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Running Head: Honor and emotions in Turkey and the US

Emotional Responses to Honor Situations in Turkey and the Northern U.S.

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Author's Note

Abstract

The main goal of the current research is to investigate emotional reactions to situations that implicate honor in Turkish and northern American cultural groups. In Studies 1a and 1b, participants rated the degree to which a variety of events fit their prototypes for honor-related situations. Both Turkish and American participants evaluated situations generated by their co-nationals as most central to their prototypes of honor-related situations. Study 2 examined emotional responses to Turkish or U.S.-generated situations that varied in centrality to the prototype. Highly central situations and Turkish-generated situations elicited stronger emotions than less central situations and U.S.-generated situations. Americans reported higher levels of positive emotions in response to honor-enhancing situations than did Turkish participants. These findings demonstrate that the prototypes of honor relevant situations differ for Turkish and northern American people, and that Turkish honor relevant situations are more emotion-laden than are northern American honor relevant situations.

Keywords: honor, situations, emotions, Turkey, northern U.S.

Word count: 147 words

Emotional Responses to Honor Situations in Turkey and the northern U.S

Imagine yourself in the following situation:

Your bus to work is late, causing you to be late to an important meeting at work. When you arrive, you explain this and apologize to your co-workers. One person, however, does not believe you, and taunts you by saying "Yeah, right. We've heard a lot of these sorts of excuses." This comment upsets you because it implies that you are a liar in front of the other employees. Would you think that this situation challenges your honor? How would it make you feel?

This example illustrates the type of situation that may elicit different emotions and reactions from people, depending on their cultural background. In the current research, we investigate emotional reactions to situations that implicate honor in Turkish and northern American cultural groups.

The last two decades have witnessed increasing interest in the concept of honor in the social psychological literature (e.g., Cohen & Nisbett, 1997; Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle & Schwarz, 1996; Cross, Uskul, Gercek-Swing, Sunbay, & Ataca, 2013; IJzerman, Van Dijk, & Gallucci, 2007; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2013; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fisher, 2000, 2002a, 2002b; Uskul, Cross, Sunbay, Gercek-Swing, & Ataca, 2012; Uskul, Oyserman, Schwarz, Lee, & Xu, 2013; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). This interest has resulted in research that has taken a predominantly comparative perspective in an attempt to understand the meaning of honor and its psychological significance in different cultural contexts. This social psychological work on honor has contributed much to the earlier ethnographic work that focused on what honor is and how it shapes human behavior, with a particular focus on Mediterranean (e.g., Peristiany, 1965, Abu-Lughod, 1999; Gilmore, 1987; Murphy, 1983; Wikan, 1984) and Middle Eastern (e.g., Abou-Zeid, 1965; Antoun, 1968; Gilmore, 1990; Ginat, 1987; Gregg, 2007) cultures. Despite this growing interest in honor among social psychologists, most of the recent research has focused on European and North American populations. In the present studies, we turn to Turkey, a part of the world that has largely gone unexamined by honor researchers (for recent exceptions see Cross et al., 2013; Cihangir, 2013; van Osch, Breugelmans, Zeelenberg, & Boluk, 2013; Uskul et

al., 2012, 2013) and in which honor is a central value. We go beyond existing comparative work on honor by examining emotional consequences of honor-relevant situations generated by Turkish and northern American respondents. We ask Turkish and northern American participants to evaluate honor-attacking or honor-enhancing situations generated by members of their own cultural group (Study 1a) and members of both cultural groups (Study 1b) in terms of their centrality to prototypes of honor situations, and we examine emotional responses as a function of situation centrality (Study 2).

Cultures of Honor

Cultures of honor are typically defined as cultural groups that highly value social image, reputation, and others' evaluation of an individual, as well as virtuous behavior, personal integrity, and good moral character (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1999; Emler, 1990; Gilmore, 1987; Peristiany, 1965). In such cultures (e.g., Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and Latin American cultures) honor is a salient value deeply ingrained in people's individual and social lives and its maintenance and protection becomes a primary concern (Abu-Lughod, 1999; Peristiany, 1965). Non-honor cultures (e.g., Dutch, Swedes, northern Americans) also have an understanding of honor, but in such cultures honor is typically defined in reference to one's worth in one's own eyes or one's personal integrity, and it is perceived to be a private matter. In these societies, an individual's worth is viewed as inalienable; the actions of others cannot diminish an individual's inherent worth (Leung & Cohen, 2011). Importantly, members of non-honor cultures put less emphasis on honor and are less concerned with its maintenance and protection compared to members of honor cultures (Pitt-Rivers, 1965; 1968; 1975; Rodriguez Mosquera, et al., 2000, 2002a, 2002b; Uskul et al., 2012; Wikan, 2008). Turkish culture, which is the focus of the current studies, is tightly wrapped around sentiments of honor and is considered to be an example of cultures of honor, much like other Mediterranean honor cultures (e.g., Bagli & Sev'er, 2003; Kardam, 2005; Mojab & Abdo, 2004).

One important difference between cultures of honor and non-honor cultures lies in the frequency and variety of situations that are perceived to be relevant to one's honor. For example,

in an honor culture, individuals are likely to be exposed to a wide variety of situations in which they can (or must) enhance, protect, or defend their honor. Recent comparative work by Uskul and colleagues (2012), which used the situation sampling method to unfold the characteristics of the concept of honor, showed that Turkish participants freely generated a greater number and a wider array of honor-relevant situations than did northern American participants. Moreover, members of these two cultural groups generated different types of honor-relevant situations and reported different responses to these situations. Specifically, northern American participants generated more honor-attacking situations that focused largely on the individual (e.g., *to insult the person)*, whereas Turkish participants generated more honor-attacking situations that focused on close others (e.g., *to make accusations about one's family)* and that referred to the presence of an audience (e.g., *to insult the person in front of other people). * Furthermore, Turkish participants tended to evaluate honor-relevant situations as having greater impact on themselves and close others than did American participants. Finally, situations generated by Turkish participants were evaluated by members of *both* cultural groups to have a stronger impact on oneself and close others compared to situations generated by American participants. In the current study, we aim to build on and extend this initial work by examining emotional responses to honor-relevant situations generated by members of Turkish and northern American cultural groups.

