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INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN HONOR CULTURES

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FROM ADOLESCENCE TO ADULTHOOD:
INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN HONOR CULTURES

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

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Abstract

Intimate partner violence is no new problem. It affects millions worldwide each year. This set of studies was designed to locate the various places within romantic relationships where an influence of culture of honor can be shown. The first study examines archival data on U.S. teen dating violence. Results indicate that adolescent females do indeed experience a higher risk of violence merely by living within an honor-oriented state, particularly as they near the end of high school. The second study moves into a lab setting with a slightly older sample and assesses college females' perceptions of potential male dating targets in an online dating profile. Women who strongly endorsed honor ideology indicated a higher likelihood to pursue a more "dangerous" target than did women who did not strongly endorse the culture of honor. Honor-endorsing women who viewed a less dangerous target indicated equal likelihood to pursue him as did non-honor endorsing women. Finally, the third study utilizes a national sample of married women to assess how attitudes toward "mate guarding" behaviors are associated with women's relational experiences. Results indicate that a complex set of factors including honor norm endorsement, mate guarding experiences, and perceiving mate guarding behaviors as displays of commitment combine to predict wives' ratings of their current marriages. Taken as a whole, these studies lend credence to the growing body of evidence that in order to address the global intimate partner violence problem, honor-oriented values must be thoroughly examined. *Keywords*: honor, culture, intimate partner violence

"Calls to the National Domestic Violence Hotline have increased by 84% in the last two days alone," (Bassett, 2014). Bassett's article following leaked video footage of NFL player Ray Rice knocking his fiancée unconscious highlights the prevalence of violence against women. As more prominent figures are caught in the act of physically hurting their significant others, individuals are becoming increasingly outspoken about the importance of protecting women everywhere. Technology has taken violence against intimate partners from some distant stranger's home and placed it right in the average American's living room. It is scarcely possible to leisurely browse the internet without being reminded of the very real problem that is intimate partner violence. While domestic violence is no new problem, public awareness of its damaging consequences is soaring, and people are increasingly uncomfortable remaining silent.

Whether on college campuses, in bars, night clubs, or hotel rooms, or in one's own home, women of all ages face the threat of physical violence at the hands of men who (at least claim to) love them. Public awareness is certainly a step in the right direction of managing the problem of intimate partner violence (IPV). It is comforting indeed for a victim to know she is not alone in her fight against abuse. Stories such as Emma Sulkowicz's, whose fellow university students dragged their mattresses to campus in protest of Columbia University's mismanagement of the case against her rapist, demonstrate that many people care about the victims of IPV (Taylor, 2015). From the victim's standpoint, however, caring alone is unfortunately not enough.

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Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a pervasive problem that affects people around the world (Chan, Straus, Brownridge, Tiwari, & Leung, 2008; Straus, 2004). It is a growing concern that has elicited the scrutiny of scientists (e. g., Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Witte & Mulla, 2012), medical professionals (American College of Surgeons, 2014), educators, lawmakers, public officials, and even the President of the United States (Obama, 2012; The White House Council on Women and Girls, 2014). Questions that arise in conjunction with the pervasiveness of IPV include the motivations of the perpetrator (e. g., Greene, Coles, & Johnson, 1994), how the victim could tolerate such treatment (Swann, Hixon, & De La Ronde, 1992), whether violence is encouraged or condoned by friends or family, and even how an entire culture might support certain types of violence. Researchers from a variety of disciplines have adopted varying strategies in an effort to fully understand the complex dynamics of IPV.

IPV: What We Know

Profiles of men who batter their wives have emerged that highlight troubled childhoods, substance abuse struggles, and even serious mental illnesses, including schizophrenia (Jacobson & Gottman, 1998) as well as borderline and narcissistic personalities (Greene, Coles, & Johnson, 1994). Understanding why men hurt the women they love is one important facet of the IPV puzzle. A clear picture of the type of man who becomes an abuser is necessary to identify warning signs within troubled relationships (sensitivity to which shall be examined in Study 2 of the present project). Such a profile could also be

beneficial if clinicians attempt to prevent a potential abuser from ever acting violently.

A cycle of dominance and control also likely plays a pivotal role in the perpetration of IPV. Whether reacting against an extremely harsh and controlling environment during childhood or simply attempting to follow societal standards (Goodman, Koss, Fitzgerald, Russo, & Keita, 1993), men who hurt their significant others often employ violence as a strategy for maintaining control (Whitaker, 2013). Men can also aggress against their lovers to assert their dominance (Whitaker, 2013). A submissive wife is likely an ideal painted by society, religions, Hollywood, and even the Bible (Ephesians 5:22-23). A good wife is portrayed often as one that follows the lead of her husband and does as she is told (c. f., Goldstein, 2002).

Though fear is not a common element of a healthy relationship, an abusive relationship typically revolves around fear (Robert, Paterson, & Francas, 1999). The victim of abuse fears for her physical safety and frequently calculates her every move so as not to trigger an abusive outburst (Jacobson & Gottman, 1998). The cycle of abuse can be perceived as a game with ever-changing rules. Just as it would be extremely difficult to win at a game in which the next move could easily be against the rules, it becomes a daily struggle for a victim of abuse to meet the inconsistent demands of the abuser (Whitaker et al., 2013). Try though she might to keep him satisfied, the demands can become unrealistic and even unspoken. Survivors of abuse have recalled instances in which all seemed normal when

suddenly a violent episode was sparked seemingly for no reason at all (Jacobson & Gottman, 1998). It can be argued that living a life in constant fear of physical harm is hardly living at all, and yet abuse victims come to believe they are to blame for the violence (Gracia, 2014; Waltermaurer, 2012).

Jacobson and Gottman (1998) paint the following vivid image of the lifestyle created by male abusers. Filling their victim's minds with negative self-talk of doubt, worthlessness, even inadequacy, abusers keep their victims under tight control. A woman comes to believe the only purpose she serves in life is to meet the ever-increasing needs of her violent romantic partner. She is likely to feel as though her partner is the only person who cares about her because of a frequently employed strategy of isolation (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Abusers crave the love they receive from their victims and can display fierce jealousy if they perceive the need to share their spouse with someone else. This can even include jealousy of the woman's own family members communicating with her, which is a natural element of a *healthy* relationship.

In a healthy partnership, both members of the couple maintain relationships with their family and often friendships that formed before the couple met. Men who abuse their intimate partners often forcibly and painfully sever ties with the woman's loved ones. Even more damaging is that they usually successfully convince the woman that those people either do not care about her or do not wish to maintain a bond with her. This damages the woman even further. Physical abuse is often the most threatening, but emotional abuse can be worse for

the victim to endure because it erodes her sense of well-being, self-confidence, self-esteem, and even her core value as a human being (Jacobson & Gottman, 1998).

Such a damaging lifestyle as results from abuse has prompted the need for research investigating where the seeds of abuse are initially sown. It is possible that violence occurs as a response to years of victimization experienced by the abusers themselves (Pence & Paymar, 1993). It could also be that violence is the result of mental disease (Greene, Coles, & Johnson, 1994), which might indicate that targeting chemical imbalances in the brain would be required to eliminate violence. Still another possibility is that early childhood experiences of abuse leave women vulnerable to date men who abuse them because such treatment is familiar to them (Zayas & Shoda, 2007). Zayas and Shoda also showed that men who reported higher frequencies of psychological abuse preferred a particular type of woman as a dating partner. That is, abusers could specifically prey upon women who display anxious attachment styles precisely because of their own fear of abandonment.

Many scholars have identified risk factors for IPV (Mills & Gray, 2013; Schumacher, Feldbau-Kohn, Slep, & Heyman, 2001; Weldon & Gilchrist, 2012), but Finkel (2007) describes a two-stage process model focused on perpetrators that considers both 1) urges to commit violence (e.g., anger, learned violence scripts, contempt, poor communication) and 2) forces that would prevent violence (e.g., commitment, self-control, empathy) in predicting whether an instance of

IPV will subsequently occur. Finkel takes the approach that any one person is capable of acting violently in a given situation. Despite the difficulty of accurately predicting whether violence occurs or not, Finkel explains that, in the presence of strong inhibiting forces, the person is not likely to behave in a violent manner. Finkel enumerates a long list of both violence-promoting and violence-inhibiting forces, and he argues that it is only when there is a lack of strong violence-inhibition that a person is likely to act on strong violence-promoting forces.

One way to conceptualize an inhibiting force is self-control. A moral person who is tempted to commit violence should resist that urge under ordinary circumstances, where strong violence-inhibiting forces are present. If, however, the person lacks these necessary inhibiting forces, or self-control, the model predicts a strong likelihood of violence occurring. The model is clear that it is the combination of strong violence-promoting forces and weak violence-inhibiting forces in tandem that result in a high likelihood of IPV. Even if violence-promoting forces are strong, in the presence of strong violence-inhibiting forces (i.e., self-control), IPV should not occur according to Finkel's model.

Finkel's model is a clean one. It is relatively simple and in subsequent studies with colleagues (Finkel, DeWall, Slotter, Oaten, & Foshee, 2009) was able to reliably predict actual instances of IPV. The straightforward model requires only two pieces of information to make a prediction of subsequent violence occurring. It is sometimes difficult for outside observers to know with certainty the degree to which violence-promoting and violence-inhibiting forces are

influencing a given person who might act violently. However, given this information, the model allows for adequate prediction of whether or not a person is likely to commit IPV in a particular situation.

In addition to the self-regulatory failure model proposed by Finkel, a more all-encompassing perspective to understanding IPV has been provided by Byun (2012). Byun suggests an "events perspective" for explaining both immediate (proximal) and more long-term (distal) causes of IPV. For example, Byun recognizes that an episode of violence can be precipitated by the momentary circumstance of criticism leading to a marital quarrel (proximal) that is compounded by ongoing financial struggles or problems with relatives (distal). Like Finkel, Byun recognizes the importance of both external and internal factors in predicting an incident of violence. In contrast to Finkel, Byun asserts that numerous potential factors, not necessarily limited to two categories of those that promote or inhibit violence, should be considered when modeling IPV. Byun tests a novel model labeled "might-cause chain" when attempting to model an impressive set of circumstances and factors that ultimately contributed to IPV.

The events perspective can handle factors that occur at various points in time, be they immediately preceding an incident or far before. This aspect of the model is one of its greatest strengths in my opinion. In order to fully grasp the precipitating elements of IPV and potentially reduce its occurrence, we must take into account the variety of factors that affect perpetrators, victims, and others, both in a given situation and leading up to that event. One unique facet of this

model is the aim to understand violence in a holistic manner, accounting for multiple aspects of the victim, the perpetrator, the situation, and ongoing circumstances that help explain how these intimate partners have arrived at this particular violent episode.

The unique approach taken by Byun allowed him to examine a series of anonymous online posts discussing previous episodes of violence and content-code them for immediate triggers of the event as well as more distal causes. Byun has evidence in the sample he studied that his model of IPV is accurate in determining both the ultimate trigger of the violent incident as well as other factors that are linked in a causal chain leading to the immediate trigger.

It is clear at this point that many scholars have a keen interest in understanding factors that influence IPV, and researchers have proposed numerous ways of conceptualizing how and why IPV unfolds. Nonetheless, the factors examined thus far seem limited in their capacities to explain IPV, falling short of identifying certain victims, perpetrators, and even instances of violence. It seems prudent to at least consider more macro-level factors relevant to IPV.

Indeed, yet another potential explanation of violence against romantic partners is that it is taught and perpetuated via societal standards (Witte & Mulla, 2012). That is, cultural factors might condone and even encourage men to act violently toward their spouses. This final idea is the crux of this project and rests upon research conducted on the culture of honor (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994) and how it relates to violence in relationships (Vandello & Cohen, 2003).

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Culture of Honor

The culture of honor refers to a system of ideals, values, and norms that govern relatively lawless areas that were at one time plagued by resource scarcity. Examples of modern cultures of honor include the U.S. South and West, Turkey, Iraq, and Bangladesh (Chesler, 2010). Cultures of honor arise in locales that endure economic deprivation, a system of patriarchy, and either non-existent or unreliable law enforcement. Many early cultures of honor developed in societies dominated by a herding economy where a thief could threaten a man's entire livelihood while he slept by stealing his livestock (Fischer, 1989). In such environments, resources are precious commodities and difficult to attain, and once attained, can be stolen quite effortlessly. A man's reputation, or honor, becomes paramount in these scenarios (Bosson, Vandello, Burnaford, Weaver, & Wasti, 2009). Gaining a reputation as tough and not someone to be trifled with vastly diminishes the threat of predation. Thus is born a culture of honor, at the heart of which is reputation management.

The U.S. South and West were settled to a large extent by frontiersmen who came from European countries fleeing famine, drought, and harsh conditions, particularly from southern Scotland (Fischer, 1989). Bravery was necessary to face intruders or wild animals as these men settled in the far reaches of the New World. An image of a man in the Wild West who comes to town looking for trouble (for example, Clint Eastwood's *High Plains Drifter*) is an apt example of the type of mentality cultivated in honor cultures. The local saloon owner stands

little chance of protecting his business without having built up a reputation for toughness and not backing down from a fight. Violence is often the means by which dominance is asserted. A real man cannot afford to be afraid to use his weapon because his life would be in jeopardy if his opponent decides to fire. Then, not only would his reputation be tarnished, his cowardly behavior would leave his family unattended. Though the days of the Wild West are history, cultures that began in such impoverished and lawless environments still exist today around the globe. The factors leading to reputation-based cultures including lawlessness and threat of economic harshness may not still be real for many modern, first-world cultures of honor, but the value system these factors create is still quite prevalent.

The culture of honor is not a new concept, but its applicability to IPV is a relatively recent extension. Though cultures of honor exist outside of the United States, much work on the construct has centered around various regions of the U.S. (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996). Early social-psychological work on the culture of honor was pursued at the regional or state level. Specifically, male college students from either the Southern (Georgia, Texas, Alabama, Florida, to name a few) or Northern (Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, for example) parts of the country who attended the University of Michigan were insulted, and their reactions to the insult were recorded. Important differences emerged between males from the South compared to the North. Northern males responded to the incident with amusement, and their blood

cortisol and testosterone levels remained stable before and after the altercation. However, Southern males displayed visible signs of anger and aggression, and their cortisol and testosterone levels spiked following the incident (Cohen et al., 1996). This early work demonstrated that insults are perceived differently depending on the region in which one is raised.

Later work in the area of culture of honor has indicated that males raised in such regions, from California to Texas to Florida (the West and the Deep South for example), have much at stake in protecting their reputation. The hallowed status of being "a real man" is difficult to obtain and can be easily lost. An insult can imply that the socially conferred status of "manhood" was misplaced; other men are more deserving of respect and deference than a man who fails to answer a challenge to his honor. Especially in comparison to being a woman, being a real man is no small task nor a foregone conclusion. Manhood is earned only through displays of toughness and dominance, and in order to maintain that status as someone not to be trifled with, "real men" have to staunchly defend any attack to their person, property, or name (Bosson, Vandello, Burnaford, Weaver, & Wasti, 2009).

