# Masculine Honour Leads to Greater Reputational Concerns about Gender Conformity

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by

Pelin Gul

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## Abstract

To date, masculine honour beliefs have been studied in the context of insults, threats and moral transgressions, and almost exclusively linked to aggressive emotions (e.g., anger) and behaviour (e.g., fights, confrontations). Here, it is proposed that masculine honour beliefs can also be associated with subtle, withdrawal-related behaviours, such as reluctance to engaging in feminine tasks and befriend feminine men. Furthermore, based on the theory suggesting that manifest indicators of a culture of masculine honour are expressions of individuals' overactive 'reputation maintenance psychology', I tested whether these subtle behaviours are underpinned by reputation maintenance concerns. Using self-report measures and different cultural samples (UK, Turkey, Saudi Arabia), the studies reported here as a whole provided evidence for the proposed associations and the reputation maintenance account. Studies 1a-b and 2a-b established an association between masculine honour ideals and men's self-presentations using masculine traits, as well as disfavourable judgments of effeminate men. Studies 3a-b and 4 focused on examining a voluntary relationship decision (choosing to associate oneself with a target as friends) to make reputational issues more salient and demonstrated that men who endorse higher levels of masculine honour beliefs were more reluctant to being friends with effeminate men. Study 4 further showed that this was due to high honour-endorsing men's concerns that being associated with an effeminate man who is perceived as lacking coalitional value would damage their own reputation among male friends. Focusing on the issue of men's disinterest in domestic roles such as child care, Studies 5a-b and 6 demonstrated a relationship between masculine honour beliefs and men's negative feelings (shame, frustration) about being a primary caregiver to their own children and revealed that this is due to high honour-endorsing men's concerns of losing reputation among their male friends, but not due to their wives' reduced appreciation of them. Taken together, these findings extend our understanding of individuals socialized with masculine

honour norms, and also offer more nuanced explanations of men's anti-effeminacy bias and disinterest in communal roles.

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# 1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

*Associate with men of good quality if you esteem your own reputation; for it is better to be alone than in bad company.*

– George Washington, 1st president of US (1732 - 1799)

*A man is not merely a man, but a man among men, in a world of men. Being good at being a man has more to do with a man's ability to succeed with men and within groups of men than it does with a man's relationship to any woman or any group of women. When someone tells a man to be a man, they are telling him to be more like other men, more like the majority of men, and ideally more like the men who other men hold in high regard…Masculinity is about being a man within a group of men. Above all things, masculinity is about what men want from each other.*

– Jack Donovan, an American writer (1974 - )

*We do not admire the man of timid peace. We admire the man who embodies victorious effort; the man who never wrongs his neighbour, who is prompt to help a friend, but who has those virile qualities necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life.*

– Theodore Roosevelt, 26th president of US (1858 - 1918)

*The lives of most American men are bounded, and their interests drastically curtailed, by the consistent necessity to prove to their fellows…that they are not sissies, not homosexuals. Any interest or pursuit which is identified as a feminine interest or pursuit becomes deeply suspect for a man.*

– Geoffrey Gorer, an English anthropologist (1905 - 1985)

The quotes about what it means to be a 'real man' presented here and many other ones typically refer to developing a virtuous and strong character, duty, social usefulness, and being somebody who is esteemed by others. These manhood standards are aimed at motivating and encouraging men to overcome the tendency for passivity, timidity, and dependency inherent in human nature in order to perform the often difficult and dangerous tasks that are needed for the community to survive and thrive (McKay, 2014). Although in the modern day, these standards seem to be obsolete and useless, in the past, men were expected to be physically and mentally tough, strong, skilful, and stoic to be able to fulfil their difficult and dangerous duties of hunting and fighting (McKay, 2014). In our hunter-gatherer past, men who were willing and able to protect their family and community from predators, enemies, and natural disasters, and who were willing to share resources helped the survival of their women, children, kin and allies (Gilmore, 1990). When men put themselves in danger and risked their lives to serve the collective good, they were bestowed honour, respect and rewards (mates and resources) (McKay, 2014). When they did not, they were shamed and stripped of their manhood (McKay, 2014). Even though motivating forces of shame and honour have declined with the globalization that began in the 19th and accelerated into the 20th century, the standards of manhood continued well into the modern societies (McKay & McKay, 2012; McKay, 2014). In fact, fundamental motives of men to protect and provide still continue to serve families and communities to survive and thrive in the modern day (Winegard, Winegard, & Geary, 2014), and the imperative 'man up' is still used for men who do not act manly enough in our modern times.

Despite the benefits of men's motives of protection, provision and status-achievement-, these inherent motives of men along with the social norms which function to prescribe such action from men may also manifest as unfortunate and destructive consequences in the modern day. Social psychology literature is fraught with linking these standards erected and

shared by societies all around the world to endemic social issues such as sexism and gender-based harassment (Dahl, Vescio, & Weaver, 2015; Hitlan, Pryor, Hesson-McInnes, & Olson, 2009; Hunt & Gonsalkorale, 2014), anti-gay behaviours (Bosson, Weaver, Caswell, & Burnaford, 2012; Carnaghi, Maass, & Fasoli, 2011; Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007; Reese, Steffens, & Jonas, 2014), violence against women (Jakupcak, Lisak, & Roemer, 2002; Vandello & Cohen, 2003, 2008), rape (Eagen, 2016; Muncsh & Willer, 2012), as well as general aggression-related cognitions and behaviours (Bosson, Vandello, Burnaford, Weaver, & Wasti, 2009; Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008).

One limitation with this line of research is that men are viewed as a homogenous group. The empirical research to date has ignored paying attention to individual differences within men as well as the contextual forces that activate and shape men's motives In the current work, I question this view and propose that negative consequences of a desire (implicit or explicit) for recognition of one's masculinity do not manifest in a monolithic fashion; *not all men* would hold themselves to honourable manhood standards, neither these manhood standards are present at equal degrees in all social contexts, , and accordingly *not all men in all social contexts* would engage in sexist or anti-gay behaviours for recognition of their masculine reputations. In some Western cultures, standards of honourable manhood are almost obsolete and traditional forms of masculinity (e.g., responding with aggression to personal slights) are even regarded as immature. Consider for instance the intellectual and academic cultures such as the arts, sciences and technology. These communities *do not* require aspects of traditional masculinity (physical strength, toughness, and courage) in order to succeed, instead traits such as recognizing the need for curiosity, knowledge, openness, and empathy help these communities thrive and survive (Kahn, Brett, & Holmes, 201; Marrs, 2013; Morris, 2003; Winegard et al., 2014). In modern societies, there are diverse routes available for men to achieve status and recognition. Nevertheless, men who belong to

societies/communities which value masculine honour standards and are socialized with these standards continue to be strongly motivated to achieve status and recognition through a dominance route. I argue that for these men, following masculine honour standards may lead to greater reputational concerns about gender conformity, which may manifest as biased and unfair behaviour towards gender and sexual minorities

The first empirical chapter in this dissertation (Chapter 2) examines whether endorsing higher levels of masculine honour standards relates to having more masculine traits and interests, and less feminine ones, as well as disfavouring feminine men. In line with theorists' suggestion that the behavioural expressions of masculine honour standards are underpinned by a 'reputation maintenance psychology' (Shackelford, 2005), the second main aim of this dissertation examined in Chapters 3 and 4 was to test whether certain biased behaviours and choices – reluctance to being friends with effeminate men and engaging in a feminine task such as child care – are underpinned by reputation maintenance concerns. These chapters together highlight the importance of reputational concerns in one's conformity to gender norms and dissociating oneself from those who are gender nonconforming and draw attention to individual differences among men.

Before moving on to my main hypothesis asserting that function of gender identity conformity is partly due to reputation concerns, which should be especially salient for men who endorse masculine honour standards, I will review the literature on gender nonconformity bias and discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the primary theories explaining this bias. This discussion presents the rationale for my choice of theory – the precarious manhood theory linked with masculine honour and reputation management theories.

### 1.1. Explaining Gender Nonconformity Bias

Social psychologists have been documenting the existence of bias against

gender nonconforming individuals in our culture and trying to explain the reasons for such bias for a long time. The accumulated evidence has shownthat gender nonconformity bias is not monolithic, and follows a specific pattern both in the case of adults and children: (a) men are judged more negatively than women for showing *atypical gender expressions* (e.g., Feinman, 1981; Hort, Fagot, & Leinbach, 1990; Martin, 1990; McCreary, 1994; Schope & Eliason, 2004), and (b) men display more gender-nonconformity bias, especially towards male targets, than do women (e.g., Herek, 1986, 1988, 2000; Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998; Kite, 1984; LaMar & Kite, 1998). These patterns of findings suggest then 'effeminacy' is especially stigmatizing for men than 'masculinity' is for women, and 'anti-effeminacy' bias deserves attention.

Although the robust evidence there is for anti-effeminacy bias for men being stronger than anti-masculinity bias for women, other research has suggested the opposite (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). For instance, Rudman and Phelan (2008) argued that "penalties for stereotype disconfirmation are more problematic for women than men." (p. 62). However, these authors and others showed that prejudice (i.e., backlash effects) against gender nonconforming women occurs only when women "violate"[1]

[1] The word is put in parenthesis, because unlike authors, I do not agree that running for high-status positions is a role violation for women. The whole literature on backlash/prejudice against agentic women and the predictions made seem to be ideologically biased. Authors make outstanding claims that dominant, controlling and arrogant behavior are traits reserved for leaders and men, and refer to running for competitive/high-status positions as violations of female role. This is not true as personality psychology has shown that competitive, dominant, controlling, arrogant personality exist for both men and women, and in most of the world (especially in lesser developed countries and agricultural societies), women's traits resemble that of men's (e.g., Schmitt, Realo,Voracek, & Allik, 2008). Furthermore, backlash researchers do not explain neither empirically test whether women who are running for competitive positions are actually perceived as violating a role. This remains an untested assumption. Another issue with the backlash literature is that, depending on a few studies and only focusing on men/women's behavior in work settings, specifically on high-status/competitive job positions (which are competitive for both men and women), it makes bold conclusions such that people who deviate from stereotypic expectations encounter backlash (i.e., social and economic penalties; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). People can deviate

status-related roles (e.g., female leaders, agentic women running for politics or managerial positions), but not when they violate any type of role expectation such as occupational role (being a lawyer, engineer) or seeming masculine by having interests that are perceived as masculine, e.g., boxing, playing the drums, eating steaks (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992; Okimoto & Brescoll. 2000; Rudman et al., 2012; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Similarly, research investigating backlash effects against men (see Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman, 2010) demonstrated that backlash effects occurred when gender "atypical" man was presented as someone who behaved modestly during a job interview (i.e., a man who had a moderate opinion of oneself or a lack of pretentiousness). Thus, prejudice against gender atypical men was observed when men were perceived as violating status-related roles, but not interest roles (having interests perceived as stereotypically feminine such as yoga, ballet, baking, etc.) or occupational roles (being a caregiver, teacher, nurse which are typically seen as women's jobs). The studies reported here examined biased reactions to male and female targets who were perceived as having masculine or feminine interests, and not necessarily implying status incongruency such as running or not running for politics, leadership or managerial positions. Thus, it is not clear whether the backlash hypothesis can be used to explain the predictions tested in this dissertation. Further discussion on the limitations of the backlash hypothesis is presented in the General Discussion of Chapter 3 and Chapter 6 Dissertation General Discussion.[2] If it is indeed true that anti-effeminacy bias for men is

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from stereotypic expectations in so many ways, and researchers cannot assume that all violations of stereotypic expectations lead to prejudice.

[2] Another common hypothesis used to explain anti-effeminacy bias for men being stronger than anti-masculinity bias for women is the sex-as-status hypothesis (or men/masculinity-higher-in-status-than-women/femininity hypothesis; e.g., Feinman, 1981; Moss-Racusin et al., 2010). According to this hypothesis, because men have a gender identity (masculinity) which is higher in status/power than the gender identity that women have (femininity), observers (especially other men) judge the male target more negatively for rejecting their gender identity of high status/power that is bestowed to them (by nature or roles). There is ample amount of research that challenges this idea by showing that who gets discriminated depends on the social value of the male target calibrated by the goals afforded by the

worse than anti-masculinity bias for women, what may be the reasons for this? As already mentioned, the backlash hypothesis concludes the opposite and fails to explain the consistently observed sex difference in gender nonconformity bias – i.e., gender nonconforming men are judged worse than gender nonconforming women, and male perceivers judge so more negatively compared to female perceivers. Next section addresses a recent theory – i.e., precarious manhood theory – which would predict the consistent trends of results observed regarding gender nonconformity bias.

### 1.2. A Recent Theory: The Precarious Nature of Manhood

Recently, some social psychologists have theorised that manhood is a precarious social status that is difficult to earn and easy to lose, which requires constant validation and proof in contrast to womanhood which is a relatively enduring physical/biological status ('precarious manhood theory'; Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Vandello & Bosson, 2013; Vandello et al., 2008). According to precarious manhood theory, anything that calls a man's masculinity into question can lead to feelings of threat and consequently men tend to respond in a number of ways stereotypical of men in order to restore and prove their masculinity to others.

Evidence for this idea comes from Vandello et al.'s (2008) set of studies conducted with undergraduate psychology students. The authors found that participants more strongly endorsed fake, researcher-created proverbs and statements about the precarious nature of

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particular context. For instance, in a recent study conducted by Winegard et al. (2016), men who were perceived as feminine (because of their appearance and interests) were preferred over men perceived as masculine as team mates when male perceivers were choosing a team mate for a poetry competition. Other researchers who have found support for sex-as-status hypothesis has done so when male and female targets were put in context (running for a competitive position in a company and the indicator of bias is the hiring committee's decision), never out of context. For instance, in a recent study conducted by Winegard et al. (2016), men who were perceived as feminine (because of their appearance and interests) were preferred over men perceived as masculine as team mates when male perceivers were choosing a team mate for a poetry competition. Other researchers who have found support for sex-as-status hypothesis has done so when male and female targets were put in context, never out of context.

manhood (e.g., “a gem cannot be polished without friction, *a boy* cannot become *a man* without struggles”) than that of womanhood (e.g., “a gem cannot be polished without friction, *a girl* cannot become *a woman* without struggles”). In another study, the authors found that participants attributed the transition from boyhood to manhood more to social factors (e.g., passing certain social milestones) than to physical/biological factors (e.g., hormonal changes), whereas they attributed the transition from girlhood to womanhood equally to social and physical/biological factors. When presented with statements about “losing manhood” and “losing womanhood”, participants found it easier to interpret a statement about “losing manhood” than an identical statement about “losing womanhood”. They were also more likely to attribute “lost manhood” to social factors (e.g., losing a job), and “lost womanhood” to physical/biological factors (e.g., having a sex change operation). Vandello et al. (2008) and other researchers (e.g., Bosson et al., 2009; Willer, Rogalin, Conlon, & Wojnowicz, 2013) further found that when manhood was threatened through a feedback indicating gender-atypical performance, men experienced heightened feelings of threat and they reacted with physically aggressive thoughts, competition and hierarchy-supportive attitudes and behaviour, whereas gender-atypical performance feedback had no effect on women. Researchers  interested in the precarious manhood hypothesis, later went on to demonstrate that after experiencing gender identity threat, men attempted to prove their threatened masculinity by bragging about sexual exploits, driving fast, making sexist comments, taking social and economic risks (Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Bosson et al., 2009; Dahl, Vescio, & Weaver, 2015; Weaver, Vandello, & Bosson, 2011), and of most relevant to this work: by derogating gay and effeminate men (Bosson et al., 2012; Glick et al., 2007; Hunt, Fasoli, Carnaghi, & Cadinu, 2016). Chapter 3 discusses about the precarious manhood account of anti-effeminacy prejudice in more detail.

### 1.2.1. Why is Manhood Precarious?

According to Vandello et al. (2008), the reason why manhood is precarious and requires social proof, but womanhood does not, is consistent by both social role and evolutionary theories (see also Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Vandello & Bosson, 2013). Considering social role theory, Vandello et al. (2008) suggested that one possibility for the nature of manhood to be precarious is due to the different social roles that men and women occupy in society which leads them to become psychologically different in ways that adjust them to these roles (see also Eagly & Wood, 1999, 2012). Throughout history, men's greater size and strength than women on average have given them priority in performing more *physically* demanding and dangerous activities (e.g., warfare, herding, factory work, construction), and thus men have specialized in such physically demanding and risky labour (Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Eagly & Wood, 1999, 2012; Vandello et al., 2008). Along with the originators of social role theory (Eagly & Wood, 1999, 2012), Vandello et al. (2008) argued that the type of labour primarily occupied by men involved greater opportunities for being rewarded status, resources and power. Thus, manhood has become associated with qualities such as competitiveness, assertiveness, and struggle to prove one's dominant status (Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Eagly & Wood, 1999, 2012; Vandello et al., 2008). In comparison, the type of labour typically performed by women, due to their biological endowment (e.g., bearing and raising children, domestic work), has yielded less status and power to women, so womanhood itself has become associated with submissiveness, compliancy and cooperativeness (Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Eagly & Wood, 1999, 2012; Vandello et al., 2008). This long-established division of social roles of men and women is what leads men, but not women, to be sensitive to threats to their gender identity and motivate them to display their masculine status (Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Vandello et al., 2008).

Alternatively, Vandello et al. (2008) suggested that the precarious nature of manhood can be explained by evolved sex-specific psychological dispositions that have their origins in male competition for status and acquisition of resources to gain access to sexual mates (see also Bosson & Vandello, 2011). It is thought that in human evolutionary history, men who successfully demonstrated their manhood and dominance stood a better chance of attracting mates (Betzig, 2012; Geary, 2010; Winegard et al., 2014). According to parental investment theory, in mammals in general, and humans in particular, males and females have different levels of minimum investment in their offspring – typically nine months of gestation followed by energetically costly lactation for the female, compared to a few sex cells from the male (Buss, 1989; Buss & Schmitt, 1993; Trivers, 1972). It is suggested that the differential minimum level of investment each gender is constrained to put into their offspring have led to the evolution of different reproductive strategies for men and women (Buss & Schmitt, 1993; Trivers, 1972). Because women are the more investing sex and successful reproduction requires longer term commitment and energy, women have evolved to be more selective and discriminating with whom they mate with (inter-sexual attraction) (Buss & Schmitt, 1993; Trivers, 1972). In comparison, because men are the less investing sex and they can achieve the greatest reproductive success by impregnating as many women as possible, men have evolved to favour vigorous competition for access to valuable, high-investing mates (intra-sexual competition) (Buss & Schmitt, 1993; Trivers, 1972).[3] Women at the bottom of a status hierarchy (i.e., those with low mate value) may have had chances for reproduction with short-term sexual mates with whom they produced offspring, whereas men at the bottom of the status hierarchy may have denied an opportunity to reproduce at all (Buss & Schmitt, 1993; Trivers, 1972). Men at the top of the status hierarchy had more

[3] Both men and women are cautious when it comes to choosing long-term mates, but women are more selective in granting sex, whereas men are more biased toward sex with acquaintances (Oliver & Hyde, 1993).

opportunities for mates and produced more offspring – both due to defeating subordinates' reproductive efforts, and women preferring high status men as mates (Buss & Schmitt, 1993; Trivers, 1972). Thus, there were strong sexual selection pressures for men to strive for status through intra-sexual competition. Ancestral women also competed with each other for mates, but their intrasexual competition was generally less intense due to relatively smaller variance in their reproductive outcomes compared to men's. Based on these premises, Vandello et al. (2008) argued that the differences in the way people view the essence of manhood versus womanhood parallels the severity of the stakes in men's versus women's intra-sexual competition (see also Bosson & Vandello, 2011).

In sum, both the social constructionist and evolutionary-minded social psychologists provided ample evidence for the precarious nature of manhood compared to womanhood, by showing that men feel more anxious and discomfort than women when their gender identity is threatened, and most of the time, a gender identity threat does not have an effect on women's feelings.[4]

### 1.2.2. Cultural Differences in Precariousness of Manhood

Anthropological cross-cultural research supports the idea that precariousness of manhood is a universal phenomenon (Gilmore, 1990). For instance, rites of manhood exist in a host of non-industrialized societies, where men have to go through public displays of their physical prowess and pain tolerance. For example, in the Eastern Torajan community in the mountainous regions of Sulawesi, Indonesia, young boy's ears are pierced by their mothers, and from age 6 to 15, boys are subincised yearly, and circumcised in a public ritual when they are aged 12. Boys go through a public initiation rite into manhood where they are cut on

[4] While manhood (physical strength, toughness, courage, virility and vigour) are precarious for men, theorists suggested that 'sexuality' is precarious for women. However, this is not relevant to the current work, therefore the precariousness of sexuality for women will not be discussed any further.

their arms, hands, and legs, as well as, burned on the torso and arms, during which they cannot show any pain (Sosis, Kress, & Boster, 2007). Young men who live in the nation island of Vanuatu in the South Pacific, prove their manhood by tying vines around their ankles and dive headfirst from a 100-feet tall wooden tower until they dangle inches from the ground (Thomassen & Balle, 2012). To become a man in the Satere-Mawe living in the Brazilian Amazon, a boy must place his hand in a glove filled with bullet ants and withstand their poisonous stings for over 10 minutes without making any noise (Hogue, 1987). Boys from the Samburu and Maasai herders of Kenya and Tanzania must also undergo a public circumcision ritual without showing any pain, and they must kill their first ox before they can marry or father children (Saitoti, 1986; Spencer, 1965). Similarly, Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert in southwest Africa must kill an antelope before they are considered men (Thomas, 1959), and Sambian highlanders of New Guinea undergo a bloody, painful scarification ritual to earn manhood status (Herdt, 1982). Although the type of the manhood rituals is different in each of these communities, they all share a common preoccupation with pain tolerance and bravery as public demonstration of their manhood. It is rare to see rites of passages into manhood in modern/industrialized cultures, butcertain subcultures within the modern societies such as the military, fraternities and street gangs still hold initiations where men have to prove their usefulness (strength and bravery) or commitment to the group before they can become members (Sosis & Alcorta, 2003; Vigil, 1996).[5]

[5] Cross-cultural ethnographic research also supports the idea that sexuality is universally precarious status for women. Just like rites of passage to manhood are observed in a host of non-industrialized cultures, rites of passage to womanhood exist in many non-industrialized cultures around the world. Many of these rites of womanhood involve controlling, suppressing and restricting women's sexuality, sexual pleasure and their sexual appeal to men (such as female circumcision). Almost every modern culture across the globe today have norms regarding controlling women's sexuality (female honour, sexism, sexual morality), albeit to different degrees. One would assume woman who violate sexuality expectations would be disliked and discriminated more than a woman who simply acts masculine by having masculine interests and choices (like body building and football). How much there is bias/discrimination against men and women who violate their role expectations depend

Based on this anthropological evidence, Vandello and colleagues argued that the precariousness of manhood is a universal phenomenon, yet certain societies can aggravate masculine identity concerns (Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Vandello et al., 2008). In societies where masculinity (i.e., toughness, strength, virility and vigilance) are intimately linked to men's reputation, men are more sensitive to challenges to their masculinity, and social norms and expectations encourage men to confront and respond aggressively to such challenges (Brown & Osterman, 2012; Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996; Nisbett & Cohen 1996; Vandello & Cohen 2003, 2008). The societies where such norms are prevalent are described to have a 'culture of honour'. Evidence supports these claims. In Cohen et al.'s (1996) experimental studies for instance, men from Southern US (characterized as a culture of honour) perceived potential threats (e.g., calling a man asshole) as diminishing their masculine reputation and requiring compensation by acting more aggressively and dominantly than men from Nothern US (characterized as having low culture of honour norms). To clarify, throughout the dissertation, I will use "society" to refer to the specific groups of people (e.g., Turks, British, Mexicans, Koreans) and use "culture" to refer to the shared beliefs or practices that characterizes the group (e.g., culture of honour, culture of dignity).

### 1.3.Culture of Honour (versus Cultures of Dignity and Face)

This construct was first articulated by Nisbett and Cohen (1996) who suggested that a culture of honour is what best explains the patterns of data recorded on homicide and the greater violence rates observed in the US South relative to the US North. According to Nisbett and Cohen (1996), 'culture of honour' is defined as a system of socially transmitted

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precisely on the kind of role they violate. Functional explanations are important and useful for predictions of this sort. This hypothesis is not tested in this dissertation. Because precariousness of sexuality for women is not relevant to the current work, it will not be discussed any further.

norms, narratives, and moral systems that emphasize the value of upholding and defending one's reputation for strength, toughness and willingness to protect oneself, family and property, especially that of a man. Cultures of honour have been documented throughout the world, including the nations in the Middle East, many societies around the Mediterranean and in Central and South America, as well as the Southern and Western regions of the United States (e.g., Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Peristiany, 1965; Vandello, Cohen, Grandon, & Franiuk, 2009). Although these societies differ from each other in terms of culture (e.g., religion), political systems (e.g., democracy, dictatorship), and ecology (e.g., temperature), what they share among each other is the importance they give to upholding and defending one's reputation – the primary feature of cultures of honour (Leung & Cohen, 2011). Research indicates that individuals socialized with culture of honour standards have heightened concerns for their reputations, and this was demonstrated in a variety of societies defined as honour cultures (e.g., Italians, Spanish, Turkish, Chileans, Brazilians, Jordanians, Afghans, Israelis, Palestinians) as well as in smaller honour-based communities (e.g., mafia, military, police, street gangs, sports teams, fraternities) (Baldry, Pagliaro, & Porcaro, 2013; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Guerra, Giner-Sorolla, & Vasiljevic, 2013; Hong, 2000; Khoury-Kassabri, 2016; Nisbett, 1993; Messner, 1992; Osterman & Brown, 2011; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2002a; Saucier & McManus, 2014; Travaglino, Abrams, & de Moura, 2016; Uskul, Cross, Sunbay, Gercek-Swing, & Ataca, 2012; Uskul et al., 2015; Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Vandello et al., 2009).

Honour cultures are often contrasted with 'dignity cultures' in the social psychology literature. The societies that value individual human rights, the rule of law, and equality over rights based on hierarchy, authority, family and group membership, such as Western European and Northern American societies are considered to operate with a culture of dignity (Leung & Cohen, 2011; Uskul, Cross, Gunsoy, Gul, in press). What primarily characterizes

dignity cultures are an emphasis on conferring individuals an inherent and inalienable worth, which is not given or taken by others (Ayers, 1984; Leung & Cohen, 2011). In societies operating with a culture of dignity, people are concerned with following their self-determined values, beliefs, and moral standards, and if they fail to do so they face the consequence of being punished by the law which evokes feelings of guilt. In contrast to people in societies operating with culture of honour, personal moral standards are deeply shaped by the family and community, and if people fail to follow these moral standards, they face punishment through retaliation and social exclusion, which evokes feelings of shame (Leung & Cohen, 2011; Uskul et al., in press).

Dignity values and norms are comparable to those of individualism. In societies operating with ideals of individualism, each person is unique, worthwhile, and seen as a separate entity on their own. By contrast, collectivism highlights connectedness and strong family ties, and in societies embodying a collectivism, each person gains self-concept and self-value through their relationship to others. Cultural psychologists consider 'culture of honour' to be a subclass of collectivistic culture, yet differentiate it from the collectivistic culture of 'face', which is typical to East Asian societies (Kim & Cohen, 2010; Leung & Cohen, 2011; Uskul et al., 2010). Even though collectivistic cultures of 'honour' and 'face' are both characterized by group memberships and interdependence between individuals, these two cultures differ in the degree to which norms for self-presentations and social interactions are shaped by a concern over maintaining personal reputation versus harmony and humility (Kim & Cohen, 2010; Uskul et al., 2010). Societies embodying culture of face are strongly influenced by Confucian ethics, which prescribe modesty, harmony, fitting in and not sticking out of the group, and not offending others (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 2009; Uskul et al., 2010). In face culture societies, self-worth is explicitly socially conferred, and is depended on a person's relative position in a stable hierarchy; one cannot claim for

more self-worth than what others are willing to grant (Aslani, Ramirez-Marin, Semnani-Azad, Brett, & Timsley, 2013; Cohen & Kim, 2010; Kim & Cohen, 2010). In fact, trying to claim more self-worth than one is entitled to is seen as immoral and a threat to the much-valued harmony of the hierarchical society (Cohen & Kim, 2010; Kim & Cohen, 2010). In honour culture societies too, self-worth is socially conferred and must be recognized by others. However, in honour culture societies, self-worth is much more fleeting than in face culture societies, because hierarchies are much less settled and stable (Aslani, Ramirez-Marin, Semnani-Azad, Brett, & Timsley, 2013; Cohen & Kim, 2010; Kim & Cohen, 2010). In honour culture societies, people can enhance or lose their public reputations through conflicts and competitions, and they more actively work to challenge others' perceptions of oneself, rather than accept them for the sake of harmony and resignation (Cohen & Kim, 2010; Kim & Cohen, 2010).

Because of honour culture's strong focus on maintaining and upholding personal reputations, the current work goes beyond simply comparing collectivistic vs. individualistic cultures. Here, I investigated culture honour vs. dignity – in other words, endorsing high vs. low honour ideals – in individuals' responses to gender nonconformity.

### 1.3.1. The Genesis and the Perpetuation of Culture of Honour

Like any other social norm, culture of honour grew out of minds containing complex psychological mechanisms which are selectively activated by their unique environment. In the case of culture of honour, most researchers argue that two ecological features may have led to its development: a long-standing scarcity of economic resources and unreliable law enforcement (Brown & Osterman, 2012; Cohen, 1996; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Nisbett, 1993; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). According to these researchers, culture of honour regions in the US (Southern US) were originally inhabited by Scottish-Irish settlers who have relied on herding for their primary source of income, in contrast to the English farmers who settled to the North

East. It is suggested that independence of pastoralism along with the mobility of the economic resources (cattle and sheep) afforded more potential for thefts (Reaves & Nisbett, 1994; Oberwittler & Kasselt, 2012). In the face of constant threat that one's resources will be thieved and a lack of governing body to punish the thieves and establish order, individuals have started to rely on developing a personal reputation for toughness and retaliation as a strategy to deter thefts, since such a reputation can reliably signal that one is not to be messed with (Brown & Osterman, 2012; Fessler, 2006; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Shackleford, 2005; Sommers, 2009). Such a reputation is maintained through a system of retributive justice, where people are ready to respond to misdeeds (such as theft) with violence and reciprocate the good deeds (Cohen & Vandello, 2001; Leung & Cohen, 2011).

Nowak, Gelfand, Borkowski, Cohen, and Hernandez (2016) demonstrated evidence for this particular functional explanation of the evolution of honour cultures. The authors used a computer simulation to model the interaction patterns of individuals across time in a certain environment, which allowed them to observe the evolution of different interaction strategies between individuals, and the domination of one strategy over the other. Specifically, authors pitted four types of "agents" against one another: aggressive agents attacked anyone weaker than themselves; honour-oriented agents attacked only those who had initiated a confrontation; interest agents did not retaliate, but instead sought help from authorities; and rational agents attacked when confronted, but only when they could defeat the opponent. Additionally, authors manipulated the harshness of the environment such that the resources varied from scarce to abundant and presence of the police force varied from low to high effectiveness. With these character traits programmed into the model, authors simulated tens of thousands of iterations of interpersonal interactions between the four different types of agents. When the environments were harsh with scarce resources and ineffective law enforcement, the aggressive and honour-oriented agents thrived. However, with increasing

presence of honour-oriented agents came a decline in the number of aggressive agents, which suggests that honour-oriented individuals, in real life, are able to bring order to a harsh and chaotic environment through reputation for aggressive retaliation as well as actual aggression against antisocial behaviour.

Even though most societies categorized as honour cultures do not rely on a herding economy any longer and have formal governments that protect personal property, an ideology of honour is still alive today in societies which operate with a culture of honour, as observed by individuals' higher tendency to aggress when their reputations are threatened compared to individuals socialized with non-honour cultures (Brown & Osterman, 2012; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994, 1997; Nisbett, 1993; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Reaves & Nisbett, 1994). It is argued that honour norms and standards are still alive today in societies where a culture of honour has initially developed partly because of the institutional behaviour which perpetuate such norms and standards (Cohen & Nisbett, 1997).

### 1.3.2. Honour as Multifaceted Approach

The word 'honour' brings different concepts to mind. For instance, the dictionary.com defines 'honour' as honesty, fairness or integrity in one's beliefs and actions (i.e., a man of honour), a source of credit or distinction, high public esteem, fame, glory. Its meaning and conceptualization also change across cultures. For instance, in Finland and in Estonia, people view honour exclusively as a self-enhancement value, Swiss people view it as a self-enhancement and conservation value, whereas Russians and Italians view it exclusively as a conservation value (Helkama et al., 2015). Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002a) found that Spanish participants viewed 'honour' as more closely related to family and social interdependence, compared to Dutch participants who viewed 'honour' as more related to self-achievement and autonomy. Uskul et al. (2014) found that Turkish people associated 'having honour' with more concrete aspects of moral behaviour, such as keeping promises,

not telling lies, not being a hypocrite and not stealing, compared to North Americans who associated having honour with more generic concepts such as having morals and following one's own morals. Also, when asked to describe how a person's honour can be threatened, Turkish participants were more likely than Northern Americans to generate situations that unfairly attacked a person's integrity or moral behaviour. In another study, Uskul and colleagues (2012) found that when asked to generate honour-attacking situations, Turkish participants generated situations that focused more on close others and made more references to an audience than Northern Americans who generated situations focusing more on the individual.

These different conceptualizations of 'honour' across different cultures are in line with the findings of ethnographic research showing that honour is enhanced, maintained and protected differently in different cultures, using a diverse set of behaviours. Informed by these findings, social psychologists have also approached honour as a multifaceted construct comprised of four different facets: masculine honour, feminine honour, morality-based (or integrity) honour, and family honour (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002b). Furthermore, theorists refer to honour as having two sides: a self-image and a social-image side. For instance, an anthropologist Pitt-Rivers (1965) described honour as the "value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society" (p. 21). This definition means that an individual has honour if other people also bestow it to them. Cross et al. (2014) extended this dual part definition of honour and suggested that honour has three underlying dimensions which are self-respect, social respect and moral behaviour. Furthermore, both the anthropological and social psychological literature define 'honour' as something that is easy to lose, but hard to gain (Cross, Uskul, Gercek-Swing, Alözkan, & Ataca, 2012; Leung & Cohen, 2011; Peristiany, 1965; Stewart, 1994; Uskul et al., 2012; Uskul et al., in press).

*Morality-based/integrity honour* is about behaving and being known as someone who is honest, fair, and trustworthy (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2012b). It focuses on moral norms that emphasize the individual as the unit of judgment and concern (Guerra et al., 2013). The dictionary definition of 'honour' mentioned in the beginning of this section reflects the foundations of the morality-based honour, which is unsurprisingly the least cross-culturally variant facet of honour (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016). For instance, a large scale cross-cultural research conducted in eight nations (Brazil, Israel, Japan, Macedonia, Spain defined as honour cultures and New Zealand, UK, US defined as non-honour cultures) revealed that integrity honour was overall the strongest type of concern across both honour and dignity cultures (Guerra et al., 2013). A cross-cultural study comparing Turkey (an honour culture) with Northern US (a dignity culture) has shown that when asked to describe the concept of 'honour', both Turkish and Northern Americans listed aspects of morality-based honour (i.e., honesty and trustworthiness) as one of the most central features of honour (Cross et al., 2014). Another cross-cultural study found that both Dutch and Spanish participants reported that they would feel bad if they were known as someone who lacks personal integrity and trustworthiness (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2002b). These findings resemble observations in research on moral psychology showing that care/harm and fairness/justice are the two moral foundations that are equally endorsed by individuals in Western and Eastern societies (Graham et al., 2011), and research on moral reputation, demonstrating that maintaining a 'moral reputation' is one of people's most important values (Vonasch et al., 2017).

*Family honour* refers to the view that it is one's duty to behave in a way to protect the reputation of the family (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a). One's personal reputation reflects on the reputation of the whole family. A family's honour is maintained when the individual members within the family each have a good, positive image

in the eyes of others, whereas if one's personal reputation is negative, the reputation of the whole family can become damaged (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a). That is, each individual is responsible for maintaining their honour based on morality and gendered norms, otherwise the whole family's reputation can be compromised. In that sense, family honour raises reputation concerns by association. Unlike morality-based/integrity honour, family honour values seem to show a large variance across societies. For instance, research shows that in honour culture societies (Spain, Turkey), honour is more closely related to family, family honour is endorsed to a greater extent, and honour-attacking situations involve family members as targets more frequently than in dignity/non-honour culture societies (the Netherlands, northern US) (Rodriguez Mosquera, et al., 2002a; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002b; Shafa, Harinck, Ellemers, & Beersma, 2015; Van Osch, Breugelmans, Zeelenberg, & Boluk, 2013; Uskul et al., 2012). Furthermore, Rodriguez Mosquera, Tan, and Saleem (2014) found that compared to members of a dignity culture society (European-Americans), members of honour culture society (Pakistanis) experienced more intense anger and shame and greater relationship strain when their families were insulted, and Uskul et al. (2015) found that in an honour culture society (Turkey) greater endorsement of honour values predicted retaliatory behaviour against those who attacked one's parents' honour.

In addition to being concerned with maintaining moral reputations, individuals living in honour culture societies are also concerned with maintaining their reputations based on gender-specific roles and responsibilities (Brown & Osterman, 2012; Gilmore, 1987; King, 2008; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a, 2002b). An honourable man is not only known as honest, trustworthy and loyal to his values and principles, but he is also known for having a masculine reputation – physically and emotionally strong, tough, courageous, able and willing to defend himself in the face of insults, protect women and one's property, and have

authority over his family. Besides having a moral reputation, an honourable woman is also someone known as chaste, sexually pure, modest, as well as loyal and devoted to her men and family (Barnes, Brown, Lenes, Bosson, & Carvallo, 2014; Brown, Imura, & Mayeux, 2014a; King, 2008; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a, 2002b, also see Abu-Lughod, 1999; Gilmore, 1987; Peristiany, 1965).

### 1.4. Masculine Honour Culture

Because the current dissertation focuses on consequences of a masculine honour culture, in this section, I focus on reviewing the research on the behavioural consequences of endorsing masculine honour. Masculine honour is in fact the most commonly studied aspect of a culture of honour. Nisbett and Cohen (1996), who first introduced the term 'culture of honour' to social psychology, started out by an attempt to understand the reasons of greater male violence rates in the Southern US (compared to the Northern US). Since then there has been a surge of research linking different forms of aggression – mainly interpersonal, but also intergroup, and intrapersonal – to masculine honour values, most of which focused on comparing southern and northern regions of the US using archival, interview, self-report and lab and field experimental methods.

#### 1.4.1. Masculine Honour and Its Violent Consequences

Archival data revealed that southern states of the US have higher rates of executions, violent television viewership, violent magazine subscription rates and hunting licenses per capita (Baron & Straus, 1989), more permissive gun control legislation, more lenient laws toward domestic violence and greater tolerance for corporal punishment in schools (Cohen, 1996; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Survey data revealed that Southern men endorsed and justified the use of violence more for reasons of self-protection, defence of honour and socialization of children compared to Northern men, but not for unconditional use of violence (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). Compared to the Northern men, Southern men also thought that if

the target did not respond with violence when he was affronted in some way, he would not be seen as much of a man (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). Field experiments showed that Southern companies were more likely to respond in a tolerant and cooperative way to job applicants who allegedly killed someone in a personal honour-related conflict than did Northern companies, and when student newspaper clubs were asked to construct a story about a stabbing incident in response to a family insult, Southern newspapers created news stories which were more sympathetic to the perpetrator than did Northern newspapers (Cohen & Nisbett, 1997). Again, these studies showed that the Southern institutions' responses to the perpetrators were more tolerant, cooperative and sympathetic than those of Northern institutions only when the crimes were honour related (Cohen & Nisbett, 1997). The Southern institutions were no more tolerant of the perpetrator than Northern institutions when the crime was not honour related, such as theft of motor vehicle (Cohen & Nisbett, 1997). Corroborating the findings obtained from archival, survey and field studies, a controlled lab experiment found that following an insult (being bumped in a hallway and called an asshole), Southern participants were more likely to believe that the insult threatened their masculinity, feel upset as indicated by higher cortisol levels, show physiological readiness for aggression as indicated by their higher testosterone levels, and to actually engage in aggressive displays as indicated by a firmer handshake and waiting longer to give way to the confederate (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996). Importantly, Southern and Northern participants did not differ in their responses in the absence of an insult (Cohen et al., 1996).

Research conducted outside of the US also found relationships between aggression-related outcomes and a culture of masculine honour. For instance, Van Osch et al. (2013) found that when asked how they would respond in different situations involving an insult or rude behaviour, Turkish participants reported that they would respond more aggressively than did Dutch participants. Cross et al. (2012) found that Turkish participants evaluated

confrontation as a more appropriate and justified response to a transgressor who attacked another man's honour (by making false accusations) than did Northern American participants. Honour values were more strongly associated with Turkish participants' positive evaluations of the targets who confronted a transgressor than those of Northern Americans (Cross et al., 2012).

In addition to male-on-male interpersonal aggression, a culture of masculine honour was also shown to be related to male-on-female violence. For instance, Vandello and Cohen (2003) found that compared to the North Americans, Brazilians judged a man who responded with violence to his unfaithful wife as more honourable (manly, strong, and trustworthy) and his actions as more positive. In addition, Vandello et al. (2009) found that Latinos and US southerners evaluated a woman who remained in an abusive relationship more favourably than did Canadians and Americans from the northern US states. Eisner and Ghunaim (2013) found that 40% of adolescent boys and 20% of adolescent girls considered it acceptable to kill a female family member who has dishonoured the family.

A masculine honour culture relates to perpetrator and victim blaming as well. For instance, Baldry et al. (2013) showed that when dealing with an intimate partner violence case, Afghan police officers showed less willingness to arrest the male perpetrator and to provide support to the female victim when the intimate partner violence was related to the victim having an affair with another man compared to when there was no reference to an affair. , In a study of attitudes towards honour killing in different hypothetical versions of adultery, Caffaro, Ferrais, and Schmidt (2014) found that Turkish participants attributed more responsibility to the victim and less responsibility to the perpetrator and proposed less severe punishment for the perpetrator than did Italian participants. Focusing on marital rape, Gul and Schuster (2018) created marital rape scenarios describing a husband who rapes his wife after threat to his reputation (finding out about his wife's infidelity). The authors found that

Turkish participants compared to German and British participants blamed the victim more, and the perpetrator less, held the perpetrator less criminally liable, and were less likely to consider the incident as 'rape'.

In addition to the consequences of a culture of masculine honour on men's interpersonal aggression towards other men and women, research also demonstrates how a culture of masculine honour can manifest as collective aggression as well as aggression against the self. To illustrate, Barnes, Brown and Osterman (2012) found that after the 9/11 terrorist attack against the US, participants from the southern states of the US more strongly endorsed deadly retaliation against the outgroup who committed the attack than participants from the northern states of the US. Travaglino, Abrams, and Randsley de Moura (2016) found that endorsement of masculine honour was associated with less intention to collectively oppose criminal organizations in Southern Italy, but this was especially the case for participants who strongly identified with the Campania region in Southern Italy (Travaglino, Abrams, Randsley de Moura, & Russo, 2015). Finally, controlling for a host of regional variables, Osterman and Brown (2011) found that the higher suicide rates observed in southern states of the US compared to the northern states of the US were related to a culture of masculine honour with its focus on strict gender roles and hypersensitivity to reputation threats. Taken together, these findings highlight how men's endorsement of masculine honour ideals can lead to aggressive behaviour directed to other men and women, outgroups, and even to oneself in honour cultures.

### 1.4.2. Masculine Honour and Its Non-Violent Consequences

Studies to date mostly examined the consequences of a culture of masculine honour in relation to aggression-related outcomes. However, if the higher levels of retaliatory aggression among men in cultures of honour is related to these men's motivation to restore or assert their masculine reputation by a show of strength, toughness and bravery, then the

consequences of a culture of masculine honour should by no means be limited to violence and aggression. Consistent with this view, recent research demonstrated that a culture of masculine honour is related to nonviolent subtle social processes as well. For instance, Barnes, Brown and Tamborski (2011) showed that both men and women living in honour states in the US actively engage in excessive risk-taking more than those living in dignity states as a means to socially prove that one is strong and fearless. The authors also found that this tendency for risky behaviour leads to higher rates of accidental deaths (e.g., driving recklessly through traffic) among both men and women in honour states in the US. The regional data that Brown and Osterman (2011) obtained from the US showed that men and women living in honour states were more likely to suffer from major depression than those living in dignity states, and the authors speculated that this relationship could be due to heightened concerns over complying with strict gendered expectations and their hypersensitivity to reputation concerns. Brown et al. (2014a) found that people living in honour states in the US invested less in mental healthcare resources compared with people living in dignity states, and parents living in the honour states were less likely to use mental health services on behalf of their children, indicating that a culture of masculine honour enhances the stigmatization of mental health needs and inhibits the use of mental health services. The authors speculated that these findings could be due to the fear of being seen or known as weak and needy, which could further harm peoples' reputations if they sought help for mental health issues (Brown et al., 2014a; Crowder & Kemmelmeier, 2014). Lastly, Brown, Carvallo and Imura (2014b) found that a culture of masculine honour was found to be related to a non-violent social practice, namely men's greater preferences to use patronyms (but not matronyms) for naming their future children, presumably to promote the strong kinship bonds and ingroup dynamics which serve as a collective source of strength for the individual.

### 1.4.3. Masculine Honour and Its Emotional Consequences

Social psychological evidence suggest that honour-relevant events are associated with strong emotional responses, mainly with anger and shame. In honour culture societies, attacks on one's honour through insults or false accusations foster stronger feelings of anger (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994, 1997; Cohen, et al., 1996; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). In line with research demonstrating that the function of anger is to enhance cues of strength and to resolve conflicts in favour of the angry individuals (Sell, Tooby, & Cosmides, 2009; Sell, Cosmides, & Tooby, 2014), it was found that men who from honour culture societies or who endorse an ideology of masculine honour more strongly reacted with anger when their masculine reputation was threatened by insults (Cohen et al., 1996; IJzerman, Van Dijk, & Galluci, 2007). Furthermore, a study that aimed to investigate how the experience of anger shapes motives and behaviours among members of honour (Moroccan/Turkish Dutch) and dignity (ethnic Dutch) culture groups found that feelings of anger as a result of being insulted predicted a desire to punish the wrongdoer, which in turn predicted the extent to which participants engaged in a verbal attack among both honour and dignity culture groups (Rodriguez Mosquera, Fischer, Manstead, & Zaalberg, 2008).

As with anger, shame is another emotion closely related to honour. The primary function of shame is to appease others after a social transgression which benefits the ashamed person by allowing them to avoid punishment and negative appraisals, and communicating their commitment to the group (Martens, Tracy, & Shariff, 2012). Shame in the face of reputation is a common experience for individuals from honour culture societies, presumably due to how a loss of personal reputation also has significant costs on the reputation of one's family members and community (Cohen, 2003; Wikan, 1984). For example, Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2000) found in Spain where honour-related values are relatively more important than individualistic values, participants expressed feelings of shame to a greater

extent than did participants from the Netherlands, where dignity values are relatively more important. Furthermore, Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2008) found that shame as a result of being insulted led to a desire to protect one's social image, which then led to a disapproval of the wrongdoers' behaviour, but only among the honour-oriented participants. Among the low honour-oriented, shame led to withdrawal.

### 1.5. Measuring Masculine Honour Culture at the Individual-Level

Although originally defined as a cultural construct, researchers argued that a culture of honour can permeate regions outside of its original geographic boundaries (Nisbett, 1993). The increasing contact and connectedness between individuals from different societies allow for the transmission, socialization and maintenance of honour values to people who live in regions that are not historically characterized by a culture of honour (Leung & Cohen, 2011; Nisbett, 1993; Saucier et al., 2016). Due to cultural values being so dynamic, individuals' acceptance of a culture of masculine honour does not perfectly follow regional boundaries (e.g., Cohen & Vandello, 2001; Guerra et al., 2013; Leung & Cohen, 2011, Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011). For instance, based on the anthropological literature, one would expect Spanish participants to give more importance to masculine honour values than Dutch participants, but Rodriguez Mosquera (2011) failed to find any differences between the Spanish and Dutch in the level of importance given to masculine honour values (also see Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002b). A large scale cross-cultural study found that Anglo-American countries (New Zealand, UK, US), Japan and Spain endorsed less masculine honour values compared to Brazil, Israel and Macedonia (Guerra et al., 2013). And Khoury-Kassabi (2016) found that masculine honour values manifested as involvement in violent behaviour identically among the high honour (Arab youth) and low honour (Jewish youth; according to the authors Jewish youth were a low honour culture group) cultural groups. These findings were not in line with an exclusive categorization of nations operating with

'honour' versus 'dignity' cultures, and suggest caution in treating nations as belonging to these strict categories, given that there is substantial diversity within these cultures and people can reject the dominant values and norms of their culture (see Leung & Cohen, 2011).

Based on these issues of measuring honour at the cultural level, some researchers have developed scales to examine endorsement of culture of honour values at the individual/person level, and started studying masculine honour values with individuals outside of honour culture societies (Barnes, et al., 2012; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002b; Saucier & McManus, 2014; Saucier et al., 2016; Vandello et al., 2009). The strengths of directly measuring individuals' endorsement of honour values allowed investigations of honour and its consequences within a single culture with greater precision (regardless of whether the culture is defined as an honour or a dignity), as well as women's endorsement of masculine honour values. For instance, Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002) developed honour values scale which measures the degree of importance individuals give on masculine, feminine, family and integrity/morality honour. Other researchers (those based in the US) developed comprehensive scales measuring *masculine* honour values (Barnes et al., 2012; Saucier et al., 2016). The studies reported in this dissertation used the Honour Ideology of Manhood (HIM) scale developed by Barnes et al. (2012) which include statements adapted from Cohen and Nisbett's studies (1994) showing that men from honour states in the US endorse the use of physical aggression for the purposes of protecting their property, family and personal reputations more than do men from the non-honour states. The HIM also includes statements about the defining qualities of a 'real man', such as physical toughness, pugnacity and self-sufficiency.

