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## **The Importance of Honor Concerns across Eight Countries**

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Abstract

Honor concerns are considered an important part of one's self-image, and strongly associated to cultural values. However, there is a lack of research studies that explore these concerns in more than two cultural communities. Across eight countries (Brazil, Israel, Japan, Macedonia, New Zealand, Spain, United Kingdom, and United States), participants (total N = 1098) answered the Honor Scale and the Community, Autonomy, and Divinity Scale. Individualistic cultures, such as the USA, were predominantly concerned with integrity honor, while Israel, Macedonia and Japan (i.e., honor cultures) rated family honor closer to integrity in importance. Subscales measuring masculine and feminine honor showed gender differences, but not in all cultures; "masculine" honor items were often endorsed by both men and women alike. Regarding honor associations to moral codes, family concerns were closely related to community, integrity concerns were related to autonomy, and feminine concerns were related to divinity.

Key words: honor concerns; gender; moral codes; culture.

## Introduction

According to Pitt-Rivers (2003), the term ‘honor’ comes from the Latin form ‘*honos*’, which names the rewards for those who were considered brave and courageous in battles. In Roman tradition, it would be preferable to die than to live without honor. Ethnographic studies of honor in the 1960s introduced the topic to the academic *milieu*, emphasizing the meaning of honor to the Mediterranean population (Pitt-Rivers, 1965). Researchers noticed that individuals’ behaviors referred to a socially developed code of conduct. The term ‘honor’ or ‘honorable’ was used when referring to someone who deserved one’s respect by abiding to these socially approved rules.

Barrett and Sarbin (2008) reviewed the historical development of the term ‘honor’, which evolved from an extrinsic concept, perceived as a form of social control and social status, to an intrinsic means of control in a form of moral category. From a linguistic point of view, they suggest that “the significance and meaning of honor include a reflexive conversation (...) in which the self as author assigns valuations of worth (or unworthiness) to the self as actor” (Barrett & Sarbin, p. 13).

Pitt-Rivers (2001) suggests the existence of three basic functions of an honor code: (1) it guides one’s judgment and moral evaluations of others; (2) it influences one’s own actions before society; and (3) it is a measure of social status. Consequently, honor is one’s own image and, at the same time, the representation of one’s moral values in the social group. In this sense, it is an integrated part of a group’s social

identity (Pitt-Rivers, 2003), being present in the interpersonal relationships established in the group.

In recent social-psychological research, 'honor' is studied more specifically as a concept that guides emotional and behavioral reactions differently in different cultures: it is defined as "one's worth in one's own eyes and in the eyes of others" (Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2002a, p. 17). This socially developed code of conduct emphasizes the importance of social image and one's reputation (Rodriguez Mosquera, Fischer, Manstead, & Zaalberg, 2008). The association between the individual's worth and his or her social image is stronger in cultures that abide by honor codes. Honor might be especially important for collectivist cultures, where family values, harmony and respect are emphasized, and honor is not just a trait of the individual but his or her family and other collective groupings (Markus & Kitayama, 2003; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008).

According to Blincoe and Harris (2011), we perceive the social image we have in other people's eyes through their behavioral conduct of respect or disrespect towards us. In general, these behavioral expressions are associated not only to our sense of inclusion in a social group, but also to the status we have in this group. These perceptions could be related to our own behavior, to the behavior of the members of our closest social groups (e.g., family), or they could be associated to gender roles. These authors suggest that gender is closely associated to "inclusion and status concerns

through socially shared stereotypes about men and women and the gender roles reflected in them” (Blincoe & Harris, 2011, p. 510).

Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002a), focusing on the content of honor and the emotions raised by it, proposed four distinct types of honor concerns.

*Family honor* is the view that one’s duty is to behave in a way that protects the honor of the family and corrects the reputation-damaging behavior of other family members. Respecting and protecting the *family name* are an important part of one’s reputation (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a). Importance of family’s reputation is associated with many different constructs in the literature, such as family satisfaction and the existence of family secrets (Vangelisti, 1994), the propensity not to report sexual assaults (Lewis, 2003), and access to mental health care in Asian communities (Wynaden, Chapman, Orb, McGowan, Zeeman, & Yeak, 2005).

*Integrity* (social honor or social interdependence; see Guerra, Gouveia, Araújo, Andrade & Gaudêncio, in press) is the reputation of an individual for honesty and fair dealings. It expresses the image of the self to the social group as trustworthy and loyal to others and to one’s own principles (Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2002b). According to Peterson and Seligman (2004, p. 250), “the word *integrity* comes from the Latin *integritas*, meaning wholeness, soundness, untouched, whole, and entire”. These authors propose a behavior-based definition of integrity, which includes consistency between actions and values, public justification of one’s moral convictions,

and care in the treatment of others. Integrity scales have consistently presented associations with psychological well-being (e.g., life satisfaction, openness to experience, empathy, and conscientiousness; for a review, see Peterson & Seligman, 2004).

*Masculine honor*, as in the original ‘culture of honor’ studies, is measured as one’s reputation for following an assertive male gender role: hard working, having and supporting a family, having sexual experience, and defending oneself against insults (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a). Male honor has been consistently emphasized as an important predictor of violent crimes and behavior (see Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Souza, 2010). However, it is also directly associated with other constructs with positive outcomes, such as respect, bravery, fearlessness, pride, and charisma (Neff, 2001).

Finally, *feminine honor* is seen as the obligation of a woman in light of her traditional gender role: to maintain the reputation behaving with sexual modesty and chastity. A dishonorable behavior can disgrace the family and a man’s reputation. Therefore, appropriate behavior is important to protect the family’s name (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002b). Both gender-specific honor concerns are associated with more traditional attitudes towards sex-roles (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011).

Previous research, based on ethnographic studies about sex roles, has suggested that gender-specific honor concerns are, in fact, "pan-cultural ideals of masculinity and



femininity" (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011, p. 65). Therefore, concerns with these specific honor dimensions should not be restricted to honor cultures, but they can potentially be found in all cultures, showing different patterns of endorsement and association.

In a culture that endorses masculine and feminine honor, the most meaningful sign of this endorsement should be found in gender differences, where men or women show stronger personal negative reactions to the prospect of violating their gender's particular kind of honor. Notably, Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002a) found the predicted gender differences in feminine honor but not masculine honor even among members of an honor culture (Spain), suggesting that sometimes these forms of honor may not be as gender-specific as they are in theory. Subsequent research using the Honor Scale (e.g., IJzerman, van Dijk, & Gallucci, 2007; Rodriguez Mosquera, Parrott, & Hurtado de Mendoza, 2010) has tended to downplay or exclude the masculine and feminine honor items.

### **Overview of Study**

This study aims at exploring the patterns of these four honor concerns in a larger number of different cultures than previously investigated in any one study. We created tentative hypotheses for each country based on profiles of cultural dimensions provided by the literature (Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz, 2005).

Following the method of previous work regarding moral values (Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2010), this study suggests two types of predictions: cultural hypotheses (e.g., C1, C2) will cover differences between national samples as well as specific characteristics of each sample; and structural hypotheses (e.g., S1, S2) will cover the relationship between honor concerns, moral codes and level of religiosity

Three of our samples were taken from English-speaking nations – the United Kingdom, United States and New Zealand – considered high in individualism (Hofstede, 2001). According to Schwartz (2005), English-speaking countries present similar cultural value dimension scores (Schwartz & Ros, 1995). To Ijzerman and Cohen (2011), Anglo-American cultures are generally perceived as focusing the importance of dignity rather than honor. Dignity cultures emphasize the "inalienable worth of the individual. One's basic human worth is inherent; it is not given by others, and it cannot be taken by others" (Ijzerman & Cohen, p. 458). Therefore, Hypothesis C1 suggests that integrity will present higher scores when compared to other honor concerns in these three countries (our US sample did not specifically focus on the Southern region, where a culture of honor has been identified; see Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).

Three were from circum-Mediterranean nations: Spain and Israel, which are considered moderate in individualism / collectivism (Hofstede, 2001), and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Regarding honor, Spain has been identified as a

culture with overall high levels of honor concern overall (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a, 2002b). Therefore, we expect that Spanish participants present a higher endorsement of all four honor concerns (Hypothesis C2), as this is reportedly a culture of honor (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a).

The status of honor concerns among Jewish Israelis, who constituted the majority of our Israeli sample, has not been studied to our knowledge. However, Wikan (1984) suggests the importance of the concept of honor in Middle Eastern cultures. Also, Kamir (2002) has analyzed the linguistic and cultural underpinnings of Israeli law to suggest the importance of both honor and other forms of social value to Jewish Israelis.