Thus far, most of the comparative research on honor has made considerable use of situations in examining the associated emotional or behavioral responses. Situations employed in past research were either generated by researchers in the form of experimental settings derived from social science theories of honor (Cohen et al., 1996) or were vignettes derived from real life experiences of a group of participants (e.g., Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a); other studies asked participants to recall recent relevant episodes from their own life experiences (e.g., Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000; Rodriguez Mosquera, Fischer, Manstead, & Zaalberg, 2008). In the current work, we used honor-relevant situations collected in a systematic manner in a previous study (Uskul et al., 2012) by asking participants to generate situations that would be seen as effective ways to attack or enhance a person's honor. By doing so, we tapped situations

that were considered to be honor-relevant in culturally consensual ways (Wagerman & Funder, 2009).

The Present Studies

In the current work we employed a modified prototype approach to identify situations that were strongly representative of or *central* to laypersons' conceptions of honor-relevant situations and situations that were less representative or central (see Fehr, 1988, 1999 for examples of prototype approach). Past research has repeatedly shown that the prototypic structure of concepts shapes such psychological outcomes as performance on memory tasks (e.g., Cantor & Mischel, 1979), evaluations of social interactions (e.g., transgressions: Kearns & Fincham, 2004), or person characteristics (e.g., likability: Gregg, Hart, Sedikides, & Kumashiro, 2008). Thus, whether a situation is viewed as more or less central to the prototype of honor situations is likely to moderate the resulting psychological responses. In the current work, we ask Turkish and northern American participants to evaluate honor-attacking or honor-enhancing situations generated by members of their own cultural group (Study 1a) and members of both cultural groups (Study 1b) in terms of their centrality to prototypes of honor situations, and we examine emotional responses as a function of situation centrality (Study 2). Based on the literature on prototypes, we hypothesize a main effect of situation centrality, such that individuals in both cultural groups will exhibit stronger emotional responses to situations rated as more central to honor than those that are rated as less central (Hypothesis 1).

Both ethnographic work and social psychological evidence suggest that honor-related events (e.g., offenses such as humiliations or insults) are associated with strong emotional responses (e.g. Cohen et al., 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a). In this study we examine a large set of potentially meaningful negative and positive emotions that can be experienced in response to honor-relevant situations. Building on previous research which demonstrated Turkish situations to have a stronger impact than U.S. situations (Uskul et al., 2012), we hypothesize a main effect of situation origin, such that honor-relevant situations generated in Turkey will lead to

stronger negative emotions in the face of honor-attacking situations (Hypothesis 2a) and stronger positive emotions in the face of honor-enhancing situations (Hypothesis 2b).

We also hypothesized an interaction between centrality and origin of situations. As members of an honor culture are likely to generate a much broader array of situations that are relevant to the concept of honor than are members of a non-honor culture, we tested whether the strength of the emotions elicited by highly and less central situations will differ more for Turkish-generated situations than for U.S. generated situations (Hypothesis 3).

Finally, we explored whether there will be a cultural difference in the experience of general positive emotional tendencies in the face of honor-enhancing situations. Members of North American cultures tend to have stronger self-enhancing motivations (e.g., Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999; Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997) and to experience higher levels of positive affect compared to members of other cultures (e.g., Asian cultures: Mesquita & Karasawa, 2002; Oishi, 2002; Scollon, Diener, Oishi, & Biswas-Diener, 2004; Tsai & Levenson, 1997). Indeed, high arousal positive emotions are especially valued by European Americans (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). We expected this general tendency among Americans to experience higher levels of positive emotions (compared to Turkish participants) to also hold in response to honor-enhancing situations. Moreover, in the Turkish culture, as in other collectivistic honor cultures (e.g., Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000), the expression of positive emotions in the face of honor-enhancing situations may be perceived as inappropriate. Such responses can signal lack of humility and the presence of feelings that may lead to a separation between oneself and others (e.g., pride), which can jeopardize harmony in social relations (Kitayama, Markus, & Matsumoto, 1995; Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006). Thus, based on the existing findings in the culture and emotion literature, we hypothesized a main effect of cultural group on the experience of positive emotions, such that Northern American participants will respond more positively than Turkish individuals to such situations (Hypothesis 4).

We tested these hypotheses by asking participants to evaluate situations identified as highly versus less central to honor in terms of the emotions that they would likely evoke (Study 2). To do so, we first identified situations that were highly central or peripheral to the construct of

honor for Turkish and Northern American individuals using situations generated by members of one's own cultural group (Study 1a) and by members of both cultural groups (Study 1b).

STUDY 1a

Past research suggests that individuals would be able to make meaningful judgments about whether specific instances are central or peripheral to the prototype of honor-attacking or honor-enhancing situations (see Cantor, Mischel, & Schwartz [1982] for examples of prototypes of situations). Thus, the purpose of Study 1a was to gather information regarding the centrality of the honor-attacking and honor-enhancing situations. Participants in each cultural sample judged the centrality of the situations generated by members of their own cultural group in response to the following questions in a previous study (see Uskul et al., 2012): a) *If someone wanted to attack/insult somebody else's honor, what would be the most effective way to do so?* b) *If someone wanted to enhance/increase somebody else's honor, what would be the most effective way to do so?* As in other research on prototypes (e.g., Fehr, 1988, 1999), the situations were divided into independent units; similar statements were combined together (see Uskul et al., 2012 for more details). Statements generated by two or more participants were retained in the final list. In this study our goal was to first examine the lay understandings of how central or peripheral honor-relevant situations are perceived within each cultural group; thus Turkish participants rated situations generated by Turkish participants and northern Americans rated situations generated by northern American participants.

Method

Participants

Participants were undergraduate students at Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey ($n = 200$, 133 women, four unstated, $M_{age} = 20.15$, $SD = 1.61$) and at Iowa State University, USA, who self-identified as European-American ($n = 167$, 99 women, $M_{age} = 20.17$, $SD = 3.87$). All participants were recruited through departmental participant pools in return for course credit.

