

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

CULTURE OF HONOR AND FEMALE INCARCERATION

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

By

MICHAEL GERARD DOERGE JR.

Norman, Oklahoma

2023

CULTURE OF HONOR AND FEMALE INCARCERATION

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

Dr. Mauricio Carvallo, Chair

Dr. Luz-Eugenia Fuenzalida

Dr. Jenel Cavazos

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Abstract

Some states in the U.S. maintain higher than usual rates of female incarceration. Prior research suggests that these incarceration rates are determined by poverty, education, or racial makeup. However, these explanations have not considered the role that culture may play on attitudes towards the punishment of women. Therefore, in two studies, I investigate the role of culture of honor on attitudes towards the incarceration of women. In Study 1, I compared female incarceration rates between states with honor status and non-honor status in the U.S. Honor status predicted female incarceration after controlling for a variety of important covariates. In Study 2, I tested the assumption that endorsement of culture of honor and gender roles interact to predict attitudes towards the incarceration of women, but not men. Using a gendered crime vignette stimulus, I found that participants who scored high in culture of honor and gender norms were more likely to punish women, not men, for the same drug related crime.

Keywords: culture, honor, female incarceration, gender, punishment

Culture of Honor and Female Incarceration

The United States is a world leader in incarceration, accounting for nearly 20% of the global incarcerated population with roughly 2.3 million incarcerated people as of 2020 (Sawyer & Wagner, 2020). Although the population of male prisoners in the U.S. has slowly declined, the population of female prisoners has continually increased. Today, the U.S. has become a world leader in the gross population and rate of incarcerated women with roughly 83,000 female prisoners for 47 females incarcerated per 100,000 U.S. citizens (Carson 2021; Cowan, 2019). Within the U.S., some states stand out for having considerably higher female incarceration rates, including Oklahoma and Idaho. Oklahoma alone has a world leading female incarceration rate of 106 females incarcerated per 100,000 citizens, which is higher than or equal to other leading incarcerators including China, Qatar, and the U.S. itself (Carson 2021). Of all people incarcerated in the U.S., the most prevalent criminal offense is some form of drug related crime. However, a higher proportion of women are incarcerated on drug related charges compared to men. While the phenomenon of female incarceration has been studied for years, the issue shows no signs of lessening and previous literature has only evaluated sociological explanations.

In this thesis, I will utilize both a psychological and cultural approach to the issue of female incarceration. In doing so, I will focus primarily on the antecedents of female incarceration using a culture of honor framework. This perspective is based on the idea that cultural logics of honor promote specific norms, values, practices, and ideals for managing social order. Culture of honor societies are more likely to enforce strict social norms and rely on retributive justice to punish norm violation offenders (Brown et al., 2017; Gerber & Jackson, 2013; Gul & Schuster, 2020). Before I provide a conceptual description of retributive

punishment and culture of honor, I will briefly describe sociological antecedents of women incarceration.

Sociological Explanations for Female Incarceration

Previous literature has thus far only identified surface level social demographics as possible justifications for why some states in the U.S. report higher than usual female incarceration rates. According to Myers et al. (2021), the proportion of a state's Black population significantly predicts disparities in female incarceration rates. Similarly, Holtfreter et al. (1999) claims that we should expect to find increased female incarceration rates in poorer states. Poverty levels should not only lead residents towards crime at greater rates but should also prevent them from affording competent legal representation during criminal trials. Lastly, a state's average educational attainment has been used as justification for the high rate of female incarceration (Cowan, 2019; Mauer et al., 2004). All of these arguments have been presented as past explanations for a state's higher than usual female incarceration rates; however, these explanations fail to acknowledge any function of social or cultural psychological antecedents or personally held beliefs towards the punishment and incarceration of women. In this thesis, I will investigate how attitudes and preferences towards punishment may change based on one's psychological and cultural perception of criminal offenses and personally held cultural norms.