There is also no information regarding cultural values or honor concerns in Macedonia, however the other former Yugoslavian republics (Croatia, Serbia, and Slovenia) are considered mild in individualism, i.e., high in collectivism (Hofstede, 2001). Uskul, Oyserman, and Schwarz (2011) suggest the existence of two types of collectivism: the Confucian-based collectivism focus on modesty and harmony, and it is usually descriptive of East Asian cultures; and what these authors call the honor-based collectivism. This type of collectivism "does not highlight modesty but rather emphasizes the public nature of self-worth and the need to protect and maintain honor through positive presentation of oneself and in-group members" (Uskul et al., 2011, p. 195). Honor-based collectivism would be descriptive of Middle Eastern, Mediterranean,

and Latin American countries. Also, Simic (1969) and Ray (1996) suggest that Macedonia and the Balkan region, in general, can be identified as cultures that emphasize honor. Based on these profiles, we expected that Israeli and Macedonian participants would present high levels of honor concerns overall (Hypothesis C3).

Our remaining samples were from Japan and Brazil. Japan has been characterized as one of the East Asian cultures of “face”. “Saving face” means to maintain one’s dignity and prestige before others. Although it is considered important in all cultures, it is supposed to be extremely important in collectivist cultures (Bennett, Bennett, & Landis, 2004), in which honor may be construed in terms of family ties (Heine, 2005; Ijzerman & Cohen, 2011). Japanese religion also places a strong emphasis on nature and honor (Jun’ichi, 2005). Consequently, we expected that Japanese participants would present high concerns for family honor (Hypothesis C4). As a Latin American culture, Brazil inherited many norms and traditions from Portugal and Spain due to its colonization period (Rabinovich, 2008). In Brazil, previous work has shown that honor is relatively highly valued (Guerra et al., in press). Therefore, Brazilian participants were expected to present a high overall endorsement of honor concerns (Hypothesis C5).

We also aimed at investigating the nomological network of honor concerns by testing their associations with moral codes and level of religiosity. Considering that “both dignity and honor stress right conduct (although differing in definitions of such

conduct)” (Ijzerman & Cohen, 2011, p. 458), we believe that the concept of honor does contain some moral elements, because its concerns for reputation are rooted in the priorities of other people. Realistically, it makes sense for honor concerns to follow the moral priorities of the culture as a whole. More importantly, the concept of honor also, but not always, can involve the internalization of cultural concerns as moral concerns (Cohen & Vandello, 2001).

One of the most recent theoretical proposals regarding cultural differences in morality suggests that different views can coexist within the same culture. The morality of helping and fairness is endorsed across cultures, but cultures vary in their endorsement of other moral concerns (Vauclair & Fischer, 2011). Based on the theory and research of Richard Shweder (2003) and colleagues (e.g., Shweder, Much, Mahapatra & Park, 1997), these moral concerns were proposed to be organized into sets or ‘codes’, coexisting within cultural communities, but emphasized in different degrees (Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2010). They are described as follows.

The *ethics of autonomy* emphasizes the concern for harm and fairness, justified by the concept of individual rights, both positive and negative. They suggest people have the right to pursue their needs and desires, and this should be respected and defended. On the other hand, negative rights suggest that, associated with this liberty to pursue one’s own rights, there is a need to limit them to the extent that they cannot harm

others or interfere in other people's rights (Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2010; Gewirth, 2001).

The *ethics of community* represents the concern for respect and duty, justified by the concept of the social authority (family or community). It suggests the importance of the family as a moral authority, informing what the right and wrong behaviors are. Social rules, laws and sanctions are also important sources of moral authority, as part of this ethics.

And finally, the *ethics of divinity* raises the importance of spirituality and religion as sources of moral authority, emphasizing the concern for sexual morality and respect for sacred things. This ethics is justified by trans-human concepts such as religious traditions and rules, or the sanctity of nature and its laws (Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2010).

Based on these concepts and theoretical approaches, we propose specific associations between honor concerns and moral codes. *Family honor* expresses a notion of an interconnected reputation and it is an individual's duty to preserve and uphold this. This type of honor concern should clearly be related to the Community moral code (Hypothesis S1). *Integrity* is most compatible with the view of an autonomous individual, whereas each of the other honor subtypes involves adherence to a social role, whether gender or family. Furthermore, the specific traits that underpin integrity – honesty and trustworthiness – are also related to fairness, which is a concern of

autonomy ethics. For these reasons, integrity honor should show a connection to the autonomy moral code (Hypothesis S2).

*Masculine honor* is associated with conforming to social rules about sex roles, especially those that present the men as the authority within the family, and as sexually experienced individuals. Therefore, we expected this form of honor might correspond most strongly with the ethics of community (Hypothesis S3).

Finally, as with masculine honor, *feminine honor* is also based on sex role adherence, which might also be borne out by a correspondence with the social rules emphasized by the Community code (Hypothesis S4). Additionally, an important aspect of feminine honor is sexual restraint and modesty, which is also an important precept in many universalistic religions including Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. Although such religions command men and women alike to control their sexuality, societies that follow codes of male and female honor tend to relax these restrictions on male sexuality more so than female (Thomas, 1959). This suggests that feminine honor might also be a concern to the extent that the Divinity moral code is endorsed (Hypothesis S5), in particular obedience to religious authorities and rules. Consequently, we also expect a significant correlation with the participants' level of religiosity (Hypothesis S6).

## Method

### Participants

Eight samples from different countries took part. In each sample, only persons who reported having been born in the country of the sample were retained for analysis.

*Brazil.* This sample was recruited online through emails sent to universities, friends and messages posted in social networks; participants completed an online version of the questionnaire on a voluntary basis. This sample had 125 respondents (mean age = 32.34, SD = 10.82), and was 32% male; 39% identified as Catholics, 21.6% as Spiritists, 12% as having no religious beliefs, and no other responses had over 10%.

*Israel.* Participants were 167 university students who volunteered to take part and completed the study online (mean age = 23.12, SD = 2.08). 59% of respondents were male. 75% identified as Jewish, 17% as atheist or nonreligious, and no other responses exceeding 5%.

*Japan.* Participants were 100 university students who volunteered to take part and completed the study in a class session (mean age = 20.11, SD = 0.98). 31% of respondents were male. 68% identified as atheist or nonreligious, 20% as Buddhist, and no other responses exceeded 10%.

*Macedonia.* Participants were 125 people sampled from the general population who volunteered to answer a paper-based questionnaire (mean age = 38.99, SD =



10.97). 34% of respondents were male; one did not answer the gender question. Almost all respondents were Orthodox Christian (98%).

*New Zealand.* Participants were 107 university students (mean age = 19.60, SD = 4.26) who took part in exchange for course credit and completed the study in a class session. 19.6% of respondents were male, and one did not answer the gender question. 55% identified as atheist or nonreligious, 10% as “other,” and no other responses exceeded 10%.

*Spain.* Participants were recruited in a similar manner to the Brazilian sample and answered the questionnaires online. Of the 89 participants (mean age = 34.55, SD = 8.19), 51% were male; 40% identified as Catholic, 51% as atheist or nonreligious, with no other response exceeding 10%.

*United Kingdom.* The sample combined university students answering the questionnaires for partial course credit with an online sample, recruited in the same manner as the Brazilian sample. Of the 298 participants (mean age = 22.34, SD = 8.25), 27% were male; 44% identified as atheist or nonreligious, 14% as Church of England and 12% as Catholic, with no other response exceeding 10%.

*United States.* The sample was recruited online in the same way as the Brazilian sample. Of the 87 participants (mean age = 34.49, SD = 10.53), 54% were male; 31% were atheist or nonreligious, 15% Catholic, 24% “other Christian” (i.e. not Anglican, Baptist or Catholic), 13% “other,” with no other response exceeding 10%.

## Materials and procedure

Participants answered a questionnaire including the *Honor Scale* (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a), the *Community, Autonomy, and Divinity Scale* (Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2010), the *Short Schwartz Values Survey* (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005), and *social-demographic questions*.

*Honor Scale (HS-16)*. This is the short version of the original Honor Scale, developed by Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002a). It consists of sixteen items validated by Guerra et al. (in press), presented in a list, completing the main question “How bad would you feel if...”, to which the participant should answer using a scale that ranges from 1 (*Not bad at all*) to 9 (*Very bad*). The scale is divided into four sub-factors: family honor (e.g., *your family had a bad reputation*), integrity (e.g., *you betrayed other people*), masculine honor (e.g., *you lacked authority over your own family*), and feminine honor (e.g., *you had sexual relations before marriage*). The authors report reliability indexes above .70 for all sub-scales. Cronbach’s alpha for each country are presented in the results section.

