TITLE: Helping a Lost Tourist: The Effects of Metastereotypes on Resident Prosocial

Behaviors

ABSTRACT

While previous research has explored stereotypes, few studies have investigated the effects of

metastereotypes on residents' prosocial behaviors; that is, how would residents react to tourists'

negative (or positive) stereotypes of them? Study 1 demonstrates that residents were more

willing to help a lost tourist in the face of negative metastereotypes. Study 2 further shows that

metastereotype valence (i.e., positive or negative) could influence residents' prosocial behaviors.

Finally, Study 3 shows that triggering a common social identity between residents and tourists

may not mitigate the effects of metastereotypes that arise from outgroup distinctiveness. Taken

together, this research suggests that metastereotypes could potentially influence prosocial

behaviors through impression management motives. This research contributes to the literature on

host-tourist relationships, and provides practical relevance for destination management

organizations and public policy planners involved in managing intergroup relations by

connecting knowledge from metastereotypes with stereotype-reduction strategies.

KEYWORDS: host tourist interactions; impression management; intergroup relations; resident

attitudes; social identity; tourist perceptions

INTRODUCTION

Understanding residents' attitudes and behaviors towards tourists is critical in the development of a sustainable tourism destination (Milman, Reichel, and Pizam 1990; Moufakkir 2011; Zhang, Inbakaran, and Jackson 2006). Residents and tourists often engage in interpersonal exchanges at a destination, and while positive host-tourist interactions (HTIs) can contribute to individuals' learning, growth and personal development, hostility from residents can instead have an adverse impact on tourists' attitudes (Dörnyei and Csizér 2005; Pizam, Uriely, and Reichel 2000; Reisenger 2015). However, the mere contact between hosts and tourists do not always result in positive changes in intergroup relations as stereotypes held by hosts and tourists towards each other can affect how individuals perceive and behave in the presence of others (Sonmez and Apostolopoulos 2000; Yzerbyt 2016).

While previous tourism research have explored stereotypes in a number of different context, such as stereotypes in ethnic enclave tourism (Woosnam et al. 2016), stereotypes in tourism education and career prospects (Tung and King 2016; Tung, Tang, and King 2018), stereotypes towards service providers (Luoh and Tsaur 2014), media representations of stereotypes (Caton and Santos 2009), and stereotypes in destination marketing (Bender, Gidlow, and Fisher 2013), much less research attention has been given to the effects of *metastereotypes* in HTIs. In contrast to stereotypes, which focus on one's preconceptions of others, metastereotypes refer to individuals' beliefs about how their ingroup (i.e., those with a shared identity) is perceived by others (Vorauer et al. 2000). Emerging research in social psychology suggests that one's perceptions of metastereotypes against his/her ingroup by outgroup members (i.e., those who do not seem to belong) can influence his/her behaviors towards members of that outgroup (Hopkins et al. 2007; Van Leeuwen and Täuber 2012). Yet, the current tourism literature has not

considered how metastereotypes could influence residents' behaviors towards tourists. This perspective is important as residents' reactions to tourists' negative (or positive) stereotypes may potentially influence their subsequent behaviors.

Over three related experiments, the goal of the present research is to examine the effects of metastereotypes on residents' behavior towards tourists. This perspective is valuable as the goal of fostering prosocial behaviors, including residents' (i.e., ingroup members') willingness to help tourists (i.e., outgroup members), is an essential component for developing intergroup, host-tourist relations. From a practical perspective, this research also addresses the challenges that destinations face when tourists have negative preconceptions of residents, and destination management organizations (DMOs) have to balance resident sentiments with tourist perceptions in order to reduce conflicts and encourage a warm spirit of hospitality that is necessary for tourism development (Ritchie and Crouch 2003). In this regard, there could be practical benefits for DMOs to target communication strategies for residents that would refute stereotypes, thereby reducing tourists' negative preconceptions.

To begin, the objective of Study 1 is to examine the effects of negative metastereotype activation on residents' willingness to help: "would residents still be willing to help if they were aware of tourists' negative views towards them?" In doing so, residents could be using prosocial behavior as a means of refuting negative stereotypes thereby positioning their ingroup in a more favorable light.

After seeking initial evidence on the effects of metastereotypes from Study 1, the aim of Study 2 is to investigate the impact of metastereotype *valence* on prosocial behaviors: "how would metastereotype valence (i.e., positive or negative) influence residents' willingness to help?" Would residents still exhibit prosocial behaviors in the absence of motives to regain

favorable ingroup impressions from negative preconceptions? When confronted with positive metastereotypes, residents can simply agree with the favorable impressions, thereby reducing their motivations towards outgroup helping. Study 2 assesses whether it is the valence of metastereotypes, rather than simply metastereotype activation itself, that elicits the effects of prosocial behaviors.

