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Are Cultures of Honor our True Protectors?

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ARE CULTURES OF HONOR OUR TRUE PROTECTORS?

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of Master of Science in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By

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2017

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

ARE CULTURES OF HONOR OUR TRUE PROTECTORS?

Men from a culture of honor often use physical aggression in response to threats as a way of restoring lost honor. These threats can range from being called an offensive name to someone flirting with their romantic partner. However, cultures of honor form to protect society against threats. Once society no longer needs protection, cultures of honor dissipate. In three studies, the protective qualities of a culture of honor were examined by comparing aggression levels when romantically attached men were threatened to when their significant other was threatened. Study 1 (N=114) consisted of hypothetical scenarios while Study 2 (N=260) and Study 3 (N=240) consisted of actual threats. Overall, men from cultures of honor used more aggression compared to men not from a culture of honor. The protective qualities of a culture of honor were inconclusive. Study 1 suggests that, in general, men use more aggression when protecting their significant other. Studies 2 and 3 found no difference in aggression. Aggression levels did not change when men were primed with thoughts of a violent society (Study 3).

KEYWORDS: Culture, Honor, Protection, Aggression, Threat

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To my wife Lauren for making
sacrifices so that I can be here. I love you.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Your home is supposed to be a safe place. Somewhere to relax and get away from the stresses of reality; where you can close the door and it feels like you close off the rest of the world. For some people, home can be a danger zone. Thinking her home was a safe haven a 13-year-old girl closed the door behind her not knowing the horrors that followed her inside. Taken by surprise, the girl was grabbed by a fellow building tenant. Home alone, the tenant took advantage of the situation, sexually assaulting the girl.

Outraged and mourning, the father of the young girl wanted justice. Legal justice would take too long. The father wanted to restore the family's honor after the tenant took threatened their reputation. With the courts against him, the father was determined to get his own form of justice, restoring honor. Similar to how his daughter was taken advantage of, he lured the tenant into his home. Tied up and unable to get away, the tenant endured endless torture until he died.

After killing the tenant, the father felt honor had been restored. He made no attempt to hide his actions. He marched into the police department and confessed to murder. Arrested, and on trial for murder, the city was upset—not because of the tenant's death, but rather the father's loss of freedom. The town considers the father a hero; he did what needed to be done.

Though this scenario resembles a passage from a suspense novel, it is the story of a family in Delhi, India (BBC, 2014). Knowing it could be years before his daughter found peace and longer yet to regain any lost honor, a father found a way. Beforehand, the father was known by few as a burger cook. Now, he is known by all as the neighborhood hero. Murder, a horrible crime, brought honor back to a grieving family.

In some of the most peaceful times in the world (Pinker, 2011), how does such violence exist? Cultures of honor offer one possibility. Like most cultures, reputation and status are important factors. People like a good reputation linked to their name. However, cultures of honor take it one step further. In a culture of honor, if a person's reputation is threatened, the man of the family is expected to retaliate. Retaliation is not a stern discussion, but rather aggressive behavior (e.g., murdering your daughter's rapist). Because of this, it is no surprise the highest murder rates in the United States are in areas with a culture of honor (e.g., the southern United States; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). This leads to perceptions that people in a culture of honor are aggressive individuals. What if, people in a culture of honor are not the aggressive people they are made out to be? What if, they are our protectors?

Recent research examined how cultures of honor evolved. By analyzing patterns in society, cultures of honor form in response to overwhelming numbers of aggressive individuals (Nowak, Gelfand, Borkowski, Cohen, & Hernandez, 2015). As law enforcement declines, more and more individuals are willing to take advantage of the system, causing harm to others. These individuals are labeled as aggressive. Without law enforcement, there is little protecting innocent citizens. Thus, the birth of a culture of honor. Individuals in a culture of honor do not take advantage of others. Rather, they are only aggressive when they themselves are attacked. Over time, individuals in a culture of honor start to win the fight against those who want to cause them harm; outnumbering them to the point of extinction.

With this new evidence, the label of aggressive individuals seems unfitting for those in a culture of honor. This paper expands research regarding violence in cultures of

honor by taking a nuanced view. Instead of examining cultures of honor as aggressive cultures, the following studies will examine them as protectors from aggression. Specific patterns in murder rates hint at this difference. Despite higher murder rates in the Southern United States – where a culture of honor is predominately located in the United States – southerners are no more likely than northerners to commit felony-murders (e.g., homicide; Fox & Pierce, 1987). However, southerners were more likely to commit argument-related murders (e.g., responding to an affair or protecting honor in a fight).

I will show that people in a culture of honor behave aggressively against aggressive individuals in order to protect themselves and loved ones. Specifically, compared to men not from a culture of honor, men in a culture of honor will respond more aggressively when a loved one is threatened. Thus showing that men from a culture of honor are willing to use more aggression defending a loved one compared to oneself.

To examine the protective factors within a culture of honor, this paper will be broken into five major sections. First, we will define aggression and its various forms. Second, we will discuss major theories about cultures of honor. Third, we will provide an overview and the predictions for the following studies. Fourth, we will explain the methodology we will use to test these theories. Lastly, we will discuss the results and interpret the findings.

Aggression and Violent Behavior

Social psychologists define aggression as any behavior that harms another that does not want to be harmed (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Bushman & Huesmann, 2010).

This includes yelling, hitting, kicking, or stabbing another individual. By this definition, a

sales person pushing for sales would not be considered aggressive because they are not looking to harm another individual.

Within the definition of aggression, there are two features that are important to note. First, aggression is a behavior. It is something that can be seen and observed; an action. Aggression is *not* an emotion, such as anger. Everyone seems to know someone they consider a “hot head”; the person who gets angry at what seems like nothing. Without acting on that anger, the “hot head” is not actually aggressive, just angry. Similarly, thoughts of harming people do not make someone aggressive. Planning to murder a cheating spouse may seem aggressive, but only by acting on those thoughts can one be truly aggressive.

Second, the behavior must be intentional; an individual is looking to cause harm to another. A car crash that results in both drivers being injured is not considered aggressive. The drivers did not intentionally crash their cars to harm one another. Rather, it was just an accident. Similarly, to diagnose a sprained ankle, a doctor must touch the ankle. This can put the patient in excruciating pain. While the doctor did cause harm to the patient, the intention was not to hurt, but rather to help.

Laypeople often use the term violence synonymously with aggression. Violence, however, is defined as any behavior that intends to cause extreme physical harm, whether by injury or death (Bushman & Huesmann, 2010). The United States Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) classifies four crimes as “violent”: aggravated assault, robbery, homicide, and forcible rape. Violent behaviors are aggressive, but aggressive behaviors are not always violent. For example, punching someone in a bar fight is aggressive, not violent. However, beating someone to the point of near death is violent.

Aggression can be expressed by a few different behaviors: physical, verbal, and relational (Bushman & Huesmann, 2010). Physical aggression involves physically harming another individual. This includes pushing, hitting, kicking, stabbing, or shooting someone. Using words to harm others is called verbal aggression. For example, verbal aggression can be expressed by yelling every curse word in the book at someone. Lastly, relational aggression is defined as harming another's social relationships and acceptance into groups (e.g., Crick & Grotpeter, 1995). Both verbal aggression and relational aggression do not cause physical pain to another. Rather, they cause social and emotional harm. Despite the lack of physical harm, social pain is perceived by people as being just as painful as physical pain. (Eisenberger, 2012). This means being cursed at, or having friendships destroyed can hurt just as much as being punched.

The proximity of the target does not hinder aggression either. Aggression can occur directly or indirectly towards a target (Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, & Peltonen, 1988). Physical, verbal, and relational aggression can all occur either directly (e.g., hitting someone, cursing at them, or ignoring them, respectively) or indirectly (e.g., vandalizing a home, calling someone names, or spreading rumors, respectively). Whether direct or indirect all three forms are threats intended to cause harm to another. Despite aggression being on the way out, for some, aggression is a way of life.

Culture of Honor

Society views aggression as an antisocial behavior with numerous laws opposing aggressive behavior (e.g., assault, rape, vandalism). However, in some cultures, aggression plays a vital role. One such culture is a culture of honor. Cultures of honor

have heightened concerns surrounding reputation and social standing (Barnes, Brown, & Osterman, 2012; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Specifically, individuals place an emphasis on family, reputation, property, and female fidelity. In the United States, cultures of honor are mostly found in Southern and, slightly less so, Western states (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996, p. 4).

