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## The Role of Stereotypes in the Way Polish Tourists Perceive Romania as a Tourist Destination: A Pilot Study

**Abstract.** The aim of this article is to highlight how negative stereotypes can shape the image of a destination by analysing Polish tourists' ideas about Romania. To investigate this problem, the authors analysed verbal and visual associations collected using an online survey involving two groups of respondents: one representing Polish tourists in general (the general public) and the other representing people who were knowledgeable about and interested in Romania (the experts). Representatives of the general public were found to perceive Romania negatively, and their ideas were largely shaped by traditional stereotypes about poverty and the Roma. These stereotypes were not present in the experts' responses. The results reveal Poles' poor knowledge of Romania and the need for communication measures in order to reduce the impact of increasingly outdated stereotypes.

**Keywords:** destination image, stereotypes, verbal associations, visual associations, Romania **Article history.** Submited 2025-01-28. Accepted 2025-02-25. Published 2025-03-10.

## 1. Introduction

Since the 1970s and Hunt's pioneering work (1975), the issue of destination image has been at the very core of scientific research on tourism. As the phenomenon is very complex and changes over time, it is still the subject of numerous studies. In addition to highly cited papers that laid the groundwork for research in this area (Correia & Kozak, 2020; Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; Gallarza et al., 2002; Rodrigues et al., 2011; Wang et al., 2023), there are studies that seek to investigate particular details of this phenomenon (Alrawadieh et al., 2019; Bilynets et al., 2023; Dubois et al., 2021; Rajesh, 2013). The following paper focuses on one aspect that has not received much attention so far, namely the impact of stereotypes on the image of

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a destination. The importance of this topic results from the difficulty and long time necessary to impact negative stereotypes (Adler-Nissen, 2014; Szubert & Żemła, 2019).

The paper is focused on negative stereotypes, especially those retained for many years and their impact on purchasing decisions of contemporary tourists. Such negative stereotypes are difficult to eradicate and it usually takes a long time (Adler-Nissen, 2014; Szubert & Żemła, 2019). In particularly, the paper examines the impact of negative stereotypes of Polish tourists on their perception of Romania as a tourist destination. The main goal of the study was to confirm and extend existing knowledge about the relationship between negative stereotypes, destination image and customer behaviour. In its methodological dimension, the study was an opportunity to test the effectiveness of combining two popular ways of measuring destination image, namely, verbal and visual associations. Based on previous publications, the author hypothesised that the lack of knowledge reinforced Poles' negative stereotypes about Romania, making it as less attractive as a tourist destination.

#### 2. Literature Review

#### 2.1. Stereotypical Perception

It is apparent from previous studies (Jurczak, 2015) that Polish people have a very negative stereotypical perception of Romania. This is also reflected by statistical data, which indicate that Romania is not among Poles' most popular destinations (Charakterystyka..., 2024); similarly, Polish tourists are a minority among tourists visiting Romania (Tourism, 2024). Consequently, Romania is very weakly represented in catalogues of Polish tour-operating companies (for example, Itaka, the biggest tour-operating company in Poland, offers only two sightseeing trips to this country). Still, Romania is a country with numerous tourist attractions, which are visited by many tourists from other countries and it is often perceived either neutrally or positively (Lupu et al., 2023). Since there have been no studies on the image of Romania among Polish tourists, the author decided to conduct a pilot study to gain insights for future research on bigger random samples.

To better identify stereotypes underlying Poles' perception of Romania, the study was conducted to enable a comparison between two groups of respondents: those representing the general public (the general group) and those with a good knowledge of the country (the experts). Since stereotypes are usually accompanied

by a low level of knowledge about a given destination, it was decided to combine the traditional method involving verbal associations with that based on visual associations (Jia et al., 2024; Lupu et al., 2020; Rodrigues et al., 2017).

The results suggest that stereotypes established a long time ago, even if they are very remote from the reality, still significantly impact purchasing choices of Polish tourists. Opinions expressed by respondents from each group were found to be entirely different, with negative associations with poverty frequently appearing among members of the general group.

