



Social distance between residents and international tourists—Implications for international business

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ABSTRACT

This paper uses the social distance concept and employs a revised version of Bogardus' [Bogardus, E. S. (1933b). *Social problems and social processes: Selected papers from the proceedings of the American sociological society*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press] social-distance scale, to explore cognitive structures of Austrian residents towards Japanese and German tourists. The removal of conflicts between residents and international tourists is vital to improve the economic outcomes of the exchange of individuals from various cultural backgrounds. This can help the tourism sector, which is significant factor in the service industry. Data from a quota-sample of 449 respondents, commenting on everyday life interactions with German and Japanese tourists is used. Similarity analysis methodology is applied to 'link' statements and interpret differences in views towards tourist encounters. Austrian residents view tourist groups similar in terms of brief interactions (e.g. when visiting museums or walking in gardens). However, long-term relationships (e.g. kindergarten and schools vs. personal invitation to homes) manifest themselves differently. The cognitive structures of interaction we identify can be seen as conflict-coping strategies. For residents, social distance serves as a means to avoid malfunctioning relationships. In that respect, Austrians are more reluctant to engage in personal interactions with Japanese tourists than with German tourists. The paper concludes with managerial recommendations for international business and tourism managers that are designed to improve social and economic performance of interaction.

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1. Introduction and problem statement

Tourism has a profound importance in the contemporary business world (Apostolopoulos, Leivadi, & Yiannakis, 1996). Within the service sector, the tourism industry is the most important business sector, although as such widely unrecognised (Coles & Hall, 2008). It generates more than 10% of global GDP, and provides a solid basis for economic development and societal well-being (Crouch & Ritchie, 1999). For the Austrian study context in 2006, tourist spending achieved a record high of € 30 billion (Ribing, 2008). Germans accounted for the most important visitor group from the European continent (55.8% out of approximately 18.2 million foreign visitors) (Neumann, 2003). Japanese visitors accounted for the second most important visitor group from outside Europe (1.4%, next to the USA) and also have been identified as culturally diverse tourism group (e.g. Reisinger & Turner, 1999).

A series of problems, including the Iraq conflict, SARS, and a persistently weak economy, have battered international tourism and led to a decline in 2002 and 2003 (Goodrich, 2002; World Tourism Organization, 2008). Despite a very positive

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tourism evolution in the following years, continuous fears of a collapse have helped managers and policy makers alike to come to the realisation that tourism is of strategic importance for businesses and the economy. Thus, appropriate policies to attract steady streams of visitors are explored (Richards, 1999; Smeral, 1998). There is now a heightened awareness that positive views of residents regarding tourists, well-functioning relationships between residents and tourists are important (e.g. Pizam, Uriely, & Reichel, 2000; Reisinger & Turner, 2002a, 2002b).

The interaction between individuals from various cultural backgrounds could also be seen from a service encounter perspective (Bitner, 1990) in an international context. Tourism as a service involves the interaction between residents and international tourists from various cultural backgrounds and can lead to service encounter failures. These can be explained via social distance (Thyne & Lawson, 2001). Social distance is an expression of sympathetic understanding of individual differences and we follow the view that differences that can be understood also can be managed (Chapman, Gajewska-De Mattos, Clegg, & Buckley, 2008). Thus, positive views of residents regarding tourists and well-functioning relationships between tourists and residents, together with low levels of social distance are key ingredients to sustaining continuous visits, promote return visitation and stimulate demand for tourist destinations.

However, as resident–tourist interaction is of a transitory nature, there may not always be an opportunity to convert shallow relationships into deeper ones. It has been argued that relational difficulties in culturally different workgroups are a function of psychological and physiological space (Ayoko & Hartel, 2003). Similarly, cultural differences pose problems to develop relationships between residents and tourists which are socially rewarding and economically viable. In this paper, our aim is to contribute on a managerial international business and conceptual level. In terms of *managerial contributions* we aim to go beyond key-approaches in International Business research to identify cultural differences (e.g. Hall, 1959), but seek to understand resident's views of foreign visitors in terms of daily interactions, e.g., sitting next to tourists on train-trips or meeting them in scenic locations. Through these specific encounters, we are able to identify areas of difficulty or potential conflict. Consequently, we are able to manage these relational encounters better, lessen detrimental effects of interaction, assist in social distance regulation to avoid conflicts and more generally, contribute to sympathetic interaction between residents and tourists. Hence, an understanding of the complex nature of these issues will be crucial for both policy makers and international tourist organisations. Using conflict-coping strategies in a pro-active rather than reactive way can result in beneficial international business and social relationships.

In terms of the *contributions on a theoretical level*, the International Business literature is replete with discussions on e.g. psychic distance, geocultural distance and cultural typologies. While an understanding of national and cultural differences is helpful in pre-market entry decisions, the interaction of international tourists with local residents is based on a social phenomenon and rests in day-to-day interactions of these groups. Globalisation drivers such as technology and transportation infrastructures have facilitated a sharp increase of these interactions. To this end, we explore the conceptual background about group conflicts, rather than firm level phenomena. We start with stereotypes, social categorisation and close with social distance. A novel aspect of this paper is the application of these concepts to the international business and international tourism domain which is of significant relevance for firms, managers and country tourist representatives. We use a revised version of Bogardus' (1993b) social distance measure in the empirical context of Austrian residents demonstrating their views regarding German and Japanese tourists. Finally, the use of similarity analysis (Degenne, 1985; Flament, 1963) in specific interaction situations contributes on a *methodological level*.

2. Conceptual background

We surveyed literature in key journals in marketing, tourism, economics, psychology and sociology (starting 1980) for work dealing with “resident–tourist” interactions and relationships. The amount and sophistication of research pertaining to tourist–resident impacts is impressive (Pearce, 1994), yet mostly attention has been given to economic issues. Psychological and social dimensions and most importantly approaches suggesting coping strategies for malfunctioning resident–tourist interactions have been lacking in prior studies (see Przecławski, 1993).