Culture of honor as it is understood today encompasses a specific set of characteristics that govern the thinking, interactions, and daily lives of people who find themselves immersed in such societies. These values include how to live up to ideal standards of being an upstanding citizen, similar to other types of cultures. Where the culture of honor diverges, however, is in the kinds of behavior

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that are accepted and often encouraged. Whereas in other cultures, violence is discouraged and often punishable by law, honor cultures are rife with aggression and violence (Cohen, 1996). The flavor of the violence is quite specific, though, occurring most frequently in response to provocation. For example, Cohen and Nisbett (1994) demonstrated that Southern White males approve of self-protective violence, violence in response to being called a derogatory name, or violence in the name of teaching children right from wrong, but not violence for its own sake. In a similar vein, Cohen, Vandello, Grandon, and Franiuk (2009) found that participants from honor regions endorsed relationship violence in response to an unfaithful spouse, but not when an argument was unrelated to honor.

Vandello and Cohen (2003) found evidence to support the argument that societal standards of how healthy relationships ought to unfold differ by culture. Specifically, Brazilian participants condoned violence in response to an unfaithful woman in a hypothetical vignette, whereas participants from the American North did not condone the violent response. Indeed, they rated a man who reacted with violence as "honorable" compared to one who did not. After witnessing what seemed to be a live interaction between a romantic couple that included aggression in response to perceived infidelity, southern American Anglo and Latino participants rated her more favorably if she then decided to stay with the abusive partner and even encouraged her to do so, whereas northern American Anglo participants encouraged her to leave him and rated her more favorably when she indicated an intention to leave. The results of this set of studies,

combined with theorizing about the importance of cultural level variables in potentially explaining IPV, lend support to the idea that culture of honor is crucial when understanding IPV.

Vandello and Cohen and their colleagues have proposed that the culture of honor creates schemata and scripts for how romantic interactions should unfold, (Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Vandello, Cohen, Grandon, & Franiuk, 2009) and these scripts ultimately lead to cultural acceptance of IPV. Specifically, in order to be a good woman, a woman should embody the characteristics of purity, chastity, and loyalty. The woman's place within the culture of honor is to serve her family, and once she is married, she is to obey her husband. A female's honor is closely tied to both her family's overall reputation as well as her husband's honor. One of the worst ways for a woman to act is to defame the character of the men in her family. Bringing shame to her family is a paramount taboo. Such shame can result from failing (or being seen as failing) to live purely. A woman who either actually commits adultery or even is perceived to have been unfaithful instigates the need to restore the family's honor. One manner of restoring honor in some honor cultures is through "honor killing," which results in the woman's own family taking her life (Chesler, 2010; Cooney, 2013). Other ways of restoring honor typically involve some form of violence as a means of punishing the woman and deterring her from engaging in future behavior that would bring shame to her family.

> Du'a Aswad was a beautiful Kurdish girl living in northern Iraq.
> She was seventeen years old when she fell in love with a Sunni

Arab boy. One night she stayed out with him. No one knows if they
actually slept together, but her family assumed that they had. When
Du'a returned the next morning, she saw the rage in her family
and ran to seek shelter in the home of a tribal elder, but religious
leaders and her own family members insisted she must die. So
eight men stormed the elder's house and dragged her out into the
street, as a large crowd gathered around her. Honor killings are
illegal in Iraqi Kurdistan, but security forces were present as Du'a
was attacked, and they did not interfere. At least one thousand men
joined in the assault... When she was dead and could no longer
feel shame, some men in the crowd covered her legs and bottom
again... as if the obscenity were a teenage girl's bare flesh rather
than her bleeding corpse.
              -Kristof & WuDunn (2009, p. 82)

This passage from the book *Half the Sky* vividly illustrates the role that

honor norms play in governing acceptable behavior. Clearly, the value of sexual

purity is crucial to maintaining feminine honor, and in many Middle Eastern

countries, an intact hymen is indeed worth much more than the value of a human

life. If their own family members (i.e., father, brothers) are willing to kill unchaste

females, it is far less of a punishment for a man to beat his unfaithful wife. In fact,

women would much prefer *just* a beating or even genital mutilation if it means

they stay alive. As Vandello and Cohen (2008) have argued, jealousy within a

relationship can be culturally construed as a positive quality. Study 3 of this

project addresses how such positive construal of jealousy might perpetuate the

cycle of IPV. When jealousy leads to violence, a good woman should "stand by

her man." The work to date has thus examined how cultural influences affect

well-established relationships, but might cultural values determine the very

characteristics people seek when searching for a mate? This is one additional

question that will be addressed in the present research.

IPV: What We Still Need to Know

Despite the wealth of information scientists have provided to date about IPV, there are many more questions that remain to be answered. Most of the work has examined personality characteristics of abusers, but it is likely that cultural factors influence IPV perpetuation as well. Laboratory studies have primarily utilized college student samples, but it is probable that attitudes about relationships form much earlier than early adulthood and persist well beyond the college years. College students are able to provide a window into how adults are conceptualizing violence against women, but teens might be able to paint an even more complete picture of how society perpetuates IPV. Theorists including Cohen and Vandello have made strong arguments that honor norms lead to cultural acceptance of IPV. It is possible these norms are convincing people that not only is violence permissible, but as long as others agree with it, there's no reason why they shouldn't condone it as well.

Norms create schemata which guide behavior. Vandello and Cohen (2008) argue that honor norms facilitate violence. Real men must uphold their reputations and immediately respond to threats to their honor. Women in honor societies maintain their honor by adhering to chastity and loyalty expectations. Outside of honor cultures, jealousy is viewed as a negative relationship factor aimed at maintaining control (Pence & Paymar, 1993), but within honor cultures, jealousy can be perceived as an indicator of the importance or value of a relationship. Taken in tandem, honor norms can suggest IPV as an acceptable response to

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infidelity that might be not only condoned by society at large, but even accepted by relationship partners as a sign of commitment. Given the importance of others' opinions, especially family and close friends, IPV might be perceived as acceptable even if the perpetrator would not typically resort to violence. That is, in the face of an affront to his honor in the form of an unfaithful wife, a man who does not *personally* condone violence in general could still act violently if he perceives that his friends and family would expect him to and if they would respond violently if they were in his place.

In order for IPV to occur, intimate relationships must first be established. Given that society teaches individuals what is acceptable and expected within relationships (Pence & Paymar, 1993), it seems reasonable to observe higher instances of IPV in honor cultures where violence is condoned. Indeed, in unpublished findings, Brown, Baughman, Carvallo, and Imura reported that state-wide rape and domestic homicide rates are significantly higher in honor states than in non-honor states. It is plausible that schemata about how relationships develop could also be influenced by cultural factors such as the culture of honor. For instance, if a real man is one that exerts dominance and displays aggression when his honor is threatened, women in honor cultures might be encouraged to pursue such men as dating partners. IPV rarely begins without warning signals. Based on socialization about what it means to be honorable, women in honor cultures could be less sensitive than women outside of honor cultures to cues that a man could turn violent toward them. Therefore, positive attributions for

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jealousy, aggression, and dominance displays could lead women to pursue honor-oriented men who later become violent.

The purpose of this set of studies is to locate the influence of culture of honor on IPV at different points within romantic relationships. We know the end point of IPV, domestic homicide, and as mentioned, unpublished work by Brown, Baughman, Carvallo, and Imura revealed higher rates of domestic homicide in culture of honor states compared to non-culture of honor states. The first study addresses how young respondents (adolescents) display differential dating violence rates based on their culture of honor status. This study is unique in that it analyzes the occurrence of adolescent dating violence, which has heretofore not been examined in the honor literature. That is, I examine students in grades 9 through 12 to determine if actual self-reported violent episodes in the past year are more frequent among those living in honor states. This study will determine whether adolescents in cultures of honor report more instances of dating violence at the hands of their partners compared to adolescents living outside the culture of honor, and if so, how early we can see such an elevated risk in post-pubertal youth. This study is the first known attempt at identifying whether teen respondents manifest a connection between culture of honor values and the prevalence of dating violence.

Study 2 moves into a slightly older age group, young college students. This study assesses how time-honored cultural values influence overall attractiveness of dating targets in the increasingly popular online dating realm, as

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a function of different levels of "danger cues" these targets reveal. Here, I present findings from an experimental laboratory study specifically designed to address whether women who endorse honor norms express a differential sensitivity to violent cues when seeking a potential romantic partner. This study is the first known attempt to locate an influence of honor endorsement on initial attraction to a potentially dangerous male. This study also departs from the geographically-based classification approach used in Study 1, this time utilizing an individual difference measure of honor ideology to classify participants' level of endorsement of culture of honor norms.

Finally, Study 3 assesses how mate guarding techniques (behaviors aimed at preserving a relationship and protecting it from threats of infidelity or dissolution) might be perceived in a positive way, such as demonstrating commitment, within an adult sample of married women. This study also addresses differing attitudes toward the acceptability of violence by married spouses who endorse culture of honor values to various degrees. This study is unique in several ways: it is the first to assess the potential of typically undesired behaviors from the Mate Retention Inventory-Short Form (e.g., calling one's partner to make sure s/he is where s/he said they'd be; Buss, Shackelford, & McKibbin, 2008) to be construed in a positive, desirable manner by some people as a result of their cultural values, and it is the first to do so by assigning the honor status of married females not based on which state they live in, but using an individual difference measure of honor ideology endorsement (HIM; Barnes, Brown, & Osterman,

2012). These design elements give Study 3 the higher ecological validity of Study 1 combined with the enhanced measurement precision of Study 2. This study has the potential to shed light on the complex nature of the interactions between factors involving actual experiences, subjective perceptions, and culture of honor endorsement in predicting relationship outcomes, including commitment and satisfaction.

Study 1

Study 1 was designed to examine regional differences in adolescent dating violence. That is, I expected to find that teens (especially women) in culture of honor states reported higher victimization rates of physical violence than teens outside the culture of honor. In order to assess this hypothesis, I analyzed data from the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance survey (YRBS) from the years 2005 to 2013, the most recent statistics that are available (See Appendix A).

Data

Data were taken from the YRBS for the years 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, and 2013. The question of interest asked respondents, "Have you been hit, slapped, or physically hurt on purpose by your boyfriend or girlfriend in the last 12 months?" and represents the dependent variable of reported dating violence. From a sample of 144,251 high school students from across the U.S. who completed the survey, 10,697 (7.4%) answered affirmatively to being victims of dating violence.

In order to classify respondents as either living within or outside of the culture of honor, I used the state-level categorization suggested by Cohen (1998),

which approximately follows the US Census Bureau's designation of Southern

and Western versus Northern states (see below for more explanation). Students

who completed the survey were either in 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th grade at the time of

assessment. Although much research focuses on females as victims of dating

violence (Vandello & Cohen, 2003), I analyze the teen dating violence among

both White male and female victims separately, particularly because Archer

(2000, 2006) has found comparable rates of violence for adolescent males and

females as perpetrators. Research on honor-related violence consistently suggests

the *regional* patterns hold true solely for Whites (Brown, Osterman, & Barnes,

2009; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996), so in keeping with this finding, I report results

only for White teens in this study. This study included 107,480 White teens, 139

of whom did not indicate sex and six for whom state information was not

provided. The analyses reported assess the remaining 107,335 students: 54,323

(50.6%) girls and 53,012 (49.4%) boys.

State-Level Honor Classifications

In order to divide participants into regions, I categorized them at the state

level as either culture of honor or non-culture of honor. States in the U.S. South

and West, as classified by the US Census Bureau, were considered honor states,

with the exception of Alaska and Hawaii (see Cohen, 1998). All other states,

including Alaska and Hawaii, were considered non-honor states. I also included

state-level covariates that might account for the difference in teen dating violence

rates rather than culture of honor status. I included a measure of rurality, which is

the percent of the state living in rural areas, collected by the US Census Bureau in 2010. I also included state-level measures of economic deprivation, a composite of the poverty rate (per 100,000 state residents) from the US Census Bureau, median income (also from the US Census Bureau), and the rate of unemployment (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008), all for the year 2008, and mean annual temperature (www.currentresults.com/Weather), which have all been shown in previous studies to be associated with aggression and violence.

Results

Out of 107,335 White teens, 7,319 White high school students (6.8%) reported being victims of dating violence. Across the years 2005 to 2013, 4,321 White high school girls reported that their boyfriends had been physically violent toward them in the past year. Of these, 2,960 came from culture of honor states, while 1,361 came from states outside the culture of honor. A Chi-square test of independence revealed that this difference was significant, $X^2(1, N = 54323) = 28.77, p < .01$. Two thousand nine hundred ninety-eight White high school boys also reported that their girlfriends had been physically violent toward them in the past year. Of these, 2,013 came from honor states, while 985 came from outside the culture of honor. A Chi-square test of independence revealed that this difference was also significant, $X^2(1, N = 53012) = 6.93, p < .01$.

I next calculated a rate of reported dating violence by dividing the number of students that responded affirmatively to the dating violence question by the total number of respondents in a given year. I calculated this rate for each state

that has sufficient available data. In order to calculate the dating violence rate for

each state, the total number of respondents across the five waves of data had to be

at least 20. This value was selected as a minimum in order to calculate rates for as

many states as possible without sacrificing reliability based on a small number of

respondents. I calculated the dating violence rate separately for White females and

for White males, given that females appear to be at higher risk of experiencing

dating violence than males, based on the Chi-square analysis reported above. I

also calculated dating violence rates separately for all White 9th, 10th, 11th, and

12th graders by gender and state.

Across states, male and female dating violence rates were correlated, $r =$

.41, $p < .01$. A dependent-samples t-test of the male and female violence means

also revealed that, regardless of regional status, female adolescents ($M = 7.79$, SD

$= 1.89$) are at greater risk of experiencing dating violence than are males ($M =$

5.98, $SD = 2.03$), $t(48) = 5.90$, $p < .01$.

The next analysis simply probes for an overall difference in the rates of

dating violence between students in honor states compared to students in non-

honor states. All 27 honor states had sufficient data, while only 21 of the 23 non-

honor states had sufficient data for calculating the rate, making the total number

of states reporting dating violence rates 48. South Dakota and Vermont did not

participate in data collection.

The independent-samples t-test of female victims revealed that dating

violence against teen girls in honor states ($M = 8.49$, $SD = 1.76$) was significantly

higher than the rate of dating violence in non-honor states ($M = 6.89$, $SD = 1.67$),

$t(46) = -3.20$, $p < .01$, $d = .94$. This analysis indicates that high school females

living within the culture of honor in the U.S. report a significantly higher rate of

being physically injured on purpose by their boyfriends than do high school

females living outside the culture of honor. The independent-samples t-test for

teen male victims revealed that the rate of dating violence against teen males in

honor states ($M = 6.42$, $SD = 1.80$) was not significantly higher than the rate of

dating violence in non-honor states ($M = 5.42$, $SD = 2.21$), $t(46) = -1.72$, $p > .05$.

This analysis indicates that high school males living within the culture of honor

report a statistically equivalent rate of being physically injured by their girlfriends

compared to high school males living outside the culture of honor.

