ARTICLE

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Overcoming low status or maintaining high status? A multinational examination of the association between socioeconomic status and honour

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Abstract

We examined the relationship between socioeconomic status (SES) and endorsement of honour. We studied the SES-honour link in 5 studies ($N = 13,635$) with participants recruited in different world regions (the Mediterranean and MENA, East Asian, South-East Asian, and Anglo-Western regions) using measures that tap into various different facets of honour. Findings from these studies revealed that individuals who subjectively perceived themselves as belonging to a higher (vs. lower) SES endorsed various facets of honour more strongly (i.e. defence of family honour values and concerns, self-promotion and retaliation values, masculine honour beliefs, emphasis on personal and family social image, the so-called street code). We discuss implications of these findings for the cultural dynamics linked to SES.

KEYWORDS
honour culture, social image, subjective social class

INTRODUCTION

People of different socio-economic statuses (SES) come to have divergent personal and social identities and tend to respond differently to social situations (Manstead, 2018; Stephens et al., 2014). It has been argued that this is due to SES exposing individuals to specific forms of ecological milieu that result in cultural contexts with different characteristics (Cohen, 2009). In the current research, we examine in detail one particular feature associated with these cultural contexts that are likely to vary across different SES groups, namely prevalence of a cultural logic of honour, which is associated with heightened importance of securing and maintaining a positive social image (e.g. Cross & Uskul, 2022; Leung & Cohen, 2011). In five studies, we test two competing hypotheses concerning the relationship between SES and manifestations of a cultural logic of honour. We provide a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between SES and endorsement of a cultural logic of honour using datasets originating from different world regions, many of them underrepresented in the literature, and covering a large set of manifestations of the cultural logic of honour. On one hand, limited resources and scarcity could facilitate the development of honour logic globally. Thus, our *Threat Vulnerability Hypothesis* predicts that scarcity of resources and wealth would predict greater endorsement of honour logic. On the other hand, individuals who see themselves as belonging to higher social class may be the ones most motivated to avoid losing their status which may facilitate the development of honour logic. Thus, our *Status Attachment Hypothesis* predicts that subjective perceptions of one's SES as higher would be associated with greater honour ideology endorsement as a protective factor.

CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES OF SES

SES can be defined as individuals' possession of normatively valued social and economic resources (Antonoplis, 2023) and is typically measured by focusing on individuals' objectively definable resources (i.e. income, education; Easterbrook et al., 2020) or their subjective perception of their own social rank in relation to other individuals in their society (Adler et al., 2000). While SES has been studied mainly

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in relation to health and well-being focused outcomes (for example individuals of lower SES exhibit worse physical and mental health and lower well-being, see e.g. Adler et al., 2000), recent research has started examining social psychological outcomes of SES (e.g. beliefs, values, self-concept, daily practices, see Cohen, 2009; Stephens et al., 2014) and treating SES groups as providing their members with specific cultural affordances. This line of research has, for example, demonstrated that individuals of higher SES experience more control, agency and power which they use to influence other individuals and their environment (Snibbe & Markus, 2005). Conversely, individuals of lower SES tend to adapt to their surroundings as they have fewer resources to control their environment, decreasing their sense of personal control (e.g. Kraus et al., 2012; Snibbe & Markus, 2005). Other studies have shown that individuals of lower (vs. higher) SES exhibit stronger holistic cognition (i.e. showing less dispositional bias in attributing causes of behaviour, more contextual attention, and more nonlinear reasoning about change) and more interdependent definitions of self (i.e. defining themselves more strongly in relation to close others and social groups) (e.g. Grossmann & Varnum, 2011; Markus & Stephens, 2017). In the current paper, we extend this previous research by focusing on how SES is related to the endorsement of a cultural logic of honour.

Cultural logic of honour

The broader socio-economic environments in which groups reside shape broad cultural logics, defined as coherent cultural constellations of shared beliefs, values, behaviours, and practices (Leung & Cohen, 2011), which in turn shape important social psychological processes such as morality, punishment, and reciprocity. It is therefore of great importance to examine how cultural logics are endorsed in different cultural and socio-ecological milieus. A cultural logic of honour, which emphasizes the importance of positive reputation, is thought to be prevalent in much of the Mediterranean region and North Africa, and the southern and mountain states of the US, and Latin America (see Uskul & Cross, 2019; Vignoles et al., in press). A cultural logic of honour is likely to develop in environments characterized by economic vulnerability and the need for protection (Nisbett, 1993; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996) and has been demonstrated to be a strong factor shaping social behaviour in, for example, southern regions of the U.S. and the Scottish borderlands, where herding was a primary means of subsistence, one's livelihood could be easily stolen, and there was very little state-sponsored law enforcement to prevent theft or recover one's assets (e.g. Brown, 2016; Figueredo et al., 2004; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). To minimize attacks on one's livelihood, men in these environments were expected to develop a reputation that informs others that they would be ready to retaliate if their properties and resources were threatened. The *individual's and their family's social image* were built upon men's reputation for aggressiveness and toughness, and their *willingness to reciprocate* both threats and attacks as well as help and assistance (Barnes et al., 2012; Leung & Cohen, 2011).

This combination of strong social image and willingness to reciprocate has been integrated into what has been called the *street code* by research studying violence in gangs in urban areas (e.g. Brezina et al., 2004). Therefore, honour cultures generally subscribe to *hegemonic masculine norms*, whereby men are expected to provide for their family, engage positively with their community, and defend against and ward off any potential threat (Chalman et al., 2021; O'Dea et al., 2018; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008; Rodriguez Mosquera & Imada, 2013). In addition, honour cultures also are often characterized by the expectations that individuals should be honest and trustworthy, and that women should be modest and chaste; individuals in these cultures are socialized to feel *concerned* about not violating these expectations (Barnes et al., 2012; Rodriguez Mosquera & Imada, 2013). Overall, to be an honourable person means to have *self-worth* in one's own eyes and in the eyes of others (Peristiany, 1965; Pitt-Rivers, 1965). Therefore, members of cultural groups that endorse a logic of honour manifest a set of psychosocial tendencies around the building and maintenance of a strong social image. In line with this reasoning, then, in times of economic hardship, people who are known to be willing to retaliate aggressively against threat may be safeguarded against possible theft or vandalism (Leung & Cohen, 2011). This argument led us to extract two predictions that suggest different associations between SES and endorsement of a cultural logic of honour.

Predicted relationships between SES and cultural logic of honour

Threat vulnerability hypothesis

Our *Threat Vulnerability Hypothesis* states that SES, and predominantly objective measurements of SES such as income, would be negatively associated with honour ideology (i.e. poorer people would be higher in honour ideology). Individuals of lower SES usually live in more threatening contexts and are more vulnerable to threats that might affect resources and livelihood (Kraus et al., 2012). For example, individuals of lower SES have more negative daily experiences (Henry, 2009), tend to be more affected by threats such as stereotype threat (e.g. Croizet & Claire, 1998; Spencer & Castano, 2007), and are more attuned to, and cognizant of, hostility from others (Kraus et al., 2012) compared with those of higher SES. Thus, lower SES individuals may develop a stronger cultural logic of honour (e.g. importance of reputation, assertive masculinity) that may help them to deal with these daily threats. Indeed, honour ideologies might work as a compensatory strategy involving self-protection from those daily threats, strengthening a social image that will cushion them. Although there is limited research supporting this relationship specifically, Henry (2009) discussed that adoption of honour-related attitudes and practices may serve as compensation for low status. Henry measured proneness to aggression following insults as a proxy for honour culture but did not directly measure people's personal endorsement of cultural logic of honour. To establish more directly the link between SES and a cultural logic of honour, in the current studies, we tested the *Threat Vulnerability Hypothesis*, examining whether individuals of lower (vs. higher) SES endorse a cultural logic of honour more (vs. less) strongly.

Status attachment hypothesis

Our *Status Attachment Hypothesis* predicted that individuals of higher SES may be more psychologically vulnerable to the loss of status associated with their wealth, perhaps due to having experienced its benefits, and as such endorse more strongly a cultural logic of honour compared to their lower SES counterparts. This would be especially true of individuals who personally perceive themselves as higher in status and wealth compared to their peers (i.e. subjective measurements of wealth/SES). In support of this reasoning, research has shown that individuals of higher (vs. lower) SES tend to value status, money and achievement more (Anderson et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2020) and express more positive attitudes toward greed (Piff et al., 2012). Although higher (vs. lower) SES individuals may be objectively less vulnerable to threats that put their wealth at risk, they may be more psychologically vulnerable to the loss of their status and wealth, as experienced in the "fear of falling" (Jetten et al., 2021). This may be so because a strong attachment to status and wealth permeates individual identity, making a person's worth a function of the value of what they have (Fromm, 1976). Indeed, SES structures the self-concept in terms of wealth: individuals of higher (vs. lower) SES place greater importance on identities that are indicative of their SES (e.g. income, occupation; Easterbrook et al., 2020), make greater use of wealth and status in self-definition and self-categorization (Wang et al., 2020), and thus see their reputation as dependent on their resources.

Further, social image management, which sits at the core of honour cultures, serves as a central strategy for individuals belonging to higher SES to maintain and even increase their resources. Indeed, higher (vs. lower) social classes have a broader network of social relationships (i.e. social capital; Bourdieu, 1986; Casciaro et al., 2016; Nutakor et al., 2023; Pichler & Wallace, 2009) which requires managing and maintaining positive views from others. Reputation concern is indeed one of the reasons that explain why higher (vs. lower) SES individuals engaged in more prosocial behaviour in public, but not in private settings (Kraus & Callaghan, 2016). This body of evidence suggests that those in higher, rather than lower, SES groups tend to be more concerned about their social image as a strategy to manage their social capital, which in turn allows them to protect their wealth. In the current studies, we thus contrasted the Threat Vulnerability Hypothesis with the *Status Attachment Hypothesis*, examining whether individuals of higher (vs. lower) SES endorse a cultural logic of honour more (vs. less) strongly.

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OVERVIEW OF CURRENT STUDIES

In the current research, we tested the relationship between SES and endorsement of a cultural logic of honour, examining two competing hypotheses that predict different directional relationship between SES and endorsement of honour. Our approach aims to make several important contributions to the existing literature on this topic. First, we tested this relationship measuring different manifestations of cultural logic of honour. This is important as honour is a multifaceted construct which presents itself in a variety of values and concerns, which can also be gendered (Cross & Uskul, 2022). The operationalizations of honour used in the datasets which we analysed for the current paper included: concerns and values (Studies 1a and 1b), masculine honour-based ideology endorsement (Study 2, Study 3b), and importance of social image, reciprocity, street code and socially conferred self-worth (Study 3a and 3b).

Second, to provide a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between SES and endorsement of a cultural logic of honour that is more representative of human societies, we relied on studies originating from different world regions which measured varied manifestations of a cultural logic of honour. This pushes the boundaries of research on SES and reputation or status concerns which has been conducted almost exclusively with samples from the U.S. or other Anglo-Western countries (Henry, 2009; Kraus & Callaghan, 2016). Western societies manifest cultural logics that can be very different from other regions. They have been characterized as promoting a cultural logic of dignity in which individuals have an inherent self-worth from birth, which leads them to guide their behaviours more strongly by internal factors (Leung & Cohen, 2011). In contrast, in East Asian societies, individuals tend to follow a cultural logic of face which makes them more dependent on others to assess their self-worth, leading them to drive their behaviours more strongly by external factors (Leung & Cohen, 2011). Many societies in other parts of the world are thought to be more concerned with the logic of honour (Leung & Cohen, 2011), which is the focus of the current research. Given that our aim here is to address variation in the cultural logic of honour *within* societies as a function of SES, testing our hypotheses using data originating from regions of the world with varying degrees of prevalence of different cultural logics —dignity, face, and honour—will provide insights into this link in contexts where honour is more or less a driving source of social behaviour. In combination, the datasets used here allowed us to examine the SES-honour endorsement link in 20 different sites around the world. Nine of these sites were located around the Mediterranean (Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities in Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Lebanon, Spain, Tunisia, Turkey), where honour is endorsed more strongly than in other world regions—especially in those societies located further east and south within the Mediterranean basin (Vignoles et al., in press). The other 11 samples were located in world regions where honour is thought to play a less pertinent role in shaping social behaviour (U.K., Northern U.S., Japan, South Korea, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam).

Third, following current recommendations on how to operationalize SES (Antonoplis, 2023), we outline the process underlying our hypotheses to identify the better indicator of SES dependent on the hypothesis that is being tested. We used the Subjective SES Assessment (SSES) (Adler et al., 2000) as a subjective index of SES across studies. In addition, we included income as an objective measure of living conditions in single-country studies (Studies 3a-3b). For the Status Attachment Hypothesis, we expect SES to affect honour through the subjective relationship to status and wealth. Therefore, the Status Attachment Hypothesis should be based more on the subjective interpretation of one's position in the hierarchy (i.e. stronger relationships with SSES). Whereas for the Threat Vulnerability Hypothesis, we expect SES to affect honour through daily threat. Thus, the Threat Vulnerability Hypothesis should be driven by objective living conditions, so objective living conditions indices are more appropriate in this case (i.e. stronger relationships with income).

STUDIES 1A AND 1B

We first tested the relationship between SES and honour focusing on individuals' endorsement of honour values and honour concerns using two datasets which included samples from the Mediterranean region and beyond.

Method

Participants and procedure

The data for Studies 1a and 1b were extracted from two large comparative studies focusing on the Mediterranean region including Egypt, Greece, Italy, Lebanon, Spain and Turkey; the data sets also included samples from the UK, the U.S., Japan, and South Korea. In addition, samples from Cyprus (distinguishing between Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities) were included in Study 1a and from Tunisia in Study 1b. Previous findings involving the current measures of honour values and concerns, but unrelated to SES, have been reported by Kirchner-Häusler et al. (2023); Vignoles et al. (in press); Uskul et al. (2024, 2023).

In Study 1a, depending on the recruitment site, participants recruited from local universities received course credit, monetary compensation, had a financial contribution made to a COVID-related charity in their name, or were entered into a raffle for vouchers of local online vendors. In Study 1b, participants were recruited by a survey company from the general population who were compensated for their time. The sampling of Study 1a was a convenience sampling via the participant pools of collaborating universities. The sampling of Study 1b was a quota sampling to ensure inclusion of comparable number of participants across different age groups and comparable number of men and women.

Ethical approval for Study 1a was obtained from the institutions of all collaborating partners (see Data S1 for further information about the sample, measures and reliability coefficients). Ethical approval for Study 1b was secured from the institution by which the study was coordinated. Informed consent was obtained from all participants. The data and syntax that support the findings of these studies are openly available (https://osf.io/egmvx/).

All participants were eligible to participate if they were 18 years or older, born and lived at the time of data collection in the respective country. Participants who failed one or more of four attention checks were excluded from the final sample. Given the design of both studies was similar, we pooled the two datasets. The final pooled data set entered into the analyses consisted of a total of 7496 participants (52% women, 47.8% men, and 0.2% prefer not to answer) with an age range between 18 to 89 years ($M = 33.35$, $SD = 15.49$). The original questionnaire was prepared in English which was translated into the local languages using a team translation approach (i.e. first, native local speakers translated the item into the local language, and then a team member checked it for accuracy and adherence to local conventions). After discussing any disagreements, a final version was produced in seven different languages. The order of items within each measure was randomized.

Measures

Subjective socioeconomic-status (SSES)

Both studies included a ladder measure, which participants used to report their socioeconomic status (SES) within their society, with response options ranging from 1 (*Bottom*) to 10 (*Top*) (Adler et al., 2000) (see Figures S1 and S2 for frequency distribution).

Honour values

In both studies, we used a five-item scale to measure defence of family honour (e.g. *People should not allow others to insult their family* Study 1a: $.76 \leq \alpha \leq .86$, Study 1b: $.81 \leq \alpha \leq .86$) (based on Yao et al., 2017), and a three-item scale to measure self-promotion and retaliation values which makes up another facet of honour (e.g. It is important to promote oneself to others; Study 1a: $.42 \leq \alpha \leq .70$; Study 1b: $.63 \leq \alpha \leq .81$) (based on Smith et al., 2017) (1: *strongly disagree* to 7: *strongly agree*).

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Honour concerns

In Study 1a, we also used the 14-item *Honour Scale* developed by Guerra et al. (2013) which asks participants to indicate how bad they would feel about potential losses of honour in four domains: family reputation (4 items, e.g…your family had a bad reputation? $65 \leq \alpha \leq .88$), integrity, (4 items, e.g…you had the reputation of being dishonest with others? $67 \leq \alpha \leq .81$), family authority, (2 items, e.g…you lacked authority over your own family? $75 \leq \alpha \leq .92$), and sexual propriety, (4 items, e.g…you were known as someone who has had many different sexual partners? $74 \leq \alpha \leq .90$) (1: Not all bad to 7: very bad).[1]

Sociodemographic variables

In both studies, we included age and gender as control variables in our analyses.

We also included indices of national wealth and economic inequality as control variables in our analyses considering the differences in economic characteristics across the countries included in these datasets.

National wealth

We included the GNI per capita index relative to 2020 (World Bank, 2022a). This index is expressed in current international dollars converted for purchasing power parity (PPP). Because there is a large difference in the economic impact when certain increments happen at lower versus higher levels of wealth (e.g. additional 100$ means a great increment to the poor but has little impact for the rich), we log-transformed this score to attenuate the differences (e.g. Li et al., 2019).

Economic inequality

We used the Gini coefficient as the index of economic inequality, with higher scores showing greater economic inequality, relative to the year 2020 or the closest available earlier year from the World Bank (World Bank, 2022b).

Results and discussion

First, we calculated the Intraclass Correlation (ICC) of each honour variable to test the distribution of variance between individual and country levels, which revealed a range between .09 and .20. This suggests considerable variance is dependent on the country level and points to multilevel analyses as the appropriate analytical method. Given the large number of criterion variables, we conducted two multilevel path models clustering individuals (Level 1) within countries (Level 2). We used the Lavaan package (Rosseel, 2012) for R software (R Core Team, 2008) to provide the standardized outcome. We included SSES as a main predictor together with age and gender (1 = men, 2 = women) as control variables at the individual level. We also included national wealth and economic inequality as control variables at the country level. Age, national wealth, and economic inequality were all grand mean centered. The first multilevel path model included honour concerns (i.e. family reputation concerns; integrity concerns, family authority concerns, and sexual propriety concerns) as dependent variables. The second multilevel path model included values (i.e. defence of family honour values, and self-promotion and retaliation values) as dependent variables.

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[1]Multigroup and multilevel analyses extensively testing cross-cultural validity of the Honour values and Honour concerns scales can be found in Vignoles et al. (in press).

Results revealed that SSES positively predicted defence of family honour values ($\beta = .05$, $p < .001$) and self-promotion and retaliation values ($\beta = .06$, $p < .001$; Figure 1) which is consistent with the Status Attachment Hypothesis (Table 1). Detailed analyses of the studies separately showed that SSES predicted family honour values in both samples, whereas SSES only predicted self-promotion and retaliation values in Study 1b (see section S3 in SM for details).

Regarding honour concerns, results revealed that SSES positively predicted family reputation concerns ($\beta = .08$, $p = < .001$, Figure 2; which is consistent with the Status Attachment Hypothesis), but was not a significant predictor of integrity concerns ($\beta = .01$, $p = .918$), family authority concerns ($\beta = .04$, $p = .080$) or sexual propriety concerns ($\beta = .04$, $p = .096$) (see Table 2).
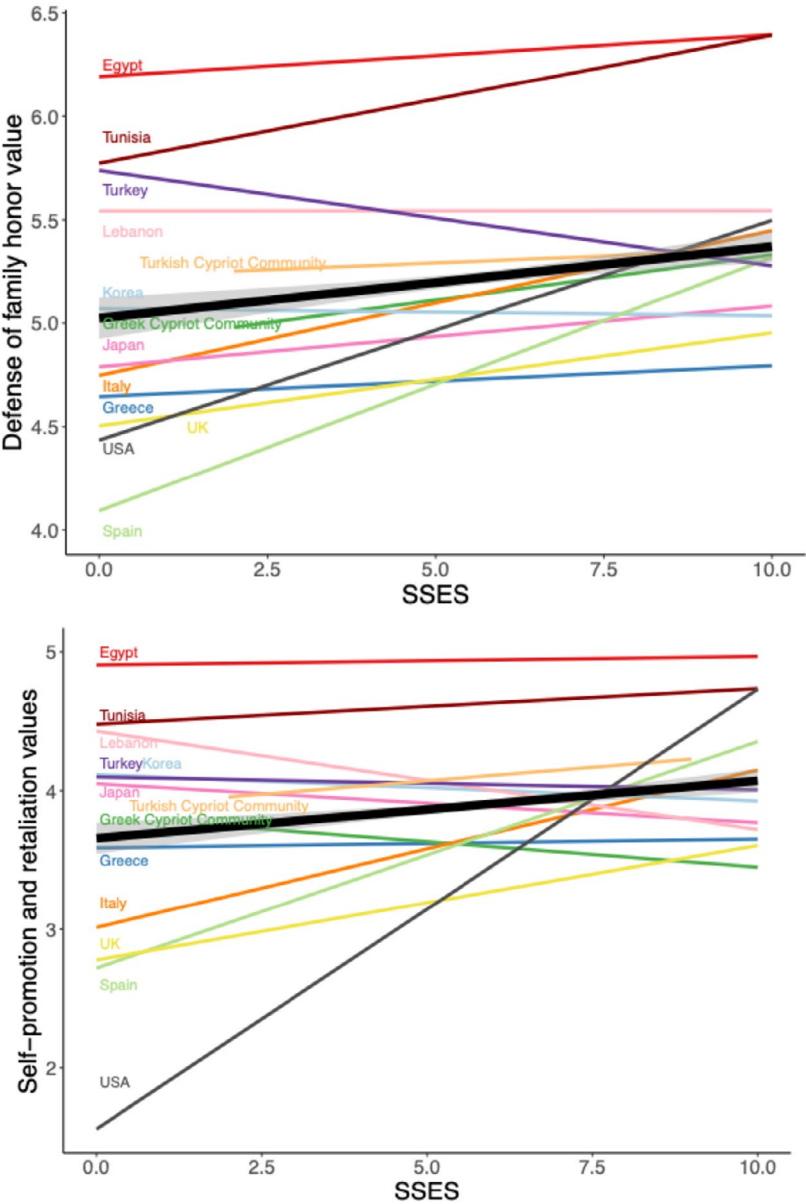

FIGURE 1 Relationship between Subjective Socioeconomic Status and defence of family honour values (top) and self-promotion and retaliation values (bottom) pancultural (black line) and by country (coloured) in Studies 1a and 1b pooled. The legend shows countries and their national wealth in brackets.

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TABLE 1 Path model output of SSES predicting honour related outcomes in Studies 1a and 1b pooled.

	Estimate	Stand. Error	Z-value	p-values	(95% CI)
Level 1 (individual)					
Defence of family honour values ~					
SSES	.05	.01	6.57	<.001	(0.04, 0.07)
Age	.02	.01	19.72	<.001	(0.02, 0.02)
Gender	−.15	.03	−5.32	<.001	(−0.20, −0.09)
Self-promotion and retaliation values ~					
SSES	.06	.01	5.95	<.001	(0.04, 0.07)
Age	.01	.00	5.32	<.001	(0.01, 0.01)
Gender	−.27	.03	−8.45	<.001	(−0.34, −0.21)
Level 2 (country)					
Defence of family honour values ~					
Economic inequality	.07	.09	0.76	.446	(−0.11, 0.26)
National wealth	−.47	.09	−4.96	<.001	(−0.65, −0.28)
Self-promotion and retaliation values ~					
Economic Inequality	−.03	.09	−0.34	.731	(−0.21, 0.15)
National wealth	−.35	.09	−3.76	<.001	(−0.53, −0.17)