#### 2.2. The Notion of Destination Image and Stereotypes

One of the most frequently cited definitions of image is that given by Crompton (1979), who defined the concept as the sum of beliefs, impressions, thoughts, representations and emotions of an individual or group concerning a given object (product, company, place). The image of a tourist destination is created by tourists for their own use, imitating the likeness of the real place. The image is a specific simplification of many memories and information the consumer has about the tourist destination (Kock et al., 2016). The human subconscious connects information and images stored in memory with some more or less sharp idea, creating a specific conglomerate composed of feelings, judgments, opinions, attitudes and facts. Thus, the image is not a clear and detailed representation of a real thing, but rather a mosaic of many details, often captured accidentally and fragmentarily (Szubert et al., 2021).

The creation of a destination image is complex. Gallarza et al. (2002) describe two approaches to the problem that can be found in the literature. The static approach links the study of the destination image with consumer behaviour analysis, especially consumer satisfaction (Chen & Tsai, 2007; Li et al., 2021) and destination choice (Pan et al., 2021). Under this approach, research focuses on the relationships between these elements. Studies by Chen and Kerstetter (1999) and Afshardoost and Eshaghi (2020) have found a strong positive relationship between the image of individual attributes and the holistic image of the tourist destination and consumer behaviour before, during and after a tourist trip. A direct positive relationship between the destination image and the competitiveness, market success and effective functioning of a tourist destination has been confirmed by other studies (Alrawadieh et al., 2019; Miličević et al., 2017).

The second approach to analysing the formation of a destination image is to study its origin. Gallarza et al. (2002) called this approach dynamic. Many authors refer to Gunn's analysis (1988), later developed by Gartner (1994), which distinguishes two basic components: organic image and induced image. The former is a function of non-commercial information obtained by a tourist through references from other people, his or her own experiences and other sources independent of the activities of stakeholders within a destination (Bilynets et al., 2023; Dogra & Karri, 2021). The induced image is the result of marketing activities, especially promotional activities undertaken by destination marketers (Tasci & Gartner, 2007).

The high impact of the organic image (Dogra & Karri, 2021), the intense emotional content of the image (Akgün et al., 2020) and the difficulty or even impossibility of comparing a tourist's destination image with the reality before visiting the place (Tapachai & Waryszak, 2000) make the destination image and, consequently, destination competitiveness vulnerable to negative stereotypes (Szubert & Żemła, 2019). Negative stereotypes reinforced by tourists' low level of knowledge (Tapia, 2017) and simplified messages sent through mass and social media are often an obstacle to attracting tourists, as they present a simplified (Avraham, 2017), onedimensional (Muhwezi et al., 2016) image of particular destinations. Stereotypes of tourist destinations often contain elements that are not directly connected with tourism but rather reflect the way these destinations and their residents are perceived. A negative destination image resulting from firmly rooted stereotypes can considerably impede tourism development in a destination (Lai & Walters, 2019; Szubert & Żemła, 2019).

A stereotype is a generalization about a social category that refers to group members with a particular attribute (Albu, 2013). These cognitive associations can be formed irrespective of a specific culture (Miller et al., 2012). Stereotypes, understood as generalized and simplified perceptions, are used as categorisation mechanisms that help us deal with the massive volume of information from various sources. For a particular belief to be considered a stereotype, it must be firmly established in the consciousness of a given community as a cultural universal shared by the majority of society or group. A stereotype is a product of the existence of a specific type of society, highly complex and chaotic, in which one-sided, schematic, and partial ideas about reality make it possible its efficient functioning (Lippmann, 1925, 1993).

#### 2.3. Perceptions of Romania among Poles

Previous publications list a number of positive and negative associations that Poles have about Romania and Romanian people (Jurczak, 2015; Lupu et al., 2023). Jurczak's (2015) study is an important source of information in this regard, not only describing the stereotypical perception of Romania rooted in Poles' collective memory but also its origins along with all its consequences. According to Jurczak,