Given the results of these t-tests showing significant differences in dating

violence rates as reported by female compared to male adolescents, I also

conducted a dependent groups ANCOVA assessing the differences in rates of

dating violence between sexes by culture of honor status. For this analysis, I

included a state-level culture of honor variable as the independent variable, the

state-level covariates as previously discussed (all standardized), and the dating

violence rate among White high school males and females as a two-level within-

subjects factor. White students within the culture of honor ($M = 7.16$) reported a

statistically equivalent rate of experiencing dating violence compared to White

students outside the culture of honor ($M = 6.54$), $F(1, 43) = 1.79$, $p > .05$.

Although this difference was not statistically significant, it was in the predicted

direction. Analyses also revealed a significant main effect of sex, $F(1, 43) =$ 42.78, $p < .01$, such that White female students ($M = 7.73$) experience a much higher rate of dating violence than do White male students ($M = 5.97$). There was no significant interaction between sex and culture of honor status, $F(1, 43) = 1.62$, $p > .05$.

Economic deprivation emerged as the only significant predictor of dating violence among the covariates entered, $F(1, 43) = 9.70$, $p < .01$. Somewhat surprisingly, even White female teens living outside the culture of honor ($M = 7.21$) reported higher rates of dating violence than did White male teens within the culture of honor ($M = 6.07$). This finding runs counter to Archer's (2000; 2006) argument that girls aggress much more often than boys, particularly in adolescence. The fact that female students reported higher levels of dating violence than their male peers fits with a growing body of research suggesting that women are victimized more frequently than men, but this could also be due to gender differences in interpretation of the question or men's unwillingness to report being victimized in their relationships. The group of students who reported the highest rate of dating violence, however, was White female teens within the culture of honor ($M = 8.24$) (all pairwise comparisons significant at the $p < .01$ level). Refer to Table 1 for a list of covariate-adjusted means.

I also explored the potential difference in violence rates by age. I believe that as students get older and near adulthood, the number of reported violent episodes between romantic partners might decline for those living outside the

culture of honor, but increase for those within the culture of honor. This stands to reason because manhood from a culture of honor perspective is difficult to achieve (Bosson et al., 2009), and assertions of dominance are one manner in which manhood can be earned. As high school students in cultures of honor near adulthood, displays of aggression could likely manifest themselves within romantic relationships as dating becomes more prominent in their lives. The opposite pattern could emerge within teens from non-culture of honor states. They might initially aggress toward their dating partners upon entering high school and beginning a stressful stage of their lives, but as they continue toward adulthood, cultural standards of the unacceptability of violence should be reinforced (Pence & Paymar, 1993), resulting in lower rates among older students compared to younger for those living in non-honor states.

Two states, Delaware and Ohio, did not meet the minimum criteria for computing grade level dating violence rates, so the following analyses include only 46 states. In order to assess the hypothesis that older high school females within the culture of honor experience dating violence at higher rates than older females outside the culture of honor, I conducted a repeated measures ANCOVA with dependent variable dating violence rates computed per state by grade level. The within-subjects factor was grade in school with the four levels of grade 9, 10, 11, and 12, and the between-subjects factor was state culture of honor status. I also included the same state-level covariates that might contribute to violence as in previous analyses. The results of this analysis indicated a significant effect of

state level culture of honor status on rates of high school dating violence after

controlling for the above-mentioned covariates, $F(1, 41) = 5.70$, $p < .05$. None of

the tested covariates achieved significance in explaining female teen dating

violence rates. Females living within the culture of honor ($M = 8.37$, $SE = 0.32$)

reported a significantly higher occurrence of dating violence across their high

school years compared to females living outside the culture of honor ($M = 7.10$,

$SE = 0.38$). In addition and in line with predictions, the ANCOVA revealed a

pattern among dating violence rates based on high school grade level of the

respondents. High school juniors and seniors reported significantly higher rates of

dating violence than high school freshmen, $F(3, 123) = 7.89$, $p < .01$. There was

no interaction between grade level and culture of honor status, $F(3, 123) = 0.67$, p

$> .05$. Refer to Table 2 for a complete list of covariate-adjusted means by grade

level and culture of honor status.

Taken together, these findings indicate that females who are at greatest

risk for dating violence are those who are nearing the end of their high school

careers (at least juniors) rather than those who are new to high school. Refer to

Figure 1 for a graphical representation of this trend.

I then conducted a repeated measures ANCOVA assessing dating violence

reported by high school males as a function of state honor status and grade level.

This analysis included the same covariates as previous analyses. Grade level once

again emerged as a significant predictor of male dating violence, $F(3, 123) =$

12.31, $p < .01$. As teen males move through high school, they report significantly

higher rates of dating violence at the hands of their girlfriends. Culture of honor status failed to emerge as a significant predictor, $F(1, 41) = 0.32$, $p > .05$. Teen males living in the culture of honor ($M = 6.17$, $SE = 0.38$) report statistically equivalent rates of dating violence to teen males living outside honor cultures ($M = 5.82$, $SE = 0.44$). Economic deprivation significantly predicted male dating violence and state-level rurality emerged as a marginally significant predictor. This partially supports my hypothesis, but culture of honor status did not emerge as a significant predictor. Regardless of culture of honor status, high school boys reported an increasing risk of dating violence victimization as they progress through high school. Boys living in states that are more economically deprived and have larger rural areas are more prone to experience dating violence. Refer to Table 3 for covariate-adjusted means and standard errors for males by grade level and Figure 2 for a graphical representation of dating violence trends across years in high school for males.

Discussion

This study is the first known attempt to locate an influence of culture of honor on dating violence within a high school student population. Data were provided by the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance survey and yielded a large national sample. Fortunately, the vast majority of White respondents reported no experience of dating violence in the past year. Even so, students in honor states collectively reported higher rates of dating violence for girls, indicating that White female teens are at risk for dating violence merely by living in a culture of

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honor. Prior work has focused on violence in well-established relationships. This study identifies that even young high school students who are just beginning their romantic relationships are prone to experience physical violence. The fact that analyses revealed a strong predictive relationship between state honor status and overall dating violence rates as reported among White high school students even amidst a variety of covariates serves as a strong indication that cultural norms associated with honor play a significant role in how adolescents behave in the context of romantic relationships.

Importantly, results revealed that females are at much greater risk of experiencing dating violence than males are. This fits with a large body of previous research indicating that women are more often victims of violence by romantic partners, though it contradicts work suggesting that particularly *adolescent* females are much more likely to perpetrate physical violence against their partners than are males (Archer, 2000). One possible reason for the discrepancy between Archer's conclusions and the results of the current study is that Archer looked at how respondents answered questions on the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS; Straus, 1979), which includes both items about merely *threatening* the use of violence and also actual violence using weapons. The CTS is also administered from the aggressor's perspective, whereas the data I analyzed were from the victim's perspective. Teen girls might indeed be more inclined to threaten violence against their partners, especially in response to an act of physical violence, and they might also resort to more extreme violence using

weapons, particularly if the violence they themselves have experienced has occurred over a long period of time. The data I analyzed asked a yes/no question over a 12-month period, so they cannot speak to long-term dating violence. Still, it is important to note that the current results fit with a growing body of evidence that suggests women are much more commonly victims of ongoing intimate partner violence (see Pence & Paymar, 1993).

Results indicated that females who are within the culture of honor are at the highest risk of dating violence, suggesting that it is crucial to pinpoint exactly why this is so. Interestingly, females outside the culture of honor stand a greater risk of experiencing dating violence than even males inside the culture of honor, revealing again that girls, solely because they are female, tend to experience violence more than males do. It is important to remember, however, that sex *and* state culture of honor status reliably predicted teen dating violence rates.

Looking at patterns among male high school victims of dating violence revealed discrepancies: the Chi-square analysis indicated that there is indeed a higher rate of male dating violence in regions governed by honor norms. The t-test and ANCOVA, however, failed to capture this difference. One possible explanation for these discrepant results is that high school women (the perpetrators of male dating violence) are less influenced by honor norms relating to dating violence than men. This stands to reason because honor primarily revolves around a male's reputation, and while females have their own role within honor-governed regions, these roles emphasize loyalty and submissiveness to

their partners (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Girls in general are socialized against using physical aggression (Birnbaum & Croll, 1984; Thomas, 1993), so this could also explain the lower overall rates of dating violence experienced by boys compared to girls, regardless of honor region. It is also important that male teens could be reporting lower levels of reported victimization because girls could be acting in self-defense (i.e., not the primary aggressor), and girls might not defend themselves in every instance of dating violence. Unfortunately, the nature of this survey question cannot address this issue, as it only reports whether a teen experienced victimization, but not who instigated the violence.

The results of this study apply only to patterns of dating violence observed among White students, so these data cannot describe patterns of violence among other demographic groups. Although a limitation of the current investigation, this decision to analyze only White respondents aligns with previous findings that honor-related regional patterns hold true for only Whites (e. g., Brown, Osterman, & Barnes, 2009; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Taken together, then, the results of this first study indicate that 1) being female increases a person's risk of dating violence, 2) living within the culture of honor increases a person's risk of teen dating violence, and 3) being an older versus younger high school student increases a student's risk of teen dating violence. Thus, the results of this first study lend support to the idea that honor norms play a key role in intimate partner violence, but not until later in adolescence. This finding suggests, then, that researchers need not look any earlier than late high school to reveal honor-related

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dynamics in relationships among White partners. To be fair, however, it is a far cry from a teen romance to an established relationship. Perhaps older adults have learned more about what society does and does not accept, and understand fully that violence between intimate partners is unacceptable. Given that White teen females in honor states were at high risk of dating violence victimization, how might this risk be understood? Could women in cultures of honor be socialized to see the positive aspects of a "bad boy?" The final two studies sought to delve deeper into the role honor norms play in intimate partner violence in adults.

Study 2

Study 2 is designed to build upon Study 1 in that it assesses young adult females and their perceptions of male dating targets. This study extends the first by moving into a college student population of females living in an honor culture and employing a between-subjects experimental design. The study investigates differential perceptions of hostile cues in an online dating profile between women who do and do not endorse honor values. This study utilizes the individual difference measure developed by Barnes and colleagues (HIM; Barnes, Brown, & Osterman, 2012) to assess how strongly participants endorse honor values.

Participants came to the lab to complete a series of tasks on the computer that were created in MediaLab. After giving their consent, participants viewed one of two online dating profiles depending on their assigned condition that differed only in the number of danger cues presented (see Appendix B). They then

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rated the man in the profile on a number of dimensions before responding to demographic questions.

I predicted a significant main of effect of profile type, such that all women would indicate a greater romantic interest in the male target with few danger cues (the one who waits in line) than the other target (the one who gets angry at work). I did not expect a significant main effect of culture of honor; general romantic interest in the male targets should not differ based on level of honor endorsement. However, I expected to find a significant interaction. For the women who viewed the target with few danger cues, I did not expect to find any relationship between honor ideology endorsement and reported romantic interest. However, for the women who viewed the target with many danger cues, I expected to find a positive relationship between honor ideology endorsement and reported romantic interest. That is, liking for the more dangerous target should increase as honor ideology endorsement increases.

Participants

Ninety-eight female college students completed this study in partial fulfillment of a research requirement for their introductory psychology course. The vast majority of the sample (77.5%) was White, while the remaining females identified as other ethnicities. The average age of this college student sample was 18.86 years old, with a range of 18 to 27. Three participants did not have valid HIM scores, so the analyses reported include the final sample of 95 females.

Method

Participants came to the lab to complete this 30 minute computer-based study. They first saw one of two male dating targets and then responded to questions probing their romantic interest in him as a dating partner. Participants then completed demographic measures.

Prior to coming to lab, participants had completed the HIM, an individual difference measure developed by Barnes and colleagues (Barnes, Brown, & Osterman, 2012) to assess how strongly participants endorse honor values in prescreening. The HIM ($\alpha = .91$) is a 16-item measure that assesses overall level of agreement with honor values. Both males and females can indicate on a 1-9 scale how much they agree (e.g., strongly disagree, neither agree nor disagree, or strongly agree) with items such as, "A real man pulls himself up by his bootstraps" and "A real man never backs down from a fight," with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of culture of honor norms. One of the unique features of this measure is that it captures variability in attitudes among those living in honor and non-honor states. Prior to development of this measure, it was only possible to analyze state-wide data, resulting in a maximum *n* of 50. However, this measure allows researchers to assess individuals living within or outside honor regions. It recognizes that merely living in a state where honor norms prevail does not necessitate a strong personal agreement with such values. The measure also accounts for geographical relocation. Being raised in an honor state does not necessarily result in agreeing with honor norms; similarly, a person

who relocates into an honor state could highly endorse honor norms or could reject them, but state-level data would fail to capture these nuances.

Participants viewed one of two different male dating profiles (See Appendix B). General information including college major, personality characteristics, hobbies, and a favorite recent experience was provided in the online personal profile, as well as a picture. All participants were exposed to the following "low-level" danger cues: admitting to underage drinking, describing himself as adventurous, assertive, and strong-willed and loving to go hunting and rock climbing. The majority of these cues theoretically align with culture of honor norms, though they could be construed in a positive or negative way. However, it is likely that their ability to indicate potential danger might be overlooked. This would especially be true if such risky behaviors as underage drinking, rock climbing, and hunting are perceived as positive characteristics of a "real man" within honor cultures.

Participants saw identical information in the profiles with one exception that depended on the condition to which they were assigned. Those who viewed only few danger cues read about the man recounting matter-of-factly a recent annoying situation in which he stood in a long line to pay his tuition bill only to find out he needed to visit another department first and did not have time to go to the other department prior to his next class. The description does not indicate any particular response to this annoyance by the man, but details that he went to class rather than stand in the other long line. Those participants assigned to view many

danger cues read about a recent insult by the man's boss in front of customers that resulted in the man reacting aggressively, throwing down his apron and walking out on the job. The man also adds that he keyed his boss's car before speeding out of the parking lot. Participants indicated their romantic interest in the dating target by indicating their overall attraction toward him, how likely they would be to ask him out on a date, how likely they would be to send him a message on the dating website, how likely they would be to email the target, and how likely they would be to start a short-term relationship with him. These responses were combined to form the composite dependent variable of *romantic interest* in the dating target. Participants also indicated their perceptions of masculinity and positivity of each profile target. Participation took no longer than 30 minutes, after which time participants were thanked for their participation, debriefed, and dismissed.

Results

I first created my composite dependent variable from the questions the participants answered about the dating target (see above for items). This scale had good internal reliability, $\alpha = .91$, indicating that the items adequately assessed a single construct.

I then checked to ensure there were no pre-existing differences in culture of honor endorsement by condition: the mean HIM score for the low danger group was 5.09, and the mean HIM score for the high danger group was 4.98, which were not statistically different, $t(93) = 0.43$, $p > .05$. I was also interested in how positively participants viewed each profile, apart from the composite dependent

variable of interest. Therefore, I compared the means of overall positivity by profile type. Females who saw the low danger profile rated it as generally positive, with a mean of 4.66 on a 7-point scale. Females who saw the high danger profile rated it as significantly less positive, with a mean of 3.49 on the 7-point scale, $t(96) = 4.80$, $p < .01$. I conducted this analysis to ensure that the profiles were indeed viewed as differentially positive, so that I would not end up with ceiling effects of both targets being perceived as highly attractive regardless of culture of honor endorsement. I also included this analysis as a manipulation check to ensure that what I was intending as an additional danger cue was indeed perceived as such by the participants. In addition, I conducted this analysis with positive description of the target as a DV, but I did not expect the interaction to be significant. This is because I expected women to be able to recognize that the more dangerous target was indeed presenting negative information (e.g., quitting his job over a minor insult from his boss), which shouldn't depend on honor ideology endorsement. If honor-endorsing women indicated that they perceived positivity in the entire profile, it would suggest something more sinister, that even their basic perceptions of "good" and "bad" have been tainted by honor ideology. As I expected, however, the interaction was not significant, and neither was honor endorsement.