*Community, Autonomy, and Divinity Scale – CADS*. Developed by Guerra and Giner-Sorolla (2010), the original scale consists of 44 items reflecting the three ethics proposed by Shweder et al (1997). In these analyses, we used a shorter version of this scale, composed of 30 items, divided into three dimensions: Community (e.g., *It is socially accepted; The family considers it unacceptable*), Autonomy (e.g., *It expresses*

*someone's autonomy, It restricts individual's rights*), and Divinity (e.g., *It is God's will; It is unnatural*). Participants should indicate with what frequency the items justify someone's action as right or wrong, by completing the main question "An action or behavior is right/wrong if...", answered in a 7-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (*Never*) to 7 (*Always*). Cronbach's alpha range for each country were: *Brazil* - between .81 (autonomy) and .88 (divinity); *Israel* - between .64 (autonomy) and .77 (divinity); *Japan* - between .78 (divinity) and .84 (community); *Macedonia* - between .87 (autonomy) and .89 (divinity); *New Zealand* - between .84 (autonomy) and .89 (community); *Spain* - between .86 (autonomy) and .91 (community); *United Kingdom* - between .88 (autonomy) and .91 (divinity); *United States* - between .91 (autonomy) and .94 (divinity).

*Short Schwartz Values Survey - SSVS*. Developed by Lindeman and Verkasalo (2005), this scale is the short version of the SVS (Schwartz, 1992). It consists of 10 items, each reflecting one of the ten value types (e.g., *power, self-direction, tradition*). According to the authors, it presents good reliability and replicates the quasi-circular structure of values as proposed by Schwartz (1992). Cronbach's alpha range for each country were: *Brazil* - between .68 (conservation) and .73 (self-transcendence); *Israel* - between .59 (self-enhancement) and .68 (conservation); *Japan* - between .52 (conservation) and .60 (openness); *New Zealand* - between .57 (openness) and .69 (conservation); *Spain* - between .60 (self-enhancement) and .84 (conservation); *United*

*Kingdom* - between .60 (self-enhancement) and .69 (conservation); *United States* - between .61 (self-enhancement) and .81 (conservation). Although human values are not the focus of this research, this instrument was included to control for acquiescence and extremity response bias. Due to space constraints, this instrument was not included in the Macedonian questionnaire.

*Demographic information.* This part of the questionnaire included four questions aiming to characterize the participants of the study: birthplace, age, sex, and religion.

The questionnaire was presented in the predominant language of the country; the Honor Scale had already been developed in English (New Zealand, USA, UK) and Spanish, and was translated and back-translated into Portuguese (Brazil), Hebrew (Israel), Japanese (Japan), and Macedonian (Macedonia).

Data were collected in two ways. An on-line questionnaire was developed in four languages (English, Portuguese, Spanish and Hebrew), which were used to collect data in the United States, the United Kingdom, Brazil, Spain and Israel. These questionnaires were answered by internet users who were willing to take part in the study. Paper-based questionnaires were also used to collect data in Japan, Macedonia and New Zealand. Japanese and Macedonian participants were approached after lectures and invited to take part in the research. New Zealand participants registered in the research participation system, and answered the questionnaire in their registered time-slot. In all contexts, participants read and signed a consent form, where the ethical

procedures to ensure their anonymity were presented. In general, participants needed 15 minutes to answer the questionnaire.

## Results

Before investigating the profiles of honor concerns in different countries, we conducted analyses of mode effects, to verify the influence of the different methods of questionnaire application in the results, and measurement invariance and response bias, to allow the comparison of results in different countries.

### Mode Effects

We conducted a 4 (Honor type, within: Family, Integrity, Masculine, Feminine) x 2 (Response Mode, between: Online vs. Paper-based) mixed analysis of variance. The analysis yielded a main effect of Honor,  $F(3, 3198) = 410.87, p < .001$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = 0.28$ , with integrity honor scoring highest across both response modes ( $M = 7.37, SD = 1.34$ ), when compared to the other types of honor (family honor  $M = 6.75, SD = 1.64$ ; masculine honor  $M = 5.63, SD = 1.93$ ; feminine honor  $M = 5.91, SD = 2.19$ ).

This main effect was qualified by a significant Honor Type x Response Mode interaction,  $F(3, 3198) = 43.02, p < .001$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = 0.04$ , with respondents of paper-based questionnaires presenting consistently higher honor concerns when compared to online respondents for family honor (paper  $M = 7.21, SD = 1.53$ ; online  $M = 6.55, SD = 1.64$ ), masculine honor (paper  $M = 5.66, SD = 2.05$ ; online  $M = 5.60, SD = 1.88$ ), and

feminine honor (paper  $M = 5.91$ ,  $SD = 1.95$ ; online  $M = 4.89$ ,  $SD = 2.22$ ), but not integrity honor (paper  $M = 7.18$ ,  $SD = 1.49$ ; online  $M = 7.45$ ,  $SD = 1.26$ ).

Although these results suggest a significant influence of the mode of data collection, mode was not perfectly related to culture type; in other words, we had online and paper-based samples from English-speaking “dignity” cultures, and also both kinds of samples from other countries more conventionally classified as “honor” cultures. Our mode effects raise the possibility that online questionnaires, by showing lower levels of traditional, non-integrity honor concerns overall, might obscure cultural differences. To create a test of cultural differences that could be relatively orthogonal to mode of administration, the national samples were divided into dignity (Anglo-American samples: New Zealand\*, UK, and the USA) and honor cultures (Latin, East Asian, Middle Eastern, and Mediterranean samples: Brazil, Israel, Japan\*, Macedonia\*, and Spain; asterisks indicate paper-based samples).

First, we conducted a 4 (Honor type, within: Family, Integrity, Masculine, Feminine) x 2 (Culture type, between: Honor vs. Dignity) mixed analysis of variance. The analysis yielded a main effect of Honor Type,  $F(3, 3198) = 544.25$ ,  $p < .001$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = 0.34$ , with integrity honor scoring highest across both culture types ( $M = 7.37$ ,  $SD = 1.34$ ), when compared to the other types of honor (family honor  $M = 6.72$ ,  $SD = 1.64$ ; masculine honor  $M = 5.60$ ,  $SD = 1.93$ ; feminine honor  $M = 5.21$ ,  $SD = 2.19$ ).

We also observed a significant Honor Type x Culture type interaction,  $F(3, 3198) = 38.57, p < .001$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = 0.03$ , with respondents from honor cultures presenting consistently higher honor concerns compared to dignity culture respondents for family concerns (honor cultures  $M = 7.05, SD = 1.61$ ; dignity cultures  $M = 6.34, SD = 1.60$ ), masculine honor concerns (honor cultures  $M = 6.06, SD = 2.00$ ; dignity cultures  $M = 5.15, SD = 1.72$ ), and feminine honor concerns (honor cultures  $M = 5.32, SD = 2.33$ ; dignity cultures  $M = 5.09, SD = 1.99$ ), but not integrity concerns (honor cultures  $M = 7.38, SD = 1.45$ ; dignity cultures  $M = 7.36, SD = 1.18$ ).

We then repeated this analysis only using data from the five countries where data collection was conducted on-line. Results were replicated, with a main effect of Honor Type,  $F(3, 2223) = 479.69, p < .001$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = 0.39$ ; and a significant Honor type vs. Culture type interaction,  $F(3, 2223) = 57.48, p < .001$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = 0.07$ , with the same pattern of means observed, and if anything a stronger effect size than for the paper-based questionnaires. Because meaningful cultural differences were maintained in the online sample despite a lower expression of traditional honor concerns, all further analyses will be performed with the complete set of eight national samples.

### **Confirmatory Factor Analysis and Measurement Invariance**

To confirm the structure of the Honor Scale (HS-16) in the eight samples investigated, all items were submitted to confirmatory factor analysis using AMOS

Software, version 18. The use of structural equation modeling (SEM) also allowed testing for the measurement equivalence of the instrument in three forms of invariance: *configural invariance* (similar factor structures), *metric invariance* (similar factor loadings), and *scalar invariance* (similar intercepts) (see review Byrne & van de Vijver, 2010). According to Vandenberg and Lance (2000), it is necessary to establish these three types of invariance to correctly compare means and correlations cross-culturally. If non-invariance is observed, these results could be due to response bias, such as extremity (ERS) and acquiescence (ARS) (Byrne & van de Vijver, 2010; Cheung & Rensvold, 2000).