The strong emphasis on reputation and status makes threats to any of these areas extremely detrimental. Threats are viewed as anything that can harm a family's reputation, status, or property. They can range from vandalism, insulting one's mother, or flirting with another's spouse. It is a man's duty to respond to any threats with strength and aggression (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996, p.4). For example, if another man flirts with your wife, you are expected to challenge him to a fight. This is the bases for duels in the "wild west".

To test individual's willingness to retaliate aggressively, northern and southern participants were asked to respond to a series of scenarios (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). Participants were asked to read scenarios about a man named Fred (e.g., "Fred shoots another because that person sexually assaults Fred's 16-year-old daughter"). Participants were instructed to rate the justification of aggression and whether Fred is "not much of a man" if he avoided confrontation. Compared to northerners, southerners thought Fred had justification for aggression, and was "not much of a man" if he did not use aggression.

Similarly, job applications were sent to 912 various businesses. The applications varied in one way, the crime the applicant claimed to commit (Cohen & Nisbett, 1995). One application told a story about fighting the man who was having an affair with his

fiancée. The applicant fought out of pride after being provoked, resulting in manslaughter. Compared to northern employers, southern employers were more sympathetic with the man who fought for his pride.

To test the extent of threats, in one study, participants walked down a narrow hallway, getting bumped by a confederate (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996). On the way back, a 250-pound football player was asked to play “chicken” with the participants. The football player was instructed to head straight towards the participant without moving out of the way until the last moment. Southern participants refused to give way to the football player, despite the overwhelming size difference. These same participants also gave more aggressive handshakes following the interaction, showing a simple bump in the hallway is enough to warrant a threat to honor.

Aggression became a typical response to threats in a time when resources were rare (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Scarcity led to a predatory behavior, with individuals willing to take what they need from others. In these times perceived strength and reputation became the most important survival factor. For example, a small farmer with only a few animals needs to protect those animals. If the farmer is perceived as weak, they become an easy target. Standing up for one’s self, the farmer would become more of a threat, scaring away any future attempts.

Another key factor in the development of a culture of honor is law enforcement. When there is a lack of law enforcement, aggression is a necessary tactic for defense (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Nowak, Gelfand, Borkowski, Cohen, & Hernandez, 2015). Individuals in a culture of honor cannot expect law enforcement to come to the rescue at the first sign of danger. Rather, individuals in a culture of honor are expected to be their

own protectors, taught to defend themselves from others rather than calling the police. If the police did get involved, the process took too long, with justice never a guarantee. This led people to find their own justice. For example, Andrew Jackson's mother told him: "Never tell a lie, nor take what is not your own, nor sue anybody for slander or assault and battery. Always settle them cases yourself!" (McWhiney, 1988, p. 169-170).

These findings paint a portrait of people from cultures of honor as uniformly aggressive. But their aggressive responses tend to follow a threat, suggesting a protective quality. This can be seen through the upbringing of boys in a culture of honor. They are taught from a young age to protect their family and never back down from a fight (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). For example, Sam Houston was taught: "Never disgrace it; for remember, I had rather all my sons should fill one honorable grave than that one of them should turn his back to save his life." (Wyatt-Brown, 1982, p.138). These upbringings do not endorse aggressive behavior in general, rather protecting their family until death.

To understand the evolution of cultures of honor patterns that simulate societies were analyzed (Nowak et al., 2015). These patterns indicate that aggressive individuals begin to take over society when law enforcement is low (Nowak et al., 2015). That is, when the United States was a developing country, and law enforcement was unreliable, aggressive individuals began to dominate society. These aggressive individuals are willing to harm others to get what they want.

As the number of aggressive individuals increase, a culture of honor is born (Nowak et al., 2015). That is, the presence of aggressive individuals can spark a society to form a culture that is willing to fight back when threatened. The rise of a culture of honor in turn decreases the number of aggressive individuals. As threats decrease (i.e.,

the aggressive individuals are mostly taken care of), law enforcement begins to take over. An established law enforcement then marks the end of retaliation and a culture of honor. Over time, however, the cycle repeats itself, creating a constant need for cultures of honor.

Cues from our environment may indicate a lack of stability and safety. Rules and laws are to be understood, accepted, and followed as social contracts allowing people to feel safe (Brown, 2016, p. 7). However, when people encounter signs of lawlessness, people assume the rules are not taken seriously leading to people taking things into their own hands. For example, children who live in dangerous neighborhoods tend to also be more aggressive (Baron & Straus, 1989). It is expected for people to defend one's self and their honor because you cannot rely on others to do so (Arciniega et al., 2008). Cues of danger and lawlessness then lead to more crime and an increase of people willing to take advantage of others (i.e., aggressive individuals). Thus, starting the ebb-and-flow of aggressive individuals, protection from a culture of honor, and finally, reliable law enforcement.

The Current Study

The current studies looked to further examine the protective qualities within a culture of honor. This paper consisted of 3 different studies. In each study, participants either received a threat directed towards themselves, their significant other, or were in a control condition. In one study, participants read hypothetical threat scenarios. The other two studies involved a threat from another ostensible participant. Study 3 examined how these protective qualities varied based on perceptions of societal safety. The current

studies examined if individuals from a culture of honor were more likely to protect themselves or a loved one (i.e., their significant other).

The primary research question was whether individuals from a culture of honor behave more aggressively when a threat is directed towards oneself or a significant other. We anticipated that men from cultures of honor would protect their significant other more than themselves. This is due to men in cultures of honor seeing themselves as having more power over women and women needing protection (Brown, 2016, p. 59).

In general, we predicted individuals from a culture of honor would behave more aggressively following a threat. These results were expected whether the situation involves a hypothetical or actual threat. This hypothesis was consistent with previous research on culture of honor and threats (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996; Vandello, Cohen, & Ransom, 2008). Second, we hypothesized that priming an individual with aggressive and unsafe societies would result in an increase in aggressive behavior, in the form of protection. This is because when people live in dangerous communities, they also tend to be more aggressive (Baron & Staus, 1989; Dodge et al., 2006). This is also due to the need for protective responses when individuals perceive society to be unsafe (e.g., Nowak et al., 2015). Similarly, priming individuals with the idea of safe and peaceful times will lead to a decrease in protective behaviors.

Through exploratory analyses, we tested potential control variables. Specifically, we examined whether feelings of closeness accounted for the differences in aggression as a result of threats to the self compared to a significant other. That is, for an individual from a culture of honor to protect another, they must view that person as part of their self.

Other exploratory analyses included a statistical control for benevolent sexism and general levels of aggression.

Chapter Two: Study One

Participants

All participants were 18 years of age or older. Participation in this study was restricted to only male participants due to the expectation of male aggression in cultures of honor. Participants had to be in a significant romantic relationship. Romantic relationships were defined as a serious monogamous and heterosexual relationship lasting for at least 3 months. The sample was restricted to heterosexual men due to the lack of previous research on how gay men behave in a culture of honor. That research question was beyond the scope of this study. People who did not meet the criteria were not allowed to participate in the study.

Data were collected from 186 men (112 community members, 74 undergraduate students). Community members were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) and were given 40 cents for their participation. Undergraduates were recruited at a university in the Southern United States. Undergraduates received research credits to fulfill course requirements. All participants completed the study on a computer through the data collection site, Qualtrics. Participants could complete the study from a location of their choosing or in a pre-chosen psychology lab on campus.

During the study, participants were given an attention check. The attention check was a single question with instructions to leave the question blank (i.e., give no response). A total of 67 participants failed the attention check (29 MTurk workers, 38 undergraduates). Of the 119 remaining participants, 5 did not complete the study. Our

final sample size consisted of 114 participants (78 MTurk worker, 36 undergraduates). MTurk workers were on average 34 years old ($SD = 10.91$) with a racial break-down of 64.1% Caucasian, 24.4% Asian, 7.7% African American, and 3.9% Other. Undergraduates were on average 20 years old ($SD = 4.72$) with a racial decomposition of 80.6% Caucasian, 8.4% mixed-race, 8.3% African American, and 2.8% other.

Based on previous literature, the size of the effect for cultures of honor and aggressive behavior is a medium effect ($d=.51$; Cohen & Nisbett, 1995). Due to the within-subject design of the study, 52 participants would have been required to achieve 95% power. Thus, a sample size of 114 men gave the study sufficient power to detect any effects.

