

**TITLE:** Reducing Tourist Stereotyping: Effectiveness of Communication Messages

**ABSTRACT**

This research investigates the effectiveness of messaging strategies to reduce negative tourist stereotyping by residents given the detrimental effects of stereotyping on host-tourist relations. Study 1 examines the effects of two strategies: “prevalence of stereotyping message” (PSM) and “prevalence of counter-stereotyping message” (PCSM), compared to a control group via a between-subjects experimental design. Study 2 investigates whether eliciting a common identity between residents and tourists could further improve these strategies via a 2 (stereotype-reduction: PSM vs. PCSM) x 2 (identity: tourists as residents vs. residents as tourists) between-subjects experimental design. Study 3 examines the boundary conditions of these strategies with a group of non-local, subgroup residents. The findings show that tourist stereotypes are malleable, and stereotype-reduction efforts through communication messages could reduce biases against tourists by residents. This research contributes by connecting concepts on stereotype-reduction, social norms, and social identity with tourism stereotype research.

**KEYWORDS:** host-tourist interactions; intergroup relations; social norm; social identity; biases

## INTRODUCTION

Tourist stereotyping, referred to as the beliefs or expectations about the characteristics of certain tourist groups by residents, can have damaging impact on destination management and marketing (Moufakkir 2011; Tung, King and Tse 2019; Zhang, Inbakaran and Jackson 2006). When individuals are aware of being negatively stereotyped, they can experience heightened anxiety (Lee, Kim and Vohs 2011) and lower levels of satisfaction from an experience (Baker, Meyer and Johnson 2008). Tourist stereotyping may also bias residents' impressions, thereby leading to discrimination and harassment (van Veelen et al. 2016). There is a need to examine strategies to address negative biases given the detrimental effects of tourist stereotyping.

Over three related studies, the goal of this research is to investigate messaging strategies for reducing biases, and to show the effects of these interventions on stereotype-reduction. More specifically, the objective of Study 1 is to examine the effects of two strategies: "prevalence of stereotyping message" (PSM) and "prevalence of counter-stereotyping message" (PCSM), compared to a control group via a between-subjects experimental design. These strategies are informed by group norm theory (Sechrist and Stangor 2001) and social comparison theory (Festinger 1954). Past studies have shown that descriptive norms based on comparisons with individuals we deem similar to ourselves could influence how people behave in a situation (Goldstein, Cialdini and Griskevicius 2008). By making individuals cognizant of the prevalence of stereotyping towards other groups, individuals could be aware of their own predisposition to stereotype (i.e., PSM).

Recent research, however, suggests this may itself convey a social norm for stereotyping because the message, "you are not alone in stereotyping," consists of a lurking normative message that "most people are doing it," undermining the desired effect of stereotype-reduction

(Duguid and Thomas-Hunt 2015). Consequently, instead of making people aware that the vast majority of people have stereotypical preconceptions, the PCSM strategy seeks to convey collective efforts of residents trying to overcome their tourist stereotypes, thereby highlighting the prevalence of a counter-stereotyping effect

After initial findings on the effects of the strategies in Study 1, the aim of Study 2 is to build on this approach by eliciting a common identity between residents and tourists via a 2 (stereotype-reduction: PSM vs. PCSM) x 2 (identity: tourists as residents vs. residents as tourists) between-subjects experimental design. Would facilitating an understanding of common identity further reduce tourist stereotypes? While previous tourism research suggests that facilitating a common identity between tourists and residents could reduce conflicts and promote understanding and cooperation (Sonmez and Apostolopoulos 2000), empirical support is required to assess whether such approach could strengthen the effects of stereotype-reduction. Study 2 considers the theoretical implications of connecting social identity theory with stereotype-reduction strategies (Tajfel 1982).

Finally, the objective of Study 3 is to examine the boundary conditions of the stereotype-reduction strategies. While Studies 1 and 2 focus on tourist stereotypes from the views of the dominant community (i.e., majority), a community is nevertheless comprised of a diverse mix of locals (i.e., minorities) who also identify with other subgroups (e.g., individuals of Brazilian background residing in Japan) (Woosnam et al. 2018). For these subgroup residents, they navigate a difficult situation if the dominant community embraces stereotypes against tourists from their group. In this regard, how would subgroup residents react to such stereotype-reduction strategies? The objective of Study 3 is to investigate the potentially unintended effects of applying stereotype-reduction strategies via the procedures in Study 2 for subgroup residents

who are balancing assimilation and differentiation social identity motives since they are simultaneously locals who share similar background as the stereotyped tourists. In a tourism perspective, this consideration is relevant given the diversity of non-local residents at many destinations.

Collectively, the three studies contribute to the literature by connecting theories on stereotype-reduction, social norms, and social identity from psychology with tourist stereotyping research. The studies also connect tourism research with intervention-based approaches to address a relevant issue in intergroup relations in society. From a practical perspective, this research can inform policymakers on strategies that may help residents reduce biases towards tourists, meanwhile cautioning the boundary condition in which well-intended stereotype-reduction strategies could instead lead to an unintended consequence of stereotype-inflation for resident subgroups.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Stereotypes**

Stereotypes are beliefs or expectations about the qualities and characteristics of individuals in a specific social group (Nelson, Acker, & Manis, 1996). Stereotypes are different from other aversions such as ethnocentrism and prejudice. Ethnocentrism is the belief that one's own culture and customs are superior to those of others (Cunningham, Nezlek, and Banaji 2004). While ethnocentrism is a positive feeling about oneself, prejudice is looking down on others as compared to the self, typically based on the culture or ethnicity of the target (Allport and Ross 1967). Stereotypes are different from prejudice and ethnocentrism because they can be both positive and negative that is not necessarily intended to convey superiority. For example, a

Chinese may stereotype a Japanese as competent, as per the stereotype content model (Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick 2008), without necessarily believing that he/she is more intelligent (i.e., superior) than the Japanese. Similarly, a French may stereotype a German as loud without necessarily looking down on Germans in general. When stereotyping, individuals tend to invoke non-dispositional factors (i.e., internal factors) toward group members whom they view as homogenous (Ratliff and Nosek 2011). For example, younger individuals may judge those who are senior as less competent (Lamont, Swift, and Abrams 2015).

Stereotypes are influenced by the concept of negativity bias. This refers to the impact of negative information over positive information (Baumeister et al. 2001). Individuals may discount or minimize disconfirmatory information, meanwhile refer to material relevant to the stereotyped member to justify their existing beliefs (Todd, Bodenhausen, and Galinsky 2012). Additionally, stereotypes may exhibit a contagious effect. This occurs when the characteristics of an individual are extended to others who are viewed as part of the same social group (Rozin and Royzman 2001). Due to the negativity bias, the contagion effect is less likely in the case of positive information as individuals do not typically revisit their stereotypes on the basis of positive behaviors from a stereotyped member. Consequently, significant research effort is required to address negative stereotypes in society.