Retributive Punishment

Previous research suggests that attitudes towards punishment may vary based on personally held concepts behind the purpose of punishment, incarceration, and criminal justice (Gerber, 2021). Two primary forms of punitive perspectives have been supported by past punishment literature, utilitarian punishment or "punishment as just deserts" and retributive punishment or "punishment as revenge" (Gerber & Jackson, 2013). A utilitarian punishment

perspective is based on beliefs that punishment ought to correct and dissuade future criminal offenses. Thus, punishment should set an example to deter possible offenders from committing future crimes or deter an offender from reoffending. Juxtaposed to utilitarian punishment, and more important for the current research, retributive punishment is primarily concerned with retaliation and predicts unfair, harsh treatment, for breaking the law and committing a crime that is a threat to society (Gerber & Jackson, 2013). Retributive punishment is based on the repayment of wrongful acts and has been associated with enforcing status boundaries and punishing those who violate social norms and rules (Wenzel et al., 2012). From this perspective, we could argue that women who are viewed as violating prescribed social norms should be more likely to be punished for their offenses. In the case of women who commit a crime, it follows that crime, more than mere violation of law, is socially understood as a violation of norms and expectations about female behavior. According to gender prescriptions, crime belongs to the public sphere, and therefore, to the space meant to be occupied by men (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Women, when engaging in criminally delinquent behavior, go beyond the private environment of home and act beyond the domestic, conjugal and/or maternal roles. Although research on retributive punishment does not explain or make predictions about attitudes toward women incarceration, this perspective can support shifting attitudes towards punishment of women using a culture of honor lens (Brown, 2016; Fraga 2020; Gerber 2021).

Culture of Honor

A culture of honor is based on norms and beliefs that encourage a strong concern for personal reputation. This ideology greatly enforces differences between men and women and is typically centered around a man's retention of or expression of honor (Brown et al., 2014; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). From a historical perspective, honor cultures have emerged in societies

where there was little legal or law enforcement oversight, where the citizenry was economically insecure, and individuals felt the need to solve problems by themselves without seeking outside assistance (Brown, 2016; Nowak et al., 2016). Geographically, honor cultures exist around the world, including the Middle East, South Asia, and Central and South America. In the U.S., states that are considered honor endorsing exist in the contiguous South and West where legal systems developed later than the North and East, and where the primary source of income was agrarian and thus, susceptible to many threats such as weather threats, crop diseases, and animal poaching (Nowak et al., 2016, Travaglino et al., 2014, Vandello et al., 2009).

Members of honor societies express a strong concern for maintaining their reputation. Culture of honor endorsers feel an intense need to defend their own or their group reputation from threat of insult or exploitation by maintaining a highly reactive and often aggressive personality (Brown et al., 2009; Foster et al., 2021). The ultimate threat in a culture of honor system would be the threat of losing honor or acting dishonorably. Thus, men may uphold their honor through displays of strength, bravery, and high reactivity to insult. Conversely, men can lose their honor or violate honor norms by acting cowardly, weak, or letting an insult stand without retaliation (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). In contrast, and important for this current thesis, women in cultures of honor maintain their honor by acting sexually pure, providing for, defending the home or family unit, and being loyal to their partners or family. Conversely, women may lose honor when they act impure, promiscuous, or disloyal (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Thus, members of honor-based societies express strong concern for maintaining their reputation not only for moral traits (e.g., honesty, trustworthiness), but also for traits and behavior expected based on their gender. With a myriad of ways of losing one's honor and having the loss of honor represent financial or safety threats, maintaining honor becomes a

significant part of one's ideological stance, even justifying retaliation, violence, and in some cases murder (Brown & Osterman, 2012; Brown et al., 2017).

Research suggests that women in cultures of honor are likely to experience negative outcomes when they engage in behavior that results in losing honor or threatens men's honor. For example, when a man's honor is threatened by the actions of his female partner, such as by infidelity, men in a culture of honor are more likely, and more permitted, to act violently towards the woman as a correction for the honor violation and the threat to the man's honor reputation (Brown et al., 2017; Vandello et al., 2009). Outside of an established domestic relationship, honor endorsement has also been associated with negative perceptions of female rape victims and greater belief in rape myths that blame female victims rather than male perpetrators (Saucier et al., 2015). Additionally, honor endorsement has been positively associated with both benevolent and hostile sexist views towards women, solidifying a precedent for men in cultures of honor to enforce strict gender norms both on themselves and the women around them (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Saucier et al., 2016).

