

Gender specific honor codes and cultural change

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Abstract

The current research investigates two main goals. First, it investigates the cultural and gender differences in gender specific honor codes among youth ($N = 482$) from cultures with a high orientation on honor (Moroccan vs. Turkish) compared to youth from a culture with a low orientation on honor (native Dutch). Second, the current research investigates the cultural change in values underlying honor codes. Before an educational program, a pre-training test assessed the perceived determinants (i.e., religion, culture, parents and other close relatives, and friends and peers) of honor. Furthermore, the perceived importance of sexual purity of female and male family members for honor, and the perceived responsibility for the sexual purity of female family members were assessed. In addition, the current study also investigated whether students from cultures with a high orientation on honor vs. cultures with a low orientation on honor are able to indicate different types of violence as honor related, and to what extent they endorse violence against themselves when they would violate their family honor. The results of the current study shows that cultural change in cultural beliefs and attitudes underlying honor is possible through educational programs. The implications of the findings are discussed.

Keywords

determinants of honor, endorsement of honor related violence, gender specific honor codes, honor, honor related violence

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The Taliban pounded on the door just before midnight, demanding that Aisha, 18, be punished for running away from her husband's house. They dragged her to a mountain clearing near her village in the southern Afghan province of Uruzgan, ignoring her protests that her in-laws had been abusive, that she had no choice but to escape. Shivering in the cold air and blinded by the flashlights trained on her by her husband's family, she faced her spouse and accuser. Her in-laws treated her

like a slave, Aisha pleaded. They beat her. If she hadn't run away, she would have died. Her judge, a local Taliban commander, was unmoved. Later, he would tell Aisha's uncle that she had to be made an example of lest

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other girls in the village try to do the same thing. The commander gave his verdict, and men moved in to deliver the punishment. Aisha's brother-in-law held her down while her husband pulled out a knife. First he sliced off her ears. Then he started on her nose. Aisha passed out from the pain but awoke soon after, choking on her own blood. The men had left her on the mountainside to die. Aryn Baker (Time, July, 2010)

This cover story in the weekly *Time magazine* illustrates how far violence toward women can go when they disobey community norms for gender specific behavior. In cultures where female behavior is seen as a determinant of (family) honor, women face extreme forms of honor related violence from their own parents, brothers, children, husbands, and other close relatives (Awwad, 2002; King, 2008). In many different regions in the world, and across different cultures, women become victims of "honor related violence" because their behavior deviates from gender specific honor codes (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). According to a UN report a decade ago, more than 5000 women became victim of honor related violence. Recent research points out that this is only the tip of the iceberg and the number of victims is increasing (Chesler, 2010; Kulczycki & Windle, 2011; United Nations Population Fund, 2000). The goal of the current paper is twofold. First, it investigates *perceived determinants of honor* and, cultural and gender differences in *gender specific honor codes* among youth from cultures with a high orientation on honor compared to youth from a culture with a low orientation on honor. More specifically, the current research investigates to what degree gender specific honor codes are endorsed between men and women with a Moroccan vs. Turkish vs. native Dutch background. The second major goal is to investigate the cultural change in values that are central to these gender specific honor codes.

Cultural differences on honor

Prior research defines honor in terms of "bipartite theory of honor" (Stewart, 1984): Honor is

one's worth in one's own eyes and in the eyes of others (Pitt-Rivers, 1965, 1977). This bipartite aspect of honor implies that honor has both internal and external components: It is the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his or her society (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera, Fischer, Manstead, & Zaalberg, 2008). Furthermore, it has been argued that honor can be seen as a form of collectivism based on social image or reputation (e.g., Gilmore, 1987; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008; Triandis, 1989). Cultural and social psychological research as well as anthropological research describes societies around the Mediterranean region, in the Middle East, Pakistan, India, and the southern parts of the United States as being highly oriented toward honor (Caro Baroja, 1965; Cohen, 1996; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Fischer, 1989; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Pitt-Rivers, 1965, 1977; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2000; Sev'er, & Yurdakul, 2001). Common to these societies is that they are more collectivistic in nature, and to an important part communal codes determine the individual's behavior (Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2002a; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008). Although an individual's personal worth in these cultures also is important for his or her honor, it is social esteem and social recognition that legitimize individuals' claims to honor (Miller, 1993; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000; Stewart, 1994).

While the distinction between the private self-image and social reputation becomes vague in cultures with a high orientation on honor, in cultures with a low orientation on honor but high in individualism the private self-image is more clearly separated from social reputation (Kim, Triandis, Kağitçibaşı, Choi, & Yoon, 1994). Cultures highly oriented toward individualism are argued to be areas in the north of the USA, Canada, and North and North-West Europe. In these cultures, individual behavior is assumed to be less affected by the communal codes at large (Cohen et al., 1996; see also Fischer, Manstead, & Rodriguez Mosquera,

1999; Nisbett & Cohen; 1994; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2002b).

