

2019

An investigation of forgiveness in an honor culture

Vanessa A. Castillo
Iowa State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/etd>

 Part of the [Social Psychology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Castillo, Vanessa A., "An investigation of forgiveness in an honor culture" (2019). *Graduate Theses and Dissertations*. 16982.
<https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/etd/16982>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Iowa State University Capstones, Theses and Dissertations at Iowa State University Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Iowa State University Digital Repository. For more information, please contact digirep@iastate.edu.

An investigation of forgiveness in an honor culture

by

Vanessa A. Castillo

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Psychology

Program of Study Committee:
Susan E. Cross, Major Professor
Carolyn E. Cutrona
Loreto R. Prieto

The student author, whose presentation of the scholarship herein was approved by the program of study committee, is solely responsible for the content of this thesis. The Graduate College will ensure this thesis is globally accessible and will not permit alterations after a degree is conferred.

Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

2019

Copyright © Vanessa A. Castillo, 2019. All rights reserved.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES	iv
LIST OF TABLES	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW	2
Confronting or Withdrawing after Conflict	4
Forgiving or Holding a Grudge after Conflict	6
Conceptualization of Forgiveness	7
Forgiveness and Reputation	8
Hypotheses	12
Research Overview	12
CHAPTER 3. PILOT STUDY 1	14
Method	14
Participants	14
Measures	14
Conflict content	14
Forgiveness measures	15
Conflict responses	15
Demographics	16
Procedure	16
Results and Discussion	17
CHAPTER 4. PILOT STUDY 2	22
Method	22
Participants	22
Measures and Materials	23
Conflict scenarios	23
Attention checks	24
Revenge and avoidance motivation	24
Procedure	25
Results	25

CHAPTER 5. PRIMARY STUDY.....	28
Method.....	29
Participants.....	29
Measures.....	30
Conflict scenarios.....	30
Morality judgements.....	30
Prevention focus.....	31
Demographics.....	32
Data cleaning.....	32
Procedure.....	33
Results.....	34
Manipulation Checks.....	35
How Do Latinx and Northern European Americans Evaluate Responses to Conflict?.....	36
Masculine scenario.....	36
Family scenario.....	39
Feminine scenario.....	41
Does Prevention Focus Explain the Interaction of Cultural Group Reactions on Morality Judgements?.....	44
Masculine scenario.....	45
Family scenario.....	45
Feminine scenario.....	45
Discussion.....	46
Limitations and Future Directions.....	50
Conclusion.....	52
REFERENCES.....	54
APPENDIX A. PILOT STUDY 1 MEASURES.....	62
APPENDIX B. PILOT STUDY 2 SCENARIOS.....	64
APPENDIX C. PRIMARY STUDY: SCENARIOS AND ALTERNATIVE ENDINGS	66
APPENDIX D. PRIMARY STUDY: MEASURES.....	68
APPENDIX E. INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL FORM.....	70

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1 Mediated Moderation Model	11
Figure 2 Effects of Conflict Reactions on Morality Judgement for Each Reputation Threat Scenario.....	44

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1 Categories of Conflicts Recalled in Pilot Study 1	18
Table 2 Conflict Characteristics from Pilot Study 1	20
Table 3 Relationships Between Participants and Offenders in Pilot Study 1	20
Table 4 Scenario Ratings from Pilot Study 2.....	27
Table 5 Analysis of Revenge and Avoidance Motivations for Latinx Americans and Northern European Americans.....	27
Table 6 Percent of Participants who Correctly Identified the Offender	33
Table 7 Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Latinx and Northern European American	35
Table 8 Manipulation Checks by Cultural Group.....	37
Table 9 ANOVA and Simple Effects for Masculine Reputation Threat Scenario	39
Table 10 ANOVA and Simple Effects for Family Reputation Threat Scenario.....	41
Table 11 ANOVA and Simple Effects for Feminine Reputation Threat Scenario.....	43
Table 12 Mediated Moderation Model	47

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my major professor, Dr. Susan E. Cross, for her guidance and support throughout the course of this research. I would also like to thank my committee members for their support and feedback in this process.

I would not be able to conduct this research without the assistance of my colleagues at Texas A&M and the University of Texas. Also, I want to offer my appreciation to those who were willing to participate in my surveys, without whom, this thesis would not have been possible.

Last but not least, I am very grateful for the constant love and support from my mother and my partner.

ABSTRACT

Latinx Americans are members of an honor culture because of their Mediterranean cultural heritage whereas northern European Americans are members of a dignity culture. Members of an honor culture feel the need to maintain a positive reputation especially when that reputation is threatened. When there is a reputation threat, members of an honor culture perceive confronting as more appropriate than withdrawing from the situation. What has not been examined is forgiveness in the context of a reputation threat. Forgiveness is not seen positively in cultures of honor because it is perceived as risky to one's reputation. I proposed that members of an honor culture may perceive forgiveness as moral if their reputation has been restored (in the scenario where they confronted the offender). I conducted an online scenario study to examine four different combinations of conflict reactions; confront and forgive, confront and hold a grudge, withdraw and forgive, and withdraw and hold a grudge. Participants read and indicated how moral they thought the protagonist's conflict reaction was in response to a reputation threat (masculine, family, or feminine). Results showed that Latinx and northern European Americans rated the morality of the protagonist similarly across reputation threat scenarios. Specifically, they thought that withdrawing and forgiving the offender after a reputation threat was the most moral response.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

In 1794, Antonio Pilmo went for a walk in the street after his lunch where he encountered his neighbor José María Troncoso. In passing, Antonio mentioned he would “unmask” José. This was a serious offense, as it implied that José was not who he appeared to be. Immediately, a loud scuffle began, and bystanders stepped in to intervene. Later that day, José armed himself and killed Antonio for the humiliation (Johnson & Lipsett-Rivera, 1998). People often encounter this type of conflict, where someone insults them or makes a rude comment about them such as in the example described above. How people handle these conflicts depends upon many factors such as their cultural upbringing. Depending on how they were raised, some individuals would say José should have walked away from the conflict without retaliating because they follow the idea that “sticks and stones may break my bones, but words can never hurt me.” In contrast, others have been raised to agree that José should have confronted the neighbor, because “A mal nudo, mal cuño” (English equivalent: You must meet roughness with roughness). This idea of aggressive reciprocity is a common phenomenon in honor cultures such as Latin America. When members of an honor culture face an honor threat, such as in the example above, retaliation is an expected response (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996). Many studies have examined aggressive, retaliatory behavior in response to conflicts; however, prosocial behaviors such as forgiveness have not been thoroughly investigated.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

To understand a behavior or reaction, one must understand the cultural logic that underlies this behavior. Leung and Cohen (2011) stated that “cultural logic weaves together various scripts, behaviors, practices, and cultural patterns around [a] central theme, giving them a meaning and a certain logical consistency and coherence for the people of a culture” (p.508). Therefore, in one culture, beating up someone because they had insulted one’s integrity may seem like an appropriate response to an honor threat, whereas in another culture, it may seem like an inappropriate response. Cultural logic helps one to understand the reason retaliation is appropriate in one situation but not in another.

Latinx Americans represent an honor culture due to their Mediterranean cultural heritage. Anthropological research has demonstrated a main concern of the Mediterranean was honor (Peristiany, 1965; Pitt-Rivers, 1966; Stewart, 1994). Honor was said to be “the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society” (Pitt-Rivers, p.21). Therefore, honor is a combination of an individual’s self-worth and reputation. Because honor is socially conferred, it can be given and taken away by others. When the Spanish and Portuguese established colonies in the Americas, they brought over these cultural values of honor to the Western hemisphere (Johnson & Lipsett-Rivera, 1998). Honor values can still be seen today in individuals with Iberians roots such as Latinx individuals. These honor values tend to be reflected in concepts such as machismo, marianismo, and familism. Machismo and marianismo reflect gendered components of honor—masculine and feminine honor—that prescribe different honor codes for men and women. Men maintain their reputation by being assertive, virile, and standing up for one’s self and family. Women maintain their reputation by being pure/modest, self-sacrificing, and loyal to the men and the family (De La Cancela, 1986; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011; Stevens,

1973; 1994). Familism reflects a family component of honor, where the individual has the responsibility to maintain the family's reputation by their own behavior and to defend the family's reputation when attacked (Steidel & Contreras, 2003). The cultural logic of honor is not limited to the Mediterranean, but also can be found in the South of the United States (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996) and Middle Eastern countries such as Turkey (Bagli & Sev'er, 2003).

Northerners in the United States and people of Northern European countries such as the Netherlands are members of a dignity culture (Leung & Cohen, 2011; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2002a, 2002b). The cultural logic of dignity cultures revolves around the idea that an individual has inherent worth independent of reputation (Leung & Cohen, 2011). This means that self-worth is not conferred by others nor can it be taken away by others. Therefore, a person behaves properly not because others will see that behavior, but because of his or her own internal standards.

Members of honor and dignity cultures both understand the idea of honor, but value different aspects of honor. According to Pitt-Rivers (1966) and Peristiany (1965), honor is thought of as a combination of self-worth and social-worth. Self-worth or self-esteem is an aspect of honor which both members of dignity and honor cultures have in common. When members of honor (Spain) and dignity (Netherlands) cultures were asked what honor meant, they both gave similar proportions of self-worth-related responses (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a). The aspect of honor that seems to differentiate members of honor and dignity cultures is social worth or reputation. Members of an honor (Spain) culture feel the need to maintain a positive social self-image more so than do members of a dignity culture (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011; Rodriguez Mosquera, Fischer, Manstead, & Zaalberg, 2008). In honor cultures, it is important to protect one's reputation, because those who do not protect their reputation are often

ostracized, gossiped about, discriminated against, and sometimes killed (Gilmore, 1987; Schneider, 1971; Wikan, 2008).

Confronting or Withdrawing After Conflict

As mentioned in the story at the beginning of this introduction, Antonio insulted José, which was a threat to José's honor/reputation. Because honor is socially conferred by others, it can be easily lost and difficult to regain (Stewart, 1994). Therefore, to avoid the loss of honor conferred by others, one needs to confront/retaliate against the offender in a way that will be noticed by others, because doing nothing or withdrawing from the situation will lead to dishonor (Gilmore, 1987; Peristiany, 1965). This behavior is reinforced by strong norms of reciprocity among members of honor cultures (Leung & Cohen, 2011). Therefore, an honorable person is a person who repays people for their kindness and maliciousness. After a reputation threat, negative reciprocity is endorsed and expected by members of an honor culture.

In honor cultures, when there is a reputation threat, aggression and retaliation are common responses. When members of an honor culture (Turkey) were given a scenario where someone was insulted (a reputation threat), members said they would respond more aggressively compared to members of a dignity culture (van Osch, Breugelmans, Zeelenberg, & Bökük, 2013). When members of an honor culture (Turkey and Latinx Americans) were given honor threatening scenarios, they were more likely than members of a dignity culture to indicate they and the average person would retaliate against the offender (Pilot Study 2 below; see also Shafa, Harinck, & Ellmers, 2017). Not only do members of an honor culture self-report they will behave aggressively and retaliate, but in experimental studies using behavioral measures they were found to be more aggressive and more likely to retaliate than members of a dignity culture (Cohen et al., 1996; Uskul et al., 2015).

These responses to reputation threats are not seen as deviant, but as an appropriate response among members of an honor culture. Members of an honor culture (Turkey) approved more of people who confronted another for a false accusation (a reputation threat) than they approved of those who walked away (Cross, Uskul, Gerçek-Swing, Alözkan, & Ataca, 2013). Walking away from an honor threat tends to weaken one's reputation. For example, those who endorsed masculine honor perceived those who walked away after a masculine honor threat as less manly (O'Dea, Bueno, & Saucier, 2017). Therefore, in honor cultures, it is viewed more positively when a person confronts rather than withdraws from an individual making an honor threat.

One reason members of an honor culture may perceive withdrawing from an honor threat negatively is they perceive it to be an immoral response. People make judgements about others' behaviors on three dimensions: morality, sociability, and competence (Brambilla, Rusconi, Sacchi, & Cherubini, 2011). These social judgements influence how individuals behave towards others such as the willingness to help and cooperate with others (De Bruin & Van Lange, 1999; Pagliaro, Brambilla, Sacchi, D'angelo, Ellemers, 2013). The most important dimension for impression formation is morality as it is more desirable in others and in the self than competence and sociability (Goodwin, Piazza, & Rozin, 2014; Wojciszke, Bazinska, & Jaworski, 1998). People find it worse to be considered immoral than to be considered incompetent or mean (Goodwin, 2015; Goodwin et al., 2014). Therefore, striving to be a moral person is ideal and accomplished through following norms that characterize a person as "good" or "bad." I hypothesized Latinx Americans would perceive a person who confronted the offender as more moral than a person who withdrew from a reputation threatening situation.

For members of a dignity culture, there is no one “right” way to handle a conflict or a reputation threat. Northern European Americans are members of a dignity culture where they are presumed to have inherent worth which is not socially conferred by others. Leung and Cohen (2011) characterized members of dignity cultures as having an internal sense of standards that guide moral behavior. Therefore, northern European Americans are presumed to do “good” behaviors because of their own internal sense of morality, not because others will see and approve or disapprove. In addition, northern European Americans are a relatively loose society, where social norms and expectations for appropriate behavior are varied and less restrictive (Gelfand et al., 2011). Therefore, I hypothesized northern European Americans would perceive a person who confronted the offender and the person who withdrew from a reputation threat similarly in terms of morality.

Examining reactions to conflict by members of honor cultures seem to indicate a pattern of behavior. When there is a reputational threat involved, members of an honor culture tend to confront or retaliate against the offender. Although considerable research has focused on aggressive and retaliatory reactions in response to reputation threats among members of honor cultures, few studies have examined prosocial responses in honor cultures and none to date have studied forgiveness among Latinx Americans as an honor culture. This was a limitation in the honor culture literature that this research sought to address.

Forgiving or Holding a Grudge After Conflict

Honor culture research has focused on the choice to confront the offender or withdraw from the conflict (e.g., Beersma, Harinck, & Gerts, 2003; Cohen, Vandello, Puente, & Rantilla, 1999; Cross et al., 2013; Günsoy, Cross, Uskul, Adams, & Gercek-Swing, 2015; O’Dea et al., 2017). Research on honor culture has not yet explored the choice of forgiveness or grudge

holding. This study aimed to answer the following two questions: “Do members of an honor culture believe forgiveness is an appropriate response to a reputation threat?” and “Is forgiveness more acceptable after confronting the offender?”