I conducted a regression analysis that included the composite overall romantic interest in the target as the dependent variable and the mean-centered HIM, profile type, and the interaction between HIM and profile type. The results

indicated that the type of profile did significantly predict overall romantic interest in the target, $\beta = -.51$, $p < .01$. This main effect indicated that women who viewed the low danger target perceived more desirable qualities in him than did women who viewed the high danger dating target. The HIM by itself emerged as a marginally significant predictor of romantic interest in the target, $\beta = .16$, $p = .07$. As predicted, however, the interaction between the profile type and HIM score emerged as a significant predictor of overall romantic interest in the target, $\beta = .27$, $p < .05$.

In order to better understand the nature of the interaction in this analysis, I plotted the data at +/- 1 standard deviation from the mean of the HIM. The highest value possible for romantic interest in the target in the profile is 7. The simple slope of honor ideology and romantic interest for the low danger profile was -.07, $t(94) = -0.04$, $p > .05$. The slope of honor ideology and romantic interest for the high danger profile was .36, $t(94) = 2.75$, $p < .01$. For the less dangerous male target, there was no association between honor ideology and women's reported romantic interest in him. However, for the more dangerous target, there was a significant positive association between honor ideology endorsement and women's romantic interest. Higher endorsement of honor norms was linked to greater overall romantic interest in the more dangerous male target. In addition, I conducted simple slopes analyses for the associations between profile type and romantic interest at high and low levels of the HIM. For those below the mean of the HIM, there was a strong negative association between profile and romantic

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interest, $\beta = -.71$, $t(94) = -5.82$, $p < .01$ indicating a strong preference for the less

dangerous target. For women above the mean of the HIM, there was also a strong

negative association, although it was weaker, $\beta = -.31$, $t(94) = -2.54$, $p < .01$.

Women above the mean of the HIM still indicated a preference for the less

dangerous target, but this preference was not as strong as it was for those below

the mean of the HIM. These results are depicted in *Figure 3*.

I expected that honor ideology might moderate the association between

profile and masculinity. This analysis revealed a strong positive association

between profile and masculinity, $\beta = .30$, $p < .01$. Neither the HIM ($\beta = .03$, $p >$

.05) nor the interaction term ($\beta = .11$, $p > .05$) were significant predictors of

masculinity. This analysis indicates that everyone sees the dangerous target as

masculine. In order to assess whether perceptions of masculinity mediate the link

between profile and attraction, I performed a regression with profile type,

masculinity, and a variable representing their interaction predicting the romantic

interest composite variable. To the extent that the target fits the woman's idea of

masculinity, she indicates romantic interest. This mediational analysis revealed a

significant path from profile to masculinity $\beta = .32$, $p < .01$. The path from

masculinity to romantic interest was also significant, $\beta = -.31$, $p < .01$, and the

path from profile to romantic interest β goes from -.52, $p < .01$ to -.42, p $< .01$, z'

$= -2.43$, $p < .05$. Masculinity is partially responsible for the link between profile

and romantic interest. At least part of the reason women indicated less interest in

the dangerous target is because they saw him as masculine. Refer to *Figure 4* for a graphical representation of this mediation.

Discussion

I designed the current study to assess how danger cues might make a man more or less attractive depending on a woman's values. Based on previous work showing differential responses to levels of facial testosterone (Kruger, 2006), I thought that perhaps a "bad boy" through the cultural lens of honor norms might not be perceived as so bad after all. In a culture that condones violence in a variety of forms, risk-taking behaviors (Barnes, Brown, & Tamborski, 2012) and displays of toughness (Barnes, Brown, & Osterman, 2012) might be perceived as attractive. If this is the case, then women might be attracted to men who could become violent later in their relationship because these dangerous men fit their vision of an "ideal partner" as has been characterized by those around them. It is not that the women as victims are to be blamed for their victimization. Instead, both men and women are socialized to believe that strength and toughness characterize how a real man ought to be. These societal expectations for how men should behave, then, could relate to the high rates of domestic violence observed in honor regions (Vandello & Cohen, 2003; 2008).

Results of this moderation analysis were in line with my predictions. Women did perceive the two profiles differently depending on how strongly they endorsed culture of honor norms. Specifically, all women, regardless of honor endorsement, indicated a relatively strong romantic interest in the male target in

the low danger profile. The only women who perceived something desirable in the high danger target were those who strongly endorsed honor norms. It is worth noting that the nature of the questions in the composite variable of romantic interest are not merely the women agreeing to a date when asked by the target, but rather, the women themselves *initiating* contact with the target in a romantic context. These results indicate that indeed what women perceive as attractive is shaped by their socialization. If a woman who strongly believes in the culture of honor finds a potentially dangerous man attractive, perhaps she sees past his dangerous tendencies. If this man perceives a threat to his reputation in the form of her infidelity (even if it is imagined), he is likely to act violently toward her. Thus, higher rates of domestic violence in regions where honor norms prevail could be linked to the socialization of the types of behaviors and personality characteristics that are seen as desirable in a good mate.

One redeeming quality of these analyses is that despite indicating a perception of desirable qualities in willingness to date the high danger target, the women who strongly endorsed honor norms who viewed this target still indicated low overall willingness to pursue him. It seems, then, that women who subscribe to the culture of honor can be persuaded to see the potential danger in a high-risk romantic partner, but there must be strong danger cues to remove the cultural blinders. In contrast, women who do not endorse the culture of honor seem to see a high-risk partner for who he is and not pursue him.

One limitation of the current study is that the between-subjects design did not include the ability for participants to choose either between the two targets or between one of them and a more desirable target. This would be more in line with real-world situations where women are presented with various available mates. Thus, I cannot say with certainty that if given a choice in real life between a potentially dangerous mate and a completely non-threatening one, honor-endorsing women would choose the one who does not appear to pose a threat. Still, the fact that these same women in my study indicated a strong romantic interest in the less dangerous target gives tentative evidence that they would select a mate who poses less physical threat to them if given the option.

The current study advances existing work that highlights the dangerous side of living in a culture of honor (Barnes, Brown, & Tamborski, 2012), particularly to women in romantic relationships (Cohen & Vandello, 2008). I showed that women respond differently to a target in a dating profile who reveals danger cues depending on their level of endorsement of the culture of honor. In particular, those women who strongly endorse the ideology of honor seem at risk for pursuing dangerous mates. These results shed light on the fact that socialization processes do influence not only how established relationships transpire, but also those that we find desirable as mates. These results expand on Study 1 findings in that they suggest that a lowered sensitivity to danger cues could be responsible for those higher observed rates of teen dating violence within honor cultures compared to outside them. Taken together, the results of these two

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studies highlight the important role of socialization and societal expectations in perpetuating violence between intimate partners.

In terms of intimate partner violence, women do stand to gain or lose quite a bit when seeking a romantic partner. Cues about the man's future behavior are crucial when deciding whether to pursue a man or not. This study shows that women who conform to honor norms have less sensitivity to subtle cues that align with prevailing cultural values, which could be the very cues (and perhaps only ones) that their chosen partners could turn violent. In a world bound by honor norms, perhaps these women simply have no other alternative than to choose a dangerous man, despite their reluctance. The final study sought to determine how honor norms affect married women's perceptions of a specific type of dangerous behavior, mate guarding. As wives find themselves deeper and deeper within the culture of honor, are their perceptions of once-avoided behaviors altered now that they experience those very behaviors? Might they even perceive these negative behaviors in a positive light, as signs of their partner's love and commitment to them?

Study 3

After having demonstrated a difference between actual dating violence rates among high school students based on culture of honor status as well as a difference in sensitivity to danger cues given by a potential dating target among college students, I finally examine how cultural norms relate to violence rates and perceptions of how appropriate violence is in well-established relationships. For

this final study, I worked with MTurk.com to recruit a national sample of U.S. married women to complete an online survey. Participants responded to questions about behaviors that romantic partners engage in that could be perceived either positively or negatively. For example, mate guarding tactics (Mate Retention Inventory-Short Form; Buss, Shackelford, & McKibbin, 2008) such as calling to make sure a partner is where she said she would be or spending all of one's free time with a partner could be taken as signs of jealousy and smothering, or they could be construed as a sign of commitment and dedication to one's relationship and partner. Indeed, Buss and colleagues (2008) did report that these behaviors were positively linked to actual violence in relationships, so it seems worthwhile to assess wives' perceptions of these tactics.

Primary Predictions

I expected a link between wives' endorsement of culture of honor ideology and their experience of mate guarding behaviors as well as their construal of mate guarding behaviors as both a form of commitment and perhaps even as desirable signals within their marriages. That is, I expected those women who strongly endorsed honor ideology to report high levels of mate guarding in their current marriages. Whereas mate guarding behaviors can be signals of danger within a relationship, I predicted that women who endorse honor ideology would construe these behaviors positively (which I refer to as an ideology-based "myth of commitment"), perhaps even reporting that they *wanted* their husbands to engage in them (which I refer to as a "myth of desirability"). Indeed, I

predicted an interaction between honor ideology and mate guarding experiences. I expected that women who strongly endorse honor ideology who had experienced mate guarding would spin such behaviors in a positive way, such that they are perceived as signals of commitment and desirability in a relationship.

Regarding wives' subjective evaluations of their current relationships (commitment level, satisfaction, and perceived longevity of marriage), I predicted that women would report poor evaluations overall when they had experienced mate guarding. However, I predicted that honor ideology would change this relationship. That is, women who strongly endorse honor ideology who had experienced mate guarding would report more positive evaluations of their relationships than would women who rejected the ideology of honor because such behavior fits with their cultural expectations. In other words, if honor-oriented women do, in fact, construe mate guarding in positive ways, then the experience of mate guarding might not reduce their subjective evaluations of their relationships, and might even enhance them. In terms of subjective evaluations of relationships, I predicted that those women who highly endorsed honor ideology and also had experienced mate guarding would construe mate guarding positively and would thus indicate general marital happiness.

Secondary Predictions

I expected to find that wives who do not endorse honor ideology and also do not see the positive side of mate guarding techniques will report lower levels of actual mate guarding within their marriages. I expected this pattern because

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viewing mate guarding behaviors as displays of commitment could be a coping strategy for those who have experienced those controlling behaviors. Therefore, women who have no experience with such behavior would have no reason to view it as a pleasant component of a relationship. Honor-oriented women are taught that they should be under control of their husbands (Vandello & Cohen, 2003), so it stands to reason that women not exposed to those values would neither experience mate guarding nor have need to view it positively.

In addition, I expected that wives who endorse honor ideology and see the positive side of mate guarding will report high levels of mate guarding. Honor-oriented women should experience attempts of control by their husbands precisely because they have been taught (and believe) that women ought to be subservient (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Therefore, wives under governance of honor norms would have strong motivation to view such controlling behaviors by their husbands as forms of commitment. Rather than seeing mate guarding as a danger signal, which Study 2 suggested they might not, wives who experience it might view the experience as a sign of a healthy marriage, precisely because it aligns with the values of an honor culture.

In this study, I also measured commitment, marital satisfaction, and predicted duration of the marriage. I combined these into a composite variable that I termed "marital happiness." I expected that marital happiness would be predicted by the interaction between honor ideology and mate guarding. That is, those governed by honor norms should report high levels of marital happiness,

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regardless of their experience of mate guarding. However, those not governed by honor norms should report marital happiness only in the absence of mate guarding. I predicted that the myth of commitment would mediate this overall pathway. Those governed by honor norms who experience mate guarding could rationalize the controlling behaviors, and thus report overall happiness. Participants not governed by honor norms would not have the cultural impetus to rationalize mate guarding experiences, and thus would report low levels of happiness when they experience control.

A final outcome measure I included in this study is positive illusions (Murray, 1994). Those who endorse honor ideology could be either high or low in overall positive illusions. They could perceive many characteristics about their partner in an overly positive way, resulting in many positive illusions. They could, however, perceive their partner accurately in general aside from "spinning" mate guarding in a positive way. I expected low overall levels of positive illusions among all participants (regardless of honor endorsement), confirming the unique place that attitudes toward mate guarding hold in the minds of those who endorse honor ideology.

Participants

A total of 306 married females ranging in age from 19 to 68 and living in the U.S. completed this online survey via Qualtrics. The average age of the wives was 33.32 years old. Women reported having been married for as short as 5 months and as long as 45 years, with an average length of marriage of 7.72 years.

Three participants failed to complete the Honor Ideology for Manhood (HIM) scale, and so data are reported for the remaining 303 participants. Two hundred thirty-nine females self-identified as Caucasian (79.1% of the total sample), 21 self-identified as Black (7.0%), 19 as Asian (6.3%), 13 as Hispanic/Latino (4.3%), 3 as Native American (1.0%), 3 as Pacific Islander (1.0%), and 4 as Other (1.3%). Analyses of interest did not change when including only Caucasian females, so all analyses include the final sample of 303 participants. One hundred twenty-four females indicated living in non-culture of honor states, while one hundred seventy-eight indicated living within culture of honor states. Just under half (47.4%) of the married women sampled reported having only completed some college or holding a high school diploma as their highest level of education. 39.7% reported holding a Bachelor's degree, while 12.9% of the sample indicated having attended graduate school, making this sample somewhat more educated than the general population. At the time of participation, just over three-fourths (77.2%) of the wives reported that they were currently employed. Over one third of the women (39.9%) reported that they have at least one child with their current husband who lives at home, and 11% indicated having at least one child from a former relationship who currently lives with them. It is clear from these demographic data that this sample is substantially different than a typical college student sample: the women are older, less educated, widely distributed across the country, and married, many with children.

Method

Participants in this study were recruited via MTurk.com. Each female had a lifetime approval rate of 95% or higher for all human intelligence tasks (HITs), or surveys, attempted via MTurk and lived within the U.S. Those potential workers not meeting these criteria were prevented from viewing the survey. Once participants viewed the description of the task, they were first directed to the Qualtrics link for the survey. The first page included the IRB-approved consent form and the option to not complete the survey. All 306 females who viewed the survey link agreed to participate. Participants first responded to the 16 items of the HIM scale indicating their level of endorsement of culture of honor norms. Next, participants completed an 11-item shortened version of the MRI-SF (Buss, Shackelford, & McKibbin, 2008) indicating how often their husbands had engaged in mate guarding behaviors in the past 12 months. This survey was included to give a valid assessment of the wives' experiences with mate guarding in their current marriages. Buss and colleagues (2008) found that only selected items of their mate guarding inventory strongly predicted violence. These are the items I used in this shortened version of this measure, including items such as, "Called me to make sure I was where I said I would be," and "Spent all his free time with me so I couldn't meet anyone else." Refer to Appendix C for the complete survey.