Finally, the objective of Study 3 is to examine whether eliciting a common identity between residents and tourists can influence the effects of metastereotypes that arise from outgroup distinctiveness. Stereotypes are a function of individuals' perceptions of social identities, and in this regard, would facilitating a common identity between residents and tourists influence the effects of metastereotypes on prosocial behaviors? In the tourism literature, studies have suggested facilitating a common identity between tourists and residents to reduce conflicts and promote understanding and cooperation (Sonmez and Apostolopoulos 2000). Taken together, the three studies seek to contribute to tourism research by bringing a novel perspective of metastereotypes that is relevant for DMOs and public policy planners involved in managing host-tourist relationships.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Importance of fostering host-tourist interactions (HTIs)

Contact between tourists and local residents from different cultures and social groups are ever-increasing (McNaughton 2006; Liu and Tung 2017). Previous studies in tourism have investigated the influence of HTIs on tourist satisfaction and attitudes towards a destination, the effects of HTIs on resident attitudes towards tourism development, and resident perceptions towards the socio-cultural impacts of tourism activities (e.g., Andereck et al. 2005; Gursoy, Jurowski, and Uysal 2002; Pizam et al. 2000; Weaver and Lawton 2001; Woosnam et al. 2016; Zhang et al. 2006). For example, Woosman (2012) assessed residents' attitudes toward tourism and tourism development in the context of how residents feel about visitors using both the Emotional Solidary Scale (ESS) and Tourism Impact Attitude Scale (TIAS). Findings from this study indicate that local tourism planners and DMOs should seek to foster positive relationships between residents and visitors as this relationship could influence how residents perceive tourism impacts and development. Furthermore, a recent study by Ribeiro et al. (2017) examined economic and non-economic factors as antecedents of residents' attitudes to tourism and pro-tourism development behavior. The results suggest that economic factors have a direct influence on residents' pro-tourism development behavior while the relationship between non-economic factors and pro-tourism development behavior is mediated by positive attitudes. Both attitudes to positive and negative impacts have direct influence in residents' pro-tourism development behavior. Overall, fostering dynamic, intimate, and welcoming host-tourist relations is critical for tourism development (Woosnan and Aleshinloye 2013; Woosnam et al. 2015; Woosnam, Norman and Ying 2009).

Stereotyping and HTIs

While opportunities for positive social interactions with local people can enhance the attractiveness of a destination for tourists (Fagence 1998), unpleasant HTIs could arouse feelings of inferiority and stereotyping between tourists and residents (Sinkovics and Penz 2009). Stereotypes are beliefs or expectations about the characteristics of individuals from specific social groups, and stereotyping is the process whereby individuals ascribe these qualities to others according to their perceived group (Nelson, Acker, and Manis 1996). Tourism researchers have long explored stereotypes in various context; for example, Brewer (1984) suggested both residents and tourists may adapt their behaviors to existing stereotypes to minimize the impacts of cultural differences. 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 tourist stereotypes in contexts such as destination marketing (Bender, Gidlow, and Fisher 2013), mass tourism (Wang, Weaver, and Kwek 2015), destination image (Chen, Lin, and Petrick 2012), media representations (Caton and Santos 2009), and service experiences (Luoh and Tsaur 2014). Despite the above wealth of tourism research in stereotypes as well as the social barriers and conflicts between hosts and tourists that may arise from stereotypes, limited studies have examined the effects of metastereotypes on HTIs, particularly its impact on residents' prosocial behaviors.

Metastereotypes in promoting prosocial behavior

Metastereotypes refer to an individual's beliefs about how his/her group is viewed by an outgroup, and how these beliefs can have implications for ingroup members' self-concepts and social perceptions (Vorauer et al. 2000). Social identity theory suggests that individuals'

perceived group memberships could define a portion of their self-concept (Tajfel 1982), and metastereotypes could be detrimental to one's social identity as individuals are intrinsically concerned with how they are perceived and evaluated by others (Klein and Azzi 2001; Rodriguez et al. 2011). Metastereotypes could be activated by informing individuals that they are being evaluated by outgroup members, and such confrontation with the outgroup's views could trigger complex interactions in intergroup settings (Vorauer et al. 2000). For instance, metastereotypes could trigger self-presentation concerns (Van Leeuwen and Tauber 2012). In this case, individuals may adopt a variety of strategies to advance their group's interests, such as seeking opportunities to confirm positive aspects of metastereotypes while disconfirming the negative ones to outgroup members in order to defend their self-esteem (Hopkins et al. 2007; Klein, Spears, and Reicher 2007). This strategic confirmation could be more pronounced when an individual's behaviors are recognized by an outgroup audience (Klein and Azzi 2001).

