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THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF TOURISM IMPACTS

This handbook explores and critically examines both positive and negative impacts of tourism development focusing on the past, present and future issues, challenges and trends from a multidisciplinary global perspective. Through a comparative approach involving international case studies, this book explores our understanding of tourism impacts and contributes to the theoretical development on relationships between tourism impacts and community support for tourism development.

This handbook focuses on a variety of geographical locations, drawing from the knowledge and expertise of highly regarded academics from around the world. Specifically, it explores the adoption and implementation of various tourism development and impact management approaches in a wide range of global contexts, while identifying their trends, issues and challenges. It addresses strategies relating to innovation, sustainability and social responsibility and critically reviews the economic, sociocultural, environmental, political and technological impacts of tourism. The text also identifies future trends and issues, as well as exploring the methods used to study tourism impacts.

Conveying the latest thinking and research, this handbook will be a key reference for students, researchers and academics of tourism, as well as development studies, geography, cultural studies, sustainability and business, encouraging dialogue across disciplinary boundaries and areas of study.

Dr. Dogan Gursoy is the Taco Bell Distinguished Professor in Hospitality Business Management at Washington State University in the School of Hospitality Business Management and the editor of the *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*. He is also the recipient of the Changjiang (Yangtze River) Scholar (长江学者) award from the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. The Changjiang (Yangtze River) Scholar award is the highest academic award issued to an individual in higher education by the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. He is also the developer and designer of the Hotel Simulation, a virtual management training game where participants are divided into teams and assigned the task of running 500-room hotels in a competitive virtual marketplace. The Hotel Business Management Training Simulation has been used for both revenue management and hospitality management purposes by several institutions. Dr. Gursoy is recognized as one of the leading researchers in the hospitality and tourism area. His area of research includes sustainability, services management,

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THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF TOURISM IMPACTS

Theoretical and Applied Perspectives

Edited by Dogan Gursoy and Robin Nunkoo

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CONTENTS

<i>Figures</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Tables</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Contributors</i>	<i>xiii</i>
Introduction to tourism impacts <i>Robin Nunkoo and Dogan Gursoy</i>	1
PART I	
Tourism impacts	21
1 Tourism planning and tourism impacts <i>Donald G. Reid</i>	23
2 Tourism and quality of life <i>Perunjodi Naidoo and Prabha Ramseook-Munhurrun</i>	35
3 Overview of underpinnings of tourism impacts: the case of Lisbon destination <i>Sandra Maria Correia Loureiro, Eduardo Moraes Sarmiento, and João Ferreira do Rosário</i>	49
4 Tourism planning: the United Nations World Tourism Organization INSTO Programme – the example of Raglan, New Zealand <i>Chris Ryan, Zhe Chen, Li Linrui and Mary Anne Ramos Tumanan</i>	62
5 The impacts of tourism on animals <i>Neil Carr</i>	72

6	Impacts of elephant tourism in Thailand <i>Eric Laws, Noel Scott, and John Koldowski</i>	82
PART II		
Economic impacts of tourism		93
7	The economic impacts of tourism <i>Orhan Icoz and Onur Icoz</i>	95
8	Tourism and income inequality in Mauritius: an empirical investigation <i>Sheereen Fauzel</i>	109
9	Local economic development, rural tourism and communities: Southern African perspectives <i>Deserè Kokt and Johan Leon Hattingh</i>	121
10	Tracing the economic impacts of adventure travel <i>Paige P. Viren and Christina Beckmann</i>	133
11	Long-term economic impacts of tourism <i>João Romão</i>	143
12	The effects of small and medium-sized tourism enterprises on destinations <i>Sevinç Aslan and Mithat Zeki Dinçer</i>	155
13	Economic impact of visitor (trader) harassment on tourist destinations and what tourism leaders can do about it <i>Annamarie Nicely and Karla “Gabbie” Morrison</i>	168
14	The extraordinary league of rural women entrepreneurs of Malawi: the socio-economic impacts of tourism in Malawi <i>Gerald Milanzi</i>	184
15	The role of tourism in poverty alleviation in Mauritius <i>Boopen Seetannah</i>	202
PART III		
Sociocultural impacts of tourism		217
16	Sociocultural impacts of tourism <i>Ozlem Tekin and Roya Rahimi</i>	219