Evidence coming from studies examining the emotional and behavioural consequences of adhering to masculine honour values at the individual level resemble the cross-cultural results of Cohen et al. (1996) and others cited above. These studies did not categorize

participants as belonging to honour vs. dignity cultures beforehand, but differentiated participants as high vs. low honour-endorsers based on their individual scores on the masculine honour scales. For example, Barnes et al. (2012; Study 1) found that masculine honour ideals were related to more hostile responses to a fictitious terrorist attack against one's nation and use of more aggressive counterterrorism measures for both men and women. Masculine honour beliefs were associated with North American participants' manly perceptions of men who choose to fight (O'Dea, Bueno, & Saucier, 2017), likelihood of physically responding to insults challenging manhood (Saucier, Till, Miller, O'Dea, & Andes, 2014), and perceiving that a man's aggressive responses to a woman rejecting his attempt to initiate a relationship with her as more appropriate (Stratmoen, Greer, Martens, & Saucier, 2018). IJzerman et al. (2007) found that after being provocatively bumped into on the train, high honour-endorsing Dutch men displayed more facial expressions and body language indicating anger and aggression compared to weak honour-endorsing Dutch men. Furthermore, Saucier and McManus (2014) found that men who endorse higher levels of masculine honour had higher levels of participation in masculine contact sports and athletic events such as boxing, wrestling and weightlifting, and they were also higher on trait aggression and gave higher support for the use of war and military action.

Most importantly, Saucier, Miller, Martens, O'Dea, and Jones (2018) directed investigated whether individual differences in masculine honour beliefs has the ability to explain the regional differences that Southern and Northern men showed on the original measures of honour-related outcomes employed by the seminal scholars in culture of honour research (e.g., Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Nisbett, 1993). The results of this study replicated regional differences in honour-related responses, and further demonstrated that individual differences in masculine honour beliefs mediate these regional differences. This study along

with others which measured endorsement of a masculine honour culture highlight the value in conceptualizing honour as a psychological individual difference factor.

### 1.6. Women and Masculine Honour Culture

Nisbett and Cohen (1996) tested their culture-of-honour tradition account for the greater violence in Southern US than Northern US with men. This is because evidence shows that men are overwhelmingly responsible for homicides and acts of violence in the US and culture of honour is overwhelmingly tied to concepts of manhood. Nevertheless, these authors argued that Southern women (and women in all cultures of honour) are active participants in the maintaining and perpetuation of a culture of honour (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Barnes et al., 2012). Women play a significant role in the socialization of their children with honour values and enforcing it on their men (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).

Andrew Jackson (an American soldier who served as the 7$^{th}$ president of the US) and Sam Houston (an American politician and the 7$^{th}$ governor of Texas) both had mothers from the southern highlands (Tennessee). Jackson recalls his mother telling him "never tell a lie, nor take what is not your own, nor sue anybody for slander or assault and battery. *Always settle them cases yourself!*" (McWhiney, 1988 as cited in Nisbett & Cohen, 1996, p. 86). Houston's mother is said to have told him "…I had rather all my sons should fill one honourable grave than that one of them should turn his back to save his life." She then gave him a plain gold ring with the word 'honour' engraved inside it (Houston, cited in Wyatt-Brown, 1982, p. 391). These men happened to have followed the words of their mothers, as they are known as having involved in violent quarrels, several duels, in one of which a man was killed.

But not only women endorse honour values in their men, they also actively participate in the relational dynamics of cultures of honour. In some Middle Eastern and South Asian cultures, it is the women who routinely carry out some honour-related homicides, such as the

stoning of women who are believed to commit adultery (e.g., Chesler, 2015; Glazer & Ras, 1994). In the US south, historically the socialization of the Southern girls was similar to that of the boys; they were thought to grab things, fight on the carpet, clatter their toys around, and girls acted with the same freedom of restraint as boys (Wyatt-Brown, 1982, p. 138). An examination of their homicide data, Nisbett and Cohen (1996) revealed that Southern women were more likely to kill than their Northern counterparts, especially when the circumstances involved a lover's triangle or an argument. The ratio of wives killing husbands is proportionately high in the Southern regions, with 58% of all wife-kills-husband homicides occurred in the South, whereas 45% of all husband-kills-wife occurred in the South. A self-report attitude data by Nisbett and Cohen (1996) also found that Southern women are more likely than their Northern counterparts to endorse violence as a response to a conflict, to oppose gun control, and spanking (see also Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). Furthermore, Nisbett and Cohen (1996) reported that, having a mother from the South was a better predictor of a 'southern' response to insult, which they found in their experiments (Cohen et al., 1996), than having a father from the South.

More recent research reveals that women's psychology in honour cultures can also be shaped by the general social pressures and preoccupation with reputation for toughness and an ability to stand up for oneself. For example, both men and women from the southern honour states of the US are more likely than those in northern dignity states to engage in excessive risk-taking, resulting in high rates of accidental deaths (Barnes et al., 2011). Both men and women from the southern honour states are less likely to ask for help and seek treatment for mental health issues than those from the non-honour states (Brown et al., 2014a). Furthermore, masculine honour mentality can have collective or national manifestations among men and women alike. Barnes et al. (2012; Study 2) found that both men and women from an honour state in the US (Oklahoma) supported more aggressive

responses to a national-level provocation than those from a dignity state (Pennsylvania). Barnes and colleagues (2012) argued that even though it might not be women's interest to personally engage in the same violent behaviour that a culture of honour rewards among men, they still encourage and support their men's efforts to defend their country's good name from foreign attacks. The idea that women in cultures of honour are concerned with having a tough and strong reputation just as much as men is further supported by a large scale cross-cultural research conducted in eight nations (Brazil, Israel, Japan, Macedonia, Spain examined as honour culture societies and New Zealand, UK, US examined as non-honour culture societies). This study revealed that attributes and characteristics associated with masculine honour such as defending oneself from insults and an ability to support a family are often endorsed by both men and women alike in cultures of honour (Guerra et al., 2013; see also Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a).

Other than the anecdotal and the limited empirical evidence presented in this section, there are no published data showing the direct role women play in socializing their children and husbands with honour values. One unpublished study conducted with British undergraduates, with the aim of examining the role of high honour-endorsing women in socialization of their children and expectations from their partners found that women who strongly endorsed honour values wanted their sons to behave more aggressively when their sons' honour was attacked than their low honour-endorsing counterparts (Cells, Claver-Solo, Last, Loy, & Mehmet, 2017).

Taken together, there is some evidence showing that women's attitudes are also influenced by the cultural standards placed on building reputations for toughness; however, we still know very little about how living in cultures with strong honour norms influence women's motivations, emotions and behaviour. Understanding the consequences of culture of honour in women's psychologies requires investigating outcomes that go beyond the realm of

physical aggression or risk-taking which are regarded as typically masculine-typed behaviour, and looking at more subtle social processes, which are not gendered or which are more commonly used (e.g., relational forms of aggression) by women to maintain and protect their reputations (see Baumeister & Twenge, 2002; Campbell, 2004).

### 1.7. The Underlying Psychology of Masculine Honour Culture

Almost exclusively all psychology research on cultures of honour has focused on consequences of culture of honour on individuals' attitudes, perceptions, emotions and behaviour. To date, researchers have paid much less attention has been paid to the individual-level psychological mechanisms and the ecological demands as producer of culture of honour. There is general consensus among researchers that a culture of masculine honour is related to reputation concerns (Brown & Osterman, 2012; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996), yet only a few evolutionary-minded researchers have suggested that primary individual level psychological mechanism underlying the reactive and aggressive psychological phenotype typically associated with masculine honour culture is reputation management (e.g., Linquist, 2006; Nordin, 2013; 2016; Shackelford, 2005).

According to Shackelford (2005), the psychological mechanisms underlying the culture of masculine honour are sex-specific and universal among men. All men – those residing in the US south, US north, or in every other society in the world – have the psychological mechanisms (i.e., the capacity) for responding to insults to maintain and protect one's reputation for strength, toughness and honour. Yet, these mechanisms are sensitive to the context. For instance, a local economy which makes individuals vulnerable to large-scale resource deprivation due to theft such as herding economies along with absence of formal government that can punish theft of resources, can lower the threshold for responding with violence to insults (Shackelford, 2005). This view is supported by several studies showing cultural similarities in the emotional, behavioural or attitudinal manifestations of endorsing

masculine honour values (e.g., Khoury-Kassabri, 2016; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002b, Van Osch et al., 2013). Furthermore, it is suggested that female psychology may not include the psychological mechanisms that underlie the male expression of a culture of honour (Barnes et al., 2012; Shackelford, 2005). Instead, female psychology might include evolved psychological mechanisms for attending to the means by which male psychology regulates status, strength, toughness, and honour disputes (Shackelford, 2005).

### 1.8. Rationale and Objective of the Current Research

The objective of the research conducted for this dissertation is to examine how endorsement of a culture of masculine honour can manifest as behaviours, expressions and choices that are gender conforming. Based on the literature reviewed above, honour cannot be confined to handling personal disputes and responding with violence to insults or affronts. If honour is defined as (1) an inner conviction of self-worth, (2) the ability to show that self-worth in public, and (3) the assessment by the public of the self-worth of the individual (Wyatt-Brown, 1982), a concern for maintaining honour should apply to virtually all public behaviour. Gregg (2007) supports this view: "the concern for honour pervades all spheres of daily life to the extent that people automatically respond to events and build reputations, personalities, or selves in its terms" (p. 92). Therefore, endorsement of masculine honour ideals may lead men to respond with subtle choices and behaviour as well, such as presenting oneself as having interests and choices that are stereotypically perceived as masculine, making negative judgements about feminine men, being reluctant to engage in feminine tasks and befriend feminine men. Furthermore, based on the theory suggesting that honour cultures are expressions of a 'reputation maintenance psychology', these subtle behaviours may be driven by reputation concerns. The individual empirical chapters elaborate on the specific hypotheses, and discuss how reputation concerns would be related to gender conformity in more detail.

### 1.9. Overview of Studies

Chapter 2 reports four studies (Studies 1a-b and 2a-b) designed to investigate whether higher levels of endorsement of masculine honour ideals relates to men's more masculine and less feminine self-presentations and disfavouring other men who seem feminine. Chapter 3 reports three studies (Studies 3a-b and 4) carried out to examine the relationship between masculine honour endorsement and their tendency to dissociate from effeminate men, and tests whether reputation maintenance concerns drive high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to being friends with effeminate men. Chapter 4 reports three studies (Studies 5a-b and 6) conducted to investigate how reputation concerns may be hindering high honour-endorsing men from engaging in communal roles such as child care. Below, I briefly present the studies reported in each chapter to provide an overview.

**Chapter 2.** In Studies 1a and 1b, to examine whether endorsement of masculine honour ideals relates to men's and women's gender conforming self-presentations, I measured participants' endorsement of masculine honour ideals and asked them to present themselves and their interests using a number of personality traits, study majors, leisure activities and sports that are stereotypically perceived as masculine and feminine. In Studies 2a and 2b, I presented participants with a person profile of a target male or a female who is perceived as masculine or feminine, and asked them to judge the targets in a number of characteristics. Both studies were conducted with a low honour culture sample using British participants and with a high honour culture sample using Turkish participants.

**Chapter 3**. To examine whether masculine honour ideals create reputational concerns that manifest as desire to dissociate from effeminate men, in Studies 3a and 3b, I measured participants' endorsement of masculine honour ideals, and presented them with a person profile of a target male or a female who is perceived as masculine or feminine (same scenarios used in Studies 2a and 2b). Subsequently, I measured participants' perceived

coalitional value/formidability of the target, and their intention to be friends with the target (discussed in detail in the Introduction of Chapter 3). As in Studies 1a-b and 2a-b, Studies 3a and 3b were conducted with a low honour culture sample using British participants and with a high honour culture sample using Turkish participants. I conducted Study 4 with British participants to replicate findings from Studies 3a-b and to test whether high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to being friends with effeminate men was driven by a desire to maintain a prestigious and masculine reputation.

**Chapter 4**. To examine whether masculine honour ideals relates to men's negative feelings about taking on a primary caregiver role for their children, and whether these negative feelings are driven by reputational concerns, in Studies 5a and 5b, I measured participants' endorsement of masculine honour ideals and presented them a scenario of a caregiver man or woman married to a breadwinner woman or man (or vice versa) and assessed participants' attributions of traits, as well as negative and positive emotions towards the targets. This study was conducted with a low honour culture sample using British participants and with a high honour culture sample using Saudi participants. Study 6 replicated findings of Studies 5a and 5b with British participants and investigated whether high honour-endorsing men's negative feelings about being a primary caregiver are predicted by their perceived standing/status among their male friends or perceiving that their wife would appreciate them less if they did not have a paid job.

# 2. CHAPTER 2

## (Studies 1a, 1b, 2a and 2b)

## Masculine honour ideals relate to endorsing masculine self-presentations and interests, and disfavouring feminine men

The studies presented in this chapter investigated how endorsement of masculine honour ideals relate to men's self-presentations using masculine and feminine traits and interests in the everyday life, and their judgments of other men who have feminine appearances and interests. Studies were conducted in two different cultural groups (the UK and Turkey) whose predominant cultures vary in the degree of importance given to honour values (Cross et al., 2014; Guerra et al., 2013; Sakalli-Ugurlu, Yalcin & Glick, 2007), in order to examine the trends in a low honour (UK) versus a high honour (Turkey) cultural group. Female participants were also recruited in order to examine the similar and different manifestations of masculine honour for men and women in each cultural group.

In Studies 1a and 1b, I measured participants' masculine honour endorsement and asked them to present themselves and their interests using a number of personality traits, study majors, leisure activities and sports each of which has masculine and feminine associations. In Studies 2a and 2b, I presented participants with a profile of a male or a female target who has masculine or feminine appearances and interests and asked them to rate their perception of the target in a number of characteristics.

### 2.1. Studies 1a and 2b

If endorsing masculine honour ideals is associated with men's increased concern for their reputation based on the theory and research on masculine honour, it was predicted that men who highly endorse masculine honour ideals would have more masculine and less feminine self-presentations compared with men who weakly endorse masculine honour ideals.

Despite the cultural qualities that distinguish Turkey from the UK – the former being a patriarchal honour culture society, whereas the latter defined as a more gender egalitarian, dignity culture society – masculine honour endorsement is expected to work in the same pattern for men in both cultural groups – that is, men with high honour endorsement in both cultural groups should present themselves using more masculine and less feminine terms compared with low honour-endorsing men. This prediction is based on previous research showing that men from a low honour (Dutch) and high honour (Spanish) cultural groups showing similar levels of agreement with the desirability of physical strength, toughness, and protection of family and property for men (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011), and also previous research showing that masculine honour ideals lead to aggressive outcomes identically in a low honour and a high honour culture sample (IJzerman et al., 2007 and Van Osch et al., 2013 with a native Dutch sample; Khoury-Kassabi, 2016 with an Israeli Jewish sample; Saucier et al., 2014, 2016 with a mixed American sample and a Midwestern sample – both not a southern US honour sample). Nevertheless, it could be also possible that the relationship between masculine honour ideals and self-presentations would be stronger in a high honour culture group than in a low honour culture one. For this reason, I also analysed the data cross-culturally and reported the findings in the Auxiliary Analysis sections of this chapter.

**Method**

**Participants.** Initially, I planned on recruiting at least 50 men and 50 women from Britain (Study 1a) and Turkey (Study 1b). Study 1a had a total of 111 British participants (57 men, 54 women; $M_{age}$ = 30.09, $SD_{age}$ = 8.96, age range: 18-55; all UK/Ireland-born and self-identified as White-British) who passed the attention checks and completed an online survey advertised as a study on self-presentations in everyday life. British participants were recruited through Prolific Academic, a crowdsourcing platform similar to MTurk (Peer, Brandimarte,

Samat, & Acquisti, 2017). Study 1b had 138 Turkish participants (77 men, 61 women; $M_{age}$ = 27.66, $SD_{age}$ = 5.55, age range: 18-50) who were recruited through an announcement website (www.eksiduyuru.com) commonly used by local academic researchers. In both studies, participants were a mixture of student and community sample.

***Post-hoc power analysis.*** A post-hoc power analysis for linear multiple regression (fixed model, single regression coefficient) was conducted using GPower 3.1 (Faul, Eldfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) for the final sample size of 57 (Study 1a with British men) and 77 (Study 1b with Turkish men). Significance level of .05, and number of predictors as 1 (masculine honour ideals) was entered with effect sizes coming from the regression analysis with self-presentations using masculine traits (partial $R^2$ = .421 and .125) revealed adequate power: .99 and .95 for both studies.**Design and procedure.** Because I wanted to make the participants' reputation concerns salient, participants were told to imagine that they were describing themselves in a social networking website in order to create a profile, and that the other people could see their profiles and contact them. This was done based on research showing that individuals' reputation concerns can be enhanced when there is an audience (Kurzban, DeScioli, & O'Brien, 2007). Participants then answered questions asking them to describe themselves using personality traits, and rate their interest in various study majors, leisure activities and sports, keeping in mind that they are creating a profile on this ostensible social networking website.

**Measures.**

***Self-presentations.*** Using 7-point scales, participants rated the extent to which they describe themselves using a number of personality traits (1 = *never describes me* to 7 = *always describes me*), and the extent to which they are interested in a number of study majors, leisure activities and sports (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *extremely*). The traits, study majors, leisure activities and sports each included feminine, masculine, and gender-neutral items.

Personality traits were taken from the 60-item Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974), which includes 20 feminine (e.g., tender, warm), 20 masculine (e.g., assertive, dominant), and 20 gender-neural (e.g., happy, reliable) traits. Composite scores for self-presentations using feminine traits (Studies 1a and 1b: $\alpha$ = .82) and masculine traits (Study 1a: $\alpha$ = .85; Study 1b: $\alpha$ = .90) were computed by averaging the scores on the items. Items for study majors, leisure and sports activities were selected based on everyday observations and from scales such as the Occupations, Activities and Traits-Attitudes Measure (OAT-AM; Liben & Bigler, 2002), and were pilot-tested in each culture to identify the items which are feminine- and masculine-associated. Study majors included 17 items, leisure activities included 23 items, and sports activities included 27 items which had feminine, masculine and gender-neutral associations. Composite scores for interest in feminine majors (7 items: social sciences, literature, education, psychology, fine arts, nursing, fashion) (Study 1a: $\alpha$ = .73; Study 1b: $\alpha$ = .75), masculine majors (6 items: computer science, engineering, mathematics, physics, information technology, business) (Study 1a: $\alpha$ = .85; Study 1b: $\alpha$ = .70), feminine activities (10 items: cooking, going to the opera, watching drama movies, dancing, baking, watching soap operas, babysitting, watching romantic comedy movies, cheerleading, knitting) (Study 1a: $\alpha$ = .81; Study 1b: $\alpha$ = .71), masculine activities (9 items: hunting, fishing, building with tools, coding, playing poker, bbq-ing, playing video games, dj-ing, watching action movies) (Studies 1a and 1b: $\alpha$ = .77), feminine sports (7 items: volleyball, gymnastics, aerobics, figure skating, yoga, synchronized swimming, ballet) (Study 1a: $\alpha$ = .86; Study 1b: $\alpha$ = .85), and masculine sports (10 items: wrestling, rugby, weight lifting, boxing, kick boxing, motor sports, ice hockey, baseball, football, basketball) (Study 1a: $\alpha$ = .88; Study 1b: $\alpha$ = .80) were computed by averaging the scores on the items.[6] Participants

[6] Based on the pilot tests showing slight differences in Turkish participants' masculine and feminine associations of the items, compared to those of British participants, The Turkish sample included three extra items in the feminine majors scale: 'humanities', 'linguistics',

also rated how often they go to the gym to lift weights on a 6-point scale (1 = *I don't go*, 2 = *less than one time a week*, 3 = *one-two times a week*, 4 = *three-four times a week*, 5 = *five times a week*, 6 = *more than five times a week*).

***Masculine honour ideals.*** Participants completed the 16-item Honour Ideology for Manhood (HIM) scale, a measure of male honour ideals developed by Barnes et al. (2012b). This scale includes eight statements about the characteristics of what should define a 'real man' (e.g., "A real man must be seen as tough among his peers") and eight statements about the contexts in which men have the right to demonstrate physical aggression for personal and reputational defence (e.g., "A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who calls him an insulting name"). Participants rated their level of agreement with these items using a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) (Studies 1a and 1b: $\alpha$ = .94). Because these items are phrased as ideological items, both men and women can agree or disagree with how important it is for men to have masculine reputation (Barnes et al., 2012; Brown et al., 2014a). Table 2.1.1 presents mean scores on honour endorsement per cultural group and participant gender, and the relevant inferential statistics.

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and 'foreign languages'. The Turkish sample included 'political science' instead of 'business' in the masculine majors scale, and did not include 'going to the opera' and 'cheerleading' in the feminine activities scale. The Turkish sample included 'martial arts' and 'mountain climbing', but not 'kick boxing' in the masculine sports scale. See Appendix A for the results of the pilot studies conducted in Britain and Turkey in order to select the items to include in the masculine and feminine majors, leisure activities and sports scales.

Table 2.1.1

*Studies 1a and 1b: Means, SDs, and effects of culture and participant gender on masculine honour endorsement scores*

| | British participants | Turkish participants | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* |
| Men | 4.08 (1.80) | 5.02 (1.92) | 4.63 (1.92) |
| Women | 3.53 (1.61) | 3.79 (1.68) | 3.67 (1.65) |
| Total | 3.82 (1.72) | 4.48 (1.91) | |

Main effect of culture: $F(1, 240) = 6.78$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .072$

Main effect of participant gender: $F(1, 240) = 15.09$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$

Interaction effect: $F(1, 240) = 2.21$, $p = .14$, $\eta_p^2 = .009$

**Results**

To test the prediction that higher levels of masculine honour endorsement is related to men's more masculine and less feminine self-presentations, each self-presentation ratings was hierarchically regressed onto participant gender (1 = male, 0 = female) and endorsement of masculine honour (standardized) in Step 1, followed by the two-way interaction term in Step 2. Significant interaction effects were further analysed using simple slopes analyses examining the slopes of target gender for participants with relatively low *(1 SD below the mean)* and high (1 *SD above the mean*) honour endorsement, and the slopes of honour endorsement for men and women (Aiken & West, 1991). Semi-partial correlation coefficients (*sr*) are reported for effect sizes in regression analyses. Due to missing values, degrees of

freedom may differ between analyses. Figures 2.1.1 to 2.1.4 present the hypothetical simple slopes.

**Study 1a (British participants).** Overall, men presented themselves as more interested in masculine majors , $\beta = .40$, $t(103) = 4.36$, $p < .001$, $sr = .39$, more interested in masculine activities, $\beta = .46$, $t(103) = 5.34$, $p < .001$, $sr = .45$, more interested in masculine sports, $\beta = .34$, $t(102) = 3.68$, $p < .001$, $sr = .34$, than did women, but they presented themselves using less feminine traits, $\beta = -.30$, $t(101) = -3.15$, $p = .002$, $sr = -.30$, less interested in feminine majors, $\beta = -.31$, $t(103) = -3.21$, $p = .002$, $sr = -.30$, less interested in feminine activities, $\beta = -.47$, $t(103) = -5.34$, $p < .001$, $sr = -.46$, less interested in feminine sports, $\beta = -.36$, $t(102) = -3.87$, $p < .001$, $sr = -.36$, than did women. Men also reported going to the gym more often to lift weights, $\beta = .30$, $t(103) = 3.27$, $p = .001$, $sr = .30$, than did women. Men and women did not differ in their self-presentations using masculine traits, $\beta = .11$, $t(103) = 1.10$, $p = .27$, $sr = .11$.

In addition, higher levels of masculine honour endorsement were related to going to the gym to lift weights more often, $\beta = .22$, $t(103) = 2.37$, $p = .02$, $sr = .21$, and was only marginally related to interest in masculine activities, $\beta = .15$, $t(103) = 1.78$, $p = .08$, $sr = .15$, but masculine honour was not related to self-presentations using masculine traits, $\beta = .13$, $t(103) = 1.37$, $p = .18$, $sr = .13$, interest in masculine majors, $\beta = .09$, $t(103) = .99$, $p = .33$, $sr = .09$, and interest in masculine sports, $\beta = .15$, $t(102) = 1.60$, $p = .11$, $sr = .15$. Masculine honour endorsement was not related to self-presentations using feminine traits, $\beta = .007$, $t(101) = .08$, $p = .94$, $sr = .007$, interest in feminine majors, $\beta = -.002$, $t(103) = .02$, $p = .98$, $sr = -.002$, interest in feminine activities, $\beta = -.04$, $t(103) = -.50$, $p = .62$, $sr = -.04$, interest in feminine sports, $\beta = .016$, $t(102) = .17$, $p = .87$, $sr = .015$.

A significant participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effect was present only on self-presentations using masculine traits, $\beta = .41$, $t(102) = 2.84$, $p = 005$, $sr = .27$, and

on spending time in the gym to lift weights, $\beta$ = .29, $t$(102) = 2.14, $p$ = .035, $sr$ = .19. As shown in Figure 2.1.1, a closer inspection of the significant interaction effects using simple slope analysis revealed that, as expected, high honour-endorsing men presented themselves using significantly more masculine traits than did low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .52, $SE$ = .18, $t$(138) = 2.85, $p$ = .005, but high vs. low honour-endorsing women did not differ, $b$ = -.21, $SE$ = .18, $t$(138) = -1.18, $p$ = .24. And high honour-endorsing men presented themselves using significantly more masculine traits than did high honour-endorsing women, $b$ = .14, $SE$ = .05, $t$(138) = -2.92, $p$ = .004, but low honour-endorsing men and women did not differ in their self-presentations using masculine traits, $b$ = -.07, $SE$ = .06, $t$(138) = -1.24, $p$ = .22.

Simple slope analysis on time spent in the gym demonstrated that, as expected, high honour-endorsing men presented themselves as spending more time in the gym than did low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .26, $SE$ = .08, $t$(138) = 3.22, $p$ = .002, but high vs. low honour-endorsing women did not differ, $b$ = -.005, $SE$ = .09, $t$(138) = -.05, $p$ = .96. High honour-endorsing men also presented themselves spendingsignificantly more time in the gym than did high honour-endorsing women, $b$ = 1.17, $SE$ = .30, $t$(138) = 3.85, $p$ < .001, but low honour-endorsing men and women did not differ in their self-presentations in terms of time spent in the gym, $b$ = .26, $SE$ = .29, $t$(138) = .88, $p$ = .38.

No significant participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effect was found on self-presentations using masculine majors, $\beta$ = .30, $t$(102) = 1.42, $p$ = .16, $sr$ = .13, masculine activities, $\beta$ = .03, $t$(102) = .21, $p$ = .83, $sr$ = .02, masculine sports, $\beta$ = .09, $t$(101) = .62, $p$ = .54, $sr$ = .06, feminine traits, $\beta$ = -.10, $t$(102) = -.71, $p$ = .48, $sr$ = -.07, feminine majors, $\beta$ = .04, $t$(102) = .25, $p$ = .80, $sr$ = .02, feminine activities, $\beta$ = -.06, $t$(102) = -.48, $p$ = .63, $sr$ = -.04, feminine sports, $\beta$ = .024, $t$(101) = .17, $p$ = .87, $sr$ = .016.

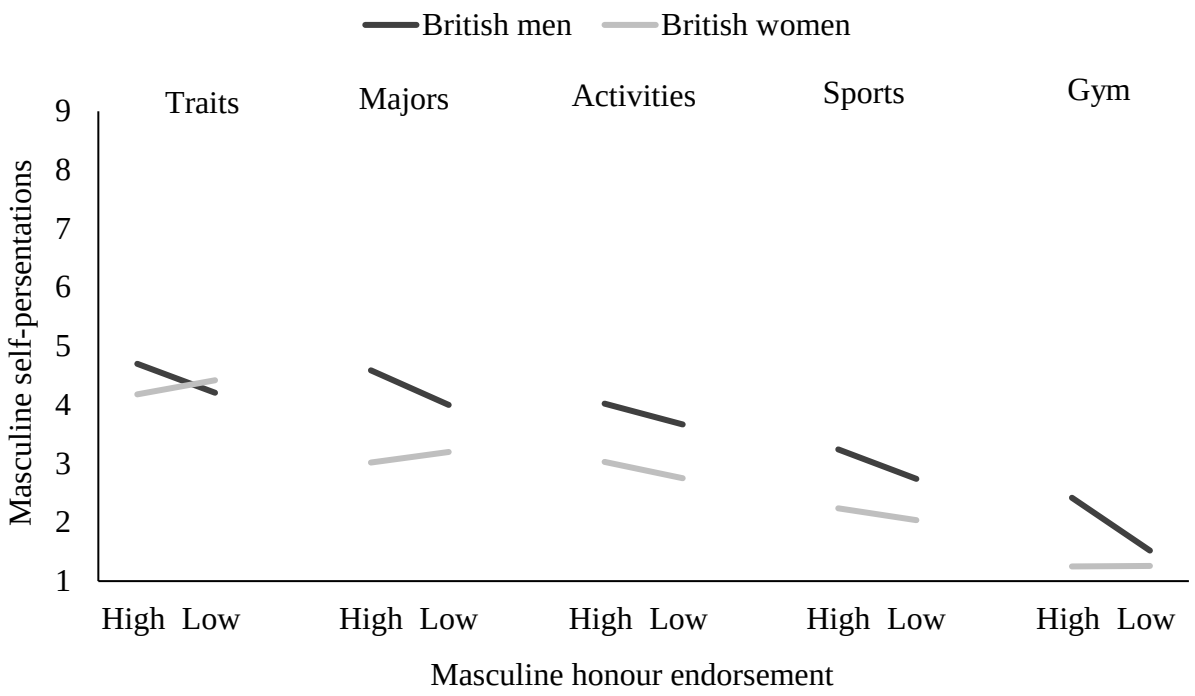


*Figure 2.1.1.* Study 1a: Simple slopes for British men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on masculine self-presentations.

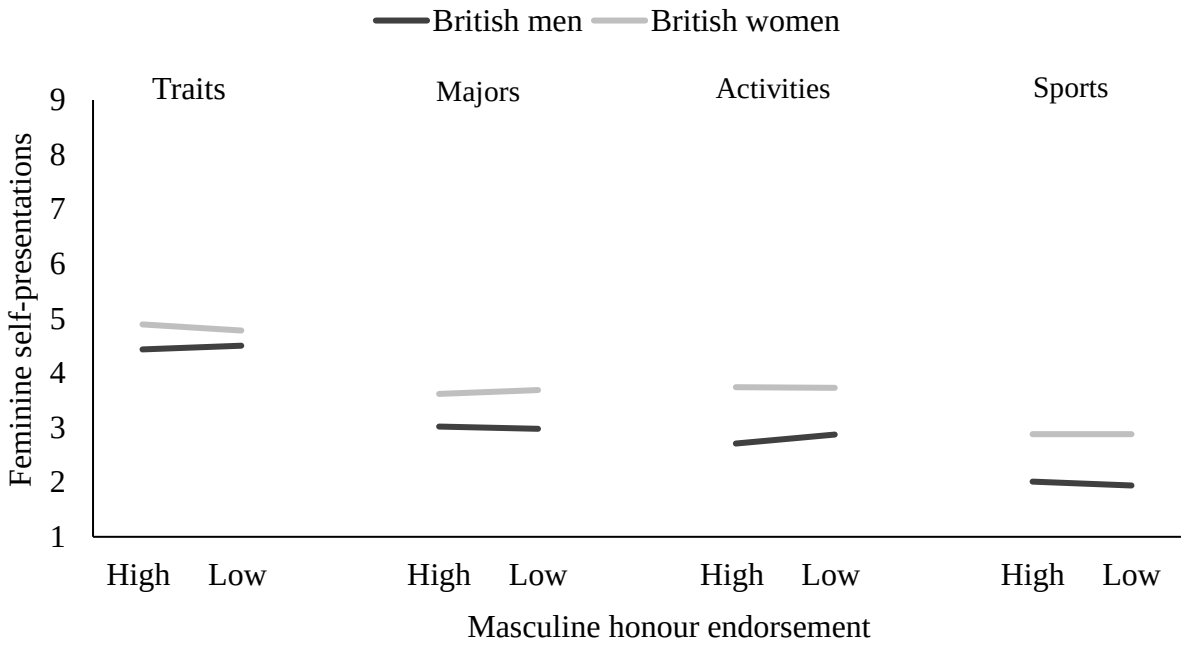


*Figure 2.1.2.* Study 1a: Simple slopes for British men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on feminine self-presentations.

**Study 1b (Turkish participants).** Overall, men presented themselves using more masculine in traits, $\beta$ = .24, $t$(135) = 2.81, $p$ = .006, $sr$ = .23, more interested in masculine majors , $\beta$ = .34, $t$(135) = 3.91, $p$ < .001, $sr$ = .32, more interested in masculine activities, $\beta$ = .37, $t$(135) = 4.48, $p$ < .001, $sr$ = .35, more interested in masculine sports, $\beta$ = .22, $t$(102) = 2.60, $p$ = .01, $sr$ = .21, than did women, but they presented themselves using marginally less feminine in traits, $\beta$ = -.16, $t$(135) = -1.84, $p$ = .068, $sr$ = -.16, as less interested in feminine majors, $\beta$ = -.18, $t$(135) = -2.06, $p$ = .04, $sr$ = -.17, less interested in feminine activities, $\beta$ = -.46, $t$(135) = -5.62, $p$ < .001, $sr$ = -.43, and less interested in feminine sports, $\beta$ = --.56, $t$(135) = -7.28, $p$ < .001, $sr$ = -.53, than did women. But men and women did not differ in time spent in the gym to lift weights, $\beta$ = .14, $t$(135) = 1.60, $p$ = .11, $sr$ = .14.

In addition, higher levels of masculine honour endorsement were related to self-presentations using more masculine traits, $\beta$ = .21, $t$(103) = 2.52, $p$ = .01, $sr$ = .20, (marginally) more interest in masculine activities, $\beta$ = .16, $t$(135) = 1.91, $p$ = .058, $sr$ = .15, more interest in masculine sports, $\beta$ = .24, $t$(135) = 2.78, $p$ = .006, $sr$ = .22, but masculine honour was not related to interest in masculine majors, $\beta$ = -.01, $t$(135) = -.12, $p$ = .90, $sr$ = -.01, or time spent in the gym to lift weights, $\beta$ = .08, $t$(135) = .89, $p$ = .38, $sr$ = .075. Masculine honour was also not related to self-presentations using feminine traits, $\beta$ = -.05, $t$(135) = -.60, $p$ = .55, $sr$ = -.05, interest in feminine majors, $\beta$ = -.13, $t$(135) = -1.53, $p$ = .13, $sr$ = -.13, interest in feminine activities, $\beta$ = .02, $t$(135) = .25, $p$ = .80, $sr$ = .02, interest in feminine sports, $\beta$ = .10, $t$(135) = 1.26, $p$ = .21, $sr$ = .09.

A significant participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effect was present on self-presentations using feminine majors, $\beta$ = -.34, $t$(134) = -2.55, $p$ = .012, $sr$ = -.21, feminine activities, $\beta$ = -.34, $t$(134) = -2.74, $p$ = .007, $sr$ = -.21, feminine sports (marginally), $\beta$ = -.22, $t$(134) = -1.84, $p$ = .068, $sr$ = -.163. As shown in Figure 2.1.4, a closer inspection of the significant interaction effects using simple slope analysis revealed that, as expected, high

honour-endorsing men reported significantly less interest in feminine majors than did low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = -.17, $SE$ = .06, $t$(138) = -2.80, $p$ = .006, but high vs. low honour-endorsing women did not differ, $b$ = .08, $SE$ = .08, $t$(138) = 1.06, $p$ = .29. High honour-endorsing men also reported significantly less interest in feminine majors than did high honour-endorsing women, $b$ = -.95, $SE$ = .29, $t$(138) = -3.20, $p$ = .001, but low honour-endorsing men and women did not differ in their interest in feminine majors, $b$ = .04, $SE$ = .25, $t$(138) = .16, $p$ = .87.

Simple slopes on interest in feminine activities showed that high vs. low honour-endorsing men did not show any difference, $b$ = .08, $SE$ = .06, $t$(138) = -1.48, $p$ = .14, but interestingly, high honour-endorsing women reported more interest in feminine activities than did low honour-endorsing women, $b$ = .17, $SE$ = .07, $t$(138) = 2.32, $p$ = .02. Also, low honour-endorsing men reported significantly less interest in feminine activities than did low honour-endorsing women, $b$ = -.56, $SE$ = .23, $t$(138) = -2.41, $p$ = .017, whereas high honour-endorsing men also reported significantly less interest in feminine activities than did high honour-endorsing women, $b$ = -1.53, $SE$ = .26, $t$(138) = -5.84, $p$ < .001. Looking at the regression coefficients, the magnitude of the difference between men and women seems larger for high honour-endorsing participants ($b$ = -1.53) than for low honour-endorsing ones ($b$ = -.56), and the z-test for the difference between independent betas showed that this difference was statistically significant ($z$ = -2.88, $p$ = .004).

Simple slopes on interest in feminine sports showed that high vs. low honour-endorsing men did not show any difference, $b$ = -.009, $SE$ = .07, $t$(138) = -.13, $p$ = .90, but interestingly, high honour-endorsing women reported more interest in feminine sports than did low honour-endorsing women, $b$ = .21, $SE$ = .09, $t$(138) = 2.23, $p$ = .027. Also, low honour-endorsing men reported significantly less interest in feminine sports than did low honour-endorsing women, $b$ = -1.24, $SE$ = .29, $t$(138) = -4.20, $p$ < .001, honour-endorsing men also reported

significantly less interest in feminine sports than did high honour-endorsing women, $b$ = -2.06, $SE$ = .33, $t(138) = -6.21$, $p < .001$. The magnitude of the difference between men and women seems larger for high honour-endorsing participants than for low honour-endorsing ones, and the z-test for the difference between independent betas showed that this difference was marginally significant ($z = -1.87$, $p = .06$).

As shown in Figure 2.1.3, no significant participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effect was found on masculine traits, $\beta = -.18$, $t(134) = -1.36$, $p = .17$, $sr = -.11$, masculine majors, $\beta = .18$, $t(134) = 1.34$, $p = .18$, $sr = .11$, masculine activities, $\beta = .06$, $t(134) = .46$, $p = .64$, $sr = .04$, masculine sports, $\beta = .04$, $t(134) = .32$, $p = .75$, $sr = .03$, feminine traits, $\beta = -.17$, $t(134) = -1.21$, $p = .23$, $sr = -.10$, and on spending time in the gym to lift weights, $\beta = .05$, $t(134) = .33$, $p = .74$, $sr = .03$.

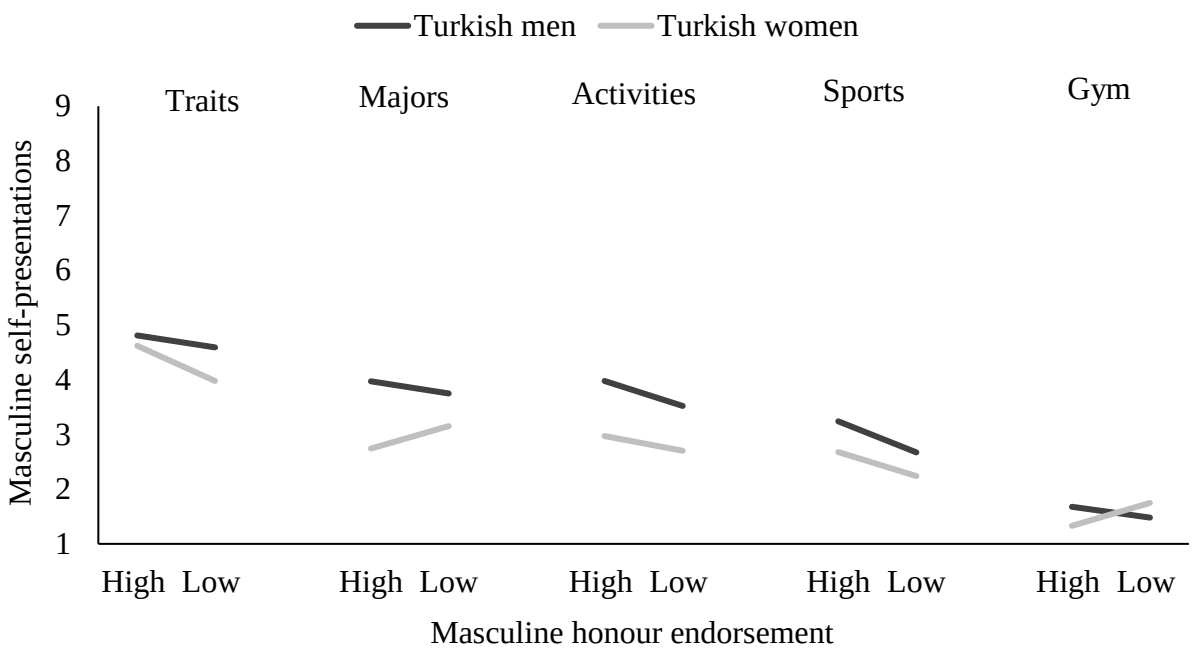


*Figure 2.1.3.* Study 1b: Simple slopes for Turkish men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on masculine self-presentations.

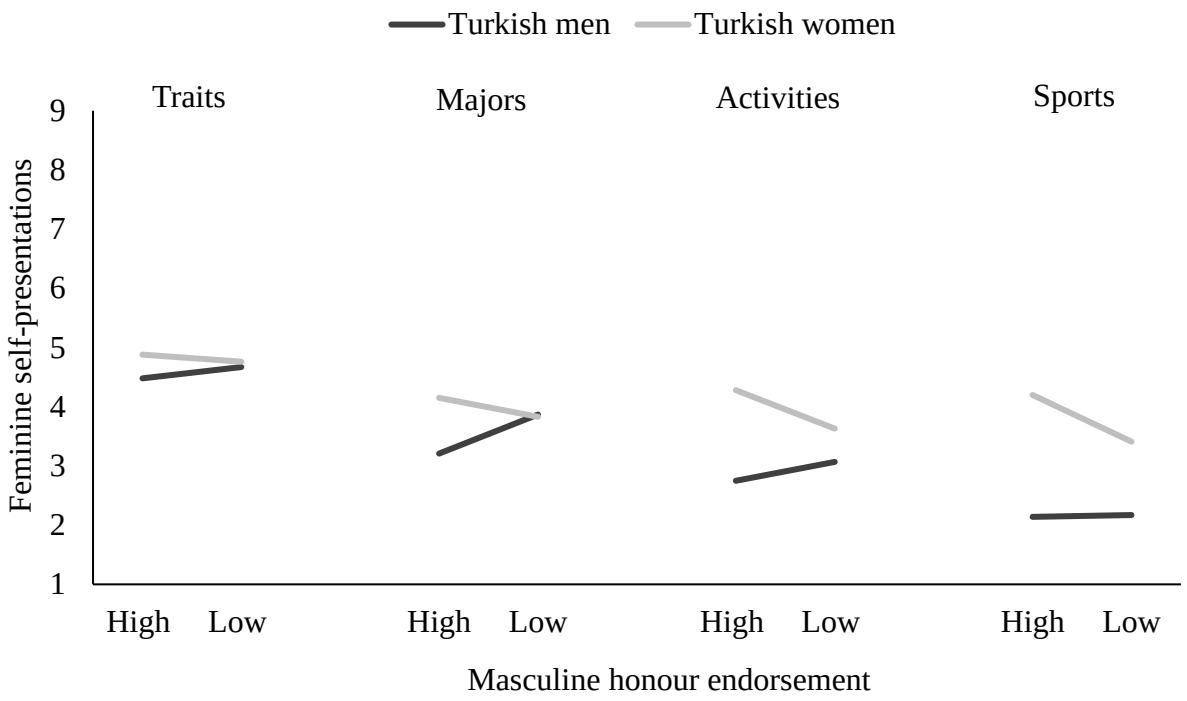


*Figure 2.1.4.* Study 1b: Simple slopes for Turkish men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on feminine self-presentations.

**Auxiliary cross-cultural analysis using Studies 1a and 1b data.** To test cross-cultural differences in the way masculine honour is related to the self-presentations, each self-presentation ratings was hierarchically regressed onto participant gender (1 = male, 0 = female), culture (-1 = British, 1 = Turkish) and endorsement of masculine honour (standardized) in Step 1, the two-way interaction terms in Step 2, followed by the three-way interaction term in Step 3. Significant interaction effects were further analysed using simple slopes analyses (Aiken & West, 1991). Figures 2.1.5 present the hypothetical simple slopes.

There was a significant interaction effect of culture X gender X honour endorsement on self-presentations using masculine traits, $\beta$ = -.28, $t$(236) = -2.81, $p$ = .005, $sr$ = -.17, and a marginally significant interaction effect on feminine majors, $\beta$ = -.19, $t$(236) = -1.83, $p$ = .068, $sr$ = -.11. Simple slopes analysis revealed that among women, masculine honour X culture interaction was marginally significant on masculine traits, $b$ = .12, $SE$ = .04, $t$(244) =

2.69, $p$ = .008. Low honour-endorsing *British women* presented themselves using more masculine traits than did low honour-endorsing *Turkish women*, $b$ = -.23, $SE$ = .09, $t(244)$ = -2.52, $p$ = .01. Among men, masculine honour X culture interaction was marginally significant on feminine majors, $b$ = -.09, $SE$ = .05, $t(244)$ = -1.85, $p$ = .065. Low honour-endorsing *Turkish men* presented themselves using more feminine majors than did low honour-endorsing *British men*, $b$ = -.23, $SE$ = .09, $t(244)$ = -2.52, $p$ = .01. No other cultural differences were found. Overall, these results do not show any meaningful differences between the British vs. Turkish men, as one would expect from the cultural literature on honour.

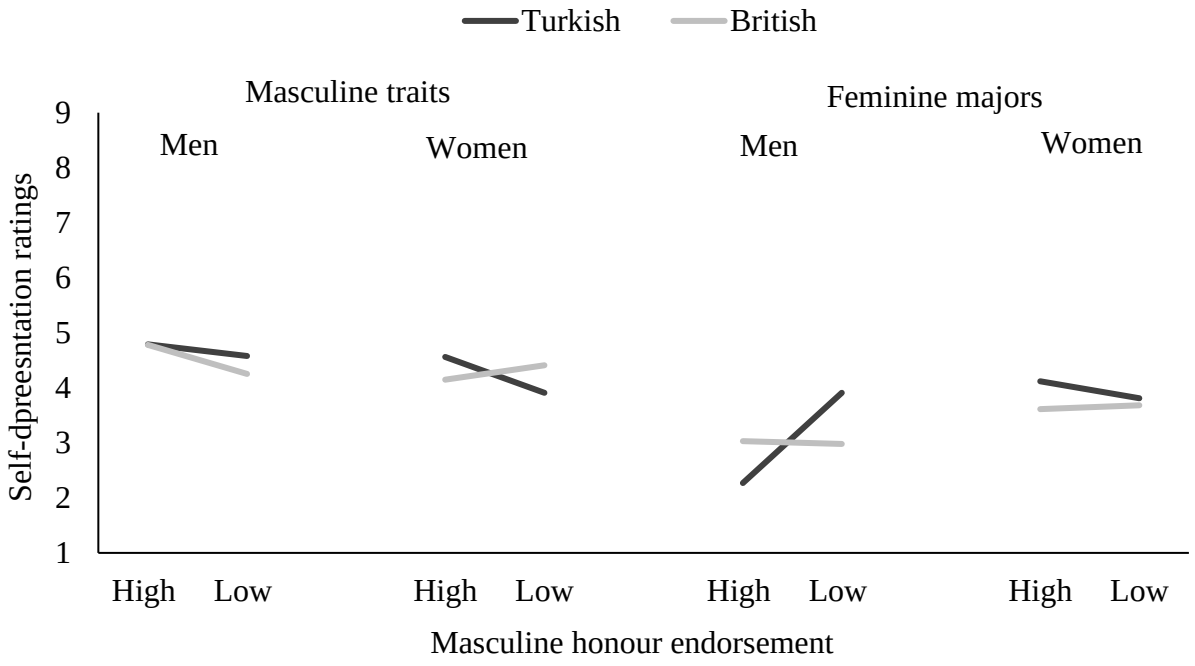


*Figure 2.1.5.* Simple slopes for Turkish vs. British men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on self-presentations using masculine traits and feminine majors.

**Discussion**

Studies 1a and 1b showed that men presented themselves and their interests using more masculine traits, majors, activities and sports, and using less feminine ones compared with

women, but as predicted high honour-endorsing men presented themselves using more masculine terms than low honour-endorsing men, as indicated by British men's ratings on masculine traits and time spent in gym. In Turkey, higher levels of masculine honour were related to self-presentations using more masculine traits, masculine activities and masculine sports. High honour-endorsing Turkish men also refrained from presenting themselves using feminine majors compared with low honour-endorsing Turkish men. These results generally show that high honour-endorsing men may especially be crafting masculine selves than refraining from feminine self-presentations in a low honour culture sample, whereas in a high honour culture sample, high honour-endorsing men may be preferring to also disavow feminine self-presentations. Unlike the expectations based on the cultural psychology literature on honour cultures, the relationship between masculine honour and men's embracement of masculine self-presentations was not stronger in a high honour culture (Turkey) than in a low honour culture (Britain).

