "minorities" with particular focus on the economic perspective. The book continues with Masood Gheasi and Peter Nijkamp who focus on the close and complex relationship between immigration, international tourism, and international trade, particularly between the United Kingdom and other British Commonwealth countries.

Part I of the book develops with the next chapters: Ramona Lenz discusses Albanian workers in the Greek tourism industry. She expresses concern related to the conflict-laden relationship between Albanian staff, Greek local entrepreneurs and tourists. Hanna Janta explores the experience of Polish migrant workers in the hospitality sector across the UK. Her chapter contributes to a better understanding of the hospitality labour market and adds to the emerging literature on cultural ethnic diversity in the hospitality and tourism sector.

Part II is composed of two chapters: Werner Kreisel and Tobias Reeh introduce interesting issues about the travel behaviour of people with Turkish background in Germany. Aurea Rodrigues, Elisabeth Kastenholz, and Duarte Morais present a chapter on the development of a nostalgia scale for tourism. The scale can be valuable in the research on motivation related to nostalgia in the context of analysing tourism behaviour of migrant groups, and as an important motivational dimension of heritage tourism. The final section, Part III, also has two chapters. Francesca Gallina discusses the

linguistic landscape and the new minority languages of signs, advertising, menus, etc., which express the power of an ethnic community through being visible by the use of their own language. This reflects the need migrant individuals and migrant groups have for maintaining identity. Wolfgang Aschauer's chapter shows that even a city which is accustomed to many cultures due its worldwide tourism popularity is not free of ethnic prejudices especially towards groups with a higher social distance to the local population.

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Introduction

Definition and economic importance

The rationale for the protection of New Minorities vs Migrants: Some considerations from an economic perspective

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This text is an extended version of the article "Changing paradigms in the vernacular: from "migrants" to "new minorities"" by the same author published in Tourism Review (2012), Vol. 67(3), pp. 4-6. The article "The rationale for the protection of New Minorities vs Migrants: Some considerations from an economic perspective" is republished with Emerald's permission.

1. Introduction

Questions concerning how to maintain and strengthen the bonds of community in ethnically diverse societies are among the most salient and vexing on the political agenda of many societies. The growing diversity of national communities has generated pressures for the construction of new and more defensible forms of accommodating diversity and social cohesion. All policies that seek to reconcile social cohesion, unity and diversity are confronted with a veritable mine-field of dilemmas. Whatever policy options, or mixes of policy options, one wants to choose, one has to face hard trade-offs and serious policy-problems that have been addressed, though in different ways, by moral and political philosophers, political theorists, social scientists, lawyers and by politicians and civil servants.

Considering that the principal cause of the emergence of minorities in the world today is due to migration, the present paper contends that it is possible to address these issues by bridging two fields of research: minorities and migration. Studying the interaction and complementarities between "old" and "new" minority groups is a rather new task because so far these topics have been studied in isolation from each other.

The present work addresses, in particular, the question to what extend it is conceptually meaningful and beneficial to the integration of new minorities extending the scope of application of minority rights instruments, such as the CoE *Framework Convention on National Minorities* (hereinafter referred to as "the Framework Convention" or "FCNM")[1] or the UN *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic Religious and Linguistic Minorities* (hereinafter referred to as "Declaration on Minorities")[2] to new groups stemming from migration, though these instruments have been traditionally applied to old minority groups. This is indeed an important task for future research in Europe where many states have established systems of "old" minority rights, but have not yet developed sound policies for the integration of new minority groups originating from migration. The present work intends thus to address a conceptual, definitional issue that has however important practical implications on decision-making processes.

2. Old and New Minorities: Still a Valid Dichotomy?

The terms *historical, traditional, autochthonous minorities* – the "*old minorities*"- refer to communities whose members have a distinct language and/or culture or religion compared to the rest of the population. Very often, they became minorities as a consequence of a re-drawing of international borders and their settlement area changing from the sovereignty of one country to another; or they are ethnic groups which, for various reasons, did not achieve statehood of their own and instead form part of a larger country or several countries.[3]

1 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, adopted on 1 February 1995, entered into force on 1 February 1998, ETS No. 157.

2 Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, adopted by General Assembly Resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992.

3 It has to be noted that there is a subtle continuum between minority groups and indigenous peoples. Especially in view of the complexity of the concept of ethnic minorities, it must be agreed that indigenous peoples constitute at the least a special type of ethnic minority. Without entering into details in this controversial issue, it has to be admitted that the debate about the difference between indigenous peoples and minorities is indeed complex. It is not easy to distinguish between a group that calls itself an "indigenous people" and a group or minority that recognizes itself as being native to a given territory and that invokes that characteristic in order to obtain its rights. Doubtless, the existence of two working groups in the United Nations, the Working Group on Minorities – now Forum on Minority Issues – and the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, and the possible strengthening of both, may resolve the question in terms of formal policy. Clearly, it is extremely difficult to define precise limits in a situation marked by the interplay of relations that have been built up over time.

The *new minority groups stemming from migration* – the "*new minorities*"- refers to groups formed by individuals and families, who have left their original homeland and emigrate to another country generally for economic and, sometimes, also for political reasons. They consist, thus, of migrants and refugees and their descendants who are living, on a more than merely transitional basis, in another country than that of their origin.[4] The term "new minorities" is thus broader than the term "migrants" as it encompasses not only the first generation of migrants, but also their descendants, second and third generations, who are individuals with a migration background often born in the country of "immigration" and who cannot objectively and subjectively be subsumed under the category of "migrants". The term "new minorities" reflects thus more correctly the actual situation of most countries of migration – even those with relatively new flows of migration such as Italy – in which most individuals with a migration background have never been "migrants" from a technical viewpoint as they belong to the second or third generation of the original, real migrants.

Moreover, the term "new minorities" allows underpinning the diversity dimension of the individuals concerned as well as the individual and collective related rights, whereas the term "migrants" does not feature them as relevant. In fact, most international instruments for the protection of migrants, such as the United Nation's 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrants Workers and Members of Their Families,[5] the Council of Europe's 1977 Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers[6] or the recent EU Directive on the status of third-country national who are long-term residents,[7] contain only a vague reference to the protection and promotion of migrants"identities, or even a potential conflicting requirement of "integration", whilst the notion of group rights is completely absent.[8]

4 An example of the difference between new and historical minorities can be observed, in Italy, within the Albanian community: the Albanian immigrants arrived in the 1990s and the Albanian minority (Arbëreshe) settled since the last five centuries in the south of Italy; or, in the U.S., within the Latinos: the Spanish-speaking immigrants recently arrived from Latin America and the Spanish-speaking minorities – Puerto Ricans and Chicanos.

5 UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrants Workers and Members of Their Families, adopted by General Assembly Resolution 45/158, entered into force on 1 July 2003.

6 CoE Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers, adopted on 24 November 1977, entered into force on 1 May 1983, ETS No. 093.

7 EU Directive concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents, OJC 109, 23 January 2004.

8 The UN Migrant Workers Convention is an exception as its Art. 31 provides: "States shall ensure respect for the cultural identity of migrant workers and members of their families and shall not prevent them from maintaining their cultural links with their State of origin (1). States Parties may take appropriate measures to assist and encourage efforts in this respect (2)." However, the UN Migrant Workers Convention has been so far ratified only by countries of emigration. Article 12(f) of

For instance, the recent EU Directive on the status of third-country national who are long-term residents (Art. 5(2) and Art. 15(3)) as well as the CoE Migrant Workers Convention (Art. 14) emphasise the *integration conditions in the receiving countries* including linguistic training on the language of the host country rather than the identity and cultural rights of migrants. Moreover, emphasis on the teaching of the migrant workers" mother tongue for their children is placed by the CoE Migrant Workers Convention (Art. 15) and by the UN Migrant Workers Convention (Art. 45), but the aim of these provisions is, as a matter of fact, the return of these children to the country of origin of their parents.

In other terms, most instruments focusing on migrants" rights deal mainly with migrants as "labour workers" and rather scarcely from the perspective of their identity and cultural rights. Precisely these aspects could be addressed by extending the scope of application of minority rights instruments such as the CoE Framework Convention on National Minorities or the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic Religious and Linguistic Minorities. However, these instruments were conceived and traditionally applied to "old" minority groups and thus, a number of states have expressed reservations towards the extension of these instruments to other, new groups. [9]

In this regard, it is important to note that some countries use regularly the term "minorities" to refer to immigrants living on their territories. For instance, in the United Kingdom the term "ethnic minorities" is used in preference to "migrants". This terminological preference reflects a policy of regarding legally resident migrants (particularly those who were born in the country concerned) as a permanently established part of the population. The term "migrants" is avoided because it not only implies that they moved to the country but also because, as said earlier, it is simply incorrect to describe persons born in the country of migrant parents as "migrants" (Murray, 1997). Use of the

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the ILO Convention No. 143 ´Concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers', entered into force on 9 December 1978, only concedes that "Members States should take *all necessary steps to assist and encourage* the efforts of migrant workers to preserve their national and ethnic identity and their cultural ties with their country of origin, including the possibility for children to be given some knowledge of their mother tongue." (Emphasis added). Finally, the 1978 UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on 27 November 1978, proclaims the right to be different, and thus, in developing policies for the integration of migrants, host states should guarantee the preservation of migrants' cultural identity as a pledge of their right to be different, although subject to the legislation of the host countries (Art. 1, para 2). The UNESCO Declaration is however not a legally binding instrument.

9 See, among others, FCNM, List of Declarations, Status as of 30 June 2008, Declaration by Germany, dated 11 May 1995, and renewed on 10 September 1997, and Declaration by Estonia dated 6 January 1997, at <http://conventions.coe.int>.

term "ethnic minority" in such contexts however in no way necessarily implies the existence of any legal minority status. Its significance is rather administrative in that it may qualify them or their associations for various grants and make them potential beneficiaries of equal opportunities policies, but it does not necessarily entail other rights included in specific instruments on minority rights.

A crucial point in discussing issues related to "old" and "new" minorities is that claims of minorities – migrants and historical minorities alike – are often perceived as a challenge and antagonistic to the traditional model of homogeneous 'nation-states' because both groups seek to increase within this model opportunities to express their identities and diversities at individual and group level. Moreover, historical minorities and migrants are often perceived as *foreigners* to the community of shared loyalty towards the state and shared rights guaranteed by that state. Members of historical minorities and migrants are seen as loyal to their kin-state or to the state whose citizens they are and to whose sovereign they belong, as long as they are not absorbed into the national body through assimilation or naturalization.

Historically, new minorities stemming from migration have reacted very differently to majority, dominant societies than historical minorities (Walzer, 1995). Unlike historical minorities whose cultural traditions may pre-date the establishment of the state of which its members now find themselves citizens, generally, few migrant groups object to the requirement that they must learn the official language of the host state as a condition of citizenship, or that their children must learn the official language in school. Migrants usually accept that their life-chances and those of their children depend largely on the participation in mainstream institutions operating in the majority language (Kymlicka, 2001).

With regard to new minorities, but also to certain extent the traditional minorities especially in case of mixed marriages, the problems of integration of the second and third generations can be quite acute. Children of second and third generations are in fact subjected to the decisions taken by their parents and their living between two cultures and languages can be perceived either as an enriching experience or, often, as an excessive burden. This is due to the fact that often the second and third generations of migrants' descendants have less cultural distance from the host society than their parents, but they have not reached a satisfactory degree of integration from a socio-economic viewpoint.

While it is acknowledged that there are exceptions, it can be said that the primary demands insisted on by new minorities are thus mainly directed towards improving their integration in the host communities. New minorities generally seek to reform

main public institutions in the host countries in order to provide greater recognition of their identities, and greater accommodation of their practices, so as to facilitate their participation in these institutions. They may want schools to provide more information about the immigrant experience; work- places to accommodate their religious holidays or traditional dress; government agencies to provide health care and welfare benefits in a way that are culturally sensitive; and so on (Kymlicka, 2001).

On the contrary, historical minorities generally resist assimilation more strenuously, despite economic incentives and political pressures to do so, and prefer instead to seek official recognition for separate and autonomous use of their language and enjoyment of their culture.[10] Hence, the claims of historical minorities concern not only the equal treatment of their members and preservation and development of their identity within the dominant society, but also those aiming at guaranteeing the effective participation in public life for their members through measures that range from territorial or non-territorial forms of autonomy to secession.[11]

The differences between minority and majority groups, old and new alike, may be profound or may be difficult to discern. However, what distinguishes all minority groups is that they manifest, albeit implicitly, a desire to maintain a collective identity which differs from a dominant culture. Culture in this context is not synonymous with particular practices, customs or manners of dress. It is a sense of communal self-identity that pervades almost every aspect of life, including work and economic activity. It is the "traditions of everyday life" (Wheatley, 2003).

The main assumption of this paper is that minority groups, regardless of being old or new minorities, have some basic common claims and that, as a result, a general definition of minorities, encompassing historical minorities and new minority groups stemming from migration, can be formulated (Capotorti, 1977). On the basis of a combination of objective and subjective elements – i. e. ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic characteristics, residence or legal abode, numerical minority, non-dominant position and a sense of solidarity or will to survive – a general definition of minorities,

10 See, among others, Article 5 (2) of the CoE Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (hereinafter "FCNM") that protects persons belonging to national minorities from assimilation against their will. It does not prohibit voluntary assimilation and it does not preclude member states from taking measures in pursuance of their general integration policy.

11 In general terms, territorial autonomy involves the granting of separate powers of internal administration, to whatever degree, to such entities possessing some ethnic or cultural distinctiveness without those areas being detached from the state. The creation of new political units which enable members of historical minorities to exercise self-governing powers over public institutions are variously referred to as multinational federations, quasi-federal autonomy, or extensive self-government regimes.

including "old" and "new" minorities, can be formulated as follows : a minority is any group of persons, (i) present within the territory of a sovereign state on a temporary or permanent basis, (ii) smaller in number than the rest of the population of that state or of a region of that state, (iii) whose members share common characteristics of an ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic nature that distinguish them from the rest of the population and (iv) manifest, even only implicitly, the desire to be treated as a distinct group (CoE Framework Convention on National Minorities, para. 66, emphasis added).

In this definition the element of *citizenship*, which is usually required by states in order to limit the personal scope of application of most international instruments on minorities, is replaced by the element of their *presence* on the territory of a state.[12] This general definition would the basis for advocating the extension of the scope of application of international instruments pertaining to minorities, in particular the CoE Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities as to include new minority groups originating from migration. This extension would reverse the fact that most international instruments on migrants' rights contain only vague and weak references, as seen earlier, to the protection of migrants" identity and diversity. But the protection of the identity of minorities, and in particular of new minorities, is one of the bases of a veritable process of integration in which minority groups can develop a genuine sense of loyalty and common belonging with the rest of the population without being threatened of being forcibly assimilated in the mainstream society, which as a result can engender resistance and alienation.

3. A Common but Differentiated System of Protection

A general common definition of minorities is based on the conviction that in spite of their differences, old and new minorities share some common characteristics and thus voice similar claims, namely the *right to existence*, the *right to equal treatment and non-discrimination*, the *right to identity and diversity*, and the *right to the effective participation in cultural, social and economic life and in public affairs*. While there are differences between groups these clearly relate only to certain rights in the international catalogue. This is not a matter of interpretation. It is clearly expressed in the international instruments.

For instance, only three articles of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities pertaining to the use of the minority language in public adminis-

12 This is the approach undertaken by the UN Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 23, *The rights of minorities* (Art. 27), CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.5, 8 April 1994, paras.5.1-5.2.

tration and on public signs and also in relation to education in the mother tongue, condition their entitlements on "traditional" ties, which, according to the Explanatory Report of the Framework Convention, are not necessarily only those of historical minorities. In this regard, the Explanatory Report states, rather ambiguously, that the term "inhabited … traditionally" – as referred to by the three articles of the FCNM previously mentioned (Artt. 10 (2), 11 (3), and 14 (2)) – "does not refer to historical minorities, but only to those still living in the same geographical area."[13] All other entitlements included in the Framework Convention relate to *all individuals* who may be in the position of a minority, thus old and new minorities alike, groups officially recognised as national minorities and those not recognised, individuals with or without the citizenship of the country in which they live.

Obviously, when reference is made to universal human rights or some basic norms of minority protection there is no need to distinguish between persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic groups made up of recent immigrants, or those living in a given territory from "immemorial" time. Other claims, such as the claim to use a minority language in relations with the authorities or the claim to street names in the minority language are more specific and need to be differentiated.

In these contexts, the form of settlement in which the minority group live is also relevant: in the case of historical minorities living compactly, forms of territorial autonomy can be the best solution to be negotiated, whereas, where minorities live dispersed among the majority, not forming a majority in any substantial area, other forms of institutionalisation of these rights are required, which may well include non-territorial, functional variants of autonomy. Obviously, effective participation in public life includes not only participation in political life and how an adequate representation should be devised, but also participation in cultural, social and economic life.

The conviction that minority groups, regardless of being old or new minorities, have some basic common claims and can be subsumed under a common definition, does not mean that all minority groups have all the same rights and legitimate claims: some have only minimum rights, while others have or should be granted more substantial rights; some can legitimately put forward certain claims – not enforceable rights – that have to be negotiated with the majority, while others not (Medda-Windischer, 2009). For instance, the members of any minority have the right to use their own language, in private and public, with anyone who is prepared to communicate with them in that language; but not all minorities, or not all their members, have the legiti-

13 Explanatory Report of the CoE Framework Convention on National Minorities (para. 66), at <http://conventions.coe.int>.

mate claim to receive state-funded education in their own language, or to use their own language in communicating with public officials.