Contents

17	Social impacts of tourism: a critical literature review on the interrelation between well-being and tourism in the case of seniors <i>Édina Kovács, Kornélia Kiss, Ivett Sziva, and Gábor Michalkó</i>	229
18	Social psychological effects of tourism: evaluation of the tourist–local people interaction within the context of Allport’s intergroup contact theory <i>Sedat Çelik</i>	242
19	Sociocultural impacts of tourism development on heritage sites <i>Orhan Akova and Ozan Atsiz</i>	252
20	Socioeconomic impacts of tourism on the local community: Nkhata Bay district, Malawi <i>Grace Kamanga and Eugenio Njoloma</i>	265
PART IV		
Environmental impacts of tourism		279
21	Environmental impacts of tourism <i>Özge Kocabulut, Nisan Yozukmaz and Serkan Bertan</i>	281
22	Tourism and the environment <i>Mahmoud M. Hewedi and Reem Bahaa ElMasry</i>	298
23	Environmental impact of the ugly face of tourism: pollution and management perspectives <i>Solmaz L. Azarmi, Roozbeh Vaziri, Ayman Kole, Akeem A. Oladipo and Ahmet Bülend Göksel</i>	312
24	Sensitization of tourists about climate change and its associated impacts on the tourism sector: the case of Mauritius <i>Adjnu Damar Ladkoo</i>	327
25	Sustainable tourism as a catalyst for positive environmental change: the case of LUX* Resorts & Hotels <i>Vishnee Sowamber and Haywantee Rumi Ramkissoon</i>	338
PART V		
Political impacts of tourism		351
26	Political impacts of tourism <i>Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul</i>	353

27	Tourism performances, government effectiveness and local growth: the Italian cultural heritage perspective <i>Dante Di Matteo</i>	365
28	Impacts of corruption on tourism: a stop-and-go period for Brazilian tourism <i>Roseane Barcellos Marques, Carlos Alberto Alves, and Elizabeth Kyoko Wada</i>	377
PART VI		
Technology and tourism impacts		401
29	Smart tourism ecosystem impacts <i>Beykan Çizel and Edina Ajanovic</i>	403
30	The onward march of technology and its impact on the world of tourism <i>Sagar Singh</i>	418
31	Smart tourism ecosystems' impacts on tourism destinations <i>Erdem Aktaş and Avşar Kurgun</i>	428
32	Towards the digital era: adding value through ICT in the tourism industry <i>Fisun Yüksel</i>	440
PART VII		
Methods used to study tourism impacts		453
33	A critical review of statistical techniques and applications used to study tourism impacts <i>Edward C. Bolden, III</i>	455
34	A Bayesian modeling approach to assess the moderating effect of gender and nationality on perception of residents towards support of tourism development in the United Arab Emirates <i>Nada Al-Sabri, Avraam Papastathopoulos, and Syed Zamberi Ahmad</i>	469
35	A review of the application of social exchange theory in tourism research <i>Dan Musinguzi</i>	498
	<i>Index</i>	507

FIGURES

1.1	Preplanning phase	24
1.2	The comprehensive tourism plan	32
3.1	Overview of tourism impacts	51
3.2	Total contribution of travel and tourism to employment in Portugal	53
3.3	Foreign visitor exports in Portugal as percentage of total exports	53
3.4	Total revenues in hotel establishments (Lisbon Metropolitan Area)	56
3.5	Evolution of tourists (sleeping nights) by country of origin	56
3.6	Evolution of the number of hotels in Lisbon	57
4.1	Gaussian representation of the main themes generated from textual analysis of residents' comments	68
5.1	Horse-drawn tourist carriage in central Salzburg, Austria	75
5.2	Heathrow Airport birdlife (2018)	78
8.1	Evolution of tourist arrivals in Mauritius	113
8.2	Evolution of GINI coefficient in Mauritius	113
10.1	Definition of adventure travel	134
10.2	Value of international adventure travel consumers	135
13.1	Types of micro-trader that provide goods and services to visitors at tourist destinations	170
13.2	Model for sustainably reducing local micro-traders' harassment-related selling behaviors (SR-MT-HSB) at a tourist destination	173
13.3	Factors that cause international visitors to have positive loyalty intention toward a destination after an intense trader harassment episode	180
13.4	Factors that cause domestic visitors to have positive loyalty intention toward a destination after an intense trader harassment episode	181
20.1	Total visitors to Nkhata Bay district, 2008–2015	272