Interestingly, Study 1b revealed that Turkish women who support the importance of masculine honour also presented themselves using more masculine terms, as demonstrated by their higher ratings in self-presentations using masculine traits, masculine activities, and masculine sports than Turkish women who gave weak support for masculine honour. However, high honour-endorsing Turkish women also presented themselves as being interested in more feminine activities and sports. Also, among the high honour-endorsers, the magnitude of the difference between men and women was larger than among low honour-endorsers, in that women embraced self-presentations using more feminine activities and sports, whereas men disavowed them more. These findings indicate that perhaps in a high honour culture society where having reputation as a tough and dominant individual is valued not only for men, but also for women (Guerra et al., 2013; Barnes et al., 2012), women may

embrace more masculine self-presentations (along with feminine ones) if they also personally agree on the importance of masculine honour.

### 2.2. Studies 2a and 2b

Having established that high honour-endorsing men tend to embrace more masculine self-presentations compared with low honour-endorsing men, Study 2a (with British men) and Study2b (with Turkish men) examined how men who endorse high vs. low levels of masculine honour perceive other men who have masculine or feminine interests and appearances.

Again, despite the cultural qualities that distinguish Turkey from the UK, masculine honour endorsement was expected to operate in the same pattern for men from a low honour culture and a high honour culture – that is, high honour-endorsing men should perceive a feminine male target more negatively than a masculine male target in both cultures. As in Studies 1a and 1b, I explored how honour endorsement relates to *women's* judgements of male targets, as well as men's and women's judgments of *female targets*. I predicted masculine honour ideals to manifest as negative judgments for *feminine male targets,* but not *for feminine or masculine female targets*, because masculine honour standards raise expectations for building reputations as physically strong, tough and protective (qualities that are antithetical to femininity), especially for men (Nisbett & Cohen, 1966; Shackelford, 2005). For women, the honour standards are focused on sexual purity and modesty which cannot be inferred from her feminine or masculine interests and appearance.

#### Method

**Participants.** Inputting a small $R^2$ change of .03 ($f^2$ = .03) (Cohen, 1988) into GPower determined a sample size of 368 at 80% power. The recommended sample was increased by approximately 20% to allow for exclusions based on incomplete responses. Study 2a had 446 students recruited from a British university and through Prolific Academic (238 women; $M_{age}$

= 21.27, $SD_{age}$ = 5.24; 80% UK/Ireland-born; 72% White-British, 27% Mixed British, and 1% non-British; 86% heterosexual, 11% homosexual/bisexual/asexual, 3% unspecified; 38.3% of the student sample was a Prolific Academic sample), and Study 1b had 375 students recruited from various Universities across Turkey (190 women; $M_{age}$ = 24.07, $SD_{age}$ = 4.15; 81% Turkish, 8% Kurdish, 2% Arab, 9% other; 98% Turkey-born).

**Design and procedure.** Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions in a 2 (target gender: male vs. female) X 2 (gendered appearance type: feminine vs. masculine) between-subjects factorial design. Manipulations were induced via scenarios including short profiles about a man or a woman. The items used to construct the person profile scenarios came from pilot tests conducted in the UK and Turkey (see Appendix A for the results of the pilot tests). The scenarios were created to reflect a real-life situation where people make judgments of other individuals based on the limited information they have about them and were relevant to the student culture. Participants in the *masculine-typed male target* condition were presented with the following profile (wording in the *masculine-typed female target* conditions in parentheses):

> Michael [Jessica] is a 21-year-old male [female] who studies Engineering. Outside of school, Michael [Jessica] likes to make time for his hobbies and to hang out with his [her] friends and family. One of his [her] hobbies is music. He [She] loves listening to heavy metal and he [she] plays the drums in a heavy metal band. He [She] recently started to go to boxing classes with one of his [her] friend in a gym close to his [her] house, and boxing became one of his [her] favourite activities. It was Michael's [Jessica's] birthday last Friday, and his [her] parents bought him [her] a brown hoodie as a gift which he [she] really liked, and took him [her] out for dinner to his [her] favourite grill restaurant. He [She] had a great time together with his [her] family eating one of the signature steak dishes on the menu and drinking beer.

Participants in the *feminine-typed male target* condition were presented with the following profile (wording in the *feminine-typed female target* conditions in brackets):

> Michael [Jessica] is a 21-year-old male [female] who studies Fashion. Outside of school, Michael [Jessica] likes to make time for his [her] hobbies and to hang out with his [her] friends and family. One of his [her] hobbies is music. He [She] loves listening to pop and he [she] plays the flute in a classical music band. He [She] recently started to go to ballet classes with one of his [her] friend in a dance and ballet school close to his [her] house, and ballet became one of his [her] favourite activities. It was Michael's [Jessica's] birthday last Friday, and his [her] parents bought him [her] a pink hoodie which he [she] really liked and took him [her] out for dinner to his [her] favourite vegetarian restaurant. He [She] had a great time together with his [her] family eating one of the signature salad dishes on the menu and drinking wine.

**Measures.** After reading the scenarios participants were administered the measures to assess their perceptions of the target in the order described below.

***Manipulation check for gendered appearance.*** Participants rated the degree to which they perceive the target to be feminine or masculine on a 9-point scale (1 = *extremely feminine*, 5 = *neither feminine nor masculine*, 9 = *extremely masculine*).

***Trait perceptions.*** Participants were asked their perception of the target on a number of characteristics on 9-point bipolar scales (1 = *extremely [negative adjective, e.g., incompetent]*, 5 = *neutral*, 9 = extremely *[positive adjective, e.g., competent]*). Items for two of the traits were selected from Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu's (2002) warmth and competence scales. *Competence* was assessed with four items: competent-incompetent, capable-incapable, efficient-inefficient, and skilled-unskilled (Study 2a: male targets: $\alpha$ = .86, female targets: $\alpha$ = .86; Study 2b: male targets: $\alpha$ = .88, female targets: $\alpha$ = .94). *Warmth* was assessed with three items: warm-cold, sincere-insincere, and friendly-unfriendly (Study 2a: male targets: $\alpha$ = .78,

female targets: $\alpha$ = .79; Study 2b: male targets: $\alpha$ = .79, female targets: $\alpha$ = .92). *Morality* was assessed with five items from Leach, Ellemers and Barreto (2007) and Walker and Hennig (2004): moral-immoral, honest-dishonest, trustworthy-untrustworthy, loyal-disloyal, and fair-unfair (Study 2a: male targets: $\alpha$ = .89, female targets: $\alpha$ = .88; Study 2b: male targets: $\alpha$ = .87, female targets: $\alpha$ = .95).

***Masculine honour ideals.*** The same Barnes et al. (2012) Honour Ideology for Manhood scale was used as in Studies 1a and 1b to measure the degree of importance participants give to masculine reputation (Study 2a: $\alpha$ = .95; Study 2b: $\alpha$ = .94). Participants' honour endorsement scores did not differ between the feminine-typed vs. the masculine-typed male target conditions (Study 2a: masculine-typed: $M$ = 4.11, $SD$ = 1.70; feminine-typed: $M$ = 4.25, $SD$ = 1.62; $t(184) = -.75$, $p$ = .45, $d$ = 0.75; Study 2b: masculine-typed: $M$ = 5.28, $SD$ = 1.81; feminine-typed: $M$ = 5.76, $SD$ = 1.57; $t(147) = .64$, $p$ = .53, $d$ = 0.84), nor between the feminine-typed vs. masculine-typed female target conditions (Study 2a: masculine-typed: $M$ = 4.49, $SD$ = 1.66; feminine-typed: $M$ = 4.54, $SD$ = 1.34; $t(196) = .06$, $p$ = .95, $d$ = 0.86. Study 2b: $M$ = 5.30, $SD$ = 1.67; feminine-typed: $M$ = 5.38, $SD$ = 1.28; $t(150) = -.11$, $p$ = .91, $d$ = 0.79), ruling out the possibility that honour endorsement reflected a state measure affected by gendered appearance type manipulations. Table 2.2.1 presents mean scores on honour endorsement per culture and participant gender and the relevant inferential statistics.

Table 2.2.1

*Means, SDs, and effects of culture and participant gender on masculine honour endorsement scores in Studies 2a and 2b*

| | British participants | Turkish participants | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* |
| Men | 4.35 (1.58) | 5.42 (1.60) | 4.84 (1.67) |
| Women | 3.88 (1.52) | 3.85 (1.68) | 3.86 (1.59) |
| Total | 4.11 (1.57) | 4.66 (1.82) | |

Main effect of culture: $F(1, 681) = 18.10$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$

Main effect of participant gender: $F(1, 681) = 70.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$

Interaction effect: $F(1, 681) = 20.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$

Simple effect of gender within the UK: $F(1, 681) = 8.62$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$

Simple effect of gender within Turkey: $F(1, 681) = 73.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$

Simple effect of culture within men: $F(1, 681) = 38.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$

Simple effect of culture within women: $F(1, 681) = .03$, $p = .87$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$

**Results**

**Manipulation check for gendered appearance.** The feminine-typed male target (Study 2a: $M = 3.39$, $SD = 1.56$; Study 2b: $M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.19$) and the feminine-typed female target (Study 2a: $M = 2.52$, $SD = 1.21$; Study 2b: $M = 3.27$, $SD = 1.06$) were perceived as more feminine than the masculine-typed male target (Study 2a: $M = 7.13$, $SD = 1.35$; Study 2b: $M = 6.46$, $SD = 1.03$) and the masculine-typed female target (Study 2a: $M = 5.88$, $SD = 1.25$; Study 2b: $M = 5.18$, $SD = 1.50$), respectively – Study 2a: male targets: $t(216) =$

18.98, $p < .001$, $d = 2.56$, female targets: $t(216) = 20.17$, $p < .001$, $d = 2.73$. Study 2b: male targets: $t(180) = 14.86$, $p < .001$, $d = 2.20$, female targets: $t(176) = 9.82$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.47$. Thus, the manipulation of gendered appearance of the targets was successful in both cultural groups.

**Results on main predictions.** Hierarchical regression analyses were performed to test whether masculine honour endorsement predicts men's trait judgments of a feminine-typed male target, whether high honour-endorsing men judge them more negatively than masculine-typed male targets, and whether high honour-endorsing Turkish women's judgments also mirror those of Turkish men. To simplify the presentation of the results, analyses were conducted separately for male and female targets, and the differences and similarities between the trend of results were reported between male vs. female targets. Trait judgments were regressed onto gendered appearance type (0 =feminine, 1 = masculine), participant gender (0 = female, 1 = male), and honour endorsement (standardized) in Step 1, the two-way interaction terms in Step 2, followed by the three-way interaction term in Step 3. Significant interaction effects were examined using simple slopes analyses by testing the simple slopes of gendered appearance type for participants with relatively low ($M$ - 1 $SD$) and high ($M$ + 1 $SD$) honour endorsement, and by calculating simple slopes of honour endorsement per masculine-typed vs. feminine-typed targets (Aiken & West, 1991). Below I report regression and simple slope results that reached significance and marginal significance at the conventional level ($p < .05$). Due to missing values, degrees of freedom may differ between analyses. Figures 2.2.1 to 2.2.4 display the hypothetical simple slope results.

***Study 2a (Trait judgments of the targets for British participants).***

*Perceived competence.* A significant gendered appearance type X participant sex X honour endorsement interaction effect emerged for perceived competence of the male targets, $\beta = .37$, $t(176) = 2.53$, $p = .012$, $sr = .18$. Separate regression analyses conducted for men and

women revealed significant gendered appearance type X honour endorsement interaction effect for women, $\beta$ = -.28, $t$(87) = -2.02, $p$ = .046, $sr$= -.21, but not for men, $\beta$ = .23, $t$(89) = 1.55, $p$ = .13, $sr$= .16. A closer inspection of the significant interaction using simple slope analysis revealed that the low honour-endorsing women perceived the masculine-typed male target as more competent than did high honour-endorsing women, $b$ = -.39, $t$(93) = -2.95, $p$ = .004. No significant effects emerged on perceived competence of the *female targets*.

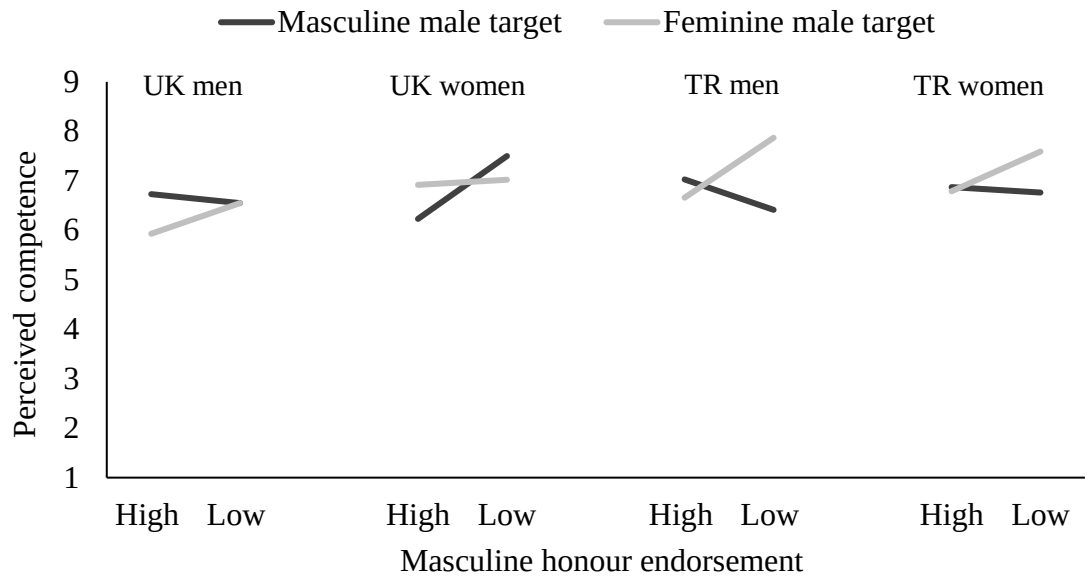


*Figure 2.2.1.* Studies 2a and 2b: Simple slopes for British men, British women, Turkish men and Turkish women who endorse high levels ($M$ + 1$SD$) and low levels ($M$ - 1$SD$) of masculine honour on perceived competence of the masculine vs. feminine male targets.

*Perceived warmth.* The feminine-typed male target was perceived as warmer than the masculine-typed male target, $\beta$ = -.21, $t$(180) = -2.87, $p$ < .005, $sr$= -.21, and this effect was moderated by participant gender and honour endorsement, $\beta$ = .50, $t$(176) = 3.50, $p$ = .001, $sr$= .25. Separate regression analyses conducted for men and women revealed significant gendered appearance type X honour endorsement interaction effects for men, $\beta$ = .43, $t$(87) = 2.94, $p$ = .004, $sr$= .30, and for women, $\beta$ = -.28, $t$(89) = -2.08, $p$ = .04, $sr$= -.21. A closer

inspection of the significant interaction using simple slope analysis revealed, as expected, that high honour-endorsing men perceived the feminine-typed male target as less warm than did low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = -.24, $t$(91) = -2.36, $p$ = .02, but the masculine-typed male target as (marginally significantly) warmer than did low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .18, $t$(91) = 1.78, $p$ = .08. Low honour-endorsing men perceived the feminine-typed male target as warmer than the masculine-typed male target, $b$ = -1.10, $t$(91) = -3.41, $p$ = .001. For women, results were in the opposite direction to men: low honour-endorsing women perceived the masculine-typed male target as warmer than did high honour-endorsing women, $b$ = -.33, $t$(93) = -2.78, $p$ = .007, and high honour-endorsing women perceived the feminine-typed male target as warmer than masculine-typed male target, $b$ = -1.15, $t$(93) = -3.10, $p$ = .003.

Feminine-typed *female target* was also perceived as marginally warmer than the masculine-typed female target, $\beta$ = -.412, $t$(192) = -1.69, $p$ = .094, $sr$= -.12, and this effect was moderated by participant gender, $\beta$ = -.25, $t$(189) = -2.02, $p$ = .045, $sr$= -.14. Men perceived the feminine-typed female target warmer than the masculine-typed female target, $b$ = -.71, $t$(212) = -2.76, $p$ = .006. There was no evidence of moderation by masculine honour endorsement.

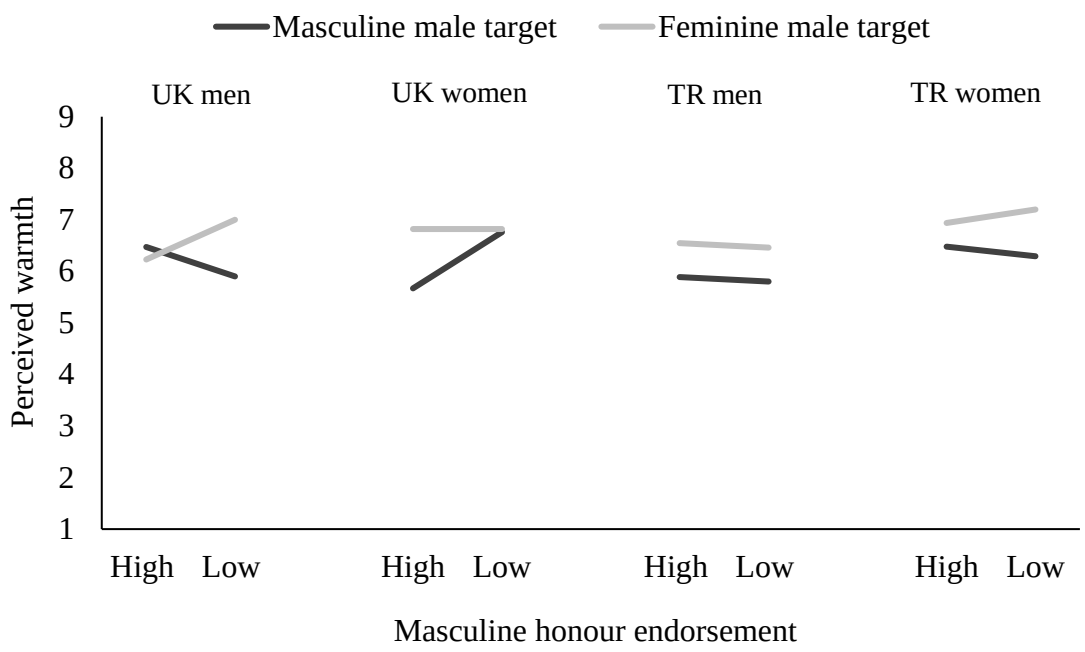


*Figure 2.2.2.* Studies 2a and 2b: Simple slopes for British men, British women, Turkish men and Turkish women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on perceived warmth of the masculine vs. feminine male targets.

*Perceived morality.* A significant gendered appearance type X participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effect revealed on the perceived morality of the male target, $\beta$ = .47, $t(176) = 3.16$, $p$ = .002, $sr$= .23. Separate regression analyses conducted for men and women revealed significant gendered appearance type X honour endorsement interaction effects for men, $\beta$ = .43, $t(87) = 2.97$, $p$ = .004, $sr$= .30, but not for women, $\beta$ = -.23, $t(89)$ = -1.62, $p$ = .11, $sr$= -.17. A closer inspection of the significant interaction using simple slope analysis revealed, as expected, that high honour-endorsing men perceived the feminine-typed male target as less moral than did low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = -.33, $t(91) = -3.38$, $p$ = .001, and also marginally less moral than the masculine-typed male target, $b$ = .31, $t(91)$ = 1.84 , $p$ = .07, whereas low honour-endorsing men perceived the masculine-typed male target as less moral than the feminine-typed male target, $b$ = -.31, $t(91) = -2.36$ , $p$ = .02. No significant effects emerged on perceived morality of the *female targets*.

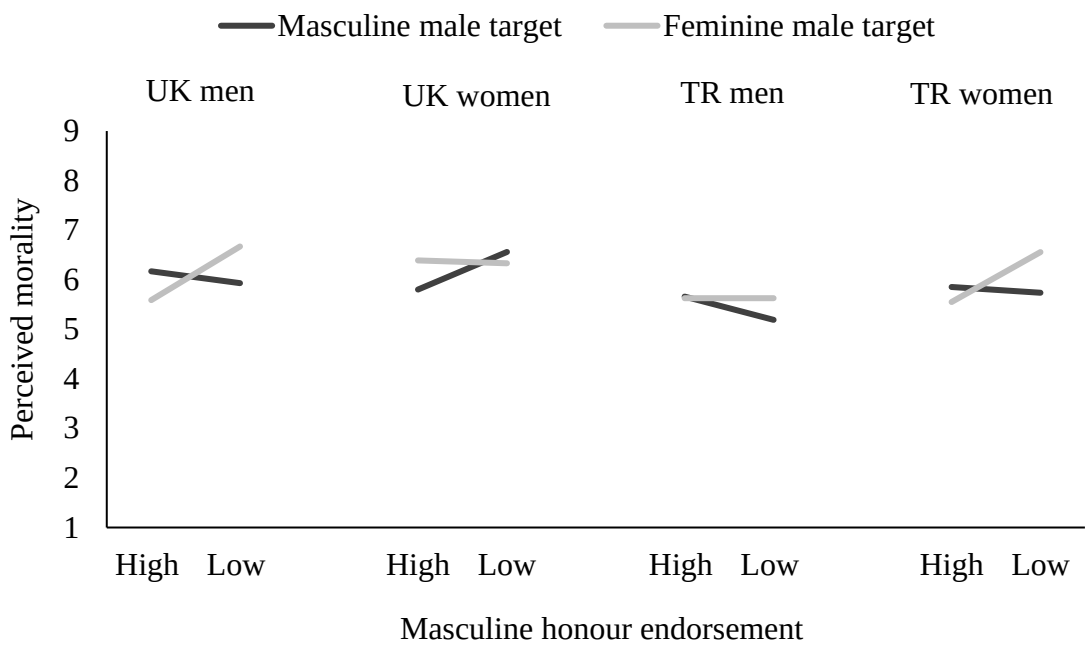


*Figure 2.2.3.* Studies 2a and 2b: Simple slopes for British men, British women, Turkish men and Turkish women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on perceived morality of the masculine vs. feminine male targets.

***Study 2b (Trait judgments of the targets for Turkish participants).***

*Perceived competence.* Overall the feminine-typed male target was perceived as marginally more competent than the masculine-typed male target, $\beta$ = -.14, $t(145)$ = -2.72, $p$ = .087, *sr*= -.14, and this effect was moderated by honour endorsement, $\beta$ = .33, $t(142)$ = 2.59, $p$ = .01, *sr*= .21. Participant gender did not moderate this effect. A closer inspection of the significant interaction using simple slope analysis revealed, as expected, that high honour-endorsing participants perceived the feminine-typed male target as less competent than low honour-endorsing participants, $b$ = -.21, $t(149)$ = -2.23, $p$ = .03, and low honour-endorsing participants perceived the feminine-typed male target as more competent than the masculine-typed male target, $b$ = -1.06, $t(149)$ = -2.87, $p$ = .005. No significant effects emerged on perceived competence of the *female targets*.

*Perceived warmth.* The feminine-typed male target was perceived as warmer than the masculine-typed male target, $\beta$ = -.21, $t$(145) = -2.65, $p$ = .009, $sr$= -.21, but there was no evidence of moderation by honour endorsement. No significant effects emerged on perceived warmth of the *female targets*.

*Perceived morality.* Only a marginally significant gendered appearance type X honour endorsement interaction emerged on perceived morality of the male target, $\beta$ = .23, $t$(142) = 1.79, $p$ = .076, $sr$= .14. Participant gender did not moderate this effect – gendered appearance type X honour endorsement interaction effects were not significant for men, $\beta$ = .16, $t$(77) = .85, $p$ = .40, $sr$= .10, neither for women, $\beta$ = .27, $t$(64) = 1.62, $p$ = .11, $sr$= .19. Simple slope analysis revealed, as expected, that high honour-endorsing participants perceived the feminine-typed male target as less moral than did low honour-endorsing participants, $b$ = -.18, $t$(149) = -2.34, $p$ = .02, and low honour-endorsing participants perceived the feminine-typed male target as more moral than the masculine-typed male target, $b$ = -.78, $t$(149) = -2.58, $p$ = .01. No significant effects emerged on perceived morality of the *female targets*.

**Auxiliary cross-cultural analysis using Studies 2a and 2b data.** To test cross-cultural differences in the way masculine honour is related to the negative trait judgments of feminine men, each trait judgment ratings was hierarchically regressed onto gendered appearance type (1 = masculine, 0 = feminine), participant gender (1 = male, 0 = female), culture (-1 = British, 1 = Turkish) and endorsement of masculine honour (standardized) in Step 1, the two-way interaction terms in Step 2, the three-way interaction terms in Step 3, followed by the four-way interaction term in Step 4. Significant interaction effects were further analysed using simple slopes analyses (Aiken & West, 1991). Figures 2.2.5 and 2.2.6 present the hypothetical simple slopes.

Meaningful interaction effects appeared only on judgments of male targets. There was a significant culture X honour endorsement X participant gender X gendered appearance type

interaction effect on perceived warmth of the male target, $\beta$ = -.29, $t$(317) = --2.40, $p$ = .017, $sr$ = -.13, and perceived morality of the male target, $\beta$ = -.31, $t$(317) = -2.60, $p$ = .01, $sr$ = -.14. And there was a culture X honour endorsement X gendered appearance type interaction effect on perceived competence of the male target, $\beta$ = .19, $t$(318) = -2.32, $p$ = .021, $sr$ = .12. No other culture X honour endorsement X gendered appearance type or culture X honour endorsement X participant gender X gendered appearance type interaction effects were found.

Separate regressions conducted per men and women revealed significant culture X honour endorsement X gendered appearance type interaction effects for women on warmth of the male target, $\beta$ = .19, $t$(153) = 1.74, $p$ = .083, $sr$ = .13, and morality of the male target, $\beta$ = .25, $t$(153) = 2.31, $p$ = .02, $sr$ = .18, but not for men – warmth of the male target, $\beta$ = -.20, $t$(164) = -1.64, $p$ = .10, $sr$ = -.12, morality of the male target, $\beta$ = -.15, $t$(164) = -2.28, $p$ = .20, $sr$ = -.09.

Simple slopes analysis revealed that masculine honour X culture interaction was significant on women's perceived warmth of the masculine-typed male targets, $b$ = .19, $SE$ = .10, $t$(161) = 1.99, $p$ = .048, but not of the feminine-typed male targets, $b$ = -.04, $SE$ = .09, $t$(161) = -.41, $p$ = .68. High honour-endorsing Turkish women perceived the masculine-typed male target as marginally warmer than did high honour-endorsing British women, $b$ = .41, $SE$ = .22, $t$(244) = 1.83, $p$ = .069. On perceived morality, masculine honour X culture interaction was marginally significant on women's perceived morality of the feminine-typed male targets, $b$ = -.15, $SE$ = .08, $t$(161) = -1.82, $p$ = .07, but not of the masculine-typed male targets, $b$ = .13, $SE$ = .09, $t$(161) = 1.46, $p$ = .15. High honour-endorsing Turkish women perceived the feminine-typed male target as less moral than did high honour-endorsing British women, $b$ = -.41, $SE$ = .21, $t$(244) = -1.98, $p$ = .049. Furthermore, on perceived competence of the male target, masculine honour X culture interaction was significant on

participants' perceived competence of the masculine-typed male target, $b$ = .13, $SE$ = .07, $t(161) = 1.97$, $p$ = .05, but not of the feminine-typed male target, $b$ = -.05, $SE$ = .06, $t(161)$ = -.75, $p$ = .46. But the difference between the culture were driven by low honour-endorsing Turkish participants' perception of the feminine-typed male target to be more competent than that of low honour-endorsing British participants, $b$ = .44, $SE$ = .16, $t(333) = 2.70$, $p$ = .007.

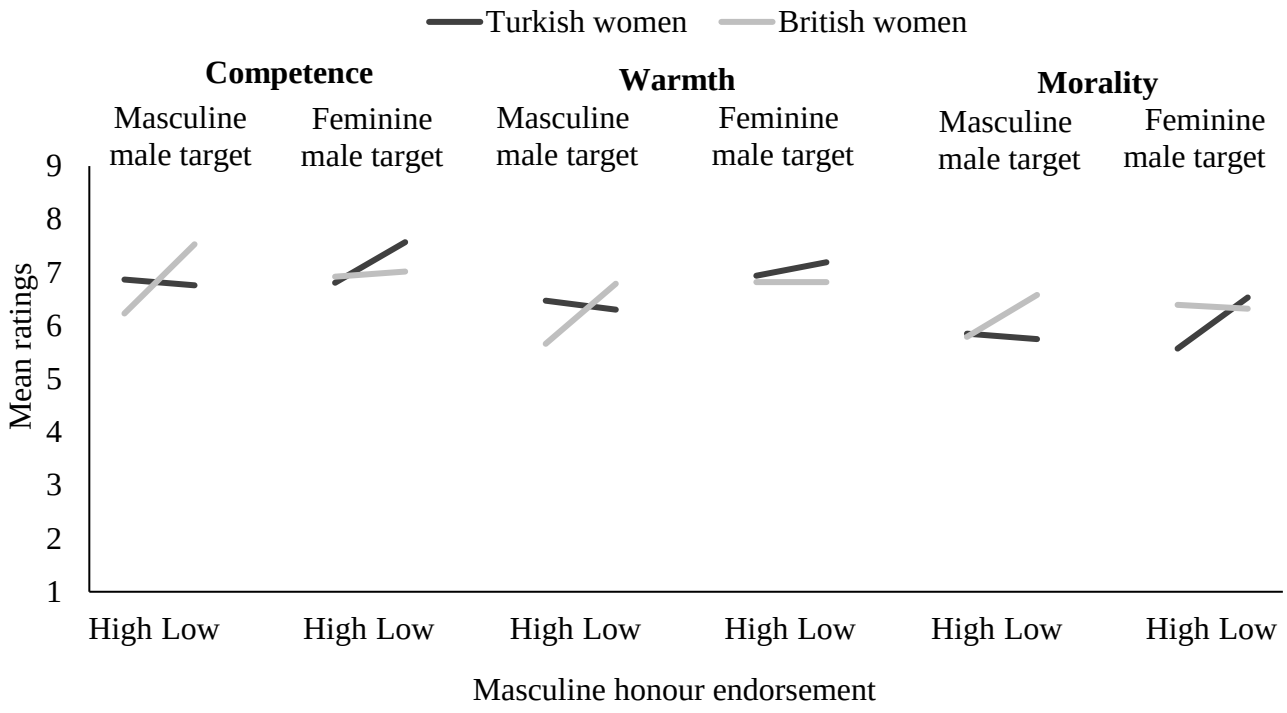


*Figure 2.2.5.* Simple slopes for Turkish vs. British women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on trait judgments of the masculine vs. feminine male targets.

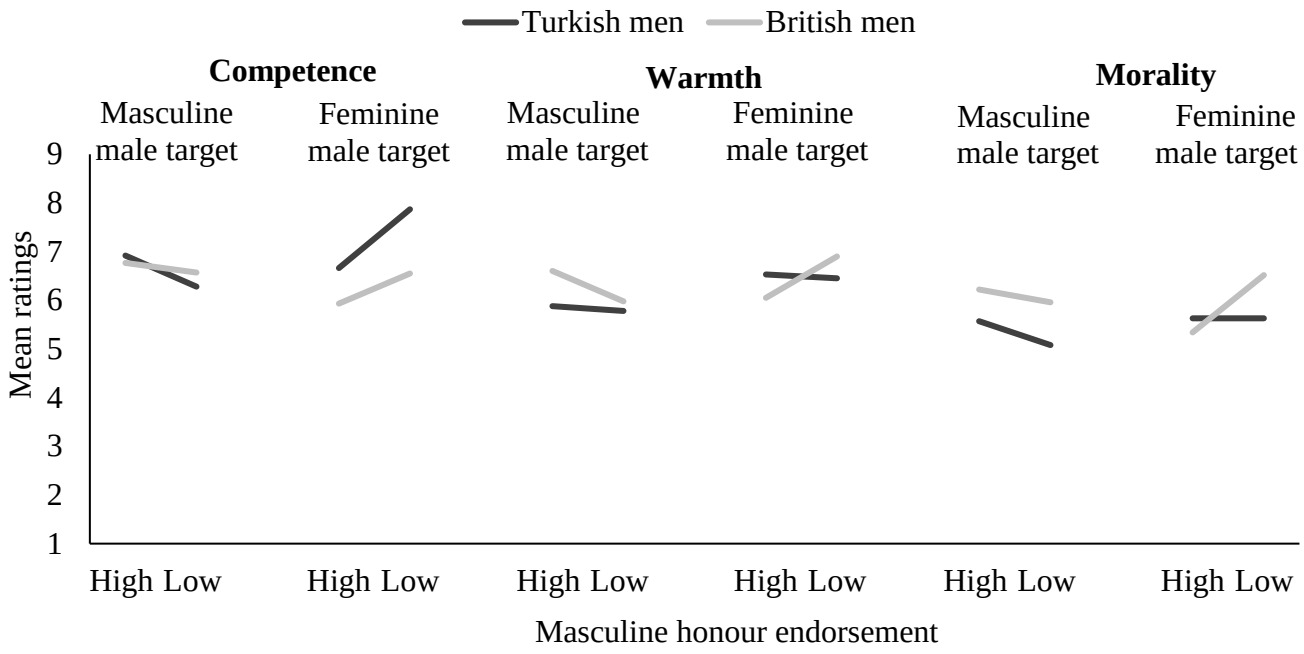


*Figure 2.2.6.* Simple slopes for Turkish vs. British men who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on trait judgments of the masculine vs. feminine male targets.

**Discussion**

Studies 2a and 2b provided support for the prediction that higher levels of honour endorsement are related to men's more negative trait judgments of feminine men, in a low honour culture such as the UK, as demonstrated by high honour-endorsing men inferring less warmth and morality from a feminine man than did low honour-endorsing men, and less morality than a masculine man. British women's trait inferences from a feminine man was in a different direction than British men's: low vs. high honour-endorsing women did not differ in their judgments of a feminine man, but high honour-endorsing women tended to see a feminine man more positively (warmer) than a masculine man, and low honour-endorsing women tended to perceive a masculine man as more competent and warm than did high honour-endorsing women.

In a high honour culture such as Turkey, high honour-endorsing men and women tended to show similar judgments of a feminine man, as shown by high honour-endorsing men and women inferring less competence and equal degree of warmth from a feminine man compared to low honour-endorsing Turkish men and women, respectively. A slight difference emerged between Turkish men and women; that is, high-honour Turkish endorsing women seemed to judge a feminine man less moral than did low-honour endorsing Turkish women, but high and low-honour endorsing Turkish men did not differ in their morality judgments. Overall, these results suggest that masculine honour endorsement manifests similarly in men's and women's negative judgments of a feminine man in a high honour culture – a finding in line with Guerra et al. (2013). Nevertheless, my cross-cultural analyses indicated that, the differences between high and low honour cultures appear among *women's judgments* (perceived warmth and morality) of the male targets. High honour-endorsing Turkish women perceived the masculine-typed male target as marginally warmer, and the feminine-typed male target as less moral than did high honour-endorsing British women.

Studies 2a and 2b also demonstrated that endorsement of masculine honour ideals did not predict negative judgments of the *female targets*. This suggests that for individuals who care strongly about masculine reputations, 'a masculine female' is presumably not perceived as possessing honour-damaging traits/characteristics as a 'feminine male' (Winegard, Reynolds, Baumeister, & Plant, 2016).

It is important to that the feminine and masculine male targets were judged above the midpoint of the scale on all trait judgments, indicating that overall high honour-endorsing participants did not perceive the feminine male target as immoral, cold or incompetent, but rather lacking morality, warmth and competence. These results are products of the type of scales used in measuring trait inferences. If a different scale was used, a feminine male target could be judged as immoral, cold and incompetent.

## 2.3. Chapter 2 General Discussion

The studies reported in this chapter investigated how endorsement of masculine honour relate to men's interest in embracing masculine and disavowing feminine traits and interests in the everyday life, and their negative judgments of other men who have feminine appearances and interests. Studies 1a and 1b showed that masculine honour was related to men's self-presentations using masculine terms such as more masculine personality traits and reporting spending more time in the gym to lift weights as shown to be the case for British men, and using more masculine personality traits, activities and sports as shown to be the case for Turkish men. Yet, Study 1b showed that masculine honour endorsement was also related to Turkish women's self-presentations using more masculine traits, activities and sports. These results may indicate that in a high honour culture such as in Turkey, women who support the dominant cultural ideals of honour may also prefer to present themselves in masculine ways – a finding in line with Guerra et al.'s study (2013) which found that in high honour cultures, having reputations as tough and dominant individuals is not only valued by men but also by women. High honour-endorsing men did not disavow feminine self-presentations as much as they embraced masculine self-presentations.

Studies 2a and 2b demonstrated that higher levels of masculine honour endorsement are related to men's more negative trait judgments of feminine men. This was shown to be the case with both British and Turkish men. But honour endorsement was also related to Turkish women's perceived competence and morality in the same way as it was for Turkish men's, whereas honour endorsement was related to British women's more positive judgments of the feminine men, showing the opposite trends to that of British men. These results also indicate that in a high honour culture, masculine honour ideals may also be manifesting in women's negative judgments of men lacking masculinity.

Cross-cultural analyses using Studies 1a and b data and using Studies 2a and 2b data did not reveal any evidence that masculine honour endorsement predicts Turkish men's masculine self-presentations or negative trait judgments of feminine men more strongly than it does for British men's. The similar trend of results observed with British and Turkish men indicates comparable processes across these two cultures. This is in support of Shackelford's (2005) view that a reputation maintenance mechanism is present for all men, regardless of whether they have grown up in a high or low honour culture. And shown in this research, this same reputation maintenance psychology may lead high honour-endorsing men to present themselves in more masculine ways and make more disfavourable judgments of feminine men similarly in a high honour culture (Turkey) and in a low honour culture (Britain). Our results are also consistent with the notion that honour ideals are not specific to cultures considered to be 'cultures of honour'; individuals can endorse honour ideals or reject them regardless of their culture of origin (Leung & Cohen, 2011).

**Contributions to the Culture of Honour and Gender Literatures**

These studies contribute to the social psychology literature in two ways. First, they expand culture of honour literature by showing that men who value masculine honour are not limited to protecting and maintaining their reputations through aggressive responding as culture of honour research to date has mainly shown. Cultural psychology research has crafted masculine honour as if it is a unique aspect of cultures of honour which is symbiotic to aggression. The current research shows that this is not the case, as British men who are considered to be a dignity culture sample also endorse masculine honour ideals and show the similar outcomes as Turkish men who are considered to be an honour culture sample: they both chose more masculine self-presentations and negatively judged feminine appearing men. Thus, it is possible that high honour-endorsing men can protect their reputations in ways such as not defining themselves as individuals lacking in masculinity, not doing things that are

perceived in lacking masculinity or negatively judging men who are seen as lacking masculinity.

Second, these studies can contribute to the gender literature in social psychology, by extending our understanding of why stereotypical gendered dynamics persist in many realms of life, including men's resistance to internalizing typically feminine traits into their self-concept, their disinterest in engaging in communal roles (e.g., childcare), and their relatively higher anti-gay bias, opposition to feminism, and sexism. Here, it is suggested that cultural ideals of masculine honour and the underlying reputational concerns can explain the persistence of men's gender conforming attitudes, behaviours, and choices.

**Limitations and Next Chapter**

In this chapter, I only speculated, but did not directly test whether any reputation concerns underlie high honour-endorsing British and Turkish men's masculine self-presentations and negative judgments of feminine men. In other words, it is not known whether high honour-endorsing men choose to present themselves using more masculine traits and interests, and negatively judge other feminine men because of reputation concerns. Moreover, in these studies, concern for reputation may not have been salient as participants evaluated abstract feminine male targets who are not presented in any particular relationship to the participants (as friends, family, etc.), and there were no third-party observers present which would enhance reputation concerns (Haley & Fessler, 2005). Studies 3a, 3b and 4 presented in the next chapter overcome this issue, by asking participants to consider the feminine male target *as a friend*, and report their intention to being friends with the feminine male target (a voluntary decision to associate with someone). It also introduces different kinds of third party observers (male friends, stranger men, stranger women) when testing whether high honour-endorsing men's friendship intentions with feminine men is actually influenced by their reputation by association concerns.

Also, the research in this chapter examined how masculine honour ideals can manifest into more masculine self-presentations using personality traits, study majors, leisure activities and sports, but it did not examine whether high honour-endorsing men are actually those who fill the classrooms of masculine majors (e.g., science and technology), are team players of masculine sports (e.g., football, rugby, ice hockey) and engage in masculine activities (e.g., hunting, fishing). Although there is evidence that American men who endorse higher levels of masculine honour had higher levels of participation in masculine contact sports and athletic events such as boxing, wrestling and weightlifting (Saucier & McManus, 2014), it remains to be examined if high honour-endorsing men also occupy other masculine domains in the everyday life, and if this would hold for men in a diverse set of cultures.

# 3. CHAPTER 3

## (Studies 3a, 3b & 4)

## Lack of coalitional value and reputation concerns explain reluctance to befriending effeminate men: The case of honour-endorsing men

The experiences of sexual minorities are tightly bound with gender nonconformity. Many members of sexual minority groups experience prejudice and discrimination based on their gender non-conforming behaviour, even in the absence of any signs indicating homosexuality (Horn, 2007; Taywaditep, 2001). But sexual minorities are not the only targets of gender nonconformity-based prejudice, there are accounts of heterosexual individuals being ostracized and victimized simply for violating gender norms (Landolt, Bartholomew, Saffrey, Oram, & Perlman, 2004; Skidmore, Linsenmeier, & Bailey, 2006; Toomey, Ryan, Diaz, Card, & Russell, 2010). Moreover, gender nonconformity-based prejudice is not only prevalent among heterosexuals and the society at large, it is also widespread within the sexual minority communities (Taywaditep, 2001). Thus, understanding the basis of this bias is critical to efforts to cope with and minimize exclusion and harassment in schools and workplaces and other social settings.

Research indicates a specific pattern of gender nonconformity bias: (a) men are judged more negatively than women for showing atypical gender expressions (Feinman, 1981; Hort, Fagot, & Leinbach, 1990; Martin, 1990; McCreary, 1994; Schope & Eliason, 2004), and (b) men display more gender-nonconformity bias, especially towards male targets, than do women (Herek, 1986, 1988, 2000; Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998; Kite, 1984; LaMar & Kite, 1998). Based on these patterns of findings indicating that ‘effeminacy’ is especially stigmatizing for men, the current research examined the basis of ‘anti-effeminacy bias’, focusing on ‘reluctance to being friends with effeminate men’ as one outcome that can be conceptualized as anti-effeminacy bias. The studies reported here tested a potential

mechanism for reluctance to befriending effeminate men by examining whether this biased behaviour is due to perceiving effeminate men as lacking coalitional value which raises men's reputation by association concerns. Specifically, I propose that men perceive effeminate men as lacking traits that are fundamental to 'traditional masculinity' such as strength, toughness, dominance, and courage (i.e., formidability). Due to this, men are concerned that being seen as associated to effeminate men would damage their own reputation, and this leads men to show lower intention to befriend effeminate men. Importantly, I propose that not all men would be equally concerned about forming an alliance with a man who signals lack of formidability. The extent to which men value in their lives traditional forms of masculinity such as 'honour' determines how much men attend to maintaining their own reputation for prestige and formidability. Thus, I propose that these perceptions and intentions should hold only or especially for men who are socialized with and/or who strongly value masculine honour in their lives.

**Contemporary Accounts Explaining Anti-Effeminacy Bias**

Several accounts have been put forward to explain anti-effeminacy bias and make sense of the particular pattern of this bias. One account provided by the *sexual orientation hypothesis* suggests that people are more likely to perceive a man, compared to a woman, who deviates from gender role prescriptions as 'homosexual', and therefore negative attitudes towards feminine men may be due to inferring these men as homosexual (Bosson, Prewit-Freilino, & Taylor, 2005; Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Martin, 1990; McCreary, 1994). One piece of evidence taken in support of this hypothesis isthe finding that a hypothetical adult man who was described as displaying feminine traits and behaviours (e.g., emotional, neat, interested in clothes and cooking) was rated as more likely to be homosexual and his behaviour was thought to indicate his sexual preference to a greater extent than an adult

woman who was described as displaying masculine traits and behaviours (e.g., strong, energetic, likes sports) (McCreary, 1994).

An alternative account was proposed by Winegard et al. (2016). The authors argue that a large component of anti-gay bias is essentially anti-effeminacy bias, and that anti-gay bias is due to perceiving gay men as deleterious to physical male coalitionary competitions rather than perceiving them as homosexual, which they call the *coalitional value theory (CVT) of anti-gay bias*. This theory states that a long evolutionary history of coalitional competition and combat endowed men with a suite of psychological propensities designed to increase their capacity to create and navigate successful coalitions. These evolved psychological propensities manifest in (a) a preference for coalitionary partners who possess traits and skills that increase the coalition's success, (b) a tendency to inspect the coalitional value of potential partners, and (c) a tendency to reward partners with high coalitional value and to punish those with low coalitional value. These preferences/tendencies often lead to anti-gay bias because gay men are perceived as effeminate (or not masculine), and therefore, lacking traits that are beneficial to traditionally masculine coalitions such as dominance, toughness, strength, and courage (i.e., formidability). Furthermore, according to the CVT of anti-gay bias, women did not face the selective pressures of coalitional conflict to the same extent as did men, and thus they have not evolved psychological mechanisms that manifest as a tendency to inspect and vet men's coalitional value (Winegard et al., 2016). As such, this theory makes sense of the observed gendered pattern of anti-effeminacy bias that (a) men exhibit stronger negative bias toward gender non-conforming men than gender-nonconforming women, and (b) men display stronger anti-effeminacy bias than do women.

In a number of self-report and laboratory studies, Winegard et al. (2016) found support for the CVT theory of anti-gay bias. Using person profile scenarios, authors examined men's perceptions of male targets who vary in their interests (feminine vs. masculine) and sexual

orientation (gay vs. straight) in terms of how beneficial they are in traditionally masculine coalitions or in activities that do not require traditionally masculine traits. Results showed that having feminine interests, but not being gay, predicted perceptions of the male targets: the man with feminine interests was perceived as less masculine, dominant, strong, assertive, less feared by other men, but more easily afraid compared to the man with masculine interests. Compared to the man with masculine interests, the man with feminine interests was also rated as less competent at traditionally masculine activities (e.g., football and being a soldier), but more or equally competent at activities that do not require traditionally masculine traits (e.g., poetry, chess, business). Most importantly, the gay man with masculine interests was rated higher on traits reflecting traditionally masculine coalitional value than the straight man with feminine interests. The perceived incompetence of men with feminine interests on traditionally masculine activities (e.g., soldiering) was fully explained by perceiving these men as lacking masculinity, not perceiving them as gay. Experiments conducted in the lab further supported the idea that the factors that men use to evaluate other men's coalitional value are contingent upon the nature of the coalitional activity. When men were asked to choose a teammate for a competition in a masculine activity (basketball), they chose the masculine gay partner significantly more times than the feminine straight partner, and rated the masculine gay partner as potentially more helpful in winning the competition and more desirable as a teammate. But when men had to choose a teammate for a competition in a feminine domain (poetry), they did not show a higher preference for the masculine target over the feminine target, and even rated the feminine target more helpful. In another study, when they manipulated the male targets' actual coalitional contribution as either hurting or helping the coalition, men thought that *other men* would derogate the target who hurt the coalition more than the target who helped the coalition (using a derogatory word which implies lack of masculinity), and men's perceptions of other men's derogation was not

predicted by the target's sexual orientation (gay vs. straight). Overall, Winegard et al.'s (2016) findings show that men's perceptions of gay men are not universally negative, since coalitional value of gay men turned out to be context-dependent, and they were perceived as more helpful in less traditionally masculine competitions.

Although Winegard et al. (2016) applied the CVT to anti-gay bias, their findings confirm that CVT can be fully applied to explain anti-effeminacy bias. The data by other researchers provide indirect support for the CVT of anti-effeminacy bias, by showing that men exhibit bias against gay/effeminate men especially when they worry about their own masculinity. For instance, studies found that exposing straight men to threats directed to their masculinity led them to report more negative views of homosexuality (Willer et al., 2013), and respond more aggressively to a gay man (Talley & Bettencourt, 2008). More nuanced tests of the effects of masculinity threat by pitting sexual orientation and gender nonconformity against each other revealed that after receiving masculinity-threatening feedback compared to a masculinity-affirming feedback, straight men reacted with more negative emotions towards an effeminate gay man, but not towards a masculine gay man (Glick et al., 2007). Similarly, another study found that when their masculinity was threatened compared to when it was affirmed, gay men reported less desire to interact with an effeminate gay man, but not with a masculine gay man (Hunt et al., 2016). However, masculinity threat (vs. affirmation) did not lead gay men to report more disliking or discomfort with being associated with effeminate gay men (Hunt et al., 2016). Making sense of these findings, Hunt et al. (2016) suggested that less desire to interact/meet men who are perceived as deficient in masculinity, despite not disliking them, may be related to concerns with maintaining a masculine social image – because disliking is a feeling experienced internally, whereas interacting with a person may potentially be seen by other people, and thus may reflect negatively on one's own masculine reputation by association. But these

authors or others (see Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Bosson et al., 2012; Dahl et al., 2015; Weaver & Vescio, 2015 who also argued for public contexts enhancing concerns for a masculine identity) have not empirically tested these assumptions.