Conceptualization of Forgiveness

When conflict occurs, forgiveness is generally seen as a desirable outcome as it has psychological, physical, and relational benefits (Karremans, Van Lange, Ouwerkerk & Kluwer, 2003; McCullough et al., 2010; Witvliet, Ludwig, & Vander Laan, 2001). Forgiveness is a prosocial change towards a perceived offender (McCullough, Pargament, & Thorsen, 2000). There are two different types of forgiveness an individual can experience: decisional and emotional forgiveness. Decisional forgiveness is a behavioral process, where individuals make a behavioral statement to control their negative responses (avoidance and revenge) towards the offender and restore the relationship to prior to when the transgression occurred (Worthington, 2003). Emotional forgiveness is an affective process where individuals reduce their negative emotions and increase their positive feelings towards the offender (Worthington). Baumeister, Exline, and Sommer (1998) argued an individual can experience any combination of these two types of forgiveness. They can experience total forgiveness, which is when a person forgives decisionally and emotionally. Also, one can decide to grant decisional forgiveness but still hold negative feelings against the offender, which is called hollow forgiveness, or they can feel emotional forgiveness but neglect to express it decisionally, which is called silent forgiveness.

Forgiveness research has been conducted predominantly in dignity cultures such as the U.S. (Leach & Parazak, 2015; Sandage & Williamson, 2005). When non-western researchers have examined forgiveness, it generally has been examined from an individualistic-collectivistic framework. Cross-cultural findings indicate that members of an individualistic culture tend to

emphasize emotional forgiveness as it enables them to feel healthy and happy. In contrast, members of a collectivistic culture tended to emphasize decisional forgiveness because they understood forgiveness as a social obligation to maintain relationship harmony (Fu, Watkins, & Hui, 2004; Hook, Worthington, Utsey, Davis, & Burnette, 2012; Hook et al., 2013; Kadiangandu, Gauché, Vinsonneau, & Mullet, 2007; Younger, Piferi, Jobe, & Lawler, 2004). The problem with understanding forgiveness through an individualistic-collectivistic framework is it overlooks the differences between collectivistic cultures. Not all collectivistic cultures are the same. East Asians are members of a Confucian-based collectivist society as they focus on harmony and modesty, whereas, Latinx/Hispanics are members of an honor-based collectivistic society as they focus on maintaining a good reputation (Uskul, Oyserman, & Schwarz, 2010). This means values and decisions regarding forgiveness vary across collectivistic cultures. East Asians may perceive forgiveness positively and choose to forgive because it enables them to maintain harmony; whereas, Latinx Americans may perceive forgiveness negatively and avoid forgiving if it means losing one's reputation.

Forgiveness and Reputation

We hypothesized that members of an honor culture would forgive less when their reputation was challenged compared to members of a dignity culture. A recent study by Castillo and Cross (Pilot Study 1 below) had Latinx and northern European Americans recall a conflict and their levels of forgiveness towards the offender. We found criticism (a potential honor threat) moderated the relationship between cultural groups and forgiveness. When Latinx Americans recalled a conflict in which they were criticized, they were less likely to decisionally and emotionally forgive the offender compared to northern European Americans; however, when the recalled conflicts did not involve criticism, Latinx and northern European Americans forgave

similarly. These findings suggested that a reputation threat was less forgivable by Latinx Americans than northern European Americans. In research comparing Turkish and Dutch participants, Shafa and colleagues (2017) examined different types of apologies and forgiveness. They found even after an apology, members of an honor culture (Turkey) were less likely to forgive the offender than were members of a dignity culture. One potential reason members of an honor culture may not be as forgiving as members of dignity cultures is forgiveness can be harmful to one's reputation. When members of an honor culture (Middle East) were asked what made forgiveness difficult, they reported forgiving honor violations was risky, forgiveness could damage one's status, and others may see them negatively (Caluori, Dugas, Mansour, & Gelfand, 2018). This suggested that members of an honor culture may not endorse forgiveness after a reputation threat because others would perceive them negatively (immorally); however, this has not been empirically tested. I hypothesized that Latinx Americans would perceive a person who forgave an offender as less moral than a person who held a grudge after a reputation threatening situation.

Much of Western literature views revenge negatively and forgiveness positively. McCullough (2008) argued that Western society perceives revenge to be like a disease and forgiveness as the "cure" for this disease. This is evident when one looks for self-help books and finds titles such as "The Forgiveness Book: Healing the Hurts We Don't Deserve" and "Forgiveness: The Path to Happiness" (Miller, 2017; Summerfield Kozak, 2007). When members of a dignity culture rated different traits, they rated forgiveness as being highly related to morality and warmth (Goodwin et al., 2014). In addition, there is no feeling of the need to retaliate after a reputation threat as members of dignity cultures do not have a strong norm for negative reciprocity (Leung & Cohen, 2011). Therefore, I hypothesized northern European

Americans would perceive a person who forgave an offender as more moral than a person who held a grudge against the offender after a reputation threat.

Members of an honor culture may be able to forgive if their reputation has been restored after a threat. One way to restore one's honor is to confront the person who challenged that honor. A study by Cohen and colleagues (1999) suggested that forgiveness may be more appropriate after confronting the offender among members of an honor culture (Southerners of the U.S.) than among members of a dignity culture (Northerners of the U.S.). They had a confederate continually provoke participants throughout the study. Members of an honor culture who blew up at the confederate were more likely to forgive than those who did not, whereas members of a dignity culture who blew up at the confederate were less likely to forgive than those who stayed calm. They suggested that Southerners who blew up were following a cultural script of blowing up and reconciling afterwards while Northerners who blew up may have felt too angry to forgive. Therefore, I hypothesized Latinx Americans would perceive a person who forgave after confronting as more moral than a person who forgave after walking away, whereas northern European Americans would perceive a person who forgave after confronting similarly in morality as the person who forgave after walking away from a reputation threat.

One proposed mechanism that could explain why members of an honor culture approve of confronting and disapprove of forgiveness in the absence of confrontation, is that members of an honor culture want to prevent the loss of honor. Regulatory Focus Theory distinguishes two main motivations: promotion and prevention (Higgins, 1997). Promotion Focused motivations are aimed toward achieving gains while Prevention Focused motivations are aimed at avoiding losses. Preventing loss of honor is an important concern among those who endorse honor values (Leung & Cohen, 2011; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008). Members of an honor culture and

those who strongly endorse honor values tend to have higher levels of overall prevention focus, higher levels of prevention strategies before engaging in conflict, and higher prevention focused emotions after an honor threat compared to members of a dignity culture and those who weakly endorse honor values (Shafa, Harinck, Ellemers, & Beersma, 2015). Therefore, prevention focus may explain why members of an honor culture would be more likely to rate those who confront as more moral than those who withdraw from a reputation threat. Prevention focus may also explain why members of an honor culture would be more likely to rate those who hold a grudge as more moral than those who forgive compared to members of a dignity culture. I hypothesized prevention focus would explain the moderation of conflict reaction (confront and hold a grudge, confront and forgive, withdraw and hold a grudge, vs withdraw and forgive) on the relation of cultural group (members of honor vs dignity culture) and morality (see Figure 1).

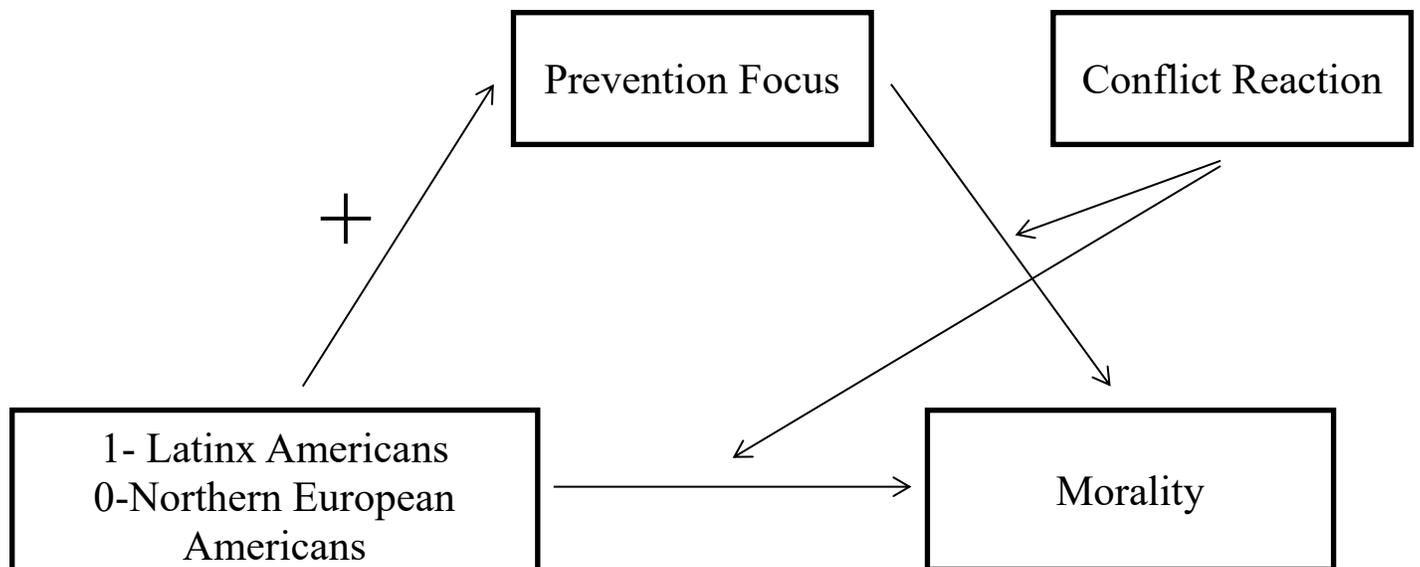


Figure 1. Hypothesized mediated moderation model of cultural grouping (members of honor vs dignity culture) and morality.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Latinx Americans would perceive a person who confronted an offender as more moral than a person who withdrew from a reputation threat, whereas northern European Americans would perceive a person who confronted the offender similarly in morality as a person who withdrew from a reputation threat.

Hypothesis 2: Latinx Americans would perceive a person who held a grudge against an offender as more moral than a person who forgave an offender for a reputation threat, whereas northern European Americans would perceive a person who forgave an offender as more moral than a person who held a grudge against the offender after a reputation threat.

Hypothesis 3: Latinx Americans would perceive a person who forgave after confronting as more moral than a person who forgave after withdrawing from a reputation threat, whereas northern European Americans would perceive a person who forgave after confronting similarly in morality as a person who forgave after withdrawing from a reputation threat.

Hypothesis 4: Prevention focus would explain the interaction of cultural groups (members of honor vs dignity culture) and conflict reactions (confront and hold a grudge, confront and forgive, withdraw and hold a grudge, vs withdraw and forgive) on perceived morality.

Research Overview

This study examined how members of an honor and dignity culture perceive confrontation versus withdrawal and forgiveness versus holding a grudge. Participants read three reputation-threatening scenarios with one of four alternate endings, where the protagonist either: confronted and forgave, confronted and held a grudge, withdrew and forgave, or withdrew and

held a grudge. Participants rated the morality of the protagonist and completed a prevention focus measure.

There have been few studies that have examined Latinx Americans as an honor culture; therefore, I conducted two pilot studies in preparation for the primary study. In Pilot Study 1, participants recalled a conflict and described the outcome of that conflict. This pilot study explored whether there were any cultural differences in forgiveness among Latinx and northern European Americans. The conflicts reported in the first pilot study were used to create scenarios for the second pilot study. I created standardized scenarios in Pilot Study 2 that I used in the primary study. Therefore, in Pilot Study 2, participants rated each scenario on multiple dimensions such as commonness, severity, and publicness. In addition, they rated how much the average person would retaliate and avoid the offender in the scenarios.

CHAPTER 3. PILOT STUDY 1

The first pilot study was intended to explore cultural differences among Latinx and northern European Americans in conflict situations. I predicted that Latinx Americans would forgive less than northern European Americans when recalling a conflict situation. Therefore, I explored under what conditions forgiveness differed between Latinx and northern European Americans. In addition, this study was conducted to generate conflict situations that could be used in subsequent studies such as Pilot Study 2 and the current study.

Method

Participants

There were 138 students from Iowa State University who participated in this study. Forty-nine participants self-identified as Latinx American (30 women) and 89 self-identified as northern European American (47 women). The average age among Latinx Americans was 21.59 ($SD=3.82$) and 19.40 ($SD=1.33$) among northern European Americans. Forty-five percent of Latinx Americans spoke English as their first language and all northern European Americans spoke English as their first language.

Measures

Conflict content. Participants recalled an experience where they were hurt, offended, or dishonored by another. After the study was conducted, two independent coders read these situations and produced a list of categories to define the type of conflict recalled. The two coders met and agreed upon the following list of categories: exclusion, norm violation, attitude disagreement, intelligence attacked, physical attributes attacked, person character attacked, and rude. Any conflicts that did not fit the previous seven categories were put in the “other” category. Two additional coders used the definitions from Table 1 to categorize each conflict accordingly.

Cohen's kappa was run to determine the degree of inter-rater agreement on the type of conflicts each participant wrote about in the study. There was substantial agreement according to the criteria of Landis and Koch (1997) between the two raters, $\kappa = .786$ (95% CI, .712 to .860), $p < .001$.

Forgiveness measures. I used Worthington, Hook, Utsey, Williams, and Neil's (2007) Decisional and Emotional Forgiveness scales to measure how much participants forgave the offender in the recalled conflict on a scale of 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*; see Appendix A). Decisional forgiveness had eight items to measure behavioral intentions such as "If I see him or her, I will act friendly." ($\alpha_{LA} = .87$, $\alpha_{NEA} = .79$). Emotional forgiveness had eight items to measure affect such as "I no longer feel upset when I think of him or her." ($\alpha_{LA} = .78$, $\alpha_{NEA} = .83$). Decisional and emotional forgiveness were significantly correlated with each other, $r = .707$, $p < .001$. Although decisional and emotional forgiveness were highly related, they were expected to represent separate components of forgiveness. Decisional forgiveness is strongly associated with revenge motivation, which is consistent with the understanding of decisional forgiveness as a behavioral component of forgiveness. By contrast, emotional forgiveness is strongly associated with rumination, which is consistent with the understanding of emotional forgiveness as an affective component of forgiveness (Worthington et al.).

Conflict responses. I used Tabak, McCullough, Luna, Bono, and Berry's (2012) Transgression Appeasement and Reconciliation Checklist to measure the types of behavior the offender and the participant engaged in after the conflict. There were 19 behaviors which the offender or the participant could have enacted, such as *apologize*, *show remorse*, and *start physical contact* (see Appendix A). Because all these behaviors were positive, I created nine

additional items to explore negative behaviors such as *criticizing the participant/offender*, *minimizing the conflict*, and *arguing with the participant/offender* (see Appendix A).

Demographics. Participants filled out basic demographic questions such as age, sex, and ethnicity. Also, participants provided information about high school location and past dwellings. This information was used to determine if participants could be identified as a Northerner (a member of a dignity culture) or Southerner (a member of an honor culture) according to Cohen and colleagues' (1996) definition. Participants indicated their parents' education, perceived socioeconomic status, the ruralness of their upbringing, and religiosity. Participants who self-identified as Latinx answered additional questions regarding their primary language, language skills, country of origin, time in the U.S., and parents' ethnicity and state/country of origin. These questions were asked to gauge the level of acculturation. See Appendix A for specific demographic questions that were asked.