A novel contribution of the current research to the above described honor literature is the comparison made between youth from cultures with a high orientation on honor (Moroccan vs. Turkish) and the youth from a culture with a low orientation on honor but high in individualism (native Dutch). More specific, the current research investigates how gender specific honor codes are perceived by male and female youth from these three ethnically different groups living in the Netherlands. In addition, the current research investigates whether cultural change regarding values underlying honor is possible.

Gender specific honor codes

In cultures high on honor orientation, both men and women are responsible for maintaining personal and collective honor. More importantly, gender specific honor codes proscribe how men and women should maintain the social reputation of their family (e.g., Gilmore, 1987; King, 2008; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a, 2002b). The masculine honor code proscribes the responsibility of male family members for the family's well-being and its reputation, maintenance of authority over one's family and virility—such as being sexually active or being able to father many children. The feminine honor code meanwhile entails sexual shame or *sexual purity* (King, 2008; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2002a, 2002b). Sexual purity includes the expression of restraint in sexual behavior such as maintaining virginity before marriage, modesty, decorum in dress, and sexual purity in social relations—particularly with men. More importantly, sexual purity of female family members is an important indicator of the status of family honor (Awwad, 2002; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008; see also King, 2008). The current study investigates how gender specific honor codes are perceived by men and women with a Moroccan vs. Turkish vs. native Dutch ethnic background. More specifically, the current research

investigates the perceived role of the sexual purity of male and the sexual purity of female family members in the status of family honor.

Reactions to honor violations

Literature on honor from different disciplines (e.g., cultural and social psychology, anthropology) argues that people in *cultures with a high orientation on honor* react in fundamentally different ways to the violations of honor than people in *cultures with a low orientation on honor* (Cohen et al., 1996; IJzerman, Van Dijk, & Gallucci 2007; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). For instance, Cohen and colleagues (1996) showed that southerners in the USA believed their reputation was threatened, and felt more upset, than northerners in the USA after an insult. Furthermore, southerners were more physiologically primed for aggression, and they were more likely to engage in aggressive and dominant behavior after being insulted. Cohen and colleagues (1996) argued that their findings highlight the insult–aggression cycle in cultures with a high orientation on honor, in which insults diminish a man's reputation and the man tries to restore his status and his honor by aggressive or violent behavior.

Previous research on honor and aggression has been limited to men and their reactions to violations or threat to masculine honor. However, there is research evidence showing that violence can also be used to restore damaged female and family honor. Especially where the social and cultural factors play a crucial role in *peoples value's* and *personal worth* such as in Mediterranean and Middle-East countries, people will react with violence to restore the damaged honor (King, 2008; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). The severity of violence can vary greatly, depending on the threat or the damage to the family honor. For instance, when honor is damaged by sexually deviant behavior of a female family member, the forms of violence applied to restore the (family) honor can become extreme, and include social isolation, psychological and physical mistreatment, forced marriage and death (King, 2008; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Moreover, a recently observed

phenomenon is that the female family member who violates a feminine honor code is encouraged to commit suicide because then there is less of a chance that the male relatives who otherwise would commit violence be put into jail. Literature argues that this relatively new phenomenon is due to the recent laws in some countries that proscribe legal punishment for honor-related violence against women (King, 2008; Patel & Gadit, 2008).

Prior research has also argued that these forms of violence and killings in cultures with a high orientation on honor are a part of femicide (Mojab & Amir, 2002a, 2002b; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Moreover, honor related violence in general, and "honor killings" more specifically, have the powerful function to "inform" the community that without the violence family honor will suffer irreparable harm. When a (female) family member displays deviant (sexual) behavior, the family and the community members all know that without violence the honor is lost. Only through violence the wrong behavior can be put right and family's respect and reputation in the community will be restored (King, 2008; Mojab & Amir, 2002a, 2002b; Patel & Gadit, 2008). The present study will investigate to what extent female youth from different ethnic backgrounds endorse several extreme forms of honor related violence toward themselves if they were to hypothetically violate the family honor.

Cultural change

Despite the fact that the cultural codes which proscribe sanctions to restore damaged honor are passed from one generation to the next (King, 2008; Mojab & Amir, 2002a, 2002b), little research has investigated whether *cultural change* is possible with regard to the cultural values that support honor related violence. Because cultural change can be the most effective way of breaking the circle of violence against women, the current study investigates whether cultural change with regard to values that support honor related violence through an educational program is possible.

Current study

The current paper first investigated ethnic and gender differences in the perception of gender specific honor codes. Second, it assessed the cultural change in values central to these codes. To investigate these two goals, the current study was conducted as part of an educational program that was set up to facilitate long-term prevention of honor related violence in the Netherlands by focusing on youth that are likely to be vulnerable to these types of violence. The educational program for secondary schools was financed by the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture & Science, and was set up in the form of prevention and empowerment trainings. Such a context made it possible to assess both pre-training cultural beliefs and attitudes and post-training cultural change in values underlying honor. The Pre-training sample was included to investigate the *perceived determinants of honor* among youth with different ethnic backgrounds (Moroccan vs. Turkish vs. native Dutch). In addition, gender differences between these three ethnic groups in the perception of *gender specific honor codes* and *identification and endorsement of honor related violence* were also investigated. To investigate whether and to what extent cultural change is possible, the same cultural beliefs and attitudes as in the pre-test were assessed after the educational program was completed.