2.1. Social–psychological perspectives—relationships between residents and tourists

In this study we go beyond the economic focus on price as a regulatory mechanism for exchange (Potts, 2000) and look into behavioural and affective dimensions of exchange. Hence, we utilise a social–psychological view and contend that tourists' demand for travel to specific areas is affected by the perceptions of host-country residents regarding tourists' characteristics and the actual contact taking place between the two parties. Pizam et al. (2000) build on the “contact model” in social psychology of intergroup conflict and demonstrate that the higher the intensity of the social relationships between hosts and tourists, the more favourable are tourists' feelings towards their hosts. Pizam and Sussmann (1995) and Pizam and Jeong (1996) also analysed perceptual similarities and differences of tour-guides and their various clients. Results were measured on a series of behavioural characteristics; however, these were restricted to the opinions of tour-guides and did not include public opinions towards the cross-cultural contact between the residents and tourists. The assessment of host communities for their views of visitors from different cultural environments responds to Pizam's (1999) call for further research on nationality and tourist behaviour.

Cross-cultural aspects of the resident–tourist relationships have been explored in a series of studies. Reisinger and Turner (1997) explored the cultural differences between Indonesian and Australian populations in a tourism context and



Fig. 1. Conceptual background of social distance.

recommended improved cultural understanding as the basis for employee training. Reisinger and Turner (2002a, 2002b) further analysed five language groups of Asian tourists to Australia and found that marketers cannot rely on perceptions of service alone to generate Asian tourist satisfaction but must also consider specific cultural values and rules of social behaviour. However, to date, there has not been an explicit consideration of social distance or intergroup relations in these studies. Social distance serves as a conflict-coping strategy for spatial (Ayoko & Hartel, 2003; Hill, 1984) and/or psychological conflicts (e.g. Hill, 1984; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). These group conflicts in turn result from the formation of social categories and the stereotyping process. Hence, we view stereotypes as an important concept which contributes to intergroup relations. Ingroup members typically rate their outgroup counterparts as more homogeneous, which is the result of stereotypical assessment (Trope, 1989). Fig. 1 provides a graphical representation of how these concepts are related to each other and contribute to the establishment of social distance.¹ The ensuing sections will develop these links further, starting with the focal construct, social distance, and relating this back to group conflicts, social categorisation and stereotypes.

2.2. Social distance as a strategy to avoid conflicts

Social distance explains the cooperative behaviour and sympathetic understanding that exists between people (Bogardus, 1940). It is defined as “the perceived affinity and nearness between people or groups” (Ahmed, 2007, p. 326). Bogardus (1933b) developed a social-distance scale comprising of seven statements, which represents seven different types of relationships. Thyne and Zins (2004) introduced a social-distance scale which provides a useful operational measure. They build on earlier work on the issue of “national attitudes towards tourism” (Thyne & Lawson, 2001), where it was investigated what New Zealand residents think of tourism both within their community and within New Zealand generally. They also explored the possibility of a link between social distance and acceptance of tourists in a community. Williams and Lawson (2001) further expanded this stream of research on the national and community level. To identify antecedents of opinions regarding tourism, they clustered “community issues” of respondents as well as demographic profiles. The most salient differences were identified in community issues. Individuals who are most negatively disposed of tourism rate community issues more highly than others of all the clusters (Williams & Lawson, 2001, p. 288). This finding inspired the present empirical investigation. Hill (1984) uses the concepts of spatial and social distance in relation to ethnic minorities. He defines two functions of social distance. First, social distance is created as a subjective, rational defence mechanism in situations of competition. This is particularly relevant, when competition arises around values of grand importance such as security, financial performance and well-being. Second, social distance is a conflict avoidance strategy. Chan and Goto (2003) report on a study which examined how social distance affects attributions and perceptions of a conflict situation, and their choices of conflict avoidance and resolution. Their findings suggest that larger social distance predicts a stronger preference for arbitration, and less preference for mediation and inaction in cross-cultural conflict situations. Hogg and Penz (2008) applied approach/avoidance strategies and conflict resolution in the online/offline shopping context. They show that there are two strategies towards solving problems, labeled “fight or flight”. One option is to proceed towards the purchase which involves uncomfortable feelings in the purchasing process; the other is the avoidance of the problem by exiting the shopping context. However, in tourism contexts, spatial distance cannot always be achieved and thus, uncomfortable feelings cannot always be avoided. To this end, residents who like to avoid contacts with tourists and remain private, sans any significant tourist encounters, can only regulate desirable levels of distance psychologically. Hence, social distance allows for interpersonal distance regulation at a social-psychological level.

2.3. Conflicts as a consequence of social categorisation

Tajfel and Forgar (1981), argue that stereotypes will preserve, maintain and strengthen social categories. An example of behavioural consequences may be the use of ethnonyms (Hitchcock, 1999). Austrians often refer to Japanese tourists by using pejorative terms. These attributions are rather stable because people are reluctant to realise that some of their own observations do not fit their mental reality, e.g., that Japanese tourists also like to go out for Pizzas and undertake touristy activities which are usually associated with tourists from other countries. Leyens, Yzerbyt, and Schadron (1994) termed this phenomenon as a tendency to ‘brutalize reality’, which implies that empirical facts are re-interpreted to fit residents’ attitudes (see e.g. Var, Kendall, & Tarakcioglu, 1985). A consequence of these “natural processes” of categorisation is that

¹ It is important to note that Fig. 1 is not intended to serve as a formal, testable model and the arrows are not to be interpreted as ‘causal’ links but as conceptual relationships which contribute to our understanding of social distance.

intergroup conflicts occur, which can “persist even in situations where interindividual conflicts are rather easily resolved” (Tindale, Dykema-Engblade, & Wittkowski, 2005, p. 320).

2.4. Stereotypes as basis for social categorisation processes

Social categorisation builds on social identity theory and is based on a distinction between interpersonal and group processes. It explains why the random placement of people in one category will cause discrimination against the other (e.g. Brown, 2000 and the contribution of social identity theory on stereotyping), irrespective of whether these groups are involved in group-rivalry (Turner, 1982, 1999). Relations between people can be described either as unique personal friendship or stereotypic and ethnocentric group behaviour (Hogg, 1992).

Tajfel develops social identity theory by linking the minimal group paradigm to perception and stereotype research (Tajfel, 1982). Within the social identity approach social categorisation plays an important role by partitioning the world into comprehensible units. By categorising stimuli two contrasting reactions are possible. First, differences between categories are accentuated and second, differences between objects within categories are attenuated. In the context of tourism research the question whether the consequences of social categorisation are errors seems to be a crucial one, since stereotypes about tourists or residents impact on attitudes and subsequently on behaviour. This link is supported by, e.g., Trope (1989), who develops a two-stage model of dispositional judgement, based on perceptions and inferences. A tourist wearing Japanese clothes (stereotypical cue) and taking pictures of other tourists wearing Japanese clothes (situational cue), will be expected to go out for lunch in a sushi-bar and drink tea (stereotypical categorisation).