Poles' stereotype of Romania and its inhabitants has been shaped over many years, but is mainly associated with the country's difficult situation as a result of years of communism and its consequences (Jurczak, 2015). The legacy of Nicolae Ceausescu's brutal dictatorship, the bloody fall of communism, the economic collapse and the high level of corruption came together to form the image of a peripheral country, clearly different from the world it aspired to belong to (Nowysz, 2022). The local reality has become a negative point of reference, a building block for comparisons and associations, resulting in the phrase 'worse than in Romania' and similar (Jurczak, 2015). The dramatic events of the Romanian revolution aroused sympathy for this nation, which disappeared after the broadcast of the execution of the dictator and his wife. The drastic images intensified the stereotypical belief in the barbarity that supposedly characterised the country's social and political reality (Jurczak, 2015). In the first half of the 1990s, Poland saw an influx of Romanian Roma, which was associated with a considerable rise in the incidence of begging and petty crime. As a result, the Roma came to be identified with inhabitants of Romania, and the words 'Romanian' and 'Gypsy' became synonyms for Poles. This association became established within public consciousness (Jurczak, 2015). However, it is rarely remembered that in the background of this phenomenon was the struggle of both societies with the newly introduced economic and political systems. This meant that initially educated and enterprising Romanians chose Paris, Rome or Vienna as their travel destinations rather than Warsaw. In the same period, the Roma from all regions of Romania (especially from Transylvania) came to Poland; for Poles they were simply Romanians/Gypsies (Jurczak, 2015). The image of Romania and efforts to improve it in the international arena are mentioned by Nowysz (2022) in his discussion about the use of the legend of Count Dracula in Romanian public diplomacy.

Lupu et al. (2023) analysed travel blogs in search of representations of Romania. They found that the most frequent words used by bloggers are "Bucharest", "city", "time", "country", "trip", and "visit". Other commonly used geographical names included Brasov, Cluj-Napoca, Sighisoara, Transylvania. Words like 'castle', 'beautiful', 'travel', 'mountains' and 'Dracula' are often associated with Romania's natural (e.g. the Carpathian Mountains) and urban tourist attractions. The Bran Castle, marketed as Dracula's castle, is also an iconic attraction mentioned in the blogs (Lupu et al., 2023). While the study presents a very positive image of Romania, one should remember that their blog content analysis included opinions expressed by those who had actually visited the country. Additionally, major tourist attractions and activities in the country were studied using travel guidebooks, maps and social media (Trip Advisor).

### 3. Materials and Methods

#### 3.1. The Research Procedure and the Survey Questionnaire

The research procedure is presented in Figure 1. The goal of the study was to identify Poles' image of Romania and Romanians and determine to what extent individual components of Romania's attractiveness as a tourist destination and respondents' stereotypes about this country affected their travel choices.



Source: Own elaboration

The destination image was measured using two approaches: by means of verbal associations (Sekhniashvili & Bujdosó, 2023; Yang et al., 2012) and visual (pictorial) associations (Fung, Jim, 2015; Pezenka & Buchta, 2012). Verbal associations are generally believed to reflect more precisely respondents' knowledge of the object of analysis, while visual associations are more useful in recognising their emotional attitudes (Pezenka & Buchta, 2012).

The two list of associations were created based on the studies mentioned in the literature review. The list for eliciting verbal associations consisted of 22 items. The majority, designed to elicit positive associations, included tourist attractions, such as Transylvania or the Danube Delta, monasteries in Bukovina or the Salina Turda salt mine, and events such as Untold Festival. Beggars, Gipsies, poverty and corruption were also included to measure negative associations. The list also featured a few geographical names, such as the Balkan Region or Bucharest, which were expected to have more neutral connotations. The list to elicit visual associations was structured in a similar way. The 20 items included pictures of beautiful

landscapes as well as poverty and beggars. In both cases, respondents were asked to indicate four items that best represent their image of Romania as a tourist destination. Additionally, respondents were allowed to add their own suggestions to the list of verbal associations.

Given the scope of the pilot study, it was neither possible nor necessary to conduct an in-depth quantitative analysis of the results. Instead, the author decide to focus on visualising the findings to highlight the differences between the two groups and the impact of the stereotypes in the responses given by members of the general group. The results regarding verbal and visual associations are presented in two-dimensional graphs showing percentages of particular associations indicated in each group.

#### 3.2. The Sample

The same survey questionnaire with verbal and visual associations was used by both groups of respondents. The first, much larger and more diverse group consisted of people who could access the survey via social media, i.e. Facebook, Messenger, and WhatsApp. The second group consisted of people with considerable background knowledge about Romania, who were treated as experts. Some of them were former and current members of the Academic Circle of Romanists and former and current students of the Romanian philology, who could access the survey on a private Messenger group. Others, namely people working in the Romanian environment, received a private link to the survey. The third subgroup of the expert group was invited to participate via Instagram, where the link to the survey was shared on a public profile closely related to the topic of Romania, its culture and the Romanian language. The survey questionnaire was correctly filled by 143 people: 64% of them belonged to the general group and 36% to the expert group. The survey was conducted in the first half of 2024. The survey was anonymous.