Materials

Threat Scenarios. Threat scenarios consisted of 24 potential threat scenarios (e.g., Blanchard et al., 2001). For half of the threat scenarios, participants were told to imagine each scenario as if they were by themselves (e.g., “You are walking alone in an isolated but familiar area when a menacing stranger suddenly jumps out of the bushes to attack you”). For the remaining 12 scenarios, participants were told to imagine the same scenarios but as if their significant other was alone (e.g., “Your significant other is walking alone in an isolated...”). Of the 12 threat scenarios 4 involved physical threats (e.g., “You are in an elevator late at night. As it stops and the doors open, a menacing stranger rushes in to attack you, blocking the door”), 4 involved threats to honor (e.g., “You are at a restaurant and you approach the bar to order a drink. Suddenly a guy at the bar calls you a ‘princess’ after seeing what you ordered”), and the last 4 were control

scenarios (e.g., “You go to the bank to make a deposit. When you approach the counter, the teller says hello”).

Aggression. Aggressive behavior was based on responses to the threat scenarios. Participants were given a single item question pertaining to their response to each scenario (e.g., “How likely are you to use physical aggression against your attacker?” or “How ... your significant other’s attacker?”). The item was rated on a scale ranging from 1 (“*Not at all likely to be physically aggressive*”) to 6 (“*Extremely likely to be physically aggressive*”). Aggression scores were averaged within each threat condition. That is, each participant had an aggression score for when they were physically threatened, when their honor was threatened, and in control scenarios. The internal consistency for each set of scenarios is as follows: physical threats ($\alpha = .703$), honor threats ($\alpha = .818$), and control scenarios ($\alpha = .981$).

Culture of Honor. The Honor Ideology for Manhood (HIM) is a 16-item measure that assesses beliefs related to a culture of honor (Barnes, Brown & Osterman, 2012). The HIM focuses on how a culture of honor expects men to behave (e.g., ‘A real man can always take care of himself; A real man doesn’t let other people push him around.’). Each item is scored on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) with higher scores indicating greater culture of honor agreement. The HIM has been shown to be a reliable measure of culture of honor beliefs (Barnes, Brown & Osterman, 2012). In this study, men from a culture of honor are defined as men who scored higher on the Honor Ideology of Manhood questionnaire. The 16-items were averaged to create a single culture of honor score. These 16-items were internally consistent ($\alpha = .927$).

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

Inclusion of Other in the Self. The Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale (IOS) is used to measure closeness through a single-item pictorial measure (Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992). Participants were asked to choose which of the pictures best represents how close they are to their significant other. That is, does the participant consider their significant other part of their own self-concept. The closer the participant feels they are to their significant other, the closer the two circles. Higher numbers indicate including their significant other more into the self. This scale was included for exploratory reasons.

Ambivalent Sexism Scale. The Ambivalent Sexism Scale is used to measure sexist beliefs through a 22-item self-report measure (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The questionnaire is broken down into two subscales: hostile sexism (e.g., “Feminists are seeking for women to have more power than men”) and benevolent sexism (e.g., “In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men”). Hostile sexism is defined as overt prejudice against women. Benevolent sexism is defined as positive views towards women, with the underlying belief that men are more dominant (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Participants completed both subscales. However, considering that men from a culture of honor view women as weaker and needing protection (Brown, 2016, p. 59), we focused on the benevolent

sexism subscale in our exploratory analyses. This scale was included for exploratory reasons. For this study, these 11 items were internally consistent ($\alpha = .903$).

Brief Aggression Questionnaire. The Brief Aggression Questionnaire is a 12-item self-report measure of aggression (Webster et al., 2013). It is broken down into 4 subscales: physical aggression (e.g., “Given enough provocation, I may hit another person”), verbal aggression (e.g., “I tell my friends openly when I disagree with them”), anger (e.g., “Sometimes I fly off the handle for no good reason”), and hostility (e.g., “Other people always seem to get the breaks”). Due to the expectation that men use physical aggression in the face of threats, we focused on the physical aggression subscale. This scale was included for exploratory reasons. The physical aggression subscale was internally consistent for this study ($\alpha = .837$).

Procedure

Participants signed up for the study using their relevant online accounts (e.g., community members used their MTurk account). Upon sign up, participants were provided a link to Qualtrics, where they completed the study. If participants chose to complete the study online, they completed the study from any location of their choosing. Some undergraduate participants were allowed to complete the study in a psychology lab on campus where a computer was supplied to complete the study.

After starting the study, participants were prompted to complete the consent form. The consent form included a basic study description and the incentives. Upon agreeing to the consent form, participants were asked to complete a series of questionnaires including demographic information, the Honor Ideology of Manhood, the Inclusion of Other in the Self, and other exploratory measures. Following the questionnaires, participants

completed all 24 threat scenarios. They read twelve scenarios where the participant imagined they are in the situation alone and twelve where their significant other was alone. For each of the 12 sets, participants completed four physical threat, four honor threat, and four control scenarios. The order of scenarios was counterbalanced for both type of scenarios and target of the threat. Once all 24 scenarios were completed, the participant was debriefed and allowed to leave.

Results

Hypothesis Testing. We hypothesized that individuals from a culture of honor would (a) more aggressive regardless of scenario and (b) be more aggressive in situations involving their significant other than when alone. Our data involved a nested structure with the difference across threat conditions (i.e., physical, honor, and control) and significant other conditions (i.e., self, significant other) were nested within participants. Because of the structure, our data violated the assumption of independence in ordinary least squares regression. For example, men who are higher in trait aggression may respond to any situation with similar aggression. To account for the nested structure, I used a multilevel modeling procedure (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). Refer to Figure 1 for a full break down of the multilevel equations. Refer to Table 1 for all means and standard deviations.

$$\text{Aggression}_{ij} = \pi_{0i} + \pi_{1i}(\text{partner}) + \pi_{2i}(\text{physical}) + \pi_{3i}(\text{control}) + \pi_{4i}(\text{partner} \times \text{physical}) + \pi_{5i}(\text{partner} \times \text{control})$$

$$\pi_{0i} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\text{COH}) + \zeta_{0i}$$

$$\pi_{1i} = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}(\text{COH}) + \zeta_{1i}$$

$$\pi_{2i} = \gamma_{20} + \gamma_{21}(\text{COH}) + \zeta_{2i}$$

$$\pi_{3i} = \gamma_{30} + \gamma_{31}(\text{COH}) + \zeta_{3i}$$

$$\pi_{4i} = \gamma_{40} + \gamma_{41}(\text{COH})$$

$$\pi_{5i} = \gamma_{50} + \gamma_{51}(\text{COH})$$

Figure 1: Multi-Level Model equations for Study 1. Partner = difference between who the threat is directed towards. Physical = difference between physical and honor threats. Control = difference between control and honor threats. COH = culture of honor beliefs.

Table 1:
Means and standard deviations (Study 1).

	Self			Significant Other			Overall
	Physical Threat	Honor Threat	Control Condition	Physical Threat	Honor Threat	Control Condition	
Aggression	4.86 (.94)	3.05 (1.21)	1.22 (.77)	5.18 (.90)	3.51 (1.28)	1.31 (.90)	3.19 (1.84)
Culture of Honor							5.27 (1.60)
Inclusion of Other in Self							5.45 (1.49)
Benevolent Sexism							2.54 (1.11)
Trait Physical Aggression							4.28 (1.66)

Note. Included is the mean and standard deviation (in parentheses) of aggression across each condition and the average mean and standard deviation for each questionnaire.

These data were analyzed in a two-step hierarchical procedure. Step 1 included the within-subject factors ($n = 684$, see Table 2, Model A): significant other (0 = self, 1 = significant other) and scenario dummy coded for each condition (i.e., physical, honor, and control). The dichotomous structure of these data did not warrant centering. Step 2 included the individual differences ($n = 114$) at level 2 with the average score on the Honor Ideology of Manhood questionnaire as a measure of culture of honor (see Table 2, Model B).

Table 2:
Results for Study 1.

	Model A	Model B
Initial Status (π_{0i})		
Intercept (γ_{00})	3.05 (.11)***	1.26 (.27)***
Culture of Honor (γ_{01})	--	.42 (.06)***
Residual Variance	1.25 (.19)***	.81 (.13)***
Slope of Partner (π_{1i})		
Intercept (γ_{10})	.46 (.07)***	.62 (.19)**
Culture of Honor (γ_{11})	--	-.04 (.04)
Residual Variance	.03 (.03)	.03 (.03)
Difference in Slope for Physical Aggression and Honor (π_{2i})		
Intercept (γ_{20})	1.81 (.12)***	3.03 (.31)***
Culture of Honor (γ_{21})	--	-.29 (.07)***
Residual Variance	1.13 (.18)***	.88 (.15)***
Difference in Slope for Control and Honor (π_{3i})		
Intercept (γ_{30})	-1.82 (.12)***	-.37 (.32)
Culture of Honor (γ_{31})	--	-.34 (.07)***
Residual Variance	1.18 (.19)***	.95 (.16)***
Slope Partner \times Physical Aggression (π_{4i})		
Intercept (γ_{40})	-.14 (.09)	.10 (.26)
Culture of Honor (γ_{41})	--	-.06 (.06)
Slope Partner \times Control (π_{5i})		
Intercept (γ_{50})	-.37 (.09)***	-.66 (.26)*
Culture of Honor (γ_{51})	--	.07 (.06)
Covariance between Initial Status and Partner		
Initial Status and Physical Aggression	-.93 (.16)***	-.60 (.12)***
Initial Status and Control	-.92 (.16)***	-.60 (.21)***
Within-Person Residual Variance	.24 (.02)***	.23 (.02)***

Note. Values are the estimates with the standard error of the estimate in parentheses. *** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05

Significant Other. Men were more aggressive when their significant other was threatened compared to when they were threatened ($B = .62, SE = .19, p = .001$). In general, men use more physical aggression when their significant other is threatened compared to when the threat is directed towards the self.

