



2019

WHEN AND WHY WE PROTECT OUR HONOR

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Digital Object Identifier: <https://doi.org/10.13023/etd.2019.184>

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WHEN AND WHY WE PROTECT OUR HONOR

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
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Lexington, Kentucky
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2019

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

WHEN AND WHY WE PROTECT OUR HONOR

Men from a culture of honor often use physical aggression in response to threats as a way of restoring lost honor. Threats can range from being called an offensive name to someone flirting with their romantic partner. On the other hand, women from a culture of honor are expected to be submissive and avoid situations that can result in harm to their reputation. However, a recent meta-analytic review of the literature suggests that women do not always avoid situations that can harm their reputation. Rather, women in a culture of honor also use physical aggression in response to threats. In this study, I tested when and why men and women from a culture of honor use aggression in response to an honor threat. Participants (N = 1,043) responded to hypothetical scenarios that included threats to a person's honor. Overall, men and women from a culture of honor used more aggression following a threat to their honor compared to people not from a culture of honor. People from a culture of honor also felt as though their reputation was hurt more by an honor threat than those, not from a culture of honor. The more participants felt their reputation was hurt, the more aggression they used against their attacker.

KEYWORDS: Culture, Honor, Aggression, Gender Differences

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES v

LIST OF FIGURES vi

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION 1

 1.1. Culture of Honor: An Overview 2

 1.2. The Evolution of a Culture of Honor 4

 1.3. Men in a Culture of Honor 5

 1.4. Women in a Culture of Honor 6

 1.5. Aggression: An Overview 10

 1.6. Study Overview 12

 1.7. Hypotheses 14

CHAPTER 2. METHOD 15

 2.1. Participants 15

 2.2. Materials 16

 2.2.1. Threat Scenarios 16

 2.2.2. Reputation Measure 16

 2.2.3. Culture of Honor 17

 2.2.4. Aggression 17

 2.3. Procedure 18

CHAPTER 3. RESULTS 20

 3.1. Preliminary Findings 20

 3.1.1. Culture of Honor 23

 3.1.2. Reputation Pre-Aggression 23

 3.1.3. Aggression 23

 3.1.4. Reputation Post-Aggression 24

 3.2. Hypotheses 24

 3.2.1. Hypothesis 1 24

 3.2.2. Hypotheses 2 - 6 25

 3.2.3. Hypothesis 2 27

 3.2.4. Hypothesis 3 27

 3.2.5. Hypothesis 4 30

 3.2.6. Hypothesis 5 30

3.2.7. Hypothesis 6	31
CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION	31
4.1. Limitations and Future Directions	34
CONCLUSION	38
APPENDICES	39
APPENDIX A - HONOR THREAT SCENARIOS	39
APPENDIX B - HONOR IDEOLOGY OF MANHOOD.....	40
APPENDIX C - AGGRESSION MEASURES	41
APPENDIX D – AFFECTIVE AND REPUTATION MEASURES	42
APPENDIX E – AMBIVILANT SEXISM SCALE.....	44
APPENDIX F – BRIEF AGGRESSION QUESTIONNAIRE.....	46
APPENDIX G - DEMOGRAPHICS	47
REFERENCES	48
VITA	52

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Group comparisons across dependent variables	22
Table 2: Measures of model fit	26
Table 3: Model coefficients.....	28

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Moderated serial mediation model	21
Figure 2: Self-reported reputation following a threat to the participant's honor	29

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

When we go to a restaurant, we all have expectations about what will happen. We expect to order our meal, eat our food, pay and leave. We will talk to the server, maybe some friends. We do not expect to be rushed to the hospital after being stabbed with a sword. You may ask yourself, “Is this the plot to a new CSI episode?” Though it sounds absurd, this is precisely what happened at a bar in Lexington, Kentucky (LEX18, 2018). After a heated argument, a bar patron stabbed two customers with a sword.

In some of the most peaceful times in the world (Pinker, 2011), how does such violence exist? What can turn an argument into attempted murder? Most cultures encourage people to approach these situations with an eye toward peaceful resolution rather than violent escalation. However, some cultures emphasize a response that may lead to aggressive retaliation rather than reconciliation.

Culture of honor theory proposes that people must retaliate against perceived threats to their reputation or status, property, or personal relationships (see Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). According to culture of honor theory, a man must retaliate, not with a stern discussion, but with physical aggression (e.g., getting into a fist fight or shooting an offender).

This behavior has led people from a culture of honor to have the highest murder rates in the United States (e.g., the southern United States; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Retaliation following threats is not specific to the United States alone. Aggression linked to honor occurs in Turkey (Uskul et al., 2015), Mexico (Figueredo et al., 2001), Costa Rica (Figueredo, Rojas, Armenta, & Verdugo, 2009), and Israel (Efrat-Treister & Rafaeli,

2011; Khoury-Kassabri, 2016). Honor killings are also prevalent in several countries, such as India and Pakistan (BBC, 2014; Ullah, 2016).

Two decades of research on a culture of honor shows that a man must respond to threats with aggression (see Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Women are expected to behave in a way that does not harm their family's reputation. New research on a culture of honor suggests that women in a culture of honor will also retaliate against threats (Enjaian, 2018a). Responses to threats vary based on who is causing the threat. Women are most aggressive against other women while men are most aggressive against other men (Enjaian, 2018b). In this investigation, I examined why gender differences occur and why both men and women from a culture of honor use aggression in retaliation to an honor threat. One theory that I tested was how perceived changes in a person's reputation impacts how aggressive they will be against their attacker.

To tackle this issue, I organized the paper into six major sections. First, I define and discuss the major theories regarding a culture of honor. Second, I discuss theories regarding gender differences. Third, I define aggression. Fourth, I provide an overview of the study along with the predictions. Fifth, I explain the methodology I used to test my theories. Finally, I discuss the results.

Culture of Honor: An Overview

Most people dislike aggression. And for good reason—people who perpetrate aggression show worse mental and physical health (Gini & Pozzoli, 2009; Nansel et al., 2004), often experience social exclusion (Dodge et al., 2003; Gentile, Coyne, & Walsh, 2011), and violate societal laws opposing aggressive behavior (e.g., assault, rape,

burglary). However, aggression is a central part of some cultural beliefs. One such belief system comes from a culture of honor. A culture of honor consists of people who have heightened concerns surrounding reputation and social standing (Barnes, Brown, & Osterman, 2012; Brown, 2016; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Areas of life such as family, property, and female fidelity have heightened reputational concerns. In the United States, a culture of honor is mostly found in Southern and, slightly less so, Western states (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).

Because a culture of honor emphasizes specific areas of life, a threat to any of these areas is extremely harmful. A threat is anything that can cause harm to a family's reputation, status, or property. Threats can range from vandalism, an insult, or flirting with another's spouse. In a classic study testing the strength of threats, Northern and Southern U.S. participants were asked to respond to a series of scenarios (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). Participants rated the response of a fictitious person named Fred (e.g., "Fred shoots another because that person sexually assaults Fred's 16-year-old daughter"). The task was to rate both the justification of aggression and whether Fred is "not much of a man" if he avoided confrontation. Compared to participants from the U.S. North, those from the South thought Fred was justified using aggression and was "not much of a man" if he walked away.