Perceived determinants of honor In cultures with a high orientation on honor (such as Moroccan and Turkish cultures), the emphasis on social reputation is not limited to the individual level or personal honor but can also be shared by a bounded group of individuals (see Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002b). Especially in the Mediterranean areas, the smallest social group that can share such a collective honor is argued to be the family level. Accordingly, strong family ties, social harmony within the social structures, and interdependence with close others are encouraged in these societies (Triandis, 1989; 1994). In addition, especially in the Mediterranean and Middle East region, religion (i.e., Islam) and culture are believed to determine honor by proscribing the

honor codes (Awwad, 2002). The current study investigated to what degree different ethnic groups perceive these factors as determinants of their honor. More specifically, the current research investigated the role of *religion, culture, parents and other close relatives, and friends and peers* in perceptions of honor. It is predicted that the role of these agents will be perceived to be more important by the youth from cultures with a high orientation on honor (i.e., youth with Moroccan vs. Turkish background) compared to youth from a culture with low orientation on honor (youth with a native Dutch background; Hypothesis 1).

Gender differences and gender specific honor codes Feminine honor code in cultures high on honor disadvantages women through the restrictions on (sexual) behavior. Moreover, for men the sexual purity of female family members is an important indicator of collective honor (Mojab & Amir, 2002a, 2002b). Thus in line with feminine honor code, men from cultures with a high orientation on honor are expected to indicate that *sexual purity of their female family members* is important for honor more than their female counterparts (Hypothesis 2). No specific gender effects are expected in cultures with a low orientation on honor. The masculine honor code, on the other hand, can be considered to be benefiting men because it leaves room for men to behave in ways they want to, including being sexually active (King, 2008; Mojab & Amir, 2002a, 2002b; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; van Eyc, 2003). In line with masculine honor code, men from cultures with a high orientation on honor are predicted to indicate that the *sexual purity of male family members* is irrelevant for honor more than their female counterparts. Again, no specific gender effects are expected in cultures with a low orientation on honor (Hypothesis 3).

Responsibility for the sexual purity of female family members In addition, previous research argues that the enforcement of norms defending sexual purity of female family members in cultures with a high orientation on honor is carried out primarily by the agnates: father,

brother, father's brothers, agnatic cousins, and other male relatives (Dodd, 1973). Furthermore, males in these cultures are the primary defenders and controllers of female (sexual) behavior (Awwad, 2002; King, 2008). Thus, men from cultures with a high orientation on honor are expected to emphasize their *responsibility for the sexual purity of their female family members* more than their female counterparts (Hypothesis 4).

Identification of types of violence as honor related Given the fact that men are the ones who have to sanction female family members in case of a violated feminine honor code (Awwad, 2002; King, 2008), men in cultures with a high orientation on honor are expected to be better able to indicate types of violence as honor related violence than women in cultures with a high orientation on honor (Hypothesis 5).

Endorsement of different types of violence Since male relatives are responsible for the defense of family honor (King, 2008; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001) male Moroccan and Turkish youth are expected to be more likely to endorse violence toward themselves in case of violations of the honor code compared to male youth with a native Dutch background. In addition, because honor related violence has more negative consequences for women in cultures with a high orientation on honor (King, 2008; Mojab & Amir, 2002a, 2002b), women from those cultures are not expected to endorse violence against themselves (Hypothesis 6). No differences are predicted among female participants from the three different cultures.

Cultural change in endorsement of gender specific honor codes Finally, it is expected that the educational program will affect the cultural beliefs and attitudes of youth from cultures with a high orientation on honor. The general expectation is that the educational program will reduce the traditional way of thinking of the youth from cultures with a high orientation on honor. In other words, the educational program is expected to reduce the endorsement of gender

specific honor codes by the youth from cultures with a high orientation on honor, such that youth from cultures with a high orientation on honor will put less emphasis on the sexual purity of female family members and its importance for the maintenance of honor, and the identification of types of violence as honor related will increase, while the endorsement of honor related violence will decrease.

Method

Participants and design

Four hundred and eighty-two participants from seven secondary schools and 29 classes in the area of Amsterdam and Eindhoven in the Netherlands participated in the current study. Forty-one participants did not indicate their gender and 30 did not indicate their ethnicity. Also because 60 participants could not be classified as Moroccan, Turkish, or native Dutch, they were left out of the analyses. Finally, a total of 202 pre-training, and 149 post-training participants, ($M_{age} = 16.77$; $SD_{age} = 1.80$) formed a balanced design for further analyses. In the pre-training analysis, there were 73 participants with a Moroccan (25 male, 48 female), 68 participants with a Turkish (25 male, 43 female), and 61 participants with a native Dutch (26 male, 35 female) background. In the post-training analyses, 74 participants had a Moroccan (28 male, 46 female), 35 participants a Turkish (16 male, 19 female), and 40 participants a native Dutch (16 male, 24 female) background.¹

Procedure

The high schools in the Netherlands hired the non-profit organization Foundation Lost Faces to give an educational training program empowering the youth against harmful traditions such as *honor related violence*. These trainings were given in five parts each lasting 2 h. Each week, one of the following five subjects formed the topic of the training: identity, culture, honor, legal consequences of honor related violence, and finally

future expectations. The pre-training questionnaire for the current study was developed to assess the ethnic and gender differences in gender specific honor codes. The same measurement is utilized as a post-training test to assess the cultural change in values underlying cultural beliefs and attitudes on honor. Pre-training measures were administered without participants knowing the purpose of the questionnaire, approximately 1 week before the training started. Approximately 1 week after the program was completed, the post-training measurement was administered with the identical questionnaire.

