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## Effects of similarity and tourist status on prosocial behavior: a field study in Spain

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**EFFECTS OF SIMILARITY AND TOURIST STATUS  
ON PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR:  
A FIELD STUDY IN SPAIN**

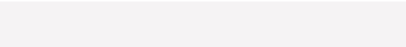
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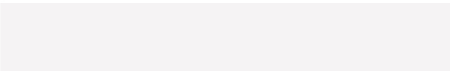
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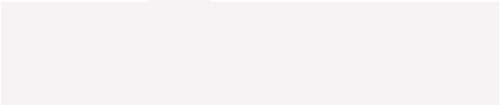
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## MASTER'S THESIS

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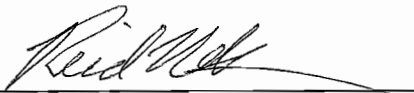
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A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Faculty of  
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Reid Anders Nelson

May 2009

**ABSTRACT**

Male and female participants in four cities across Southern and Northern Spain were approached by a male tourist-confederate and were given an opportunity to act in a helpful or unhelpful manner. The factor of interest was similarity to the helper, which was manipulated via spoken language (English vs. Spanish) and soccer team affiliation (in-group vs. out-group jersey). To investigate anti-American sentiment, confederate nationality (American or Canadian) was also manipulated. Prosocial behavior was operationally defined as granting use of a cell phone to a lost tourist. Consistent with the similarity hypothesis, it was found that conditions in which the confederate was most similar to the participant (Spanish speakers wearing in-group jerseys) elicited the highest rate of helping, whereas conditions in which he was least similar (English speakers wearing out-group jerseys) elicited the lowest rate of helping. As hypothesized, there were no observed treatment differences between Canadians and Americans.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## Effects of Similarity and Tourist Status on Prosocial Behavior:

### A Field Study in Spain

Given the prevalence of American and Canadian tourists worldwide and particularly in Europe, it is surprising that there is little research on the differential treatment of English-speaking tourists traveling abroad. The phenomenon has been demonstrated anecdotally and in a few studies (e.g., Feldman, 1968; Rabinowitz et al., 1997), but more empirical evidence is needed, especially with respect to differences between U.S. and Canadian citizens. Hence, one of the principle aims of the current study is to contribute to that literature.

As shown in past research, there are a number of ways a solicitor can influence prosocial outcomes. Among them are his/her socioeconomic status, ethnicity, gender, age, nationality, and the language in which he/she speaks (Becker, Kimmel & Bevil, 1989; Brigham & Richardson, 1979; Bryan & Test, 1967; Elias & Loomis, 2004; Feldman, 1968; Guéguen & Pascual, 2003; Harris & Baudin, 1973; Kleinke, 1977; Levine, Bluni & Hochman, 1998; Rabinowitz et al., 1997; Walker, Harriman & Costello, 1980). Additionally, the perceived urgency and legitimacy of a request and the cost of helping behavior are also factors that influence the likelihood of receiving assistance or preferential treatment (Krapfel, 1988; Yinon & Dovrat, 1987). More generally, from a Social Identity Theory perspective, a global feeling of similarity –or in-group status – that is influenced by many of the aforementioned factors drives altruistic behavior. Simply put, the more similar you are to the other person or group, the more likely you will receive help when in need (Guéguen, 2003; Guéguen, Pichot, & Le Dreff, 2005; Hensley, 2005). Set in various cities throughout Spain, the current study sought to investigate the

effect of tourist status on helping behavior within the framework of the similarity hypothesis.

The similarity of the ethnicity of both the solicitor and the helper is one factor that can impact altruistic behavior (Brigham & Richardson, 1979; Bryan & Test, 1967; Elias & Loomis, 2004; Harris & Baudin, 1973). For example, Brigham and Richardson found that Caucasian clerks allowed Caucasian customers who were short a few cents to purchase a product more often than their African American counterparts. Bryan and Test also demonstrated in-group/out-group biases, as their African American solicitors received significantly fewer donations than their Caucasian solicitors. For a meta-analysis of the effect of race on helping, see Saucier, Miller and Doucet (2005). They found consistent race effects across a multitude of studies examining the differential treatment of Caucasians and African Americans. Although this research may be dated, it still demonstrates the powerful influence of social identification/similarity on helping behavior.

Harris and Baudin (1973) also showed the effect of in-group/out-group dynamics on prosocial behavior. By exposing half of their participants (who were Latino) to Caucasian confederates and the other half to Latino confederates, they found that the participants gave spare change to the Latino confederates more often than they did to the Caucasian confederates. They also found that confederates were treated better when they spoke in Spanish rather than English. It is important to note that this study was conducted at a state fair in New Mexico. Since it did not take place in a foreign country, it is not likely that either Caucasian or Latino confederates were viewed as foreigners or tourists. What would the effects of similarity look like when the solicitor is perceived as a

foreigner? To address this question, Feldman (1968) investigated the effects of perceived nationality and spoken language on prosocial outcomes involving tourists.

Interested in the differential treatment of tourists in various settings, Feldman (1968) observed a number of helping behaviors in Boston, Paris, and Athens. He manipulated the perceived nationalities of his confederates such that they either appeared to be foreigners or compatriots. The language in which the confederate spoke was also varied such that it was his first language, English, or the major language of the city. Consistent with the similarity hypothesis, whether the foreigner spoke in the predominate language of the city or in his first language influenced helpfulness; specifically, foreigners who used the city's language were helped more frequently in both Paris and Athens, but not in Boston. Finally, foreigners were helped more often than compatriots in Athens, whereas compatriots were treated better in Paris and Boston. Rabinowitz et al. (1997) conducted a similar study involving the treatment of English-speaking tourists in Salzburg, Austria, Florence, Italy, and Prague, Czech Republic. While the researchers did not manipulate whether the confederate was a foreigner or a compatriot, they did pay attention to confederate gender, weather, participant age and gender, time spent giving directions, and distance between the confederate and the participant during the interaction. Overall, there was no difference between the cities in the rate of helping; however, participants who were closer in age to the confederate were more helpful than participants who were much older in age. People were also more helpful on sunny days than rainy or cloudy days.

The majority of the aforementioned factors influence how similar the potential helper perceives the person in need of help, which, in turn, may determine the likelihood

of helping. Interestingly, the impact of perceived similarity is not solely limited to major defining characteristics such as ethnicity, gender, nationality and language. It even extends to more superficial characteristics such as one's first name (Guéguen, 2003) and last name (Guéguen, Pichot, & Le Dreff, 2005), sports team affiliation (Levine, Prosser, Evans & Reicher, 2005), and attire (Hensley, 2005). For example, Guéguen, Pichot and Le Dreff found that solicitors who had the same surname as a participant received more compliance to an email request than did solicitors with a different surname. The same was true when the solicitor had the same first name (Guéguen, 2003). Similarly, Levine et al. studied intergroup soccer rivalries, and found that in an emergency situation, confederates who wore the in-group team shirt were helped more frequently than confederates who wore a rival team shirt or an unaffiliated soccer shirt. Additionally, Hensley (2005) found further support for the similarity hypothesis, as his well-dressed male confederates were helped more frequently in an airport, whereas their poorly dressed counterparts were helped more frequently at a bus station.

