UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

SEXUAL OBJECTIFICATION IN A CULTURE OF HONOR

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

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Norman, Oklahoma
2020

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SEXUAL OBJECTIFICATION IN A CULTURE OF HONOR

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

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Acknowledgements

I would first like to acknowledge my committee for their invaluable help in completing this project: Dr. Mauricio Carvallo for challenging me to become a better researcher while providing unwavering support, Dr. Ann Beutel for proudly waving the sociology flag and providing insight into gender roles and expectations, Dr. Jenel Cavazos for being a mentor and friend throughout this process and helping me advance my career, Dr. Carolin Showers for giving me my start in research and making sure that the little things are done right, and Dr. Robert Terry for teaching me almost everything I know about data analysis and doing it with a smile. I would also like to acknowledge my family for their support. Mom and Dad, I wouldn't have even sniffed a PhD if you two weren't such amazing and patient parents. Thank you for always believing in me, always valuing the importance of education, and always giving me the support I needed to reach my goals. Matthew, thanks for setting such a ridiculously high standard that I felt the need to get a doctorate to meet it. Jackson, thank you for keeping all of us sane and for giving me someone to brag about. Of course, I have to acknowledge my wife, Stephanie, for being amazing at pretty much everything, including being a better academic than me. So many people made this dissertation possible: Dr. Jennifer Barnes, Kevin Bell, Nancy Capps, Paul Capps, Stephanie Cross, Dr. Mary Dzindolet, Stephen Foster, Dr. Maria King, Maggie Kleiser, Dr. Lara Mayeux, Keegan McMillen, Molly O'Mealey, Aaron Pomerantz, and more. If I thanked everyone who had a hand in the success of this project, the length of the acknowledgements would rival the dissertation itself. To everyone who helped, named or not, thank you!

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Abstract

The sexual assault of women by men is one of the most important issues facing the modern world. Previous research has identified that women in some regions of the world, home to the norms and beliefs commonly termed a "culture of honor," experience more sexual assaults and less support in the face of such an experience. This trend indicates that men who endorse the ideology of a culture of honor are more likely to sexually objectify, and potentially assault, women. The purpose of this research is to establish the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification, as well as investigate potential mediators of that relationship. Three studies were run examining these variables from self-report data obtained from college (Studies 1 and 2) and Amazon Mechanical Turk (Study 3) samples. Study 1 established that there is a positive relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification, and that sexual objectification mediates the relationship between honor ideology and attitudes about sexual violence toward women. Studies 2 and 3 explored potential mediators of the link between honor ideology and sexual objectification. Study 2 examined patriarchal beliefs alone as a potential mediator, while Study 3 looked at the relative mediating effects of patriarchal beliefs and concern for reputation in the same model. Study 2 and 3 established that patriarchal beliefs significantly mediates the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification, even when the effect of concern for reputation is considered. Study 3 indicated that concern for reputation does not significantly mediate the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification when the effect of patriarchal beliefs is considered.

KEYWORDS: Honor, Culture, Objectification, Violence, Gender

Introduction

Human culture across history has almost uniformly been dominated by patriarchal societies (Goldberg, 1973). These societies value the needs and desires of men above those of women, and the needs of men often come at a woman's expense. The repercussions of such a value system for women can be seen even in today's Western society. For example, despite attempts to correct the recognized imbalance between men and women, a wage gap still exists in the United States and in much of the rest of the world (Graf, Brown, & Patten, 2019). Similarly, women are still discouraged from pursuing high-powered or scientific careers from a young age, and this discouragement has lasting effects that manifest in differences in the proportion of individuals in these careers who are women (McWhirter, 1997; Beede et al., 2011; Kahn & Ginther, 2017).

Beyond being denied monetary resources, women in modern society are also still subject to the negative consequences brought about by the sexual desires of men. In the United States, 1 in 5 women will be a victim of sexual assault in her lifetime, compared to 1 in 71 men, and the estimates for women appear to be growing over time (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Black et al., 2011). Recently, the "Me Too" movement has shed light on how often women are subjected to unwanted sexual advances and sexual assault, as well as exposed the possibility that the number of actual offenses is far higher than reported (Milligan, 2018).

It is clear that the sexual exploitation of women is still a rampant problem, and thus the question becomes: what are the antecedents and enabling factors that lead men to continue to sexually exploit women for their own benefit? One clear answer to this

question is provided by the sexual objectification literature. Objectification Theory, first proposed by Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) posits that many problems impacting women in the modern world—depression, eating disorders, sexual assaults, and more—can be traced back to a societally-sanctioned disparity in social power which places men above women (Szymanski, Moffit, & Carr, 2011). This power differential leads men to objectify women, as well as women to objectify themselves. This objectification, or devaluing and dehumanization, of women "lowers the barriers" placed upon men and makes them more likely to exploit women in a variety of ways (most prominently, sexually) (Loughnan et al., 2010; Pacilli et al., 2017).

Empirical support for Objectification Theory can be found in both broad cultural movements involving the degradation of women, such as genital mutilation (Mitchum, 2012), as well as laboratory experiments. For example, Gruenfeld and colleagues (2008) found that men who were primed to feel empowered were significantly more likely to state that they would like to work with an attractive (but not clearly qualified) female undergraduate compared to men who were not primed to feel empowered. This result only held true when participants were primed with the idea of sex, suggesting that the desire of the empowered men to work with the target was sexually motivated. Taking things a step further, Civile and Obhi (2016) illustrated that females who are primed to feel empowered sexually objectify males, just as men who feel empowered sexually objectify women. This finding indicates that it is power structures within society, moreso than any inherent difference between the sexes, which motivates the objectification of others. These, and other studies, provide significant support of Objectification Theory's central tenet: the power differential between the sexes created

by the structure of society is a primary driver of men's tendency to sexually exploit women (Szymanski et al., 2011; Gervais, Bernard, & Riemer, 2015; Civile, Rajagobal, & Obhi, 2016; Mikorski & Szymanski, 2017). Objectification Theory thus predicts that cultures which are highly patriarchal, or otherwise elevate men into positions of high status and power over women, will result in the objectification of women.

The objectification of women in patriarchal societies carries with it considerable risk of harm. When women are subjugated by men, they are perceived as, and encouraged to be, less agentic than men, denying them uniquely human qualities (Rudman & Glick, 2001). This dehumanization, in turn, leads to less moral concern for women, even those who have been victims of violent acts, and promotes their mistreatment by men (Loughnan et al., 2010; Pacilli et al., 2017).

The lack of moral concern for women in patriarchal cultures has significant real-world consequences for those women. States that sport relatively more patriarchal cultures are also home to high rates of sexual assaults perpetrated against women (Baron & Straus, 1989, Brown, Baughman, & Carvallo, 2018). This same pattern of patriarchal societies breeding sexual assaults against women is found outside of the United States as well, including Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq and Turkey, Latin America, and India[1] (Yodanis, 2004; Bard, 2013; Raj & McDougal, 2014; Yllö & Torres, 2016 Al-Ali, 2018). These results not only illustrate the significant danger that the dehumanization of women in patriarchal societies poses, but also reveals that this danger manifests as sexual violence.

In sum, patriarchal societies in general seem to place women at risk of being sexually objectified. However, I propose that there are certain cultures which are

traditionally patriarchal but might be at an even more elevated risk of devaluing women due to the norms and scripts that members of the culture adhere to. One such culture is a culture of honor. Before I conceptualize the association between honor and sexual objectification, I will provide a brief review of the culture of honor literature.

Cultures of Honor

A culture of honor is a culture in which men face intense social pressure to build and maintain a reputation of toughness and masculinity. For men, to be "honorable" is to cultivate a reputation as a person "not to be messed with." Within these cultures, honor can be likened to social currency: it can be gained or lost, and thus a man's honor must be carefully attended to and maintained, lest he wish to face the considerable social penalties that come along with losing honor (Nisbett, 1993, Nisbett, 1996; Osterman & Brown, 2011; Barnes, Brown, & Tamborski, 2012; Brown, 2016).

These cultures have tended to emerge in areas where, in the past, there was little in the way of formal policing and resources were scarce or at particularly high risk of being poached by others. These conditions manifested in both the early American South and West, as well as the Scottish Highlands which provided many of the first settlers of these regions in the United States (Nisbett, 1993). Under these conditions, there existed value in holding a reputation for masculinity and toughness. With no formal law enforcement, it fell upon an individual to defend their rights and resources. If one was viewed as a man "not to be messed with," then they were much less likely to be victimized than somebody who did not hold such a reputation (Nisbett, 1996). These concerns about reputation for masculinity and toughness have been transmitted to newer generations through strong cultural norms and rules that prescribe, among other things,

that slights and insults must be responded to with violence in order to protect or reestablish one's honor (Brown & Osterman, 2012; Grosjean, 2014; Brown, 2016).

Consistent with this culture of honor framework, several studies provide evidence for the assumption that one of the most potent and commonly-used methods for men to obtain honor is through acts of violence. For example, Cohen and colleagues (1996) found that men from Southern states, where honor norms are still very much alive, were more likely to condone violence as the appropriate response to an insult. This predisposition toward violence as an appropriate response manifested not just in attitudes, but in behaviors as well. The researchers additionally found that Southern men reacted more aggressively than their Northern peers in response to an insult from another man. Similarly, research reveals that southern and western honor subcultures in the U.S. are associated with higher levels of argument-based homicide rates (Gastil, 1971; Grosjean, 2014; Nisbett, 1993) and school violence (Brown, Osterman, & Barnes, 2009). In addition, this research reveals that high honor endorsers tend to be more perceptive to interpersonal threats (Cohen et al., 1996), are particularly reactive to verbal insults (Saucier, Till, Miller, O'Dea, & Andres, 2015), and become more physiologically aroused to action when insulted (Cohen et al., 1996).