Threat Scenarios. There are significant differences in aggression across the threat scenarios. Men used more physical aggression in the physical threat scenarios ($M = 5.05, SD = .94$) compared to the honor condition ($M = 3.28, SD = 1.26; B = 1.81, SE = .14, p < .001$). More physical aggression was used in the honor condition compared to the control condition ($M = 1.27, SD = .83; B = 1.83, SE = .13, p < .001$). Thus, the pattern of aggression in defense of threats is as follows from most aggressive to least aggressive: physical threats, honor threats, and control conditions. This pattern was consistent regardless of whether the threats were directed towards the participant (physical, $M = 4.86, SD = .94$; honor, $M = 3.05, SD = .1.21$; control, $M = 1.22, SD = .77$) or their significant other (physical, $M = 5.18, SD = .90$; honor, $M = 3.51, SD = .1.28$; control, $M = 1.32, SD = .90$).

Culture of Honor. Consistent with previous research, culture of honor beliefs predicted greater aggression following a threat ($B = .42, SE = .06, p < .001$). This main effect however, is qualified by its two-way interaction with threat scenario. As culture of honor increases, levels of aggression increase more in the honor condition compared to both the physical aggression condition and control condition ($B = -.29, SE = .08, p < .001; B = -.34, SE = .07, p < .001$, respectively). That is, the slope of the line for culture of honor and aggression is steeper in the honor condition compared to the slopes for the physical and control conditions (see Figure 2).

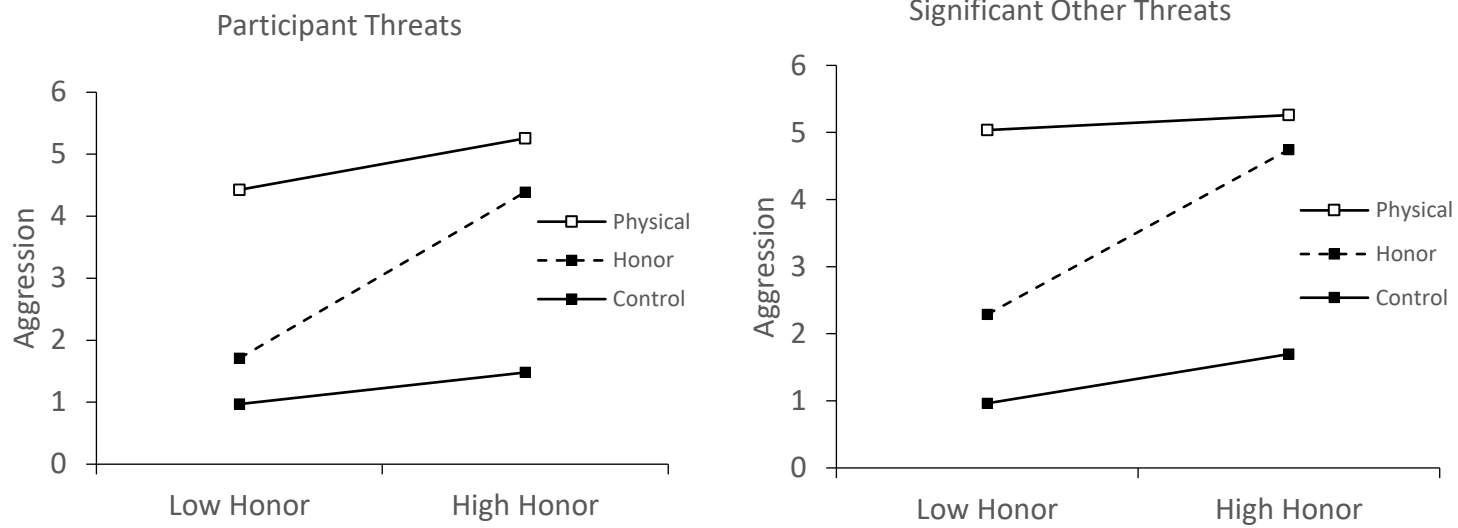


Figure 2: Aggression values as culture of honor increases across each scenario (Study 1).

Against what we predicted, the interaction between culture of honor and who the threat was directed towards was not significant ($B = -.04$, $SE = .04$, $p = .39$). Men from a culture of honor did not use more aggression than men not from a culture of honor when their significant other is threatened (see Table 2).

Exploratory Findings. The inclusion of other in the self, levels of benevolent sexism, and levels of trait aggression were included for exploratory analyses. The inclusion of a significant other in the self was not correlated with honor beliefs ($r = -.02$, $p = .60$) or with aggressive behavior ($r = -.02$, $p = .63$). Due to the lack of these associations, the inclusion of other in the self was not included in the model.

Benevolent sexism correlated positively associated with honor beliefs ($r = .64$, $p < .001$) and with aggressive responses ($r = .11$, $p = .004$). Because of its association with both culture of honor and aggression, benevolent sexism was included in the model as a control variable. After including benevolent sexism, the association between culture of honor and aggression remained significant ($B = .41$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$). The relationship between benevolent sexism and aggression however, was not significant ($B = .03$, $SE = .05$, $p = .58$).

Lastly, levels of trait physical aggression correlated positively with culture of honor beliefs ($r = .48$, $p < .001$) and aggression ($r = .15$, $p < .001$). Due to the strong association with both culture of honor and aggression, trait level aggression was included into the model as a control variable. After controlling for trait level physical aggression, culture of honor remained significantly associated with aggression ($B = .38$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$). Physical aggression was also significantly associated with aggressive responses ($B = .08$, $SE = .03$, $p = .004$).

Discussion

Consistent with previous research, as men had more beliefs that aligned with a culture of honor, they used more aggression following a threat, regardless of whether it was physical or an honor threat. Culture of honor beliefs had the greatest effect on honor threats. Men who do not share culture of honor beliefs respond to honor threats similarly as they would to control conditions. For example, being called a princess is as much of a threat as a bank teller saying hello. However, men who are high in culture of honor beliefs view honor threats more like a physical threat than a control situation.

Contrary to what was predicted, culture of honor beliefs did not lead to more aggressive responses when a man's significant other was threatened compared to the self. Despite the lack of an interaction, men in general were more aggressive when their significant other was threatened compared to threats towards the self. This suggests that regardless of culture, men will use more physical aggression to protect their spouse or girlfriend compared to their self.

Chapter Three: Study Two

Participants

Participants followed the same inclusion criteria as in Study one. Data were collected from 286 male MTurkers who were compensated 20 cents for their participation. Of the 286 participants, 10 people were removed for taking the study more than once. Instead of keeping one of the duplicated cases, all cases from those participants were removed. At the end of the study, all participants completed a question to gauge their level of suspicion about the study. Fifteen participants were excluded for identifying the deceptive nature of the study (14 people knew the interaction was fake; 1

person knew the purpose of the study). Lastly, one person was excluded from analyses for not supplying any aggression responses. The final data set consisted of 260 male MTurkers with a mean age 32.03 (SD=8.67). The racial composition for this study was as follows: 39.6% Asian, 36.5% White, 9.6% Indian, 7% Other, 5% Black, and 2.3% Native American. Based on a medium effect size in previous literature ($f^2 = .07$), 188 participants would have been required to detect a significant effect with 95% power. Our sample of 260 participants meets that level, giving us enough power to detect an effect.

Materials

Culture of Honor. The Honor Ideology of Manhood will be used to measure culture of honor. It will be used in the same manner as it was in Study one. This measure was internally consistent for this study ($\alpha = .936$).