Fred is the focus of these scenarios because in a culture of honor, especially in the United States, a man must retaliate (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Threats must be met with strength and aggression. This type of retaliation is the basis for duels in the "Wild West."

The Evolution of a Culture of Honor

To understand how these “Wild West” type behaviors came to exist, researchers ran a simulation of societal behaviors (Nowak, Gelfand, Borkowski, Cohen, & Hernandez, 2015). Similar to behaviors found in society, the simulation contained a predatory behavior (i.e., people willing to take advantage of others), a non-confrontational behavior (i.e., people who call the police during conflict), a safe confrontation behavior (i.e., people who only fight back if they can win), and a general confrontation behavior (i.e., people who fight back against any threat). In the simulation, the general confrontation behavior represents a behavior found within a culture of honor. People with these various behaviors were then allowed to interact in the computer simulation. For example, a person with a predatory behavior might take over and dominate a person with a safe confrontation behavior because of a mismatch in strength.

The birth of a culture of honor is initiated when society is dominated by people who have a predatory behavior (Nowak et al., 2015). When people are willing to take advantage of others, people start to develop a culture that fights back when threatened. As more individuals fight back against threats, predatory behavior dissipates. This evolution only exists when there is a lack of law enforcement (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Nowak et al., 2015). When people cannot rely on law enforcement for help, they learn to handle threats on their own. Successful tactics are ones that guarantee justice and deterrence of future threats, making aggression appealing. For example, Andrew Jackson - the seventh U.S. president - was told by his mother: “Never tell a lie, nor take what is not your own, nor sue anybody for slander or assault and battery. Always settle them cases yourself!” (McWhiney, 1988 p. 169-170).

Once the predatory behavior is almost non-existent, the number of people willing to retaliate starts to decline (Nowak et al., 2015). An established and reliable law enforcement marks the end of retaliation and a culture of honor. Over time, the cycle repeats itself creating a constant need for a culture of honor. Though these results are from a simulation, this type of ebb-and-flow can be seen throughout the world. Scotland is an example of how the ebb-and-flow of predatory behaviors leads to a culture of honor. Centuries of conflict in Scotland lead to a culture that emphasizes retaliation, specifically amongst men.

Men in a Culture of Honor

Men are the center of attention in a culture of honor. Men are the center of attention because *manhood* or being considered a man in society is something that is socially based (Brown, 2016). It is fluid and must be earned, not bestowed upon oneself. To do this, men must act manly and avoid actions that make them appear feminine (Gal & Wilkie, 2010). For example, societies form rituals or tasks that boys must complete to be considered a man. Every year, the Venda people in South Africa hold their tradition of *Musangwe*, a bare-knuckle fighting match to prove their strength (Solomon, 2016). On the Vanuatuan island of Pentecost, men come together every year for the tradition of *Nagol* (Neubauer, 2014). Boys and men climb a 100-foot tower to jump off head first. To break their fall, they tie vines to their ankles. Manlier men jump from higher up the tower.

In a culture of honor, people place the same emphasis on masculinity. Boys must prove themselves as worthy of being a man. In a culture of honor, this means boys need

to be tough, strong, protective, and aggressive (Brown, 2016; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Men are also expected to be the breadwinners. They need to show others they do not need to rely on others to provide for their family.

Failure to follow these normative behaviors leads to a loss in masculinity and reputation (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; O’Dea, Bueno, & Saucier, 2017). A loss of reputation and masculinity must be countered with something manly. Manly responses lead to public displays of masculinity, including argument-based murders (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996), willingness to risk their lives in combat (Mandel & Litt, 2013), and risky public behavior (Barnes, Brown, & Tamborski, 2012; Weber, Blais, & Betz, 2002).

To prove their manliness men also strive for strong, muscular bodies (Helgeson, 1994). The ideal body for men has muscular arms, pectorals, and shoulders along with a slim waist and hips (Morrison, Morrison, & Hopkins, 2003; McCreary & Sasse, 2002). Men describe being muscular and strong as healthy, fit, a boost in confidence and dominance in social situations (Grogan & Richards, 2002). Men who view themselves as underweight reported feeling less handsome (Harmatz, Gronendyke, & Thomas, 1985), had higher levels of depression (McCreary & Sasse, 2000), and were considered feminine (Helgeson, 1994).

Women in a Culture of Honor

While *manhood* needs to be socially proven, *womanhood* is a biological process (Brown, 2016). Women do not need to prove their *womanhood* to society. In a culture of honor, this leads to a different set of values for women. Instead of public acts that draw attention to themselves women in a culture of honor are supposed to go unnoticed.

Women are expected to be caring, small, thin, faithful, submissive, and loyal to their family or spouses (Brown, 2016; Helgeson, 1994; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).

With society dictating that women should be small and thin, women avoid muscular bodies (Salvator & Marecek, 2010; Steinfeldt et al., 2011). Women who have muscular bodies are considered masculine, which creates unwanted attention (Helgeson, 1994; Mosewich et al., 2009). To appear more feminine and to conform to societal norms, some women avoid weight-lifting and favor cardio exercises (Brace-Govan, 2004; Khoury-Murphy & Murphy, 1992). Even female athletes struggle to walk the line of appearing athletic but not masculine (George, 2005; Steinfeldt et al., 2011).

Women who are not faithful, submissive, or loyal cause damage not only to themselves but their family as well (Dietrich & Schuett, 2013). In one study, a female confederate got into a fight with another confederate who was acting as her boyfriend (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). The woman said she had to run to her ex-boyfriend's house to pick up some items. The idea of going to her ex-boyfriend's house made her current boyfriend mad. The male confederate then shoved her against the wall and told her he would see her at home. From there the woman went into the hallway and sat next to the actual participant. The study then went one of two ways. The woman was either submissive saying "He really cares about me. I guess that's just how he shows it, you know?" or assertive saying, "I should just give him his keys *and his ring* back."

Participants from a culture of honor reported a preference for the woman that was more submissive (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Participants from a culture of honor were also more tolerant of the man shoving her against the wall. Acceptance of this behavior

indicates that people from a culture of honor value women that are loyal and submissive and are okay with using aggression to counter threats to these areas.

Besides being loyal to their family or spouse, women also play an essential role in the socialization of boys (Brown, 2016; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Webb, 2004). In a culture of honor, society expects women to stay home with the children and teach them the norms of society. Women are expected to teach boys to be protectors and to never back down from threats. The words from Andrew Jackson's mother spoke volumes to him over the years. He alone appeared in over a hundred documented cases of violent fights (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).

Despite the norm of being submissive, preliminary research has examined whether women are more aggressive in a culture of honor compared to other cultures (e.g., DeWees & Parker, 2003; Poteat, Kimmel, & Wilchins, 2011). Similar to men, women in a culture of honor commit more murders than women not from a culture of honor. Female aggression is contrary to culture honor theory that expects men, but not women, to act aggressively. Though loyal and submissive, new research suggests that women from a culture of honor share similar tendencies as men (Enjaian, 2018a).