In this context the difference is not (only) based on the fact that a given group belongs to the "old" or "new" minority category: other factors are relevant and apply indistinctively to old and new minorities alike such as socio-economic, political and historical factors, legacy of past colonisation or forms of discrimination, but also the fact that members of a minority live compactly together in a part of the state territory or are dispersed or live in scattered clusters, or the fact that members of a community having distinctive characteristics have long been established on the territory, while others have only recently arrived. Minority groups, old and new minority groups, are not a sort of indistinctive monoliths but are composed of groups very different from each other. The catalogue of minority rights has been so far implemented to historical minorities without an abstract differentiation among various minority groups, but by taking into account other more pragmatic factors, as those mentioned above. The same approach should be applied when extending minority protection to new minority groups stemming from migration. Asbjørn Eide, former Chairman of the UN Working Groups on Minority, best summarised this point by saying: "The scope of rights is contextual" (Eide, 1993).

4. Conclusion

Many, especially among governments' representatives, worry that by extending the definition and protection of minority rights to new minorities, they will claim the recognition of rights and powers similar to those granted to traditional minorities thereby threatening unity and diluting the protection intended for old minority groups.

However, if it is true that in Western countries some new groups originating from migration are demanding certain group rights, it would be incorrect to interpret these demands for recognition of their identities as the expression of a desire, for instance, for self-government (Kymlicka and Opalski, 2001). New minorities are generally aware that if they want to access the opportunities made available by the host countries, then, they must do so within the economic and political institutions of these countries. For example, it is still the case that immigrants must learn the official language to gain citizenship, or to get government employment, or to gain professional accreditation. Active civic participation and effective integration amongst new minorities are

essential to the economic prospects of most of them, and indeed to their more general ability to participate in social and political life of the host country.[14]

Obviously, this leaves open the possibility that some leaders of ethnic groups hope that integration policies will provide a channel for obtaining separatist policy. But, as Kymlicka observes, this is a vain hope which massively underestimates the sort of support needed to create and sustain a separate societal culture: "[S]ustaining a certain culture is not a matter of having yearly ethnic festivals, or having a few classes taught in one's mother-tongue as a child. It is a matter of creating and sustaining a set of public institutions through the use of instruments that are similar to those used by the majority in their programme of nation-building, i. e. standardized public education, official languages, including language requirements government employment, etc." (Kymlicka, 1997). So far, there is no evidence from any of the major Western immigration countries that immigrants are seeking, and succeeding, to adopt a nationalist political agenda (Kymlicka, 1997). Indeed, when attempts have been made, these were rejected by national and international courts.[15]

Clearly, it must be recognised that any decision to bring minorities of immigrant origin within the scope of application of international and/or national instruments pertaining to minorities is bound to be political. But, if a country is serious about wanting to integrate new minorities, then that country should not oppose the extension of the scope of application of minority provisions to new minorities. As discussed earlier, this would not entail the extension of the full range of minority protection to all minority groups indistinctively and, moreover, it might be seen as a very appropriate political gesture, a way of underlining the importance of integration policy and of sending out a powerful message that populations of immigrant origin are now clearly seen to be an integral, though distinctive, part of the nation (Murray, 1997).

It has to be underlined that diversity is not only an aim for minorities: there is also evidence that generally economic benefits emerge from a certain level of heterogeneity within its population (Holzmann and Münz, 2004; EC, 2005; Malloy, 2005). A diverse population can comprise entrepreneurs and employees capable of bridging cultural barriers and dealing with particular markets abroad, in command of a large spectrum of languages, and able to add innovations and ideas from various cultural backgrounds.

14 See, among others, Communication from the Commission, *A Common Agenda for Integration. Framework for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals in the European Union*, 1 September 2005, COM(2005) 389 final.

15 See, for instance, ECtHR, *Kalifatstaat v. Germany*, Appl. No. 13828/4, decision on the admissibility of 11 December 2006, concerning the ban of an association whose aim was the restoration in Germany of the caliphate and the creation of an Islamic State founded on *sharia* law.

Although studies from the United States hint at possible drawbacks from diversity in terms of financing public goods (Alesina and Graeser, 2004; Birg, 2003; see Banting and Kymlicka, 2006, 2004; see Boeri *et al.*, 2002), the importance of ethnic and cultural heterogeneity for innovation and creativity should not be underestimated.

The importance of accommodating diversity is confirmed by a study commissioned by the European Commission according to which companies that implement diversity policies – that is policies that seek to encourage a mix of ethnicity, sexual orientations, religions, physical disabilities, ages and sexes within the workplace – can expect benefits in the short and long term, such as improved cash flow through resolving labour shortages, opening up new markets, reducing costs and improving performance in existing markets, as well as long term benefits, including building a differentiated reputation with key stakeholders and customers and improving the quality of human capital.[16] In particular, some 69 % of companies interviewed for the EU report said that diversity policies had enhanced their corporate reputation. And 62 % said that these policies had played a part in helping to attract and retain highly talented personnel. Just under 60 % said that diversity in action had improved motivation and efficiency (58 %), increased innovation (57 %), enhanced service levels and customer satisfaction (57 %), and helped overcome labour shortages (57 %).[17]

The motivation for introducing diversity policies is clear, according to the European Commission report. There have been major changes in product, labour and capital markets, meaning changes in the attitudes of customers, personnel and investors. In addition, government influence, in the form of legislation, and wider social values, in the form of citizens' expectations of companies, are also changing. Two major "internal" obstacles (i. e. within the company) that limit investment in diversity are: difficulties in changing the culture of a business and a lack of awareness of workforce diversity policies. "External" obstacles also remain including legal restrictions on holding and processing sensitive information on individuals and social groups in areas such as ethnic origin, religion and sexual orientation.

The report of the European Commission recognises that making the case for the positive impact of diversity for business is still in its early stages, due to the limited numbers of what the report calls "pioneering" companies that have taken up this practice. The measurement of the impact of diversity policies in the workplace is still not refined and definitions of 'a diverse workplace' remain difficult to pinpoint. None-

16 European Commission, *Employment and Social Affairs, Diversity in Business – The Costs and Benefits of Diversity*, 2003.

17 *Ibid.*

theless, the EU report states that there is already "an emerging business case for diversity."[18]

Although economic actors and decision-makers generally recognise the useful contribution to the labour force and the positive impact on the demographic structure of a steadily ageing population, the presence of large immigrant communities poses serious problems in the sphere of integration, respect for diversity, protection of individual and group rights, preservation of social cohesion and unity. Accommodating diversity while maintaining unity and social cohesion is, indeed, not without difficulties. It is based on a vision of society in which different communities should interact with each other in a spirit of equality and openness, creating a rich, plural and tolerant society. The process is thus burdensome for both parties. Minorities must learn to negotiate often in an unfamiliar or even hostile environment where their minority statuses make them vulnerable to marginalisation and segregation. The majority group, on the other hand, must cope with diversity in its schools, workplaces, housing, public spaces, and neighbourhoods and must display tolerance and broadness. The vision is not easy to realise and has its own problems. Some groups might not be open and experimental and others might jealously guard their inherited identities. At the heart of any successful policy lays, in the end, a sincere willingness on both sides – majority and minority – for continuous interaction, mutual adjustments and accommodation.

18 *Ibid.,* at 14.

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Migration, tourism and international trade

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1. Introduction

The world has witnessed a process of globalization in recent decades. The result of this process is a widening and deepening integration of countries, a stimulation of human mobility, and an intensification of people's movement in terms of travel and migration (Poot and Strutt, 2009). The partial elimination of visa requirements among many developed nations encouraged people to live and work wherever they want to. As a result, people have increasingly has moved to places where they could find better job opportunities and more favorable living conditions. Nearly four percent of the world's population nowadays live and work in a country they were not born (OECD, 2006). It is noteworthy that the growth in tourism was even stronger, with approx.700 million worldwide tourist trips in 2000 as compared to 25 million in 1950 (Fischer, 2007). In line with this, OECD figures indicate that the world's international trade and services have grown from less than 6 percent of world GDP in 1950 to 25 percent of world GDP in 2007 (Lewer and Van den Berg, 2009).

Immigration and tourism as a continuing permanent characteristic of human mobility are not stand-alone activities, but are after some time accompanied by related economic activities. In particular, the stock of immigrant and tourist flows is often assumed to impact on bilateral trade between the host country and the country of origin. Among the developed countries, the UK is one of the important destinations for inter-

national migration and tourist flows and we will take this country as our case study. In recent years, immigration in the UK has rapidly increased. According to the OECD Factbook (2009), foreign-born citizens as a percentage of the total population in the UK has increased from 8.2 percent in 2001 to 10.1 percent in 2006, giving the UK a net increase of 1.9 percent in a period of six years. On the other hand, we also observe an increase in the total export and import volumes of the UK. For example, total export and import volumes have significantly increased from 2001 to 2005. Table 1 shows the increase in immigration, tourism and bilateral trade for some of the countries concerned in our study.

Table 1: Changes in the UK's migrant stock, tourist flows, export and import, 2001-2006

Country	Tourism flows (000)		Immigrants' stock (000)		Total export ($ billions)		Total import ($ billions)	
	2001	2006	2001	2006	2001	2006	2001	2006
Australia	554	734	67	88	3.35	7.94	2.65	6.99
China	119	177	24	73	2.47	6.05	8.59	28.77
France	2374	2644	82	110	25.72	76.48	24.94	66.74
Germany	1892	2757	59	91	31.16	81.43	37.92	123.02
India	176	311	132	258	2.57	4.99	2.71	5.86
Poland	209	1269	34	209	1.87	3.82	1.72	4.99
United States	2983	2984	148	132	42.79	105.07	45.06	83.84

Source: Authors' elaboration based on ONS, IMF (direction of trade statistics) and OECD databases

As Table 1 shows, UK imports and exports have grown substantially over the period of 2001-2006 with the countries mentioned. Meanwhile, for some countries like India, China and Poland the stock of immigrant and tourist flows have increased significantly during the period concerned. The bilateral trade has also increased markedly between these countries. The increase in the stock of migrants and in the flow of tourists seems to have a close relationship with a rise in bilateral trade. This hypothesis will be tested in the present paper.

This paper is organized as follows. In the next section we present a literature review. Section 3 discusses the data and the methodology used in this paper. Section 4 presents empirical findings from our model experiments. And, finally, Section 5 contains the conclusions.

2. Literature Review

In order to clarify the relationship between migration, tourism and trade, we will address the relationship between immigration and bilateral trade, and tourism and bilateral trade in two separate subsections.

2.1 Immigration impacts on bilateral trade

Immigrants bring with them their own culture, traditions and language. They may also have a specific demand for the products of their countries of origin, and this can stimulate international trade between the host and home country. Furthermore, they also carry information (or have information networks) regarding trading contracts and the basic tools of trust for better trading. This reduces the transaction costs and may enhance and facilitate bilateral trade between the host country and the country of origin. Thus, it seems plausible that an increasing stock of immigrants may be accompanied by an increase in international trade.

Various studies have found a close relationship between immigration and international trade (Rauch and Trindade 2002). Gould (1994) analyzed the impact of immigration on trade between the US and 47 trading partners between 1970 and 1986. He observed that exports were influenced to a greater extent by immigration than by imports and that immigration affects trade in consumer goods rather than trade in production goods. Furthermore, he found that the immigrant link effect exhausts itself as the number of immigrant increases over time. According to Head and Ries (1998), immigrants are the bridge between their country of origin and the host country, and they conclude that immigration have a significant positive effect on exports and imports of the host country. Rauch (1999) explores the impact of geographical proximity, language and colonial ties. He finds that the above three characteristics are statistically significant in international trade, in particular for brand names. Girma and Yu (2000) who divide the stock of immigrants in the UK into Commonwealth and Non-Commonwealth areas, find that the stock of immigrants from Non-Commonwealth countries has a significantly more export-enhancing effect than the stock of immigrants from Commonwealth countries. This was in fact due to the fact that Non-Commonwealth immigrants had new market information. Mundra (2005) concludes from US data, that the effect of immigration on import is positive in both finished and intermediate goods, but that the effect of immigration on exports is only positive for fin-

ished goods. Finally, in a recent study, Lewer and Van den Berg (2009) find for OECD countries that, on average, all other things equal, a 10 percent increase in immigration from original country to the host country leads to an increase of 4.5 percent of the total trade volumes between these two countries.

2.2 International tourism impacts on bilateral trade

There is also a close relationship between international tourism and international trade. Tourists may demand certain types of products, which are imported from other countries. This may lead to an increase in import of commodities in the host country. On the other hand, if tourist purchases products that are produced locally, and this will increase the export and income of the host country. The figures in Section 1 show roughly the importance of international tourist inflows for bilateral trade in the United Kingdom. Moreover, empirical studies have also revealed the impact of international tourism on international trade. Gray (1970) showed that international travel is a component of international trade. He further investigated the impact of international travel on the economy. Reed (1994) shows that tourism has a positive and significant impact on agricultural and raw commodities. Kulendran and Wilson (2000) have tested empirically the relationship between total travel and real exports and total travel and real trade. They concluded that there tends to be a long-run relationship between international trade and international travel. Khan (2005) indicated that tourism might encourage international trade in the following ways: tourists buy foods, souvenirs, gasoline and so on in the host country, many of which have to be imported from other countries. Travel can also lead to increase international trade through business visitors starting up new ventures or government agents negotiating bilateral and multilateral trade agreements. In this case tourism encourages trade. Finally, Fischer (2007) indicates that goods imported from other countries are perceived ‘better by immigrants and tourists.

We will investigate now whether a higher stock of immigrants and a growing total number of tourist flows have a positive impact on bilateral trade with the UK. We will take into account the merchandise exports and imports, as well as tourism.

3. Methodology and Data

3.1 Model specification

The theory and econometric test in our paper regarding the relationship between migrations, tourist flows and bilateral trade are based on the well-known gravity model of trade. This model is commonly used in empirical trade research, and has the ability to explain the statistical patterns in international trade volumes (Law et al. 2009). Therefore, our work is also based on this commonly accepted framework. Following Gould (1994), we use the gravity model of trade extended with immigration and tourism variables in order to estimate the impact of the stock of immigrants and flows of tourists on bilateral trade. The gravity equations for export including the stock of immigrants and flow of tourists can be represented as:

$$\log(Y_{it}) = \lambda_0 + \sum_{t=1}^{6} \lambda_t Dt + \beta_1 \log(M_{it}) + \beta_2 \log(POP_{it}) + \beta_3 \log(GDP/capita_{it}) + \beta_4 \log(Tour_{it}) + \beta_5 \log(Dis_i) + \lambda_2 EU_i + \lambda_3 Lang_i + \mu_{it} \quad (1)$$

$$i= 1,...,23^{1} \; t=1,...,6$$

where

Y_{it} = export of goods from the UK to the home country i in time t, or import of goods from country i in time t to the UK,

M_{it} = stock of immigrants from country i at time t,

POP_{it} = population of country i at time t,

$GDP/capita_{it}$ = GDP per capita of country i at time t,

$Tour_{it}$ = total tourist flow from country i into the UK in time t,

Dis_i = distance between the UK and country i,

EU = dummy variable: 1 for an EU member state, and 0 otherwise,

Lang = dummy variable: 1 for English speaking nation, and 0 otherwise,

D_t = time dummy variable.

In the above model, i = 1,...,23, denotes the cross-section of countries considered, while t=1,...,6 stands for the relevant time period.

1 Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, the United States.

3.2 Data

The data we used for our study come from different sources and all data are in natural logarithm, apart from dummy variables. The stock of immigrants rather than the flow of migrants is used in our model. This variable allows us to test the impact of those people who have already immigrated to the host country rather than those who are immigrating. Thus, the larger the stock of immigrants from a particular country, the higher in the long run its effect on trade. The flow of tourists by nationality is used to capture the impact of tourism on trade. The IMF Direction of Trade Statistics was used to obtain bilateral trade data. The exports are valued "free on board" (f.o.b) and all imports "cost, insurance and freight" (c.i.f). We used the World Development Indicator from the World Bank to record GDP per capita at the current US dollar rate, and this variable captures the potential market size. Furthermore, we used distance data from Jon Haveman's webpage, which is based on the Great Circle distances between the capital cities. We used dummy variables, in particular for language and EU (European Union) membership, which takes the value of 1 for those countries, which are predominantly speaking English and or are a member of European Union, and 0 otherwise. We also added the time-dummy variables in order to capture the time-effect of main variables during the period concerned.

4. Empirical Results

We used an OLS regression to estimate model (1). The regression results in Table 2 for exports show that 92 percent of the variation in the dependent variable is explained by the corresponding regression. The result is slightly lower for imports (87 percent). The estimated results show that the GDP/capita is positively related to the dependent variables, while it is also significant at a one percent level in exports and imports, respectively. This means that a one percent increase in GDP/capita of an origin country leads to an increase in exports by 0.64 percent and an increase in imports by 0.70 percent. The GDP per capita coefficient shows that the United Kingdom trades more with larger economies. Concerning the variable of interest, "the stock of immigrant", it appears to be significant at a 5 percent level in export. In response to an assumed a five percent increase in the immigrants stock, the United Kingdom export to the typical home country is estimated to increase by 0.16 percent. This results confirms the proportional influence of immigrants on the host country's exports which was also re-

ported by Gould (1994), Girma and Yu (2000), and White and Tadesse (2007). However, according to our empirical results there is no clear relationship between immigration and imports, although the estimated coefficient is larger, but insignificant.

Tourist flows appears to be also positively related to the dependent variables (export and import), but this variable is only significant at a 5 percent level for the export. This indicates that a 5 percent increase in tourist inflows most likely will increase exports by 0.22 percent. This means that tourist inflows have an export enhancing effect, so that tourists prefer the United Kingdom's local production. The population variable is positively related to export and import, and it is significant at one percent in both dependent variables, respectively. This means that larger markets in terms of population have more trade with the United Kingdom.

The geographical distance between the United Kingdom and origin countries plays a significant role. Our empirical results show that geographical distance is significant at a 10 percent and negatively related to both export and import, respectively. This means that 10 percent increase in geographical distance between the United Kingdom and origin countries will decrease export from the United Kingdom to the origin countries by -0.21 percent and import from the origin countries to the United Kingdom by -0.27 percent. Moreover, if country (i) is a member of the European Union and speaks the same language (English), the United Kingdom's export to country (i) is higher. Language and membership of the European Union do not have an impact on the imports into the United Kingdom according to our empirical results.