In the current research, informed by the CVT of anti-effeminacy bias, it is tested for the first time whether men's reluctance to befriending effeminate targets, who are perceived as lacking coalitional value, is actually driven by perceived costs of this association to men's own reputation, i.e., reputation by association concerns. An individual difference variable was also examined – masculine honour ideals, i.e., the extent to which men value traditional forms of masculinity such as the use of physical aggression for protection and toughness – which is expected to moderate men's assessment of the effeminate targets' coalitional value (i.e., formidability), reputation concerns and friendship intentions.

**Concerns for Reputation by Association**

Not only has the evolutionary history of coalitionary conflict led to the development of mental systems for accurately assessing traits of other men, and preferring those men who possessed traits beneficial for coalitional success as social partners, it has also led to mental systems for effectively managing one's own reputation in order to make oneself appealing to ingroup members and potential mates, as well as signalling to potential outgroup aggressors that one cannot easily be attacked and exploited (Winegard, Winegard & Geary, 2014). Reputations are important sources of information that men rely on to make effective decisions about their own behaviour towards other men (whether to select them as allies, ingroup members or sexual mates), especially to men with whom they have had little direct experience (Winegard et al., 2014; Stiff & Van Vugt, 2008). Men who cultivated reputations as formidable individuals who cannot be easily exploited would have dissuaded rival men from fighting them, while also signalling their own value to their ingroup coalition, earning prestige from allies, gaining access to resources and mating opportunities (Daly & Wilson,

1988; Winegard et al., 2014; Hurd, 1997; Matsumara & Hayden, 2006). In contrast, men who had reputations as physically weak and timid would have suffered serious consequences such as exclusion from the coalition, losing preferential access to crucial resources (mates, food, protection), which would sometimes lead to death (Adler, Kless, & Adler, 1992; de Bruyn, Cillessen, & Weisfelt, 2012; Kolbert & Crothers, 2003; Kurzban & Leary, 2001). For instance, an archival study of American soldiers who fought in World War II found that men who have reputations as war heroes sired more offspring compared to regular non-heroic veterans (Rusch, Leunissen, & Van Vugt, 2015). A reputation maintenance mechanism evolved as a solution to the adaptive problem of protecting one's resources, and men who successfully avoided threats and damages to their reputation enjoyed these fitness-enhancing benefits and reduced fitness-decreasing costs (McElreath, 2003; Shackelford, 2005).

Reputation can be damaged by a person's own actions, but also by the company they keep because observers make attributions about people who associate with stigmatized individuals (Goffman, 1963; Pryor, Reeder & Monroe, 2012). Reputation by association effects seem to be widespread and documented to occur for many different stigmatized individuals. For example, Hebl and Mannix (2003) found that a male job applicant was rated more negatively when seen sitting next to an overweight compared to an average weight woman, and that just being in the mere proximity of an overweight woman was enough to trigger stigmatization of the male applicant, regardless of his relationship to the woman or the observer's anti-fat attitudes. Penny and Haddock (2007) demonstrated that even children as young as five years of age showed less desire to befriend a non-stigmatized (average weight) female target when they were presented with a stigmatized (obese) target in the background compared to when they were not. Other studies found that teenagers with parents stigmatized by alcohol abuse or mental illness were viewed as more socially negative (Burk & Sher, 1990), and partners of disabled individuals were less likely to be viewed as intelligent,

sociable, or athletic than partners of nondisabled individuals (Goldstein & Johnson, 1997). Of particular relevance to the prediction that being seen as closely associated to an effeminate man (especially by willing choice such as an intention to befriend someone) may result in loss of reputation by association, Sigelman, Howell, Cornell, Cutright, and Dewey (1991) found that a man who voluntarily chose to associate with a gay man (by choosing him as a roommate) was seen by anti-gay prejudiced people as having homosexual tendencies and as possessing many of the same personality traits commonly associated with gay men (weak, unmanly, passive). Similarly, Neuberg, Smith, Hoffman, and Russel (1994) found that both men reported more discomfort in a social interaction with a heterosexual man after they had watched a videotape of this man interacting with a gay friend.

Thus, a considerable body of research and theory points to the hypothesis that people feel uncomfortable if they are observed interacting with stigmatized others, presumably out of concern for their reputation (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001). Applied to anti-effeminacy bias, one way men can maintain a formidable reputation is by avoiding association with effeminate men (especially a voluntary decision such as being friends) who are perceived as lacking traits fundamental to traditional masculinity (e.g., dominance, courage, physical strength), because men may intuit that such an association could lead observers to make negative attributions, thus damaging their own reputation for prestige and formidability.

**Individual Differences in Reputation Concerns and Anti-Effeminacy Bias**

Research indicates that anti-effeminacy bias is not monolithic: different men exhibit different levels of anti-effeminacy bias in different contexts (Winegard et al., 2016). Studies reveal that men who belong to traditional male coalitions (e.g., military, contact sports teams, construction crews, street gangs) and/or who subscribe to traditional narratives of masculinity manifest stronger anti-effeminacy bias than men who do not. For instance, Wilkinson (2004)

and Whitley (2001) found that endorsement of traditional male role beliefs was positively related to anti-gay attitudes. In both of these studies, the measure of anti-gay attitudes included items tapping into anti-effeminacy attitudes such as gay men have identifiable female characteristics and gay men are dressed in feminine clothing (Wilkinson, 2004). Other researchers also found links between masculine roles and anti-effeminacy attitudes (e.g., Goodnight, Cook, Parrott, & Peterson, 2014; Parrott, 2009; Parrott, Peterson, Vincent, & Bakeman, 2008; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Furthermore, anti-effeminacy attitudes have been shown to be more common among masculine subcultures such as in male sports teams (Anderson, 2002), the military (Herek, 1993), and gangs (Luyt & Foster, 2001; Vigil, 1996). For instance, Kwon, Lee, Kim, and Kim (2007) found that the high frequency of sexual violence among male soldiers in the South Korean army was often activated to validate the perpetrator's masculinity while emasculating the victims who were already perceived as weaker, feminine, and submissive. Lingiardi, Falanga, and D'Augelli (2005) found that male officers of the Italian Marine Corps held more homophobic attitudes than did comparable male university students. Harry (1995) found that being sports-oriented was related to anti-homosexual attitudes, and Winegard et al. (2016) found that higher frequency of playing contact sports growing up was related to perceiving gay men as less masculine and physically formidable.

Research also indicates that individuals differ in how much they believe that a reputation for masculinity for men is important, based on their culture of origin and/or based on individual means of socialization (Saucier & McManus, 2014; Barnes et al., 2012). For instance, Cohen et al. (1996) found that when insulted (e.g., calling a man asshole), men who grew up in Southern US (an honour culture sample) were more likely to think that their masculine reputation was threatened, physiologically and cognitively more primed for aggression, and actually engaged in more dominant behaviour compared to men who grew up

in Northern US (a low honour culture). Saucier et al. (2014) found that high honour-endorsing American men reported that they would be more likely to be offended and respond physically if they would be targeted by slurs challenging manhood. And IJzerman et al. (2007) found that when being provocatively bumped into on the train, high honour-endorsing Dutch men displayed more facial expressions and body language indicating anger and aggression compared to weak honour-endorsing Dutch men. Furthermore, men who endorse higher levels of masculine honour had higher levels of participation in masculine contact sports and athletic events such as boxing, wrestling and weightlifting, and they were also higher on trait aggression and gave higher support for the use of war and military action (Saucier & McManus, 2014). Thus, the traditionally masculine subcultures, which are shown to have heightened anti-gay/anti-effeminacy bias (e.g., male sports teams, the military), seem to be occupied by men who also strongly value masculine reputations. In sum, these studies indicate that men can dramatically vary in how much they value masculine reputations in their lives and those who strongly value masculine reputations may be more likely to hold anti-effeminacy bias.

## The Present Research

Across four studies, I tested the proposed reluctance to befriending effeminate men as a reputation by association account – that is, such reluctance is driven by perceived reputational costs that being seen as associated to an effeminate man would cause, because they would be perceived as lacking competence in masculine domains. If men who are socialized with traditional forms of masculinity are more biased against effeminate men, and effeminate men's perceived lack of physical formidability is seen as potentially injurious to traditionally masculine coalitions, but not for coalitions that do not require masculinity, then higher levels of masculine honour endorsement should be associated with perceiving effeminate men as less formidable and showing more reluctance to being friends with them (tested in all

studies). Second, if an evolved reputation maintenance psychology leads men to monitor and be wary of their own reputations for strength and fighting prowess, then high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to being friends with effeminate men who are perceived as lacking formidability should be explained by their reputation concerns (tested in Study 4).

In Studies 3a and 3b, I also examined women and perceptions of female targets. If men evince more anti-effeminacy bias than women because of facing the sex-specific selective pressures of coalitional conflict which led to an evolved tendency to estimate men's coalitional value, not women's (Van Vugt, Cremer, & Janssen, 2007; Winegard et al., 2014, 2016), then findings should not generalize to female perceivers or to gender nonconforming female targets. That is, even if gender nonconforming (masculine) women would be perceived as having more, and gender conforming (feminine) women would be perceived as having less traditional masculine skills (toughness, strength, courage), this should not lead to reputation by association concerns or a disinterest in befriending women.

Following methods used by previous researchers (e.g., Glick et al., 2007; Hunt et al., 2016; Salvati et al., 2016), in the studies reported below, participants evaluated profiles describing a target who was either presented as gender nonconforming (feminine-typed) or conforming (masculine-typed). Different operationalization of reluctance to be friends was used, by measuring participants' reported *likelihood of being friends* in Studies 3a and 3b and their reported *desire to be friends* in Study 4. And to increase generalizability of findings, I examined the predictions with two different cultural samples: Studies 3a and 4 recruited participants from the UK, and Study 3b from Turkey, samples assumed to vary in the degree of importance given to masculine reputations (Cross et al., 2014; Guerra et al., 2013; Sakalli-Ugurlu et al., 2007). Nevertheless, if reluctance to being friends with effeminate men is due to evolved reputation maintenance mechanisms (Shackelford, 2005), we would expect that high honour-endorsing men would show similar pattern of results in both cultural groups.

Furthermore, I aimed to rule out main alternative explanations of these findings. In Study 3a, I measured perceived homosexuality of the male targets to test an alternative explanation – that is, men's reluctance to being friends with effeminate men is due to their homosexuality. In Study 4, I examined if masculine honour endorsement is related to men's reluctance to being friends with effeminate men above and beyond social dominance orientation and similarity to targets.

### 3.1. Studies 3a and 3b

The aim of Studies 3a and 3b was to establish that honour endorsement is associated with perceiving effeminate men as less physically formidable and showing more reluctance to being friends with them. An additional aim of Studies 3a and 3b was to test whether the association with honour endorsement and reluctance to being friends generalize to *female perceivers* and gender nonconforming *female targets*.

**Method**

**Participants.** Inputting a small $R^2$ change of .03 ($f^2$ = .03) (Cohen, 1988) into GPower determined a sample size of 368 at 80% power. The recommended sample was increased by approximately 20% to allow for exclusions based on incomplete responses. Participants were 446 students recruited from a British university and through Prolific Academic (238 women; $M_{age}$ = 21.27, $SD_{age}$ = 5.24; 80% UK/ Ireland-born; 72% White-British, 27% Mixed British, and 1% non-British; 86% heterosexual, 11% homosexual/bisexual/asexual, 3% unspecified). Because anti-effeminacy bias is observed among both heterosexual and non-heterosexual individuals alike (e.g., Glick et al., 2007; Hunt et al., 2016), all participants were retained in the analyses.

In Study 3b,we recruited 375 students from various Universities across Turkey (190 women; $M_{age}$ = 24.07, $SD_{age}$ = 4.15; 81% Turkish, 8% Kurdish, 2% Arab, 9% other; 98%

Turkey-born). Due to an oversight, participants' sexual orientation was not recorded. As in Study 3a, all participants were retained in the analyses.

**Design and procedure.** Participants were randomly assigned to read one of the four experimental conditions in a 2 (target sex: male vs. female) X 2 (gendered appearance: feminine-typed vs. masculine-typed) between-subjects factorial design. They read a profile of a male or a female target who was presented as having either feminine or masculine appearance or interests. Profiles were created based on a pilot test conducted in the UK and Turkey and made relevant to students. Participants in the *masculine-typed male target* condition were presented with the following profile (words in brackets were for the *masculine-typed female target* conditions):

> Michael [Jessica] is a 21-year-old male [female] who studies Engineering. Outside of school, Michael [Jessica] likes to make time for his hobbies and to hang out with his [her] friends and family. One of his [her] hobbies is music. He [She] loves listening to heavy metal and he [she] plays the drums in a heavy metal band. He [She] recently started to go to boxing classes with one of his [her] friend in a gym close to his [her] house, and boxing became one of his [her] favourite activities. It was Michael's [Jessica's] birthday last Friday, and his [her] parents bought him [her] a brown hoodie as a gift which he [she] really liked, and took him [her] out for dinner to his [her] favourite grill restaurant. He [She] had a great time together with his [her] family eating one of the signature steak dishes on the menu and drinking beer.

Whereas participants in the *feminine-typed male target* condition were presented with the following profile (words in brackets were for the *feminine-typed female target* conditions):

> Michael [Jessica] is a 21-year-old male [female] who studies Fashion. Outside of school, Michael [Jessica] likes to make time for his [her] hobbies and to hang out with his [her] friends and family. One of his [her] hobbies is music. He [She] loves listening

to pop and he [she] plays the flute in a classical music band. He [She] recently started to go to ballet classes with one of his [her] friend in a dance and ballet school close to his [her] house, and ballet became one of his [her] favourite activities. It was Michael's [Jessica's] birthday last Friday, and his [her] parents bought him [her] a pink hoodie which he [she] really liked and took him [her] out for dinner to his [her] favourite vegetarian restaurant. He [She] had a great time together with his [her] family eating one of the signature salad dishes on the menu and drinking wine.

After reading the profiles, participants were asked to indicate their perceptions of the target.

**Measures.**

***Manipulation check for gendered appearance.*** Participants rated the degree to which they perceive the target as feminine or masculine (1 = *extremely feminine*, 5 = *neither masculine nor feminine*, 9 = *extremely masculine*).[7]

***Perceived coalitional value/formidability.*** Participants rated the target on five traits assessing coalitional value/formidability on 9-point bipolar scales (1 = *extremely [negative trait]*, 5 = *neutral*, 9 = extremely *[positive trait]*): dominant-submissive, tough-timid, strong-weak, courageous-cowardly (Study 3a: $\alpha_{male\text{-}targets} = .77$, $\alpha_{female\text{-}targets}\ \alpha = .81$; Study 3b: $\alpha_{male\text{-}targets} = .72$, $\alpha_{female\text{-}targets} = .89$).

***Likelihood of being friends.*** Participants rated how likely they would be friends with the target and how likely they would enjoy interacting with the target (1 = *very unlikely*, 7 = *very likely*). A composite measure was created by averaging the scores on the two items (Study 3a: $r_{male\text{-}targets} = .74$, $r_{female\text{-}targets} = .80$; Study 3b: $r_{male\text{-}targets} = .80$, $r_{female\text{-}targets} = .76$).

***Perceived homosexuality.*** In Study 3a, participants rated the likelihood of this person to be homosexual (1 = *very unlikely*, 7 = *very likely*).

[7] I decided to use masculinity and femininity as one dimension rather than two, based on research showing that lay people conceptualize masculinity and femininity as opposite ends of a continuum (Helgeson, 1994).

***Masculine honour ideals.*** Individual differences on how much one values traditional aspects and functions of masculinity were measured using the 16-item Honour Ideology for Manhood (HIM) scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 9 = *strongly agree*) (Barnes et al., 2012). This scale includes eight items about the characteristics of a 'real man' (e.g., "A real man doesn't let other people push him around") and eight items about whether men have the right to demonstrate physical aggression for personal defence (e.g., "A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who calls him an insulting name"). Because the items are phased ideologically, both men and women can agree with these items. In Study 3b, items were translated into Turkish by the author of this research (Study 3a: $\alpha_{male\text{-}targets}$ = .95, $\alpha_{female\text{-}targets}$ = .94; Study 3b: $\alpha_{male\text{-}targets}$ = .95, $\alpha_{female\text{-}targets}$ = .92).

Participants' scores on honour scale did not differ between the feminine-typed vs. the masculine-typed conditions for male targets (Study 3a: $t(184) = -.75$, $p = .45$, $d = 0.75$; Study 3b: $t(147) = .64$, $p = .53$, $d = 0.84$), nor between the feminine-typed vs. masculine-typed conditions for female targets (Study 3a: $t(196) = .06$, $p = .95$, $d = 0.86$. Study 3b: $t(150) = -.11$, $p = .91$, $d = 0.79$), ruling out the possibility that honour ideals reflected a state measure affected by gendered appearance manipulations. Men endorsed honour ideals significantly more than did women (Study 3a: $t(382) = 3.01$, $p = .003$, $d = 0.94$; Study 3b: $t(299) = 8.34$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.29$).

**Results**

Tables 3.1.1 presents bivariate correlations and Tables 3.1.2a and 3.1.2b present mean scores on dependent measures per participant gender and gendered appearance and in Studies 1a (British participants) and 1b (Turkish participants).

Table 3.1.1

*Studies 3a and 3b: Bivariate correlations per target gender and gendered appearance type*

| | Study 3a (British sample) | | | | | | Study 3b (Turkish sample) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male targets | | | Female targets | | | Male targets | | | Female targets | | |
| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 1. | 2. | 3. | 1. | 2. | 3. | 1. | 2. | 3. |
| *Masculine-typed* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Masculine honour ideals[a] | - | -.15 | .03 | - | .09 | -.05 | - | .18 | .10 | - | .30* | -.12 |
| 2. Perceived formidability[b] | | - | .27* | | - | -.07 | | - | -.06 | | - | .01 |
| 3. Likelihood of being friends[c] | | | - | | | - | | | - | | | - |
| *Feminine-typed* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Masculine honour ideals[a] | - | -.18 | -.24* | - | -.07 | -08 | - | -.35** | -.57** | - | -.02 | -.16 |
| 2. Perceived formidability[b] | | - | .55** | | - | .27** | | - | .34** | | - | .31** |
| 3. Likelihood of being friends[c] | | | - | | | - | | | - | | | - |

*Note*. British sample ($N$ = 446): $n$ = 225 in the male target conditions, $n$ = 221 in the female target conditions; Turkish sample ($N$ = 375): $n$ = 188 in the male target conditions, $n$ = 187 in the female target conditions; [a] 9-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 9 = strongly agree); [b] 9-point bipolar scale (1 = extremely unformidable, 9 = extremely formidable); [c] 7-point scale (1 = very unlikely, 7 = very likely). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 3.1.2a

*Study 3a: Means and standard deviations per participant gender, target gender, and gendered appearance typed on dependent measures.*

| | Study 3a (British sample) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male targets | | Female targets | |
| | Masculine-typed | Feminine-typed | Masculine-typed | Feminine-typed |
| | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* |
| *Male participants* | | | | |
| Masculine honour ideals[a] | 4.11 (1.70) | 4.25 (1.62) | 4.49 (1.66) | 4.54 (1.34) |
| Perceived formidability[b] | 6.30 (1.18) | 4.89 (1.04) | 6.72 (.86) | 5.76 (1.15) |
| Likelihood of being friends[c] | 4.47 (1.49) | 4.33 (1.33) | 4.93 (1.12) | 4.58 (1.12) |
| *Female participants* | | | | |
| Masculine honour ideals[a] | 3.87 (1.49) | 4.09 (1.77) | 3.83 (1.46) | 3.74 (1.39) |
| Perceived formidability[b] | 6.49 (1.38) | 5.76 (1.05) | 6.92 (1.23) | 5.28 (1.20) |
| Likelihood of being friends[c] | 4.41 (1.04) | 4.96 (1.26) | 4.58 (1.36) | 4.53 (1.17) |

*Note.* [a] 9-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 9 = strongly agree); [b] 9-point bipolar scale (1 = extremely unformidable, 9 = extremely formidable); [c] 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 7 = very much). Standard deviations are indicated in parentheses.

Table 3.1.2b

*Study 3b: Means and standard deviations per participant gender, target gender, and gendered appearance typed on dependent measures.*

| | Study 3b (Turkish sample) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male targets | | Female targets | |
| | Masculine-typed | Feminine-typed | Masculine-typed | Feminine-typed |
| | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* |
| *Male participants* | | | | |
| Masculine honour ideals[a] | 5.28 (1.81) | 5.76 (1.57) | 5.30 (1.67) | 5.38 (1.28) |
| Perceived formidability[b] | 6.09 (1.56) | 5.27 (1.19) | 6.69 (1.61) | 5.61 (1.57) |
| Likelihood of being friends[c] | 5.44 (1.24) | 5.22 (1.39) | 5.65 (1.48) | 5.66 (1.36) |
| *Female participants* | | | | |
| Masculine honour ideals[a] | 4.31 (1.87) | 3.68 (1.69) | 3.81 (1.72) | 3.71 (1.47) |
| Perceived formidability[b] | 5.80 (.93) | 5.80 (1.56) | 5.62 (2.49) | 5.66 (1.88) |
| Likelihood of being friends[c] | 5.98 (.70) | 6.26 (.94) | 6.22 (1.04) | 5.85 (.93) |

*Note.* [a] 9-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 9 = strongly agree); [b] 9-point bipolar scale (1 = extremely unformidable, 9 = extremely formidable); [c] 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 7 = very much). Standard deviations are indicated in parentheses.

**Manipulation check for gendered appearance.** The feminine-typed male target (Study 3a: *M* = 3.39, *SD* = 1.56; Study 3b: *M* = 4.01, *SD* = 1.19) and the feminine-typed female target (Study 3a: *M* = 2.52, *SD* = 1.21; Study 3b: *M* = 3.27, *SD* = 1.06) were perceived as more feminine than the masculine-typed male target (Study 3a: *M* = 7.13, *SD* = 1.35;

Study 3b: $M = 6.46$, $SD = 1.03$) and the masculine-typed female target (Study 3a: $M = 5.88$, $SD = 1.25$; Study 3b: $M = 5.18$, $SD = 1.50$), respectively – Study 3a: male targets: $t(216) = 18.98$, $p < .001$, $d = 2.56$, female targets: $t(216) = 20.17$, $p < .001$, $d = 2.73$. Study 3b: male targets: $t(180) = 14.86$, $p < .001$, $d = 2.20$, female targets: $t(176) = 9.82$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.47$. Thus, the manipulation of gendered appearance was successful in both studies.

**Results for main predictions.** I conducted hierarchical regression analyses separately for male and female targets to test our main prediction that honour ideals would predict men's (but not women's) reluctance to being friends with effeminate men (but not with masculine or feminine women).[8] In Step 1, participant gender (*male = 1, female = 0*), gendered appearance (*masculine-typed = 1, feminine-typed = 0*), and honour endorsement (standardized) were entered. In Step 2, the two-way interaction terms were entered, followed by the three-way interaction term in Step 3. I expected a significant gendered appearance X honour endorsement interaction effect on men's perceptions of male targets, but not for women's perceptions. The significant three-way interactions were unfolded by conducting regression analyses separately for men and women, and the significant two-way interactions were further analysed using simple slopes analyses examining the simple slopes of gendered appearance for participants who endorse relatively low (*1 SD below the mean*) and high (1 *SD above the mean*) honour ideals (Aiken & West, 1991). Semi-partial correlation coefficients (*sr*) are reported for effect sizes in regression analyses. Due to missing values, degrees of freedom differ between analyses. Tables 3.1.3a-b and 3.1.4a-b present the hierarchical regression results and Figures 3.1.1a-b and 3.1.2a-b present simple slopes.

[8] Note that I conducted regression analyses separately for male and female targets, because it was not our objective to compare the mean differences as a function of target sex.

Table 3.1.3a.

*Study 3a (British sample): Results of hierarchical regression analyses for male targets*

| | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DVs | Predictors | *β* | *t* | *β* | *t* | *β* | *t* |
| *Perceived* | Participant gender (PG) | -.21 | -3.19** | -.32 | -3.42** | -.35 | -3.79*** |
| *formidability* | Gendered appearance (GA) | .39 | 5.95*** | .27 | 2.84** | .21 | 2.27* |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | -.13 | -2.03* | -.20 | -1.87† | -.02 | -.16 |
| | PG X GA | | | .21 | 1.87† | .28 | 2.48* |
| | PG X HIM | | | .11 | 1.14 | -.18 | -1.42 |
| | GA X HIM | | | -.01 | -.13 | -.30 | -2.40* |
| | PG X GA X HIM | | | | | .43 | 3.28** |
| *Likelihood of* | Participant gender (PG) | -.10 | -1.39 | -.28 | -2.75** | -.31 | -3.03** |
| *being friends* | Gendered appearance (GA) | -.13 | -1.81† | -.26 | -2.57* | -.31 | -3.06** |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | -.10 | -1.36 | -.14 | -1.17 | .03 | .22 |
| | PG X GA | | | .27 | 2.21* | .34 | 2.70** |
| | PG X HIM | | | -.12 | -1.21 | -.38 | -2.78** |
| | GA X HIM | | | .18 | 1.77† | -.09 | -.65 |
| | PG X GA X HIM | | | | | .39 | 2.73** |

*Note.* $n = 225$; † $p < .10$ * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 3.1.3b.

*Study 3a (British sample): Results of hierarchical regression analyses for female targets*

| | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DVs | Predictors | *β* | *t* | *β* | *t* | *β* | *t* |
| *Perceived* | Participant gender (PG) | .05 | .73 | .22 | 2.45$^{*}$ | .23 | 2.53$^{*}$ |
| *formidability* | Gendered appearance (GA) | .51 | 8.28$^{***}$ | .68 | 7.72$^{***}$ | .71 | 7.64$^{***}$ |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | -.002 | -.03 | -.19 | -1.69$^{\dagger}$ | -.24 | -1.87$^{\dagger}$ |
| | PG X GA | | | -.27 | -2.51$^{*}$ | -.28 | -2.61$^{*}$ |
| | PG X HIM | | | .09 | 1.06 | .18 | 1.33 |
| | GA X HIM | | | .15 | 1.61 | .23 | 1.73$^{\dagger}$ |
| | PG X GA X HIM | | | | | -.11 | -.83 |
| *Likelihood of* | Participant gender (PG) | .11 | 1.51 | .09 | .89 | .10 | 1.02 |
| *being friends* | Gendered appearance (GA) | .08 | 1.16 | .05 | .46 | .08 | .77 |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | -.09 | -1.21 | -.23 | -1.73$^{\dagger}$ | -.32 | -2.10$^{*}$ |
| | PG X GA | | | .07 | .55 | .04 | .35 |
| | PG X HIM | | | .18 | 1.80$^{\dagger}$ | .32 | 2.08$^{*}$ |
| | GA X HIM | | | .004 | .03 | .14 | .86 |
| | PG X GA X HIM | | | .09 | .89 | -.19 | -1.18 |

*Note.* $n = 221$; $^{\dagger}$ $p < .10$ $^{*}$ $p < .05$; $^{**}$ $p < .01$; $^{***}$ $p < .001$

Table 3.1.4a.

*Study 3b (Turkish sample): Results of hierarchical regression analyses for male targets*

| | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DVs | Predictors | *β* | *t* | *β* | *t* | *β* | *t* |
| *Perceived* | Participant gender (PG) | -.08 | -.89 | -.16 | -1.19 | -.15 | -1.09 |
| *formidability* | Gendered appearance (GA) | .12 | 1.48 | -.04 | -.31 | -.05 | -.37 |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | -.06 | -.63 | -.28 | -1.85$^{\dagger}$ | -.25 | -1.38 |
| | PG X GA | | | .19 | 1.19 | .18 | 1.07 |
| | PG X HIM | | | .05 | .35 | -.02 | -.09 |
| | GA X HIM | | | .29 | 2.32$^{*}$ | .23 | 1.29 |
| | PG X GA X HIM | | | | | .09 | .45 |
| *Likelihood of* | Participant gender (PG) | -.31 | -3.66$^{***}$ | -.14 | -1.11 | -.08 | -.67 |
| *being friends* | Gendered appearance (GA) | -.04 | -.53 | -.02 | -.18 | -.07 | -.59 |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | -.14 | -1.68$^{\dagger}$ | -.46 | -3.30$^{**}$ | -.25 | -1.58 |
| | PG X GA | | | -.18 | -1.23 | -.26 | -1.77$^{\dagger}$ |
| | PG X HIM | | | -.08 | -.68 | -.42 | -2.49$^{*}$ |
| | GA X HIM | | | .50 | 4.33$^{***}$ | .18 | 1.12 |
| | PG X GA X HIM | | | | | .49 | 2.74$^{**}$ |

*Note.* $n$ = 188; $^{\dagger}$ $p < .10$ $^{*}$ $p < .05$; $^{**}$ $p < .01$; $^{***}$ $p < .001$

Table 3.1.4b.

*Study 3b (Turkish sample): Results of hierarchical regression analyses for female targets*

| | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DVs | Predictors | *β* | *t* | *β* | *t* | *β* | *t* |
| *Perceived* | Participant gender (PG) | .07 | .77 | .04 | .34 | .05 | .39 |
| *formidability* | Gendered appearance (GA) | .15 | 1.88$^{\dagger}$ | .09 | .73 | .07 | .61 |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | .13 | 1.44 | .03 | .20 | .07 | .37 |
| | PG X GA | | | .09 | .59 | .08 | .53 |
| | PG X HIM | | | -.10 | -.87 | -.16 | -.85 |
| | GA X HIM | | | .22 | 1.59 | .17 | .93 |
| | PG X GA X HIM | | | | | .07 | .39 |
| *Likelihood of* | Participant gender (PG) | -.16 | -1.77$^{\dagger}$ | .01 | .09 | .04 | .28 |
| *being friends* | Gendered appearance (GA) | .05 | .62 | .22 | 1.85$^{\dagger}$ | .17 | 1.43 |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | -.06 | -.68 | -.24 | -1.46 | -.10 | -.53 |
| | PG X GA | | | -.30 | -1.94$^{\dagger}$ | -.33 | -2.14$^{*}$ |
| | PG X HIM | | | .10 | .85 | -.11 | -.57 |
| | GA X HIM | | | .13 | .93 | -.05 | -.26 |
| | PG X GA X HIM | | | | | .27 | 1.44 |

*Note.* $n$ = 187; $^{\dagger}$ $p < .10$ $^{*}$ $p < .05$; $^{**}$ $p < .01$; $^{***}$ $p < .001$

***Perceived coalitional value/formidability.***

*Study 3a.* In Study 3a, the masculine-typed male target was perceived as more formidable than the feminine-typed male target by British participants, $\beta = .39$, $t(180) = 5.95$, $p < .001$, $sr = .39$, and this effect was moderated by participant gender and honour endorsement, $\beta = .43$, $t(176) = 3.28$, $p = .001$, $sr = .21$. Separate regression analyses conducted for men and women revealed significant gendered appearance type X honour endorsement interaction effects for men, $\beta = .30$, $t(87) = 2.32$, $p = .02$, $sr = .21$, and for women, $\beta = -.31$, $t(89) = -2.32$, $p = .02$, $sr = -.22$.

As seen in Figure 3.1.1a, simple slope analysis revealed, as expected, that high honour-endorsing men perceived the feminine-typed male target as less formidable than the masculine-typed male target, $b = 1.87$, $SE = .33$, $t(91) = 5.81$, $p < .001$, and less than did low honour-endorsing men, $b = -.22$, $SE = .10$, $t(91) = -2.16$, $p = .03$. Low honour-endorsing men also perceived the feminine-typed male target as less formidable than the masculine-typed male target, $b = .82$, $SE = .33$, $t(91) = 2.51$, $p = .01$. Nevertheless, the *z*-test for the difference between the independent betas showed that the difference between the masculine vs. feminine-typed male targets in terms of perceived formidability was statistically stronger for high honour-endorsing men than for low honour-endorsing men ($z = 2.25$, $p = .02$).

As seen in Figure 3.1.1a, simple slopes were in the opposite direction for women: high honour-endorsing women perceived the masculine-typed male target as less formidable than did low honour-endorsing women, $b = -.37$, $SE = .11$, $t(93) = -3.23$, $p = .002$, and low honour-endorsing women perceived the masculine-typed male target as more formidable than the feminine-typed male target, $b = 1.28$, $SE = .35$, $t(93) = 3.67$, $p < .001$.

For *female targets*, regression results showed that feminine-typed female target was also perceived as less formidable than the masculine-typed female target, $\beta = .51$, $t(193) = 8.28$, $p < .001$, $sr = .52$, and this effect was moderated by participant gender, $\beta = -.27$, $t(176) = -2.51$, $p = .01$, $sr = -.55$. As seen in Figure 3.1.1b, women perceived a feminine-typed female target as less formidable than did men, $b = .47$, $SE = .22$, $t(213) = 2.18$, $p = .03$, and a feminine-typed female target was perceived as less formidable than a masculine-typed female target by both men, $b = .96$, $SE = .23$, $t(213) = 4.23$, $p < .001$, and women, $b = 1.64$, $SE = .21$, $t(213) = 7.78$, $p < .001$. There was no evidence of moderation by honour endorsement on perceived formidability of the female targets (see Table 3.1.3b for the regression results).

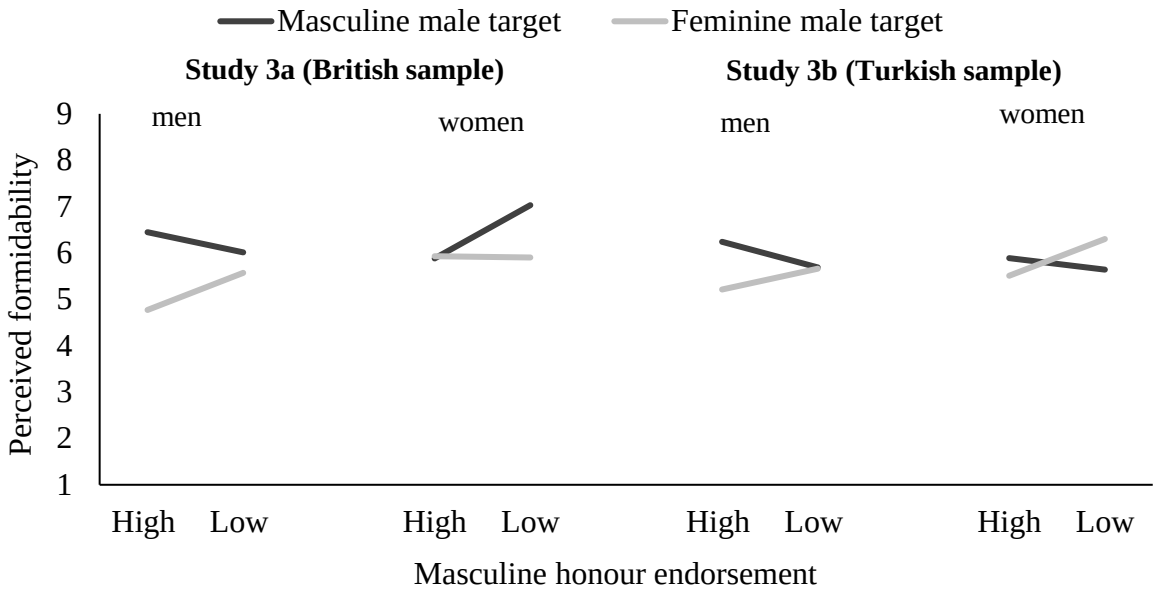


*Figure 3.1.1a.* Studies 3a & 3b: Simple slopes for men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour ideals on perceived formidability of the masculine-typed vs. feminine-typed male targets.

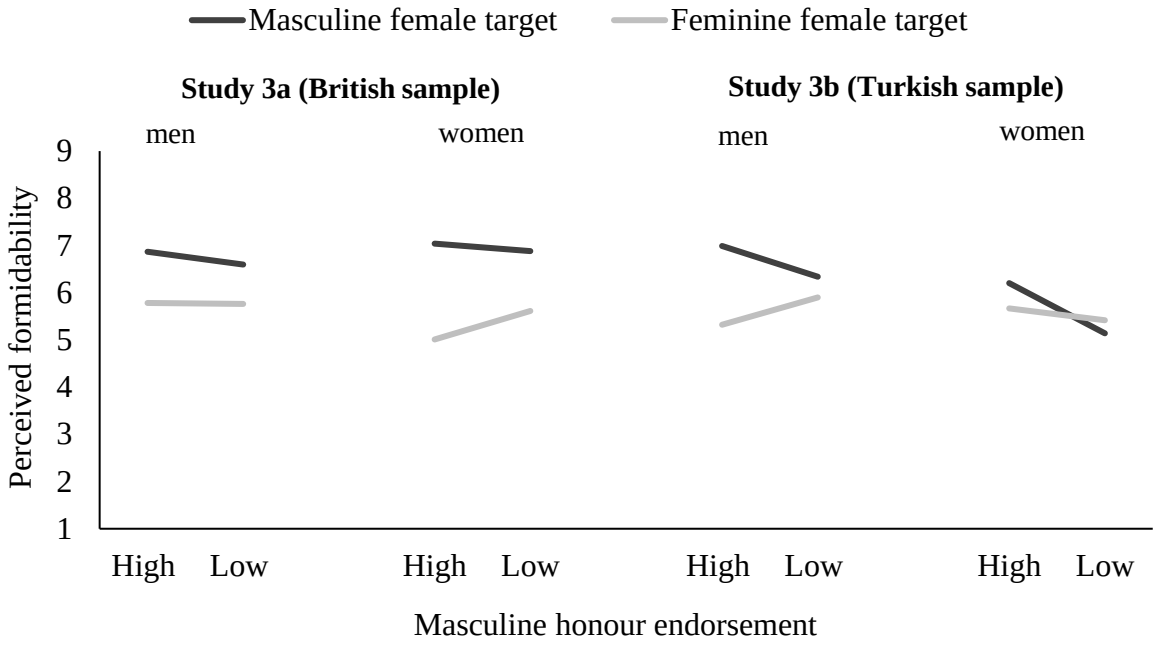


*Figure 3.1.1b.* Studies 3a & 3b: Simple slopes for men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour ideals on perceived formidability of the masculine-typed vs. feminine-typed female targets.

*Study 3b.* In Study 3b, only a significant gendered appearance type X honour endorsement interaction emerged on perceived formidability of the male target, $\beta$ = .29, $t(142) = 2.32$, $p$ = .02, $sr$= .19. Participant gender did not moderate this effect – gendered appearance type X honour endorsement interaction effect was marginally significant for men, $\beta$ = .33, $t(77) = 1.78$, $p$ = .08, $sr$= .19, but non-significant for women, $\beta$ = .25, $t(64) = 1.51$, $p$ = .14, $sr$= .18 – indicating that honour endorsement was related to perceived formidability in the same way for men and women. As shown in Figure 3.1.1a, simple slope analysis revealed, as expected, that high honour-endorsing participants perceived the feminine-typed male target as less formidable than the masculine-typed male target, $b$ = .96, $SE$ = .29, $t(149) = 3.34$, $p$ = .001. Furthermore, high honour-endorsing participants perceived the feminine-typed male target as less formidable than low honour-endorsing participants, $b$ = -.23, $SE$ = .07, $t(149) = -3.07$, $p$ = .003.

For *female targets,* results showed that feminine-typed female target was perceived as marginally less formidable than the masculine-typed female target, $\beta$ = .15, $t(148) = 1.88$, $p$ = .06, $sr$= .15, There was no evidence of moderation by honour endorsement on perceived formidability of the female targets (see Figure 3.1.4b for the regression results).

***Likelihood of being friends.***

*Studies 3a and 3b.* A significant participant gender X gendered appearance X honour endorsement interaction emerged on likelihood of being friends with the male target (Study 3a: $\beta$ = .39, $t(177) = 2.73$, $p$ = .007, $sr$= .19; Study 3b: $\beta$ = .49, $t(141) = 2.74$, $p$ = .007, $sr$= .19). As expected, separate regression analysis for men and women revealed a significant gendered appearance X honour endorsement interaction for men, (Study 3a: $\beta$ = .43, $t(87) = 2.91$, $p$ = .005, $sr$ = .29; Study 3b: $\beta$ = .74, $t(77) = 4.30$, $p < .001$, $sr$ = .44), but not for women (Study 3a: $\beta$ = -.10, $t(90) = -.72$, $p$ = .47, $sr$ = -.07; Study 3b: $\beta$ = .25, $t(64) = 1.55$, $p$ = .13, $sr$ = .18). As shown in Figure 3.1.2a, in both Studies 3a and 3b, simple slopes analysis showed

that high honour-endorsing men reported significantly less likelihood of being friends with the feminine-typed male target than did low honour-endorsing men (Study 3a: $b$ = -.40, $SE$ = .12, $t$(91) = -3.23, $p$ = .002; Study 3b: $b$ = -.52, $SE$ = .13, $t$(81) = -4.04, $p$ < .001). Furthermore, high honour-endorsing men did report less likelihood of being friends with the feminine-typed male than the masculine-typed male (Study 3a: $b$ = .91, $SE$ = .39, $t$(91) = 2.33, $p$ = .02; Study 3b: $b$ = 1.15, $SE$ = .38, $t$(81) = 3.0, $p$ = .004), whereas low honour-endorsing men reported more likelihood of being friends with the feminine-typed male than the masculine-typed male (Study 3a: $b$ = -.71, $SE$ = .39, $t$(91) = -1.81, $p$ = .07; Study 3b: $b$ = -1.26, $SE$ = .40, $t$(81) = -3.16, $p$ = .002). In Study 3b, the simple slope for masculine-typed male target was marginally significant: high honour-endorsing men reported marginally more likelihood of being friends with the masculine-typed male than did low honour-endorsing men (Study 3b: $b$ = .19, $SE$ = .10, $t$(81) = 1.83, $p$ = .07). No participant gender X gendered appearance X honour endorsement interaction effect was found on likelihood of being friends with the female target (Study 3a: $\beta$ = -.19, $t$(189) = -1.18, $p$ = .24, $sr$= -.08; Study 3b: $\beta$ = .27, $t$(144) = 1.44, $p$ = .15, $sr$= .12) (see Figure 3.1.2b).

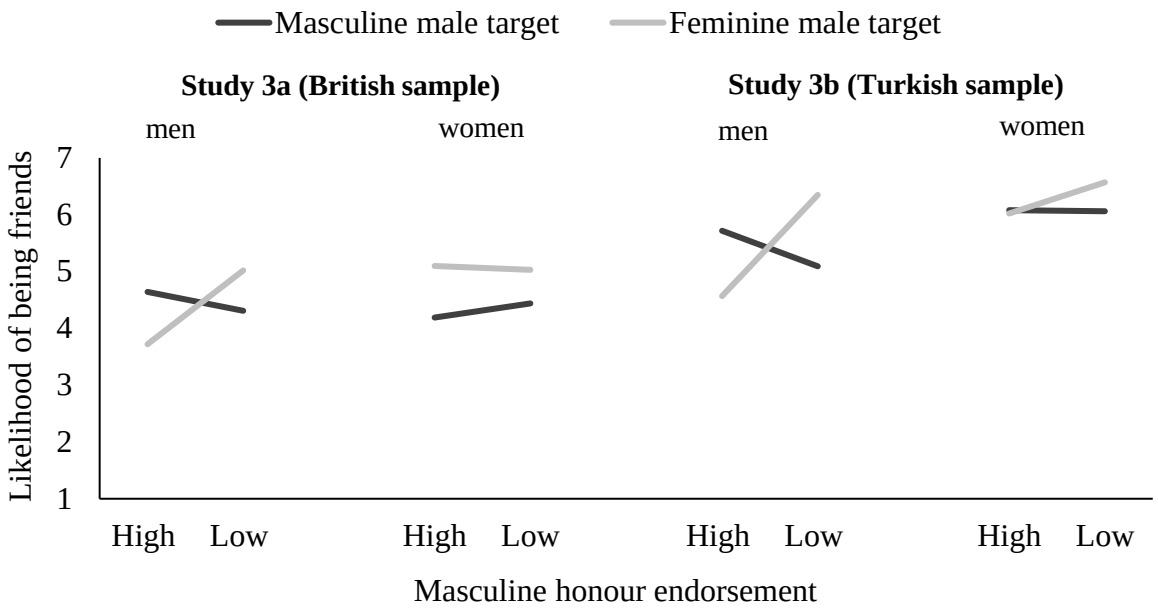


*Figure 3.1.2a.* Studies 3a & 3b: Simple slopes for men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour ideals on likelihood of being friends with the masculine-typed vs. feminine-typed male targets.

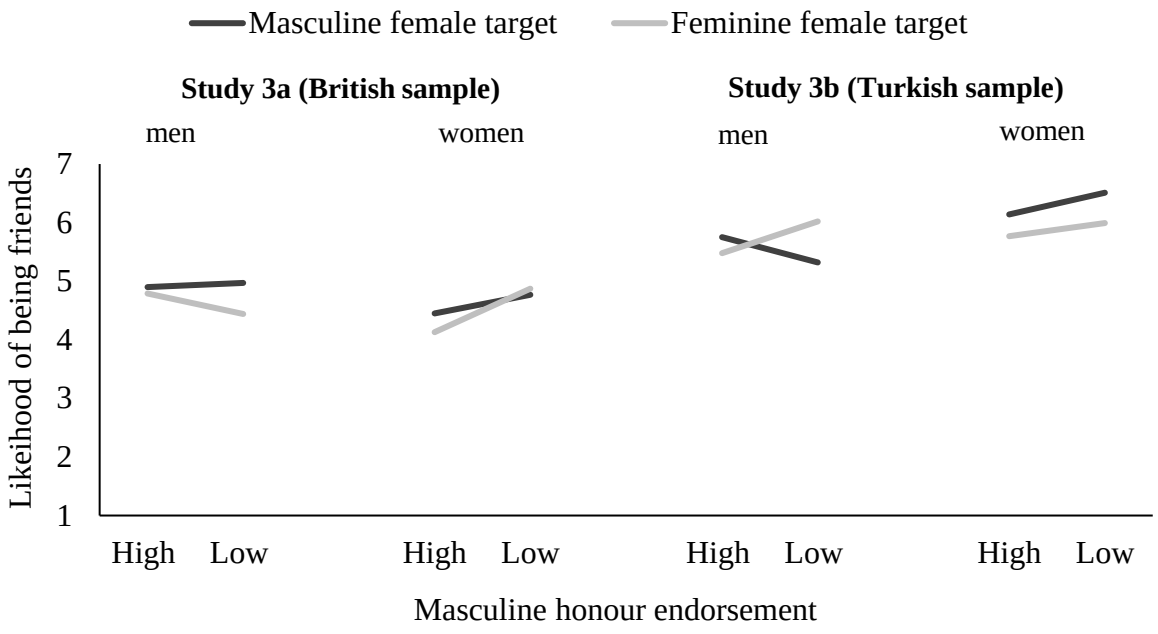


*Figure 3.1.2b.* Studies 3a & 3b: Simple slopes for men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour ideals on likelihood of being friends with the masculine-typed vs. feminine-typed female targets.

**Test of the sexual orientation hypothesis.** I measured perceived homosexuality of the targets in Study 3a to test the sexual orientation explanation of anti-effeminacy bias. Unsurprisingly, the feminine-typed male target was perceived more likely to be homosexual than the masculine-typed male target, $\beta$ = -.60, $t$(180) = 10.00, $p$ < .001, $sr$= -.59, and this effect was moderated by honour endorsement, $\beta$ = -.29, $t$(177) = -3.58, $p$ < .001, $sr$= -.21. Participant gender did not moderate the significant gendered appearance X honour endorsement interaction effect, $\beta$ = .02, $t$(176) = .19, $p$ = .85, $sr$= .01. Simple slope analyses showed that the feminine-typed male target (low honour men: $M$ = 4.67; high honour men: $M$ = 5.40) was perceived as more likely to be gay than the masculine-typed male target (low honour men: $M$ = 3.79; high honour men: $M$ = 3.59) by high honour-endorsing men, $b$ = -1.81, $SE$ = .26, $t$(91) = -7.00, $p$ < .001, and low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = -.88, $SE$ = .26, $t$(91) = -3.41, $p$ = .001. Nevertheless, the $z$-test for the difference between the independent betas showed that the difference between the masculine vs. feminine-typed male targets in terms of perceived formidability was statistically stronger for high honour-endorsing men than for low honour-endorsing men ($z$ = -2.53, $p$ = .01). In addition, high honour-endorsing men perceived the feminine-typed male target as more likely to be gay than did low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .22, $SE$ = .08, $t$(91) = 2.75, $p$ = .007.

Next, to test whether perceived homosexuality explains men's reluctance to being friends with the effeminate male targets, I conducted a moderated mediation analysis using Model 59 of Hayes' (2013) PROCESS Macro for SPSS with 95% bias-corrected bootstrapping procedure with 5000 samples. The conditional indirect effects of gendered appearance via perceived homosexuality on likelihood of being friends was non-significant (high honour-endorsing men: $b$ = .16, $SE$ = .42, $CI$s [-.70, .95], low honour-endorsing men: $b$ = -.08, $SE$ = .30, $CI$s [-.69, .49]), indicating no support for the perceived homosexuality

account for high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to being friends with the effeminate men.

**Test of the coalitional value hypothesis.** I tested whether lack of coalitional value/formidability predict high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to befriending effeminate men. Performing the moderated mediation analysis in the same way, I found that the conditional indirect effect of gendered appearance via perceived formidability on likelihood of being friends was significant for high honour-endorsing men (Study 3a: $b$ = .79, $SE$ = .33, $CI$s [.23, 1.50], Study 3b: $b$ = .38, $SE$ = .25, $CI$s [.04, 1.05]), but also for the low honour-endorsing men in Study 3a, $b$ = .44, $SE$ = .26, $CI$s [.06, 1.15], but not in Study 3b, $b$ = -.05, $SE$ = .14, $CI$s [-.42, .15].