Perceived status of the requester (or the person in need) is another factor that can influence helping behavior. In many studies dealing with such effects, status has been operationalized via attire (i.e., formal, casual, and sloppy dress conditions equating to high, intermediate, and low status, respectively). Researchers found that confederates in the formal dress condition elicited the highest compliance when compared to the other dress conditions (Guéguen & Pascual, 2003; Levine, Bluni & Hochman, 1998; Kleinke, 1977; Krapfel, 1988; Harris & Baudin, 1973; Walker, Harriman & Costello, 1980).

Some other ways a solicitor can influence prosocial outcomes are the perceived legitimacy and urgency of the request and the cost of helping behavior (Krapfel, 1988;

Yinon & Dovrat, 1987). Specifically, Yinon and Dovrat found that requests high in perceived legitimacy and urgency elicited higher compliance relative to requests that were low in perceived legitimacy and urgency. They also found that requests elicited higher compliance when accompanied by a low cost of helping behavior.

The present study investigated the differential treatment of U.S. and Canadian tourists in Northern and Southern Spain. A popular topic of discussion in political science, sociology, and cultural anthropology is anti-American sentiment; that is, the extent to which the U.S. is disliked in foreign countries. With respect to tourism, there is a widely-held assumption that when traveling abroad, U.S. tourists will receive a warmer welcome from the locals if they introduce themselves as Canadian or hang Canadian flags behind their backpacks. This phenomenon has been noted anecdotally and on a few travel blog websites (e.g., see <http://guirilandia.blogspot.com/2005/09/fake-canadians.html>, <http://en.wordpress.com/tag/fake-canadians/>, <http://community.seattletimes.nwsourc.com/archive/?date=20040924&slug=tressay26>). However, some researchers contend that among Western Europeans, there is not necessarily a general anti-American sentiment wherein U.S. citizens are disliked and treated poorly because of their perceived nationality, but rather there is an opposition to U.S. policies (Crespi, 1983). Thus, any differential treatment of Canadian and American tourists may be the result of individual differences in opposition to each country's policies. To test the assumption that pretending to be Canadian will aid in one's travels throughout Europe, the current study assessed whether Canadian and U.S. tourists are treated differently within Spain. Given that Spain is divided into several autonomous communities (or provinces) that are culturally distinct, various cities located across the

country were sampled. Since urban locations tend to be less helping than rural locations (e.g., see Steblay, 1987), all study locations were urban capital cities, with populations that ranged from 155,740 to 1,673,075. Differential treatment of the confederate was measured in the form of compliance to a request to use the participant's cell phone. Similarity and tourist status were manipulated by soccer team affiliation (in-group or out-group), spoken language (Spanish or English), and nationality (American or Canadian).

Based on the principles of the Social Identity Theory and the similarity hypothesis, the predictions for the outcomes of this study were as follows. The confederate would elicit more prosocial behavior: 1) when speaking in Spanish rather than English, and 2) when wearing the in-group national jersey (Spain) rather than out-group jerseys (U.S.A. or, Canada). Also, it was hypothesized that 3) the confederate would elicit the highest probability of prosocial behavior when speaking in Spanish *and* wearing the in-group soccer jersey, and the lowest probability when speaking English *and* wearing the out-group soccer jersey, irrespective of nationality. There were no hypothesized differences between Canadians and Americans as confederate similarity was very comparable in these cases; however, if differences were observed it was predicted that they would stem from differences in opposition to U.S. and Canadian policy. As such, the participant's familiarity and opposition to each country's policies were measured. All of the abovementioned predictions were expected to hold true in each of the cities sampled, with exception to Barcelona, where the confederate's national Spain membership may actually be viewed as out-group membership due to the growing movement for the independence of Catalonia. To address this issue, the participant's nationalistic identification also was measured.

## Method

### *Participants*

Six hundred five people (300 females and 305 males) who were passing through a central plaza in four different cities across Spain were approached by the confederate and solicited for their cell phone. Gender, language and presence of a cell phone were components of the selection criteria; that is, in order to make comparisons between genders, an even distribution of males and females was attempted in the sampling procedure. All participants needed to speak Spanish fluently and have a basic understanding of English. And finally, a cell phone had to be visibly present on the participant's person as this was an integral part of the primary measure (helping). If participants were using their phones prior to the interaction (i.e., texting or talking), the confederate waited until they were finished before approaching them. He waited no longer than 5 minutes before moving on to the next person in the crowd. Due to time constraints, a random number table for participant selection was not used, and instead the first participant who visibly fit the abovementioned criteria was selected. If gender was unevenly distributed in a given cell as a result of this, the underrepresented gender was selected until the cell was adequately filled.

Among the participants who were approached by an English-speaking confederate, 116 claimed that they could not speak or understand English, leaving a total of 489 viable participants (241 females and 248 males). Additionally, only 282 participants (122 females and 160 males, mean age = 27.57,  $SD = 8.17$ ) agreed to complete the questionnaire.

### *Design and Procedure*

This naturalistic, field-based study took place in four urban cities in Spain, two in the North – Barcelona (population: 1,673,075) and Salamanca (population: 155,740) – and two in the South – Granada (population: 275,000) and Cádiz (population: 157,000). A map of all study locations is shown in Figure 1. The confederate was a 24-year-old bilingual male who possesses the physical features typical of people of Northwestern European descent (i.e., light brown hair, hazel eyes, and fair skin). Situated in a central plaza or high-traffic pedestrian walkway, he first located a participant in the crowd who fit the selection criteria (see Figures 2-5 for images of the setting in which each study took place). Then, he requested to use the participant's cell phone to make a quick local phone call, while also indicating his nationality and that he was traveling with a group of friends. There was a monetary cost associated with the request, as the participant would end up paying for the minutes used, but being a quick local call it was not such a high cost that there would be floor effects (i.e., nobody would want to offer their cell phone). To control for the perceived legitimacy and urgency of the request, the confederate gave the same rationale in each interaction (i.e., "I'm traveling from the [U.S. or Canada], and I've unfortunately been separated from my group of friends. Do you mind if I borrow your phone so that I may get in touch with them?"). After the participant gave an answer, the experimenter recorded his/her response. If the participant agreed to let the confederate use his/her cell phone, the response was scored as helping, and the cell phone was immediately returned without making a call; if the request was denied or ignored, the response was scored as non-helping. If the participant offered change for a pay phone, the response was coded as helping. The confederate then stepped aside as the experimenter



approached the participant to inform him/her that he was conducting a cross-cultural study in Spain. He then requested that the participant answer a few quick survey questions. Each item contained a 7-point Likert-style scale with the following anchors: “1: *No, para nada*” (“1: Not at all”), “4: *Un Poco*” (“4: Somewhat”), and “7: *Sí, bastante*” (“7: Very much”). The questionnaire included two manipulation checks: one to verify that the participant correctly perceived the confederate’s nationality and one to verify that the participant understood the language in which the request was made. Additionally, the questionnaire contained a similarity scale. This scale served as verification that the confederate was perceived as similar/dissimilar depending on the experimental condition. Whether the participant followed Canadian and/or U.S. politics as well as their opposition to the countries’ respective policies was also measured, as this is an important consideration when drawing causal conclusions regarding any observed differential treatment between Canadians and Americans. Various miscellaneous questions were also prompted, such as: checks for the perceived urgency, legitimacy and cost of the confederate’s request, the participant’s level of identification with national Spain, and whether the participant was a soccer fan and followed national competitions. Demographic items such as age, gender, nationality, and city of residence were also assessed. All questionnaire items were read aloud to the participant by the experimenter in Spanish, and responses were entered into Excel Mobile on a handheld palm device. Upon completion of the questionnaire, the experimenter debriefed participants, informing them that they were part of an empirical study dealing with the effects of language, soccer team affiliation, and nationality on helping behavior (see Appendices A and B for

all questionnaire items as well as confederate and experimenter dialogue as written in English and Spanish, respectively).