For example, Hopkins et al. (2007) demonstrated that metastereotypes could promote outgroup helping. In their study, participants were made aware of the negative stereotypes held against them by other individuals before measuring their willingness to help these outgroup members. The results showed that participants who were informed of these negative views expressed higher willingness to help, suggesting that they could be using prosocial behavior as a means of refuting negative stereotypes in order to position their ingroup in a more favorable light. Individuals have the tendency to protect and enhance group images, and outgroup helping could be used to strategically restore or maintain positive ingroup distinctiveness.

In this regard, Study 1 first seeks to examine the effects of negative metastereotypes on residents' subsequent prosocial behaviors towards tourists. Based on the rationale above, Study

1 posits that residents could use prosocial behavior as a means of refuting negative stereotypes thereby positioning their ingroup in a more favorable light.

> *Hypothesis 1*: Residents who are made aware of tourists' negative stereotypes towards them will report an enhanced willingness to help tourists over those who are not aware of such stereotypes.

Study 2 further examines the influence of metastereotype valence (i.e., positive versus negative metastereotypes) on outgroup (i.e., tourist) helping. Central to the concept of metastereotypes for promoting prosocial behaviors is that a strong sense of collective self-enhancement could motivate individuals to engage in outgroup helping when confronted with negative stereotypes to regain positive ingroup distinctiveness. For example, Van Leeuwen and Tauber (2012) examined the moderating effects of group impression management in outgroup helping. The study showed individuals used outgroup helping to inform outgroup members that the negative traits imposed on the ingroup were misinformed. Individuals' concerns for ingroup impressions were positively related to their willingness to help outgroup members, and individuals used outgroup helping to position perceptions of the ingroup as warm and competent.

When confronted with positive metastereotypes, however, it is possible that residents could simply assent to the favorable impressions as individuals tend to agree with positive views of their ingroup. While such positive metastereotypes could be viewed as "compliments" by residents, it is also possible that they could reduce residents' strategic motives involved in tourist helping (i.e., to refute negative views) since the outgroup already perceives them in a positive

light. In this regard, Study 2 investigates whether it is the valence of metastereotypes, rather than simply metastereotype activation itself, that elicits the effects of prosocial behaviors.

Hypothesis 2: Residents who are made aware of tourists' negative stereotypes towards them will report an enhanced willingness to help tourists over those who are made aware of positive stereotypes.

Common identity in metastereotypes

Common 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).

In the tourism literature, studies 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 can shape their subsequent social perceptions, feelings, and behaviors in intergroup dynamics (van Veelen et al. 2016). Since tourism involves intergroup contact from numerous different regional, cultural, and national ingroup and outgroup members, residents are oftentimes casted in 'we' terms while tourists are denoted as 'they' (Giles, Ota and Foley 2013; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). 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 social 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).

What is unknown, however, are the effects on intergroup relations when a common identity is elicited between residents and tourists in the context of negative metastereotypes. In the presence of negative metastereotypes, ingroup members could exhibit prosocial behaviors when their responses would be witnessed by an outgroup audience to maintain ingroup impressions (Rabinovich and Morton 2010). For example, residents can seek to impress tourists by offering to help in order to strategically present their group as warm and hospitable. Instead, if residents and tourists share a common identity, residents' willingness to help could be reduced given the absence of outgroup impression management motives. In Study 3, a situational prime seeks to cast residents in 'we' terms with tourists during a 'staycation' at home (Pyke et al. 2016). By eliciting a common ingroup identity between residents and tourists, residents may exhibit reduced motivations to refute negative metastereotypes – and hence, reduce prosocial behaviors – if they perceive themselves as a 'tourist' as well.

Hypothesis 3: Residents who have been primed with a common identity will report a lower willingness to help tourists over those who have not been primed.

METHODOLOGY

In the present research, Hong Kong is a very fitting context to examine the potential effects of metastereotypes as recent protests by residents against tourists have brought significant economic impact to local businesses (Zhou 2015). There were international media coverage of residents' negative behaviors, such as yelling at tourists and calling them locusts, which have damaged tourists' perceptions of the city as a welcoming destination (Tsang 2015). Additionally, Hong Kong's youth have been socially active in demonstrations including the anti-locust action that were condemned by older residents (Wong 2016). Policymakers in Hong Kong have since launched public initiatives including a promotional video on television that featured youth with the Hong Kong ex-Financial Secretary to communicate the importance of demonstrating a warm spirit of hospitality towards tourists (Sun 2016).

Study 1

Study 1 begins by examining the initial effects of negative metastereotype activation on residents' willingness to help via a between-subjects experimental design with two levels (e.g., metastereotype: negative versus control).