Based on research that supports the view that women in cultures of honor may be punished for not conforming to behavior expected based on their gender, I propose that the endorsement of culture of honor should be associated with harsher attitudes toward female incarceration. Moreover, I propose that this relationship should be moderated by an adherence to gender norms. Since high endorsement in culture of honor is associated with higher reputation concerns and punishment for norm violations, we should expect more severe punishment for female criminal offenders since their behavior violates the social gendered norms of crime. This view is consistent with retributive punishment theory and culture of honor research that has shown punitive and violent behavior towards women who fail to adhere to female honor norms

and strict gendered roles (Brown et al., 2018; Gerber 2021; Vandello et al., 2009). Gender roles represent beliefs regarding different behaviors that are prescribed for men and women separately and often with little overlap (Brown & Gladstone, 2012). Since men often hold the gender role of criminal, aggressive, or deviant behavior, male criminal action would not presumably violate a gendered norm to not engage in criminal behavior. In contrast, women should adhere to the gender norm that prescribes staying chaste, pure, and out of trouble with the law (Fargher, 2019; Fraga, 2020). When engaging in criminal behavior, female criminal offenders may be seen as having both violated a legal code and a gender norm that paints female criminals as unladylike and uncivilized. This type of dual norm violation has been coined as the “evil woman theory” (Sharp, 2014). In regard to the current research, a punishment based on the violation of gender norms should only apply to a female criminal offender, and not to a male criminal offender.

I tested these assumptions in two studies. In **Study 1**, I used a cross-cultural design to examine whether culture of honor states in the U.S. exhibit higher female incarceration rates than non-culture of honor states. In Study 1, I tested the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1. We should expect that honor endorsing states have a significantly higher female incarceration rate than non-honor endorsing states, even when controlling for important covariates.

In **Study 2**, I tested my main assumption more directly by examining whether individual differences of culture of honor endorsement predicted increased punitive attitudes and preference for incarceration differently for women and men. I expected to find that honor of culture endorsement should predict punitive attitudes towards women (not men) because of a moderation effect by gender roles beliefs. In Study 2, I tested the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2. Honor endorsement should significantly predict stronger punishment attitudes towards female criminal offenders, but not male, among individuals who strongly endorse gender role beliefs. Whereas honor endorsement should not predict punishment attitudes towards female criminal offenders among individuals who do not endorse gender role beliefs.

Study 1

In Study 1, I explored the relationship between female incarceration rates and state level honor endorsement (Brown et al., 2017; Nowak et al., 2016; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). In this study, I propose that honor endorsing states will predict significantly higher female incarceration rates than non-honor endorsing states, even when controlling for previously supported sociological factors underlying incarceration. I tested this assumption by analyzing differences among honor and non-honor states in the U.S. on rates of female incarceration, while controlling for variables such as state conservatism levels, religiosity, Black population, poverty, educational attainment, and unemployment. These variables were selected and included because previous research has shown that they are important predictors of female incarceration rates and represent ideological, cultural, and sociodemographic differences across the span of the U.S. (Holtfreter et al., 2004; Mauer et al., 1999; Webster & Kingston, 2014).

Data

Since I am foremost interested in assessing the role of honor culture on female incarceration, I first separated all 50 states based on their honor or non-honor status. This distinction between honor and non-honor states was made based on previous research on the historical and cultural values of different regions within the U.S. In this research, states in the contiguous South and West U.S. are coded as honor states, while states in the remaining North,

East, and non-contiguous regions are coded as non-honor states (Cohen et al., 1996; Cohen, 1998; Barnes et al., 2012; Brown et al., 2009). I then compiled statistics on the rates of female incarceration (as females incarcerated per 100,000) in the year 2020 for each state in the U.S., using data from the U.S. Department of Justice “Prisoners in 2020 statistical tables” (Carson, 2021). I obtained average conservatism versus liberalism percentages and state population percentages considered “very religious” for all 50 states in the year 2014 from the Pew “Religious Landscape Study” (Lipka & Wormald, 2016). Black proportions for each state were determined from the 2020 U.S. Census data in which Black identification was coded as any individual self-identified as Black or identified as Black and mixed race with a different racial identity (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). All 50 states’ poverty rates were calculated by the percent of the state population living at or under poverty level, taken from the Congressional Research Service’s “Poverty in the United States in 2020” survey (Dalaker, 2020). Lastly, average educational attainment by state in 2020 was determined by Federal Reserve data in the “Educational Attainment” survey which represents the percent of a state’s population that held a bachelor’s degree or higher degree (“Educational Attainment”, 2023).

Results

Table 1 (see Appendix A) presents descriptive statistics for, and zero order correlations among, all the study variables. As shown in Table 1, all variables included were significantly correlated (at the highest level, $ps < .001$) with female imprisonment except for state Black proportion which was not significantly correlated, and state unemployment rates which were only significant at the .05 level. More importantly, I analyzed female incarceration rates through a multiple regression analysis that included all the statewide covariates. Consistent with my hypothesis, this regression model revealed that state honor status significantly predicted female

incarceration ($\beta = .33, t(42) = 2.48, p = .017$) as did average state educational attainment in the opposite direction ($\beta = -.55, t(42) = -2.94, p = .005$). However, no other variable significantly predicted female incarceration rates by state (Table 2; see Appendix B).