The aforementioned research reveals that while the American South and West are no longer an untamed frontier, the honor norms born of such conditions remain alive today. These norms are observable on both a regional and individual level. For example, Cohen et al. (1996) illustrated the effect that honor norms can have by examining males' reactions to an insult from another man suffered while walking down a hallway. Men from the South experienced more reputation threat, were more upset, and more

likely to behave aggressively following the insult compared to their peers from the North. Similarly, the effects of honor ideology can be observed in large-scale regional phenomena. Cohen (1998) investigated differences in argument-related homicide rates between "honor states" (Southern and Western states) and "non-honor states," with the hypothesis that the violent reprisal demanded by honor norms would lead to significantly higher rates of homicides spawned specifically as the result of an argument. Unsurprisingly, Cohen's hypothesis was supported. Honor states have significantly higher rates of argument-related homicides than non-honor states, even when controlling for regional variables that would affect violent crime rates.

Altogether, this research makes it clear that living in a culture of honor comes with some inherent risks. Not only are men in honor cultures at an increased risk of being the victim of homicide spurred by a perceived insult (Gastil, 1971; Nisbett, 1993; Grosjean, 2014), they are also far more likely to meet their end due to engaging in risky behaviors in a misguided attempt to establish a reputation as an honorable and tough individual (Barnes et al., 2012). To further exacerbate the issue, the stigma associated with seeking mental health treatment, combined with the stress placed on men to maintain their honorable reputation, likely leads to the elevated suicide rates found within honor states (Brown, Imura, & Mayeux, 2014).

While it is clear that men within cultures of honor are at an elevated risk of suffering from self- or other-inflicted violence, the risks of living in a culture of honor are not just confined to males. Much of the early research on honor cultures was focused on how honor norms dictated men behave, and what the effects of these norms might be. However, researchers such as Rodriguez Mosquera and colleagues (2000,

2002) have looked at cultures of honor more holistically. Their line of research involved the development of a scale (the Honor Concerns scale) that measured not just masculine honor norms, but feminine and familial honor norms as well. This signified a fundamental shift in how culture of honor research was conducted and conceived of. No longer did research focus solely on regional comparisons. Now honor could be measured at an individual level, and the effects of honor on women came into focus for the first time.

Subsequent researchers reinforced this shift by expanding the scope of honor research and creating further honor scales, each suited to a different aspect of honor ideology and research. Perhaps the most widely-used honor scales are the Honor Concerns (HC) scale, adapted by IJzerman, van Dijk, and Gallucci (2007), the Honor Ideology for Manhood (HIM) scale, developed by Barnes, Brown, and Osterman (2012), and the Masculine Honor Beliefs (MHB) scale, recently published by Saucier et al. (2016). Each of these scales has seen use, and each focuses on a different facet of honor ideology, with some overlap between all of them.

While each of these scales can stand on its own and has been employed effectively in the literature, using them in conjunction creates a more comprehensive and reliable measure of masculine honor ideology. Some researchers have taken this exact approach, employing multiple honor scales within the same study. These studies use individual honor scales as indicators in a factor analysis to extract an "honor" variable, which can then be used as a predictor for whatever outcome is of interest to the researchers (e.g., Barnes, Brown, Lenes, Bosson, & Carvallo, 2014). This approach

allows for a clear picture of how this cultural variable might influence an individual's attitudes and behaviors.

Other recent research has established that honor is a robust construct with significant effects on a wide variety of outcomes. For example, Copes, Kovandzic, Miller, & Williamson (2014) expanded Cohen's (1998) findings on the link between honor ideology and attitudes toward guns, showing that these attitudes are reflected in actual gun use. Similarly, Barnes et al. (2012) demonstrated that honor endorsers are far more likely to personalize threats to an in-group—in their case, terroristic threats to national security—and that this personalization led to the endorsement of more negative attitudes toward outgroup members. Finally, Saucier et al. (2018) reflected and expanded this finding, illustrating that honor endorsers are also more likely to favor aggressive military action against perceived threats, as well as other, similarly aggressive, foreign policy positions.

One of the most enduring and notable effects of honor ideology in the literature is higher rates of violence against women, observed at both a micro and macro level. Saucier, Strain, Hockett, and McManus (2015) found a strong negative relationship between endorsing honor ideology and attitudes about victims of rape—the more an individual endorsed honor norms, the more negatively they viewed rape victims. The researchers also found that honor endorsers tend to endorse myths about rape and sexual assault at higher levels than their non-honor endorsing peers. Similarly, Brown et al., (2018) found that honor states are home to higher levels of both rape and violence against intimate partners than non-honor states when controlling for common state-level covariates. These investigations illustrate a startling real-world behavioral impact of

honor ideology, but rely on narrow definitions of honor (state division or single-scale measurement) and fail to test any mechanisms that may explain why honor ideology would lead to more violence against women.

Honor and Sexual Objectification

The relationship between honor ideology and the propensity to sexually objectify is complex and influenced by a variety of cultural factors. As with any culture, cultures of honor have unique norms and scripts for how each gender is expected to behave (Sherif, 1936; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). In addition to these norms, honor cultures also feature an inherent power structure, which in turn influences the social organization of each gender. Both of these factors are likely to play a role in the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification.

It is important to consider the possibility that honor ideology might actually *reduce* a man's propensity to sexually objectify women. The norms of an honor culture dictate that, above all, a woman's duty is to maintain her image of purity (called *marianismo* in some honor cultures) and moral virtue. Consequently, sexual promiscuity, or even implied sexual promiscuity from things such as wearing revealing clothing, is discouraged (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Due to these norms, one would expect women in honor cultures to make efforts not to intentionally sexualize themselves. As women wearing promiscuous outfits has been shown to increase the extent to which they are objectified, such efforts from honor endorsing women could potentially lead to less sexual objectification from honor endorsing men (Gurung & Chrouser, 2007). Additionally, since men in honor cultures serve a policing role when it comes to the behavior of women (especially romantic partners or relatives), it might be

assumed that men would be averse to sexualizing women, as they feel that a "good woman" ought to be pure and virtuous above all else (Brown, 2016).

However, the very fact that men in honor cultures are charged with this role of overseeing or monitoring women lends credence to the assumption that they are *more* likely to objectify women than men from other cultures. Men being consistently placed in superior positions to women, whether those be de facto cultural roles or de jure roles within an organizational setting such as the workplace, would likely lead to increased objectification. Men who view themselves as responsible for women are likely denying those women of their own agency. Such a denial of agency is a hallmark of sexual objectification (Loughnan et al., 2010; Gray, Knobe, Sheskin, Bloom, & Barrett, 2011; Szymanski et al., 2011).

The norms and cultural scripts that dictate a man's behavior in a culture of honor could also contribute to the objectification of women. Consistent with this view, Vandello and Cohen (2003) found that participants from an honor culture had more positive reactions to a man committing jealousy-driven violence against his romantic partner than participants from a non-honor culture. Crucially, in this study the use of violence was viewed as an attempt to restore honor, illustrating that violence against women can be excused or forgiven when it stems from an attempt to establish or protect an honorable reputation. Vandello and colleagues (2009) later replicated and expanded this finding with a different honor culture, in which participants from an honor culture also had more favorable views of women who stayed with a violent partner than participants from a non-honor culture. This work establishes that, within a culture of honor, women are important to a man's honorable reputation. Women are symbols of a

man's honorable status, and a man is allowed, or even expected, to use violence against a wife or girlfriend in order to maintain that aspect of his honorable reputation.

The importance of women as reputation or status symbols is not unique to cultures of honor. Across many cultures, researchers have found that men view women as conquests which can be used to enhance their reputation and validate their masculinity (Gilmore, 1995; Cohan, 2002; Wright 2012). However, it is likely that men who strongly endorse honor ideology will be even *more* likely to view women as objects or symbols to be used in the quest to enhance their masculinity, as maintaining a masculine reputation is an essential component to a man's life in a culture of honor (Nisbett, 1993; Nisbett, 1996; Cohen et al., 1996; Saucier et al., 2015). Some evidence for this relationship can be found in the extant literature. Conformity to, and pressure to uphold, masculine norms has been empirically linked to greater acceptance of rape myths and self-reported sexually deceptive behaviors—a relationship that is mediated by acceptance of sexual objectification (Seabrook, Ward, & Giaccardi, 2019). Cultures of honor place a huge amount of pressure on men to maintain and accept these masculine norms. It follows then that endorsing honor ideology could lead to higher levels of sexual objectification and endorsement of violence against women.

The power structure created by gender roles within a culture of honor is another reason to hypothesize that women are sexually objectified more by those who endorse honor ideology. Sexual objectification is highly related to power. Objectification theory posits that the disparity in power between the sexes created by social structures leads men to sexually objectify women (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Szymanski et al., 2011), and empirical investigations support this hypothesis. Those high in power are

more likely to objectify a person than those low in power (Gruenfeld et al., 2008). Cultures of honor are patriarchal by nature, with men taking the role as the head of the family. Men are viewed as leaders, protectors, and standard-bearers within communities, and often link their reputation to that of their family or in-group, while the role and status of women is diminished (Vandello & Cohen, 2008; Rudman & Glick, 2012; Barnes et al., 2012; Saucier et al., 2015; Brown, 2016). Indeed, the patriarchal nature of cultures of honor is reflected even in the naming practices of those cultures. Brown et al., (2014) found that men who highly endorse honor ideology have a stronger desire than other men to name their children using patronyms, but not matronyms, and stronger patriarchal attitudes.