### **Host-tourist interactions and tourist stereotyping**

Host-tourist interactions among individuals from different cultures and social groups is an essential aspect of tourism (McNaughton 2006). While opportunities for positive host-tourist interactions could enhance the attractiveness of a destination for tourists, unpleasant interactions could instead infuriate and substantiate negative tourist stereotypes (Liu and Tung 2017). Tourist stereotypes represent expectations about the characteristics of certain tourist groups by residents,

and tourist stereotyping is the process whereby residents ascribe such qualities to tourists according to their perceived group (Tung, King and Tse 2019).

Extant tourism research has sought to explore stereotypes in various contexts; for example, Woosnam et al. (2018) suggested that ethnic stereotypes could influence the degree of closeness felt between two groups and the sympathy of the majority group (i.e., Japanese residents) towards the needs of the minority (i.e., Brazilian residents). Scarles (2012) described the reinforcing role of tourist photography on the stereotyping of locals as anonymous natives. Sinkovics and Penz (2009) examined the impacts of tourist stereotyping, including the effects of stereotypical cues and categorization on residents' subsequent attitudes and behaviors. Other studies have explored the topic of stereotypes in contexts such as destination marketing (Bender, Gidlow and Fisher 2013), tourism business environment (Tung, Tang and King 2018), mass tourism (Wang, Weaver and Kwek 2016), destination image (Chen, Lin and Petrick 2012), media representations (Caton and Santos 2009), service experiences (Luoh and Tsaur 2014), and tourism education (Tung and King 2016). These studies highlight the relevance of understanding stereotypes in tourism research; yet, empirical studies on the effects of potential stereotype-reduction strategies to mitigate biases remain an under-studied area in the field.

### **Stereotype-reduction strategies**

Structured free recall, source-monitoring, and error management training are three common strategies for reducing stereotypes that have been applied in previous studies. In structured free recall, individuals are asked to recall positive and negative behaviours against a stereotyped group (Baltes, Bauer and Frensch 2007). This intervention requires participants to avoid general judgements and instead focus on specific examples. For example, Bauer and

Baltes (2002) examined the impact of this strategy on reducing gender stereotyping of college professors. The results showed that this approach could be effective in overcoming the effects of explicit stereotypes.

Source-monitoring is based on two components: remembering and knowing. 'Remembering' are personal judgments based on specific memory while 'knowing' are judgments based on feelings of familiarity (Martell and Evans 2005). This strategy involves teaching individuals to distinguish between the two types of components. For example, Anderson et al. (2015) used this intervention to reduce participants' stereotypes of female leaders. The premise is that bias could be reduced by avoiding the use of 'knowing' judgments because 'knowing' judgments could lead to vague feelings of familiarity.

Error management training involves activities that prompt individuals to think about the cause of their stereotypes (Anderson et al. 2015). Through training, individuals are encouraged to identify and learn from their biases. This technique implies that individuals can exert self-regulation over their thoughts (Keith and Frese 2008).

The underlying premise of these strategies is the role of attention in raising individuals' consciousness of stereotypes as a way to avoid bias (Duguid and Thomas-Hunt 2015). When an individual is aware of the source and nature of stereotypes, those stereotypes could be avoided through efforts to be objective. However, these strategies could potentially elicit feelings of self-blame by making individuals aware of the high incidence of their own stereotyping behaviour (Amodia, Devine and Harmon-Jones 2007). As a result, others strategies are leveraging on group norm theory by making individuals cognizant of the high incidence of stereotyping towards an outgroup that is prevalent among those in their own group (i.e., prevalence of stereotyping message; PSM) (Sechrist and Stangor 2001). By suggesting how most people

behave in a situation (i.e., descriptive norms), individuals would be aware of their own predisposition to stereotype but they would not feel as though they were alone in being biased (Goldstein et al. 2008).

While there is support for the strength of descriptive norms for reducing stereotypes, research suggests that making people aware that the vast majority of people stereotype may have some unintended effects. For example, the lurking message for “you are not alone in stereotyping” is “most people are doing it”, which could induce a social norm for stereotyping, thereby undermining the desired effects of stereotype-reduction (Duguid and Thomas-Hunt 2015).

This research seeks to investigate this issue and contribute to developments in the literature that suggest a modified version of this strategy. The modified intervention (i.e., PCSM) conveys collective efforts of residents overcoming their tourist stereotypes to leverage the positive influence of social norms because a message highlighting positive collective efforts could motivate others to act positively as well. For example, Goldstein et al. (2008) demonstrated that the positive message, “the majority of guests reuse their towels”, was superior to other messages that focus solely on the importance of environmental protection in motivating guests to participate in an environmental conservation program. A case study of gender equity at Harvard Business School also provided encouraging results. The stereotyping of female students and faculty members were reduced when the majority of individuals at the school believed others were working hard against it (Kantor 2013). Overall, Study 1 seeks to investigate the effects of PSM and PCSM strategies in reducing tourist stereotypes, and contribute to broader research efforts in stereotype-reduction.



## **Social identity and stereotype-reduction**

Research in social identity suggests that individuals typically behave more favorably towards their ingroup members, and a shared group membership could increase intergroup cooperation and prosocial acts (Wit and Kerr 2002). In contrast, ingroup distinctiveness and bias could potentially lead to intergroup conflicts and damage intergroup relations as individuals are generally protective of the integrity of their ingroup boundaries (Tajfel 1982).

Previous studies in tourism have noted the importance of facilitating common identities between residents and tourists (Tung 2019; Xie 2006). Since tourism involves host-tourist interactions from numerous different regional and cultural ingroup and outgroup members, residents are oftentimes casted in ‘we’ terms while tourists are denoted as ‘they’ (Giles, Ota and Foley 2013). Facilitating common identity between tourists and residents, however, could be beneficial for reducing conflicts and for promoting understanding and cooperation (Sonmez and Apostolopoulos 2000). A common identity between tourists and residents could also influence residents’ acceptance and liking of tourists as well as their attitudes toward tourism development (Ye et al. 2014). It could shape their subsequent social perceptions, feelings, and behaviors in intergroup dynamics (van Veelen et al. 2016).

What is unknown, however, is whether facilitating an understanding of common identity could further reduce tourist stereotypes. In Study 2, situational primes are added to the stereotype-reduction strategies (i.e., PSM and PCSM) by casting tourists as residents, suggesting that tourists are temporary ‘residents’, as well as casting residents as tourists, reminding residents that they are also tourists when they travel. By eliciting a common identity, Study 2 investigates whether doing so could further strengthen these tourist stereotype-reduction strategies.