Figures

26.1	Tourism and impacts (resulting in action at different political levels)	355
27.1	Spatial distribution of World Heritage Sites among Italian provinces, 2018	369
29.1	Main principles of smart cities	405
29.2	“Smartness” levels of technology	407
31.1	Smart tourism ecosystem model	431
32.1	Core benefits of big data for tourism enterprises	442
32.2	Organizational level: synthesis of interrelated disciplines comprising Industry 4.0	445
32.3	Operational level: application of 4.0 by digital marketing in tourism industry	446
32.4	The components of Industry 4.0	447
32.5	Forms of e-commerce	449
34.1	The proposed theoretical model	475
34.2	Posterior distribution from the effect of positive social impacts on support for tourism development	484
34.3	Posterior distribution from the effect of negative social impacts on support for tourism development	484
34.4	Posterior distribution from the effect of positive cultural impacts on support for tourism development	485
34.5	Posterior distribution from the effect of negative cultural impacts on support for tourism development	485
34.6	Results of the hypothesis testing and loadings of support for tourism development	486

TABLES

2.1	Types of capital that contribute to community well-being	39
2.2	Indicators in tourism QoL studies	41
3.1	Tourism lodging capacity in Lisbon: guests in hotel establishments	50
3.2	Estimates and forecasts of tourism activity in Portugal – summary	54
6.1	Characteristics of elephant camps in Thailand	86
7.1	Direct and total contribution of tourism and travel by selected countries (2017)	97
7.2	Economic impacts of tourism	98
8.1	Short-run dynamics (dependent variable: TOU)	117
12.1	General impacts of tourism on destination	156
12.2	SMTes' impacts on the destination	159
13.1	Suggestions from the academic community on how tourism leaders may reduce trader harassment at tourist destinations	174
14.1	Nature of female-led businesses in Nkhata Bay, Malawi	191
14.2	Nature of female-led businesses in Salima, Malawi	191
15.1	The long-run VAR estimates	209
16.1	The effects of tourism on social structures and their components	225
20.1	Distribution of tourism facilities, establishments, and monuments at tourist centres in Nkhata Bay	271
26.1	Areas of concern in political impacts of tourism at different political levels	355
26.2	Nature of political action in tourism at different governmental levels	356
27.1	Descriptive statistics of variables	371
27.2	Effects of government effectiveness and tourism performances on growth in WHSs' provinces	372
28.1	Activities, items, and public and private sphere	380
28.2	Active and passive corruption	390

Tables

28.3	Gross domestic product (GDP)	392
28.4	Corruption allegations	395
29.1	Review of smart tourism definitions	406
32.1	Amount of data collected by different sources on the Internet	442
32.2	Historical evolution of the industrial revolutions	443
34.1	Profile of respondents	479
34.2	Correlation matrix and discriminant validity	479
34.3	Key descriptive statistics, test of normality, and psychometric properties	480
34.4	Structural model results	483
34.5	Bayesian structural model results: baseline models using the gender grouping criterion	487
34.6	The moderating role of gender	488
34.7	Bayesian structural model results: baseline models using the nationality grouping criterion	489
34.8	The moderating role of nationality	490
35.1	Summary of the results	502

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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF TOURISM

Evaluation of the tourist–local people interaction within the context of Allport’s intergroup contact theory