Taylor Aggression Paradigm. Participants completed a modified version of the Taylor Aggression Paradigm, a well-validated measure of behavioral aggression (Anderson & Bushman, 1997; Giancola & Chermack, 1998; Taylor, 1967). The task is framed as a competitive reaction time game played over the internet with a fictitious opponent. In this modified version of the task, participants were told they were going to go through 10 trials against their opponent. They were told they would get to set the volume (1 – 10) and duration (1 – 5 seconds) of an aversive noise blast that their opponent heard if participants won the competition (i.e., press a button faster). Participants were told that a 1 in volume was equivalent to 60 decibels, where a 10 is 105 decibels. For participants that wanted to refrain from aggression, a non-aggressive option was provided. This game has been shown to function similarly to aggression in the ‘real world’ and possess great validity (Anderson & Bushman, 1997; Giancola & Chermack,

1998). Both intensity and duration were shown to be internally reliable in this study ($\alpha = .968$, $\alpha = .952$, respectively). Due to a high positive correlation between intensity and duration ($r = .77$, $p < .001$), the two were standardized and averaged across all ten trials creating a single more reliable measure of aggression.

Inclusion of Other in the Self. The Inclusion of Other in the Self was given to participants in the same manner as in study one.

Ambivalent Sexism Scale. The Ambivalent Sexism Scale was given to participants the same way as in study one. For this study, the benevolent sexism subscale was of interest. The subscale was internally consistent for this study ($\alpha = .907$).

Brief Aggression Questionnaire. For this study, the physical aggression subscale was of primary interest. The full questionnaire was provided to participants, similar to study one. The physical aggression subscale was internally consistent in this study ($\alpha = .765$).

Procedure

All participants signed-up for the study through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. In the consent form, participants were told they are going to interact with another participant, who is actually a pre-programmed confederate. Prior to the interaction, participants completed a series of questionnaires including demographics, the HIM, the Inclusion of Other in Self, and other exploratory measures. Participants were told to describe themselves and their significant other to the ostensible partner. Within the interaction, the ostensible partner asked participants their name and the name of their partner. Participants were also asked about their favorite TV shows and something exciting they did in the last month. For these questions and others, participants learned

more about the ostensible partner and their significant other. For example, the ostensible partner told participants they love watching Game of Thrones and went hang gliding last month.

Once the information was shared, the participant received one of three randomized responses from their interaction partner: a participant threat, a significant other threat, or control condition. When the participant was threatened, participants were told, “You sound stupid. I don’t want to be associated with stupid people.” When the significant other was threatened, participants were told, “Your partner sounds stupid. I don’t want to be associated with stupid people.” Lastly, the control group were told, “Oops! I forgot I have an appointment and have to leave soon... I need to quickly finish this study. Sorry!”

Following the threat condition, participants were told they are going to play a reaction time task with their ostensible partner. They were told that at the end of each round the person with the slowest reaction time would receive a noise blast. Participants were told if they lost the trial, they themselves would hear a noise blast set by their opponent. Before the task began, participants were instructed to choose both the volume and duration of the noise blasts they want their ostensible partner to hear. They did this for the first ten trials. In reality, participants did not play the reaction time task. They just chose the volume and duration of the noise blasts for the first ten trials.

After completing the aggression measure, participants received a debriefing form. This informed them of the deceptive nature of the study and the true purpose. Participants were then given the opportunity to allow or deny us the use of their data.

Results

Manipulation Check. Following the threat conditions, participants were asked to rate how they currently felt. Participants rated how insulted, complemented, happy, rejected, and angry they felt. These ratings were put into two separate categories, positive affect (happy and complemented) and negative affect (insulted, rejected, and angry) with scores representing the average of the feelings.

As expected men who were in the control group had higher positive affect ($M = 3.54$, $SD = .88$; $ts(256) = 3.06$, $ps = .007$) and had lower negative affect ($M = 3.54$, $SD = .88$) than men who were told they were stupid (positive affect, $M = 3.11$, $SD = 1.08$; negative affect, $M = 3.22$, $SD = .92$) or their significant other (positive affect, $M = 2.85$, $SD = .98$; negative affect, $M = 3.11$, $SD = 1.01$) was stupid ($ts(256) = -7.42$, $ps < .001$). Unexpectedly, men who were either told they or their significant other is stupid did not differ in positive ($t(256) = 1.69$ $p = .21$) or negative affect ($t(256) = .86$ $p = .66$). Thus, the threat manipulation was successful compared to the control. It also suggests that a threat to one's significant other results in similar outcomes to affect then when a man themselves is threatened (see Table 3).

Table 3:
Means and standard deviations (Study 2).

	Participant Threat	Significant Other Threat	Control Condition	Overall
Positive Affect	2.85 (.98)	3.11 (1.08)	3.54 (.88)	3.20 (1.02)
Negative Affect	3.22 (.92)	3.11 (1.01)	1.99 (1.09)	2.75 (1.16)
Aggression	.07 (.99)	.03 (.91)	-.11 (.94)	0 (.94)
Culture of Honor	5.72 (1.65)	5.86 (1.74)	5.81 (1.68)	5.79 (1.68)
Inclusion of Other in Self	4.97 (1.79)	5.04 (1.69)	4.98 (1.64)	4.99 (1.71)
Benevolent Sexism	3.97 (1.06)	4.07 (.96)	3.94 (1.06)	4.01 (1.03)
Trait Physical Aggression	4.17 (1.25)	4.13 (1.31)	4.21 (1.16)	4.19 (1.24)

Note. Included is the mean and standard deviation (in parentheses) of aggression across each condition and the average mean and standard deviation for each questionnaire.

Hypothesis Testing. To test the differences in aggression between conditions, a one-way ANOVA was used. There was no significant differences in aggression across the three conditions ($F(2,257) = .78, p=.46$). This tells us that men in the control, partner-threat, and self-threat did not differ in how aggressive they were against their ostensible partner.

To analyze the effect of culture of honor, an ordinary least squares regression analysis was utilized. Threat conditions were dummy coded into two variables. One variable (partner), represents the difference between those who received a threat to self and those whose significant other was threatened. The second dummy variable (control), is the difference between threats to the self and the control group.

Contrary to previous research and Study 1, culture of honor beliefs were not significantly associated with an overall increase in aggression ($B = .08, SE = .06, p = .19$). That is, men who have more culture of honor beliefs did not respond more aggressively than men with very few culture of honor beliefs.

There was also no significant interaction between culture of honor and the threat conditions $Bs = .03, SEs = .09, ps = .34$ (see Figure 3 and Table 4). This suggests that men with many culture of honor beliefs do not use more aggression when their significant other is threatened compared to the self.

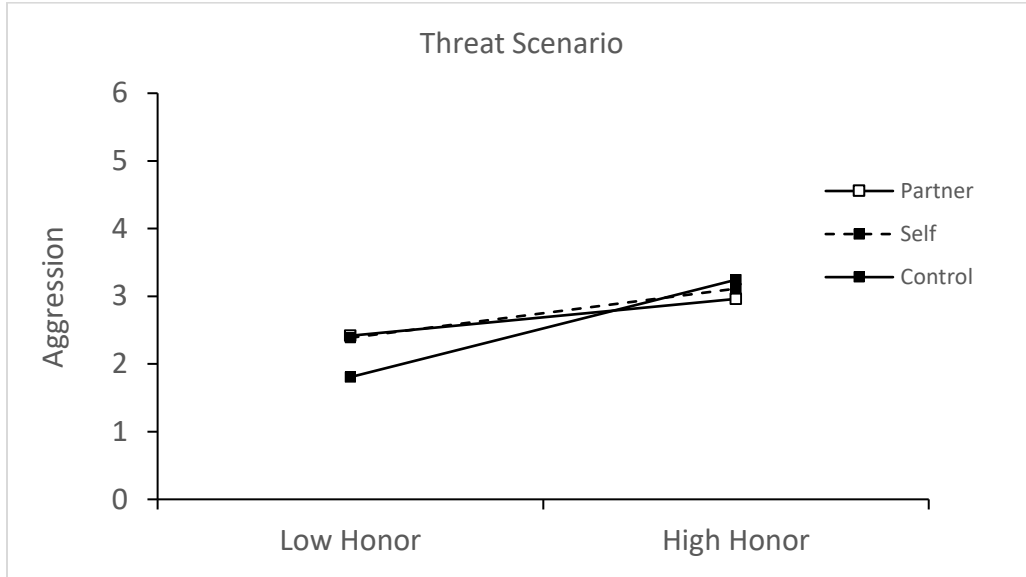


Figure 3: Aggression values as culture of honor increases across the three threat scenarios (Study 2).

Table 4:
Results for Study 2.