### **Boundary condition of stereotype-reduction strategies: Resident subgroups**

Studies 1 and 2 focus on the effects of stereotype-reduction from the views of the majority, dominant group in the community. However, a community is comprised of a diverse mix of residents who also identify with other subgroup (e.g., individuals of Brazilian background residing in Japan) (Woosnam et al. 2018). How would these subgroup residents react to stereotype-reduction strategies that are targeted towards tourists who share similar background as them?

Subgroup residents are in a difficult position. They are balancing assimilation and differentiation social identity motives since they are locals who share similar background as the stereotyped tourists. For subgroup residents, they could be stereotyping to strategically fulfill either assimilation or differentiation needs as per optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer 1991). Optimal distinctiveness theory suggests that individuals have two opposing motives: the need to feel connected and similar to others (i.e., assimilation) and the need to feel unique (i.e., differentiation) (Bell and Burkley 2014). When faced with stereotype-reduction strategies, subgroup residents could embrace negative biases in order to differentiate themselves as ‘residents’ (i.e., ingroup) and not ‘tourists’ (i.e., outgroup), despite sharing common background as the tourists.

In this view, stereotype-reduction strategies could elicit unintended consequences by amplifying, rather than reducing, negative tourist stereotypes for subgroup residents. Study 3 investigates this potential boundary condition, and assesses the limitations it would place on the messaging strategies in Studies 1 and 2.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The goal of this research is to examine messaging strategies for reducing the stereotyping of tourists by residents. Study 1 investigates the effects of the stereotype-reduction strategies (i.e., PSM and PCSM) on minimizing negative biases. Study 2 explores whether the elicitation of a common identity between residents and tourists could reduce stereotyping. Study 3 investigates a boundary condition of these strategies, which could undermine the desired effects of stereotype-reduction.

Stereotype-reduction research requires a focal context. This research seeks to examine potential strategies that could be presented to Hong Kong's policymakers to address residents' negative stereotypes against Mainland China tourists. This context is relevant for Hong Kong as well as beyond the city because tourism is marked by an ever-increasing flow of international Chinese tourists overseas (Weaver 2015). However, there have been tension between Chinese tourists and their hosts (Qiu Zhang, Fan, Tse and King 2017). Beyond Hong Kong, there have been report that residents in Ireland, for example, have formed stereotypes against outbound Chinese tourists as well (Coonan 2015).

### **Study 1**

Study 1 examines the initial effects of the stereotype-reduction strategies via a between-subjects experimental design with three levels (e.g., stereotype-reduction: PSM, PCSM, or control).

## Design

Posters with different messages for the PSM and PCSM conditions were prepared. The messages were informed by psychology research on stereotype-reduction but modified to suit the context of this study (Duguid and Thomas-Hunt 2015). The message in the PSM condition read: “Majority of residents have stereotypes of tourists. Avoid stereotyping.” The message in the PCSM condition read: “Majority of residents are trying to overcome the stereotyping of tourists. Avoid stereotyping.”

With respect to the posters, efforts were made to minimize potential influences due to design elements (see Figure 1). The image of the tourist was a silhouette to eliminate potential influences from skin tone, which could embed preconceptions of social status particularly in an Asian context, where light skin tone could be viewed as more desirable compared to a darker tone (Li et al. 2008). The angle of the silhouette in the poster casted the ‘head’ of the tourist outside the frame. This angle sought to reduce potential effects from facial features. Since facial features such as high nose and thick lips could elicit different views of beauty and gender, the head was casted outside the poster frame altogether. A luggage and camera were the only props with the tourist. These were considered reasonable objects whereas other items such as shopping bags could signal a specific type of tourist (i.e., a shopping tourist with lots of purchases). The background of the poster was a typical view of the city’s skyline. There were no other individuals in the poster that could detract attention or otherwise suggest the tourist was from a group tour, for instance, which could be viewed differently by residents (Haworth, 2013). The outbound Chinese tourism market is changing and Chinese tourists are now favoring independent travel over packaged tours (Mejia et al 2018). A white font color was chosen for both sets of

messages to control for effects that different colors could potentially elevate (e.g., red could elevate aggression) (Elliot 2015).

--- Insert Figure 1 here ---

### Procedures

The study was framed as an investigation into the negative stereotypes against Mainland Chinese tourists. Participants were initially recruited at a large university, and then asked to recommend individuals they thought would be interested in this study. A gift card worth approximately US\$6 at a coffee shop was offered as an incentive for participation. The study was conducted online. In total, 195 participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions (i.e., PSM, PCSM, or control) (71.9% females and 27.7% males; 34.9% between 18-24 years old, 33.3% between 25-34; 20% between 35-44 years old; 11.8% older than 45).

At the beginning of the study, participants in the PSM and PCSM conditions viewed their respective posters. Next, they were asked to evaluate the poster with five-items rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree) (e.g., the poster is appealing; the graphics are clear; the size of the words is appropriate; the words in the poster are easy to read; the words in the poster are easy to understand). These items sought to focus participants' attention on the messages, and acted as a manipulation check for the poster design.

Finally, all participants, including those in the control condition, completed the six-item measure of negative stereotypes against Mainland Chinese tourists based on the tourist stereotype model by Tung, King and Tse (2019) on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly

disagree to 7 = strongly agree). The six items are loud, materialistic, immoral, uncivilized, rude, and unreasonable.

## Results

### **Manipulation check**

A manipulation check was conducted to assess whether participants in one condition held more favorable views towards the poster design (e.g., appeal, graphics, word size, readability, and understandability) as design elements could potentially affect the messaging effects. An independent samples t-test comparing the scores of the PSM ( $M = 4.66$ ,  $SD = 1.03$ ) and PCSM conditions ( $M = 4.69$ ,  $SD = .94$ ) was nonsignificant,  $t(124) = -.166$ ,  $p = .869$ . This result suggested that participants in the PCSM condition did not hold significantly more positive views towards the design elements than participants in the PSM condition. The composite reliability of the five-item measure was .762.

### **Negative stereotype-reduction**

An assessment of the measurement model was first performed to determine its appropriateness for the study. The composite reliability for the six-item measure of negative tourist stereotypes was .814. This is greater than the acceptable level of .70 (Nunnally 1978).