Stereotypes are “shared beliefs about person attributes, usually personality traits, but often also behaviours, of a group of people” (Leyens et al., 1994, p. 11). The authors stress the idea of differentiating between stereotyping as a process and stereotypes, which are perceived as an end-product or a point of departure of the process (Potts, 2000). While the process of stereotyping consists of applying a certain stereotype (which is a judgement), a given stereotype implies that all members of a category share the attributes embedded in the stereotype. Consequently, stereotypes are similar to prejudice and often considered as errors in perception (Stroebe & Insko, 1989). These errors or biases in perception can also be seen as building blocks for the initiation of inter- and intra-group relations. Stereotypes help in explaining social events and provide justification for ingroup actions. They are the result of a categorisation process which stems from individuals looking for ways of organising and simplifying their environment. From a social identity perspective, stereotypes develop out of a cognitive-perceptual process which reinforces the similarity of members belonging to the same category (Leyens et al., 1994). Stroebe and Insko (1989) differentiate between theories investigating conflicts on an individual level (psychodynamic approach) and those that take a group-perspective (socio-cultural perspective). Leyens et al. (1994) extend this categorisation to include conflicts at a social level. Recognised theories on social conflict include the realistic conflict theory by Sherif (1967) and Tajfel's (1982) social identity theory. As regards the measurement of stereotypes on a national level, Peabody's study on social stereotypes and the semantic differential proved useful (see Kirchler, 1999; Peabody, 1988).

In the preceding conceptual section, we have argued that social distance can serve as a conflict-coping strategy for conflicts. These conflicts result from social categorisation and the stereotyping process. Social distance can thus be seen as consequence of stereotypical assessment which leads to social categorisation and the development of group conflicts. Having linked these concepts together, we proceed by empirically examining explanatory dimensions of social distance.

3. Methodology

The conceptual reasoning on social distance and explanatory dimensions on how social distance develops stimulated the following research questions:

- (a) Does social distance play a role in the context of international tourism?
- (b) Can social distance be employed as a concept to distinguish between hosts' perceptions towards culturally different tourist groups?

The methodological approach in this research is designed to provide answers to these research questions and harnesses the strengths of the similarity analysis. The consecutive methodology section is structured as follows. Firstly, participants of this study are introduced, the empirical material presented and the data collection procedure is outlined. Secondly, factor analysis results are provided, to illustrate relevant dimensions out of a more comprehensive, pre-established scale. The reduced set of items was utilised as input to a focussed similarity analysis which was deemed to outline the connections between most important variables. Results are presented graphically and important variables pertaining to social distance are linked to reveal cognitive structures of Austrian residents towards German and Japanese visitors.

3.1. Participants

Two sub-samples of Austrian residents completed a questionnaire. One sub-sample was asked to provide views towards German tourists in Austria ($n = 198$), the second sub-sample towards Japanese tourists ($n = 203$). The mean age in the entire sample was 37 years. Respondents had about 0.7 children in the household which is slightly below the average number of

Table 1
Sample description.

	Total sample				Attitudes towards Japanese				Attitudes towards Germans			
	N	M	SD	%	N	M	SD	%	N	M	SD	%
Age (years)	449	36.7	13.7		203	34.51	13.12		198	38.55	13.72	
Gender												
Female	227			50.3	108			53.2	94			47.5
Male	222			49.2	95			46.8	104			52.5
Education												
Primary school	137			30.4	63			31.2	55			28.2
Secondary school	56			12.4	23			11.4	24			12.3
Vocational education	173			38.6	77			38.1	83			42.6
College degree	47			10.5	26			12.9	19			9.7
University degree	32			7.1	13			6.4	14			7.2
Residence												
Urban	294			65.6	141			70.1	131			66.8
Rural	150			33.5	60			29.9	65			33.2
Marital status												
Married	197			43.7	75			37.1	100			50.8
Single	205			45.5	109			54.0	76			38.6
Divorced	33			7.3	11			5.4	18			9.1
Widowed	12			2.7	7			3.5	3			1.5

Note: Total sample does not always add up due to missing values which are not reported.

children in Austria. The average annual spending on foreign travel was around €1390. Table 1 points at details of the sample characteristics.

3.2. Material

A questionnaire was developed, building on Bogardus' (1933a) multi-item, multi-dimensional "Social-Distance-Scale" which was applied in Thyne and Lawson (2001) and subsequent work (Thyne, Lawson, & Todd, 2006; Thyne & Zins, 2004). Two multilingual experts were involved in the process of refining and adapting the wording of the questionnaire items to suit the Austrian context. The final set of questions in the survey included 60 Likert-type statements which were translated into German, following Brislin's (1970) back-translation approach and anchored on a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 "feeling very comfortable", to 7 "feeling very uncomfortable". Participants were asked to imagine several situations in which they would meet tourists and indicate on the attitudinal items how comfortable or uncomfortable they would feel.

In order to identify and purify the proposed social distance construct, factor analysis was applied on the full sample. This procedure allowed (i) reduction of the extensive number of 60 items which originated from various concepts of social distance (Bogardus, 1933a; Thyne & Lawson, 2001), and (ii) test the consistency of the scale. Principal components (PC) extraction with Kaiser-normalization (eigenvalues over one) was applied and PC-results were rotated (Varimax). 32 items were deleted in the first round of analysis due to relatively low loadings (<.40) and cross-loadings with other factors. The remaining 28 items produced sufficiently high loadings and a four-factor solution resulted in an explanation of 61.45% of variance, which was considered adequate for our data-reduction purposes. Cronbach-alpha (Cronbach, 1951) coefficients were computed to assess the scale's internal consistency and reliability. For all factors, Cronbach-alpha coefficients beyond .82 were obtained, demonstrating strong internal consistency of the scale (DeVellis, 1991; Nunnally, 1978).

The first factor was labeled "spatial distance", because the eight items (bold font face in Table 2) predominantly relate to issues, incidences and aspects which are encountered when transcending geographical borders. The second factor, comprising of six items, represents "sightseeing"-activities. The eight items which form factor three express instances of personal interaction between tourists and residents and was therefore labeled "personal contact", while factor four (six items), "negative behavior", reflects aspects in tourists behavior, which are seen unfavourably by residents.