Once a school gave its permission to the non-profit organization to provide the trainings, the questionnaires for pre- and post-training were delivered to the teachers. They delivered the questionnaires for the pre-training measurement to their classrooms 1 week before the trainings started, and provided their participants with instructions without revealing the aim of the research. During the measurements, the teacher was present in the classroom to make sure that participants completed the questionnaire individually, to answer any questions, and help them if needed. In addition, as a means of covering the aim of the pre-training measurement, the teacher was instructed to tell the participants that the questionnaire was a measure to test their general knowledge about (social) relations. The same procedure was conducted for the post training measurement after the last training ended. All participants were fully debriefed about the nature of the research after the post-measurement was completed.

Dependent measures

Both for the pre-training as well as the post-training measurement, the same dependent variables were used. Unless otherwise indicated, each item is measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much). In addition to the dependent measures, gender and age of the participants was asked. To measure the ethnicity of the participants, we used a frequently applied set of questions by the governmental institute

Statistics Netherlands (CBS). This methodology included questions about the birthplace of the participants, birthplace of their parents and both grandparents. Based on this, participants were categorized into one of the three ethnic groups. The majority of participants with a Moroccan and Turkish background and their parents were born in the Netherlands. The participant can thus be categorized as third generation migrants. The measures were administered in Dutch as Dutch was the primary language of all participants.

Perceived determinants of honor We asked the participants to what degree they thought that their honor was determined by their *religion, culture, parents and other close relatives, and friends and peers*. For each of these sources, a separate item was used.

Sexual purity of female and male family members With two separate items we asked participants to indicate to what extent the sexual purity of their female vs. male family members was important for their honor. The items were “sexual purity of my female family members is important for my honor”, and “sexual purity of my male family members is important for my honor”.

Responsibility for the sexual purity of female family members We assessed the degree to which participants felt responsible for the sexual purity of their sister or other female family member(s) with the following two items “I feel responsible for the sexual purity of my sister or other female family members”, and “I feel responsible for the sexual purity of my sister or other female family member(s) even if she is (they are) over the age of 18”; ($\alpha = .81$; post-training: $\alpha = .80$).

Identification of types of violence as honor related To assess whether participants identify some of the most common types of honor related violence as such (King, 2008), they were asked to indicate to what degree they thought that each of the following type of violence could

be classified as honor related violence: “physical mistreatment”, “psychological mistreatment”, “repudiation”, “forced marriage”, “social isolation”, and “forced suicide”. These items have high inter-item correlations ($r's > .72$). For this reason, despite the fact that they are fundamentally different forms of violence, they are collapsed into one single scale (pre-training $\alpha = .96$; post-training $\alpha = .97$).

Endorsement of violence against self The participants were asked to indicate to what extent they found that their family has the right to apply different types of violence to her/him if (s)he, in a hypothetical case, were to damage the family honor. The participants were asked to indicate to what extent the family was then allowed to apply each of the following types of violence to them: “psychological mistreatment”, “physical mistreatment”, “repudiation”, “forced marriage”, “social isolation”, “mutilate”, and “to kill me”. The inter-item correlations were high (pre-training $r's > .61$; post-training $r's > .42$), and again, these items are collapsed into one single scale (pre-training $\alpha = .97$; post-training $\alpha = .98$).

The individual scale items of *identification of types of violence as honor related*, and *endorsement of violence against self* were each submitted to one factor analyses to check the internal validity of the scale. This analysis confirmed that factor loadings correspond to the measured concepts. The analysis further showed that the eigenvalue both for the pre-training as well as for the post-training was higher than 1 only for two factors. Both factors together explained 82.71% of variance in the pre-training, and 83.76 % of variance in the post-training measurement.

Results

The pre-training dataset was analysed to test differences between ethnic groups and between males and females in perceived determinants of honor, gender specific honor codes, and identification and endorsement of different types of honor related violence. Unless otherwise indicated, for each cluster of variables an (M)ANOVA

is performed with ethnicity and gender as the independent variables. The reported multivariate tests are the Roy's Largest Root. The pattern of the contrasts within interaction effects are, unless otherwise indicated, first tested for gender effects within each ethnic group, and then tested for the effects of ethnicity within gender. The means and the standard deviations are presented in Table 1 for perceived sources of honor, Table 2 for sexual purity of male and female family members, and identification and endorsement of honor related violence. In Table 3, the mean differences between pre-training and post-training measures are presented as an indication of cultural change.