In a recent series of studies, female participants who were in a serious heterosexual relationship were asked to respond to a set of threatening scenarios (Enjaian, 2018b). The scenarios involved physical threats (e.g., "You are walking in an isolated but familiar area when a menacing stranger suddenly jumps out of the bushes to attack you."), honor threats (e.g., "You come out of work and find your tires slashed and a guy keying your car."), and control situations (e.g., "You walk into a grocery store. Upon entering, the greeter gives you a cart to use."). Each participant read 24 scenarios, 12

where the participant was the victim and 12 where their significant other was the victim. After reading each scenario, participants were asked to report how likely they were to use physical aggression against their attacker.

Contrary to culture of honor theory, women from a culture of honor reported they would use more aggression against their attacker than women, not from a culture of honor (Enjaian, 2018b). However, this pattern only emerged following threats to the participant's honor. Women from a culture of honor used similar levels of aggression when they were physically threatened compared to women, not from a culture of honor. These results indicate that women from a culture of honor view threats to their honor differently than women not from a culture of honor, thus highlighting the importance of reputation to women within a culture of honor. Women from a culture of honor also reported using significantly more aggression against their significant other's attacker compared to women not from a culture of honor. This is consistent with how culture of honor theory defines honor threats (Brown, 2016; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Honor threats can involve threats to the person, their family, or even their property.

To further examine when women from a culture of honor use aggression, a follow-up study was conducted testing how a women's aggression changes based on the gender of the instigator (Enjaian, 2018b). Similar to the previous study, women read hypothetical threat scenarios, but only of threats to a person's reputation. The gender of the attacker was manipulated so that half of the participants received threats from a woman and the other half received threats from a man.

This study replicated previous research such that women from a culture of honor were more aggressive than women not from a culture of honor. However, this effect was

strongest when another woman threatened female participants compared to threats from a man. Similar studies with male participants followed a similar pattern. Men from a culture of honor were more aggressive when threatened by other men compared to when they received threats from women (Enjaian, 2018b).

In an additional study, both male and female participants were asked to respond to only honor threat scenarios (Enjaian, 2018b). To test the impact of gender on retaliation responses, researchers manipulated the gender of the person causing the threat. For instance, some participants read scenarios about a woman calling them a ‘stupid bitch’ while other participants read about a guy calling them the same name. Consistent with preliminary studies, female participants from a culture of honor were more likely than women not from a culture of honor to respond to honor threats with aggression. Women from a culture of honor also reported a willingness to use more aggression against a woman who threatens them compared to a man. Men from a culture of honor reported being less likely to be aggressive if a woman threatens them compared to a man. When responding to threats, both men and women use physical aggression to regain lost honor.

Aggression: An Overview

Social psychologists define aggression as any behavior that harms another that does not want to be harmed (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Bushman & Huesmann, 2010). Aggressive behaviors include punching, kicking, stabbing, or shooting another individual. It is important to note that an “aggressive” salesperson is not aggressive, by this definition. Rather, an “aggressive” salesperson may be extra pushy to make a sale. It

may come off as intense, leading to being defined as “aggressive,” but the salesperson is not harming the customer.

Within the definition of aggression, there are two key features. First, aggression is a behavior. It is something people can see and observe, an action. Because aggression has to be an action, aggression is *not* an emotion, like anger. We have all had those days on the road where traffic makes you mad. You may curse at other drivers under your breath or yell at them with the windows up. These are not aggressive responses. There was no harm caused to another individual; it was just the expression of anger. Similarly, while in traffic, imagining a fight with a driver who cut you off is not an aggressive act. Thoughts of harming others are not actual behaviors and are considered non-aggressive.

Second, the behavior must be intentional. The individual must mean to harm another person. While in traffic, accidentally bumping into someone’s car is not considered aggressive because you had no intention to cause the other person harm. Similarly, doctors diagnosing stomach pains must touch the stomach to see where the pain is occurring. Touching a sore spot can cause the patient agony. Even though the doctors caused their patients to experience pain, the intention was to help, not hurt, them.

Violence is defined as any behavior to cause extreme physical harm, whether by injury or death (Bushman & Huesmann, 2010). Laypeople use violence synonymously with aggression. However, violence is in a separate category. Violent behaviors are aggressive whereas; aggressive behaviors are not always violent. A fistfight in the parking lot is aggressive, but not violent. Beating someone to near death is violent and aggressive. The United States Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) classifies four crimes as “violent”: aggravated assault, robbery, homicide, and forcible rape.

There are three main ways that people express aggression: physical, verbal, and relational (Bushman & Huesmann, 2010). Physical aggression involves physically harming another person. It can range from hitting, scratching, kicking, stabbing, or shooting someone. Verbal aggression is when words are used to harm others. For instance, yelling every curse word in the book at someone. Last, relational aggression is defined as harming another's social relationships (e.g., Crick & Grotpeter, 1995). Verbal and relational aggression are unique because they lack physical pain. Instead, they cause social and emotional harm. Even though it is not physical harm, verbal and relational aggression do cause people pain. People perceive social pain as just as painful as physical pain (Eisenberger, 2012). Being cursed at, or having a friendship destroyed can hurt as much as being punched.

When it comes to aggressive individuals, size does matter. Bigger men are more aggressive than smaller, lighter men (e.g., Archer & Thanzami, 2007). Longitudinal studies indicate this is a stable trend over time (e.g., Raine et al., 1998). Outside of size itself, physical strength is also linked to aggression (Gallup, White, & Gallup, 2007; Peterson & Dawes, 2017). Stronger people are more aggressive than weaker people (Durkee & Goetz, 2017). The association between strength and aggression is so strong that upper body strength (i.e., muscular arms, pectorals, and shoulders) has become an evolutionary signal of being a good fighter (Peterson et al., 2013; Sell, Tooby, & Cosmides, 2009).

Study Overview

The current study tested when and why people from a culture of honor defend their honor. Previous studies have found that men from a culture of honor respond with more aggression when another man threatens their honor compared to a threat from a woman (Enjaian, 2018b). Women from a culture of honor use more aggression when threatened by a woman compared to a man.

Culture of honor theory states that people in a culture of honor use aggression as a way to repair lost honor (Brown, 2016; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). A study using computer simulations found that people from a culture of honor use aggression as a way to not only repair honor but to ward off future threats because of the reputation for fighting back (Nowak et al., 2015). However, to date, there is limited research that tests the impact of an honor threat on a person's reputation. Most of the research focuses on how a person from a culture of honor feels following a threat (see Enjaian, 2018 for a review). Researchers focused on feelings such as anger, shame, and embarrassment. Despite mixed findings, a meta-analytic review of the literature shows no significant effect of affect. In essence, no research truly tests if honor threats hurt a person's reputation. This study fills that gap by testing if honor threats harm a person's reputation. I also tested if the harm caused to a person's reputation leads to the person using more aggression against their attacker.

Despite a lack of research that focuses on the impact of the threat itself, research does test the impact of acting aggressively (e.g., Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). One classic study asked participants to rate how much of a man a fictitious person would be if he walked away from a threat. Participants from a culture of honor thought the fictitious

person was less of a man for not defending their honor. These results suggest that people from a culture of honor may use aggression as a way to build a specific reputation or repair lost honor. This study tested that theory by examining the mediating role of aggression on changes in reputation following aggressive retaliation.