Participants then saw a modified version of the MRI-SF designed to indicate wives' perceptions of mate guarding behaviors as forms of commitment. This 11-item measure included the same items as the MRI-SF, but participants

were asked to indicate how *committed* their husbands would be if they performed

the behaviors. This variable I refer to hereafter as the "myth of commitment."

Next, participants responded to a second modified version of the MRI-SF, this

time indicating how *desirable* the behaviors would be if their husbands performed

them. This survey was designed to be an indicator of how ideal mate guarding

behaviors were viewed by the wives in the study. This variable I refer to hereafter

as the "myth of desirability." Next, participants indicated their overall satisfaction

levels in their current marriages on a scale from 1 "very dissatisfied" to 7 "very

satisfied" by responding to the 3-item satisfaction measure developed by Schumm

and colleagues (1986), with higher scores indicating high satisfaction with their

marriages. A sample item is "How satisfied are you with your marriage?"

Participants also completed Rosenberg's Self-Esteem scale, which measures their

overall self-worth with 10 items on a 6-point Likert-type scale from "strongly

disagree" to "strongly agree." A sample item is "On the whole, I am satisfied with

myself." Participants then completed the positive illusions scale developed by

Murray (1984), wherein respondents place their spouse within 10 categories

ranging from the bottom 5% to lower 50% to top 5% on 10 dimensions compared

to his peers. For example, a woman could place her husband within the top 10%

among his peers on athletic ability, but in the lower 50% among his peers on

social skills. This measure was included in this study as a comparison outcome

variable to determine whether women selectively construe controlling behaviors

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their husbands perform positively, or if they more globally view their husbands idealistically.

Participants also evaluated how committed to their current marriage they are by completing Rusbult and colleagues' 15-item Commitment scale (2009). Participants indicated their level of agreement with items assessing commitment on a 9-point scale, with 1 indicating strong disagreement and 9 indicating strong agreement. For example, participants indicate how much they agree with, "I want our relationship to last forever," and "I am completely committed to maintaining my current relationship." Finally, participants indicated how long they predicted their current marriage will last from 1 "less than one year" to 7 "forever" before answering demographic questions and covariates. These covariates included their explicit self-esteem, last year's total household income, their own highest level of education, whether the participant was currently employed at the time of study, whether the participant had been previously married prior to her current spouse, if she had children who lived with her (from either her current or previous relationships), and how long she had been married to her current husband. At the end of the survey, participants were given a unique survey code, which they were required to enter in order to receive their payment of $1.00 via MTurk.

Results

Before beginning the regression analyses, I first created composite variables for culture of honor endorsement, mate guarding, myth of commitment, myth of desirability, positive illusions, and the previously discussed "marital

happiness" composite, composed of satisfaction, perceived longevity of relationship, and commitment (α = .76). Reliability analyses revealed that all items on each scale comprised a single construct, and thus, no items were dropped. The two scales specifically designed for this study demonstrated very high reliability: Myth of Commitment α = .96 and Myth of Desirability α = .92. I then assessed the zero-order correlations between the variables of interest. Refer to Table 4 for a complete list of correlations and descriptive statistics for study variables. Of particular interest, culture of honor endorsement on the HIM was positively related to mate guarding, myth of commitment, and myth of desirability, but HIM scores were unrelated to positive illusions, actual commitment, and current relationship satisfaction. Mate guarding, however, was negatively related to positive illusions, commitment, and satisfaction, revealing that, as predicted, across the entire sample of respondents, women who experienced high levels of mate guarding tended to be unhappy with their partners and their relationships. Although myth of commitment and myth of desirability were positively associated with one another, only myth of desirability showed a strong (and negative) link with satisfaction and commitment.

Predicting Mate Guarding Experiences

Further analyses were performed to investigate the possibility that culture of honor endorsement level and viewing mate guarding behaviors as a sign of commitment (myth of commitment) might interact to predict actual experiences of mate guarding. To perform this first analysis, I entered a mean-centered HIM

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variable, a mean-centered myth of commitment variable, and a variable representing their interaction into a regression equation predicting mate guarding, controlling for explicit self-esteem, employment status, highest level of education completed, presence of kids in the home (either belonging to the respondent and her current husband or those from a wife's prior relationship), whether the wife was previously married, household income, and length of current marriage. This model fit the data quite well: $R^2 = .22$, $F(11, 286) = 7.48$, $p < .01$. The only variables that emerged as significant predictors were self-esteem, $\beta = -.21$, $p < .01$, culture of honor, $\beta = .25$, $p < .01$, and myth of commitment, $\beta = .13$, $p < .05$. The interaction between culture of honor and myth of commitment was not significant, $\beta = .00$, $p > .05$. Complete statistics for all predictors can be found in Table 5.

Given the nature of these results, I tested for the possibility that myth of commitment mediates the relationship between culture of honor and mate guarding. The results of this test indicated that, indeed, a significant portion of the association between the HIM and mate guarding is explained by myth of commitment. The significant path between HIM and mate guarding, $\beta = .33$, $p < .01$, is reduced to $\beta = .25$, $p < .01$ when accounting for myth of commitment. There are significant paths from both the HIM to the mediator, myth of commitment, $\beta = .33$, $p < .01$, and from the mediator to the outcome variable, mate guarding, $\beta = .13$, $p < .01$. Results of the Sobel test revealed that the effect of the HIM on mate guarding when accounting for myth of commitment is

significantly reduced, $z' = 2.23$, $p < .05$. This analysis reveals that culture of

honor endorsement significantly predicts a woman's experiences with mate

guarding in her marriage, such that those women who subscribe to honor norms

are more likely to report actual experiences with mate guarding. The mediation

test results indicate that the relationship between culture of honor and mate

guarding is partially, though not entirely, due to women perceiving mate guarding

behaviors as displays of commitment. Refer to *Figure 5* for a graphical

representation of this finding.

Having established that the myth of commitment significantly predicts

mate guarding, I also expected that the myth of desirability would have the same

predictive ability. To assess this possibility, I entered mean-centered variables

including culture of honor endorsement, myth of desirability, and their

interaction, as well as all previously discussed covariates into a regression

predicting mate guarding. This model fit the data well, $R^2 = .40$, $F (11, 286) =$

17.37, $p < .01$. The variables that emerged as significant predictors of mate

guarding in this model were culture of honor, $\beta = .14$, $p < .01$, myth of

desirability, $\beta = .44$, $p < .01$, the interaction between culture of honor and myth of

desirability, $\beta = .13$, $p < .01$, and explicit self-esteem, $\beta = -.12$, $p < .05$. Table 6

presents statistics for all predictors entered in this model. There was a significant

positive relationship between mate guarding experiences and perceiving mate

guarding as desirable for those above the mean of the HIM, $\beta = .56$, $p < .01$.

There was also a significant, albeit weaker, positive relationship for those below

the mean of the HIM, $\beta = .32$, $p < .01$. Refer to *Figure 6* for a graphical representation of this interaction, graphed at +/- 1 standard deviation from the mean.

Having previously found that myth of commitment acts as a partial mediator between honor ideology and mate guarding, I tested whether myth of desirability would have the same mediating power. The path from HIM to myth of desirability is significant, $\beta = .37$, $p < .01$. Myth of desirability significantly predicts mate guarding after accounting for the effect of the HIM, $\beta = .48$, $p < .01$, and the Sobel test revealed that the HIM's association with mate guarding is significantly reduced from $\beta = .30$ (without myth of desirability) to .12, $p < .05$ (with myth of desirability), $z' = 5.47$, $p < .01$. This analysis indicates that myth of desirability accounts for some, but not all, of the strong relationship between honor endorsement and mate guarding. Refer to *Figure 7* for a graphical representation.

Subjective Evaluation of the Relationship

Regarding subjective evaluation of the relationship, I next conducted a regression in which I entered HIM, mate guarding, and a variable representing their interaction along with the same previously mentioned covariates as predictors of the composite outcome variable marital happiness. The model fit the data quite well, $R^2 = .29$, $F (11, 286) = 10.46$, $p < .01$. A significant main effect of mate guarding, $\beta = -.39$, $p < .01$, was qualified by a marginally significant interaction, $\beta = .17$, $p = .07$. Among the possible predictors, this regression

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revealed two significant covariates, self-esteem, $\beta = .23$, $p < .01$, and household

income, $\beta = .12$, $p < .05$. The results of this analysis suggest that married women

who have not experienced mate guarding indicate greater overall happiness in

their marriages than women who have experienced mate guarding. As

endorsement of honor ideology increased, this negative association was somewhat

attenuated. Table 7 presents statistics for all predictors entered in this model. The

simple slope of the association between mate guarding and marital happiness for

those below the mean of the HIM is $\beta = -.50$, $t(286) = -5.10$, $p < .01$, while the

slope of the association between mate guarding and marital happiness for those

above the mean of the HIM is $\beta = -.28$, $t(286) = -4.19$, $p < .01$. Refer to *Figure 8*

for a graphical representation of this interaction.

I had also expected the path between the two-way interaction of HIM and

mate guarding and marital happiness to be mediated by myth of commitment.

Given that the above analysis revealed only a marginally significant interaction

term, there was no relationship between this interaction and marital happiness to

be explained by a mediator (myth of commitment), so I did not pursue this

analysis any further.

I next conducted an analysis to assess the predictive ability of culture of

honor and myth of commitment in explaining marital happiness. I entered HIM,

myth of commitment, and a variable representing their interaction, along with all

previously discussed covariates into a model predicting the composite variable

marital happiness. This model fit the data well, $R^2 = .21$, $F(11, 286) = 6.72$, $p <$

.01. The HIM, $\beta = -.15$, $p < .01$, and the interaction between HIM and myth of commitment, $\beta = .15$, $p < .01$, both emerged as significant predictors, but the myth of commitment alone, $\beta = .05$, $p > .05$, was not a significant predictor of marital happiness. Self-esteem, $\beta = .30$, $p < .01$, and household income, $\beta = .15$, $p < .01$, were also significant predictors. Refer to Table 8 for statistics of all predictors in this model. There is no association between myth of commitment and marital happiness for those 1 standard deviation below the mean of HIM, $\beta = -.08 =$, $t(286) = -1.09$, $p > .05$. However, there is a positive association between myth of commitment and marital happiness for those above the mean of HIM, $\beta = .19$, $t(286) = 2.48$, $p < .05$. Refer to *Figure 9* for a graphical representation of this interaction.

Subjective Evaluation of the Partner

I was also interested in assessing positive illusions as an outcome variable. I wanted to tease apart whether women who strongly endorse honor norms perceive only certain aspects of mate guarding as positive or view their husbands in a globally idealistic way. To address this question, I regressed HIM, myth of commitment, and their interaction onto positive illusions. This model fit the data well: $R^2 = .16$, $F(11, 286) = 4.86$, $p < .01$, but none of the primary predictor variables emerged as significant. However, when I changed the predictor from myth of commitment to mate guarding, the model provided a better fit to the data: $R^2 = .21$, $F(11, 286) = 7.05$, $p < .01$. Here, culture of honor, $\beta = .11$, $p < .06$, emerged as a marginally significant predictor, and mate guarding was significant,

$\beta = -.28$, $p < .01$, as was the interaction term (culture of honor X mate guarding),

$\beta = .17$, $p < .01$. Table 9 presents statistics for all predictors entered in this model.

The simple slope of the association between mate guarding and positive illusions

for those below the mean of the HIM, $\beta = -.46$, $t(286) = -4.50$, $p < .01$, is strongly

negative, and for those above the mean of the HIM, the association between mate

guarding and positive illusions is slightly negative, though not statistically

different from 0, $\beta = -.10$, $t(286) = -1.35$, $p > .05$. Refer to *Figure 10* for a

graphical representation of this interaction.

Although this was not of primary interest in this study, I did perform an

additional regression with HIM, mate guarding, and their interaction along with

all previously mentioned covariates predicting years married to determine

whether the association between mate guarding and length of marriage was

different for those who strongly endorsed honor ideology compared to those who

did not. This model fit the data rather poorly, $R^2 = .10$, $F(3, 287) = 3.06$, $p < .01$.

The only significant predictors were whether the couple had one or more children

living at home with them, $\beta = -.21$, $p < .01$, and household income, $\beta = .12$, $p <$

.01. Women who had children living with them were more likely to report being

married for a shorter amount of time than women who did not have children

living with them. Women who reported higher household incomes reported being

married longer. None of the variables of interest, the HIM ($\beta = -.06$, $p > .05$),

mate guarding ($\beta = -.11$, $p > .05$), nor their interaction ($\beta = .01$, $p > .05$)

significantly predicted duration of marriage.

Discussion

Primary Analyses

In conducting this final study, I had several primary aims. In line with predictions, correlational analyses revealed a strong positive association between endorsing honor norms and experiencing mate guarding in marriage. In order to better understand this link, I analyzed the predictive power of honor norms and the perception of mate guarding behaviors as displays of commitment on women's reported mate guarding experiences. The results of this analysis indicated that perceiving mate guarding behaviors as a sign of commitment partially mediated the link between honor norms and wives' actual experiences. That is, when women construe mate guarding as positive displays of commitment, those same women report experiencing higher levels of mate guarding behaviors at the hands of their husbands. This might be seen as a type of coping mechanism in the attempt to rationalize behaviors that others dislike.

Of course, given the nature of these correlational variables, I can only speculate about the ways these variables combine. It could be that women grow up with cultural values that encourage the perception of mate guarding behaviors as a display of commitment, and therefore, these women seek relationships with men who will frequently check on them and engage in other forms of mate guarding. It could also be that women who find themselves in relationships with frequent experiences of mate guarding cope with such behaviors by coming to view them post hoc as displays of commitment by their partners. Given the

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intertwining of honor values with schemas and scripts as well as the normalization of violence that occurs within cultures of honor, it seems likely that either construal or mate guarding could come first in the chain of causality. In future studies, it would be important to sample both young girls who have no experience with relationships as well as women in established relationships to tease apart whether young girls already construe mate guarding as a form of commitment prior to dating or whether they only come to this conclusion after experiencing mate guarding.

It would also be important to determine if construal precedes actual mate guarding experiences, at what age this occurs. Perhaps young teens have not yet formed attitudes toward mate guarding in relationships, but older teens have begun to believe mate guarding demonstrates relational commitment prior to actually experiencing mate guarding, and this in turn drives the type of relationship they seek. It is also likely that the type of home environment a child experiences influences later relationship perception. If a young girl is raised in a home where her father engages in mate guarding tactics with his wife, it is possible that the young girl comes to see such behaviors as not only normal in a relationship, but also desirable (myth of desirability). These ideas will be important avenues for future research to more fully understand the complex interaction between a female's relational experiences, her cultural values, and her perceptions of relationships.

I also found that there is a stronger association between myth of desirability and mate guarding than between myth of commitment and mate guarding. Furthermore, wives' perceptions of mate guarding behaviors as a positive component of their marriages interacts with honor norms to predict whether women report having experienced mate guarding in their marriages. This interaction is primarily driven by wives who subscribe to honor norms and view mate guarding as desirable. These women report significantly higher levels of actual mate guarding in their marriages than do all other women. Myth of desirability also emerged as a partial mediator of the relationship between honor ideology and mate guarding. This analysis indicates that, in line with my thinking, culture of honor norms influence perceptions, including of desirable behaviors in a partner, and justify controlling behavior. Viewing mate guarding as desirable could, again, serve as a coping mechanism for those women who are controlled by their husbands and socialized to believe that it signals a healthy marriage.

Secondary Analyses

I also was interested in assessing how well honor norms and mate guarding experiences predict wives' reported levels of marital happiness. The highest levels of happiness were reported by those women who had not previously experienced mate guarding, whether or not they subscribed to honor norms. For women who had experienced mate guarding in their marriages, those who highly subscribed to honor norms reported equal levels of marital happiness as those who did not endorse honor norms. If women who subscribe to honor norms are

socialized to believe that mate guarding is a normal and healthy aspect of a relationship, then it would make sense that these women might report higher satisfaction when those behaviors occur than would women who are not socialized to accept such behaviors. One promising result of this analysis is that even among women who highly endorse honor norms, those who have *not* experienced mate guarding still report significantly higher levels of marital satisfaction, suggesting that such behaviors are not pivotal to a satisfying marriage. This pattern of results dovetails nicely with the results of Study 2, which showed that those women who strongly endorse honor norms still indicated greater willingness to pursue the target who exhibited few danger cues in his online profile, despite indicating some willingness to pursue the more dangerous target.

I was also interested in teasing apart the general versus potentially more specific insensitivities of women who endorse honor norms, so I included a measure of positive illusions to capture more global positive perceptions of one's partner. The results of the positive illusions analysis indicated that women who reported low levels of mate guarding saw their husbands as generally positive. As honor ideology endorsement increased, this negative relationship between mate guarding and positive illusions was attenuated. These results suggest that women who strongly endorse honor norms and experience mate guarding see their husbands as generally positive, but not any more than do women who have not experienced mate guarding. Adding support to the findings of Study 2,

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endorsement of honor ideology appears to change wives' overall perceptions of their controlling husbands. Whereas I had predicted that honor endorsement would modify *only* wives' perceptions of the controlling behavior they were experiencing, the results suggest that, in fact, honor values cultivate a more general positive view of the controlling husband as an ideal partner. Women seem to look past the potentially threatening behavior of their husbands, focusing instead on how those same behaviors and characteristics are favorable (even desirable) and come to see him in generally favorable ways as well.

Taken together, the results of the final study suggest that subscribing to honor norms does indeed affect a number of relationship variables. Women in this study reported general satisfaction in their marriages, particularly when they did not also experience mate guarding. This stands to reason because mate guarding behaviors are generally seen as controlling and an element of the cycle of dominance and control employed as a common strategy in abuse. For women governed by honor norms, however, their marital happiness remained high even when they had experienced mate guarding.

Results also indicated that women who strongly endorse honor norms and who see mate guarding as a positive aspect of their relationships were more likely to have experienced mate guarding. This could mean that any women who have experienced mate guarding and did not view it positively have ended their relationships. This would stand to reason because those women who endure controlling behaviors have two options: believe it to be unhealthy and dissolve the

relationship or view the behaviors in a positive way, as a display of commitment, to "make the best of things."

This could mean that women leave partners who display signs of mate guarding right away. It could also mean that women adopt a perspective that controlling behaviors display love (myth of commitment) in order to justify staying with a partner who introduces mate guarding later in the relationship. Perhaps mate guarding only occurs when a husband perceives (accurately or inaccurately) that his wife is dissatisfied, and thus, he attempts to minimize the chance of her leaving him by guarding her closely. This might be a strategy employed particularly by honor-endorsing men. Future research should attempt to more fully understand how honor values influence mate guarding and its perception for both wives and their husbands.

One of the most interesting findings from this study is that mate guarding and viewing mate guarding in a positive way combine to predict women's perceptions of their current marriage, including satisfaction level, commitment, and how long their current marriage will persist. Honor norms dictate that a good woman will "stand by her man," and this analysis seems to suggest that she will do so particularly when either a) she experiences mate guarding and views it positively or b) has arguably no reason to view mate guarding positively because she doesn't experience it.

General Discussion

The results of this set of studies, in line with predictions, display the link between culture of honor and violence within relationships. As early as high school, dating violence levels are higher among those who live in honor states. Women are attracted to a dangerous male more as a dating partner when they hold strong honor values. Finally, perhaps most sobering, mate guarding tactics are construed as a positive display of love and commitment among married women whose lives are governed by honor norms. This study suggests that people within honor cultures condone relational violence. Locating the influence of culture of honor on IPV is an important step in understanding the high rates of relationship violence currently observed worldwide.

In Study 1, I showed that female adolescents are at greater risk of experiencing physical dating violence than are male students. Results indicated that students within the culture of honor are victimized by their partners more often than students outside of honor cultures. I also demonstrated that high school students are at greater risk of dating violence as juniors and seniors compared to younger high school students. Despite my prediction that students within honor cultures would exhibit a positive linear trend in dating violence as they progress though high school and those outside honor regions would exhibit the opposite trend, results suggested that all students experience higher victimization as they near the end of high school compared to when they begin. Although the reason for this finding is unclear, it could be due to a number of factors. First, older students could be more heavily influenced by societal norms as they become increasingly

independent, which could lead to a perception of some violence in relationships as "normal." Stress could also be responsible for this finding: as students near the end of high school, they are under increasing pressure to apply for college or join the workforce, and this stress could result in dating violence. Of course, it is also plausible that older high school students are dating more often than younger students, so there is more room for dating violence to emerge. Future research should investigate these factors to determine why older high school students report higher levels of dating violence compared to their younger peers.

This study represents an important first step in identifying a difference in dating violence victimization rates as reported by high school students living within compared to outside culture of honor states. Although I began with over 100,000 student surveys, ultimately I was limited to assessing the aggregate violence rates across the five waves of data collection by gender, grade, and state-level culture of honor status. It would have been preferred to analyze these data from a longitudinal perspective, but relying on archival data precluded such analysis. Still, it is unlikely that violence rates reported by high school students in 2005 should be substantially different than rates reported by students in 2013. Future research should attempt to substantiate this assumption by incorporating the same participants across several waves of data collection. Nevertheless, the beauty of this study is its ability to shed light on a previously unexplored area of the literature: the link between living in a culture of honor and risk of experiencing dating violence in high school. This study is the first known study to

identify a significant difference between victimization of adolescent males and females by culture of honor status. This study adds to the literature by identifying significantly higher rates of dating violence among students nearing the end of high school compared to those beginning high school. The results of this study suggest that, in order to identify influences of culture of honor on violence rates, researchers need not consider any younger age group than high school.

Study 2 expanded upon Study 1 by taking the assessment of violence into a laboratory setting. For this study, I recruited college females at a large Midwestern university to indicate their willingness to pursue one of two male dating targets. The results of this study suggest that there is a difference in sensitivity to danger cues present in an online dating profile based on one's level of endorsement of culture of honor values. Women in this study indicated significantly greater willingness to pursue a male dating target who revealed few danger cues in his profile. Women who viewed a profile where the target revealed a high level of danger, as demonstrated by his discussion of getting extremely angry and quitting his job after being insulted by his boss, reported less willingness to pursue him. However, those women who strongly endorse honor norms reported significantly greater willingness to pursue this target than did women who do not strongly endorse honor norms.

These results suggest that being exposed to honor norms does affect perceptions of desirable characteristics of a dating partner, and some potentially dangerous qualities (e. g., underage drinking) can be overlooked. Other more

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threatening danger cues, such as a willingness to discuss getting extremely angry over an insult at work, seem to be warning signs even to women who strongly endorse honor norms, but less so than they are to women who reject the ideology of honor. This study is the first known attempt at identifying the threshold of danger cues that differentiates women who endorse honor norms from those who do not. Future research should address other types of danger cues to determine if it is the nature of getting angry and quitting a job that women perceive as truly dangerous or whether a minimum number of danger cues must be present to perceive a real threat. Alternatively, it could also be that a different type of danger cue (perhaps a relationship confession of infidelity) determines how honor-endorsing women perceive the level of danger present.

The third and final study moved into a very different sample of individuals: married women living across the U.S. This study employed a number of variables to assess the role culture of honor norms play in assessing relationship quality and actual experiences. One novelty of this study is the creation of two new variables, the myth of commitment and the myth of desirability. Although similar, correlational analyses reveal that these two scales are only weakly related, and thus, are distinct scales. Both scales were initially derived from a subset of items on the mate retention inventory, which assesses actual controlling behaviors experienced by participants. The myth of commitment includes revised instructions that indicate the potential for these behaviors to signal commitment and asks participants to rate how committed their

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husbands would be if they performed these behaviors. The myth of desirability takes the idea of mate guarding as positive one step further and asks participants to rate how much they would actually desire their husbands to perform these same behaviors in their marriages.

One very interesting and important finding with these two scales is that both are positively correlated with endorsing culture of honor norms. In addition, this study revealed that wives' actual experiences of mate guarding in their marriages are predicted by honor ideology and their perception of mate guarding as a display of commitment. Indeed, those same experiences are predicted even more strongly by the interaction between honor ideology and perceiving mate guarding as *desirable*. Mediation tests revealed that both myth of commitment and myth of desirability partially account for the relationship between honor ideology and mate guarding. Though these results should be interpreted with caution due to the correlational nature of the variables, it is clear that wives who endorse honor ideology experience their relationships differently than those who do not endorse honor ideology. Perhaps even more telling, honor norms and mate guarding experiences interact to predict wives' reported marital happiness. Overall, women are happiest when they have not experienced mate guarding. However, women who have experienced mate guarding reported slightly higher levels of happiness with their marriages if they strongly endorsed honor norms.

In addition, I included a measure of positive illusions to assess whether women who strongly endorse honor norms view every aspect of their husbands

(including mate guarding) as extraordinarily positive. Contrary to predictions, women who strongly endorse honor norms and have experienced mate guarding did also view their husbands as generally positive overall. This is important to highlight that the culture of honor appears to not only alter the experience of mate guarding in potentially dangerous ways, but also encourages women to view their controlling husbands as ideal partners. Taken together, these analyses suggest that in assessing both perceptions of one's romantic partner as well as one's current relationship, it is important to consider honor ideology, experiences of mate guarding, and perceptions of mate guarding as a form of commitment (myth of commitment) as well as desirable (myth of desirability) and how these variables interact.

Future research should address one limitation of the current study by assessing couples. How do husbands perceive the relationship when mate guarding is involved? What is their motivation for controlling the actions of their wives? Unfortunately the current study cannot address these questions, but the inclusion of husbands could lead to under-reporting on the part of the wives. Particularly if there is an abusive relationship, a woman could feel threatened by revealing personal details of her relationship with her husband in close proximity. Still, it is important for future work to delve into both the male and female experience of relationships.

IPV has long been a pervasive social problem. Researchers have recognized the importance of understanding characteristics of abusers as well as a

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snapshot of the daily horrors faced by victims. Only recently have incidents

including professional athletes come to public awareness. These data suggest a

sobering reality that honor norms meaningfully shift perceptions of dangerous

behaviors into desirable relationship characteristics. Even given more public

outcry against abuse, if victims themselves do not see themselves as victims, they

will not likely seek support. After all, if no problem is identified, no solution is

sought.

Nonetheless, the fact that people in general are less able to hide from the

reality of intimate partner violence is promising for victims. There is hope that as

public awareness of the pervasiveness of IPV increases, people can recognize

warning signs of abuse and encourage victims to seek help. The ability to

recognize signs of abuse is certainly needed. However, it would be even more

beneficial to victims if research provided insight into not only why abuse

continues, but why it occurs in the first place and how cultural values might be

encouraging the cycle of violence.

It is important to understand the role honor norms play in perpetuating

IPV. It is admirable, even honorable, to *publicly* denounce rape and abuse, but

what happens behind closed doors is another matter altogether. Whereas studies

find personality traits such as narcissism (Jacobson & Gottman, 1998) to blame

for IPV, investigating IPV from a *cultural* perspective paints a different picture.

That is, men who are raised around violence learn that law enforcement cannot

appropriately handle situations, and crucially, learn that reputation is everything,

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and therefore would only naturally react to an insult from their wives with aggression. This is not to imply that abuse is excusable; in order to more fully understand IPV, these data suggest that looking at the role of honor norms is a good place to start.

Table 1. *Covariate-adjusted means and standard error rates of White high school students reporting dating violence by state culture of honor status and sex (Study 1)*

	Culture of Honor		Non-Culture of Honor	
	M	*S.E.*	M	*S.E.*
All Students	7.16$_a$	0.28	6.54$_b$	0.33
Females	8.24$_a$	0.36	7.21$_a$	0.38
Males	6.07$_b$	0.36	5.87$_b$	0.42

Note: $N = 48$ states; Letter subscripts denote significantly different means;

covariates: annual mean state temperature; economic deprivation; rurality

Table 2**.** *Covariate-adjusted means and standard error rates of White high school females reporting dating violence by state culture of honor status and grade level (Study 1)*

	Culture of Honor		Non-Culture of Honor		Total	
	M	*S.E.*	M	*S.E.*	M	*S.E.*
9th Graders	6.99$_a$	0.42	6.37$_b$	0.49	6.68	0.30
10th Graders	8.55$_c$	0.54	6.66$_{a,b}$	0.63	7.61	0.38
11th Graders	9.16$_d$	0.48	8.15$_c$	0.56	8.66	0.34
12th Graders	8.79$_d$	0.50	7.23$_{b,c}$	0.59	8.01	0.36

Note: $N = 46$ states with at least 20 respondents per grade level; Letter subscripts denote significantly different means; covariates: annual mean state temperature; economic deprivation; rurality

Table 3. *Covariate-adjusted means and standard error rates of White high school males reporting dating violence by state culture of honor status and grade level (Study 1)*

	Culture of Honor		Non-Culture of Honor		Total	
	M	*S.E.*	M	*S.E.*	M	*S.E.*
9th Graders	4.72$_a$	0.61	4.71$_a$	0.71	4.71	0.43
10th Graders	5.30$_a$	0.48	5.33$_a$	0.56	5.32	0.34
11th Graders	6.44$_b$	0.56	5.98$_b$	0.65	6.21	0.40
12th Graders	8.23$_c$	0.71	7.26$_c$	0.83	7.75	0.50

Note: $N = 46$ states with at least 20 respondents per grade level; Letter subscripts denote significantly different means; covariates: annual mean state temperature; economic deprivation; rurality

Table 4. *Correlations and Descriptive Statistics Among Study 3 Variables (Alphas on Diagonals)*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. HIM	*.94*	.33**	.36**	.41**	-.12*	-.07	-.10	.01	-.02
2. Mate Guarding		*.91*	.25**	.57**	-.30**	-.43**	-.34**	-.26**	-.25**
3. M. Commitment			*.95*	.41**	.00	.00	-.03	-.02	-.03
4. M. Desirability				*.92*	-.18**	-.17**	-.15*	-.10	-.22**
5. Perc. Long.					—	.48**	.31**	.43**	.16**
6. Commitment						*.96*	.62**	.39**	.35**
7. Satisfaction							*.97*	.49**	.29**
8. Pos. Illusions								*.86*	.36**
9. Self-Esteem									*.92*
M	4.36	1.41	3.67	2.17	6.26	7.36	5.83	7.04	4.68
SD	1.68	0.54	1.49	1.23	1.49	1.61	1.27	1.30	0.93

Note. M. Commitment = Myth of Commitment; M. Desirability = Myth of Desirability; Perc. Long. = Perceived Longevity of Marriage; Pos. Illusions = Positive Illusions

* = significant at .05 level

**= significant at .01 level

Table 5. *Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Mate*

Guarding

Variable	B	$SE\ B$	β	t	p
HIM	.14	.03	.25**	4.41	.00
Myth of Commitment	.07	.03	.13*	2.31	.02
HIM x Myth	.00	.03	.00	-.01	.99
Self-Esteem	-.11	.03	-.21**	-3.73	.00
Kids	.03	.03	.06	1.06	.30
Previous kids	-.03	.03	-.06	-.94	.35
Previous marriage	-.01	.03	-.01	-.18	.86
Employment	-.03	.03	-.05	-.99	.33
Education	-.06	.03	-.11	-1.85	.07
Income	-.03	.03	-.06	-.94	.35
Years Married	-.04	.03	-.08	-1.43	.15

Note: ** = significant at $p < .01$; * = significant at $p < .05$.