Materials and Procedure

Participants were invited to participate in a study titled *Evaluating Situations*. In both samples, they signed up for the study in groups of 5 to 15 and read the following instructions (*wording for the section with honor-attacking situations in parentheses*):

"Listed below are a number of statements about various situations people may encounter. Please take some time to consider each situation carefully. Please judge how representative or close each situation below is to your concept of situations that would *enhance or increase (attack or threaten)* a person's sense of honor. In other words, evaluate how *good an example* [central] each statement is of situations that would *enhance (attack)* a person's honor."[1]

Participants then rated how well each of the situations obtained from Uskul et al.'s (2012) study represented the experience of attack on or enhancement of one's honor using a scale ranging from 1 (*extremely poor example*) to 8 (*extremely good example*). Turkish participants rated 76 honor-attacking (e.g., *to blame a person for something that s/he did not do*) and 54 honor-enhancing (e.g., *to give a person an award*) situations and U.S. participants rated 81 honor-attacking (e.g., *disrespecting what a person believes in*) and 46 honor-enhancing (e.g., *praising the person's deeds*) situations for centrality.

Each participant rated both honor-attacking and honor-enhancing situations, which were presented in two different sections of the questionnaire. To ensure that the order of presentation did not affect ratings, we counterbalanced the order of the two sections. Moreover, participants received the order of the situations within each section in one of the two random orders, resulting in four different versions of the questionnaire. Preliminary analyses revealed no order effects (all ICCs < .001 and as > .937 for the Turkish sample and all ICCs < .001 and as > .923 for the U.S. sample); we therefore will not discuss this variable further.

Results and Discussion

Given that each cultural group rated the set of situations generated by members of their own cultural group for centrality, we report the results for each cultural group separately.[2]

Turkish Sample

We checked the reliability of the mean centrality ratings by means of two indices: a) the intraclass correlation coefficient (which is equivalent to the average of all possible split-half reliability coefficients) was high for both honor-attacking (ICC_{attack} = .98, $p < .001$) and honor-enhancing situations ($ICC_{enhance}$ = .95, $p < .001$), and b) based on a flipped data matrix and treating features as cases and participants as items, we found that the internal consistency of the ratings was very high for both honor-attacking (a_{attack} = .98) and honor-enhancing ($a_{enhance}$ = .95) situations.[3]

Northern U.S. Sample

As with the Turkish data, two indices provided reliability of mean centrality ratings: a) the intraclass correlation coefficient which is equivalent to the average of all possible split-half reliability coefficients was high for both honor-attacking (ICC_{attack} = .99, $p < .001$) and honor-enhancing ($ICC_{enhance}$ = .94, $p < .001$) situations, and b) based on a flipped data matrix and treating features as cases and participants as items, we found that the internal consistency of the ratings is very high for both honor-attacking (a_{attack} = .96) and honor-enhancing ($a_{enhance}$ = .97) situations.[4]

Comparison of Centrality Ratings and Frequencies

A comparison of the centrality ratings of honor-attacking situations using situations as the unit of analysis that we conducted for exploratory purposes revealed that Turkish participants' centrality ratings of Turkish-generated honor-attacking situations (M = 5.22, SD = .60) were similar to northern American participants' centrality ratings of American-generated honor-attacking situations (M = 5.24, SD = .36), $F < 1$, ns. A comparison of the centrality ratings of honor-enhancing situations showed that American participants' centrality ratings of American-generated honor-enhancing situations (M = 5.27, SD = .64) were significantly higher than Turkish participants' centrality ratings of Turkish-generated honor-enhancing situations (M = 4.99, SD = .44), $F (1, 45)$ = 24.32, $p < .001$, d = .51.

Although these comparisons shed some light on the relative centrality of honor relevant situations for each cultural group, collection of ratings for different sets of situations by each group (i.e., Turkish participants rating Turkish situations and northern American participants

rating U.S. situations) limits the comparability of these ratings. To overcome this limitation and to gain insight into whether perceptions of centrality would vary as a function of situation origin in both cultural groups, we conducted an additional study (Study 1b) with a different sample of Turkish and northern American participants using a fully crossed design, where members of each cultural group rated the centrality of both American and Turkish situations[5]. Furthermore, this study would also allow us to evaluate the comparative centrality of the situations employed in Study 2.

STUDY 1b

Participants

Participants were undergraduate students at Bogazici University, Turkey ($n = 132$, 102 women, $M_{age} = 20.26$, $SD = 1.53$) and at Iowa State University, USA, who self-identified as European-American ($n = 72$, 40 women, $M_{age} = 19.19$, $SD = 1.17$). All participants were recruited through departmental participant pools in return for course credit.

Materials and Procedure

Participants completed the study following the same procedure and instructions described in Study 1a, with the exception that this time each participant rated *both* Turkish- and American-generated situations for centrality. Participants were randomly assigned to rate either honor-attacking (130 situations, $n = 110$) or honor-enhancing (94 situations, $n = 94$) situations to limit the length of the study. Situations that were generated by both American and Turkish participants were mentioned only once. Six situations were excluded due to their culturally idiosyncratic nature or difficulties faced with translation from one language to another. Translations and back-translations were conducted by a group of researchers fluent in both English and Turkish.[6]

Results and Discussion

Given the between-subjects design of the study and to have a clearer comparison between the two groups for each set of honor-relevant situations, we analyzed centrality ratings for honor-attacking and honor-enhancing situations separately. We first calculated average scores for

centrality ratings of Turkish-generated and for American-generated honor situations to create indices to represent situation origin. We then subjected the attack and enhance indices to separate mixed ANOVAs with situation origin as a within-subjects variable and cultural group and gender as between-subjects variables.

The analysis with *honor-attacking situations* yielded no significant main effects of situation origin, cultural group, or gender, all Fs < 1, but revealed a significant cultural group X situation origin interaction effect, $F (1, 106) = 63.03$, $p < .001$. Unfolding this interaction, we found that both groups found the situations generated by the members of their own cultural group significantly more central to attacks on one's honor compared to situations generated by the members of the other cultural group, $d_{TR} = .32$, $F (1, 106) = 41.71$, $p < .001$, and $d_{US} = .38$, $F (1, 106) = 23.48$, $p < .001$ (see left panel of Table 1 for descriptive statistics). Moreover, Turkish participants rated Turkish-generated situations as significantly more central than did northern American participants, $F (1, 106) = 5.63$, $p = .021$, $d = .52$; the two groups did not differ in how central they thought American-generated situations were to attacks on one's honor, $F < 1$, $p = .62$. The analysis with *honor-enhancing situations* yielded a marginally significant cultural group main effect only, $F (1, 90) = 3.05$, $p = .08$, with northern American participants rating these situations (regardless of their origin) slightly more central to enhancement of one's honor than did Turkish participants (see right panel of Table 1 for descriptive statistics).