Sedat Çelik

Introduction

There is no complete and definitive explanation or description of what social psychology is. The reason for this is that social psychology is still an emerging science discipline (Kayaoğlu, 2011). There is also a distinction arising between the perspectives of psychologists and sociologists. As a subdivision of psychology, social psychology includes scientific studies that demonstrate how individuals think, feel and influence each other (Bordens & Horowitz, 2002). From a sociological point of view, social psychology is defined as “the discipline that studies the human behavior influenced, controlled and limited by the social environment”. In fact, both perspectives focus on social behavior. Nowadays, these perspectives have been replaced by the situation suggesting that “the individual is in the society, and the society is in the individual” (G. Gurvich, cited in Göksu, 2007: 17). Social psychology is the behavioral science of the individual or individuals within a society. It also tries to understand an individual’s emotions, thoughts, beliefs and attitudes affected by the social environment (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2014: 22). Social psychology, in broad terms, means the scientific examination of how people’s thoughts, emotions and behaviors are affected by the real or imaginary existence of other people (Aronson, Wilson & Akert, 2012: 31).

Tourism is defined as “the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their permanent residence and destination, the activities they carry out during their stay in these destinations and the facilities created to meet the needs of the people” (Mathieson & Wall, 1982: 1). According to the definition that evaluates tourism as a sector, tourism can be defined as outputs, activities and processes that emerge from tourism, tourism suppliers, local institutions, local people and environmental relations (Goeldner and Ritchie, 2009: 6). Franklin emphasized that tourism could be combined with everything, and described it as “what tourists do” (Franklin, 2003: 28). The things that tourists do, which Franklin refers to very briefly, have positive and negative environmental, economic, sociocultural and social psychological effects on societies (Rätz, 2000). For this reason, tourism is very important for the development of countries, strengthening infrastructure, enhancing agricultural and commercial

activities, providing employment opportunities, increasing the number of foreign investments, bringing new technologies into the country, producing local products and ensuring sociocultural co-existence (Golzardi, Sarvaramini, Sadatasilan, & Sarvaramini, 2012).

In tourism, an interaction occurs when local people encounter tourists (Rızaoğlu, 2012). Social psychology's attempt to explain the relationships within the society and groups and between individuals shows that the interaction arising from the relationship between tourists and local people can also be approached from a social psychological point of view. Indeed, it is seen that many studies (Crompton, 1979; Dann, 1981; Pearce, 1982; Ap, 1992; Gomez-Jacinto, San Martin-Garcia & Bertiche-Haud'Huyze, 1999; Maruyama & Woosman, 2015), from the past to the present day, have dealt with tourism from a psychological and sociological perspective. The studies (Snaith & Haley, 1999; Upchurch & Teivane, 2000; Tayfun, 2002; Gursoy, Kim & Uysal, 2004; Mansuroğlu, 2006; Alaeddinoğlu, 2007; Golzardi et al., 2012) conducted on the interaction of tourists with local people mainly focused on local people's perspective on tourism and tourists. The reactions of tourists towards local people have not been studied as much as the reactions of local people towards tourists (Pearce, 1982). Although there are a limited number of studies revealing the role of tourism, which especially enables interaction between different societies, in changing the attitudes (stereotypes and prejudices) of people living in the destination country towards people coming from other countries, tourism is gradually increasing (Amir, 1969; Pearce, 1980; Milman, Reichel & Pizam, 1990; Anastasopoulos, 1992; Sirakaya-Turk, Nyaupane & Uysal, 2014). This study, where we addressed the interaction between local people and tourists within the context of "intergroup contact theory" which was developed by Allport, one of the founders of social psychology, as a solution to changing attitudes, will bring a different perspective. At this point, it is considered that it will contribute to future studies on social psychology and tourism.