Hypotheses

Based on theoretical expectations of a culture of honor, I have several hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Men and women from a culture of honor will be more aggressive following a threat to their honor compared to people not from a culture of honor.

Hypothesis 2: Men from a culture of honor will report greater harm to their reputation when threatened by another man compared to threats from a woman.

Hypothesis 3: Women from a culture of honor will report greater harm to their reputation when threatened by another woman compared to threats from a man.

Hypothesis 4: The more a person's reputation is impacted by an honor threat, the more aggressive they will be against their attacker.

Hypothesis 5: The more aggression people from a culture of honor use, the more their reputation and status will increase following the aggressive act.

Hypothesis 6: There is a three-way interaction between the gender of the participant, the gender of the instigator, and culture of honor beliefs predicting harm to a person's reputation following an honor threat.

CHAPTER 2. METHOD

Participants

All participants were 18 years of age or older. Participants were recruited from a university in the Southern United States. Participants were either part of an introductory psychology class or part of the general undergraduate population. Participants in the introductory psychology course received partial credit for their participation in the study. There were no restrictions for these participants. Participants in the general university undergraduate population received a piece of candy for their time. General university participants were required to have a phone or application that could read a QR code. Participants could use the iPhone camera app, Snapchat, or any QR code reading applications (e.g., Bar-Code or Quick Scan).

Data were collected from 1,232 participants (384 subject pool, 848 general population). There were 149 instances (42 subject pool, 107 general population) where participants took the study more than once. In an instance where a participant took the study more than once, I retained the data from the first time the participant took the study and removed all subsequent data. Ten participants (4 subject pool, 6 general population) did not report their gender and were removed from the study. Thirty participants (5 subject pool, 25 general population) skipped all self-report measures and were removed from the study.

The final sample consisted of 1,043 participants (333 subject pool, 710 general population). Participants were on average 19 years old ($SD = 3.03$) with a racial composition of 78.8% Caucasian, 9.9% African American, 4.2% Biracial, 3.6% Other,

and 3.3% Asian American. There were 258 male participants and 785 female participants.

Previous literature involving the impact of gender of the participant, emotional reaction to a threat, and culture of honor on aggression indicate a small effect size ($f = .10$). Using G*Power Version 3.1.9.2 (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner & Lang, 2009; Faul, Erdfelder, Lang & Buchner, 2007), I ran an a priori power analysis to determine the sample size necessary for this study. To achieve 85% power to detect an effect size of $f = .10$ I needed to collect data from 978 participants. I achieved ample power with a final participant count of 1,043 participants.

Materials

Threat Scenarios. Threat scenarios consisted of six potential honor threat situations (Enjaian, 2017). The gender of the instigator in the six situations was randomized. Half of the participants read honor threat situations where a man caused the threat (e.g., “You are at a restaurant and you approach the bar to order a drink. Suddenly, a man calls you a ‘stupid bitch’ after seeing what you ordered.”). Half the participants read about a woman that caused the threat (e.g., “... Suddenly, a woman calls you ...”).

Reputation Measure. To measure changes in reputation, participants were asked to rate how each of the six threats impacted their reputation, social standing, and character. Participants were told to rate each measure of reputation on a scale of 1 (Greatly Hurts) to 9 (Greatly Helps). Reputation questions were completed both before and after participants were asked about their response to each threat. This was done to capture the impact of each threat on a person’s reputation along with how their response

to the threat can change their reputation. The internal consistency for each set of reputation questions is as follows: reputation ($\alpha = .818$), social standing ($\alpha = .818$), and character ($\alpha = .843$). When combined, the overall internal consistency across these three constructs was .917.

Culture of Honor. The Honor Ideology for Manhood (HIM) is a 16-item measure that assesses beliefs related to a culture of honor (Barnes, Brown & Osterman, 2012). The HIM focuses on how a culture of honor expects men to behave (e.g., ‘A real man can always take care of himself; A real man does not let other people push him around.’). Each item is scored on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicate greater agreement with behaviors associated with a culture of honor. The HIM is a reliable measure of culture of honor beliefs (Barnes, Brown & Osterman, 2012). The internal consistency for the HIM was $\alpha = .944$.

Three additional questions were included in the measure. These questions pertained to where the participant and both of their parents were raised (e.g., “In which state were you raised?”). Outside of Southern versus Northern distinctions, culture of honor has been shown to vary based on state. Researchers rated each state based on how much the state abides by culture of honor beliefs (Tamborski & Brown, 2011). For example, though both in the south, South Carolina (number 1) follows the beliefs of a culture of honor more than Kentucky (number 15).

Aggression. Aggression was based on responses to each situation. Participants were given a single item question about their response to each situation (e.g., “How likely are you to use physical aggression against your attacker?”). The item was rated on a scale ranging from 1 (“Not at all likely to be physically aggressive”) to 6 (“Extremely likely to

be physically aggressive”). The internal consistency across the six threat scenarios was $\alpha = .901$. Because of the high correlation among items, a single aggression score was created by averaging aggression scores across the six situations.

Procedure

Participants were able to complete the study as part of a research credit for their psychology course. Students that were not enrolled in a psychology course also completed the study as a student in the general undergraduate population. Students enrolled in a psychology course signed up for the study using the subject pool. Psychology students completed the entire study online at a location of their choosing. The only requirement for students to participate was that they needed access to a reliable internet connection.

Students in the general student population were able to participate by taking the study after being approached by a research assistant. Research assistants were given a QR code that linked participants to the study. Each research assistant walked around campus recruiting eligible students. To qualify for the study, people had to be a student at the University of Kentucky and be 18 years of age or older. Researchers asked students if they wanted to participate for a small compensation. Students that agreed to take the study scanned the QR code using their phone. Participants were then directed to complete the study on Qualtrics.

Once linked to the survey participants were prompted to read the consent form. The consent form included a basic study description and study incentives. Upon consenting, participants completed a questionnaire of demographic information.

Next, participants were randomly assigned to a threat condition. Half of the participants were randomly assigned to read threat scenarios where a man instigated the threat. The remaining participants read threat scenarios where a woman instigated the threat. Participants then read through 6 honor threat situations. Each threat situation indicated the gender of the instigator.

After reading each scenario, participants rated how much they would feel ashamed, embarrassed, angry, and jealous if they were in the situation. Participants also rated how much the scenario would impact their character, reputation, and social standing. After rating how they would feel and how the situation would impact their reputation, participants were asked about acting aggressively. Specifically, participants were asked how likely they would use physical aggression against their attacker. To measure aggression above and beyond general trait aggression, participants also rated how likely they were to punch, yell, kick, shove, use a knife, and use a gun to threaten their attacker. After completing questions about behaving aggressively, participants rated how their behavior impacted their reputation, character, and social standing.

Once they complete the last scenario, participants completed a series of questionnaires: The Honor Ideology of Manhood, the Brief Aggression Questionnaire, and the Ambivalent Sexism Scale. Following the questionnaires, participants received their compensation and were free to leave.