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to assess negative tourist stereotypes across the three conditions (i.e., control, PSM, and PCSM). The results indicated a significant effect,  $F(1, 192) = 5.507$ ,  $p = .005$ ). As shown in Figure 2, participants who were exposed to the stereotype-reduction strategies reported lower ratings of negative tourist stereotypes (PSM  $M = 5.04$ ,  $SD = .88$ ; PCSM  $M = 4.99$ ,  $SD = .85$ ) than participants in the control group ( $M = 5.44$ ,  $SD = .84$ ).

However, there was no significant difference between PSM and PCSM strategies in stereotype-reduction,  $p = .745$ .

--- Insert Figure 2 here ---

### Brief discussion of Study 1 and introduction to Study 2

The results of Study 1 provided initial support for the stereotype-reduction strategies as residents who were exposed to both the PSM and PCSM conditions reported lower ratings of negative tourist stereotypes than participants in the control group. However, there was a nonsignificant difference in stereotype-reduction between PSM and PCSM exposures.

Differences in PCSM wording (i.e., majority of residents are trying to “overcome” stereotypes) did not elicit significant differences in stereotype-reduction beyond the PSM condition (i.e., majority of residents “have” stereotypes).

While Study 1 evaluated the effects of the strategies, the tone of the messages casted residents as ‘we’ and tourists as ‘they’ (Giles, Ota and Foley 2013). Building on Study 1, Study 2 seeks to facilitate an understanding of common identity between residents and tourists. The objective is to examine whether doing so could strengthen these stereotype-reduction effects.

## **Study 2**

### Baseline

A new sample of 150 participants (56.7% females and 43.3% males; 24.8% between 18-24 years old, 36.5% between 25-34 years old; 25.3% between 35-44 years old) were recruited as

the baseline control group. They complete the six-item measure of negative tourist stereotypes as per Study 1 ( $\alpha = .805$ ) ( $M = 5.46$ ;  $SD = .86$ ).

## Procedures

Study 2 added two scenarios. The first scenario casted tourists as residents by suggesting that tourists are temporary ‘residents’. The second scenario casted residents as tourists by reminding residents that they are also tourists in others’ communities when they travel. These messages were combined with the PSM and PCSM conditions in Study 1 via a 2 (stereotype-reduction: PSM vs. PCSM) x 2 (identity: tourists as residents vs. residents as tourists) between-subjects experimental design. Participants were presented with the same posters as Study 1, albeit with the additional wording. They were recruited in a similar manner as Study 1 and randomly assigned to a quota of 32 participants across each of the four conditions (61.7% females and 38.3% males; 57.8% between 18-24 years old, 32.1% between 25-34; 7.8% between 35-44 years old).

## Results

### **Manipulation check**

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used in the manipulation check to assess participants’ views toward the design elements of the posters (e.g., appeal, graphics, word size, readability, and understandability) ( $\alpha = .750$ ). Results comparing the main effects of stereotype-reduction (PSM and PCSM),  $F(1, 124) = .280, p = .598$ , and identity,  $F(1, 124) = .010, p = .922$ , were nonsignificant. The result suggested that participants across conditions did not hold significantly different views of the poster.



## Negative stereotype-reduction

The composite reliability for the six-item measure of negative tourist stereotypes was .903. Similarly to the results of Study 1, participants who were exposed to stereotype-reduction strategies (i.e., PSM  $M = 5.11$ ,  $SD = 1.02$ ,  $t(63) = -2.769$ ,  $p = .007$ ; PCSM  $M = 4.89$ ,  $SD = 1.11$ ,  $t(63) = -4.111$ ,  $p < .001$ ) reported lower ratings of negative tourist stereotypes compared to the baseline. Casting tourists as temporary residents of the destination ( $M = 4.94$ ,  $SD = 1.09$ ,  $t(63) = -3.828$ ,  $p < .001$ ), as well as reminding residents that they are also tourists when they travel ( $M = 5.05$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ,  $t(63) = -3.066$ ,  $p = .003$ ) also elicited lower extents of biases (see Figure 3).

Further analysis was performed to determine the most effective messaging amongst the four conditions for stereotype-reduction while controlling for gender. The results indicated nonsignificant differences for PSM and PCSM conditions,  $F(1, 123) = 1.488$ ,  $p = .225$ , and identity,  $F(1, 123) = .270$ ,  $p = .604$ . The interaction effect was also nonsignificant,  $F(1, 123) = .104$ ,  $p = .747$ . The nonsignificant differences suggested that no single message was more effective than another for stereotype-reduction.

--- Insert Figure 3 here ---

## Brief discussion of Study 2 and introduction to Study 3

Study 2 provided further support for Study 1 as participants exposed to stereotype-reduction strategies reported lower extents of negative tourist stereotypes. However, adding a common identity message did not strengthen the effects of the PSM and PCSM strategies for

stereotype-reduction. This suggested possible limitations to the benefits of casting a common identity, above and beyond the existing PSM and PCSM strategies under this study's context.

While Studies 1 and 2 examined the effects of common identity and PSM and PCSM strategies, these studies focused on the biases from the dominant community; that is, the majority group of Cantonese-speaking Hong Kong residents. A community is comprised of a diverse mix of residents who also identify with other subgroup; for example, there are a number of Hong Kong residents in the community who are non-locally born and from Mainland China (i.e., subgroup residents). How would these subgroup residents react to the stereotype-reduction strategies? The objective of Study 3 is to investigate a boundary condition, and the potentially unintended effects of applying the stereotype-reduction strategies to subgroup residents who are balancing assimilation and differentiation social identity motives since they are locals who share similar background as the stereotyped tourists.

### ***Study 3***

#### **Baseline**

Putonghua-speaking residents that were not born in Hong Kong and did not speak the dominant local language, Cantonese, as their mother tongue were recruited. They were asked to assess their negative tourist stereotypes against other Mainland Chinese tourists based on the tourist stereotype model as per Studies 1 and 2 (Tung, King and Tse 2019). A new sample of 150 participants (61.3% females and 38.7% males; 55.3% between 18-24 years old 20.0% between 25-34 years old; 16.0% between 35-44 years old) were also recruited as the baseline group ( $\alpha = .857$ ) ( $M = 3.94$ ;  $SD 1.02$ ).

## Procedures

Participants were randomly assigned to a quota of 30 participants per each of the four conditions in a 2 (stereotype-reduction: PSM vs. PCSM) x 2 (identity: tourists as residents vs. residents as tourists) between-subjects experimental design (52.5% females and 47.5% males; 65.0% between 18-24 years old 20.8% between 25-34; 9.2% between 35-44 years old). The messages for each condition were consistent with Study 2. After the manipulation, all participants completed the six-item measure of negative tourist stereotypes (Tung, King and Tse 2019). They also completed a five-item manipulation check on poster design as per Study 2.