The confederate's soccer team affiliation was manipulated according to two conditions: in-group jersey (Spain) or out-group jersey (U.S.A. or Canada). Additionally, the confederate's nationality varied such that he introduced himself as being from the U.S. or Canada. Finally, the language in which the request was made was also manipulated (English or Spanish). For the Spanish condition, the confederate spoke in the most universal and widely spoken dialect, Castilian Spanish. For the English condition, the confederate spoke with a west coast U.S. accent; the accent was held constant across nationalities, as it is not likely to differ substantially from a west coast Canadian accent. All confederate and experimenter dialogue as well as questionnaire items were back translated and rehearsed to assure there were no substantial differences in interpretation across languages. To ensure that the confederate appeared to be a tourist, he always carried a daypack (see Figure 6 for a depiction of the confederate's appearance when he was engaged in his role).

## Results

### *Primary Analyses*

Since specific differences between cities were not hypothesized, data for all primary analyses were collapsed across city. The majority of these analyses include responses from all 489 participants who fit the selection criteria. Analyses related to survey data, however, were limited to only the participants who participated in the follow-up questionnaire ( $N = 282$ ). The overall helping rate averaged across all study locations was 47.4%. Of those participants who responded in a helping manner, 228

agreed to let the confederate borrow their cell phone and 4 offered change for a payphone.

### *Hierarchical Log-Linear Analysis*

A 2 (Nationality) x 2 (Jersey) x 2 (Language) Hierarchical Log-Linear Analysis was conducted to test the effects of the IVs on helping behavior. The analysis yielded no significant interactions ( $p < .05$ ). The following sections describe the main effects as well as planned contrasts.

#### *Language*

There was a main effect of language on helping such that the confederate received more help when speaking in Spanish (54.3%) than when speaking in English (40.7%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 489) = 9.16, p = .002, \eta^2 = .137$ . The finding supports Hypothesis 1.

#### *Jersey*

A marginal difference in helping between the in-group (Spain) and out-group (U.S. or Canada) jerseys was found, and in the predicted direction,  $\chi^2(1, N = 489) = 3.50, p = .061, \eta^2 = .085$ . The confederate received aid more frequently when wearing the Spanish national soccer jersey (52.0%) than when wearing the U.S. or Canadian jerseys (43.5%). It is important to note that this analysis includes responses from all 489 participants, and that amongst those who responded to the questionnaire, there was large variability in soccer fanaticism ( $M = 4.3, SD = 2.53$ ). It is possible that the observed difference would be more pronounced for participants who indicated strong soccer fanaticism on the follow-up questionnaire. That is, these participants may have had a stronger identification with the confederate when he wore an in-group soccer jersey than participants who did not follow soccer. As such, separate analyses were conducted for

participants who were high in soccer fanaticism (5 or higher) and participants who were low in soccer fanaticism (3 or lower). Indeed, there was a significant advantage to wearing the in-group soccer jersey (81.5% helping) over wearing the out-group jersey (62.5% helping) amongst the soccer fanatics,  $\chi^2(1, N = 145) = 6.31, p = .012, \eta^2 = .209$ . The difference was non-significant for people lower on the soccer fanaticism scale,  $\chi^2(1, N = 103) = 0.18, p = .667, \eta^2 = .042$ . This pattern of results was consistent with Hypothesis 2.

#### *Planned Contrasts*

To test Hypothesis 3 (that the confederate would receive the highest frequency of helping when wearing the in-group jersey *and* speaking in Spanish, and the lowest frequency of helping when wearing the out-group jersey *and* speaking in English), a planned contrast was conducted using a pairwise chi-square comparison for helping data in the two abovementioned experimental conditions. The analysis yielded a significant difference in the hypothesized direction, with the in-group, Spanish-speaking confederate receiving help 61.3% of the time, and the out-group, English-speaking confederate, 38.5% of the time,  $\chi^2(1, N = 241) = 12.46, p < .001, \eta^2 = .227$ . The difference was particularly pronounced amongst soccer fanatics (80.3% vs. 50% helping),  $\chi^2(1, N = 114) = 11.09, p = .001, \eta^2 = .312$ .

#### *Nationality*

For confederate nationality, helping data were analyzed for the participants who answered the survey questions *and* correctly perceived the target nationality of the confederate (N = 95); there was no significant difference in helping rates between the two nationalities, with Canadians receiving help 85.4% of the time and Americans receiving

help 85.1% of the time,  $\chi^2(1, N = 95) = .002, p = .966, \eta^2 = .005$ . It is important to note that there was a disproportionately high number of helping responses relative to non-helping responses within this subset of the sample. The finding likely was due to the overwhelming tendency for participants to deny participation on the follow-up questionnaire after having denied the confederate's request to use their cell phone; that is, there were very few non-helping participants who participated in the questionnaire session. To determine whether the abovementioned non-significant difference was consistent for the entire sample, and to get a better idea of the true helping rates as a function of confederate nationality, chi-square comparisons were conducted for all 489 participants. Again, there was no significant difference between Canadians (49.6% helping) and Americans (45.3%) helping,  $\chi^2(1, N = 489) = .917, p = .338, \eta^2 = .043$ . The lack of a difference between nationalities was consistent with the hypothesis.

### *Questionnaire Scales*

There were four items in the questionnaire that pertained to the perceived similarity to the confederate, two items related to soccer fanaticism, and two items related to nationalistic identification. To confirm that these eight items loaded as hypothesized into their respective factors, the items were treated with a Confirmatory Principle Components factor analysis with a varimax rotation. The analysis yielded a 3-factor solution that explained 72.3% of the variance in observed scores (see Table 1 for Eigenvalues and factor loadings). Due to the confirmatory nature of the analysis, a strict factor loading cut-off was set at 0.6. Q5 (“Are you a soccer fan”) and Q6 (“Do you follow national soccer competitions?”) loaded on Factor 1, *Soccer Fanaticism*. Q1 (“In your opinion, how similar are you and the man who just approached you?”), Q2 (“Did the

man look like you”), and Q3 (“Did the man talk like you”) loaded on Factor 2, *Perceived Similarity*. Finally, Q7 (“To what extent do you identify with national Spain”) and Q8 (“Do you consider yourself patriotic?”) loaded on Factor 3, *Nationalistic Identification*. Scales were created for each of the aforementioned factors by averaging responses on the pertinent items into composite scores. Reliability analyses indicated an alpha of .97 for *Soccer Fanaticism Scale*, .61 for *Perceived Similarity Scale*, and .93 for *Nationalistic Identification Scale* (see Table 2 for scale means and standard deviations and Table 3 for overall means and standard deviations of all Likert-style questionnaire items).