With the knowledge that cultures of honor are inherently patriarchal comes the implication that these cultures also objectify women at high rates. The subjugation of women by men is accompanied by the refusal to ascribe uniquely human qualities to those women (Rudman & Glick, 2001). This dehumanization leads to a significant reduction in concern for women and a perception that they are less susceptible to harm inflicted by the self or others (Loughnan et al., 2010; Pacilli et al., 2017). When examining how this process plays out in a culture of honor, it is very likely that this dehumanization and lack of concern takes the form of sexual objectification, as reflected by the relatively high rate of sexual assaults that patriarchal societies display, both within and outside of the United States (Baron & Straus, 1989; Yodanis, 2004, Brown et al., 2018).

Devaluation of women and disregard for their suffering seemingly stands in contrast to honor's demand that a man protect the sanctity and wellbeing of his family.

However, empirical evidence indicates that honor's call for the protection of women is overridden by reputation motives and the power imbalance between the sexes when it comes to whether men will aggress against women. Support for this view is provided by Brown et al. (2018). Their research shows that honor states (those in the South and West) display higher rates of rape and intimate partner violence than non-honor states (those in the North and East). Other research also provides evidence for an effect of honor ideology on sexual violence but fails to establish the mechanism behind that relationship. For example, Saucier et al. (2015) found that individuals who more strongly endorse honor norms have a more negative view of victims of rape and are more accepting of myths about sexual assault than individuals who do not strongly endorse honor norms. However, the researchers in this case did not account for the role that sexual objectification plays in this relationship.

The Present Research

The current research sets out to expand on the findings of Saucier et al. (2015) and Brown et al. (2018) in regards to sexual violence against women within a culture of honor, as well as investigate potential mechanisms by which the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification might function.

While previous literature has linked honor ideology to sexual violence rates at a regional level and attitudes about sexual violence at an individual level, it fails to take the contributing effect of sexual objectification into account. Study 1 of this project aims to address these shortcomings by including multiple different measures of masculine honor ideology, as well as examining the mediating effect of sexual

objectification on the relationship between honor ideology and attitudes about sexual violence against women.

Studies 2 and 3 both investigate other variables that might explain the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification. Study 2 examines the idea that the patriarchal structure of honor cultures (operationalized as endorsement of patriarchal beliefs) mediates the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification. Study 3 examines the mediating effects of both patriarchal beliefs and concern about one's reputation on the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification.

Study 1

This study was designed as a preliminary investigation of the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification. While previous research has established that there is a link between honor ideology and the perpetration of violence against women, the role of sexual objectification in this relationship has yet to be tested (Saucier et al., 2015; Brown et al., 2018). Study 1 set out to establish a simple relationship between honor ideology and the propensity to sexually objectify women, as well as replicate previous research findings linking honor ideology with the propensity to commit violence against women. Crucially, the final component of Study 1 is to integrate previous findings with the newly-proposed relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification by examining objectification as a mediator of the relationship between honor ideology and violence against women.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Honor endorsement will have a significant positive relationship with the sexual objectification of women.

Hypothesis 2: Honor endorsement will have a significant positive relationship with attitudes about sexual violence toward women.

Hypothesis 3: The relationship between honor ideology and violence against women will be mediated by sexual objectification.

Study 1 Method

Participants

All participants in this study were male students recruited from the University of Oklahoma Introductory Psychology research pool. Participants were compensated for their participation with course credit. In all, 294 male students participated in the study. Participants ranged in age from 16 to 31, with a mean age of 18.755. The majority (71.8%) of participants self-identified as Caucasian, with the rest identifying as Asian (10.5%), African-American (7.5%), Hispanic or Latino/a (5.8%), Native American (3.4%), Pacific Islander (.3%), or a different ethnicity not listed in the options (.7%).

Measures

Chronbach's α for each scale can be found in Table 1.

Honor Ideology for Manhood Scale (HIM). The HIM, developed by Barnes et al. (2012), measures the extent to which an individual endorses general masculine honor norms. The scale employs sixteen self-report items on a seven point scale. Participants indicate the extent to which they agree with statements such as "A real man doesn't let other people push him around." Low scores indicate lower agreement (less endorsement

of honor ideology), and high scores indicate higher agreement (more endorsement of honor ideology).

Honor Concerns Scale (HC). The HC, developed by Rodriguez Mosquera and revised by IJzerman et al. (2007), is a measure of an individual's general concern with his or her own sense of honor. The scale employs nine self-report items on a seven point scale. Participants indicate the extent to which they agree with statements such as "I think that honor is one of the most important things that I have as a human being." Low scores indicate lower agreement (and thus less endorsement of honor ideology), and high scores indicate higher agreement (more endorsement of honor ideology).

Masculine Honor Beliefs Scale (MHB). The MHB, developed by Saucier et al. (2016), measures the extent to which a participant endorses masculine honor norms in a variety of different domains and contexts. These domains include: courage, pride in manhood, socialization, virtue, protection, response to provocation, and family and community bonds. The scale employs thirty-five self-report items on a scale from one to seven. Participants indicate the extent to which they agree with statements such as "It is a man's responsibility to protect his family." Low scores indicate lower agreement (less endorsement of honor ideology), and high scores indicate higher agreement (more endorsement of honor ideology).

Sexual Objectification Scale Revised (SOS-R). The SOS, developed by Morse (2007) and revised by Bartak (2015), measures an individual's tendency to sexually objectify women. The scale employs thirteen self-report items on a scale from one to seven. Participants indicate the extent to which they agree with statements such as "It is okay for a guy to stare at the body of an attractive woman he doesn't know." Low scores

indicate lower agreement (and thus less sexual objectification), and high scores indicate higher agreement (more sexual objectification).

R Scale. The R Scale, developed by Costin (1985), measures an individual's acceptance of classic myths about rape. A shortened, six-item, version of the scale was used in this research, with each item ranging from one to seven. Participants indicate the extent to which they agree with statements such as "Most women who claim they were raped by a man they knew probably consented." Lower scores indicate less agreement (and thus less acceptance of sexual violence), and higher scores indicate higher agreement (more acceptance of sexual violence). After performing reliability analyses, three scale items were deleted in order to increase reliability. The final, three-item scale exhibited below desired reliability, $\alpha = .571$. However, the use of the R Scale as an indicator for a factor analysis (see Results) means that relatively low reliability does not present the same issues that one would encounter if it were used as an individual outcome.

Acceptance of Modern Myths about Sexual Aggression Scale (AMMSA). The AMMSA, developed by Gerger, Kley, Bohner, and Siebler (2007), measures an individual's acceptance of modern myths about rape and sexual aggression. A shortened, ten-item scale was used in this research, with each item ranging from one to seven. Participants indicate the extent to which they agree with statements such as "Many women tend to misinterpret a well-meant gesture as a sexual assault." Low scores indicate lower agreement (more acceptance of sexual violence), and high scores indicate higher agreement (more acceptance of sexual violence).

Rape Proclivity Scale. The Rape Proclivity Scale measures an individual's proclivity for rape. The scale requires participants to read five short vignettes depicting sexual

violence of varying intensity. Following each vignette, participants must respond to three self-report items on a scale from one to seven. The three items ask participants to place themselves in the shoes of the perpetrator and rate the extent to which they would feel sexually aroused, be likely to behave in the same manner, and enjoy the success of the sexual encounter. In total, participants respond to fifteen items.

Procedure

After being recruited, participants received a link to an online survey platform, where they took all measures of interest listed above, as well as a variety of filler tasks. Because of the ethical issues that confront any investigation of the propensity to commit sexual violence, scales which primarily assess attitudes about sexual violence toward women were used as a stand-in for actual sexual violence in accordance with previous research (e.g., Saucier et al. 2015; Seabrook et al., 2019).

Study 1 Results

In order to examine the relationship between honor ideology, sexual objectification, and violence against women, two factors were constructed: one for honor, and one for violence against women. Correlations, means, and standard deviations for all variables can be found in Table 1. The honor factor was created by entering the HIM, HC, and MHB to an exploratory factor analysis using principal component analysis. This same process has been used previously in honor research to create an honor variable (e.g., Barnes et al., 2014). Each indicator loaded onto a single factor, with MHB loading the strongest (.911), followed by HIM (.877), and HC (.765) The extracted factor explained a total of 72.830% of the variance in the honor measures.

A regression approach was used to estimate the score of each participant on the extracted factor, creating a new honor variable.

This process was repeated to create an attitudes about sexual violence against women factor. The R Scale, AMMSA, and Rape Proclivity Scale, were entered into an exploratory factor analysis using principal component analysis. Each indicator loaded onto a single factor, with AMMSA (.832) having the strongest loading followed by the R Scale (.766) and Rape Proclivity (.597). The resulting factor explained a total of 54.471% of the variance in the sexual violence against women measures. As with the honor factor, a regression approach was used to estimate the score of each participant on the extracted factor, creating a new attitudes about sexual violence against women variable**.**

The PROCESS macro for SPSS developed by Hayes (2017) was used in order to test whether the relationship between honor and violence against women is mediated by sexual objectification. The honor variable was entered into the model as a predictor of the violence against women variable. The SOS-R was entered into the model as a mediator of this relationship. The estimation process utilized 5,000 bootstrapped samples and generated 95% confidence intervals (CI) using the percentile method. Confidence intervals that do not contain zero indicate a significant indirect effect equivalent to traditional mediation.