Byrne and van de Vijver (2010) suggest a dual model approach for testing multigroup equivalence: first, it is necessary to test "for the factorial validity of the measuring instrument and for the multigroup equivalence of this factorial structure" (p. 113); if non-invariance is observed, further analyses are performed to control for the bias. The CFA model of the HS-16 structure is presented in Figure 1. This model specifies that a structure with four correlated factors should be observed for each cultural group.

[Insert Figure 1 here]

First, we tested for the goodness-of-fit of the hypothesized four-factor structure in all national samples. As a second step, we tested the structure found for all samples in



a configural multigroup model. Findings for these two SEM analyses are summarized in Table 1.

[Insert Table 1 here]

As shown in this table, goodness-of-fit indices for the four-factor structure (Model 1) indicated a well-fitting model. However, one item from the masculine honor dimension was not significant (item 12, *you had the reputation of being someone without sexual experience*). This item was dropped from all subsequent analyses, and the four-factor structure was tested again (Model 2), supporting the validity of this theoretical structure. The configural multigroup model (Model 3) tested for the validity of this four-factor structure across each of the eight countries, i.e., a baseline configural model with the 15 remaining items. As presented in Table 1, results for this model were consistent with Model 2, showing adequate fitness indices. These analyses confirmed the four-factor structure of the HS in the investigated samples.

Results regarding the measurement equivalence for the eight samples are presented in Table 2. Results for both gender-specific honor concerns dimensions suggested their invariance across cultures. However, both family honor and integrity concerns cannot be considered fully invariant on the intercept level.

[Insert Table 2 here]

Partial invariance tests were conducted by maintaining non-invariant items unconstrained. For the family honor dimension, there were two non-invariant items

(Item 01, “*your family had a bad reputation*”, and Item 03, “*you did something to damage your family’s reputation*”), and for the integrity concern, two items were also considered non-invariant (Item 06, “*you had the reputation of being dishonest with others*”, and Item 08, “*you were hypocritical*”). No significant difference was observed between the partially constrained and the configural models. Considering that at least one item, besides the marker item, in each subscale was fully invariant, the general findings with the partially invariant scale suggest the acceptability of the Honor Scale for cross-cultural research (see Milfont & Fischer, 2010; Steenkamp & Baumgartner, 1998).

However, considering that lack of measurement invariance could be interpreted as an influence of response bias, acquiescence and extremity indices were created, as suggested by van Herk, Poortinga, and Verhallen (2004). The extremity index, which ranges from 0.00 to 1.00, is calculated by counting the low and high extremes of the rating scale and dividing it by the number of items. The acquiescence index, which ranges from -1.00 to 1.00, is calculated by taking the two highest values of the rating scale, subtracting the two lowest values from their sum, and dividing the result by the number of items.

Both indices were created with the respondents’ answers to the CADS and the SSVS, rather than their answers to the Honor Scale, due to the possibility that extreme scores on the Honor Scale (which does not contain reverse-coded items) could reflect

genuinely high honor concerns. Results for the descriptive and reliability estimates for the Honor Scale, the CADS and response bias indices per country are presented in Table 3.

[Insert Table 3 here]

Within these samples, Brazilian, Israeli and Macedonian participants showed higher acquiescence indices, whereas Brazilian, Japanese and Spanish participants showed higher extremity indices, as shown in Table 3, indicating the need to control for these indices when performing further comparisons between national samples.

### **Cultural hypotheses: Honor profiles**

We conducted a 4 (Honor type, within: Family, Integrity, Masculine, Feminine) x 8 (Culture, between: Brazil, Israel, Japan, Macedonia, New Zealand, Spain, UK, US) x 2 (Gender, between) ANCOVA. We used Type III sums of squares in a general linear model (GLM) to ensure that gender composition did not bias the differences between samples in honor type endorsement. Also, we included age, acquiescence and extremity as covariates, to likewise remove bias between samples due to age differences and response style.

We observed a main effect of Honor Type,  $F(3, 3138) = 31.75, p < 0.01$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = .03$ , with integrity ( $M = 7.36, SD = 1.34$ ) emphasized as the stronger type of concern across all countries, when compared to the other types of honor concern (family

honor  $M = 6.68$ ,  $SD = 1.64$ ; masculine honor  $M = 5.60$ ,  $SD = 1.93$ ; feminine honor  $M = 5.00$ ,  $SD = 2.19$ ).

A main effect of Gender was also observed,  $F(1, 1046) = 21.88$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = 0.02$ , with female participants showing a stronger concern for honor ( $M = 6.35$ ,  $SD = 1.24$ ) when compared to male participants ( $M = 5.97$ ,  $SD = 1.35$ ).

A main effect of Country was also observed,  $F(7, 1046) = 15.94$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = .10$ , with Macedonia presenting the highest overall concern for honor ( $M = 6.98$ ,  $SD = 1.23$ ), when compared to other countries (Brazil  $M = 6.54$ ,  $SD = 1.26$ ; Israel  $M = 6.36$ ,  $SD = 1.23$ ; New Zealand  $M = 6.33$ ,  $SD = 1.04$ ; United Kingdom  $M = 5.97$ ,  $SD = 1.20$ ; United States  $M = 5.93$ ,  $SD = 1.35$ ; Japan  $M = 5.73$ ,  $SD = 1.37$ ; and Spain  $M = 5.44$ ,  $SD = 1.24$ ).

We observed a significant Honor Type x Gender interaction,  $F(3, 3138) = 21.21$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = .02$ . Women consistently presented higher concerns than men for family honor (women  $M = 6.82$ ,  $SD = 1.55$ ; men  $M = 6.53$ ,  $SD = 1.74$ ), integrity (women  $M = 7.46$ ,  $SD = 1.33$ ; men  $M = 7.26$ ,  $SD = 1.35$ ), and feminine honor (women  $M = 5.51$ ,  $SD = 1.97$ ; men  $M = 4.50$ ,  $SD = 2.27$ ), while no significant difference was observed for masculine honor (women  $M = 5.62$ ,  $SD = 1.92$ ; men  $M = 5.68$ ,  $SD = 1.96$ ).

A significant Gender x Country interaction was also observed,  $F(7, 1046) = 2.50$ ,  $p < 0.05$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = .02$ , with women presenting higher overall concern for honor

in Brazil (women  $M = 6.51$ ;  $SD = 1.27$ ; men  $M = 6.16$ ;  $SD = 1.22$ ), Israel (women  $M = 6.53$ ;  $SD = 0.86$ ; men  $M = 6.07$ ;  $SD = 1.29$ ), Japan (women  $M = 6.13$ ;  $SD = 1.35$ ; men  $M = 5.89$ ;  $SD = 1.40$ ), Macedonia (women  $M = 6.37$ ;  $SD = 1.17$ ; men  $M = 5.86$ ;  $SD = 1.26$ ), New Zealand (women  $M = 6.44$ ;  $SD = 1.08$ ; men  $M = 6.26$ ;  $SD = 0.88$ ), United Kingdom (women  $M = 6.46$ ;  $SD = 1.06$ ; men  $M = 5.97$ ;  $SD = 1.36$ ), and United States (women  $M = 6.25$ ;  $SD = 1.27$ ; men  $M = 6.00$ ;  $SD = 1.35$ ), but men presenting higher concerns in Spain (women  $M = 5.73$ ;  $SD = 1.17$ ; men  $M = 5.84$ ;  $SD = 1.31$ ).

The Honor Type x Country interaction was also significant,  $F(21, 3138) = 16.94$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = .10$ , as well as the three-way interaction Honor Type x Gender x Country,  $F(21, 3138) = 3.04$ ,  $p < .01$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = .02$ .

Regarding response bias, we observed a significant main effect of Acquiescence,  $F(1, 1046) = 133.17$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = .11$ . A significant Honor Type x Acquiescence interaction was also observed,  $F(3, 3138) = 11.47$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = .01$ . The honor types most prone to show acquiescence bias were family honor and masculine honor.