#### *Perceived Similarity*

To determine differential perceived similarity across confederate conditions, composite scores on the *Perceived Similarity Scale* were subjected to a 2 (Nationality) x 2 (Jersey) x 2 (Language) Analysis of Variance. Consistent with hypotheses, Spanish-speakers were perceived as more similar to the participant ( $M = 3.70$ ,  $SD = 1.23$ ) than English-speakers ( $M = 2.41$ ,  $SD = 1.03$ ),  $F(1,274) = 93.14$ ,  $MSE = 121.80$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .254$ ; and confederates wearing the in-group soccer jersey ( $M = 3.15$ ,  $SD = 1.32$ ) were perceived as marginally more similar than those wearing the out-group jersey ( $M = 2.99$ ,  $SD = 1.30$ ),  $F(1,274) = 3.54$ ,  $MSE = 4.62$ ,  $p = .061$ ,  $\eta^2 = .013$ . Considering only the participants who correctly perceived the target nationality of the confederate, Canadians ( $M = 3.02$ ,  $SD = 1.29$ ) were not perceived as more similar than Americans ( $M = 3.13$ ,  $SD = 1.31$ ),  $F(1,87) = 0.13$ ,  $MSE = 0.18$ ,  $p = .724$ ,  $\eta^2 = .001$ . All interactions were non-significant ( $p < .05$ ).

### *Secondary Analyses*

Although outside of the scope of the formalized hypotheses, additional data was collected that generated some interesting findings. The location of the study, age and gender of the participant, level of identification with national Spain, and differential opposition to U.S. and Canadian policies were some of the exploratory measures investigated. Findings related to these factors are presented in the following sections.

#### *Location of Study*

To examine any regional differences within Spain, a series of 2 (Nationality) x 2 (Jersey) x 2 (Language) Hierarchical Log-Linear Analyses were performed on helping data for each city, Barcelona, Granada, Cádiz and Salamanca. This revealed no significant interactions in any of the locations. Consistent with previous findings, confederate nationality also revealed a non-significant difference in each city ( $p < .05$ ). The following sections describe the main effects of jersey and language, ordered by location of study.

##### *Location 1: Barcelona.*

There was an effect of language on helping in Barcelona such that the confederate received more assistance when speaking in Spanish (53%) than English (34.9%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 123) = 4.23, p = .040, \eta^2 = .185$ . There was no significant difference in helping between the different soccer jerseys (In-group: 47.6% helping vs. Out-group: 40% helping),  $\chi^2(1, N = 123) = .724, p = .395, \eta^2 = .077$ . The overall helping rate in Barcelona was 43.9%.

##### *Location 2: Granada.*

There was an effect of jersey on helping in Granada such that the confederate was helped more frequently when wearing the in-group jersey (55.0%) than the out-group

jersey (33.8%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 120) = 4.98, p = .026, \eta^2 = .204$ . There was no effect of language on helping (Spanish: 45.9% helping vs. English: 35.6% helping),  $\chi^2(1, N = 120) = 1.32, p = .251, \eta^2 = .104$ . The overall helping rate in Granada was 40.8%.

*Location 3: Cádiz.*

There was an effect of language on helping in Cádiz such that the confederate received more assistance when speaking in Spanish (46.7%) than English (24.2%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 122) = 6.74, p = .009, \eta^2 = .235$ . There was no effect of jersey (In-group: 35.5% helping vs. Out-group: 35.0% helping),  $\chi^2(1, N = 122) = .003, p = .955, \eta^2 = .005$ . The overall helping rate in Cádiz was 35.2%.

*Location 4: Salamanca.*

There were no effects of either language or jersey in Salamanca. The confederate received help 71.0% of the time when he spoke in Spanish and 67.7% when he spoke in English,  $\chi^2(1, N = 124) = .152, p = .697, \eta^2 = .035$ . The same pattern was observed for the jersey variable, with 71.0% helping for the in-group condition and 67.7% helping for the out-group condition,  $\chi^2(1, N = 124) = .152, p = .697, \eta^2 = .035$ . The overall helping rate in Salamanca was 69.4%, which was significantly greater than that of Barcelona (43.9%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 247) = 16.29, p < .001, \eta^2 = .257$ , Granada (40.8%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 244) = 20.07, p < .001, \eta^2 = .287$ , and Cádiz (35.2%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 246) = 28.69, p < .001, \eta^2 = .342$ . No comparisons of overall helping amongst the other cities reached significance ( $p < .05$ ).

*Participant Age and Gender*

Collapsing the data across cities, there was no effect of gender on helping,  $\chi^2(1, N = 489) = 1.77, p = .184, \eta^2 = .060$ . Overall, men helped 50.4% of the time and women,



44.4%. Though this difference in helping did not reach significance, there was an effect of gender on perceived similarity, with men indicating that they were more similar to the confederate ( $M = 3.37$ ,  $SD = 1.34$ ) than women ( $M = 2.68$ ,  $SD = 1.16$ ),  $t(280) = 4.52$ ,  $p < .001$ . Additionally, males indicated a higher level of soccer fanaticism ( $M = 4.95$ ,  $SD = 2.42$ ) than females ( $M = 3.40$ ,  $SD = 2.42$ ),  $t(281) = 5.32$ ,  $p < .001$ , though this disparity did not modify the effect of jersey.

Since our confederate was 24-years-old, participants were grouped according to whether they were similar in age. Participants in their late teens and twenties (18-29) were categorized as similar, whereas participants 30 and older were categorized as dissimilar. Overall, participants who were similar in age to the confederate helped more frequently (56.0%) than those who were dissimilar (36.3%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 489) = 18.57$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .195$ . However, the younger participants did not view themselves as more similar to the confederate ( $M = 3.09$ ,  $SD = 1.32$ ) than the older participants ( $M = 3.03$ ,  $SD = 1.30$ ),  $t(281) = 0.37$ ,  $p = .716$ . Additionally, younger participants indicated a higher level of soccer fanaticism ( $M = 4.59$ ,  $SD = 2.53$ ) than older participants ( $M = 3.63$ ,  $SD = 2.42$ ),  $t(281) = 3.02$ ,  $p = .003$ . In turn, younger participants who were exposed to the in-group soccer jersey were more helpful (64.4%) than those who were exposed to the out-group jersey (48.3%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 277) = 7.28$ ,  $p = .007$ ,  $\eta^2 = .162$ . This difference was not significant for older participants,  $\chi^2(1, N = 212) = .187$ ,  $p = .666$ ,  $\eta^2 = .030$ , indicating that the effect of jersey was moderated by age due to differential levels of soccer fanaticism.

#### *Nationalistic Identification*

Nationalistic identification ratings were subjected to a one-way analysis of variance to examine differences between cities. Tukey's HSD was used for pairwise

comparisons with an alpha level of .01. Consistent with contemporary ethnographic trends, Barcelona as a whole was significantly less nationalistic ( $M = 3.13$ ,  $SD = 2.14$ ) than Granada ( $M = 4.26$ ,  $SD = 1.94$ ), Cádiz ( $M = 4.70$ ,  $SD = 1.90$ ), and Salamanca ( $M = 4.99$ ,  $SD = 1.86$ ),  $F(3,279) = 13.79$ ,  $MSE = 53.50$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .129$ . All other pairwise comparisons did not reach significance ( $p < .05$ ).