CHAPTER 3. RESULTS

Preliminary Findings

I hypothesized that individuals from a culture of honor would be more aggressive regardless of the scenario. I also hypothesized that individuals from a culture of honor would feel like their reputation was more damaged from an honor threat compared to individuals who do not endorse culture of honor beliefs. The more people from a culture of honor feel their reputation is hurt from the threat, the more aggressive they would be in response to the threat. In turn, I hypothesized that people that act aggressively would report an increase in their reputation. To test these hypotheses, I conducted a moderated serial mediation. Refer to Figure 1 for a diagram of the full model. Refer to Table 1 for all means and standard deviations.

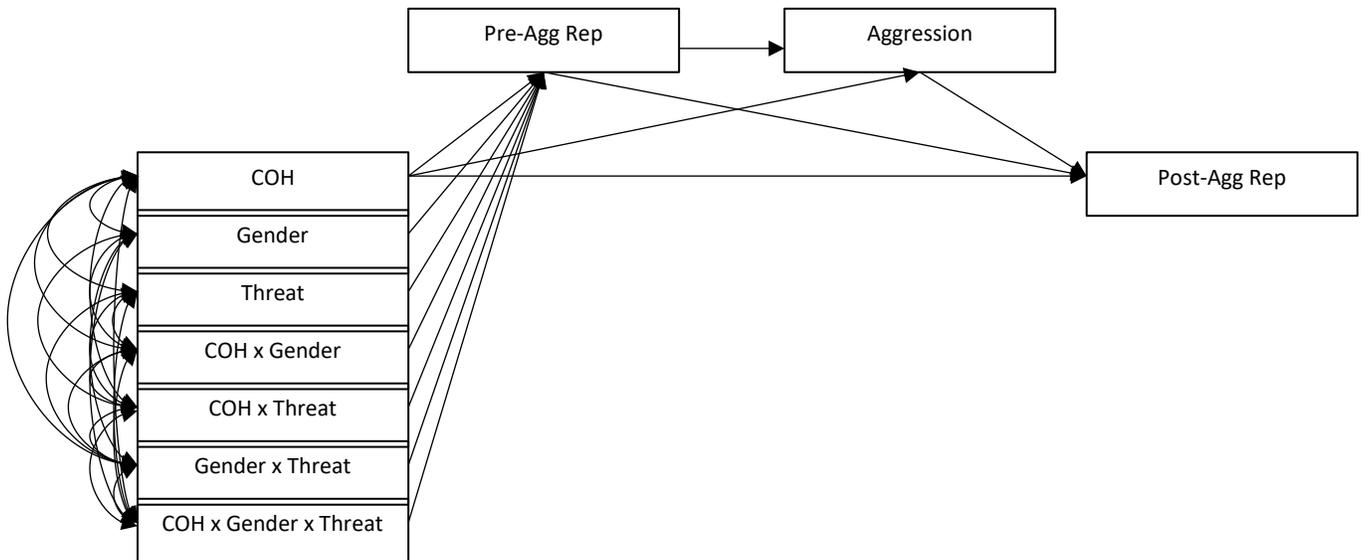


Figure 1: Moderated serial mediation model

Table 1: Group comparisons across dependent variables

	Male Participants		Female Participants		Two-Way ANOVA Interaction
	Male Instigator ^a	Female Instigator ^b	Male Instigator ^c	Female Instigator ^d	
Aggression	1.96 (1.11) ^{b,c,d}	1.15 (.53) ^{a,c,d}	1.52 (.78) ^{a,b}	1.44 (.73) ^{a,b}	$F(1,1039) = 40.45$
Culture of Honor	4.63 (1.66) ^{c,d}	4.63 (1.81) ^{c,d}	3.64 (1.72) ^{a,b}	3.53 (1.61) ^{a,b}	$F(1,1039) = .21$
Reputation Pre-Agg	4.49 (.65) ^c	4.33 (.70)	4.20 (.78) ^a	4.32 (.74)	$F(1,1039) = 7.63$
Reputation Post-AGG	4.83 (.68)	4.97 (1.02) ^c	4.64 (1.01) ^b	4.77 (1.01)	$F(1,1039) = 0$

Note. Included is the mean and standard deviation (in parentheses) of all questionnaires split by condition and gender of the participant. The letters a, b, c, and d indicate which groups are significantly different from one another.

As a preliminary test of group differences, I conducted a series of two-way ANOVAs. I tested the impact of participant gender and the gender of the instigator on culture of honor beliefs, reputation after the threat, aggression, and reputation following aggression, see Table 1.

Culture of Honor. There was a significant main effect of participant gender on how much participants supported beliefs associated with a culture of honor $F(1,1039) = 74.27, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .067$. Overall, male participants reported greater support for beliefs associated with a culture of honor than women. There was no significant interaction between gender of the participant and gender of the instigator $F(1,1039) = .21, p = .65, \eta_p^2 = 0$.

Reputation Pre-Aggression. There was a significant main effect of participant gender on harm to participant's reputation before acting aggressively $F(1,1039) = 7.63, p = .006, \eta_p^2 = .007$. However, this main effect was qualified by the significant interaction between the gender of the participant and the gender of the instigator on participant reputation $F(1,1039) = 7.26, p = .007, \eta_p^2 = .007$. Male participants threatened by another man reported having significantly better reputations than female participants threatened by a man ($M = 4.49, SD = .65; M = 4.20, SD = .78$, respectively). There were no other significant differences among the groups ($ps > .102$).

Aggression. There was a significant main effect of the gender of the instigator on aggression $F(1,1039) = 62.02, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .056$. The main effect, however, was qualified by a significant interaction between the gender of the participant and the gender of the instigator $F(1,1039) = 40.45, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .037$. Male participants threatened by another man were the most aggressive ($ts > 5.34, ps < .001, ds > .33$). Male participants

threatened by a woman were the least aggressive ($ts > 3.62$, $ps < .002$, $ds > .22$). There was no significant difference between women who were threatened by another woman and women who were threatened by a man ($M = 1.52$, $SD = .78$; $M = 1.44$, $SD = .73$, respectively).

Reputation Post-Aggression. There was a significant main effect of threat condition on reputation following aggression $F(1,1039) = 3.88$, $p = .049$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$. Participants who were threatened by a female instigator reported better reputations following their aggressive act than participants threatened by a male instigator $t(1041) = 2.34$, $p = .02$, $d = .15$. There was also a main effect of participant gender on post-aggression reputation $F(1,1039) = 7.22$, $p = .007$, $\eta_p^2 = .007$. Male participants had significantly better reputations than female participants $t(1041) = 2.74$, $p = .06$, $d = .17$. There was no significant interaction between the gender of the participant and the gender of the instigator on post-aggression reputation $F(1,1039) = 0$, $p = .989$, $\eta_p^2 = .000$.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Men and women from a culture of honor will be more aggressive following a threat to their honor compared to people not from a culture of honor.

To test hypothesis 1, I conducted a simple linear regression with culture of honor beliefs predicting aggression. As predicted, men and women with more beliefs associated with a culture of honor responded to threats with more aggression than people not from a culture of honor $B = .15$, $t(1041) = 11.05$, $p < .001$, $f^2 = .14$. To ensure culture of honor beliefs predicted aggression following a threat above-and-beyond other explanations, I controlled for a series of other predictors: trait physical aggression, trait verbal

aggression, anger, hostility, hostile sexism, and benevolent sexism. Culture of honor beliefs predicted aggression following a threat above-and-beyond other predictors $B = .073$, $t(1035) = 4.114$, $p < .001$, $f^2 = .02$.