The finding that members of each group rated the situations generated by others in their own group as more central to their prototypes of honor-attacking situations supports the notion that honor is represented differently in these two groups, corroborating results from other research conducted with these two cultural groups (Cross et al., 2013; Cross, Uskul, Gercek-Swing, Sunbay, Ataca, & Karakitapoglu, in press; Uskul et al., 2012). The finding that the two cultural groups rated the US-generated honor-attacking situations similarly, but the Turkish-generated situations differently, suggests that US-generated situations were perceived to be fairly prototypical to the experience of attacks on one's honor by both cultural groups, but the Turkish situations fit the honor prototype of American participants less well. As was shown in the codes of situations reported in Study 1 of Uskul et al. (2012), Turkish situations were almost 9 times more

likely to imply false accusations. Whereas Turkish participants perceived such situations as being central to the prototype of honor, American participants might have perceived them as prototypical of other types of situations, such as those related to unfairness or injustice. In contrast, being criticized for what you live for (as commonly observed in American honor-attacking situations) would attack the very core of what being a person in an individualistic, Western non-honor culture is about – making personal choices, living up to one's own code and personal expectations, and following through on one's personal commitments.

Finally, Turkish participants generated a much broader array of situations than did American participants including more extreme situations (e.g., attacking someone sexually, falsely accusing someone of cheating in public). Thus, while the situations generated by American participants were perceived to be central to honor by American participants, they may have been perceived as only moderately central by Turkish participants compared to situations generated by their peers that covered a broader range of (and more extreme) situations.

STUDY 2

The main purpose of Study 2 was to examine emotional responses to culturally –specific honor-attacking and honor-enhancing situations generated and rated as central or peripheral to honor by Turkish or Northern American individuals. We examined the following hypotheses related to the situations: Highly central situations would elicit stronger emotional responses in both cultural groups compared to those that are less central to the concept of honor (Hypothesis 1) and Turkish situations would be associated with stronger negative and positive emotional responses in both cultural groups than would U.S. situations (Hypotheses 2a and 2b, respectively). We also hypothesized an interaction between origin and centrality, such that there would be greater differences in the emotional responses to high vs. low centrality Turkish situations than to high vs. low centrality U.S. situations (Hypothesis 3). Finally, we predicted that Northern American participants would respond more positively than Turkish individuals to honor-enhancing situations (Hypothesis 4).

Method

Participants

Participants were undergraduate students from Bogazici University in Istanbul, Turkey (*n* = 168, 99 women, two unstated, M_{age} = 20.23, *SD* = 2.45) and from Iowa State University in the US (*n* = 228, 107 women) who were recruited through departmental subject pools in return for course credit. Thirty-nine participants in the U.S. sample who were not of European-American were excluded from the study. The analyses were conducted with the remaining sample (*n* = 189, 90 women, M_{age} = 19.65, *SD* = 1.44).

Procedure

To identify the highly central and less central honor situations to be used in this study, we relied on the centrality ratings obtained from each cultural group in Study 1a. Because Turkish participants rated Turkish situations and northern American participants rated U.S. situations for centrality in Study 1a, these ratings were not influenced by comparisons with items generated by members of the other cultural group (as likely happened in Study 1b). Thus, Study 1a ratings represent a cleaner assessment of the within-culture perceptions of the centrality of the situations, which remain culture-specific in terms of honor relevance.

First, a decision was required to determine which situations rated in Study 1a should be considered as central versus peripheral. In both the Turkish and U.S. data set, we conducted a three-way split of the centrality ratings. As with any decision regarding how to use the centrality ratings to determine central and peripheral items, the current division is also artificial and it needs to be noted that centrality is continuous. The decision to opt for a three-way split rather than a median-split was motivated by a need to identify the most and least central situations[7] rather than situations that happen to differ from each other only slightly in centrality (as would be the case with situations falling close to the median). Next, we randomly selected 5 situations from the upper (most central) and lower (least central) sections to be used in the current study, excluding situations from the middle section. Since the selected situations were to be presented to both U.S. and Turkish participants, we replaced situations that were difficult to translate (e.g.,

which included local jargon) with another randomly selected situation from the same section (see Tables 2 and 3 for a list of the situations).

The selected situations were presented to participants in the form of minimal sentences such as '*Someone deceives you*' or '*Someone appreciates your accomplishments*' to help participants easily imagine themselves in the given situations; they were kept as similar as possible to the original version of the actual situations generated by participants. Participants were instructed to read the situations carefully and to imagine themselves in each of them. After each situation, they were presented with a list of emotions and asked to report the extent to which they would experience these emotions if they found themselves in each of the listed situations. The emotions were either positive (*pride, feelings of closeness to others, friendly feelings, calmness, elation, happiness*) or negative (*frustration, anger, shame, guilt, embarrassment, feelings of hurt, feelings of humiliation, unhappiness*). We borrowed these emotions from Kitayama, Park, Sevincer, Karasawa, and Uskul (2009), with the exception of feelings of superiority which was determined to have a Turkish translation not well-fitting to the current context. We also added feelings of humiliation, embarrassment, and feeling of being hurt to better tap a wider set of honor-relevant emotions.[8] Participants rated these emotions using a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all* and 7 = *extremely strongly*).

Two versions of the questionnaire were created; one included 20 honor-attacking situations and the other included 20 honor-enhancing situations (five high in centrality and five low in centrality from each cultural group; see Tables 2 and 3). Participants were randomly assigned to complete one of the two versions (TR: $n_{attack} = 83$, $n_{enhance} = 85$; US: $n_{attack} = 98$, $n_{enhance} = 91$). They also completed a demographic form including gender, age, and ethnic origin. The instructions, situations, and emotion items were translated and backtranslated by a team fluent in both Turkish and English.

Results and Discussion

Before conducting the analyses, we examined the cross-cultural structural equivalence of the negative and positive emotion scales separately for honor-attacking and honor-enhancing situations by calculating factorial agreement using the most stringent identity index. Results

revealed an identity factor of .99 for the negative emotion scale for honor-attacking situations and an identity factor of .92 for the positive emotion scale for honor-enhancing situations. According to recommendations cited in van de Vijver and Leung (1997) these values can be taken as evidence for factorial similarity.