	R ²	Beta
Overall	.05*	
Intercept		.08
Partner		-.03
Control		-.09
Honor		.15
Honor × Partner		-.03
Honor × Control		.09

Note. Given values are standardized coefficients. *p<.05

Exploratory Analyses. Using exploratory analyses, we examined the relationship between aggression, culture of honor, and our exploratory variables. Including your significant other in one's own self-concept had no significant correlation with aggression ($r = -.08, p = .19$) nor an association with culture of honor ($r = .03, p = .67$). The inclusion of the other in self was not included in the model for this reason.

On the other hand, benevolent sexism was associated with aggression ($r = .26, p < .001$), and strongly associated with culture of honor ($r = .61, p < .001$). Because of this association, benevolent sexism was included as a control in the regression analysis to examine how that impacts the association between culture of honor and aggression. By including benevolent sexism as a control into the regression model the association between culture of honor and aggression became non-significant ($B = .03, SE = .04, p = .53$). This means that benevolent sexism and culture of honor have a significant amount of overlap.

Lastly, physical aggression was positively associated with both aggression ($r = .28, p < .001$) and culture of honor ($r = .47, p < .001$). Physical aggression was then added into the regression model to act as a control, examining the impact it has on the association between culture of honor and aggression. Including physical aggression in the model the association between culture of honor and aggression became non-significant ($B = .04, SE = .04, p = .31$). This suggests that men from a culture of honor may use more physical aggression in general.

Discussion

We failed to replicate the finding that culture of honor increases aggression following threats. Also, there was no difference in aggression between the three

conditions (i.e., participant threat, partner threat, and control condition). The study also failed to replicate the main effect for partner, where men, in general, used more aggression when their significant other was threatened. Also important to note was the lack of difference in aggression from the control condition.

Chapter Four: Study Three

Participants

Data were collected from a total of 272 men of Amazon's Mechanical Turk. They were all compensated 80 cents for their participation in the study. Inclusion criteria is the same as in previous studies. Of the 272 men, 18 suggested the interaction was pre-programmed and were removed from data analysis. After being debriefed, 4 men chose not to allow access to their data. Lastly, 9 men did not provide complete aggression data leaving us with a total of 240 men. Our sample had an average age of 33.61 years old ($SD=10.27$) with a racial composition of 42.1% White, 32.1% Asian, 11.3% Indian, 8.3% Other, 4.2% Black, and 2% Native American. Similar to Study 2, in order to achieve 95% power with a medium effect size, 188 participants would have been needed. Our sample of 240 met that amount thus giving the study enough power to detect significant effects.

Materials

Primes. Participants received one of two news stories, used to prime views about the number of aggressive individuals in society. The first story informed participants that we live in unsafe society due to poor law enforcement (i.e., high aggression). The second story informed the participant about how we live in a safe society with reliable law enforcement (i.e., low aggression). These stories were used to make the participant perceive high or low violence in society.

A manipulation check was given following the primes to test the effect of the primes. The manipulation check consisted of three statements related to safety and violence in society (e.g., “It is dangerous to leave my own home.”). Participants rated how much they agree with each statement on a 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*).

Culture of Honor. Culture of honor was measured in the same manner as in the previous studies using the Honor Ideology of Manhood. This questionnaire was a reliable measure ($\alpha = .946$).

Taylor Aggression Paradigm. Similar to Study 2, the Taylor Aggression Paradigm was used to measure aggression. Both the measure of intensity and duration were internally reliable ($\alpha = .967$; $\alpha = .957$, respectively). Due to the strong positive correlation between intensity and duration ($r = .78, p < .001$), they were standardized and averaged creating a single more accurate measure of aggression. The standardized average regression was used in all subsequent analyses.

Inclusion of Other in the Self. Participants viewed the question in a similar manner to previous studies.

Ambivalent Sexism Scale. The benevolent sexism subscale was of interest in this study, similar to in previous studies. The subscale was shown to be a reliable measure ($\alpha = .915$).

Brief Aggression Questionnaire. The physical aggression subscale was of most interest, similar to previous studies. The subscale was shown to be a reliable measure of physical aggression ($\alpha = .815$).

Procedure

Participants signed up for the study in the same manner as they did in studies one and two. The consent form informed participants they would interact with another participant, who is actually a pre-programmed confederate. Participants were told to pretend they have a potential double date, similar to Study 2.

After signing the consent form, participants were asked to complete a series of questionnaires including demographics, the Honor Ideology of Manhood, and exploratory variables. Following the questionnaires, participants read a short description of society. Half of the participants were randomly assigned to receive the story pertaining to an unsafe society, while the other half were assigned the story about society being safe. The statement was followed with a short manipulation check to ensure they read the story and the prime was successful.

Next, participants were told they would interact with another participant. This interaction is the same interaction used in Study 2. Following the interaction, participants were randomly assigned to receive a self-threat, significant other threat, or be in the control condition similar to the previous study.

After receiving the threat, participants were told they would complete a reaction time task with their ostensible partner. Their job was to click the mouse faster than their partner. The slowest person would hear a noise blast with the volume and duration of the noise blast set by their partner. Similar to the previous study, participants were told to set the volume and duration of the noise blasts they want their partner to hear on the first ten trials.

All participants were debriefed through a debriefing form informing them of the true nature of the study. Lastly, participants will be given the opportunity to allow or deny us the use of their data.

Results

Manipulation Checks. After reading the primes, men who read the news article about rising crime rates felt less safe in their home town (danger, $M = 3.64$, $SD = 1.09$; safe, $M = 4.11$, $SD = .89$; $F(1,238)=13.65$, $p<.001$), felt as though violent crimes are on rise (danger, $M = 3.79$, $SD = 1.13$; safe, $M = 2.61$, $SD = 1.38$; $F(1,238)=52.77$, $p<.001$), and felt the United States is a dangerous place (danger, $M = 3.07$, $SD = 1.24$; safe, $M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.08$; $F(1,238)=19.63$, $p<.001$). The primes worked as expected making those who read about the rise of violence feel as though the United States is less safe (see Table 5).

Table 5:
Means and standard deviations (Study 3).

	Danger Prime			Safe Prime			Overall
	Partner	Significant Other	Control	Partner	Significant Other	Control	
Positive Affect	3.09 (1.02)	2.87 (1.00)	3.74 (.93)	2.58 (1.07)	2.65 (1.04)	3.81 (.83)	3.16 (1.09)
Negative Affect	3.04 (.91)	2.88 (1.11)	2.02 (1.17)	3.17 (1.18)	3.14 (1.02)	1.80 (.89)	2.64 (1.18)
Aggression	.01 (.94)	.05 (.88)	-.02 (.89)	-.02 (1.07)	-.02 (1.16)	-.01 (.83)	0 (.95)
Culture of Honor	5.33 (1.72)	5.92 (1.70)	6.29 (1.53)	5.51 (2.18)	5.09 (1.36)	6.02 (1.84)	5.72 (1.77)
Inclusion of Other in Self	4.63 (1.94)	5.02 (1.90)	5.31 (1.80)	5.19 (1.80)	5.42 (1.73)	5.22 (1.48)	5.13 (1.78)
Benevolent Sexism	3.57 (1.02)	4.08 (1.08)	3.94 (1.16)	3.84 (1.25)	3.72 (1.17)	4.08 (1.11)	3.89 (1.13)
Trait Physical Aggression	3.88 (1.57)	3.86 (1.12)	3.98 (1.38)	3.67 (1.56)	3.93 (1.30)	4.03 (1.43)	3.90 (1.38)

Note. Included is the mean and standard deviation (in parentheses) of aggression across each condition and the average mean and standard deviation for each questionnaire.

Following the threat conditions, participants were asked to rate how they currently felt. Participants rated how insulted, complimented, happy, rejected, and angry they felt. These ratings were then split into two categories, positive affect (happy and complimented) and negative affect (insulted, rejected, and angry). As expected men who were in the control group had higher positive affect ($M = 3.78$, $SD = .87$; $t(237) = 6.09$, $ps < .001$) and had lower negative ($M = 1.89$, $SD = 1.02$) affect than men who were told they (positive, $M = 2.85$, $SD = 1.06$; negative, $M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.04$) or their significant other (positive, $M = 2.77$, $SD = 1.02$; negative, $M = 2.99$, $SD = 1.07$) was stupid ($t(236) = -6.69$, $ps < .001$). Unexpectedly, men who were either told they or their significant other is stupid did not differ in positive ($t(237) = .44$ $p = .90$) or negative affect ($t(236) = .68$ $p = .78$).