5. Conclusion

In this paper we have analyzed the relationship between migration, tourism and bilateral trade by using panel data. The aim of this paper was to see whether immigration and tourism have an impact on the increase of bilateral trade to and from the UK. The results from the regression support the hypothesis that, as the stock of migrants and tourist inflow increases, they have a positive impact on exports. However, our results show that the stock of immigrants and an inflow of tourists do not have an impact on the import of commodities in the United Kingdom. Our results confirm the findings from previous studies[2], which have also shown that there is a close relationship between migration, tourism and bilateral trade.

2 Kindly refer to in our literature section.

In conclusion, migration, international tourism and international trade are closely interrelated phenomena. It is also evident from the literature that there is a clear positive correlation between migration, tourism and international trade. This may create substantial economic advantages for countries. Moreover, policymakers should keep in mind however, that immigration, tourist inflows and trade also influence each other, and that government policies can ensure favorable conditions for price competitiveness and travel costs to promote tourist arrivals and international trade.

Table 2: Bilateral trade flows between the UK and countries

Variable	Exports	Imports
Migrants	0.16 (0.089)**	0.21 (0.166)
Tourist inflow	0.22 (0.104)**	0.13 (0.107)
Population of country (i)	0.60 (0.098)*	0.59 (0.096)*
GDP/capita of country (i)	0.64 (0.104)*	0.70 (0.111)*
Distance	–0.21 (0.123)***	–0.27 (0.145)***
EU	1.10 (0.411)**	0.40 (0.481)
Language	0.67 (0.201)*	0.04 (0.230)
Y2002	0.04 (0.061)	0.01 (0.067)
Y2003	–0.60 (0.054)	–0.01 (0.070)
Y2004	–0.03 (0.059)	0.08 (0.069)
Y2005	–0.17 (0.064)**	–0.09 (0.111)
Y2006	0.50 (0.102)*	0.50 (0.114)*
Constant	–8.79 (1.119)*	–7.70 (1.010)*
Adjusted R2	0.92	0.87
Observations	125	125

Note: Robust standard errors are clustered by country and they are in the parentheses. * indicates significant at 1 percent, ** indicates significant at 5 percent, and *** indicates significant at 10 percent.

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Part I:

New Minorities as working force

Albanian workers in the Greek tourism industry

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In the last decades Greece has not only become a popular destination for tourists but also an immigration country attracting people from all over the world. In order to grasp the various ways in which tourism and migration overlap the author did ethnographic fieldwork in tourist spots in Greece and Cyprus.[1] In this article she concentrates on migrant workers in Crete, the largest Greek island in the Mediterranean Sea, where she conducted a series of interviews with customers, entrepreneurs and (migrant) workers in the tourist sector. Interview partners were not selected on the basis of their ethnic or national background, but according to their occupation and the legal conditions of their stay (and work) in Greece.[2] Corresponding to the fact that Albanians constitute the by far largest group of foreign nationals in the migrant workforce in Greece, most of the migrant workers who were interviewed came from Albania.

The first part of the article entails some general information about the tourism sector, minorities and migrant workers in Greece. In the second part empirical data collected during fieldwork in Crete will be presented with a focus on the attitude of employers and tourists towards foreign staff and on the experiences of Albanian migrant workers in the tourism industry.

1 Since the research was completed before 2009, the article does not include reflections on the dramatic effects of the recent economic crisis on the Greek majority as well as on minorities, migrants and tourism in Greece. The research findings are presented in detail in Lenz (2010a).

2 The dominant focus on "culture" and so-called "ethnic difference" has often resulted in the concealment of other factors such as social background, legal status or economic circumstances. Hence, the author agrees with Maria Todorova that "a diversifying of the research, reaching out from the exclusive realm of ethnic and national othering" and focusing on "aspects such as politics, class, professions, gender" is needed (cited in Trubeta 2003, 99).

1. Tourism, Minorities and Migration in Greece

The numbers of tourists in Greece has increased enormously in the second half of the 20th century. Whereas in 1950 only 30,000 tourists were counted (Reimelt 2004, 12), the number of foreign tourist arrivals reached 18.8 million in 2007 (NSSG 2010, 202). This development has, of course, impacts on the employment structure. More and more people work in the hotels and restaurants sector which has become one of the most important branches for employment. The expansion of the tertiary sector – not least because of the growth of tourism – has contributed to the increasing demand for a cheap and flexible workforce in recent decades (Kasimis 2005) which is met in a great measure by foreign staff.

With 56 per cent the Albanians constitute by far the largest group of immigrants in Greece. With one group of foreign nationals that contains more than half of all foreigners Greece is unique in the European Union. Also regarding their proportion of the migrant workforce on the Greek labour market, the Albanians are the quantitatively strongest group with at least 58 per cent. (Baldwin-Edwards 2004a, Table 2)

Most of the Albanians came in the years after the collapse of the communist regime in Albania in 1991. The Greek government reacted as though the immigration from Albanians was an entirely new phenomenon. Within a short time, the Immigration Act of 1929 was replaced by a new one, which aimed primarily at curbing migration. This restrictive migration policy was legitimated as fight against cross border criminality. Supported by the mass media the racist stereotype of the "criminal Albanian" who had to be fought against dominated public discourse on immigration (Triandafyllidou 2000, 195ff.; Baldwin-Edwards 2004b, 58f.). In the preamble of the new law it is said:

> „Suddenly, Greece was flooded with aliens, who, entering, staying and working illegally, create enormous social problems for the state, while they inevitably try to solve their own problems by engaging in criminality (drugs, robberies, thefts etc.)" (cited in Baldwin-Edwards 2004a, 3).

This formulation evokes the impression that Greece was entirely taken by surprise by a sudden immigration wave. Immigration, however, is not a new phenomenon in Greece. Especially the immigration from Albania to Greece (and vice versa) has a long tradition[3] which was only interrupted by the communist regime in Albania after

3 Also the negative representation of Albanians in the Greek media seems to have a long tradition. The parallels between the contemporary representation of Albanians as "criminals" in the Greek media and the identification of (Muslim) Albanians with "bandits" in the 19th century press are striking (Skoulidas 2002, 177).

World War II. Already for the 7th and 8th century there is evidence of Albanians in Greece (Botsi 2003, 32). From the Middle Ages onwards Albanians immigrated to Greece for various reasons and settled there. Historians distinguish between three different groups of Albanian or Albanian speaking minorities in Greece[4] (Clewing 2001): Between the 13th and 16th century immigrants from Albania followed the invitation of local Greek rulers and settled mainly in Southern Greece. Many of these former immigrants fought in the Greek War of Independence and contributed decisively to the constitution of Greece as a modern nation-state in the 19th century (Arabakke 2003, 44f.), which was a process of addition of various population groups in the growing territory (Marvakis 2002; Skuolidas 2002, 179). The approximately 150,000 to 200,000 Greek-Orthodox Arvanites (there are no exact numbers)[5] still living in Greece today are descendants of these Albanian immigrants. Because of their history, their confession and also the common Turkish enemy they do not consider themselves as minority but as integral part of the modern Greek nation state (Botsi 2003, 26). They are said to have dissociated from Albania and resent being called Albanians but self-identify strongly as Greeks (Baldwin-Edwards 2004b, 51f.).[6] A second group of Albanian speaking people lives in Thrace, at the border triangle of Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey, and a third one, the once half Muslim and half Orthodox Chams, in the region of Epirus, which borders on Albania (Clewing 2001; Kostopoulos 2003).

Taking into consideration the long-standing presence of Albanian and other minorities in Greece, the transformation of Greece from an emigration to an immigration country in the 1980s and '90s was nothing totally unprecedented. Jutta Lauth Bacas (2002, 197) puts it like that: „Greece has turned from an emigration into an immigration country with various newcomers adding to the existing multilingual and multicultural population." Officially, however, Greece does not see itself as a multicultural immigration country and minority issues only recently came to the fore. Greece does not only belong to those "Western countries that have left unresolved issues of traditional minorities within their borders" (Christopoulos/Tsitselikis 2003, 93; see also Arabakke 2003), but also concerning the official treatment of the migrating population who have arrived in the last decades and can be considered as "new minorities"[7] (ibid.) the state

4 It has to be stressed that only the West Thracian Muslims (Turks, Pomaks, Roma) enjoy official minority status in Greece (Trubeta/Voss 2003, 10).

5 For an analysis of the deficient statistical depiction of minorities in Greece see Kostopoulos (2003).

6 Concerning the attitude of Arvanites towards the Albanian immigrants of the 1990s see the sociolinguistic study of Botsi (2003).

7 For a discussion of the term "minority" with regard to the contemporary Greek society see Trubeta (2003).

adheres to a problematic policy. "[I]n order to manage the 'threatened' national homogeneity, the Greek state applied a hierarchical assessment of immigrants primarily on the basis of their 'origin'." (Trubeta 2003, 107) By way of issuing mostly temporary residence permits to immigrants of non-Greek origin[8] the idea can be maintained, that immigration is only a momentary phenomenon in Greece. Measures of integration do hardly exist or are not adequately implemented (Baldwin-Edwards 2004a, 10f.; Kasimis/Kassimi 2004; Gropas/Triandafyllidou 2008, 4; Parsanoglou/Tsiamoglou 2008, 97ff.). Only very slowly Greeks seem to realize that a large proportion of immigrants will not leave but stay in the country.

> „In summary, Greek policy on immigrants contains an exclusionary ideology as regards all others than ethnic Greeks. The various legalization initiatives have been implemented by untrained officials with an explicitly nationalistic and xenophobic mentality and, reportedly, in abusive circumstances." (Baldwin-Edwards 2004b, 58)

Although the social and legal integration of immigrants has so far been barely promoted, and even less their naturalization, they have become economically indispensable for Greece. There is a strong demand for cheap migrant workers in economically important, labour intensive sectors such as agriculture, construction or tourism. Usually they are illegally employed. Martin Baldwin-Edwards (2004a, 12) predicts that undocumented migration will be a continuing phenomenon in Greece:

> „Greece makes no attempt to minimise illegal migration through the formal recruitment of workers [...], and seems intent on delaying any implementation of the incipient EU permanent residence permits. In the European Union, it is Greece which will contribute to have massive numbers of illegal immigrants on its territory, apparently as a deliberate policy choice."

In addition to the "criminal Albanian" the stereotype of the "hard-working Albanian" has become common in Greece in between. It is, however, not accompanied by social recognition, but rather implies inferior labour and thus a lower social status. Particularly in the context of media reports about Albanians who transfer the money they have earned in Greece – in other words "Greek money" – to Albania this stereotype has a clearly negative connotation (Baldwin-Edwards 2004b, 59ff.). In concrete working relationships racism is expressed in various forms from open hostility to paternalistic

8 Concerning the privileged treatment of *homogeneis* (aliens of Greek descent) see e. g. Grandits (2002), Kretsi (2002), Christopoulos/Tsitselikis (2003).

attitudes. Many Greek employers would stress that the Albanians they have employed are "good boys" and hence exceptions from the mass of Albanians (see also Lauth Bacas 2002, 205f.). In order to be perceived as such a "good boy" many Albanians try to adjust as much as possible to the Greek society, for example by adopting Greek names and learning the Greek language (see also Grandits 2002, 206+215; Kretsi 2002; Baldwin-Edwards 2004b, 61). In the context of tourism, assimilation strategies like these get special significance, since they do not only correspond to the national ideology of a homogeneous Greek nation, but also to the "tourist gaze" (Urry 2002) that is basically interested in "authentic" Greek or Cretan culture.

2. Tourism and Migration in Crete

In Crete the tourism industry has grown in the last decades to a greater extent than in other regions of Greece and has become the most important industry of the island (Reimelt 2004, 22). The number of overnight stays of foreign visitors increased from 3,767 in 1954 (ibid., 26) to 12,58 million in 2001 (ibid., 17). It is estimated that currently approximately forty per cent of the Cretan population directly or indirectly work in the tourism sector (Andriotis 2005). Agriculture, however, is still an important economic factor in Crete (Meyer-Bauer 2003, 27f.). In both sectors – agriculture and tourism – the demand for workers who accept labour-intensive and poorly paid jobs is high and largely met by immigrants.

As service providers in the tourism industry migrant workers are neither "proper hosts" nor are they guests. They challenge the touristic product which – especially in Crete – is strongly connected with authenticity, tradition and typical Cretan hospitality.[9] Employers in the tourism industry employ them in great numbers, but often doubt their qualification and express an ambivalent if not hostile attitude towards them.

Employers

A Cretan hotel manager, who hardly found enough local personnel for the season, explained her reluctance to employ foreigners as follows:

„They are cheaper, but you can't have the same result as we are used to with Greek people. I prefer Greek people here, because you know them. They are from the same city. You can have them next year and the next year. These people, they start here, if they say, I find something better, they

9 Concerning the concept of hospitality with regard to migrant workers in the tourism industry see Lenz (2010b).

change, and the next year maybe they are in another place. So you can't trust them the same as you can trust local people."

The manager of a guesthouse in the old town of Rethymnon on the contrary expressed a rather paternalistic attitude towards foreign and especially Albanian workers, which hints at the fundamental role that religion plays in the national Greek doctrine:

„We like to show Christianity to them, something that they don't know. The Greek Orthodox, they love family and make children, and we believe in one god. But they didn't have anyone to show them in which one to believe. They only believe in their country. So they need someone to teach them."

Most of the employers expressed a special attitude towards Albanians. A former restaurant owner would employ foreigners and especially Albanians only in backstage jobs, because he was afraid that his Greek guests would not accept them. He said:

"I used to employ Albanian workers but only in the kitchen, because Greek tourists do not want to be served by Albanians."

Another restaurant owner also distinguished between different nationalities and expressed a strong hostility towards his Albanian employees:

„Personally, I prefer anybody else than Albanians because of the mentality. I don't have problem with Polish people or people from Romania or from Morocco or from Egypt. But with Albanians I have problem that has to do with the mentality. [...] They will never change. [...] The problem is that the level between us and Albania, if we want it or not, is not the same. Their level is like we used to be fifty years ago. [...] Most of these Albanians, out of their work and also when they work, they have no style. I mean, they do not have the level they have to have. [...] But the tourist cannot understand who is Greek and who is Albanian."

Tourists

In interviews with tourists a difference between people who strongly identified with Greece – and especially with Crete – and others who took up a more distant position towards their holiday destination came to the fore. Especially people who had come to Crete as tourists and then decided to settle there, expressed a strong identification with Cretans which sometimes also implied a dismissive attitude towards Albanians. A former German tourist who had decided to settle in Crete for example expressed a very romantic view of the island and attached great importance to his own integration into the local community. He perceived the Albanian immigrants as disturbing: *"The Greeks don't like the Albanians"*, he said and in his own effort to assimilate as much as possible to Greek culture he made derogatory comments about Albanians. A similar

attitude was expressed in the casual remark of an Austrian who had settled in Greece twenty years ago, after she had been there as a tourist. She said: *"There is an Albanian working in the restaurant where we go tonight. But don't worry, he is as nice as a Greek!"*

Tourists, however, who only stayed for one or two weeks didn't care much, if the personnel was Greek or foreign. There were, however, exceptions. A Belgian tourist for example expressed her disappointment that the hotel and restaurant staff often was not of Greek origin, whereby she was referring to Western European service personnel. By Albanian staff she felt not disturbed, since in her eyes Albanians did not differ from Greeks and so did not affect her touristic consumption of Greekness. Greekness did not have to be authentic for her as long as it looked like.

Migrant Workers

Most of the interviewed migrant workers stressed that many Greek employers treated their foreign personnel correctly, but all of them also stated to have been exploited or harassed in one way or another by at least one of the employers they had or have. Employers had refused payment, had given them the most dirty work, shouted at them or forbade them to talk Albanian with their Albanian colleagues[10]. Most of the Albanian workers had also been confronted with racist attitudes on the part of tourists. An Albanian hotel employee for example mentioned an encounter with an Italian tourist who would again and again complain about the spread of Albanians all over Europe not realising that the receptionist she was talking to was an Albanian. And another Albanian who was working at a private beach had the impression that tourists were warned at hotel receptions against criminal Albanians. Some of them would look scared when he introduced himself as Albanian. Greek tourists, however, were perceived to be more hostile than foreign tourists. The beach worker said that they sometimes refused to pay the fee, claiming that they were Greeks who wouldn't give any money to an Albanian for using a Greek beach. Also those Albanians who used to work as waiters or waitresses had made the experience that especially Greek guests were irritated when they realized that they were served by an Albanian.

Because of this irritation one Albanian waiter decided not to reveal his Albanian nationality towards tourists if possible. He told me:

"If European tourists ask me, where I come from, I tell them I am Greek. If tourists from the North of Greece want to know where I come from, I say, I am Cretan. And if Cretans ask me, I say I am from the North of Greece. Tourists want to speak about Crete, how nice it is and so on. When

10 For similar findings concerning the use of *Arvanitika* in the presence of Greek customers see Botsi (2003, 228).

I say, I come from Albania, tourists sometimes seem to be disappointed. So I tell them, what they want to hear. That's my job."

Pretending to be Greek proved to be beneficial with regard to Greek tourists who dislike Albanians as well as with regard to Western and Northern European tourists who want to meet ethnic Greeks in their holidays. Beyond that Alban knew how to take advantage of the mediterraneanising and exoticising images of masculinity that some female Western European tourists have in mind: Since he was not only fluent in Greek, but also spoke a little Italian, he sometimes pretended to be half Italian when he met women travelling alone, in order to appeal to them.

3. Conclusion

In the face of the political developments of the last three decades, that have brought the membership of Greece in the European Union and its transformation into an immigration country, minority and immigration issues should no longer be discussed separately. "There has been a transition from addressing the problems facing the modern nation-states relating to the historical forms of national minorities, to managing, both qualitatively and quantitatively, much more complex versions of social exclusion or inequality exacerbated by immigration." (Christopoulos/Tsitselikis 2003, 93)

It is striking, that the descendants of the medieval Albanian immigrants as well as many Albanian immigrants of these days both try to assimilate as much as possible to Greek society and put their Albanian background out of sight. This seems to correspond not only with the ideology of the "purely" Greek and Orthodox nation-state but also with the dominant "tourist gaze" as it is promoted in many Western European guidebooks. It is a gaze that is not interested in the multicultural modern life of Greece but rather in "pure", "authentic", and "traditional" Greekness with the implicit understanding that only the tourists are mobile whereas those who are toured remain unchanged and keep "their culture" pure and visible. Like many Albanian immigrants Western European tourists who settle in Greece often try hard to assimilate to the "Greek culture" – sometimes even by means of adopting the local racism against Albanians.