The direct effect of honor ideology on violence against women was significant, B = .268, 95% CI = [.166 - .369], as were the direct effect of honor ideology on sexual objectification, B = .198, 95% CI = [.340 - .596] and the indirect effect of honor

ideology on violence against women through sexual objectification, B = .093, 95% CI = [.050 - .141]. The full model, along with all coefficients, is shown in Figure 1.

Study 1 Discussion

The first hypothesis, that endorsement of honor ideology would be significantly associated with the sexual objectification of women, was supported by the significant direct effect of the honor variable on the SOS-R in the mediation model. This provides support for the idea that honor ideology leads men to sexually objectify women compared to non-honor ideology.

The second hypothesis, that endorsement of honor ideology would be significantly associated with attitudes about sexual violence toward women, was supported both by the significant direct effect of the honor variable on the sexual violence variable in the mediation model. This reflects the findings of Saucier et al. (2015) and Brown et al. (2018) who found similar trends using a narrower measure of honor and on a regional level respectively.

The third hypothesis, that the relationship between honor ideology and sexual violence would be mediated by sexual objectification, was supported by the significant indirect effect of the honor variable on the sexual violence variable in the model. This indicates that the higher rates of sexual violence and derogation of victims of sexual violence observed in cultures of honor can be attributed, in part, to the tendency of honor-endorsing men to sexually objectify women.

These results further provide empirical evidence for the idea that women in cultures of honor are devalued, or viewed as “lesser” than men, and illustrate that this devaluation has very serious consequences in terms of how men feel about sexual

violence committed against women. Although this study did not itself contain a behavioral measure of sexual violence, the measures of the sexual violence variable center around a common theme. Each measure addresses different aspects of views about violence toward women, including victim-blaming (the R Scale and AMMSA), downplaying of the severity of the problem (AMMSA), and actual positive views of scenarios in which women are sexually assaulted (Rape Proclivity). Taken together with the findings of Brown et al. (2018), a picture begins to form of a culture that objectifies women and consequently commits sexual violence against them with high frequency. Further, when females in honor cultures are victimized, they are viewed with less sympathy and more responsibility, which further compounds the trauma of the actual assault.

This study also provides further evidence that honor cultures are highly patriarchal in nature. It has long been assumed that honor cultures are highly patriarchal, but there is limited direct empirical support for this assumption. The relationship between honor ideology and the tendency to sexually objectify women found in this study is consistent with that view, as a patriarchal structure is likely one of the primary drivers behind the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification. When women in honor cultures are derogated by the structure of the culture, they are simultaneously being denied the same human status as men. Thus, the emphasis that honor cultures place on the responsibility of a man to be the primary provider, caretaker, and defender of his family and community has the side effect of objectifying women as well.

Two of the three indicators of the honor factor (the HIM and the MHB) contain items that emphasize the importance of maintaining a "manly" reputation. The fact that this factor significantly predicts sexual objectification provides some support for the idea that the stress that honor cultures place on men to enhance their masculine reputation might also push men to sexually objectify women. Women, and specifically the sexual conquest of women, can be used by men as a means to enhancing their manly reputation, making it likely that men in a culture which demands they maintain such a reputation will view women in such an objectifying light (Gilmore, 1995; Cohan, 2009). However, while this study did provide some preliminary evidence supporting both of these potential causal mechanisms, they were ultimately beyond the scope of this examination, and further investigation was required to test whether they do indeed account for the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification.

Study 2

The primary aim of Study 2 was to further investigate the relationship between honor ideology and the tendency for men to sexually objectify women. One potential reason that men who endorse honor ideology might be more prone to sexually objectify women is because of the natural patriarchal structure of an honor culture. While women in honor cultures do play an important role in enforcing honor norms, they are generally placed in subservient roles to men who are more often charged with actively establishing and defending the honor of the family (Brown, 2016). Consistently being in these roles devalues women, or forces them to assume a status as "lesser" than men, which could be a reason why men who endorse honor norms are also more likely to sexually objectify women. In order to investigate this potential relationship, a study

examining patriarchal beliefs as a potential mediator of the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification was necessary.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Honor endorsement will have a significant positive relationship with the sexual objectification of women.

Hypothesis 2: Honor endorsement will have a significant positive relationship with patriarchal beliefs.

Hypothesis 3: The relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification will be mediated by patriarchal beliefs.

Study 2 Method

Participants

All participants in this study were male students recruited from the University of Oklahoma Introductory Psychology research pool. Participants were compensated for their participation with course credit. In all, 264 male students participated in the study. Twelve responses were excluded from analyses due to uniform responding across multiple measures of interest, and two responses were excluded from analyses due to participants reporting that they were under the age of 18. After excluding participants, 250 responses were analyzed. The remaining participants ranged in age from 18 to 29, with a mean age of 18.751. The majority (64.4%) of participants self-identified as Caucasian, with the rest identifying as Hispanic or Latino/a (11.3%), Asian (10.9%), African-American (7.3%), Native American (4.9%), Pacific Islander (.4%), or a different ethnicity not listed in the options (.7%).

Measures

The HC, HIM, and MHB used to create the honor variable in Study 1 were also used in Study 2 for the same purpose. Additionally, the SOS-R used as a mediator variable in Study 1 will be used as an outcome in Study 2. All scales exhibited acceptable reliability. Cronbach's α for each scale can be found in Table 2.

Patriarchal Beliefs Scale (PBS). The PBS, developed by Yoon et al. (2015), measures the extent to which a participant endorses patriarchal beliefs. The scale employs thirty-five self-report items on a scale from one to seven. Participants indicate the extent to which they agree with statements such as "A man is the head of the household" and "Men are inherently smarter than women." Low scores indicate lower agreement (less endorsement of patriarchal beliefs), while high scores indicate higher agreement (more endorsement of patriarchal beliefs).

Procedure

The procedure for Study 2 was reflective of Study 1. After being recruited through the University of Oklahoma Introductory Psychology Subject Pool, participants received a link to an online survey platform (Qualtrics) where they completed all measures listed above, as well as a variety of filler tasks.

Study 2 Results

In order to examine the relationship between honor ideology, patriarchal beliefs, and sexual objectification, the same honor factor extracted in Study 1 was used. Correlations, means, and standard deviations for all variables can be found in Table 2. The honor factor was created in the same manner as Study 1: by entering the HC, HIM, and MHB to an exploratory factor analysis using principal component analysis. Each

indicator loaded onto a single factor, with MHB loading the strongest (.871), followed by HIM (.841), and HC (.734) The extracted factor explained a total of 66.848% of the variance in the honor measures. A regression approach was used to estimate the score of each participant on the extracted factor, creating a new honor variable.

As in Study 1, the PROCESS macro for SPSS developed by Hayes (2017) was used in order to test whether the relationship between honor and sexual objectification is mediated by patriarchal beliefs. The honor variable was entered into the model as a predictor of sexual objectification. The PBS was entered into the model as a mediator of this relationship. The estimation process utilized 5,000 bootstrapped samples and generated 95% confidence intervals (CI) using the percentile method. Confidence intervals that do not contain zero indicate a significant indirect effect equivalent to traditional mediation.

The direct effect of honor ideology on sexual objectification was not significant B = .016, 95% CI = [-.077 - .109]. However, the total effect of honor ideology on sexual objectification was significant, B = .093, 95% CI = [.002 - .183], as was the indirect effect of honor ideology on sexual objectification through patriarchal beliefs, B = .077, 95% CI = [.037 - .126]. The full model, along with all coefficients, is shown in Figure 2.

Study 2 Discussion

The first hypothesis, which sought to replicate the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification found in Study 1 was supported. There was not a significant direct effect of honor ideology on sexual objectification. However, the total effect of honor on sexual objectification was significant, albeit weaker than the

relationship observed in Study 1. This indicates that while there is a significant relationship between honor ideology and the propensity to sexually objectify women, the strength of that relationship does not manifest strongly from sample to sample when observing a college population.

The second hypothesis, which aimed to establish a positive relationship between honor ideology and patriarchal beliefs, was supported by the significant effect of honor ideology on patriarchal beliefs in the mediation model. These results confirm one of the implications of Study 1, directly indicating that those who strongly endorse honor ideology are also likely to strongly endorse patriarchal beliefs.

The third hypothesis, which posited that the relationship between honor and sexual objectification would be mediated by patriarchal beliefs, was supported. The indirect effect of honor ideology on sexual objectification through patriarchal beliefs was significant. This indicates that the sexual objectification of women by honor-endorsing men can be attributed in part to the patriarchal beliefs of those men.

Overall, the results of Study 2 illustrate a replication and extension of the findings of Study 1, albeit one that is less impressive in magnitude. The relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification was replicated, however the strength of the relationship is in question, with Study 1 showing a much stronger effect than Study 2.