Hypotheses. To test our hypotheses an ordinary least squares regression was utilized. Prime was a dummy coded variable with 0 representing the safe prime and 1 representing the danger prime. Like study 2, threat condition was split into two dummy coded variables: partner and control. Unstandardized coefficients, in this case represent two different things. The partner variable represents the difference in aggression between a partner threat and participant threat. The control variable represents the difference between the control group and a threat to the participant. Positive values represent an increase in aggression in the partner or control group compared to the participant threat, respectively. All coefficients can be found in Table 6.

Table 6:
Results for Study 3

	R ²	R ² Change	Beta
Overall	.06	.01	
Intercept			-.007
Danger			.05
Partner			.07
Control			-.01
Honor			.12
Partner × Danger			-.09
Control × Danger			-.04
Honor × Danger			.18
Honor × Partner			.18
Honor × Control			.06
Honor × Danger × Partner			-.15
Honor × Danger × Control			-.21

Note. Given values are standardized coefficients.

Prime. The type of prime did not have a significant effect on aggression ($B=.10$, $SE=.22$, $p=.65$). Even though men felt as though society was less safe and violence was on the rise in society, their aggression did not change.

Threat. There was no difference in aggression between men who were called stupid compared to their partner being called stupid ($B=.14$, $SE=.24$, $p=.57$). There was also no difference in aggression between the control group and when the participant was called stupid ($B=-.03$, $SE=.21$, $p=.90$). This indicates that aggression levels from men did not differ regardless of whether they or their significant other were called stupid, or if they were in the control condition.

Culture of Honor. Culture of honor was not significantly associated with aggression ($B=.06$, $SE=.07$, $p=.39$). Contrary to what was predicted, men from a culture of honor were not more aggressive than men who are not from a culture of honor. The interaction between culture of honor and primes was also not significant ($B = .14$, $SE = .11$, $p = .22$). And the two-way interactions between culture of honor and type of threat were also not significant (partner, $B=-.21$, $SE=.32$, $p=.52$; control, $B=-.10$, $SE=.31$, $p=.75$). None of the three-way interactions were significant ($Bs=-.26$, $SEs=.19$, $ps=.16$), see Table 6 and Figure 4.

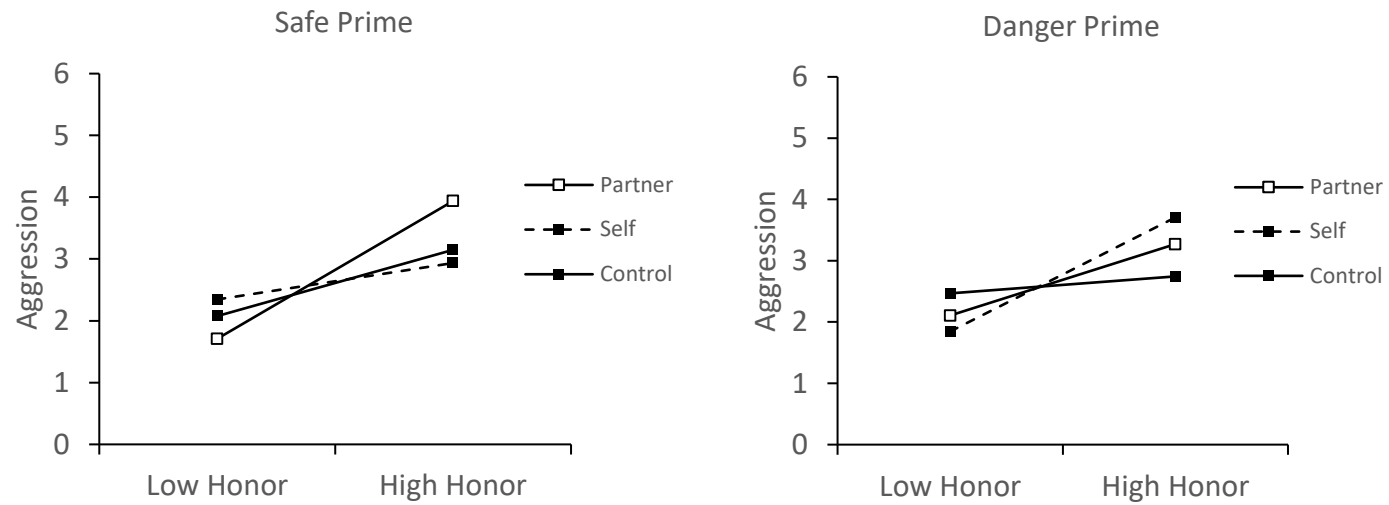


Figure 4: Aggression values as culture of honor increases across the threat scenarios and prime conditions (Study 3).

Exploratory Findings. Using exploratory analyses, we examined the relationship between aggression, culture of honor, and our exploratory variables. We find that including your significant other into your concept of self is not correlated with aggression ($r = .01, p = .86$) or culture of honor beliefs ($r = -.01, p = .90$). Due to the lack of association between either variable, the inclusion of one's significant other in the self was not included in the model.

Benevolent sexism did not have a strong correlation with aggression ($r = .08, p = .23$), but was strongly associated with culture of honor ($r = .60, p < .001$). Because of this association, benevolent sexism was included as a control in the regression analysis to examine how that impacts the association between culture of honor and aggression. By including benevolent sexism as a control into the regression model the association between culture of honor and aggression remained unchanged ($B = .14, SE = .04, p = .001$).

Lastly, physical aggression was positively associated with both aggression ($r = .20, p = .002$) and culture of honor ($r = .58, p < .001$). Physical aggression was then added into the regression model to act as a control, examining the impact it has on the association between culture of honor and aggression. Including physical aggression in the model weakened the association between culture of honor and aggression ($B = .08, SE = .04, p = .051$). This suggests that men from a culture of honor just use more physical aggression in general.

Discussion

Contrary to previous research, we found that culture of honor beliefs were not associated with higher levels of aggression. We expected that both threats would result in

higher levels of aggression than the control, with the threat to one's partner resulting in the highest levels of aggression. However, aggression did not differ whether the men were called stupid, their partners were called stupid, or if they were in the control condition. We also expected men to use more aggression after perceiving society as more dangerous. There was no increase in aggression based on the news article men read.

Chapter Five: General Discussion and Conclusions

For a dad trying to regain his family's honor, going to the police was not an option. Rather, it was something he needed to handle himself using brute force. In a culture of honor, men are expected to respond to threats using aggression (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). However, new research adds a slight caveat to this relationship. Cultures of honor may develop as a way to protect society from people who wish to cause us harm (Nowak, Gelfand, Borkowski, Cohen, & Hernandez, 2015). In three different studies, this paper tested the protective qualities of cultures of honor. These studies examined how much physical aggression men would use when they themselves were threatened compared to when their significant other was threatened. In one study, participants read hypothetical scenarios while the other two included actual threats.

Replicating previous research, all three studies showed that men from a culture of honor responded more aggressively compared to men not from a culture of honor. Increases in aggression were shown with both hypothetical threats, along with actual threats to reputation. Study 1 showed that the type of threat leads to vastly different responses. For example, physical threats lead to high level of aggressive responses regardless of culture of honor. However, honor threats only lead to aggressive responses

from men in a culture of honor. Men not from a culture of honor had levels of aggression in honor threats that were the same as the control group.

In these three studies, however, there were conflicting results in regards to the amount of aggression used to defend against threats to the self or a man's significant other. In Study 1, there was a significant effect of significant other. That is, men used more aggression when they were defending their significant other compared to themselves. This effect was not replicated in studies 2 and 3. The lack of replication may come from the type of threats. In study 1, the threats were more extreme. For example, calling people threatening names or slashing tires. In studies 2 and 3, participants or their significant others were called stupid. In this case, the effect of significant other may only appear under extreme situations. It is important to note that in all three studies, culture of honor did not significantly interact with the partner threat. This suggests that men in a culture of honor view threats to their partner similarly as a threat to themselves. However, it is difficult to conclude anything with conflicting results regarding men in general.

In study 3, we hypothesized that men who were primed with a violent society would use more aggression to defend against a threat. Despite feeling as though society was less safe, the type of society did not influence aggression. This lack of a difference may be to the extremity of the prime. If people felt as though their home town was becoming more violent, they may use more aggression. However, if the United States in general is becoming more aggressive, it is possible participants did not see this as affecting their own way of life.