Interaction between tourists and local people

Interaction between tourists and local people is defined as a social relationship that occurs randomly in certain areas (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). This social relationship emerges while (a) a tourist is buying a product; (b) tourists and local people are using the same place, area or facility; or (c) tourists and local people are exchanging information or ideas (Dilek, 2016: 110). Lickorish and Jenkins (1997: 16) emphasized that the most important part of the holiday experience was the interaction between local people and tourists. Behaviors between tourists and local people can range from sincere to aggressive behavior. The intensity, form, quality, size, direction and place of interaction can have an effect on the communication between tourists and local people. Whether or not the expectations of tourists are met also has a role in this context (Rızaoğlu, 2012: 273).

As it is understood that tourism cannot develop without the support of local people, there have been more and more studies focusing on the relationship between tourists and local people, on top of the economic benefits of tourism since the mid-1970s (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997: 77). According to Butler's (1980) model, which reveals the relationship between local people and tourism, whereas local people are uninterested in places where the tourists are few and the destination has been newly opened to tourism, they start to get more interested as the number of tourists increases, and their attitudes change in the negative direction as the number of tourists goes above the capacity of the destination (Brida, Osti & Barquet, 2010: 593; Akis, Peristianis & Warner, 1996). Similarly, with the irridex model, Doxey suggested that tourism destinations go through some stages, namely "euphoria", "apathy", "annoyance" and

“antagonism” (Akis et al., 1996; Gürbüz, 2002; Duran & Özkul, 2012). Doxey suggested that, at the primary stage, tourism makes local people happy thanks to the economic benefits it brings, but, as the disadvantages of tourism become evident, locals’ feelings go as far as hostility towards tourists (Boğan & Sarıışık, 2016). Another approach to explain the relationship between local people and tourism has been put forth by Ap and Crompton (1993). Ap and Crompton stated that the interaction between local people and tourists varies in four stages: In the *embracement stage*, local people accept tourism and tourists; in the *tolerance stage*, local people are indecisive about accepting tourists and tourism; in the *adjustment stage*, local people deliberately try to prevent tourists from visiting the destination or make no effort to have them visit; and finally, in the *withdrawal stage*, local people want to leave the regions where they face tourist influx or fight with tourists and show reactions to tourists. In addition, Ap (1992) evaluated the relationship between tourists and local people within the framework of social change theory. In this context, it was suggested that tourism was adopted and supported by local people if its benefits were greater than its costs, and that they opposed tourism when it did more harm than good. We can say that this approach supports the development cycle in Butler’s and Doxey’s models, suggesting that local people support tourism while they gain economic benefits from it, in the first two stages, and lose interest as the harm caused by tourism increases in the other two stages.

The relationship between local people and tourists can be evaluated in two categories, namely the effects of tourism on local people and the effects of tourism on tourists. However, most of the studies (Waitt, 2003; Gursoy et al., 2004; Wang, Pfister & Morais, 2006; Pham & Kayat, 2011; Golzadri et al., 2012; Lopez, Virto, Manzano & Miranda, 2018) refer to the effects of tourism on local people (Pearce, 1982). Recently, there has been an increase in the number of studies (Amir, 1969; Pearce, 1980; Milman et al., 1990; Anastasopoulos, 1992; Sirakaya-Turk et al., 2014; Günlü et al., 2015; Nyaupane, Teye & Paris, 2016; Çelik, 2017a; Joo et al., 2018; Chen & Rahman, 2018) focusing on the effects of tourism on tourists (especially attitude changes).

Allport’s intergroup contact theory

The intergroup contact theory, developed after the Second World War by Allport in 1954, one of the founders of behavioral social psychology in the field of social psychology, has been included in studies intensively because of its theoretical and political importance (Allport, 1979; Pettigrew, 1998: 66; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Joyce, 2017). Allport stated in his theory that intergroup contact was a very effective way of reducing prejudices among different ethnic and religious groups or other opposing groups. In this context, the term “intergroup contact” refers to the relationship and interaction between two or more groups (Allport, 1979). According to this theory, hostility among groups is caused by the unfamiliarity and distance between these groups, and that hostility can be reduced by intergroup contact (Allport, 1979; Bordens & Horowitz, 2002; Yılmaz & Taşçı, 2015; Maruyama & Woosnam, 2015). However, each interaction has the potential to be positive, negative or neutral. At this point, in order for the contact between groups to be positive, he argued that there must be four optimal conditions, such as equal status of the groups, having intergroup cooperation, having common goals and being supported by the authority.