We also conducted item bias analyses for the negative and positive emotion scale scores adopting the procedure recommended by van de Vijfer and Leung (1997, pp. 63-68) based on Cleary and Hilton's (1968) use of analysis of variance, which entails the use of item scores as dependent variables and cultural groups and score levels as independent variables. The inspection of main effects of cultural group and score levels and the interaction effect between cultural group and score levels on individual items in each scale revealed only a few significant effects with no systematic pattern. Thus, it is safe to conclude that no uniform and non-uniform bias was present in the current data and mean comparisons across cultural groups are justified.

Remember that separate groups of participants rated negative or positive emotions for honor-attacking and honor-enhancing situations, respectively. Given this between-subjects nature of the design, and for a more meaningful test of the hypotheses, we report the analyses separately for honor-attacking and honor-enhancing situations. We also include participant's sex as an additional variable in our analyses to examine whether any of the hypothesized effects are gendered (findings remained the same when sex was excluded from the analyses).

Honor-Attacking Situations

To investigate the general tendency to experience negative emotions in response to honor-attacking situations, we averaged all negative emotions for the four types of situations to obtain a negative emotion index: Turkey vs. U.S. origin and high vs. low centrality. Reliabilities were high in both samples (all αs > .90).

We submitted this negative emotion index to a 2 X 2 X 2 X 2 mixed ANOVA with participants' cultural background (Turkish vs. European-American) and gender (female vs. male) as between-subjects factors and situation origin (Turkish or U.S. situations) and situation centrality (high vs. low) as within-subjects factors. There was a significant main effect of gender, $F (1, 176) = 9.27, p < .01$; women ($M = 4.28, SD = .90$) reported higher levels of negative

emotions in the face of honor-attacking situations than did men (M = 3.83, SD = .92), d = .49.[9]

Gender did not interact significantly with other variables.

Consistent with Hypothesis 1, there was a significant main effect of situation centrality, F (1, 176) = 365.98, p < .001, with highly central situations eliciting higher levels of negative affect (M = 4.39, SD = 1.04) than less central situations (M = 3.73, SD = 1.00), d = .65. Moreover, consistent with Hypothesis 2a, we found a significant main effect of situation origin, F (1, 176) = 41.21, p < .001, with situations generated by Turkish participants eliciting higher levels of negative emotion (M = 4.17, SD = .93) than those generated by U.S. participants (M = 3.95, SD = 1.02), d = .23.

We also tested whether the differences in the affect elicited by highly central vs. peripheral situations would be greater for situations generated in Turkey than those generated in the US (Hypothesis 3). The analysis revealed a significant situation origin X situation centrality interaction effect, F (1, 176) = 166.51, p < .001. The difference in the emotions elicited by highly vs. less central Turkish situations (M_{high} = 4.68, SD = .98; M_{low} = 3.61, SD = .88, d = 1.15) was greater than the difference between highly vs. less central U.S. situations (M_{high} = 4.04, SD = 1.10; M_{low} = 3.79, SD = 1.12, d = .23). An inspection of the confidence intervals (95%) of the effect sizes for the difference in ratings for highly vs. less central Turkish situations and for highly vs. less central U.S. situations showed no overlap (TR situations: CI_{low} = .92 CI_{high} = 1.37, U.S. situations: CI_{low} = .02 CI_{high} = .43), suggesting that the effects for the Turkish and U.S. situations are different in the population.

Finally, this analysis also revealed a significant situation origin X situation centrality X cultural background interaction effect, F (1,176) = 21.73, p < .001. As shown in Figure 1, participants tended to respond more strongly to highly central situations than to less central situations (all ps < .05, .45 < d < 1.20), with one exception: Turkish participants responded similarly to the highly and less central U.S.-generated situations (d = .003), suggesting that Turkish participants perceived these situations to be relatively similar in their emotional consequences. The Turkish participants may have experienced a contrast effect when they encountered the northern American situations alongside the Turkish situations: The US situations

(e.g., being made fun of, being attacked for what one lives for) might have been contrasted away from the more extreme Turkish situations (e.g., physical assault, false accusations) which may have resulted in similar Turkish ratings of all the US situations.

Could these findings have resulted from accidental selection of Turkish situations that were more central to both cultural groups than the U.S. situations? Although the situations were selected randomly, even a random procedure can at times result in selections that are not representative of the whole. Thus, we investigated whether centrality ratings of the specific Turkish- and American-generated situations used in this study might account for the observed patterns in emotional responses that these situations were imagined to evoke. To test this possibility, using ratings collected in Study 1b, we calculated average centrality ratings for Turkish- and northern American-generated situations by Turkish and American participants for the specific honor-attacking situations used in this study.[10] Then we entered these averaged ratings into a mixed ANOVA with situation origin as a within subjects variable and cultural group and gender as between-subjects variables. This analysis only revealed a significant situation origin X cultural group interaction effect, F (1, 106) = 14.75, p < .001. Unfolding the interaction effect, we found that, mirroring the effect observed across all situations used in Study 1b, each group rated situations generated by members of their own cultural group to be more central to attacks on one's honor than situations generated by members of the other cultural group, both ps < .01, F_{TR} (1, 106) = 7.38, p < .01 d_{TR} = .29 and F_{US} (1, 106) = 7.40, p < .01, d_{US} = .35. We also found that although Turkish participants (M = 5.38, SD = .93) rated Turkish situations to be more central than did northern American participants (M = 4.98, SD = .77), F (1, 106) = 3.56, p = .06, d = .47, the two groups did not differ in how they evaluated the centrality of the U.S. situations (M_{TR} = 5.10, SD = .97; M_{US} = 5.24, SD = .70), p = .48. Thus, although northern American participants did not rate the Turkish situations as more central to honor than the U.S. situations, they nevertheless expected Turkish situations to elicit stronger emotions than the U.S. situations.[11]

It may be the case that a situation may elicit strong emotional responses even if it is not central to one's prototype. Thus, an alternative explanation for the observed patterns in

emotional responses may lie in differences in the nature of situations generated by Turkish and northern American participants. To examine this possibility, we revisited the coding of the Turkish and US-generated situations used in this study, which were reported as part of Uskul et al. (2012). As shown on the far right column of Table 1, humiliation and unfair accusation characterized the Turkish honor-attacking situations, whereas the U.S. situations were more likely to imply a challenge to someone or criticism of or attack on someone's ideas or character. These observations suggest that although northern American participants do not tend to perceive situations involving humiliation or unfair accusation as highly central to honor, they evaluated such situations as potentially leading to stronger negative emotions than the culturally specific situations that they perceived as honor-relevant.