Hypotheses 2 – 6. To test the following five hypotheses, analyses were conducted with structural equation modeling in AMOS Version 23 (Arbuckle, 2014). Two types of models were fit: (1) models without control variables (models 1 and 2) and (2) models where I controlled for potential predictors outside of culture of honor beliefs (models 3 and 4). Models were considered an acceptable fit to the data if they met the following criteria: model Chi-Square is not significant, CFI > .90, 95% CI for RMSEA including .08. All fit indices are reported in Table 2. The only model type that was a good fit to the data, by meeting the criteria for two out of the three criteria was Model Type 1. Because of this, I only interpreted the results from models without control variables. To test the significance of the indirect effects in each model, a nonparametric bootstrap using 5000 resamples of the data was conducted. The 95% confidence interval for the effects were computed.

All the models follow the structure found in Figure 1. Model 1 was used to test the main effect of my predictors. All predictor variables were mean centered. Model 2 was used to test the conditional effects of my hypotheses. Similar to Model 1, continuous variables were mean centered. However, dichotomous variables were coded as 0 and 1. Model 3 was the same model as Model 1, except I statistically controlled for other possible predictors. Trait levels of aggression and sexism were added as control variables for each dependent variable (i.e., harm to a person's reputation before they aggress, aggression, and harm to a person's reputation after they act aggressively).

Table 2: Measures of model fit

	Chi-Square (df)	CFI	RMSEA (95% CI)	AIC
Model 1 (Main Effects)	129.197 (13)	.969	.093 (.078, .107)	213.197
Model 2 (Conditional Effects)	129.197 (13)	.969	.093 (.078, .107)	213.197
Model 3 (Model 1 Controlled)	136.756 (12)	.959	.00 (.085, .115)	384.756
Model 4 (Model 2 Controlled)	137.410 (13)	.979	.096 (.082, .111)	383.410

Model 4 was the same model as Model 2, except with added control variables. Although each model included tests of multiple hypotheses, results are presented for each hypothesis separately for simplicity of reporting. All coefficients are reported in Table 3.

Hypothesis 2. Men from a culture of honor will report greater harm to their reputation when threatened by another man compared to threats from a woman.

Model Type 1. Overall, individuals who identified with culture of honor beliefs reported more harm to their reputation following an honor threat than individuals who identified less with culture of honor beliefs $B = -.064, SE = .014, p < .001$. Men and women reported significantly different effects to their reputation following a threat to their honor $B = .185, SE = .056, p < .001$. More specifically, men reported having better reputations than women ($M = 4.40, SD = .68; M = 4.26, SD = .76$, respectively). Despite a significant difference between men and women in general, the two-way interaction between the gender of the participant and culture of honor beliefs was not significant $B = .05, SE = .031, p = .105$. This indicates that men and women from a culture of honor did not report significant differences in the harm to their reputation following a threat to their honor, regardless of the gender of the instigator. The amount of harm that men felt following a threat from a man compared to a threat from a woman also did not differ $B = .05, SE = .053, p = .345$, see Figure 2.

Hypothesis 3. Women from a culture of honor will report greater harm to their reputation when threatened by another woman compared to threats from a man.

Model Type 1. In general, women reported less harm to their reputation when a woman threatened their honor than when a man threatened their honor $B = -.12, SE = .053, p = .023$. Contrary to what I predicted, the two-way interaction between culture of

Table 3: Model coefficients

	Model 1	Model 2
Pre-Agg Reputation		
Honor	-.064 (.014) ***	-.073 (.023) **
Gender	.185 (.056) ***	.028 (.078)
Threat	-.041 (.047)	-.120 (.053) *
Honor×Threat	-.018 (.027)	-.008 (.031)
Honor×Gender	.050 (.031)	.071 (.042)
Gender×Threat	.319 (.113) **	.319 (.113) **
Three-way	-.042 (.062)	-.042 (.062)
Aggression		
Pre-Agg Rep	-.085 (.032) **	-.085 (.032) **
Honor	.146 (.014) ***	.146 (.014) ***
Post-Agg Rep		
Aggression	-.169 (.037) ***	-.169 (.037) ***
Honor	-.001 (.017)	-.001 (.017)
Pre-Agg Rep	.484 (.038)	.484 (.038)

Note. Unstandardized coefficients are report with standard errors in parentheses. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

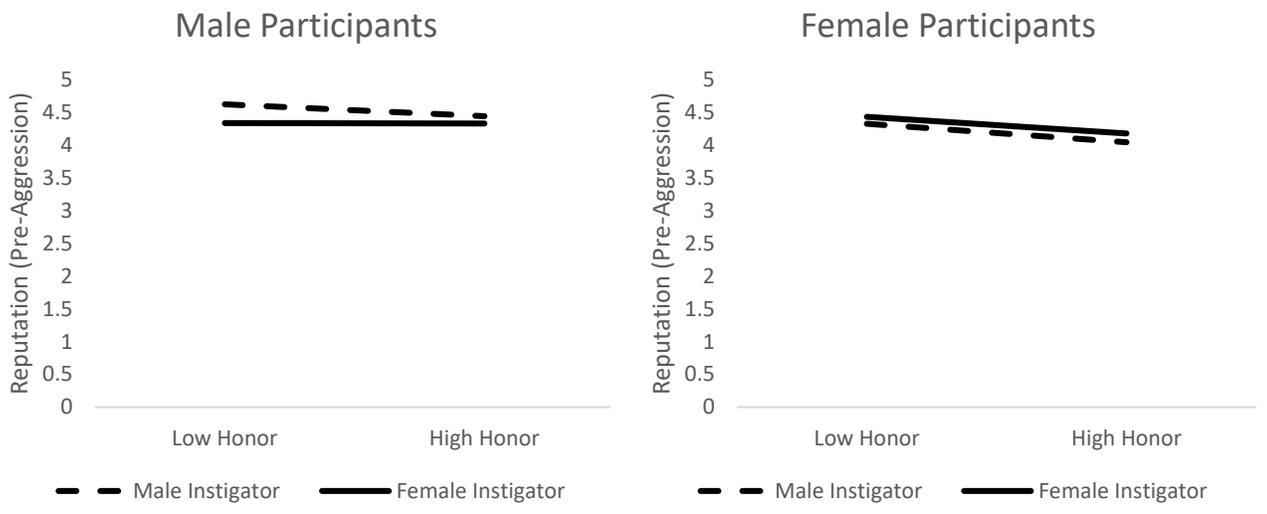


Figure 2: Self-reported reputation following a threat to the participant's honor

honor beliefs and the gender of the instigator was not significant $B = -.008$, $SE = .031$, $p = .806$. As women's beliefs associated with a culture of honor increased, there was no difference in their reputation following an honor threat from a woman compared to an honor threat from a man, see Figure 2.

Hypothesis 4. The more a person's reputation is impacted by an honor threat, the more aggressively they will be against their attacker.