The well-known social psychologist Muzafer Sherif (1966), cited by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), stated that, when there was no cooperation but rather competition, prejudice, discrimination and hostility increased. The optimal conditions stated in the previous paragraph are important for the interaction to be positive, but they are not necessary. In addition, some of the studies revealed that some cases, such as *having a common language, voluntariness and economic prosperity among the groups* (Wagner & Machleit, 1986, cited by Pettigrew, 1998), *absence*

of hostility (Ruesch, 2011), *having social norms on equality* (Aronson et al., 2012) and *exhibiting care and empathy for one another* (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008), are important for the intergroup contact to be effective in the positive direction.

Evaluation of the change in attitudes in tourists–local people interaction within intergroup contact theory

It is known that, as a result of different societies contacting each other, prejudices and tensions can be reduced, and intergroup interaction can be developed (Jaspars & Hewson, 1982). Tourism is an experience that teaches people and opens their minds to the fact that the world is not a single life model, and there are other lives as well (Wintersteiner & Wohlmuther, 2014). This experience is an important way of establishing intergroup contact, intercultural interaction and communication (Gamper, 1981: 432). Therefore, tourism is effective in reducing prejudices, conflicts and tensions. Tourists traveling to foreign destinations may have good experiences with local communities, establish positive interactions and forge permanent friendships. On top of that, tourism contributes to world peace by enabling interaction among different nations and developing mutual understanding among people (Tomljenovic, 2010: 17; Pratt & Liu, 2015). The Global Code of Ethics for Tourism also addresses tourism and peace and emphasizes the importance of tourism in establishing peace and friendship among different people and lifestyles (UNWTO, 2018).

Allport's intergroup contact theory has an important role in explaining the interaction of local people with tourists who have different socio-economic and cultural characteristics in the field of tourism. However, it is not possible to arrange and organize how and when the contact will be realized in the tourism sector (Stangor, 2009). In almost every public space, tourists–local people interaction is possible, and contact can be made while purchasing products or services or during short meetings or information exchange (Yılmaz & Taşçı, 2015). Prejudices may be reduced thanks to these contacts. At this point, however, there are many questions. For example, do all tourism activities reduce prejudices? In particular, in communities that have survived colonization, would contact between the local people and tourists coming from the country that previously colonized them have a positive effect? Does inequality between local people and tourists cause a problem? As not every tourist is satisfied with everything, how does this dissatisfaction influence the contact (Pernecky, 2015)?

It is not possible to provide all the conditions (equal status of groups, having intergroup cooperation, having common goals, being supported by the authority) suggested by Allport (1979) in tourism. At this point, the factors that may be effective in reducing prejudices against tourists as a result of tourists–local population contact are listed below (Tomljenovic, 2010):

- A tourist's length of stay in a destination
- Amount of events/activities
- A tourist's travel motivation/purpose for coming
- A tourist's holiday satisfaction
- The quality, familiarity, cultural distance and language of the destination
- Intensity/power and direction of attitude before holiday
- Tourists' personality traits (intolerant, racist, ethnocentric, etc.).

Many factors can influence the interaction between local people and tourists, such as staying at a destination for a long or short term, temporariness, having equal status, having superficial or intensive contact, being natural, commercial, sincere, formal, competitive, responsive or

unclear (Pizam, Urieli & Reichel, 2000; Reisinger & Turner, 2003). In addition to this, the traits (personality, tolerance, interest, generosity, etc.) that a tourist has (Çelik, 2017b) and the attitude of the local people towards the tourist (being respectful and understanding, etc.) influence the contact's being positive or negative.