Honor-Enhancing Situations

To investigate the general tendency to experience positive emotions in response to honor-enhancing situations, we followed the same analysis plan as above and created averages for the four types of situations to obtain a positive emotion index: TR vs. U.S. origin and high vs. low centrality. Reliabilities were high in both the Turkish and the northern American samples (as > .90). We submitted this positive emotion index to a 2 X 2 X 2 X 2 ANOVA with participants' cultural background (Turkish vs. European-American) and gender (female vs. male) as between-subjects factors and situation origin (TR vs. U.S.) and centrality (high vs. low) as within-subjects factors.

Consistent with Hypothesis 1, the analyses revealed a significant main effect of situation centrality, $F (1, 171) = 45.10$, $p < .001$, with highly central situations eliciting higher levels of positive affect ($M = 4.74$, $SD = .81$) than less central situations ($M = 4.58$, $SD = .79$), $d = .20$. Moreover, consistent with Hypothesis 2b, we found a significant main effect of situation origin, $F (1, 171) = 113.62$, $p < .001$, with situations generated by Turkish participants eliciting higher levels of positive emotion ($M = 4.80$, $SD = .79$) than those generated by U.S. participants ($M = 4.53$, $SD = .83$), $d = .33$. Once again, these findings demonstrate that situations rated as more central to the concept of honor have stronger emotional implications than those rated as less central, and Turkish situations are emotionally more potent than U.S. situations.

The situation origin X situation centrality interaction was not significant, $F < 1$, indicating that the differences in the affect elicited by highly central vs. peripheral situations were not greater for Turkish situations than for U.S. situations, thus not providing supportive evidence for Hypothesis 3 in the context of honor-enhancing situations.

In support of Hypothesis 4 that predicted northern Americans to experience higher levels of positive emotions compared to members of other cultural groups, there was a significant main effect of participant cultural group, $F (1, 171) = 5.64$, $p < .03$. Northern American participants responded more positively ($M = 4.79$, $SD = .77$) to the honor-enhancing situations than did the Turkish participants ($M = 4.53$, $SD = .81$), $d = .33$. This main effect was qualified by a significant situation centrality X cultural group interaction, $F (1, 170) = 8.13$, $p = .005$; northern American participants responded more strongly to the highly central situations ($M = 4.91$, $SD = .80$) than to those low in centrality ($M = 4.67$, $SD = .78$), $d = .30$. The distinction between high and low centrality situations was smaller for the Turkish participants ($M_{high} = 4.58$, $SD = .84$, $M_{low} = 4.49$, $SD = .81$), $d = .11$.[12] These findings support the hypothesis that northern Americans are more likely to express positive emotions than are Turkish participants. Moreover it suggests that Americans are more likely than Turkish participants to be alert to very positive experiences, resulting in greater differentiation in response to high vs. low centrality situations.

Next, as we did with honor-attacking situations above, we investigated the possibility that Turkish situations generated more intense positive emotions than U.S. situations because the specific Turkish situations that were randomly selected for this study from Study 1a are somehow more central to enhancement of one's honor than the randomly selected U.S. situations. Using the same analysis design described above, we found a marginally significant main effect of cultural group, $F (1, 90) = 2.78$, $p = .099$, with northern American participants ($M = 5.06$, $SD = .49$) showing a tendency to rate the situations higher in centrality to honor than did Turkish participants ($M = 4.91$, $SD = .65$), $d = .26$. No other effect was significant. Thus, once again we found that centrality was unlikely to underlie the observed cultural differences in emotional responses to honor-enhancing situations.

As we did with honor-attacking situations, we turned to situation codes to better interpret the observed cultural differences in emotional responses to honor-enhancing situations. As shown in the far right column of Table 3, the Turkish honor-enhancing situations were overwhelmingly characterized by abstract situations in which someone's qualities were praised, admired, or appreciated. In contrast, the American honor-enhancing situations tended to be characterized by more concrete circumstances such as someone calling attention to one's reliability or someone telling others that one saved his/her life. Thus, one possibility is that participants may have found it easier to imagine themselves in more abstract (i.e., Turkish) situations than in more specific (i.e., U.S.) situations. Another possibility is that the slightly more public nature of Turkish situations (e.g., someone makes you feel valuable in front of other people) compared to the U.S. situations may have led to stronger positive emotions in both cultural groups. These possibilities need to be tested in future research.

General Discussion

The primary objective of the present research was to gain insight into emotional responses to honor-attacking and honor-enhancing situations that are considered to be central or peripheral to the concept of honor in the Turkish and northern American cultural worlds. We designed Study 1a and 1b to gather centrality ratings of situations that were previously generated by Turkish and northern American individuals as effective ways to attack or enhance one's honor. These situations were then tested in Study 2 for the emotional responses they might evoke if one were to experience them.

We first tested the prediction that situations rated as more central to the concept of honor would be associated with stronger emotional responses than those rated as less central. The results supported this prediction for both Turkish and northern American cultural groups and both Turkish and northern American situations. These findings provide evidence that centrality of honor situations moderates emotional responses and they contribute to the existing literature that has demonstrated that centrality or prototypicality of concepts shapes a variety of psychological outcomes.

Importantly, the cross-cultural nature of the current project allowed us to examine whether Turkish and northern American individuals evaluated similar situations as central to the concept of honor and whether culture-specific centrality ratings mattered for emotional responses. First, findings from Study 1b revealed that each group rated situations generated by their co-nationals as more central than situations generated by the other cultural group, providing further evidence that the groups have different conceptions of honor. Second, findings from Study 2 showed that it was not the culture-specific centrality ratings that shaped emotional responses. As predicted, and in line with findings from an earlier study showing stronger impact of situations generated by Turkish participants (see Uskul et al., 2012), in comparison to U.S. situations, Turkish situations evoked higher levels of negative and positive affect among both Turkish and northern American participants. Thus, although American participants did not rate the Turkish situations as more central to honor than the U.S. situations, they rated Turkish situations to evoke stronger emotions than the U.S. situations. Codings of the situations used in Study 2 provide preliminary evidence that the content of these situations may account for this difference. For example, the Turkish situations involved false accusations and humiliation more than the U.S. situations. Although northern Americans may not view such events as highly central to their prototype of honor (and instead may perceive them as central to the prototype of another concept such as injustice), they may find them highly emotion-provoking. A meaningful next step to further investigate the reasons underlying the observed cultural differences in emotional responses to honor situations would be to examine how these situations are appraised by the members of these cultural groups.