Design

The priming procedures for activating negative metastereotypes were based on the process described in Van Leeuwen and Mashuri (2012) but modified to suit the context of this research. Eighty-one participants were recruited via convenience sampling from a large university in Asia (i.e., 67 females and 14 males, *M* age = 21.7) and randomly assigned to one of two conditions (i.e., negative metastereotype versus control). In the negative metastereotype condition, participants read an excerpt that described tourist views of residents as "not really

friendly or approachable" and "self-centred and unhelpful". In the control condition, participants

read a parallel excerpt that described residents as "unfashionable and unstylish" and "did not

have good fashion." After reading the manipulation excerpts, all participants were asked to rate

the extent to which they thought residents were viewed by tourists as (1) cold, (2)

unapproachable, and (3) unhelpful based on a 7-point Likert-type scale (i.e., 1 = strongly

disagree to 7 = strongly agree).

After the above negative metastereotype prime, participants read a scenario to assess their

willingness to help a lost tourist with directions. The scenario was informed by previous social

psychology literature in outgroup helping triggered by metastereotypes (Hopkins et al. 2007), but

adopted to suit the context of a typical host-tourist interaction. Willingness to help was also the

assessment of a recent field experiment where members of an outgroup were approached for

directions, and measured in a stepwise manner in which an initial request was followed by

additional, more demanding requests (Van Leeuwen et al. 2014). Participants in both conditions

read:

> *"Imagine that you are walking in the middle of a pedestrian bridge on your way home.*
>
> *Suddenly you see a foreign tourist who seems tired and confused. You think the tourist is*
>
> *lost. Soon the tourist approaches you and asks for direction to a famous local park. You*
>
> *know the location of the park. The distance of the park is a few minutes of walking from*
>
> *where you are at, but it is the opposite direction to where you are heading on your way*
>
> *home."*

Participants then rated the extent to which they would be willing to: (1) point to the

general direction to the park; (2) show the direction of the park on their smartphone to the

tourist; (3) walk with the tourist to the exit of the pedestrian bridge and point to the direction of the park; and (4) walk all the way with the tourist to the park, based on a 7-point Likert-type scale (i.e., 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). They were also asked to rate the extent to which they felt interacting with tourists in daily life is stressful and boring on a 7-point Likert-type scale (i.e., 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree) as a further check to assess the possibility that residents in the two conditions may have negative predispositions towards interacting with tourists.

<u>Results</u>

Manipulation check

The first check examined the effectiveness of the negative metastereotype manipulation. The composite reliability of the three-item measure for the manipulation was .887, which is greater than .70 (Nunnally 1978). This suggests that the reliability of the measure was acceptable after the manipulation. An independent samples t-test comparing the scores of the control condition (M = 3.7, SD = 1.18) with the negative metastereotype condition (M = 4.86, SD = .89) was significant, t (79) = -4.78, p < 0.001. This suggests that the manipulation activated negative metastereotypes for participants who read the excerpt on tourists' views of residents as unhelpful, compared to participants who read an irrelevant excerpt on fashion.

The second check examined residents' negative predispositions towards interacting with tourists. The composite reliability of the two-item measure (i.e., boring and stressful) was .770. An independent samples t-test comparing the scores of the control condition (M = 2.81, SD = 1.18) with the negative metastereotype condition (M = 2.77, SD = .99) was nonsignificant, t (79)

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= -.149, p = .882. This suggests that participants in one condition did not hold a significantly more negative attitude towards interacting with tourists than participants in the other condition.

Post-manipulation

The results of the four willingness to help measures were separately assessed given the stepwise nature of these behaviors: (1) point to the general direction (negative M = 6.22, SD = .67; control M = 6.25; SD = .89); (2) show direction on smartphone (negative M = 5.73, SD = 1.05; control M = 5.39; SD = 1.33); (3) walk to the exit of the pedestrian bridge (negative M = 5.38, SD = 1.19; control M = 5.05; SD = 1.28); and (4) walk all the way (negative M = 4.30, SD = 1.13; control M = 3.73; SD = 1.09).

--- Insert Figure 1 here ---

As shown in Figure 1, participants who were aware of negative metastereotypes were generally as, or more willing to help, than participants who were primed with an unrelated metastereotype across all four measures. An independent samples t-test showed a significant difference only for the most demanding behavior (i.e., walk all the way with the tourist despite being the opposite direction to where they are heading on their way home). Participants in the negative metastereotype condition were significantly more willing to walk with the tourist than those in the control condition, t (79) = 2.313, p = .023. This suggests that residents in the negative metastereotype condition were more willing to help as the prosocial behavior became most demanding.