Analyses also indicated no significant effects for age and extremity bias. Due to the complicated nature of the Honor Type x Gender x Country interaction, we thought it would be most informative to show graphs of each country's mean honor endorsement for men and women, separately for each of the honor types, with error bars. Figure 2 presents these data. Statements about differences between means for men and women

have been made on the basis of error bars, in particular the criterion that the 95% confidence intervals of each mean must not overlap by more than 25% of their total length to be different (Belia, Fidler, Williams, & Cumming, 2005). For within-subjects comparisons between honor types (e.g. integrity and family honor), this criterion is inaccurate, so we considered a difference to be significant if the confidence interval around the difference of the two scores did not include zero (Estes, 1997). It should be noted that for all gender and country combinations, each of the gendered honor types was significantly lower than integrity, while family honor's difference from integrity depended more on the sample.

[Insert Figure 2 here]

Hypothesis C1 suggested that English-speaking countries (United Kingdom, United States, and New Zealand) would present a similar pattern of honor concerns, with higher concern for integrity. Results corroborated this hypothesis: New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States showed a more individualistic profile, with integrity significantly higher than family honor concerns among both men and women. These three countries also showed lower masculine and feminine honor concerns relative to integrity. In New Zealand, masculine and feminine honor did not differ by gender; in the UK and USA, women showed more feminine honor concern than men did, but the sexes did not differ in masculine honor concerns.

Hypothesis C2 suggested that Spanish participants would present high levels of honor concerns overall, which was not corroborated. Although Spain has been presented as an exemplar of an honor culture in previous research (e.g., Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a, 2002b), our sample showed a less characteristic honor profile than did Macedonia or Israel. Among men, family honor and integrity were equally high, while among women, integrity was significantly stronger than family honor. Also, there was more concern with family and masculine honor among men than women, reaching moderate levels on the scale. Feminine honor was equally low for both genders.

Hypothesis C3 suggested high honor concerns overall for participants from Israel and Macedonia, and this was corroborated. Jewish Israelis and Macedonians overall showed a near equally high concern for family and integrity honor, the only subgroup showing higher integrity concern being Israeli women (and then only by .53 scale points). For both samples, men and women did not differ in their relatively high concern for masculine honor. However, women were much more concerned than men with feminine honor. These similarities emerged despite the differences in population samples (general population in Macedonia, university students in Israel).

Corroborating hypothesis C4, Japanese participants presented significantly higher concern for family than integrity honor, while masculine and feminine honor concerns were moderate and not differentiated by gender.

Finally, Brazil presented a profile in which integrity honor concerns were significantly higher than family among both men and women, which did not corroborate hypothesis C5. As with the UK, USA, Israel and Macedonia, the Brazilian men and women did not differ in concerns for masculine honor, but women were more concerned than men with feminine honor.

### **Structural Hypotheses: Nomological Network of Honor Concerns**

Regarding the relationship that honor concerns might establish with the three moral codes and the participants' level of religiosity, we conducted partial correlation analyses, controlling for the acquiescence index.

Hypothesis S1 suggested that family honor should be associated with the ethics of community. Results, presented in Table 4, corroborated this hypothesis for six out of eight national samples. Family honor was significantly associated with community in Brazil, Israel, Japan, New Zealand, the UK and the USA, after controlling for the influence of acquiescence. Family honor was also significantly correlated with the ethics of autonomy and divinity in New Zealand, and with autonomy in the USA.

[Insert Table 4 around here]

Hypothesis S2 suggested that integrity concerns would be related to the ethics of autonomy. Results corroborated this hypothesis in five of the national samples studied: Japan, New Zealand, Spain, the UK, and the USA (see Table 4). Level of religiosity



was significantly correlated with integrity in Brazil and Israel (positively), and in Spain (negatively). Integrity concerns were also associated with the community moral code in Israel and Japan.

According to the hypothesis S3, masculine honor should be related to the ethics of community, which was partially corroborated. Results indicated concerns for masculine honor were associated with community in Israel, New Zealand, the UK, and the USA (see Table 5). Significant associations with autonomy were observed in Japan (positively) and the UK (negatively), and positive associations with divinity were observed in Israel, Japan, New Zealand and the USA.

[Insert Table 5 around here]

Finally, we expected feminine honor to be associated with the ethics of community (Hypothesis S4), the ethics of divinity (Hypothesis S5), and level of religiosity (Hypothesis S6). Feminine honor was positively correlated with community only in Israel and the UK, but its association with divinity and the level of religiosity was observed in five out of eight national samples: Brazil, Israel, Spain, the UK, and the USA. Feminine honor was also negatively correlated with the ethics of autonomy in the USA.

## **Discussion**

The main objective of the present research was to investigate the patterns of endorsement of honor concerns and their nomological network in eight national samples. Additionally, we also aimed at confirming the theoretical structure proposed by Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002a, 2002b). Our findings support these authors' proposal, as well as previous work on the short version of the Honor Scale (Guerra et al., in press). In this study, this instrument has presented adequate reliability indexes in all eight national samples, suggesting its adequacy to the investigation of honor concerns.

Although possible limitations (such as small sample sizes, no information regarding the regional origin of internet participants or the participants' level of education) could have an impact on the outcomes of this study, two main contributions to the literature can be identified. First, regarding the literature on honor, this study represents the broadest effort to investigate cultures of honor by psychologists to date, taking in eight different cultures rather than the more usual two or three. For example, comparisons have been made between the Northern and Southern USA, (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle & Schwarz, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2003); between the Netherlands and Spain (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a); between Moroccan, Turkish, and White Dutch people, (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008); or between the USA and Brazil (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Also, and more importantly, the findings suggest the universality of honor concerns, endorsed with varied degrees in each national sample.

Finally, regarding the relationship between honor and morality, this study has shown that the four types of honor concern have systematic and meaningful connections to different moral concerns. If we consider a wider definition of morality, in which the moral sphere also involves beliefs about how people should carry out duties to family and community, and about how they should keep their body and mind metaphorically pure (Shweder, 2003; Sunar, 2009), this suggests that the concept of honor in itself contains moral elements and/or that honor concerns might serve a moralization purpose. Also, it proposes that an emerging body of research is needed to investigate these connections, which could contribute to the literature on honor, as well as on morality.

### **Honor Concerns: National and Gender Differences**

Findings suggested some interesting patterns of honor endorsement in the eight national samples. Summarizing the results, integrity was overall the strongest type of concern for both honor and dignity samples. However, some countries showed lower family than integrity honor concerns (English-speaking countries, Brazil and Spain), while others showed an equally high concern for family honor (Israel, Macedonia, Japan). These results suggest that in these cultures, there is a stronger interdependence of the self and the family (Markus & Kitayama, 2003; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008). English-speaking samples presented a generally consistent pattern of endorsement, with an emphasis on integrity concerns, as expected from dignity cultures.

Regarding gender differences, and gender-specific honor concerns, women presented an overall higher concern for honor when compared to men. Masculine and feminine honor concerns were never as strong as integrity concerns. Brazil, Israel, Macedonia, the UK, and the US showed gender-differentiated patterns of feminine honor, while only Spain showed a gender-differentiated pattern of masculine honor. In particular, these findings for masculine honor suggest that even when highly endorsed, the Honor Scale's items reflected concerns about general toughness and competence that were personally embraced by both women and men, and could be endorsed in both dignity and honor cultures (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011).

These patterns of gender-specific honor concerns are not easily explained in terms of individualism and collectivism or other cultural values, which suggests caution in interpreting studies of "masculine" honor among single-gender populations. Results indicating honor concerns (such as retaliation to insult among a male population; e.g., Cohen et al., 1996) should not be taken as necessarily reflecting a gender difference in those concerns unless this is explicitly tested. For example, recent studies by Leung and Cohen (2011) behaviorally tested the impact of honor concerns on helping and retaliation among both men and women, but found no moderation of the effects by gender, supporting an analysis of culture (the Culture x Personality x Situation model) that focuses on generalized rather than gendered norms.

Our results also underline the value of an honor scale that focuses on diverse elements of honor. Cultures that endorsed masculine honor relatively highly did not always endorse feminine honor highly (e.g., Israel and Spain); valuing family honor did not guarantee a higher endorsement of the gendered forms of honor, either. In particular, Japan's profile of higher family and lower gendered honor suggests that some reputation concerns of honor cultures, such as aggressive self-defense and female chastity, are less important in East Asia than elsewhere, while concerns about family reputation on other counts remain high. As suggested by Uskul et al. (2011), East Asian cultures could be described as presenting a Confucian-based type of collectivism, which emphasize modesty and harmony in interpersonal relationships. However, this speculation needs to be bolstered by studies involving more East Asian cultures than just Japan, in order to identify particular concerns associated with honor in these cultures.