Study 3

While Study 2 does contribute to the overall question of what the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification is, it arguably raises more questions than it answers. Study 2 addressed patriarchal beliefs, one potential avenue through

which the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification might function, but previous research suggests that concern for reputation might play a similar role. Consequently, a third study was conducted in order to investigate the possibility that men within honor cultures are more likely to objectify women as a result of a desire to gain or maintain a masculine reputation, and to compare the relative influence of reputation concern and patriarchal beliefs on this relationship.

Previous research has established that men will speak of women in degrading terms in an attempt to elevate their own social status (Gilmore, 1995; Cohan, 2009). It stands to reason that this phenomenon within an honor culture—where maintenance of an "honorable" reputation is paramount—would manifest as a way of maintaining or gaining honor.

Rather than focus individually on concern for reputation as a mediator, Study 3 attempts to replicate and extend the findings of the previous two studies by including both reputation concern and patriarchal beliefs as mediators of the relationship between honor endorsement and the propensity to sexually objectify women. Additionally, this study aims to address one of the primary concerns raised by Study 2 and expand these findings beyond the college-aged population tested in previous studies.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Honor endorsement will have a significant positive relationship with the sexual objectification of women.

Hypothesis 2: Honor endorsement will have a significant positive relationship with patriarchal beliefs.

Hypothesis 3: Honor endorsement will have a significant positive relationship with reputation concern.

Hypothesis 4: The relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification will be mediated by patriarchal beliefs.

Hypothesis 5: The relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification will be mediated by reputation concern.

Study 3 Method

Participants

In order to address the issue of the varying magnitude of the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification, as well as to increase the generalizability of the results of this research beyond a college population, 200 male participants were recruited from the Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) subject pool. As the focus of this research is limited to the sexual objectification of women by men, only male participants were recruited for participation in this study. Participants were compensated $3.75 for their participation. Three participants were dropped prior to analyses: one due to uniform responding, and two due to completing all questionnaires in under five minutes ($M_{\text{completion time}}$ = 19.56 minutes SD = 9.62 minutes). After excluding participants, a total of 197 responses were analyzed. Participants ranged in age from 21 to 70, with a mean age of 37.868. The majority (81.1%) of participants self-identified as Caucasian, with the rest identifying as African-American (7.1%), Asian (5.6%), Hispanic or Latino/a (4.1%), Native Hawaiian of Pacific Islander (0.5%), or a different ethnicity not listed in the options (1.5%).

Measures

The same honor measures (HC, HIM, & MHB) utilized in Study 1 and 2 to create an honor variable were used in Study 3 for the same purpose. The SOS-R was once again used to measure the propensity for men to sexually objectify women. All scales exhibited acceptable reliability. Cronbach's α for all scales can be found in Table 3.

Reputation Stress Scale (RS). The Reputation Stress Scale, developed by the Social Self Lab at the University of Oklahoma, measures the extent to which an individual is concerned about their reputation. The scale has been used in previous research to predict outcomes such as stigmatization of clinical depression and psychological help-seeking. The "behavioral" subscale of the measure was employed in this research to capture willingness to take action (such as sexually objectifying women) in response to concerns about reputation. The subscale employs six self-report items on a scale from one to nine. Participants indicate the extent to which they agree with statements such as "I've wanted to hit someone for challenging my reputation" and "I would show signs of aggression if it helped maintain my reputation." Low scores indicate lower agreement (less concern for reputation), while high scores indicate higher agreement (more concern for reputation).

Procedure

Participants from the MTurk subject pool elected to participate based off a brief description of what the study would entail. After recruitment, participants received a link to an online survey platform (Qualtrics) which presented all measures of interest.

After completing the informed consent, participants took a brief demographic survey, followed by all measures of interest.

Study 3 Results

To create a more holistic view of honor ideology, the same procedure used to extract the honor factor in Studies 1 and 2 was employed in Study 3. Correlations, means, and standard deviations for all variables can be found in Table 3. The honor factor was created in the same manner as in Studies 1 and 2: by entering the HC, HIM, and MHB to an exploratory factor analysis using principal component analysis. Each indicator loaded onto a single factor, with MHB loading the strongest (.947), followed by HIM (.927), and HC (.889) The extracted factor explained a total of 84.877% of the variance in the honor measures. A regression approach was used to estimate the score of each participant on the extracted factor, creating a new honor variable.

As in Studies 1 and 2, the PROCESS macro for SPSS developed by Hayes (2017) was used in order to examine the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification, as well as the extent to which that relationship is mediated by patriarchal beliefs and reputation stress. The honor variable was entered into the model as a predictor of sexual objectification. The PBS and RS were entered into the model as mediators of this relationship. The estimation process utilized 5,000 bootstrapped samples and generated 95% confidence intervals (CI) using the percentile method. Confidence intervals that do not contain zero indicate a significant indirect effect equivalent to traditional mediation.

The direct effect of honor ideology on sexual objectification was not significant B = .118, 95% CI = [-.032 - .284]. However, the total effect of honor ideology on sexual objectification was significant, B = .316, 95% CI = [.199 - .433].

The direct effect of honor ideology on patriarchal beliefs was significant B = .629, 95% CI = [.472 - .786]. The indirect effect of honor ideology on sexual objectification through patriarchal beliefs was also significant B = .113, 95% CI = [.033 - .200].

The direct effect of honor ideology on reputation concern was significant B = 1.356, 95% CI = [.1.147 - 1.563]. However, the indirect effect of honor ideology on sexual objectification through reputation concern was not significant, B = -.029, 95% CI = [-.029 - .190]. The full model, along with all coefficients, is shown in Figure 3.

Study 3 Discussion

The first hypothesis, that honor endorsement would have a significant positive relationship with sexual objectification, was supported by the significant total effect of honor ideology on the propensity to sexually objectify women. These results replicated the findings of Study 1 and 2 and presented the strongest evidence of all three studies that a man who endorses honor ideology is also significantly more likely to sexually objectify women.

The second hypothesis, that honor endorsement would have a significant positive relationship with patriarchal beliefs, was supported by the significant direct effect of honor ideology on patriarchal beliefs. These results replicated the findings of Study 2 by illustrating an even stronger relationship between these constructs than had previously been shown.

The third hypothesis, that honor endorsement would have a significant positive relationship with reputation concern was supported by the significant direct effect of honor ideology on reputation concern. These results confirm one of the basic assumptions of the culture of honor literature: that men who endorse honor ideology are preoccupied with establishing and maintaining their reputation (Nisbett, 1996; Cohen et al., 1996; IJzerman et al., 2007; Brown, 2016).

The fourth hypothesis, that the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification would be mediated by patriarchal beliefs, was supported by the significant indirect effect of honor ideology on sexual objectification through patriarchal beliefs.

The fifth hypothesis, that the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification would be mediated by reputation concern was not supported, as the indirect effect of honor ideology on sexual objectification through reputation was non-significant.

Overall, only the fifth hypothesis lacked strong support from the results of Study 3. It is worth noting that the scales used for patriarchal beliefs and reputation concern were correlated (r = .508, see Table 3), meaning that when both variables were entered into the model as mediators of the same relationship, the effect of both variables could be diminished to the point of non-significance. In this case, while reputation concern might explain some portion of the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification, patriarchal beliefs proved to be the stronger mediator.

Beyond that, there are several reasons why reputation concern might not manifest as a significant mediator. First, it is possible that reputation concern does not

actually mediate the relationship between honor ideology and sexually objectifying women. While it has been illustrated that men objectify women as a means of gaining status or bolstering their masculine reputation, such a phenomenon may not necessarily hold true for high honor endorsers (Gilmore, 1995; Cohan, 2002; Wright 2012).

Second, the measures used in Study 3 might have biased participant responses in such a way that the real-world relationship between honor ideology, reputation concern, and sexual objectification did not manifest in the data. All measures in this study relied entirely on self-reported attitudes. This makes social desirability a large source of potential bias. Participants may have responded dishonestly on any given item because they did not want the researcher or anyone else who might see their data to think poorly of them, as has been observed in past research (Arias & Beach, 1987; Vigil-Colet, Ruiz-Pamies, Anguiano-Carrasco, & Lorenzo-Seva, 2012). While steps were taken to ensure that social desirability did not play a role in responding (participants were assured only qualified research personnel would see their responses, and Study 3 contained questions explicitly asking participants about their perception of the survey instruments), when employing self-report measures, it is impossible to completely eliminate that source of bias. Consequently, it is possible that the lack of mediation observed for concern for reputation is due to participants being unwilling to self-report their propensity to objectify. Being known as someone who sexually objectifies women is something that tends to be viewed as socially unacceptable, particularly when that objectification is overt and directed toward a non-intimate target (Teng, Chen, Poon, & Zhang, 2015; Lameiras- Fernández, Fizke, Fernández, & Lopez, 2018). It is reasonable to assume that someone who responds that they are highly concerned with, or stressed about, their

reputation would also feel more pressure to give socially desirable responses on measures as provocative as the outcomes in this research.

Third, it is possible that concern for reputation influences the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification in a different way: as a short-term (or "state") moderator rather than a long-term (or "trait") mediator. The results of Vandello and Cohen's (2003, 2008) collaborations indicate that honor endorsing men are particularly likely to approve of violence against women when the violence comes as a result of a man's reputation being threatened. However, the acts of violence depicted in these studies are consistent with the idea of a "crime of passion," in which the perpetrator is blinded in the moment by a strong emotional reaction. Thus, prior literature addressing the link between reputation concern and violence against women (and potentially sexual objectification) focuses much more on "state" or "in the moment" attitudes and behaviors, whereas the approach in Study 3 is much more reflective of "trait" or "in the long run" attitudes and behaviors. It is entirely possible that honor endorsers who are highly concerned about their reputation are more likely to sexually objectify (or even commit violence against) women when their reputation is threatened in the moment. The approach used in Study 3 would not capture this effect, as the reputation of men in this study was not threatened.