<u>Brief discussion of Study 1 and introduction to Study 2</u>

The results of Study 1 provided support for Hypothesis 1: residents reported greater willingness to help in the negative metastereotype condition than those in the irrelevant, control condition. The results provided initial evidence that when residents were aware of being perceived as unhelpful, they exhibited outgroup helping – in the form of assisting a lost tourist as per this study – to counter the negative preconceptions. This finding suggests that an individual's desire to refute a negative metastereotype can potentially translate into prosocial behavior towards the source of the threat (i.e., the tourist). A possible explanation for this effect is that individuals may consider demonstrating prosocial qualities directly in front of an outgroup member as an effective measure to immediately contest negative preconceptions (Van Leeuwen and Tauber 2012).

While Study 1 demonstrated the impact of metastereotype activation, it is unclear whether the valence of the metastereotype (i.e., positive versus negative) could influence the effects towards tourist helping. In other words, if residents were made aware of positive metastereotypes (i.e., that tourists viewed them as kind, warm, and helpful), would positive preconceptions also elicit similar reports of helpfulness as residents who were informed of negative stereotypes? Study 2 examines whether residents would also exhibit prosocial behaviors in the absence of motives to regain favorable ingroup impressions via a between-subjects experimental design with three levels (e.g., negative metastereotype, positive metastereotype, and control condition).

Study 2

<u>Design</u>

One hundred and five participants (i.e., 89 females and 16 males, *M* age = 20.8) were recruited via convenience sampling from a large university in Asia and randomly assigned to one of three conditions (i.e., negative metastereotype, positive metastereotype, or control). The manipulation primes for the negative metastereotype and control conditions (i.e., unrelated excerpt on fashion) were consistent with Study 1. In the positive metastereotype condition, participants were instructed to read an excerpt that largely paralleled the negative metastereotype manipulation, but with the description of tourists perceiving residents as "kind and helpful" and "looking out for others". After the manipulation, participants were presented with the same help-seeking tourist scenario as Study 1 and rated their willingness to help the tourist across the four measures. Participants also rated the extent to which they felt interacting with tourists in daily life is stressful and boring as per Study 1 to assess their predispositions towards interacting with tourists.

<u>Results</u>

Manipulation check

The first check assessed the effectiveness of the metastereotype valence manipulations via one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA). Significant differences were found among the three conditions, $F (2, 102) = 29.849$, $p < .001$, and participants in the negative metastereotype condition rated tourist views of residents as significantly more unhelpful ($M = 4.84$; $SD = 1.09$) than participants in both the control ($M = 3.55$; $SD = 1.28$) and positive metastereotype groups ($M = 2.63$; $SD = .82$). Participants in the positive metastereotype condition also reported

significantly more positive tourist perceptions than those in the control group. The results

suggests that the manipulation activated negative or positive metastereotype valences for

participants compared to those who read an irrelevant excerpt on fashion.

The second check evaluated residents' negative predispositions towards interacting with

tourists. Results from one-way ANOVA indicated nonsignificant differences among participants

in the control (M = 2.81; SD = 1.18), negative metastereotype (M = 2.77; SD = .99), and

positive metastereotype conditions (M = 2.68; SD = 1.14), F (4, 99) = 1.663, p = .195. This

suggests that participants across the three conditions did not hold significantly more negative

attitudes toward interacting with tourists.

Post-manipulation

Figure 2 shows the results of the four stepwise willingness to help measures that were

assessed via multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) (Wilks' λ = .848; F (4, 99) = 2.134; p

= .034): (1) point to the general direction (negative M = 6.14, SD = .71; positive M = 6.42; SD

= 1.06; control M = 6.20; SD = .98); (2) show direction on smartphone (negative M = 5.86, SD

= 1.11; positive M = 5.92 SD = 1.32; control M = 5.34; SD = 1.33); (3) walk to the exit of the

pedestrian bridge (negative M = 5.35, SD = 1.18; positive M = 5.50; SD = 1.44; control M =

5.00; SD = 1.22); and (4) walk all the way (negative M = 4.51, SD = 1.45; positive M = 3.79;

SD = 1.28; control M = 3.75; SD = 1.35).

--- Insert Figure 2 here ---

Similar to the findings of Study 1, participants with related metastereotypes activated

(i.e., positive or negative) were generally more willing to help than participants in the unrelated

control condition. The only significant difference in willingness to help between positive and negative metastereotype valences was for the most demanding behavior (i.e., walk all the way with the tourist). Participants in the negative metastereotype condition ($M = 4.51$; $SD = 1.45$) were more willing to walk with the tourist than participants in both the control (3.75; $SD = 1.35$) and positive metastereotype ($M = 3.79$; $SD = 1.28$) conditions, $F(2, 102) = 3.586$, $p = .031$. In support of, and further to the results of Study 1, the findings suggest that the effects of metastereotype activation and valence are not universal across all 'steps' of prosocial demands. In other words, metastereotypes may not influence residents' willingness to help in less demanding situations; instead, metastereotype activation and negative valence may only partially influence the effects of prosocial behaviors in the most demanding scenario.