When comparing the factor-structure with Bogardus' (1933a) original social-distance scale, the first factor (spatial distance) assembles the factor "transportation group" and factor three (personal contact) is somewhat similar to "social groups", therefore indicative of the fact that our measure can be interpreted as an updated measure of social distance.

3.3. Procedure

The sample design comprised a quota-sample (quota by age, gender and level of education) and closely mirrored the Austrian population. A total number of 1000 questionnaires were distributed nationwide during March and May 2001 by means of the "questionnaire-drop-in" technique. Interviewers were involved in distributing the questionnaires to interview partners with matching quota-characteristics (i.e. age, gender and education criteria as per the Austrian statistical handbook). The questionnaires were completed in absence of the interviewer and collected after completion. While this

Table 2

Principal components analysis results.

Rotated component matrix		Components			
		1	2	3	4
1 (v25)	Sharing a bus-travel to Innsbruck.	0.77	0.23	0.23	0.22
2 (v07)	Sitting beside them on a flight to Greece.	0.74	0.22	0.24	0.14
3 (v22)	Sitting beside them on a chair lift at one of our ski fields.	0.74	0.30	0.18	0.15
4 (v38)	Sitting beside them on the Trans Alpine Train (a scenic train).	0.69	0.37	0.24	0.25
5 (v01)	Sitting beside them on a train-trip in Austria.	0.67	0.24	0.21	0.15
6 (v17)	Sharing a jet boat ride with them, for example on the Danube river.	0.61	0.35	0.39	0.17
7 (v23)	Having them at our public swimming pool.	0.53	0.33	0.24	0.27
8 (v26)	Following them driving a campervan on our roads.	0.53	-0.03	-0.10	0.57
9 (v27)	Seeing them in our local museums.	0.20	0.76	0.22	0.14
10 (v55)	See them in a souvenir shop.	0.14	0.76	0.19	0.20
11 (v28)	Seeing them visit our Austrian tourist destinations when I am there.	0.27	0.74	0.12	0.20
12 (v32)	Meeting them in the Vienna Volksgarten, walking around.	0.43	0.63	0.19	0.23
13 (v04)	Seeing them at tourist spots or attractions when I am also there, for example at Schönbrunn Castle.	0.33	0.64	-0.03	0.15
14 (v50)	Seeing them on the Esplanade/water front.	0.39	0.64	0.20	0.22
15 (v41)	Having them as friends of my family into my house.	0.13	0.18	0.80	0.07
16 (v18)	Having them as friends or relatives.	0.36	0.11	0.72	0.06
17 (v02)	Having them into my house as dinner guests.	0.35	-0.06	0.71	0.05
18 (v24)	Having them into my house as long term guests, for example as exchange students.	0.24	0.17	0.67	0.20
19 (v46)	Having them to stay at accommodation I own, for example Bed and Breakfast or Motel.	-0.05	0.46	0.59	-0.02
20 (v16)	Having them as flatmates.	0.59	0.11	0.50	0.19
21 (v53)	Having them into our schools or other educational institutions.	0.17	0.37	0.47	0.35
22 (v42)	Having their children coming to the kindergarten my children use.	0.29	0.42	0.46	0.24
23 (v59)	Have to walk around them standing in the middle of a supermarket isle.	0.11	0.13	0.05	0.74
24 (v35)	Following them driving a rental car on our roads.	0.22	0.04	0.05	0.74
25 (v57)	Having my photo taken by them.	0.09	0.15	0.19	0.67
26 (v52)	Seeing them in big groups walking around town.	0.22	0.29	-0.02	0.64
27 (v56)	Having them take photos of our farm animals.	0.23	0.30	0.23	0.60
28 (v47)	Taking photos of them.	0.05	0.35	0.29	0.56
Cronbach's α		.91	.89	.87	.82

Note: First component = "spatial distance", second component = "sightseeing"-activities, third component = "personal contact", and fourth component = "negative behaviour".

procedure implied increased time and cost-efforts, it helped to safeguard against self-selection bias and to deliver high-quality data with a pleasingly high response-rate (44.9%).

3.4. Results

Based on the reduced set of Bogardus' (1933a) social distance items, we employed similarity analysis. The similarity technique helped to reveal varying cognitive structures of attitudinal statements. In contrast to well-known multivariate techniques such as, e.g., correspondence analysis,² the similarity technique is based on graph theory.³ To this end, it allows an interpretation of the linkage between two elements (e.g. opinions) that represent the shortest link or the highest similarity between them (Durso & Coggins, 1990), thus focussing on similarity rather than differences. To date and despite its formal powers, similarity analysis has been confined to studies on social representations, to reveal structures of opinion systems and collective cognitive representations (e.g. Penz, Meier-Pesti, & Kirchler, 2004; Vergès, 1987; Vergès & Bastounis, 2001). The aim of similarity analysis is to simplify the similarity graph by stressing only those links between variables that are the most important ones. To this end a so-called maximum tree, which consists of the highest possible number of pairs of variables is created. It displays the spatially strongest similarities between items and reflects the most important relations between them (Degenne, 1985; Flament, 1985). Each of the graphs (see Figs. 2 and 3) represents the maximum numbers of connections between the items. The combination of variables can be read as (i) *star-shaped* structures which attach high importance to the element in the centre. The *star*-variable is used as a reference point for all connected variables. Another combination of variables is the (ii) *triangle form*, which according to Degenne (1985) and Vergès (1995) means that three connected variables share cognitive similarity. With regard to social distance, which as per our theoretical deliberations

² In similarity analysis, there is no main axis for interpretation. Comparing similarity analysis with factor analysis, variables are not interpreted in relation to an overall/global criterion, but in relation to each other (Degenne, 1985; Vergès, 1995).

³ Graph theory is a mathematical theory about random linkages and is suggested to support the measurement and analysis of human behaviour (Flament, 1963, 1985).