Study 3 provided clear evidence of the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification. When considering both potential mediators together, patriarchal beliefs remained a significant mediator, while reputation stress failed to account for a significant portion of the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification.

General Discussion

Overall, the three studies presented here lay out a clear picture of the relationship between honor ideology, sexual objectification, and the mediators and outcomes of this relationship. Study 1 presented clear evidence of a positive relationship between honor ideology and the propensity to commit violence against women. Study 1 further established that this relationship is mediated by the propensity to sexually objectify women—which itself had a positive relationship with both honor ideology and the violence against women outcome.

Studies 2 and 3 sought to further clarify the novel finding of Study 1 by replicating the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification as well as examining potential mediators of that relationship. Study 2 successfully replicated the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification found in Study 1, while also establishing that this relationship is partially mediated by patriarchal beliefs. Study 3 examined concern for reputation and patriarchal beliefs as potential mediators of the link between honor ideology and objectification while moving from a college student sample to one more representative of the United States as a whole. The results replicated the findings of Study 1 and 2, while also finding that concern for reputation did not mediate the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification.

This research provides several important contributions to the field. First, by establishing the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification. The relationship had not been established empirically prior to this research. Much of the previous research in the field has revolved around the idea that women in cultures of honor are consistently devalued and expected to play a subservient role to men

(Vandello & Cohen, 2008; Rudman & Glick, 2012; Brown et al., 2014; Barnes et al., 2012; Saucier et al., 2015; Brown, 2016). However, these studies focused exclusively on different outcomes associated with this devaluation. Studies 1 – 3 of this project address the issue directly, by establishing that the devaluation of women in cultures of honor manifests as a propensity to sexually objectify them—a potent form of dehumanization (Vaes, Paladino, & Puvia, 2011; Haslam & Loughnan, 2014). The direct confirmation of this relationship both adds context to previous research, such as the findings of Saucier et al. (2015) and Brown et al. (2018) and raises potential avenues for future research in the field.

In addition to establishing a novel relationship implied by the literature, this project also contributes to the field by providing significant empirical evidence for one of the central assumptions of Objectification Theory. Specifically, the findings of Studies 2 and 3 illustrate that one of the driving factors behind the propensity for men to objectify women in a culture of honor is patriarchal beliefs. Objectification Theory posits that the objectification of women is largely the result of a power imbalance between men and women (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). In other words, men are likely to objectify women because society values men more than women, and this devaluing leads to dehumanization and objectification. While many studies have relied on Objectification Theory as a framework and have examined outcomes of the objectification of women such as anxiety, depression, disordered eating, and sexual dysfunction (e.g., Moradi, Dirks, & Matteson, 2005; Calogero & Thompson, 2009; Carr & Szymanski, 2011; Szymanski et al., 2011), less research has directly examined the central assumption of the theory itself and directly linked objectification with

patriarchal beliefs. Studies 2 and 3 of this project reveal that men who endorse patriarchal beliefs (the idea that men ought to be empowered above and valued more than women) are also likely to sexually objectify women. This provides clear support for the idea that objectification is largely a result of the patriarchal structure of society, while also indicating that cultures of honor are prone to being hotbeds of sexual objectification due to their highly patriarchal focus (Brown et al., 2014; Brown, 2016; Brown et al., 2018).

This explanation of *why* cultures of honor are prone to seeing high rates of sexual objectification further sets this research apart from what has come before. While the establishment of the relationship between honor ideology and sexual objectification is important, the exploration of why this relationship exists is a further step in understanding and addressing many of the issues present in cultures of honor around the world. The understanding that objectification in cultures of honor is primarily a result of the patriarchal structures of these societies provides future researchers with valuable information when considering how to address outcomes of objectification such as violence against women. While "addressing the symptoms" can be effective at reducing undesirable outcomes, understanding the root causes of such relationships can allow intervention efforts to address the issue at a more fundamental level and facilitate more effective long-term behavior change.

Finally, each of these contributions together help clarify the reason why some of the most troubling trends observed in cultures of honor take place, specifically the propensity for honor endorsing men to commit violence against women. While this project does not observe real-world behavioral outcomes, previous research has

established that honor cultures, and the individuals who endorse the norms of these cultures, place women at particular risk of being victims of intimate partner violence (Vandello & Cohen, 2003, 2008; Vandello et al., 2009; Saucier et al., 2015; Brown et al., 2018). While these studies illustrate significant advances in our understanding of why honor-endorsing men might be more prone to committing intimate partner violence, they fail to take the contribution of sexual objectification and patriarchal beliefs into account. Indeed, many of these studies conceptualize the relationship between honor endorsement and violence against women as stemming from concern for reputation, however, none of them directly tested this hypothesis. Study 3 of this project indicates that patriarchal beliefs, rather than reputation concern, is the primary long-term driver behind the relationship between honor endorsement and sexual objectification (and thus violence against women).

Limitations and Future Directions

While this project is a significant step forward for the field, it does have its share of limitations which present opportunities for future research. One major limitation revolves around the chosen methodology for each study. The lack of a mediating effect of reputation concern in Study 3 was potentially caused by issues related to a reliance on self-report measures. However, the issue of using self-report measures is not limited to this non-significant finding, nor to Study 3. Beyond what was discussed in relation to that study, self-report measures are subject to many potential issues, including misremembering, suggestion, and lying (Stone, Bachrach, Jobe, Kurtzman, & Cain, 1999).

Another, related, limitation of this research is that it primarily concerns itself with what individuals claim to think rather than how they behave. This presents an issue, as attitudes and behaviors are often at odds with each other (LaPiere, 1934; Wicker, 1969). Additionally, these attitude measures limit the scope of this project to examining long-term trends rather than immediate behavioral consequences. While the measures used in this study solicit attitudes about specific behaviors, such measures are still prone to discord with actual short-term and long-term behavioral tendencies (Zanna, Olson, & Fazio, 1980; Ajzen, Timko, & White, 1982).

Future research could address these shortcomings by examining the constructs tested in this research with different methodology. Namely, a study that experimentally manipulate the constructs examined in these studies (for example, inducing a reputation threat) could examine how they are related at a "state" rather than "trait" level, while also assessing outcomes using behavioral measures. However, one of the difficulties inherent in studying topics such as sexual objectification and violence against women is that, like studying aggression, examining behavioral outcomes that mirror real-world manifestations of these constructs is ethically unsound. Consequently, any behavioral outcomes would have to be proxy measures similar to the "hot sauce paradigm" employed in aggression research (see Lieberman, Solomon, Greenberg, & McGregor, 1999). However, these measures present their own set of methodological issues and may not accurately represent real-world behavior in much the same way that self-report measures may not (Ritter, & Eslea, 2005).

In a similar vein, future studies that seek to expand upon the findings of this research could focus not just on real-world behaviors, but on interventions designed to

reduce or prevent the negative behaviors that naturally result from the observed relationships. Intimate partner violence and violence against women are extremely meaningful outcomes that should be addressed with the utmost seriousness and gravity. While the research described here does not lay out a clear path forward for reducing these outcomes, it does illuminate some of the potential reasons why they might occur. Future researchers could use this information to create treatments designed to target the underlying issues (e.g., patriarchal beliefs) that lead to higher rates of violence against women in cultures of honor.

Finally, while these studies address the sexual objectification of women by men and one of its most significant outcomes (increased rates of violence against women), there are other perpetrators and victims of objectification that should be addressed, as well as other outcomes of being objectified.

The focus of this project is on the objectification of women by men. However, there is ample research to support the idea that women (especially those who are commonly objectified) also objectify themselves (Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll, Quinn, & Twenge, 1998; Noll & Fredrickson, 1998). Such self-objectification has been linked to numerous negative outcomes outside of what is examined by this research, including: disordered eating, negative self-image, depressed self-esteem, negative mood, and increased drive for thinness (Muehlenkamp & Saris-Baglama, 2002; Calogero, Davis, & Thompson, 2005; Greenleaf, 2005; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008; Calogero, Tantleff-Dunn, & Thompson, 2011). It follows that if honor-endorsing men are more likely to objectify women, then women in cultures of honor are also more likely to self-objectify,

leading to many of these negative outcomes. Future research should examine the extent to which honor-endorsing women self-objectify and experience its related outcomes.

To expand further upon the scope of this research, existing literature also establishes that self-objectification isn't limited to women, with men placed in objectifying situations experiencing negative outcomes similar to women (Hebl, King, & Lin, 2004). The results of self-objectification do manifest slightly differently depending on sex. While women who self-objectify display a strong desire for thinness, self-objectifying men display a desire for muscularity (Oehlhof, Musher-Eizenman, Neufeld, & Hauser, 2009). However, ultimately these drives push both men and women to exercise for appearance-related (versus performance-related) reasons, which has a detrimental effect on body image and self-esteem (Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005; Martins, Tiggemann, & Kirkbride, 2007). Future research should examine the presence of phenomena such as drive for muscularity among honor-endorsing men, and the effects these drives have on body image, self-esteem, and related constructs. Such research is especially important for honor-endorsing men when one considers the importance of maintaining a masculine reputation for honor endorsers in conjunction with the strong link between masculinity and a muscular physique. Indeed, previous research has illustrated a link between a concern for masculinity and drive for muscularity (McCreary, Saucier, & Courtenay, 2005; Mussap, 2008; Hunt, Gonsalkorale, & Murray, 2013). Preliminary investigation has revealed that endorsing masculine honor beliefs is linked to a stronger drive for muscularity (Saucier, O'Dea, & Stratmoen, 2018). However, more research is necessary to form a complete picture of

the presence of self-objectification for honor-endorsing men and the outcomes of such self-objectification.