Discussion

The results of Study 1 support the assumption that state honor culture status should predict significantly higher rates of female incarceration than non-honor status states. Specifically, the results showed that honor status uniquely predicted higher female incarceration rates, even when including and accounting for pertinent covariates. This finding supports the importance of addressing state cultural values to understand criminal justice outcomes, specially for women that live in and commit crimes in honor states. Prior research into cultures of honor have overwhelmingly focused on male behaviors, attitudes, and honor violations or criminal actions of violence by honor endorsers. The current research expands the prior literature by addressing the criminal justice system from a cultural of honor perspective, highlighting the importance of taking into account honor culture norms and values to better understand the punishment of women criminal offenders.

Study 2

In Study 2, I tested my thesis main assumption more directly by examining whether individual differences of culture of honor endorsement predicted increased punitive attitudes and preference for incarceration differently for women and men. Since personal endorsement of honor has been shown to relate with attitudes towards gender norms, sexist attitudes, and violence towards women, I expected to find that culture of honor endorsement should predict punitive attitudes towards women (not men) due to the moderation effect of gender role beliefs.

Method

Participants

Participants were 364 undergraduate students (110 males, 250 females, 4 transgender or gender-nonconforming) enrolled at The University of Oklahoma. The ages of participants ranged from 17 to 64 years, with a mean age of 19.0 years ($SD = 2.83$). The sample was predominately White non-Hispanic ($N = 256$), Asian ($N = 34$), Black ($N = 34$), Latinx ($N = 61$), Native American ($N = 34$), Middle Eastern ($N = 9$), and Pacific Islander ($N = 3$). Participants were asked to complete a survey with self-report measures on a volunteer basis over Qualtrics.com. Participants were awarded credits towards in-class participation for their completion of the study.

Procedure and Materials

Participants were asked to complete an online survey using the Qualtrics platform. In this survey participants first completed some demographic questionnaires, followed by three measures assessing culture of honor (Honor Concerns Scale, Honor Ideology for Manhood Scale, and Honor Ideology for Womanhood Scale), one measure assessing gender role beliefs, and a series of measures that were included in the analyses as covariates. These variables have been shown to predict attitudes toward incarceration in previous studies and include conservatism, religiosity, right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, general punitiveness, and patriarchal beliefs. After completing the aforementioned measures, participants were randomly assigned to read a vignette depicting either a female (Victoria Wilson) or a male (Victor Wilson) criminal offender (see Appendix D), arrested for trafficking and possession of cocaine and methamphetamine. After reading the vignette, participants were asked to report the severity of the punishment deserved by the female/male criminal offender. To this end, participants were

asked to complete an outcome measure that assessed punishment attitudes towards female criminal offenders.

Honor Concerns Scale (HC; $\alpha = .896$). The 9-item HC scale (Ijzerman et al., 2007) assesses a general sense of one's concern for honor. It includes such as, "I think that honor is one of the most important things that I have as a human being" and "My honor is the basis for my self-respect". Participants indicated to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the statements on a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

Honor Ideology for Manhood Scale (HIM; $\alpha = .959$). The 16-item HIM scale (Barnes et al., 2012) measures how much participants endorse the masculine facet of honor. Participants indicated to what extent they agreed or disagreed with statements such as "A real man doesn't let other people push him around" and "A real man will never back down from a fight". Participants responded on a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

Honor Ideology for Womanhood Scale (HIW; $\alpha = .935$). The 12-item HIW scale (Barnes et al., 2014) indicates the extent to which participants endorse the feminine facet of honor. Participants indicated to what extent they agreed or disagreed with statements such as "A good woman never tolerates disrespect" and "A respectable woman knows that what she does reflects on her family name". Participants responded on a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

Gender role beliefs ($\alpha = .876$). To measure gender role beliefs, we included the ten-item gender roles beliefs survey (Brown & Gladstone, 2012) which measures the extent to which one believes in strict gender roles an example item of the gender role beliefs survey is "It is

ridiculous for a woman to work construction and a man to sew clothes.” Participants responded on a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

Political Ideology ($\alpha = .642$). This 2-item measure assesses the degree to which participants tend to be liberal or conservative. The two items of the conservatism questionnaire are “To what extent do you identify as liberal versus conservative” and “to what extent do you agree with ‘economic conservative’ policies (economic conservatism means a belief in less government spending on social programs, lower taxes, deregulation of the economy, free trade, etc.)?” The responses were recorded from 1 (Very Liberal) to 7 (Very Conservative) and 1 (Strongly Disagree) to (Strongly Agree) respectively.

Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA; $\alpha = .869$). The 14-item right wing authoritarianism survey (Altemeyer, 1998) measures participant adherence to traditional conservative values and authoritarian rule. An example item of RWA is “obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.” Participants responded on a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

Social Dominance Ordering (SDO; $\alpha = .809$). The eight-item social dominance order survey (Ho et al., 2015) measures attitudes of ethnic-racial equality or ordering ($\alpha = .809$). An example item of SDO is “group equality should not be our goal.” Participants responded on a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

Support for Punitive Actions ($\alpha = .868$). The eight-item punitive actions support survey (Chiricos et al., 2004) measures general attitudes towards criminal punishment. An example item of the punitive actions support survey is “Please rate your agreement to the following

statements...making more prisoners work on chain gangs.” Participants responded on a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

Patriarchal Beliefs Scale ($\alpha = .982$). The 12-item patriarchal beliefs scale measures support for male dominance and female subservience in several social or occupational settings. An example patriarchal beliefs scale item is “men should lead national politics.” Participants responded on a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

Punishment Attitudes towards Female Criminal Offenders ($\alpha = .843$). Since the primary research outcome in this thesis is how attitudes towards punishment may change regarding a male versus a female criminal offender, culture of honor, and adherence to gender norms, the outcome measures were presented in non-gendered and neutral terms to gather stimulated perspectives on punishment. Five items were adapted from Fargher (2019) and were presented after participants viewed their assigned vignette. The first item asked, “how morally outraged were you by the individual’s criminal offense” and participants responded along a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely). The second item asked, “to what extent do you think that the individual should be punished for their actions” and participants responded along the same scale as the first item. The third item asked, “to what extent do you agree that this individual should be punished for their action” and participants responded along a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The fourth item asked, “to what extent do you agree that these sorts of actions should be against the law and subject to punishment by the state” and was set along the same scale as item three. The fifth and final item asked, “how severe should the punishment for these actions be” and participants responded along a scale from 1 (extremely lenient) to 9 (extremely severe). These five items were averaged to compute the mean outcome measurement of punishment attitude.

Results

In order to test the hypothesis of Study 2, I first carried out a component factor analysis (CFA) to create a latent honor endorsement factor, as has been done in prior research (Barnes et al., 2014; Bock et al., 2019; Foster et al., 2021). Results of the CFA demonstrated that the HIM, HIW, and HC variables all loaded significantly onto a single factor ($p < .001$). The dominant factor which emerged (eigenvalue = 2.20) explained 73.24% of the variability in the honor scales. This latent honor factor was used for the regression analysis to test the study main hypothesis. Bivariate correlations, means, and standard deviations for the variables of interest can be found in Table 3. (See Appendix E)

I conducted a moderated moderation analysis using Hayes Process version 4 (Hayes, 2017), model 3, to test the effect of honor culture endorsement, gender norm beliefs, and vignette condition on punishment outcome measures. The overall regression analysis was statistically significant and predicted 16% of the variance in the outcome punishment measure ($F(12,351) = 5.64, p < .000, R^2 = .16$). All main effects in the model, including honor endorsement, gender role belief, and vignette condition were non-significant (p 's = .09, .57, and .9, respectively). The covariates of conservatism, SDO, punitiveness, and patriarchal views were significant ($p < .000; p = .003; p = .015; p = .017$); whereas the RWA covariate proved to be not significant ($p > .5$). The analysis also revealed that out of the three two-way interactions, only the honor x vignette condition interaction was significant ($p = .019$) while the honor x gender norms interaction ($p = .054$) and the vignette condition x gender norms interaction ($p = .839$) were not significant. More importantly, the analysis revealed that the three-way interaction of honor x gender norms x vignette condition was statistically significant ($R^2(\text{change}) = .0105, F(1,351) = 4.41, p < .05$). Tests of simple slopes of condition revealed that among low Gender Roles

endorsers, honor was a significant predictor of punishment severity for a male criminal offender ($b = .41, t(352) = 3.37, p = .001$), but not for a female criminal offender ($b = .07, t(351) = .07, p = .50$). In contrast, among high Gender Roles endorsers, honor was a significant predictor of punishment severity for a female offender ($b = .20, t(352) = 2.07, p = .04$), but not for a male offender ($b = .17, t(352) = 1.66$,