Procedure

Participants completed an online study, in which, they recalled an experience where they were hurt, offended, or dishonored by another. Participants were encouraged to write in the language they were most comfortable using (Spanish or English). After writing about the transgression, they wrote about the outcome of the conflict. Next, they reported on their conflict experience on several dimensions: their relationship with the offender (parent, sibling, aunt/uncle, grandparent, friend, acquaintance, stranger, co-worker, classmate, other), the closeness of the relationship (using the inclusion of other scale; Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992), severity of the transgression (1-*not at all severe* to 7-*extremely severe*), how many people witnessed the transgression (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7+), and how long ago in months it took place. Participants selected all the behaviors the offender engaged in after the conflict and all the

behaviors they themselves engaged in after the conflict from the list of conflict responses. Also, participants wrote in any other behaviors that were not mentioned that the offender or they themselves engaged in after the transgression. Then participants completed the decisional and emotional forgiveness scales with reference to their current relationship with the offender. Also, participants completed additional measures of honor values, inalienable worth, self-construal, self-esteem, and demographics. None of these scales significantly correlated with decisional or emotional forgiveness; therefore, they are not reported below.

Results and Discussion

I first examined the types of situations reported by the two groups of participants. Latinx Americans recalled situations that were most often about exclusion, rude offenders, and offenders who attacked their personal character. Northern European Americans were most likely to recall situations that were about norm violations, attacks on their person character, and attacks on their physical attributes. Specific frequencies and other conflict categories are reported in Table 1. The results suggested that Latinx and northern European Americans recalled similar types of conflicts. Although both groups experienced conflicts related to exclusion, Latinx Americans recalled significantly more exclusion related conflicts, $z = 3.564, p < .001$. One reason that might explain this difference was that Latinx Americans at Iowa State University only made up 4.72% of the student population at the time of the study (Iowa State University, 2017). In addition, the Latinx Americans exclusion conflicts were generally about racism and race-related issues while northern European American exclusion conflicts were about being left out of friend groups or being treated unfairly because of one's associated with a fraternity or sorority.

Table 1
Categories of Conflicts Recalled in Pilot Study 1

Category	Definition	Latinx Americans	Northern European Americans
Exclusion	Any conflict that was because the participant felt they were being dismissed/harassed because of their group membership (e.g., ethnic origin, gender, or group affiliation)	18 (37%)	10 (11%)
Norm Violation	Any conflict that stemmed from the norms of the relationship being violated (e.g., cheating in a romantic relationship or telling personal information about a friend to others)	4 (8%)	16 (18%)
Attitude Disagreement	Any conflict that was because of a disagreement over a belief or value	3 (6%)	5 (6%)
Attack			
Intelligence	Any conflict that was because the participant felt that their competence or intelligence was challenged/questioned	3 (6%)	9 (10%)
Physical Attributes	Any conflict where the offender made the participant feel bad about their appearance (e.g., clothing and body)	4 (8%)	14 (16%)
Personal Character	Any conflict where a participant was called names, and/or their character was challenged/questioned	6 (12%)	16 (18%)
Rude	Any conflict where the offender was offensively impolite or ill-mannered	7 (14%)	10(11%)
Other		4 (8%)	9 (10%)
Total <i>ns</i>		49	89

Note. The types of conflicts recalled, coded by two independent coders.

I predicted Latinx Americans would forgive less than northern European Americans when recalling a conflict situation. I conducted two independent *t*-tests on decisional and emotional forgiveness (see Table 2). Latinx Americans forgave decisionally and emotionally less

than northern Europeans; however, the difference in emotional forgiveness was not statistically significant. Latinx American participants were less likely to act friendly towards the offender than were the northern European Americans, but members of both groups were equally likely to feel upset about the conflict. Since my hypothesis was partially supported, I explored factors that could contribute to the differences between Latinx and northern European Americans' willingness to forgive.

First, I examined closeness to the offender, severity of the conflict, and time since the conflict to see if there were differences in the type of conflicts recalled between Latinx and northern European Americans (see Table 2). Northern European Americans were more likely to recall conflicts with offenders they felt closer to than were Latinx Americans. This is explained by examining the offenders in these conflicts; friends and classmates were the most frequent offenders among northern European Americans while friends and strangers were most frequent among Latinx Americans (see Table 3). The average severity of the recalled conflicts was similar among Latinx and northern European Americans. Latinx Americans recalled conflicts from longer ago than did northern European Americans, with the average time of conflict occurring approximately twice as long ago.

Table 2
Conflict Characteristics from Pilot Study 1

Measure	Latinx Americans	Northern European Americans	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Decisional Forgiveness	3.68 (0.91)	4.02 (0.73)	-2.391	0.018	0.41
Emotional Forgiveness	2.88 (0.88)	3.03 (0.92)	-0.974	0.332	0.17
Closeness	2.65 (1.86)	3.31 (1.96)	-1.935	0.055	0.35
Severity	3.92 (1.72)	3.60 (1.47)	1.163	0.247	0.20
Time Conflict Occurred Ago (months)	32.80 (43.36)	16.84 (34.37)	2.201	0.031	0.41

Note. Standard deviations are provided in parentheses. There were 49 Latinx Americans and 89 northern European Americans.

Table 3
Relationships Between Participants and Offenders in Pilot Study 1

Group	Family	Friend	Classmate	Acquaintance	Stranger	Other
Latinx Americans	8%	27%	16%	12%	27%	10%
Northern European Americans	11%	39%	11%	9%	9%	20%

Note. The other category included romantic partners, co-workers, children, roommates, and neighbors.

To understand why Latinx Americans were less forgiving than northern European Americans, I explored offender behaviors indicated in the conflict responses. One behavior the offender sometimes engaged in that can be used as a proxy variable of an honor threat was criticizing, which was self-rated by all participants. A 2 (Latinx Americans vs. northern European Americans) X 2 (offender criticized vs. offender did not criticize) ANOVA was conducted on decisional and emotional forgiveness separately. If the offender criticized the

participant, Latinx Americans ($n = 21$, $M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.03$) decisionally forgave less than northern European Americans ($n = 47$, $M = 4.05$, $SD = .74$, $d = .78$); however, if the offender did not criticize the participant, Latinx American ($n = 28$, $M = 3.94$, $SD = .72$) decisionally forgave similarly to northern European Americans ($n = 42$, $M = 4.00$, $SD = .74$, $d = .08$), $F(1,134) = 5.125$, $p = .025$, $\eta^2 = .037$. The same interaction was found for emotional forgiveness. If the offender criticized the participant, Latinx Americans ($n = 21$, $M = 2.51$, $SD = .79$) emotionally forgave less than northern European Americans ($n = 47$, $M = 3.01$, $SD = .93$, $d = .58$); however, if the offender did not criticize the participant, Latinx American ($n = 28$, $M = 3.15$, $SD = .86$) and northern European Americans ($n = 42$, $M = 3.06$, $SD = .93$, $d = .10$) emotionally forgave similarly, $F(1,134) = 3.440$, $p = .066$, $\eta^2 = .025$. This suggested that Latinx Americans were less forgiving when the conflict involved an honor threat compared to northern European Americans.

CHAPTER 4. PILOT STUDY 2

The second pilot study was primarily conducted to select reputation threat scenarios for the current study. I created a variety of scenarios based on the responses from the first pilot study. Scenarios selected for the current study needed to be somewhat common, severe, public, and harmful to one's reputation. In addition, scenarios selected for the current study were examined on measures of revenge and avoidance. Members of an honor culture are more likely to endorse retaliation as a response to a reputation threat compared to members of a dignity culture (Shafa et al., 2017). Because members of an honor culture want to avoid loss of honor, they may be less likely to do nothing or avoid the conflict compared to members of a dignity culture. Therefore, I hypothesized Latinx Americans would agree more that the average person would retaliate after a reputation threat than northern European Americans and that Latinx Americans would agree less that the average person would avoid the offender after a reputation threat than northern European Americans.

Method

Participants

There were 387 participants in this study; 183 of these participants were Latinx Americans who came from Mechanical Amazon Turk (MTurk) and 204 were northern European American who came from Iowa State University. Among the Latinx American sample, there were 60 females and 119 males. Among the northern European American sample, there were 137 females and 67 males. Latinx American students were on average 22.28 ($SD = 1.42$) years old and northern European Americans students were on average 19.08 ($SD = 1.14$) years old. All participants must have been living in the U.S. and attending a U.S. college in order to be eligible for this study. Among the Latinx American sample, only 86.3% of participants were born in the

U.S. Those who were not from the U.S. came from Latin America, but were currently studying in the U.S. Of those who reported a first language among the Latinx American sample, 74.3% spoke English as their first language. All northern European Americans were born in the U.S. and their first language was English.

Measures and Materials

Conflict scenarios. I created scenarios using conflict examples generated by participants in Pilot Study 1 that could generalize to Latinx and northern European Americans. These scenarios were similar in explaining the conflict and why the victim felt hurt by the situation. I created eleven scenarios to sample a wide variety of common conflicts people experienced, such as being insulted, dismissed, and excluded. Of these 11 scenarios, six were intended to be a reputation honor threat conflict and five were intended to be a non-reputation threat (a control condition). For the current study, only the intended reputation threat scenarios were examined and are discussed below in the results section (see Appendix B). Each scenario had two different versions which manipulated who the offender was in the scenario. The offender was either a close other (friend, boyfriend, cousin, or roommate) in one condition or a distant other (acquaintance, classmate, co-worker, brother's girlfriend, online game player, or neighbor) in the other condition. The offenders in all scenarios were purposely individuals of equal status so that status would not affect the likelihood to forgive or retaliate, because victims of lower status are less likely to retaliate than those of higher status (Aquino, Tripp, & Bies, 2001). In addition, none of the offenders were strangers, as forgiveness differs in continuing versus non-continuing relationships (McCullough et al., 1998; McCullough & Worthington, 1994; McCullough, Worthington, & Rachal, 1997). All the names in the scenarios were matched for cultural groups (e.g., Alex/Alejandro).

Attention checks. After participants read a scenario, they were asked to identify the offender. This was to make sure they read the conflict and understood who the offender was in that scenario. If participants failed to identify the offender in a scenario, the data for that scenario were excluded from analyses. In addition, there were two attention checks that stated, “A person paying attention to this survey needs to click strongly disagree.” and “Please click disagree.” These attention checks were in separate scales and embedded within the scale. This was to ensure participants were being attentive throughout the study. If participants failed either of the attention checks, their data were excluded from the study. One hundred and twenty-one participants were excluded for failing one or both attention checks.

Revenge and avoidance motivation. I used McCullough and colleagues’ (1998) Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations Inventory to measure revenge and avoidance motivation. Three modified items of the original five revenge items were used: “The average person would make [the offender] pay.”, “The average person would wish that something bad would happen to [the offender].”, “The average person would want [the offender] to get what [he/she] deserves.” These three items were combined to create an index of revenge motivation for each scenario. Three modified items of the original seven avoidance items were used: “The average person would keep as much distance from [the offender] as possible.”, “The average person would live as if [the offender] didn’t exist, isn’t around.”, “The average person would avoid [the offender].” These three items were combined to create an index of avoidance motivation for each scenario. The revenge and avoidance items were modified to gauge participants’ social norm beliefs rather than their own personal beliefs as I am interested in cultural differences between the two groups. All items were measured on a five-point scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Procedure

This study was conducted online via Qualtrics. After participants read the consent form and agreed to participate in the study, they were randomly assigned to either the close other condition or the distant other condition. They received six scenarios: three reputation and three non-reputation threat scenarios. After each scenario, they answered questions about the severity (1-*not very severe* to 7-*very severe*), commonness (1-*not very common* to 7-*very common*), how public the event was (1- *very private* to 7-*very public*), and “To what extent does the offender’s behavior damage the social reputation of the target?” on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*) to measure reputational harm. Then participants rated how the average person would respond regarding revenge and avoidance motivations. After six scenarios, they completed additional measures of self-esteem, honor values, inalienable worth, self-construal, trait forgiveness, and demographics. These additional scales were unrelated to the purpose of this pilot study and will not be reported further.

Results

Scenario data were collapsed between close and distant other conditions as well as between Latinx and northern European American participants unless otherwise noted. Averages were computed for severity, commonness, publicness, reputational harm, revenge motivation, and avoidance motivation on each reputation threat scenario (see Table 4).

I sought to select scenarios which had an average severity score (an average rating between three and five). If the perceived severity was too low, participants may not think the conflict needed to be addressed or forgiven, because it may not have been seen as a conflict. If the perceived severity was too high, participants may think the conflict was unforgivable and there would be limited variance among participants. Therefore, the first and third conflict

scenarios were excluded due to not being severe enough (see Table 4). I chose scenarios which were somewhat common (an average rating of three or more), because if the scenario was very rare then participants may perceive the conflict as unrealistic and become unable to report accurately how the average person would respond. All scenarios were somewhat common conflicts. I chose scenarios that were public (an average rating of three or more) because private conflicts do not harm members of honor culture's reputation as much as public conflicts (Cohen et al., 1996). Therefore, the second conflict scenario was excluded for being too private of a conflict. I wanted to ensure that all scenarios were similar on these three dimensions to avoid potential confounds regarding why someone would or would not forgive. Also, I chose conflicts which were perceived to be high on reputational harm (an average rating of four or more) to ensure participants perceived the conflict to hurt their reputation. Therefore, conflict scenarios one, two, and three were excluded for being too low on reputational harm. For the current study, scenarios four (feminine honor threat), five (family honor threat), and six (masculine honor threat) were used because they fit all the scenario criteria as described above.

I hypothesized that Latinx Americans would agree more that the average person would retaliate after a reputation threat than northern European Americans and that Latinx Americans would agree less that the average person would avoid the offender after a reputation threat than northern European Americans. I ran an independent t-test of cultural group on revenge and avoidance motivation separately for the scenarios selected for the current study (see Table 5). My hypothesis was partially supported. Latinx Americans were more likely to indicate that the average person would retaliate against the offender than northern European Americans in all scenarios, however, the results for avoidance motivation were inconsistent and weak by comparison.

Table 4
Scenario Ratings from Pilot Study 2

Scenario	N	Severity	Common	Public	Reputation Harm	Revenge	Avoidance
1	179	2.99 (1.58)	4.44 (1.47)	3.96 (1.70)	3.80 (1.72)	2.19 (0.97)	3.03 (1.12)
2	181	3.83 (1.40)	3.99 (1.57)	2.60 (1.34)	3.53 (1.64)	2.63 (0.96)	3.74 (0.90)
3	181	2.43 (1.31)	4.68 (1.72)	3.08 (1.53)	3.28 (1.59)	2.57 (1.05)	3.09 (1.14)
4*	180	4.83 (1.31)	4.39 (1.54)	5.94 (1.07)	5.74 (1.34)	3.26 (1.00)	3.73 (0.89)
5*	176	4.91 (1.28)	4.09 (1.67)	4.91 (1.66)	4.52 (1.51)	3.07 (0.95)	3.90 (0.77)
6*	189	4.71 (1.50)	3.64 (1.59)	5.46 (1.39)	4.96 (1.51)	3.68 (0.97)	3.60 (1.00)

Note. Participants were randomly assigned to read three out of the six reputation threat scenarios. Therefore, sample sizes may vary from one scenario to another. Standard deviations are provided in parentheses. * Indicates situations chosen for the current study.