While this project establishes strong links between honor endorsement and the propensity for men to sexually objectify women, there is still much about this topic that remains unknown. Future investigation should focus on expanding these constructs as well as corroborating the observed effects with behavioral measures more reflective of real-world conditions. Self-objectification and its associated outcomes present another logical step forward for this research, with both honor endorsing men and women being potential victims of their own critical eye.

Table 1:
Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Study 1 Measures

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	*M*	*SD*	*α*
1. HIM	—							4.322	1.180	.945
2. HC	.469**	—						4.390	1.078	.840
3. MHB	.752**	.550**	—					4.653	0.866	.952
4. SOS-R	.148**	.339**	.148**	—				3.220	0.790	.832
5. AMMSA	.476**	.428**	.426**	.217**	—			3.693	0.826	.716
6. R Scale	.214**	.183**	.151**	.450**	.459**	—		3.199	0.555	.571
7. Rape Proclivity	.025	.009	-.018	.293**	.295**	.174**	—	1.488	0.704	.913

** indicates significance at $p < .01$

Table 2:
Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Study 2 Measures

	1	2	3	4	5	*M*	*SD*	*α*
1. HIM	—					4.246	1.168	.922
2. HC	.393**	—				4.326	1.027	.822
3. MHB	.636**	.463**	—			4.567	0.907	.950
4. PBS	.293**	.289**	.310**	—		2.354	1.118	.977
5. SOS-R	.189**	-.045	.151*	.307**	—	3.069	0.707	.779

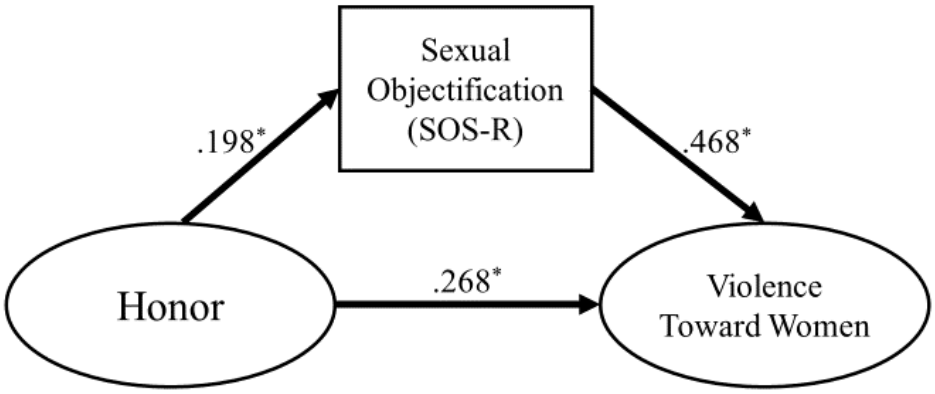
* indicates significance at $p < .05$
** indicates significance at $p < .01$

Table 3:
Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Study 3 Measures

	1	2	3	4	5	6	*M*	*SD*	*α*
1. HIM	—						3.678	1.411	.954
2. HC	.707**	—					3.900	1.418	.925
3. MHB	.851**	.760**	—				4.210	1.094	.961
4. PBS	.532**	.391**	.439**	—			2.156	1.275	.984
5. RS	.693**	.529**	.643**	.508**	—		4.088	1.632	.956
6. SOS-R	.391**	.271**	.318**	.392**	.355**	—	3.305	0.889	.836

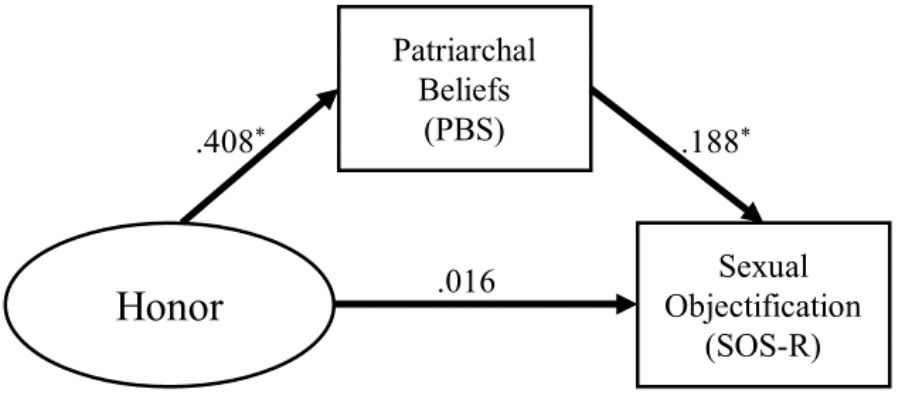
** indicates significance at $p < .01$

Figure 1:
Study 1 Mediation Model



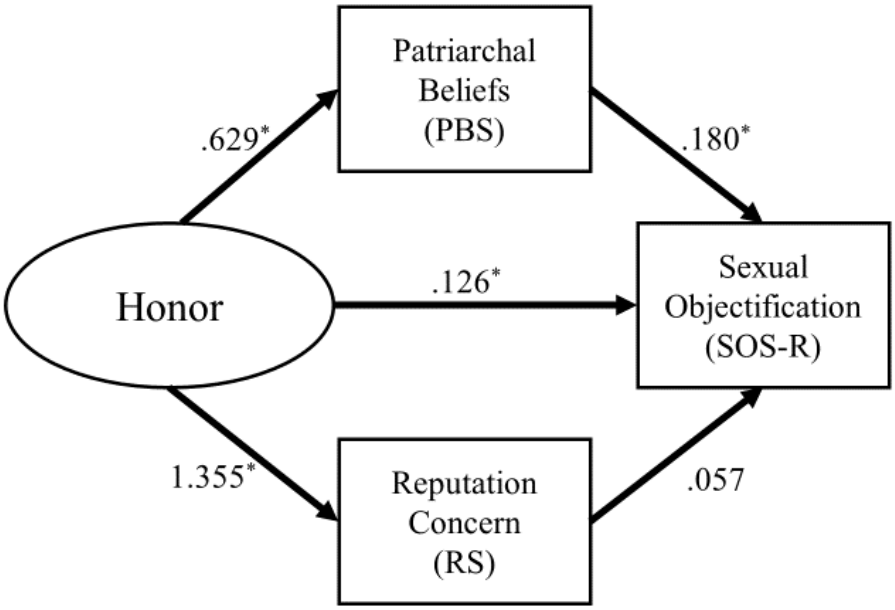
* indicates significance at $p < .05$

Figure 2:
Study 2 Mediation Model



* indicates significance at $p < .05$

Figure 3:
Study 3 Mediation Model



* indicates significance at $p < .05$

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Appendix A: Honor Concerns (HC) Scale:

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

1 -------- 2 -------- 3 -------- 4 -------- 5 -------- 6 -------- 7 -------- 8 -------- 9
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

1. My honor depends on the appreciation and respect that others have for me.
2. I could not have respect for myself if I did not have any honor.
3. I think that a public humiliation would be one of the situations that would violate my honor the most.
4. To maintain my honor, I have to be loyal to my family, regardless of the circumstances.
5. I think that honor is one of the most important things that I have as a human being.
6. I think that the honor of a man would be violated if he were humiliated publicly by others.
7. It is my duty to be constantly prepared to defend the honor of my family.
8. A family member would violate my honor if he/she were to do something disgraceful.
9. My honor is the basis for my self-respect.

Appendix B: Honor Ideology for Manhood Scale (HIM)

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

1 -------- 2 -------- 3 -------- 4 -------- 5 -------- 6 -------- 7 -------- 8 -------- 9
Strongly Agree Neutral Strongly Disagree

1. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who calls him an insulting name.
2. A real man doesn't let other people push him around.
3. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who slanders his family.
4. A real man can always take care of himself.
5. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who openly flirts with his wife.
6. A real man never lets himself be a "door mat" to other people.
7. A real man doesn't take any crap from anybody.
8. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who trespasses on his personal property.
9. A real man can "pull himself up by his bootstraps" when the going gets tough.
10. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who mistreats his children.
11. A real man will never back down from a fight.
12. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who steals from him.
13. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who vandalizes his home.
14. A real man is seen as tough in the eyes of his peers.
15. A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who insults his mother.
16. A real man never leaves the score unsettled.