Discussion

Consistent with Study 1, which utilized a state level analysis of female incarceration rates, the findings of Study 2 revealed that culture of honor measured at an individual level can also predict female incarceration. However, this relationship is moderated by the endorsement of gender role beliefs. Thus, the results of Study 2 support my main assumption and demonstrates that gender role beliefs moderate the effect of honor culture ideology on punitive attitudes towards women, not men. Specifically, high personal endorsement of honor culture values, when also high in gender role beliefs, predicted higher outcome punishment attitudes which represent greater perceived illegality of actions, greater moral outrage, and a preference for more severe punishment for female criminal offenders, but not for male offenders. These findings support the importance of gender role beliefs regarding criminal justice outcomes and support the view that women who break the law are also breaking a feminine gender norm that, in cultures of honor, may result in steeper punishments. Whereas men who break the law are not viewed as violating a gender norm. Importantly, these findings were significant even when controlling for political ideology, punitiveness and patriarchal attitudes, RWA, and SDO, suggesting that cultural psychological antecedents are unique and irreplaceable contributors for research on gendered incarceration attitudes. Overall, the results of Study 2 support the assumption that the pattern of

incarceration disparities impacting female criminal offenders in cultures of honor is driven by gender role beliefs.

General Discussion

Women are the fastest growing segment of the incarcerated population in the U.S., increasing at double the rate of men during the last two decades (Cowan, 2019; Fraga 2020). A culture of honor analysis provides a novel social psychological perspective to explain this phenomenon. In cultures of honor, cultural norms and expectations are highly gendered and demand that women be pure and loyal while men be tough, strong, intolerant of disrespect, and keen to pick up on honor threats and violations (Brown et al., 2017; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). I examined this perspective on female incarceration in two studies. In Study 1, I built upon previous honor culture and violence towards women research to investigate female incarceration rates and legal punishment. I utilized official demographic, socioeconomic, political, and a state-level honor culture status data to determine whether honor state status is a uniquely significant predictor of female incarceration rates, controlling for geographic differences in religiosity, education, and poverty. Study 1 results were consistent with the assumption that honor culture states would have significantly higher rates of female incarceration compared to non-honor culture states. In Study 2, I investigated the impact of culture of honor on female incarceration rates at the individual difference level. I utilized self-report surveys and gendered crime vignettes to determine whether participants who personally endorse honor culture beliefs and held high gender role beliefs reported more punitive attitudes towards female criminal offenders. The results of Study 2 were consistent with both Study 1, and with the proposal that individual cultural and psychological antecedents would predict attitudes towards criminal punishment for men and women separately. Overall, the findings of Studies 1 and 2

suggest that women should not only be concerned about violating honor norms but also gender norms. Women who deviate from more broad gender norms are also likely to be punished in return for their perceived gender norm violation (Brown et al., 2017; Fargher, 2019; Sharp, 2014).

Together, these studies supplement and enhance previous research on the interactions of honor culture endorsement and behaviors or attitudes towards women. Future studies should focus on specific criminal acts perpetrated by either male or female actors to determine if there is a further complex effect of crime type on punishment attitudes. Additionally, future work should draw heavily from retributive punishment research and continue to progress the fields of culture of honor and gender norms by determining which identities, acts, and behaviors by criminal offenders may elicit worse or better punishment attitudes. Lastly, as a long-term goal, this line of research should investigate interventions that may be implemented in the criminal justice system to express and acknowledge cultural concerns on criminality in an effort to reduce incarceration disparity via post-positivist legal codes, different policing strategies, or conscientious sentencing standards.

This research was limited by subject pool generalizability issues and the self-report study design. The subject pool was compromised of young college students that have very little or nothing at all to do with active criminal justice efforts. However, this research is consistent with current criminal justice research that studies appropriateness of sentences based on public opinion (Gerber 2021). According to this research, public punitiveness is important because politicians should be reluctant to create, and judges slow to impose, community punishments that are not aligned with the view and attitudes that the general public holds. In addition, while online self-report surveys are subject to a myriad of issues like self-report bias and distraction from the

task, the reliability values, large sample size, and past validation of the measures utilized provides confidence in the findings and suggests trustworthy conclusions for the research at hand. Additionally, the between groups design does serve higher order information than correlational designs by creating a scientific and causational research design. In conclusion, while there are methodological limitations to this research, it is still valid and useful for expanding the literature on culture of honor, gender norms, and female incarceration.