Pre-training: Perceived determinants of honor

Analyses on these items showed that there is a multivariate main effect of gender, $F(4, 173) = 3.45, p = 0.01, \eta_p^2 = .07$, and a multivariate main effect of ethnicity, $F(4, 174) = 20.53, p < 0.001, \eta_p^2 = .32$. At the univariate level, the main effects of gender were significant for the items *culture*, *parents and other close relatives*, and *friends and peers*. Male participants indicated that their honor is determined by their *culture*, $F(1, 176) = 6.00, p = 0.02, \eta_p^2 = .03$; *parents and other close relatives* $F(1, 176) = 4.77, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .03$; and their *friends and peers*, $F(1, 176) = 4.32, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .02$, more than female participants did (see Table 1). The univariate main effects of ethnicity were only significant for *religion*, $F(2, 176) = 35.47, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .29$, and *culture*, $F(2, 176) = 12.58, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$. Especially Turkish and Moroccan participants indicated that their honor is determined by *religion*, $F(1, 187) = 72.25, p < .001$ and by their *culture* $F(1, 187) = 24.69, p < .001$, compared to their native Dutch peers (see Table 1). No other significant effects are observed.

Pre-training: Sexual purity of female and male family members

The performed MANOVA on these two measures revealed a multivariate main effect of *gender*, $F(1, 195) = 12.32, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .11$.

Table 1. Means and standard deviations (displayed between brackets) for religion, culture, family and close relatives, and friends and peers as perceived determinants of honor

	Moroccan		Turkish		Native Dutch	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Religion	3.52 ^a (1.36)	3.89 ^a (0.99)	3.57 ^a (1.31)	3.40 ^a (1.42)	1.96 ^b (1.08)
Culture	3.56 ^a (1.33)	3.33 ^a (1.06)	3.46 ^a (1.18)	3.14 ^a (1.39)	2.88 ^b (0.95)	1.97 ^b (0.98)
Parents & close relatives	3.21 ^a (1.50)	3.20 ^a (1.20)	3.54 ^a (1.18)	3.00 ^{ab} (1.34)	3.29 ^a (1.20)	2.47 ^b (1.24)
Friends and peers	2.42 ^{ab} (1.50)	2.21 ^b (1.12)	2.96 ^a (1.34)	2.22 ^b (1.26)	2.75 ^a (1.11)	2.44 ^{ab} (1.22)

Note: Means with different superscripts within each row differ significantly from each other.

Table 2. Means and standard deviations (displayed between brackets) as a function of ethnicity and gender

	Moroccan		Turkish		Native Dutch	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Female sexual purity	3.92 ^a (0.95)	3.35 ^b (1.16)	3.96 ^a (1.02)	3.21 ^b (1.15)	3.15 ^b (1.05)	3.46 ^{ab} (1.07)
Male sexual purity	2.80 ^b (1.32)	3.38 ^a (1.04)	2.72 ^b (1.21)	3.47 ^a (1.26)	3.19 ^{ab} (1.13)	2.97 ^{ab} (1.12)
Responsible for female sexual purity	3.42 ^b (1.10)	2.95 ^{bc} (1.37)	4.12 ^a (0.97)	3.22 ^b (1.40)	2.26 ^c (1.12)	2.55 ^c (1.33)
Identification of violence	2.30 ^b (1.29)	3.06 ^a (1.42)	3.01 ^a (0.98)	2.46 ^b (1.23)	3.31 ^a (1.38)	2.66 ^{ab} (1.53)
Endorsement of violence against self	1.96 ^b (1.01)	1.44 ^c (0.87)	2.80 ^a (1.40)	1.38 ^c (0.68)	1.30 ^c (0.48)	1.45 ^c (0.65)

Note: Means with different superscripts within each row differ significantly from each other.

Table 3. Mean differences between the post-training and pre-training measures as a function of ethnicity and gender

	Moroccan		Turkish		Native Dutch	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Female sexual purity	-0.60* (0.94)	0.26 (1.35)	-1.02** (1.24)	-0.68* (1.12)	-1.34*** (0.91)	-0.61† (1.35)
Male sexual purity	0.63† (1.23)	0.03 (1.44)	-0.10 (0.72)	-0.36 (1.63)	-1.32*** (0.89)	-0.17 (1.28)
Responsible for female sexual purity	0.01 (1.19)	-0.18 (1.35)	-0.62* (0.80)	-0.16 (1.09)	-0.51 (0.68)	-0.02 (1.08)
Identification of violence	0.87* (1.27)	0.32 (1.55)	-0.15 (1.46)	1.09** (1.14)	0.44 (1.32)	0.16 (1.10)
Approval of violence against self	-0.31 (0.62)	0.53* (1.42)	-1.22*** (0.86)	-0.23 (0.38)	-0.01 (0.67)	0.40 (0.89)

Notes: Positive values indicate an increase, and negative values indicate a decrease in responses after following the educational program. Symbols indicate whether and to what extent pre- vs. post-training measurements differ from each other. Standard Deviations (between brackets) are for post-training measure.
† = $p < .10$; * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$.