To gauge differences in helping due to nationalistic identification, participants were grouped into low nationalism (3 or less) and high nationalism (5 or higher), and helping data for these groups were subjected to a chi-square comparison. This particular grouping method was used to isolate polarized scale scores for comparison purposes. Participants that were pro-nationalism helped more frequently (80.6%) than those that were anti-nationalism (68.6%),  $\chi^2(1, N = 225) = 4.17$ ,  $p = .041$ ,  $\phi = .136$ .

### *Political Opposition*

Many participants mentioned that they could not oppose a country's policies they knew nothing about. Thus, comparisons of opposition to U.S. and Canadian policies were made for only participants who indicated at least some familiarity with both countries' political situations (2 or higher). Overall, participants demonstrated greater opposition to U.S. politics ( $M = 5.05$ ,  $SD = 1.94$ ) than Canadian politics ( $M = 1.09$ ,  $SD = 0.47$ ),  $t(106) = 4.33$ ,  $p < .001$ .

Using the same grouping method mentioned above, participants who indicated high opposition to U.S. politics (5 or higher) and low opposition to Canadian politics (3 or lower) were selected to investigate whether they treated Canadians better than Americans. A chi-square analysis revealed no difference between the two groups,  $\chi^2(1, N = 65) = 1.44$ ,  $p = .230$ ,  $\phi = .149$ . In fact, these "Anti-American" Spaniards actually

helped the confederate more frequently when he introduced himself as American (83.8%) than when he pretended to be Canadian (71.4%), though not to a statistically significant degree.

## Discussion

### *Primary Findings*

Consistent with previous research and the study's hypotheses, it was observed that to the extent to which the helper perceives the solicitor as being similar to him/her, there is a differential likelihood he or she will help him, where higher perceived similarity is linked to a higher likelihood of receiving aid. As demonstrated in the literature on prosocial behavior, there are many ways to modify the perception of similarity. For this European field study, nationality, language, and soccer-team affiliation were chosen as the similarity-modifying variables. Given the pervasiveness of North American tourists in Spain, and the anecdotally-observed phenomenon of Americans pretending to be Canadian, these specific nationalities were selected (with the intention of disproving the myth that pretending to be Canadian will benefit you in your travels abroad, at least in Spain). Given that many of these tourists have the ability (at least to some extent) to speak Spanish, while many others do not, language was also an appropriate manipulation for the study. Finally, soccer-team affiliation was incorporated into the design as it is a fairly ubiquitous sport throughout Europe, and has a large following in Spain.

Consistent with past research and hypotheses, speaking in the native language of the helper (in this case Spanish) affords the requester an advantage over speaking in a foreign language (i.e., English) due to an increased feeling of similarity. Wearing a soccer jersey marginally increases one's perceived similarity, and, in turn, elicits a higher

chance of being helped. The observed advantage is especially marked when the helper has a strong identification with soccer. Finally, pretending to be Canadian does not help an American tourist receive aid when in need (at least within the paradigm of the cell phone request in Spain). When the confederate pretended to be Canadian, he did not elicit an increased feeling of similarity relative to when he presented himself as an American. In turn, he did not elicit a differential percentage of helping. That only 95 of the 282 participants who completed the post-experiment questionnaire correctly identified the intended nationality of the confederate further qualifies this finding. That is, even though the confederate directly communicated his nationality to the participant, the majority ignored or did not pay attention to this detail, and later failed on the manipulation check. Therefore, indicating one's nationality (whether it's true or false) when soliciting help in Spain does not seem to afford any advantages in receiving assistance, because the majority of people will probably not pay attention to this feature.

There are many real-world situations to which the findings of this study can be applied. Following the principles of Margaret Mead's "participant observation," (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002) for any tourist (not just North Americans) who plans to travel to Spain, it would be wise to educate oneself a little on Spanish cultural norms and at least make an attempt to learn the language. These data indicate that assimilating national and regional values into one's conduct and demeanor will give one an advantage in receiving aid throughout one's travels. This can be accomplished by speaking the language of the region in which one travels, wearing similar clothing, and respecting/embodying the norms and traditions of the prevailing culture. While this may seem obvious, there is still a complete oblivion or disregard of the importance of cultural assimilation among many

tourists (as observed anecdotally). Popular travel guides such as Rick Steves put great emphasis on blending in, yet despite the popularity of these guidebooks, naïve tourists still exist, and in great numbers. Given the pervasiveness of these tourists, there is a strong rationale for continued investigation into the nature of prosocial behavior as it applies to tourism.

A more specific application concerns educational exchange programs at all levels (primary, secondary and university-level). Many students will travel and live in a foreign country for an extended period of time with little to no knowledge of that country's cultural values, including its language. For example, I was one of these students in my sophomore year of high school when I lived in Venezuela at an international school for six months. Had I had more preparation on learning the language and culture prior to embarking on the journey, I would have taken much more away from the experience. Far too often will undergraduate Spanish majors enroll in a study abroad program, and only associate with the other English-speaking students in the program. There is a critical need for improved preparatory procedures in our study abroad programs. Perhaps even an arduous interview process by which a panel of professors determines whether a student is an adequate candidate for such a program. If students are required to meet some entry-level performance standards prior to gaining acceptance in a program (such as knowledge of grammar and conversational language, pertinent historical events and cultural values), it may foster an internalized desire to learn more about that culture before attempting to enroll. This may seem extreme, but any improvement in the preparation of students who wish to study abroad would be beneficial.

While the study presents some compelling arguments, it is important to note limitations inherent in its design and analysis. First, the study was conducted in the field, where extraneous, confounding variables run rampant, and experimental control is almost nonexistent. The results need to be interpreted with caution. For example, can it be inferred that wearing an in-group soccer jersey will yield an increased feeling of similarity and, in turn, allow for a higher probability of helping? Perhaps, however the limitations in making such an inference should be taken in account. Similarity was measured in a post-experiment questionnaire. Responses were reported directly to the experimenter. Although the names of the participants were anonymous, their responses were not anonymous insofar as they read them aloud; that said, even though the study was conducted in the participant's natural setting, demand characteristics were certainly present in the collection of survey data. Additionally, the reliability of the *Perceived Similarity Scale* was not optimal ( $\alpha = .61$ ). This may have partially been an artifact of the way females interpreted and responded to Q2 ("Did the man look like you?"). That is, many females took this question quite literally, and said that the confederate looked nothing at all like them just because he was male ( $M = 1.59$ ,  $SD = 1.63$ ). In contrast, many of the same female participants indicated a global feeling of similarity (Q1: "In your opinion, how similar are you and the man who just approached you?") ( $M = 3.74$ ,  $SD = 1.74$ ) despite feeling that the man did not look like them. Reliability analyses conducted separately for each gender indicated an alpha of .56 for females and .63 for males. While gender differences partially accounted for low reliability, the overall reliability is still relatively low. This may have been the result of loose interpretation of the items. In the future, giving more detailed prompts may help eliminate any pitfalls due

to differential interpretation across participants (e.g., “In terms of clothing, hair color, eyes, and skin color, did the man look like you?”).