#### 4. Results

The results of the verbal associations analysis are presented in Figure 2. While the correlation between the answers given by each group is not very low (0.32), it is evident that this is mainly due to a high number of associations that were rarely selected by both groups (<20%). These 12 answers are located in cluster C0 and are not relevant for further analysis. Apart from the C0 cluster, there are four clusters grouping associations selected by at least one of the groups more frequently.



Figure 2. The percentage of verbal associations with Romania for the expert and the general group Source: Own elaboration

Cluster C1 contains two by far the most frequent (>50%) associations in the group of experts (Bucharest and Transylvania). The general group indicated both of them with moderate frequency (20–30%). Cluster C2 contains another two answers that were frequently chosen by the experts (25–35%) and much less commonly by respondents from the general group (<20%). While associations in cluster C2 are all related to major tourist destinations/attractions, the Transfagarasan Highway and churches and monasteries of Moldova were only recognised by respondents more familiar with the country. Cluster C3 includes four associations that play a key role in Poles' image of Romania as a tourist destination, as both groups indicated these associations with medium or even high frequency (18-42%). The most notable association in this cluster is "mountains", which was indicated by over 40 % of the experts and 30% of the general group. The other associations in cluster C3 are "wildlife", "beautiful landscapes", and "the Balkans". It is worth noting that almost all of them are connected with the country's natural assets. Nature is therefore a positive element of Romania's image, since both groups perceive the country as an attractive nature-based destination. Finally, cluster C4 includes two associations that representatives of the general group selected most frequently (>40%) but which were rarely chosen by the experts (4–8%). Interestingly, both of these associations are negative stereotypes: poverty and Gipsies/Roma. Owing to social conflicts and the isolation of the Roma society in Poland, this association is radically negative, as demonstrated by a number of studies (Bauman, 1998; Kapralski, 2016; Świętek, 2014). The distribution of associations across clusters indicates that the perception of Romania among the general group is rather negative and

is fuelled by two negative stereotypes. At the same time, opinions of respondents more familiar with the country are free from these stereotypes and are based on positive associations with attractive places in the country. Finally, it is worth noting that the other two stereotypical associations – "beggars" and "corruption" – though not indicated frequently (<12%), partly confirm the disparity between the two groups: "beggars" was only selected by 2% of respondents from the expert group, as opposed to 12% from the general group. In contrast, the frequency of "corruption", was slightly higher in the expert group (8%) than in the general group (7%).

The results of the visual associations analysis are presented in Figure 3. Nine out of 20 questionnaire items included in cluster C0 are associations of little relevance for the image of Romania (<15% of indications in both groups). Cluster C1 contains answers that were frequently chosen by the experts (18–42%) but were not commonly selected by respondents from the general group (<15%).



Figure 3. The percentage of visual associations with Romania for the expert and the general group Source: Own elaboration

All visual items in this cluster present popular tourist attractions in Romania: Timişoara Old City, the city of Brasov, located in the mountains, the Sucevița Monastery and the famous Merry Cemetery. However, these sights are not easily recognised by people who have not visited Romania or are not interested in this country. Cluster C2 contains two items reflecting associations that have the biggest impact on Romania's image, as both groups chose them comparatively often (>30%). The pictures present the Transfagarasan Highway against the backdrop of picturesque mountains and the medieval Bran Castle. Mountain landscapes and

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medieval monuments are the most important positive associations with Romania. Clusters C3 and C4 contain pictures that were frequently chosen by respondents from the general group but rarely by those from the expert group (<20%). The difference between the two clusters is that three pictures in cluster C3 were chosen by the general group with medium frequency (20–25%), while two in C4 very selected more frequently (>35%). With the exception of the picturesque Cheile Turzii gorge (C3), all other pictures evoke negative or ambiguous associations. Cluster C3 includes a picture of city slums and a shepherd with sheep in the mountains while cluster C4 features the view of a begging boy and a poor village, two pictures most frequently chosen by the general group. All these pictures can easily be linked with negative stereotypes detected in the verbal associations analysis. The picture of a begging boy, the most frequently selected one by the general group, could even be described as humiliating for the country.