The multivariate main effect of *ethnicity* was only marginally significant, $F(2, 196) = 2.68, p < .07, \eta_p^2 = .03$. These effects were qualified by a multivariate interaction effect, $F(2, 196) = 18.98, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .16$.

At the univariate level, the main effect of gender was significant both for *sexual purity of female family members*, $F(1, 196) = 4.33, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .02$, and for *sexual purity of male family members* $F(1, 196) = 4.59, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .02$. No significant multivariate main effects of ethnicity were observed ($F_{\text{female sexual purity}}(2, 196) < 1.66, p = .19$; $F_{\text{male sexual purity}}(2, 196) = 0.01, p = .99$).

At the univariate level the predicted interaction effect for *sexual purity of female family members* was significant, $F(2, 196) = 4.10, p = 0.02, \eta_p^2 = .04$, and the predicted interaction effect for *sexual purity of male family members* was marginally significant, $F(2, 196) = 2.95, p = .05, \eta_p^2 = .03$. In line with the predictions, Moroccan and Turkish male participants indicated the *sexual purity of their female family members* to be more important for their honor than Moroccan female participants did ($F(1, 201) = 3.60, p = .06$, marginally significant) and than Turkish female participants ($F(1, 201) = 7.19, p = .008$) respectively (see Table 2). Contrast analyses concerning the comparisons across ethnicities within the same gender revealed a significant effect for men: Moroccan and Turkish male participants indicated the sexual purity of their female family members to be more important than native Dutch men ($F(2, 197) = 4.32, p = .02$). No ethnicity effect was found among female participants, ($F(2, 197) = 0.62, p = .54$, see Table 2). Furthermore, Moroccan and Turkish men indicated the *sexual purity of their female family members* to be important for their honor compared to native Dutch men ($F(1, 339) = 3.23, p = .07$, marginally significant).

Again, in line with predictions, Moroccan and Turkish male participants indicated the *sexual purity of their male family members* to be less important for their honor compared to female Moroccan ($F(1, 201) = 4.32, p = .04$) and female Turkish participants did ($F(1, 201) = 6.87, p = .009$) respectively (see Table 2). No significant differences were

observed between native Dutch male vs. native Dutch female participants. In addition, comparisons across ethnicities within the same gender revealed no significant effect of ethnicity for men ($F(2, 197) = 1.12, p = .33$). However, a marginally significant effect of ethnicity was observed for women: Compared to native Dutch female participants, Moroccan and Turkish female participants indicated the male sexual purity to be important for their honor, $F(2, 197) = 2.17, p = 0.12$; marginally significant (see Table 2).

Pre-training: Responsibility for the purity of female family members

The performed ANOVA on this scale revealed a marginally significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 183) = 3.61, p = .06, \eta_p^2 = .02$, and a significant main effect for ethnicity, $F(2, 183) = 14.52, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .14$. The predicted interaction effect on both factors reached statistical significance, $F(2, 183) = 3.21, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .03$. Table 2 shows a marginally significant difference between Turkish male and Turkish female participants such that Turkish male participants feel more responsible for the purity of female family members than Turkish female participants, $F(1, 188) = 3.62, p = .06$. There were no gender differences within the native Dutch and the Moroccan samples. Additional analyses investigating effects of ethnicity within each gender group revealed a significant effect of ethnicity for men only ($F(2, 184) = 13.33, p < .001$). Further analyses revealed that Turkish men indicated to feel more responsible for the purity of female family members than Moroccan men ($F(1, 70) = 5.43, p = .02$); and Moroccan men in turn, indicated to feel more responsible for the sexual purity of their female family members than native Dutch men ($F(1, 70) = 14.28, p < .001$; see Table 2).

Pre-training: Identification and endorsement of honor related violence

Both the measures *Identification of types of violence as honor related* and *Endorsement of violence against self* were submitted to a MANOVA analyses

which revealed a significant main effect of gender, $F(2, 177) = 9.91, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .10$, a significant main effect of ethnicity, $F(2, 178) = 9.15, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .09$, and a significant interaction effect between these two factors, $F(2, 178) = 10.79, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .11$.

At the univariate level, both the main effect of gender and the main effect of ethnicity were not significant for the measure *Identification of types of violence as honor related*; $F_{\text{gender}}(1, 178) = 0.10, p = .92$, and $F_{\text{ethnicity}}(2, 178) = 0.69, p = .52$. However, the interaction between the two factors on identification of violence was significant, $F(2, 178) = 4.20, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .05$. As we can see from Table 2, female participants with a Moroccan background were more likely to identify types of violence as being honor related compared to male Moroccan participants, $F(2, 194) = 4.84, p = .03$. In line with predictions, Turkish male participants were more likely to indicate types of violence as being honor related compared to Turkish female participants, $F(2, 194) = 2.93, p = .09$ (marginally significant). Although not significant, native Dutch male participants identified types of violence more as honor related than native Dutch female participants did, $F(2, 194) = 2.41, p = .12$. Contrast analyses revealed a significant effect of ethnicity for men only, $F(2, 190) = 3.54, p = .031$, with Turkish and native Dutch men identifying the types of violence as being more honor related than Moroccan men, $F(1, 68) = 7.92, p = .006$, (see Table 2).