Another limitation related to the post-experiment questionnaire involves connecting findings from the survey data to the overarching results derived from the entire sample. As mentioned earlier, the majority of participants who denied the confederate’s request to borrow their cell phone also denied the request to participate in the follow-up questionnaire. Those few participants who did agree to participate (after denying his initial request) may be systematically different from the other non-helpers. That said, caution must be taken in using the survey findings to make causal claims about people who did not help the confederate or participate in the survey session. For example, similarity (as measured by the questionnaire) appeared to be a major factor in influencing the likelihood of helping. However, it cannot be inferred that it is necessarily linked to helping for those participants who did not give responses on the survey. There was not enough useful data about those participants to make that connection. Unfortunately, this is an intrinsic challenge in studies on prosocial behavior, and field studies in general.

Nevertheless, despite weaknesses inherent in findings derived from survey data, the survey added a wealth of information to the study, an approach not normally encountered in extant literature on helping. Typically field studies of this nature involve only observational measures of compliance (e.g., did they help or not) and basic demographics. Incorporating a follow-up questionnaire helped illuminate more about who the participant was, where they came from, and other factors that potentially influenced the way he or she responded to the confederate (e.g., similarity, soccer fanaticism, nationalistic identity, legitimacy and urgency of the request, ability to

understand the confederate, amount of comfort in the interaction, etc.). These measures give the researcher an opportunity to make meaningful groupings within the sample and further qualify central findings. For example, the marginal effect of soccer jersey on helping became significant when considering only participants who indicated high fanaticism. This grouping could not have been made in the absence of such data.

Generally speaking, the survey was fairly comprehensive; in hindsight, however, there were some questions that were overlooked that would have provided some useful information. For example, many participants indicated in post-experiment debriefings that trust was a central factor that influenced their decision to help or not help the confederate. This was noted especially in Barcelona, a densely populated metropolitan city. This phase of the study took place in la Plaza Catalunya, a main square situated next to Las Ramblas, a central pedestrian passway known for its pervasiveness of illegal activity and scam artistry. The most skeptical participants often expressed having experienced theft first hand. Whether these people helped or not is confounded by the fear of having their phone stolen, so results need to be interpreted carefully. Given the potential influence of trust on helping, the inclusion of a trust scale on the follow-up questionnaire would have been helpful, and would be good to consider in future studies. It would also allow the researcher to explore any intercorrelations between trust and similarity, and probe for moderating effects.

Another questionnaire item that would have been useful is a manipulation check for the soccer jersey. Unless the participant openly expressed that they noticed the confederate's shirt (which only a few did), data was not available to test the effect. Simply asking whether they noticed the confederate's jersey and what country it



corresponded to would allow us to filter the analysis of the jersey variable on only those participants who actually noticed it. It also would be beneficial to conduct the study on a game day or during a time when the population as a whole may be in a more “international soccer-oriented” mindset, such as the World Cup. Many participants said that wearing any jersey – even the Spanish one – made the confederate appear especially foreign since it is a common form of tourist attire. A few of them mentioned that the only time one would encounter a Spaniard wearing a soccer jersey is on the day their favorite team was scheduled to play, and that even then only the more dedicated fans would do this.

Level of education and socio-economic-status would have also been useful to measure in the follow-up questionnaire. The interplay of the statuses of requester and helper has been shown repeatedly to have an impact on helping in previous research (Guéguen & Pascual, 2003; Levine, Bluni & Hochman, 1998; Kleinke, 1977; Krapfel, 1988; Harris & Baudin, 1973; Walker, Harriman & Costello, 1980). Although the status of the confederate was held constant in the study, without such a scale the status relationship between the participant and the confederate cannot be examined. As with trust, status is yet another important factor that has implications for the relationship between similarity and helping and merits further investigation within the “tourism” paradigm.

### *Secondary Findings*

As noted above, the obtained pattern of results differed across locations. For example, Salamanca had the highest rate of helping. It was also the smallest city sampled, had a slightly younger sample than the other cities, and is known for being oriented

around its university. It is possible that many of these participants identified with the confederate as being a fellow college student. This shared social identity, along with the somewhat less urban setting and the younger sample provide a good explanation for why Salamanca was the most helpful city. It is also possible that the sample overall was more educated than samples from other cities, and was less prone to being influenced by superficial features such as a jersey. Additionally, the education-level of the sample could have been related to a higher fluency in English, which may have negated any effects due to language. Generally speaking, it was noted that the majority of the participants who were approached in English spoke the language quite well, and better than the average participant in the other cities. Once again, a “level of education” measure would be good to include in future research as this could be an important factor to take into consideration.

In Barcelona and especially in Cádiz, speaking Spanish was advantageous in soliciting help. However, an effect of jersey was not present in these locations. Interestingly, both of these cities are known for passionate regional soccer followings. It could be that the participants, in general, did not identify with the national Spain soccer jersey, and thus were not influenced by this manipulation.

As with Salamanca, no effect of language was observed in Granada. It is important to note that this city is a popular destination for American exchange students. It could be that there is a heightened exposure and desensitization to English-speaking students, which may, in turn, have accounted for the small differences. Nevertheless, there was a difference in the predicted direction (Spanish speakers received more help than English speakers), which could have reached significance with a higher sample size.

The data collected in Granada is also confounded by weather, as it was highly variable; throughout all data collection sessions, conditions such as wind, overcast, light rain, and heavy rain were observed (in contrast to the primarily sunny weather that was observed in all other locations).

Additionally, there was a higher frequency of people who claimed to not speak English in Barcelona (19.6%), Granada (25.9%) and Cádiz (19.2%) than Salamanca (10.8%). Though these responses could not be entered into the main analysis, speaking in English in these cities was especially detrimental to receiving aid; that is, every time someone used “no English” as an excuse, the confederate encountered an unavoidable obstacle that prevented further interaction. It cannot be determined whether these people would have donated their cell phone had the confederate spoken to them in Spanish, but at least there would not have been a language barrier in communicating his needs.

Barcelona was less nationalistic than the other cities sampled. This was expected as there has been a great push for independence within Catalonia, the autonomous state in which Barcelona is situated. On the post-experiment questionnaire, when asked what their nationality was, 41% of participants indicated that they were “Catalan,” rather than Spanish. This trend towards anti-nationalism could partially explain the lack of an effect of jersey in Barcelona, where sporting the colors of national Spain may not have been advantageous. Wearing a more region-specific jersey, such as F.C. Barcelona, may have revealed a more pronounced difference.

Though there were no gender differences in helping, males perceived themselves as more similar to the confederate than did females. As mentioned above, this may have resulted from different interpretations of questions such as “Does the man look like you?”

Many females likely interpreted this question very literally, indicating that he did not look like them at all just because he was a man and she was a woman. Again, careful rewording of these questions could improve the reliability of the similarity scale, so that responses are more consistent and comparable across males and females.

The opposite pattern was observed for participant age, where younger participants (18-29) helped more frequently than older participants (30+), but did not view themselves as more or less similar to the confederate. If the difference in helping did not stem from perceived similarity, it is possible that younger participants were less skeptical and more willing to take risks than older people, and thus were more likely to lend out their cell phone to a stranger. This potential explanation provides further rationale for incorporating a trust scale in future studies.