Table 5
Analysis of Revenge and Avoidance Motivations for Latinx Americans and Northern European Americans

Scenario	Motivation	Latinx Americans	Northern European Americans	t	p	d
4	Revenge	3.54 (0.89)	3.03 (1.03)	-3.52	0.001	0.53
	Avoidance	3.90 (0.87)	3.58 (0.88)	-2.45	0.015	0.37
5	Revenge	3.35 (0.91)	2.87 (0.93)	-3.40	0.001	0.52
	Avoidance	3.96 (0.83)	3.85 (0.73)	-1.00	0.320	0.14
6	Revenge	3.90 (1.02)	3.49 (0.89)	-2.94	0.004	0.43
	Avoidance	3.71 (1.10)	3.51 (0.90)	-1.40	0.163	0.20

Note. Standard deviations are provided in parentheses. 4=Feminine honor threat, 5=Family honor threat, 6=Masculine honor threat.

CHAPTER 5. PRIMARY STUDY

Among members of an honor culture, honor and positive reputation depends on the ability to silence those who would dispute one's claim to honor (Pitt-Rivers, 1966). One way that members of an honor culture protect their reputation is by confronting an offender who attacks or criticizes the individual. Therefore, I predicted that Latinx Americans would perceive a person who confronted the offender in a scenario as more moral than the person who withdrew after a reputation threat, whereas northern European Americans would perceive a person who confronted the offender similarly in morality as the person who withdrew from a reputation threat (Hypothesis 1). When one's reputation is challenged, forgiveness is seen as risky among members of an honor culture (Caluori et al., 2018). Therefore, I predicted that Latinx Americans would perceive a person who forgave as less moral than the person who held a grudge after a reputation threat, whereas northern European Americans would perceive a person who forgave an offender as more moral than the person who held a grudge against the offender after a reputation threat (Hypothesis 2). A previous study by Cohen and colleagues (1999) suggested that it may be more acceptable for members of an honor culture to forgive after confronting the reputation threat (e.g., confronting of the offender). The current study aimed to test whether Latinx Americans perceived a person who forgave after confronting a reputation threat as more moral than the person who forgave after withdrawing from a reputation threat, whereas northern European Americans would perceive a person who forgave after confronting similarly in morality as the person who forgave after withdrawing from a reputation threat (Hypothesis 3). In addition, the current study tested whether prevention focus mediated the interaction between cultural groups (Latinx American vs. northern European American) and conflict reactions

(confront and hold a grudge, confront and forgive, withdraw and hold a grudge, vs withdraw and forgive) predicting morality judgements (Hypothesis 4).

Method

Participants

There were 619 participants in this study; 320 of these participants were Latinx Americans and 299 were northern European Americans. Participants came from Iowa State University (132 Latinx Americans and 290 northern European Americans), University of Texas (30 Latinx Americans and six northern European Americans), Texas A&M (71 Latinx Americans and three northern European Americans), and MTurk (87 Latinx Americans). For Latinx Americans, more than half of the sample was female (52.5%; 35.0% male, and 12.5% missing). For northern European Americans, more than half of the sample was female (72.6%; 26.8% male and .7% missing). Participants were on average 19.52 ($SD = 1.86$; $M_{LA}=20.41$, $SD_{LA}=2.38$; $M_{NEA}=19.05$, $SD_{NEA}=1.32$). Latinx Americans and northern Europeans Americans considered their socioeconomic status as middle class ($M_{LA}=4.86$, $SD_{LA}=1.35$; $M_{NEA}=5.60$, $SD_{NEA}=1.10$).

All participants were currently living in the U.S. and attending a U.S. college. For Latinx Americans, 83.9% were born in the U.S. and 64.6% spoke English as their first language and for European Americans, 98.6% were born in the U.S. and 99.6% spoke English as their first language. To be considered a member of an honor culture, participants needed to self-identify as Latinx/Hispanic. Less than 7% of Latinx/Hispanic participants identified as Latinx and another cultural identity (eight African American, seven Asian American, and eight Middle Eastern American). Hispanic cultural heritages were predominately from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Spain. To be a member of a dignity culture, participants needed to self-identify as only northern

European American. This was defined as a student whose ethnic background was only European American who lived in northern states (e.g., IA, WI, MN, etc.) for at least six years, consistent with the classification system used by Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz (1996; Study 3). Other European Americans who would be considered southerners were excluded from the following analyses.

Measures

Conflict scenarios. Participants read three scenarios selected from Pilot Study 2 (see Appendix C). These scenarios represented three different types of reputation threats; masculine, family, and feminine. These scenarios were specifically chosen because they were all rated as moderately severe, common, and public. In addition, Pilot Study 2 indicated that participants perceived these conflicts to hurt their reputation. For the current study, I created four alternate endings for each scenario to examine different combinations of conflict reactions among Latinx and northern European Americans. Therefore, participants were randomly assigned to read one of four types of endings where the protagonist either confronted the offender or withdrew from the situation and either forgave the offender or held a grudge against the offender. Participants read all three scenarios in the same condition. All the names in the scenarios were matched for cultural groups (e.g., Alex/Alejandro).

Morality judgements. After participants read each scenario, they indicated their perception of the protagonist's morality on nine traits. Three traits (honest, sincere, and trustworthy) came from Leach, Ellemers, and Barreto (2007) and the rest of the traits (fair, principled, responsible, courageous, just, and loyal) came from Goodwin and colleagues (2014). Participants indicated how much the protagonist seems to exhibit each trait on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). Cronbach alpha reliability scores were above .89 for morality (Masculine:

$\alpha_{LA} = .92$, $\alpha_{NEA} = .91$; Family $\alpha_{LA} = .93$, $\alpha_{NEA} = .90$; Feminine $\alpha_{LA} = .92$, $\alpha_{NEA} = .89$). Perceptions of morality have been shown to predict liking and respect (Hartley et al., 2016).

I calculated the scale mean for each scenario for participants if they had answered at least five out of the nine items. If participants did not complete half of the morality items for a scenario, their data were not used for that scale. Fifteen participants did not answer at least half of the morality items (three in the masculine scenario, six in the family scenario, and six in feminine scenario). I conducted exploratory factor analyses (EFAs; principal axis factoring) on the morality items within each scenario and by cultural group. Based on the eigenvalue and the scree plots all the items loaded on one factor for perceived morality. Factor loading for morality ranged from .509 to .837.

Prevention focus. To measure participants' prevention focus, I used Lockwood, Jordan, and Kunda's (2002) general regulatory focus measure. There were nine items that measured prevention focus such as "In general, I am focused on preventing negative events in my life" on a scale of 1 (*Not at all true of me*) to 9 (*Very true of me*). I used these items because this scale was developed and validated with university students. Reliability scores were $\alpha = .86$ for Latinx Americans and $\alpha = .84$ for northern European Americans.

The scale mean was calculated for participants if they had answered at least five out of the nine items. If participants did not complete half of the prevention focus items their data were not used for that scale. All participants who started the prevention focus scale completed at least five items. I conducted an EFA (principal axis factoring) on the prevention focus items within each cultural group. Based on the eigenvalue and the scree plots all the items loaded on one factor for prevention focus. Factor loadings for prevention focused ranged from .374 to .791.

Demographics. Participants filled out basic demographic questions such as age, gender, and ethnicity. Participants provided their perceived socioeconomic status, upbringing background, and religiosity. In addition, participants provided their primary language, where they have lived most of their life and how long, and their country of origin. These questions were asked to obtain a better understanding of the sample used in this study. To see the specific demographic questions that were asked see Appendix D.

Data cleaning. I examined the data prior to analysis for attention checks, missing data points, and outliers. Initially 780 participants provided responses to my survey. There were three attention checks to make sure that participants were attentive throughout the study. If participants failed any of the three attention checks, their data were excluded. A hundred and sixty-one participants were excluded from this study for failing one or more attention checks (39.1% Latinx and 60.9% northern European American). After participants read a scenario, they identified the offender. This was to make sure they read the conflict and understood who the offender was in that scenario. If participants failed to identify the offender in a scenario, the data for that scenario were excluded from analyses (see Table 6). There was quite a bit of missing data as not all participants completed the survey. Twenty-six participants did not complete the masculine scenario, 34 participants did not complete the family scenario, 28 participants did not complete the feminine scenario, and 48 participants did not complete the prevention focus scale. Lastly, I checked for univariate outliers that were 3.29 standard deviations or larger. I removed three data points from the publicness item on the feminine scenario. Because of the data cleaning procedure, sample size for each analysis may vary.

Table 6
Percent of Participants who Correctly Identified the Offender

Scenario	Condition	Northern European American			Latinx Americans		
		# Correct	Total	% Correct	# Correct	Total	% Correct
Masculine	CF	63	83	76%	53	69	77%
	CG	43	63	68%	56	75	75%
	WF	67	70	96%	82	84	98%
	WG	73	78	94%	71	73	97%
Family	CF	79	83	95%	68	70	97%
	CG	58	63	92%	73	76	96%
	WF	70	70	100%	78	80	98%
	WG	73	76	96%	70	72	97%
Feminine	CF	65	83	78%	56	71	79%
	CG	46	63	73%	60	74	81%
	WF	68	72	94%	80	81	99%
	WG	73	77	95%	63	69	91%

Note. CF=Confront and Forgive Condition, CG=Confront and Hold Grudge Condition, WF=Withdraw and Forgive Condition, WG= Withdraw and Hold Grudge Condition

Procedure

Participants completed this study online on Qualtrics. After reading the consent form, participants were randomly assigned to one of four conflict reaction conditions: confront and hold a grudge, confront and forgive, withdraw and hold a grudge, or withdraw and forgive. Next, they read three reputation threat scenarios in a randomized order; all three scenarios reflected the participants' assigned conflict reaction condition. After each scenario, they identified the offender, answered questions about the severity (1-*not very severe* to 7-*very severe*), commonness (1-*not very common* to 7-*very common*), how public the event was (1- *very private* to 7-*very public*), and "To what extent does the offender's behavior damage the social reputation of the target?" on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*) to measure reputational harm. Then

they rated the protagonist's reaction on the morality items. Lastly, participants completed the prevention scale and demographic questions.

Results

The Latinx Americans in my sample came from five sources (Iowa State University psychology pool and campus wide email, the University of Texas psychology pool, Texas A&M psychology pool, and MTurk). To ensure that there was not an effect of location, I conduct a one-way ANOVA of location on morality for each scenario. There was not an effect of location on morality for the masculine scenario, $F(4, 254) = 1.737, p = .142, \eta^2 = .027$; the family scenario, $F(4, 278) = .334, p = .855, \eta^2 = .005$; nor the feminine scenario, $F(4, 250) = 1.277, p = .280, \eta^2 = .020$. Therefore, in the following analyses the Latinx Americans from different locations were grouped together.

To understand the sample, descriptive statistics are provided in Table 7. Latinx Americans were older, lower in socioeconomic status (SES), and more urban than northern European Americans. However, the groups were similar in their religiosity. Because there was a significant difference in demographics (e.g., age, SES, and Urban upbringing), I calculated correlations between demographic variables and my dependent variable (morality) within each cultural group (see Table 7). The results suggested that no demographic variable predicted any of the outcome variables consistently.

Table 7
Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Latinx and Northern European Americans

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Age	-	-.20**	-.07	-.05	.16*	.08	.14*	-.17**
2. SES	-.10	-	.16*	.21***	-.02	.02	.05	.00
3. Urban	-.07	.26***	-	-.04	.00	.00	.05	-.05
4. Religiosity	-.11	.16**	-.11	-	.04	.09	.08	.02
5. Masculine Morality	.05	.09	.11	.11	-	.66***	.61***	.13*
6. Family Morality	.07	-.00	.12	.03	.58***	-	.63***	.17**
7. Feminine Morality	.04	.03	.07	.05	.64***	.62***	-	.01
8. Prevention Focus	-.04	.12	.07	-.03	-.04	.04	-.02	-
Latinx American	20.41 <i>2.38</i>	4.86 <i>1.35</i>	6.02 <i>1.88</i>	4.64 <i>2.48</i>	4.44 <i>1.41</i>	4.78 <i>1.39</i>	3.98 <i>1.39</i>	4.74 <i>1.26</i>
Northern European American	19.05 <i>1.32</i>	5.60 <i>1.10</i>	5.18 <i>2.10</i>	4.53 <i>2.55</i>	4.28 <i>1.25</i>	4.61 <i>1.15</i>	3.87 <i>1.21</i>	4.70 <i>1.15</i>
<i>t</i>	-8.87***	7.06***	-4.95***	-.50	-1.33	-1.57	-.99	-.41
<i>d</i>	.70	.60	.42	.04	.12	.13	.09	.03

Note. Correlations above the diagonal are for Latinx Americans and correlations below are for northern European Americans. Numbers in italics are standard deviations. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Manipulation Checks

Participants were asked to evaluate the scenarios on four dimensions to be certain the scenarios were evaluated similarly among Latinx and northern European Americans (see Table 8). Latinx and northern European Americans perceived the scenarios similarly in terms of reputational harm and commonness. Latinx Americans perceived the scenarios as more severe than did northern European Americans. One reason for this difference could be the strong politeness norm common in honor cultures (Cohen & Vandello, 2004). Members of honor culture may see a violation of a politeness norm as more severe than members of a dignity culture. In addition, Latinx Americans perceived the scenarios as more public than did northern European Americans. One reason that members of an honor culture may have perceived the

scenarios as more public could be because of the cultural norms of interconnectedness (Triandis, 1983). They may have assumed that even if there were only a few people in the scenarios, it is likely that those people could tell others of the situation; and therefore, make the conflict more public than it originally had been previously. Because there were differences in the evaluation of the scenarios, the following analyses are presented separately for each scenario.

How Do Latinx and Northern European Americans Evaluate Responses to Conflict?

To test the first three hypotheses, I ran a 2 (Latinx American vs northern European American) X 2 (confront vs withdraw) X 2 (forgive vs hold a grudge) ANOVA on morality judgements for each scenario. Interpretation of the results were similar with and without using demographic variables (i.e., age, SES, and upbringing background) and scenario evaluations (reputational harm, commonness, severity, and publicness) as covariates. Therefore, the following analyses are robust to all combinations of covariates.

Masculine scenario. My first hypothesis was Latinx Americans would perceive a person who confronted an offender as more moral than a person who withdrew from a reputation threat, whereas northern European Americans would perceive a person who confronted the offender similarly in morality as a person who withdrew from a reputation threat. There was not a significant interaction between cultural group and confrontation vs withdrawal; however, there was a main effect of confrontation vs withdrawal (see Table 9), in which both Latinx and northern European Americans perceived withdrawing ($M_{LA} = 4.70$, $SD_{LA} = 1.42$; $M_{NEA} = 4.50$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.17$) as more moral than confronting the offender ($M_{LA} = 4.06$, $SD_{LA} = 1.31$; $M_{NEA} = 3.99$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.30$). Therefore, my first hypothesis was not supported.