Limitations and Future Directions

Previous research show that aggression differences between cultures of honor and non-cultures of honor are found predominately in more rural cities or towns compared to a big city like New York City (Brown, 2016; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). In smaller towns, when you are threatened, everyone knows that your honor was harmed. At that point, it is a necessity to retaliate to restore honor. However, men from a bigger town do not have the same conflict. Though threatened, they do not feel the need to retaliate because honor may not be gained from an misunderstood attack. It is possible that the men in these studies live in bigger towns which would lead to lower retaliation responses. Information about home town population was not collected in this study. Future studies should incorporate home town population as a statistical control or to test the effects on retaliation.

Another limitation of the study is a lack of difference in aggression between the threats and control condition in Studies 2 and 3. The manipulation checks show that the threats lead to an increase in negative affect compared to the control, yet there was no change in aggression. Aggressive behavior was positively correlated with trait physical aggression meaning the aggression measure accurately measured aggression. This conflict may be a limitation of using an online task. The proximity to the other person may have led individuals to become more reserved rather than feeling aggressive. That is, even though men found the threats to be offensive and hurtful, the effect of an online interaction may have lent itself well to not using physical aggression. Since online interactions, like trolling, use verbal aggression, rather than physical, it is possible that online threats warrant a verbal response. This is something that warrants further research.

Lastly, these studies should be replicated in the lab with an actual interaction. The interaction took place online and may have affected the believability of the study. Numerous participants claimed to know the interaction partner did not exist. Because the study took place on Amazon's Mechanical Turk, participants are especially suspicious of these types of interactions.

Similarly, no work has been done looking at how men from a culture of honor respond to threats made in private or when they themselves are anonymous. Both situations occur on MTurk. It is possible that there was no difference in aggression across threats because men did not feel a need to respond. This follows the logic of, "If a tree falls in the woods but no one is around to hear it, does it make a sound?" In this case, if someone threatens you, but no one is around to see it, do you lose reputation or honor? Future research should examine the extent of private/anonymous threats versus public threats in a culture of honor.

In these three studies, we have contradictory evidence on the amount of protection that men use when they are threatened compared to when their significant other is threatened. Regardless of the results, future research should examine the what men in a culture of honor find as an in-group, or the group that requires protection. For example, would men in a culture of honor join in a fight to defend against a threat directed at their older brother? Would they defend a coworker who is being called a sissy?

Conclusion

Culture of honor resulted in an increase in aggressive behavior as predicted. However, contradictory results fail to answer the question on whether men from a culture

of honor use more aggression when protecting their significant other compared to their self. In fact, study 1 suggests there may be a general effect of significant other for men regardless of the culture they are from.

Appendix A – Threat Scenarios

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

How likely are you to use physical aggression against your (your significant other's) attacker?

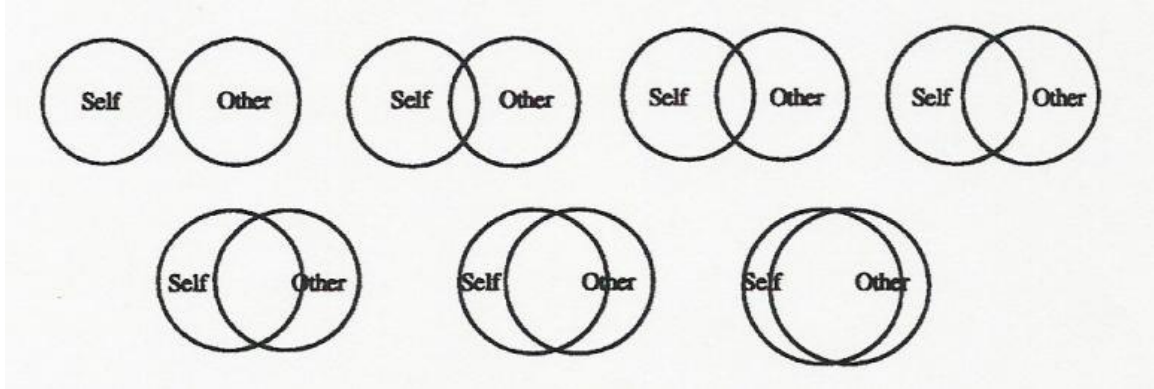
1 2 3 4 5 6
(Not at all likely to be physically aggressive) (Extremely likely to be physically aggressive)

Scenarios:

1. You (Your significant other) are (is) walking in an isolated but familiar area when a menacing stranger suddenly jumps out of the bushes to attack you (your partner).
2. You (Your significant other) are (is) in an elevator late at night. As it stops and the doors open, a menacing stranger rushes in to attack you (your partner), blocking the door.
3. You (Your significant other) and someone you (they) do not really know that well are standing around and talking in an empty parking lot. The acquaintance begins to shove and push you (your partner). You (Your partner) are (is) unsure whether he is serious or just kidding around.
4. You (Your significant other) are (is) outside in a park area at night when you (your partner) see(s) a menacing stranger with a knife about 30 ft away directly approaching you (them). It is obvious the person is planning to attack you (your partner).
5. You (Your partner) are (is) at a restaurant and you (they) approach the bar to order a drink. Suddenly a guy at the bar calls you (your partner) a '(stupid) princess' after seeing what you (they) ordered.
6. You (Your partner) are (is) at a crowded event and a strange guy bumps into you (your partner). He turns around and calls you (your partner) an 'asshole' before walking away.
7. While driving, you (your partner) stop(s) at a light and a guy pulls up next to you (your partner). He rolls down the window and cusses you (your partner) out while also giving you (your partner) the middle finger.
8. You (Your partner) come(s) out of work and find(s) your (their) tires slashed and a guy keying your (their) car.
9. At work, you (your partner) pass(es) your (their) coworker in the hallway. He asks you (your partner), "How is your day going?"
10. You (your partner) go(es) to the bank to make a deposit. When you (your partner) approach(es) the counter, the teller says hello.
11. You (Your partner) are (is) at the store and go(es) to checkout. You (Your partner) approach(es) the register and the cashier asks, "Did you find everything okay?"
12. You (Your partner) walk(s) into a grocery store. Upon entering, the greeter gives you (your partner) a cart to use.

Appendix C – Inclusion of Other in Self Scale

INSTRUCTIONS: Please circle the picture below that best describes your relationship.



Appendix D – Safety Primes

Aggressive Society:



Is a new crime wave on the horizon?

Updated 2:58 PM ET, Thu June 4, 2015



Story highlights

Increase in violent crime worries some cities

The debate about why violent crime is up becomes political

(CNN) – After decades of a downward trend in crime, citizens are starting to view a reversal.

Throughout the U.S., murder rates in general have seen a spike by, an average, of 45% since the start of the year. In May alone, Baltimore alone has seen 43 homicides, making it the deadliest month since 1972. Similarly, Milwaukee has seen a 103% spike in murders compared to a year ago.

A new study found that one in four children in the U.S., ages 6 to 17, have been directly exposed to violence involving a weapon, such as a knife, gun, stick or rock, either as a witness or a victim. Similar rates have been seen with children being victims of sexual abuse.

This is especially troubling now, with the exposure of poor police practices and the rise of conflict over race and social policies.



Crime report: Violent crime down in U.S.

Updated 2:58 PM ET, Thu June 4, 2015



Story highlights

Decrease in violent crimes joys citizens in major cities

Why violent crimes are decreasing due to new policies

(CNN) – The FBI says violent crime rates, including murder, are down from the past 6 years.

Crime is down throughout the U.S. by, an average, of 10% with 14 million arrests made by police. Of which, half-million were for violent crimes.

The crime report from the FBI says they have recorded the fewest number of violent crimes since 2009. Other crimes

such as burglary, theft, and arson, have also declined.

The FBI reports the decline is thanks to law enforcement training and public relations. They also state, that it should be a crime that the media is allowed to mislead citizens. Stating, "... the statistics do not lie, violent crimes are down and law enforcement doing a better job than ever before. You would not know this from the media...", says FBI correspondent.

Scored on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree)

I feel safe in my home town.

Violent crimes are on the rise.

The U.S. is a dangerous place.

Appendix E – Ambivalent Sexism Scale

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

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

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

Scoring:

Total ASI score = average of all items

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

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

Appendix F – Brief Aggression Questionnaire

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

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

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

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

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

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

*** = reverse coded

Appendix G – Demographics

1. Please enter your first and last name. (Undergraduate subject pool)
Or
Please enter your MTurk worker ID. (MTurk Studies)
2. What is your age as of your most recent birthday?
3. What is your gender?
4. With what ethnicity, do you identify? Choose all that apply.
 - a. African American
 - b. Asian American
 - c. Native American
 - d. White
 - e. Other
5. Do you identify as Hispanic
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
6. Are you in a relationship with only one person?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
7. Is it a heterosexual relationship
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
8. Have you been in the relationship for at least 3 months?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

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