For the measure *Endorsement of violence against self*, both the main effect of gender, $F(1, 178) = 19.72, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .10$, and the main effect of ethnicity were significant, $F(2, 178) = 8.28, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .09$. These main effects were qualified by the predicted interaction effect, $F(2, 178) = 10.73, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .11$. Contrast analyses revealed that male participants with Moroccan background endorse violence toward themselves when they violated their family honor more than the female Moroccan participants, $F(1, 186) = 4.52, p < .035$. Similarly and in line with predictions, male participants with a Turkish background indicated endorsing violence directed to themselves if they violated their family honor

more than female participants with a Turkish background, $F(1, 186) = 29.59, p < .001$. No gender effect was observed for native Dutch participants ($F < 1$). Additional analyses on the effects of ethnicity within each gender group revealed only a significant effect within men, $F(2, 182) = 16.04, p < .001$, with Turkish men endorsing violation directed to themselves more than Moroccan men ($F(1, 68) = 8.04, p = .006$), and Moroccan men endorsing violence directed toward themselves more than native Dutch men ($F(1, 68) = 4.58, p = .04$, see Table 2 for means and standard deviations).

Post-training: Cultural change in endorsement of gender specific honor codes

In order to test whether the educational program affected the dependent variables measured in the current study, the differences between the post-training and pre-training measurements were calculated by within gender and ethnic groups subtracting the mean of the pre-training measure from the mean of the post-training measure. The mean difference scores are displayed in Table 3 where positive values indicate an increase, and negative values indicate a decrease in responses after following the educational program. As we can see from the mean differences between post-training and pre-training, the educational program reduced the perceived importance of feminine sexuality for honor for Moroccan men ($t(51) = 2.29, p = .03$), Turkish men ($t(39) = 2.88, p = .006$), for Turkish women ($t(60) = 2.18, p = .03$), and for native Dutch men ($t(40) = 4.23, p < .001$), but not for Moroccan women ($t(90) = 0.99, p = .32$). The importance of male sexuality for honor appeared to be reduced for native Dutch men significantly, $t(40) = 3.96, p < .001$.

Furthermore, after the educational program, the *feelings of responsibility for the sexual purity of female family members* ($t(38) = 2.09, p = .04$), and *endorsement of violence to the self* ($t(38) = 3.12, p = .003$) decreased only among male participants with a Turkish background, with no significant changes for female Turkish, and

male and female Moroccan participants. Although only marginally significant, the *male sexual purity* for Moroccan male participants actually unexpectedly increased after the educational program, $t(51) = 1.79, p = .08$. Perceiving different types of violence as honor related violence also increased for Moroccan male ($t(51) = 2.48, p = .02$), and Turkish female participants ($t(60) = 3.29, p = .002$).

Discussion

The current study was conducted among three ethnically different groups of secondary school students in the Netherlands: Students with a Moroccan, Turkish or native Dutch background. The study investigated to what degree they perceive several social and cultural factors such as *religion, culture, parents and other close relatives, and friends and peers* to affect honor, and how these three ethnically different groups of students perceive the importance of *female and male sexual purity* for their honor. Also, the study investigated to what extent students from different ethnic background indicated *different forms of violence as being honor related* and to what extent they would endorse *violence against themselves* by their family if they were to damage their family honor.

Although from different ethnical backgrounds, Turkish and Moroccan students showed similarities in perceived determinants of honor. This is in fact not surprising because both groups are described as belonging to cultures with a high orientation on honor and share a common religion (i.e., Islam). Previous research argued that people believe that their culture and their religion (Islam) proscribe gender specific honor codes (Awwad, 2002). The findings of the current research are in line with this previous research. Irrespective of their gender, students with a Turkish or Moroccan background perceived their religion and their culture to be more important determinants of their honor than native Dutch students. Interestingly, irrespective of their ethnicity, male students indicated *culture, parents and other close relatives, and friends and peers* to be more important determinants of their concept of

honor than female students. This might indicate that men in general rely more on external factors for their image and reputation than women.

Pre-training gender specific honor codes

The findings of the current research revealed that male youth from cultures with a high orientation on honor indicated that sexual purity of their female family members is more important for their honor compared to their female counterparts. Also in line with predictions, they appeared to find male sexual purity less important for honor than women from the same ethnic background. These findings where men at the one hand indicate that female sexual purity is important and on the other hand deny the relevance of male sexual purity for honor are predictable because such cultural beliefs and attitudes serve their interests and provide them a privileged position in the communities in which they live (King, 2008; Mojab & Amir, 2002a, 2002b). From the perspective of women however, such a status quo is disadvantageous as the emphasis on feminine sexuality by men restricts their freedom (Demant & Pels, 2006). Thus, in line with the predictions made, different than men, women from cultures with a high orientation on honor indicated that male sexuality is important for honor.