Model Type 1. After controlling for culture of honor beliefs, as predicted, the more a person's reputation was hurt following an honor threat, the more aggression they used against their attacker $B = -.085$, $SE = .032$, $p = .008$. Overall, culture of honor beliefs significantly predicted aggression following an honor threat $B = .146$, $SE = .014$, $p < .001$. People with more beliefs that are associated with a culture of honor used more aggression against their attacker. The indirect effect of culture of honor beliefs through changes in reputation following an honor threat was also significant 95% *CI* (.001, .016), $p = .011$.

Hypothesis 5. The more aggression people from a culture of honor use, the more their reputation and status will increase following the aggressive act.

Model Type 1. After controlling for culture of honor beliefs, the more aggression people used against the instigator of an honor threat the more their reputation was hurt $B = -.169$, $SE = .037$, $p < .001$. Culture of honor beliefs did not significantly predict a person's reputation following aggression against their attacker $B = -.001$, $SE = .017$, $p = .938$. Despite the direct effect of culture of honor beliefs on post-aggression reputation not being significant, the indirect effect of culture of honor beliefs was significant 95% *CI* (-.088, -.034), $p = .003$.

Hypothesis 6. There is a three-way interaction between the gender of the participant, gender of the instigator, and culture of honor beliefs predicting harm to a person's reputation following an honor threat.

Model Type 1. The three-way interaction between the gender of the participant, the gender of the instigator, and culture of honor beliefs was not significant $B = -.042$, $SE = .062$, $p = .491$, see Figure 2.

CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION

For some, a seemingly harmless argument may be devastating; at times leading to such escalation that someone gets stabbed with a sword. The classic culture of honor literature states that men and only men are expected to respond to threats using aggression (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). However, new research paints a slightly different picture. Women in a culture of honor also use more aggression when responding to threats compared to women not from a culture of honor (Enjaian, 2018a). However, the distinction is not so cut and dry. Men from a culture of honor use more aggression against other men, while women from a culture of honor use more aggression against other women (Enjaian, 2018b). The gender of the instigator answers the question of when these gender differences occur but fails to answer why (Enjaian, 2018b). In this paper, I tested not only why men and women from a culture of honor use aggression following a threat but also why these gender differences. To answer these questions, participants read hypothetical scenarios where they were threatened by either a man or a woman.

Culture of honor theory states that men use aggression as a way of restoring their reputation that was harmed by a threat. Using I³ theory, a meta-theory of aggression

consisting of three processes: instigation, impellance, and inhibition (Slotter & Finkel, 2011), you can break down why people from a culture of honor use aggression.

Instigation refers to the effect a target object or behavior may have on an individual. For people in a culture of honor, the instigating situation is the threat that eventually leads to a loss in reputation. Reputations can be harmed through insults, flirting with another's spouse, or damaging a person's property.

Impellance refers to factors that are likely to increase the chances of aggressive behavior or intensify aggression. According to culture of honor theory, the loss in reputational status is the factor that impels individuals to use aggression (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Reputation is such an impelling factor because in a culture of honor reputations are used to ward off future threats (Nowak et al., 2015). Last, inhibition refers to factors that increase the likelihood of overriding the effects of instigation and impellance. In situations, like bar fights, there may not be any contributing factors that inhibit the urge to use aggression. The combination of high instigation and impellance and low inhibition is called the Perfect Storm Theory (Finkel, 2014).

By breaking down interactions within a culture of honor using I³ Theory, we can start to understand why people from a culture of honor use aggression with reputation and honor being one of the driving factors. Consistent with culture of honor theory, this study replicated the outcome of the Perfect Storm situation. Participants from a culture of honor used more aggression following a threat to their honor compared to people not from a culture of honor.

The true test of the study was to answer the question as to why people from a culture of honor use more aggression in response to a threat (i.e., the impellance).

According to culture of honor theory, reputational status is the driving factor. Consistent with culture of honor theory, this study found perceived harm to a person's reputation mediates the association between culture of honor beliefs and aggression. That is, people from a culture of honor feel as though their reputation is more impacted by honor threats than people not from a culture of honor. The more a person's reputation is harmed, the more aggression they use in retaliation to the harm.

With reputation acting as a successful mediator between culture of honor beliefs and aggression, I tested whether the gender of the participant moderates the association between culture of honor beliefs and harm to a person's reputation. Not surprisingly, men and women from a culture of honor felt the same amount of harm to their reputation following a threat to their honor. This explains why recent studies found that women from a culture of honor use aggression following an honor threat (Enjaian, 2018b). Both men and women from a culture of honor view threats to their reputation as an instigation of aggression and lost honor as the impellance.

To further test the results of recent studies, I tested whether the interaction between the gender of the instigator and the gender of the participant moderates the association between culture of honor beliefs and harm to a person's reputation. Previous research has shown that even though men and women both use aggression following a threat to their honor (Enjaian, 2018a) it is contingent upon the gender of the person causing the threat (Enjaian, 2018b). Men from a culture of honor use more aggression when threatened by other men while women are more aggressive against other women. I predicted the harm to a person's reputation would follow a similar pattern since harm to a person's reputation predicts aggressive behavior. However, the three-way interaction was

not significant. This suggests that harm to a person's reputation is not the only factor that leads people from a culture of honor to use aggression.

Culture of honor theory also states that aggression is not the only outcome after being threatened. While aggression may be the behavior that we can observe, culture of honor theory states that aggression is used to regain lost honor. Essentially, aggression is a means to an end (i.e., a boost in reputation). Contrary to what we would expect based on culture of honor theory, the more aggression people used against their attacker, the worse they perceived their reputation. In the end, even though people felt worse following a threat to their honor and were more aggressive because of it, they only felt worse about themselves after using aggression against their attacker.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite harm to a person's reputation predicting the use of aggression following an honor threat in a culture of honor, I found no evidence that harm to a person's reputation predicts why men and women choose to use more aggression against members of the same gender. Men and women from a culture of honor reported similar harm to their reputation regardless of the gender of the instigator. I expected that men would feel more harm when threatened by another man and women would feel more harm following threats from other women. The predicted pattern would have explained why men use more aggression against other men, and women use more aggression against other women. The non-significant results suggest other contributing factors explain why men use more aggression against other men and women use more aggression against other women.

One potential explanation for the lack of gender differences is the overwhelmingly larger sample of women in the study compared to men. There were three times more women in the study than there were men. The SONA sample accurately reflects the population within psychology students. However, the sample from the general student body does not accurately reflect the population of the student body. Rather, women were more likely to complete the study than men. Future research should use other forms of sampling to ensure group sizes are evenly distributed. One possible sampling method is quota sampling. For example, when recruiting participants, every ten participants must include a certain number of men and women.

Future research should also examine the impact of gender itself. Even though men and women from a culture of honor report harm to their reputation regardless of the gender of the instigator, the gender of the instigator may be reason enough to change how aggressive the participant will act. Cultural factors may guide people's decisions to only aggress against same-gendered instigators, despite harm to their reputation. A man fighting a woman may be seen as a feminine behavior which men in a culture of honor strive to avoid at all costs (Gal & Wilkie, 2010). Since strength is a strong indicator of aggression (e.g., Archer & Thanzami, 2007; Peterson & Dawes, 2017), it is also possible that fighting weaker opponents can make you seem weaker or more feminine.