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A Rocky Road – a study of polish migrant workers' careers in the uk hospitality industry

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1. Introduction

Since the European Union's (EU) expansion in May 2004, the UK has experienced an unprecedented influx of migrant workers, with Poland dominant as the country of origin for arrivals (Janta and Ladkin, 2009). The UK hospitality sector has absorbed a large number of Poles into the workforce and this is highlighted in recent tourism studies (see Baum *et al.,* 2007; Devine *et al.,* 2007a, 2007b; Evans *et al.,* 2007). A few years after the EU's Enlargement, it is clear that Polish migrants are widely recognised and stereotyped as the hospitality workforce, both in metropolitan areas and remote places across the UK.

Set against this background, this paper uses empirical data collected in a qualitative way to explore migrants' perceptions of career opportunities offered in the hospitality sector. This paper begins by reviewing the main issues surrounding the migrant workforce in the hospitality sector, before discussing the career paths in hospitality. Following a discussion of the research methods, the paper demonstrates how Polish workers climb the ladder, particularly as they narrate their experiences of changing roles within a company, the challenges they face and how they overcome them.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Migrants in the tourism sector

A migrant workforce in the tourism industry has been present for decades. Districts such as Chinatown, Little Italy, Greek towns and Punjabi Markets in many of the world's cities are today's evidence of how migration and tourism are interlinked (Rath, 2007). The role of migrants in this sector of employment, in both the formal and informal economy, has been highlighted by many (King, 1995; Lazaridis and Wickens, 1999; Williams and Hall, 2000; Andriotis and Vaughan, 2004; Baum, 2006, 2007; Kim, 2009).

The evidence from previous studies also indicated that the opportunity for mobility increased with the EU's expansions and has become an important employment seeking strategy, enabling Europeans to take up jobs in many, mostly Mediterranean, destinations (Bianchi, 2000; Lazaridis and Wickens, 1999). Following the EU's Enlargement in 2004, the Polish ethnic group became one such minority in the UK and there is evidence suggesting that Poles have filled many of the vacancies in the hospitality industry (Janta and Ladkin, 2009; Baum *et al.,* 2007; Matthews and Ruhs, 2007). They undertake jobs in this sector of employment; in order to learn or improve their English language skills and many of them are university students (Janta and Ladkin, 2009). Their wide networks often contribute to the decisions to enter specific sectors of employment (White and Ryan, 2008); in this case, hospitality. The work ethic and acceptance of low wages by Polish employees became stereotypes reinforced by research and media. More specifically, Poles have been perceived by employers as valuable workers who are reliable, do not complain and work long hours (Matthews and Ruhs, 2007; Lyon and Sulcova, 2009; Devine *et al.,* 2007b). Although these are positive perceptions of Polish workers, there is a view that the employers assume that migrants workers are capable of low-skilled work only (see Devine *et al.,* 2007b). Consequently, many migrants' skills are under-used.

2.2 Careers

In tourism literature, the career progression of hospitality employees has been often criticized. Researchers agree that work is undertaken with the belief that it is a stopover prior to something else (Baum *et al.,* 1997; Wildes, 2005; Hjalager and Andersen, 2001) and as preparation for a career in another industry (Riley *et al.,* 2002: 21). For many, especially the young, students and migrants, hospitality is a temporary option and it

opens the door to different paths in the future. Such views are also shared by some tourism and hospitality students, who did not aspire to a career in these sectors as their degree progressed (Kusluvan and Kusluvan, 2000; Jenkins, 2001; Richardson, 2008).

Despite the amount of critique about career opportunities offered in the industry, the wealth of literature discussing a career as a hotel manager suggests the opposite; there are common features in managers' careers. A number of studies into the careers of hotel managers have been used as case studies in the UK (Corcoran and Johnson 1974; Ladkin and Riley, 1996), the USA (Nebel *et al.,* 1995), Greece (Akrivos *et al.,* 2007), Mauritius (Ladkin and Juwaheer, 2000), Korea (Kim, 1994) and Australia (Ladkin, 2002). The time taken to reach hotel manager level and the role of mobility were analysed. Ladkin and Riley (1996) revealed that, in the UK, the average time needed to become a hotel manager (measured from the age of 18) was 11.19 years. Further, managers have had seven jobs on average and they have changed jobs every 3 to 4 years. Their studies indicated that there are promotion opportunities in the industry for those who seek to make it a career. The importance of mobility has been emphasised as well as the role of vocational training and the value of skills.

3. Methods

The wider research on which the paper is based involved three research methods: netnography, interviews and an online questionnaire. The high internet usage among Poles living in the UK (Bendyk, 2007; Hitwise UK, 2009) justifies the use of the internet as a tool for data collection. This paper is based on the qualitative data obtained from the two research methods: a small number of interviews (6) and responses from open-ended questions collected via an online questionnaire.

3.1 Interviews

The initial aim of the interviews was to identify the themes that could serve as a basis for development of the pilot questionnaire (Bryman, 1988, 2008; Creswell, 2009). Interviews with present and former hospitality workers were conducted in October 2007 in a seaside destination in England. Respondents were approached via a Polish community centre at the Roman Catholic Church after its Sunday service. The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide following interview etiquette and took place in public places such as cafes and hotel reception areas. Six re-

spondents only were interviewed in this exploratory stage but such a small number of interviews is justified in the literature (see Patton, 2002; Kuzel, 1999). Interviews were analysed using thematic analysis, defined by Braun and Clarke (2006: 79) as "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data".

3.2 Online questionnaire

The questionnaire was piloted and, after revision, the main survey was distributed online. Messages with a hyperlink to the online survey were posted on 45 Polish discussion forums across the UK (the most popular ones with the largest traffic) and on two social networking sites: Facebook.com and Nasza-klasa.pl (Our class). The former is the largest international social site with over 67 million users (Facebook Statistics, 2008) whilst the latter is the most popular social networking platform in Poland. New threads were started on the discussion forums containing a question in a title and a message asking for help in the research by filling the survey. A total of 420 questionnaires were returned, of which 315 were completed fully and used for analysis. This paper uses open-ended questions and additional comments provided by respondents at the end of the online questionnaire.

4. Findings

In this research, respondents were asked what they gained from working in the hospitality industry. Pursuing a career within the sector was mentioned by respondents who classified it as an advantage of working in hospitality:

> *I started as a housekeeper and, after 32 months, I worked as a bar supervisor and duty manager.* (Respondent 282, female, 28, Scotland)

> *An opportunity for career development: starting from a housekeeper and now working as an events' coordinator, (I got) an opportunity to study hospitality management.* (Respondent 199, female, 27, London)

However, the role of management in career progression was also noticed:

> *It is worth [working in hospitality] but it depends on the place you work and on your manager. I went to the top and I can still go further but it requires some more experience and hard work.* (Respondent 80, male, 21, Wales)

Overall, these comments point to positive experiences in the hospitality industry. It was noticed by researchers that migrants are engaged in low-paid jobs as they believe they acquire certain social or financial 'capital' and new learning experiences (Kosic, 2004; Eade *et al.,* 2006; Spencer *et al.,* 2007). In this case, it is the ability to progress that makes their experiences worthwhile for them. These progressions are also important for migrants' well-being because status is recognised as a crucial element in migrants' adaptation (Berry, 1997).

In contrast to the view that career opportunities arise from promotion and recognition, analysis of interviews revealed challenges faced by those trying to progress in their jobs. To start with, changing positions from being a kitchen porter (KP) to become a waiter was considered as either tough or impossible. One of the interviewees explained:

> *I decided to find another job – I didn't want to work as a KP anymore. The prospects of working as a waiter were difficult because it wasn't easy to change perceptions of me. It was hard to imagine that a KP could suddenly become a waiter. In particular, I had no previous experience in waiting.* (Artur, ex hotel worker)

Artur's experience demonstrates how difficult it was to change his position from being a KP, and how perceptions about KPs impeded his plans. After a while, he became a waiter but not without time and effort:

> *At that time, there was a lucky coincidence in this hotel, and I could work as a waiter. The restaurant manager was leaving at the end of April, and his two assistants replaced him. One of them was on holiday, (...) (and) this American (the assistant) agreed for me to work over breakfasts. She gave me this opportunity, so I started working over breakfasts. (...) Later on, there was a new manager (...), and that manager was afraid of letting me become a fully-fledged waiter, but somehow I showed my good side. They thought it over for one week, two weeks, (and) then they let me move jobs under condition that they would pay me the same money. I was paid £4.95, while other waiters were paid £5.30.* (Artur, ex hotel worker)

The experience of climbing the ladder was challenging and his example indicates how much determination one needs in order to progress from the bottom jobs. The former KP highlighted that peoples' perceptions of KPs are hard to change; therefore, he had to be persistent and patient; perceptions of KP jobs had not been challenged for decades (see Saunders, 1981). The importance of status in migrants' adaptation process has been highlighted in adjustment literature in which it was shown that status loss

may be due to prejudice and limited status mobility; it is also related to increased stress (Berry, 1997). In the case of Artur, when promotion was achieved eventually, it was conditional and Artur was paid less than other waiters. Although the interviewee does not point it out directly, this incident is evidence of discrimination in wages. A similar case involving a Filipino worker was reported elsewhere (see Devine *et al.,* 2007a). Getting the job the interviewee wanted had other implications as he also had to keep proving that he could do his new job:

> *In June, I started working full time. I was seen as a KP, and they all kept me at arm's length. Let's say that I had to prove all the time that I could learn fast. They were afraid of giving me duties that were more responsible, letting me be in charge for taking orders, for running the station. I had always been the second waiter because I was helping someone.* (Artur, ex hotel worker)

It is evident that, despite the progression, there was reluctance and mistrust towards Artur and it took a long time to convince his superiors that he is capable of doing the job.

Marek, currently working as an assistant manager, was promoted from being a porter to become an assistant manager but, again, coincidence helped him do so:

> *I worked as a porter for nearly 2 years. The manager, who was leaving for another hotel, took me with him from here, (as) I had talked to him about progressing and he offered me a job there. There was no interview and I agreed. (...) During this one month, the owner of this restaurant (the first one) rang me and asked me whether I would like to come back, I said I could come back for this and that post. So I did.* (Marek, assistant manager)

Again, luck and some negotiation skills played a major role in the interviewee's progression. The management had to lose a good employee before agreeing to his promotion.

The quoted stories demonstrate that the career path in the hospitality sector is not a straightforward one and coincidence decides employees' progression rather than their achievements. Respondents claim that career opportunities in hotels are generally limited and promotion is often achieved through luck and coincidence rather than on merit. Tourism and hospitality employment has been condemned for lacking a straight career path and these issues are also raised in most recent studies of international workers (Devine *et al.,* 2007a, 2007b; Wright and Pollert, 2006).

5. Conclusions

The sheer number of migrants in many developed countries has affected the tourism industry twofold. On the one hand, new migrants became tourist entrepreneurs as they met their co-ethnics' needs by opening ethnic businesses; restaurants, grocery shops, ethnic supermarkets and travel agencies (Rath, 2007). On the other hand, many other migrants entered the tourism industry, mainly working in hotels and restaurants as low-paid workers. There is evidence suggesting that Polish migrants enter tourism employment in such a way; they start by filling low-entry jobs and they gradually climb the ladder. Starting from low-paid jobs such as kitchen porter or housekeeper, they slowly try to progress to more skilled, more valued and better-paid jobs.

Previous research outlined in the literature pointed out that employment in the tourism and hospitality sector does not offer future career prospects (Choy, 1995; Hjalager and Andersen, 2001; Walmsley, 2004) and is treated as a temporary solution (Riley *et al.,* 2002). The findings from this research support such views and give more insights into why such perceptions dominate in the industry. From this study, it is evident that progression from entry-level jobs is challenging. While promotion itself is seen by the respondents as an asset gained from working in the UK, the findings from interviews reveal the challenges to achievement. The desire to change jobs within a company meets obstacles because there seems to be reluctance by management to let migrants fill front of house jobs and have direct contact with customers. This may be related to migrants' insufficient English language skills.

Such challenges faced by migrants who want to progress within their jobs can be conceptualised as 'a rite of passage'. Migrants are determined to move up the ladder but this costs them their effort, time and money. In order to achieve better things, migrants may have to put up with discrimination in wages and conditional promotions. Future research could look at the time needed for foreign-born employees to become a hotel manager.

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Part II:

New Minorities as tourists

Travel behaviour of persons with Turkish background in Germany

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1. Introduction

Tourism research mostly discusses ethno-linguistic minorities in relation to their significance as tourist attractions or with respect to socio-cultural changes resulting from the boom of the tourism industry. However, up to now, the travel behaviour of minorities itself has very rarely been a spotlight of empirical research (e. g. Vogel 2003). This fact is astonishing given the relevance of immigration especially for the German society: One out of five inhabitants has a migration background (19 %) and the percentage of foreign citizen on the total population is 8.8 % (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2008; Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen 2002).

In Germany, the term of "national" minority is very narrowly defined by relevant legislation and applies to the Danish minority, the Frisians, the German Sinti and Roma and the Sorbs. All these groups have lived in Germany for a long time and are German citizens, but are distinguished by their own history, a particular mother tongue and a specific cultural background (Bundesministerium des Innern 2006). These so-called "autochthonous (historical) minorities" are different from other ethno-linguistic groups that have immigrated in more recent times and are conceived as "al-

lochthonous (new) minorities" (Kreisel and Reeh 2008; Medda-Windischer 2009). The latter term therefore primarily refers to the former "guest-workers".

The present article focuses on Turkish immigrant workers, their families and descendants in Germany. Their decision to leave the home country was predominantly voluntary, generally taken for economic and political reasons. Up to now, only little research or market studies have been carried out specifically focusing on the travel behaviour of this important former immigrant group. The gap in knowledge seems surprising; hence there is an urgent requirement to carry out scientific research on this issue. Because of their large number, this minority influences both, the tourist market as guests on the demand side and as service providers on the supply side (Tosun et al. 2008). A good example is the case of ÖGER TOURS (Gülgün 2005) which has developed into one of the biggest travel companies in Germany. ÖGER TOURS was founded in 1969 by Vural Öger as an airline (ÖGER TÜRK TUR), mainly for the fellow countrymen living in Germany as guest-workers. In 1982 ÖGER TOURS was established as a limited company (GmbH). The firm was a pioneer in the all-inclusive business from Germany into Turkey. Since 1990 ÖGER TOURS has expanded to destinations as Egypt, the Dominican Republic, Tunisia and Cuba. In 1994 the ÖGER GROUP took over ATT Touristik GmbH. In the tourism year 2008/2009 the ÖGER GROUP was the leading tour operator for journeys to Turkey all over Europe (1.32 million travellers). 12 more destinations have since been added to the portfolio (ÖGER GROUP 2010; see tab. 1).

Tab. 1: Customers and Turnover of the ÖGER GROUP Germany

Tourism Year	Customers	Turnover (Mio. EURO)
1999/2000	812.300	422
2000/2001	1.080.814	574
2001/2002	1.084.806	576
2002/2003	1.200.398	602
2003/2004	1.302.330	639
2004/2005	1.367.446	676
2005/2006	1.250.328	623
2006/2007	1.400.010	722
2007/2008	1.499.230	773
2008/2009	1.322.000	696

Source: ÖGER GROUP 2010.

Due to the fact, that this segment of the population is characterised by a particular cultural milieu, persons with a Turkish background show strong cohesion and relatively distinct segregation. This leads to the hypothesis that the travel behaviour of this group differs from that of the "mainstream" in German society. The present paper examines whether there are certain trends in the travel behaviour of persons of Turkish descent in Germany, and whether this can contribute to answering questions of acculturation and assimilation processes.

2. Persons with Turkish background in Germany – some facts and figures

In the first years following WWII the rebuilding of Germany's industry had to face severe problems. But soon the so-called "economic miracle" began, which was characterised by a rapid boom of industrial production. Since the 1950s the domestic labour force was barely sufficient to keep pace with the boosting industry. To meet the continuously growing demand for labour, government and industry decided to recruit foreign workers. Therefore, contracts were concluded with different states in order to arrange immigration in an orderly way. Germany thus entered into agreements with Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960) and finally Turkey (1961).

By this agreement Turkey intended to reach several goals. The first objective was to reduce the trade deficit (remittances to improve the balance of payments). The second was to mitigate the economic and social problems in Turkey. In the beginning, the idea was not to let the guest-workers settle permanently in Germany. But in subsequent years whole families, wives and children of the immigrants followed. In the result at the end of 2008 33.3 % of the Turkish citizens were domestic born and the percentage of Turks below 18 years born in Germany had reached 90.2 %. Thus, the descendants of the immigrant workers now live in Germany in the 3rd or 4th generation, where they represent a substantial part of German society not only in terms of sheer numbers but also in terms of their economic status (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2005a). They possess the German or the Turkish citizenship. In official statistics the term "Turks" means Turkish citizens living in Germany. In 2008 Turkish citizens formed the largest group of foreigners in Germany (1.688.370 persons), second only to EU citizens in that year (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010). Furthermore, colloquial language also refers to those as "Turks" who have abandoned their Turkish citizenship and were granted German citizenship. According to the German Foreign Office in May 2008

around 700.000 German citizens of Turkish origin were living in the Federal Republic of Germany. At present, the number of Turkish citizens in Germany is declining (see tab. 2). However, this does not imply that the overall number of persons with either Turkish or Kurdish[1] background in Germany is falling. In fact it's a question of obtaining the German citizenship or not.