## Result

### **Manipulation check**

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used in the manipulation check to assess participants' views toward the poster design ( $\alpha = .649$ ). Results comparing the main effects of stereotype-reduction (PSM or PCSM),  $F(1, 116) = .894, p = .346$ , and identity,  $F(1, 116) = .109, p = .741$ , were nonsignificant. The results suggested that participants in different conditions did not hold significantly different views of the poster.

### **Unintended negative stereotype-inflation**

Compared to the baseline, participants who were exposed to stereotype-reduction strategies reported significantly higher ratings of negative tourist stereotypes (i.e., PSM  $M = 4.69, SD = 1.06, t(59) = 5.466, p < .001$ ; PCSM  $M = 4.79, SD = .92, t(59) = 7.180, p < .001$ ) (see Figure 4). Casting a common identity within the strategies also inflated negative biases (i.e., tourists as residents:  $M = 4.82, SD = 1.02, t(59) = 6.715, p < .001$ ; residents as tourists:  $M = 4.66,$

$SD = .96, t(59) = 5.785, p < .001$ ). Collectively, all strategies inflated negative tourist stereotypes ( $M = 4.73, SD = .99, t(119) = 8.860, p < .001$ ).

--- Insert Figure 4 here ---

Additional analysis was performed to determine the effects of the messages amongst the four conditions while controlling for gender. The results indicated nonsignificant differences for PSM and PCSM conditions,  $F(1, 115) = .463, p = .497$ , and identity,  $F(1, 115) = 1.059, p = .306$ . The interaction effect was significant,  $F(1, 115) = 8.430, p = .004$  (see Figure 5). This suggested that the effects were different when tourists were casted as residents; more specifically, negative stereotypes were higher when tourists were casted as residents, but lower when residents were casted as tourists in the PSM than the PCSM condition.

--- Insert Figure 5 here ---

### Brief discussion of Study 3

The results of Study 3 highlighted the unintended effects of the stereotype-reduction strategies. Compared to the finding in Studies 1 and 2 that showed a reduction of biases from Cantonese-speaking residents (i.e., the majority group in Hong Kong), the messages actually inflated tourist stereotypes for subgroup residents who share similar background with the stereotyped tourists in Study 3. These results were consistently across all four conditions.

Interestingly, subgroup residents reported higher extents of negative tourist stereotypes when tourists were casted as residents than when residents were casted as tourists. One possible

explanation is that subgroup residents may have sought to reject a common identity with tourists. Subgroup residents could be working hard to assimilate into the local community, and consequently, they may have embraced stereotypes to differentiate themselves from tourists and refuted the notion of tourists as residents. Overall, the findings of Study 3 suggested an important boundary condition for the stereotype-reduction strategies under this study's context.

## **DISCUSSION**

Over three-related studies, this research sought to contribute to the literature by connecting theories on stereotype-reduction, social norms, and social identity with tourism stereotype research. Study 1 showed that residents who were exposed to the stereotype-reduction strategies (i.e., PSM and PCSM) reported lower ratings of negative tourist stereotypes than those in the control group. Study 2 investigated the influence of eliciting a common identity between residents and tourists, but found that doing so did not strengthen the effects of the PSM and PCSM strategies on tourist stereotype-reduction. Study 3 demonstrated that instead of reducing tourist stereotypes, the strategies actually amplified biases for subgroup residents who share similar background as the stereotyped tourists.

### **Theoretical contributions**

There are noteworthy theoretical contributions from this research. This research demonstrated that tourist stereotypes are malleable. Although stereotypes are highly pervasive, and significant effort are typically needed to address negative preconceptions (Anderson et al. 2015), this research showed that progress could be possible through communication strategies. Residents' biases towards tourists are not static, and there is optimism that they could change

through efforts in stereotype-reduction. This provides a fresh perspective to complement existing tourism stereotype research, and highlights the potential for researchers to consider intervention-based angles in future research within the broader area of host-tourist relations.

This research also added a different dynamic to connect existing tourism perspectives in stereotyping with intergroup relations. More specifically, this research showed that casting a common identity between residents and tourists did not strengthen the effects of tourist stereotype-reduction. Past studies in the tourism literature have suggested the importance of facilitating common perceptions of social identification and community (Xie 2006). Social identification is the extent to which individuals attach significance to the group they belong to, which could shape their subsequent social perceptions, feelings, and behaviors in intergroup dynamics (van Veelen et al. 2016). While these studies have suggested that fostering a common identity could influence residents' views of tourists, the results of this research suggest that facilitating a common identity may not aid in further stereotype-reduction.

The results from this research could contribute back to the psychology literature by providing support for the stereotype-reduction strategies in an applied scenario. This research demonstrated that both PSM and PCSM strategies could potentially reduce negative tourist stereotypes. However, in contrast to the literature on social norms, this research did not find PCSM as more effective than the PSM strategy. There were nonsignificant differences between residents that were exposed to these strategies across all three studies. The PCSM strategy seeks to leverage the positive influence of social norms to highlight collective efforts to overcome stereotypes (Duguid and Thomas-Hunt 2015; Goldstein et al. 2008); yet, this research did not find support for this strategy as more effective compared to PSM in the present context.

## **Practical implications**

Destination management organizations (DMOs) and public policy planners involved in managing host-tourist relationships could be interested in the practical implications from this research. First, a holistic aspect of destination management would be helpful to gather views from residents (Ritchie and Crouch 2003). For example, although the marketing perspective in destination management is typically externally-motivated and directed at tourists, a holistic view of destination management could also involve internally-focused marketing communications. To address the prevalence of negative tourist stereotypes in society, for instance, DMOs could help residents become aware of the high incidence of stereotyping against an outgroup, and suggest how residents could behave in particular situations instead. The key is to communicate to residents that they are not alone in being biased, and to be attentive of their own predispositions to stereotype. DMOs could also communicate social norms by highlighting the efforts of residents to overcome tourist stereotypes without assigning blame. In doing so, there is potential for DMOs to engage the broader community so that as a society, residents are working hard to reduce negative biases against tourists.

A caveat to the above is that DMOs need to be cognizant of their audience in applying stereotype-reduction strategies. This research highlighted a boundary condition as both PSM and PCSM strategies inflated negative biases for subgroup residents (i.e., Hong Kong residents from Mainland China) who share similar background as the stereotyped tourists (i.e., tourists from Mainland China). This unintended consequence is relevant because a community is comprised of a diverse mix of residents who also identify with other subgroups (Maruyama and Woosnam 2015). Consequently, prior to executing stereotype-reduction communications, DMOs could consider gathering the views of subgroup residents through forums and meetings, for example,

and allow them to freely express their concerns and opinions about stereotyping. DMOs could also organize events to raise community awareness against tourist stereotyping particularly for subgroup residents who are assimilating into the community.