There was a significant indirect association between culture of honor beliefs and a person's reputation following an aggressive response. Contrary to culture of honor theory though, a person's reputation did not get better following an act of aggression, rather, it got worse. Using culture of honor theory, one would predict that men use aggression as a way to regain lost honor following a threat to their reputation (Brown, 2016; Nisbett &

Cohen, 1996). Participants in one study rated a man as less of a man if they walk away from a situation compared to if they use aggression (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). Future research should examine why men and women from a culture of honor use aggression following an honor threat, despite aggression having a negative impact on their reputation. One explanation is that people use aggression not to make themselves feel better, but to make themselves look better to others.

A limitation of this study was that I asked participants to explicitly report how various scenarios and acting aggressively would impact their reputation. While it is important to know what the participant may think, culture of honor theory states that aggression is largely based on what others will think of you (Brown, 2016; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Through the use of a computer simulation, researchers discovered that people from a culture of honor use how others view them as a way to thwart future threats (Nowak et al., 2015). People may perceive some harm to their reputation. However, the more important part of their reputation is what others think of them. Future research should examine how honor threats not only harm what a person thinks of themselves, but what others think of them. As people from a culture of honor feel as though people close to them view them as less of a person, they may respond with more aggression following an honor threat.

A culture of honor is found in rural areas compared to larger cities (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Part of the reason is because reputation plays a stronger role in smaller rural areas. For example, in smaller cities, everyone may know everyone's name. However, in New York City, you may bump into a person one day and never see them again. In this study, I asked participants to rate how much they thought their reputation

was impacted. Future research should change this question and include the role of others into the question. Since a culture of honor exists in places where people recognize you, future research should ask participants how their friends think the participant's reputation is impacted. It may be the case that the participant does not feel harm from the threat, but their friends tell them their reputation is harmed. In this case, harm is only perceived based on the reaction of your audience.

Similarly, asking participants explicitly about their reputation could lead to response bias. People from a culture of honor place an emphasis on their reputation and how others view them. In this study, I asked participants from a culture of honor to report how much a threat hurt them. In a sense, I was asking people from a culture of honor to tell me if they were weak and couldn't handle a threat. You can equate this to asking a man if he cried while watching the Notebook. People from a culture of honor may have been willing to report some harm to their reputation but were unwilling to fully report the extent of the harm. Other methods should be used to fully capture the extent of harm a threat can have on a person's reputation.

To do this, you can measure harm to a person's reputation indirectly. They can rate a stranger's reputation following a threat, similar to Cohen and Nisbett (1994). Future research could also manipulate what other people think about the participant to see if that impacts the aggression they use. For example, in a possible study, participants could come to the lab with their friend. After reading a threat scenario, researchers could deceive participants by giving them false feedback about the participant's reputation. Half of the participants would see their friend telling them they look weak following a threat while the other half see their friend telling them the threat has no impact on their

reputation. Participants would then be allowed to act aggressively. This study would help us understand the link between reputation and aggression within a culture of honor even more.

CONCLUSION

As predicted, people with more culture of honor beliefs used more aggression following a threat to their honor. When people felt their reputation was harmed more by the honor threat, they used more aggression against the instigator. Contrary to culture of honor theory, as people used more aggression against their attacker, their reputation got worse. This is surprising because people respond in a way that they know will cause themselves harm.

APPENDIX A – HONOR THREAT SCENARIOS

INSTRUCTIONS: Read each of the following scenarios. After reading each scenario, rate how likely you are to physically harm your attacker.

How likely are you to use physical aggression against your attacker?

1 2 3 4 5 6
(Not at all likely to be physically aggressive) (Extremely likely to be physically aggressive)

1. You are at a restaurant and you approach the bar to order a drink. Suddenly a woman (man) at the bar calls you a 'stupid bitch' after seeing what you ordered.
2. You are at a crowded event and a strange woman (man) bumps into you. She (he) turns around and calls you an 'asshole' before walking away.
3. While driving, you stop at a light and a woman (man) pulls up next to you. She (he) rolls down the window and cusses you out while also giving you the finger.
4. You are working on a project with a couple of friends. A woman (man) walks in and says, "What are you doing here? You aren't smart enough for this."
5. You go to a party with a couple of friends. After walking through the door, a woman (man) yells, "Who let the trash in?"
6. You are at the bar with friends and you start flirting with a stranger. Suddenly a woman (man) cuts in and tells you, "Don't bother. They would never be interested in a person like you!"

APPENDIX D – AFFECTIVE AND REPUTATION MEASURES

Post threat, before aggression:

Think about how you would feel if you found yourself in the previous situation. Then please rate how much you would feel each of the following:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Extremely

ashamed						

embarrassed						

angry						

jealous						

Rate how much this situation impacts the following:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9							
Greatly				No Change			
Greatly							
Hurts							
Helps							

your reputation							

your social standing							

your character							

Post aggression:

Please rate how much you would feel each of the following after your decision to aggress or not aggress.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Extremely

ashamed						

embarrassed						

angry						

jealous						

Rate how much your previous decision to aggress or not aggress impacts the following:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9							
Greatly				No Change			
Greatly							
Hurts							
Helps							

_____ your reputation
_____ your social standing
_____ your character

APPENDIX E – AMBIVILANT SEXISM SCALE

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree which you agree or disagree with each statement using the scale below:

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	agree	agree
Strongly strongly	somewhat	slightly	slightly	somewhat	

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for “equality.”
3. In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.
4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or act as being sexist.
5. Women are too easily offended.
6. People are not truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.
7. Feminists are seeking women to have more power than men.
8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
13. Men are incomplete without women.
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
18. Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.
19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
21. Feminists are making unreasonable demands of men.
22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Scoring:

Total ASI score = average of all items

Hostile Sexism = average of items: 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21

Benevolent Sexism = average of items: 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22

APPENDIX F – BRIEF AGGRESSION QUESTIONNAIRE

Please indicate how much you agree with each statement as it describes you along a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale.

1. Given enough provocation, I may hit another person.
2. If I have to resort to violence to protect my rights, I will.
3. There are people who pushed me so far that we came to blows.
4. I tell my friends openly when I disagree with them.
5. When people annoy me, I may tell them what I think of them.
6. My friends say that I'm somewhat argumentative.
7. I am an even-tempered person.
8. Sometimes I fly off the handle for no good reason.
9. I have trouble controlling my temper.
10. Other people always seem to get the breaks.
11. I sometimes feel that people are laughing at me behind my back.
12. When people are especially nice, I wonder what they want.

Physical Aggression: Average of the following - 1, 2, 3

Verbal Aggression: Average of the following – 4, 5, 6

Anger: Average of the following – 7***, 8, 9

Hostility: Average of the following – 10, 11, 12

*** = reverse coded

APPENDIX G - DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Student ID (without the 9) _____
2. Which gender do you identify as?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Transgender
 - d. Other
3. With what ethnicity do you identify? Choose all that apply.
 - a. African American
 - b. Asian American
 - c. Native American
 - d. White
 - e. Other _____
4. Do you identify as Hispanic?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

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PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES

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