As the *amount of outgroup contact* increases, group members have the opportunity to get to know one another, and this often leads to positive attitudes (Maruyama & Woosnam, 2015). González and his colleagues revealed a negative relationship between the amount of contact and prejudice (González, Verkuyten, Weesie & Poppe, 2008). In other words, they found that prejudices decreased as the amount of contact increased. From this point of view, it can be seen that tourists' length of stay in a destination and the number of overnight stays are effective in reducing prejudices. Besides, it has been revealed that social status is also effective in the interaction of local people and tourists (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967). Negative attitudes (hatred, contempt, exclusion, etc.) may develop when people with low and high status encounter each other (Amir, 1969).

As stated in the contact theory, contact between tourists and local people may not always be positive; on the contrary, it can sometimes cause conflict of social values. For example, tourists come to Tahiti to see beautiful women. In a male-dominated society, a conflict of traditional values can emerge with the growing importance of women (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). The arrival of non-Muslims in Muslim countries can cause the deterioration of local, religious and cultural values regarding women's clothing, alcohol and sexuality issues. In this case, it is inevitable that tourists will be isolated and discriminated against by the local people. From another point of view, tourists can be victims of harassment during interaction between tourists and local people. Likewise, linguistic, spatial, security and health problems can arise in the relations between tourists and local people (Pearce, 1982). On the other hand, in underdeveloped countries, contact between tourists and local people may be negative, because rich tourists visiting underdeveloped countries mostly tend to dislike and disrespect the local people (Reisinger & Turner, 2003).

The intergroup contact theory is included in tourism studies mainly to show whether the attitudes of tourists change in a positive direction as a result of interactions with local people. There are many studies examining the effect of tourism on changing prejudices and stereotypes among societies (Amir & Ben-Ari, 1983; Milman et al., 1990; Pizam, Jafari, & Milman, 1991; Anastasopoulos, 1992; Maruyama & Woosnam, 2015). Some are briefly explained below.

Sirakaya-Turk et al. (2014) studied whether prejudices about Turkish people changed between before and after the tour in a group of 317 German tourists who came to Antalya. As a result of the research, it was revealed that prejudices towards Turkish people were even more negative after the tour. Dissatisfaction with the tourist experience and the tour guide, the all-inclusive tour concept and the shopping experience were found to be effective in the change of attitudes in a negative direction.

Grothe (1970) found in his study that American tourists started to hold different attitudes towards Russia. According to this, whereas there was a small positive change in their attitudes towards Russians, it was revealed that there were negative changes in attitudes towards the Russian government and the system.

Welds and Dukes (1985) stated that changes occurred in a positive direction in the attitudes of students participating in a travel program in the semester holiday, including cultural events, home visits and face-to-face interactions.

In a survey conducted with 263 Japanese students who visited Canada, Weiler (1989) identified significant changes in several attitudes held the students towards the local people. However, there was no change in attitudes towards Canada as a destination.

In their study in which 388 tourists working in Israel participated, Pizam et al. (2000) aimed to discover the influence of their contact with local people on satisfaction and attitude change.

The results of the study showed that their satisfaction with contact with local people changed their attitudes towards the local people positively. There was also a positive change in attitudes towards the state of Israel.

Amir and Ben-Ari (1983) conducted a study with 662 Israeli visitors and tried to reveal the changes in their attitudes towards Egyptians before and after the tour. According to the results of the survey, there was a negative change in the general attitudes of the Israelis towards Egyptians. However, their political attitudes did not change. In the Egyptians' opinion about Israel, there was negative change in intellectual competence matters and positive change in personal-social matters. No correlation was found between travel satisfaction and other variables.

Anastasopoulos (1992) studied whether the attitudes of Greeks visiting Turkey changed towards Turks and the Turkish government's policies after travel. In the study, conducted with a total of 97 tourists and a control group of 82 people, it was seen that Greek tourists' attitudes towards Turks often changed in the negative direction. As there was no change in the attitudes of the control group before and after, it can be said that the reason why their attitudes were even more negative was their travel in Turkey. However, it was also seen that there were positive changes in some attitudes (Anastapoulous, 1992). In addition, the attitudes that were positive before the travel did not become negative. The negative attitudes became even more negative.