#### 5. Discussion

The results of both analyses demonstrate that negative stereotypes strongly impact the image of Romania as a tourist destination in the minds of average Poles (the general group). However, respondents with more background knowledge (the expert group) were found to be resistant the impact of negative stereotypes, which suggests that such stereotypes tend to persist in the absence of solid knowledge about the country (Lippmann, 1993). However, the findings of both analyses are not fully compatible. The verbal associations analysis reveals an almost unambiguously negative image of Romania in the case of the general group, with negative stereotypes clearly outnumbering positive associations. In contrast to respondents from the experts group, those from the general group do not know the names of the most important tourist attractions in Romania, which means they cannot use them to shape their image of the country and its attractiveness. However, the analysis of visual associations shows that even though they do not know particular places, they do associate the country with attractive landscapes. They perceive Romania as a country of exciting wilderness, especially mountains, with some historical monuments located in this natural environment. This conclusion is partially supported by the results of the verbal associations analysis, in which associations with wilderness and mountains were the only positive one selected by the general group with at least medium frequency.

When the above findings are compared with results of previous studies regarding Romania's image in Poland (Jurczak, 2015) and internationally (Andrei, 2017; Lupu et al., 2020; Lupu et al., 2023; Stoleriu, 2013), it can be concluded Poles' image of this country differs from perceptions of tourists from other countries. In most publications (Andrei, 2017; Lupu et al., 2020), Romania is perceived as a largely unknown country but without strong negative associations. Very similar findings are reported by Lupu et al. (2023). However, in their study they analysed the image of Romania based on opinions expressed in travel blogs, which are usually kept by tourists who have already visited Romania. This means that their results should be compared with the responses of the expert group rather than those of the general group. Other studies (Andrei, 2017; Lupu et al., 2020; Stoleriu, 2013) also stress the need for proper image and communication management in Romania's tourism industry. The same conclusion can also be drawn from the findings presented above. Almost 20 years after Romania joined the European Union and NATO, Poles still perceive this country in the light of Ceausescu's regime and the difficult years in of the country's political and economic transition in the 1990s (Jurczak, 2015). Andrei (2017) presents Romania's branding campaigns after the fall of communism. Lupu et al. (2020) discuss the desired image of the country based on visual promotional materials. However, it is clear that most phrases mentioned in these studies, such as "eternal and fascinating Romania", "explore the Carpathian Garden", "epistemic value of discovery", and "wellness and therapeutic activities", did not capture the attention of Polish tourists, even in the group of experts. Although the Romanian Cultural Institute in Warsaw has been operating in Poland since 2006 in an effort to disseminate knowledge about Romania, promote the Romanian language and culture, and facilitate cultural exchange between Poland and Romania, the negative stereotypes about Romania are still firmly rooted in public consciousness. The activities of this relatively small institution have not been sufficient to eradicate negative stereotypes, and broader actions are required, including media and touroperators' cooperation if Romania is to become an important tourist destination for Polish tourists.

#### 6. Conclusions

The study described in the article contributes to the body of existing knowledge in two respects. First of all, it provides findings demonstrating the lasting impact of negative stereotypes on the image of a tourist destination and, as a result, on tourists' travel choices, as exemplified by the case of Poles' perceptions of Romania. Following Adler-Nissen (2014), it can be argued that Romania continues to suffers from firmly rooted stereotypes in spite of two decades of fast development within the European Union. Dealing with stereotypes requires much effort and is usually time-consuming (Baker, 2023). In the case of Poles' image of Romania, the time has not been used efficiently as the efforts have clearly proved insufficient. The results also illustrate the fact that a destination image is not only the result of its perceived tourist attractiveness but it also reflects broader perceptions of the place, its people, history, culture, economy, etc. (Jamrozy & Walsh, 2008; Lai & Walters, 2019). Poles' largely negative image of Romania as a tourism destination seems to result from their perceptions of the country and its inhabitants rather than their lack of appreciation for its tourism products.