The endorsement of strong honor norms among Jewish Israelis is particularly interesting. That population is not often described as an honor culture, perhaps because of the tendency to contrast Israel against its Arab neighbors, who are more widely acknowledged as examples of honor cultures in the region (see relevant critique by Rabinowitz, 2002). Researchers with an interest in Israel may wish to explore this finding by looking at the Jewish population by origin (e.g., Israeli Jews from

Mediterranean and Middle Eastern backgrounds may be more prone to honor concerns than those from Central European backgrounds).

However, our samples from Brazil and Spain showed family honor concern significantly lower than integrity concern, more similar to individualistic cultures. These anomalous results from cultures that have been shown to have relatively high honor concerns in previous research may have been a product of the online sampling method used. Because of the increasing popularity of online research, further caution and investigation into the cultural properties of online samples outside the United States is warranted.

### **Honor and Morality Concerns**

For family honor, our study revealed strong correspondences between endorsement of specific systems of morality and personal reactions to honor-threatening situations, measured through the Honor Scale. As expected, the family honor concern was consistently associated with the ethics of community in the majority of the samples. This association suggests that family honor is not a concern restricted only to one's family, but it is also present in concerns regarding one's in-group and it is reflected in general social opinions.

Also as predicted, integrity concerns were associated with autonomy-based morality in all three dignity cultures, as well as in Spain and Japan. This supported our

initial view that integrity concerns – especially as measured by the Honor Scale, with its emphasis on threats to reputation – focus on moral norms that emphasize the individual as the unit of judgment and concern. However, personal integrity was also associated with the “binding” moralities (Haidt, 2008) that is, the ethics of community and divinity – in Brazil, Japan, and/or Israel. This suggests that integrity in those cultures may also be influenced by the embedded nature of the self, being seen, for example, as a matter of reflecting well on the family or following religious rules.

Masculine honor was not as tied to community morality as we had expected, as this type of concern was associated with community only in four countries. Instead, masculine honor concerns were associated with autonomy (Japan and the UK) and with divinity (Israel, Japan, New Zealand, and the US). However, in hindsight these moral codes fit well conceptually with the nature of masculine honor, especially as measured by the Honor Scale, combining a concern for creating and supporting a family (which could be understood a natural gender role for men) with willingness to retaliate in self-defense (in a sense, defending one’s own freedom and other negative rights). These results also support a view of masculine honor as being more than just a personal assertion of male power and privilege; instead, it seems tied to social and moral concepts, namely rights and the protection of the family.

Finally, feminine honor concerns partially conformed to our expectations, being related primarily to endorsement of the ethics of divinity. This suggests that feminine

honor is rooted in individual and cultural concerns about chastity that are primarily regulated by religious moral beliefs.

Further work, however, needs to be done to examine some unanswered questions. For example, the question of whether masculine and feminine honor represent gender-specific applications of moral codes could be examined more directly, by asking questions about behavior appropriate to men and women and its impact on the honor of another person who is male or female. Also, it remains to be seen what happens when different forms of honor are pitted against each other. Will all cultures still rank integrity as highly when, for example, being honest will damage the family reputation? Focusing on dilemmas rather than on situations where only one norm is active might increase the applicability of these results to actual moral behavior in difficult situations.

Also, further research is necessary to understand the lack of any significant associations between honor concerns and the three moral codes in Macedonia, when controlling for the acquiescence response bias. Including a social desirability measure is indicated, due to the high level of this response style in this national sample, which affected the expected associations.

In general, these results have shown meaningful connections between honor concerns and moral concerns, supporting the idea that both of them are means to regulate social value. Although honest and rule-obeying behavior is universally valued,



in dignity and honor cultures alike, as shown by the high endorsement of integrity concerns across cultures, more variably endorsed forms of honor seem to correspond to endorsement of moral values that themselves vary in acceptance from culture to culture, such as the ethics of community.

It also may be important to consider research studies that further examine the connections between honor concerns and moral codes by going forward to distinguish honor from morality. Can honor simply be understood as moral reputation? Or do norms seen as conventional, rather than moral, further inform a view of honor? Moreover, concepts existing in models of honor that do not currently exist on their own in models of morality – for example, the values of retaliation expressed in masculine honor – deserve close scrutiny as possible additions that can broaden our view of what morality is and how it differs among cultures. Given that moralization can stiffen resistance to attitude change (Skitka, Bauman & Sargis, 2005), the extent to which morality supports honor concepts is an important consideration for social projects that tackle some of the more detrimental effects of the honor concept.

Conflict of Interest Statement

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

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*Figure 1*

Four-Factor Model of the Honor Scale (HS-16)

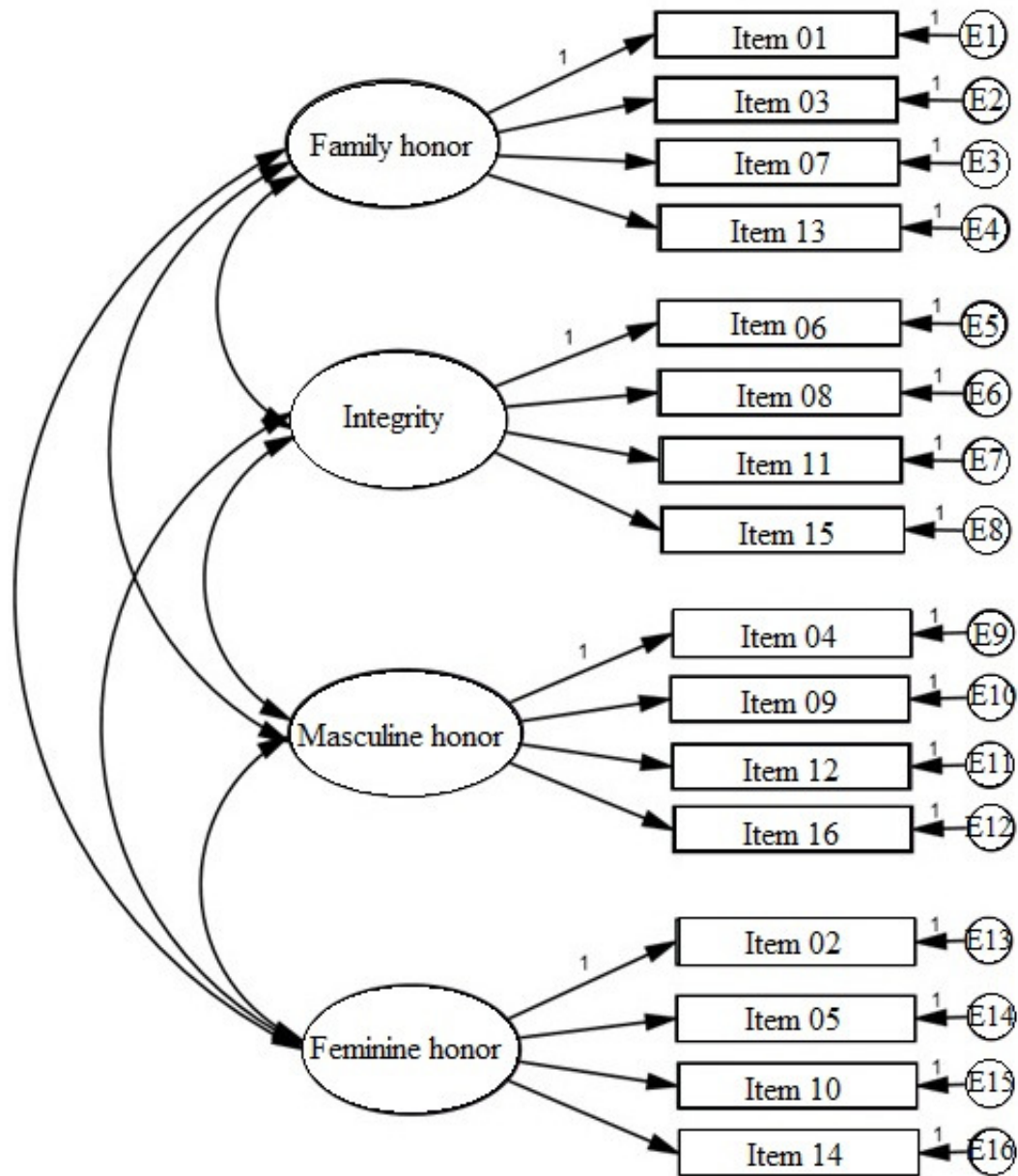


Table 1

*Goodness-of-Fit Indices for the Four-Factor Model of the Honor Scale (HS-16)*

| Model                           | $\chi^2$ | df  | $\chi^2/df$ | CFI | RMSEA (95% IC)       |
|---------------------------------|----------|-----|-------------|-----|----------------------|
| 1. Four-factor model (complete) | 513.47*  | 96  | 5.350       | .91 | 0.077 (0.070; 0.083) |
| 2. Four-factor model (15 items) | 438.93*  | 82  | 5.353       | .92 | 0.077 (0.070; 0.082) |
| 3. Configural multigroup model  | 1196.19* | 592 | 2.021       | .92 | 0.028 (0.026; 0.030) |

*Note.*  $\chi^2/df$  = chi-square divided by its degrees of freedom; CFI = comparative fit index;

RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation.  $N = 1098$ .