In a study carried out with 82 Israelis who travelled to Egypt, Milman et al. (1990) revealed that tourism experiences had no effect on most of the attitudes towards Egypt and Egyptians. There was change in only 6 out of 33 attitude expressions due to tourism experience. Only one of these expressions changed in the positive direction. Attitudes towards Egypt were quite positive; only four expressions were negative, below the average.

In the study conducted by Pizam et al. (1991) on 24 American student tourists visiting Russia, it was seen that the participants' attitudes towards Russia were generally positive before travel. The overall satisfaction of the participants was high, and this prevented the participants from being negatively affected. Most of the negative attitudes towards Russia did not change. There was change in only five expressions. Only two out of five expressions were positive, and three of them changed in a negative direction.

Maoz (2010) interviewed 33 Israelis visiting Egypt and 29 Egyptians visiting Israel. According to the results of the interviews, there was no change in the attitudes of 69.3% of Israeli participants, and the attitudes of 26% changed in the positive direction. It was revealed that 60% of Egyptian tourists had great changes in their thoughts after the contact. At first, the Egyptians' attitudes toward Israelis were stronger and stronger, and it was seen that, after the contact, there were more positive changes in the attitudes of the Egyptians.

Gomez-Jacinto et al. (1999) tried to identify the factors that effected the attitude change by improving Fisher and Price's (1991) model. Gomez-Jacinto et al. (1999) tested the model with 164 French and Italian tourists. Only psychosocial motivation influenced intercultural interaction. In addition to tourist motivation, the prejudices of tourists towards Spanish people were influenced by holiday satisfaction, the amount of activities, intercultural interaction and quality of service. Holiday satisfaction was very effective in the positive change of attitudes towards Spanish people. In the change of attitude, tourism experiences are influential as well as the attitudes of people before they travel.

Conclusion and suggestions

In the study, the relationship between Allport's intergroup contact theory and tourism was examined in the context of tourism and social psychology in general. Although the optimal conditions suggested by Allport are not very effective in the tourism sector, the assumption

that, where the groups are in contact with each other, relations will be more positive is acceptable in the tourism sector. In most of the studies presented in the literature, it was seen that there were positive changes in the attitudes of people participating in a tourism activity. However, each contact may not ensure a positive change. In this case, it is necessary to reveal the reasons for this. As Tomljenovic (2010) stated, many elements can be effective in changing the attitudes of tourists, such as the length of tourists' stay in the destination, the amount of events/activities, the holiday motivation of the tourist/purpose of the visit, holiday satisfaction of tourists, quality, familiarity, cultural distance and language of the destination, the intensity/power and direction of the attitude before the holiday, and tourists' personality traits (tolerance, ethnocentricity, etc.).

Therefore, it has been determined that the effects of tourism on societies are not only economic and sociocultural. The contribution of the tourism in eliminating prejudices and establishing national and international peace should be realized by governments and related institutions and organizations. Among the reasons for the occurrence of conflict in many countries today, there are the prejudices of societies and the lack of interaction that is caused by these prejudices. In this respect, seeing and using tourism as a means of peace will help to reduce prejudices, increase interaction and ensure peace.

Therefore, destination managers, local people, business managers and all other people who are in contact with tourists need to take steps to provide quality products and services to please tourists. Some important recommendations are given below for tourism-related institutions and organizations to provide quality services and to ensure more interaction between tourists and local people:

- Organize fairs, festivals, music and traditional dance events where tourists can spend time in the places they visit,
- Extend tour programs to longer periods,
- Increase the quality of service in tourism facilities and the quality of life in destinations,
- Destinations should give priority to tourist masses close to their own cultures,
- Raise awareness in local people about the effects of tourism.

This study has examined the relationship between tourism and prejudice in the context of Allport's intergroup contact theory in relation to social psychology and tourism. In future studies, the relationship between other theories of social psychology and tourism can be examined. By using quantitative and qualitative research methods, the social psychological effects of tourism can be determined. The results can be shared with sector representatives and local authorities to raise awareness on the subject.

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Social psychological effects of tourism

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