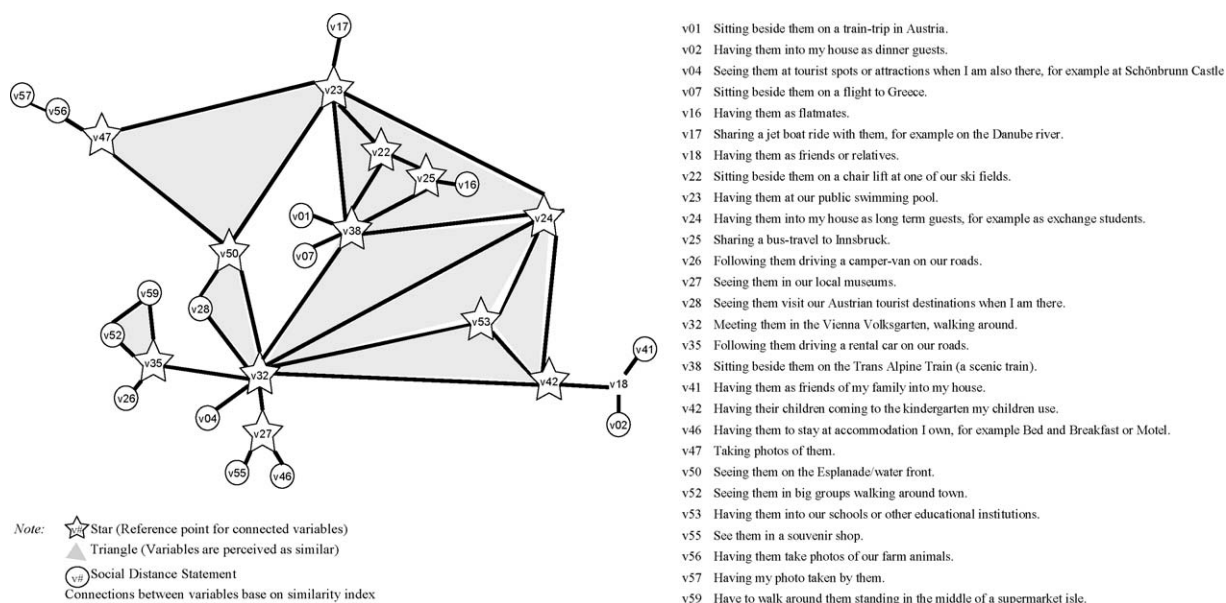


Fig. 2. Illustration of the cognitive structures of Austrian residents towards Japanese tourists.

above we see as a conflict-coping mechanism (Hill, 1984), star-shaped structures represent such conflict-coping strategies where one response is dominating. Triangle-shaped configurations, in contrast, point to equally dominant responses and offer multiple conflict-coping strategies.

For each item-pair, an index of similarity was calculated and then presented visually with printed links. The thickness of lines and the calculation of a “similarity index” (Degenne, 1985; Flament, 1985; Vergès, 1995), helped to represent questionnaire data graphically. Additionally, it does not provide one principal way of interpretation (e.g. expressed by the chi-square in correspondence analysis) but groups and organises variables according to their degree of similarity. Building on graph-theoretical principles, similarity analysis reveals the variables that are the most important ones, with the shortest links and maximum similarity (Vergès, 1995). The interconnections and their actual interpretations help to go beyond the understanding of the single statements (for applications of similarity analysis see also Penz et al., 2004; Vergès & Bastounis, 2001).

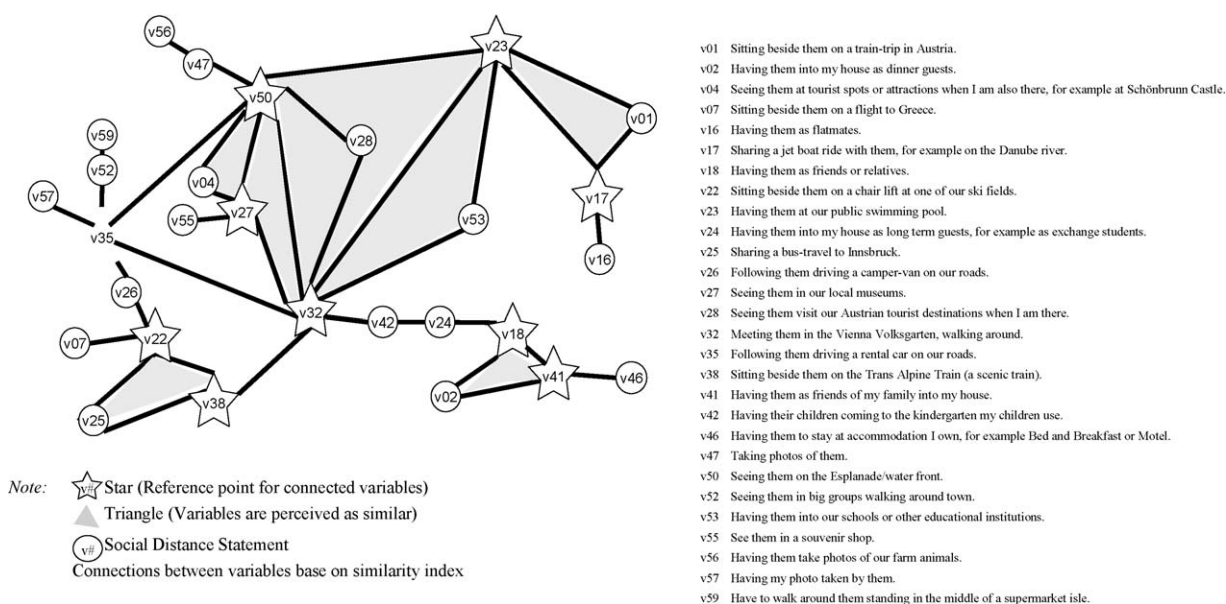


Fig. 3. Illustration of the cognitive structures of Austrian residents towards German tourists.

Firstly, the similarity of structures regarding Japanese and German tourists was calculated using the Software SIMI97 v2.1 (Junique, Barbry, Scano, Zeligler, & Vergès, 1999) (see Figs. 2 and 3). Secondly, similarities in gender of residents were examined.⁴ Finally, similarities and differences from urban and rural residents are discussed.

Residents hold both similar and different cognitive patterns for the two tourist groups (German, Japanese). In the following, the *star-shaped* structures (a) of social distance statements are presented, i.e., structures which attach high importance to the element in the centre. The star-variable is used as a reference point for all connected variables and can be seen as cognitive response patterns. (b) *Triangle-shaped* structures (consisting of three variables) of social distance statements are subsequently described. For the interpretation of star and triangle structures, we used social distance levels (mean scores and high/low levels), as reported in Appendix A.