Study 2 also provided support for the prediction that the difference between negative emotional responses elicited by highly central vs. less central Turkish honor-attacking situations would be greater than the difference between negative emotional responses elicited by highly central vs. less central U.S. honor-attacking situations. This finding suggests that Turkish participants may appraise a broader array of situations as honor-relevant than are northern Americans. Situations viewed as honor-relevant by Turkish people are likely to include very extreme situations that have a strong emotional impact (e.g., someone accuses you of theft), as

well as relatively mundane situations that have a much weaker emotional impact (e.g., someone criticizes you). This possibility is supported by the difference in centrality ratings of the highest and least centrally rated situations from Study 1a: The range of the centrality ratings is more than 2.5 times higher for the Turkish situations (3.49) than for the U.S. situations (1.34). The pattern of emotional responses is rather different for honor-enhancing situations, however; there was not a greater difference in positive emotions elicited by high vs. low centrality Turkish situations compared to high vs. low centrality U.S. situations. The lack of a situation origin by centrality interaction for honor-enhancing situations may be because Turkish individuals perceive a narrower range of positive situations to be honor-relevant compared to honor-attacking situations. This speculation is supported by a narrower range of centrality ratings for Turkish honor-enhancing situations (2.02; comparable to American honor-enhancing situations' range of 1.84), in contrast to that of Turkish honor-attacking situations (3.49).

An additional goal of the present research was to examine emotional responses to honor-enhancing situations. As hypothesized, northern American participants reported higher levels of positive emotions in response to honor-enhancing situations than did Turkish participants. This finding is consistent with previous evidence suggesting that members of North American cultures tend to experience higher levels of positive affect compared to members of other cultures (e.g., Mesquita & Karasawa, 2002; Oishi, 2002; Scollon, et al., 2004; Tsai & Levenson, 1997). In the current work, we extended this well-established finding to responses to honor-enhancing events and to comparisons with an under-researched cultural group -- members of the Turkish culture. In the Turkish culture, as in other honor cultures (e.g., Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000), expressions of pride or satisfaction may elicit jealousy or envy from others, and so may threaten the harmony in social relations (Kitayama, et al., 1995; Kitayama, et al., 2006). Future research is needed to explore the beliefs, goals, or values that may explain these cultural differences in reports of positive affect.

Concluding Remarks

The present studies contribute to the existing research on honor, culture, and emotions first through their focus on an under-researched honor culture (Turkey) in comparison to a well-researched non-honor culture (northern U.S.). Although this research provides insight into how members of different cultural groups emotionally respond to different honor relevant situations, we do acknowledge that our findings may or may not generalize to other members of these cultural groups that have different demographic characteristics. Second, compared to most of the previous research on honor, which largely used single situations created by researchers or past events recalled by participants, the current studies used a systematic approach by selecting situations that vary in the degree to which they represent honor-attacking or honor-enhancing situations. This approach allowed us to expose participants to a wide range of situations, which makes findings more generalizable beyond either a single laboratory event or a specific personal experience that participants recall. Third, by examining responses to honor-enhancing situations, this paper extends our understanding of the role of honor in emotional experience and thus contributes to the literature on positive aspects of honor. Like two sides of a coin, honor-enhancing and honor-threatening situations coexist, and both must be examined to develop a thorough understanding of the concept.

Fourth, by investigating situation centrality in a systematic way, the studies add to the literature on centrality and prototypicality, which has traditionally focused on concept (not situation) centrality, and they provide a novel approach to the study of the honor-emotion link. Finally, this research introduces a comparative perspective to research on situation centrality or prototypicality. Thus far, studies using a prototype approach were almost exclusively conducted within one cultural context (for exceptions see Cross, et al., in press; Smith, Turk Smith, & Christopher, 2007). The cross-cultural approach we take in the current research permitted investigation into how exposure to situations that are identified as high or low in centrality by members of one cultural group shapes emotional responses to these situations among members of another cultural group.

The increasing exposure of individuals to different cultures creates a need to understand how members of one cultural group would respond to situations commonly found in another cultural

context or how they would make sense of concepts that might have different centrality structures in another cultural context. A comparative approach in this line of work may help provide deeper insight into cross-cultural misunderstandings, such as when a mundane situation in one cultural group is interpreted as a significant honor threat in another culture.

In summary, this research helps us better understand how a member of an honor culture (Turkey) and a member of a non-honor culture (northern U.S.) are likely to respond emotionally to situations that are identified as honor relevant in Turkish and American contexts. A highly honor-relevant Turkish situation, such as being accused of lying by one's co-worker, may cause an American to be angry, but he or she may be less likely than a Turkish person to feel the need to set the other straight in order to restore his/her honor. These findings highlight the power of situations in eliciting emotions in culturally meaningful ways. Insight into emotional responses to situations such as false accusation with which we opened this paper can ultimately shed light on behavioral responses to such situations.

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Footnotes

[1] Two synonymous terms, *"onur"* and *"şeref"* were used as Turkish translations of the English term "honor," and these terms closely correspond to the North American understanding of honor (see Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001).

[2] Mean centrality ratings (and *SD*s) for all Turkish and U.S. situations are available from the authors upon request.

[3] A comparison of the mean centrality ratings with the frequencies from Uskul et al. (2012) showed that some situations that were listed frequently also received high centrality ratings (e.g., *attack*: blaming a person with something s/he didn't do). However, other frequently listed situations (e.g., *attack*: making fun of a person) were given low centrality ratings. This pattern resulted in a marginally significant positive correlation for honor-attacking situations (r_{attack} = .21, p = .08) and a nonsignificant positive correlation between centrality ratings and frequencies for honor-enhancing situations ($r_{enhance}$ = .17, *ns*). This finding suggests that among the Turkish participants there is a somewhat stronger consensus for honor-attacking situations than for honor-enhancing situations.