Table 2

*Cultural Invariance of the HS-16 With Participants From Eight National Samples*

| Models                     | $\chi^2$ | df | $\chi^2/df$ | CFI  | RMSEA (95% IC)       | $\Delta\chi^2$ | $\Delta df$ | $\Delta CFI$ |
|----------------------------|----------|----|-------------|------|----------------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Family honor</i>        |          |    |             |      |                      |                |             |              |
| Step 1: Configural         | 30.32**  | 8  | 3.790       | 0.99 | 0.046 (0.029; 0.064) | -              | -           | -            |
| Step 2: Metric             | 34.24**  | 14 | 2.446       | 0.99 | 0.033 (0.019; 0.047) | 3.92           | 6           | 0.00         |
| Step 3: Intercepts         | 139.71** | 35 | 3.992       | 0.97 | 0.048 (0.040; 0.056) | 105.47**       | 21          | 0.02         |
| Step 4: Partial invariance | 49.44**  | 21 | 2.354       | 0.99 | 0.032 (0.021; 0.044) | 19.12          | 13          | 0.00         |
| <i>Integrity</i>           |          |    |             |      |                      |                |             |              |
| Step 1: Configural         | 34.53**  | 16 | 2.158       | 0.99 | 0.030 (0.016; 0.043) | -              | -           | -            |
| Step 2: Metric             | 36.16*   | 22 | 1.644       | 0.99 | 0.022 (0.007; 0.035) | 1.63           | 6           | 0.00         |
| Step 3: Intercepts         | 141.51** | 43 | 3.291       | 0.96 | 0.042 (0.034; 0.050) | 106.98**       | 27          | 0.03         |
| Step 4: Partial invariance | 55.47**  | 29 | 1.913       | 0.99 | 0.026 (0.016; 0.037) | 20.94          | 13          | 0.00         |
| <i>Feminine honor</i>      |          |    |             |      |                      |                |             |              |
| Step 1: Configural         | 70.45**  | 16 | 4.403       | 0.98 | 0.051 (0.039; 0.063) | -              | -           | -            |
| Step 2: Metric             | 80.28**  | 29 | 2.768       | 0.98 | 0.037 (0.027; 0.046) | 9.83           | 13          | 0.00         |
| Step 3: Intercepts         | 108.09** | 42 | 2.574       | 0.98 | 0.035 (0.027; 0.043) | 37.64          | 26          | 0.00         |
| <i>Masculine honor</i>     |          |    |             |      |                      |                |             |              |
| Step 1: Configural         | 1.24     | 0  | 0.000       | 0.99 | 0.015 (0.000; 0.031) | -              | -           | -            |

## Honor Concerns in Eight Countries 2

|                    |       |    |       |      |                      |       |    |      |
|--------------------|-------|----|-------|------|----------------------|-------|----|------|
| Step 2: Metric     | 12.63 | 14 | 0.902 | 0.99 | 0.000 (0.000; 0.024) | 11.39 | 14 | 0.00 |
| Step 3: Intercepts | 12.67 | 35 | 0.362 | 0.99 | 0.000 (0.000; 0.000) | 11.43 | 35 | 0.00 |

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*Note.*  $\chi^2/df$  = chi-square divided by its degrees of freedom; CFI = comparative fit index; RMSEA = root mean

square error of approximation.  $\Delta\chi^2$  = Delta chi-square;  $\Delta df$  = Delta degrees of freedom;  $\Delta GFI$  = Delta *Goodness of*

*Fit Index*;  $N = 1321$ . \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ .



Honor Concerns in Eight Countries 3

Table 3

*Means and Standard Deviations of Response Biases, Honor Concerns and Moral Codes, and Cronbach's Alpha*

|                     | Brazil   |           | Israel   |           | Japan    |           | Macedonia |           | N. Zealand |           | Spain    |           | U. Kingdom |           | U. States |           |
|---------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                     | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i>  | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i>   | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i>   | <i>SD</i> | <i>M</i>  | <i>SD</i> |
| Acquiescence        | 0.21     | 0.24      | 0.24     | 0.18      | 0.06     | 0.26      | 0.20      | 0.17      | 0.14       | 0.25      | 0.08     | 0.31      | 0.08       | 0.28      | 0.08      | 0.27      |
| Extremity           | 0.23     | 0.17      | 0.12     | 0.11      | 0.20     | 0.15      | 0.13      | 0.11      | 0.13       | 0.10      | 0.21     | 0.12      | 0.13       | 0.12      | 0.15      | 0.14      |
| Community           | 4.19     | 0.91      | 4.66     | 0.61      | 4.22     | 0.97      | 4.96      | 0.97      | 4.37       | 0.85      | 3.90     | 0.99      | 4.12       | 0.97      | 3.85      | 1.06      |
| Autonomy            | 5.00     | 0.89      | 4.81     | 0.56      | 4.32     | 0.97      | 5.38      | 1.03      | 4.91       | 0.75      | 4.95     | 0.90      | 4.79       | 0.89      | 4.71      | 0.99      |
| Divinity            | 4.12     | 1.12      | 4.33     | 0.80      | 2.87     | 0.77      | 5.13      | 1.13      | 3.72       | 0.96      | 3.09     | 1.11      | 3.70       | 1.16      | 3.60      | 1.41      |
| Family honor        | 6.99     | 1.66      | 7.02     | 1.38      | 6.70     | 1.56      | 8.00      | 1.22      | 6.81       | 1.47      | 6.19     | 1.84      | 6.43       | 1.60      | 5.76      | 1.60      |
| Integrity           | 8.08     | 1.10      | 7.32     | 1.27      | 6.30     | 1.49      | 7.77      | 1.22      | 7.34       | 1.13      | 7.19     | 1.47      | 7.24       | 1.17      | 7.81      | 1.16      |
| Masc. honor         | 6.54     | 1.81      | 6.63     | 1.41      | 4.08     | 1.76      | 7.04      | 1.68      | 5.41       | 1.54      | 5.10     | 2.00      | 5.04       | 1.62      | 5.18      | 2.18      |
| Fem. honor          | 5.33     | 2.20      | 4.76     | 2.33      | 5.24     | 1.95      | 6.63      | 1.89      | 5.70       | 1.74      | 3.04     | 1.81      | 5.34       | 1.93      | 4.75      | 2.37      |
| Cronbach's $\alpha$ | $\alpha$ |           | $\alpha$ |           | $\alpha$ |           | $\alpha$  |           | $\alpha$   |           | $\alpha$ |           | $\alpha$   |           | $\alpha$  |           |
| Family honor        | 0.76     |           | 0.80     |           | 0.81     |           | 0.65      |           | 0.84       |           | 0.80     |           | 0.82       |           | 0.80      |           |
| Integrity           | 0.68     |           | 0.77     |           | 0.64     |           | 0.72      |           | 0.75       |           | 0.72     |           | 0.77       |           | 0.82      |           |
| Masc. honor         | 0.80     |           | 0.73     |           | 0.62     |           | 0.63      |           | 0.74       |           | 0.76     |           | 0.74       |           | 0.87      |           |
| Fem. honor          | 0.80     |           | 0.87     |           | 0.70     |           | 0.72      |           | 0.80       |           | 0.82     |           | 0.81       |           | 0.87      |           |

*Figure 2*

Profiles of Honor Concerns in Brazil, Israel, Japan, Macedonia, New Zealand, Spain,  
United Kingdom, and United States