**Discussion**

Testing our predictions in two culturally different groups, Studies 3a and 3b provided support for the prediction that higher levels of honour endorsement are associated with men's perception that effeminate men are less formidable and higher reluctance to befriending them. In line with our predictions, these associations generally did not hold for women, except in Study 3b, women showed similar trends to men in terms of perceiving effeminate men as less formidable as they endorsed higher levels of honour, but endorsing honour ideals was not related to women's friendship intentions. As expected, findings also did not generalize to female targets.

Mediation analysis showed that high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to befriending effeminate men was due to perceiving them as lacking traits fundamental to traditional masculinity which are beneficial for traditional male coalitions. In Study 3a, the coalitional value account also held for low honour-endorsing men, meaning that cues that a man is lacking traditionally masculine traits such as strength, toughness and courage may even discourage low honour-endorsing men from choosing effeminate men as alliances. Thus,

regardless of how much they value masculine reputations, men may be concerned of forming alliances with effeminate men who are perceived as low in coalitional value. Additionally, Study 3a ruled out the sexual orientation explanation of the findings by demonstrating that high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to being friends with effeminate men was not driven by perceiving these men as homosexual.

The similar trend of results obtained from the British and Turkish participants indicates comparable processes across these two cultures, even though honour values are relatively more salient in the Turkish culture compared with Anglo-American/English-speaking cultures (e.g., UK) (Cross et al., 2014; Guerra et al., 2013). These results are consistent with the idea that men who are socialized with the importance of masculine honour may share the same reputation maintenance concerns, regardless of their culture of origin, which may manifest as reluctance to being friends with effeminate men (see Shackelford, 2005). In this study, our focus was not on providing a comparison between the two cultural groups, nevertheless interested readers can find analyses reporting a cross-cultural examination of the data in Appendix B.

### 3.2. Study 4

The aim of Study 4 was to replicate the results obtained with men and male targets from Study 1 (with minor adjustments), but also to test an extension of the coalitional value account by examining the reputation by association account, that is, to test whether high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to befriending effeminate men can be explained by concerns that being associated to men who are perceived as lacking formidability would damage their own reputation.

But what would it signal to other people when a man is seen as associated to another man who is perceived as lacking formidability? This depends on who is present in the vicinity because different observers are expected to value different affordances (Cotrell,

Neuberg, & Li, 2007; Griskevicius, Tybur, & Van den Bergh, 2010; Iradele, Van Vugt, & Dunbar, 2008; Van Vugt & Hardy, 2010). For instance, if the observers are one's ingroup members such as male friends (or potential friends), they would be more sensitive to assessing the actor's ability and willingness to make sacrifices to further goals of the ingroup such as his coalitional value, competence, as well as his commitment to the ingroup (Stiff & Van Vugt, 2008). If the observers are potential outgroup aggressors, they would be more alert to estimating the actor's and his coalitions' strength such as formidability and fighting prowess, given that their primary goal is to manipulate and exploit competitors (Sell et al., 2009). Alternatively, if the observers are potential sexual mates, they would be more alert to assessing the man's mate value such as his attractiveness, wealth, and status to name a few (Buss, 1989). In turn, this creates motives for men to possess those traits valued by others and become sensitive to their reputations for those valued traits (Balliet, Tybur, & Van Lange, 2016). Accordingly, I tested each of these motives for maintaining a reputation, by varying the audience members, and asked participants to report how they think *their male friends, stranger men, and stranger women* would perceive them if they saw him socializing with an effeminate man. In this research, I only collected information on what this association would mean for others in terms of one's prestige, popularity, masculinity and formidability.

In Study 4, I also aimed to rule out other key alternative explanations. Extensive research shows that people prefer friends with whom they perceive to have similar traits and interests (e.g., Aiello et al., 2012; Krulewitz & Nash, 1980; Montoya, Horton, & Kirchner, 2008). Therefore, high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to befriending effeminate men could as well be explained by their lack of similarity to effeminate men. In other words, if high honour-endorsing men perceive themselves as 'masculine', they may not want to be friends with effeminate men (who are seen as lacking masculinity), because of not having

much in common with them, but not because of concerns that association to effeminate men would harm their own reputation.

Several studies also show that compared to women's, men's more traditional gender-related attitudes – including more negative attitudes toward gay men, and stereotypes about their femininity as pertinent to this research – are mediated by social dominance orientation (SDO) (e.g., Whitley, 1999; Whitley & Egisdottir, 1996; Whitley & Lee, 2000; Pratto, Stallworth, & Sidanius, 1997). Social dominance orientation (SDO) theory claims that many forms of social injustice are partly explained by individuals' preference for inequality among social groups (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). According to this theory, individuals who possess higher status and power in society have higher social dominance-orientation, because they are more motivated to preserve their privileged high status in the status quo (Pratto et al., 1994). Given the moderate correlations found between SDO and masculine honour ideals (Barnes et al., 2012; Travaglino et al., 2015), it is possible that high honour-endorsing men may be showing reluctance to being friends with effeminate men because they are motivated to maintain their status by opposing effeminate men, rather than being motivated to maintain their reputations for prestige and formidability for coalition formation or mating motives.

To rule out these alternative explanations, in the current study, I measured men's perceived similarity to targets and social dominance orientation, to examine whether the association between honour endorsement and men's reluctance to being friends with effeminate men hold above and beyond these factors, and whether reputation by association concerns still predict high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to being friends when these alternative variables are accounted for.

**Method**

**Participants.** Inputting a small to average $R^2$ change value of .09 from Studies 3a and

3b ($f_2$ = .10) (Cohen, 1988), a power analysis conducted using GPower determined a sample size of 100 at 80% power. This was increased by approximately 15% to allow for exclusions based on the attention check items. One-hundred-and-twenty-three males residing in the UK were recruited through Prolific Academic on a study advertised as "male friendships in daily life". Fifteen participants who failed to pass simple attention check items were excluded, leaving data from 108 male participants for analysis (age range: 18-60 years, $M_{age}$ = 23.73, $SD_{age}$ = 4.80; 97% heterosexual; 78% White-UK/Irish, 6% White-European, 2% White-Other, 7% Chinese, 2% Indian, 3% Asian-Other, and 2% Mixed race).

**Design and procedure.** The study had one between-subjects factor: gendered appearance (masculine-typed vs. feminine-typed). I used the same person profiles as in Study 4, with one exception: I included a more detailed description regarding the male target's appearance to strengthen the manipulation of gendered appearance (see Horn, 2007). Participants were randomly assigned to read either a profile of a masculine-typed male target or a profile of a feminine-typed male target. Participants in the *masculine-typed male target* condition were presented with the following profile:

> Michael is a 25-year-old male who works as an engineer. He looks athletic and muscular, and he likes to keep a certain amount of facial stubble. Outside of work, Michael likes to make time for his hobbies. One of his passions is music, and he plays the drums in a hard rock band. He also goes to boxing classes in his spare time, and enjoys watching football, playing poker and cruising in his motorbike. It was Michael's birthday last Friday, and his friends bought him a blue shirt as a gift which he really liked, and took him out for dinner to his favourite grill restaurant. He had a great time eating one of the signature steak dishes on the menu and drinking beer.

Whereas participants in the *feminine-typed male target* condition were presented with the following profile:

> Michael is a 25-year-old male who works as a fashion designer. He looks thin and not muscular, and he likes to keep his face and body clean-shaven. Outside of work, Michael likes to make time for his hobbies. One of his passions is music, and he sings in a pop band as the lead vocalist. He also goes to yoga classes in his spare time, and enjoys baking, watching romantic comedy movies, and going to the ballet. It was Michael's birthday last Friday, and his friends bought him a pink shirt which he really liked and took him out for dinner to his favourite vegetarian restaurant. He had a great time eating one of the signature salad dishes on the menu and drinking wine.

After reading the profiles, participants completed the measures described below.

**Measures.**

***Manipulation check of gendered appearance.*** The same one-item manipulation check question was used as in Study 1.

***Perceived coalitional value/formidability.*** I made minor adjustments to this measure. Participants rated the extent to which they perceive the target as physically formidable on 7-point scales (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*) on five items: *courageous, physically competent, physically capable, physically skilled,* and *physically strong* ($\alpha$ = .87).

***Desire to be friends.*** Participants rated nine items such as "how much they would like to be friends with the target" and "how much they would like to interact with the target" (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*). A factor analysis conducted on the items revealed a one-factor solution with loadings higher than .87. The items formed a reliable scale ($\alpha$ = .97).

***Perceived similarity.*** Participants rated how much overlap they perceive between themselves and the target with the 7-point Inclusion of the Other in Self Scale (Aron, Aron, & Smollen, 1992). I also asked how similar participants perceive themselves to the target on a 7-point scale (1 = *not similar at all*, 7 = *extremely similar*). These two items were highly

correlated ($r$ = .86) and scores on the two items were averaged to create a measure for similarity.

***Social dominance orientation.*** Participants completed the 4-item version of Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale (Pratto et al., 2013) by rating their agreement with items such as "superior groups should dominate inferior groups" and "group equality should be our ideal" (reverse-coded) (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*) ($\alpha$ = .72).

***Masculine honour ideals.*** Masculine honour endorsement was measured using the same scale as in Study 1 ($\alpha$ = .95). Participants' scores on the honour scale did not vary across conditions: feminine-typed male target ($M$ = 4.63, $SD$ = 1.87) and masculine-typed male target ($M$ = 4.38, $SD$ = 1.60), $t(106) = -.77$, $p$ = .44, $d$ = 0.79, ruling out the possibility that honour endorsement scores were affected by gendered appearance manipulation.

***Concern with maintaining reputation among ingroup members (male friends).*** Participants rated five items measuring how much they think it would reflect on their reputation if their male friends saw them socializing with the target (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*) (e.g., "How impressed would your male friends be by the two of you?"). Scores on these items were averaged and formed a reliable scale ($\alpha$ = .87).

***Concern with being seen as unmanly by men and women.*** Participants indicated what they think *other stranger men and women* would think of them if they were seen socializing with the target. Participants rated the items separately imagining that the onlookers were either stranger men or stranger women. Five items were used to assess reputation concerns in the eyes of other men: *weak, sissy, gay, feminine,* and *submissive* (e.g., "How likely would other men watching the two of you get the impression that you are weak?"; 1 = *very unlikely*, 7 = *very likely*). For assessing reputation concerns in the eyes of other women, the same five items were used plus an extra item: "How likely would other women watching the two of you question your manliness?" Scores on these items were averaged and formed two reliable

scales: *concern with being seen as unmanly by other men* ($\alpha$ = .92), and *concern with being seen as unmanly by other women* ($\alpha$ = .91).

**Results**

**Manipulation check for gendered appearance.** Masculine-typed target (*M* = 7.80; *SD* = .70) was perceived as significantly more masculine than the feminine-typed target (*M* = 3.47; *SD* = 1.28), $t(106) = 21.88$, $p < .001$, $d = 4.20$, indicating that the manipulation of gendered appearance was successful.

**Results for main predictions.** Table 3.2.1 presents bivariate correlations. Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to test whether honour endorsement predicts men's perceived formidability and desire to be friends with the targets, above and beyond SDO and perceived similarity to the targets. Main effects of honour endorsement, SDO and perceived similarity (all standardized) were entered in Step 1, followed by the two-way interaction terms of each predictor with gendered appearance in Step 2. Significant interactions were further analysed using simple slopes analyses. Due to missing values, degrees of freedom differ between analyses. Semi-partial correlation coefficients (*sr*) are reported for effect sizes in regression analyses. Tables 3.2.2a-b present the hierarchical regression results and Figure 3.2.1 presents simple slopes.

Table 3.2.1.

*Study 4 (British sample): Bivariate correlations per gendered appearance type*

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Masculine-typed male target (n = 55)* | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Masculine honour ideals[a] | - | .23 | .26 | .18 | .20 | .32* | -.18 | -.23 |
| 2. Social dominance orientation[b] | | - | .02 | .03 | -.09 | -.03 | -.10 | .03 |
| 3. Perceived similarity[c] | | | - | .14 | .77** | .65** | -.34* | -.37** |
| 4. Perceived formidability[d] | | | | - | .25 | .32* | .05 | .09 |
| 5. Desire to be friends[d] | | | | | - | .72** | -.23 | -.35** |
| 6. Reputation concern among male friends[e] | | | | | | - | -.20 | -.26 |
| 7. Reputation concern among stranger men[e] | | | | | | | - | .88** |
| 8. Reputation concern among stranger women[e] | | | | | | | | - |
| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. |
| *Feminine-typed male target (n = 53)* | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Masculine honour ideals[a] | - | .03 | -.34* | -.28* | -.53** | -.29* | .12 | .22 |
| 2. Social dominance orientation[b] | | - | .14 | -.26 | .03 | -.01 | -.03 | -.02 |
| 3. Perceived similarity[c] | | | - | -.005 | .38** | -.30* | -.02 | -.09 |
| 4. Perceived formidability[d] | | | | - | .43** | .47** | -.008 | -.111 |
| 5. Desire to be friends[d] | | | | | - | .65** | .03 | -.13 |
| 6. Reputation concern among male friends[e] | | | | | | - | -.06 | -.06 |
| 7. Reputation concern among stranger men[e] | | | | | | | - | .81** |
| 8. Reputation concern among stranger women[e] | | | | | | | | - |

*Note*. [a] 9-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 9 = strongly agree); [b] 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree); [c] 7-point scale; [d] 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 7 = very much); [e] 7-point scale (1 = very unlikely, 7 = very likely). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

***Perceived coalitional value/formidability.*** The gendered appearance type significantly predicted perceived formidability of the target, $\beta = .63$, $t(103) = 7.80$, $p < .001$, $sr = .56$, and as hypothesized, this effect was moderated by honour endorsement, $\beta = .22$, $t(100) = 2.23$, $p$

= .028, *sr*= .16. Perceived formidability was not predicted by any other variables. Simple slope analyses revealed that the feminine-typed target was rated as less physically formidable than the masculine-typed target for both high honour-endorsing men, $b = 1.91$, $SE = .27$, $t(108) = 6.96$, $p < .001$, and low honour-endorsing men, $b = 1.14$, $SE = .23$, $t(108) = 4.86$, $p < .001$. Although both high and low honour-endorsing men perceived the feminine-typed target less formidable than the masculine-typed target, the difference between independent betas indicated that this difference was significantly higher for high honour-endorsing men ($z = -2.14$, $p = .03$). Furthermore, the feminine-typed target was rated as less formidable by the high honour-endorsing men than by the low honour-endorsing men, $b = -.15$, $SE = .07$, $t(108) = -2.31$, $p = .02$. High vs. low honour-endorsing men's ratings did not differ for the masculine-typed target, $b = .07$, $SE = .08$, $t(108) = .94$, $p = .35$.

Table 3.2.2a

*Study 4 (British sample): Results of hierarchical regression analyses*

| | | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DVs | Predictors | *β* | *t* | *sr* | *β* | *t* | *sr* |
| *Perceived formidability* | Gendered Appearance (GA) | .63 | 7.80*** | .56 | .66 | 8.13*** | .57 |
| | Similarity (SIM) | .07 | .85 | .06 | -.09 | -.54 | -.04 |
| | Social dominance orientation (SDO) | -.11 | -1.45 | -.10 | -.19 | -2.02* | -.14 |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | -.06 | -.80 | -.06 | -.23 | -2.31* | -.16 |
| | GA X SIM | | | | .12 | .80 | .06 |
| | GA X SDO | | | | .12 | 1.29 | .09 |
| | GA X HIM | | | | .22 | 2.23* | .16 |
| *Desire to be friends* | Gendered Appearance (GA) | -.15 | -1.78† | -.13 | -.07 | -.88 | -.06 |
| | Similarity (SIM) | .71 | 8.62*** | .63 | .28 | 1.77† | .12 |
| | Social dominance orientation (SDO) | -.06 | -.77 | -.06 | .01 | .13 | .009 |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | -.14 | -1.91† | -.14 | -.37 | -3.72 | -.26 |
| | GA X SIM | | | | .40 | 2.72** | .19 |
| | GA X SDO | | | | -.09 | -.97 | -.07 |
| | GA X HIM | | | | .26 | 2.63* | .18 |

*Note.* $N$ = 108; † $p < .10$ * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

***Desire to be friends.*** Perceived similarity, $\beta = .71$, $t(103) = 8.62$, $p < .001$, $sr = .63$, gendered appearance of the target, $\beta = -.15$, $t(103) = -1.78$, $p = .078$, $sr = -.13$, and honour endorsement, $\beta = -.14$, $t(103) = -1.91$, $p = .059$, $sr = -.14$, all predicted desire to be friends with the target. As expected, perceived similarity, $\beta = .40$, $t(100) = 2.72$, $p = .008$, $sr = .19$, and honour endorsement, $\beta = .26$, $t(100) = 2.63$, $p = .01$, $sr = .18$, both moderated the effect of gendered appearance of the target, indicating that honour ideals predicted men's desire to be friends above and beyond perceived similarity and SDO. Desire to be friends was not predicted by any other variables. Simple slope analyses revealed that high honour-endorsing

men reported less desire to be friends with the feminine-typed target than did low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = -.29, $SE$ = .08, $t$(108) = -3.72, $p$ < .001. High vs. low honour-endorsing men's ratings did not differ for the masculine-typed target, $b$ = .02, $SE$ = .09, $t$(108) = .25, $p$ = .81. Also, low honour-endorsing men reported higher desire to be friends with the feminine-typed target than the masculine-typed target, $b$ = -.72, $SE$ = .27, $t$(108) = -2.61, $p$ = .01, but high honour-endorsing men's desire to be friends did not differ across targets, $b$ = .35, $SE$ = .32, $t$(108) = 1.10, $p$ = .28.

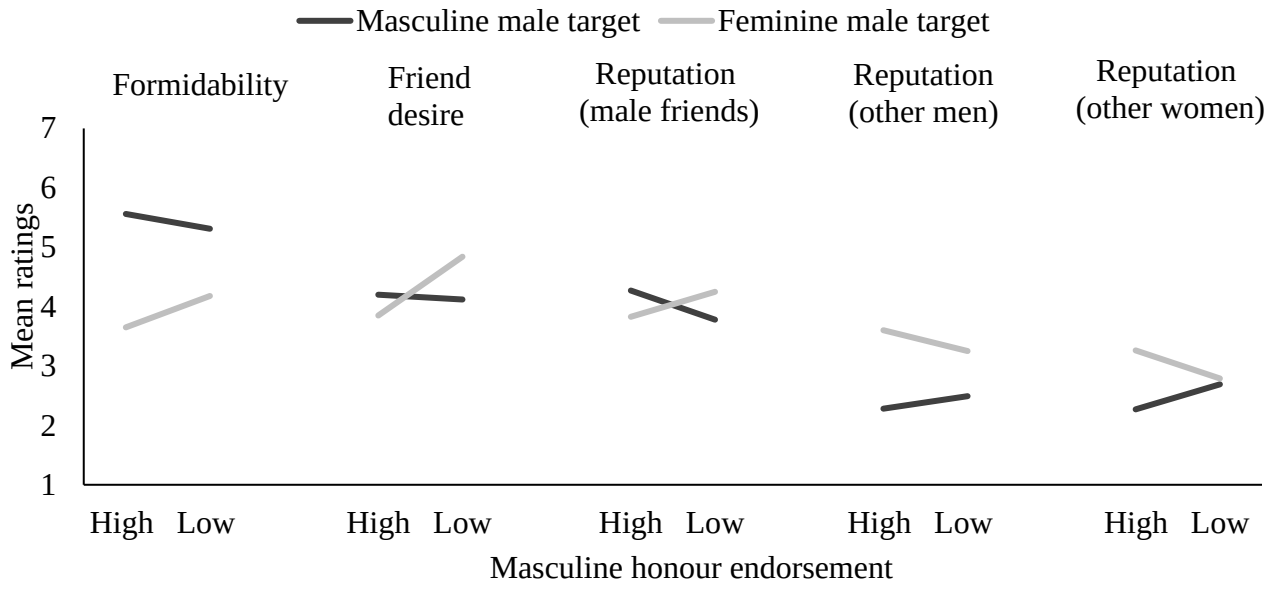


*Figure 3.2.1.* Study 4: Hypothetical simple slopes for men who endorse high levels (*M* + *1SD*) and low levels (*M* - *1SD*) of masculine honour on the outcome variables.

Table 3.2.2b.

*Study 4 (British sample): Results of hierarchical regression analyses*

| | | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DVs | Predictors | *β* | *t* | *sr* | *β* | *t* | *sr* |
| *Reputation* | Gendered Appearance (GA) | -.06 | -.69 | -.06 | -.01 | -.11 | -.008 |
| *(male* | Similarity (SIM) | .58 | 6.28*** | .52 | .30 | 1.65 | .13 |
| *friends)* | Social dominance orientation (SDO) | -.06 | -.70 | -.06 | -.03 | -.28 | -.02 |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | .03 | .30 | .03 | -.18 | -1.53 | -.12 |
| | GA X SIM | | | | .24 | 1.40 | .11 |
| | GA X SDO | | | | -.04 | -.38 | -.03 |
| | GA X HIM | | | | .25 | 2.22* | .18 |
| *Reputation* | Gendered Appearance (GA) | -.33 | -3.34** | -.29 | -.370 | -3.60*** | -.32 |
| *(other men)* | Similarity (SIM) | -.19 | -1.96† | -.17 | .040 | .20 | .02 |
| | Social dominance orientation (SDO) | -.04 | -.47 | -.04 | -.036 | -.31 | -.03 |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | .001 | .01 | .001 | .124 | .99 | .09 |
| | GA X SIM | | | | -.222 | -1.21 | -.11 |
| | GA X SDO | | | | -.018 | -.15 | -.01 |
| | GA X HIM | | | | -.132 | -1.06 | -.09 |
| *Reputation* | Gendered Appearance (GA) | -.17 | -1.62 | -.15 | -.22 | -2.06* | -.19 |
| *(other* | Similarity (SIM) | -.29 | -2.82** | -.26 | -.02 | -.10 | -.009 |
| *women)* | Social dominance orientation (SDO) | .02 | .26 | .02 | -.02 | -.13 | -.01 |
| | Honour ideals (HIM) | .002 | .03 | .002 | .19 | 1.46 | .13 |
| | GA X SIM | | | | -.23 | -1.22 | -.11 |
| | GA X SDO | | | | .06 | .49 | .04 |
| | GA X HIM | | | | -.23 | -1.83† | -.16 |

*Note.* $N$ = 108; † $p < .10$ * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

***Reputation concern among male friends.*** Perceived similarity predicted reputation concern among male friends, $\beta = .58$, $t(103) = 6.28$, $p < .001$, $sr = .51$, and as expected, there was also a significant gendered appearance X honour endorsement interaction effect on

concern for reputation among male friends, $\beta$ = .25, $t$(100) = 2.22, $p$ = .029, $sr$= .18. However, none of the simple slopes were not significantly different from each other: ratings for the masculine vs. feminine-typed targets did not differ by high honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .44, $SE$ = .32, $t$(108) = 1.36, $p$ = .18, or by low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = -.47, $SE$ = .28, $t$(108) = -1.70, $p$ = .09. High vs. low honour-endorsing men did not differ in their ratings of the feminine-typed target, $b$ = -.12, $SE$ = .08, $t$(108) = -1.53, $p$ = .13, or the masculine-typed target, $b$ = .14, $SE$ = .09, $t$(108) = 1.61, $p$ = .11.

***Concern with lacking masculine reputation among other men and women.*** Gendered appearance, $\beta$ = -.33, $t$(103) = -3.34, $p$ = .001, $sr$= -.29, and perceived similarity, $\beta$ = -.19, $t$(103) = -1.96, $p$ = .053, $sr$= -.17, predicted concern with lacking masculine reputation *in the eyes of men*. Perceived similarity also predicted concern with lacking masculine reputation *in the eyes of women*, $\beta$ = -.29, $t$(103) = -2.82, $p$ = .006, $sr$= -.26. There was no gendered appearance X honour endorsement interaction effect on concern with lacking masculine reputation *in the eyes of men*, $\beta$ = -.13, $t$(100) = -1.06, $p$ = .29, $sr$= -.09, but the gendered appearance X honour endorsement interaction effect was marginally significant on concern with lacking masculine reputation *in the eyes of women*, $\beta$ = -.23, $t$(100) = -1.83, $p$ = .071, $sr$= -.17. Simple slope analyses revealed that high honour-endorsing participants perceived that *other women* would think of them as less masculine if they were seen hanging out with a feminine-typed target than a masculine-typed target, $b$ = -.99, $SE$ = .39, $t$(108) = -2.58, $p$ = .01, but this was not the case for the low honour-endorsing participants, $b$ = -.10, $SE$ = .33, $t$(108) = -.32, $p$ = .75. High vs. low honour-endorsing men did not differ in their ratings of the feminine-typed target, $b$ = .14, $SE$ = .09, $t$(108) = 1.46, $p$ = .15, or the masculine-typed target, $b$ = -.12, $SE$ = .11, $t$(108) = -1.15, $p$ = .25.

**Test of the coalitional value hypothesis.** I first focused on testing whether high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to being friends with effeminate men is driven by

effeminate men's perceived lack of traditionally masculine coalitional value (i.e., physical formidability). To do this, a moderated mediation analysis was performed in the same way as in Studies 1a-b. The results of this analysis were consistent with those of Study 3a: the conditional indirect effect of gendered appearance via perceived formidability on desire to being friends was significant for high honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .65, $SE$ = .34, $CI$s [.05, 1.40], and for low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .47, $SE$ = .23, $CI$s [.03, .96]. Furthermore, when the same analysis was performed controlling for SDO and perceived similarity, results were consistent with those of Study 3b: the conditional indirect effect of gendered appearance via perceived formidability on desire to being friends was significant only for high honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .90, $SE$ = .35, $CI$s [.27, 1.68], but not for low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .35, $SE$ = .26, $CI$s [-.15, .90].

**Test of the concerns for reputation by association hypothesis.** Next, I expanded the above mediation model to test an extension of the coalitional value account by introducing the reputation by association concerns to the model. I tested whether high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to befriending effeminate men is driven to concerns that being associated to men who are perceived as lacking formidability would damage their own reputation. To do this, a serial mediation model using Model 6 of Hayes' (2013) PROCESS Macro with 95% bias-corrected bootstrapping procedure with 5000 samples was conducted. If the prediction is supported, the serial indirect effect of femininity (vs. masculinity) on desire to being friends via perceived physical formidability and reputation concerns should be significant. This serial mediation was tested separately for each of the three reputation concern variables (male friends, other men, other women), and separately for high honour-endorsing men ($n$ = 53) and low honour-endorsing men ($n$ = 52) which were categorized into two groups by conducting a median split on the continuous honour endorsement measure.

***Concern with maintaining reputation among male friends.*** *For the high honour-endorsing men,* the serial indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through perceived formidability and concern with maintaining a prestigious reputation among male friends was significant, *b* = .32, *SE* = .11, *CI*s [.14, .60]. The simple indirect effects of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through perceived formidability, *b* = -.09, *SE* = .12, *CI*s [-.35, .14], or through concern with maintaining a prestigious reputation among male friends, *b* = -.08, *SE* = .12, *CI*s [-.35, .13], were both not significant. *For the low honour-endorsing men,* the serial indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through these mediators was not significant, *b* = .13, *SE* = .09, *CI*s [-.04, .35], neither the simple indirect effects via perceived formidability, *b* = .10, *SE* = .09, *CI*s [-.05, .30], or concern with maintaining a prestigious reputation among male friends, *b* = -.13, *SE* = .10, *CI*s [-.33, .08], were significant.

When the same analysis was performed controlling for SDO and perceived similarity, *for high honour-endorsing men,* the serial indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through these mediators remained significant, *b* = .21, *SE* = .09, *CI*s [.07, .43]. But the simple indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through concern with maintaining a prestigious reputation among male friends also became significant, *b* = -.21, *SE* = .10, *CI*s [-.45, -.05]. The simple indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through perceived formidability was still not significant, *b* = -.04, *SE* = .13, *CI*s [-.32, .19]. *For low honour-endorsing men,* the serial and simple indirect effects of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through these mediators all became significant (serial indirect effect: *b* = .15, *SE* = .06, *CI*s [.06, .36], simple indirect effects via perceived formidability: *b* = .25, *SE* = .13, *CI*s [.03, .53], simple indirect effect via concern with maintaining a prestigious reputation among male friends: *b* = -.23, *SE* = .09, *CI*s [-.49, -.09]).

***Concern with maintaining reputation in the eyes of other men.*** *For the high honour-endorsing men*, the serial indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through perceived formidability and concern with maintaining a masculine reputation in the eyes of stranger men was not significant, *b* = -.01, *SE* = .04, *CI*s [-.16, .02]. The simple indirect effects of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through perceived formidability, *b* = .25, *SE* = .13, *CI*s [-.004, .51], or through concern with maintaining a masculine reputation in the eyes of men, *b* = .07, *SE* = .11, *CI*s [-.12, .32], were also not significant. *For the low honour-endorsing men*, the serial indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through these mediators was not significant, *b* = .002, *SE* = .03, *CI*s [-.04, .09], neither the simple indirect effects via perceived formidability, *b* = .24, *SE* = .14, *CI*s [-.02, .53], and via concern with maintaining a masculine reputation in the eyes of men, *b* = .01, *SE* = .06, *CI*s [-.08, .20], were significant.

When the same analysis was performed controlling for SDO and perceived similarity, the results remained the same *for the high honour-endorsing men*. But *for the low honour-endorsing men*, the simple indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through perceived formidability became significant, *b* = .41, *SE* = .15, *CI*s [.15, .76].

***Concern with maintaining reputation in the eyes of other women.*** *For the high honour-endorsing men*, the serial indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through perceived formidability and concern with maintaining a masculine reputation in the eyes of stranger women was not significant, *b* = -.04, *SE* = .06, *CI*s [-.21, .02]. Only the simple indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through perceived formidability was significant, *b* = .27, *SE* = .12, *CI*s [.02, .50]. The simple indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through concern with maintaining a masculine reputation in the eyes of women was not significant, *b* = .17, *SE* = .10, *CI*s [-.02, .39]. The direct effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends became non-significant when

mediators were taken into account, $b$ = .03, $SE$ = .52, $t(53)$ = .06, $CI$s [-1.02, 1.08]. *For the low honour-endorsing men,* the serial indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through these mediators was not significant, $b$ = .006, $SE$ = .04, $CI$s [-.03, .16], neither the simple indirect effects via perceived formidability, $b$ = .23, $SE$ = .14, $CI$s [-.03, .52], or concern with maintaining a masculine reputation in the eyes of women, $b$ = .008, $SE$ = .05, $CI$s [-.05, .18], were significant.

When the same analysis was performed controlling for SDO and perceived similarity, the serial and the simple indirect effects all became non-significant *for the high honour-endorsing men*. But *for the low honour-endorsing men*, the simple indirect effect of feminine appearance on desire to be friends through perceived formidability became significant, $b$ = .40, $SE$ = .15, $CI$s [.14, .75].

**Discussion**

Results of Study 4 provide further evidence for the association between masculine honour endorsement and men's perceived formidability of the effeminate men and reluctance to befriending them. Results also demonstrated that these associations even hold above and beyond social dominance orientation and perceived similarity to the targets. Study 4 also replicated the findings from Studies 3a and 3b and found support for the coalitional value explanation for high honour-endorsing men's greater reluctance to being friends with effeminate men by showing that this is due to perceived lack of traits that are fundamental to traditionally masculine coalitions.

Furthermore, findings supported the extension of this coalitional value account by showing that avoiding friendships with an effeminate man is due to high honour-endorsing men's reputation by association concerns – specifically a concern for losing prestige among ingroup members (male friends), but not concerns with maintaining a masculine reputation in the eyes of other men and women, if they were to be seen associated to a man lacking

formidability. A concern for maintaining one's prestigious reputation among friends explained this process, even when perceived similarity to targets and social dominance orientation were controlled, ruling out these potential other explanations of these findings. These results indicate that reputation concerns among one's ingroup coalition members underlies high honour-endorsing men's reluctance with being friends with an effeminate man who signals a lack of coalitional value/formidability.

### 3.3. Chapter 3 General Discussion

The studies reported here examined the basis of 'anti-effeminacy bias', focusing on a particular social behaviour, reluctance to being friends with effeminate men. Drawing on the coalitional value theory of anti-gay bias, which suggests that a large component of anti-gay bias is anti-effeminacy bias (Winegard et al., 2016), the present research proposed that men may prefer to avoid forming alliances with effeminate men who are perceived as lacking traits fundamental to traditional masculinity, because of concerns that such an alliance would damage their own prestigious reputation within their ingroup. Given that a potential social partner's lack of masculinity should not matter for all men, the present research also proposed that such perceptions and mechanisms should hold only for men for whom reputation for masculinity is salient, i.e., high masculine honour-endorsing men.

Studies 3a and 3b provided evidence that endorsement of higher levels of masculine honour is related to perceiving an effeminate man as less formidable, and men's higher reluctance to being friends with effeminate men. These studies also showed that these associations held only for male perceivers who were judging male targets, and did not generalize to female perceivers or to female targets. Consistent with the coalitional value theory of anti-gay bias, men did not want to be friends with an effeminate man due to his perceived lack of coalitional value/formidability, but as shown in Study 3a, not due to perceiving him as more likely to be homosexual. Study 4 replicated the findings of Studies 3a

and 3b, but also demonstrated that high honour-endorsing men's lower desire to form friendships with effeminate men who are perceived as lacking coalitional value was driven by concerns with maintaining a prestigious reputation within one's ingroup (male friends). These explanations held even after accounting for social dominance orientation and similarity to targets.

**Theoretical Contributions**

The present research offers several major contributions to gender/sexual prejudice literature. The first major contribution is that gender nonconformity bias does not manifest in a uniform fashion. Gender identity threat and backlash hypotheses are limited in explaining why men who violate their gender expressions are judged more negatively compared to women who violate their gender expressions. In fact, neither women nor men showed reluctance to being friends with a masculine-perceived woman. Furthermore, these hypotheses do not provide any explanation for why male perceivers, not the female perceivers, are the ones who are biased against men who are perceived as feminine. Precarious manhood theory would predict these findings, however, this study is the first to show that individual differences within men matter when it comes to anti-effeminacy bias: not all men have reputational concerns by association to effeminate men and neither show reluctance to being friends with them. In contrast to men who endorse high levels of honour ideals, men who tend to reject honour ideals, indicated that being closely affiliated with a feminine man would reflect positively on their reputation, and consequently they desired to be friends with a feminine man more than a masculine man. Overall, these results demonstrate the importance of considering meaningful individual differences among men, and not treating this group as a homogenous entity who acts in biased ways towards effeminate or gay men (cf., Bosson et al., 2005, 2012; Glick et al., 2007; Vandello & Bosson, 2013).

A second major contribution is the proposal and finding that reputation by association concerns may underpin certain forms of anti-effeminacy bias. Previous research that attempted to explain anti-effeminacy related expressions and behaviours have mainly suggested social identity threat as the mechanism: that is, men's prejudiced reactions against effeminate or gay men are driven by their need to maintain *self-esteem* or *a positive and distinctive gender/sexual identity* (i.e., heterosexual identity that is different than a homosexual identity and a masculine identity that is positive and not negative like femininity) (e.g., Bosson et al., 2005; Bosson, Taylor, & Prewitt-Freilino, 2006; Bosson et al., 2012; Falomir-Pichastor & Mugny, 2009; Parrott, 2009; Prewitt-Freilino & Bosson, 2008; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). None of these studies have tested whether the need for maintaining a masculine or a positive identity or staying away from feminine male targets is due to men's concern for reputation maintenance. Humans are social animals and have interdependent social lives. They are born into families, interact with their neighbours, work together to make a living, get together to celebrate, and protect one another from dangers and enemies. Being part of the cooperative society depends very much on one's reputation. A man would not have a gender identity neither a concern for building and maintaining a masculine identity (or any other form of social identity), if he lived in isolation and was not known by anyone else in the world. Men care about their masculine identity out of a concern for reputation, which is afforded by the context and who is present as observers. Therefore, the reputation maintenance account of anti-effeminacy bias presented here extends the previous research by suggesting an alternative explanation, that is anti-effeminacy bias in the form of showing reluctance to having effeminate men as friends is a manifestation of a fundamentally important social motive of reputation maintenance.

This research also contributes to the culture of honour literature by showing that despite honour norms being more salient in certain cultures, individual levels of honour endorsement

can lead to similar consequences across different cultures. That is, men who endorse high levels of honour in a low honour culture may share the same reputation maintenance concerns as high honour endorsers in a high honour culture do (see Shackelford, 2005). These concerns may manifest into behaviour in a comparable way among men from different cultures, as demonstrated that reluctance to being friends with effeminate men was observed among high honour-focused men in both high and low honour cultures. These results are also consistent with the notion that honour ideals are not specific to cultures considered to be 'cultures of honour': individuals can endorse honour ideals or reject them regardless of their culture of origin (Leung & Cohen, 2011).

**Limitations and Future Research Directions**

One limitation was that the current research relied exclusively on using self-report measures for the outcome variable of intention to dissociate from an effeminate man. Objective and unobtrusive laboratory measures such as the sitting distance chair paradigm or eye contact would have provided much stronger evidence for our hypotheses. In addition, I have focused on testing this reputation maintenance motives only by focusing on the voluntary interpersonal decision of forming friendships. Future research should examine whether reputation by association concerns manifest in biased preferences in other kinds of relationship decisions such as when choosing a romantic partner or in the case of a non-voluntary relationship decision such as when interacting with one's kin who is an effeminate man.

Participants' concern for reputation by association should increase as the relational closeness between the person who is stigmatized (effeminate man) and the participant increases (Benavidez, Neria, & Jones, 2016). To more properly test whether reputation by association concerns underlie honour-focused men's reluctance to being closely aligned with an effeminate man, future research can vary the relationship closeness (strangers,

acquaintances, friends, or family) of the feminine man to the participants to examine if such reluctance becomes higher as the degree of closeness increases.

# 4. CHAPTER 4

## (Studies 5a, 5b & 6)

## Masculine honour ideals and reputation concerns as barriers to men's communality

The past 50 years have witnessed radical changes in gender relations which have helped raise women's societal position and status, especially in the Western world (England, 2010). Women's enrolment in the labour force, higher education, as well as in other traditionally male-dominated fields such as politics, management, science and technology has dramatically increased (Cheung & Halpern, 2010; Cotter, Hermsen, & Vanneman, 2004; England & Li, 2006; Fullerton, 1999). Nevertheless, observing the nature of this change, sociologists have identified a significant asymmetry in the extent to which men's and women's roles have been changing (England 2010, Gerson, 2010; Willams, 1993). That is, there has been an influx of women who are willing to do the "men's jobs" and identifying themselves as increasingly more agentic and assertive. However, men's involvement in traditionally female-dominated fields, especially in the domestic sphere, has not been increasing in a complementary fashion (Twenge, 1997, 2009; Twenge, Campbell & Gentile, 2012; Willams, 1993). Data from the UK and the USA show that women today still undertake a disproportionate amount of unpaid labour at home and become primary caregivers to children, even when they work full-time (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Park, Bryson, Clery, Curtice, & Phillips, 2013; Pew Research Centre, 2015).

There are many benefits to increasing men's involvement in domestic roles for the society, children, women as well as men themselves (Croft, Schmader, & Block, 2015; Willams, 1993). Not only increasing paternal involvement in child care is associated with greater marital satisfaction for both parents and well-being of children (Deutsch, Lussier, & Service, 1993; Duckworth & Buzzanell, 2009; Fischer & Anderson, 2012; Pleck, 2007), it can also allow equal division of labour between spouses, work-life balance, and greater

freedom for women to pursue their career goals (Frisco & Williams, 2003; Meisenbach, 2010). Thus, it is important to examine the social psychological processes by which men might be reluctant to taking on child and family care roles.

The studies presented in this chapter deal with men's reluctance to engaging in communal roles in the domestic sphere, and specifically investigate how men endorsing ideals of masculine honour – an individual level variable associated with increased concern for masculine reputation – may be related to their negative feelings such as shame and frustration about being primary caregivers for their own children instead of taking on paid employment. A further question concerned high and low honour-endorsing men's projections of how they would be perceived by their wife and children (wife and children's appreciation of them), as well as their male friends (male friends' admiration of them, and their own reputation/standing among male friends), and how these projections relate to their negative and positive feelings about being a caregiver. Given that concerns for maintaining a masculine reputation and higher status are more salient for men who value a culture of masculine honour, in the studies to follow, I tested the prediction that high honour-endorsing men's negative feelings (shame, frustration) about being a primary caregiver would be predicted by perceiving that their status/standing would be damaged among their male friends.

**Psychological Barriers to Men's Communality**

Researchers have suggested that one impediment to men's interest in taking on domestic roles such as child care is fear of being stigmatized as lacking masculinity. For instance, Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson and Siddiqi (2013) found that both men and women equally valued work-life balance and opportunity or flexible work arrangements in their future jobs. However, men's intention to seek flexible work hours was lower than women's, and men's intentions to seek flexible work hours decreased to the extent that they believed

that others would perceive them as lacking masculine traits such as career-orientedness, leadership ability and competence if they did so. In a second study, these authors found that men and women rated a man who sought flexible work hours after the birth of a child as warmer and more moral than men who did not seek flexible work hours and preferred working full-time, but flexibility-seeking men were rated as less masculine and more feminine than men who preferred working full-time. Berdahl and Moon (2013) found that men who actively participate in the caregiving of their children faced the highest rate of workplace mistreatment and harassment for not being manly enough compared to men without children or men who are not actively involved in caregiving of their children. Similarly, Brescoll, Uhlmann, Moss-Racusin and Sarnell (2012) found that men working in gender incongruent domains were accorded less status and lower pay than men working in gender-congruent domains, and this status loss was explained by a perceived lack of masculinity. Similarly, Kosakowska-Berezecka et al. (2016) found that Polish men whose gender identity was threatened reported less supportive attitudes towards paternal care of children.

Despite these studies making it clear that men fear being stigmatized as lacking masculinity when they take on domestic/caregiving roles, and that the fear is what impedes men from taking on these roles, in this research I explore other reasons. Many studies show that there are also social incentives to men taking on domestic and communal tasks, such as being judged more positively, as warmer and more moral (Vandello, et al., 2013). For instance, Deutsch and Saxon's (1998) interview with blue-collar couples who alternate work shifts and share the care of their child showed that men reported receiving praise for their involvement in child care. In a study conducted with dual-earner couples with children, Deutsch, Roska and Meeseke (2003) found that women were more grateful to their husbands who contributed a greater percentage of parenting, and as husbands did relatively more than

wives, they themselves felt more appreciated as parents. Lobel, Slone, Ashuach and Revach (2001) found that Israeli men and women wanted to be friends more with the male and female targets who participate in the household chores and child care than their low-participating counterparts. Together, these studies show that men who contribute to household and child care tasks are bestowed praise and appreciation from their wives.

Here, I propose that men are reluctant to engage in child care, especially when their own performance as an economic provider is compromised due to concerns that this would undermine their reputation/standing as a man among other men, but not among their wives. Yet I would expect individual differences in this process: not all men should worry that being a caregiver impose costs to their reputation among their same-sex peers. Therefore, I predicted this process to hold only for men who endorse high masculine honour values.

### 4.1. Studies 5a and 5b

Based on the theory and research reviewed on masculine honour, I hypothesized that strong adherence to masculine honour ideals may manifest in ways that contribute to men's reluctance to embracing feminized roles, such as acting as a primary caregiver to children. To test this hypothesis, I measured participants' endorsement of masculine honour ideals and social judgments (their judgments of the targets in character traits and emotional attributions to targets) by recording participants' attributions of character traits and emotions to a male target who is described as a caregiver married to a breadwinner or a breadwinner married to a caregiver. For attribution of emotions, following Gaunt's (2013) study on social judgments of caregiver dads, I focused on moral emotions (e.g., humiliation, shame, pride), which are self-conscious emotions. Moral emotions reflect self-evaluations and the evaluators' internalized norms and standards of what is morally and socially acceptable (Tangney, Stuewig & Mashek, 2007). Thus, I assumed that participants' assessments of the target's positive and negative moral emotions should reflect their own social judgments of the target's behaviour.

Attributions of guilt, shame, resentment, humiliation and anger to the targets may reflect participants' own negative moral judgments of the target, whereas attributions of pride, gratitude, appreciation, and self-fulfilment to the targets may reflect participants' own positive moral judgments.

I predicted that masculine honour endorsement should moderate men's attributions of character traits and emotions to male targets, such that high honour-endorsing men should attribute more negative characteristics and emotions to a caregiver male than to a breadwinner male. Because women can also adhere to masculine honour standards as an ideology (Barnes et al., 2012), I explored whether women show similar trends as men, and also explored the moderating effect of masculine honour on social judgments of *female targets*.

As in the previous studies reported in this dissertation, I conducted Studies 5a and 5b in two different cultural groups (the UK and Saudi Arabia). These two cultures were selected based on their differences, mainly in terms of honour value endorsement: the British culture is a more gender egalitarian and a less patriarchal low-honour culture (Guerra et al., 2013; Gul & Uskul, 2017), whereas the Saudi Arabian culture is classified as an honour culture which is highly patriarchal (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Vandello, 2016). Even though based on the literature and previous studies reported in this dissertation, masculine honour endorsement should work in the same way in both high and low honour cultures, the magnitude of the relationship between masculine honour and men's negative social judgments of caregiving males may be stronger in an honour culture than in a low honour culture. Thus, I also examined and report the cultural differences in the magnitude of this relationship.

## Method

**Participants.** Initially, I planned on recruiting at least 240 participants from each culture (240 for Study 5a and 240 for Study 5b). This meant each experimental condition

would have at least 30 men and 30 women. The final sample had a total of 555 participants (223 British and 332 Saudi) who completed an online survey advertised as a study on impression formation. Excluding 155 Saudi and 9 British participants who failed to pass attention and manipulation check items left a final sample of 391 participants (214 British, 177 Saudi) entered in the analyses. Participants were a mixture of student and community sample. British participants were recruited through Prolific Academic, a crowdsourcing platform similar to MTurk (Peer et al., 2017). Saudi participants were recruited from facebook groups used by university students across the country.[9]

***Post-hoc power analysis.*** A post-hoc power analysis for linear multiple regression (fixed model, single regression coefficient) was conducted using GPower 3.1 for the final sample size of 391. Significance level of .05, and number of predictors as 4 (target role, participant gender, culture, masculine honour ideals) was entered with the smallest effect size coming from the regression analyses with trait perceptions of male targets (partial $R^2 = .11$) revealed very high power: .99.

The main demographic characteristics – age, ethnicity, religion, religiosity, education, socioeconomic status, political orientation, and relationship status – of participants from each culture are reported in Table 4.1.1a-b. I did not collect data on Saudi participants' religion, assuming that the majority would be Muslim. Saudi participants were significantly younger, $t(334.11) = 13.28$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.31$, less educated, $t(334.57) = 2.21$, $p = .028$, $d = .23$, more religious, $t(389) = -11.80$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.20$, and politically more conservative, $t(388) = 2.89$, $p = .004$, $d = .29$, than British participants. Saudi and British participants did not differ in

[9] The high number of Saudi participants failing the manipulation and attention check is likely to be due to the recruitment method. Participants were recruited through social media and were not compensated for completing the survey, and thus they may not have enough incentive for paying attention to the survey.

their socioeconomic status, $t(389) = -1.44$, $p = .15$, $d = .15$. These demographic variables were controlled in the cross-cultural analysis.[10]

Table 4.1.1a

*Studies 5a and 5b: Demographic characteristics of participants from the UK and Saudi Arabia*

| | | | Age | | Ethnicity (%) | | Religion (%) | | | Religiosity [e] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Country | Gender | *n* | *M (SD)* | Range | Native[a] | Mix[b] | N[c] | C[d] | Other | *M (SD)* |
| UK | ♂ | 70 | 31.36 (10.01) | 18-59 | 95.7 | 4.3 | 62.9 | 31.4 | 5.7 | 1.60 (.95) |
| | ♀ | 144 | 35.38 (9.28) | 19-59 | 99.3 | .7 | 65.3 | 31.3 | 3.5 | 1.44 (.83) |
| | ♂ & ♀ | 214 | 34.97 (9.69) | 18-59 | 98.1 | 1.9 | 64.5 | 31.3 | 4.2 | 1.50 (.88) |
| Saudi | ♂ | 94 | 24.35 (5.55) | 18-44 | 56.4 | 44.6 | - | - | - | 2.52 (.88) |
| | ♀ | 83 | 23.40 (4.52) | 18-37 | 59.3 | 41.7 | - | - | - | 2.55 (.85) |
| | ♂ & ♀ | 177 | 23.90 (5.10) | 18-44 | 57.7 | 43.3 | - | - | - | 2.54 (.86) |

*Note.* [a] White-British for UK sample/Ethnic-Saudi for Saudi sample, [b] Mixed-British for UK sample/Saudi with other ethnic origins for Saudi sample; [c] No religion, [d] Christian (all denominations), [e] Current degree of religiosity (1 = not at all to 5 = extremely).

[10] Cross-cultural results did not change when demographic variables were not controlled in the ANOVAs.