3.4.1. Star-shaped structures of social distance

Austrian residents have fairly simple cognitive attitudes towards Japanese and German tourists. Following the guidelines for stars provided above, this can be taken from the number of star-shaped combinations of variables relative to the total number of variables. In other words, the variable in the centre of a star pattern weighs more heavily in relation to the other variables. It is used as a reference point for connected variables whose importance is suppressed by the centre element.

In our case, eight statements about tourists turn out to be of equally high importance in the opinion system of Austrian residents, as these pertain to both German and Japanese tourists. The situations refer to encounters with tourists at public places and enable residents to avoid conflicts by choosing other places or transportation vehicles. These are for example “Sitting beside them on a chair lift at one of our ski fields”, “Having them at our public swimming pool”, “Seeing them in our local museums”, or “Meeting them in the Vienna Volksgarten, walking around” (see Figs. 2 and 3).

The cultural background of tourists results in somewhat different cognitive patterns. The cognitive representation of social distance towards Japanese tourists is reflected by more personal encounters. Conflicts at these levels seem to result from close private encounters with foreigners. The situations involve e.g. “Having them into my house as long term guests”, “Sharing a bus-travel to Innsbruck”, or “Having their children coming to the kindergarten my children use”.

Towards German tourists, two star-shaped personal situations or encounters resulted, namely “Sharing a jet boat ride with them, for example on the Danube River” and “Having them as friends of my family into my house”.

3.4.2. Triangle-shaped structures of social distance

In general, more triangles appear in the cognitive representation towards Japanese tourists (in total 11) compared to eight triangles in the cognitive representation towards German tourists (see Figs. 2 and 3). Only two similar triangle-shaped structures of social distance exist with respect to the two tourist groups. The common theme here is shared activities. By e.g. not visiting tourist spots, residents can avoid conflicts with tourists. One triangle consists of “Sitting beside them on a chair lift at one of our ski fields”/“Sharing a bus-travel to Innsbruck”/“Sitting beside them on the Trans Alpine Train (a scenic train)”. This configuration reflects strategies that residents can use in order to increase spatial distance.

The remaining triangle-shaped structures are idiosyncratic to the nationality of the tourists. With respect to Japanese tourists, Austrians regard for example the following behaviour as cognitively similar: “Sitting beside them on a chair lift at one of our ski fields”/“Having them at our public swimming pool”/“Sitting beside them on the Trans Alpine Train (a scenic train)”. This set of behaviours equally contributes to potential conflicts with Japanese tourists. Another set of triangles reflect a more private sphere of interaction (“Having them into my house as long term guests”/“Having their children coming to the kindergarten my children use”/“Having them into our schools or other educational institutions”). Finally, general encounters with Japanese tourists are reflected by the following statements: “Following them driving a rental car on our roads”/“Seeing them in big groups walking around town”/“Have to walk around them standing in the middle of a supermarket aisle”.

Simple cognitive representations towards German tourists are found in six triangle-shaped configurations (see Figs. 2 and 3). Spatial distance can be observed (e.g. “Sitting beside them on a train-trip in Austria”/“Sharing a jet boat ride with them, for example on the Danube River”/“Having them at our public swimming pool”) as well as sightseeing-activities that are reflected in for example the triangle “Seeing them in our local museums”/“Meeting them in the Vienna Volksgarten, walking around”/“Seeing them on the Esplanade/water front”.

With regard to private encounters the triangles emerged, for example, “Having them into my house as dinner guests”/“Having them as friends or relatives”/“Having them as friends of my family into my house”, and “Having them at our public swimming pool”/“Meeting them in the Vienna Volksgarten, walking around”/“Having them into our schools or other educational institutions”.

Looking at gender differences with respect to spatial distance, the analysis shows that women and men agree only on one occasion (“bus travel”) in their cognitive representation of tourists. Female residents organise more items cognitively simplistic (“trans-Alpine train”, “jet boat ride”, “chair lift”, “public swimming pool”, and “campervan on roads”). One cognitive representation is evaluated negatively (“campervan on roads”). When contrasting the urban and rural population, the picture seems to be more heterogeneous. The cognitive organisation is different except for two items (“trans-Alpine

⁴ This followed a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) analysis, which demonstrated significant main effects on the social-distance scale for gender (male, female), visitor (Japanese, German tourists in Austria) and residence (city, rural). Due to the focus of this paper and space limitations, MANOVA results are not reported in this paper.

train”, “chair lift”). While people living in an urban environment seem to rely more on simple cognitive representations of tourists’ behaviour (“bus travel”, “public swimming pool”) the rural population shows one more response regarding their behaviour (“jet boat ride”). Finally, triangular constellations were identified for females and urban dwellers, indicating that they share similar knowledge structures regarding the tourist groups.

Male and female residents have slightly different views of tourists with respect to common activities: Women’s perceptions of sightseeing is less distinctive, two star shapes are observable (“Vienna Volksgarten”, “souvenir shop”). In contrast, men show many more and simple cognitive structures concerning sightseeing activities of tourists (“Vienna Volksgarten”, “Esplanade”, “local museums”, “Austrian tourists’ destinations”). Finally, urban and rural populations commonly agree in their cognitive patterns regarding “Vienna Volksgarten”, “Esplanade”, and “local museums”. On top of that, the item “tourist spots where they are too” represents such a cognitive pattern for the rural population.

While male residents’ cognitive structure includes having tourists as long-term guests and as friends/relatives, women think of them as having them as friends of their family and having the tourists’ children going to the same kindergarten. Comparing the urban and rural population with respect to personal contact, it seems that people living in a rural environment almost carry no cognitively simple views about tourists (schools/educational institutions). The urban population’s cognitive structure is simple regarding long-term guests, friends/relatives, children in kindergarten and again schools/educational institutions.

Personal contact with tourists is perceived very differently by the analysed sub-samples. Japanese tourists are viewed in a more conventional way than German visitors. Male and female residents have the same number but different response patterns. The urban population seems to have more simple cognitive views about tourists than the rural population.

The representation mentioned hold for both male and female residents, however, women also feel somewhat concerned when “having to walk around them standing in the middle of a supermarket aisle”. Urban and rural population’s views include rental cars for both groups. Additionally, a response for the urban population is taking photos of tourists and for the rural population “having them take photos of our farm animals”.