Table 6. *Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Mate*

Guarding

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β	*t*	*p*
HIM	.08	.03	.14**	2.67	.01
Myth of Desirability	.24	.03	.44**	8.08	.00
HIM x Myth	.07	.03	.13**	2.59	.01
Self-Esteem	-.06	.03	-.12*	-2.40	.02
Kids	.04	.03	.07	1.34	.18
Previous kids	-.04	.03	-.07	-1.22	.23
Previous marriage	-.01	.03	-.03	-.49	.63
Employment	-.02	.03	-.03	-.59	.55
Education	-.04	.03	-.07	-1.44	.15
Income	-.03	.03	-.05	-1.00	.32
Years Married	-.03	.03	-.05	-1.11	.27

Note: ** = significant at $p < .01$; * = significant at $p < .05$.

Table 7. *Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting*

Marital Happiness

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β	*t*	*p*
HIM	.00	.05	.00	.03	.98
Mate Guarding	-.32	.05	-.39**	-6.55	.00
HIM x Guard	.09	.05	.10	1.80	.07
Self-Esteem	.19	.04	.23**	4.28	.00
Kids	.00	.05	.00	.08	.93
Previous kids	-.01	.05	-.01	-.20	.84
Previous marriage	.05	.05	.07	1.15	.25
Employment	-.02	.04	-.02	-.43	.67
Education	.03	.05	.04	.72	.47
Income	.10	.05	.12*	2.25	.03
Years Married	.00	.04	.00	.05	.96

Note: ** = significant at $p < .01$; * = significant at $p < .05$.

Table 8. *Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting*

Marital Happiness

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β	*t*	*p*
HIM	-.37	.14	-.15**	-2.55	.01
Myth of Commitment	.13	.14	.05	.92	.36
HIM x Myth	.33	.12	.15**	2.85	.01
Self-Esteem	.73	.14	.30**	5.35	.00
Kids	-.06	.14	-.03	-.44	.66
Previous kids	-.03	.15	-.01	-.17	.87
Previous marriage	.19	.15	.08	1.26	.21
Employment	-.01	.14	.00	-.05	.96
Education	.23	.15	.09	1.54	.12
Income	.36	.15	.15**	2.47	.01
Years Married	.09	.14	.04	.63	.53

Note: ** = significant at $p < .01$; * = significant at $p < .05$.

Table 9. *Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Positive Illusions*

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β	*t*	*p*
HIM	.14	.08	.11	1.88	.06
Mate Guarding	-.36	.08	-.28**	-4.42	.00
HIM x Guard	.24	.08	.17**	2.95	.00
Self-Esteem	.26	.07	.20**	3.53	.00
Kids	.18	.08	.14*	2.39	.02
Previous kids	-.09	.08	-.07	-1.08	.28
Previous marriage	.09	.08	.07	1.15	.25
Employment	-.04	.07	-.03	-.57	.57
Education	.12	.08	.09	1.58	.12
Income	.20	.08	.11**	2.60	.01
Years Married	.00	.07	.00	-.05	.96

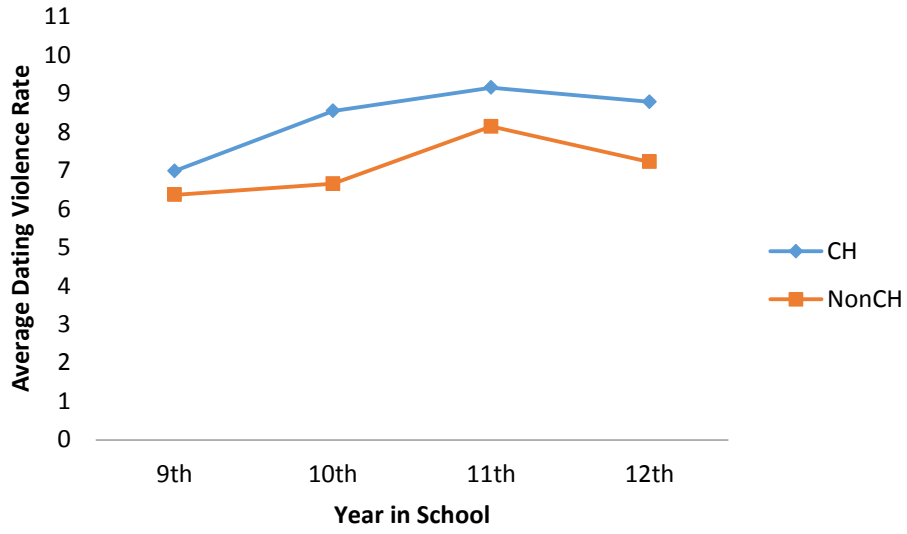Note: ** = significant at $p < .01$; * = significant at $p < .05$.

Figure 1. Average Rate of Dating Violence Among White High School Females

by Grade Level and Culture of Honor Status (Study 1)
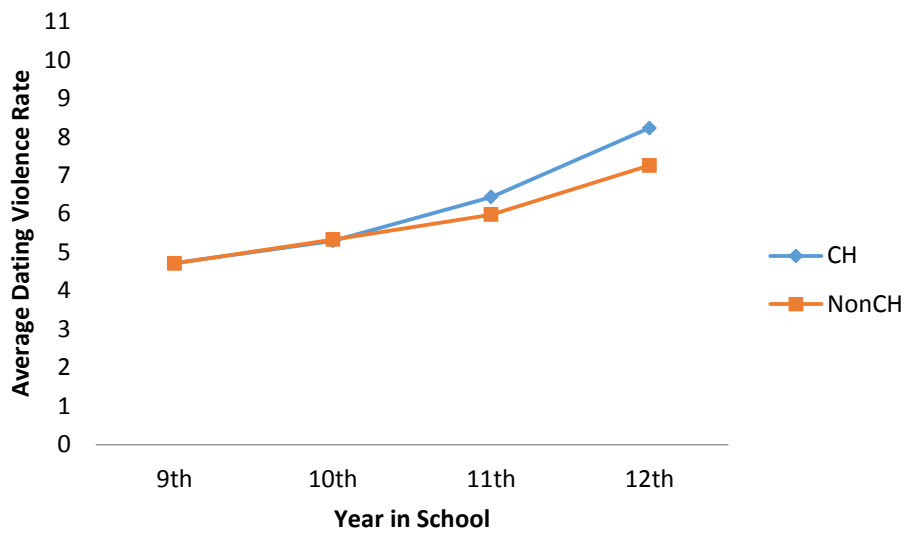
Figure 2. Average Rate of Dating Violence Among White High School Males by

Grade Level and Culture of Honor Status (Study 1)
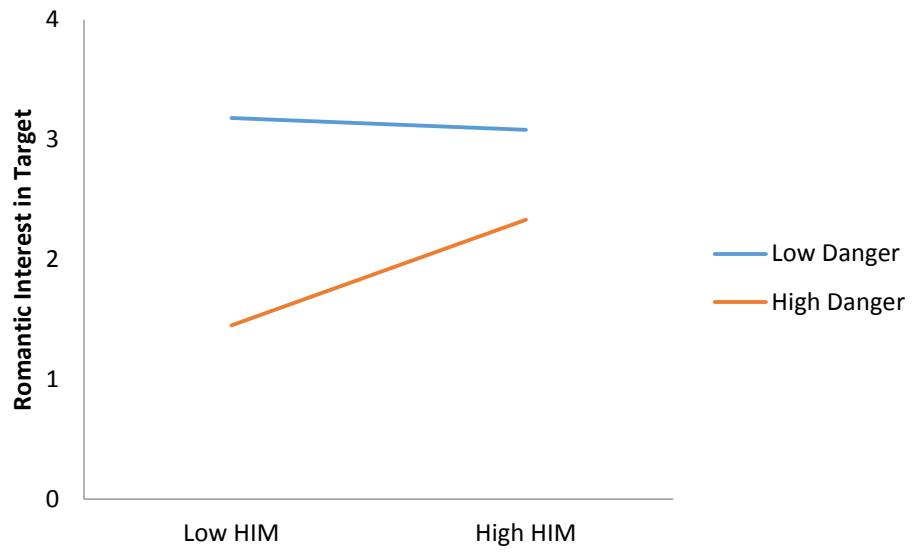
Figure 3. Romantic Interest in Target by Honor Ideology and Profile Type (Study 2)

Masculinity

.32**   -.31**

Profile Type ——————— -.52** (-.42**) ——————→ Romantic Interest
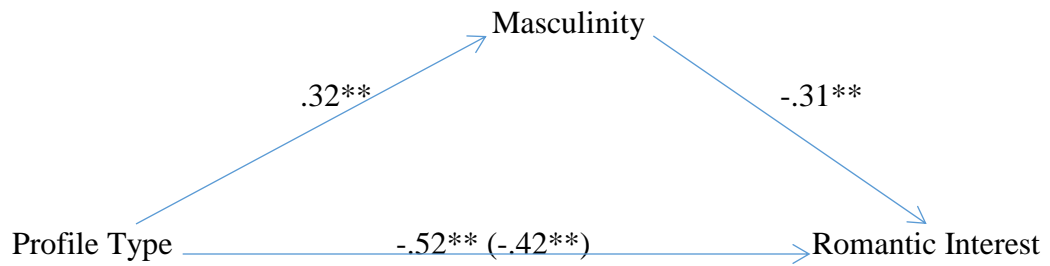
Note: ** = significant at $p < .01$; * = significant at $p < .05$. Direct effect in parentheses.

Figure 4. Mediation of Relationship between Profile Type and Romantic Interest

by Masculinity (Study 2)

Myth of Commitment

.33**   .13*

Honor Ideology ————————— .33** (.25**) —————————→ Mate Guarding
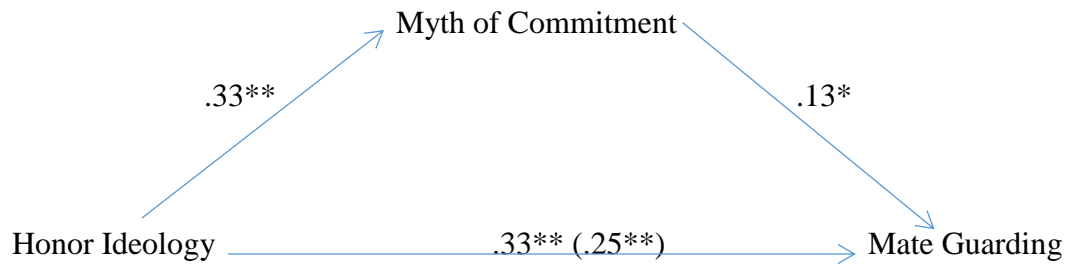
Note: ** = significant at $p < .01$; * = significant at $p < .05$. Direct effect in parentheses.

Figure 5. Mediation of Relationship between Honor Ideology and Mate Guarding

by Myth of Commitment (Study 3)
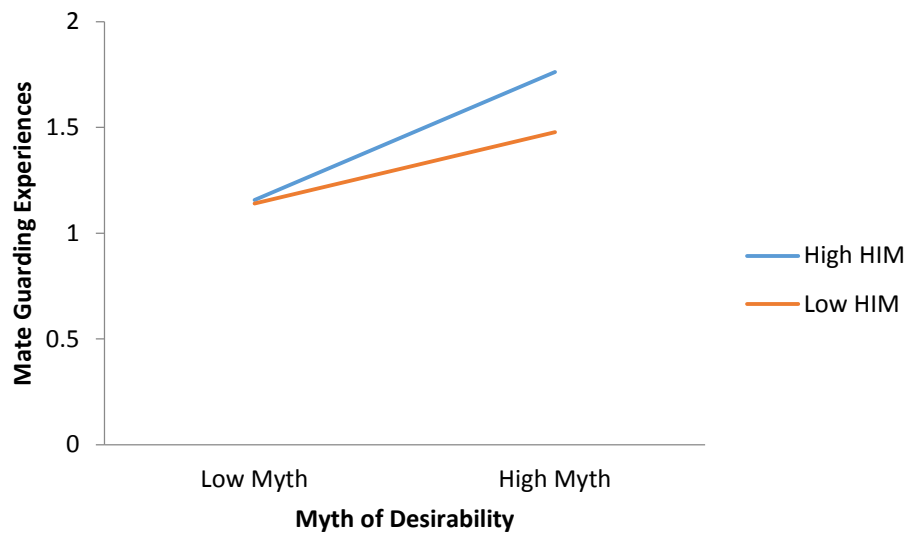
Figure 6. Mate Guarding as a Function of Culture of Honor Ideology and Myth of

Desirability (Study 3)

Myth of Desirability

.41**   .53**

Honor Ideology _____ .33** (.12*) _____→ Mate Guarding
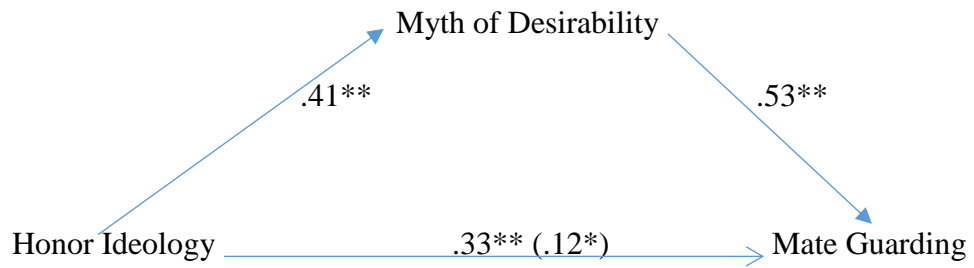
Note: ** = significant at $p < .01$; * = significant at $p < .05$. Direct effect in parentheses.