The observed high opposition to U.S. politics was consistent with previous research on Anti-American sentiment (Crespi, 1983). The observation that people did not treat Americans differently as a function of their opposition to the U.S. was also consistent with this research. In post-experiment debriefings, several of the participants expressed that they may disagree with a country's policies, but that they cannot judge another person or treat them differently just for being a citizen of that country. Some would say, "Just because you come from the U.S. does not mean that you support or represent its government." Spaniards may be particularly sensitive to this perspective as their country was in a similar, albeit more extreme, political situation from 1939 until the mid 1970s, when the country was under the fascist regime of Francisco Franco. During that time, there was a great drive within the fascist party for the unification of Spain into one nationalized entity. All languages and cultural traditions that were not considered

purely Castilian were abolished and punishments, enforced. Among the citizens, there was mounting opposition to the Francoist dictatorship, an opposition that can explain why many participants were sensitive to our American confederate not necessarily embodying the values of the Bush Administration. After the death of Franco, fascism quickly dissolved, and constitutional monarchy was put in place. During the 1980s there was an explosion of culture, known as *El Movimiento*, or “The Movement,” particularly within the country’s youth. Regional languages and values were rekindled, and Spain was once again divided into several distinct cultures. As noted in Barcelona, our study was not very sensitive to the regionalism that is predominant in various localities across the country; that is, our confederate was always presented in a very nationalistic manner and he was travelling from the U.S. or Canada, speaking in a universal language (English or Castilian Spanish), and wearing a national soccer jersey. This nationalistic presentation could explain why the anti-nationalists were less helpful than the pro-nationalists.

Given the cultural diversity of Spain, it would be beneficial to cater future replications of this paradigm to the historical values and traditions of regions known for being culturally distinct, such as Galicia, Basque Country, Catalonia, and Valencia, to name a few. For example, varying whether the solicitor speaks in Spanish, English or the region’s most commonly spoken language may reveal some interesting findings. The same could be applied to the jersey manipulation. Just as speaking a regional language could afford the solicitor an added advantage, so too could wearing regional soccer jerseys.

Throughout our travels across Spain, there were many anecdotal experiences worthy of mention. For example, at the tail end of our trip we embarked on a 100-mile

leg of a historical pilgrimage through Northern Spain, *El Camino de Santiago de Compostela* (The Way of St. James). Due to the pervasiveness of tourist guidebooks that advertise the event, the pilgrimage has seen a massive increase in tourist-pilgrims in recent years. In Spanish, these tourist-pilgrims are referred to as *turigrinos*, a colloquial hybrid of the Spanish words *turista* (tourist) and *peregrino* (pilgrim). With their counter-traditional, high-tech attire and equipment, and technological devices such as mobile phones, GPS, and digital music players, they have created a modernized image for themselves that many traditional locals consider taboo. Dressed for the role, we were cautioned about this anti-*turigrino* sentiment, with fellow pilgrims warning us of the treatment we might receive from locals along the way. We experienced this phenomenon first hand when a passerby confidently gave us misleading directions that, in turn, led us several miles off-route on an endless mountain road in freezing rain conditions. Tired, hypothermic, and soaking wet, we were 4 kilometers shy of our destination, a refuge that provided cheap accommodations for pilgrims. We stopped at a small hotel, explained our circumstances, and asked how much they would charge for a room. The old couple that owned the hotel, possibly playing on our despair, offered an outrageously high price for a tiny room with little-to-no amenities. They did not show any apparent concern for our wellbeing. Frustrated and determined to get to our destination, we continued on into the dark of the night, with snowflakes falling on our shoulders. Several attempts at soliciting a ride for the final 4 kilometers proved futile. Car after car would pass without hesitation. Finally, an old couple pulled over in a compact SUV. There was plenty of room for us in the cabin, and the refuge was in the direction they were driving. Helpless and on the verge of complete hypothermia, we pleaded for help. All the while, the woman avoided

any eye contact with us, and the man shrugged his shoulders and said *poco a poco* (little by little). They drove off, and we continued on. Finally, a younger man about our age pulled over and invited us into his car. He happily dropped us off at the refuge, and wished us well on our pilgrimage.

The anti-*turigrino* sentiment we observed is worthy of empirical investigation, and begs answers to the following questions. Had we been dressed in more traditional pilgrim attire, would we have received accurate directions? Would the hotelkeepers have offered such a high price? Would the old couple have given us a ride to the refuge? In all of these interactions we spoke in Spanish, but were still mistreated, so it is possible that the predominant factor influencing our mistreatment was our physical appearance. Future studies could verify whether this was the case.

Our experience with the hotelkeepers brings up another issue worthy of future research: tourist interactions involving monetary exchange. It is one thing to solicit help from someone. It is another when you are conducting some form of transaction. It is possible that local merchants engage in price discrimination under the assumption that a tourist has money readily available and can be easily duped into paying a higher price than a local would typically pay. To examine this potential phenomenon, the current paradigm should be applied to the mercantile domain.

The most important conclusion gleaned from the findings of this study is that one should thoroughly research the history and culture of a country or region prior to traveling there, and should make a concerted effort to assimilate those values into one's conduct when interacting with the locals. This orientation will allow the person to make more meaningful connections with other people as well as give him or her a greater

likelihood of receiving help when in need. Also, pretending to be Canadian does not appear to accomplish anything noteworthy, at least when traveling through Spain. Nevertheless, in other countries, such as Great Britain, Australia or France – where there may be a higher level of identification with Canadians and perhaps higher anti-American sentiment – this may not be the case. Replication of the current paradigm in other countries may give us a better understanding of how the world views and treats Americans, and foreigners in general. Keep in mind that this study took place in spring of 2008, before the election of President Barack Obama. The pattern of results obtained in the study may be different now that the country has undergone a dramatic change in policy. A great deal has been learned from the study, but given the great cultural variability in Spain – and even more, throughout the rest of the world – further investigation is certainly warranted.



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## Appendix A

## English transcript of questionnaire items and discourse

1. In your opinion, how similar are you and the man who just approached you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

2. Did the man look like you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

3. Did the man talk like you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

4. In your opinion, did the man have a foreign accent?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

5. Are you a soccer fan?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

6. Do you follow national soccer competitions?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

7. To what extent do you identify with national Spain?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

8. Do you consider yourself patriotic?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

9. When the man asked you to borrow your cell phone, did you feel a sense of urgency to his request?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

10. Did you feel like the man had a legitimate reason for borrowing your cell phone?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

11. Did you feel like asking for your cell phone was too much to ask?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

12. Are you familiar with Canadian politics?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

13. If so, are you opposed to Canadian politics?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

14. Are you familiar with U.S. politics?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Somewhat		Very Much	

15. If so, are you opposed to U.S. politics?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all		Somewhat			Very Much	

16. Before talking to me, what did you think was the nationality of the man who just approached you?

\_\_\_\_\_

17. Could you tell what his nationality was before he told you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all		Somewhat			Very Much	

18. Were you able to understand him when he spoke to you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all		Somewhat			Very Much	

19. Were you comfortable with the interaction?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all		Somewhat			Very Much	

20. Age \_\_\_\_

21. Gender \_\_\_\_\_

22. Nationality \_\_\_\_\_

23. Where are you from originally (city, province)? \_\_\_\_\_

Confederate's lines:

“Excuse me, do you mind if I borrow your cell phone to make a quick call? I’m traveling from the [U.S. or Canada] and I’ve unfortunately been separated from my group of friends. Do you mind if I borrow your phone for a moment so that I may get in touch with them?”