## Honor Concerns in Eight Countries 2

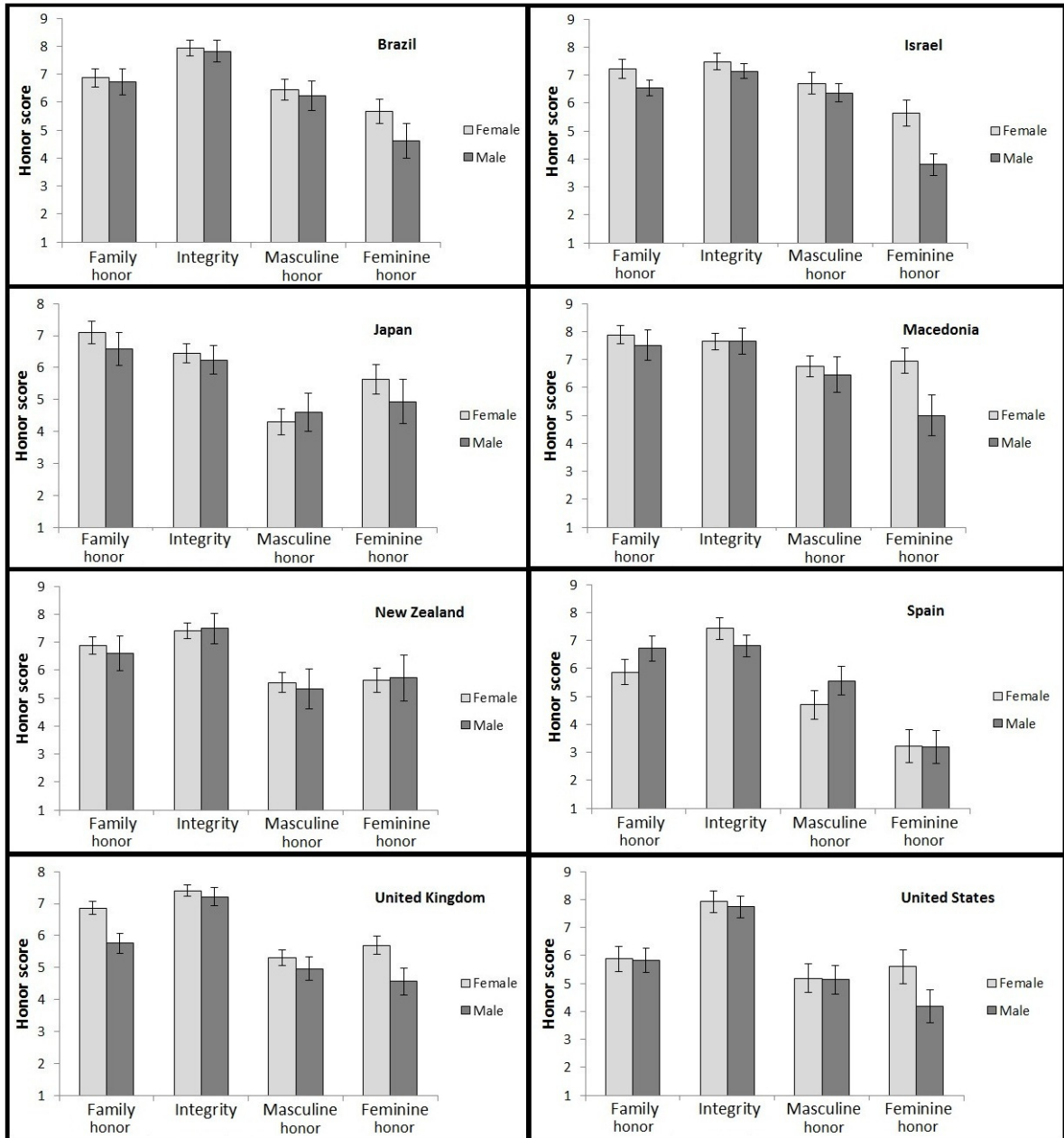


Table 4

*Nomological Network of Family Honor and Integrity Concerns in Eight Countries*

| <b>Country</b> | <b>Nomological network</b> | <b>Family honor<sup>a</sup></b> | <b>Integrity<sup>a</sup></b> |
|----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Brazil         | Community                  | 0.36**                          | -0.05                        |
|                | Autonomy                   | -0.10                           | 0.13                         |
|                | Divinity                   | 0.09                            | 0.15                         |
|                | Level of religiosity       | -0.15                           | 0.26**                       |
| Israel         | Community                  | 0.27**                          | 0.27**                       |
|                | Autonomy                   | 0.02                            | 0.09                         |
|                | Divinity                   | 0.03                            | 0.27**                       |
|                | Level of religiosity       | -0.13                           | 0.20**                       |
| Japan          | Community                  | 0.42**                          | 0.40**                       |
|                | Autonomy                   | 0.16                            | 0.21*                        |
|                | Divinity                   | -0.01                           | 0.09                         |
|                | Level of religiosity       | -0.01                           | 0.04                         |
| Macedonia      | Community                  | -0.05                           | 0.04                         |
|                | Autonomy                   | 0.02                            | 0.04                         |
|                | Divinity                   | 0.14                            | 0.04                         |
|                | Level of religiosity       | 0.04                            | -0.01                        |
| New Zealand    | Community                  | 0.48**                          | 0.19                         |
|                | Autonomy                   | 0.21*                           | 0.32**                       |
|                | Divinity                   | 0.22*                           | 0.19                         |
|                | Level of religiosity       | -0.04                           | 0.01                         |
| Spain          | Community                  | 0.05                            | -0.09                        |
|                | Autonomy                   | -0.06                           | 0.43**                       |
|                | Divinity                   | 0.01                            | -0.17                        |
|                | Level of religiosity       | 0.21                            | -0.24*                       |
| United Kingdom | Community                  | 0.22**                          | -0.01                        |
|                | Autonomy                   | -0.02                           | 0.18*                        |
|                | Divinity                   | -0.03                           | -0.03                        |
|                | Level of religiosity       | -0.09                           | 0.09                         |
| United States  | Community                  | 0.25*                           | 0.19                         |
|                | Autonomy                   | 0.26*                           | 0.26*                        |
|                | Divinity                   | 0.02                            | 0.09                         |
|                | Level of religiosity       | -0.11                           | 0.01                         |

Note. <sup>a</sup> Partial correlations, controlling for acquiescence. \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ .

Table 5

*Nomological Network of Masculine and Feminine Honor in Eight Countries*

| Country        | Nomological network  | Masculine honor <sup>a</sup> | Feminine honor <sup>a</sup> |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Brazil         | Community            | 0.14                         | 0.01                        |
|                | Autonomy             | 0.02                         | -0.01                       |
|                | Divinity             | 0.18                         | 0.34**                      |
|                | Level of religiosity | 0.05                         | 0.28**                      |
| Israel         | Community            | 0.19*                        | 0.22**                      |
|                | Autonomy             | 0.04                         | -0.07                       |
|                | Divinity             | 0.20*                        | 0.44**                      |
|                | Level of religiosity | 0.08                         | 0.38**                      |
| Japan          | Community            | 0.15                         | 0.17                        |
|                | Autonomy             | 0.27**                       | 0.06                        |
|                | Divinity             | 0.23*                        | -0.01                       |
|                | Level of religiosity | 0.16                         | 0.04                        |
| Macedonia      | Community            | -0.09                        | 0.05                        |
|                | Autonomy             | 0.04                         | 0.02                        |
|                | Divinity             | 0.07                         | 0.13                        |
|                | Level of religiosity | 0.17                         | 0.12                        |
| New Zealand    | Community            | 0.35**                       | 0.03                        |
|                | Autonomy             | 0.18                         | 0.07                        |
|                | Divinity             | 0.41**                       | 0.18                        |
|                | Level of religiosity | -0.06                        | 0.13                        |
| Spain          | Community            | 0.20                         | 0.12                        |
|                | Autonomy             | 0.09                         | -0.05                       |
|                | Divinity             | 0.08                         | 0.27*                       |
|                | Level of religiosity | 0.03                         | 0.24*                       |
| United Kingdom | Community            | 0.21**                       | 0.18**                      |
|                | Autonomy             | -0.17**                      | -0.07                       |
|                | Divinity             | 0.06                         | 0.28**                      |
|                | Level of religiosity | -0.01                        | 0.20**                      |
| United States  | Community            | 0.22*                        | 0.21                        |
|                | Autonomy             | 0.08                         | -0.23*                      |
|                | Divinity             | 0.29**                       | 0.49**                      |
|                | Level of religiosity | 0.09                         | 0.27*                       |

Note. <sup>a</sup>Partial correlations, controlling for acquiescence. \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ .