

AN INVESTIGATION OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MEMORIES
THROUGH THE LENS OF AN HONOR CULTURE

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Merve Mutafođlu, certify that

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ABSTRACT

An Investigation of Autobiographical Memories Through the Lens of an Honor Culture

Culture influences autobiographical remembering. However, no previous study examined autobiographical memory narratives through the lens of an honor culture. The present set of studies investigated the effects of implicit and explicit activation of honor-related schemas, honor endorsement, and gender on autobiographical memories of Turkish participants. In Study 1, we primed honor by using honor-related words in honor condition (vs. neutral words in control condition) in a scrambled sentences task, then asked participants to report one gender-defining memory. Results revealed that men in the honor condition gave more memories that include honor-enhancing and honor-attacking themes, compared to men in the control condition. In addition, women in the honor condition were less likely to provide familial narratives, but more likely to report memories from an observer perspective as their honor endorsement scores increase, compared to men in the honor condition. In Study 2, we randomly assigned participants to honor-enhancing, honor-attacking, and important memory conditions, and investigated how honor-related memories differ from personally important memories. Honor-related memories were more likely to include a relationship with social members and contain references to an audience. Honor-enhancing memories were more likely to contain honor-related themes, and more likely to be rated higher on phenomenological properties, compared to other memories. Also, men tended to rate their memories higher on phenomenological properties compared to women. Taken together, our results suggest a form of “positivity bias” in terms of the link between autobiographical memory and culture of honor.

ÖZET

Otobiyografik Anıların Onur Kültürü Perspektifinden İncelemesi

Kültürün otobiyografik hafızayı etkilediği bilinmesine rağmen, otobiyografik anı anlatılarını onur kültürü perspektifinden inceleyen bir çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Burada sunulan çalışmalarda, onur ile ilgili şemaların örtük ve açık aktivasyonu, onurla ilgili kavramları onaylama, ve cinsiyetin Türk katılımcıların otobiyografik anıları üzerindeki etkisi araştırılmıştır. İlk çalışmada, onur grubunda onurla ilgili kelimeler içeren (ve kontrol grubunda nötr kelimeler içeren) karışık cümleler görevi kullanılarak onur kavramı örtük olarak aktive edildikten sonra, katılımcılardan bir cinsiyet-tanımlayıcı anı anlatmaları istenmiştir. Sonuçlar, onur grubundaki erkeklerin, anılarında kontrol grubundaki erkeklere göre, onurun yüceltildiği ve onura saldırıldığı temalardan daha fazla bahsettiğini göstermiştir. Bununla beraber, onurla ilgili kavramları daha fazla onaylayan onur grubundaki kadınların, onur grubundaki erkeklere göre, aile ile ilgili anılar vermeye daha az yatkınken, anılarını gözlemci perspektifinden aktarmaya daha fazla yatkın oldukları görülmüştür. İkinci çalışmada katılımcılar, onurun yüceltildiği anı, onura saldırıldığı anı, ve önemli anı gruplarına rastgele tahsis edilmiş, ve onur ile ilgili anıların önemli bulunan anılardan nasıl farklılaştığı incelenmiştir. Onur ile ilgili anıların aile, arkadaş, ya da romantik partner gruplarına dahil olmayan kişilerle ilişkisellik temasını daha fazla içerdiği, ve bu tür anılarda bir seyircinin varlığından bahsedilme olasılığının, önemli anılara göre daha yüksek olduğu görülmüştür. Onurun yüceltildiği anıların onur ile ilgili temaları içerme olasılıklarının, diğer tipteki anılara göre daha yüksek olduğu, ve bu tür anılara fenomenolojik özellikler üzerinden daha yüksek değerler verildiği bulunmuştur. Ayrıca, erkeklerin de anılarına, kadınlara göre daha

yüksek fenomenolojik değerler verdiği görülmüştür. Hepsi birden düşünüldüğünde, sonuçlarımız, otobiyografik bellek ve onur kültürü arasındaki ilişki bakımından bir tür “olumluluk yanlılığı”na işaret etmektedir.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Our culture is like our skin. We are socialized through its dynamics, are not consciously aware of its existence, but it is always there, directing our emotions, motivations, and behaviors. As a whole set of mental representations, values, and belief systems, culture has various effects on different levels of human cognition (Nisbett, 2003). As Oyserman and Sorensen (2009) stated, “culture influences not only what one thinks but also how one thinks” (p. 34). Wang and Ross (2007) made a similar point describing culture as a “process of symbolic mediation” (p. 646), which operates on socialization tools and regulate how individuals internalize the social systems on many levels. Previous studies found cultural effects in terms attentional processing styles (Gutchess & Indeck, 2009), visual perception (Kitayama, Duffy, Kawamura, & Larsen, 2003), episodic memory (Wagar & Cohen, 2003), and autobiographical memory (Wang & Ross, 2005).

On the other hand, we each construct a self to navigate our culture and this is also like our skin in the sense of being chronically active. Each culture provides templates for selfhood (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Together with these, people use their rich store of memories involving their own experiences in order to build and maintain a coherent sense of self and also remember what is consistent with the current self (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000). Autobiographical memory—that is, one’s memories of what they personally experienced and self-related information (Baddeley, 2009)—is thus a central topic within the broad literature concerned with the self.

The major aim of the studies we present in this thesis is to investigate autobiographical memories from a cultural perspective. Previous studies examining the relationship between culture and autobiographical memory mainly focused on cross-cultural differences in terms of independence/interdependence dimension, autonomous and relational selves, and how activation of different types of self-construal affects autobiographical remembering (Wang, 2001a, 2008; Wang & Ross, 2005). We would like to approach autobiographical memory processes through a different cultural phenomenon: honor. Honor is a concept that has a great influence on human cognition, especially in cultures of honor. In the review of the literature that follows, we first attempt to provide a general understanding of cultural syndromes, then of honor as a specific type of cultural syndrome, focusing on the case of Turkey as an honor culture and emphasizing the importance of gender roles within honor cultures. Finally, on the basis of what is known about the links between culture and autobiographical memory, we formulate a proposal to examine the relationship between honor and autobiographical memory.

1.1 What are cultural syndromes?

In his 1993 work, Triandis defined cultural syndromes as “organization of shared attitudes, beliefs, norms, roles, values of subjective culture among those who share a language, historic period, and geographic location” (p. 3). Various researchers have proposed dimensions of cultures to facilitate cross-cultural comparisons (e.g., Hofstede, 1983; Schwartz, 1999). While individualism-collectivism has attracted most of the attention in the literature (e.g., Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002), there are a variety of dimensions that are potentially important and remain relatively unexplored.

One such dimension categorizes cultures mainly on what the source of self-worth is (Leung & Cohen, 2011). This type of categorization has been firstly used by anthropologists in studies of Mediterranean cultures (e.g., Peristiany, 1974), but it captured social psychologists' attention in the following decades (e.g., Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). This approach results in three main classifications: cultures of dignity, cultures of face, and cultures of honor.

In cultures of dignity, the most commonly held belief is that each individual has an intrinsic and stable value that is present at birth (Ayers, 1984). Members of this type of cultures believe that they have an inherent value and this value can be neither given nor challenged by others (Ijzerman & Cohen, 2011). Therefore, this attitude makes the individual relatively invulnerable to threats and insults to self-worth that may come from the other members of the society (Leung & Cohen, 2011). This type of view in cultures of dignity leads the individual to appreciate the significance of autonomy and assertiveness (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a, 2002b). These values may sound like mottos of the American Dream, and it would not be inaccurate, since this type of a cultural syndrome is more prevalent in Western/Anglo-American societies, where individualistic norms are appreciated more than values such as collective harmony or social reputation (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Cultures of face are contexts in which one's relative position in a social hierarchy is extremely important (Ho, 1976). The concept of face is closely related to respect and this respect should be gained by fulfillment of one's social roles (Leung & Cohen, 2011). Such cultures are settled hierarchies in which social harmony is a crucial value to keep, and humility and cooperation are emphasized in order to protect interpersonal and societal harmony (Boiger, Güngör, Karasawa, & Mesquita, 2014). In other words, 3 Hs

make the backbone of cultures of face: Hierarchy, Humility, Harmony (Kim, Cohen, & Au, 2010). Any behavior that may challenge these virtues may result in “losing face”, a very negative consequence that should be strongly avoided (Hamamura, Meijer, Heine, Kamaya, & Hori, 2009). This type of cultural syndrome characterizes far Eastern cultures (Ho, 1976).

Cultures of honor, on the other hand, emphasize one’s own and one’s family’s reputation (Peristiany, 1974). Therefore, in these contexts, the value of an individual depends on what others think, besides his own judgment (Leung & Cohen, 2011; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2000; Pitt-Rivers, 1966). There are codes to define self-worth, and these codes determine how an honorable man or woman must behave, how to be a proper member of the society, and how to build and maintain a “good” family reputation (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a). Values related to social interdependence, such as honesty and loyalty, are highly emphasized in these cultures (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, Fischer, 2002a, 2002b; Uskul et al., 2015). “Prestige”, “reputation”, and “respect” are important concepts in cultures of honor, and are generally built on an unstable ground, since they are “hard to gain, and easy to lose” in these cultural settings (Peristiany, 1974). Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and southern American societies are generally characterized as honor cultures (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Peristiany, 1974). This cultural syndrome is based upon contexts of herding communities, which were basically “lawless” environments with scarce resources where self-protection and a good reputation were crucial (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Henry, 2009). Recently, Nowak, Gelfand, Borkowski, Cohen, and Hernandez (2016) supported this view by implementing an agent-based model of honor and their simulations revealed that norms of honor cultures are most adaptive when the

reliability of institutional authority is low and environmental conditions are tough. These conditions necessitate self-pursuit of justice, and legitimize the use of violence when needed (Baldry, Pagliaro, & Porcaro, 2013; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; 1997; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Also, individuals living in these contexts should protect their reputation in order to show others that they are not the kind of people to “mess with” (Leung & Cohen, 2011; Nesse, 2001). Since the value of the individual is mostly externally determined and what others think about one greatly influences one’s success in the competition for vital resources, this may lead the individual to behave in “irrational” ways in the short term regardless of a cost-benefit analysis in order to both pursue and protect his/her honor (Barnes, Brown, & Tamborski, 2012; Leung & Cohen, 2011). In addition, having a good reputation mostly depends on “reciprocity”: One should reciprocate both good and bad behaviors to protect their reputation (Miller, 1993; Leung & Cohen, 2011).

1.2 Behavioral manifestations of “honor culture” syndrome

A reputation for toughness holds an important place in cultures of honor, especially for men. Specifically, men are required both to pursue honor by demonstrations of fearlessness (Barnes et al., 2012) and to maintain their reputations in face of external threats (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). Based on a variety of historical and anthropological evidence, Nisbett (1993) argued that the south of United States of America, which was first settled by Scotch-Irish herding communities (Fischer, 1989), can be characterized as an honor culture. Cohen and Nisbett (1994) investigated the endorsement of interpersonal violence and showed that participants from southern U.S. were more tolerant towards violence, compared to participants from northern U.S., but only when

violence was used as a tool to restore violations of personal and familial honor. This pattern was supported by their field studies (Cohen & Nisbett, 1997) as well as laboratory experiments (Cohen et al., 1996) in which non-Hispanic white males from North and South of America were bumped and insulted by a confederate. By using physiological, cognitive, and behavioral measures, Cohen et al. (1996) showed that southern participants had more aggressive tendencies after the insult. Importantly, participants coming from an honor background were even more polite than participants coming from non-honor cultures when there was no threat or challenge to their reputation, presumably because they know how violations of honor codes are met and are motivated to avoid the possible harsh consequences and mutual costs of interpersonal violence driven by honor concerns (Cohen et al., 1996).

Another manifestation of the honor ideal in terms of fearlessness is heightened risk-taking tendencies (Barnes et al., 2012). According to Barnes et al. (2012), since honor cultures are lawless environments with tough competition for scarce resources, self-protection and demonstration of toughness are needed, and this necessity can lead one to irrational risk-taking behavior to show off their toughness. They examined the archival data of death causes in the United States and showed the existence of higher accidental death rates among Whites in honor states of the U.S. compared to the non-honor states. This pattern was evident for both men and women.

These behavioral patterns observed in cultures of honor are intriguing. However, the degree to which these prescribed behaviors are reflected in participants' autobiographical memory narratives has not yet received attention in the literature.

1.3 Emotional manifestations of “honor culture” syndrome

Previous studies also investigated people’s emotional responses in honor-related situations (Fischer, Manstead, & Rodriguez Mosquera, 1999; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fisher, 2000; Rodriguez Mosquera, Fisher, Manstead, & Zaalberg, 2008). Firstly, evidence supports the idea that shame and honor are closely related concepts (Wikan, 1984). Shame could be described as both an enduring state that stems from the loss of honor (as in “bringing shame to the family”), or a short emotional episode (as in “being ashamed”) (Casimir & Jung, 2009). Both meanings of “shame” are important in cultures of honor with regard to being respected and maintaining an honorable social image (Moxnes, 1993, as cited in Sakallı-Uğurlu & Akbaş, 2013; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008). The capacity to feel shame is an essential trait of the ideal individual in cultures of honor because it is a sign of care for others’ social judgments (Fischer et al., 1999; Sev’er & Yurdakul, 2001). Shame also carries female-specific connotations (Kuzkaya, 2001; Peterson, 1985; as cited in Casimir & Jung, 2009) in terms of focusing on others’ judgments more, compared to men’s experience of shame, which is more self-focused (Fischer et al., 1999). Since the capacity to feel shame is a desirable social trait, shame is more likely to be widely expressed in cultures of honor, especially when it stems from negative social judgment (Fischer et al., 1999; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000). Pride, in contrast, is less likely to be expressed in these cultures (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000). Whereas behaving in a way that makes one and one’s close others feel proud is important in terms of self-respect and social status (Cross et al., 2014), expression of pride carries the risk of putting the individual under the spotlight (Fischer et al., 1999). This may in turn pose a threat for interconnectedness by drawing a boundary between the self and others

(Markus & Kitayama, 1991). When pride is mentioned in cultures of honor, it is more likely to be dependent on intimate others' honor-enhancement; whereas in dignity cultures, pride is more likely to have a self-centered focus (Fischer et al., 1999). Consistent with this constriction in the expression of positive emotions in honor cultures, Uskul et al. (2014) found that Turkish participants rate honor-enhancing situations as less positive than American participants.

In terms of anger, while some studies could not find cross-cultural differences regarding anger prototypes (e.g., Fischer et al., 1999), expressions of anger seem to be common more in honor cultures than non-honor cultures (Boiger et al., 2014), especially when the honor is offended (Cohen et al., 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000). Feeling anger in the face of a threat to honor, then responding to the threat with aggression in order to restore the damaged reputation is an important indicator of having honor in these cultures, especially for men (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994, 1997; Cohen et al., 1996; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Taken together, the research on emotions in honor cultures points out to gendered expectations: Feeling and expressing anger seems functional in terms of gaining or restoring honor (Boiger et al., 2014), especially for men (Cihangir, 2013; but see Boiger et al., 2014), whereas shame is essential in terms of keeping honor (Boiger et al., 2014; Leung & Cohen, 2011), especially for women (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Fischer et al., 1999). Furthermore, research indicates that emotional reactions to honor-related situations depend on one's level of honor endorsement (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a).

For the current purposes, this growing literature on how a variety of emotions are experienced and expressed in honor cultures suggest that it is important to pay attention to how specific type of emotions are remembered by women and men that have different

levels of honor endorsement, and how emotional statements in their narratives may change when honor concerns are highlighted (vs. downplayed) by the current situation.

1.4 Types of honor concerns and dimensions of honor

Cultures vary based on how strongly different aspects of the honor concept influence individuals' emotions and behaviors (Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2002b). Earlier research suggests that "honor" has different meanings and dimensions, and the importance of these dimensions varies across cultures (Cross et al., 2014; Guerra, Giner-Sorolla, & Vasiljevic, 2012).

Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002a) proposed four types of honor concerns: family honor, social interdependence, masculine honor, and feminine honor. Concern for family honor implies importance of the family reputation for the individual, and care for the effects of own behaviors on the family name. Personal honor and family honor are interconnected in the sense that an inappropriate behavior of the person can easily stain the family name (and a family member's actions can damage personal honor), therefore each member is a representative entity of the family. Concern for social interdependence is related to the upkeep of appropriate behaviors regarding social norms, such as being honest, paying regard to others' opinions, reciprocating positive (and negative) behaviors, and behaving according to moral standards. Finally, there are gender-specific honor concerns: Masculine honor is related to a man's capability of protecting his family's welfare, his authority over the family, physical strength, and sexual activeness; whereas feminine honor refers to norms such as modesty, chastity, and sexual shame (Ijzerman & Cohen, 2011; Sakallı-Uğurlu & Glick, 2003).

1.5 Turkey as a culture of honor

Familial self is a major characteristic of Turkish culture (Fisek, 1995; as cited in Fisek & Kagitcibasi, 1999). Turkish individuals are likely to develop an extended self that includes their family members in their self-perception (Fisek & Kagitcibasi, 1999). This interconnectedness can also be read from the honor culture perspective. Cross-cultural studies that compare Turkish contexts with dignity cultures point out the importance of honor norms for Turkish participants (Uskul et al., 2015), especially familial honor (van Osch, Breugelmans, Zeelenberg, & Bölük, 2013). Uskul et al. (2015) compared Turkish and American participants' reactions to accusation of dishonesty, a threat to personal integrity in honor cultures, and found that when their personal and familial honesty was challenged, Turkish participants had more retaliatory intentions towards the accuser, compared to American participants. Similarly, van Osch et al. (2013) investigated aggressive intentions of Turkish and Dutch participants after they imagined being faced with a false accusation and an insult. They found that Turkish participants reported higher aggressive tendencies than Dutch participants, and this cross-cultural difference was explained by the difference in participants' concern for family honor.

Cross et al. (2014) used a prototype approach to explore underlying meanings of honor in Turkish and American contexts. They asked Turkish and American participants to generate features related to the concept of honor, and collected ratings of the centrality of these features to the concept of honor and also ratings of how personally important these features were. Interestingly, they found more negations (i.e., “not telling lies”, “not causing harm to other people”, “not to steal anything”) among honor-related features generated by Turkish participants, pointing out to the fragile nature of honor

and the potential prevalence of a prevention focus¹ (Higgins, 1996) in honor contexts (see also Cohen et al., 1996). Also, while American statements focused on good behavior regardless of its moral relevance, Turkish statements emphasized moral behavior, and this is consistent with other studies which showed that honor has a morality reference in cultures of honor (e.g., Shafa, Harinck, Ellemers, & Beersma, 2014). Centrality ratings revealed that honor has a tri-partite nature and this structure was similar in both cultures. Dimensions underlying honor were Social Status/Respect, Moral Behavior, and Self-Respect. Statements that loaded under the Social Status/Respect dimension focused on one's status in the society and social respect that one gains in his/her community. Moral Behavior statements were related to behaviors that uphold moral standards, such as being honest and just and helping others (Cross et al., 2014, Study 3). Self-Respect statements were related to the feeling of deserving respect.

In another study investigating the psychological significance of honor-related situations in Turkish and American contexts, Uskul, Cross, Sunbay, Gercek-Swing, and Ataca (2012) collected situations that participants regarded as honor-enhancing and honor-attacking, while another group of participants rated the impact of these situations on their “feelings about themselves, their close others’ feelings about themselves, and acquaintances’ feelings about their family”. Their results revealed that Americans

¹ Higgins (1996) claimed that focusing on the positive outcomes of one's behavior (i.e., “gains vs. non-gains”) characterizes promotion focus, and focusing on negative outcomes of an action signals prevention focus (i.e., “losses vs. non-losses”). These different types of self-regulatory foci also lead to different emotions in response to success and failure (Higgins et al., 1997). More specifically, in case of success, while individuals with a promotion focus experience stronger cheerfulness-related emotions (e.g., happy, satisfied), individuals with a prevention focus experience stronger quiescence-related emotions (e.g., calm, relaxed). However, in case of failure, people with a promotion focus experience stronger dejection-related emotions (e.g., disappointed, discouraged), whereas people with a prevention focus experience stronger agitation-related emotions (e.g., agitated, on edge).

focused more on themselves (e.g., “calling the person a liar”), whereas Turkish focused more on close others (e.g. “disgrace the name of someone’s parents or family”) in the honor-attacking situations they reported. Also, Turkish participants were more likely to refer to relational (e.g. “humiliating the person in front of his or her family”) and collective audiences (“praising the person in front of a classroom”) in honor-attacking situations they generated. Regarding honor-enhancing situations, they found no difference between the situations reported by Turkish and American participants in terms of the focus or the audience. In terms of impact ratings, they found that Turkish participants gave higher ratings on all targets, compared to American participants. Turkish individuals’ impact ratings were also similar between self and close others, whereas Americans rated these situations as having more impact on self, compared to close others. These results demonstrate the extended (i.e., from self to close others) nature of the honor concept in Turkish culture, especially considering honor-attacking situations. Also, in an extension of this study, Uskul et al. (2014) showed that honor-enhancing and honor-attacking situations generated by Turkish participants evoked more intense positive and negative emotions in both American and Turkish participants, showing that “honor” is a more loaded term in Turkish context, compared to the American understanding of honor. In addition, a wider range of honor-attacking situations were generated by Turkish participants, compared to honor-enhancing situations. The increased variability in what Turkish individuals consider as honor-attacking also points out to the stronger prevention (vs. promotion) focus of honor in Turkey.

1.6 Gendered honor norms

As stated before, gender is crucial in distinguishing the specific honor norms that the individual should adhere to in cultures of honor (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a). In most, if not all, honor cultures, there are clear and specific prescriptions for how honorable men and women should behave (Casimir & Jung, 2009). In Turkey, especially in her rural regions, the distinction between female and male honor codes are so clear-cut that Turkish language contains specific words for gendered honor norms (Kuzkaya, 2001; Peterson, 1985; as cited in Casimir & Jung, 2009; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). “Şeref” is used for the male honor code, which focuses on a man’s social reputation, and this reputation involves demonstrations of power, toughness, courage, wealth, generosity, and hospitality (Barnes et al., 2012; Cohen et al., 1996; Kuzkaya, 2001; as cited in Casimir & Jung, 2009; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011). It is a quantitative concept in the sense that a man’s “şeref” can be increased or decreased through behaving in line with or in opposition to the social norms (Kuzkaya, 2001; Peterson, 1985; as cited in Casimir & Jung, 2009). Previous studies also showed that men rely on external agents (i.e., parents, close others, culture) more in their cognitive representations of honor, compared to women (Cihangir, 2013). Consistently, Uskul et al. (2012) found that compared to Turkish women, Turkish men refer more frequently to an audience in both honor-enhancing and honor-attacking situations that they generated. Also, as stated before, masculine honor is directly related to a man’s authority over family, his ability to protect and support one’s family, and being sexually active (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a, 2002b; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Males are required to actively demonstrate these qualities and this relative promotion focus of masculine honor is shown to be evident even in body posture of men (Ijzerman & Cohen, 2011).

Ijzerman and Cohen (2011) found that endorsement of honor values lead to a more expansive body posture in Latino men, and leading them to an upright body posture also results in increased honor endorsement.

“Namus”, on the other hand, is generally used for the female honor code, and predominantly refers to the sexual purity of the woman (Cihangir, 2013; Kuzkaya, 2001; Peterson, 1985; as cited in Casimir & Jung, 2009). Female honor code is directly related to sexual shame (Fischer et al., 1999). Therefore, the concept of “namus” is mostly defined by virginity of an unmarried daughter (Sakallı-Uğurlu & Glick, 2003), and loyalty of a wife (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). In order to protect it, a woman should avoid any unnecessary contact with unrelated men (Kuzkaya, 2001; Peterson, 1985; as cited in Casimir & Jung, 2009). Even though some studies showed that “namus” has recently evolved into a concept related more to a “good education” among the urban middle class in the Western part of Turkey (Möwe, 1998; as cited in Casimir & Jung, 2009),² the concept still carries its traditional connotations, even among urban university students (Gürsoy & Arslan Özkan, 2014).

Rodriguez Mosquera (2011) collected desirability ratings of gender-neutral and gender-specific honor statements considering their own cultures from Spanish and Dutch participants. Her findings showed that Spanish participants rated gender-neutral honor characteristics as more desirable, compared to Dutch participants. In addition, they rated them as equally desirable for men and women. More importantly, she confirmed that masculine honor norms such as “authority over family”, “physical strength”, “sexual

² Populations living in rural parts of Turkey, especially in the Eastern part, have generally a lower socioeconomic status, compared to Western Turkey. Therefore, they are more likely to be undereducated and endorse cultural and religious norms more, compared to the Western Turkish populations (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001).

adventures” were more desirable for men; and feminine honor norms such as “modesty”, “respecting the head of the family”, “virginity before marriage” for more desirable for women in both cultures. She also examined the link between desirability of these honor attributes and attitudes towards sex roles and found that desirability ratings for gender-specific honor attributes significantly predicted participants’ attitudes towards sex roles, even though explaining a small variance (i.e., between %1 and %2). Finally, she found that men were more traditional than women in terms of both masculine and feminine sex roles. In line with this last finding, Gürsoy and Arslan Özkan (2014) found that Turkish undergraduate men (vs. women) had more traditional and negative attitudes towards pre- and extra-marital female sexuality.

Previous studies suggest that cultures of honor prescribe a submissive role to women: They are expected to be modest and earnest and to adhere closely to the prescribed behaviors that are appropriate for their role in their family and community (Glick, Sakallı-Uğurlu, Akbaş, Metin Orta, Ceylan, 2015; Ijzerman & Cohen, 2011). Cross et al. (2014) found that Turkish women mentioned “fitting into the rules of the society” more frequently than Turkish men when asked about honor prototypes. Women also rated Moral Behavior dimension as more central to the concept of honor, and more personally important, compared to men. In addition, honor, or “namus”, of women seems to be a crucial determinant of their family honor, and also of the masculine honor of the male members in their family (Awwad, 2002; Casimir & Jung, 2009).

Anthropologists suggest that starting from the pre-Islamic era in the Middle East, this great influence of sexual honor of female members on family honor can be explained by the motive of protecting men’s exclusive access to fertility of the women in the family, and correspondingly the reproductive power of the family, in a context where social

status is extremely important (Ruggi, 1998). Cihangir (2013) confirmed this influence of female honor on family honor by showing that men coming from cultures of honor (i.e., Turkey and Morocco) see sexual purity of women in their family as more related to their honor, than their female counterparts.

This interconnectedness between different honor concerns may be so radical that it may put females in their social environment at risk, especially in rural areas (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Female honor norms, unlike those for males, are prescribed in a qualitative fashion: A woman either has "namus" or does not (Casimir & Jung, 2009), and once it is lost, she has to face with dramatic consequences, such as physical violence or even death. Such violence may be insensitive to the severity of the norm transgression or whether the woman in question had an autonomous role in the transgressing action (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). In general, male members of her family are the major perpetrators of this violence, since they are responsible for defending their family honor (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). In cultures of honor, loss of female honor affects men of the family publicly (Peterson, 1985; as cited in Casimir & Jung, 2009). Their masculine honor can be heavily damaged due to the inappropriate behavior of a female member of their family and they legitimize violence by seeing it as a family honor-restoring strategy (Cihangir, 2013). These unwritten social rules may even lead police officers to tolerate honor-related violence against females even when the written law does not dictate such practice (Baldry, Pagliaro, & Porcaro, 2013; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). What is expected from women is again to accept the violence as retribution for their honor-damaging act and to subsequently maintain their relationship with their men (Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Vandello, Cohen, Grandon, & Franiuk, 2009).

Another reason why masculine honor gets easily threatened seems to be the precarious nature of manhood (Bosson, Vandello, Burnaford, Weaver, & Wasti, 2009; Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008). Previous research showed that manhood is perceived as dependent on social validation and proof, whereas womanhood is perceived as biologically given (Vandello et al., 2008). This socially dependent nature of masculine gender identity makes men more vulnerable against threats to their gender identity, evokes anxiety and aggression, and creates the need to prove manhood by public demonstrations of masculine traits like risk-taking and aggression in order to down-regulate negative feelings arising from the threat (Bosson et al., 2009; Cohen & Vandello, 2001; Vandello et al., 2008). Therefore, masculine honor is related to aggressive demonstrations both when faced with insults (Saucier, Till, Miller, O’Dea, & Andres, 2014), and when female members of the family threaten the family honor via impermissible sexual behavior (Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Vandello et al., 2009).³

1.7 Endorsement of honor-related values

Just as there are within-country variations in culture (e.g., Cohen & Nisbett, 1994), there are within-culture variations in the degree to which individuals identify with a given culture and endorse its norms and values. For the current purposes, honor endorsement level is an important within-culture variable that should play a role in determining the type and magnitude of reactions to cultural influences. Furthermore, the situations that individuals encounter within the same culture vary in terms of the degree to which they

³ While men are more likely to exhibit physical aggression in face of a threat (Cohen et al., 1996), women are more likely to show relational aggression patterns compared to men, such as having intentions to harm someone by damaging relationships with her/him, beginning from an early age (Chesney-Lind, Morash, & Irwin, 2007).

afford that culture's sanctioned behaviors. Leung and Cohen (2011) proposed an interactive Culture x Person x Situation approach in order to capture the full picture of human behavior. They claimed that within-culture individual differences should not be seen as "errors" while examining the effect of culture on behavior, since individuals are active agents that operate in line with or against the dominant cultural norms. They examined the relation among reciprocity, honor-related violence, and inalienable worth and showed how the same set of behaviors that are predicted by endorsement of cultural norms in one culture are predicted by rejection of the social norms in another culture. More specifically, positive reciprocity behavior and decreased cheating tendencies were related to endorsement of honor violence (i.e., a culturally prescribed reaction in face of an honor threat) in honor cultures, while the same set of positive behaviors was related to endorsement of inalienable worth in non-honor cultures. Likewise, Ijzerman and Cohen (2011) found that expansive body posture accompanied endorsement of honor in cultures of honor, whereas same posture was evident among the honor-rejectors in cultures of dignity.

Endorsement of honor values manifests in human behavior in various forms. Barnes et al. (2012) found that higher endorsement of masculine honor leads to greater risk-taking tendencies, both in men and women. In another study, Barnes, Brown, Lenes, Bosson, and Carvallo (2014) found that honor endorsement is related to how much participants personalize national threats and how they react to public events. Honor endorsement is also a determinant of emotional reactions to honor-related situations (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a; 2008). Higher honor endorsement is related to the aggressive (Saucier et al., 2014; van Osch et al., 2013) and retaliation tendencies (Uskul et al., 2015) in face of a threat against one's honor. Honor endorsement is also positively

related to the acceptance of traditional sex roles (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011; Sakallı-Uğurlu & Akbaş, 2013).

Honor endorsement was related to self-esteem among Turks, whereas there was no association between honor endorsement and self-esteem for Dutch and American participants (Novin, Tatar, & Krabbendam, 2015).⁴ From another angle, honor endorsement is associated with what the individual considers as the source of self-worth: internal judgment or others' judgment (Ijzerman & Cohen, 2011; Leung & Cohen, 2011). Leung and Cohen (2011) argued that while higher honor endorsement is related to higher socially conferred worth, participants from dignity cultures have higher belief in inalienable worth, a personal sense of worth that is free of social contingencies.

Overall, the previous literature on cultures of honor suggests that the concept of honor has a strong influence on various aspects of cognition, emotion, and behavior but also that such influence depends on how strongly a person endorses honor values. Thus, it is equally important to accurately characterize each individual's subjective construals of his/her culture, as it is to accurately characterize that culture's ethos. Along the same lines, Fambro (2008) manipulated how male undergraduates perceived lawlessness and cohesion of their academic environment, and this manipulation in their perception led to an increase in their retaliatory aggression levels in face of a challenge. She concluded that, consistent with social psychology's longstanding emphasis on the importance of subjective construal and perception (Lewin, 1936), it is not a stable cultural setting, but the individual's subjective perceptions of and judgments about that setting that influence

⁴ Interestingly, Novin et al. (2015) found that endorsement of honor integrity was related to higher self-esteem among Turkish participants, whereas endorsement of family honor was negatively related to their self-esteem. This finding was explained by external and interpersonal focus of family honor and intrapersonal and internal focus of integrity. However, as endorsement of cultural values would be expected to increase one's self-esteem (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991), this stands out as a conflicting finding regarding the literature on the relationship between self-esteem and cultural worldview.

his/her behavior. Therefore how the individual processes the environment and the subjective outputs of this processing should receive special attention in research. We aim to focus on the narrative outputs of this subjective processing, which are autobiographical memories, by examining them through the lens of honor in Turkey.

1.8 Cultural effects on autobiographical memory

Working in the earlier decades of the 20th century, the prominent memory researcher Bartlett claimed that people's perceptions and recollections are affected by their prior knowledge and he called this set of knowledge "schemas" (Bartlett, 1932, as cited in Wang & Ross, 2007). Later in the century, Neisser (1967), a proponent of the cognitive revolution, argued that remembering is not a process of an exact construction of prior episodes, but a process of reconstruction which is affected by the current intrapersonal and environmental circumstances. Culturally shared beliefs and mindsets were presumed to be among these determinants that direct remembering (Neisser, 1967) and many studies conducted later in the century focused on the relation between culture and remembering (Ross & Wang, 2010; Wang, 2001a; 2011; Wang & Conway, 2004; Wang & Ross, 2005).

Conway and Pleydell-Pearce (2000) suggested a system based on the reciprocal relationship between self and memory. According to this Self-Memory System (SMS, Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000), current goals and motivations of the "working self", which they define as a cluster of self-schemas and interrelated goal hierarchies, direct what is remembered. In return, what an individual remembers about their own past serves to construct a coherent sense of self. Since self cannot be truly separated from culturally shaped representations (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), recall of autobiographical

memories also largely depends on the cultural value and belief systems within which the individual is situated.

Previous studies investigating cultural differences on autobiographical memory generally focused on the East-West dichotomy (e.g., Ross & Wang, 2010), and the effects of independent/interdependent self-construal on autobiographical memory processes (e.g., Wang & Ross, 2005). Earlier findings revealed differences between participants from Caucasian and Asian ethnic backgrounds in terms of various aspects of their autobiographical memories. According to these findings, participants with a Caucasian descent give memories from an earlier age (Wang & Ross, 2005), access their memories more easily (Wang, 2009), recall them more frequently (Wang & Conway, 2004), and see their memories as more personally important (Wang & Ross, 2007), compared to their Asian counterparts. Western participants also provide more specific (Wang & Conway, 2004; Wang & Ross, 2005), longer (Wang, 2001a), more self-focused (Wang & Ross, 2007), more emotionally positive (Oishi, 2002), and emotionally intense autobiographical narratives (Wang & Conway, 2004), compared to Asian participants. Asian participants, on the other hand, are more likely to make meaning out of their experiences and use the lessons learnt from their previous experiences to direct their future behavior (Wang & Conway, 2004). They are also more likely to embody others' perspectives in social situations, compared to American participants, who tend to focus on their own perspective (Leung & Cohen, 2007).

Wang (2011) suggested that culture influences autobiographical memory processes through self-construal, emotional knowledge, and parent-child reminiscing practices. Western individuals have an autonomous self, which leads them to focus more on their individuality and uniqueness; whereas East Asians have a more relational self

that makes them focus more on interpersonal harmony and their roles in their communities. These different construals influence individuals' cognition, emotion, and motivation in many ways (Cross, Hardin, & Gercek-Swing, 2010). Wang (2011) also suggests that emotional knowledge may direct which parts of an event to focus on, encode, and remember; and such knowledge differs between Eastern and Western cultures. Mothers with a European descent adopt an emotion-elaborating style in their communication with their children, since emotions are personal experiences that help uniquely define the individual. In contrast, Asian mothers use an emotion-criticizing style, since emotions may pose a threat in terms of social harmony and group interests (Wang, 2001b). Therefore, this difference between Easterners' and Westerners' emotion knowledge repertoires affect how they organize newly encoded information and its retention (Wang, 2011). In terms of parent-child reminiscing, previous research suggests that there are major differences between American and Asian parenting styles in terms of elaboration of previous experiences during sharing (Wang, 2001b; Wang & Fivush, 2005). Wang and Fivush (2005) showed that American mothers used a more elaborative and child-focused style in their conversations with their children, whereas Chinese mothers were more likely to focus on social interactions and adopt a directive style in their reminiscing practices with their children. Wang (2011) argued that these differences in self-construal styles and socialization processes affect how Easterners and Westerners remember their autobiographical memories later on.

Research also showed that priming of a particular self-construal in bicultural individuals leads to results that are parallel with the aforementioned cross-cultural findings. For example, Wang and Ross (2005) showed that priming of private self leads to an easier accessibility of autobiographical memories, compared to priming of

collective self. In addition, focusing on personal attributes, rather than socially oriented ones, leads to more self-focused narratives (Wang, 2008; Wang & Ross, 2005).

Language was also used as a cultural self prime by earlier studies. Taking experimental instructions in a particular language activates the mindset of the related culture in bicultural individuals (e.g., Lee, Oyserman, & Bond, 2010; there may be moderators of this effect, e.g., Kimmelmeier & Cheng, 2004) and leads them to report their memories in a way that is consistent with that cultural self (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2004). Taken together, these findings suggest that besides the surrounding cultural setting the individual was born into, priming a separate set of cultural values also influences the autobiographical memory processing. After finding both culture and priming effects in Caucasian and Asian American individuals, Wang and Ross (2005) concluded that culture has effects on memories through both encoding and retrieval processes.

While these studies have been especially helpful in illuminating the relation between culture and autobiographical memory, they are also limited in the sense of focusing almost exclusively on an East-West dichotomy. More specifically, previous studies regarding the relationship between culture and autobiographical remembering were mainly conducted with American and Asian populations, acculturated primarily in dignity and face cultures, respectively. Thus, there is a clear need to examine memories of people socialized in an honor culture in the name of seeing the full picture of cultural syndromes and their effects on memory. The current studies aim to fill this gap in the culture of honor and autobiographical memory literatures. We believe this to be a timely topic for research given the increasing research attention shown in recent years to honor cultures as well as the presence of established frameworks for examining autobiographical memory.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1

Aim of the first study was to investigate the effects of activation of cognitive schemas related to honor concept, endorsement of honor-related values, and gender on autobiographical memory processes. The concept of honor has largely been investigated using descriptive methods in previous studies. In contrast, we aimed to investigate experimentally how honor reflects on personal experiences and autobiographical narratives. Since gender is a crucial factor regarding honor norms, we were especially interested in how honor norms reflect on contents and phenomenological characteristics of gender-defining memories.

2.1 Overview of Study I

The present set of studies draw their samples from among Boğaziçi University students. Most, if not all, of these students are presumably socialized in contexts that emphasized collectivism and honor to varying degrees (Fisek & Kagitcibasi, 1999; Uskul et al., 2015) prior to joining the university. In contrast, Boğaziçi University, having its roots in the first American higher education institute overseas, is one of the most liberal and individualistic settings in Modern Turkey. Therefore, instead of relying on a general assumption that the behavior of these students would reflect their background in honor culture, we chose to activate participants' cognitive schemas related to honor via an unobtrusive method (i.e., the scrambled sentence test, Srull & Wyers, 1979) and examine the effects of this implicit honor theme in their narratives. We also measured

participants' honor endorsement levels prior to the experiment. Since gendered honor norms are extremely important in honor cultures (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011), we wanted to examine effects of honor activation on participants' gender-defining memories.

To our knowledge, this is the first study that investigates autobiographical memory characteristics of gender-related narratives through the lens of an honor culture. Previous studies that examined the autobiographical experiences regarding honor-related situations (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000; 2014) specifically focused on emotional and social consequences of those experiences. However, since their focus was not the autobiographical memory characteristics of the narratives, they did not examine memory content and other phenomenological properties in detail. That is, the previous literature fails to provide clear insights into how autobiographical narratives are affected by honor. Therefore, this study was conducted as an initial exploration of this topic, rather than to provide a decisive test of specific hypotheses.

Memory contents were coded in terms of both autobiographical memory characteristics, and honor-related dimensions that were compiled in light of previous studies. Autobiographical memory characteristics that we coded were memory specificity, integration, content, people in memories, and agency. Honor-related dimensions included existence of provocation, risk-taking tendencies, audience, emotional content, honor enhancing/attacking situations (Uskul et al., 2012), and the

four major components of honor identified by Cross et al. (2014): Social status/respect, moral behavior, self-respect, and helping others.⁵

Based on both cross-cultural and within-culture findings regarding how honor affects individuals' cognitive, behavioral, and emotional experiences (e.g., Leung & Cohen, 2011; Uskul et al., 2014), we devised some tentative expectations of how honor prime, individual honor endorsement level, and gender would affect content of participants' autobiographical narratives.

2.2 Expectations regarding autobiographical memory characteristics

We expected an interaction among gender, condition, and honor endorsement in terms of autobiographical memory content. More specifically, higher honor endorsement and honor prime would lead to more relational themes in women's narratives; and to more reference to provocation, physical aggression, and risk-taking tendencies in men's narratives, compared to lower honor endorsement and control condition. Also, achievement was expected to be present in honor-primed narratives (compared to the control condition) for both genders, and especially among high honor-endorsers, since honor has strong social and self-respect associations (Cross et al., 2014). This expectation is also supported by the fact that Boğaziçi University is a highly competitive environment and our students are high achievers in terms of having scored in the top 0.005 % of the nationwide university entrance exam. In terms of people in narratives, we expected that honor prime and higher honor endorsement would lead to more familial and social themes in the narratives since the concept of honor emphasizes family

⁵ Even though items under "Helping Others" factor loaded onto "Moral Behavior" dimension in Study 3 (Cross et al., 2014), we coded the existence of "Helping Others" dimension in order to capture more detail in the narratives.

reputation and how the individual is evaluated in a social context (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a). Also, honor prime and endorsement were expected to interact with gender in terms of people in memories. More specifically, we expected women's narratives to be more familial and men's narratives to be more social. In terms of agency, we expected honor prime and increasing honor endorsement to lead to a decrease in number of memories that have agency since assertiveness and autonomy are related more to dignity rather than honor (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a). This effect should be particularly pronounced for women since cultures of honor attribute women a more submissive role (Glick et al., 2015). In terms of emotional content, we expected to see more frequent shame themes, and less frequent pride themes in participants' narratives after honor-prime and when the endorsement is high, since pride is less likely to be shared, unlike shame, in cultures of honor (Fischer et al., 1999). We also expected an interaction among gender, condition, and honor endorsement. Since shame is more associated with women (Casimir & Jung, 2009), after the honor prime and as their honor endorsement levels increase, women were expected to give more memories including a shame theme, compared to men.

2.3 Expectations regarding honor-related dimensions

In terms of honor-related dimensions, we expected to find more provocation and risk-taking themes in memories of participants that were in the honor prime condition and among honor-endorsers. This should be the case especially for men, since these are demonstrations of toughness and bravery, which are attributes that are expected from an honorable man in honor contexts (Barnes et al., 2012; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). Also, we expected to see more reference to audience after honor prime, compared to control

condition, and among high honor-endorsers, since presence of an audience is important in terms of directing reactions towards honor-related situations (Uskul et al., 2012). This reference was expected to be a relational audience for women, rather than a collective audience; whereas no difference in terms of the audience type in men's narratives was expected (see Seeley, Gardner, Pennington, & Gabriel, 2003). Lastly, honor-enhancing and attacking situations, as well as honor-related themes, were expected to be present more in the narratives of high-endorsers, and in memories of participants in the honor prime condition.

2.4 Expectations regarding phenomenological experiences and centrality of event

Phenomenological properties of gender-defining memories were explored to see whether there are effects of honor prime and endorsement on memories' rehearsal, reliving, imagery, and narrative coherence. In terms of memory perspective, we expected memories coming from high endorsers and participants in the honor prime condition to have 3rd person (observer) perspective, because how others see the individual plays a crucial role in honor cultures and this should affect how autobiographical memories are encoded and retrieved (Leung & Cohen, 2007). Events in narratives were also rated in terms of their centrality in participants' lives. Regarding earlier findings showing that honor situations have higher personal importance in honor contexts, compared to non-honor contexts (e.g., Uskul et al., 2012), memories of participants in the honor prime condition were expected to be more central in their lives, especially when their honor endorsement scores are high.

2.4 Method

2.4.1 Participants

Sixty-five female (35 in the honor prime condition) and 52 male (26 in the honor prime condition) Boğaziçi University undergraduate students participated in return for course credit. Data from 3 male and 2 female participants were excluded from the analyses, because their reported memories did not meet the autobiographical memory criteria (Conway, 2009). Therefore, data from 63 female (33 in the honor prime condition) and 49 male (24 in the honor prime condition) were included in the analyses reported below.

2.4.2 Materials

2.4.2.1 Honor Value Scale (HVS)

Honor endorsement was measured using the HVS developed by Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2008). Each item included a statement measuring the personal importance of personal and familial reputation in the eyes of others (e.g., “It is important to me that others see me as someone who deserves respect” and “My family’s social image is important to me”) and was rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 – *not at all* to 5 – *extremely important*) (see Appendix A). The HVS had high internal consistency in the present sample, Cronbach’s $\alpha = .81$.

2.4.2.2 Honor priming

In order to prime the concept of honor, we used the scrambled sentence test developed by Srull and Wyer (1979). In this task, participants were expected to construct meaningful sentences using 4 out of 5 words provided. In the honor prime condition, participants had to use one honor-related word in 15 of the 30 sentences (e.g., *honor*, *pride*, *reputation*, see Appendix B and C) whereas in the control condition all words were honor-neutral (e.g., *ball*, *street*, *sky*, see Appendix D and E). Honor-related words that were used in the honor prime condition were selected based on Sev'er and Yurdakul (2000).

2.4.2.3 Gender-defining memory (GDM)

GDM is a modified version of self-defining memories (SDM), which were investigated by a large number of autobiographical memory studies (e.g. Singer & Moffitt, 1992). To collect SDMs, participants are instructed to recall autobiographical memories that define who they are. However, to collect gender-defining memories, participants were asked to report memories that define themselves as a woman/man. Additional requirements were that memories should (a) be at least one year old, (b) still clearly feel important to the participant, (c) contain an important enduring theme, issue, or conflict from the participant's life, (d) define the participant as a woman/man, (e) be linked to similar memories, and (f) evoke positive, or negative, or both types of emotions, and (g) have been recalled many times (see Appendix F). GDMs were initially collected from Boğaziçi University students in a previous study comparing SDMs and GDMs (Tekcan, Kaya-Kızılöz, Mutafoğlu, & Karadöller, 2016).

2.4.2.4 Autobiographical Memory Questionnaire (AMQ)

The AMQ is a widely-used questionnaire that measures phenomenological properties of autobiographical memories, such as vividness, recollection, rehearsal, etc. The AMQ was developed by Rubin, Schrauf, and Greenberg (2003). We used an adapted version of the AMQ in this study, which included 18 statements about phenomenological experiences of the memory that were rated on a 7-point Likert scale, one item asking the memory perspective with 2 response options, and one open-ended item asking the date of the event that is reported in the memory (see Appendix G). This version of the AMQ was previously used in a Boğaziçi University student sample (Tekcan et al., 2016).

2.4.2.5 Centrality of Event Scale (CES)

The CES was developed by Berntsen and Rubin (2006). The full version includes 20 items that measure how central the reported event was for the participants' life and identity. The items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) *I do not agree at all* to (5) *I totally agree*. We used the 7-item version of this scale, which was developed by the same researchers (see Appendix H).

2.4.3 Memory coding

All memories were coded based on two classes of dimensions: autobiographical memory characteristics and honor-related dimensions. Autobiographical memory characteristics were coded by two independent coders (all kappa's > .93), and honor-related dimensions

were coded by three independent coders (all kappa's > .91). Disagreements were resolved either by discussion, or by asking an external party who was trained on these dimensions.

2.4.3.1 Autobiographical memory characteristics

Memories were coded on the following dimensions: specificity, integration, content, people in memories, agency, and emotional valence.

Specificity. Memory specificity was coded based on the categories proposed by Singer and Blagov (2002). According to this manual, memories can be categorized as specific, episodic or generic. If the narrative contained at least one single-event statement, the memory was coded as Specific. When the narrator focused on only one single-event statement that happened in one day, the memory was coded as "Specific Type 1 (pure specific memory)". When the narrative included a more general context or a summary of related events (event generalizations), in addition to a single event, the memory was coded as "Specific Type 2 (the specific memory with generalization)". When the memory included more than one single event that happened on different times, the memory was coded as "Specific Type 3 (the specific memory with multiple single events)". If the memory did not contain any single-event statements, but included a period or was composed of several related general events, the memory was coded as "Episodic". Lastly, if the narrative included repeated general events, without any focus on single events, the memory was coded as "Generic". Narratives that did not fit any of these categories were coded as "Other".

Integration. According to Singer and Blagov (2002), if the narrator mentioned a

lesson taught by the event in the memory, which could be self-focused or general, the memory was coded as “Integrative”. If the narrator did not mention any lesson or insight in the memory, it was coded as “Non-integrative”.⁶

Content. Content was coded based on an adapted version of the Classification System and Scoring Manual for Coding Events in SDMs that was proposed by Thorne and McLean (2001). Memories were coded on whether the following themes were present or absent: Relationship, Achievement, Life-Threatening Event (LTE), and Guilt/Shame. Narratives that contained an interpersonal relationship with family member(s), friend(s), romantic partner(s), or other person(s) were coded as having a “Relationship” theme. Memories that included one’s efforts at accomplishment of an objective, regardless of the outcome, were coded as having an “Achievement” theme. If the memory included deaths, illnesses, accidents, and physical or sexual assaults, it was coded as having a “Life-Threatening Events (LTE)” theme. Narratives that included a “Guilt/Shame” theme focused on the guilt or shame that was felt as a result of one’s own actions. Narratives that did not fit any of these categories were coded as “Other”. Binary coding (i.e., present vs. absent) was used for this dimension and subcategories were not mutually exclusive. In other terms, a narrative could have multiple themes.

People in Memories. This dimension describes the person(s) mentioned in the memories. The existence of family members, friends, romantic partners, and members of social groups or acquaintances was coded in the memories. Whether there was a dyadic relationship in the narrative was also coded. Again, coding under this dimension was

⁶ According to Singer and Blagov’s (2002) scoring manual, both Integrative and Non-integrative categories have two subcategories. Memories were coded according to those subcategories as well. However, due to the low frequency we had to collapse across those and for the sake of brevity, those subcategories were not reported.

binary (e.g., a family member is present or not).

Agency. Coding of this dimension was adapted from Wang and Leichtman's (2000) system. Agency in the memories was coded considering whether the narrator has an active or passive role in the course of the events. If the narrator affected how the event that was reported in the memory progress, agency was coded as *present* in the narrative. If the narrator did not take an active role and influence the course of the event, then agency was coded as *absent*.

2.4.3.2 Honor-related dimensions

These dimensions were coded based on previous research regarding cultures of honor (see Introduction; Barnes et al., 2012; Cross et al., 2014, Uskul et al., 2012).

Provocation. This coding reflects whether the event included any type of provocation, such as an insult.

Risk-taking behavior. This coding reflects whether the event included any type of risk-taking tendencies (e.g., challenging an opponent in a fight).

Audience. Narratives were coded regarding whether there are other person(s) who witnessed the event mentioned in the memory or whether the narrator explicitly stated the possible existence of an audience. Type of the audience was also coded: If the audience has direct personal relation to the narrator (family, friend, etc.), it was coded as 'Relational'. If the audience was a group that the narrator belongs to (class in school, sports team, etc.), it was coded as 'Collective'. This coding was based on Uskul et al. (2012).

Honor enhancing/attacking situation. This dimension was created based on the honor-related situations that were collected by Uskul et al. (2012) from Turkish undergraduate students. If situations such as *getting praised by others*, *achievement*, or *showing integrity* were mentioned in the narratives, the memory was said to include ‘honor-enhancing situation’. If the memory included situations such as *false accusation*, *being humiliated* or *physically attacked*, the memory was said to include ‘honor-attacking situation’ (see Uskul et al., 2012, Table 1).

Honor prototypes. This category had 4 subcategories which were proposed by Cross et al. (2014) as dimensions of honor: social status/respect (e.g., *one’s position in the society*), moral behavior (e.g., *not being a hypocrite*), self-respect (e.g., *to have one’s own principles*), and helping others (e.g., *doing good things for others*) (see Cross et al., 2014, Table 4). Every subcategory was coded regarding whether there was a reference to the dimensions themselves (i.e. *present*), whether there was an opposite behavior of the dimension (i.e. *negative present*), or no reference at all (i.e. *absent*).⁷

Emotional content. Narratives were coded in terms of whether they had a reference to pride and shame.⁸

2.4.4 Procedure

HVS was administered to a pool of students as part of an online battery of measures.

Approximately 2 weeks after the participants filled out this scale, they were invited to

⁷ Due to low frequencies, distinction between *present* and *negative present* was ignored in the analyses, and thematic presence was taken into consideration by collapsing *present* and *negative present* in the analyses.

⁸ Pride and shame references in the narratives were coded regarding both the explicit mention of the emotion and the implicit/thematic presence. However, due to low frequencies, this distinction was ignored in the analyses, and thematic presence was taken into consideration, since it includes the explicit mention as well.

the Social Psychology Laboratory at Boğaziçi University Psychology Department.

Participants were randomly assigned to honor prime and control groups. They were told that the study investigated memory processes and that it was necessary to concentrate well on the task. They were required to complete an initial task ostensibly in order to facilitate concentration. In reality, this was the Scrambled Sentences Task that consisted of 30 word sets (15 of which included an honor word in the honor prime condition). After this task was over, participants in both conditions were asked to recall and type into the computer one gender-defining memory. Next, in reference to their memory, participants filled out the AMQ and the CES. Lastly, participants filled out the demographics form. All tasks and materials were presented on a computer screen, using MediaLab software (Empirisoft, 2012). Participants were debriefed about the aim of the study through e-mail after the data collection period was over.

2.5 Results

2.5.1. Overview

Analyses regarding autobiographical memory characteristics and honor-related dimensions were conducted via binary logistic regressions, since all these were dichotomous variables. In order to examine whether condition, gender, and honor endorsement level (HVS total score) predicted the likelihood of the presence of these dimensions in the narratives, stepwise models that include 3 blocks were built using a forward entry method. Since honor endorsement level was a continuous predictor, raw scores were centered around the grand mean, as suggested by Aiken and West (1991). In

the first step, main effects of condition, gender, and honor endorsement level were entered. In the second step, all 2-way interactions among these 3 predictors were added to the model. In the final step, the 3-way interaction among predictors was added to the model. The linearity assumption regarding HVS scores was met. No missing values were present and no outliers were detected in the regression analyses on the dimensions reported below.

Frequencies regarding the presence of the coded autobiographical memory characteristics and honor-related dimensions were given in Table 1.

Analyses regarding participants' AMQ and CES ratings were performed via a 2 (Condition) x 2 (Gender) between-subjects ANCOVA, controlling for HVS scores.

2.5.2 Autobiographical memory characteristics

Specificity. Due to the insufficient number of memories under the Specific Type 3 and Generic categories, memories were grouped as Specific (Type 1, Type 2, Type 3) and Non-specific (Episodic and Generic) memories. None of the three regression models mentioned above made a significant contribution to prediction of specificity, all p 's > .05.

Integration. None of the three models made a significant contribution to prediction of integration, all p 's > .05.

Content. Every subcategory of this dimension (i.e., Relationship, Achievement, LTE, Guilt/Shame) and subcategories of Relationship (family, friend, love, other) was analyzed by using separate Binary Regression analyses. None of the models made a significant contribution to prediction of these subcategories (all p 's > .05), except for the

Table 1. Frequencies Regarding the Presence of the Coded Autobiographical Memory Characteristics and Honor-Related Dimensions in Study 1

Dimension	Women	Men
Specificity	44	37
Integration	44	31
Rel. - Family	19	21
Rel. - Friend	18	20
Rel. - Love	19	10
Rel. - Other	12	7
Achievement	8	11
LTE	12	15
Guilt/shame	6	4
PIM - Family	18	23
PIM - Friend	23	23
PIM - Love	18	8
PIM - Social	26	19
PIM - Social Authority	5	4
PIM - Dyadic	37	31
Agency	34	41
Provocation	7	11
Risk-taking behavior	1	8
Audience	14	16
Honor-enhancing situation	15	23
Honor-attacking situation	25	19
Social Status/Respect	31	19
Moral Behavior	9	7
Self Respect	32	27
Helping Others	12	21
Pride	12	11
Shame	6	3
TOTAL	63	49

Notes:

Frequencies were given regarding the presence of the dimension in the narratives. Total number shows the total number of men and women in the sample. Only 4 data points were missing in women's narratives regarding the specificity dimension.

Relationship-family subcategory. For “Relationship-family”, the third model which includes all the main effects, 2-way interactions, and the 3-way interaction was significant, $\chi^2(7) = 16.9, p < .05$, Nagelkerke’s $R^2 = .19$. In this model, there was an interaction between condition and HVS scores. However, this 2-way interaction was superseded by the 3-way interaction among condition, gender, and HVS scores (See Table 2). As HVS scores of women in the honor prime condition increased, they became less likely to give memories that contain a Relationship-family theme. Conversely, men in honor condition were more likely to provide narratives that include a family theme as their honor endorsement level increased (See Figure 1).

People in Memories. For the Family category of this dimension, the results were consistent with Relationship-family dimension. A binary logistic regression showed that the third model was significant, $\chi^2(7) = 17.89, p < .05$, Nagelkerke’s $R^2 = .20$. HVS scores had a marginal effect. Also, there was an interaction between condition and HVS scores. However, these effects were superseded by a 3-way interaction among condition, gender, and HVS scores. As HVS scores of women in the honor prime condition increased, they were less likely to mention family members in their memories. Conversely, men in the honor prime condition were more likely to mention family members in their memories as their honor endorsement level increased (See Table 2).

In terms of the likelihood of mentioning Friends in the narratives, the third model was significant, $\chi^2(7) = 15.62, p < .05$, Nagelkerke’s $R^2 = .18$. In this model, condition was a significant predictor. Also, there was an interaction between condition and HVS scores. These effects were superseded by a 3-way interaction (See Table 2).

Table 2. Summary of Binary Logistic Regression Analyses for the Predictors of Autobiographical Memory Characteristics in Study 1

Dimension	Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e^B</i>
Relationship-Family	Condition * Gender * HVS	-0.5*	0.23	0.60
	HVS	-0.25*	0.13	0.75
PIM-Family	Condition * HVS	0.34*	0.17	1.41
	Condition * Gender * HVS	-0.46*	0.22	0.63
PIM-Friend	Condition	1.46*	0.67	4.29
	Condition * HVS	-0.37*	0.17	0.69
	Condition * Gender * HVS	0.53*	0.22	1.70
PIM-Romantic	Gender * HVS	0.36**	0.17	1.44
Agency	Gender	-1.49***	0.46	0.23
Perspective	Condition * Gender * HVS	0.63**	0.24	1.88

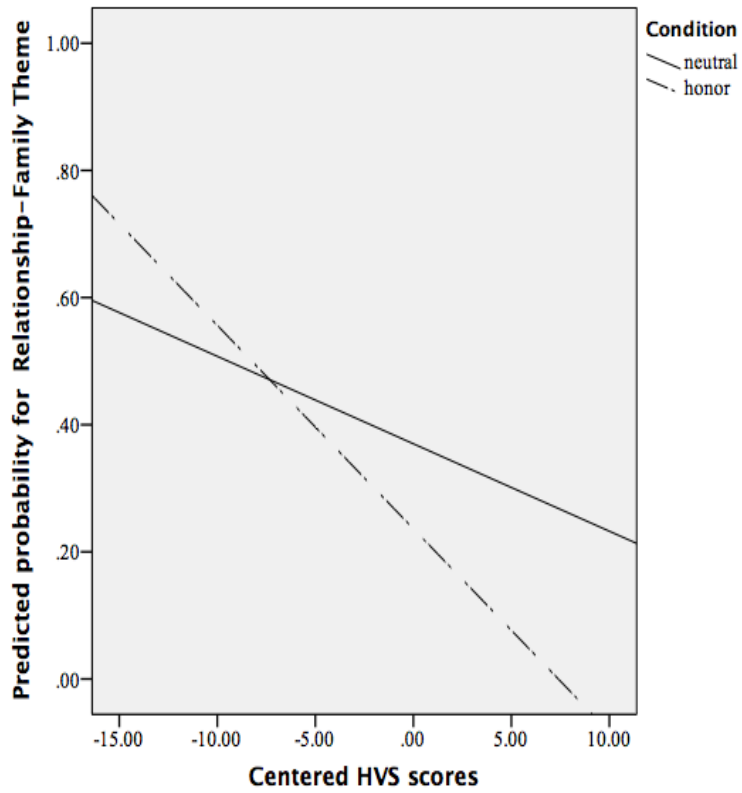
Notes:

e^B = exponentiated B

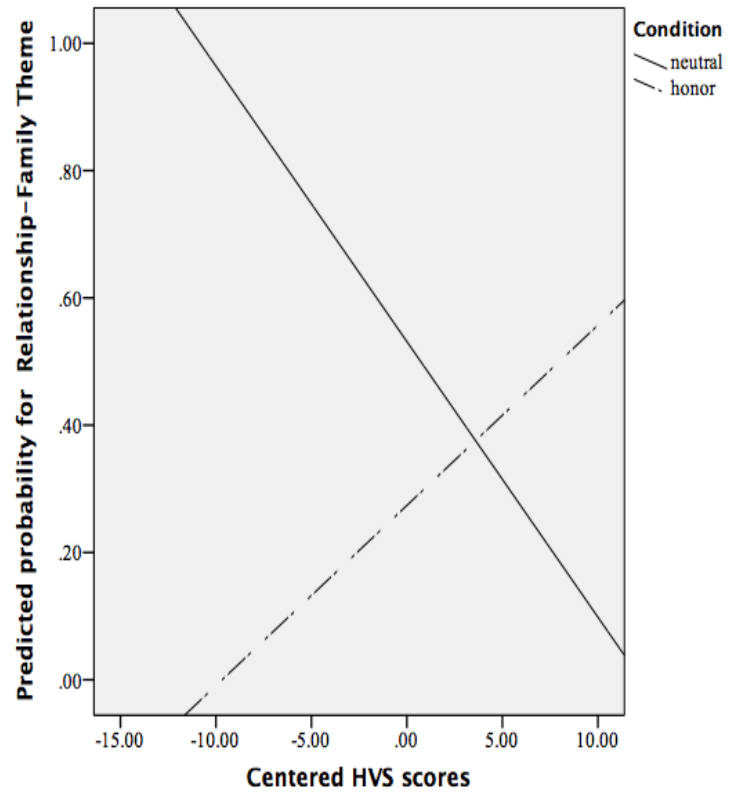
Condition was coded as 1 for honor and 0 for control; and gender was coded as 1 for women and 0 for men.

Scores on the Honor Values Scale (HVS) were centered around the grand mean.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.



WOMEN



MEN

Figure 1. Women and Men's Predicted Probabilities for Providing a Relationship-Family Theme in Their Narratives, as a Function of Condition and Honor Endorsement

However this time, as HVS scores of women in the honor prime condition increased, they were more likely to mention friends in their memories. Conversely, men in the honor prime condition were less likely to mention their friends in their memories as their HVS scores increased (See Figure 2).

In terms of mentioning Romantic Partners in the narratives, the second model was significant, $\chi^2(6) = 13.23, p < .05$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .17$. In this model, a 2-way interaction between gender and HVS revealed that women were more likely to mention romantic partners as their HVS scores increased. However, men were less likely to mention romantic partners as their HVS scores increased (See Table 2).

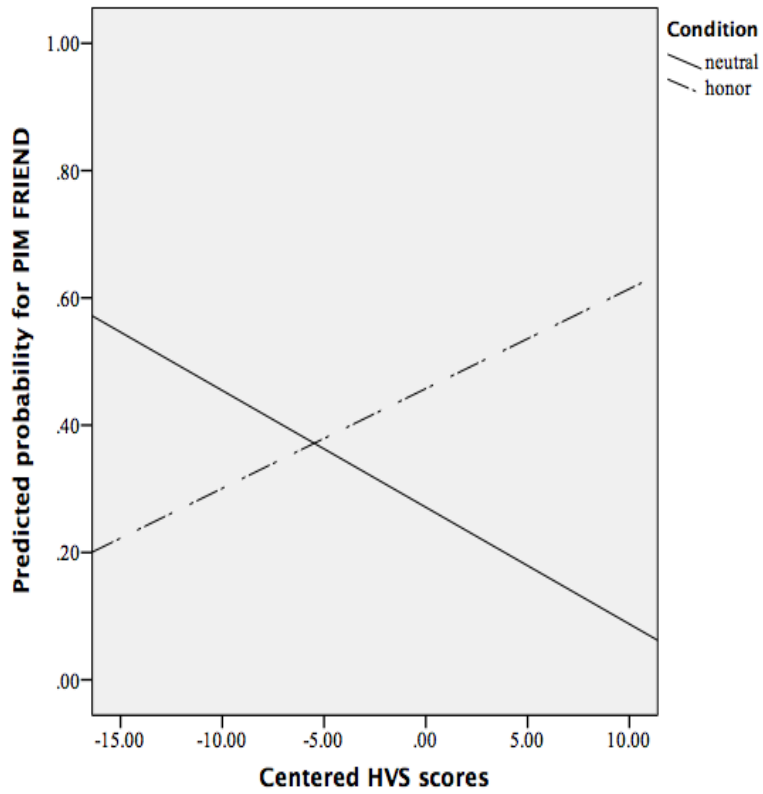
Agency. The first model that included main effects provided the best fit, $\chi^2(3) = 11.78, p < .01$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .14$. Women reported less memories that had agency, compared to men (See Table 2).

2.5.3 Honor-related dimensions

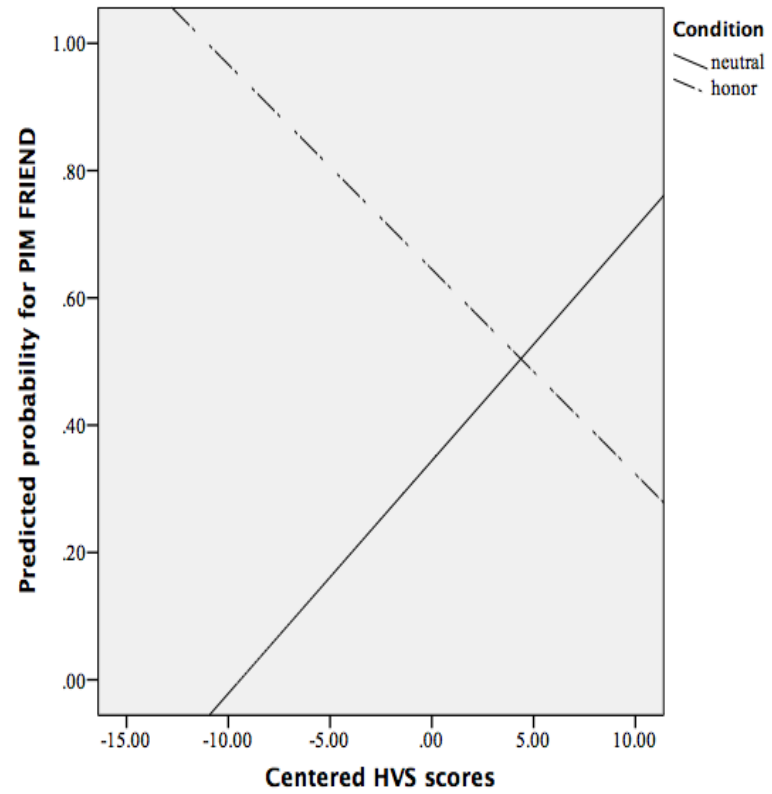
Frequencies regarding the presence of the honor-related dimensions were given in Table 1.

Provocation. None of the three models made a significant contribution to the prediction of memories that included a provocation theme, all p 's $> .05$.

Risk-taking behavior. The first model that included main effects provided the best fit, $\chi^2(3) = 14.00, p < .01$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .27$. Women reported less memories that included a risk-taking behavior, compared to men (See Table 3).



WOMEN



MEN

Figure 2. Women and Men's Predicted Probabilities for Mentioning Friends in Their Narratives, as a Function of Condition and Honor Endorsement

However, overall number of memories that included this theme was too low for this to be considered a reliable effect. Only 9 out of 111 memories included risk-taking (1 reported by a woman and 8 by men).

Audience. None of the three models made a significant contribution to the prediction of either the presence or the type of audience in the memories, all p 's > .05.

Table 3. Summary of Binary Logistic Regression Analyses for the Predictors of Honor-Related Dimensions in Study 1

Dimension	Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	e^B
Risk-taking behavior	Gender	-2.47*	1.09	0.08
Honor-enhancing situation	Condition	1.28*	0.61	3.58
	Condition * Gender	-2.42**	0.89	0.09
Honor-attacking situation	Condition	1.56*	0.67	4.78
	Gender	1.35*	0.64	3.87
	Condition * Gender	-2.44**	0.86	0.09
Helping Others	Gender	-1.18**	0.44	0.31

Notes:

e^B = exponentiated B

Condition was coded as 1 for honor and 0 for control; and gender was coded as 1 for women and 0 for men.

Scores on the Honor Values Scale (HVS) were centered around the grand mean.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Honor-enhancing situation. The second model that included the main effects and all the 2-way interactions was significant, $\chi^2(6) = 16.20$, $p = .01$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .19$.

Condition was a significant predictor in the model. Expectedly, honor-enhancing situations were more frequent in memories coming from honor prime condition, compared to control condition. Also, there was an interaction between condition and gender. Men in the honor prime condition gave more memories including an

honor-enhancing situation, compared to women in the honor prime condition. Also, men gave more memories including an honor-enhancing situation after the honor prime, compared to control condition; whereas there was no effect of the honor prime for women (See Table 3).

Honor-attacking situation. The second model made a significant contribution to the prediction of honor-attacking situations in memories, compared to the first model (Nagelkerke R^2 change = .10), but the model itself was not significant, $\chi^2(6) = 11.20, p > .05$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .13$. However, there was the same trend in the model as honor-enhancing situations, in terms of the condition effect and the interaction between condition and gender. Honor-attacking situations were more frequent in memories coming from honor prime condition. Additionally, there was a gender effect. In line with the results for honor-enhancing situations, the interaction between condition and gender was significant. Men gave more memories including an honor-attacking situation after the honor prime, compared to control condition; whereas there was no effect of the honor prime for women (See Table 3).

Honor dimensions. None of the three models made a significant contribution to the prediction of social status/respect, moral behavior, and self-respect dimensions. However, for helping others dimension, the first model that included all the main effects

was significant, $\chi^2(3) = 8.42, p < .05$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .10$. Women gave fewer memories including a “helping” theme compared to men (See Table 3).

Emotional content. No model was significant for pride and shame themes in the narratives, all p 's $> .05$.

2.5.4 Phenomenological properties and centrality of event

Participants' ratings on AMQ items and their CES scores were analyzed via a 2 (Condition) x 2 (Gender) between-subjects ANCOVA, controlling for their HVS scores, which were centered around the grand mean. There was no effect of condition and gender on phenomenological properties of memories except for *difficulty of retrieval*, *age at event*, and *emotional positivity*.

In terms of difficulty of retrieval, while there was no effect of condition and gender, there was an interaction between these variables, $F(1, 107) = 4.54, MSE = 1.80, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$. Men in the honor prime condition ($M = 2.58, SD = 1.41$) reported more difficulty in remembering their gender-defining memories than women in the honor condition ($M = 1.88, SD = 1.39$). There was no gender difference in the control condition, $p > .05$.

There was a gender effect in terms of participants' age at the time of the event that was mentioned in the memory, $F(1, 107) = 5.54, MSE = 15.23, p < .05, \eta^2 = .05$. Men ($M = 15.29, SD = 4.02$) reported earlier gender-defining memories than women ($M = 17.10, SD = 3.88$). There was no effect of condition, and no interaction between condition and gender in terms of age at the time of the event.

In order to examine the effects of condition and gender on emotional valence of the memories, we calculated an emotional positivity score by dividing positivity ratings of the memories by their negativity ratings (Tekcan et al., 2016). There was no effect of condition and gender, but we found an interaction between condition and gender, $F(1, 107) = 4.13$, $MSE = 5.12$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .04$. Specifically, memories of women in the honor prime condition ($M = 2.84$, $SD = 2.86$) had higher positivity ratings, compared to women in the control condition ($M = 1.42$, $SD = 1.80$). For men, there was no difference between the honor prime and control conditions, $p > .05$.

In terms of participants' CES scores, there was no effect of gender and condition, and no interaction between them, all p 's $> .05$.

Since *perspective* item of the AMQ had two possible outcomes (field vs. observer view), a binary logistic regression was conducted to test whether there is an effect of condition, gender, and honor endorsement level on memory perspective. Again, 3-model strategy that was applied for the autobiographical memory characteristics was used. The third model, where all main effects, all 2-way interactions, and the 3-way interaction were present was marginally significant, $\chi^2(7) = 13.94$, $p = .052$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .17$. The 3-way interaction showed that as HVS scores of women in the honor prime condition increased, their likelihood of reporting memories from an observer (3rd person) perspective increased. However, as HVS scores of men in the honor prime condition increased, their likelihood of reporting memories from an observer perspective decreased (See Table 2, Figure 3).

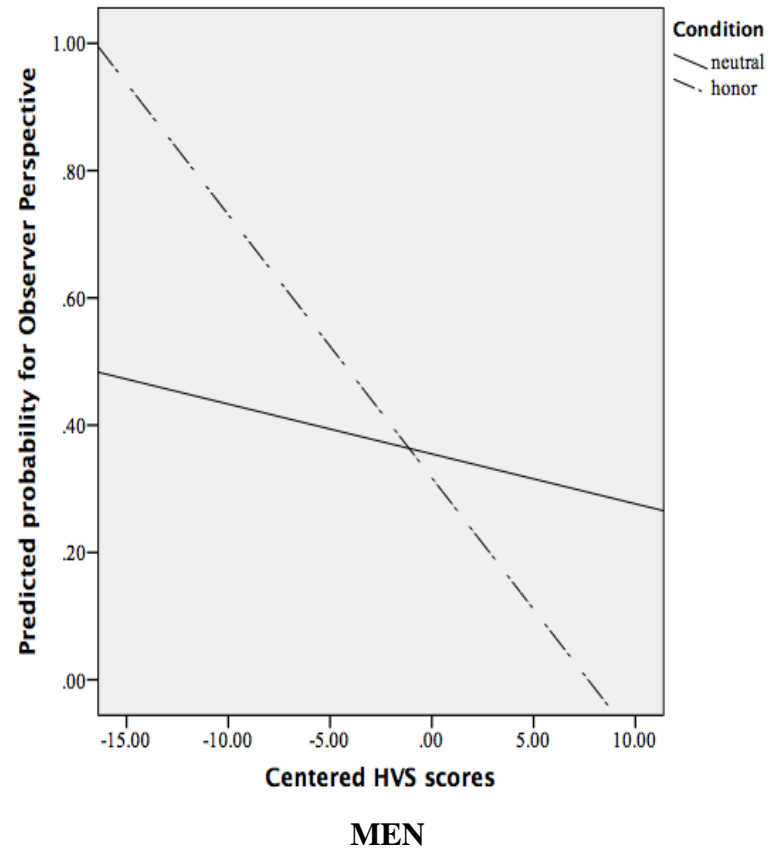
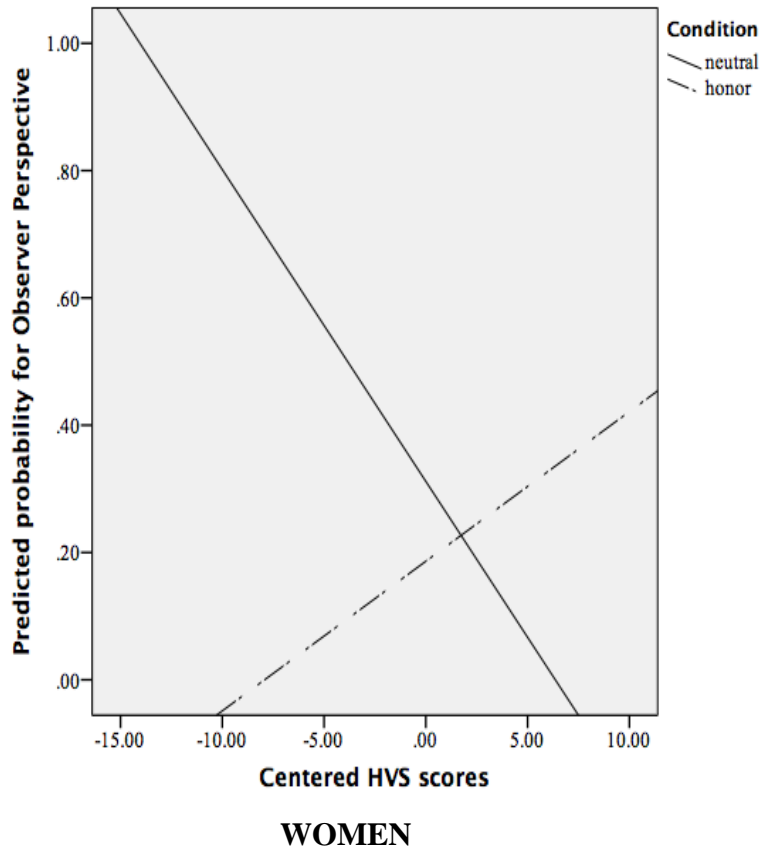


Figure 3. Women and Men's Predicted Probabilities for Remembering Memories From an Observer (3rd Person) Perspective, as a Function of Condition and Honor Endorsement

2.6 Discussion

Study 1 explored male and female Turkish undergraduates' autobiographical narratives when they were placed in an honor context via priming or not. Among autobiographical memory characteristics we coded, we found significant differences in terms of memory content, people in memories, and agency. Regarding memory content, gender-defining memories of women in honor prime condition became less likely to have a familial theme as their honor endorsement level increased, compared to men in the honor prime condition. This pattern was consistent with the finding regarding family members mentioned in the narratives. However, in terms of friends and romantic partners that were present in the narratives, our findings had the opposite pattern: Memories of women in the honor prime condition were more likely to include friends and romantic partners as their honor endorsement level increased. In contrast, men in the honor prime condition were less likely to mention friends and romantic partners in their gender-defining memories as their honor endorsement level increased. These findings might seem inconsistent with the literature on gendered honor norms regarding the relationship between family and feminine honor concerns. However, considering that family relations are assigned at birth whereas friends and romantic partners are typically chosen more freely by oneself, we were forced to ponder an interesting potential. That is, these findings might be suggesting that a psychological reactance emerged in women's autobiographical memory processes. More specifically, considering the link between honor and women's responsibilities against their families to protect their feminine and familial honor and that failure to fulfill such responsibilities typically bring heavy costs (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001), women may choose to react by downplaying family as a theme in their narrative when an honor context is highlighted. Especially, given that our

sample consisted of university students that have socialized in the individualistic context of Boğaziçi University, it makes sense that they view familial pressure to defend honor as burdensome, and they might care more for the network of affiliations they build by themselves, such as friends and romantic partners, thereby relinking the concept of honor with their new communities. Conversely, as men have more traditional attitudes towards the concept of honor and sex roles (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011), even in university contexts (Gürsoy & Arslan Özkan, 2014), they might still have cognitive schemas emphasizing the link between honor and family, rather than their secondary (chosen) relational and collective ties. Since men are seen as protectors of the family honor in cultures of honor (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001), importance of familial themes might become prominent in their autobiographical narratives after an honor-related prime, especially if they endorse honor norms.

In terms of agency, our results revealed that women gave less gender-defining memories that included agency, compared to men. This finding was consistent with previous studies reporting the same gender difference in autobiographical narratives (Davis, 1999; Wang & Conway, 2004). This gender difference could be read in terms of pan-cultural gender attributes suggested by Rodriguez Mosquera (2011), which prescribe males a more independent and autonomous role, whereas women are expected to be more interconnected.

Regarding honor-related dimensions, we found that men mentioned risk-taking tendencies in their narratives more frequently than women, although the overall frequency of mentioning risk-taking behavior was low. Even though Barnes et al. (2012) found that both men and women reported higher risk-taking tendencies when honor-endorsement is high, this finding still can be explained by the precarious nature of

manhood (Vandello et al., 2008). Since manhood requires social validation, unlike womanhood, which is biologically given, men need to prove their masculine identity by exhibiting how “tough” they are. This explanation gains support with a deeper look into the narratives that contain risk-taking tendencies, since most of these narratives focus on standing up to a physically stronger opponent in a fight, which is also consistent with previous studies revealing aggressive tendencies of insulted men from cultures of honor (e.g., Cohen et al., 1996). We would expect a parallel pattern for provocation theme and life-threatening events - which include fights, physical assaults in terms of content-coding in narratives - however, we could not find an effect regarding these dimensions. Interestingly, men’s narratives included more honor-enhancing situations compared to women, after the honor prime. Also, men reported more honor-enhancing and honor-attacking situations after the honor prime, compared to control condition; while women were not affected by the prime in terms of mentioning these situations. This pattern also suggests that the concept of honor, like the precarious nature of masculine identity (Vandello et al., 2008), is in need of both promotion and defense for men more than it is for women.

In terms of phenomenological properties of memories, we found differences in terms of memory perspective, difficulty of retrieval, age at event, and emotional valence.⁹ In terms of perspective, we found that women in honor condition were more

⁹ We had no expectations regarding these aspects of gender-defining memories. However, some of them may point out to interesting phenomena. For instance, given that manhood is precarious (Vandello et al., 2008), men (but not women) may have felt a greater need to construct their gender-defining memories in a way that affirms their masculinity. Because of this, our finding showing that men in honor prime condition had more difficulty in retrieval of their gender-defining memories may have occurred due to a stronger deliberation while formulating their narratives. In addition, the finding regarding age at event is inconsistent with the ABM literature showing that women report memories from an earlier age (e.g., Fivush & Nelson, 2004), and therefore needs more investigation. Finally, the finding showing that higher

likely to report their memories from an observer (3rd person) perspective as their honor endorsement scores increased, compared to men in honor condition, who were more likely to report their memories from a field (1st person) perspective as their honor endorsement level increased. This finding suggests that the women in our sample, like men, were affected by the honor prime, and the activation of the honor concept influences their higher cognitive processes. More importantly, previous research suggests that changing the perspective from field to observer is related to distancing oneself from the event in the memory and having a stronger sense of control over it (Robinson, 1996). For women, an honor prime and stronger honor endorsement might be associated with loss of control, since feminine honor and female sex role are associated with deference and submissiveness (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011). Also, previous studies showed that taking the third person perspective decreases the emotional arousal of the event that was remembered (Robinson & Swanson, 1993). If honor has negative connotations for women as suspected, perspective changing might function to decrease negative affect and therefore might serve as a defensive mechanism for women.

emotional positivity ratings given by women in honor prime condition, compared to women in control condition was unexpected and also requires further investigation.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2

Our first study revealed interesting preliminary results in terms of how being socialized in an honor culture and the temporary activation of the honor concept might influence people's gender-defining memories. In hindsight, it may have been too ambitious to expect such influence to show clearly in the memories collected in this study. For instance, the setting in which data was collected (Boğaziçi University campus) presented a striking contrast to traditional honor norms in operation in other Turkish contexts. As mentioned earlier, Boğaziçi University campus embodies liberal American values such as individualism and respect for personal preferences and choices. As a consequence of being socialized in broader Turkish culture as well as the individualistic setting of this campus, our students can be considered “biculturals” in the sense of having both honor and dignity values in their repertoires. This suggests that it may be important to measure endorsement of both honor and dignity values in the current sample.

The individualistic culture of the data collection setting may also have rendered the prime too weak to influence the complicated process of choosing events from memory and constructing narratives. Also, the absence of a dedicated manipulation check creates further difficulty of interpretation. Furthermore, these memories were required to be “gender-defining”, making them highly likely to have been rehearsed frequently in the past and thus further decreasing their likelihood of being influenced by an experimental prime. Earlier studies investigating effects of cultural primes on autobiographical memories also suggest that self-construal priming may not work on

well-established memories, but this procedure might affect newly encoded memories more strongly (Wang & Ross, 2005). The reason behind the lack of a consistent effect of honor endorsement could be due to the HVS (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008), which may have failed to capture multi-dimensional nature of the honor concept.

However, Study I revealed some leads into how we could more efficiently examine honor in relation to memories. For instance, men in the honor prime condition were more likely to mention at least one honor-enhancing situation compared to men in the control condition, and had the same tendency in terms of their memories that include honor-attacking situations, although the model itself was not significant for the latter effect. We deemed this pattern worth exploring in more detail by directly asking for narratives that include honor-enhancing and honor-attacking situations that participants experienced, and testing how the autobiographical memory characteristics change compared to memories that are not focused on honor. In other words, in Study II, we aimed to explore how personal memories that are explicitly instructed to contain an honor-related theme differ compared to other personal memories. These other personal memories should have not been gender-themed memories, since honor and gender themes have overlapping characteristics as previous studies suggest (e.g., Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011) and as our first study revealed. Therefore, we asked one group of participants to report important (non-honor) autobiographical memories, one group to report a memory involving an honor-enhancing situation, and one group to report a memory involving an honor-attacking situation. Also, in this study participants' honor-endorsement level was measured considering their attributes towards both gender-neutral and gender-related honor norms, in order to take a more coherent picture of honor into consideration (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011). As in the first study, contents,

phenomenological properties of the memories, and centrality of the events reported in memories in participants' lives were examined.

Effects of gender and memory type on autobiographical memory characteristics, honor-related patterns, and phenomenological properties of the memories are the focus of this study. Also, since agreement with inalienable versus socially conferred personal worth (Leung & Cohen, 2011) and attitudes towards sex roles (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011) were previously shown to be related to honor endorsement levels, we also explored the potential link between these variables and participants' honor endorsement.

3.1 Expectations regarding autobiographical memory characteristics

Specificity and integration dimensions of honor-enhancing, honor-attacking and important (non-honor) memories were explored. In terms of memory content, achievement was expected to be most prevalent in honor-enhancing memories, since it is among the honor-enhancing situations stated by a Turkish sample in a previous study (Uskul et al., 2012). Since both honor-enhancing and attacking situations include relational references according to Uskul et al.'s (2012) findings, no difference between these two types of memories was expected in terms of the relational content of the memories, but they were expected to be more likely to include relationship themes, compared to non-honor memories. Specific types of relationship themes in the memories were explored in terms of a possible interaction between gender and memory type, since findings of our previous study revealed inconsistent results in terms of relationship subcategories. In terms of life-threatening events, an interaction between gender and memory type was expected. More specifically, events including physical assaults were expected to be most frequent in men's honor-attacking memories and least frequent in

their honor-enhancing memories. In terms of people in memories, family members mentioned in the narratives were expected to be most prevalent in honor-attacking memories, and least prevalent in important memories, since family and honor concepts are closely related and family has a fragile role in individual's sense of honor considering honor-attacking situations in Turkish context (van Osch et al., 2003). Whether there would be an interaction between memory type and gender was also a question of interest in terms of family members that were mentioned in the narratives, especially regarding the findings of our previous study. In terms of agency, no difference between honor-enhancing and honor-attacking memories was expected, since participants were expected to take action to be able experience an honor-enhancing situation, and also to repair their honor after it is attacked. But memories including agency were expected to be more frequent in honor-themed memories, compared to non-honor memories. Since honor cultures prescribe a submissive role to women (Ijzerman & Cohen, 2011), this pattern was expected to be more prevalent among men.

In terms of emotional content, pride would be most prevalent in honor-enhancing memories, and shame would be most prevalent in honor-attacking memories. Since honor-enhancement carries a promotion-focus, whereas an attack to honor would trigger a prevention focus (Higgins, 1996), in honor-enhancing memories cheerfulness-related would be rated higher than quiescence-related emotions, and in honor-attacking memories agitation-related emotions would be rated higher than dejection-related emotions (Higgins et al., 1997). In addition, emotional positivity would be highest in honor-enhancing memories and lowest in honor-attacking memories.

These findings were expected to be more prevalent as participants' honor-endorsement scores increased.

3.2 Expectations regarding honor-related dimensions

Honor-related dimensions of the memories were also explored. Provocation was expected to be more prevalent in honor-attacking memories, compared to the other type of memories. In terms of risk-taking tendencies, no difference was expected between honor-enhancing and honor-attacking memories. One should demonstrate risk-taking behaviors as a sign of bravery (Barnes et al., 2012) and one should also take risks and confront those who challenge their honor (Cohen et al., 1996), especially when it affects their reputation in the eyes of others (Cross, Uskul, Gercek-Swing, Alozkan, & Ataca, 2012). Besides expecting no difference between honor-themed narratives, we expected these narratives to be more likely to include risk-taking behaviors, compared to non-honor memories. Based on the findings of our first study, men's narratives would be more likely to exhibit this pattern than women's. In terms of audience, we expected that honor-themed memories would be more likely to include an audience, compared to non-honor memories, since honor is an important concept regarding how the individual is seen in the eyes of others in the Turkish context (Uskul et al., 2012). However, difference between honor-enhancing and honor-attacking memories in terms of the audience reference might be twofold: Since, gaining honor needs social validation, especially for men (Vandello et al., 2008), men's honor-enhancing memories might be more likely to include audience. However, as indicated by Uskul et al.'s (2012) findings, a reference to audience might be more prevalent among honor-attacking memories. An interaction between gender and memory type was expected regarding the audience type in line with Uskul et al. (2012). Accordingly, in honor-attacking memories, men would be more likely to mention relational audiences, compared to women; whereas in honor-enhancing memories, men would mention collective audiences more frequently than

women. Lastly, honor dimensions identified by Cross et al. (2014) would be most likely to be present in honor-enhancing memories, and least likely to be present in honor-attacking memories.

These findings were expected to be more prevalent as participants' honor-endorsement scores increase.

3.3 Expectations regarding phenomenological experiences

Phenomenological properties of the memories were explored to see whether there are effects of memory type and honor endorsement on memories' rehearsal, reliving, imagery, and narrative coherence. Regarding the previous literature showing that Turkish participants focus more on negations regarding the concept of honor (Cross et al., 2014), one could expect that this prevention focus would lead them to rehearse personal experiences involving negative honor-related situations more. Regarding the perspective of the memory, honor-themed memories were expected to be reported from an observer (3rd person) perspective, since how individual is seen by others plays an important role in cultures of honor (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Also, an interaction between gender and memory type was expected, but the nature of this interaction might be twofold: Women could be more likely to report their honor-themed memories from an observer (3rd person) perspective compared to men, regarding the results of our first study. However, considering Uskul et al.'s (2012) findings, which revealed the importance of audience in honor-related situations reported by men, men might be more likely to internalize an audience perspective and may tend to report their honor-related memories from an observer (3rd person) perspective, compared to women.

Regarding the importance and centrality of the reported events in participants' lives, honor-themed memories were expected to be more important and central to participants' lives, since honor and self are closely related concepts in the Turkish context (Novin et al., 2015). Since Turkish individuals have a wider repertoire in terms of honor-attacking situations, compared to honor-enhancing situations (Uskul et al., 2014), this would reflect on the centrality they assign to their memories. That is, honor-attacking memories would have higher CES scores. Also, women's centrality ratings on their honor-related narratives were expected to be higher than men's narratives, as Uskul et al. (2012) found that women attach more positivity to honor-enhancing situations, and more negativity to honor-attacking situations.

These findings were expected to be more prevalent as participants' honor-endorsement scores increase.

3.4 Method

3.4.1 Participants

One hundred and fourteen female (38 in honor-enhancing condition, 38 in honor-attacking condition, and 38 in non-honor condition) and 97 male (33 in honor-enhancing condition, 33 in honor-attacking condition, and 31 in non-honor condition) Boğaziçi University undergraduate students that did not participate in Study I participated in the present study in return for course credit. Participants were randomly assigned to three memory type conditions. Six participants did not fill out honor-endorsement measure, 2 participants did not provide any memories, and 4 participants provided memories that

did not meet the autobiographical memory criteria (Conway, 2009). Data from these participants excluded from the analyses. Therefore, data from 109 female (37 in honor-enhancing condition, 35 in honor-attacking condition, and 37 in non-honor condition) and 90 male (30 in honor-enhancing condition, 30 in honor-attacking condition, and 30 in non-honor condition) participants were included in the analyses reported below. Data were collected by 5 experimenters. There were no differences in terms of gender distribution ($\chi^2(4) = 0.71, p > .05$) and memory type distribution ($\chi^2(8) = 1.60, p > .05$) among the data collected by these experimenters.

3.4.2 Materials

3.4.2.1 Honor Attributes Scale (HAS)

We used an adapted version of Honor Attributes Scale that was developed by Rodriguez Mosquera (2011). It contains 24 attributes (9 gender-neutral, 8 masculine honor, 7 feminine honor) to be rated on a 5-point Likert scale (0 – *not important at all* to 5 – *very important*) in terms of personal importance. More specifically, participants were asked to rate the personal importance of attributes regarding an ideal individual (for gender-neutral attributes), an ideal man (for masculine attributes), and an ideal woman (for feminine attributes). Instructions of the original scale were normative in terms of asking desirability ratings of all three types of attributes considering both sexes in their culture. However, since we were interested in personal endorsement level of these gender-specific and gender-neutral attributes, we adapted these instructions to ask for personal importance ratings (see Appendix I). Another reason for choosing the HAS to measure

honor endorsement levels was its including both gender-neutral and gender-specific honor dimensions allowing us to capture all types of honor concerns. Also, asking for personal importance ratings of honor attributes was a more bias-free method, compared to asking the importance ratings of honor “concerns”, which were negative statements by their nature. Measuring participants’ honor-endorsement level based on their ratings of prevention-focused statements would carry the risk of creating a biased sample considering that these participants provided honor-attacking and honor-enhancing memories and that such memories were highly likely to be focused on prevention versus promotion, respectively. Finally, given that this scale was administered in a university sample, it was important to consider the familiarity of the statements to young adults. Ratings of honor attributes did not pose a threat in terms of familiarity, unlike other scales that measure honor concerns by asking loaded honor-related statements, which may not have been familiar for Boğaziçi University students. Translation of this scale was done by the current research team. The HAS had high internal consistency in the present sample, Cronbach’s $\alpha = .90$.

3.4.2.2 Inalienable vs. socially conferred worth questions

These questions were developed by Leung and Cohen (2011) and measure whether self-worth is seen as inalienable (e.g., “How others treat me is irrelevant to my worth as a person”) or socially-conferred on a 7-point Likert scale (1 -*I do not agree at all* to 7- *I totally agree*, see Appendix J). Higher scores refer to agreement with inalienable worth (a characteristic of dignity cultures), whereas lower scores refer to agreement with socially conferred worth (a characteristic of honor and face cultures). To our knowledge,

these questions have never been used with a Turkish sample. Translation of this scale was done by the current research team. These questions had sufficient internal consistency in the present sample, Cronbach's $\alpha = .69$.

3.4.2.3 BEM Sex Roles Inventory (BSRI)

This inventory was developed by Bem (1974) and adapted to Turkish by Kavuncu (1987). Original version of BSRI contains 20 masculine (e.g., assertive, dominant), 20 feminine (e.g., affectionate, understanding) and 20 gender-neutral (e.g., reliable, conscientious) traits. These traits are rated on the degree to which they are self-defining using a 7-point Likert scale (1 – *almost never true* to 7 – *almost always true*). We used only masculinity and femininity subscales of this inventory for the purposes of the current study (see Appendix K). These subscales exhibited sufficient reliability in previous studies with Turkish samples (Femininity $\alpha = .73$, Masculinity $\alpha = .75$, Dökmen, 1991), as well as in the present sample (Femininity $\alpha = .83$, Masculinity $\alpha = .82$). Participants' overall scores on this inventory were calculated by subtracting averaged femininity scores from averaged masculinity scores for men, and subtracting averaged masculinity scores from averaged femininity scores for women.

3.4.2.4 Memory instructions

Among three memory type conditions, one group of participants was asked to report a memory about an honor-enhancing situation they experienced and another group reported a memory about an honor-attacking experience. Instructions regarding the honor-enhancing (see Appendix L) and the honor-attacking memories (see Appendix M)

were adaptations of instructions that Uskul et al. (2012) used to collect honor-enhancing and honor-attacking situations. In a third group (control condition), participants were asked to report an autobiographical memory that was important for them (see Appendix N). Before reporting memories, participants in the honor-enhancing and honor-attacking memory conditions were asked to define what “honor” (“onur/şeref/namus” as Turkish translation) meant for them, as a warm-up exercise (Uskul et al., 2012). In control condition, this warm-up exercise asked what the concept of memory meant for them. In all three conditions, participants were instructed to provide a memory (rather than being a phenomenon, fact, or situation) (a) that was related to their own life, (b) that had a specific start and end, (c) that they clearly remembered, (d) that happened at a specific place and time, and (e) that was older than one year. Participants were instructed to write their memories as detailed as possible.

3.4.2.5 Control questions

In all three conditions, participants were asked to rate the event in the memory they reported on 4 dimensions using a 5-point Likert scale (1 – *not at all* to 5 – *extremely*): honor-relatedness, the degree to which their honor was enhanced in the event, the degree to which their honor was attacked in the event, and importance of the event for them (see Appendix O).

3.4.2.6 Autobiographical Memory Questionnaire (AMQ)

The adapted version of the AMQ (Rubin et al., 2003) that was used in Study I was given to the participants regarding their reported memories (see Appendix E). Continuous

items of this questionnaire exhibited sufficient internal consistency in the present sample, Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$.

3.4.2.7 Centrality of Event Scale (CES)

The 7-item version of the CES (Berntsen & Rubin, 2006) that was used in Study I was given to the participants regarding their reported memories (see Appendix F). The CES had high internal consistency in the present sample, Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$.

3.4.2.8 Emotion ratings

Participants were asked to rate their memories regarding the degree to which they felt proud and shameful in the event they reported; since these emotions were shown to be important in honor cultures (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000, 2002a). They also rated their memories regarding the degree to which they felt guilt in the event. Memories were also rated on the degree to which they contain cheerfulness-related emotions (*cheerful, enthusiastic, satisfied*), quiescence-related emotions (*peaceful, calm, relaxed, quiet*), dejection-related emotions (*disappointed, discouraged, low, sad*), and agitation-related emotions (*agitated, on edge, uneasy, tense*).¹⁰ This scale is an adaptation and extension of the Emotional Frequency Questionnaire (Higgins et al., 1997) and the instruction was adapted to measure the intensity of the given emotion in reported memories, rather than emotional frequency in the last week (see Appendix P). All ratings were done on a 7-point Likert scale (1- *not at all* to 7 – *intensely*).

¹⁰ These emotion words were adapted by the current authors from Higgins et al. (1997).

3.4.3 Memory coding

Autobiographical memory characteristics and honor-related dimensions were coded in the present study as in Study I except for minor differences. In the present data, Achievement subcategory of Content dimension was coded regarding the outcome of the event: Success and Failure. Guilt/Shame subcategory of Content dimension was eliminated, since Shame was coded under honor-related dimension according to both explicit and thematic mentioning, and also participants provided personal ratings regarding both guilt and shame. Among honor-related dimensions, type of Risk-Taking Behavior was also coded in the present study, regarding whether the behavior took place before or after the central event happened, since we expected a difference between honor-enhancing and honor-attacking memories in terms of the occurrence time of the risk-taking behavior. Both autobiographical memory characteristics and honor-related dimensions were coded by two independent coders (all kappa's $> .97$). Disagreements were resolved either by discussion, or by asking a third party who was trained on these dimensions.

3.4.4 Procedure

Honor Attributes Scale, Inalienable/Socially-Conferred Worth Questions and the Bem Sex Roles Inventory were sent to a pool of undergraduate students at Boğaziçi University as part of an online battery of measures. Participants who filled out the online battery were invited to the Social Psychology Lab at Boğaziçi University Psychology Department, one and half month after they filled out the battery. When they came to the lab, they were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: Honor-enhancing memory,

Honor-attacking memory, and Important memory. After the warm-up exercise, they were asked to report one memory in all three conditions. After participants reported their memories, they were asked to fill out the control questions, the AMQ, the CES, and give emotion ratings regarding each memory. At the end, participants filled out the demographics, debriefed, and thanked for their participation. All materials were presented on a computer screen, using MediaLab software (Empirisoft, 2012).

3.5 Results

3.5.1 Primary analyses

Table 4 shows the descriptive values of continuous measures that were used in the present study.

Table 4. Descriptive Values of the Continuous Measures in Study 2

	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
Age	20.85	0.11
HAS	2.92	0.05
HAS(centered)	0.003	0.05
IWQ	4.29	0.09
BEM	0.33	0.06

Notes:

HAS = Honor Attributes Scale

IWQ = Inalienable (vs. socially conferred) worth questions

BEM = BEM Sex Roles Inventory

Since we were interested in how honor-endorsement level (measured by HAS) was linked to scores on inalienable worth questions (IWQ), and BEM Sex Roles

Inventory, we examined correlations among these variables. As shown in the Table 5, there was no link among these variables, all p 's > .05. That there was no relationship between endorsement of honor values and dignity values in our current sample alleviated our concerns that these are simply the ends of a single continuum. That is, HAS does not simply represent the lack of dignity values but measures active endorsement of honor values. Also, we found no relationship between participants' honor-endorsement scores and their scores on BEM Sex Roles Inventory, suggesting that honor and gender are not the same constructs.

Table 5. Correlations Among the Scores on HAS, IWQ, and BEM Sex Roles Inventory in Study 2

	HAS	IWQ	BEM
HAS			
IWQ	-0.10		
BEM	0.09	0.05	

Notes:

HAS = Honor Attributes Scale

IWQ = Inalienable (vs. socially conferred) worth questions

BEM = BEM Sex Roles Inventory

3.5.2 Manipulation check

Memory contents were analyzed in terms of the degree of their honor-relatedness both using the subjective ratings of the memories on the control questions we asked and the objective coding regarding honor-enhancing and honor-attacking situations the memories included.

Regarding participants' subjective ratings on control questions, we found that honor-enhancing ($M = 3.30$, $SD = 1.03$) and honor-attacking memories ($M = 3.19$, $SD =$

1.13) were rated as more honor-related than important memories ($M = 2.12, SD = 1.33$) and there was no difference between honor-enhancing and honor-attacking memories in terms of honor-relatedness, $F(2, 196) = 20.59, MSE = 1.37, p < .001, \eta^2 = .17$. Honor-enhancing memories ($M = 3.82, SD = 1.06$) were rated highest in terms of the degree to which participants' honor was enhanced in the event, while there was no difference between honor attacking ($M = 1.72, SD = 1.14$) and important memories ($M = 2.15, SD = 1.42$), $F(2, 196) = 55.31, MSE = 1.48, p < .001, \eta^2 = .36$. Similarly, honor-attacking memories ($M = 3.55, SD = 1.17$) were rated highest in terms of the degree to which participants' honor was attacked in the event, while there was no difference between honor enhancing ($M = 1.85, SD = 1.36$) and important memories ($M = 1.67, SD = 1.21$), $F(2, 196) = 45.19, MSE = 1.57, p < .001, \eta^2 = .32$. In terms of personal importance ratings of the memories, there was no difference among three types of memories, $F(2, 196) = 2.40, MSE = 1.19, p > .05, \eta^2 = .03$.

Regarding the coded dimensions, honor-enhancing situations were most often reported in the honor-enhancing memory condition (90%) ($\chi^2(2, 199) = 124.08, p < .001$). 16% of the important memories and 3% of the honor-attacking memories included honor-enhancing situations. Also, honor-attacking situations were most often reported in the honor-attacking memory condition (89%) ($\chi^2(2, 199) = 77.38, p < .001$). 23% of the honor-enhancing memories and 24% of the important memories included honor-attacking situations.¹¹

¹¹ We did not exclude honor-enhancing memories that include honor-attacking situations, or vice versa, from the data since honor is a complex structure in terms of containing the need for both keeping/defending it, and enhancing it (Peristiany, 1974). Therefore it is natural to see both types of situations in honor-themed narratives. Also, since Turkey is an honor culture in which honor has a deterministic role in individuals' behavior (e.g., Uskul et al., 2015), it is not surprising to see honor-related themes also in important memories. Therefore, we did not exclude important memories that include honor-

3.5.3 Memory dimensions

Regarding autobiographical memory characteristics and honor-related dimensions, a strategy of analysis similar to Study 1 was followed in the present study. Majority of these analyses were conducted via binary logistic regressions, since all of these were dichotomous outcome variables. In order to examine whether memory type, gender, and honor endorsement level (average HAS scores) predicted the likelihood of the presence of these dimensions in the narratives, stepwise models with 3 blocks were built using a forward entry method. Since honor endorsement level was a continuous predictor, raw scores were centered around the grand mean, as suggested by Aiken and West (1991). In the first step, main effects of memory type, gender, and honor endorsement level were entered. In the second step, all 2-way interactions among these 3 predictors were added to the model. In the final step, the 3-way interaction among predictors was added to the model. The linearity assumption regarding HAS scores was met. No missing values were present in the regression analyses on the dimensions reported below. All of the models reported below provided good fit based on Hosmer and Lemeshow statistic, all p 's > .05.

Frequencies regarding the presence of the coded autobiographical memory characteristics and honor-related dimensions were given in Table 6.

related situations as well in order to preserve the natural structure of the memories given by the participants.

Table 6. Frequencies Regarding the Presence of the Coded Autobiographical Memory Characteristics and Honor-Related Dimensions in Study 2

Dimension	Women	Men
Specificity	85	77
Integration	12	20
Rel. - Family	30	17
Rel. - Friend	30	34
Rel. - Love	6	7
Rel. - Other	47	49
Success	31	29
Failure	10	9
LTE (Physical assault TO oneself)	1	8
LTE (Physical assault BY oneself)	1	4
Provocation	38	38
Risk-taking behavior	11	24
PIM - Family	37	19
PIM - Friend	44	47
PIM - Love	6	7
PIM - Social	54	55
PIM - Social Authority	34	34
PIM - Dyadic	51	47
Agency	83	82
Audience	51	56
Honor-enhancing situation	39	34
Honor-attacking situation	46	43
Social Status/Respect	58	58
Moral Behavior	15	17
Self Respect	53	46
Helping Others	11	4
Pride	35	31
Shame	22	16
TOTAL	109	90

Notes:

Frequencies were given regarding the presence of the dimension in the narratives. Total number shows the total number of men and women in the sample.

3.5.3.1 Autobiographical memory characteristics

Specificity. Due to the low frequency of memories under the Specific Type 3 and Generic categories, memories were grouped as Specific (Type 1, Type 2, Type 3) and Non-specific (Episodic, Generic, Other) memories. Among the three models, the third model which includes all the main effects, 2-way interactions, and the 3-way interaction was significant, $\chi^2(11) = 31.07, p = .001$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .23$. In this model, there was an interaction between memory type and HAS scores, $\chi^2(2) = 6.20, p < .05$. However, this 2-way interaction was superseded by the 3-way interaction among memory type, gender, and HAS scores, $\chi^2(2) = 6.18, p < .05$ (See Table 7). As HAS scores of the women in honor-attacking memory condition increased, they were less likely to report specific memories. However, men in honor-enhancing memory condition were more likely to provide specific memories as their HAS scores increased (See Figure 4).

Integration. Due to insufficient number of memories under the Integrative Type 1 category, memories were grouped as Integrative (Type 1, Type 2) and Non-integrative (Type 1, Type 2, Other) memories. The first model that included main effects provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 11.65, p < .05$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .10$. In this model, both memory type ($\chi^2(2) = 6.53, p < .05$), and gender ($\chi^2(1) = 4.92, p < .05$) significantly predicted the likelihood of providing integrative memories. Memories in the honor-enhancing (25%) condition were more likely to be integrative, compared to the honor-attacking (11%) and the important memories (12%). Also, women (11%) were less likely to provide integrative memories, compared to men (22%) (See Table 7).

Content. Every subcategory of this dimension was analyzed by using separate binary logistic regression analyses. Among the subcategories of Relationship, there was a significant contribution of models only for the prediction of "Relationship-other".

Table 7. Summary of Binary Logistic Regression Analyses for Levels of the Predictors of Autobiographical Memory Characteristics in Study 2

Dimension	Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e^B</i>
Specificity	Honor-attacking * Gender *			
	HAS	-5.06**	2.05	0.01
Integration	Honor-enhancing	0.96*	0.48	2.61
	Gender	-0.91*	0.41	0.40
Relationship-Other	Honor-enhancing	1.55***	0.38	4.70
	Honor-attacking	1.23***	0.38	3.42
Success	Honor-enhancing	1.2*	0.57	3.33
Failure	Honor-enhancing	-2.67**	1.06	0.07
Physical assault to oneself	Gender	-2.41*	1.08	0.09
PIM-Family	Honor-enhancing	-1.28***	0.41	0.28
	Honor-attacking	-0.95*	0.39	0.39
	Gender	0.68*	0.34	1.98
PIM-Social	Honor-enhancing	0.93**	0.36	2.53
	Honor-attacking	0.66*	0.36	1.97
Agency	Honor-enhancing	0.41	0.54	1.51
	Honor-attacking	-0.75	0.46	0.47
	Gender	-1.23**	0.44	0.29

Notes:

e^B = exponentiated B

All predictors coded as 1 for present and 0 for absent; and gender was coded as 1 for women and 0 for men.

Scores on the Honor Attributes Scale (HAS) were centered around the grand mean.

Important memory condition is the reference category.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

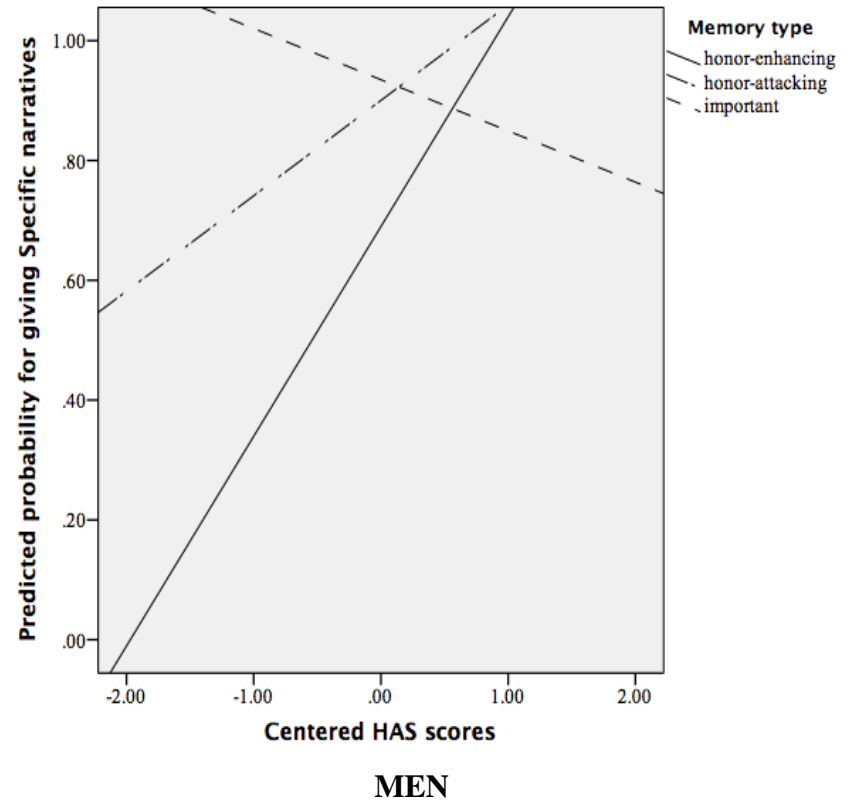
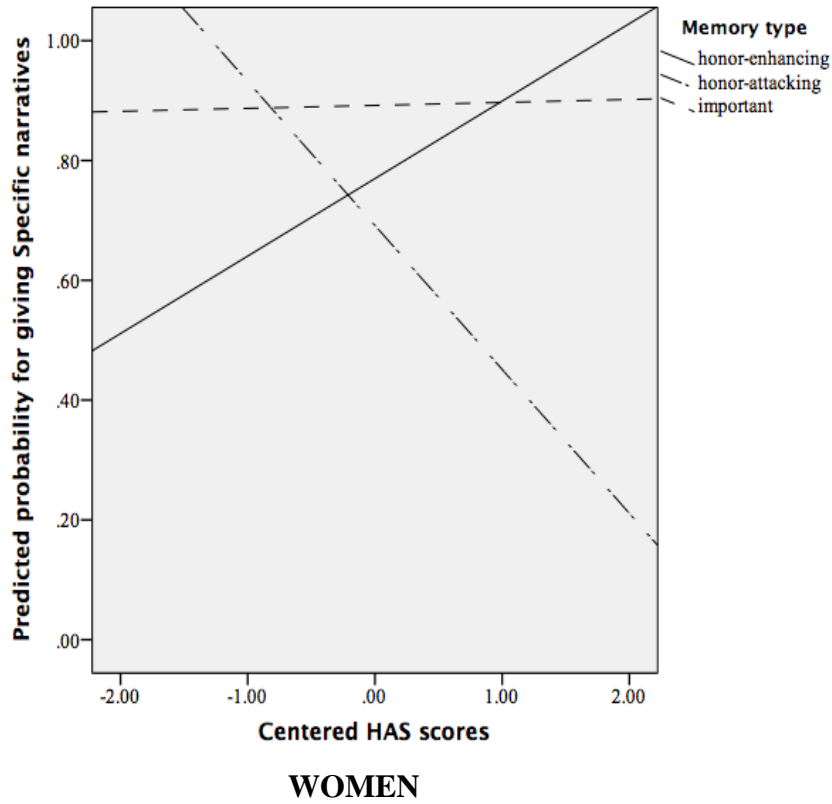


Figure 4. Women and Men's Predicted Probabilities for Reporting Specific Memories, as a Function of Memory Type and Honor Endorsement

For “Relationship-other”, the first model that included main effects provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 22.95, p < .001$, Nagelkerke’s $R^2 = .15$. In this model, memory type significantly predicted the probability of giving memories that included a relationship with a social member (i.e. other than family, friend, romantic partner), $\chi^2(2) = 18.27, p < .001$. There was more reference to a relationship with a social member in honor-enhancing (63%) and honor-attacking memories (55%), compared to important memories (27%) (See Table 7). There was no difference between honor-themed memories in terms of Relationship-other subcategory.

Regarding Success category, the third model provided the best fit, $\chi^2(11) = 68.46, p < .001$, Nagelkerke’s $R^2 = .41$. However, only memory type was a significant predictor, $\chi^2(2) = 12.78, p < .01$ (See Table 7). Providing success-related content was most likely in honor-enhancing-memory condition (61%), followed by important memory (22%), then honor-attacking memory conditions (6%).¹² Regarding Failure category, the first model provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 12.50, p = .01$, Nagelkerke’s $R^2 = .13$. Again, memory type was a significant predictor, $\chi^2(2) = 7.33, p < .05$ (See Table 7). Giving a failure-related content was most likely in important memory condition (18%), followed by honor-attacking memory (9%) and honor-enhancing memory conditions (2%).

For Physical Assault to Oneself subcategory of Life-threatening Events, the first model provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 17.60, p = .001$, Nagelkerke’s $R^2 = .28$. In this model, gender was the only significant predictor, $\chi^2(2) = 4.98, p < .05$. Women were less

¹² While the regression model showed no difference between honor-attacking and important memories in terms of the success-related content, a z-test for proportions revealed a difference between these two conditions, $z = -2.66, p < .05$.

likely to give memories including physical assault to them, compared to men (See Table 7). On the other hand, Physical Assault *by Oneself* subcategory of Life-threatening Events was not analyzed due to the low frequency of memories including this type of event.

People in Memories. In terms of the likelihood of mentioning Family members in the narratives, the first model was significant, $\chi^2(4) = 16.17, p < .01$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .11$. In this model, memory type ($\chi^2(2) = 11.54, p < .01$) and gender ($\chi^2(1) = 4.05, p < .05$) were significant predictors of probability of mentioning family members in the narratives. Participants were most likely to mention their family members in their narratives in important memory condition (43%), than honor-enhancing (18%) and honor-attacking (23%) memory conditions, while there was no difference between the two honor conditions. Also, women (34%) were more likely to mention their family members in their memories, compared to men (21%) (See Table 7). For the Social category of this dimension, the results were consistent with Relationship-other dimension. A binary logistic regression showed that the first model was significant, $\chi^2(4) = 10.20, p < .05$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .07$. In this model, memory type was a significant predictor, $\chi^2(2) = 7.23, p < .05$. Participants were more likely to mention a social member in honor-enhancing memories (64%) and marginally more likely to mention them in honor-attacking memories (59%), compared to important memories (42%) (See Table 7). There was no difference between the two honor conditions in terms of likelihood of social members being mentioned in the narratives.

Agency. The first model that included main effects provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 15.43, p < .01$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .13$. In this model, memory type was marginally significant ($\chi^2(2) = 6.09, p = .05$), and gender ($\chi^2(1) = 7.80, p < .01$) was significant.

Memories that included agency were more frequent in the honor-enhancing memory condition (90%), compared to the honor-attacking memory condition (74%). Honor-related memories were not different from important memories (85%) in terms of agency. Women (76%) reported less memories that included agency, compared to men (91%) (See Table 7).

3.5.3.2 Honor-related dimensions

Provocation. The first model that included main effects provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 89.45, p < .001$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .49$. In this model, memory type was the only significant predictor, $\chi^2(2) = 62.93, p < .001$. Honor-attacking memories (83%) were more likely to include a provocation theme compared to honor-enhancing (21%) and important memories (12%), while there was no difference between these two types of memories in terms of provocation (See Table 8).

Risk-taking behavior. The first model that included main effects provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 11.04, p < .05$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .09$. Women (10%) were less likely to report memories that included a risk-taking behavior, compared to men (27%), $\chi^2(1) = 9.16, p < .01$ (See Table 8). Memories that included risk-taking behaviors were low in frequency, making it impossible to conduct further analyses on the type (i.e. whether the risk-taking behavior occurred before or after the central event mentioned in the narrative).

Audience. The first model that included main effects provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 21.01, p < .001$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .13$. In this model, memory type ($\chi^2(2) = 15.19, p = .001$) and gender ($\chi^2(1) = 4.85, p < .05$) were significant predictors. Honor-enhancing

Table 8. Summary of Binary Logistic Regression Analyses for Levels of the Predictors of Honor-Related Dimensions in Study 2

Dimension	Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e^B</i>
Provocation	Honor-attacking	3.63***	0.51	37.56
Risk-taking behavior	Gender	-1.21***	0.4	0.30
Audience	Honor-enhancing	1.34***	0.37	3.80
	Honor-attacking	1.14**	0.37	3.13
	Gender	-0.67*	0.3	0.51
Honor-enhancing situation	Honor-enhancing	3.25***	0.75	25.77
	Gender * HAS	-1.63*	0.83	0.20
Honor-attacking situation	Honor-attacking	3.34***	0.5	28.34
Social Status/Respect	Honor-enhancing	2.76***	0.44	15.83
	Honor-attacking	1.78***	0.39	5.95
Moral Behavior	Honor-enhancing	1.65**	0.67	5.20
	Honor-attacking	1.95***	0.66	7.03
Self-Respect	Honor-enhancing	3.73***	0.51	41.76
	Honor-attacking	1.83***	0.44	6.25
Pride	Honor-enhancing	4.65***	0.63	104.73
Shame	Honor-attacking	2.5***	0.53	12.22

Notes:

e^B = exponentiated B

All predictors coded as 1 for present and 0 for absent; and gender was coded as 1 for women and 0 for men.

Scores on the Honor Attributes Scale (HAS) were centered around the grand mean.

Important memory condition is the reference category.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

(66%) and honor-attacking (62%) conditions did not differ but were both more likely to include a reference to an audience compared to the important memory condition (39%). Also, women (47%) were less likely to give memories including a reference to an audience, compared to men (62%) (See Table 8). Also, none of these models provided a good fit regarding audience types (i.e. relational and collective).

Honor-enhancing situation. This dimension was used in manipulation check analyses (see above), however since we were also interested in the possible interactions among the predictors, this category was analyzed by conducting a binary logistic regression analysis by using the same 3-step strategy. One participant was not included in the analysis since his standardized residual was higher than 3 and also had a Cook's distance value higher than 1. The second model that included all main effects and 2-way interactions provided the best fit, $\chi^2(9) = 162.13, p < .001$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .77$. Besides the effect of memory type that was reported above ($\chi^2(2) = 18.72, p < .001$), there was also a marginally significant interaction between gender and HAS scores, $\chi^2(1) = 3.85, p = .05$. As women's HAS scores increased, they were less likely to report honor-enhancing situations in their memories, while this pattern was opposite for men (See Table 8).

Honor-attacking situation. This dimension was also analyzed using the same 3-step binary logistic regression strategy. The first model that included only the main effects provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 87.13, p < .001$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .48$. None of the predictors except the memory type ($\chi^2(2) = 54.35, p < .001$) was significant in this model (See Table 8). As reported above, honor-attacking situations were most often reported in the honor-attacking memory condition (89%), compared to honor-enhancing (23%) and important memories (24%).

Honor dimensions. In the analyses of honor dimensions, subcategories *present* and *negative present* were collapsed due to low frequencies,¹³ and binary logistic analyses were conducted following the 3-step strategy. Regarding the Social Status/Respect dimension, the first model that included the main effects provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 54.96, p < .001$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .36$. Memory type was a significant predictor of the likelihood of reporting a situation related to social status/respect in the memories, $\chi^2(2) = 42.45, p < .001$ (See Table 8). These situations were most prevalent in honor-enhancing memories (84%), followed by honor-attacking memories (66%), and least frequent in important memories (25%) (See Table 8).¹⁴

Regarding the Moral Behavior dimension, the first model that included the main effects provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 13.84, p < .01$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .12$. In this model, memory type was a significant predictor of reporting a situation related to moral behavior in the memories, $\chi^2(2) = 8.80, p < .05$ (See Table 8). These situations were more prevalent among honor-enhancing (19%) and honor-attacking memories (25%) compared to important memories (5%), while there was no difference between honor-related memories.

For the Self-Respect dimension, the first block provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 80.27, p < .001$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .44$. Again, memory type was the only significant predictor, $\chi^2(2) = 54.10, p < .001$. Themes related to Self-Respect were most prevalent in

¹³ For Honor dimension subcategories the distributions were as follows: Social Status/Respect *absent*: 42%, *present*: 34%, *negative present*: 24%; Moral Behavior *absent*: 84%, *present*: 8%, *negative present*: 9%; Self Respect *absent*: 50%, *present*: 42%, *negative present*: 8%; and Helping Others *absent*: 93%, *present*: 7%, *negative present*: 0%.

¹⁴ When a multinomial logistic regression was conducted regarding *absent*, *present*, and *negative present* subcategories of Social Status/Respect dimension, a full-factorial model that includes all main effects and interactions provided a good fit, $\chi^2(12) = 143.19, p < .001$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .58$. In this model, a marginally significant gender effect regarding the *present* subcategory emerged, $\chi^2(1) = 3.60, p = .059$. Accordingly, men were more likely to mention a situation related to the presence of Social Status/Respect theme than women, $B = 1.42, SE = .75, exp(B) = 4.13$.

honor-enhancing memories (87%), followed by honor-attacking memories (49%), and least frequent in important memories (13%) (See Table 8).

Regarding the Helping Others dimension, the first block provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 13.59, p < .01$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .16$. Again, memory type significantly predicted the likelihood of mentioning situations related to helping others in the narratives, $\chi^2(2) = 6.82, p < .05$. There was more reference to helping others in honor-enhancing memories (15%) compared to honor-attacking memories (2%), while important memories did not differ from honor-related memories (6%).¹⁵

3.5.4 Emotional content

Objective emotion properties. 3-step binary logistic regression analyses were conducted for thematic Pride and Shame dimensions as coded by independent judges. For the Pride dimension, the first block provided the best fit, $\chi^2(4) = 140.23, p < .001$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .70$. Memory type significantly predicted the likelihood of reporting pride-related references in the memories, $\chi^2(2) = 79.79, p < .001$. The highest percentage of pride reference was in honor-enhancing memories (87%), and there was no difference between honor-attacking (6%) and important memories (6%) in terms of reported pride (See Table 8). Similarly, the first block provided the best fit regarding the Shame dimension, $\chi^2(4) = 58.78, p < .001$, Nagelkerke's $R^2 = .41$. Memory type significantly predicted the likelihood of reporting shame-related references in the memories, $\chi^2(2) = 34.60, p < .001$. The highest percentage of shame reference was in honor-attacking

¹⁵ Due to low frequency in memories that included a helping theme, the regression model did not show pairwise differences among conditions. However a z-test for proportions revealed a difference between honor-enhancing and honor-attacking conditions, $z = 2.78, p < .01$.

memories (49%), and there was no difference between honor-enhancing (2%) and important memories (8%) in terms of reported shame (See Table 8).

Subjective emotion ratings. Participants' ratings on the degree to which the event they reported contained pride, shame, and guilt were analyzed via a 3 (Memory Type) x 2 (Gender) between-subjects ANCOVA, controlling for their average HAS scores. There was an effect of memory type on participants' ratings of pride, shame, and guilt. Pride was rated highest in honor-enhancing memories ($M = 6.05, SD = 1.60$), compared to honor-attacking ($M = 2.74, SD = 2.04$) and important memories ($M = 3.48, SD = 2.52$), while there was no difference between these two types of memories in terms of their pride ratings, $F(2, 192) = 44.91, MSE = 4.37, p < .001, \eta^2 = .32$. On the contrary, shame was rated highest in honor-attacking memories ($M = 3.72, SD = 2.37$), compared to important memories ($M = 2.75, SD = 2.18$) and honor-enhancing ($M = 1.75, SD = 1.35$), while important memories were rated higher than honor-enhancing memories in terms of their shame ratings, $F(2, 192) = 15.78, MSE = 4.06, p < .001, \eta^2 = .14$. In terms of guilt, important ($M = 2.48, SD = 2.07$) and honor-attacking memories ($M = 2.26, SD = 1.81$) had higher ratings than honor-enhancing memories ($M = 1.42, SD = 1.06$), while there was no difference between important and honor-attacking memories, $F(2, 192) = 7.35, MSE = 2.88, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$. Also, men ($M = 2.30, SD = 1.83$) reported marginally higher guilt ratings compared to women ($M = 1.84, SD = 1.67$), $F(1, 192) = 3.78, MSE = 2.88, p = .05, \eta^2 = .02$.

Participants' ratings of emotions related to cheerfulness, quiescence, dejection, and agitation were averaged under these 4 categories in order to examine the relationship

between memory type and promotion/prevention-focus related emotions.¹⁶ For honor-enhancing memories, a 2 (Emotion type) x 3 (Memory Type) x 2 (Gender) mixed ANCOVA (controlling for HAS scores) revealed no difference regarding cheerfulness-related and quiescence-related emotions, all p 's > .05. Similarly, for honor-attacking memories, a 2 (Emotion type) x 3 (Memory Type) x 2 (Gender) mixed ANCOVA (controlling for HAS scores) revealed no difference regarding dejection-related and agitation-related emotions, all p 's > .05.

Regarding the emotional valence items that participants rated on AMQ, we calculated an emotional positivity score by dividing positivity ratings of the memories by their negativity ratings (Tekcan et al., 2016). A 3 (Memory Type) x 2 (Gender) between-subjects ANCOVA (controlling for HAS scores) revealed an effect of memory type on emotional positivity ratings of memories, $F(2, 192) = 49.52$, $MSE = 4.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .34$. Honor-enhancing memories ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 2.52$) had the highest emotional positivity ratings followed by important ($M = 2.19$, $SD = 2.49$) and honor-attacking memories ($M = .48$, $SD = .90$). Also, there was a positive correlation between participants' HAS scores and the positivity ratings they gave to their memories, $r(199) = .16$, $p < .05$.

¹⁶ A factor analysis was conducted in order to examine whether these emotions can be discriminated in terms of the prevention/promotion focus. The factor structure showed that success-related emotions (i.e. cheerfulness-related and quiescence-related emotions) loaded on two different components, suggesting a good differentiation regarding prevention and promotion focus. However no such differentiation was observed for failure-related emotions (i.e. dejection-related and agitation-related emotions). However, we analyzed these emotional dimensions based on their face value, since these were the four quadrants that Higgins (1996) suggested regarding prevention and promotion-focus related emotions.

3.5.5 Phenomenological properties and centrality of event

Participants' ratings on AMQ items and their average CES scores were analyzed via a 3 (Memory type) x 2 (Gender) between-subjects ANCOVA, controlling for HAS scores.

In terms of the *vividness* ratings that the memories received, a gender effect was found, $F(1, 192) = 4.26$, $MSE = 1.12$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$. Men ($M = 5.81$, $SD = .83$) gave higher vividness ratings to their memories, compared to women ($M = 5.50$, $SD = 1.21$). In terms of the *remember/know* judgments regarding the memories, there was an effect of memory type, $F(2, 192) = 3.42$, $MSE = 1.12$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Important memories ($M = 6.30$, $SD = .84$) had greater *remember* ratings compared to honor-enhancing memories ($M = 5.81$, $SD = 1.12$). In terms of *importance*, men ($M = 4.74$, $SD = 1.92$) reported their memories as being more important than women ($M = 3.97$, $SD = 1.92$), $F(1, 192) = 8.11$, $MSE = 3.60$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .04$.¹⁷ In terms of *real/imagine* ratings, we found an interaction between memory type and gender, $F(2, 192) = 4.76$, $MSE = .68$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .05$. Accordingly, men reported stronger belief in remembering the event in the way it really occurred both for honor-enhancing ($M = 6.67$, $SD = .66$) and honor-attacking memories ($M = 6.60$, $SD = .56$), compared to important memories ($M = 6.27$, $SD = 1.08$), while women gave lower belief ratings to honor-enhancing ($M = 6.32$, $SD = 1.06$) and honor-attacking memories ($M = 6.31$, $SD = .90$), compared to important memories ($M = 6.73$, $SD = .51$). In terms of the *difficulty of retrieval*, there was a marginal interaction between memory type and gender, $F(2, 192) = 2.85$, $MSE = 1.49$, $p = .06$, $\eta^2 = .03$. That is, women reported increased *difficulty of retrieval* for their honor-

¹⁷ The reason why findings regarding the items that measure the importance of the memory in control questions and in the AMQ are different is the wording of the questions. While importance item of the control questions measure the personal importance of the event in the memory, AMQ item asks whether the event in the memory is significant for the individual in terms of containing an important message and representing a turning point in their life.

enhancing memories ($M = 2.65$, $SD = 1.38$), compared to honor-attacking ($M = 1.97$, $SD = 1.34$) and important memories ($M = 1.76$, $SD = .98$), while there was no difference among men's memories in terms of reported *difficulty of retrieval*. In terms of the *represent* item, there were main effects of memory type and gender. Honor-enhancing memories ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 1.14$), had the highest *represent* ratings, followed by important memories ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 1.80$), and honor-attacking memories ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 1.79$), had the lowest *represent* ratings, $F(2, 192) = 20.96$, $MSE = 2.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .18$. Also, men ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.61$) gave higher *represent* ratings to their memories, compared to women ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 1.83$), $F(1, 192) = 7.94$, $MSE = 2.49$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .04$. In terms of the *age at the event* in the memories, there was an effect of memory type, $F(2, 190) = 6.17$, $MSE = 14.87$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .06$. Important memories ($M = 14.85$, $SD = 4.51$) included events that were experienced earlier than honor-enhancing ($M = 16.96$, $SD = 3.26$) and honor-attacking memories ($M = 17.02$, $SD = 3.63$), while there was no difference between honor-related memories in terms of age at the event.¹⁸

In terms of participants' average scores on the CES, we found an effect of memory type, $F(2, 192) = 5.83$, $MSE = .99$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .06$. Honor-enhancing ($M = 2.65$, $SD = .98$) and important memories ($M = 2.57$, $SD = 1.11$) had higher scores on the CES, compared to honor-attacking memories ($M = 2.11$, $SD = .86$), while there was no difference between honor-enhancing and important memories. There was no effect of gender and no interaction between memory type and gender in terms of participants' ratings on the CES.

¹⁸ This difference is reasonable considering that logically, any childhood memory could be subjectively encoded as an important memory, while children probably need at least several years of socialization to start viewing their own identity and relationships from the perspective of honor.

Since *perspective* item of the AMQ had two possible outcomes (field vs. observer view), a binary logistic regression was conducted to test whether there was an effect of memory type, gender, and honor endorsement level on memory perspective. None of the models that were run provided a good fit regarding the prediction of memory perspective.

Lastly, word counts of the memories were analyzed via a 3 (Memory type) x 2 (Gender) between-subjects ANCOVA, controlling for HAS scores. Memories that include higher than 249 words were outliers, therefore 7 participants were omitted from this analysis. Men ($M = 105.36$, $SD = 50.91$) gave longer narratives than women ($M = 82.57$, $SD = 43.76$), $F(1, 185) = 11.15$, $MSE = 2201.81$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$.

3.6 Discussion

Study 2 investigated how personal memories that are explicitly instructed to contain honor-enhancing and honor-attacking situations differ compared to personally important memories. We found effects of memory type on autobiographical memory characteristics, honor-related memory dimensions, emotional content, phenomenological experiences, and centrality of the event reported in the memories. In terms of autobiographical memory characteristics, effects of memory type emerged primarily in the memory content. Participants were more likely to report memories that include a relationship with people other than family members, friends, or romantic partners in honor-related memories, compared to important memories. The same pattern emerged regarding social members mentioned in the narratives. This is consistent with previous studies showing that honor is a socially shaped construct (Leung & Cohen, 2011). Enhancing or attacking honor are situations that are directly related to personal

reputation, and in cultures of honor, one's reputation can be enhanced or damaged by the opinions of other members of the society (Peristiany, 1974). In terms of family members mentioned in the narratives, we found that participants were more likely to mention their family members in important memory condition, compared to honor-related memory conditions. This finding was contrary to our expectations. However in hindsight, participants coming from relatively stable families (i.e. having a socio-economic status that is sufficient for their children to enter Boğaziçi University) might have experienced honor-related situations with other members of the society (e.g. being praised at school, false accusations, insults) rather than with their own families. Also, women were more likely to mention their family members in their memories than men. Since female members of the family are expected to act in a submissive way (Glick et al., 2015) and their behavior stands as one of the major determinants of family honor in cultures of honor (Casimir & Jung, 2009), this finding makes sense in terms of pointing out the close link between femininity and family. In terms of life threatening event dimension, we found that men were more likely to report physical assault to themselves in their narratives, compared to women. Since demonstration of physical toughness is one of the dimensions that define masculine honor and reputation (Cohen et al., 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011), men's perceptiveness to attacks to their physical (hence social) wellbeing and their easier access to memories that include physical assaults compared to women comes as no surprise.¹⁹ Also, memory type had an effect on the probability of reporting success and failure-related narratives. Success was reported most frequently in honor-enhancing memories and least in honor-attacking memories, consistently with

¹⁹ Of course, regardless of culture (honor or non-honor), the majority of interpersonal violence occurs among males. Therefore, it is hard to attribute this gender effect solely to the culture of honor.

Uskul et al.'s (2012) findings showing that achievement is one of the honor-enhancing situations reported by both Turkish and American participants. Failure, however, was reported most frequently in important memories and least in honor-enhancing memories. Failure is not one of the honor-attacking situations that Uskul et al. (2012) identified. Also, the achievement-oriented context of Boğaziçi University may have led undergraduate students to encode failure events as very important memories. In terms of agency, we found that agency was present in honor-enhancing more than honor-attacking memories. This finding is consistent with previous findings suggesting that in order to pursue honor, one should take action and deserve a good reputation (Barnes et al., 2012). On the other hand, honor is easy to lose based on others' judgments (Peristiany, 1974) and honor-attacking situations mainly arise because of others' actions, such as false accusations and humiliations (Uskul et al., 2012). These (honor-attacking) situations put the individual in a relatively passive role compared to honor-enhancing situations.²⁰ Consistent with previous research (Davis, 1999; Wang & Conway, 2004) and our first study, a gender effect emerged regarding the agency dimension. Men were more likely to report memories that included agency, compared to women. This is in line with the findings suggesting that manhood is associated with autonomy and independence, whereas submissiveness is required of women (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011).

Specificity and Integration dimensions were also explored in terms of the effects of memory type. Regarding specificity, we found that women in the honor-attacking

²⁰ We expected that agency would be more frequent in honor-related memories, compared to important memories, based on the assumption that participants would have taken action to be able to experience an honor-enhancing situation, and also to repair their honor after it is attacked. However, participants' responses regarding the outcome of the honor-attacking situation showed that only 35% of the participants confronted the attacker. The rest of the outcomes did not include any agency (unresolved: 29%, withdrawal: 19%, resolved by a third party: 8%, not applicable: 9%).

memory condition were less likely to provide specific narratives as their honor-endorsement level increased, while there was no such effect for men. Women are especially vulnerable to honor-attacking situations since a stain in their reputation might bring heavy costs for them and their families (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Therefore, experiencing honor-attacking situations might be leading them to a negative mood - especially if they endorse honor-related norms more- and therefore triggering overgeneral thinking (Williams, 1996). However, this finding needs further investigation since we did not assess our participants' mood and there was no gender interaction in terms of emotional positivity of the memories. Regarding integration, we found that honor-enhancing memories were more likely to be integrative, compared to honor-attacking and important memories. Since integration means that the narrator reports a lesson taught by the experience, or emphasizes how the event led to an insight about oneself or the world, this finding might be pointing out to a mechanism that is used to enhance one's self-esteem by assigning an important role to the honor-enhancing memory in one's life narrative. Our findings showing that participants gave higher centrality ratings to honor-enhancing and important memories than to honor-attacking memories and that they gave highest *represent* ratings to honor-enhancing memories also support this insight. Also, a gender effect emerged in terms of integration: Men were more likely to provide integrative memories compared to women. Since two thirds of memories provided by participants were honor-related (i.e., two of the three memory type conditions asked for an honor memory) and men were more likely to report memories that include agency, men's active role in this type of narratives might be increasing their likelihood of providing integrative narratives, by boosting the feeling of control and therefore heighten the motivation to integrate the memory to the life story.

In terms of honor-related dimensions, we found effects of memory type on the likelihood of providing memories that contain provocation, audience, and honor-related dimensions. In line with our predictions, provocation-related situations were mostly present in honor-attacking memories. This finding is consistent with the previous studies showing that one's honor is vulnerable against verbal, as well as physical threats coming from others (Cohen et al., 1996; Uskul et al., 2012). In terms of audience, our expectations regarding the main effects of memory type and gender were confirmed. Existence of an audience was more likely to be reported in honor-related memories, compared to important memories. Since honor can be given or taken away by others (Leung & Cohen, 2011), and depends on others' judgments (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a), it makes sense to see references to other people that witness the event (hence evaluate the person's honor) when the provided context is honor-related. Also, men were more likely to refer to an audience in their memories compared to women. This is in line with Uskul et al.'s (2012) finding showing that Turkish men refer more frequently to an audience in honor-enhancing and honor-attacking situations they generated, compared to Turkish women. We could not find an interaction between memory type and gender, however considering that two thirds of memories are honor-related, this finding can be still read in light of men's vigilance to outsiders regarding honor-related contexts. This gender effect is also in line with previous research showing that men rely more on external social agents compared to women for defending and enhancing their honor (Cihangir, 2013), as well as research that points out the socially determined nature of manhood (Vandello et al., 2008). In terms of honor dimensions that were identified by Cross et al. (2014), we found that themes related to Social Status/Respect and Self-Respect were most likely to be present in honor-enhancing memories. Also, themes

related to Moral Behavior dimension were more likely to be present in honor-related memories, compared to important memories. Lastly, themes related to Helping Others were more likely to be present in honor-enhancing memories than honor-attacking memories.²¹ These findings support Cross et al.'s (2014) results in terms of confirming the structure of honor concept in Turkey. In addition to the effects of memory type in honor-related dimensions, we found a gender effect in terms of risk-taking behaviors that the memories contained. Consistent with our first study, men were more likely to give references to risk-taking behaviors in their narratives compared to women. Again, the increased frequency of risk-taking behavior references in men's memories might be explained by the precarious nature of manhood (Vandello et al., 2008).

When emotional content of the memories was examined, we found the expected patterns in terms of pride and shame themes in the narratives. Since pride was found to be the emotional outcome of enhancement of one's and intimate others' honor, and shame is the outcome of attack against one's honor (Fischer et al., 1999; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a), our findings are consistent with the previous literature and our expectations.²² In terms of emotional valence, we found that reported emotional positivity was highest in honor-enhancing memories, and lowest in honor-attacking memories, as expected. Interestingly, scores on HAS and emotional positivity were

²¹ We had expected that the least reference to honor dimensions would be in honor-attacking memories, rather than important memories. The reason behind this discrepancy is that we collapsed the *present* and *negative present* subcategories of these dimensions due to low frequencies of *negative present* subcategory compared to other subcategories, except for Moral Behavior dimension in which frequencies of *present* and *negative present* references were almost the same.

²² Frequencies of explicit pride and shame references were low, therefore we analyzed only thematic pride and shame references. Since expression of pride is not very welcomed in cultures of honor because it emphasizes one's individuality instead of interconnectedness (Fischer et al., 1999), low frequency of explicit pride references is understandable. On the other hand, low frequency of explicit shame mentions may stem from Boğaziçi University context that emphasizes achievement and assertiveness. However, we could not find any gender effect or interaction in terms of shame references, therefore this finding still needs further investigation.

positively correlated. This might be support for previous research showing that honor-endorsement is related to self-esteem in Turkish participants (Novin et al., 2015), and this increased positivity as honor-endorsement increases might stem from heightened self-esteem (for a review on mood-congruent memory, see Blaney, 1986).

In terms of phenomenological properties of memories, we found main effects of gender, as well as interactions between memory type and gender. Men reported higher *vividness*, *importance*, *represent* ratings, and provided longer narratives compared to women. Interactions between memory type and gender emerged for *real/imagine* and *difficulty of retrieval* items. Men reported stronger belief in remembering the event in the way it really occurred for the honor-related memories compared to the important memories, while this pattern was opposite for women. Also women reported marginally more difficulty in retrieval for honor-enhancing memories, compared to other types of memories, while men reported equal difficulty in retrieval for all three types of memories. Regarding the gender effects we found in terms of autobiographical memory characteristics and phenomenological properties of memories, and also considering that two thirds of memories were honor-related, we suggest that manhood and honor are very interconnected in terms of autobiographical memory remembering, and men are primarily the ones that drive the concept of honor in our sample. Regarding previous studies showing that men have more traditional gender-specific cultural attitudes (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011), and higher honor-endorsement (Glick et al., 2015), including Turkish university students (Gürsoy & Arslan Özkan, 2014), and considering our findings, we can conclude that men's traditional honor attitudes also reflect on their autobiographical remembering mechanisms. This might stem from the fact that men have less to lose in cultures of honor, and even when they lose, they can compensate for

what they lose by behaving in accordance with masculine honor norms (Casimir & Jung, 2009). However, since women are generally the ones who are victimized by honor-related customs (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001), they seem to avoid these gender-specific honor norms—especially when they are in contexts that relax the normative pressures of honor culture (such as Boğaziçi University) –, and they tend to include them less in their autobiographical memory systems compared to men.

Furthermore, contrary to our expectations, we found that honor-enhancing memories were rated highest on the majority of phenomenological properties on which we found an effect of memory type, and they were more likely to be integrative compared to other memories. Also, references to honor dimensions were the most present in honor-enhancing memories, except for Moral Behavior dimension. Regarding the wider repertoire of Turkish participants in terms of honor-attacking situations, compared to honor-enhancing situations (Uskul et al., 2014), and Turkish participants' focusing more on negations regarding the concept of honor (Cross et al., 2014), we expected that this prevention focus would lead our participants to give honor-attacking memories higher ratings in terms of phenomenological properties. However, what we asked our participants to report is their personal memories, rather than normative honor-related situations, and since autobiographical memories constitute one's sense of self (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000), participants that were assigned to honor-enhancing memory condition might be more motivated to retrieve their memories compared to participants in honor-attacking memory condition, because it helps them retain a positive self-perception. Especially given that they are mostly late adolescents whose main motive is to construct a coherent sense of identity (Erikson, 1950, 1963), their

heightened motivation to remember positive memories that are directly related to their personal reputation can be apprehensible.