Table 8

Manipulation Checks by Cultural Group

	Masculine				Family				Feminine			
	LA	NEA	<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>	LA	NEA	<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>	LA	NEA	<i>F</i>	<i>d</i>
Reputational Harm	3.94 (1.64)	3.92 (1.44)	0.02	0.01	3.73 (1.66)	3.51 (1.36)	3.07	0.15	5.42 (1.45)	5.29 (1.21)	1.23	0.10
Commonness	3.87 (1.73)	4.02 (1.44)	1.24	0.09	4.76 (1.72)	4.61 (1.55)	1.26	0.09	4.83 (1.68)	4.79 (1.52)	0.08	0.03
Severity	4.65 (1.50)	4.20 (1.34)	12.21**	0.32	4.89 (1.40)	4.30 (1.29)	27.71***	0.44	4.43 (1.48)	3.91 (1.28)	18.34***	0.38
Publicness	5.63 (1.28)	5.36 (1.31)	5.17*	0.21	5.72 (1.12)	5.27 (1.20)	21.62***	0.39	5.86 (1.22)	5.59 (1.21)	6.06*	0.22

Note. LA= Latinx American, NEA= Northern European American. Standard deviations are provided in parentheses. Masculine scenario Latinx American $N=262$ and northern European American $N=246$, family scenario Latinx American $N=289$ and northern European American $N=280$, and feminine scenario Latinx American $N=259$ and northern European American $N=252$. * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$

My second hypothesis was that Latinx Americans would perceive a person who held a grudge against an offender as more moral than a person who forgave an offender for a reputation threat, whereas northern European Americans would perceive a person who forgave an offender as more moral than a person who held a grudge against the offender after a reputation threat. There was not a significant interaction between cultural group and forgiveness vs holding a grudge, but there was a main effect of forgiveness vs. holding a grudge (see Table 9). Both Latinx and northern European Americans perceived forgiving ($M_{LA} = 4.63$, $SD_{LA} = 1.32$; $M_{NEA} = 4.40$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.25$) as more moral than holding a grudge against the offender ($M_{LA} = 4.23$, $SD_{LA} = 1.47$; $M_{NEA} = 4.14$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.24$). Therefore, my second hypothesis was partially supported; northern European Americans did perceive forgiveness as more moral than holding a grudge, but the expected effect for Latinx Americans was not found.

My third hypothesis was that Latinx Americans would perceive a person who forgave after confronting as more moral than a person who forgave after withdrawing from a reputation threat, whereas northern European Americans would perceive a person who forgave after confronting similarly in morality as a person who forgave after withdrawing from a reputation threat. There was not a significant three-way interaction between cultural group, confront vs withdraw, and forgive vs hold a grudge on morality judgements. However, there was a marginally significant two-way interaction between confrontation vs withdrawal and forgiveness vs holding a grudge. To understand this interaction, I conducted simple effects for confront vs withdraw within the forgive vs hold a grudge condition (see Figure 2, p. 44). Latinx and northern European Americans were more likely to see the protagonist as moral if he withdrew and forgave the offender ($M_{LA} = 4.93$, $SD_{LA} = 1.35$; $M_{NEA} = 4.78$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.16$) than if he confronted and forgave the offender ($M_{LA} = 4.16$, $SD_{LA} = 1.15$; $M_{NEA} = 4.00$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.22$). Latinx and northern

European Americans were also more likely to see the protagonist as moral if he withdrew and held a grudge against the offender ($M_{LA} = 4.44$, $SD_{LA} = 1.46$; $M_{NEA} = 4.23$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.12$) than if he confronted and held a grudge against the offender ($M_{LA} = 3.96$, $SD_{LA} = 1.46$; $M_{NEA} = 3.98$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.43$). Therefore, my third hypothesis was not supported.

Table 9
ANOVA and Simple Effects for Masculine Reputation Threat Scenario

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	d
Intercept	9049.49	1	9049.49	5407.60	<.001	0.56
Confront	39.64	1	39.64	23.69	<.001	0.43
Forgive	12.08	1	12.08	7.22	0.007	0.24
Group	1.94	1	1.94	1.16	0.283	0.09
Confront x Forgive	5.20	1	5.20	3.11	0.079	0.16
Confront x Group	0.33	1	0.33	0.20	0.655	0.00
Forgive x Group	0.11	1	0.11	0.07	0.799	0.00
Confront x Forgive x Group	0.43	1	0.43	0.26	0.611	0.06
With (Error)	831.72	497	1.67			
Total	10490.84	505				

Simple Effects

Confront vs Withdraw						
Forgive	38.97	1	38.97	23.29	<.001	0.43
Hold Grudge	7.64	1	7.64	4.56	0.033	0.19

Note. Confront was dummy coded as 0 = Withdraw and 1 = Confront. Forgive was dummy coded as 0 = Hold Grudge and 1 = Forgive. Group was dummy coded as 0 = Northern European American and 1 = Latinx American.

Family scenario. For my first hypothesis there was not a significant interaction between cultural group and confrontation vs withdrawal (see Table 10); however, there was a main effect of confrontation vs withdraw, where both Latinx and northern European Americans perceived

withdrawing ($M_{LA} = 4.96$, $SD_{LA} = 1.43$; $M_{NEA} = 4.84$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.07$) as more moral than confronting the offender ($M_{LA} = 4.58$, $SD_{LA} = 1.32$; $M_{NEA} = 4.36$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.18$). Therefore, my first hypothesis that Latinx Americans would perceive a person who confronted an offender as more moral than a person who withdrew from a reputation threat and northern European Americans would perceive a person who confronted the offender similarly in morality as a person who withdrew from a reputation threat was not supported.

For my second hypothesis there was not a significant interaction between cultural group and forgiveness vs holding a grudge, but there was a main effect of forgiveness vs. holding a grudge (see Table 10). Both Latinx and northern European Americans perceived forgiving ($M_{LA} = 5.02$, $SD_{LA} = 1.26$; $M_{NEA} = 4.78$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.21$) as more moral than holding a grudge against the offender ($M_{LA} = 4.53$, $SD_{LA} = 1.48$; $M_{NEA} = 4.41$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.06$). Therefore, my second hypothesis was partially supported; as hypothesized, northern European Americans perceived forgiving as more moral than holding a grudge, but the expected effect for Latinx Americans of perceiving holding a grudge as more moral than forgiving was not found.

For my third hypothesis there was not a significant three-way interaction between cultural group, confront vs withdraw, and forgive vs hold a grudge on morality judgements. However, there was a marginally significant two-way interaction between confrontation vs withdrawal and forgiveness vs holding a grudge. I conducted simple effects for confront vs withdraw within the forgive vs hold grudge condition (see Figure 2, p. 44). Latinx and northern European Americans were more likely to see the protagonist as moral if he withdrew and forgave the offender ($M_{LA} = 5.31$, $SD_{LA} = 1.25$; $M_{NEA} = 5.26$, $SD_{NEA} = .92$) than if he confronted and forgave the offender ($M_{LA} = 4.67$, $SD_{LA} = 1.18$; $M_{NEA} = 4.36$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.28$); however, if he held a grudge against the offender there was no difference in morality judgements for withdrawing ($M_{LA} = 4.56$, $SD_{LA} =$

1.52; $M_{NEA} = 4.44$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.06$) or confronting the offender ($M_{LA} = 4.50$, $SD_{LA} = 1.44$; $M_{NEA} = 4.37$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.06$). Therefore, my third hypothesis that Latinx Americans would perceive a person who forgave after confronting as more moral than a person who forgave after withdrawing and northern European Americans would perceive a person who forgave after confronting similarly in morality as a person who forgave after withdrawing was not supported.

Table 10

ANOVA and Simple Effects for Family Reputation Threat Scenario

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	d
Intercept	12241.58	1	12241.58	8072.16	<.001	7.65
Confront	24.54	1	24.54	16.18	<.001	0.34
Forgive	26.14	1	26.14	17.24	<.001	0.35
Group	3.24	1	3.22	2.13	0.145	0.13
Confront x Forgive	17.28	1	17.28	11.39	0.001	0.29
Confront x Group	0.67	1	0.67	0.44	0.508	0.06
Forgive x Group	0.10	1	0.10	0.07	0.795	0.00
Confront x Forgive x Group	0.58	1	0.58	0.38	0.537	0.06
With (Error)	841.67	555	1.52			
Total	13312.48	563				

Simple Effects

Confront vs Withdraw						
Forgive	43.32	1	43.32	28.56	<.001	0.45
Hold Grudge	0.31	1	0.31	0.20	0.654	0.00

Note. Confront was dummy coded as 0 = Withdraw and 1 = Confront. Forgive was dummy coded as 0 = Hold Grudge and 1 = Forgive. Group was dummy coded as 0 = Northern European American and 1 = Latinx American.

Feminine scenario. For my first hypothesis there was not a significant interaction between cultural group and confrontation vs withdrawal (see Table 11); however, there was a

main effect of confrontation vs withdrawal, where both Latinx and northern European Americans perceived withdrawing ($M_{LA} = 4.20$, $SD_{LA} = 1.45$; $M_{NEA} = 4.12$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.12$) as more moral than confronting the offender ($M_{LA} = 3.71$, $SD_{LA} = 1.26$; $M_{NEA} = 3.54$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.09$). Therefore, my first hypothesis that Latinx Americans would perceive a person who confronted an offender as more moral than a person who withdrew from a reputation threat and northern European Americans would perceive a person who confronted the offender similarly in morality as a person who withdrew from a reputation threat was not supported.

For my second hypothesis there was not a significant interaction between cultural group and forgiveness vs holding a grudge, but there was a main effect of forgiveness vs. holding a grudge (see Table 11). Both Latinx and northern European Americans perceived forgiving ($M_{LA} = 4.25$, $SD_{LA} = 1.23$; $M_{NEA} = 4.10$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.34$) as more moral than holding a grudge against the offender ($M_{LA} = 3.68$, $SD_{LA} = 1.49$; $M_{NEA} = 3.61$, $SD_{NEA} = .99$). Therefore, my second hypothesis was partially supported; as hypothesized, northern European Americans perceived forgiving as more moral than holding a grudge, but the expected effect for Latinx Americans of perceiving holding a grudge as more moral than forgiving was not found.

For my third hypothesis there was not a significant three-way interaction between cultural group, confront vs withdraw, and forgive vs hold a grudge on morality judgements. However, there was a marginally significant two-way interaction between confrontation vs withdrawal and forgiveness vs holding a grudge. I conducted simple effects for confront vs withdraw within the forgive vs hold grudge condition (see Figure 2, p. 44). Latinx and northern European Americans were more likely to see the protagonist as moral if she withdrew and forgave the offender ($M_{LA} = 4.60$, $SD_{LA} = 1.19$; $M_{NEA} = 4.59$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.25$) than if she confronted and forgave the offender ($M_{LA} = 3.76$, $SD_{LA} = 1.14$; $M_{NEA} = 3.59$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.24$); however, if she held a grudge against the

offender there was no difference in morality judgements for withdrawing ($M_{LA} = 3.69$, $SD_{LA} = 1.60$; $M_{NEA} = 3.70$, $SD_{NEA} = 1.06$) or confronting the offender ($M_{LA} = 3.66$, $SD_{LA} = 1.37$; $M_{NEA} = 3.47$, $SD_{NEA} = .85$). Therefore, my third hypothesis that Latinx Americans would perceive a person who forgave after confronting as more moral than a person who forgave after withdrawing and northern European Americans would perceive a person who forgave after confronting similarly in morality as a person who forgave after withdrawing was not supported.

Table 11
ANOVA and Simple Effects for Feminine Reputation Threat Scenario

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	d
Intercept	7445.74	1	7445.74	4884.87	<.001	6.25
Confront	33.50	1	33.50	21.98	<.001	0.42
Forgive	31.58	1	31.58	20.72	<.001	0.41
Group	1.03	1	1.03	0.68	0.411	0.06
Confront x Forgive	19.15	1	19.15	12.57	<.001	0.32
Confront x Group	1.04	1	1.04	0.68	0.408	0.06
Forgive x Group	0.00	1	0.00	0.00	0.977	0.00
Confront x Forgive x Group	0.01	1	0.01	0.01	0.930	0.00
With (Error)	759.07	498	1.52			
Total	8646.79	506				

Simple Effects

Confront vs Withdraw						
Forgive	55.04	1	55.04	36.11	<.001	0.54
Hold Grudge	0.94	1	0.94	.62	0.433	0.06

Note. Confront was dummy coded as 0 = Withdraw and 1 = Confront. Forgive was dummy coded as 0 = Hold Grudge and 1 = Forgive. Group was dummy coded as 0 = Northern European American and 1 = Latinx American.

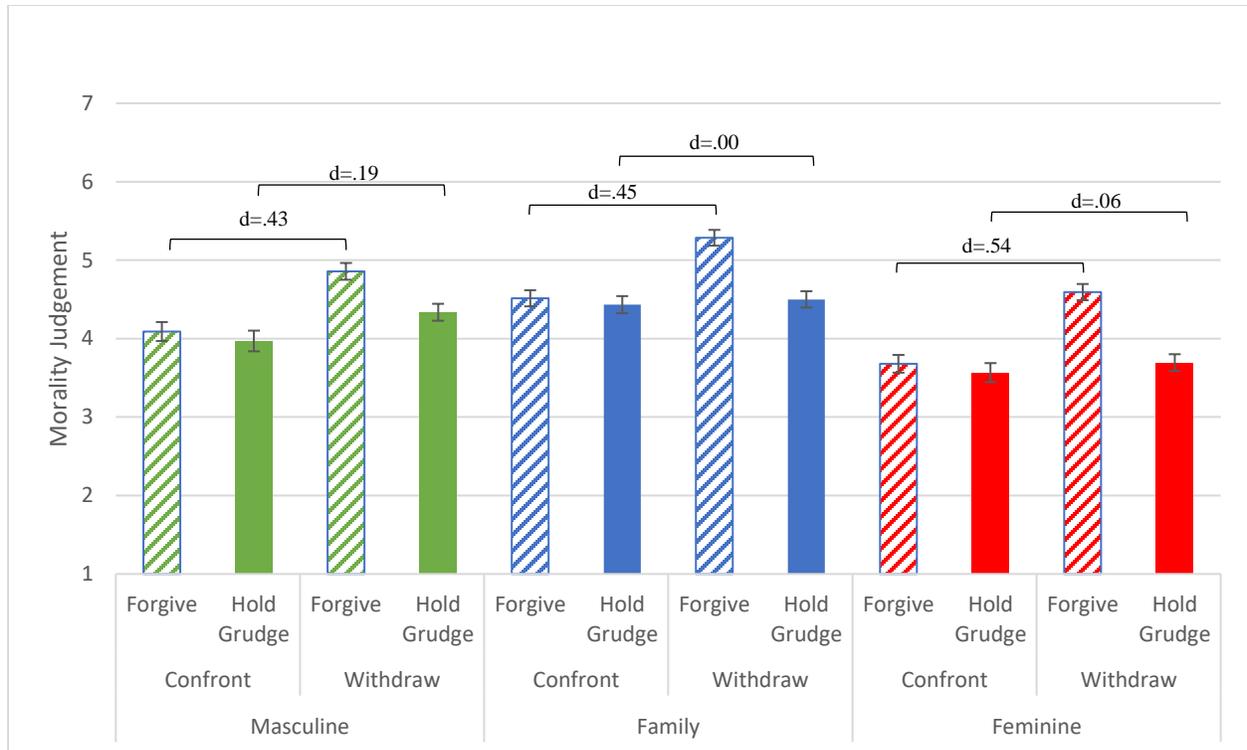


Figure 2. Effects of conflict reactions on morality judgements for each reputation threat scenario. Error bars are standard error bars.

Does Prevention Focus Explain the Interaction of Cultural Group and Conflict Reactions on Morality Judgements?

I hypothesized that prevention focus would explain the interaction of cultural groups (members of honor vs dignity culture) and conflict reactions (confront and hold a grudge, confront and forgive, withdraw and hold a grudge, vs withdraw and forgive) on perceived morality judgements. To test this hypothesis, I used PROCESS (version 3.2.01) to conduct a mediated moderation analysis (Model 15) on each scenario (Hayes, 2018). All indirect effects were bootstrapped with 10,000 bootstrap samples and 95% bias corrected confidence intervals. Cultural group and conflict reactions were dummy coded. Pathway coefficients and significance test are provided in Table 10 for all three scenarios.

Masculine scenario. I used Hayes's (2015) index of moderated mediation to test my fourth hypothesis. This tested whether the conflict reactions conditions had a significant effect on the size of the indirect effect. Conflict reactions were dummy coded so that the comparison condition was confront and forgive for each dummy variable. Therefore, there were three indices of moderated mediation. The mediation model was not moderated when confront and hold a grudge was compared to confront and forgive, indirect effect = .014, BootLLCI [-.052, .095]; when withdraw and forgive was compared to confront and forgive, indirect effect = .011, BootLLCI [-.047, .079]; nor when withdraw and hold a grudge was compared to confront and forgive, indirect effect = .001, BootLLCI [-.034, .038]. This means that the strength of the indirect effect between cultural group and morality through prevention focus did not differ by the conflict reaction condition. Thus, my fourth hypothesis was not supported for the masculine scenario.

Family scenario. The mediation model was not moderated when confront and hold a grudge was compared to confront and forgive, indirect effect = .017, BootLLCI [-.058, .100]; when withdraw and forgive was compared to confront and forgive, indirect effect = .005, BootLLCI [-.031, .049]; nor when withdraw and hold a grudge was compared to confront and forgive, indirect effect = -.004, BootLLCI [-.044, .028]. This means that the strength of the indirect effect between cultural group and morality through prevention focus did not differ by the conflict reaction condition. Thus, my fourth hypothesis was not supported for the family scenario.

Feminine scenario. The mediation model was not moderated when confront and hold a grudge was compared to confront and forgive, indirect effect = .030, BootLLCI [-.033, .113]; when withdraw and forgive was compared to confront and forgive, indirect effect = .020,

BootLLCI [-.028, .087]; nor when withdraw and hold a grudge was compared to confront and forgive, indirect effect = .006, BootLLCI [-.034, .061]. This means that the strength of the indirect effect between cultural group and morality through prevention focus did not differ by the conflict reaction condition. Thus, my fourth hypothesis was not supported for the feminine scenario.

Discussion

People often have conflicts and they must choose how to respond. People can choose whether to confront the offender or withdraw from the situation, but they can also choose whether to forgive or hold a grudge against the offender. The way that people handle conflicts depends upon many factors, one of which is cultural background. The purpose of this study was to investigate forgiveness in an honor culture. Specifically, this study aimed to answer two questions: “Do members of an honor culture believe forgiveness is an appropriate response to a reputation threat?” and “Is forgiveness more acceptable after confronting the offender?”

I hypothesized there would be differences between Latinx and northern European Americans in morality judgements after a reputation threat. My hypotheses were generally not supported. First, I hypothesized that Latinx Americans would judge confronting as more moral than withdrawing from the reputation threat whereas there would be no difference in morality judgements in these two conditions for northern European Americans. This hypothesis was not supported; both Latinx and northern European Americans judged withdrawing as more moral than confronting the offender after a reputation threat. Second, I hypothesized that Latinx Americans would judge holding a grudge as more moral than forgiving after a reputation threat whereas the reverse would be true for northern European Americans. This hypothesis was partially supported. Latinx and northern European Americans both judged forgiving after a

Table 12

Mediated Moderation Model

Masculine Reputation Threat Scenario								
Consequent								
Antecedent		M (Prevention Focus)			Y (Morality)			
		Coeff.	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff.	SE	<i>p</i>	
Constant	i_M	4.70	0.08	<.001	i_Y	4.48	0.57	<.001
Group	a_1	0.05	0.11	0.657	c'_1	0.16	0.25	0.517
CG		-	-	-	c'_2	-1.33	0.76	0.079
WF		-	-	-	c'_3	-0.26	0.75	0.725
WG		-	-	-	c'_4	0.16	0.72	0.823
Group X CG		-	-	-	c'_5	-0.16	0.36	0.661
Group X WF		-	-	-	c'_6	-0.01	0.33	0.971
Group X WG		-	-	-	c'_7	0.16	0.33	0.632
Prevention Focus		-	-	-	b_1	-0.10	0.11	0.375
Prevention Focus X CG		-	-	-	b_2	0.28	0.15	0.062
Prevention Focus X WF		-	-	-	b_3	0.22	0.15	0.142
Prevention Focus X WG		-	-	-	b_4	0.01	0.14	0.948
$R^2 < .001$				$R^2 = .088$				
$F(1,485) = .198, p = .657$				$F(11,475) = 4.181, p < .001$				

Note. In the dummy variables, the comparison condition was always 0 = confront and forgive (CF) while the other conditions were coded as 1. CG= Confront and holding a grudge compared to CF, WF= Withdraw and forgive compared to CF, WG= Withdrawing and grudge holding compared to CF.

Table 12 continued

Family Reputation Threat Scenario								
Consequent								
Antecedent		M (Prevention Focus)			Y (Morality)			
		Coeff.	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff.	SE	<i>p</i>	
Constant	i_M	4.71	0.07	<.001	i_Y	4.33	0.44	<.001
Group	a_1	0.05	0.10	0.64	c'_1	0.31	0.20	0.131
CG		-	-	-	c'_2	-1.60	0.63	0.011
WF		-	-	-	c'_3	0.36	0.63	0.576
WG		-	-	-	c'_4	0.45	0.60	0.455
Group X CG		-	-	-	c'_5	-0.14	0.30	0.634
Group X WF		-	-	-	c'_6	-0.29	0.29	0.316
Group X WG		-	-	-	c'_7	-0.19	0.29	0.512
Prevention Focus		-	-	-	b_1	0.01	0.09	0.944
Prevention Focus X CG		-	-	-	b_2	0.35	0.13	0.005
Prevention Focus X WF		-	-	-	b_3	0.11	0.12	0.359
Prevention Focus X WG		-	-	-	b_4	-0.08	0.12	0.506
		$R^2 < .001$			$R^2 = .114$			
		$F(1,547) = .219, p = .640$			$F(10,537) = 6.279, p < .001$			

Note. In the dummy variables, the comparison condition was always 0 = confront and forgive (CF) while the other conditions were coded as 1. CG= Confront and holding a grudge compared to CF, WF= Withdraw and forgive compared to CF, WG= Withdrawing and grudge holding compared to CF.

Table 12 continued

Feminine Reputation Threat Scenario								
Consequent								
Antecedent		M (Prevention Focus)			Y (Morality)			
		Coeff.	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff.	SE	<i>p</i>	
Constant	i_M	4.67	0.08	<.001	i_Y	4.43	0.51	<.001
Group	a_1	0.10	0.11	0.340	c'_1	0.20	0.23	0.399
CG		-	-	-	c'_2	-1.46	0.70	0.036
WF		-	-	-	c'_3	0.04	0.70	0.956
WG		-	-	-	c'_4	-0.22	0.67	0.744
Group X CG		-	-	-	c'_5	-0.03	0.34	0.920
Group X WF		-	-	-	c'_6	-0.17	0.31	0.587
Group X WG		-	-	-	c'_7	-0.13	0.32	0.679
Prevention Focus		-	-	-	b_1	-0.17	0.10	0.090
Prevention Focus X CG		-	-	-	b_2	0.29	0.14	0.040
Prevention Focus X WF		-	-	-	b_3	0.20	0.14	0.150
Prevention Focus X WG		-	-	-	b_4	0.06	0.13	0.662
$R^2 = .002$				$R^2 = .121$				
$F(1,492) = .902, p = .343$				$F(11,482) = 6.012, p < .001$				

Note. In the dummy variables, the comparison condition was always 0 = confront and forgive (CF) while the other conditions were coded as 1. CG= Confront and holding a grudge compared to CF, WF= Withdraw and forgive compared to CF, WG= Withdrawing and grudge holding compared to CF.

reputation threat as more moral than holding a grudge. Third, I hypothesized that Latinx Americans would judge forgiving after confronting as more moral than forgiving after withdrawing from a reputation threat whereas there would be no differences in morality judgement for northern European Americans. This hypothesis was not supported, both Latinx and northern European Americans judged forgiving after withdrawing from the conflict as more moral than forgiving after confronting the offender. In addition, Latinx and northern European Americans judged confronting and withdrawing similarly if the protagonist held a grudge after a family or feminine reputation threat, but judged withdrawing and holding a grudge as more moral than confronting and holding a grudge after a masculine reputation threat. Lastly, I hypothesized that prevention focus would explain the interaction between cultural groups and conflict reactions on morality judgements. This hypothesis was not supported; there was no evidence of mediated moderation on morality judgements.

Previous research on honor culture has predominantly focused on the choice between confrontation and withdrawal within the context of a reputation threat (e.g., Cohen et al., 1999; Cross et al., 2013; Günsoy et al., 2015; O’Dea et al., 2017). Before the current study, perceptions of forgiveness and grudge holding after a reputation threat have not been systematically tested. Although the current study did not support my hypotheses, the findings suggested that Latinx and northern European Americans have a positive moral view of forgiveness and that forgiveness was more moral after withdrawing from a reputation threat than confronting the offender.

Limitations and Future Direction

One potential reason for the lack of expected cultural differences, is that we do not know which cultural perspective the Latinx Americans were using when making morality

judgements. Latinx/Hispanic individuals who live in the U.S. are to some extent bicultural. In my sample, over 80% of Latinx Americans were born in the U.S. and likely grew up with a dual cultural view. Bicultural individuals have two internalized cultures that influence how they interact with the world. Culturally relevant stimuli can cue these cultural ways of being. This is called cultural frame-switching. Previous research has shown that cultural cues in a study can influence bicultural individuals' thoughts, feelings, and actions (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000; Kreitler & Dyson, 2016). In this study, I intended to cue an honor culture perspective by using culturally relevant names in the scenarios, but it is likely that the university setting of the scenarios was a stronger cue of dignity culture. Therefore, future studies should try to replicate these findings with participants who are monocultural or bicultural individuals who are primed to use their Latinx/Hispanic heritage. If the findings are still the same, then one can rule out the possibility of participants using a different cultural value set than was anticipated.

Another potential reason for lack of support for the hypotheses may be the ambiguity in the scenarios. In the confrontation conditions, both Latinx and northern European Americans had a hard time identifying the offender in the scenario compared to the withdrawal conditions. This was true in the masculine and feminine scenario where some participants thought the protagonist and the co-worker/neighbor were both at fault for the conflict. This could have influenced participants' morality judgements because they may have seen the protagonist of the scenario as more of an offender than a victim of the situation and therefore judged them as less moral. Participants could have also been uncertain about the ethnicity of the offender. It is likely that Latinx Americans interpreted the offender's ethnicity/race as European American as that is the majority group within university settings

in the U.S. Therefore, Latinx Americans may have rated what would be an appropriate morality judgement based on the majority culture. Future studies should explore whether the cultural in-group/out-group identification with the offender influences morality judgements among Latinx Americans.

Future studies should also examine Latinx and northern Europeans Americans' endorsement of forgiveness in conflicts. People may think that forgiveness is the most moral option after a reputation threat, but they may not think that it is a realistic response. After conflict, people tend to be angry still, and anger decreases the likelihood of forgiveness (Riek & Mania, 2012). Therefore, researchers should explore how people behave in lab and real-life settings after conflict.

Lastly, researchers should investigate whether the framing of the scenario matters. Participants may not care what people do in scenarios because they are not thinking about how it would impact themselves. However, if the protagonist in the scenario was their sister or brother, they may have stronger opinions on what their sibling should do and how moral their behavior is after conflict. This would be especially influential for Latinx Americans because their sibling's behavior not only impacts his or her own reputation but also the participant's reputation.

Conclusion

In honor cultures, how one reacts to conflict influences one's reputation, therefore one's interactions with others in the community. If others think someone is behaving immorally, they may be less likely to help and cooperate with them. Therefore, following cultural norms are important for one's survival. In this study, the cultural norms within

Latinx and northern European Americans seem to be to withdraw and forgive the offender after a conflict, as that is the moral thing to do.

REFERENCES

- Aquino, K., Tripp, T. M., & Bies, R. J. (2001). How employees respond to personal offense: The effects of blame attribution, victim status, and offender status on revenge and reconciliation in the workplace. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*(1), 52-59. <http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1037/0021-9010.86.1.52>
- Aron, A., Aron, E. N., & Smollan, D. (1992). Inclusion of other in the self scale and the structure of interpersonal closeness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 63*(4), 596-612. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.63.4.596
- Bagli, M., & Sev'er, A. (2003). Female and male suicides in Batman, Turkey: Poverty, social change, patriarchal oppression and gender links. *Women's Health and Urban Life: An International and Interdisciplinary Journal, 2*, 60-84.
- Baumeister, R.F., Exline, J. J., & Sommer, K. L. (1998). The victim role, grudge theory, and two dimensions of forgiveness. In E. L. Worthington, Jr. (Ed.), *Dimensions of forgiveness* (pp. 79-104). Philadelphia: Templeton.
- Beersma, B., Harinck, F., & Gerts, M. J. J. (2003). Bound in honor: How honor values and insults affect the experience and management of conflicts. *International Journal of Conflict Management, 14*(2), 75-94. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1108/eb022892>
- Berry, J. W., Worthington, E. L., Jr., O'Connor, L. E., Parrott, Les, I., II, & Wade, N. G. (2005). Forgiveness, vengeful rumination, and affective traits. *Journal of Personality, 73*(1), 183-225. <http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2004.00308.x>
- Brambilla, M., Rusconi, P., Sacchi, S., & Cherubini, P. (2011). Looking for honesty: The primary role of morality (vs. sociability and competence) in information gathering. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 41*(2), 135-143. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1002/ejsp.744>
- Caluori, N., Dugas, M., Mansour, N., & Gelfand, M. (2018, March). *Forgiveness aversion in a middle eastern honor culture*. Poster session presented at the 19th Annual Convention of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Atlanta, GA.
- Cohen, D., Nisbett, R.E., Bowdle, B.F., & Schwarz, N. (1996). Insult, aggression, and the southern culture of honor: An experimental ethnography. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*, 945-960. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.70.5.945
- Cohen, D., & Vandello, J. (2004). The paradox of politeness. In M. Anderson (Ed.), *Cultural shaping of violence: Victimization, escalation, response* (pp.119-132). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press.

- Cohen, D., Vandello, J., Puente, S., & Rantilla, A. (1999). "When you call me that, smile!" how norms for politeness, interaction styles, and aggression work together in southern culture. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 62(3), 257-275.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.2307/2695863>
- Cross, S. E., Uskul, A. K., Gerçek-Swing, B., Alözkan, C., & Ataca, B. (2013). Confrontation versus withdrawal: Cultural differences in responses to threats to honor. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 16(3), 345-362.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1177/1368430212461962>
- De Bruin, Ellen N. M., & Van Lange, Paul A. M. (1999). Impression formation and cooperative behavior. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 29(2-3), 305-328. [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1099-0992\(199903/05\)29:2/3%3C305::AID-EJSP929%3E3.0.CO;2-R](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199903/05)29:2/3%3C305::AID-EJSP929%3E3.0.CO;2-R)
- De La Cancela, V. (1986). A critical analysis of puerto rican machismo: Implications for clinical practice. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, 23(2), 291-296. doi:10.1037/h0085611
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Buchner, A., & Lang, A.-G. (2013). G*Power Version 3.1.9 [computer software]. Universität Kiel, Germany. Retrieved from <http://www.psych.uni-duesseldorf.de/abteilungen/aap/gpower3/download-and-register>
- Fu, H., Watkins, D., & Hui, E. K. P. (2004). Personality correlates of the disposition towards interpersonal forgiveness: A chinese perspective. *International Journal of Psychology*, 39(4), 305-316. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1080/00207590344000402>
- Gelfand, M. J., Raver, J. L., Nishii, L., Leslie, L. A., Lun, J., Lim, B. C., . . . Yamaguchi, S. (2011). Differences between tight and loose cultures: A 33-nation study. *Science*, 332(6033), 1100-1104. DOI: 10.1126/science.1197754
- Gilmore, D. D. (1987). *Honor and shame and the unity of the Mediterranean*. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.
- Goodwin, G. P. (2015). Moral character in person perception. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 24(1), 38-44. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0963721414550709>
- Goodwin, G. P., Piazza, J., & Rozin, P. (2014). Moral character predominates in person perception and evaluation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 106(1), 148-168. <http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1037/a0034726>
- Günsoy, C., Cross, S. E., Uskul, A. K., Adams, G., & Gerçek-Swing, B. (2015). Avoid or fight back? cultural differences in responses to conflict and the role of collectivism,

- honor, and enemy perception. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 46(8), 1081-1102. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1177/0022022115594252>
- Hartley, A. G., Furr, R. M., Helzer, E. G., Jayawickreme, E., Velasquez, K. R., & Fleeson, W. (2016). Morality's centrality to liking, respecting, and understanding others. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 7(7), 648-657. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1177/1948550616655359>
- Hayes, A. (2015). An Index and Test of Linear Moderated Mediation. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 50(1), 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00273171.2014.962683>
- Hayes, A. (2018). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach* / Andrew F. Hayes. (Second ed., Methodology in the social sciences).
- Higgins, E. T. (1997). Beyond pleasure and pain. *American Psychologist*, 52(12), 1280-1300. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1037/0003-066X.52.12.1280>
- Hong, Y., Morris, M. W., Chiu, C., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2000). Multicultural minds: A dynamic constructivist approach to culture and cognition. *American Psychologist*, 55(7), 709-720. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1037/0003-066X.55.7.709>
- Hook, J. N., Worthington, E. L., Jr., Davis, D. E., Watkins, D., Hui, E., Luo, W., . . . Reyna, S. H. (2013). A China–New Zealand comparison of forgiveness. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 16(4), 286-291. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1111/ajsp.12033>
- Hook, J. N., Worthington, E. L., Jr., Utsey, S. O., Davis, D. E., & Burnette, J. L. (2012). Collectivistic Self-Constraint and Forgiveness. *Counseling and Values*, 57(1), 109-124. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-007X.2012.00012.x>
- Iowa State University (2017). *Minority* group students enrolled at Iowa state university*. Retrieved from Iowa State University, Office of the Registrar website: <https://www.registrar.iastate.edu/enrollment/minority>
- Johnson, L. L., & Lipsett-Rivera, S. (Eds.). (1998). *The faces of honor: Sex, shame, and violence in colonial Latin America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Kadiangandu, J. K., Gauché, M., Vinsonneau, G., & Mullet, E. (2007). Conceptualizations of forgiveness: Collectivist-Congolese versus individualist-French viewpoints. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 38, 432-437. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0022022107302312>
- Karremans, J. C., Van Lange, Paul A. M., Ouwerkerk, J. W., & Kluwer, E. S. (2003). When forgiving enhances psychological well-being: The role of interpersonal

- commitment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84(5), 1011-1026.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1037/0022-3514.84.5.1011>
- Kreitler, C. M., & Dyson, K. S. (2016). Cultural frame switching and emotion among mexican americans. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 15(2), 91-96.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1080/15348431.2015.1066251>
- Landis, J., & Koch, G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, 33(1), 159-74.
- Leach, C. W., Ellemers, N., & Barreto, M. (2007). Group virtue: The importance of morality (vs. competence and sociability) in the positive evaluation of in-groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93(2), 234-249.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1037/0022-3514.93.2.234>
- Leach, M. M., & Parazak, S. (2015). Culture, forgiveness, and health. In L. L. Toussaint, E. L. Worthington Jr. & D. R. Williams (Eds.), *Forgiveness and health: Scientific evidence and theories relating forgiveness to better health* (pp. 221-235). New York, NY, US: Springer Science + Business Media, New York, NY.
doi:http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1007/978-94-017-9993-5_15
- Leung, A. K., & Cohen, D. (2011). Within- and between-culture variation: Individual differences and the cultural logics of honor, face, and dignity cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 100(3), 507-526.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1037/a0022151>
- Lockwood, P., Jordan, C. H., & Kunda, Z. (2002). Motivation by positive or negative role models: Regulatory focus determines who will best inspire us. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83(4), 854-864.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1037/0022-3514.83.4.854>
- McCullough, M. (2008). *Beyond revenge : The evolution of the forgiveness instinct / Michael McCullough*. (1st ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- McCullough, M. E., Luna, L. R., Berry, J. W., Tabak, B. A., & Bono, G. (2010). On the form and function of forgiving: Modeling the time-forgiveness relationship and testing the valuable relationships hypothesis. *Emotion*, 10(3), 358-376.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1037/a0019349>
- McCullough, M. E., Pargament, K. I., & Thoresen, C. E. (2000). The psychology of forgiveness: History, conceptual issues, and overview. In M. E. McCullough, K. I. Pargament & C. E. Thoresen (Eds.), *Forgiveness: Theory, research, and practice; forgiveness: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 1-14, Chapter xviii, 334 Pages) Guilford Press, New York, NY.

- McCullough, M. E., Rachal, K. C., Sandage, S. J., Worthington, E. L., Jr., Brown, S. W., & Hight, T. L. (1998). Interpersonal forgiving in close relationships: II. Theoretical elaboration and measurement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75(6), 1586-1603. <http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1037/0022-3514.75.6.1586>
- McCullough, M. E., & Worthington, E. L. (1994). Encouraging clients to forgive people who have hurt them: Review, critique, and research prospectus. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, 22(1), 3-20. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F009164719402200101>
- McCullough, M. E., Worthington, E. L., Jr., & Rachal, K. C. (1997). Interpersonal forgiving in close relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73(2), 321-336. [doi:http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1037/0022-3514.73.2.321](http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1037/0022-3514.73.2.321)
- Miller, D. P. (2017). *The forgiveness book: Healing the hurts we don't deserve*. Charlottesville, VA; Hampton Roads Publishing Company.
- Nisbett, R. E., & Cohen, D. (1996). *Culture of honor: The psychology of violence in the south*. Boulder, CO, US: Westview Press, Boulder, CO.
- O'Dea, C. J., Bueno, A. M. C., & Saucier, D. A. (2017). Fight or flight: Perceptions of men who confront versus ignore threats to themselves and others. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 104, 345. [doi:10.1016/j.paid.2016.08.040](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2016.08.040)
- Oetting, G. R., & Beauvais, F. (1991). Orthogonal cultural identification theory: The cultural identification of minority adolescents. *International Journal of the Addictions*, 25(5-), 655-685. <https://doi.org/10.3109/10826089109077265>
- Pagliaro, S., Brambilla, M., Sacchi, S., D'Angelo, M., & Ellemers, N. (2013). Initial impressions determine behaviours: Morality predicts the willingness to help newcomers. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 117(1), 37-44. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-012-1508-y>
- Peristiany, J. G. (Ed.). (1965). *Honour and shame: The values of Mediterranean society*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Pitt-Rivers, J. (1966). Honour and social status. In J. Peristiany (Ed.), *Honour and shame* (pp.19-78). London, England: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.
- Riek, B. M., & Mania, E. W. (2012). The antecedents and consequences of interpersonal forgiveness: A meta-analytic review. *Personal Relationships*, 19(2), 304-325. [doi:http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1111/j.1475-6811.2011.01363.x](http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1111/j.1475-6811.2011.01363.x)
- Rodriguez Mosquera, P. M. (2011). Masculine and feminine honor codes. *Revista De Psicología Social*, 26(1), 63-72. [doi:http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1174/021347411794078499](http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1174/021347411794078499)

- Rodriguez Mosquera, P. M., Fischer, A. H., Manstead, A. S. R., & Zaalberg, R. (2008). Attack, disapproval, or withdrawal? the role of honour in anger and shame responses to being insulted. *Cognition and Emotion*, 22(8), 1471-1498. doi:http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1080/02699930701822272
- Rodriguez Mosquera, P. M., Manstead, A. S. R., & Fischer, A. H. (2002a). Honor in the mediterranean and northern europe. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 33(1), 16-36. doi:http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1177/0022022102033001002
- Rodriguez Mosquera, P. M., Manstead, A. S. R., & Fischer, A. H. (2002b). The role of honor concerns in emotional reactions to offences. *Cognition and Emotion*, 16(1), 143-163. doi:http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1080/02699930143000167
- Sandage, S. J., & Williamson, I. (2005). Forgiveness in cultural context. *Handbook of Forgiveness*, 41-56.
- Schneider, J. (1971). Of vigilance and virgins: Honor, shame and access to resources in Mediterranean societies. *Ethnology*, 10(1), 1-24. doi:10.2307/3772796
- Shafa, S., Harinck, F., & Ellemers, N. (2017). Sorry seems to be the hardest word: Cultural differences in apologizing effectively. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 47(10), 553-567. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12460
- Shafa, S., Harinck, F., Ellemers, N., & Beersma, B. (2015). Regulating honor in the face of insults. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 47, 158-174. doi:http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2015.04.004
- Steidel, A. G. L., & Contreras, J. M. (2003). A new familism scale for use with latino populations. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 25(3), 312-330. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0739986303256912
- Stevens, E. P. (1973). Machismo and marianismo. *Transaction Society*, 10, 57-63. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02695282
- Stevens, E. P. (1994). Marianismo: The other face of machismo. In G. M. Yeager (Ed.), *Confronting change, challenging tradition: Women in Latin American history* (pp. 3-17). Wilmington, DE: SR Books.
- Stewart, F. H. (1994). *Honor*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Summerfield Kozak, S. (2007). *Forgiveness: The path to happiness*. Honesdale, PA; Himalayan Institute Press.
- Tabak, B. A., McCullough, M. E., Luna, L. R., Bono, G., & Berry, J. W. (2012). Conciliatory gestures facilitate forgiveness and feelings of friendship by making transgressors

- appear more agreeable. *Journal of Personality*, 80(2), 503-536.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2011.00728.x>
- Triandis, H. C. (1983). *Allocentric vs. idiocentric social behavior. A major cultural difference between Hispanics and mainstream*. (Technical Report No. 16). Department of Psychology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Uskul, A. K., Cross, S. E., Günsoy, C., Gerçek-Swing, B., Alözkan, C., & Ataca, B. (2015). A price to pay: Turkish and northern american retaliation for threats to personal and family honor. *Aggressive Behavior*, 41(6), 594-607.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1002/ab.21598>
- Uskul, A. K., Oyserman, D., & Schwarz, N. (2010). Cultural emphasis on honor, modesty, or self-enhancement: Implications for the survey-response process. In J. A. Harkness, M. Braun, B. Edwards, T. P. Johnson, L. Lyberg, P. P. Mohler, . . . T. W. Smith (Eds.), *Survey methods in multinational, multiregional, and multicultural contexts; survey methods in multinational, multiregional, and multicultural contexts* (pp. 191-201, Chapter xvi, 599 Pages) John Wiley & Sons Inc, Hoboken, NJ.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1177/0022022107313862>
- van Osch, Y., Breugelmans, S. M., Zeelenberg, M., & Bölük, P. (2013). A different kind of honor culture: Family honor and aggression in turks. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 16(3), 334-344. doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1177/1368430212467475>
- Wikan, U. (2008). *In honor of Fadime: Murder and shame*. Chicago: University of Chicago
- Witvliet, C. v., Ludwig, T. E., & Vander Laan, K. L. (2001). Granting forgiveness or harboring grudges: Implications for emotion, physiology, and health. *Psychological Science*, 12(2), 117-123. <http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1111/1467-9280.00320>
- Wojciszke, B., Bazinska, R., & Jaworski, M. (1998). On the dominance of moral categories in impression formation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24(12), 1251-1263. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F01461672982412001>
- Worthington, E. L., Jr. (2003) *Forgiving and Reconciling: Bridges to Wholeness and Hope*. InterVaristy Press, Downers Grove, IL.
- Worthington, E. L., Jr., Hook, J. N., Utsey, S. O. Williams, J. K., & Neil, R. L. (2007, October 5). *Decisional and emotional forgiveness*. Paper presented at the International Positive Psychology Summit, Washington D.C.
- Younger, J. W., Piferi, R. L., Jobe, R. L., & Lawler, K. A. (2004). Dimensions of forgiveness: The views of laypersons. *Journal of Social and Personal*

Relationships, 21(6), 837-855.

doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/10.1177/0265407504047843>

APPENDIX A

PILOT STUDY 1 MEASURES

Decisional Forgiveness Scale

1. I will not talk with him or her.
2. I will not try to help him or her if he or she needs something.
3. If there is an opportunity to get back at him or her, I will take it.
4. If I see him or her, I will act friendly.
5. I will try to act toward him or her in the same way I did before he or she hurt me.
6. I will not seek revenge upon him or her.
7. I will try to get back at him or her.
8. I intend to try to hurt him or her in the same way he or she hurt me.

Emotional Forgiveness Scale

1. I feel love toward him or her.
2. I feel sympathy towards him or her.
3. I like him or her.
4. I'm mad about what happened.
5. I care about him or her.
6. I no longer feel upset when I think of him or her.
7. I resent what he or she did to me.
8. I'm bitter about what he or she did to me.

Transgression Appeasement and Reconciliation Checklist:

The offender...

1. Started physical contact
2. Started communication
3. Expressed shame
4. Admitted regret
5. Showed remorse
6. Showed submissiveness or inhibited speech
7. Showed modesty or humility
8. Admitted or explained his/her responsibility
9. Apologized
10. Offered you a gift or favor (e.g., food or help with something)
11. Showed concern for your condition (e.g., was responsive to your needs)
12. Showed concern for the relationship
13. Tried to repair the harm or damage
14. Asked for forgiveness
15. Explained or expressed that the harm or hurt was unintentional
16. Showed embarrassment
17. Assured you that he/she is trustworthy
18. Showed politeness

19. Made fun of themselves or put themselves down about it

Self-generated Items:

1. Minimized the conflict
2. Denied the conflict occurred
3. Argued
4. Ignored or avoided you
5. Ignored the situation
6. Criticized you
7. Complained
8. Yelled or screamed at you
9. Changed the subject when conflict was brought up

Transgression Appeasement and Reconciliation Checklist:

You...

1. Started physical contact
2. Started communication
3. Expressed shame
4. Admitted regret
5. Showed remorse
6. Showed submissiveness or inhibited speech
7. Showed modesty or humility
8. Admitted or explained your responsibility
9. Apologized
10. Offered the offender a gift or favor (e.g., food or help with something)
11. Showed concern for the offender's condition (e.g., was responsive to your needs)
12. Showed concern for the relationship
13. Tried to repair the harm or damage
14. Forgave the offender
15. Explained or expressed that the harm or hurt was unintentional
16. Showed embarrassment
17. Assured the offender that you are trustworthy
18. Showed politeness
19. Made fun of yourself or put yourself down about it

Self-generated Items:

1. Minimized the conflict
2. Denied the conflict occurred
3. Argued
4. Ignored or avoided the offender
5. Ignored the situation
6. Criticized the offender
7. Complained
8. Yelled or screamed at the offender
9. Changed the subject when conflict was brought up

APPENDIX B

PILOT STUDY 2 SCENARIOS

Scenario 1:

John (*José*) didn't get a very good grade in one of his classes. So for the next test he spent many hours preparing for the test. When he got his test back in class he got an A. His classmate who sat next to him saw the test and said, "You must have cheated to do so well" and laughed. John (*José*) felt offended that a classmate would accuse him of cheating, because he spent so many hours studying for the test.

Scenario 2:

Amanda (*Laura*) recently graduated college and was looking for a job. She spent all day applying online for jobs while sitting at the kitchen table. Amanda (*Laura*) was still researching job opportunities when she saw her roommate and an acquaintance from the university enter the room, talking about work. The university acquaintance went into the kitchen to get a glass of water but couldn't find a clean glass. The acquaintance said, "You're home all day and there's not a clean glass? No wonder you can't find a job, employers don't like laziness." Amanda (*Laura*) felt hurt that an acquaintance would resort to personal attacks about her job search just because she couldn't find a clean glass.

Scenario 3:

Eric (*Felipe*) was a passionate video game player and always played World of Warcraft with the same online players on Saturday afternoons. One Saturday, Eric (*Felipe*) was playing the character of the healer like he normally did. However, one of the other online players started criticizing him because he was going too quickly and wasn't playing the way he should be playing. He then went on to say that Eric (*Felipe*) was horrible at the game as a whole. Eric (*Felipe*) was insulted that one of the online players would criticize him when he was playing as he normally did.

Scenario 4:

Ally (*Julia*) and her next-door neighbor went to the dorm's holiday party. Ally (*Julia*) was talking to a few other friends at the party so her neighbor went to the punch bowl to get a drink. Twenty minutes later a mutual friend came up to Ally (*Julia*) and told her that her neighbor was telling people about Ally's (*Julia's*) Tinder hook-up last Friday. Ally (*Julia*) was hurt that her neighbor would tell strangers personal information about her sex life.

Scenario 5:

Alex (*Alejandro*) was a Political Science major and felt very strongly about current events in the news. One day he was talking about his political views with his friends. A classmate overheard him speaking and questioned his views. The classmate then proceeded to heatedly disagree with every argument Alex (*Alejandro*) made to his friends. When Alex (*Alejandro*) tried to explain his viewpoint, the classmate got louder and started insulting Alex's (*Alejandro's*) family background. Alex (*Alejandro*) was offended that a classmate would attack his family.

Scenario 6:

Mason (Diego) has been dating his girlfriend for over a year. One Friday night, he took her out to the bar for a few drinks and music. As Mason (Diego) was returning with drinks he saw his co-worker talking to his girlfriend. Mason (Diego) asked his co-worker what was going on. His co-worker replied, "I'm giving this lady what she needs; a big strong man who can take care of her." Mason (Diego) was appalled that his co-worker would disrespect him in front of his girlfriend.

APPENDIX C

PRIMARY STUDY: SCENARIOS AND ALTERNATIVE ENDINGS

Masculine honor:

Mason (*Diego*) has been dating his girlfriend for over a year. One Friday night, he took her out to the bar for a few drinks and music. As Mason (*Diego*) was returning with drinks he saw his co-worker talking to his girlfriend. Mason (*Diego*) asked his co-worker what was going on. His co-worker replied, "I'm giving this lady what she needs; a big strong man who can take care of her." Mason (*Diego*) was appalled that his co-worker would disrespect him in front of his girlfriend.

<p>Confront & Grudge: Mason (<i>Diego</i>) got in his co-worker's face, said threateningly, "You need to leave or I'll show you who is a big strong man," and shoved his co-worker. Mason (<i>Diego</i>) and his co-worker got into altercation. After the confrontation, Mason (<i>Diego</i>) was still upset and decided to hold a grudge against his co-worker.</p>	<p>Withdrawal & Grudge: Mason (<i>Diego</i>) took his girlfriend's hand, said, "Let's go" and walked away from his co-worker. After walking away, Mason (<i>Diego</i>) was still upset and decided to hold a grudge against his co-worker.</p>
<p>Confront & Forgives: Mason (<i>Diego</i>) got in his co-worker's face, said threateningly, "You need to leave or I'll show you who is a big strong man," and shoved his co-worker. Mason (<i>Diego</i>) and his co-worker got into altercation. After the confrontation, Mason (<i>Diego</i>) was upset but decided to forgive his co-worker.</p>	<p>Withdrawal & Forgives: Mason (<i>Diego</i>) took his girlfriend's hand, said, "Let's go" and walked away from his co-worker. After walking away, Mason (<i>Diego</i>) was upset but decided to forgive his co-worker.</p>

Family honor:

Alex (*Alejandro*) was a Political Science major and felt very strongly about current events in the news. One day he was talking about his political views with his friends. A classmate overheard him speaking and questioned his views. The classmate then proceeded to heatedly disagree with every argument Alex (*Alejandro*) made to his friends. When Alex (*Alejandro*) tried to explain his viewpoint, the classmate got louder and started insulting Alex's (*Alejandro's*) family background. Alex (*Alejandro*) was offended that a classmate would attack his family.

<p>Confront & Grudge: Alex (<i>Alejandro</i>) got in his classmate’s face, and shouted, “Don’t you dare talk about my family like that!” Alex (<i>Alejandro</i>) and his classmate got into a shouting match. After the confrontation, Alex (<i>Alejandro</i>) was still upset and decided to hold a grudge against his classmate.</p>	<p>Withdrawal & Grudge: Alex (<i>Alejandro</i>) walked away from the conversation and his classmate. After walking away, Alex (<i>Alejandro</i>) was still upset and decided to hold a grudge against his classmate.</p>
<p>Confront & Forgives: Alex (<i>Alejandro</i>) got in his classmate’s face, and shouted, “Don’t you dare talk about my family like that!” Alex (<i>Alejandro</i>) and his classmate got into a shouting match. After the confrontation, Alex (<i>Alejandro</i>) was upset but decided to forgive his classmate.</p>	<p>Withdrawal & Forgives: Alex (<i>Alejandro</i>) walked away from the conversation and his classmate. After walking away, Alex (<i>Alejandro</i>) was upset but decided to forgive his classmate.</p>

Feminine honor:

Ally (*Julia*) and her next-door neighbor went to the dorm’s holiday party. Ally (*Julia*) was talking to a few other friends at the party so her neighbor went to the punch bowl to get a drink. Twenty minutes later a mutual friend came up to Ally (*Julia*) and told her that her neighbor was telling people about Ally’s (*Julia*’s) Tinder hook-up last Friday. Ally (*Julia*) was hurt that her neighbor would tell strangers personal information about her sex life.

<p>Confront & Grudge: Ally (<i>Julia</i>) walked up to her neighbor at the holiday party and said, “You are such a bitch. Why would you talk about me behind my back?” Ally (<i>Julia</i>) and her neighbor got into a heated argument. After the confrontation, Ally (<i>Julia</i>) was still upset and decided to hold a grudge against her neighbor.</p>	<p>Withdrawal & Grudge: Ally (<i>Julia</i>) walked away from the holiday party and her neighbor. After walking away, Ally (<i>Julia</i>) was still upset and decided to hold a grudge against her neighbor.</p>
<p>Confront & Forgives: Ally (<i>Julia</i>) walked up to her neighbor at the holiday party and said, “You are such a bitch. Why would you talk about me behind my back?” Ally (<i>Julia</i>) and her neighbor got into a heated argument. After the confrontation, Ally (<i>Julia</i>) was upset but decided to forgive her neighbor.</p>	<p>Withdrawal & Forgives: Ally (<i>Julia</i>) walked away from the holiday party and her neighbor. After walking away, Ally (<i>Julia</i>) was upset but decided to forgive her neighbor.</p>

APPENDIX D

PRIMARY STUDY: MEASURES

Prevention Focus scale 1 (*Not at all true of me*) to 9 (*Very true of me*)

In the following part, you will be presented a series of statements, and be asked how well they describe you.

1. In general, I am focused on preventing negative events in my life.
2. I am anxious that I will fall short of my responsibilities and obligations.
3. I often think about the person I am afraid I might become in the future.
4. I often worry that I will fail to accomplish my academic goals.
5. I often imagine myself experiencing bad things that I fear might happen to me.
6. I frequently think about how I can prevent failures in my life.
7. I am more oriented toward preventing losses than I am toward achieving gains.
8. My major goal in school right now is to avoid becoming an academic failure.
9. I see myself as someone who is primarily striving to become the self I “ought” to be—to fulfill my duties, responsibilities, and obligations.

Demographic Questions

1. What do you identify as?
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Other; please specify _____
2. What is your first language?
 - a. English
 - b. Spanish
 - c. Other _____
3. Where have you lived most of your life (City)_____ (State/Country) _____
 - a. What ages were you when you lived there? From age_____ to age_____
4. Where did you finish high school? (City) _____(State/Country) _____
 - a. How long did you live in this place? From age _____ to age_____
5. Where else have you lived for more than 4 years?
 - a. Location: (City)_____ (State/Country) _____
 - i. What ages were you when you lived there? From age_____ to age_____
 - b. Location: (City)_____ (State/Country) _____
 - i. What ages were you when you lived there? From age_____ to age_____
6. What is your socioeconomic status?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very poor				Middle Class				Very Wealthy

7. How would you characterize your upbringing?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very rural								Very urban

8. How devout a religious follower are you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all devout				Somewhat devout				Extremely devout

APPENDIX E

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL FORM

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Institutional Review Board
Office for Responsible Research
Vice President for Research
2420 Lincoln Way, Suite 202
Ames, Iowa 50014
515 294-4566

Date: 06/21/2018

To:

From: Office for Responsible Research

Title: Conflict Responses

IRB ID: 18-251

Submission Type: Initial Submission

Review Type: Expedited

Approval Date: 06/21/2018

Date for Continuing Review: 06/20/2020

The project referenced above has received approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Iowa State University according to the dates shown above. Please refer to the IRB ID number shown above in all correspondence regarding this study.

To ensure compliance with federal regulations (45 CFR 46 & 21 CFR 56), please be sure to:

- Use only the approved study materials in your research, including the recruitment materials and informed consent documents that have the IRB approval stamp.
- [Retain signed informed consent documents](#) for 3 years after the close of the study, when documented consent is required.
- Obtain IRB approval prior to implementing any changes to the study.
- Inform the IRB if the Principal Investigator and/or Supervising Investigator end their role or involvement with the project with sufficient time to allow an alternate PI/Supervising Investigator to assume oversight responsibility. Projects must have an [eligible PI](#) to remain open.
- Immediately inform the IRB of (1) all serious and/or unexpected [adverse experiences](#) involving risks to subjects or others; and (2) any other [unanticipated problems](#) involving risks to subjects or others.
- Stop all human subjects research activity if IRB approval lapses, unless continuation is necessary to prevent harm to research participants. Human subjects research activity can resume once IRB approval is re-established.
- Submit an application for Continuing Review at least three to four weeks prior to the date for continuing review as noted above to provide sufficient time for the IRB to review and approve continuation of the study. We will send a courtesy reminder as this date approaches.

IRB 03/2018

- Please be aware that IRB approval means that you have met the requirements of federal regulations and ISU policies governing human subjects research. **Approval from other entities may also be needed.** For example, access to data from private records (e.g. student, medical, or employment records, etc.) that are protected by FERPA, HIPAA, or other confidentiality policies requires permission from the holders of those records. Similarly, for research conducted in institutions other than ISU (e.g., schools, other colleges or universities, medical facilities, companies, etc.), investigators must obtain permission from the institution(s) as required by their policies. **IRB approval in no way implies or guarantees that permission from these other entities will be granted.**
- Please be advised that your research study may be subject to [post-approval monitoring](#) by Iowa State University's Office for Responsible Research. In some cases, it may also be subject to formal audit or inspection by federal agencies and study sponsors.
- Upon completion of the project, transfer of IRB oversight to another IRB, or departure of the PI and/or Supervising Investigator, please initiate a Project Closure to officially close the project. For information on instances when a study may be closed, please refer to the [IRB Study Closure Policy](#).

Please don't hesitate to contact us if you have questions or concerns at 515-294-4566 or IRB@iastate.edu.