Although the context of this research was Hong Kong and the target was tourists from Mainland China, the importance of stereotype-reduction is relevant for other destinations as well, since negative relationships between individuals could undermine interactions and increase misunderstandings (Nyaupane, Teye and Paris 2008). In particular, DMOs may wish to take note of the views of a resident subgroup (i.e., individuals from Mainland China) that will grow in global mobility as they move to destinations, such as Vancouver, London, and Sydney, where they share their identity with tourists meanwhile transitioning into future hosts in their local communities.

### **Limitations and future research**

There are limitations and opportunities for future research. While this research presented insights into the effects of the stereotype-reduction strategies, the findings were limited to Hong Kong residents. Future studies could address this limitation by experimentally examining these strategies at other destinations beyond Asia.

Another limitation of this research is that it did not investigate potential moderators to stereotype-reduction. Future research could consider gender as a potential moderator given the subject matter on stereotypes. In this research, more females participated and differences in gender representation due to self-selection was unanticipated during data collection; hence, this research did not establish gender quotas for recruitment, a priori.



Another avenue for future research is to consider the extent of travel experience as a possible variable because those who traveled more would likely have had more contact with Mainland Chinese tourists. Contact theory suggests that stereotypes could be potentially reduced through interpersonal contact with members of different social groups (Allport 1954). Contact situations could potentially serve as a decategorization or learning process that allows people to view each other as individuals rather than just as members of another social group.

Finally, this research examined the perspective of residents rather than tourists. Tourists may also have stereotypes against residents at a destination that could influence how they behave and interact with locals. Future research into resident stereotypes from tourists could add to the depth of stereotyping research in the field.

## REFERENCES

- Allport, G. W. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Allport, G. W., and J. M. Ross. 1967. Personal religious orientation and prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 5(4): 432.
- Amodio, D. M., P. G. Devine, and E. Harmon-Jones. 2007. A dynamic model of guilt implications for motivation and self-regulation in the context of prejudice. *Psychological Science*, 18(6): 524-530.
- Anderson, A. J., A. S. Ahmad, B. E. King, A. P. Lindsey, R. P. Feyre, S. Ragone, and S. Kim. 2015. The effectiveness of three strategies to reduce the influence of bias in evaluations of female leaders. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 45(9): 522-539.
- Baker, T. L., T. Meyer, and J. D. Johnson. 2008. Individual differences in perceptions of service failure and recovery: The role of race and discriminatory bias. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 36(4): 552-564.
- Baltes, B. B., C. B. Bauer, and P. A. Frensch. 2007. Does a structured free recall intervention reduce the effect of stereotypes on performance ratings and by what cognitive mechanism? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(1): 151.

- Bauer, C. C., and B. B. Baltes. 2002. Reducing the effects of gender stereotypes on performance evaluations. *Sex Roles*, 47(9-10): 465-476.
- Baumeister, R. F., E. Bratslavsky, C. Finkenauer, and K. D. Vohs. 2001. "Bad Is Stronger Than Good." *Review of General Psychology* 5 (4): 323.
- Bell, A. C., and M. Burkley. 2014. "Women Like Me Are Bad at Math": The psychological functions of negative self-stereotyping. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 8(12): 708-720.
- Bender, J., B. Gidlow, and D. Fisher. 2013. National stereotypes in tourist guidebooks: An analysis of auto-and hetero-stereotypes in different language guidebooks about Switzerland. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 40, 331-351.
- Brewer, M. B. 1991. The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 17 (5): 475-482.
- Caton, K., and C. A. Santos. 2009. Images of the Other Selling Study Abroad in a Postcolonial World. *Journal of Travel Research*, 48(2): 191-204.
- Chen, C. C., Y. H. Lin, and J. F. Petrick. 2012. International stereotype and the collective construction of destination image. *Tourism Analysis*, 17(1): 55-66.
- Coonan, C. 2015. Hey big spender: The rise and rise of the Chinese tourist. <https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/travel/hey-big-spender-the-rise-and-rise-of-the-chinese-tourist-1.2302435>
- Cuddy, A. J., S. T. Fiske and P. Glick. 2008. Warmth and competence as universal dimensions of social perception: The stereotype content model and the BIAS map. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 40: 61-149.
- Cunningham, W. A., J. B. Nezlek, and M. R. Banaji. 2004. Implicit and explicit ethnocentrism: Revisiting the ideologies of prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30(10): 1332-1346.
- Duguid, M. M., and M. C. Thomas-Hunt. 2015. Condoning stereotyping? How awareness of stereotyping prevalence impacts expression of stereotypes. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 100(2): 343-359.
- Elliot, A. J. 2015. Color and psychological functioning: a review of theoretical and empirical work. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6, 368.
- Festinger, L. 1954. A theory of social comparison processes. *Human Relations*, 7, 117-140.
- Giles, H., H. Ota, and M. Foley. 2013. Tourism: An intergroup communication model with Russian inflections. *Russian Journal of Communication* 5(3): 229-243.

Goldstein, N. J., R. B. Cialdini, and V. Griskevicius. 2008. A room with a viewpoint: Using social norms to motivate environmental conservation in hotels. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35(3): 472-482.

Haworth, 2013. Chinese tourism: 'Finally, we are seeing the world'.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/theobserver/2013/dec/22/chinese-tourism-changing-the-world>

Kantor, J. 2013, September 7. Harvard Business School case study: Gender equity. The New York Times. Retrieved [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/08/education/harvard-case-study-gender-equity.html?hpand\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/08/education/harvard-case-study-gender-equity.html?hpand_r=1)

Keith, N., and M. Frese. 2008. Effectiveness of error management training: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(1): 59.

Lee, K., H. Kim, and K. D. Vohs. 2011. Stereotype threat in the marketplace: Consumer anxiety and purchase intentions. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 38 (2): 343-357.

Li, E. P. H., H. J. Min, R. W. Belk, J. Kimura, and S. Bahl. 2008. Skin lightening and beauty in four Asian cultures. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 35, 444-449.

Liu, Z., and V. W. S. Tung. 2017. "The Influence of Stereotypes and Host-Tourist Interactions on Post-travel Destination Image and Evaluations of Residents." *Journal of China Tourism Research* 13 (4): 321-37.

Luoh, H. F., and S. H. Tsaur. 2014. The effects of age stereotypes on tour leader roles. *Journal of Travel Research*, 53(1): 111-123.

Martell, R. F., and D. P. Evans. 2005. Source-monitoring training: toward reducing rater expectancy effects in behavioral measurement. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90(5): 956.