Table 4.1.1b

*Studies 5a and 5b: Demographic characteristics of participants from the UK and Saudi Arabia*

| | | | Education (%) | | | | | Political Ori[k] | SES[l] | Relationship (%) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Country | Gender | n | A[f] | B[g] | C[h] | D[i] | O[j] | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | No[m] | Da[n] | Mar[o] | Div[p] |
| UK | ♂ | 70 | 11.4 | 34.3 | 47.2 | 7.1 | - | 62.99 (21.35) | 51.29 (19.79) | 32.9 | 30.0 | 32.9 | 4.3 |
| | ♀ | 144 | 21.5 | 25.0 | 40.0 | 3.5 | - | 60.95 (19.91) | 51.87 (18.47) | 13.9 | 16.7 | 66.6 | 2.8 |
| | ♂ & ♀ | 214 | 18.2 | 28.0 | 49.0 | 4.7 | - | 61.62 (20.37) | 51.68 (18.87) | 20.1 | 21.0 | 55.6 | 3.3 |
| Saudi | ♂ | 94 | 43.6 | 14.9 | 38.3 | 1.1 | 2.1 | 56.18 (23.76) | 56.53 (21.26) | 68.1 | 12.8 | 18.1 | 1.1 |
| | ♀ | 83 | 39.8 | 4.8 | 49.4 | 3.6 | 2.4 | 53.95 (24.29) | 52.24 (18.26) | 60.2 | 14.4 | 21.7 | 3.6 |
| | ♂ & ♀ | 177 | 41.8 | 10.2 | 43.5 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 55.14 (23.97) | 54.52 (19.97) | 64.4 | 13.6 | 19.7 | 2.3 |

*Note.* [f] High school graduate, [g] College graduate, [h] Bachelor/Master's graduate, [I] Doctorate/higher level graduate; [j] Other; [k] Political orientation (0 = extremely conservative, 100 = extremely liberal), [l] Socioeconomic status (0 = low/working class, 100 = high/upper class); [m] Not currently in a relationship, [n] In a dating relationship, [o] Married or engaged or in civil union, [p] Divorced.

**Design and procedure.** Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions in a 2 (target gender: male vs. female) X 2 (role: breadwinner vs. primary caregiver) between-subjects design. Manipulations used scenarios taken after Gaunt (2013), but modified the caregiver from part-time to a full-time caregiver. Participants in the breadwinner target condition read the following:

> Michael [Jessica] is 34 years old, married and a parent to 5-year old son and a 2-year old daughter. He [She] is a successful manager in a big firm. He [She] leaves home early in the morning and usually returns in the evening around 7 pm. His [Her] wife [husband] is a stay-at-home dad [mum]. She [He] picks up the children from kindergarten and takes care of the housework and childcare (cooking, feeding the children, giving them a bath, doing the laundry, driving the children to social and other activities, etc.).

Participants in the primary caregiving target condition read the following:

> Michael [Jessica] is 34 years old, married and a parent to 5-year old son and a 2-year old daughter. He [She] is a stay-at-home dad [mum]. He [She] picks up the children from kindergarten and takes care of the housework and childcare (cooking, feeding the children, giving them a bath, doing the laundry, driving the children to social and other activities, etc.). His [Her] wife [husband] is a successful manager in a big firm. She [He] leaves home early in the morning and usually returns in the evening around 7 pm.

After the manipulations, participants were asked to indicate their perceptions and emotional experiences and attributions to the targets.

**Measures.**

***Manipulation and attention checks.*** To assess whether breadwinning and caregiving roles were successfully manipulated, participants were asked to estimate the target's and spouse's number of work hours per week in a dichotomous choice scale (manipulation check item 1): (1) *Michael [Jessica] works full-time (45 - 50 hours) and his [her] spouse does not work (0 hours),* and (2) *Michael [Jessica] does not work (0 hours) and his [her] spouse works full-time (45 - 50 hours).* Participants also rated the earnings of the target relative to those of the spouse (manipulation check item 2) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) *Michael [Jessica] earns much more than his [her] spouse* to (5) *His [Her] spouse earns much more than Jessica [Michael],* with (3) *Their earnings must be approximately equal*. Participants in the breadwinner conditions who failed to select option 1 in the manipulation check item 1 and options 1 and 2 in the manipulation check item 2, and participants in the primary caregiver conditions who failed to select option 2 in the manipulation check item 1 and options 4 and 5 in the manipulation check item 2 were excluded from the analyses.

***Perceived masculinity-femininity of the target's role.*** One item measured the extent to which participants perceive the target's tasks/responsibilities to be feminine or masculine, on

9-point scales ranging from (1) *extremely feminine* to (9) *extremely masculine* with (5) *neither feminine nor masculine.*

***Perceived importance of the target's role.*** One item measured the extent to which participants perceive the target's tasks/responsibilities to be important on a 9-point scale ranging from (1) *extremely unimportant* to (9) *extremely important* with (5) *neutral*.

***Trait attributions.*** Participants' perceptions of the target's competence, warmth, morality, and supportiveness were assessed using a 31-item measure consisting of six competence-related traits (e.g., efficient, skilful, intelligent), six warmth-related traits (e.g., friendly, sincere, warm) (Fiske et al., 2002), seven morality-related traits (e.g., moral, honourable, fair), and seven supportiveness-related traits (e.g., supportive, generous, helpful). Ratings were done in 9-point bipolar scales ranging from (1) *extremely [inefficient]* to (9) *extremely [efficient]*, and (5) *neutral*. Responses were recorded so that a high score reflected more positive trait attribution. Composite scores for perceived competence (UK: $\alpha$ = .90; Saudi: $\alpha$ = .88), warmth (UK: $\alpha$ = .92; Saudi: $\alpha$ = .89), morality (UK: $\alpha$ = .92; Saudi: $\alpha$ = .90), and supportiveness (UK: $\alpha$ = .94; Saudi: $\alpha$ = .91) were computed by averaging the scores on the items included in each trait.

***Attribution of emotions.*** Participants rated the extent to which they thought that the target person experienced a set of emotions based on their partnership, assessed using a 12-item measure consisting of six positive moral emotions (e.g., Michael [Jessica] is feeling pride, gratitude, compassion) and six negative moral emotions (e.g., Michael [Jessica] is feeling humiliated, ashamed, resentment), and measured on 7-point scales ranging from (1) *not at all* to (7) *extremely*. The scores on these six positive and six negative emotion items were averaged to obtain the respondents' attribution of positive emotions (UK: $\alpha$ = .89; Saudi: $\alpha$ = .86) and negative emotions (UK: $\alpha$ = .89; Saudi: $\alpha$ = .84) to the target person. A factor analysis conducted in each culture on these emotion items revealed a two-factor

solution with all positive emotions loading on one factor (UK: loadings > .69; Saudi: loadings > .59), and all negative emotions loading on the other (UK: loadings > .48; Saudi: loadings > .38).[11]

***Masculine honour ideals.*** Participants completed the 16-item Honour Ideology for Manhood (HIM) scale, a measure of masculine honour ideals developed by Barnes et al. (2012). This scale includes eight statements about the characteristics of what should define a 'real men' (e.g., "A real man will never back down from a fight") and eight statements about the contexts in which men have the right to demonstrate physical aggression for personal and reputational defence (e.g., "A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who calls him an insulting name"). Participants rated their level of agreement with these items using a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) (UK: $\alpha$ = .95; Saudi: $\alpha$ = .81). Because these items are phrased as ideological items, both men and women can agree or disagree with how important it is for men to have masculine reputation.

Participants' scores on the masculine honour scale did not differ between the breadwinner target ($M$ = 4.11, $SD$ = 1.68) and the primary caregiver target ($M$ = 3.76, $SD$ = 1.87) conditions in the British sample, $F(1, 210) = 2.01$, $p$ = .16, $d$ = .20, nor in the Saudi sample (breadwinner: $M$ = 5.70, $SD$ = 1.58; caregiver: $M$ = 5.87, $SD$ = 1.51), $F(1, 173)$ = 1.23, $p$ = .27, $d$ = 0.11. Likewise, participants' scores on the masculine honour scale did not differ between male and female targets neither in the British sample, $F(1, 210) = .68$, $p$ = .41, $d$ = 0.12 (male target: $M$ = 3.82, $SD$ = 1.86; female target: $M$ = 4.04, $SD$ = 1.71), nor in the Saudi sample, $F(1, 173) = 3.05$, $p$ = .08, $d$ = 0.23 (male target: $M$ = 5.60, $SD$ = 1.58; female target: $M$ = 5.96, $SD$ = 1.50). These findings help rule out the possibility that the masculine

[11] In both cultural contexts (Britain and Saudi Arabia), a factor analysis showed that 'pride' loaded together with the other positive moral emotional attributions (self-fulfillment, respect, appreciation, gratitude, compassion), but not with the negative moral emotional attributions (guilt, shame, embarrassment, resentment, anger, humiliation) indicating that participants conceptualized 'pride' as a positively valanced emotion.

honour scale reflected a state measure affected by the manipulations of the target gender and target role. Table 4.1.2 presents mean scores on honour endorsement per cultural group and participant gender, and the relevant inferential statistics.

Table 4.1.2

*Studies 5a and 5b: Means, standard deviations, and effects of culture and participant gender on masculine honour scores*

| | Study 5a (British participants) | Study 5b (Saudi participants) | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* |
| Men | 4.81 (1.75) | 6.17 (1.38) | 5.59 (1.68) |
| Women | 3.51 (1.65) | 5.33 (1.62) | 4.57 (1.85) |
| Total | 3.90 (1.79) | 5.77 (1.55) | |
| | Main effect of culture: $F(1, 387) = 89.82$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.10$ | | |
| | Main effect of participant gender: $F(1, 387) = 40.64$, $p < .001$, $d = .58$ | | |
| | Interaction effect: $F(1, 387) = 1.86$, $p = .17$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$ | | |

**Results**

**Preliminary results.** Independent sample t-tests were conducted to check whether participants indeed see full-time caregiving as a feminine task and full-time breadwinning as a masculine task, and to see which task they see as more important. Where data violated sphericity, adjusted values are reported.

***Perceived masculinity-femininity of the target's role.*** As expected, the caregiver targets' tasks/responsibilities were perceived as more feminine than those of the breadwinner targets by both the British participants (breadwinner: $M = 6.04$, $SD = 1.52$, caregiver: $M = 3.77$, $SD = 1.66$; $t(1, 212) = 10.45$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.43$) and Saudi participants (breadwinner:

*M* = 5.70, *SD* = 2.48, caregiver: *M* = 4.26, *SD* = 1.90; *t*(174.89) = 4.37, *p* < .001, *d* = 0.65). The mean rating of the caregiver targets' tasks and the breadwinner targets' tasks were below and above the scale midpoint, respectively. These results indicate that caregiving is indeed seen as a feminized activity by participants in both cultural groups.

***Perceived importance of the target's role.*** British participants perceived the tasks of the caregiver targets (*M* = 7.92, *SD* = 1.83) vs. breadwinner targets (*M* = 7.75, *SD* = 1.49) equally important, *t*(212) = .75, *p* = .45, *d* = 0.10, although the mean rating was higher for caregiver targets. Saudi participants perceived the tasks of the caregiver targets (*M* = 8.14, *SD* = 1.37) as more important than breadwinner targets (*M* = 7.52, *SD* = 1.93), *t*(173.28) = 2.51, *p* = .01, *d* = 0.37. No other effects reached significance. This indicates that the tasks of a full-time caregiver were considered more important than the tasks of full-time employed person.

**Mean differences in social judgments.** To examine the mean differences in men's and women's social judgments of a caregiver target married to a breadwinner (or vice versa) in Britain vs. Saudi Arabia, first, a 2 (culture: British vs. Saudi) X 2 (target role: breadwinner, caregiver) 2 (target gender: male, female) X 2 (participant gender: male, female) Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the dependent measures, controlling for the demographic variables (age, education, SES, religiosity and political orientation). Neither culture nor participant gender moderated the target role X target gender interaction effects in any of the dependent measures, indicating the attributions of characters and emotions to the targets were in similar directions in both cultural groups.

Next, I conducted and report the results of 2 (target gender: male, female) X 2 (target role: breadwinner, caregiver) ANOVAs separately for British and Saudi participants, which allowed for examining the directions for the target role X target gender interaction effects to understand the trends within each cultural group more clearly. Despite non-significant moderation effects by culture, I still compared the effect sizes between Saudi and British

participants. The significant interaction effects were followed by simple main effect tests adjusted using the Sidak procedure. Table 4.1.3 presents the means for the cultural samples on each dependent measure and Table 4.1.4 presents results of the simple main effect tests. Due to the different sample size in each condition, effect size estimates are reported as Cohen's *d*. The following benchmarks were used to interpret the effect sizes as small, medium, and large: .20, .50, .80, respectively (Cohen, 1988).

Table 4.1.3

*Studies 5a and 5b: Means and standard deviations per culture, target gender and target role on attributions of traits and emotions*

| | Study 5a (British sample) | | | | Study 5b (Saudi sample) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male target | | Female target | | Male target | | Female target | |
| | BW | CG | BW | CG | BW | CG | BW | CG |
| | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* | *M (SD)* |
| Supportiveness | 6.14 (1.41) | 7.78 (1.33) | 6.60 (1.30) | 7.37 (1.71) | 4.79 (2.12) | 7.25 (1.53) | 6.06 (1.65) | 7.37 (1.18) |
| Competence | 7.11 (1.36) | 7.44 (1.15) | 7.66 (1.14) | 6.76 (1.59) | 6.13 (2.04) | 6.59 (1.64) | 7.44 (1.47) | 6.77 (1.23) |
| Warmth | 6.29 (1.18) | 7.31 (1.42) | 6.39 (1.20) | 6.72 (1.82) | 5.25 (1.78) | 7.32 (1.46) | 6.39 (1.41) | 7.19 (1.28) |
| Morality | 6.53 (1.22) | 7.38 (1.42) | 6.67 (1.20) | 6.74 (1.71) | 5.51 (1.81) | 7.18 (1.56) | 6.77 (1.47) | 7.15 (1.33) |
| Positive emotions | 4.42 (1.02) | 4.82 (1.17) | 4.72 (1.21) | 4.43 (1.21) | 4.59 (1.61) | 4.43 (1.45) | 5.32 (1.41) | 4.26 (1.41) |
| Negative emotions | 2.74 (1.17) | 2.56 (1.18) | 2.71 (1.04) | 2.48 (1.09) | 2.79 (1.39) | 2.91 (1.55) | 2.54 (1.04) | 2.66 (1.41) |
| Cell size | *n* = 49 | *n* = 56 | *n* = 57 | *n* = 52 | *n* = 41 | *n* = 51 | *n* = 58 | *n* = 27 |

*Note.* BW = Breadwinner, CG = Caregiver.

*Table 4.1.4*

*Studies 5a and 5b: ANOVA simple main effect results on attributions of traits and emotions*

| | Study 5a (British sample) | Study 5b (Saudi sample) |
|---|---|---|
| Supportiveness | [a] $F(1, 206) = 7.60$, $p = .006$, $d = 0.51$ | [a] $F(1, 169) = 11.17$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.91$ |
| | [b] $F(1, 206) = 33.76$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.20$ | [b] $F(1, 169) = 48.66$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.33$ |
| | [c] $F(1, 206) = 2.75$, $p = .099$, $d = 0.34$ | [c] $F(1, 169) = 13.85$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.67$ |
| | [d] $F(1, 206) = 2.19$, $p = .14$, $d = 0.27$ | [d] $F(1, 169) = .10$, $p = .75$, $d = 0.09$ |
| Competence | [a] $F(1, 206) = 12.87$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.65$ | [a] $F(1, 169) = 3.10$, $p = .08$, $d = 0.49$ |
| | [b] $F(1, 206) = 1.60$, $p = .21$, $d = 0.26$ | [b] $F(1, 169) = 1.81$, $p = .18$, $d = 0.25$ |
| | [c] $F(1, 206) = 4.59$, $p = .033$, $d = 0.44$ | [c] $F(1, 169) = 15.46$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.74$ |
| | [d] $F(1, 206) = 7.24$, $p = .008$, $d = 0.49$ | [d] $F(1, 169) = .21$, $p = .64$, $d = 0.12$ |
| Warmth | [a] $F(1, 206) = 1.43$, $p = .23$, $d = 0.21$ | [a] $F(1, 169) = 5.21$, $p = .02$, $d = 0.59$ |
| | [b] $F(1, 206) = 13.51$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.78$ | [b] $F(1, 169) = 43.08$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.27$ |
| | [c] $F(1, 206) = .16$, $p = .70$, $d = 0.08$ | [c] $F(1, 169) = 13.78$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.71$ |
| | [d] $F(1, 206) = 4.61$, $p = .03$, $d = 0.36$ | [d] $F(1, 169) = .14$, $p = .71$, $d = 0.09$ |
| Morality | [a] $F(1, 206) = .08$, $p = .78$, $d = 0.05$ | [a] $F(1, 169) = 1.13$, $p = .29$, $d = 0.27$ |
| | [b] $F(1, 206) = 9.62$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.64$ | [b] $F(1, 169) = 25.86$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.99$ |
| | [c] $F(1, 206) = 1.54$, $p = .22$, $d = 0.12$ | [c] $F(1, 169) = 16.10$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.76$ |
| | [d] $F(1, 206) = 5.47$, $p = .02$, $d = 0.41$ | [d] $F(1, 169) = .00$, $p = .99$, $d = 0.02$ |
| Positive emotions | [a] $F(1, 206) = 3.16$, $p = .077$, $d = 0.24$ | [a] $F(1, 169) = 11.11$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.75$ |
| | [b] $F(1, 206) = 1.66$, $p = .20$, $d = 0.36$ | [b] $F(1, 169) = .31$, $p = .58$, $d = 0.10$ |
| | [c] $F(1, 206) = 1.78$, $p = .18$, $d = 0.27$ | [c] $F(1, 169) = 6.81$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.48$ |
| | [d] $F(1, 206) = 3.04$, $p = .083$, $d = 0.33$ | [d] $F(1, 169) = .29$, $p = .59$, $d = 0.12$ |
| Negative emotions | [a] $F(1, 206) = 1.18$, $p = .28$, $d = 0.22$ | [a] $F(1, 206) = .16$, $p = .69$, $d = 0.10$ |
| | [b] $F(1, 206) = .71$, $p = .40$, $d = 0.15$ | [b] $F(1, 169) = .18$, $p = .67$, $d = 0.08$ |
| | [c] $F(1, 206) = .02$, $p = .89$, $d = 0.03$ | [c] $F(1, 169) = .87$, $p = .35$, $d = 0.20$ |
| | [d] $F(1, 206) = .13$, $p = .72$, $d = 0.07$ | [d] $F(1, 169) = .62$, $p = .43$, $d = 0.17$ |

*Notes.* [a] Simple main effect of target role within the female target condition, [b] Simple main effect of target role within the male target condition, [c] Simple main effect of target gender within the breadwinner condition, [d] Simple main effect of target gender within the caregiver condition.

***Trait attributions.***

*Perceived supportiveness*. Overall, the primary caregiver targets were perceived as more supportive than their respective breadwinner targets by both British and Saudi participants (British: $F(1, 210) = 36.95$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.82$; Saudi: $F(1, 173) = 51.14$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.03$). More importantly, as hypothesized, significant target gender X target role interaction effects were obtained on perceived supportiveness in both cultural groups (British: $F(1, 210) = 4.93$, $p = .028$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$; Saudi: $F(1, 173) = 4.77$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .027$). In both cultural groups, the caregiver male and the caregiver female were perceived as more supportive than the breadwinner male and the breadwinner female, respectively. The effect sizes were much larger for male targets than for female targets for both British and Saudi participants. The effect sizes for target role (breadwinner vs. caregiver) differences for male targets were large in both cultures, although it was larger for Saudi participants than for British participants. Furthermore, the breadwinner male was perceived as less supportive than the breadwinner female by the Saudi participants, but not by the British participants. No significant difference between the caregiver female vs. caregiver male was present.

*Perceived competence.* Main effect of target role was not significant in neither cultural group (British: $F(1, 210) = 2.59$, $p = .11$, $d = 0.22$; Saudi: $F(1, 173) = .17$, $p = .68$, $d = 0.15$). Notably, as hypothesized, significant target gender X target role interaction effects were obtained on perceived competence in both cultures (British: $F(1, 210) = 11.66$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .053$; Saudi: $F(1, 173) = 4.89$, $p = .029$, $\eta_p^2 = .027$). British participants perceived the breadwinner female as more competent than the caregiver female. Saudi participants also perceived the breadwinner female as more competent than the caregiver female, but this difference did not reach significance. The caregiver male and the breadwinner male were perceived as equally competent by both British and Saudi participants. Furthermore, both British and Saudi participants perceived the breadwinner female as more competent than the

breadwinner male, with effect sizes being larger for Saudi participants. Only the British participants perceived the primary caregiver male as more competent than the breadwinner male.

*Perceived warmth.* Overall, the primary caregiver targets were perceived as warmer than their respective breadwinner targets in both British and Saudi cultures (British: $F(1, 210) = 11.99$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.48$; Saudi: $F(1, 173) = 37.06$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.88$). More importantly, as hypothesized, significant target gender X target role interaction effects were obtained on perceived supportiveness in both cultures (British: $F(1, 210) = 3.20$, $p = .075$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$; Saudi: $F(1, 173) = 7.27$, $p = .008$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$). The caregiver male was perceived as warmer than the breadwinner male by both British and Saudi participants, with larger effect sizes for Saudi than for British participants. Saudi participants also perceived the caregiver female warmer than the breadwinner female. Furthermore, the caregiver male was perceived as warmer than the caregiver female by British participants, whereas the breadwinner male was perceived as less warm than the breadwinner female by Saudi participants.

*Perceived morality.* Overall, the primary caregiver targets were perceived as more moral than their respective breadwinner targets in both British and Saudi cultures (British: $F(1, 210) = 5.79$, $p = .017$, $d = 0.33$; Saudi: $F(1, 173) = 17.57$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.57$). More importantly, as hypothesized, significant target gender X target role interaction effects were obtained on perceived morality in both cultures (British: $F(1, 210) = 4.09$, $p = .044$, $\eta_p^2 = .019$; Saudi: $F(1, 173) = 6.83$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .038$). The caregiver male was perceived as more moral than the breadwinner male by both British and Saudi participants, with larger effect sizes for Saudi than for British participants, but the caregiver female and the breadwinner female were perceived as equally moral in both cultures. Furthermore, the caregiver male was perceived as more moral than the caregiver female by British participants, whereas the

breadwinner male was perceived as less moral than the breadwinner female by Saudi participants.

***Attribution of emotions.*** Overall, Saudi participants attributed more positive emotions to breadwinner targets than to caregiver targets (British: $F(1, 210) = .14$, $p = .71$, $d = 0.04$; Saudi: $F(1, 173) = 8.11$, $p = .005$, $d = 0.47$). Significant target gender X target role interaction effects were obtained on attribution of positive emotions in both cultures (British: $F(1, 210) = 4.72$, $p = .031$, $\eta_p^2 = .022$; Saudi: $F(1, 173) = 4.44$, $p = .037$, $\eta_p^2 = .025$). The breadwinner female was attributed more positive emotions than the caregiver female as well as the breadwinner male by the Saudi participants. No other effects were present on attribution of positive emotions to targets. No significant main effects or interaction effects emerged on attribution of negative emotions in both cultural groups.

**Moderating effects of honour endorsement and cross-cultural differences.** To examine whether masculine honour endorsement moderate men's social judgments of male targets, in ways that high honour-endorsing men attribute more negative traits and emotions to a caregiver male than to a breadwinner male, and to examine the cultural differences in this process, dependent measures were hierarchically regressed onto culture (1 = British, 2 = Saudi), target role (1 = breadwinner, -1 = primary caregiver), participant gender (1 = male, 0 = female), and masculine honour endorsement (standardized) in Step 1, two-way interaction terms in Step 2, three-way interaction terms in Step 3, followed by the four-way interaction term in Step 4. Social judgments of male targets by women, and social judgments of *female targets* by men and women were explored as well, to compare the trends obtained for men and women, and for male targets and female targets. Semi-partial correlation coefficients (*sr*) are reported for effect sizes in regression analyses. Simple slopes are displayed in Figures 4.1.1 to 4.1.6.

***Trait attributions.*** Analysis revealed a significant culture X target role X participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effect on perceived warmth of male targets, $\beta$ = -.68, $t$(181) = -2.12, $p$ = .035, $sr$ = -.13, and marginally significant culture X target role X participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effects on perceived competence, $\beta$ = -.59, $t$(181) = -1.68, $p$ = .095, $sr$ = -.11, and perceived morality, $\beta$ = -.55, $t$(181) = -1.68, $p$ = .095, $sr$ = -.11, of the male targets. Separate regression analyses per culture were conducted to unfold these four-way interactions to understand the pattern of the target role X participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effect in the British and Saudi sample. Analysis showed a significant target role X participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effect for Saudi participants on perceived competence, $\beta$ = -.33, $t$(84) = -1.76, $p$ = .083, $sr$ = -.18, and perceived warmth, $\beta$ = -.39, $t$(84) = -2.43, $p$ = .017, $sr$ = -.21, of the male targets, but not for British participants (competence: $\beta$ = .02, $t$(97) = .15, $p$ = .88, $sr$ = .014; warmth: $\beta$ = .02, $t$(97) = .13, $p$ = .90, $sr$ = .01). No significant target role X participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effects were found on perceived morality of the male targets for British participants, $\beta$ = .09, $t$(84) = .75, $p$ = .45, $sr$ = .07, neither for Saudi participants, $\beta$ = -.25, $t$(84) = -1.46, $p$ = .15, $sr$ = -.14. No significant three- or four-way interaction effects with culture were found on any of the social judgment variables to the female targets.

As shown in Figure 4.1.3, a closer inspection of the significant interaction using simple slope analysis revealed that high honour-endorsing Saudi men perceived a caregiver male as warmer than a breadwinner male, $b$ = -1.51, $SE$ =.33, $t$(45) = -4.56, $p$ < .001, but low honour-endorsing Saudi men did not differ in their perceptions of warmth of a breadwinner vs. caregiver male, $b$ = -.44, $SE$ =.33, $t$(45) = -1.34, $p$ = .19. High honour-endorsing Saudi men perceived the breadwinner male as less warm than did low honour-endorsing Saudi men, $b$ = -.40, $SE$ =.21, $t$(45) = -1.86, $p$ = .076. But high vs. low honour-endorsing Saudi men did not differ in their perceptions of warmth of the caregiver male, $b$ = .31, $SE$ =.23, $t$(45) = 1.36, $p$ =

.18. These results did not support our prediction that high honour-endorsing men would perceive a caregiver male target more negatively in terms of trait attributions than a breadwinner male target.

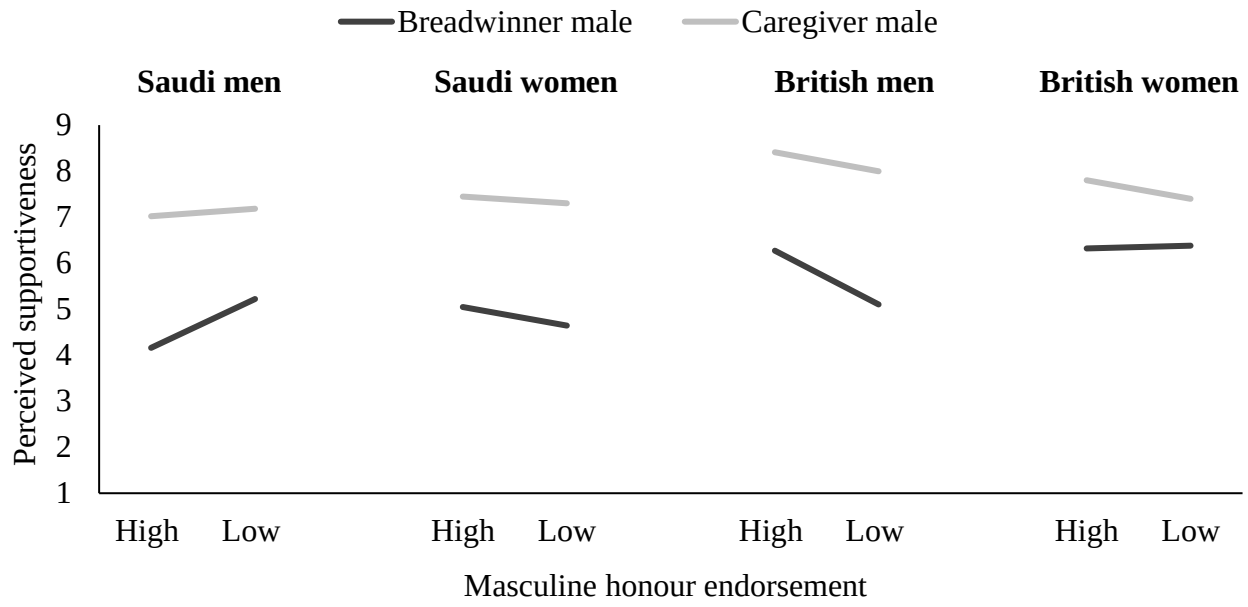


*Figure 4.1.1.* Studies 5a and 5b: Simple slopes for Saudi and British men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on perceived supportiveness of the breadwinner vs. caregiver male.

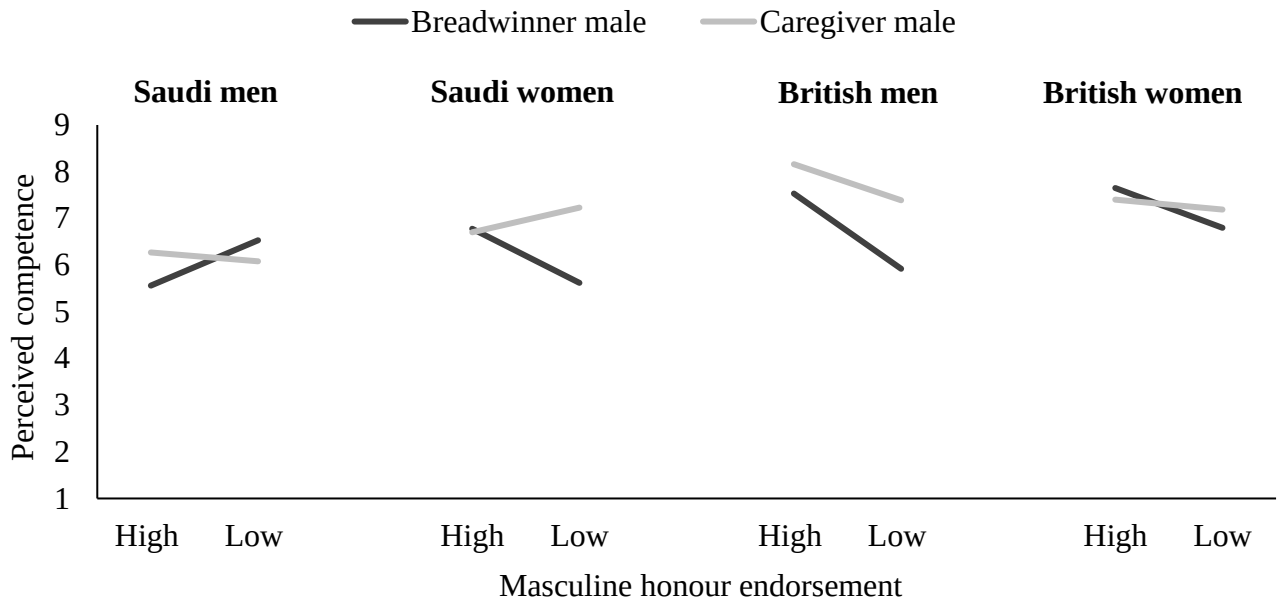


*Figure 4.1.2.* Studies 5a and 5b: Simple slopes for Saudi and British men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on perceived competence of the breadwinner vs. caregiver male.

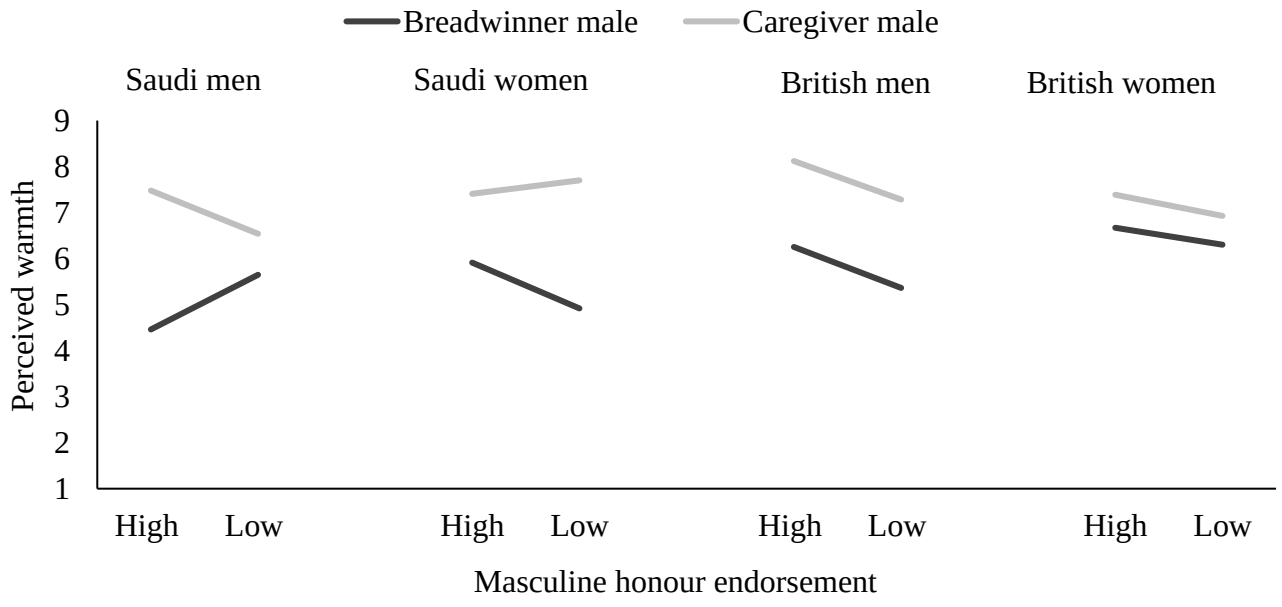


*Figure 4.1.3.* Studies 5a and 5b: Simple slopes for Saudi and British men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on perceived warmth of the breadwinner vs. caregiver male.

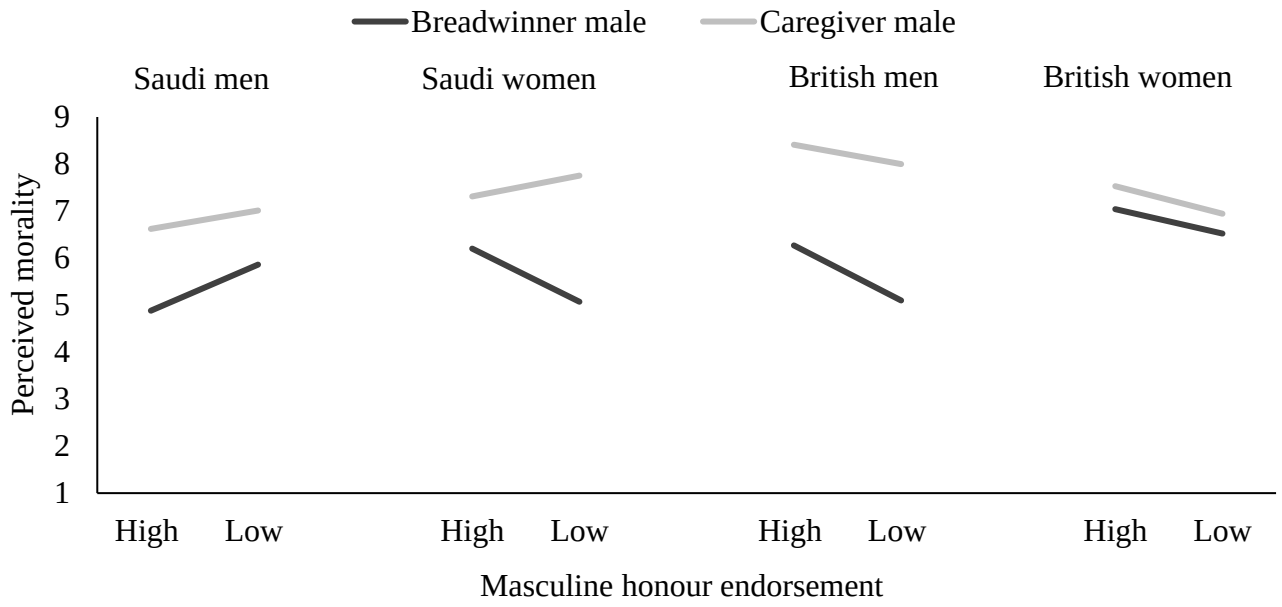


*Figure 4.1.4.* Studies 5a and 5b: Simple slopes for Saudi and British men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on perceived morality of the breadwinner vs. caregiver male.

***Attribution of emotions.*** No significant culture X target role X participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effect emerged on attribution of positive and negative emotions, neither for male or female targets. But there was a significant target role X participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effect on attribution of negative emotions to the male targets, $\beta$ = -.33, $t$(182) = -3.27, $p$ = .001, $sr$ = -.21. Although, the non-significant four-way interaction with culture implies that the process is similar for the two cultural groups, here I report the results separately for the British and Saudi participants to present the trends more clearly and compare the strength of the coefficients in each culture (British: $\beta$ = -.34, $t$(97) = -2.89, $p$ = .005, $sr$ = -.27, Saudi: $\beta$ = -.30, $t$(84) = -1.76, $p$ = .082, $sr$ = -.17).

Separate regressions conducted for men and women revealed a significant target role X honour endorsement interaction effects on attribution of negative emotions to the male targets

by men, $\beta$ = -.38, $t$(75) = -3.41, $p$ = .001, $sr$ = -.36 (British men: $\beta$ = -.38, $t$(30) = -2.29, $p$ = .029, $sr$ = -.37, Saudi men: $\beta$ = -.46, $t$(41) = -2.59, $p$ = .013, $sr$ = -.37), but not by women, $\beta$ = .06, $t$(114) = .57, $p$ = .57, $sr$ = .05 (British women, $\beta$ = .23, $t$(67) = 1.45, $p$ = .15, $sr$ = .17, Saudi women; $\beta$ = -.10, $t$(43) = -.65, $p$ = .52, $sr$ = .09).

As seen in Figure 4.1.5, low honour-endorsing men attributed more negative emotions to breadwinner male targets than caregiver male targets, $b$ = .77, $SE$ = .23, $t$(79) = 3.34, $p$ = .001 (British: $b$ = .94, $SE$ = .31, $t$(34) = 3.01, $p$ = .005, Saudi: $b$ = .67, $SE$ = .33, $t$(45) = 2.03, $p$ = .049), but high honour-endorsing men did not differ, $b$ = -.36, $SE$ = .23, $t$(79) = -1.53, $p$ = .13 (British: $b$ = -.09, $SE$ = .31, $t$(34) = -.30, $p$ = .77, Saudi: $b$ = -.55, $SE$ = .33, $t$(45) = -1.65, $p$ = .11). High honour-endorsing men attributed more negative emotions to the caregiver male than did low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .46, $SE$ = .12, $t$(79) = 3.67, $p$ < .001 (British: $b$ = .23, $SE$ = .15, $t$(34) = 1.53, $p$ = .14, Saudi: $b$ = .63, $SE$ = .23, $t$(45) = 2.73, $p$ = .009), but high vs. low honour-endorsing men did not differ in their attribution of negative emotions to the breadwinner male, $b$ = -.19, $SE$ = .14, $t$(79) = -1.33, $p$ = .18 (British: $b$ = -.35, $SE$ = .20, $t$(34) = -1.71, $p$ = .10, Saudi: $b$ = -.18, $SE$ = .21, $t$(34) = -.86, $p$ = .39). These results demonstrate that only high honour-endorsing Saudi men attributed more negative emotions to the caregiver targets than low honour-endorsing Saudi men.[12]

[12] In Studies 5a and 5b, I have also tested whether perceived dominance/formidability of the target, perceived femininity-masculinity of target as well as the perceived femininity-masculinity of the targets' tasks would explain high honour-endorsing men's negative emotional attributions to the caregiver male compared to the breadwinner male, but there was no evidence of mediation through these variables. These were not reported in the chapter.

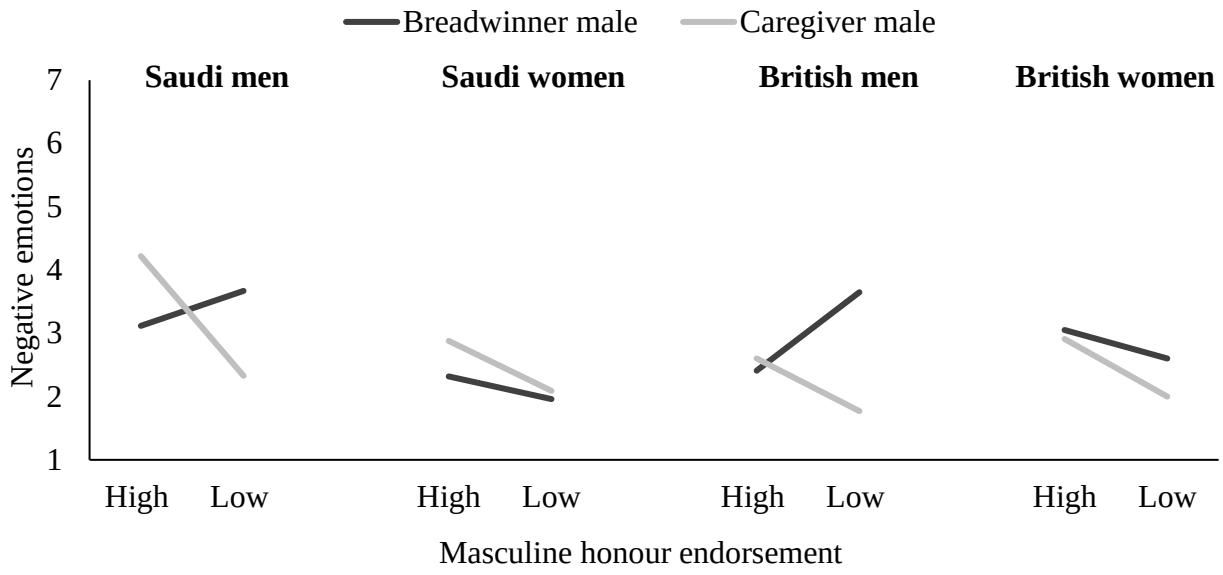


*Figure 4.1.5.* Studies 5a and 5b: Simple slopes for Saudi and British men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on attribution of negative emotions to the breadwinner vs. caregiver male based on their partnership.

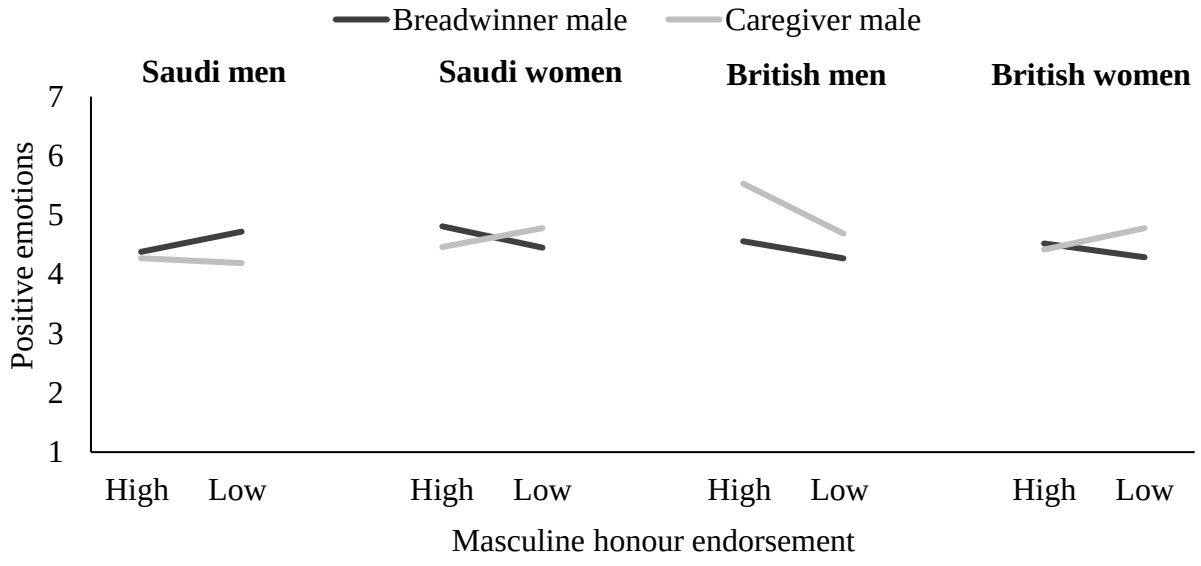


*Figure 4.1.6.* Studies 5a and 5b: Simple slopes for Saudi and British men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on attribution of positive emotions to the breadwinner vs. caregiver male based on their partnership.

**Discussion**

Results showed that, overall, targets who were caregivers were perceived as warmer, more moral and supportive than their respective breadwinner targets by both British and Saudi participants, suggesting that the task of full-time care of children signals more positive characteristics about a person, regardless of their gender, than working full-time. These results were generally in line with both Gaunt (2013) who found higher ratings of warmth for caregiver dads than breadwinner dads, and Vandello et al. (2009) who found higher ratings of warmth and morality for men who take flexible work hours to look after children than men who work traditional hours. Adding to this line of literature, Studies 5a and 5b showed that the effect of target role (caregiver vs. breadwinner) on trait attributions depended on targets' gender in all trait attributions, and what simple effects drove the target role X target gender interaction effects were different in the Saudi and British samples.

First, in the Saudi culture, the significant target role X target gender interaction effects on perceived warmth, morality and supportiveness were mainly driven by the ratings of the breadwinner husband which were significantly less than the ratings of the caregiver husband (mean ratings of the breadwinner husband were around the mid-point or less). On the other hand, in the British culture, the significant target role X target gender interaction effects on perceived warmth, morality and supportiveness of caregiver husbands were primarily driven by the ratings of the caregiver husband which were significantly higher than the ratings of the breadwinner husband. Overall, the effect sizes for the differences between target roles were larger for Saudi participants than British participants. The especially positive ratings of a caregiver husband compared to the breadwinner husband by British participants is possibly due to perceptions that he is making a bigger sacrifice for the marriage since it is less typical of men to take on child care tasks. In the Saudi culture, which is a more patriarchal honour culture society, caregiving tasks did not raise a man's perceived morality, warmth and

supportiveness, but instead a breadwinner man, who is doing his typical tasks, was not seen as particularly moral, warm and supportive (Gaunt, 2013; Hochschild, 1989).

Second, in the Saudi culture, a breadwinner wife was perceived as significantly more competent, warm, moral and supportive than a breadwinner husband. In the British culture, a breadwinner wife was also perceived as more competent and supportive (but not warmer or more moral) than a breadwinner husband, but the effect sizes were larger for Saudi participants. These results can be interpreted as such that the woman may be perceived as making an extra contribution by taking on the full-time employment role, which is not typically expected of them, and thus they are perceived more skilled and supportive. Saudi participants may have perceived the full-time employed woman as even more skilled and supportive (making even a bigger sacrifice for the family), because full-time employment outside of the house is uncommon for women in the highly patriarchal honour culture nation of Saudi Arabia where female employment rate is only 20% (Gaunt, 2013; Hochschild, 1989).

Importantly, endorsement of masculine honour ideals moderated participants' social judgments. Both high and low honour endorsers perceived the caregiver husbands as more competent, warm, moral and supportive than the breadwinner husbands in both cultures, but despite this, high honour-endorsing Saudi men attributed more negative emotions (humiliation, shame, resentment) to the caregiver husband than the breadwinner husband based on the role division in their marriage (results were non-significant but means were in expected directions), and they attributed significantly more negative emotions to the caregiver husband than did low honour-endorsing men. This was not the case for high honour-endorsing British men, and neither for high honour-endorsing women of either culture. Instead, low honour-endorsing British men attributed more negative emotions to the breadwinner husband than to the caregiver husband.

## 4.2. Study 6

Study 6 aimed to replicate the findings obtained in Studies 5a and 5b, and to further explore what might be driving high honour-endorsing men's potentially higher negative emotions (e.g., shame, resentment) towards a primary caregiver man. In the current study, instead of asking participants to attribute emotions to targets in the scenario, participants imagined themselves as if they were the male target presented to them, and reported how they would themselves feel on this role division within their marriage (positive and negative moral emotions). This was done to better capture participants' internalized set of values more directly, rather than their normative judgments. Imagining themselves as if they were the male target in the scenario, participants also reported how their wife, children and male friends would perceive them if they were taking over the role of the male target. Given that concerns for maintaining a masculine reputation and high status among other men is more salient for high masculine honour-endorsing men, high honour-endorsing men's potential negative feelings about being a caregiver should be predicted by perceived reputation harm among male friends, not among their wives or children.

Because Studies 5a and 5b demonstrated that masculine honour values moderated social judgments of male targets, but not female targets, Study 6 examined social judgments of caregiver vs. breadwinner male targets only. Also, because honour endorsement potentially moderates men's rather than women's attributions of negative emotions to a caregiver male target, as shown in Studies 5a and 5b, Study 6 examined what drives positive and negative emotions about being a caregiver only among male participants.

### Method

**Participants.** I intended to collect at least 240 participants which would have at least 30 men and 30 women per experimental condition. Final sample had a total of 262 participants recruited from Prolific Academic for a study on impression formation of married

couples. Excluding 27 participants who failed to pass attention check items left a final sample of 235 participants entered in the analysis (134 men, $M_{age}$ = 36.54, $SD_{age}$ = 11.83; age range: 18-73; 99.6% UK/Ireland-born, 93.2% White-British). Of the participants, 28.5% had a high school diploma, 23.4% had some college education, and 48.1% had a university degree. More than half of the participants, 63.3%, reported having no religion, and 31.1% identified as Christians. Almost half of them, 48.1%, were married or in a civil union, and 51.9% had children.