Brief discussion of Study 2 and introduction to Study 3

There are several relevant findings from Study 2. First, Study 2 provides further support for Study 1 as participants in the negative metastereotype condition showed higher tendency to help than participants in the control group that were exposed to an unrelated metastereotype. Second, the addition of the positive metastereotype condition provides evidence that metastereotype *activation*, both positive and negative, related to the helpfulness of residents were able to elicit the effects of prosocial behavior above-and-beyond unrelated metastereotypes. Third, Study 2 offers partial evidence for Hypothesis 2 that the effects of negative metastereotype valence on prosocial behaviors may matter for the most demanding situation, but not in relatively less onerous scenarios.

While Study 1 and Study 2 analyzed the effects of metastereotype activation and valence from residents to tourists (i.e., ingroup to outgroup), these studies casted residents as 'we' and tourists as 'they' (Giles, Ota and Foley 2013).   Study 3 facilitates a common social identity

between tourists and residents that could influence residents' helpfulness towards tourists despite the presence of negative metastereotypes. The objective to examine whether eliciting a common identity between residents and tourists could influence the effects of negative metastereotypes that arise from outgroup distinctiveness.

Study 3

<u>Design</u>

Eighty-two participants (i.e., 64 females and 18 males, *M* age = 20.2) were recruited via convenience sampling from a large university in Asia and randomly assigned to one of four conditions via a 2 (metastereotype: negative versus control) x 2 (identity: common versus outgroup) between-subjects experimental design. First, participants in the negative metastereotype and control conditions read the corresponding excerpts on tourist views of residents as unhelpful or the unrelated fashion metastereotype as per Study 1 and Study 2.

Next, participants were primed with a common identity or an outgroup identity manipulation. In the common identity prime, participants read the following instructions:

> *"While a getaway vacation is highly desirable, it is not always easy to travel abroad due to time and money constraints. The term "staycation" describing the idea of vacationing at home has become popular in recent years. One day, you happen to read about a photo gallery hosted at a remote location in Hong Kong. You have never been to that location before. You are excited about the idea of being a tourist in your own city. Finally, you decided to visit the photo gallery at the unfamiliar location to enjoy your city like a tourist. At the gallery, you notice that the majority of the photos are about city scenes of Hong Kong that you do not know about."*

This situational prime sought to prime residents in 'we' terms with tourists, suggesting that residents can also envision themselves as tourists (i.e., residents as tourists) despite being a local at home. This situation is relevant at many destinations where residents act as tourists and compete with tourists for shared access and resources such as viewpoints at scenic locations (Woosnam, Norman, and Ying 2009). In this view, there is potential for a dynamic relationship between residents and tourists within a destination, despite oftentimes portrayed as being separate from each other. Furthermore, 'staycations' are becoming increasingly popular as destinations provide product offerings closer to home to promote wellness in a shorter period of time (Pyke et al. 2016).

In contrast, participants in the outgroup identity prime read the following instructions to maintain their resident identity.

"Hong Kong has always ranked highly on the list of "best cities to live" and Hong Kong residents have always been proud of what the city has to offer. The city boasts a number of great infrastructure and high quality education institutions. Hong Kong residents enjoy a very safe and clean environment. One day, you happen to read about a photo gallery hosted around your neighborhood. You have been to that location close to your home before. Finally, you decide to visit the photo gallery. At the gallery, you noticed that the majority of the photos are about famous city scenes of Hong Kong that you are familiar with."

After the manipulation, participants were presented with this modified help-seeking tourist scenario before rating their willingness to help across the four measures.

"You are leaving the photo gallery and on your way to the subway station via a pedestrian bridge. Suddenly you see a foreign tourist who seems tired and confused. You think the tourist is lost. Soon the tourist approaches you and asks for direction to a nearby bus stop. You know the direction to the bus stop. The distance of the bus stop is a few minutes of walking from where you are at, but it is the opposite direction to the subway station you are going to."

Participants also completed a two-item measure to assess the extent to which they "felt like a tourist" and "identify as a tourist" on a 7-point Likert-type scale (i.e., 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). They also rated the extent to which they felt interacting with tourists in daily life is stressful and boring as per Study 1 and Study 2 to assess their predispositions towards interacting with tourists.

Result

Manipulation check

The first check examined the effectiveness of the common identity prime. The composite reliability of the two-item measure for the manipulation was .676, which is close to .70 (Nunnally 1978). An independent samples t-test comparing the scores of the "common identity" condition ($M = 4.75$, $SD = .73$) with the "outgroup identity" condition ($M = 3.73$, $SD = .93$) was significant, $t(80) = 5.565$, $p < 0.001$. This suggests that participants who were randomly assigned to the common identity condition identified more closely as a tourist than those in the outgroup identity condition.