Experimenter's lines:

“Good morning/afternoon, my name is Reid Nelson, and as a student at Western Washington University I am conducting a cross cultural field study. The man who just asked to borrow your cell phone was actually an actor in the study. If you don’t mind, I’d like to ask you a few quick questions, but first I need your permission to record your responses for later analysis. Your responses will be 100% confidential and your participation is voluntary, so there is no problem if you do not wish to participate. Is that okay? Great, let’s begin.”

“For each question, I ask that you indicate a number from 1 to 7 for your response, where 1 means ‘not at all’ and 7 means ‘very much’.”

“Those are all the questions I have for you. Your participation is greatly appreciated. Just to give you some background on the study, we were interested in the effects of language, soccer team affiliation, and nationality on helping behavior. Feel free to contact me via email at [nelsonr7@cc.wvu.edu](mailto:nelsonr7@cc.wvu.edu) to inquire about the results of the study. Thanks again.”

## Appendix B

## Spanish transcript of questionnaire items and discourse

1. En su opinión, ¿cuánto se parecen usted y el señor que se le acaba de acercar?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

2. ¿Se parecía el señor físicamente a usted?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

3. ¿Hablaba el señor como usted?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

4. En su opinión, ¿Tenía el señor un acento extranjero?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

5. ¿Es usted forofo del fútbol?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

6. ¿Sigue usted los partidos de fútbol a nivel nacional?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

7. ¿Hasta qué punto se identifica usted con el nacionalismo español?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	



8. ¿Se considera usted patriota?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

9. Al pedirle prestado su móvil, ¿ha sentido usted ansiedad debido a su petición?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

10. En su opinión, ¿tenía el señor una razón legítima por pedirle prestado su móvil?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

11. ¿Cree usted que el señor se haya excedido al pedirle el uso de su móvil?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

12. ¿Está usted familiarizado con la política canadiense?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

13. En caso afirmativo, ¿se opone usted a la política canadiense?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

14. ¿Está usted familiarizado con la política estadounidense?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

15. En caso afirmativo, ¿se opone usted a la política estadounidense?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

16. Antes de hablar conmigo, ¿De qué nacionalidad creía usted que era el señor que se le acaba de acercar a usted?

\_\_\_\_\_

17. ¿Pudo usted discernir su nacionalidad antes de que le informara sobre lo mismo?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

18. ¿Ha podido entender usted al señor cuando le hablaba?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

19. ¿Se sentía usted cómodo con la interacción?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No, para nada			Un poco		Sí, bastante	

20. Edad \_\_\_\_

21. Sexo \_\_\_\_\_

22. Nacionalidad \_\_\_\_\_

23. ¿De dónde es usted (ciudad y provincia)? \_\_\_\_\_

Discurso del gancho:

“Perdone, ¿le importaría prestarme su móvil para que haga una llamada rápida? Es que estoy de viaje desde los EEUU y desafortunadamente me he separado de mi grupo sin querer. Si no le importara dejarme usar su móvil un momento podría localizarlo.”

Discurso del investigador:

“Buenos -as días/tardes, mi nombre es Reid Nelson, y como estudiante de Western Washington University, estoy realizando una investigación relacionada con temas transculturales. El señor que le acaba de pedir prestado el móvil realmente es un actor involucrado en la investigación. Si no le importa, quisiera hacerle unas preguntas, pero primero necesito su permiso para inscribir sus reacciones para un futuro análisis. Sus reacciones serán completamente confidenciales, y su participación es voluntaria, entonces no hay problema si no quiere usted participar. ¿Le parece bien? ¡Genial! Empecemos.”

“En cada pregunta, se le pide que escoja un número entre 1 y 7 según su reacción. El 1 significa ‘no/para nada en absoluto’ y el 7 significa ‘Sí, mucho/bastante’.”

“Estas son todas las preguntas que tengo para usted. Le agradecemos mucho su participación. Para darle un poco de contexto respecto a la investigación, nos interesan los efectos de idioma, afiliación de equipo de fútbol y nacionalidad en la predisposición a ayudar. No dude en ponerse en contacto conmigo mediante mi correo electrónico [nelson7@cc.wwu.edu](mailto:nelson7@cc.wwu.edu) para informarse sobre los resultados de la investigación. Muchas gracias de nuevo.”

Table 1

*Rotated Factor Loadings and Eigenvalues for Questionnaire items 1-8*

Item	Soccer Fanaticism	Perceived Similarity	Nationalistic Identification
Are you a soccer fan?	<b>.972</b>	.106	.090
Do you follow national soccer competitions?	<b>.959</b>	.116	.152
-----			
How similar are you and the man who just approached you?	-.051	<b>.772</b>	.028
Did the man look like you?	.213	<b>.658</b>	-.020
Did the man talk like you?	-.032	<b>.719</b>	.173
-----			
To what extent do you identify with national Spain?	.127	.011	<b>.953</b>
Do you consider yourself patriotic?	.098	.031	<b>.961</b>
-----			
Did the man have a foreign accent?	-.177	-.578	.105
-----			
Eigenvalue	2.587	1.767	1.430

Note.  $R^2 = .723$

Table 2

*Scale means and standard deviations*

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Scale	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Soccer Fanaticism</i>	4.28	2.53
<i>Perceived Similarity</i>	3.07	1.31
<i>Nationalistic Identification</i>	4.22	2.09

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Table 3

*Overall means and standard deviations for all Likert-style questionnaire items*

Item	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
In your opinion, how similar are you and the man who just approached you?	3.90	1.76
Did the man look like you?	2.43	1.59
Did the man talk like you?	2.87	1.88
In your opinion, did the man have a foreign accent?	6.40	1.02
Are you a soccer fan?	4.19	2.56
Do you follow national soccer competitions?	4.37	2.58
To what extent do you identify with national Spain?	3.83	2.03
Do you consider yourself patriotic?	4.62	2.30
When the man asked you to borrow your cell phone, did you feel a sense of urgency to his request?	1.75	1.14
Did you feel like the man had a legitimate reason for borrowing your cell phone?	6.38	0.98
Did you feel like asking for your cell phone was too much to ask?	1.74	1.18
Are you familiar with Canadian politics?	1.73	1.08
If so, are you opposed to Canadian politics?	1.08	0.47
Are you familiar with U.S. politics?	3.74	1.63
If so, are you opposed to U.S. politics?	4.18	2.30
Could you tell what his nationality was before he told you?	2.07	1.37
Were you able to understand him when he spoke to you?	6.44	1.00
Were you comfortable with the interaction?	6.23	1.03

### Figure Captions

*Figure 1.* Map of study locations.

*Figure 2.* Setting for study location 1 (Barcelona) –Plaça de Catalunya.

*Figure 3.* Setting for study location 2 (Granada) – Carrera del Genil.

*Figure 4.* Setting for study location 3 (Cádiz) – Plaza de la Catedral.

*Figure 5.* Setting for study location 4 (Salamanca) – Plaza Mayor.

*Figure 6.* Depiction of confederate's appearance while wearing the in-group jersey.