[4] A comparison of the mean centrality ratings with the frequencies from Uskul et al. (2012) showed that some situations that were listed frequently also received high centrality ratings (e.g., disrespecting and attacking what the person believes in). However, other frequently listed situations (e.g., calling the person names) were given low centrality ratings. This pattern resulted in nonsignificant correlations between centrality ratings and frequencies for honor-attacking (r_{attack} = .07, *ns*) and honor-enhancing situations ($r_{enhance}$ = .19, *ns*).

[5] Study 1b was conducted following the completion of data collection for Studies 1a and 2.

[6] The list of honor-attacking and honor-enhancing situations used in this study is available from the authors upon request.

[7] Although we call the situations from the lower section of the centrality ranking the least central situations, an examination of the means of situations in this section suggests that they were ranked moderate in centrality.

[8] In this study, we also asked participants to report on how they think the situations would affect their self-esteem. Here we do not report findings for self-esteem to keep the focus on emotions.

[9] Women may have internalized the widespread societal expectations that they should be examples of good (and honorable) behavior; consequently, imagining themselves in situations that may lead them to lose honor (and subsequently reputation and respect) may be associated with more negative emotions. Moreover, failing to behave honorably may lead to greater penalties for women than for men (e.g., Mojab & Abdo, 2004).

[10] Due to an oversight, two Turkish-generated peripheral situations were not included in Study 1b and were not part of the averaged centrality rating for this category of situations. All other situations were included.

[11] We conducted a separate mixed ANOVA with type of situation as a within subjects variable with four levels (TR-generated highly vs. less central situations vs. US-generated highly vs. less central situations) and cultural group and gender as between-subjects variables. We examined whether Turkish participants' similar emotional responses to the highly central and less central U.S.-generated situations might be due to similar centrality ratings given to these situations. The analysis did not provide support for this possibility; Turkish participants rated highly central U.S. situations as more central than less central U.S. situations, $p < .001$, $d = .97$.

[12] There was a significant interaction between gender, origin, and centrality of the situations, $F(1,170) = 5.47$, $p = .02$. Women reported more positive emotions than men for highly central situations originating in Turkey and for low centrality situations originating from the US. Their responses were similar to men's for the other types of situations.
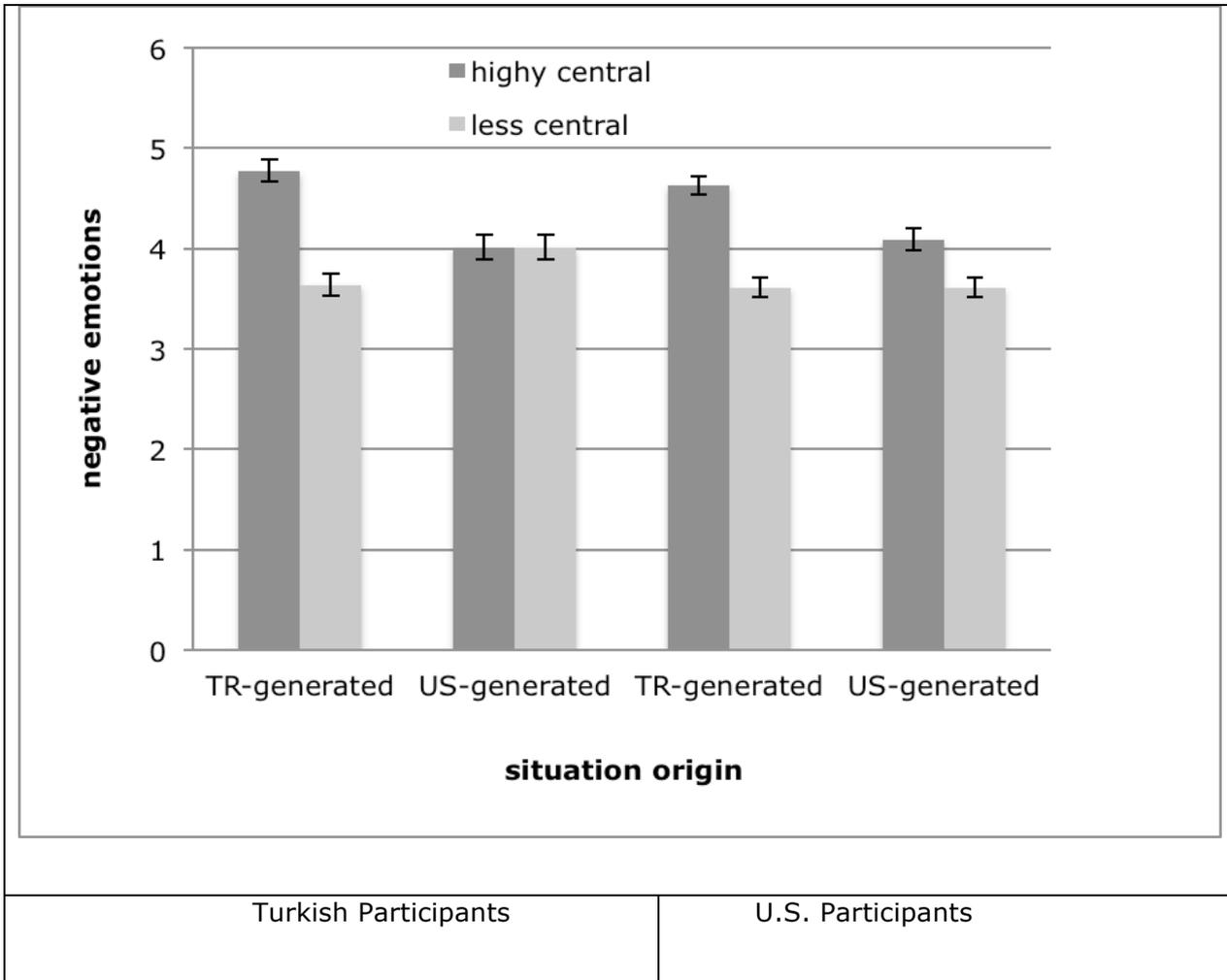
Figure 1. Tendency to report negative emotions as a function of situation centrality, situation

origin and participant culture (honor-attacking situations only) (error bars denote standard error)