This discrepancy in the perceptions of male and female sexual purity is in contrast with previous literature on honor (Ermer, 2007; King, 2008; Mojab & Amir, 2002a, 2002b). This previous research argued that both men and women in cultures high on honor orientation find feminine sexuality important for honor, while male sexual purity is described to be totally irrelevant for the concept of honor (see also Sev'er, Yudakul, 2001). The discrepancy that is revealed by the current findings suggests that societies that traditionally place less value on honor may start to change ideas and beliefs about honor among women from honor cultures. The western society where these women from cultures with a high orientation on honor live, promote equity and equality between genders (Roggeband & Verloo, 2007). There are even nationwide campaigns directed

specifically toward migrant women, especially those from Moroccan and Turkish origin, to emancipate and empower them within the Dutch society (Roggeband, & Verloo, 2007; Terpstra, van Dijke & Westra, 2006). As a consequence, it might be that Moroccan and Turkish women demand equity and equality between genders by rejecting the masculine honor code and demanding the relevance of male sexual purity for collective honor.

Such development in young girls might lead to further emancipation of their social group at large as they are likely to demand equal rights within their communities and close relationships. On the other hand, the fact that these young girls strive for gender equality within the sexual context might be interpreted by their families and close relatives as a sign of being spoiled (Brouwer, 1998; Pels, & de Gruijter, 2006) and might make them at least in the short term even more vulnerable for honor related violence. In order to create long standing societal change in the prevention of honor related violence, it might be desirable to provide parents and other close relatives of this generation with effective educational programs to reduce the difference in perspectives between the two.

The results of the current research also revealed that Turkish male students identified types of violence as being more honor related than Turkish female students. This might be a result of the remainder from their patriarchal and patrilineal culture of the Middle East (Roggeband & Verloo, 2007; Van Eck, 2003). In the Middle East, patriarchal and patrilineal culture is carried over from father to son (King, 2008). The finding in the current study revealing that Turkish male students feel more responsible for the sexual purity of their female family members than the other groups do is also an indication that they still hold beliefs and attitudes from their culture of origin. This is also supported by the finding that they are more likely to endorse violence as a means of restoring the damaged family honor than any other group in the current research.

Interestingly, and in line with the literature on honor, men and women from a culture with a low

orientation on honor did not differ from each other in their perception of gender specific honor codes. There were also no significant differences observed between native Dutch men and women on the responsibility for the female sexual purity and the endorsement of violence against themselves. This is likely because native Dutch women are less dependent on their sexual purity in order to achieve moral integrity and native Dutch men do not have to deal with gender specific honor codes that entail certain behavioral obligations that could differentiate them from women. However, although not significant, native Dutch men appeared to be able to indicate types of violence as honor related violence more than native Dutch women. This might indicate that gender differences in gender specific honor codes are also present among Dutch youth but less emphasized than in the cultures with a high orientation on honor.

Cultural change in the endorsement of gender specific honor codes

One of the characteristics of the educational program within which the current research was embedded is that it made possible for youth from different ethnic groups to think and talk about a taboo topic: "honor related violence". More importantly, the findings of the current study show that such educational programs directed at cultural attitude change and empowerment can be helpful especially among the groups of adolescents who are most vulnerable. Although not all effects are significant, the educational program reduced beliefs and attitudes that sustain honor-related violence, i.e., the importance of female sexual purity.

As argued in the literature on honor, when honor is violated, it can be restored by extreme forms of violence such as Aisha in the cover story of *Time Magazine* underwent. In many cases, violence to restore the damaged honor results in "honor killings". The recent societal developments indicate that Turkish youth are more vulnerable to commit and to become a victim of honor related violence (van Eck, 2003). In this

context, the finding in the current study revealing that Turkish men identify more types of violence as honor related, and their reduced endorsement of violence after the educational program, is encouraging. It is a good indication of the possibility that people's ideas on honor and honor related violence, which are so deeply rooted in cultures where they occur, are subject to change.

Although the study methodology has some limitations that are common to pre-test post-test designs, the present study is unique in two major ways. First, it compared the determinants of honor, and the importance of gender-specific honor codes, in three different cultural groups. Second, the results showed that strongly held cultural beliefs and attitudes related to honor-related violence can be changed through educational programs. However, more research is needed in order to investigate which alternative behavior youth have in their repertoire in order to restore the, in their eyes, damaged honor. Moreover, the current research revealed the short term effectiveness of an educational program; future research should be directed toward examining whether the altered attitudes are maintained for the long run.

Notes

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- 1 In order to assure that differences found between pre and post sample are indeed due to the educational program, one must monitor the changes at an individual level from pre to post measure. Such a methodology however is time consuming and it endangers the anonymity of the participants. Although we could work with codes to ensure the anonymity, it would still remain an issue to explain to the participating youth why they receive codes. Note that this topic is a taboo for many students with an ethnic background, and people often are afraid of talking or thinking on the issue. For this reason, we chose for comparisons at the group

level without matching pre and post-measure at the individual level.

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