The second contribution of the study is connected with its methodological goal. The results not only demonstrate the usefulness of both verbal and visual association studies, which have already been used in numerous other studies (Jia et al., 2024; Lupu et al., 2020; Pezenka & Buchta, 2012; Rodrigues et al., 2017) but also the benefit of combining both approaches. By comparing the results of the two methods it was possible not only to verify the lasting impact of the negative stereotypes on Poles' image of Romania but also to identify possible causes of this situation. Because of their limited knowledge about Romania, respondents from the general group were not able to give verbal associations with the names of the country's most important tourism attractions, and those they did provide were unambiguously negative. However, some respondents did have some idea of what the country looks like and a few of these visual associations were positive. Even though the results of the visual associations study also revealed an unfavourable image affected by negative stereotypes, it seems that marketing campaigns about Romania which tend to highlight its scenic beauty and wildlife could improve the image of Romania among Polish tourists and limit the impact of the old stereotypes.

While the results of the pilot study are insufficient to make any generalisations, their unequivocal character merits further investigation using bigger and random samples. The study also indicates potential directions for future research, such as perceptions of Romania's natural environment and its attractiveness or the reasons for the low level of knowledge about Romanian tourist attractions.

Michał Żemła: conceptualization, data curation, formal analysis, methodology, project administration, software, supervision, validation, writing — original draft, writing — review & editing. Julia Trojan: conceptualization, data curation, investigation, visualization, methodology

#### **Declaration of Competing Interest**

None.

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## Appendix

Table 1. Results of the verbal associations study (%)

Verbal association	General	Expert
gypsies/Roma	52.2	7.8
poverty	42.4	3.9
the Balkans	31.5	19.6
mountains	29.3	41.2
wildlife	28.3	17.6
beautiful landscapes	28.3	29.4
Bucharest	23.9	54.9
Transylvania (Transylvania)	21.7	54.9
monuments	14.1	13.7
Transfagarasan Highway	13.0	35.3
the phenomenon of begging	12.0	2.0
churches and monasteries of Moldova	9.8	25.5
the Black Sea	7.6	13.7
corruption	6.5	7.8
country of foreign investment	4.3	3.9
the Danube Delta	4.3	15.7

Polish villages in Romanian Bukovina	2.2	13.7
Other:	2.2	10
fortified Saxon churches	1.1	7.8
Salina Turda	1.1	2
the Untold Festival	0	0
Papanaşi	0	2.0

Source: Own elaboration

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Picture	Results of the visual associations stud Title (not shown to respondents)	General	Expert
	A begging boy	42	4
	Plesa – a poor village	37	14
	The bran castle	37	33
	The Transfagarasan Highway	32	49
	A shepherd with sheep	23	20
	The Cheile Turzii gorge	22	7
	Slums	22	2
	The Merry cemetery	16	28

D. 1			
Picture	Title (not shown to respondents)	General	Expert
	The Sucevita monastery	9	41
	The old town of Brasov	8	24
	The monuments of Timisoara	8	18
	Peles chateau	5	10
	Oradea	4	12
	Brown bears	4	12
	The Danube Delta	4	4
	Bucharest	3	14
	The Salina Turda salt mine	3	0

Picture	Title (not shown to respondents)	General	Expert
	The Column of Infinity	1	4
	Beaches of Konstanca	1	0
	The Untold Festival	0	0

Source: Own elaboration

# Rola stereotypów w postrzeganiu Rumunii jako destynacji turystycznej przez polskich turystów – wyniki badania pilotażowego

**Streszczenie.** Celem artykułu jest podkreślenie roli negatywnych stereotypów w kształtowaniu wizerunku destynacji na przykładzie wyobrażeń polskich turystów na temat Rumunii. Do zbadania tego zagadnienia wykorzystano analizę skojarzeń werbalnych i wizualnych, które badano za pomocą ankiety internetowej z udziałem dwóch grup respondentów: jednej reprezentującej ogół polskich turystów (grupa ogólna) i drugiej reprezentującej osoby posiadające wiedzę i zainteresowanie wybranym krajem (eksperci). Wyniki wskazują, że przedstawiciele grupy ogólnej postrzegają Rumunię negatywnie, a ich wyobrażenia są w dużym stopniu ukształtowane przez tradycyjne stereotypy dotyczące ubóstwa i Romów. Stereotypy te nie występowały w odpowiedziach ekspertów. Wyniki świadczą o słabej wiedzy Polaków na temat Rumunii i o potrzebie działań komunikacyjnych w celu zmniejszenia wpływu coraz mniej aktualnych stereotypów.

**Słowa kluczowe:** wizerunek destynacji, stereotypy, skojarzenia słowne, skojarzenia obrazowe, Rumunia



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