***Post-hoc power analysis.*** A post-hoc power analysis for linear multiple regression (fixed model, single regression coefficient) was conducted using GPower 3.1 for the final sample size of 134 men. Significance level of .05, and number of predictors as 2 (target role and masculine honour ideals) was entered with the smallest effect size coming from the regression analyses with men's emotional reactions to male targets and perceptions of their wife, friends and children (partial $R^2$ = .19) revealed very high power: .99.

**Design and procedure.** The study had one between-subjects factor: target role (breadwinner vs. caregiver). The same male target profiles were used as in Studies 5a and 5b. Participants were randomly assigned to read either a profile of a breadwinner male married to a caregiver, or a profile of a caregiver male married to a breadwinner. After reading the profiles, participants indicated their perceptions of the male targets and how they would feel if they were the male target described in these profiles.

**Measures.**

***Perceived masculinity-femininity of the target's role.*** The same item from Studies 5a and 5b was used to measure perceived masculinity-femininity of the target's role.

***Perceived importance of the target's role.*** The same one item from Studies 5a and 5b was used to measure perceived importance of the target's role.

***Perceived status of the target's role.*** Participants rated their agreement on two items stating that the target's tasks are *higher status* and *more prestigious* than his spouse's tasks using a 9-point scale ranging from (1) *strongly disagree* to (9) *strongly agree.* A composite score was computed averaging the ratings on the two items ($r$ = .71).

***Trait attributions.*** Same trait dimensions were used as in Studies 5a and 5b, except that the measurement scale changed from a bipolar scale to explicitly unipolar scale. This was done to communicate to participants only one category (e.g., honesty), rather than two categories (e.g., honesty and dishonesty), which is cognitively easier for participants to respond to (Gannon & Ostrom, 1996). Participants rated their perception of the target's *competence* (4 items: competent, capable, efficient, skilful; $\alpha$ = .87), *warmth* (3 items: warm, friendly, sociable; $\alpha$ = .87), *morality* (4 items: moral, fair, loyal, honourable; $\alpha$ = .92), and *supportiveness* (4 items: helpful, supportive, good as a husband, good as a father; $\alpha$ = .93) on 7-point scales ranging from (1) *not at all* to (7) *very much*.

***Emotions.*** Instead of measuring participants' attributions of emotions to the target from a third-person perspective, this time, male participants imagined as if they were the target and rated the extent to which they would feel about the role division within their marriage, on 7-point scales ranging from (1) *not at all* to (7) *very much*. The same positive and negative emotion items were used to measure positive emotional experiences as in Studies 5a and 5b, but an extra negative emotion item (*annoyed*) was included. A factor analysis conducted on these items revealed a two-factor solution, with all positive emotion items (*proud, appreciated, respected, self-fulfilled, satisfied* and *gratitude*), loading on one factor (loadings > .55), and all negative emotion items (*angry*, *annoyed*, *resentment*, *guilt*, *shame, embarrassment,* and *humiliation*) loading on a second factor (loadings > .59). Scores on each item were averaged to create composite measures of *positive feelings/satisfaction* ($\alpha$ = .82), and *negative (shame and frustration) feelings* ($\alpha$ = .90).

***Perceptions and feelings attributed to their wife, children, and male friends***. Male participants imagined as if they were the target themselves and the target's wife were their own wife, and rated the degree of *appreciation of their wife* of them with four items (e.g., "how appreciative would your wife be of you?"; $\alpha$ = .90), *attraction of their wife* to them with four items (e.g., "how attractive would your wife find you?"; $\alpha$ = .97), *admiration of their male friends* of them with four items (e.g., "how impressed would your male friends be of you?"; $\alpha$ = .89), *own prestige among their male friends* with three items (e.g., "how prestigious would you feel with your male friends?"; $\alpha$ = .88), *and admiration of their children* (when they grow up) of their father (e.g., "how much would the children admire their father?"; $\alpha$ = .96). Ratings were done on 7-point scales ranging from (1) *not at all* to (7) *very much.*

***Masculine honour ideals.*** Endorsement of masculine honour was measured with the same scale as in Studies 5a and 5b ($\alpha$ = .92). Participants' scores on the masculine honour scale did not vary between the caregiver ($M$ = 3.69, $SD$ = 1.39) and the breadwinner target ($M$ = 4.03, $SD$ = 1.71) conditions, $t(227.16) = 1.70$, $p = .09$, $d = 0.22$, ruling out the possibility that honour endorsement scores were affected by the manipulation of target role. Men ($M$ = 4.02, $SD$ = 1.52) scored marginally higher on the masculine honour scale than did women ($M$ = 3.66, $SD$ = 1.61), $t(233) = 1.76$, $p = .08$, $d = 0.21$.

**Results**

**Preliminary results.** Independent sample t-tests were conducted to check whether participants indeed see full-time caregiving as a more feminine task than full-time breadwinning, and to see whether they see one task as more important and high status than the other. Where data violated sphericity, adjusted values are reported.

***Perceived masculinity-femininity of the target's role.*** As expected, the caregiver male's tasks ($M$ = 4.69, $SD$ = 1.10) were perceived as more feminine than the breadwinner

male's tasks ($M$ = 6.44, $SD$ = 1.33), $t$(228.02) = 11.07, $p$ < .001, $d$ = 1.43, indicating that caregiving is seen as a feminized activity.

***Perceived importance of the target's role.*** Participants perceived the tasks of the caregiver male ($M$ = 7.89, $SD$ = 1.91) and the breadwinner male ($M$ = 7.73, $SD$ = 1.31) as equally important, $t$(233) = -.76, $p$ = .45, $d$ = 0.10.

***Perceived status of the target's role.*** Participants perceived the tasks of the caregiver male ($M$ = 4.42, $SD$ = 1.56) and the breadwinner male ($M$ = 4.68, $SD$ = 2.02) as having an equal status, $t$(222.85) = 1.13, $p$ = .26, $d$ = 0.14.

**Mean differences in social judgments.** To examine the differences in the trait attributions to caregiver vs. breadwinner male and emotions about being a caregiver vs. breadwinner male for men and women, 2 (target role: breadwinner, caregiver) X 2 (participant gender: male, female) between-subjects ANOVAs were conducted. Because, the rest of the dependent measures were completed only by men, independent samples t-tests were conducted to examine men's attributions of how their wife, children and male friends would feel about them being a caregiver vs. breadwinner. Table 4.2.1 presents the means on each dependent measure and the relevant inferential test results.

Table 4.2.1

*Study 6: Means and standard deviations per target role and participant gender on trait attributions and emotions*

| | Male participants | | Female participants | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BW | CG | BW | CG | |
| | *M* (*SD*) | *M* (*SD*) | *M* (*SD*) | *M* (*SD*) | Inferential Test Results |
| Supportiveness | 4.50 (1.12) | 6.17 (.88) | 4.39 (1.48) | 6.45 (.68) | [a] $F(1, 231) = 176.28$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.74$<br>[b] $F(1, 231) = .36$, $p = .55$, $d = 0.18$<br>[c] $F(1, 231) = 2.00$, $p = .16$, $\eta_p^2 = .009$ |
| Competence | 5.32 (1.08) | 5.61 (.84) | 5.47 (.99) | 6.20 (.81) | [a] $F(1, 184) = 16.90$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.53$<br>[b] $F(1, 184) = 8.70$, $p = .004$, $d = 0.43$<br>[c] $F(1, 231) = 3.07$, $p = .08$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$ |
| Warmth | 4.28 (.98) | 5.26 (1.06) | 4.26 (1.21) | 5.67 (1.03) | [a] $F(1, 231) = 72.50$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.12$<br>[b] $F(1, 231) = 1.91$, $p = .17$, $d = 0.25$<br>[c] $F(1, 231) = 2.29$, $p = .13$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$ |
| Morality | 4.70 (1.03) | 5.76 (.87) | 4.91 (1.09) | 6.02 (.97) | [a] $F(1, 231) = 68.44$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.11$<br>[b] $F(1, 231) = 3.08$, $p = .08$, $d = 0.29$<br>[c] $F(1, 231) = .04$, $p = .85$, $\eta_p^2 = .000$ |
| Positive feelings | 4.57 (1.06) | 4.76 (1.10) | | | [a] $t(1, 132) = -1.00$, $p = .32$, $d = .18$ |
| Negative feelings | 2.27 (1.26) | 2.11 (1.26) | | | [a] $t(1, 132) = .60$, $p = .55$, $d = .13$ |
| Appreciation of wife | 4.93 (1.23) | 5.56 (.98) | | | [a] $t(1, 131.95) = -3.30$, $p = .001$, $d = .57$ |
| Attraction of wife | 4.62 (1.23) | 4.72 (1.55) | | | [a] $t(1, 132) = -.43$, $p = .67$, $d = .14$ |
| Admiration of male friends | 4.79 (1.14) | 3.90 (1.44) | | | [a] $t(1, 132) = 4.00$, $p < .001$, $d = .69$ |
| Prestige among male friends | 4.11 (1.31) | 3.50 (1.34) | | | [a] $t(1, 132) = 2.66$, $p = .009$, $d = .46$ |
| Admiration of children | 5.08 (1.31) | 5.78 (1.16) | | | [a] $t(1, 132) = -3.23$, $p = .002$, $d = .57$ |
| Cell size | $n = 74$ | $n = 60$ | $n = 46$ | $n = 55$ | |

*Notes.* BW = Breadwinner condition, CG = Caregiver condition; [a] Main effect of target role, [b] Main effect of participant gender, [c] Interaction effect of target role X participant gender.

***Trait attributions.*** As in Studies 5a and 5b, participants (both men and women) perceived the caregiver male as warmer and more supportive, competent, and moral than the breadwinner male. Women perceived the caregiver male as more competent than did men.

***Perceptions of the wife's, children's and male friends' feelings.*** Men thought that their wife would be significantly more appreciative of them and that the children (when they grow up) would be significantly more admiring of them (i.e., their father) if they were the caregiver male than if they were the breadwinner male, but, as expected, men thought that they would feel significantly more prestigious among their male friends and that their male friends would significantly admire them more if they were the breadwinner than if they were the caregiver. Men thought that their wife would be equally attracted to them if they were the caregiver vs. breadwinner male.

**Results on the moderating effects of honour endorsement.** To examine the moderating effects of honour endorsement, the trait attributions were hierarchically regressed onto participant gender (1 = male, 0 = female), target role (1 = breadwinner, -1 = primary caregiver), and endorsement of masculine honour (standardized) in Step 1, two-way interaction terms in Step 2, followed by the three-way interaction term in Step 3. Emotions towards the targets and perceptions regarding the wife, children and male friends were regressed onto target role (1 = breadwinner, -1 = primary caregiver) and endorsement of masculine honour (standardized) in Step 1, followed by two-way interaction term in Step 2. Semi-partial correlation coefficients (*sr*) are reported for effect sizes in regression analyses. Simple slopes are displayed in Figures 4.2.1 to 4.2.3.

***Trait attributions.*** As in Studies 5a and 5b, there was no significant target role X honour endorsement, or target role X participant gender X honour endorsement interaction effects on perceived supportiveness, competence, warmth and morality of the male. See Figure 4.2.1 for the Simple slopes.

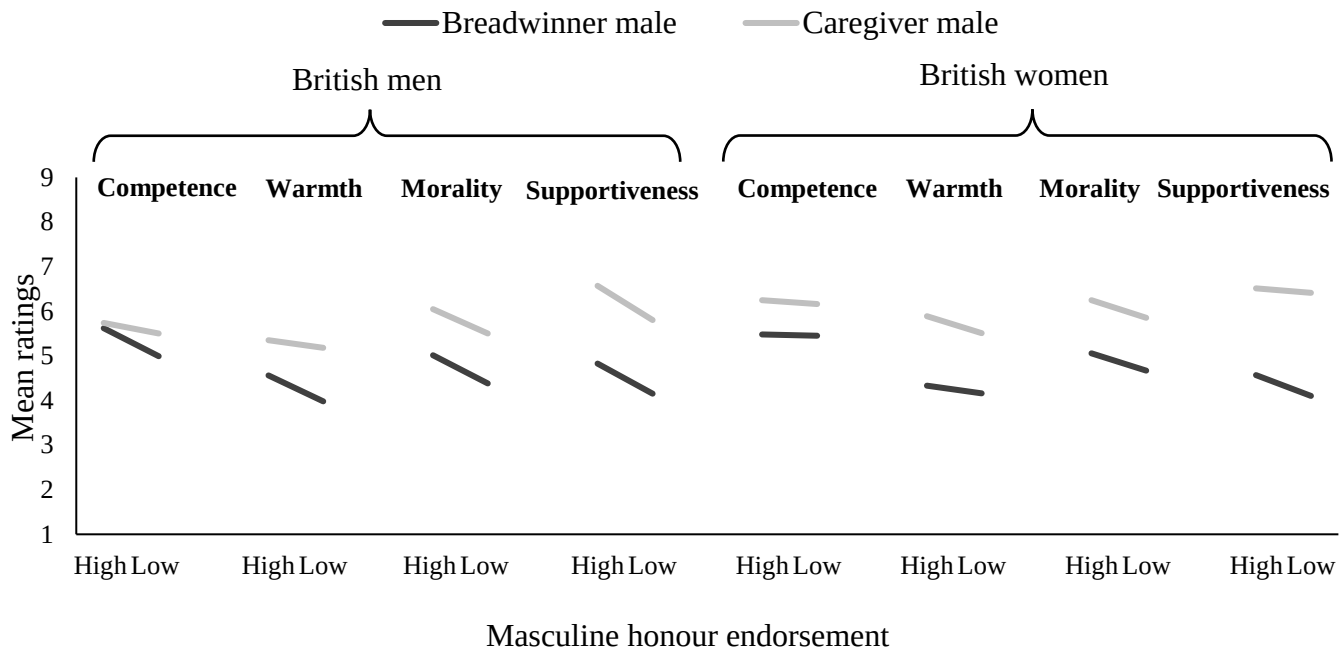


*Figure 4.2.1.* Study 6: Simple slopes for British men and women who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on trait attributions to the breadwinner vs. caregiver male.

***Emotions.*** There was a significant target role X honour endorsement interaction effect for men on negative feelings, $\beta$ = -.29, $t(130)$ = -3.40, $p$ = .001, $sr$ = -.28, and on positive feelings/satisfaction, $\beta$ = .37, $t(130)$ = 4.41, $p$ < .001, $sr$ = .36.

As shown in Figure 4.2.2, a closer inspection of the significant target role X honour endorsement interaction using simple slope analysis revealed that high honour-endorsing men reported that they would feel more positive/satisfied if they were the breadwinner male than if they were the caregiver male, $b$ = .31, $SE$ = .13, $t(134)$ = 2.44, $p$ = .016, whereas low honour-endorsing men reported that they would feel more positive/satisfied if they were the caregiver male than if they were the breadwinner male, $b$ = -.49, $SE$ = .13, $t(134)$ = -3.89, $p$ < .001. High honour-endorsing men reported that they would feel more positive/satisfied if they were the breadwinner than low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .21, $SE$ = .07, $t(134)$ = 2.81, $p$ = .006, and low honour-endorsing men reported that they would feel more positive/satisfied if

they were the caregiver than did high honour-endorsing men, $b$ = -.32, $SE$ = .09, $t$(134) = -3.40, $p$ < .001.

When it comes to negative feelings, simple slopes analysis revealed that high honour-endorsing men reported that they would feel more negative if they were the caregiver male than if they were the breadwinner male, $b$ = -.28, $SE$ = .14, $t$(134) = -2.06, $p$ = .04, whereas in contrast, low honour-endorsing men reported that they would feel more negative if they were the breadwinner male than if they were the caregiver male, $b$ = .38, $SE$ = .14, $t$(134) = 2.82, $p$ = .006. Furthermore, high honour-endorsing men reported that they would feel more negative if they were the caregiver than did low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .40, $SE$ = .10, $t$(134) = 3.96, $p$ < .001, but high vs. low honour-endorsing men did not differ in their negative feelings if they were the breadwinner, $b$ = -.04, $SE$ = .08, $t$(134) = -.46, $p$ = .64.

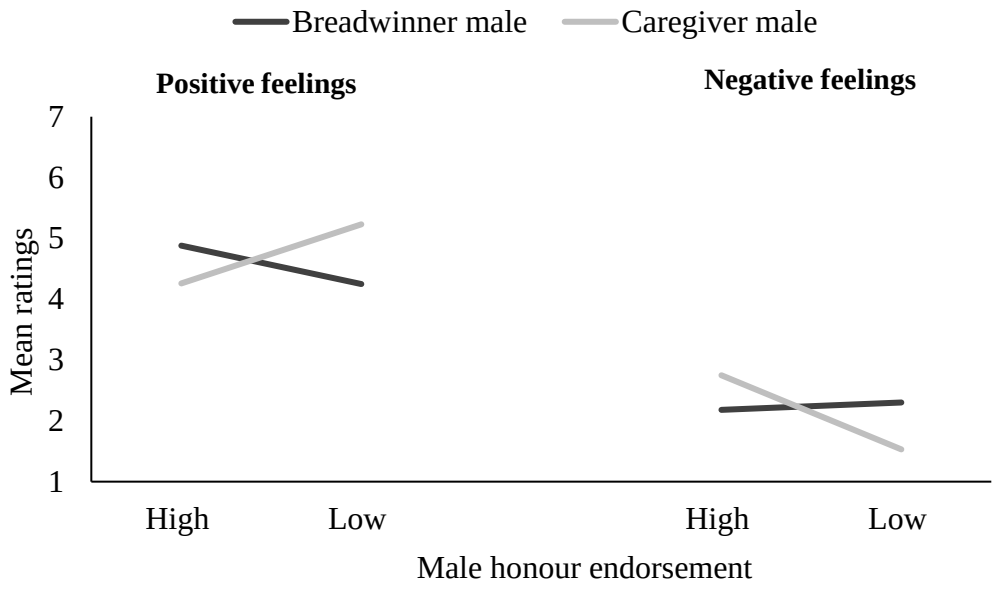


*Figure 4.2.2.* Study 6: Simple slopes for British men who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on positive and negative feelings about being the breadwinner vs. caregiver male.

***Appreciation and attraction of the wife.*** There was a significant target role X honour endorsement interaction effect on perceived appreciation by the wife, $\beta$ = .22, $t(130) = 2.68$, $p$ = .008, $sr$ = .22, and attraction of the wife, $\beta$ = .19, $t(130) = 2.18$, $p$ = .03, $sr$ = .19. As displayed in Figure 4.2.3, simple slopes analyses revealed that low honour-endorsing men reported that their wife would appreciate them more, $b$ = -.58, $SE$ = .13, $t(134) = -4.33$, $p$ < .001, and would be marginally more attracted to them, $b$ = -.32, $SE$ = .17, $t(134) = -1.87$, $p$ = .06, if they were the caregiver male than if they were the breadwinner male, but this was not the case for high honour-endorsing men –appreciation of the wife: $b$ = -.06, $SE$ = .14, $t(134)$ = -.45, $p$ = .65, attraction of the wife: $b$ = .21, $SE$ = .17, $t(134) = 1.25$, $p$ = .21. Furthermore, high honour-endorsing men reported that their wife would appreciate them more, $b$ = .28, $SE$ = .08, $t(134) = 3.61$, $p$ < .001, and would be marginally more attracted to them, $b$ = .19, $SE$ = .10, $t(134) = 1.90$, $p$ = .06, if they were the breadwinner male than did low honour men, but high vs. low honour-endorsing men did not differ in their ratings if they were the caregiver male – appreciation of the wife: $b$ = -.06, $SE$ = .10, $t(134)$ = -.57, $p$ < .57, attraction of the wife: $b$ = -.16, $SE$ = .13, $t(134) = -1.28$, $p$ = .20.

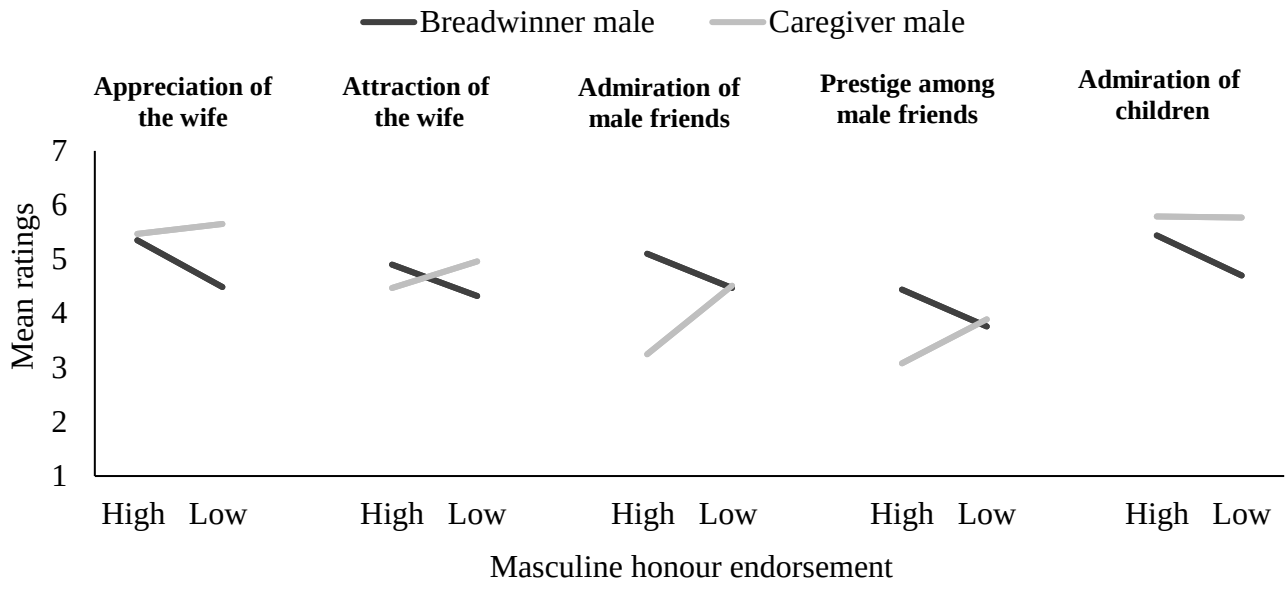


*Figure 4.2.3.* Study 6: Simple slopes for British men who endorse high levels (*M + 1SD*) and low levels (*M - 1SD*) of masculine honour on attributed perceptions and feelings of the wife, children and male friends about being the breadwinner vs. caregiver male.

***Admiration by male friends and own prestige among male friends.*** There was a significant target role X honour endorsement interaction effect on admiration of male friends, $\beta = .35$, $t(130) = 4.38$, $p < .001$, $sr = .34$, and own prestige among male friends, $\beta = .28$, $t(130) = 3.24$, $p = .002$, $sr = .27$. As displayed in Figure 4.2.3, simple slopes analysis showed that high honour-endorsing men reported that their male friends would admire them more, $b = .92$, $SE = .15$, $t(134) = 6.11$, $p < .001$, and that they would feel more prestigious among their male friends, $b = .68$, $SE = .16$, $t(134) = 4.23$, $p < .001$, if they were the breadwinner male than if they were the caregiver male, but this was not the case for low honour-endorsing men– admiration of male friends: $b = -.02$, $SE = .15$, $t(134) = -.13$, $p = .90$, own prestige among male friends: $b = -.06$, $SE = .16$, $t(134) = -.39$, $p = .70$. Furthermore, high honour-endorsing men reported that their male friends would admire them less, $b = -.41$, $SE = .11$, $t(134) = -3.71$, $p < .001$, and that they would feel less prestigious among male friends, $b = -.26$, $SE = .12$, $t(134) = -2.23$, $p = .03$, if they were the caregiver male than did low honour

men, whereas high honour participants reported that their male friends would admire them more, $b = .21$, $SE = .09$, $t(134) = 2.37$, $p = .019$, and that they would feel more prestigious if they were the breadwinner male than did low honour participants, $b = .22$, $SE = .09$, $t(134) = 2.40$, $p = .018$.

***Admiration of the children.*** There was a significant target role X honour endorsement interaction effect on admiration of the children, $\beta = .35$, $t(130) = 4.38$, $p < .001$, $sr = .34$. As displayed in Figure 4.2.3, simple slopes analyses revealed that low honour-endorsing men reported that the children (when they grow up) would admire them (i.e., their father) less if they were the breadwinner male than if they were the caregiver male, $b = -.56$, $SE = .15$, $t(134) = -3.55$, $p < .001$, but high honour men's perceptions did not change whether they were the caregiver male or the breadwinner male, $b = -.17$, $SE = .15$, $t(134) = -1.13$, $p = .26$. Furthermore, high honour participants reported that the children would admire their father more if they were the breadwinner male than did low honour participants, $b = .24$, $SE = .09$, $t(134) = 2.73$, $p = .007$, but high vs. low honour men's ratings did not change if they were the caregiver male $b = .004$, $SE = .11$, $t(134) = .03$, $p = .97$.

**Mediation results.** To examine what may be driving high and low honour-endorsing men's positive and negative feelings regarding being a primary caregiver compared to a breadwinner, I conducted a moderated mediation analysis using the PROCESS approach based on 5000 bootstrap samples by Hayes (2013; Model 59). I examined whether perceived appreciation of the wife and children and perceived reputation/standing among male friends predict positive and negative feelings about being a primary caregiver (vs. breadwinner), first entering the mediators simultaneously and then one at a time to better understand the mechanisms.[13] I predicted that high honour-endorsing men's negative feelings about being a

[13] Based on strong theoretical grounds, a principle component analysis with fixed number of factors as 2 conducted on these items revealed a two-factor solution with the appreciation of wife and admiration of children items loading on one factor (loadings > .67), and the

caregiver should be mainly driven by their decreased perception of their own reputation and standing among their male friends, but not by their reduced appreciation of their wife/children.

As shown in Figures 4.2.4 and 4.2.5 below, perceived appreciation/admiration of their wife and children mediated low honour-endorsing men's, $b$ = -.32, $SE$ = .10, $CI$s = [-.58, -.16] (but not high honour-endorsing men's, $b$ = -.04, $SE$ = -.05, $CI$s = [-.16, .03]) positive feelings/satisfaction about being a primary caregiver (vs. breadwinner) within the marriage. That is, for low honour-endorsing men, imagining themselves as the caregiver in their marriage was related to increased perception of their wife's and children's appreciation/admiration of them, which in turn increased their positive feelings/satisfaction about being the caregiver.

Perceived reputation/standing among their male friends did not mediate positive feelings/satisfaction about being a caregiver neither for high honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .20, $SE$ = .11, $CI$s = [-.003, .43], nor for low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = -.007, $SE$ = -.03, $CI$s = [-.08, .04]. When the mediators were entered separately, however, I did find a mediating effect of perceived reputation/standing among male friends for high honour-endorsing men, $b$ = .25, $SE$ = .12, $CI$s = [.05, .51], but not for low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = -.02, $SE$ = .06, $CI$s = [-.15, .10]. Mediation via perceived appreciation/admiration of the wife and children was still present for low honour-endorsing men, $b$ = -.36, $SE$ = -.11, $CI$s = [-.62, -.19], but not for high honour-endorsing men, $b$ = -.05, $SE$ = .05, $CI$s = [-.17, .04] (the same finding as when the mediators were entered simultaneously).

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admiration of male friends and own prestige among male friends items loading onto another (loadings > .70). Thus, I combined the wife and children items to create an *appreciation/admiration of the wife and children scale* ($\alpha$ = .94), and combined all the male friend items to create *a reputation/standing among male friends scale* ($\alpha$ = .91).

The analyses also showed that perceived reputation/standing among male friends mediated high honour-endorsing men's, *b* = -.25, *SE* = .11, *CI*s = [-.50, -.04] (but not low honour-endorsing men's, *b* = -.003, *SE* = .02, *CI*s = [-.06, .02]) negative feelings about being a caregiver, and perceived appreciation/admiration of the wife and children mediated low honour-endorsing men's negative feelings about being a primary caregiver, *b* = .17, *SE* = .07, *CI*s = [.06, .35] (but not high honour-endorsing men's, *b* = .06, *SE* = .06, *CI*s = [-.04, .20]). This means that for low honour-endorsing men, imagining themselves as the caregiver in their marriage was related to increased perception of their own reputation/standing among their male friends (although the direct relationship was non-significant), which in turn decreased their negative feelings about being a caregiver. On the other hand, for high honour-endorsing men, the relationships were in opposite directions: imagining themselves as the caregiver in their marriage was related to decreased perception of their own reputation/standing among their male friends, which in turn increased their negative feelings about being a caregiver. The same mediation results appeared on negative feelings when the mediators were entered separately.[14]

[14] To examine whether perceived femininity-masculinity of the male targets' tasks mediates high honour-endorsing men's negative feelings about being a caregiver married to a breadwinner, in Study 6, I again conducted a mediation analysis in Study 6, but as it was in Studies 5a and 5b, this mediation effect was not present. Additionally, to examine if the perceived femininity of the task is what leads high honour-endorsing men to be concerned about losing reputation/standing among their male friends if they were a caregiver married to a breadwinner, I conducted a serial mediation analysis with enterring perceived femininity of the task and perceived reputation/standing among their male friends as serial mediators. This seriel mediation model was significant in the expected directions. But here I did not report the test of this sequential mediation because the results already indicate that the task of caregiving is perceived as more feminine than the task of breadwinning in both Studies 5a, 5b and 6.

A. High Honour-Endorsing Men

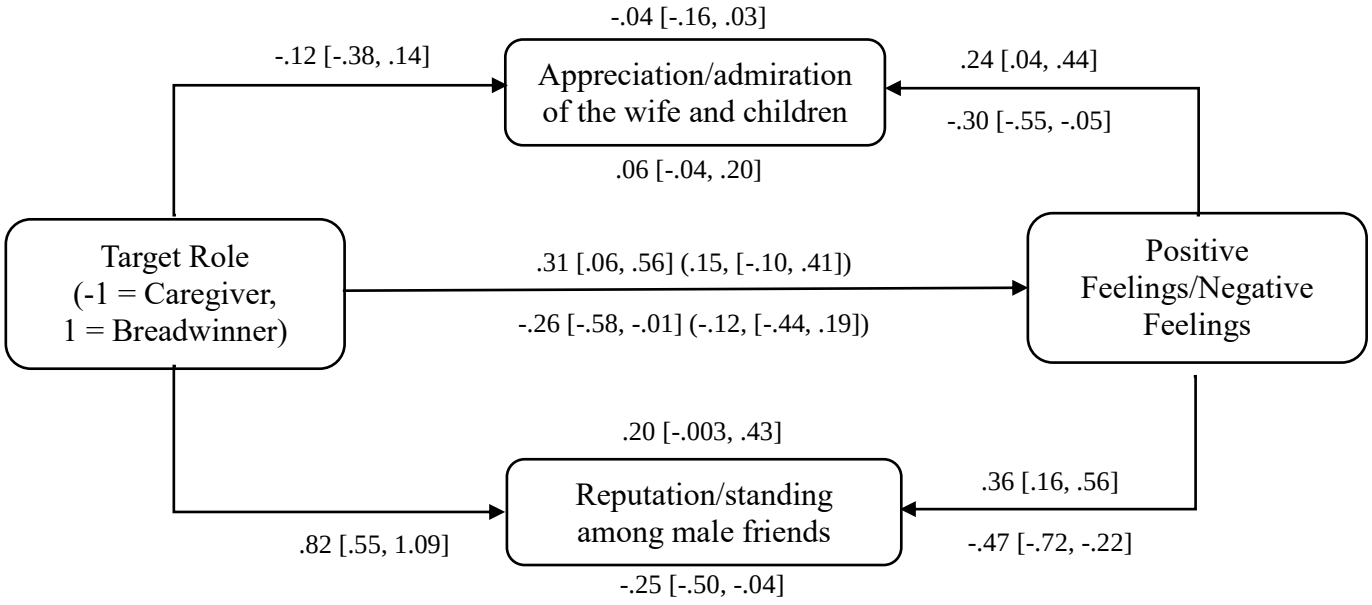


*Figure 4.2.4.* Study 6: The effect of being the caregiver (vs. breadwinner) on positive and negative feelings, via the mediators for high honour-endorsing men. Mediators were tested simultaneously. Path coefficients above the paths are for positive feelings and path coefficients below the paths are for negative feelings. Direct effect of caregiver (vs. breadwinner) on positive and negative feelings when controlling for the mediators is in parenthesis. Values are unstandardized regression coefficients.

B. Low Honour-Endorsing

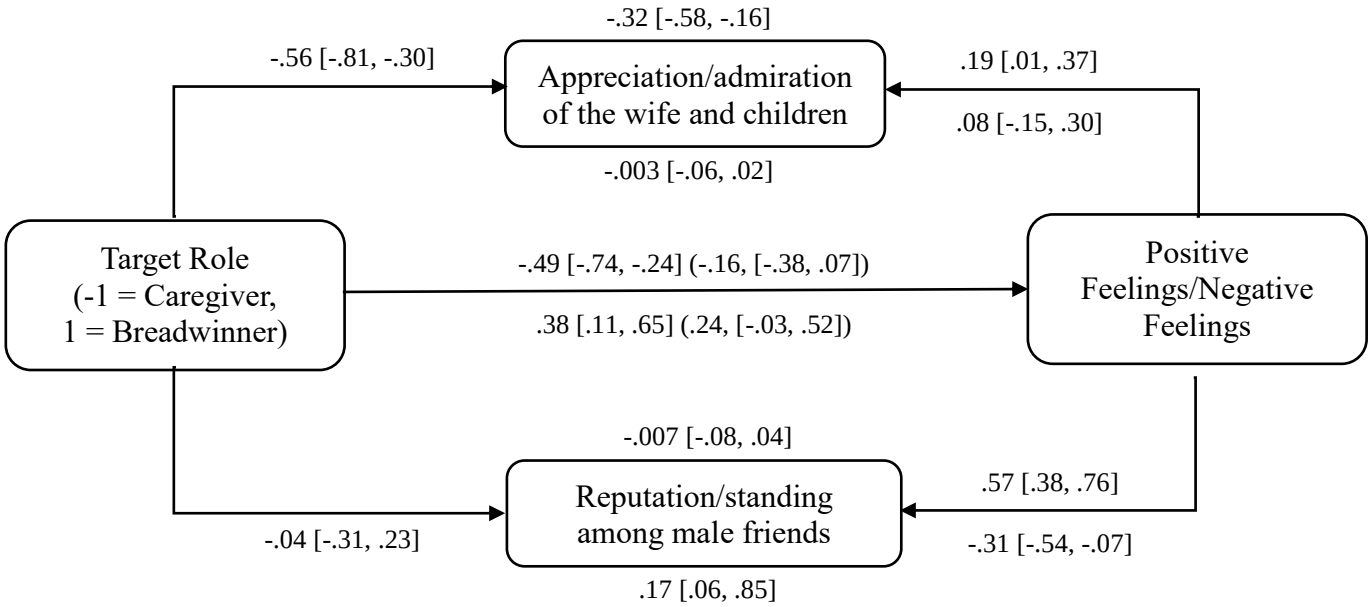


*Figure 4.2.5*. Study 6: The effect of being the caregiver (vs. breadwinner) on positive and negative feelings, via the mediators for low honour-endorsing men. Mediators were tested simultaneously. Path coefficients above the paths are for positive feelings and path coefficients below the paths are for negative feelings. Direct effect of caregiver (vs. breadwinner) on positive and negative feelings when controlling for the mediators is in parenthesis. Values are unstandardized regression coefficients.

**Discussion**

Study 6 replicated the results found with trait judgments and emotions attributed to targets, and showed that both men and women perceived the caregiver man as warmer and more competent, moral, and supportive than the breadwinner man. Study 5a did not find differences in competence ratings, but Study 6 showed that caregiving men were also rated as

more competent than breadwinner men, especially by women. This is not clear why there was this difference between Study 5a and 6 in competence ratings, because the two British samples were demographically very similar to each other.

Results also replicated the moderating effects of honour endorsement, by demonstrating that despite both high and low honour-endorsing men perceiving the caregiver men as more positively in traits, high honour-endorsing men reported that they would feel less positive (satisfaction), but more negative (shame, frustration) if they were the caregiver than if they were the breadwinner, and they reported that they would feel less positive, but more negative if they were the caregiver than did low honour-endorsing men.

Additionally, results were consistent with the ingroup coalitionary reputation concerns idea that men (but especially those who adhere to masculine honour ideals) may perceive that being a full-time caregiver would damage their reputation/standing among their male friends. Indeed, all men thought that their wife and children would appreciate and admire them more, but thought that their male friends would admire them less and that they would lose status/prestige among their male friends if they were the caregiver than if they were the breadwinner. As predicted, only high honour-endorsing men thought that being a caregiver would reduce their male friends' admiration of them and their status/standing among their male friends compared to being a breadwinner. Low honour-endorsing men did not differ think being a caregiver or a breadwinner should matter to their male friends' admiration of them or their own status/standing among their male friends. Conversely, only low honour-endorsing men thought that being a breadwinner would reduce their wife's appreciation of them and their children's admiration of them compared to being a caregiver. But for high honour-endorsing men, being a caregiver or a breadwinner male did not change their perception of their wife's appreciation and their children's admiration of them.

Moreover, mediation results were consistent with the predictions. On one hand, high honour-endorsing men's overall negative feelings about being a caregiver married to a breadwinner was driven by concerns with losing reputation/status among their male friends, but not by losing their wife's and children's appreciation and admiration. On the other hand, low honour-endorsing men's overall positive feelings about being a caregiver married to a breadwinner was driven by their wife's and children's increased appreciation and admiration of them, but not by their increased reputation/standing among their male friends.

### 4.3. Chapter 4 General Discussion

This chapter focused on the question of men's reluctance to taking on domestic roles such as child care, by investigating how endorsing masculine honour ideals – an individual level variable associated with increased concern for masculine reputation – may be related to social judgments of caregiving and breadwinning men. Studies 5a and 5b examined the cultural differences between a low honour and a high honour cultural group (British vs. Saudi Arabian participants, respectively) in social judgments of caregiver vs. breadwinner male and female targets, and the moderating effect of masculine honour endorsement in men's attributions of personality traits and emotions to male targets. Study 6 replicated the findings with British participants and examined the potential mechanisms of high vs. low honour-endorsing men's positive and negative feelings about being a caregiver compared to a breadwinner.

The studies indicate that gender and family roles are changing, and not only in Western cultures, and the traditional assumptions about fathers and mothers may not be congruent with reality. In a patriarchal honour culture society such as Saudi Arabia and in a Western dignity culture society such as the UK, men and women both perceived caregiving men as warmer, more moral and supportive than their breadwinning counterparts. The change in gender relations may be slower in Saudi Arabia, as overall there was more support for

caregiver men in the UK, and Saudi participants attributed more positive feelings such as satisfaction and self-fulfilment to breadwinner men than to caregiver men.

Despite the fact that gender roles are changing, men's share of housework are disproportionately low relative to women's (Deutsch, 2007). The reasons for that can be structural such as men's overall higher contribution to the household income, the lack of financial incentive in domestic tasks (e.g., Izraeli, 1994) or lack of organizational policies that allow for paternity leave or flexible work arrangements for men (e.g., Lewis, 2001) to make a few. Surveys point that 40% of wives in dual-earner households in the US earn as much or more than their husbands (Bond, Thompson, Galinsky, & Protass, 2003). From an economic standpoint, it could make sense for the lower-earning spouse to cover more of the domestic tasks in order to maximize their earning potential. Thus, in dual-earner couples where women earn more, men should be more interested in becoming the primary caregivers of children, since it would be economically costlier for women to stay at home (England, 2010). But research shows that the actual number of men becoming stay-at-home dads and their interests in staying at home do not parallel this economic standpoint (Croft et al., 2015): inequality in the distribution of household tasks persists even when women contribute half of the household income, and the inequality sometimes gets magnified when women earn more than men (Bittman, England, Sayer, Folbre, & Matheson, 2003; Brines, 1994). Research also shows that despite organizations offering increasingly more work flexibility and opportunities to work part-time, these opportunities are underutilized particularly by men (Vandello et al., 2009). Thus, in addition to the structural level explanations, it is important to elaborate on the psychological explanations for why men are not making use of these opportunities.

**Contributions to the Literature**

The "why" answer given by social psychologists to the question of men's disinterest in communal roles such as childcare has mainly suggested proximal reasons by showing that

men's reluctance in giving up their provider roles to spend more time in child care is due to the perceptions that caregiving men are poor workers or are not perceived masculine enough (Rudman & Mescher, 2013; Vandello et al., 2009). In this research, I was interested in testing a different level of explanation, which is not competitive but complementary to previous ones, and to show that men's reluctance to taking on domestic roles such as child care can be explained by men's reputation maintenance concerns, which is shown to vary across individual men. This perspective allowed me to test a more nuanced explanation and offer answers to questions such as why exactly and for whom being perceived as lacking masculinity should matter, since fear of being stigmatized as less masculine is often offset by economic gains. Specifically, I have shown that high honour-focused and low honour-focused men have different feelings about being a primary caregiver dad, and whereas high honour-focused men feel negatively about being a caregiver due to concerns that their reputation would be damaged among their male friends, low honour-focused men feel positively about being a caregiver man as explained by the appreciation they would get from their wife and children if they were to be a primary caregiver. In sum, these studies demonstrated that reputation concerns among their male friends work as the primary barrier to men's reluctance in taking on child care tasks, and importantly show that this mechanism holds for men who care about masculine reputations, not for all men.

# 5. GENERAL DISCUSSION

Across 10 studies and with replications using different cultural samples (UK, Turkey, Saudi Arabia), the research conducted in this dissertation demonstrated that adhering to masculine honour values leads to men's reputational concerns for gender conformity as indicated by a desire to present oneself as masculine, reluctance to taking on a feminized task such as child care and associating with a feminine man as friends. These findings indicate that a culture of masculine honour is not completely outdated in the Western world, and as long as the societies will afford coalitions and social contexts that require and benefit from traits and skills related to traditional and honourable manhood, there will be men who are socialized with masculine honour standards. In addition, these studies show that men's concern for maintaining a prestigious and masculine reputation is not limited to aggressive emotions and behaviours, but it can be implicated in subtle, non-violent and withdrawal-type of responses as well.

Chapter 2 demonstrated that high honour-endorsing men are more likely to present themselves using more masculine personality traits than low honour-endorsing men, and this was the case for both a low honour and a high honour culture sample (British and Turkish men, respectively) (Studies 1a & 1b). This finding shows that men who endorse masculine honour ideals presumably care more about having masculine reputations which manifest as presenting themselves using more masculine traits. Additionally, Chapter 2 demonstrated that high honour-endorsing men made more negative character judgments of a man who was seen as feminine, by perceiving him as less competent, and again this was the case for both a low honour and a high honour culture sample (British and Turkish men, respectively) (Studies 2a & 2b). However, studies in Chapter 2 did not test directly whether this perception of high honour-endorsing men may be due to their reputation concerns.

Chapter 3 addressed this limitation and focused on examining the association between masculine honour ideals and a voluntary decision/intention to associate with as effeminate man – intention to be friends with them – which made reputational issues more salient. Studies 3a and 3b demonstrated that men who endorse higher levels of masculine honour ideals report more reluctance to being friends with an effeminate man, and this was the case for men living in a low honour and a high honour culture society (British and Turkish men, respectively). Study 4 conducted only with British men further provided support for the reputation by association account of the association found in Studies 3a and 3b, by showing that high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to befriending effeminate men is explained by concerns that such as association with a man who is perceived as lacking coalitional value (i.e., formidability) would damage their own prestigious reputation among their male friends.

Chapter 5 focused on men's reluctance to taking on communal roles such as staying at home to be primary caregivers to their children. Studies 5a and 5b demonstrated that both high and low honour-endorsing men perceived a caregiver man who is married to a breadwinner as more competent, warm, moral and supportive than a breadwinner man who is married to a caregiver. However, despite judging the caregiver man more positively, there was a tendency for high honour-endorsing men to attribute more negative emotions (shame, humiliation, resentment) to him based on the role division in his marriage. These findings held for high honour-endorsing men living in a low honour and a high honour culture society (British and Saudi men, respectively). Study 6 conducted only with British men again showed that high honour-endorsing men felt negative about being a caregiver, and furthermore revealed that their negative feelings were due to their concerns of losing prestige/status among their male friends, not among their wife or children.

Previous chapters discussed study-specific contributions, limitations, and links to existing literature. In this general discussion, I will discuss contributions of the present

research to existing theory and research, and broader implications relating to the culture of honour theory, anti-gay bias and men's changing gender roles. In addition, I will provide suggestions for future research.

### 5.1. Contributions to Existing Research in Social Psychology

The current research is informed by evidence originating from anthropology, sociology and psychology, and contributes to literatures in psychology of gender and cultural psychology of honour. The empirical chapters together highlight that men who are socialized with masculine honour ideals tend to be more gender conforming as indicated by their self-presentations using more masculine traits (e.g., assertive, dominant, athletic, forceful, willing to take risks) and reluctance to being friends with effeminate men and engaging in a feminine task such as caregiving. Importantly, these chapters (Chapters 3 & 4) highlight the importance of reputational concerns in one's conformity to gender norms and draw attention to the individual differences in men. The chapters are linked in that they both explain phenomena in terms of the fundamentally important social goal of maintaining reputation. The function of reputation is to secure benefits of cooperation (Barclay & Willer, 2007) and to avoid the costs of social exclusion (Kurzban & Leary, 2001), so it should not be surprising that men's reluctance to being closely associated with feminine men and doing feminine tasks are shaped by reputation maintenance concerns.

The current research broadly contributes to the social psychology literature on anti-effeminacy bias and the maintenance of gender stereotypes. There are numerous studies showing prejudice against men when they behave in gender nonconforming ways. For instance, a man who was depicted as self-disclosing his problems to a stranger is judged to be less psychologically adjusted and more feminine than when a man did not disclose his personal problems (Derlega & Chaiken, 1976). Passive-dependent men are judged to be less popular and less psychologically adjusted (Costrich, Feinstein, Kidder, Marecek, & Pascale,

1975). Male nursing students are perceived to be at risk for future victimization (Cherry & Deaux, 1978). Gender egalitarian men are seen as more feminine, less masculine, weaker and more likely to be gay (Rudman, Mescher, & Moss-Racusin, 2013). Modest men are liked less as managerial job applicants (Moss-Racusin et al., 2010), and men who demand flexible work hours to stay at home to take care of their children are perceived as less competent at their jobs and less masculine (Berdahl & Moon, 2013; Brescoll et al., 2012; Vandello et al., 2013). And men who have atypical gender expressions are judged more negatively than women and more likely to be perceived as homosexual (Cahill & Adams, 1997; Feinman, 1981; Hort, Fagot, & Leinbach, 1990; Martin, 1990; McCreary, 1994; Schope & Eliason, 2004; Sandnabba & Ahlberg, 1999).

These are all different pieces of evidence indicating that, everything else equal, men who are gender nonconforming or act in such a way are at a higher risk of prejudice and discrimination compared to gender conforming men. Social psychologists' attempts to understand the reasons for prejudice against men behaving in gender nonconforming ways have referred to the proximal 'explanations' of 'backlash effects' or 'gender identity threat effects'. Researchers argued that men avoid behaving in gender nonconforming ways because they risk backlash (i.e., social and economic penalties) for stereotype violation (Moss-Racusin et al., 2010; Rudman et al., 2013; Rudman & Phelan, 2008), 'identity misclassification' (e.g., heterosexual men's fear that one is going to be classified as belonging to the group of homosexuals) (Bosson et al., 2005, 2006; Prewitt-Freilino & Bosson, 2008), or they fear losing a masculine identity (Bosson & Michinievicz, 2013; Vandello et al, 2008; Glick et al., 2003). When the question is why people behave in biased ways against gender nonconforming men, researchers suggested similar proximal explanations: that there are rewards to being biased such as increased self-esteem or self-image (Fein & Spencer, 1997; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004), having a distinct and positive social identity (Branscombe,

Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1999; Falomir-Pichastor & Mugny, 2009; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Talley & Bettencort, 2008), or maintaining a masculine social identity (Bosson et al., 2012; Bosson & Michinievicz, 2013; Glick et al., 2003; Hunt et al., 2016).

It is indeed possible that men may want to behave in gender conforming ways or act prejudiced against a gender nonconforming man, because such behaviours may make them feel good, masculine or feel an enhanced self-esteem. These are all possible proximal explanations of the same phenomena. But what is less investigated are the *functional* reasons for why men may want to be gender conforming. In the current research, I proposed that a fundamentally important social goal of maintaining reputation is a potential functional explanation of men's desire to act in gender conforming ways, which may manifest in negative behaviours such as bias against effeminate men in the form of reluctance to being friends with them and possible in other types of anti-effeminacy bias (e.g., aggression against effeminate men) which have not been covered in this dissertation.

In fact, there is extensive literature on organizational and cooperate reputations which demonstrate that people do not want to share the company of individuals with stigma, in part because of reputational concerns (e.g., Cowen, 2011; Devine & Halpern, 2001; Kulik, Bainbridge, & Cregan, 2008; Rhee & Valdez, 200; Riordan, Gatewood, & Bill, 1997; Tracey & Phillips, 2016). Yet when it comes to explaining responses to stigmatized individuals in the context of interpersonal relationships (e.g., excluding one from the group, not choosing one as a friend or a sexual partner), the literature is full of references to constructs such as "protecting self-esteem", "protecting masculinity", "threats to social identity", but do not include the important social motive of maintaining a good reputation. This is a distinct level of explanation than the self-esteem or social identity explanations in the sense that 'maintaining self-esteem or a distinctive and positive social identity' are not considered to be psychological mechanisms that are evolved as solutions to adaptive problems which are

linked to survival or reproduction. There is extensive scientific evidence showing how a reputation maintenance mechanism has evolved as a psychological adaptation to solve a crucial problem that historically contributed to survival and reproduction, that is the problem of group living and cooperation (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2004; Feinberg, Willer, Stellar, & Keltner, 2012; Gurven & Winking, 2008; Hill & Hurtado, 2009; Milinski, Semmann & Krambeck, 2002; Nowak & Sigmund, 2005). Although proximal level explanations of men's anti effeminacy-bias are helpful in understanding such behaviour, there are additional benefits to science, policy and social activism in tying social phenomenon to functional, ultimate-level explanations. Because only then researchers can produce effective and honest solutions for tackling and reducing prejudice and inequality, much like the effective treatment of cancer is only possible if doctors understand the exact causes of it (see Buss, 1995, 2001, 2015; Buss & Schmitt, 2011; Pinker, 2005). Having said that, there is not only one functional explanation of a given social phenomenon by default. Just like proximal level of explanations, functional explanations must be subjected to empirical tests (Buss, 2001; Sng, Neuberg, Varnum & Kenrick, 2018). There can be competing functional level explanations of anti-effeminacy bias (another one, pathogen avoidance mechanism is discussed in section 5.3). In this research, I have not tested other potential functional explanations suggested in the literature on anti-gay/anti-effeminacy bias, to examine which explanation is supported better by data. This should be the goal of future research.