4. Conclusions and implications

The International Business literature is replete with approaches to identify differences, most prominently cultural differences (e.g. Hall, 1959; Hofstede, 1994). This specific paper aimed to go beyond the *identification* of cultural differences and provide opportunities for *managing* these differences actively and in an economically favourable way. Following Chapman et al. (2008) we argue that differences which are understood are differences that can be managed. To this end, we study social distance in resident–tourist relationships, which develop out of a plethora of exchange situations.

In our examination of specific exchange situations, we build on a social distance measure, originally developed by Bogardus (1933a) and further refined by Thyne and Zins (2004). Previous studies have focussed on national attitudes towards tourism (Thyne & Lawson, 2001; Thyne & Zins, 2004; Williams & Lawson, 2001), and ethnic minorities and spatial distance (Hill, 1984). Our focus is on two specific groups, which are economically potent and important for international business. We identify sources of potential conflict and uncover dimensions of interpersonal distance regulation which are key for international business managers, tourism management and governmental organisations to improve economic outcomes of exchange. Social distance is created as a subjective, rational defence mechanism in situations of conflict. Spatial distance cannot always be provided in tourist contexts, thus for residents social distance provides an alternative strategy to avoid conflicts. It builds on an increase of social distance rather than spatial distance. Our empirical investigation follows this conceptual layout and mirrors the concepts used in the conceptual background section closely.

The social distance phenomenon emerges from our study as a multi-dimensional construct. One dimension to escape conflict and strengthen positive interaction is through the increase of spatial distance. It suggests that grouping and streaming visitors according to nationality may reduce potential misunderstandings and damaging interactions. However, as pointed out, the minimisation of such interactions may in turn generate more superficial relationships, aggravate reciprocal misunderstandings and reduce opportunities for cultural learning. Attempts to escape potential conflicts by focussing on the increase of spatial distance therefore have to be seen against the potentially harmful effects of inhibited cultural learning and reduced levels of commitment towards tourism and its development. Another dimension involves “escaping conflict through reduction of common activities” such as sightseeing. While this sounds intuitively appealing, because it would allow segmenting local and international tourist groups according to their cultural predispositions and heritage, largely independent co-existence of tourists and residents without significant interaction may reduce tourists’ satisfaction with the host-country experience. This could also be seen from a service encounter perspective (Bitner, 1990) in an international context, suggesting that ‘subsistence-level’ interaction may lead to negative satisfaction of travellers with particular service encounters.

Next, a strategy to avoid conflict is to reduce personal interactions. A rejection of relationships of that kind may not necessarily harm economic benefits derived from the tourism industry but explains residents’ reservations against tourists. Avoidance strategies in terms of ‘general encounters’ in day-to-day situations imply that residents will shun populating tourist specific attractions and locations.

Austrians perceive German and Japanese tourists relatively similar. However, despite a strong overlap on some dimensions, we witness substantial differences with respect to the conflict avoidance/escape strategy through reduction of personal contact. This novel finding implies that looking at perceptions alone, does not reveal sources of conflict. Austrians

are more reluctant to engage in personal interactions with Japanese tourists than with German tourists. This could be explained by existing language barriers between Austrian residents and Japanese tourists. Also, the differences in long-term contacts, frequent and repeated contacts could be explained by considering the geographical and/or psychological distance between Germany and Austria and the distance between Japan and Austria.

Similarity analysis was used to reveal varying cognitive structures from the items. Cognitively simple response patterns which were particularly revealing about both German and Japanese tourists encompassed daily activities, such as visiting local museums or walking around in public gardens. Responses in relation to long-term contacts further helped to characterise significant differences between German and Japanese tourists. In the Japanese case, long-term relationships manifest themselves via kindergarten and schools, while in the German case, long-term relationships are evidenced by invitations to homes and enduring friendships.

The study is of practical relevance for the Austrian tourism sector, because as suggested by [Bachleitner and Zins \(1999\)](#), Austria is strongly dependent on soft tourism, and quality types of tourists. Germans represent Austria's most important visitor group from the European continent and Japan is the second most important group outside Europe. The study and results from the similarity analysis provide an understanding of the sources and causes of differences in perceptions within the residential population. This knowledge can help to keep a balance between satisfied tourists and equally happy residents, translate into more meaningful relationships and provide for an enduring and economically viable level of social and cultural interaction. Meeting and understanding existing stereotypes, further to testing their stability in time, may help tourism and international business managers in improving tourist satisfaction which increases overall satisfaction with the tourism experience and return visitation.

From a methodological perspective the application of similarity analysis, seems equally interesting and useful. By extending traditional quantitative techniques such as factor analysis or analysis of variance, similarity analysis also accounts for “softer” elements of interpretation. The graphs, developed by applying similarity analysis, can help to interpret the configuration of attitudinal statements. Hence, the findings of the analysis support a better understanding of when social distance matters and remedial actions can be done to overcome potential conflicts. The measure can be treated as complimentary to existing cultural and psychic distance measures in the International Business context ([Hallén & Wiedersheim-Paul, 1979](#); [O'Grady & Lane, 1996](#); [Yamin & Sinkovics, 2006](#)).

There are certain limitations to our research which may be addressed in future work. Predictive validity, while an important factor in terms of generalisability of results, was not particularly well addressed in our study. In order to take this into account, future research should incorporate both subjective information and behaviour. Matching these pieces of information with expectations and satisfaction measures for tourists from different cultural backgrounds will take our findings further. Another limitation is that we investigated the perspective of residents only. Future research is suggested to adopt a dyadic approach, which pursues the controlled examination of views of residents and tourists. This will alleviate potential biases by contrasting perceptions from both angles. An explicit consideration of cultural dimensions such as e.g. ‘high-context’ vs. ‘low-context’ cultures in the empirical analysis of attitudinal statements used in tourist encounters may also provide additional insights for International Business. Finally, a methodologically daunting yet rewarding ‘full’ design is suggested, encompassing all levels, such as stereotypes, social categorisation, group conflict and social distance. Taken together, this will provide researchers and policy decision makers alike with the necessary elements to fully understand the nature and implications of the plentiful social distance relationship between residents and tourists.

Appendix A

Means and SD for social distance items.