Maruyama, N., and K. M. Woosnam. 2015. Residents' ethnic attitudes and support for ethnic neighborhood tourism: The case of a Brazilian town in Japan. *Tourism Management*, 50, 225-237.

McNaughton, D. 2006. The "host" as uninvited "guest": Hospitality, violence and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(3): 645-665.

Mejia, C., W. Wei, X. Fu, N. Hua, and Y. Wang. 2018. Hospitality and tourism experts' perspectives on Chinese independent tourists' US service expectations through a mobilities lens. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 20(6): 726-737.

Moufakkir, O. 2011. The role of cultural distance in mediating the host gaze. *Tourist Studies* 11(1): 73-89.

Nunnally, J. C (1978. *Psychometric methods*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

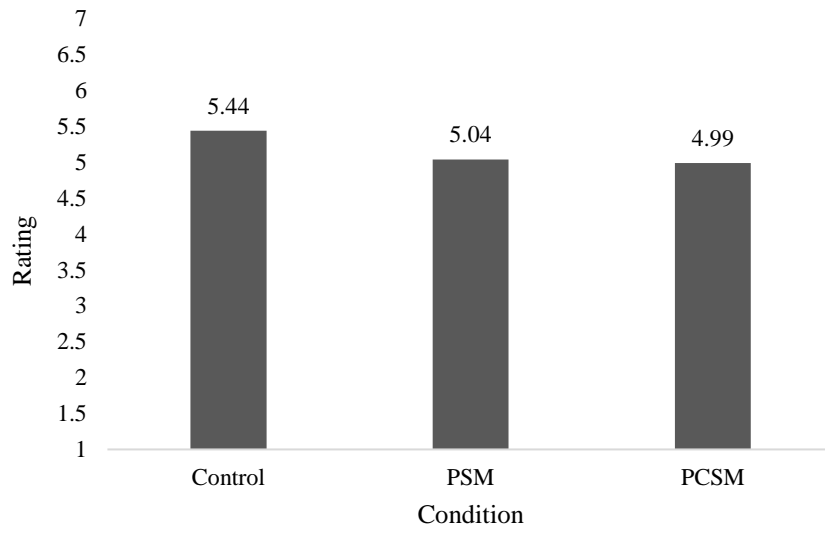
- Nyaupane, G. P., V. Teye, and C. Paris. 2008. Innocents abroad: Attitude change toward hosts. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(3): 650-667.
- Qiu Zhang, H., D. X. Fan, T. S. Tse, and B. King. 2017. Creating a scale for assessing socially sustainable tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 25 (1): 61-78.
- Ratliff, K. A., and B. A. Nosek. 2011. "Negativity and Outgroup Biases in Attitude Formation and Transfer." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 37 (12): 1692–703.
- Ritchie, J. R. B., and Crouch, G. I. 2003. *The competitive destination: A sustainable tourism perspective*. Cambridge: CABI.
- Rozin, P., and E. B. Royzman. 2001. "Negativity Bias, Negativity Dominance, and Contagion." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 5 (4): 296–320.
- Scarles, C. 2012. The photographed other: Interplays of agency in tourist photography in Cusco, Peru. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(2): 928-950.
- Sechrist, G. B., and C. Stangor. 2001. Perceived consensus influences intergroup behavior and stereotype accessibility. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80(4): 645.
- Sinkovics, R. R., and E. Penz. 2009. Social distance between residents and international tourists—Implications for international business. *International Business Review* 18(5): 457-469.
- Sonmez, S. F., and Y. Apostolopoulos. 2000. Conflict resolution through tourism cooperation? The case of the partitioned island-state of Cyprus. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 9(3): 35-48.
- Tajfel, H. 1982. Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 33, 1–39.
- Todd, A. R., G. V. Bodenhausen, and A. D. Galinsky. 2012. "Perspective Taking Combats the Denial of Intergroup Discrimination." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 48 (3): 738–45.
- Tung, V. W. S. 2019. Helping a Lost Tourist: The Effects of Metastereotypes on Resident Prosocial Behaviors. *Journal of Travel Research*, 58(5): 837-848.
- Tung, V. W. S., and B. King. 2016. The stereotyping of tourism management students in a business school setting. *Journal of Teaching in Travel and Tourism*, 16(1): 60-77.
- Tung, V.W.S., B. E. M. King, and S. Tse. 2019. A Model of Tourist Stereotypes: Positive and Negative Dimensions. *Journal of Travel Research*. DOI: 10.1177/004728751882173

- Tung, V. W. S., M. F. C. Tang, and B. E. M. King. 2018. "Tourism Industry Career Prospects and the Business Environment: Evidence from Canada and Macau." *International Journal of Tourism Research* 20 (4): 518–25.
- van Veelen, R., S. Otten, M. Cadinu, and N. Hansen. 2016. An integrative model of social identification: Self-stereotyping and self-anchoring as two cognitive pathways. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 20(1): 3-26.
- Wang, Y., D. B. Weaver, and A. Kwek. 2016. Beyond the mass tourism stereotype: power and empowerment in Chinese tour packages. *Journal of Travel Research*, 55(6): 724-737.
- Weaver, D. 2015. Tourism and the Chinese Dream: Framework for engagement. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 51, 54-56.
- Wit, A. P., and N. L. Kerr. 2002. "Me versus just us versus us all" categorization and cooperation in nested social dilemmas. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 83(3): 616-637.
- Woosnam, K. M., N. Maruyama, B. B. Boley, and E. Erul. 2018. Stereotypes and perceived solidarity in ethnic enclave tourism. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 16(2): 138-154.
- Xie, P. F. 2006. Developing industrial heritage tourism: A case study of the proposed jeep museum in Toledo, Ohio. *Tourism Management*, 27(6): 1321-1330.
- Ye, B. H., H. Qiu Zhang, J. H. Shen, and C. Goh. 2014. Does social identity affect residents' attitude toward tourism development? An evidence from the relaxation of the Individual Visit Scheme. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 26(6): 907-929.
- Zhang, J., R. J. Inbakaran, and M. S. Jackson. 2006. Understanding community attitudes towards tourism and host-guest interaction in the urban-rural border region. *Tourism Geographies* 8(2): 182-204.