Tab. 2: Number of Turkish citizen in Germany 2001 to 2008

Year	Number
2001	1.947.938
2002	1.912.169
2003	1.877.661
2004	1.764.318
2005	1.764.041
2006	1.738.831
2007	1.713.551
2008	1.688.370

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Wiesbaden 2010.

From the sociological point of view it is questionable to differentiate between persons of Turkish origin with or without German citizenship (von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 2001). Therefore the present paper also embraces all persons of Turkish ancestry.

3. Research Method

To get an insight into the travel behaviour of the Turkish minority in Germany, a three-step experiment design was chosen:

1st Turkish travel agencies were consulted,

2nd persons of Turkish origin were interviewed,

3rd the research results were discussed with two experts.

1st Interviews with Turkish travel agencies: In the first step standardized interviews were conducted with Turkish travel agencies. These travel agencies were considered experts for this particular niche market. All in all, 84 travel agencies were questioned

1 Since there is no recognised Kurdish State and no Kurdish citizenship, the Kurdish originating in Turkey are usually counted as "Turks".

via a telephone (n = 63) and a postal (n = 21) survey between December 2009 and June 2010. The interviews were based on a questionnaire with open, closed and hybrid questions. The address selection was rested upon the "Yellow Pages" of the German Telekom. As a result of the geographical distribution of persons with Turkish roots in Germany, the main part of the travel agencies was located in North Rhine-Westphalia and Berlin (see map 1). In order to get more detailed information of the Turkish minority's travel behaviour the following criteria were examined:

a) Number of travellers of Turkish origin;
b) Types of customers of Turkish origin;
c) Destination choice (most favourite destination inside and outside Germany and inside Turkey);
d) Reasons for travelling to Turkey (main motivation to travel);
e) Product preferences (length of stay, means of transportation for the annual leave, types of holidays, types of accommodations, travel costs);

Map 1: Location of the surveyed travel agencies in Germany

2nd *Interviews with persons of Turkish origin:* Between May and June 2010 in Berlin 124 persons of Turkish origin were interviewed about their travel activities (Höhne 2010).

Berlin was selected because of the large number of the Turkish community. The interviews by standardized questionnaires took place in the districts of Berlin-Mitte, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Tempelhof-Schöneberg and Neukölln, which have a high population of Turkish descent (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg 2009). The following aspects were highlighted:

a) Sociodemographic characteristics;
b) Decisive travel characteristics;
c) Factors influencing travel activities;
d) Relevance of travel agencies under Turkish management;

3rd Discussion of the results with two experts: The results of the surveys finally were presented to two experts and intensively discussed in summer 2010. The interviews were conducted with the president of the "Verein türkischer Reiseunternehmer in Berlin e. V." and a manager of a "Turkish" travel agency in Berlin (Höhne 2010).

4. Main Results

Although the instruments and samples are different, selected aspects were compared to the representative findings of the "Reiseanalyse" (RA – travel analysis) of the "Forschungsgemeinschaft Urlaub und Reisen" (F.U.R.) (2007/2008/2009). This approach was chosen in order to identify whether the travel behaviour of the persons with Turkish origin matches that of the federal "mainstream".

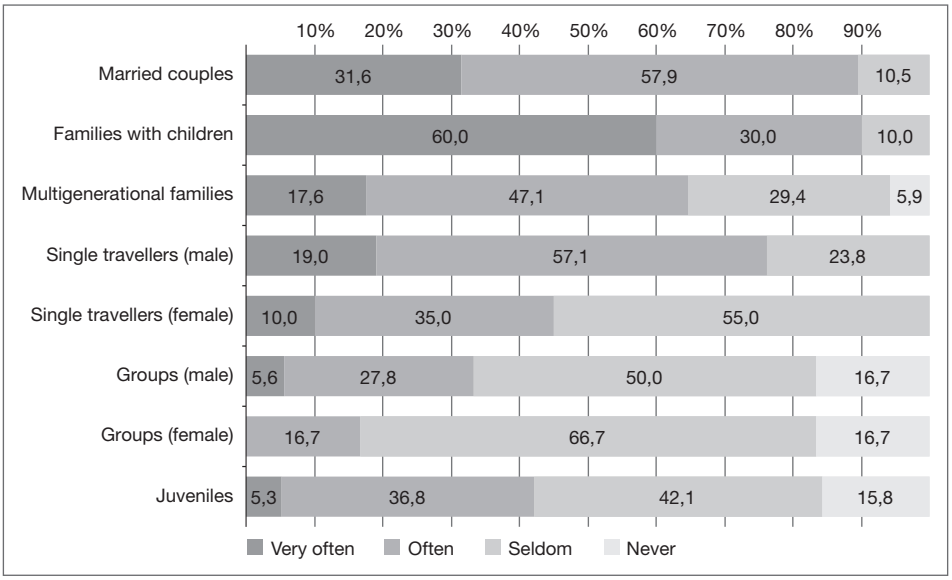
4.1 Interviews with Turkish Travel Agencies

a) Number of travellers: The percentage of clients with Turkish background amounts to 69.2% on average (min. 5%; max. 99%). This fact indicates that obviously there are special demands of travellers of Turkish origin. At least, a segregation process within the market environment can be discovered. Persons with Turkish background apparently prefer their "own" travel agencies. This can be proven by the large number of relevant travel agencies and their lobbyists (e. g. "Türkische Reiseveranstalter e. V. ", Frankfurt/Main).

b) Types of customers: The customers of the travel agencies are mostly families with children, followed by couples and single men. Also important are families consisting of more generations. Less significant are single women and youth and male groups. Fe-

male groups can be neglected (see fig. 1). To what degree the traditional Turkish family system and the conventionalism of social roles are responsible for this result is yet to be examined.

Fig. 1: Types of customers



Source: postal survey 2009/2010.

c) *Destination choice:* As to the preferred destinations – domestic and international – a difference between the travellers with Turkish background and the German "mainstream" can be stated (see tab. 3)

Tab. 3: 'Top 3' domestic and outgoing destinations

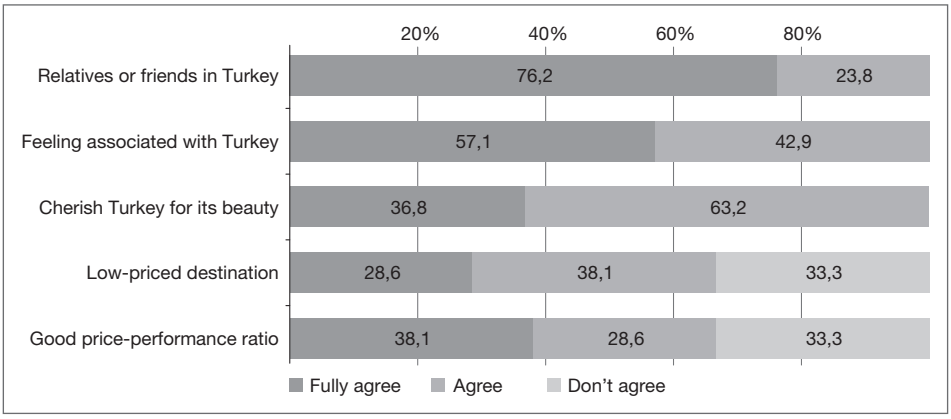
Domestic Tourism		Outgoing Tourism	
Population of Turkish descent	*Travel analysis*	*Population of Turkish descent*	*Travel analysis*
1 Berlin	1 Bavaria	1 Turkey	1 Spain
2 Bavaria	2 Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	2 Spain	2 Italy
3 Schleswig-Holstein	3 Schleswig-Holstein	3 Egypt	3 Turkey

Source: F.U.R. 2009; telephone and postal survey 2009/2010.

It can be shown that the region of origin is still the preferred destination of the outgoing travellers. Concerning the travels to Spain, there is not much difference. The significance of Egypt as a destination can be explained as a combination of a popular long-distance journey within the all-inclusive business and the domination of the market by the ÖGER GROUP that expanded to Egypt since the 1990s. In domestic tourism Berlin holds an outstanding position as destination. The city has a large number of Turks; therefore visits of relatives and friends are frequent. Bavaria and Schleswig-Holstein, on the other hand, show a high conformity with the federal average. The most popular destinations within Turkey are: 1st Antalya, 2nd Istanbul, 3rd Izmir, 4th Ankara and 5th Bodrum.

d) Reasons for travelling to Turkey: Asked why Turkey is their favoured destination, 76.2 % of the travellers to Turkey give visiting relatives and friends as the principal reason for the journey. Furthermore, it seems relevant that many customers feel familiar with the country or cherish Turkey for its beauty. 57.1 % resp. 36.8 % of the travel agencies confirms that these aspects are very significant. Far less important is the price-performance ratio or the fact that Turkey is considered a low-priced destination (see fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Popularity of Turkey



Source: postal survey 2009/2010.

The popularity of Turkey as a favoured destination shows a high degree of both "real-personal" and "abstract-emotional" commitment. The region of origin is still the preferred destination of the travellers. As expected, this is the main distinction between the travellers of Turkish origin and the German "mainstream". For the latter Turkey as destination is much en vogue, however mostly for economic reasons.

e) Product preferences: The duration of the booked travels of "Turkish Germans" results in an average of 25.5 days, whereas the average duration for Germany (following the RA 2009) is 12.5 days. Short trips (duration 2 – 4 days), which are classified as tourism trend (Kreisel 2003), are only of secondary importance. Accordingly, the aircraft dominates as main means of transportation, followed by the automobile. Far behind is the use of bus and rail. This result does not correspond to the federal average, where the automobile is ahead of the aircraft. The reason for this difference is that Turkey as favoured destination is normally reached by air.

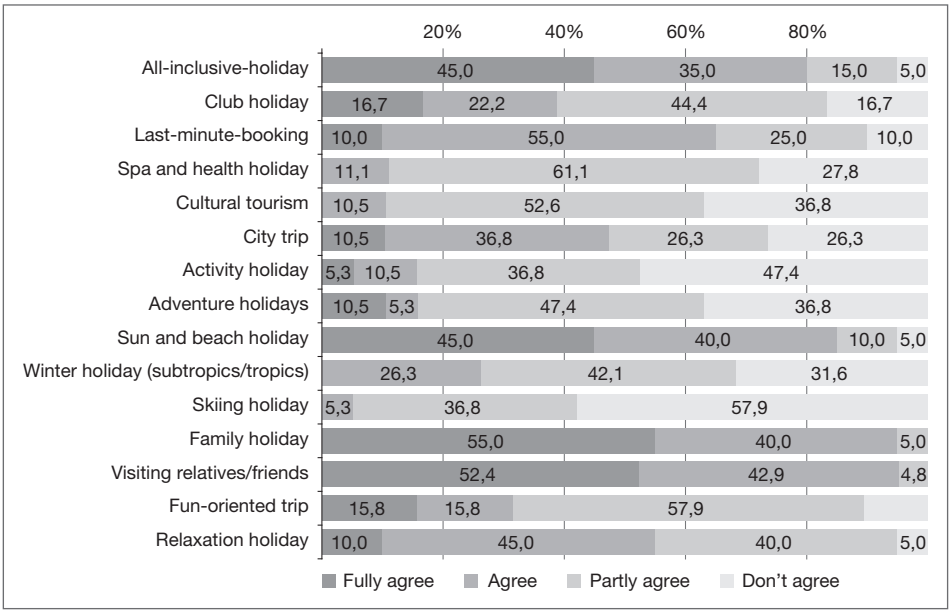
Most travels are family vacations or visits to relatives and friends, but the sun and beach holiday as well as the all-inclusive holiday also matter. Moreover this result reflects the predominant demand profile of Turkey as destination. Rather irrelevant are activities that are otherwise very popular on the German market, e. g. skiing holidays, winter-holidays in the sun or typical growth markets such as spa/health holidays, cultural trips or activity holidays (see tab. 4 and fig. 3).

Tab. 4: 'Top 5' types of holidays

Population of Turkish descent	Travel analysis
1 Family holiday	1 Sun and beach holiday
2 Visiting relatives and friends	2 Relaxation holiday
3 Sun and beach holiday	3 Nature-oriented/based holiday
4 All-inclusive-package tour	4 Theme holidav
5 Club holiday	5 Family holiday

Source: F.U.R 2007; telephone and postal survey 2009/2010.

Fig. 3: Popularity of different types of holidays



Source: postal survey 2009/2010.

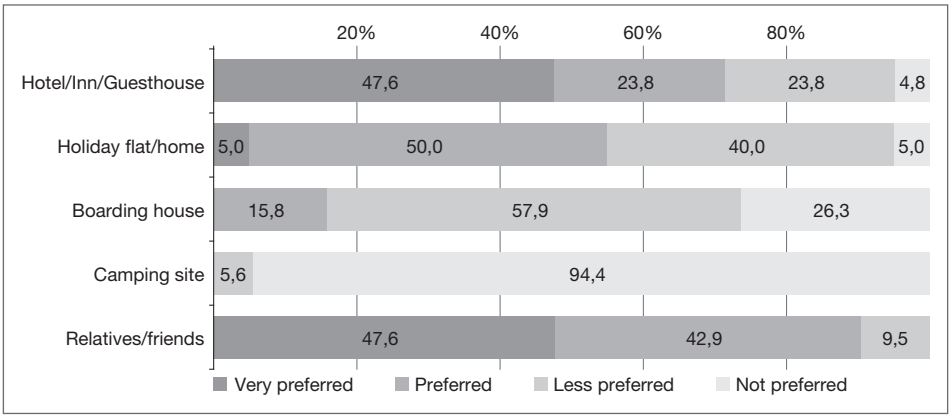
Due to the significance of family holidays and the visits of relatives/friends the favoured accommodation reveals the importance of so-called "couch-tourism": Accommodation with relatives or friends is in first place, followed by hotels/guesthouses/inns and holiday homes/holiday flats. Privately rented rooms and camping sites hardly feature. Here again a clear distinction is noted to the average accommodation of the German travellers (RA 2007): the category hotel/inn/guesthouse clearly dominates, followed by holiday homes/holiday flats and relatives/friends. In contrast to the accommodations booked by the population of Turkish descent the categories of privately rented rooms and camping sites can generate quite considerable shares of the market in the federal average (see tab. 5 and fig. 4).

Tab. 5: 'Top 3' types of accommodations during main holiday

Population of Turkish descent	Travel analysis
1 Relatives/friends	1 Hotel/Inn/Guesthouse
1 Hotel/Inn/Guesthouse	2 Holiday flat/Holiday home
3 Holiday flat/Holiday home	3 Relatives/friends

Source: F.U.R 2007; telephone and postal survey 2009/2010.

Fig. 4: Preference of different types of accommodations



Source: postal survey 2009/2010.

About 25 % of the travel agents interviewed stress the high proportion of real estate properties in Turkey, which can be used for vacation. Therefore, not much money has to be spent for accommodation. The costs per person and per journey average 418 € in the case of travellers of Turkish descent. This is far below the German average of 913 € for trips to Turkey, significantly below the average of 974 € for travels abroad and much below the 834 € for all journeys (F.U.R. 2009). This fact clarifies, how important the possession of a holiday flat or holiday home is, as well as the possibility to stay with friends or relatives – besides the attractive price-performance ratio in Turkey. To what degree a specific socioeconomic status of persons with Turkish background is affecting this result is yet to be examined.

4.2 Interviews with persons of Turkish origin

a) Sociodemographic characteristics: The proportion of 55 % male and 45 % female persons interviewed corresponds more or less with the percentage of the foreign population of Turkish descent in Berlin (53.3 % male; 46.7 % female) (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg 2009). The average age is 35 years (range from 14 to 72), 44 % are single. The average duration of stay in Germany accounts for 26 years. 60 % of the respondents have a mean income between 500 € and 1000 €, 20 % below 500 € resp. 20 % above 2500 €.

b) Decisive travel characteristics: The travel intensity according to the sample totals 64 %. If one deducts the visits to friends and relatives, which as to the "Travel analysis"

are not counted as holiday trips, the travel intensity is only 54 %. This number is far below the travel intensity of the German population of 78.2 % in 2008 (F.U.R. 2009). Regarding the travel regularity (travel frequency in the last three years, without visits of friends and relatives and trips less than 5 days) a marked difference can be seen between the Turkish and the German population (see tab. 6).

Tab. 6: Regularity of travel

Population of Turkish descent	Travel analysis
Regular travellers (32 %)	Regular travellers (60 %)
Interval travellers (44 %)	Interval travellers (27 %)
Infrequent travellers (24 %)	Infrequent travellers (13 %)

Source: F.U.R 2009; Höhne 2010.

47 % travel with the family, 31 % with the partner, 21 % by themselves and 10 % with friends. Turkey was the holiday destination of 90 % of the interview partners. The corresponding data for the German population amounts to 7 % (F.U.R. 2009). Other destinations are Germany, Egypt and Spain. Most holiday trips are visits to relatives. Furthermore, family or beach holidays are remarkable, often combined with a visit to relatives. Culture and city holidays, health/spa and sport holidays as well as the motivation of rest and recreation, that are typical for the German population, are less pronounced. The importance of visits to relatives is reflected by the type of accommodation: about one third of the persons interviewed stay with relatives or friends, followed by 25 % with a family owned holiday flat or home.

For 79.6 % of the persons interviewed the duration of the main holiday travel was more than two weeks. This is a significant difference to the German population, where only for 19 % the main holiday in 2008 lasted more than two weeks (F.U.R. 2009). Again, the reason is the large proportion of visits to relatives, which usually take much longer than other travel types.

c) Factors influencing travel activities: The influences of the socio-demographic factors as age, income, education and phase of life between the German population and the population of Turkish origin are similar: The intensity of travel drops slightly with increasing age; high income and higher education induce a higher intensity and regularity of travel. Families with little children travel less than young married couples without children. But in the case of the Turkish persons family holidays and visits to relatives are prominent in all phases of life.

d) Relevance of travel agencies under Turkish management: 26.6 % of the persons interviewed always book their journeys in a travel agency, 12.9 % do so in most cases, 27.4 % sometimes, 29.8 % never. 3.3 % didn't answer. Those, who didn't call on travel agents, like the German population, went back to the internet. If the booking was done in a travel agency, 30 % preferred an establishment under Turkish management, mostly because of the following reasons (see tab. 7):

Tab. 7: Reasons for the booking in a travel agency under Turkish management

	Number of mentions
Travel agency offered the best bargain.	43
I know the owner personally and want to back him up.	20
Staff speaks Turkish.	18
Travel agency is close to my residence.	15
Travel agency meets my demands best.	14
Other	3

Source: Höhne 2010.