Variable (number, label)	Tourist group															
	Japanese tourists								German tourists							
	Male ^a				Female ^a				Male ^a				Female ^a			
	Urban ^b		Rural ^b		Urban ^b		Rural ^b		Rural ^b		Urban ^b		Urban ^b		Rural ^b	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
v01 Sitting beside them on a train-trip in Austria.	3.69	1.32	3.62	.80	3.42	1.09	3.38	1.23	3.62	1.18	3.38	1.02	3.62	.96	3.31	1.05
v02 Having them into my house as dinner guests.	3.60	1.85	4.04	1.64	3.14	1.57	3.50	1.78	3.19	1.38	3.54	1.50	3.26	1.29	2.81	1.52
v04 Seeing them at tourist spots or attractions when I am also there, for example at Schönbrunn Castle.	3.26	1.47	3.12	1.07	3.41	1.31	2.65	1.23	3.43	1.43	2.82	1.21	3.13	1.21	3.27	1.12
v07 Sitting beside them on a flight to Greece.	3.63	1.54	3.92	1.09	3.63	1.27	3.59	1.52	3.98	1.57	3.67	1.46	4.01	1.30	3.77	1.45
v16 Having them as flatmates.	3.78	1.49	4.04	1.31	3.62	1.37	3.82	1.61	3.81	1.38	4.18	1.27	3.75	1.30	3.85	1.67
v17 Sharing a jet boat ride with them, for example on the Danube river.	3.66	1.31	3.96	1.08	3.70	1.27	3.38	1.46	3.57	1.24	3.82	1.27	3.74	1.24	3.50	1.30

Appendix A (Continued)

Variable (number, label)		Tourist group															
		Japanese tourists								German tourists							
		Male ^a				Female ^a				Male ^a				Female ^a			
		Urban ^b		Rural ^b		Urban ^b		Rural ^b		Rural ^b		Urban ^b		Urban ^b		Rural ^b	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
v18	Having them as friends or relatives.	3.34	1.68	3.65	1.35	2.95	1.41	2.94	1.70	3.00	1.50	2.87	1.03	2.94	1.20	2.77	1.03
v22	Sitting beside them on a chair lift at one of our ski fields.	3.54	1.35	3.96	1.11	3.56	1.14	3.21	1.27	3.78	1.54	3.77	1.35	3.81	1.36	3.62	1.06
v23	Having them at our public swimming pool.	3.58	1.46	3.83	.89	3.74	.94	3.52	1.34	3.64	1.05	3.60	.88	3.62	.88	3.52	.99
v24	Having them in my house as long term guests, for example as exchange students.	3.30	1.55	3.38	1.13	3.11	1.23	2.76	1.50	3.05	1.17	3.47	1.22	3.26	1.24	2.88	1.15
v25	Sharing a bus-travel to Innsbruck.	3.80	1.44	4.04	.98	3.70	1.14	3.56	1.28	3.79	1.34	3.42	1.03	3.69	.92	3.65	1.41
v26	Following them driving a campervan on our roads.	4.42	1.23	3.85	.83	4.05	1.12	4.03	1.09	4.25	1.32	3.95	1.26	4.15	.97	3.85	1.26
v27	Seeing them in our local museums.	3.28	1.31	3.38	.98	3.21	1.22	2.68	1.22	3.16	1.19	3.08	1.16	3.29	.93	3.12	1.24
v28	Seeing them visit our Austrian tourist destinations when I am there.	3.24	1.32	3.62	1.13	3.64	1.06	2.74	1.31	3.44	1.66	3.33	1.63	3.40	1.11	3.15	1.22
v32	Meeting them in the Vienna Volksgarten, walking around.	3.55	1.09	3.62	.90	3.48	.90	3.06	1.10	3.44	1.19	3.33	.93	3.56	.84	3.27	1.22
v35	Following them driving a rental car on our roads.	4.60	1.61	4.00	1.13	4.07	1.09	3.79	1.25	4.59	1.48	4.51	1.34	4.38	1.16	4.04	1.43
v38	Sitting beside them on the Trans Alpine Train (a scenic train).	3.60	1.30	3.69	.93	3.56	1.04	3.38	1.28	3.84	1.35	3.51	1.12	3.81	.95	3.50	1.30
v41	Having them as friends of my family in my house.	3.03	1.60	3.19	1.27	2.79	1.39	2.65	1.47	2.95	1.45	2.64	.96	2.93	1.32	2.65	1.41
v42	Having their children coming to the kindergarten my children use.	3.28	1.25	3.58	.76	3.22	1.24	2.74	1.33	3.32	1.20	3.36	1.09	3.41	1.03	3.38	1.30
v46	Having them stay at an accommodation I own, for example Bed and Breakfast or Motel.	2.70	1.48	3.12	1.18	2.89	1.26	2.85	1.65	2.71	1.37	2.67	1.30	2.84	1.10	2.65	1.67
v47	Taking photos of them.	3.90	1.35	3.54	1.24	3.63	1.37	3.82	1.64	3.87	1.29	3.82	1.18	3.82	1.22	3.72	1.43
v50	Seeing them on the Esplanade/water front.	3.52	.88	3.46	.65	3.60	1.04	3.09	1.00	3.48	1.05	3.36	.90	3.68	.85	3.35	1.09
v52	Seeing them in big groups walking around town.	4.56	1.39	3.88	1.07	4.64	1.21	4.24	1.46	4.54	1.39	4.23	1.22	4.62	1.25	4.62	1.30
v53	Having them in our schools or other educational institutions.	3.65	1.19	3.69	.55	3.47	1.16	3.26	1.40	3.60	1.34	3.69	.92	3.76	1.16	3.65	1.41
v55	See them in a souvenir shop.	3.35	1.28	3.19	.85	3.31	1.24	2.85	1.26	3.41	1.34	2.97	1.37	3.35	1.05	2.81	1.10
v56	Having them take photos of our farm animals.	4.00	1.41	3.77	1.03	3.95	1.50	3.47	1.62	3.92	1.37	3.56	1.17	4.09	1.16	3.69	1.57
v57	Having my photo taken by them.	4.40	1.87	3.88	1.51	4.73	1.67	4.68	1.87	4.38	1.69	4.62	1.77	4.90	1.41	4.69	2.05
v59	Have to walk around them standing in the middle of a supermarket aisle.	4.79	1.37	4.19	.98	4.66	1.17	4.32	1.36	4.57	1.33	4.69	1.26	4.81	1.32	4.46	1.42

Note: 1 “feeling very comfortable”, to 7 “feeling very uncomfortable”.

^a Gender.

^b Residence.

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