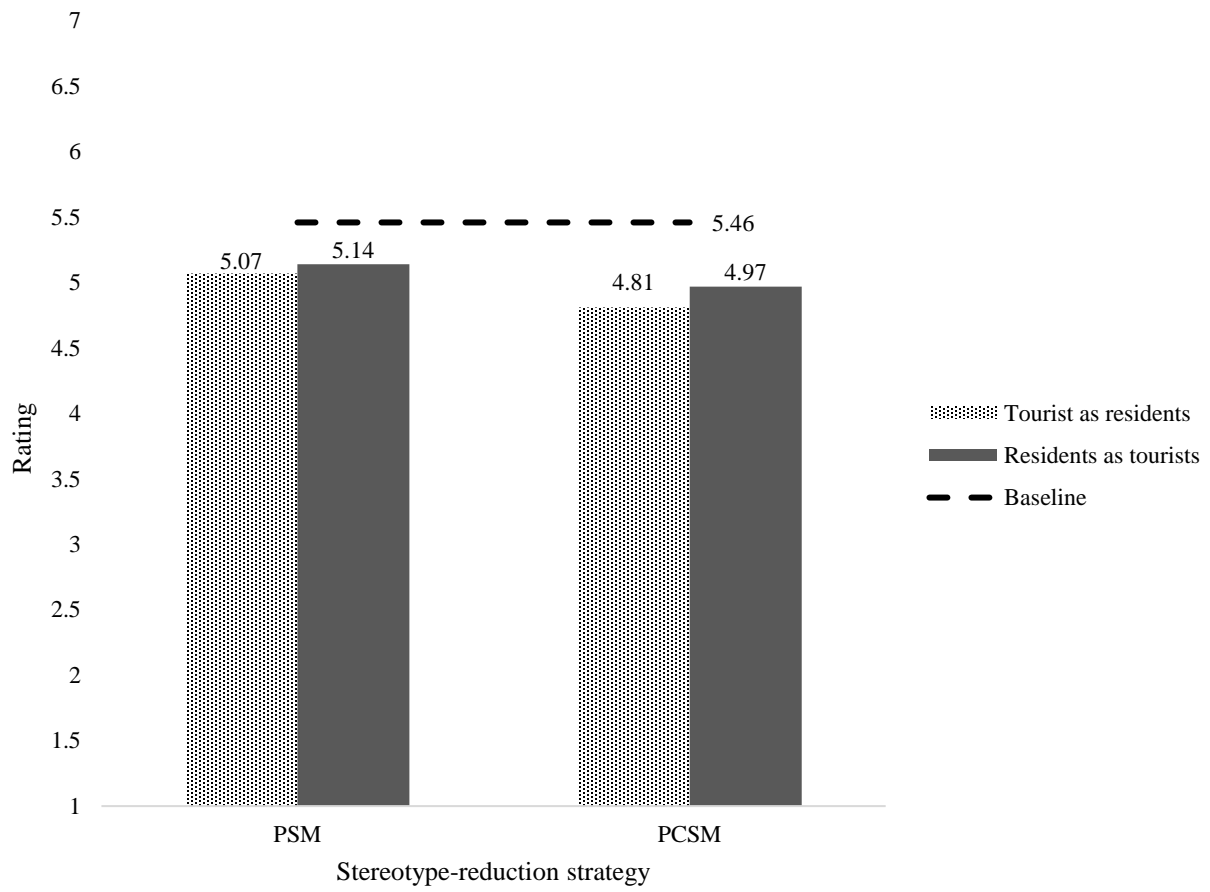
**Figure 1.** Sample poster



**Figure 2.** Evaluations of negative tourist stereotypes in Study 1

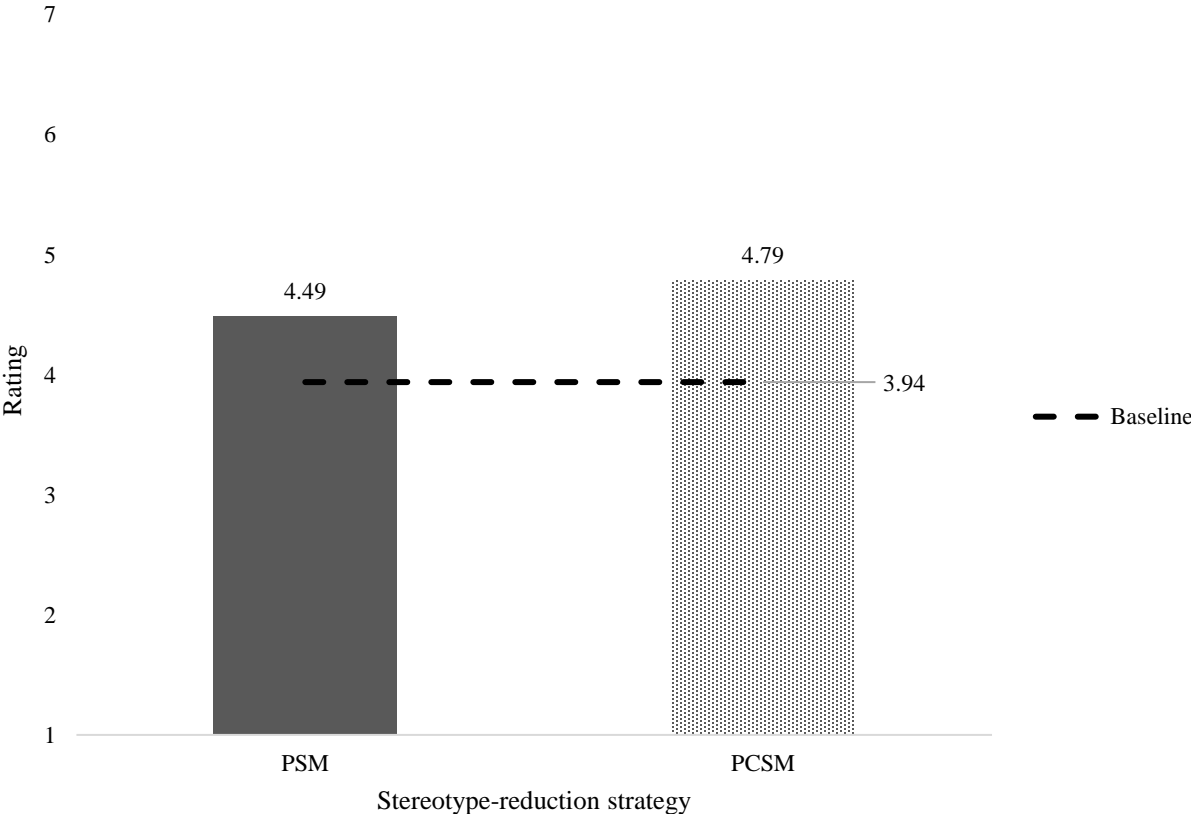


**Figure 3.** Evaluations of negative tourist stereotypes in Study 2





**Figure 4.** Inflations of negative tourist stereotypes in Study 3



**Figure 5.** Evaluations of negative tourist stereotypes in Study 3