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Appendix A

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for and Zero-Order Correlations among Study 1 Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Female Imprisonment Rate	1.000							
2. Honor Status	0.470**	1.000						
3. Conservatism	0.636**	0.439**	1.000					
4. Unemployment	-0.277*	0.018	-0.481**	1.000				
5. Religiosity	0.469**	0.561**	0.689**	-0.135	1.000			
6. Black Proportion	-0.085	0.253	0.144	0.158	0.587**	1.000		
7. Poverty	0.447**	0.573**	0.51**	0.134	0.704**	0.490**	1.000	
8. Education	-0.686**	-0.320*	-0.706**	0.120	-0.611**	-0.091	-0.681**	1.000
<i>M</i>	46.800	-	0.374	7.354	0.548	12.004	10.886	33.882
<i>SD</i>	27.590	-	0.066	1.901	0.107	9.462	2.784	5.513

(**p <.01) (* p<.05)

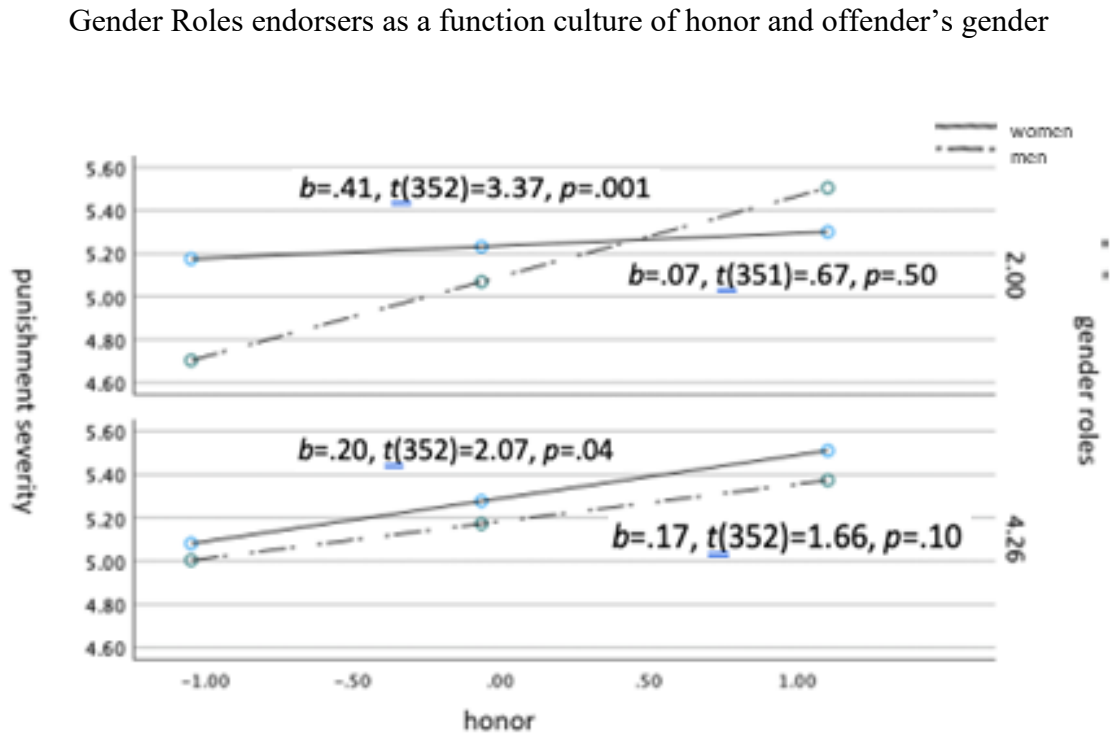
Appendix B

Table 2. Female Incarceration Rates as a Function of State Honor Status and Statewide
Covariates

	Beta	t(42)	Sig.
Honor	0.328	2.479	0.017
Conservatism	0.064	0.332	0.742
Unemployment	-0.137	-1.076	0.288
Religiosity	0.054	0.263	0.794
Black Proportion	-0.205	-1.353	0.183
Poverty	-0.068	-0.362	0.719
Education	-0.551	-2.940	0.005

Appendix C

Figure 1. Punishment outcome attitudes (severity) among LOW (top) and HIGH (bottom) Gender Roles endorsers as a function culture of honor and offender's gender



Appendix D

Male vignette

4 **Drug Trafficking Investigation Leads to Man's Arrest in Broken Arrow, Oklahoma**

*By Curtis Daniels | Broken Arrow Sentinel
July 22, 2022*

Broken Arrow — A Broken Arrow man was arrested on drug trafficking charges after a police search warrant executed at his apartment uncovered cocaine, methamphetamine, and thousands of dollars in cash.