Appendix C: Masculine Honor Beliefs Scale (MHB)

Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements using the scale provided. (1 – Strongly Disagree, 7 – Strongly Agree)

1. It is very important for a man to act bravely.
2. A man should not be afraid to fight.
3. It is important for a man to be able to face danger.
4. It is important for a man to be able to take pain.
5. It is important for a man to be courageous.
6. It is important for a man to be more masculine than other men.
7. A man should be embarrassed if someone calls him a wimp.
8. A man should be expected to fight for himself.
9. If a man does not defend his wife, he is not a very strong man.
10. If a man does not defend himself, he is not a very strong man.
11. If your son got into a fight, you would be proud that he stood up for himself.
12. You would want your son to stand up to bullies.
13. As a child you were taught that boys should defend girls.
14. If your son got into a fight to defend his sister, you would be proud that he protected his sister.
15. As a child you were taught that boys should always defend themselves.
16. You would praise a man who reacted aggressively to an insult.
17. Physical aggression is always admirable and acceptable.
18. It is morally wrong for a man to walk away from a fight.
19. "A man who doesn't take any crap from anybody" is an admirable reputation to have.
20. Physical violence is the most honorable way to defend yourself.
21. A man should do whatever it takes to protect his wife because it is the right thing to do.
22. If a man cares about his wife, he should protect her even if everyone else thinks it's wrong.
23. A man should stand up for a female who is in his family or is a close friend.
24. It is a male's responsibility to protect his family.
25. A man should protect his wife.
26. If a man's wife is insulted, his manhood is insulted.
27. If a man's mother is insulted, his manhood is insulted.
28. If a man's father is insulted, his manhood is insulted.
29. If a man is insulted, his manhood is insulted.
30. If a man's brother is insulted, his manhood is insulted.
31. It is important to spend time with the members of your family.
32. It is important for a man to be loyal to his family.
33. A man's family should be his number one priority.
34. It is important to interact with other members of your community.
35. It is a man's responsibility to respect his family.

Appendix D: Sexual Objectification Scale Revised (SOS-R)

Rate your level of agreement with each of the following statements using the provided scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree).

1. There is nothing wrong with a guy whistling at or calling out to a female stranger to let her know that he thinks she is attractive.
2. It is okay for a guy to stare at the body of an attractive woman he doesn't know.
3. It is not a big deal when a man touches a woman's butt at a party or bar.
4. Hot body or "Wet T-shirt" contests are degrading to women. (R)
5. Women should not dress in revealing clothing. (R)
6. Actresses who refuse to do nude scenes are making a big deal out of nothing.
7. My girlfriend or wife (boyfriend or husband) should be willing to have sex with me whenever I want to.
8. I think the term "score" when talking about having sex with a woman is degrading. (R)
9. Pornography is offensive to me. (R)
10. I would not feel comfortable talking with my friends about the number of women I have had sex with. (R)
11. It would make me uneasy to make a bet with others about whether or not I could have sex with a woman. (R)
12. I enjoy shows at strip clubs.
13. One night stands are more appealing to me than a committed relationship.
14. I prefer to date attractive women because men who have beautiful partners seem to do better in the world.
15. I could not have sex with someone I did not respect. (R)
16. I get irritated when foreplay does not lead to my orgasm.
17. I find it necessary to get to know a woman before I have sex with her. (R)
18. Before a woman goes out in public, she should make sure she looks her best.

Items marked with (R) were reverse-coded.

Appendix E: Acceptance of Modern Myths About Sexual Aggression Scale (AMMSA)

Please read each statement carefully then select the response that you feel best represents your opinion (1 = Completely Disagree, 7 = Completely Agree).

1. To get custody for their children, women often falsely accuse their ex-husband of a tendency towards sexual violence.
2. It is a biological necessity for men to release sexual pressure from time to time.
3. Nowadays, a large proportion of rapes is partly caused by the depiction of sexuality in the media as this raises the sex drive of potential perpetrators.
4. As long as they don’t go too far, suggestive remarks and allusions simply tell a woman that she is attractive.
5. Most women prefer to be praised for their looks rather than their intelligence.
6. Women like to play coy. This does not mean that they do not want sex.
7. In dating situations the general expectation is that the woman "hits the brakes" and the man "pushes ahead".
8. Alcohol is often the culprit when a man rapes a woman.
9. Many women tend to misinterpret a well-meant gesture as a "sexual assault".
10. Nowadays, the victims of sexual violence receive sufficient help in the form of women’s shelters, therapy offers, and support groups.

Appendix F: Costin's R Scale

Please read the following statements and respond according to your personal beliefs. Choose the response that best represents how much you agree or disagree with each statement (1 = Strongly Agree, 6 = Strongly Disagree).

1. In forcible rape the victim never causes the crime.
2. Women are conditioned by sexist attitudes in our society to be rape victims.
3. A basic motive of a rapist is not so much sexual as it is to humiliate the victim.
4. Women often provoke rape through their appearance or behavior. (R)
5. Most charges of rape are unfounded. (R)
6. Most women who claim they were raped by a man they knew probably consented at the time and then changed their mind afterward. (R)

Items marked with (R) were reverse-coded.

Appendix G: Rape Proclivity Scale

Please read the following five scenarios carefully and imagine that you are in the same situation. After reading each scenario, please answer the three questions that follow.

Situation 1

You have gone out a few times with a woman you met recently. One weekend you go to a film together and then back to your place. You have a few beers, listen to music, and do a bit of petting. At a certain point your friend realizes she has had too much to drink to be able to drive home. You say she can stay over with you, no problem. You are keen to grab this opportunity and sleep with her. She objects, saying you are rushing her and anyway she is too drunk. You don't let that put you off, you lie down on her and just do it.

Situation 2

A while back, you met an attractive woman in a disco and you would like to take things a bit further with her. Friends of yours have a holiday home so you invite her to share a weekend there. You have a great time together. On the last evening you are ready to sleep with her, but she says no. You try to persuade her, insisting it's all part of a nice weekend. You invited her, after all, and she did accept. At that she repeats that she doesn't want to have sex but then puts up hardly any resistance when you simply undress her and have sex with her.

Situation 3

Imagine you are a firm's personnel manager. You get on especially well with a new female member of staff. At the end of a busy week, you invite her out to dinner and take her home afterward. As you want to spend some more time in her company, you suggest she might ask you in for a coffee. Next to her on the sofa, you start fondling her and kissing her. She tries to move out of reach but you tell her that her career prospects stand to be enhanced by her being on good terms with her boss. In due course, she seems to have accepted this, and she doesn't resist when you have sex with her.

Situation 4

You are at a party and meet a good-looking and interesting woman. You chat, dance together, and flirt. After the party, you give her a lift home in your car and she invites you in. You both sit down on the floor, then your new friend kisses you and starts to fondle you. That's absolutely fine with you and now you want more. When you start to undress her in order to sleep with her, she suddenly pushes you off and says she wants to stop now. Her resistance only turns you on more and, using some force, you press her down to the floor and then penetrate her.

Situation 5

You helped a young woman recently when her car broke down. She invites you to dinner in her flat as a way of saying thank you. It's a very pleasant evening and you have the impression she likes you. When your hostess indicates she is beginning to feel rather tired, you are not at all ready to leave. You would rather you finished the evening in bed together, and you try to kiss her. At that the woman gets mad and tells you to clear out. Instead, you grab her arms and drag her into the bedroom. You throw the woman onto the bed and force her to have sex with you.

Questions (asked after each scenario)

How sexually aroused would you be in this scenario? (1 – Not at all aroused, 7 – Highly aroused)

Would you have behaved like this in a similar situation? (1 = Certainly no, 7 – Certainly yes)

How much you would have enjoyed "getting your way" in this situation? (1 – Not at all, 7 – Very much)

Appendix H: Patriarchal Beliefs Scale (PBS)

Please indicate your agreement with the following items using the 1–7 scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be open and honest in your responding. (1 = Strongly Disagree – 7 = Strongly Agree)

1. At work, I would have more confidence in a male boss than a female boss.
2. I am more comfortable with men running big corporations than women.
3. I would feel more comfortable if a man was running the country's finances.
4. I would feel more secure with a male president running the country than a female one.
5. Men should lead national politics.
6. It is important that men make the big decisions that will affect my country.
7. Men rather than women should lead religious services.
8. Matters of local government are best left up to men.
9. A man should be the head of a company.
10. Men would make for more competent CEOs of financial institutions.
11. I prefer to have men lead town hall meetings.
12. The powerful roles that men play on TV/movies reflect how society should run.
13. Women should be paid less than a man for doing the same job.
14. Banks should not give credit to women.
15. Women do not belong in the workforce.
16. It is acceptable for a man to physically reprimand his wife.
17. A woman's place in the community should be mostly through volunteer work.
18. Women are less able than men to manage money.
19. Male work colleagues should have more of a say in the work place.
20. Girls have less use for formal education than boys.
21. Women's careers should be limited to traditional female jobs.
22. Police should not intervene in domestic disputes between a husband and his wife.
23. Men are inherently smarter than women.
24. A man has the right to have sex with his wife even if she may not want to. (Appendix continues)
25. A man should be the breadwinner.
26. Cleaning is mostly a woman's job.
27. Cooking is mostly a woman's job.
28. A man should be the one to discipline the children.
29. A woman should be the one who does most of the child rearing.
30. A man should control the household finances.
31. A woman should be the one to do the housework.
32. A man is the head of the household.
33. A man should make the rules of the house.
34. Women should be more responsible for domestic chores than men.
35. A woman should be the primary caretaker for children.

Appendix I: Reputation Stress Behavioral Subscale

Using the scale provided, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. (1 = Strongly Disagree, 9 = Strongly Agree)

1. I've wanted to hit someone for challenging my reputation.
2. There is nothing wrong with hitting someone who challenges your reputation.
3. If someone insulted my character, I would want to hit them.
4. I would be okay defending my reputation using physical aggression.
5. I would show signs of aggression if it helped to maintain my reputation.
6. I would be okay getting aggressive with someone who slandered my reputation.