Figure 7. Mediation of Relationship between Honor Ideology and Mate Guarding by Myth of Desirability (Study 3)
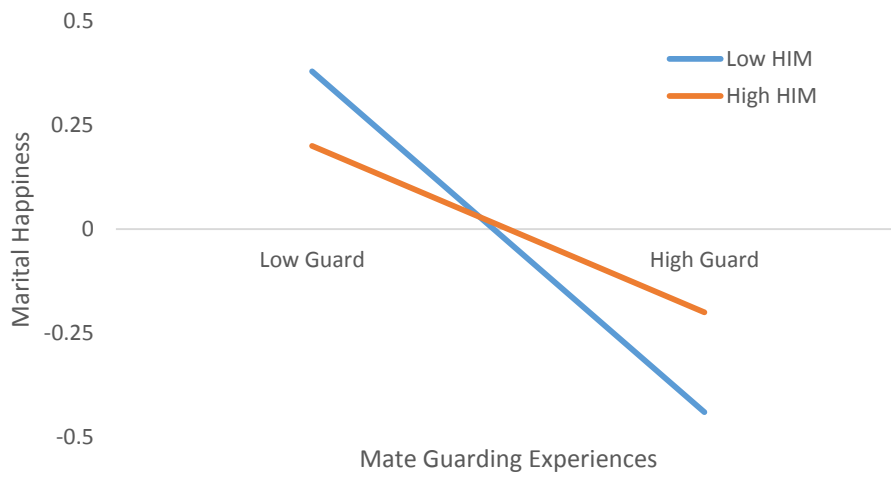
Figure 8. Marital Happiness as a function of Culture of Honor Endorsement and

Mate Guarding (Study 3)
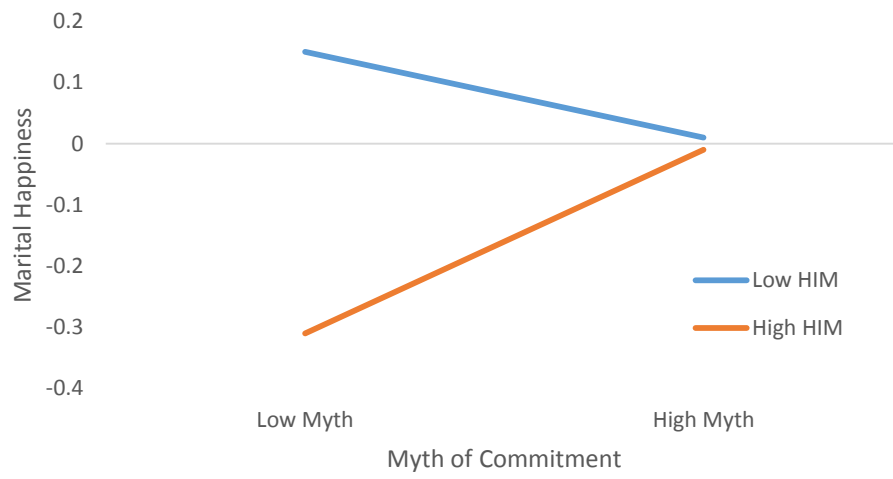
Figure 9. Marital Happiness as a function of Culture of Honor and Myth of

Commitment (Study 3)
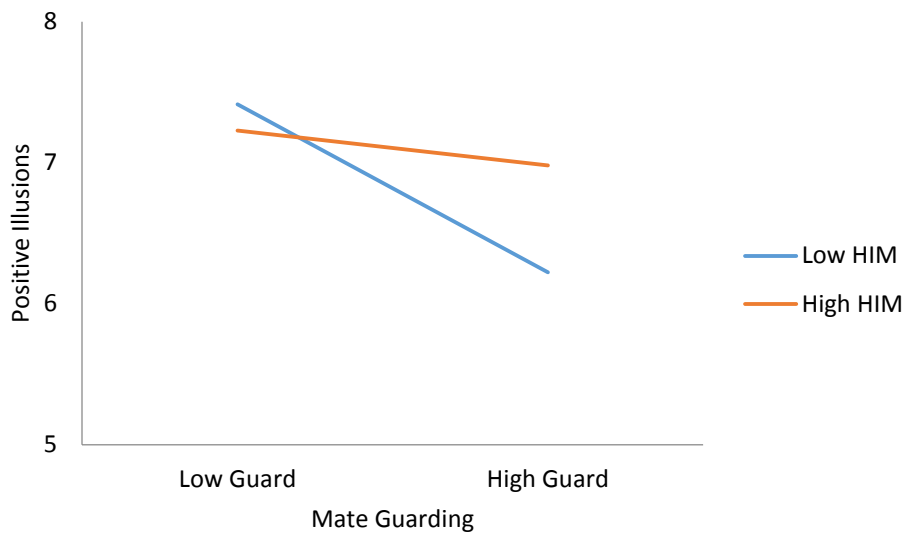
Figure 10. Positive Illusions as a function of Culture of Honor Endorsement and

Mate Guarding (Study 3)

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Appendix A (Study 1 Materials)

Data were gleaned from the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance (YRBS) survey

conducted by the CDC.

The survey question of interest is:

During the past 12 months, did your boyfriend or girlfriend ever hit, slap, or

physically hurt you on purpose?

    A. Yes

    B. No

The number of "Yes" responses was divided by the total number of respondents

for the given year and analyzed per state by grade level.

Appendix B (Study 2 Materials)

Sooner SOULmates
Find your soulmate today!

Name	William
State Born	Oklahoma
Major	Business
Siblings	18-year-old sister
Age	20
Contact me:	will1204@ou.edu

Describe your personality: Adventurous, funny, smart, honest, strong-willed, assertive, driven

Favorite hobbies: In my free time, I enjoy: Hunting, Hanging out with friends, rock climbing, playing baseball and football, and going to parties.

Favorite memory: Last summer, I went backpacking through Europe on a two-week trip with my buddies and it was awesome! Good thing the drinking age is lower in most countries in Europe. My favorite country was Germany and the pub tour. Can't wait to go back!

Most recent annoyance: I was standing in line at the Bursar's Office to pay my remaining balance. After I had waited over thirty minutes, I finally got to the counter only for them to tell me I had to talk to Financial Aid first. When I got there, there was another huge line, and I didn't have time to wait before my class.

Low Danger Profile

Sooner SOULmates
Find your soulmate today!

Name	William
State Born	Oklahoma
Major	Business
Siblings	18-year-old sister
Age	20
Contact me:	will1204@ou.edu

Describe your personality: Adventurous, funny, smart, honest, strong-willed, assertive, driven

Favorite hobbies: In my free time, I enjoy: Hunting, Hanging out with friends, rock climbing, playing baseball and football, going to parties.

Favorite memory: Last summer, I went backpacking through Europe on a two-week trip with my buddies and it was awesome! Good thing the drinking age is lower in most countries in Europe. My favorite country was Germany and the pub tour. Can't wait to go back!

Most recent annoyance: I was taking someone's order at work and my manager apparently thought I was taking too long. He snidely asked me, "Are you waiting for Christmas??" Nobody talks to me like that! I got right in his face and told him what was going to happen if he ever talked to me that way again. Then, I threw my apron on the floor and left, but I keyed his car before I drove away.

High Danger Profile

Ratings Questionnaire

1. How likely would you be to email to this person?

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Not at all likely   Extremely likely

2. How likely would be to message this person?

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Not at all likely   Extremely likely

3. How overall attractive do you find this person?

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Not at all   Extremely

4. How likely do you think you would be to start a short-term relationship with this person?

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Not at all likely   Extremely likely5.
How likely would you be to ask this person to go on a date with you?

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Not at all likely   Extremely likely

6. How masculine does this person appear?

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Not at all masculine   Extremely masculine

7. How positive were the descriptions provided in the profile?

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Extremely negative   Neutral   Extremely positive

Honor Ideology for Manhood

Rate your level of agreement with each of the following statements using the provided scale.

1 -------- 2 -------- 3 -------- 4 -------- 5 -------- 6 -------- 7 -------- 8 -------- 9

Strongly   Neutral   Strongly

Disagree   Agree

_____ 1. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who calls him an insulting name.

_____ 2. A real man doesn't let other people push him around.

_____ 3. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who slanders his family.

_____ 4. A real man can always take care of himself.

_____ 5. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who openly flirts with his wife.

_____ 6. A real man never lets himself be a "door mat" to other people.

_____ 7. A real man doesn't take any crap from anybody.

_____ 8. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who trespasses on his personal property.

_____ 9. A real man can "pull himself up by his bootstraps" when the going gets tough.

_____ 10. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who mistreats his children.

_____ 11. A real man will never back down from a fight.

_____ 12. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man

who steals from him.

_____ 13. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man

who vandalizes his home.

_____ 14. A real man is seen as tough in the eyes of his peers.

_____ 15. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man

who insults his mother.

_____ 16. A real man never leaves a score unsettled.

Mate Retention Inventory

Instructions: On the following pages are listed a series of acts or behaviors. In this study, we are interested in the acts that people perform in the context of their relationship with their romantic partner. For each act, use the following scale to indicate how frequently your partner performed the act within the past ONE year:

1 = Never performed this act

2 = Rarely performed this act

3 = Sometimes performed this act

4 = Often performed this act

Please choose for each item the number that best represents how frequently your partner performed the act within the past ONE year. For example, if your partner never performed the act within the past one year, choose ''1'' for the item.

___1. Called to make sure I was where I said I would be.

___2. Did not take me to a party where other men would be present.

___3. Insisted that I spend all my free time with him.

___4. Became angry when I flirted too much.

___5. Stared coldly at a man who was looking at me.

___6. Got his friends to beat up someone who was interested in me.

___7. Took me away from a gathering where other men were around.

___8. Spent all his free time with me so that I could not meet anyone else.

___9. Showed interest in another woman to make me angry.

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___10. Gave a man a dirty look when he looked at me.

___11. Hit a man who made a pass at me.

"Myth of Commitment" Scale

The following are a series of behaviors or actions a man might perform to show

commitment. In this study, we are interested in the role this plays in a romantic

relationship. Please indicate how committed to his relationship he would be if

your husband did the following:

               1   ---   ----   ----   ---   7

Not at all committed   Extremely committed

1.   Calling you to make sure you are where you said you would be.

2.   Not taking you to a party with other men around.

3.   Insisting you spend all your free time with him.

4.   Becoming angry when you flirted too much with someone else.

5.   Staring coldly at a man looking at you.

6.   Getting his friends to beat up someone who was interested in you.

7.   Taking you away from a gathering where there were other men around.

8.   Spending all his free time with you so you couldn't meet anyone else.

9.   Showing interest in another woman to make you angry.

10.   Giving a man a dirty look when he looked at you.

11.   Hitting a man who made a pass at you.

"Myth of Desirability" Scale

The following are a series of behaviors or actions a man might perform. In this study, we are interested in the role this plays in a romantic relationship. Please indicate how desirable it would be if your husband did the following:

1   ---   ---   ----   ----   ---   7

Not at all desirable   Extremely desirable

1. Calling you to make sure you were where you said you would be.

2. Not taking you to a party with other men around.

3. Insisting you spend all your free time with him.

4. Becoming angry when you flirted too much with someone else.

5. Staring coldly at a man looking at you.

6. Getting his friends to beat up someone who was interested in you.

7. Taking you away from a gathering where there were other men around.

8. Spending all his free time with you so you couldn't meet anyone else.

9. Showing interest in another woman to make you angry.

10. Giving a man a dirty look when he looked at you.

11. Hitting a man who made a pass at you.

Positive Illusions (Murray, 1994)

This questionnaire has to do with your attitudes about some of your partner's activities and abilities. It asks you to think about your partner's standing on various attributes relative to the standing of your partner's peers. For the ten items below, you should rate your partner relative to his or her peers (same age group) by using the following scale:

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
bottom 5%	lower 10%	lower 20%	lower 30%	lower 50%	upper 50%	upper 30%	upper 20%	upper 10%	top 5%

Here is an example of how the scale works: If one of the traits that follows were "height," a woman whose partner is just below average in height would choose "E" for this question, whereas a woman whose partner is taller than 80% (but not taller than 90%) of his male peers would mark "H", indicating that he is in the top 20% on this dimension.

Please select the letter which best represents your partner's standing (relative to his/her peers) on each of the attributes.

1. Intellectual/academic ability:_____

2. Social skills:_____

3. Artistic and/or musical ability:_____

4. Athletic ability:_____

5. Physical attractiveness:_____

6. Leadership ability:_____

7. Common sense:_____

8. Emotional stability:_____

9. Sense of humor:_____

10. Discipline:_____

Commitment Scale – 15 Item Version (Rusbult, Kumashiro, Kubacka, & Finkel, 2009)

Instructions:

To what extent does each of the following statements describe your feelings regarding your relationship? Please use the following scale to record an answer for each statement listed below.

Response Scale:

1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8	9

Do Not Agree   Agree   Agree

At All   Somewhat   Completely

1. I will do everything I can to make our relationship last for the rest of our lives.

2. I feel completely attached to my partner and our relationship.

3. I often talk to my partner about what things will be like when we are very old.

4. I feel really awful when things are not going well in our relationship.

5. I am completely committed to maintaining our relationship.

6. I frequently imagine life with my partner in the distant future.

7. When I make plans about future events in life, I carefully consider the impact of my decisions on our relationship.

8. I spend a lot of time thinking about the future of our relationship.

9. I feel really terrible when things are not going well for my partner.

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10. I want our relationship to last forever.

11. There is no chance at all that I would ever become romantically involved with another person.

12. I am oriented toward the long-term future of our relationship (for example, I imagine life with my partner decades from now).

13. My partner is more important to me than anyone else in life – more important than my parents, friends, etc.

14. I intend to do everything humanly possible to make our relationship persist.

15. If our relationship were ever to end, I would feel that my life was destroyed.

Kansas Marital Satisfaction Scale (Schumm et al., 1986)

       1   7

Extremely Dissatisfied   Extremely Satisfied

1. How satisfied are you with your marriage?

2. How satisfied are you with your husband as a spouse?

3. How satisfied are you with your relationship with your husband?

Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale

1   6

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

2. At times, I think I am no good at all. (reverse-scored)

3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of. (reverse-scored)

6. I certainly feel useless at times. (reverse-scored)

7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, or at least on an equal plane with others.

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself. (reverse-scored)

9. All in all, I am inclined to believe I am a failure. (reverse-scored)

10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

How long do you believe you will stay with your current spouse?

1 – less than one year

2 – 1-3 years

3 – 3-5 years

4 – 5-7 years

5 – 7-10 years

6 – 10 years or more

7 – forever

Demographic Information

How much was your total household income last year?

$0-$9,999 $10,000-$19,999 $20,000-$39,999 $40,000-$59,999   More

than $60,000

Do you have one or more child from a previous relationship who lives with you?

    Yes   No

Do you and your spouse have at least one child together who lives with you?

    Yes   No

Have you ever been married before your current marriage? Yes   No

How long (in years) have you been married to your current spouse?

What is your highest level of education?

    8th grade Some High School

    GED/High School Diploma

    Some college

Bachelor's

Grad school

Are you employed? Yes   No

Prior to marriage, how long were you with your spouse?

What is your ethnicity?

Caucasian

Hispanic/Latino

Native American

Asian

Pacific Islander

Black

Other

What is your age?