The second check examined residents' negative predispositions towards interacting with tourists (α = .734). Results from analysis of variance (ANOVA) comparing the main effects of metastereotype, F (1, 78) = .018, p = .869, and identity, F (1, 78) = .458, p = .501, across the four conditions were nonsignificant. This suggests that participants did not hold a significantly different attitude towards interacting with tourists than participants in other conditions.

Post-manipulation

Participants' willingness to help was analyzed across the four stepwise situations (see Figure 3). Consistent with the findings of Study 1 and Study 2, participants in the negative metastereotype condition (M = 4.40; SD = 1.24) reporting higher willingness to help than those in the control group (M = 3.79; SD = 1.42) for the most demanding behavior (i.e., walk all the way with the tourist) despite nonsignificant results for the other three less demanding scenarios, F (1, 78) = 4.198, p = .044. However, there were nonsignificant differences on all four stepwise behaviors between the common and outgroup identity conditions, suggesting that common identity did not influence, positively or negatively, the effects of related negative metastereotypes that arise from outgroup distinctiveness, F (1, 78) = .292, p = .590.

--- Insert Figure 3 here ---

Brief discussion of Study 3

Study 3 provides support to Study 1 and Study 2 on the effects of negative metastereotypes on residents' prosocial behaviors. However, the results of Study 3 refuted Hypothesis 3 as a common social identity between residents and tourists neither reduced these effects in the presence of a related, negative metastereotype, nor enhanced residents' willingness

to help even in absence of the negative metastereotype (i.e., as in the control condition). Furthermore, the statistically nonsignificant differences in helping behaviors between participants exposed to negative metastereotypes in the outgroup versus common social identity conditions suggests possible limitations to the benefits of triggering the 'we' mentality under this study's situation.

DISCUSSION

Over the course of three-related studies, this research contributed to the tourism literature on intergroup relations by demonstrating the effects of metastereotypes on residents' willingness to exhibit prosocial behaviors towards tourists. It is crucial to note that while the present studies sought to examine the potential alternative outcomes of metastereotypes, this research neither condones stereotypes nor the act of stereotyping. Negative preconceptions can unfairly characterize individuals based on social attributions, and even positive stereotypes can depersonalize individuals through category membership despite intentions to communicate them as compliments (Czopp, Kay, and Cheryan 2015). Nevertheless, the reality is that stereotypes are still pervasive in society, and researchers are investigating both impacts and approaches to mitigate them (e.g., through communication, education, source-monitoring, and other solutions) (e.g., Anderson et al. 2015; Baltes, Bauer, and Frensch 2007; Keith and Frese 2008; Martell and Evans 2005). In light of this reality, this research hopes to inspire interest in the important subject of metastereotypes, and encourage researchers as well as practitioners to develop strategies to address preconceptions from both resident and tourists, in their capacities as both sources and perceivers of stereotypes.

Theoretical contributions

The findings of this research are theoretically important because it adds a different dynamic to existing tourism perspectives in intergroup perceptions and evaluations. For example, in addition to previous studies that have examined intergroup relations using social exchange theory and contact hypothesis, this research furthered the field's body of knowledge by

highlighting the notion of metastereotypes from recent research in social psychology (Ward and Berno 2011). More specifically, Study 1 offered initial evidence that residents were more willing to help in the face of negative metastereotypes. Study 2 further demonstrated that metastereotype valence – in addition to metastereotype activation – could also influence resident prosocial behaviors. These findings may seem counterintuitive as previous research suggests that unfavorable evaluations on outgroup members could result in residents' negative attitudes towards tourists (Ye et al. 2014). Yet, the present research findings show that residents could still be willing to exhibit prosocial behaviors, particularly in more demanding situations, when they are motivated to refute related negative preconceptions. This indeed provides a fresh perspective to complement existing tourism stereotype research in understanding host-tourist interactions, and highlights the need for researchers to adopt different angles in future research to investigate the complexities of host-tourist relationships.

Further to the above, Study 3 showed that triggering a common social identity between residents and tourists did not mitigate the effects of negative metastereotypes that could arise from outgroup distinctiveness. While past studies have suggested a common social identity between tourists and locals could influence residents' acceptance of tourists, the results of Study 3 suggest that the broader goal of encouraging behaviors may not be as straightforward as simply facilitating a shared identity between them. One possible explanation is that despite a common identity, which allowed residents to perceive themselves as temporary tourists in a staycation context, they still regard themselves ultimately as residents of the destination.