Broken Arrow Police report that Victor Wilson, 37, had been the target of a narcotics investigation carried out by detectives with the department's Special Investigations Unit.

On Saturday morning, detectives, with the help of the SWAT team, executed a search warrant for the target apartment, where Victor Wilson resided.

The warrant was for cocaine, though other drugs were allegedly discovered inside the apartment during the search.

The SWAT team breached the apartment door shortly after 6 a.m. and found Victor with approximately 80 grams of cocaine, as well as 100 grams of fake Adderall pills. Police said the round orange pills tested positive for methamphetamine, though they were stamped with the imprint code "AD 30," used to identify 30 mg Adderall.

According to Police, Victor was also found with a few other medications, including Xanax and Percocet. Police additionally found a digital scale, sandwich bags — allegedly used to package the drugs — and nearly \$8,000 cash inside the apartment, suggesting that Victor was selling these drugs in the Broken Arrow area.

Victor is being charged with trafficking in 36 grams or more of cocaine, trafficking in 100 grams or more of methamphetamine and possession of Class B drugs with intent to distribute. He is being held on a \$5,000 cash bail.

Victor's attorney denied to comment about the case.

↳ **Drug Trafficking Investigation Leads to Woman's Arrest in Broken Arrow, Oklahoma**

*By Curtis Daniels | Broken Arrow Sentinel
July 22, 2022*

Broken Arrow — A Broken Arrow woman was arrested on drug trafficking charges after a police search warrant executed at her apartment uncovered cocaine, methamphetamine, and thousands of dollars in cash.

Broken Arrow Police report that Victoria Wilson, 37, had been the target of a narcotics investigation carried out by detectives with the department's Special Investigations Unit.

On Saturday morning, detectives, with the help of the SWAT team, executed a search warrant for the target apartment, where Victoria Wilson resided.

The warrant was for cocaine, though other drugs were allegedly discovered inside the apartment during the search.

The SWAT team breached the apartment door shortly after 6 a.m. and found Victoria with approximately 80 grams of cocaine, as well as 100 grams of fake Adderall pills. Police said the round orange pills tested positive for methamphetamine, though they were stamped with the imprint code "AD 30," used to identify 30 mg Adderall.

According to Police, Victoria was also found with a few other medications, including Xanax and Percocet. Police additionally found a digital scale, sandwich bags — allegedly used to package the drugs — and nearly \$8,000 cash inside the apartment, suggesting that Victoria was selling these drugs in the Broken Arrow area.

Victoria is being charged with trafficking in 36 grams or more of cocaine, trafficking in 100 grams or more of methamphetamine and possession of Class B drugs with intent to distribute. She is being held on a \$5,000 cash bail.

Victoria's attorney denied to comment about the case.

Appendix E

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for and Bivariate Correlations among Study 2 Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. HIM	1										
2. HIW	.596**	1									
3. HC	.585**	.614**	1								
4. Aggregated Honor	.861**	.863**	.841**	1							
5. Gender Roles	.534**	.413**	.408**	.530**	1						
6. Outcome Punishment Attitudes	.098	.292**	.206**	.231**	.036	1					
7. Conservatism	.404**	.494**	.383**	.497**	.486**	.203**	1				
8. RWA	.377**	.432**	.397**	.469**	.714**	.040	.556**	1			
9. SDO	.312**	.261**	.271**	.329**	.581**	-.064	.491**	.621**	1		
10. Punitive Attitudes	.391**	.318**	.363**	.418**	.490**	.130*	.369**	.462**	.409**	1	
11. Patriarchal Beliefs	.449**	.322**	.344**	.436**	.777**	-.053	.425**	.625**	.564**	.478**	1
<i>M</i>	4.89	5.84	5.26	5.33	3.26	5.20	4.18	3.33	3.19	4.22	2.77
<i>SD</i>	1.73	1.65	1.46	1.38	1.10	1.00	1.31	0.93	0.98	1.51	1.45

(**p < .01) (* p < .05)