The decision for a travel agency under Turkish management primarily seems to be an economic one. Only thereafter personal sympathy and Turkish language skills gain importance. It is evident, that these travel agents for the most part are specializing in the demands of the population with Turkish origin and that the customers appreciate this "ethnic businesses".

4.3 Discussion with experts

The results of the study were approved by the consulted experts. In the discussion they stressed the following points: The high preference for Turkey as a destination has to be seen in different ways. The phenomena cannot be reduced only to the relatedness with the home country. For the younger generation, which is born in Germany, Turkey is a popular travel destination not only as to the visit of relatives. Like the German youths, they favour for example Mallorca ("Ballermann"), and also spent party holidays in Turkey (preferably without their parents and relatives). Certainly, the knowledge of the Turkish language plays a major role. However, the importance of kinship decreases very slowly and the larger family still expects such visits. Therefore, in particular, if the financial means are somehow restricted, in many cases the main holidays are

spent in Turkey. All in all, this leads to the situation of combining the visit to relatives with other vacation types, frequently sun and beach holidays with the family. Because of the knowledge of language and place a couple of holiday trips to Turkey are organized at least partially in an individual way, quite contrary to the German population preferring package tours.

The experts pointed out that Turks going on holiday hold as dear as the Germans. In addition, the high proportion of real estate property (for holidays), the wish for retirement in Turkey and the willingness to return are affecting the travel behaviour in an important way; in many cases a clear borderline between holiday mobility and migration hardly exists.

5. Summary

The results of the interviews with the travel agents and with persons of Turkish roots in Berlin reveal a high degree of accordance and seem to be representative. However, the travel behaviour of the population of Turkish origin in Germany differs in some respect from the federal "mainstream" if we consider the composition of travellers, the destinations, the motivation and the preferences of the journey. The most distinguishing features are the great importance of family holidays and visits to relatives/friends, as well as the close attachment to Turkey as destination. Compared to the Germans, whose friends and relatives live mostly within Germany, the travel expenses of the Turks for a visit of their relatives in the home country usually are much higher. Therefore, in many cases, this visit takes place during the main annual vacation. On the one hand this reflects the traditional understanding of the role of families, the different family structures and the spatial dispersion of social networks. On the other hand it indicates that the "sense of origin" is a powerful factor influencing the tourism behaviour of the Turkish minority in Germany.

If one considers travel behaviour as a form of expression of cultural practice, results of the present survey do not speak for the automatic acculturation of the population of Turkish descent. From the tourism point of view it seems important that the special demands of travellers with Turkish background require a particular marketing approach.

Obviously, more research is needed as to the role of generation and age ("life cycle"), income and occupation structure on the travel behaviour, booking patterns and information seeking (travel agencies vs. internet). Apparently, there are differences to be no-

ticed between the generations. Whereas the older generation chiefly relies on tradition, the younger ones are more open towards the "mainstream".

The results can be understood as a starting point for further research programs. Continuous analyses are urgently required as controls to this case study as to methods, random examination and sampling. The authors think that the niche market "minority travel" should be observed closely by tourism scientists, since it can form an important part of the future tourism development.

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Travel constraints and nostalgia as determinants of cross-Atlantic legacy tourism

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1. Introduction

Migration flows have contributed to the continuous formation and construction of state and national identities, associated to diaspora experiences and traditions of people who live within or across state boundaries (Williams and Hall, 2002). In the entire world 4 % of the population migrates annually, creating a growing market for tourism related to "seeking one's roots" from the direct migrants and their descendants (IOM, 2008). For instance, in the United States 38.4 million out of 300 million inhabitants were legal immigrants in 2005, with each year about 100 million individuals being engaged in looking for their ancestral roots (Russel, 2008; International Organization for Migration, 2008). According to Bandyopadhyay (2008), diaspora communities return to lost homelands as "heritage tourists" and "pilgrims" but there is another important reason why people embark on journeys to their ancestors' land: Nostalgia.

Davis (1979) describes nostalgia as being distinctive from other subjective states oriented to the past because it involves the filtering of memories. Hofer (cited by Kressus and Roux, 2008) used this term to describe a pathology found in the Swiss army related

to homesickness, where the only remedy was to return home. Afterwards, the phenomenon was object of numerous interpretations and nostalgia is now seen not as an illness but rather as a quest for lost time. Nostalgia can be defined as "an emotional state in which an individual yearns for an idealized or "clean" version of an earlier time period" (Stern, 1992), i. e. it describes a feeling of longing for a past time often idealized and unreal or hyperreal.

Literature distinguishes two separate dimensions (Holak *et al*, 2007; Davis, 1979): (1) personal versus collective and (2) the basis of the feeling being either direct or indirect. Based on these two dimensions, Holak *et al* (2007) proposed four ways to classify the nostalgic experience: (a) personal nostalgia (direct individual experience); (b) interpersonal nostalgia (indirect individual experience); (c) cultural nostalgia (direct collective nostalgia); and (d) virtual nostalgia (indirect collective experience). In this article a review of the literature relating tourism, migration, travel constraints and nostalgia is presented. Then results of an exploratory work are discussed, in which the four dimensions of nostalgia proposed by Holak *et al* (2007) are identified for the North American market that travels to Europe and finally some conclusive notes are presented.

2. Tourism and migration

Migration has increased sharply over the two last decades (World Bank, 2008). For Appadurai (1991) the postmodern world is characterized by vast transnational flows of people, capital, goods and ideas. According to Williams and Hall (2002) new forms of mobility can be found from the local and national to the global. These new forms of mobility both constitute and are the result of globalization which, as is now acknowledged, serves to enhance rather than diminish place differences. According to the OECD (2009) the appropriate definition of the immigrant population varies from country to country. Nationality and place are the two criteria most commonly used to define the immigrant population. The foreign-born population covers all persons who have ever migrated from their country of birth to their current country of residence. The foreign population consists of persons who still have the nationality of their home country. It may include persons born in the host country. A major constraint to the study of international migration is the availability of data, most of which is inaccurate, irregular and lacking of detail. The data problem is inextricably linked with the definition of migration (Salt, 1986).

The literature related to tourism and migration has the same focus- human mobility. For Bell and Ward (2000) tourism represents one form of circulation, or temporary

population movement. Temporary movements and permanent migration, in turn, form part of the same continuum of population mobility in time and space. In practice, however, the literatures on these two forms of movement have developed almost entirely in isolation (Williams and Hall, 2002). Tourism expansion has long been interdependent with those particular forms of migration. For some authors (Visser, 2004; Williams and Hall, 2002) tourism itself constitutes a form of migration of varying duration that has generated two distinctive flows: the labour migration and the consumption-led migration (Visser, 2004). The consumption type assumes several forms depending on the duration of the migration, the motivations and property relationships which include second home development (Michelle and Nessa, 2009; Kaltenborn *et al*, 2008; Pitkänen, 2008; Tess, 2002) and retirement migration (Gustafson, 2002; O"Reilly, 2003; Truly, 2002).

Another form of tourism is related to diaspora communities; according to Sheffer (cited by Koser, 2007: 25) "modern diasporas are ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries of origin – their homelands". However, this concept can be applied to almost any migrant group in any situation (Koser, 2007). Diaspora includes migrant communities whose members do not necessarily live in forced exile. Diaspora refers to an established and settled community rather than a group of temporary migrants who wish and are able to return to their homelands (Goethe and Hillman, 2008). For Urry (2000, cited by Williams and Hall, 2002:20) "diasporas entail the notion that 'the old country' where no one is no longer living, exerts some claim upon one's loyalties, emotions and identity. Such an old country can be defined in terms of language, religion, customs or folklore. All diaspora societies are cultural."

3. Migration, tourism and nostalgia

Migrant communities and tourism have been studied in several subject fields like those concerning second homes, labour, cultural events and cultural changes in the host country (Carnegie and Smith, 2009, Hall and Rath, 2007; Shaw and Williams, 2004; Christiansen, 2003), retirement migration (Keating, 2010; Mantecón and Huete, 2008) and VFR (visit friends and relatives) tourism (Williams, 2009; Scheyvens, 2007; Boyne *et al*, 2002; Moscardo *et al*, 2000). However, there is a lack of studies relating these subjects to the construct of nostalgia. According to Nguyen and King (2004), nostalgia is a widespread phenomenon among migrants and can colour the images that potential travellers have towards their (or their ancestors') homeland. Prevot (1993, cited by Nguyen

and King, 2004) explains that "for a long time immigrants' needs may centre on keeping in touch with the home country through nostalgic festivities, patriotic commemorations or even temporary trips home. Sometimes traditions and rituals that have disappeared in the home country are kept alive in the migrant communities. Migrants are increasingly torn between the desire to preserve their culture and the need to come to terms with standards and customs of the host society".

Davis (1979: 18) termed nostalgia as "a positively toned evocation of a lived past", while Kaplan (1987) considered nostalgia a "warm feeling about the past, a past that is imbued with happy memories, pleasures and joy". The group of sentiments that nostalgia elicits are as old as human language but the word is a modern one (Prete, 2001). The word first appeared in the work of Hofer in 1688 and was added to the clinical dictionary has an illness already known in German-speaking Switzerland by the name of *Heimweh*. The term nostalgia was based on the myth of odyssey, the classic hero of return, or *nostos* (Sedikides, 2006). According to Kessous and Roux (2008), afterwards nostalgia was the object of numerous interpretations, each with its source in one of the triple dimensions of time: past/ present/ future. In clinical psychology nostalgia is considered as a desire to go back to the womb (a theory oriented to the past), it could be a maladjustment to his/her environment (a theory oriented to the present). And the theory oriented to the future suggests that the individual has an idea of his/ her future; for instance, older people tend to focus on the past (nostalgia) to find comfort in relation to the limited time of life they envision in their future (Kessous and Roux, 2008).

Philosophers of the 18th century, namely Rousseau and Kant, proposed the first modern definition of nostalgia arguing that temporal distance was more related to nostalgia than spatial distance. Kant explained that when nostalgic people return home they feel often very disappointed but at the same time they feel cured. According to Casey (1987), the history of nostalgia within philosophy hinges upon the role of place. While specific place diminished in stature during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the desire for a return to imagination as the source of the world increased. Put in another way, by the late eighteenth century, as the geographic site of home was stripped from nostalgia, it was replaced with a spiritual return, an attachment to a way of being in the world. Artists, unlike most philosophers, elevated and refined the uses of nostalgia in terms of actual homes, and if not in terms of descriptions of physical structures, then in terms of the hope of return – often in the face of great odds.

With the contemporary geographical mobility the previous feelings of being unrooted tend to erase (Holak and Havlena, 1992). Sedikies *et al* (2004;2006) and Routledge *et al* (2008) focused on the construct for its positive and self-relevant implications and

they found that from this perspective nostalgia serves four specific psychological functions: a) as a repository of positive feelings; b) contributing to self-positivity; c) strengthening social connectedness; d) eventually providing perceptions of meaning of life that facilitate coping with existential concerns. Nostalgia is a protection against loneliness and it is very common in migrants and minorities, leading to an increased willingness to travel (Zou *et al*, 2008). This willingness to travel makes the nostalgic migrant an interesting market to explore but it is necessary to understand how nostalgia works and how it could lead the migrant to explore the country of origin using the touristic resources of the respective destination.

4. A study about travel constraints and nostalgia as determinants of travel to rural Europe amongst US citizens

Aim

This chapter presents an exploratory study of the processes that motivate and hinder North-American tourists to visit rural Europe. In the tourism literature there is little information about the tourist behaviour of North-Americans that travel to Europe, but according to existing evidence this market travels mostly to cities.

The tourism industry is vast and complex (Anastassopoulos *et al*, 2009) and the expectations of consumers (Russell, 2008) differ between distinct segments. Several authors suggest that the exploratory search for specific markets should be guided by qualitative studies (Spiggle, 1994, Arnould and Wallendorth, 1994). Given the existence of a gap in studies on the characteristics of the American who travels to Europe, the authors developed a framework of qualitative analysis aiming at an improved understanding of this market's decision-making background, particularly when considering travel to rural Europe. The qualitative analysis, viewed as a strategy and not as a set of methods (Bryman, 2001), can generate theory research, can put emphasis on understanding the world through the perspective of its participants, and implies the view of social life as the result of interaction and interpretation (Philimore and Goodson, 2004). In tourism qualitative techniques offer great potential to help understand the human dimensions of travel behaviour as a complex phenomenon, including its social and cultural implications.

Methodology

The work was based on a qualitative analysis developed through 27 semi-structured interviews (see Table 1) and an anthropological study over a period of three months. Ethnographic studies are a technique from the discipline of Social Anthropology, which aims to study an object by direct experience of reality, where it falls (Nash, 2004). According to Palmer (2001), research on tourism often presents many complexities that are best observed in a direct manner.

Table 1: Description of participants

Num	Gender	Age group	Connection with Europe	Experience of travel to Europe
1	Female	30-40 years	Military father worked in Europe, Indirect Italian origin	Travelled to several countries in Europe in childhood
2	Male	30-40 years	Parents of European origin (France and Germany)	Travelled through France, Germany, Spain and England
3	Female	20-30 years	Grandparents of European origin	Has travelled to Europe once: Switzerland
4	Male	50-60 years	Father of Italian origin	Travelled to several European countries for vacation and worked in Italy
5	Male	20-30 years	Parents of European origin (second generation)	Has never travelled to Europe
6	Male	50-60 years	Without direct European origin	Travelled to several European countries for business
7	Female	30-40 years	Without direct European origin, but within a community with strong traditions of Scotland	Has never travelled to Europe
8	Female	More than 65 years	Does not know if origin is European	Has never travelled to Europe
9	Female	More than 65 years	Does not know if origin is European	Has never travelled to Europe
10	Female	More than 65 years	Descendant of Poles	Has never travelled to Europe
11	Female	30-40 years	The husband is English	Travelled to Europe once
12	Male	30-40 years	Does not know if origin is European	Has never travelled to Europe
13	Male	30-40 years	European grandparents	Has never travelled to Europe
14	Male	30-40 years	Does not know if origin is European	Has never travelled to Europe
15	Female	30-40 years	Does not know if origin is European	Has travelled to Europe once: Italy
16	Male	30-40 years	Remote Irish descent	Has never travelled to Europe
17	Male	40-50 years	Italian origins	Lived in Europe up to 12 years
18	Female	40-50 years	Does not know if origin is European	Lived in Europe for a few years of childhood because his father worked in England
19	Female	30-40 years	Descendants of remote ancestors Europe (Germany)	Has never travelled to Europe
20	Male	30-40 years	Does not know if origin is European	Has never travelled to Europe
21	Female	20-30 anos	Does not know if origin is European	Has never travelled to Europe
22	Male	20-30 anos	Descendant of Germans	Has travelled to Europe once: Germany
23	Female	30-40 years	Does not know if origin is European	Has never travelled to Europe
24	Female	50-60 anos	Offspring of Italian and Scottish	Has travelled to Europe once: Italy
25	Female	30-40 years	It has Italian grandparents	Has travelled to Europe once: Italy
26	Female	30-40 years	Offspring in the family of France, Italy and England	Has travelled to Europe once: France
27	Male	30-40 years	Italian descendant	Has travelled to Europe once: France, Italy and England

Source: authors

Participant observation is a method by which researchers make observations during the participation in the activities of individuals who are studied (Chambliss and Schutt, 2009; Spradley, 1980). As in other methods of observation, it is important to recognize the chance to win an in-depth knowledge of the situation in its social, natural or usual context, especially providing a sense of what is called "view of who is inside" the situation or context (Belsky, 2004). Participant observation was conducted by talking to and observing behaviour of Americans living in the Mid-Atlantic U.S., specifically in public places, both in work and leisure settings. This approach was conducted during a three month stay in the state of Pennsylvania.

The interview process

For the sample adults of U.S. citizenship were selected, characterized by the habit of travelling. At least some respondents should already have experienced travelling to Europe. The study was conducted in the state of Pennsylvania, the Mid-Atlantic U.S. between June and August 2009. The respondents were contacted by the snowball method when the interviewer asked the respondents who were selected for an interview to indicate people who possessed the characteristics of the target group for also being interviewed (Babbie, 2009). The interviews intended to explore the factors that lead respondents to travel or not to rural Europe. The interviews had a duration ranging from half an hour to two hours. After responding to personal data, and information on their prior experience of travel to Europe, three open-ended questions were directed to participants. These questions intended to introduce the participants in the topic and let them develop their ideas and perspectives on the subject addressed, namely travel to rural areas in Europe. Based on these interviews it was found that the participants indicated many constraints to travel to Europe, particularly concerning travel to rural areas, as visible in the following statements:

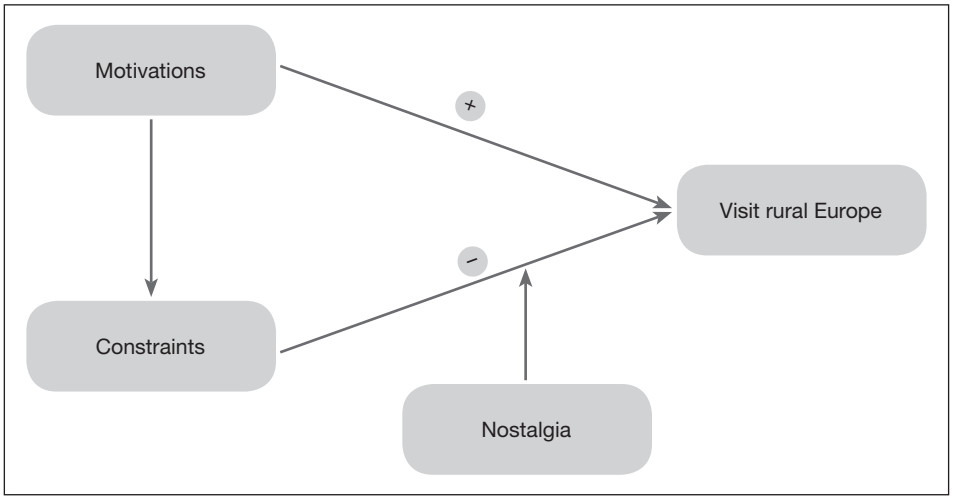
"I have to pay the loan of the University, the mortgage and all the years I visited my parents and my husband's parents who live in different parts of the U.S. and at a long distance. So, I have few financial resources and time to travel to Europe "(respondent nº 25, see table 1)

"Europe is a very expensive destination, is far away and the rural people should not speak English and there should not exist public transportation" (respondent nº 13, see table 1)

However, another factor common to most respondents was the existence of nostalgia for Europe which led many participants to negotiate the constraints that prevented them from visiting Europe (see Figure 1).

"I had to visit the land of my grandmother, where she grew up hearing so many stories about Germany that I got a huge desire to go there. I had to raise money for two years. "(respondent nº 22, see table 1)

Figure 1: Nostalgia as a facilitator for visiting rural destinations in Europe



Source: authors

Constraints to travel

Constraints have been studied in a more extensive manner in the leisure than the tourism literature (Huang and Hsu, 2009). The leisure studies indicate that a perceived constraint has a negative effect on participation in leisure activities (Jackson, 2005; Virden and Walker, 2005). According to Crawford and Godbey (1987), constraints may be analysed considering three dimensions: intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural (see also Nyaupane *et al*, 2004; Penninghton-Gray and Kernstetter, 2002; Raymone, 2002; Jackson, 2005).

Intrapersonal constraints

These constraints reflect intrapersonal psychological states, personality traits, personality characteristics and beliefs. Plog (1977 cited by Hall and Page, 2006) classifies the tourists within a typology ranging from "allocentric" to "psychocentric". The group of "allocentrics" feels attracted to new unknown destinations, where there is no previous tourism development and where the traveller can integrate into local life and customs. The group of "psychocentrics", however, look for familiarity, do not venture to

travel to unknown places, they do not adapt to the customs of the visited regions and typically need tourism infrastructures and levels of comfort and type of environment they are used to in their daily lives. The more adventurous people are more likely to participate in tourism activities, particularly involving travel over longer distances to places perceived as very distinct from their home.

Similarly, Cohen's (1972 cited by Cooper *et al*, 2007) theory suggests that tourism combines the curiosity to seek new experiences with the need to maintain familiar aspects in the context of travel and offers a continuum of possible combinations between novelty and familiarity (Cooper *et al*, 2007). In the present study, those respondents seeking a dimension of familiarity, or the more "psychocentric" tourists, typically feel more resistant to visit the countryside in Europe. This should be particularly true for those who do not have any family or cultural links to Europe, which might have increased the feeling of familiarity.

"In rural Europe things are different, in the cities I know there is always someone who speaks English" (1)

However, there was also a reference to health problems. Europe is a long-haul destination and the journey involves some physical discomfort and risk:

"I have health problems, can't make such long flights" (respondent nº24, see table 1).

Interpersonal Constraints

These constraints result from interpersonal interactions and individual relationships established with others (MacDonald and Murphy, 2008). These others refer to family, peers, other tourists, services staff, the local population, and authority figures. The stage of the family life cycle largely influences this type of constraints, for example when a person moves from the status of single to married, with children, later without children at home ("*empty nesters*"), among other situations, with the decision-making processes concerning travelling being shaped by each phase's particular social context. Thus, the preferences of other family members and of friends can influence the decision to travel. On the other hand, missing company of others may prevent from travelling at all.

"My husband prefers to visit places with sun, tropical places, so I cannot go to Europe" (respondent nº23, see table 1).

[Even if I wanted to ...] "I have no one to go with me" (respondent nº15, see table 1).

Structural constraints

Structural constraints are associated with a broader context, beyond the personal context of the individual, and include physical and social institutions, organizations and beliefs associated with the society in which one lives. Jackson (2000) states that everyone has an embarrassment whatsoever, that no one is totally free; these constraints can be of various degrees of intensity. One of the constraints, as indicated by 100 % of the sample, is the lack of money to travel, complicated by the fall of the dollar against the Euro. The geographical distance from the destination was mentioned as a constraint associated with the discomfort of travel and / or the time required for undertaking the trip in a convenient way.

"I have lack of time, [Europe] is so far, only worthwhile to spend some weeks" (respondent nº 21, see table 1)

Time is reported by Godbey (2005) as one of the major constraints to participation in leisure activities. Jackson (2000) suggests that this factor should be considered rather as an antecedent constraint than as a barrier.

Nostalgia as a facilitator helping overcome constraints to travel to rural Europe

Despite these constraints it was found that respondents who had European origin, both direct and indirect, as well as those seeking authenticity, referred to factors related to the concept of nostalgia as a motivating factor to overcome the existing constraints to travel. Stern (1992) defines the term "nostalgia" as "an emotional state in which an individual aspires to an ideal version or" clean "prior period", i. e., describing a feeling of longing for a past time, often idealized and unreal or hyperreal". As seen before, in literature there are various types of nostalgia, however, for this qualitative study we will use those defined by Holak *et al* (2007), distinguishing: a) personal versus collective and b) based on a direct or indirect experience (Davis, 1979; Holak *et al*, 2007). Based on these two types, Holak *et al* (2007) suggests four dimensions for nostalgia: personal, interpersonal, cultural and virtual nostalgia, as explained below.

Personal nostalgia

This type of nostalgia is related to the memory of life and direct experience of an individual, an idealized and imaginatively enriched form of nostalgia. The focus of the memory is the home "feeling" of a childhood (Davis 1979), recollected in adulthood, as a source of joy and security. The personal nostalgia does not depend on a happy childhood, but a rebuilt fiction of it. In personal nostalgia, the awareness that an individual is aging and becoming marginal in a society in constant change can trigger a desire to

return to the first stages of life, such as revisiting the places of youth or childhood (frequently mentioned by the respondents) or enjoying a meeting with relatives or long-time friends, participating in sports, having a second "honeymoon" or being pampered like a child.

"Europe is beautiful; it reminds me of the best moments of my childhood" (respondent nº 13, see table 1).

Even visiting wellness clinics can be a form of nostalgia through the effort to return to being in shape (Jafari, 2000). Another form of personal nostalgia is diaspora tourism, which by definition relies on the continued existence of the diaspora, although diaspora tourism does not only refer to personal nostalgia. Few tourists seeking their ancestral home really want to live there (Cohen, 2004). Nostalgia is a phenomenon common among diaspora communities, can be understood as a major motivational factor for travelling to ancestral home countries and localities and colour the images that these potential visitors have of the destination (Coles and Timothy, 2004).

Interpersonal nostalgia

This kind of nostalgia includes experience-based interpersonal communication with others regarding the memories of others and the combination of the experiences of others with the individual's personal interaction with these people (Holak *et al*, 2007). Respondents showed this kind of nostalgia through living with family, being mostly descendants of European immigrants. However, there was also nostalgia felt by individuals with no European roots, based on interaction with people who did have these roots, like this person who was married to a native European as shown in this example:

"I visited Europe because my husband wanted to show me his hometown. He is from England, and I also wanted to know why he is always talking about his country. I want my children one day to visit England, too." (respondent nº 11, see table 1).

Cultural nostalgia

This type of nostalgia derives from direct experience, where members of a group share the same experiences, which helps create a cultural identity (Holak *et al*, 2007). One interviewee, despite having no Scottish descent, but living in a Scottish diaspora community in which, amongst other activities, bagpipe classes were held, felt nostalgia about Scotland. This environment made her feel interested in visiting Europe:

"If I go to Europe it will be to Scotland because I play the bagpipes and it evokes memories of the highlands, even though I have never been there before ..." (respondent nº 9, see table 1).

Virtual nostalgia

This refers to a type of nostalgia evoked by an experience shared in an indirect manner (Holak et al, 2007), for example through the experience of heritage. According to Henry (2000, quoted by Casey, 2003) the result of the growing interest in cultural heritage results from the need for objectification and materialization of culture. This display of heritage objects responds to consumer needs for nostalgia. The historian Michael Kammen (1991:20 quoted by Casey, 2003) calls nostalgia to the consumable mind that "fills (the consumer) with some new and old emotions, a sense of nostalgia collection". Tourism can be a nostalgic form of past, staged in a commercial manner, or may be a way to differentiate the past from the present. For example, in dark tourism, tourists visit the scene of tragedy, at the site of tragedy, where it is possible to experience the danger without actually being in danger (Harlow, 2005). Another example of virtual nostalgia lies in the industry of music festivals, staging a traditional event (invented for the tourists), which feeds the nostalgia by reinventing the cultural experiences of the past, festivals, museums and other cultural creations (Gibson and Connell, 2004).

"I went to Europe because there was always so much information, so many pictures about those sites, [these were] so beautiful, full of culture, on the Internet, in magazines and on television" (respondent nº19, see table 1).

Nostalgia as a facilitator

The concept of facilitator was developed by Raymone (2002: 39), relating to the concept of constraints suggested by Jackson, "facilitators for leisure are the factors that are assumed by researchers and perceived or experienced by individuals to enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and encourage or increase participation." Similar to the construct of constraints, this author suggests three types of facilitators (Woodside *et al,* 2005):

- Intrapersonal (personal characteristics, traits and beliefs);
- Interpersonal (resulting from interaction with other individuals or groups);
- Structural (physical or social institutions, organizations or systems of society that operate in a manner external to the individual to promote or restrict the preferences of leisure and participation).

Respondents were found to negotiate, typically structural travel constraints when they felt nostalgia for the destination considered, with these constraints being mainly money and time available. Europe is a destination that is usually considered expensive and some respondents indicated that they were saving money to visit this destination.

Some respondents also indicated that they were trying to overcome the time constraint, so that they would have the time to visit Europe:

"I'm trying to reconcile with my husband a few days off to go get at least two weeks in Europe, otherwise it does not reward" (respondent nº 21, see table 1).

One may conclude that, particularly in the case of North American residents with roots in Europe, a group also called "European Americans", nostalgia may play a powerful role in motivating travel to this continent, even to its rural areas, and in helping to overcome the generally identified travel constraints associated with this long-haul travel.

5. Conclusion

Gilbert (1991: 98) states that "travel is a form of consumer behaviour involving a purchase of an intangible and heterogeneous product that involves an experience." It is therefore necessary to understand the vision that the tourists have of the experience, the basic motivations and meanings behind such travel, such as looking for fun, for feelings, fantasies, nostalgia and dreams that can be very important factors in choosing a destination (Decrop, 2006).

In a time of global markets and increasing competition it is very important that tourism marketers target tourist segments properly, understanding their needs and desires, as well as the main travelling constraints and facilitators. Nostalgia was suggested as a potentially relevant factor for migrant tourist segments that might help design more appealing marketing strategies to these groups. According to Sierra and McQuilty (2007: 109) nostalgia "is an intriguing and prevalent phenomenon that can affect consumer behaviour and produce competitive advantage when exploited effectively". The relation between tourism, migration and diasporas is now starting to flourish (Hall and Rath, 2007; Scheyvens, 2007; Hall and Williams, 2002; Cohen, 2004), but there is a lack of studies that analyse the influence of nostalgia on travel behaviour in this context.

The here presented study aims at exploring the propensity of the U.S. market to visit the European countryside. Based on an exploratory analysis of qualitative nature, nostalgia emerges as a relevant factor at the level of the segment "European Americans". The U.S. tourist market is a fairly complex group, characterized not only by one dominant culture, but representing indeed a melting pot of cultures, resulting from years of immigration. In this context, the *European Americans*, with family and cultural

roots in Europe, show a psychographic profile, marked by nostalgia, which enhances their willingness to negotiate travel constraints regarding a potential European destination, even a rural one. Nostalgia could thus be confirmed as a relevant motivational factor for this particular migrant tourist segment, helping to overcome travel constraints that are felt even more intensely in the case of long-haul travel.

Research about the role of nostalgia in the context of tourism, particularly amongst migrant communities, seems to be a promising avenue of research. The here presented study is of an exploratory nature and would require more representative approaches to the North American European migrant market for more conclusive results. This approach might also be replicated in other cultural contexts, trying to understand the relevance of nostalgia in distinct migrant communities. Finally, it is necessary to create a quantitative research tool to study the influence of this construct on travelling with larger, more representative samples and to also permit comparative cross-cultural studies.

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Part III:

Destination (image) change and its perception

New minorities and their languages – their impact on the multiethnical areas of Italy

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1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present a research carried out by the *Centre of Excellence for Research/Permanent Linguistic Observatory of the Italian used among foreigners and immigrant languages in Italy* of the University for Foreigners of Siena.

The main goal of the research was to map new Italian plurilingualism, in particular the presence of immigrant languages spoken by the new minorities of Italy, through the use of new methodologies and instruments able to map the linguistic diversity of a territory in order to understand the changes in Italy's current linguistic situation and inquire into the impact of new minority languages. We aimed to gather data on the presence of new minority languages in a multiethnic district of Rome, the Esquilino, where in recent years many migrants have opened shops, travel agencies, phone centres, restaurants, cafés, etc.. In this area a lot of tourists and especially foreign tourists usually come into contact with new minority people and languages[1]. The Esquilino is placed in the central area of Rome, just next to the main railway station of Rome, Termini station, where every day thousands of tourists arrive and leave to spend some days in Rome or to transit to other destinations in Italy, sometimes having a short break in the neighbourhood of the station.

1 For further details on the linguistic mapping of a territory and the research carried out by the University for Foreigners of Siena, see also: Bagna, Barni (2005, 2006), Barni (2008), Barni, Bagna (2008).

Rome attracts tourists from all over the world for its ancient monuments, museum, but also for more modern events such as musical and cinema events. In the last year Roma has gained the 5th place in the ranking of *Travel + Leisure Magazine* about the ideal holiday destination, comparing aspects like culture, artistic heritage, food and restaurants, landscapes, prices, hotels and public transport. New minorities deeply affect the urban landscape of the Esquilino, thanks to the presence of lots of signs, public notices, advertisement, menus written in new minorities languages. Tourists can find in the activities run by new minorities a common benchmark, something they already know and experienced in their own country and that give them a sense of tranquillity e. g. a Chinese restaurant or a kebab take away. Hence new minorities can notably influence the tourist market as service providers, influencing the economy, the gastronomy, the lifestyle, the destination image also through their languages.

2. Multilingualism, new minority languages, linguistic landscape: a theoretical framework

Multilingualism is a dominant feature in Italy's linguistic makeup, since the Italian linguistic repertoire has always included historical minority languages and dialects and their varieties alongside Italian and its varieties. Over the past 150 years the Italian linguistic repertoire has changed as dialects have declined and Italian has become the most used language, with a constant trend towards the linguistic unification of the country. In the last three decades, with the increasing phenomenon of immigration, a new key factor has modified Italian linguistic space, with new minority languages entering it and changing it as they become a new element within traditional Italian plurilingualism. The concept of *superdiversity* as introduced by Vertovec (2006, 2007) refers to a situation of diversity the elements of which are extremely many and differentiated, going beyond the traditional situation and giving rise to exceptional change. Linguistic superdiversity can be considered as the normal condition of those contexts historically exempt from migrant flow and today characterized by new linguistic situations as a consequence of the arrival of new minority languages spoken by migrants. The condition of linguistic superdiversity has also been identified in the Italian context (Barni, Vedovelli, 2009), recognizing the impact of new minority languages in Italian linguistic space.

There are currently more new minority languages present in Italy than there are historically present traditional minority languages : at least 130 (Vedovelli, Villarini,

2001). Immigrant groups that have settled throughout the country have implanted their languages in local communities. We can now speak of the presence of immigrant languages as distinct from migrant languages in the national linguistic space and in local linguistic spaces (Bagna, Machetti, Vedovelli, 2003). Immigrant languages are characterized by scarce fluctuation, social rootedness, high vitality and visibility in the territory, which favours contact with Italian, and high residency. They are systematically spoken by large stable groups of immigrants and can deeply impact on Italian linguistic space. Migrant languages have less vitality and visibility, cannot leave traces of their presence in linguistic contact within the Italian context, and are used by small and non-cohesive groups of migrants. Only immigrant languages can affect the Italian linguistic space and impact on the Italian plurilingual repertoire.

Languages can leave traces of their presence in the *linguistic landscape* of an urban area[2]. According to Landry and Bourhis (1997: 29), "the linguistic landscape may act as the most observable and immediate index of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting a given territory". One of the main characteristics of big cities is the coexistence of different ethnic groups and the contact and mixing, and sometimes conflict, of different languages.

3. Analysis methodology: mapping the presence of languages in a territory

This research adopted a multidisciplinary approach, involving methods from linguistics, geography, sociology, statistics and IT. It used innovative and technologically advanced tools for surveying the presence of immigrant languages in Italy.

We created digital maps of the Esquilino – one of the most multiethnic area of Italy – representing the distribution of new minority languages in the area as they appear in the social communication texts of the linguistic landscape: signs, graffiti, posters, public notices, advertisements, menus written in the languages of the new minority groups living in that area or in their contact languages with Italian language.

We used a camera to take pictures of the linguistic landscape of new minority languages and marked the corresponding geographical point on a digital map with special software (*MapGeoLing 1.0.0)* to create a database combining linguistic and geographical data. All the linguistic data collected are georeferenced, and are thus directly associat-

2 On *Linguistic Landscape*, see also: Gorter (2006), Barni, Extra (2008), Shoamy, Gorter (2008), Barni, Bagna (forthcoming), Shohamy, Ben-Raphael, Barni (forthcoming).

ed with the location where they were collected, and linked to the database with the linguistic analysis of the text using the geographical software. These geolinguistic maps represent the presence of new minority languages in an area and allow us to create a representation of the sociolinguistic dynamics of this new plurilingualism in Italy.

MapGeoLing 1.0.0 not only shows how many languages there are and how frequently they are present in an area, but it also permits linguistic analysis to be carried out as well. This analysis can help us to see how a new minority language can enter the linguistic space of a linguistic community and to what degree, as wells as how much it is used. The software permits domains and contexts in which a text appears to be defined, as wells as the identification of the genre and type of text. As for the linguistic analysis, it gives information on the transcription of the text, the translation, the lexical analysis, the morphosyntactical analysis and word use frequency .

The result of this methodology of analysis is a reconnaissance of the territory highlighting the visibility of immigrant languages: shop signs, menus, public notices, advertisements, graffiti etc. contribute to defining the relationships between languages and linguistic communities of an area. They not only refer to the culture of a community, but also point out the power of a community that become visible through the use of its own language, namely its need for identity.

4. The Esquilino (Rome) case study

Rome, being a large city, is marked by the coexistence and juxtaposition of ethnically different groups, and has assumed a dual role as a driving force for the processes of standardization of the Italian linguistic community on the one hand, and as a long-standing centre of multilingual and interlinguistic contact dynamics on the other.

The *Municipio I* administrative area in Rome, which includes the Esquilino neighbourhood, is the area with the greatest number of foreigners (11.16 % of Rome's total foreign population in 2004, and the ratio has remained constant in subsequent years) and the highest percentage of foreigners – (22.9 % in 2006) – relative to the total number of residents (Comune di Roma, 2004, 2005).

The linguistic space of the Esquilino is characterized by a large amount of alphabets, sounds and languages. The most central part of the district, the market, which is one of the most important in Rome, has changed notably with the phenomenon of immigration over the last few decades: the stalls are run by migrants; in the signs new

minority languages are used; the goods are very different from those Italian people usually buy, and meet the demands of many immigrants.

The proximity to the main railway station of Rome makes this area strategic for tourists, who can find in the neighbourhood of the station lots of business run by new minorities. Tourists can see many shops, travel agencies, restaurants, cafés and so on, where immigrant people work and show their own languages and goods. Tourist can access tourist services provided in Italian, English and other international languages such as Spanish or French, as well as in new minority languages, and they can find products coming from all over the world, and not just typical Italian goods and food.

In the Esquilino we found many occurrences of immigrant languages, due to the large amount of new minority businesses in this area. Many of these businesses work only with migrants, but many also work with Italians and foreign tourists.

We collected around 1200 pictures of public communication texts in different languages such as Chinese, Bengali, English etc., and of different kind of text such as shop signs, public notices etc. We gathered 850 pictures in the streets and 350 pictures in the market area. In many cases Italian is widely used as a contact language between immigrant groups and Italian speakers and between immigrant groups as a vehicular language.

We found 24 different languages in the linguistic landscape of the Esquilino, although they are used in very different ways and with very different frequencies. Apart from Italian and Italian as a contact language, we found the following languages, in decreasing order: Chinese, English, Bengali, Sinhalese, Spanish, Hindi, French, Russian, Arabic, Romanian, German, Punjabi, Korean, Japanese, Albanian, Tagalog, Turkish, Farsi, Polish, Portuguese, Ukrainian, Urdu. Some of these are very frequently used in the Esquilino, whereas others are only rarely used. As for text types, we found 18 different types: the most widespread are shop signs and advertising.

We used three parameters to analyse the data:

- presence (total number of occurrences of a language in the linguistic landscape);
- dominance in a multilingual text (times a language is prevalent in a text compared to the other languages of the same text);
- autonomy (presence of a language in monolingual texts).

Italian is the most widespread language, as it is present in 500 occurences. Italian is often used as a lingua franca for communication between different linguistic communities, attracting people speaking other languages.

Chinese is the leading language of new minorities from the quantitative point of view (it appears in 483 texts) and it is also the most autonomous language, as it is usually used without any other languages in public communication. In multilingual texts it is very dominant, as for example in Chinese-Italian bilingual texts. Hence Chinese proves to be the language able of exerting the strongest pressure on the area. Among the other most frequently used languages English can be seen in 277 texts and Bengali in 119 texts.

We found many different ways of combining languages in a text in the Esquilino: from texts with only one language up to texts with 8 different languages. The choice of using monolingual or multilingual texts may have a symbolic value, because it becomes possible to select and restrict who can receive a message. Monolingual texts usually restrict the public of the message, representing the degree of closure of a community towards local linguistic usages, but at the same time they also stress the power of a language to be vital and visible. Multilingual texts, on the other hand, show openness towards linguistic contact both with the local language, giving rise to interlinguistic varieties such as can be seen in contact Italian, and with other immigrant languages.

To identify these usage relations we sorted the combination modes of languages into 15 different levels: from level 1, exclusive use of the immigrant languages (242 texts out of 851), through various levels of coexistence of Italian with one immigrant language (207 texts) or of Italian, an immigrant language and other linguae francae (103 texts). The early levels are a sign of the community's closure or lesser degree of openness towards the Italian community and other communities in the area, whereas the other levels are a sign of openness towards several groups of immigrants/speakers/text users. The 15 typologies of texts found in the public communication of the Esquilino can be placed on a continuum the extremes of which are monolingualism and plurilingualism: monolingualism in the immigrant languages or in Italian or in another international language; plurilingualism with the combination of Italian, one or more immigrant languages, one or more international languages. In our analysis of levels, alongside plurilingualism, we also considered the degree of "openness", i. e., the level of comprehensibility of the message for groups of potentially interested readers within the urban and communicative space.

Some migrant groups are concentrated only in some parts of the Esquilino, while other groups are found throughout the area. In the former case we found a lot of monolingual signs, whereas in the latter we found signs with a migrant language and Italian or English as vehicular languages, or signs with many languages with the same

meaning. These represent the different linguistic uses new minorities choose for their languages: inter-community uses, intra-community uses, eso-community uses. The analysis of the maps shows how the division of the territory reflects the boundaries between countries or groups in conflict and keeps the different ethnic, cultural, political and religious groups separated.

5. Conclusion

The linguistic landscape and the new minority languages of signs, advertising, menus etc. express the power of a community to be visible through the use of its own languages, that is, the need for identity that migrant individuals and migrant groups have. The data collected in Rome emphasize a varied and complex linguistic landscape. The various modes of combination between languages in the social communication of this great city appear to be an element of the equilibrium between assimilation to Italian and maintenance of one's own linguistic and cultural identity. Italian represents the highest level of assimilation to the context and to local language uses, and consequently of openness towards them and towards other speakers proficient in Italian. Immigrant languages on the other hand indicate the highest level of will to maintain one's identity of origin, but at the same time the highest level of closure of the message towards speakers of other languages and the local community. From a qualitative point of view not all the languages present in the area are strong enough to make themselves visible without the support of other immigrant languages or in a situation of coexistence with languages such as English and Italian.

The analysis of the new minority languages can give access to the development of new socio-cultural policies, as knowledge of the languages present in an area and of their vitality and visibility grants one insight into the presence of migrant groups and is a key factor for understanding their impact on a society and its economy.

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Attitudes towards ethnic groups in the city of Salzburg

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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 policies[1] 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. Empirical studies, for example from Germany[2], analysing the

1 A most recent study by the British Council and the Migration Policy Group (2007) calculates the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) for 25 European and three non-European countries. Austria – together with Cyprus – occupies the second-last position. The state offers migrants the least favourable access to nationality out of all 28 countries. 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.

2 In Germany, Hafez and Richter (2007) by a media analysis on the image of Islam on German TV (ARD and ZDF) show that even with these two public-law channels 81 % of all contributions deal with negative aspects. Islam is particularly often connected to terrorism and international conflicts (23 %), integration problems (16 %), religious intolerance (10 %), fundamentalism (7 %) and oppression of women (4 %). Only 21 % of the contents analyzed were on positive or neutral topics such as cultural-religious particularities (11 %) or analyses of Muslim everyday life (8 %).

media as another crucial influential factor, clearly indicate that in comparison to other religions Islam attracts disproportionally much attention. Also in Austria some tabloids pursue a mostly one-sided way of reporting, which additionally contributes to the negative attitudes of the public particularly towards Muslims and asylum seekers. 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. Also in Austria right-wing populists gain more and more ground. The FPÖ uses individual scenarios of threat which are sketched in respect of Muslim immigrants and clearly influence the perceptions of the locals. 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).

These current societal developments in Austria may reflect the intercultural understanding and maybe also one of the countries" most important economic branches, tourism. This industry is dependent on a positive destination image, experiences of hospitality and on functioning guest-host relations. Therefore, 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 shed light on attitudes of the host society towards ethnic minorities and to explore the main influential factors of perceiving an ethnic threat. As this book is about ethnic minorities and tourism, implications and further challenges of host-guest relations in Austria are derived, based on the main results of the study, and they will be discussed in the last section of the paper.

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).

Also the national background of tourists visiting Salzburg is widespread, although travellers from Germany remain clearly predominant. The following table 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 15 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.

Table 1: Tourist arrivales 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

Region				City			
Nations	Arrivals	% prev. year	% total	Nations	Arrivals	% prev. year	% total
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 – Data Base, www.tourmis.info

In general, the relation of national tourists (from Austria) and foreign tourists is rather similar for the region and for the city. Nearly 7 out of 10 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, 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 15 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, pp. 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, S. 233f.).

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 (Bauböck, 1996, S. 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, 2009).

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: Top 6 foreign ethnic groups in the city of Salzburg

citizenship	count	male	female
1. Austria	117.663	54.294	63.369
2. Germany	4.970	2.463	2.507
3. Bosnien/Herzegowina	4.832	2.625	2.207
4. Turkey	2.651	1.480	1.171
5. Kroatien	2.152	1.087	1.065
6. Serbien/Montenegro	2.141	1.083	1.058
Total inhabitants	**149.108**	**70.296**	**78.812**

(Source: Archive of city statistics Salzburg, 2009)

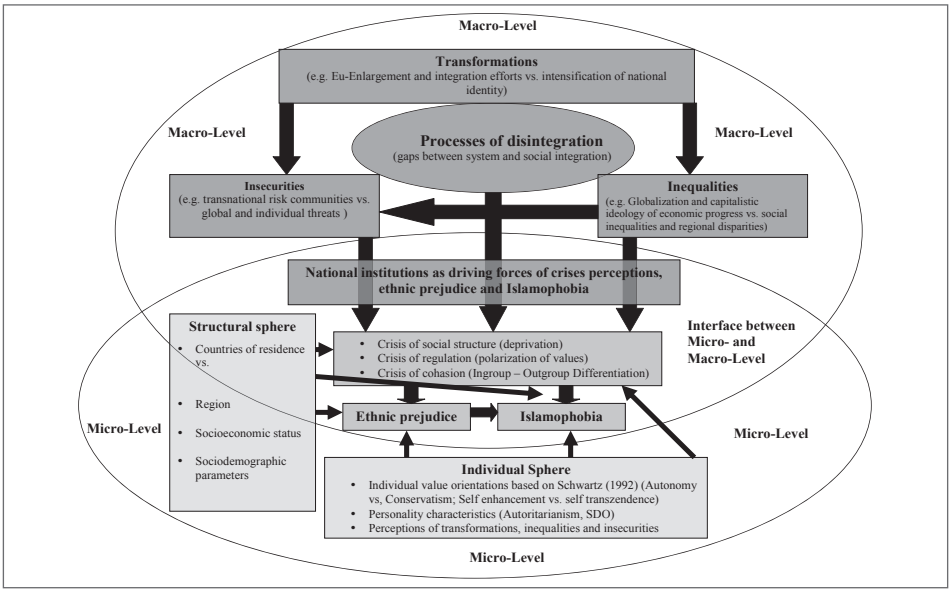
After this overview of Salzburg, on the one hand a highly frequented world-wide tourist destination and on the other hand a city with a considerable number of ethnic minorities (mainly from Germany, former Yugoslavian states and Turkey), the theoretical approach as a starting point of the study is presented. 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 operationalized and tested in the study on the local population in the city of 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 efforts 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 economic 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 the following model:

Figure 1: Theoretical model of ethnic prejudice and islamophobia



In summary, cracks of social order (see Hitzler and Reichertz, 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 susceptive 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 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 et al. (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 prejudice.[3]
- 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

3 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).

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 question 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, operationalization 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 operationalized in the questionnaire. Ethnic prejudice as dependent variable of the study was measured, using classical item-batteries from existing population surveys (e. g. Wasmer, Scholz and Blohm, 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.

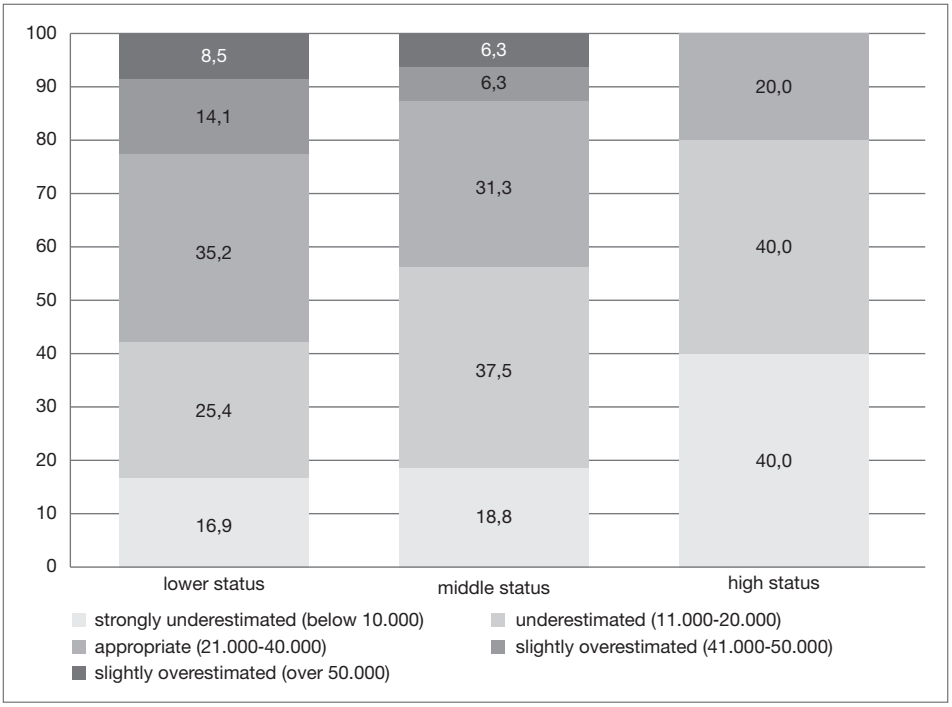
Concerning age and education, the sample cannot be regarded as being representative because of a higher proportion of younger people (median age: 38, mode: 23 years) and a higher proportion of highly educated individuals. Also results concerning the election behaviour indicate a higher percentage of left and liberal voters in comparison to former Salzburg election results.[4]

4 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.

5. Empirical results

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

Figure 2: Estimations on the proportion of foreigners depending on status



Asking the population about migration streams in general, at least one third of the sample interprets the number of foreigners (following the city statistics 31000 persons) quite realistically (between 20000 to 40000 people). Half of the locals slightly (33.2 %) or significantly underestimate the number of migrants (19.8 % think that there are less than 10000 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.

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 % 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 stratum. 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.

Other estimations about the structural integration of immigrants also clarify a realistic view of the local population, at least in regard to this migrant sample with problems on the labour market. 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 the table below, 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 %) 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 Western 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.

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 %

This ranking persists also regarding other aspects. The quality of contacts is interpreted positively in 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.

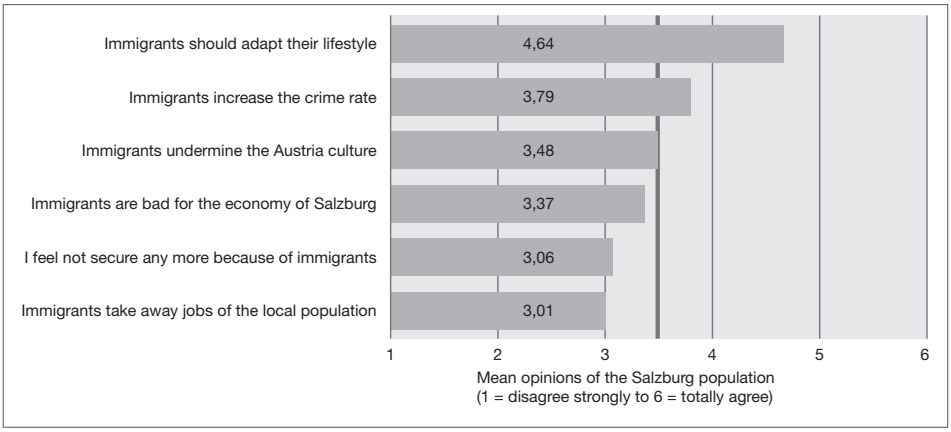
5.3 Factors influencing positive attitudes towards migrants

The next figure 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 those eight indicators which give an overview of diverse attitudes towards immigrants.

In the figure the almost consistent claim for an adaption of lifestyle appears. 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 econo-

my. 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.

Figure 3: Attitudes of the host society towards immigrants



The next table 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).[5]

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.

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 %).

5 Only significant influence factors were reported in the table.

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

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

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. On the basis of perceptions of societal transformations (EU-policy), social cohesion (social trust) and election behaviour as well as a considerable amount of variance can be explained (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 that.[6] So following several studies reporting a high level of xenophobia in Austria, widespread negative attitudes should be assumed. 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 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 on 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).

6 Measuring the proportion of foreign citizens, Austria is on the fourth position in Europe, coming after Luxenbourg (38.6 %), Latvia (22.2 %) and Estonia (20.0 %) (see Lavenex, 2009).

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 cultural distance from 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, Uriely and Reichel, 2000) reveals that intercultural contacts between tourists and the host society may lead to positive relations if certain conditions are met. Amir (1976) 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 an immigration country and to combat defensive solutions creating borders between in- and out groups, also in the tourism business.

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