The results from this research also contributed back to the literature in social psychology by providing support for a possible alternative view of metastereotypes in an applied scenario. This research demonstrated that metastereotype valence (i.e., informing residents that tourists

held positive views of their ingroup) could potentially influence the effects on prosocial behaviors by suppressing an ingroup member's helping intentions due to the absence of impression management motives. A possible explanation for this effect is that negative metastereotypes could motivate outgroup helping more than positive metastereotypes. While individuals typically favor ingroup members in terms of evaluation, attribution, material resources, helping, and social support (Dovidio and Gaerner 2000), when there is an absence of a strong drive to present their ingroup in a better position, individuals could nevertheless feel less compelled to help outgroup members. In the present research context, resident outgroup helping behaviors could be used to strategically communicate positive traits of the ingroup (i.e., helpfulness and friendliness) and refute negative characteristics (i.e., unapproachable and unhelpful). In contrast, once residents were aware that tourists perceived them positively, the strategic motives of outgroup helping may have decreased.

Practical implications

The practical implications from this research could be of interest to DMOs and public policy planners involved in managing host-tourist relationships. Although the context of this research is Hong Kong, promoting prosocial behaviors among residents is relevant for other destinations. For example, Japan is facing similar challenges in host-tourist relations as their residents, particularly their youth who are very active in social media, are beginning to lash out at tourists and create a hostile environment that tourism officials are working hard to address (Ryall 2017). These issues could ultimately affect the nature of tourists' memorable experiences at a destination (Tung and Ritchie 2011; Tung et al. 2017).

To address these issues, the findings of this research suggests that there could be potential prosocial benefits for DMOs to target communication strategies for residents. This process would connect knowledge from the effects of metastereotypes with current research on stereotype-reduction strategies in order to reduce stereotypes and encourage greater understanding (Woosnam et al. 2016). For instance, DMOs could focus on ways that residents could behave that would refute negative stereotypes thereby reducing tourists' negative preconceptions. This would enable residents to defend their self-esteem and enhance group impressions. Here, adopting stereotype-reducing approaches such as structured intervention and social norms could be helpful.

In a structured intervention, individuals are commonly asked to recall positive and negative behaviors against a traditionally stereotyped group (Baltes, Bauer, and Frensch 2007). In the context of metastereotypes, residents could be asked to consider why tourists may have formed negative preconceptions of them, and DMOs could shares examples of undesirable host-tourist interactions. The key is to focus on specific examples while avoiding general judgements of residents, so that residents are aware of instances of what not to do but informed about specific ways that they can help as well as actions they can perform to alleviate stereotypes.

DMOs could also communicate social norms by highlighting the pervasiveness of residents to overcome tourist preconceptions (Duguid and Thomas-Hunt 2015). The key is to recognize the prevalence of metastereotypes as a means of engaging the broader community without assigning blame and then encourage individuals to join the goals of the ingroup so that as a collective, residents are working hard to help reduce stereotypes. In doing so, DMOs can facilitate or strengthen a culture in which residents consider themselves as prosocial and hospitable towards tourists.

Limitations and future research

There are limitations and opportunities for future research. The size of the samples were relatively small, and a number of statistically nonsignificant results were presented in Study 3. The small sample size and lower power in Study 3 are limitations that reduced the chance of a detecting an effect. Additionally, participants were recruited via convenience sampling at a large university, which does not represent the general population, and a much larger number of females than males participated in this research. Gender biases may exist given the subject matter on stereotypes, and indeed, more females were willing to participate in this research when they were informed that it was related to stereotypes and willingness to help tourists. Differences in gender representation due to self-selection was unexpected at the onset, and hence, this research did not establish gender quotas for recruitment, a priori. Nevertheless, the underrepresentation of males may not allow for statistical testing, and this is certainly a limitation of this research.

Helpfulness is a complex phenomenon in itself, and a number of different elements, such as an individual's personality, and moral and cultural identity, could affect prosocial behaviors (Habashi, Graziano, and Hoover 2016; Reed et al. 2016). Indeed, similarity in culture and language between residents and tourists could affect residents' willingness to help tourists since stereotypes are influenced by individuals' comparisons of themselves to dissimilar others. This research was conducted in English, and by eliciting the scenarios in English, participants may have been unintentionally primed to imagine an English-speaking tourist (within a largely Chinese-speaking destination) in the study scenarios. This is a limitation of this research, and

future studies could better investigate the cultural and language background of the tourist on residents' willingness to help.

This research is limited to the effects of metastereotypes from the perspective of residents rather than from tourists. Future studies can investigate tourist responses as tourist perceptions of how they are viewed by residents could potentially influence their behaviors. Finally, the lack of statistically significant differences in the common social identity group exposed to negative metastereotypes suggests that the treatment could be stronger to help residents feel like tourists. Future studies are encouraged to delve deeper into the influence of triggering the 'we' mentality between residents and tourists beyond this study's staycation scenario. Residents who feel like tourists may infer corresponding traits and associated behaviors when they adopt another social identity.

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