Finally, we expected to find interactions among memory type, gender, and honor-endorsement level in most of our variables. We failed to find these interactions except for specificity and honor-enhancing situation dimensions, and *real/imagine* and *difficulty of retrieval* items of the AMQ. Absence of other interaction effects needs further investigation in future research focusing on the relationship between the concept of honor and autobiographical memory retrieval.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Wang and Ross (2007) described culture as a “process of symbolic mediation” (p. 646), which regulates how individuals internalize social systems on many levels, including autobiographical memory. This internalization occurs by constructing a coherent self, which is a person’s major tool to navigate the social world in their culture. Through socialization processes, we build our identities by using the templates that culture provides us (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). On the other hand, our selfhood is fed by our autobiographical memory repertoires, and we tend to remember what reinforces our perceptions about ourselves (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000). Therefore, autobiographical memory stands as a good intersection point for examining the relationship between culture and self by considering subjective experiences of the agents that construct that culture.

Our main interest was cultures of honor and in the present set of studies we wanted to understand Turkish participants’ subjective experiences regarding the honor culture they live in by investigating how the concept of honor reflects on personal memories, both implicitly and explicitly. In the first study, we examined the effects of implicit honor activation, honor-endorsement level, and gender on participants’ gender-defining memories. In the second study, we investigated how memories that are explicitly instructed to include honor-related experiences differ from other personally important memories, while also examining the effects of honor-endorsement level and gender on remembering these memories. As far as our knowledge goes, this is the first

set of studies that has examined autobiographical memories through the lens of an honor culture. Given the lack of data on this topic, it is no easy task to systematize and interpret our findings. However, we believe that the findings from these two studies converge on two important points.

Firstly, gender effects and interactions that emerged in both studies might be pointing out to heightened perceptiveness for men, but increased defensiveness for women in terms of the effects of honor concept on their autobiographical memory systems. As suggested, men's heightened perceptiveness might stem from the precarious nature of manhood (Vandello et al., 2008) and men's traditional attitudes regarding honor-related norms and sex roles (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011). However, women seem to avoid honor-related associations in their narratives, perhaps as a result of a psychological reactance (Miron & Brehm, 2006), since a more passive and submissive role is assigned to them by the cultural norms (Glick et al., 2015), and also because they are much more likely to be victimized by the norms and agents of the culture, compared to men (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Considering that women's memory perspective changes as a result of honor activation and endorsement, we suggest that women, as well as men, are influenced by our honor-related manipulation, and react to it in a defensive way regarding the findings in terms of both perspective and familial themes in the narrative.²³ Our finding in Study 2 showing that women tend to give lower phenomenological ratings to their memories than men also supports this argument.

²³ Even though findings of Study 2 revealed that women tend to provide more familial narratives compared to men, there was no interaction between memory type and gender. This might be due to avoiding familial contexts only when honor concept is activated, rather than a total rejection of family-related memories.

Moreover, in Study 2, honor-enhancing memories, rather than honor-attacking memories, were rated higher on phenomenological properties and were more likely to include situations that were related to honor-dimensions that were identified by Cross et al. (2014). We suspected that this might be due to people's heightened motivation to include memories that enhance their self-perception in their life-narratives, compared to honor-attacking memories in which their personal (and familial) honor is threatened.

Considering these two patterns that emerged in our findings, we suggest that the link between honor cultures and autobiographical memory system can be read from a positivity account. That is, by focusing on the positive scripts that are driven by the culture, and by avoiding the negativity that is brought by the honor-related norms, both men and women ensure the continuity of the culture by remembering and sharing their memories that are consistent with the positive aspects of the culture. Also given that endorsement of cultural values is positively linked to self-esteem (Campbell et al., 1996; Solomon et al., 1991), a pattern also replicated in cultures of honor (Novin et al., 2015), it can be concluded that autobiographical memory system might be one of the tools that ensures the continuity of the social system as being a major component of the self. Our findings that women in the honor condition rate their memories higher on emotional positivity compared to women in the control condition (Study 1), and that a positive relationship between honor endorsement and emotional positivity exists (Study 2), also support this argument. Regarding the proposal that culture is a set of values, beliefs, and attitudes which is adaptive considering the physical and social setting, which was also supported for cultures of honor using agent-based modeling (Nowak et al., 2016), construction of a selfhood that is consistent with this system is crucial not only in terms of the physical and psychological wellbeing of the individuals, but also in terms of the

continuity of this wider system that is maintained and transmitted by the efforts of the individuals.

In addition, from an identity account, the finding that our participants were more likely to report honor-related themes in honor-enhancing memories, and give higher phenomenological ratings to these memories might be pointing out to their increased motivation to remember the memories that boost a positive self-perception, compared to other memories. This resembles the positivity bias that is observed in older adults which is the tendency to remember their past more positively. The same bias can be also induced in young adults by increasing their motivation to adjust their present emotional well-being (Kennedy, Mather, & Carstensen, 2004). The main motivation of older adults is to construct an integrative life narrative (Erikson, 1950, 1963) and they remember their memories accordingly, which makes them focus on the positive aspects of their life more. Similarly, young adults' heightened reactions to honor-enhancing memories, compared to honor-attacking and important memories, might stem from their motivation to construct a coherent sense of self and identity. However, since the present set of studies are the first to explore the relationship between cultures of honor and autobiographical memory retrieval, future studies that focus on more specific questions regarding the autobiographical memory and that use larger and more representative samples are needed.

The present studies were exploratory in nature due to the lack of earlier studies that focus on the relationship between honor culture and autobiographical memory. This led us to have tentative expectations rather than more concrete hypotheses and to conduct a large number of analyses, which might pose a threat to the validity of our conclusions by way of increasing the probability of committing Type I error. Therefore,

our findings need to be replicated by future research that focuses on more specific domains of autobiographical memory. Also, considering our findings in terms of an increased rehearsal in honor-enhancing memories, compared to other types of memories, we suggested that our findings can be explained by an identity account given that our samples consisted of late adolescents. The main motivation of this age group is to construct a coherent sense of identity. Thus, future studies with older samples may yield different conclusions regarding our research interests.

Overall, the present set of studies suggest that an honor-related mindset can be primed or explicitly manipulated in participants' autobiographical memory system, and this system seems to focus on positivity more, compared to other aspects that may damage one's endorsement of the cultural norms, and this might be due to a motivation to ensure the continuity of an adaptive system. After all, it is the individual that maintains the culture, and individuals are what they remember.

APPENDIX A

HONOR VALUES SCALE

You will see some statements below. Please indicate the importance of each item on the given scale. Please respond sincerely.

	Not at all				Extremely important
1) Others' seeing me as someone who deserves respect is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
2) Others' regarding me as someone who is not to be disrespected is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
3) My family's social image is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
4) Caring about the implications of my actions for my family's social image is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
5) Defending my family from criticism is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX B

SCRAMBLED SENTENCES TASK IN HONOR CONDITION

1. strongly foot hit (he/she ran and) (the ball)
2. his/her (I heard) (my *honor*) (the words) hurt
3. (of the carpet) toy continuously (he/she was playing) (with the corner)
4. school student (is *prestigious*) this quite
5. (he/she forgot) bus (to buy) road ticket
6. myself (he/she continued) *shamelessly* (to want)
7. (the sky) tree blue (I used to lie down) under
8. (in the war) march (he/she sought) days (his/her *glory*)
9. buzz (on the wall) never (the fly) (goes away)
10. (I will establish) people (in the company) (a *reputation*) (if I get my promotion)
11. (I am trying) healthy to form eat
12. being (I would follow) *right* always (what I think is)
13. (he/she decided) to go (to the market) section
14. public by (with *respect*) everyone (he/she is mentioned)
15. (to him/her) attachment (you should send) immediately (the file)
16. reason (to win is) (a matter of) now *dignity*
17. headache his/her dragged painkiller on
18. (he/she lost) (all sense of) *shame* obviously concept
19. salt soap (he/she forgot) (to make) how
20. (he/she advised me) (to be) always importance *honest*
21. away (in his/her hand) (he/she threw) (in the bag) (the bottle)
22. concessions (in terms his/her *pride*) away (he/she made) never
23. (his/her dream was) sea (by ship) (to go around) (the world)
24. this (was said to) rage (our *integrity*) word
25. (he/she knew that) fire (with him/her) (he/she should not) play
26. *honor* product work (what I do is) my
27. (to this) answer (he/she was caught) unprepared question
28. person apologize (is an act of) (to be able to) *dignity*
29. (he/she knew) (is that he/she reads) (on the notebook) much (the reason why)
30. (he/she has) everyone (a *reputation*) (his/her heroism) for

APPENDIX C

SCRAMBLED SENTENCES TASK IN HONOR CONDITION (TURKISH)

1. sertçe ayağı vurdu koşup topa (Koşup topa sertçe vurdu)
2. onun duyduğum onuruma sözler dokunmuştu (Duyduğum sözler *onuruma* dokunmuştu)
3. halının oyuncak durmadan oynuyordu köşesiyle (Halının köşesiyle durmadan oynuyordu)
4. okul öğrenci prestijlidir bu oldukça (Bu okul oldukça *prestijlidir*)
5. unutmuştu otobüs almayı yolu biletini (Otobüs biletini almayı unutmuştu)
6. kendim devam yüzüzce etti istemeye (*Yüzüzce* istemeye devam etti)
7. gökyüzünün ağaç mavi uzanırdım altında (Mavi gökyüzünün altında uzanırdım)
8. savaş marş arıyordu günlerindeki şanını (Savaş günlerindeki *şanını* arıyordu)
9. vızılı duvardaki bilmiyor sinek gitmek (Duvardaki sinek gitmek bilmiyor)
10. artacak insanlar şirkette itibarım yükselebilirsem (Şirkette yükselebilirsem *itibarım* artacak)
11. uğraşyorum sağlıklı için form beslenmek (Sağlıklı beslenmek için uğraşyorum)
12. olduğunu şaşmam doğru asla bildiğimden (*Doğru* bildiğimden asla şaşmam)
13. verdi markete karar reyonun gitmeye (Markete gitmeye karar verdi)
14. halkın tarafından saygıyla herkes anılırdı (Herkes tarafından *saygıyla* anılırdı)
15. ona ek göndermelisin hemen dosyayı (Dosyayı hemen ona göndermelisin)
16. sebebi kazanmak meselesiydi artık haysiyet (Kazanmak artık *haysiyet* meselesiydi)
17. başının dinmek ağrısı bilmiyordu kesici (Başının ağrısı dinmek bilmiyordu)
18. damarı kavramı çatlamış ar belli ki (Belli ki *ar* damarı çatlamış)
19. tuz çorbanın unutmuştu yapıldığını nasıl (Çorbanın nasıl yapıldığını unutmuştu)
20. öğütledi olmamı daima önem dürüst (Daima *dürüst* olmamı öğütledi)
21. çöpe elindeki attı torbada şişeyi (Elindeki şişeyi çöpe attı)
22. ödün gururundan kenara vermemiştir asla (*Gururundan* asla ödün vermemiştir)
23. hayali denizi gemiyle dolaşmaktı dünyayı (Hayali dünyayı gemiyle dolaşmaktı)
24. bu söylenmiştir kin namusumuza söz (Bu söz *namusumuza* söylenmiştir)
25. bilirdi ateşi onunla gerektiğini oynamaması (Onunla oynamaması gerektiğini bilirdi)
26. şerefimdir ürün iş benim yaptığım (Yaptığım iş benim *şerefimdir*)
27. bu cevabı yakalanmıştı hazırlıksız soruya (Bu soruya hazırlıksız yakalanmıştı)
28. kişi özür timsalidir dileyebilmek izzet (Özür dileyebilmek *izzet* timsalidir)
29. bilmesinin okumasıydı defterde çok sebebi (Bilmesinin sebebi çok okumasıydı)
30. salmıştır etrafa nam herkesin kahramanlığıyla (Kahramanlığıyla etrafa *nam* salmıştır)

APPENDIX D

SCRAMBLED SENTENCES TASK IN CONTROL CONDITION

1. strongly foot hit (he/she ran and) (the ball)
2. (to this) answer (he/she was caught) unprepared question
3. (he/she walks) street (from the window) (he/she watches) (the people passing by)
4. (on paper) the gift (he/she prepared) pack carefully
5. (a week) laundry day (he/she does) once
6. (to him/her) attachment (you should send) immediately (the file)
7. door (he/she used to hide) (his/her paintings) (in a room) special
8. track frequently (I see) running him/her
9. (he/she knew) (is that he/she reads) (on the notebook) much (the reason why)
10. (the sky) tree blue (I used to lie down) under
11. (with me) a substitute (I must have) bag
12. (he/she decided) to go (to the market) section
13. (of the carpet) toy continuously (he/she was playing) (with the corner)
14. (I get on) seagull (the ferry) (I feel sad) (every time)
15. (he/she knew that) fire (with him/her) (he/she should not) play
16. much yourself enough (you should not tire) this
17. flowers these (I liked) always garden
18. (he/she forgot) bus (to buy) road ticket
19. we school (used to rejoice) when (it snowed)
20. night this late (he/she used to sleep) every
21. (his/her dream was) sea (by ship) (to go around) (the world)
22. headache his/her dragged painkiller on
23. (he/she did not like) stuff (if needed) (to carry) (too much)
24. salt soap (he/she forgot) (to make) how
25. yesterday books prepared (to the class) (he/she came)
26. (he/she enjoyed) with (his/her dog) street (to play)
27. away (in his/her hand) (he/she threw) bag (the bottle)
28. (I am trying) healthy to form eat
29. buzz (on the wall) never (the fly) goes
30. (very much) to draw paper (I like)

APPENDIX E

SCRAMBLED SENTENCES TASK IN CONTROL CONDITION (TURKISH)

1. sertçe ayağı vurdu koşup topa (Koşup topa sertçe vurdu)
2. bu cevabı yakalanmıştı hazırlıksız soruya (Bu soruya hazırlıksız yakalanmıştı)
3. yürür sokaktan camdan izler geçenleri (Sokaktan geçenleri camdan izler)
4. kağıtta hediye hazırlamıştı paketini özenle (Hediye paketini özenle hazırlamıştı)
5. haftada giysilerini günü yıkar bir (Giysilerini haftada bir yıkar)
6. ona ek göndermelisin hemen dosyayı (Dosyayı hemen ona göndermelisin)
7. kapının saklardı tablolarını odada özel (Tablolarını özel odada saklardı)
8. parkur sıklıkla görüyorum koşarken onu (Onu sıklıkla koşarken görüyorum)
9. bilmesinin okumasıydı defterde çok sebebi (Bilmesinin sebebi çok okumasıydı)
10. gökyüzünün ağaç mavi uzanırdım altında (Mavi gökyüzünün altında uzanırdım)
11. yanımda yedeği olmalı çantama bir (Yanımda bir yedeği olmalı)
12. verdi markete karar reyonun gitmeye (Markete gitmeye karar verdi)
13. halının oyuncak durmadan oynuyordu köşesiyle (Halının köşesiyle durmadan oynuyordu)
14. binişimde martı vapura hüzünlenirim her (Her vapura binişimde hüzünlenirim)
15. bilirdi ateşi onunla gerektiğini oynamaması (Onunla oynamaması gerektiğini bilirdi)
16. kadar kendini yeterince yormamalısın bu (Kendini bu kadar yormamalısın)
17. çiçekleri bu sevmişimdir hep bahçede (Bu çiçekleri hep sevmişimdir)
18. unutmuştu otobüs almayı yolu biletini (Otobüs biletini almayı unutmuştu)
19. biz okul sevinirdik yağdığında kar (Biz kar yağdığında sevinirdik)
20. gece bu geç yatardı her (Her gece geç yatardı)
21. hayali denizi gemiyle dolaşmaktı dünyayı (Hayali dünyayı gemiyle dolaşmaktı)
22. başının dinmek ağrısı bilmiyordu kesici (Başının ağrısı dinmek bilmiyordu)
23. sevmezdi eşya gerekirse taşımayı fazla (Fazla eşya taşımayı sevmezdi)
24. tuz çorbanın unutmuştu yapıldığını nasıl (Çorbanın nasıl yapıldığını unutmuştu)
25. dün kitaplar hazırlıklı derse gelmişti (Dün derse hazırlıklı gelmişti)
26. giderdi köpeğiyle sokak oynamak hoşuna (Köpeğiyle oynamak hoşuna giderdi)
27. çöpe elindeki attı torbada şişeyi (Elindeki şişeyi çöpe attı)
28. uğraşıyorum sağlıklı için form beslenmek (Sağlıklı beslenmek için uğraşıyorum)
29. vızılı duvardaki bilmiyor sinek gitmek (Duvardaki sinek gitmek bilmiyor)
30. çok yapmayı kağıt çizim severim (Çizim yapmayı çok severim)

APPENDIX F

GENDER-DEFINING MEMORY INSTRUCTIONS

We would like you to recall one memory that defines you as a woman/a man. This memory should be a memory that ...

- you clearly remember
- still clearly feels important to you,
- evokes positive, negative, or both positive and negative emotions
- contains an important enduring theme, issue, or conflict from your life
- you have recalled many times,
- is linked to similar memories.

To summarize, this memory should be a memory that you can tell to someone you have just met and you want to present yourself as who you are. This memory should be a memory that contributed to who you are at the moment and it should be at least one year old. Please describe your memory as detailed as possible.

4. Sexual adventures:___
5. High socio-economic status:___
6. Precedence:___
7. Protecting one's family's well-being and property:

- Willing to take risks: __
- Makes decisions easily: __
- Self-sufficient: __
- Dominant: __
- Masculine: __
- Willing to take a stand: __
- Aggressive: __
- Acts as a leader: __
- Individualistic: __
- Competitive: __
- Ambitious: __

APPENDIX L

HONOR-ENHANCING MEMORY INSTRUCTIONS

1st Screen:

In the first step of the study, we would like you to do a warm-up task in order to facilitate your concentration regarding the questions you will see after this step.

Now please write what “honor” means to you in a few sentences.

When you finish, you can proceed to the next step by clicking the “Continue” button.

2nd Screen:

Now we would like you to recall a memory. After clicking the “Continue” button, you will see the instructions regarding this memory. As soon as you finish reading the instructions (before you start to think about the memory), please click the “Continue” button again. Then you can type your memory in the provided space that you will see on the screen.

3rd Screen:

Please click the “Continue” button after you read and make sure that you understand the instructions below.

Please report a memory that includes an event in which *your honor was enhanced* as detailed as possible.

Please report an event, rather than a concept, a fact, or a situation. This event should be:

- from your own life,
- an event that has a specific beginning and an end,
- an event that you clearly remember,
- an event that has happened in a specific place and time,
- at least one year old.

4th Screen:

After you think about the memory, you can type it in the provided space.

APPENDIX M

HONOR-ATTACKING MEMORY INSTRUCTIONS

1st Screen:

In the first step of the study, we would like you to do a warm-up task in order to facilitate your concentration regarding the questions you will see after this step.

Now please write what “honor” means to you in a few sentences.

When you finish, you can proceed to the next step by clicking the “Continue” button.

2nd Screen:

Now we would like you to recall a memory. After clicking the “Continue” button, you will see the instructions regarding this memory. As soon as you finish reading the instructions (before you start to think about the memory), please click the “Continue” button again. Then you can type your memory in the provided space that you will see on the screen.

3rd Screen:

Please click the “Continue” button after you read and make sure that you understand the instructions below.

Please report a memory that includes an event in which *your honor was attacked* as detailed as possible.

Please report an event, rather than a concept, a fact, or a situation. This event should be:

- from your own life,
- an event that has a specific beginning and an end,
- an event that you clearly remember,
- an event that has happened in a specific place and time,
- at least one year old.

4th Screen:

After you think about the memory, you can type it in the provided space.

APPENDIX N

IMPORTANT MEMORY INSTRUCTIONS

1st Screen:

In the first step of the study, we would like you to do a warm-up task in order to facilitate your concentration regarding the questions you will see after this step.

Now please write what “memory” means to you in a few sentences.

When you finish, you can proceed to the next step by clicking the “Continue” button.

2nd Screen:

Now we would like you to recall a memory. After clicking the “Continue” button, you will see the instructions regarding this memory. As soon as you finish reading the instructions (before you start to think about the memory), please click the “Continue” button again. Then you can type your memory in the provided space that you will see on the screen.

3rd Screen:

Please click the “Continue” button after you read and make sure that you understand the instructions below.

Please report a memory that includes an event which *feels important to you* as detailed as possible.

Please report an event, rather than a concept, a fact, or a situation. This event should be:

- from your own life,
- an event that has a specific beginning and an end,
- an event that you clearly remember,
- an event that has happened in a specific place and time,
- at least one year old.

4th Screen:

After you think about the memory, you can type it in the provided space.

APPENDIX O
CONTROL QUESTIONS

Considering the memory you have reported, please respond to the statements below by marking the appropriate number.

1. To what extent the memory you have reported was related to the concept of honor?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

2. To what extent was your honor enhanced in the event you reported?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

3. To what extent was your honor attacked in the event you reported?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

4. How important was the event you reported for you?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

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