### 5.2. Implications for Culture of Honour Theory and Future Research Directions

The manifest behavioural indicators of a culture of masculine honour studied in this dissertation (distancing or dissociating oneself from whatever that can damage one's reputation as making him inferred as someone unmanly and weak) add to the list of other commonly studied manifest indicators of a culture of masculine honour (angry reactions, aggressive responses to insults or offenses), which are believed to be the outputs of an

evolved reputation maintenance mechanism (Shackelford, 2005). Here it has been demonstrated that reluctance to being friends with effeminate men and being a caregiver to one's own children instead of working have been underpinned by reputation concerns of high honour-endorsing men. Research to date which has established relationships between endorsing a culture of masculine honour and aggressive responding (and other outcomes) have not directly tested whether these relationships are due to a reputation concerns, but it was assumed to be highly likely as Shackelford (2005) speculates.

The research conducted for this dissertation has implications for the definition of honour and understanding what distinguishes regions called 'cultures of honour' from 'cultures of dignity' or 'cultures of face' (Leung & Cohen, 2011) in terms of what dimensions of reputation are valued, how much they are valued, and why. There are many similarities in the way researchers describe and treat the construct of 'honour' and the construct of 'reputation' – a multifaceted construct which has a social-image side and is easy to lose but difficult to gain. Reputation is a universal feature of group living, and an evolutionary perspective to understanding what honour is in terms of reputation concerns would contribute to the culture of honour literature by describing the individual-level psychologies of people living in honour culture regions (not only the outcomes of abiding to culture of honour standards) as well as explaining why different societies around the world are characterized as primarily face, dignity and honour culture societies. For instance, do different facets of honour reflect different aspects of reputation? What ecological factors and life histories of the individuals living in honour, dignity and face culture societies lead to variations and differences in concerns for reputations?

Participating in a cooperative society is crucial for survival and reproduction among humans. Who gets to participate as social partners in a cooperative society depends on individuals' reputations and bad reputation may block such participation (Vonasch et al.,

2017). Anderson and Shirako (2008) define reputation as "the set of beliefs, perceptions, and evaluations a community forms about one of its members" (p. 320). The authors emphasize that perceptions of one's behaviour are the foundation of that person's reputation in the eyes of others, but a person's reputation is not only assessed by the history of their behaviours (Anderson & Shirako, 2008). People also have to pay attention to the information they get from third parties in the form of 'reported reputation' or 'gossip', because every individual in a community cannot witness all behaviours engaged in by everyone else (Anderson & Shirako, 2008; Dunbar, 2004; Feinberg, 2012). Therefore, one's reputation is a combination of what an individual does and the information others spread about that individual, whether they are grounded in truth or not (Feinberg, 2012). People can strategically pass along negative gossip about others in order to damage other people's reputations (especially their invisible traits such as sexual reputations) as a way of reputational competition (Reynolds, 2016; Winegard et al., 2014). Therefore, individuals attend and feel concerned of maintaining and defending their reputations from getting tarnished to be able to participate in the cooperative society. In fact, it is believed that the selective pressures created by conditioning partner choice on reputation and attending to reputations have led to the evolution of psychological mechanisms for managing reputation (Sperber & Baumard, 2012; Haley & Fessler, 2005; Trivers, 1971).

People choose social partners who possess particularly good reputations (Sylwester & Roberts, 2010), but they are even more vigilant in avoiding and punishing partners with bad reputations (Rand & Nowak, 2013). Consider for instance, the Danish film, *the Hunt*, which depicts how false accusations of a child molestation ruins a man's life. Even after the charges against him are dropped, the local grocery storekeeper will not allow him to shop in his store, and the storekeeper and other locals nearby physically attack him to prevent buying groceries. Or take for example, the British crime drama, *Broadchurch,* which portrays a child being

murdered in a small community and the banishment of the killer by the local community. Once the killer is identified, but the jury is unable to find him guilty, the locals decide to punish the killer by demanding him to leave and never turn back to the town. His wife even threatens to kill him if he turns back. Because cooperation is humanity's survival strategy, and because bad reputation can severely damage one's prospects for cooperating with others, people strive to avoid bad reputation and being associated with people with bad reputations (Stiff & Van Vugt, 2008; Vonasch et al., 2017).

The definition and functions of reputation therefore make it clear that 'honour' is structurally and even functionally similar to 'reputation': a) both have a social image aspect to it, b) both are easy to lose but difficult to gain, c) both can be damaged by gossip and false accusations, d) people strive to defend and maintain their honour/reputation from getting tarnished, e) the consequences of losing honour/reputation are social exclusion and punishment, and f) having honour/reputation facilitates cooperation and trust in economic and exchange relationships. If honour is structurally and functionally similar to reputation, then the differences between cultures of honour, dignity and face can be understood by cross-cultural differences in concerns for reputations.

Similar to the different facets of honour (morality-based honour, family honour, masculine and feminine honour), reputation also has multiple dimensions, and the degree to which people are concerned of their reputation is contingent upon what the situational and cultural contexts afford (Anderson & Shireko, 2008; Cavazzo, Pagliaro, & Guidetti, 2014; Cotrell, Neuberg, & Li, 2007; McFarlan & Lyle, 2015; Pagliaro, Ellemers, Barreto, & Di Cesare, 2016; Reynolds, 2016; Rucas et al., 2006; Stiff & Van Vugt, 2008; Vonasch et al., 2017; Winegard et al., 2014; Ybarra, Park, Stanik, & Lee, 2012). Culture of honour researchers have found that people value a morality-based/integrity honour to a greater extent than other facets of honour across many cultures (Guerra et al., 2013). This is consistent with

research on moral reputation, demonstrating that maintaining a 'moral reputation' is one of people's most important values (Vonasch et al., 2017). People make substantial sacrifices to protect their moral reputations, as demonstrated in one study, people reported preferring jail time, amputation of limbs and even death to becoming known as a criminal, Nazi or a child molester (Vonasch et al., 2017). Other researchers have also shown how morality is crucial to impression formation, even more than competence or sociability (Brambilla & Leach, 2014; Goodwin, Piazza, & Rozin, 2014; Pagliaro, Ellemers, Barreto, & Di Cesare, 2016; Wojciszke, 2005). Apparently, people worry about being known as dishonest, untrustworthy, insincere, more than being known as incompetent, unintelligent, unskilled (Pagliaro et al., 2016). Moral character information appears more frequently in obituaries than warmth of character, and moral character information is used as a primary predictor of the impressions people form of the individuals described in those obituaries (Goodwin et al., 2014)

This of course does not mean that a moral reputation is the only aspect that people care about. Cotrell, Neuberg and Li (2007) showed how different reputations become more important in different contexts. For instance, a reputation for competence and intelligence was desired more than a reputation for trustworthiness when people were asked to choose a partner for a study group. There are other kinds of reputation, including cooperative or prosocial reputation (Griskevicius, Tybur, Van den Berg, 2010), reputation for aggressive formidability (Winegard et al., 2014), and sexual reputation (Reynolds, 2016).

Throughout the evolutionary history, men have competed more intensively than women for important resources including mates. This intense intrasexual competition of men led to the development of dominance-based hierarchies in which rank is determined by size, strength, age and health (Winegard et al., 2014). Despite this intense competition, male interactions are not constantly violent. Men often assess each other's strength and fighting ability, forgoing costly physical confrontations that would risk energy, injury or even death

for both parties (Winegard et al., 2014). One way to dissuade other men from fighting is to cultivate a reputation as someone who cannot be easily exploited and convince others to believe that one is strong, tough and willing to defend resources and mates (Brown & Osterman, 2012; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Daly & Wilson, 1988; Shackelford, 2005). A reputation for aggressive formidability is paramount in cultures characterized by economic precariousness and a lack of law enforcement (e.g., police, government) for protection from threats and settling disputes as in cultures of honour (Brown & Osterman, 2012; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Shackelford, 2005). In the absence of a state that is capable of enforcing law and maintaining social order by punishing wrongdoers, individuals may be compelled to take the law into their own hands – in these conditions, developing an aggressive and vindictive reputation might be the only way a man can protect himself (Brown & Osterman, 2012). But even in industrialized societies with centralized government and police force such as in dignity cultures, dominance-related social disputes still occur (e.g., conflicts between rival football fans), even though they are often seen as immature and punished by law. Masculine honour is therefore structurally and functionally similar to a reputation for aggressive formidability which should be more important in contexts where there is high rates of male-on-male competition, violence and theft of reproductively viable females, as such a reputation would function as a deterrent to violence and theft of resources and mates (see Nordin, 2013; Shackelford, 2005).

Feminine honour is a concern for women to display their purity, modesty, chastity and loyalty to men. Research demonstrates that in honour culture societies, men are more concerned of their women's honour than women themselves are, and men imposes female honour norms on their women expecting them to follow the feminine honour codes. Overall, reputation for sexual purity is valued more for women than for men worldwide, albeit to different degrees, especially when the woman is evaluated as a mate (Buss, 1989). For

instance, a large cross-cultural study on mate preferences found that chastity in a woman is greatly desired in Iran, Palestinian, India, Indonesia, China and Taiwan, but it was judged as relatively unimportant in Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Finland (Buss et al., 1990). According to Winegard et al. (2014), whereas masculinity is precarious for men, sexuality is precarious for women, because women's reputation for sexual purity is not immediately observable and vulnerable to gossip and women often use it to besmirch the reputation of their sexual rivals. Men also attempt to control women's sexuality because of the high costs of getting cuckolded and ending up raising and investing on other men's offspring instead of their own (Winegard et al., 2014). This paternity uncertainty may have created selective pressures on men to have a high concern for their partners to refrain from sex with other men. Therefore, one speculation is that to the extent that rates of mate poaching or wifely infidelity are high in a given culture, the more concerned men and women residing in that culture should be of women's sexual reputations. It would be interesting to explore if culture of honour is more salient in places characterised by high rates of mate poaching (men stealing mates; one indicator could be rates of rape and sexual coercion) and wifely infidelity.

Family honour is the reputation of the family as a collective. It is the concept that one's reputation reflects on the reputation of the other members of the family. If the family gets a bad name, all individuals belonging to the family will also have a bad name. Concerns for maintaining a family honour is related to behaviours and motivations such as having a desire to protect the family's name, not letting others insult one's family, and refraining from behaviours that may damage the family's reputation. The structure of family honour is on a higher level than other honour concerns: if a female behaves in a way that damages her feminine honour (e.g., by having a sexual relationships before marriage), if a male behaves in a way that damages his masculine honour (e.g., by acting sissy and not defending himself

when insulted), of if they behave in a way that damages one's honour for integrity (e.g., being caught as lying), the damaged honour of the individual can reflect on the honour of the whole family, casting a slur upon them.

In that sense, family honour works similar to the phenomenon of stigma or reputation by association. Ample research documents how one's reputation can be damaged by the company one keeps, and this effect has been demonstrated to occur for many different types of stigma (e.g., Blascovich, et al., 2001; Fishman, 1988; Goldstein & Johnson, 1997; Kulik, Bainbridge, & Cregan, 2008; Neuberg et al., 1994; Pryor et al., 2012; Swim, Ferguson, & Hyers, 1999; Werner & Hienik, 2008). The reputation by association effects are expected to be stronger in closer relationships. This is because in a close relationship, there is more overlap between the self and the other, and one acts as if some or all aspects of the other are partially one's own (Aron & Aron, 1986). Therefore, closeness represents a vicarious sharing of the other's traits, characteristics and abilities (Aron & Aron, 1986; Aron, Aron, Tudor, & Nelson, 1991). Consistent with this idea, research demonstrated that willingness to engage in relationships with a stigmatized person (a gay/lesbian) decreased as intimacy of the relationship increased (King & Black, 1999). Similarly, honour is generally valued and emphasized in collectivist cultures (e.g., Brazil, Turkey, Jordan) (Guerra et al., 2013; Rodriguez Mosquera, Fischer, & Manstead, 2004; Uskul et al., 2012). Collectivistic cultures place a greater emphasis on a psychological sense of collectivism, interdependence and interpersonal closeness between the family and other ingroup members (Hynie, Lalonde, & Lee, 2006; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 2001). Thus, it is not surprising that reputation concerns by association to one's family members is more salient in some cultures than in others, and it is especially salient and explicit in some tribal societies in the Mediterranean and Middle East, which practice honour killings in order to save a family's honour.

Additionally, the categorizations of different regions in the world as ‘cultures of honour’ vs. ‘cultures of dignity’ (Leung & Cohen, 2011) immediately brings to mind the question of whether individuals in non-honour/dignity cultures do not have honour or are not concerned of their social-image/reputation and other’s evaluations. As what would be expected from a species whose psychology has evolved to manage its reputation as a desirable co-operator, cultural psychologists do not agree with this statement. Instead they argue that people in non-honour cultures (e.g., Dutch, Swedes, northern Americans) also have an understanding of honour, but in such cultures, honour is related to more individualistic values such as morality, achievement and autonomy, and not an interdependent construct shared with others (e.g., Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a, 2002b; Uskul et al., 2014). Not being chaste/sexually pure, lacking masculine prowess, and not acting with the codes of academic honour/integrity can all be extremely damaging to a person’s reputation, albeit in different levels in different cultures.

As Shackelford (2005) argues if the manifest indicators of a culture of honour (i.e., vigilant responses to insults) is an outcome of an evolved reputation maintenance mechanism (Shackelford, 2005), one would expect that the cultural differences observed in the manifest indicators of a culture of honour should be related to the cultural differences in what particular aspects of reputation is more valued. If honour is associated with different aspects of reputation in different cultures, the next question would be *why* those certain aspects of reputation are more important in honour culture societies (whereas why those other aspects of reputation are more important in dignity culture societies)? Finding about which reputation concerns are more salient in different societies, does not tell us what specific adaptive problems those particular reputation concerns have been selected to solve. For instance, a man’s concern for his wife’s reputation for sexual purity would be high (or concern for feminine honour) if there are high levels of male competition for mates, and there are high

chances for the women to be poached by other men (see Nordin, 2013). Future research can examine these questions using large scale cross-cultural data from regions classified as operating with logics of honour, dignity, face, and other 'unclassified regions' to bring clarity to the nature of psychological mechanisms underlying cultures of honour, as well as the selection pressures (e.g., ecologies, life histories) that leads to the activation of these psychological mechanism. Such efforts would be in line with what Daly and Wilson (1988) suggested: "The concept of natural selection explains behaviour at a distinct level complementary to the explanations afforded by motivational theories. A psychologist might be satisfied to explain the behaviour of two men fighting a duel in terms of self-esteem or status or face. An evolutionary psychologist will also want to clarify why the human psyche should be such as to value intangible social resources enough to risk death over them" (p. 7).

### 5.3. Implications for Anti-Gay Bias and Future Research Directions

If it is true, as shown here, that the function of certain behavioural indicators of anti-effeminacy bias such as reluctance to being friends with effeminate men is *reputation maintenance*, homophobic attitudes and expressions may not be strategic attempts to prevent contamination risk, but to prevent reputation risk (cf. Flip-Crawford & Neuberg, 2016), at least to the extent that the homosexual targets also have cues of effeminacy.

In humans, disgust and contamination are activated with pathogen and disease cues and related contamination or contagion (Curtis, 2007; Tybur, Lieberman, Kurzban, & Descioli, 2013). Flip-Crawford and Neuberg (2016) acknowledges that anti-gay attitudes can be characterised by negative feelings such as anger or fear, but they argue that disgust is a key component of majority of anti-gay attitudes. Inspired by people talking about homosexuality in disgust terms ("gays are disgusting", "gays are tainted") and reports of *disgust* towards gays being stronger than other negative emotions (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005), the authors proposed that the anti-gay behaviours may be related to a desire to prevent, contain, or

eradicate the perceived 'pathogens' of homosexuality. According to the authors, the pathogen avoidance explanation accounts for the findings of previous research showing relationships between prejudice against gay men and concern for pathogens. For instance, Inbar, Pizzaro, Knobe and Blum (2009) found that people who have high levels of disgust sensitivity (an individual difference variable about concern about pathogens) had less favourable implicit evaluations of gay people. Although it is possible that people who are more sensitive to cues of disgust may demonstrate negativity towards gay men and gay rights, the evidence for this relationship to imply contamination threat is weak, especially since half of the items in the disgust scale used in Inbar et al.'s (2009) study (Disgust Sensitivity scale by Haidt, McCauley, & Rozin, 1994) includes items not directly related to disgust or pathogen avoidance (e.g., "I would go out of my way to avoid walking through a graveyard", "if you see someone put ketchup on vanilla ice cream and eat it"). This same disgust sensitivity measure has been found to correlate with politically conservative attitudes on a range of political issues, especially strongly for abortion and gay marriage (Inbar, Pizarro, & Bloom, 2009; Terrizi, Shook & Ventis, 2010). Using the same disgust scale, Terrizi et al. (2010) also found that induced disgust led to increased prejudiced attitudes toward contact with homosexuals for conservative individuals but led to reduced prejudiced attitudes for liberals. These relationships with disgust sensitivity and politically conservative and traditional attitudes may as well be explained by a third variable (e.g., concern for reputation) other than pathogen avoidance concerns. Especially given that walking through a graveyard or putting ketchup on one's ice-cream may be conceptualized as openness to experience, what these findings may be telling us is a low openness to experience personality predicts more disfavourable attitudes towards homosexuals. In fact, a negative relationship between the two was demonstrated by Shackelford and Besser (2007).

According to Flip-Crawford and Neuberg (2016), the stigma/reputation by association effects observed in Neuberg et al.'s study (1994) in which a straight man was evaluated negatively when he was viewed having a conversation with a gay male friend were taken to indicate that the gay man has contaminated the perceptions of the straight man, even though there was no contact between the straight man and his gay male friend. An alternative explanation is that men are prejudiced against gay men because they are concerned of reputation harm by association to gay men, which is expected to motivate social exclusion or avoidance just like pathogen avoidance mechanism would (Kupfer & Giner-Sorolla, 2017).

Kurzban and Leary (2001) suggested that people socially exclude stigmatized individuals and the reason for this can be either the stigmatized individual is a poor/useless social exchange partner or they contain parasites/pathogens – referred to as social exchange stigma and parasite stigma, respectively. Unlike individuals with a parasite stigma who are socially excluded because of contamination risk (e.g., people with AIDS or disability), individuals with a social exchange stigma are stigmatized because they are not willing to reciprocate a favour (cheaters, freerides) or when they have little to offer in terms of social gain. Individuals get excluded or even punished, when they possess a trait or characteristic viewed by the community as constituting a basis for avoiding or excluding other people (e.g., dishonest, untrustworthiness). In a community which values men's physical prowess, fighting ability, courage, toughness and formidability, because these traits and skills are required to achieve the group's collective goal (e.g., a military unit), it is likely for this community to exclude an effeminate man (a visible stigma) who may not be in a position to offer benefits, either due to his incapacity or unwillingness (e.g., gay men and women are not allowed to join the army in most countries). In this obvious example, the exclusion of effeminate men from the community is unlikely to be due to a contamination threat, but more likely to be

explained by a reputation threat or social devaluation threat (individual members' concern with having a low social value individual in their group).

Future research would benefit from studying social distancing or avoidance behaviour towards a target by manipulating both the homosexual activity (gay vs. straight sex, which includes contact, therefore chance of bodily contamination) and gender conformity (masculine vs. feminine appearance, which does not involve contact) of the target in order to understand whether the function of avoidance behaviour is reputation maintenance mechanism or pathogen avoidance mechanisms. In addition, the moderating effects of masculine honour ideology (the extent to which people value masculine reputations) and pathogen disgust sensitivity (the extent to which people are concerned about pathogens) can be examined in such a study, since these two individual difference variables can help identify individuals who are more likely to be concerned about masculine reputations or who are more likely to be concerned of pathogens, respectively.

### 5.4. Implications for the Changing Gender Roles

The findings of the current research can be contextualized in the broader milieu of changing gender roles in the Western world. As implied in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, and demonstrated by Saucier and McManus (2014), high honour-endorsing men are likely to be found in more masculine domains and traditionally masculine cultures (e.g., military, individuals and contact sports, and athletic teams), whereas low honour-endorsing men are likely to dominate the less traditionally masculine subcultures that value traits such as creativity, empathy, openness to experience and intelligence such as arts classes, chess clubs, music groups (see also Winegard et al., 2014, 2016). Furthermore, in Chapters 3 and 4, reputation concerns only predicted high honour-endorsing men's, but not *low honour-endorsing men's* reluctance to becoming friends with an effeminate man and negative emotions about taking on a feminized task (childcare). These distinct results obtained among

high and low honour-endorsing men suggests paying attention to the individual differences in men (which are partly shaped by their social contexts), and not considering all men as a single social category that is distinct from all women, as social identity researchers often do.

The interesting question is then what may have produced these low honour-endorsing men who do not seem to have reputational concerns about engaging in gender nonconforming tasks?[15] This is best understood by the role of cultural forces, including organized system of rules, norms, and mores of social behaviour, that shape and guide route to prestige and status (Baumeister, 2005; Winegard et al., 2014; Zentner & Mitura, 2012). Since the Middle Ages, the long-term trends in data show that homicides and violent crimes of all kinds have plummeted in the West (Pinker, 2012). The decline of violence along with modernization, development of complex economies, and centralized governments have reduced the emphasis on a culture of honour – the cultural system emphasizing readiness to retaliate and taking the law into one's own hands which inevitably requires traditionally masculine skills such toughness and use of aggression –, and gave way to a culture of dignity – the cultural system which emphasizes the readiness to control one's emotions and anticipated long-term consequences of one's actions (Pinker, 2012). The decline in emphasis in traditional forms of manhood facilitated the opening up of novel opportunities for achieving status and prestige (Winegard et al., 2014). Today, men can achieve status through multiple domains. Different men possess different skills and traits (physical strength, toughness, courage, intellectual and artistic talent, empathy, creativity) which are valued in different contexts (e.g., military, sports team, chess club, poetry club, physics lab, political dispute club), and a highly creative man and a highly physically strong man can both enhance the lives of individuals in their

[15] All individuals – men and women – have reputation concerns. Here, my emphasis is on *maintaining reputations as formidable and masculine individuals*, which does not seem to be salient for low honour-endorsing men and consequently do not manifest in avoidance/reluctance of effeminacy behaviours.

coalitions. As Winegard et al. (2014) puts it “that both meek, unassuming man such as Bill Gates and a large, burly man such as Arnold Schwarzenegger could achieve status in the same society is evidence of this cultural pluralism; concomitantly, it also evidence that dominance (or at least dominance displays as in Schwarzenegger’s films) is not the only way to successfully climb a modern hierarchy” (p. 40).

The diversification of status-achieving routes for men in the modern society also parallels the observations showing that gender roles are becoming increasingly more progressive and liberal, at least in the West. For instance, over the last few decades, men have become more comfortable with endorsing feminine traits such as benevolence, empathy and emotional expression (McQueen, 2017), increased their involvement in housework and childcare (Geist & Cohen, 2011; Hook & Wolfe, 2012; Kan, Sullivan, & Gershuny, 2011), and started to move toward traditionally female careers (teaching, nursing) (Bagilhole & Cross, 2006; Hakim, 2000). Men who do not adhere to traditional forms of masculinity are less likely to be negatively affected and discouraged by the challenges to their masculine reputations and are more likely to take on gender atypical roles and become stay-at-home dads. The widening of diverse routes to prestige and status is likely to produce men who are not honour-focused, and this trend should be encouraged by funding diverse extracurricular activities in school during development for young men which encourage the more creative and productive routes to achieving status in society (Eder & Kinney, 1995; Winegard et al., 2014, 2016).

### 5.5. Conclusion

This dissertation examined how endorsing masculine honour values at the individual level can lead to gender conforming choices and behaviours through increasing men’s reputational concerns. Chapter 2 showed that endorsing higher levels of masculine honour ideals is associated with men’s presentations of themselves using more masculine personality

traits as well as negative social judgments of feminine men. Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrated that endorsing higher levels of masculine honour ideals relates to men's reluctance to being friends with effeminate men and engaging in a feminine task such as child care. Furthermore, in line with the theoretical suggestion that expressions of masculine honour are underpinned by a 'reputation maintenance psychology' (Shackelford, 2005), Chapters 3 and 4 revealed that high honour-endorsing men's reluctance to having effeminate male friends and taking on a typically feminine role of caregiving are underpinned by their concerns with maintaining their prestigious reputations and high status among their male friends. Impotently, these findings held for men from an honour and a dignity culture (Turkey/Saudi Arabia and UK). These chapters together highlight the importance of reputational concerns in one's conformity to gender norms and dissociating oneself from gender nonconforming others, and draw attention to individual differences among men.

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# APPENDIX A

## Pilot tests of the feminine and masculine items used as dependent variables in Studies 1a-b, and as person profile scenarios in Studies 2a-b and 3a-b

The dependent variables (masculine and feminine majors, leisure activities, and sports) used in Studies 1a and 1b, as well as the person profile scenarios used in Studies 2a, 2b, 3a and 3b for the masculine-typed and the feminine-typed targets were created based on the results of a pilot study conducted separately with British participants (recruited from the same university's campus; total $N$ =105; 70 females, 35 males; $M_{age}$ = 19.51, age range: 18 to 51; 60% White-British and 69% of were UK-born), and Turkish participants (recruited from psychology students' facebook; total $N$ = 36; 24 females, 12 males; $M_{age}$ = 23.56, age range: 18 to 46; 87% Turkish and 11% Kurdish, 2% from other ethnicities, all born in Turkey). Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they perceive certain sports (e.g., boxing, ballet, tennis), music genres (e.g., hard rock, pop, jazz) and instruments (e.g., the drums, flute, piano), foods and drinks (e.g., steak, salad, rice), education and professional domains (e.g., engineering, fashion, medicine), and preferences for colours in clothing (e.g., blue, pink, green) to be feminine or masculine on nine-point Likert scales (*1= extremely feminine, 5 = neither feminine nor masculine 9 = extremely masculine*). The list of items tested in this pilot study was compiled from past research and included items based on everyday knowledge which are typically associated to either gender or relatively gender-neutral.

As displayed in Tables S1-S6, results revealed that the most masculine and feminine perceived items were similar in both British and Turkish cultures, except there were differences in the most masculine and feminine perceived food and drink items in the two cultures. In the Turkish culture, rice and grilled meat were the most masculine perceived items, and strawberry and herbal tea were the most feminine perceived items, whereas in the British culture, steak was the most masculine perceived item, and salad and wine were the

most feminine perceived item. The profile describing a masculine-typed male/female targets were created with using the most masculine perceived items, and the profile describing the feminine-type male/female targets were created with using the most feminine perceived items. In the Turkish sample, food and drink items used in the Studies 2a and 3a profiles were changed to make the profiles relevant to the Turkish culture.

Table S1

*Mean ratings of the perceived femininity-masculinity of the study majors items*

| UK sample | | | Turkish sample | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Study majors* | *M* | *SD* | *Study majors* | *M* | *SD* |
| Physics | 6.32 | (1.16) | [Mühendislik] | 6.17 | (1.40) |
| Mathematics | 5.99 | (1.15) | Computer science [Bilgisayar bilimi] | 6.00 | (1.39) |
| Technology | 5.98 | (.93) | Political science [Siyaset bilimi] | 5.81 | (1.41) |
| Political science | 5.60 | (.83) | Technology [Teknoloji] | 5.61 | (1.25) |
| Engineering | 5.60 | (10.37) | Physics [Fizik] | 5.39 | (1.02) |
| Science | 5.59 | (.93) | Mathematics [Matematik] | 5.31 | (1.01) |
| Computer science | 5.46 | (10.35) | Science [Bilim] | 5.19 | (.95) |
| History | 5.25 | (.78) | Medicine [Tıp] | 5.06 | (1.01) |
| Philosophy | 4.93 | (1.00) | History [Tarih] | 5.00 | (1.29) |
| Music | 4.88 | (.84) | Philosophy [Felsefe] | 4.78 | (1.27) |
| Languages | 4.65 | (.88) | Music [Müzik] | 4.61 | (.93) |
| Social sciences | 4.31 | (.89) | Social sciences [Sosyal bilimler] | 4.50 | (1.11) |
| Literature | 4.27 | (.91) | Literature [Edebiyat] | 4.47 | (1.38) |
| Education | 4.25 | (.96) | Arts and Humanities [Beşeri bilimler] | 4.42 | (1.30) |
| Medicine | 4.19 | (10.20) | Linguistics [Dilbilimi] | 4.42 | (1.18) |
| Psychology | 4.15 | (1.05) | Linguistics [Yabancı Diller] | 4.39 | (1.23) |
| Fine arts | 4.12 | (1.08) | Education [Eğitim] | 4.39 | (1.05) |
| Linguistics | 3.69 | (10.15) | Fine arts [Güzel sanatlar] | 4.22 | (1.44) |
| Design | 3.54 | (10.16) | Design [Tasarım] | 4.08 | (1.36) |
| Arts and Humanities | 3.39 | (10.13) | Psychology [Psikoloji] | 4.06 | (1.37) |
| Nursing | 3.39 | (1.05) | Nursing [Hemşirelik] | 3.25 | (1.44) |
| Fashion | 3.24 | (1.25) | Fashion [Moda] | 3.06 | (1.37) |

Note. UK sample size is 105 (70 females) and TR sample size is 36 (24 females). Participants responded to the question "to what extent do you perceive the following study majors to be feminine or masculine?" (1 = extremely feminine, 5 = neither feminine nor masculine, 9 = extremely masculine).

Table S2

*Mean ratings of the perceived femininity-masculinity of the leisure activity items*

| UK sample | | | Turkish sample | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Leisure activities* | *M* | *SD* | *Leisure activities* | *M* | *SD* |
| Hunting | 7.47 | (1.25) | Hunting [Avcılık] | 7.56 | (1.13) |
| Watching porn | 7.13 | (1.22) | Barbequing [Mangal yapmak] | 6.69 | (1.28) |
| Fishing | 6.84 | (1.14) | Working with machines [Makinelerle çalışmak] | 6.42 | (1.18) |
| Using tools | 6.76 | (1.22) | Fishing [Balık tutmak] | 6.39 | (1.29) |
| Coding/Programming | 6.66 | (1.25) | Video games [Bilgisayar oyunları] | 6.19 | (1.01) |
| Playing poker | 6.59 | (1.29) | Playing poker [Poker oynamak] | 6.19 | (1.09) |
| Barbequing | 6.55 | (1.27) | Coding/Programming [Kodlama/Programlama] | 6.06 | (1.09) |
| Video games | 6.49 | (1.15) | Watching porn [Porno izlemek] | 6.06 | (1.22) |
| Dj-ing | 6.30 | (1.10) | Watching action movies [Aksiyon filmleri izlemek] | 5.72 | (.78) |
| Watching action movies | 6.12 | (1.02) | Dj-ing [DJ'lik yapmak] | 5.61 | (.84) |
| Watching science fiction movies | 5.87 | (.99) | Watching science fiction movies [Bilimkurgu filmleri izlemek] | 5.53 | (.77) |
| Playing chess | 5.83 | (.98) | Camping [Kamp yapmak] | 5.50 | (1.08) |
| Camping | 5.74 | (1.00) | Playing chess [Satranç oynamak] | 5.19 | (.89) |
| Working with machines | 5.70 | (10.38) | Singing [Şarkı söylemek] | 4.78 | (.64) |
| Learning languages | 4.82 | (.46) | Learning languages [Dil öğrenmek] | 4.78 | (.83) |
| Painting | 4.76 | (.73) | Reading [Kitap okumak] | 4.75 | (.81) |
| Volunteering | 4.70 | (.57) | Painting [Resim yapmak] | 4.69 | (1.01) |
| Reading | 4.68 | (.66) | Volunteering [Gönüllü olarak çalışmak] | 4.61 | (.96) |
| Singing | 4.60 | (.74) | Going to the opera [Operaya gitmek] | 4.42 | (1.18) |
| Cooking | 4.34 | (.98) | Cooking [Yemek yapmak] | 4.33 | (.99) |
| Going to the opera | 4.25 | (1.08) | Dancing [Dans etmek] | 4.28 | (1.16) |
| Watching drama movies | 4.06 | (1.05) | Watching drama movies [Drama filmleri izlemek] | 4.25 | (.91) |
| Dancing | 4.00 | (1.26) | Watching romantic comedy movies [Romantik-komedi filmleri izlemek] | 3.89 | (1.28) |
| Baking | 3.55 | (1.07) | Baby-sitting [Çocuk bakmak] | 3.72 | (1.19) |
| Soap operas | 3.55 | (1.10) | Baking [Kek yapmak] | 3.58 | (1.08) |
| Baby-sitting | 3.27 | (1.18) | Knitting [Örgü örmek] | 1.83 | (1.00) |
| Watching romantic comedy movies | 3.10 | (1.16) | | | |
| Cheerleading | 2.30 | (1.13) | | | |
| Knitting | 1.60 | (9.98) | | | |

*Note.* UK sample size is 105 (70 females) and Turkish sample size is 36 (24 females). Participants responded to the question "to what extent do you perceive the following activities/hobbies to be feminine or masculine?" (1 = extremely feminine, 5 = neither feminine nor masculine, 9 = extremely masculine).

Table S3

*Mean ratings of the perceived femininity-masculinity of the sports items*

| UK sample | | | Turkish sample | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Sports* | *M* | *SD* | *Sports* | *M* | *SD* |
| Wrestling | 7.35 | (1.23) | Wrestling [Güreş] | 7.75 | (1.25) |
| Rugby | 7.28 | (1.39) | Weight lifting [Halter] | 7.39 | (1.32) |
| Weight lifting | 7.21 | (1.21) | Boxing [Boks] | 7.25 | (1.27) |
| Boxing | 7.19 | (1.24) | Football [Futbol] | 7.03 | (1.16) |
| Motor sports | 7.05 | (1.25) | Martial arts [Dövüş sanatları] | 6.86 | (1.40) |
| Ice hockey | 6.70 | (1.27) | Motor sports [Motor sporları] | 6.78 | (1.20) |
| Baseball | 6.70 | (1.06) | Ice hockey [Buz hokeyi] | 6.61 | (1.50) |
| Football | 6.61 | (1.35) | Baseball [Beyzbol] | 6.39 | (1.18) |
| Basketball | 6.35 | (1.18) | Rugby [Ragbi] | 6.36 | (1.50) |
| Martial arts | 6.16 | (1.24) | Mountain climbing [Dağcılık] | 6.08 | (1.38) |
| Mountain climbing | 6.02 | (1.15) | Basketball [Basketbol] | 5.94 | (1.04) |
| Snowboarding | 6.00 | (1.03) | Skateboarding [Kaykay kaymak] | 5.61 | (.84) |
| Skateboarding | 5.42 | (10.34) | Skiing [Kayak kaymak] | 5.39 | (.84) |
| Skiing | 5.30 | (.78) | Snowboarding [Snowboard yapmak] | 5.28 | (.70) |
| Athletics | 5.18 | (.81) | Athletics [Atletizm] | 5.22 | (.83) |
| Tennis | 5.10 | (.54) | Swimming [Yüzme] | 5.14 | (.68) |
| Running | 5.10 | (.55) | Cycling [Bisiklet sürmek] | 5.06 | (.23) |
| Swimming | 5.01 | (.60) | Running [Koşmak] | 4.81 | (.86) |
| Cycling | 4.37 | (10.22) | Tennis [Tenis] | 4.64 | (.83) |
| Volleyball | 3.91 | (1.19) | Figure skating [Buz pateni] | 4.33 | (1.12) |
| Gymnastics | 3.91 | (1.13) | Volleyball [Voleybol] | 4.00 | (1.20) |
| Aerobics | 3.77 | (1.14) | Yoga [Yoga] | 3.81 | (1.22) |
| Figure skating | 3.34 | (1.22) | Gymnastics [Cimnastik] | 3.56 | (1.25) |
| Yoga | 3.24 | (1.27) | Aerobics [Aerobik] | 3.36 | (1.27) |
| Synchronized swimming | 3.22 | (1.37) | Ballet [Bale] | 2.72 | (1.30) |
| Ballet | 1.77 | (10.01) | Synchronized swimming [Su balesi] | 2.33 | (1.29) |

*Note.* UK sample size is 105 (70 females) and Turkish sample size is 36 (24 females). Participants responded to the question "to what extent do you perceive the following sports to be feminine or masculine?" (1 = extremely feminine, 5 = neither feminine nor masculine, 9 = extremely masculine).

Table S4

*Mean ratings of the perceived femininity-masculinity of the food and drink items*

| UK sample | | | Turkish sample | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Food and drinks* | *M* | *SD* | *Food and drinks* | *M* | *SD* |
| Beer | 6.72 | (1.13) | Whisky [Viski] | 5.97 | (1.16) |
| Whisky | 6.66 | (1.21) | [Sucuk] | 5.56 | (.91) |
| Steak | 6.00 | (1.18) | Steak [Sığır eti] | 5.53 | (1.03) |
| Bacon | 5.61 | (.92) | Beer [Bira] | 5.47 | (.91) |
| Burgers | 5.57 | (.85) | Alcohol [Alkol] | 5.42 | (.97) |
| Beef | 5.54 | (.84) | Lamb [Kuzu eti] | 5.39 | (.93) |
| Sausages | 5.50 | (.87) | Red Meat [Kırmızı et] | 5.33 | (1.20) |
| Pizza | 5.24 | (.56) | Sausages [Sosis] | 5.33 | (.96) |
| Lamb | 5.19 | (.68) | Beef [Biftek] | 5.33 | (.79) |
| Fries | 5.18 | (.53) | [Pirzola] | 5.31 | (.62) |
| Milk | 5.06 | (.39) | Rice [Pilav] | 5.28 | (.78) |
| Chicken | 4.93 | (.78) | Meatballs [Köfte] | 5.28 | (.66) |
| Rice | 4.91 | (.34) | Muscles [Midye] | 5.25 | (.60) |
| Fish | 4.86 | (.74) | [Ayran] | 5.22 | (.68) |
| Orange juice | 4.86 | (.56) | Burgers [Hamburger] | 5.14 | (.90) |
| Vegetables | 4.82 | (.69) | Pizza [Pizza] | 5.11 | (.67) |
| Espresso | 4.80 | (.93) | Fries [Patates kızartması] | 5.03 | (.17) |
| Red Meat | 4.73 | (10.27) | Pasta [Makarna] | 5.00 | (.83) |
| Croissant | 4.70 | (.64) | Eggs [Yumurta] | 4.97 | (.29) |
| Fresh fruits | 4.56 | (.95) | Bacon [Jambon] | 4.89 | (.79) |
| Tofu | 4.56 | (.93) | Fish [Balık] | 4.89 | (.47) |
| Yogurt | 4.46 | (.81) | Yoghurt [Yoğurt] | 4.86 | (.68) |
| Alcohol | 4.43 | (10.23) | [Beyaz et] | 4.83 | (.56) |
| Cranberry juice | 4.40 | (.92) | [Poğaça] | 4.81 | (.95) |
| Berries | 4.38 | (.87) | Espresso [Espresso] | 4.81 | (.86) |
| Cafe latte | 4.37 | (.94) | Milk [Süt] | 4.78 | (.83) |
| Diet coke | 4.33 | (1.04) | Chicken [Tavuk eti] | 4.72 | (.70) |
| Chocolate | 4.26 | (1.03) | Orange juice [Portakal suyu] | 4.67 | (.93) |
| Salad | 4.19 | (1.03) | Fresh fruits [Taze meyveler] | 4.64 | (.80) |
| Wine | 4.06 | (1.03) | Vegetables [Sebzeler] | 4.61 | (.77) |
| Herbal tea | 3.92 | (1.10) | Cranberry juice [Vişne suyu] | 4.61 | (.93) |
| Pasta | 3.88 | (10.15) | Wine [Şarap] | 4.56 | (1.25) |
| Muscles | 3.56 | (14.40) | Cafe latte [Sütlü kahve)] | 4.50 | (.94) |
| | | | Salad [Salata] | 4.17 | 1.320 |
| | | | Chocolate [Çukulata] | 4.11 | 1.237 |
| | | | Berries [Dutsu meyveler ] | 4.00 | 1.309 |
| | | | Diet coke [Diyet kola]] | 3.94 | 1.194 |
| | | | Herbal tea [Bitki çayı] | 3.86 | 1.334 |

*Note.* UK sample size is 105 (70 females) and Turkish sample size is 36 (24 females). Participants responded to the question "to what extent do you perceive the following food and drinks to be feminine or masculine?" (1 = extremely feminine, 5 = neither feminine nor masculine, 9 = extremely masculine).

Table S5

*Mean ratings of the perceived femininity-masculinity of the music genres and instrument items*

| UK sample | | | Turkish sample | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Music genres and instruments* | *M* | *SD* | *Music genres and instruments* | *M* | *SD* |
| Metal | 6.41 | (1.24) | The drums [Bateri] | 6.25 | (1.27) |
| Electric guitar | 6.28 | (1.22) | Metal [Metal] | 6.11 | (1.47) |
| The drums | 6.24 | (1.24) | Hard rock [Hard rock] | 6.08 | (1.38) |
| Bass guitar | 5.93 | (1.08) | Clarinet [Klarnet] | 6.00 | (1.22) |
| Trumpet | 5.48 | (.95) | Bass guitar [Bass gitar] | 5.97 | (1.23) |
| Saxophone | 5.39 | (1.14) | Electric guitar [Elektrogitar] | 5.75 | (1.13) |
| Hard rock | 5.34 | (10.35) | Saxophone [Saksafon] | 5.72 | (1.06) |
| Piano | 4.78 | (.89) | Trumpet [Trompet] | 5.47 | (1.25) |
| Cello | 4.57 | (.92) | Classical guitar [Klasik gitar] | 5.19 | (.86) |
| Clarinet | 4.40 | (1.15) | Jazz [Caz] | 4.92 | (1.11) |
| Classical guitar | 4.36 | (10.24) | Pop [Pop] | 4.86 | (.42) |
| Pop | 4.33 | (.97) | Classical music [Klasik müzik] | 4.69 | (.92) |
| Jazz | 4.24 | (10.21) | Flute [Flüt] | 4.56 | (1.25) |
| Flute | 3.97 | (1.20) | Harp [Arp] | 4.50 | (1.32) |
| Harp | 3.69 | (1.27) | Piano [Piyano] | 4.47 | (1.06) |
| | | | Cello [Çello] | 4.25 | (1.32) |

*Note.* UK sample size is 105 (70 females) and Turkish sample size is 36 (24 females). Participants responded to the question "to what extent do you perceive the following music genres and instruments to be feminine or masculine?" (1 = extremely feminine, 5 = neither feminine nor masculine, 9 = extremely masculine)

Table S6

*Mean ratings of the perceived femininity-masculinity of the colours*

| UK sample | | | Turkish sample | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Colours* | *M* | *SD* | *Colours* | *M* | *SD* |
| Brown | 5.48 | (.83) | Blue [Mavi] | 5.31 | (.71) |
| Blue | 5.37 | (.65) | Brown [Kahverengi] | 5.22 | (1.02) |
| Green | 5.24 | (.67) | Black [Siyah] | 5.00 | (.86) |
| Black | 5.12 | (.41) | Green [Yeşil] | 4.86 | (.59) |
| Red | 5.07 | (.64) | White [Beyaz] | 4.83 | (.51) |
| White | 4.96 | (.39) | Yellow [Sarı] | 4.31 | (1.04) |
| Orange | 4.92 | (.69) | Red [Kırmızı] | 4.28 | (1.09) |
| Yellow | 4.52 | (.76) | Orange [Turuncu] | 4.08 | (1.05) |
| Purple | 4.33 | (.88) | Purple [Mor] | 3.92 | (1.34) |
| Pink | 3.62 | (1.17) | Pink [Pembe] | 3.22 | (1.29) |

*Note.* UK sample size is 105 (70 females) and Turkish sample size is 36 (24 females). Participants responded to the question "to what extent do you perceive the following colours to be feminine or masculine?" (1 = extremely feminine, 5 = neither feminine nor masculine, 9 = extremely masculine).

# APPENDIX B

## Auxiliary cross-cultural analysis using the data from Studies 2a-b

Despite the similar patterns of results obtained in the Turkish sample in Study 3a (a high honour culture; $N = 99$) and the British sample in Study 3b (a low honour culture; $N = 106$) regarding men's reluctance to being friends with effeminate male target, we conducted a comparative test of Turkish and British men by combining the data from Studies 3a and 3b. Tables 3.1.2a and 3.1.2b reported in Chapter 3 presents the raw means per culture. Turkish men endorsed significantly higher levels of masculine honour ideals than did British men, $t(341) = 6.21$, $p < .001$, $d = .67$, but British and Turkish women did not differ on their level of honour endorsement, $t(340) = -.17$, $p = .86$, $d = .02$. Moreover, Turkish men reported significantly higher likelihood of being friends with both a feminine-typed male target, $t(89) = 3.11$, $p = .003$, $d = .65$, and a masculine-typed male target than British men, $t(101) = 3.60$, $p < .001$, $d = .71$. Turkish women, compared to British women, also reported significantly higher likelihood of being friends with both feminine-typed, $t(104) = 5.88$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.17$, and masculine-typed male targets, $t(96) = 8.27$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.77$ (the same trend of cultural differences was present also for female targets).

We examined whether cultural differences in masculine honour endorsement are related to cultural differences in the dependent measures. To test this, we conducted a moderated mediation analysis, using Model 15 of Hayes' (2013) PROCESS Macro for SPSS with 95% bias-corrected bootstrapping procedure with 5000 samples. Culture (*0 = British, 1 = Turkish*) was entered as an independent variable, likelihood of being friends as the dependent variable, honour endorsement (*low = 1 SD below the mean, high = 1 SD above the mean*) as the mediator, and target gender (*-1 = feminine-typed, 1= masculine-typed*) as the moderator. The conditional indirect effect of honour endorsement on likelihood of being friends was significant for the feminine-typed target, $b = -.58$, $SE = .16$, *CI*s [-.93, -.30], but not for the

masculine-typed target, $b$ = .19, $SE$ = .12, $CI$s [-.01, .45]. These results held when only White-British men ($n$ = 77) (instead of the entire British sample) were compared to Turkish men. These findings demonstrate that Turkish men's higher likelihood of being friends with a feminine-typed target than British men's is explained by Turkish men's higher levels of masculine honour endorsement.

Next, we tested whether cultural group moderated the relationship between honour ideals and men's likelihood of being friends with feminine men. We did not find a significant culture X target gender X honour endorsement interaction effect on likelihood of being friends, $\beta$ = .09, $t(164)$ = .86, $p$ = .39, $sr$ = .06, pointing to similarities in the role masculine honour values play in the patterns of responses observed within the British and Turkish samples. Once again, these results held when only White-British men (instead of the entire British sample) were compared to Turkish men.

The cross-cultural comparison of our data demonstrates that Turkish men had significantly higher mean scores on likelihood of being friends with both feminine-typed and masculine-typed targets than British men, and their scores on the masculine honour scale was also significantly higher than that of British men. As indicated by the mediation results, the stronger endorsement of honour ideals by Turkish men than by British men explain Turkish men's higher likelihood of being friends with the effeminate man than British men's. At first, this finding may seem paradoxical: how can men from an honour culture show more friendship intentions with strangers, if they are also more prone to use violence towards them? However, research shows that along with strong norms of retaliation and aggressive responding to insults, honour cultures also operate with strong norms of congeniality, warmth, hospitality and politeness, which are argued to serve a conflict resolution strategy aimed at not offending others or inviting violence from them (Cohen & Vandello, 2004; Cohen, Vandello, Puente, & Rantilla, 1999; Cross, Uskul, Gercek-Swing, Alozkan, & Ataca,

2012). In support of this argument, evidence shows that people from an honour culture (US southerners) are slower to respond to a series of annoyances than people from a low honour culture (US northerners), but once they respond, southerners do so with bursts of anger that are more sudden and severe than northerners (Cohen, Vandello, Puente, & Rantilla, 1999), indicating that people from honour cultures tend to approach strangers more politely and congenially than in low honour cultures in the absence of any conflict.

Despite these cultural differences, the similar trend of results regarding the relationship between honour ideals and reluctance to befriending effeminate men in both British and Turkish culture (as also evidenced by the non-significant moderating effect of masculine honour endorsement) indicates comparable processes across these two cultures. That is, men who endorse high levels of honour in a low honour culture – majority of the participants in our British sample were ethnically White-British – may share the same reputation maintenance concerns as high honour endorsers in a high honour culture do (Turkey), which may manifest as a preference to avoid close affiliation to effeminate men (see Shackelford, 2005). Our results are also consistent with the notion that honour ideals are not specific to cultures considered to be 'cultures of honour': individuals can endorse honour ideals or reject them regardless of their culture of origin (Leung & Cohen, 2011).