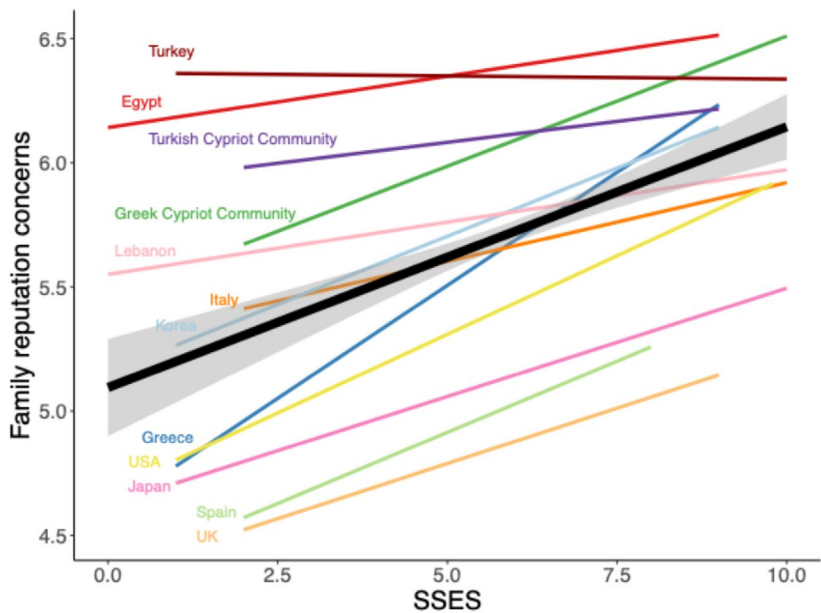Abbreviation: SSES, Subjective socio-economic status.

FIGURE 2 Relationship between subjective socioeconomic status and family reputation concerns pancultural (black line) and by country (coloured) in Study 1a. The legend shows countries and their national wealth in brackets.

In sum, findings from samples recruited in countries from different world regions and from student and non-student populations revealed that SSES *positively* predicted some facets of honour values and concerns; individuals who perceived themselves as occupying a higher SSES within their society

TABLE 2 Path model output of SSES predicting honour concerns in Study 1a.

	Estimate	Stand. Error	Z-value	p-values	(95% CI)
Level 1 (individuals)					
Family reputation concerns ~					
SSES	.08	.02	5.51	<.001	(0.05, 0.11)
Age	.01	.01	0.30	.767	(−0.01, 0.01)
Gender	.16	.04	3.65	<.001	(0.07, 0.24)
Integrity concerns ~					
SSES	.01	.01	0.10	.918	(−0.02, 0.03)
Age	.01	.01	0.73	.469	(−0.01, 0.01)
Gender	.20	.04	5.23	<.001	(0.12, 0.27)
Family authority concerns ~					
SSES	.04	.02	1.75	.080	(−0.01, 0.08)
Age	−.01	.01	−1.65	.098	(−0.03, 0.01)
Gender	−.02	.06	−0.32	.746	(−0.14, −0.10)
Sexual propriety concerns ~					
SSES	.04	.02	1.67	.096	(−0.01, 0.08)
Age	−.01	.01	−1.02	.306	(−0.02, 0.01)
Gender	.77	.06	13.01	<.001	(0.65, 0.88)
Level 2 (country)					
Family reputation concerns ~					
Inequality	.09	.13	0.73	.465	(−0.15, 0.34)
National Wealth	−.32	.15	−2.19	.028	(−0.61, −0.03)
Integrity concerns ~					
inequality	.21	.10	1.91	.056	(−0.01, 0.42)
National wealth	−.31	.13	−2.40	.016	(−0.56, −0.06)
Family authority concerns ~					
Inequality	.35	.22	1.61	.108	(−0.08, 0.77)
National wealth	−.21	.25	−0.85	.395	(−0.70, 0.28)
Sexual propriety concerns ~					
Inequality	.18	.20	0.87	.382	(−0.22, 0.57)
National wealth	−.45	.23	−1.94	.052	(−0.91, 0.01)

Abbreviation: SSES, Subjective socio-economic status.

endorsed stronger defence of family honour values and concerns as well as self-promotion and retaliation values. These findings provide initial supporting evidence for the Status Attachment Hypothesis.[2]

STUDY 2

Studies 1a and 1b revealed findings that supported the Status Attachment Hypothesis. To test the generalizability of these findings, in Study 2 we examined the SSES-honour link using a different manifestation of honour, this time focusing on its gendered nature by adopting a measure of

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[2]Additional analyses testing the robustness and generality of these findings are presented in Data S1. Findings were substantively unchanged in models omitting control variables, as well as in models additionally controlling for the two cultural dimensions of the Minkov-Hofstede model (Minkov & Kaasa, 2022). Moderation analyses revealed that the relationships of SSES with both dimensions of honour values were significantly stronger in richer than in poorer nations (see Data S1 for visualization). The relationships of SSES with self-promotion and retaliation values was significantly stronger in countries with low honour culture than in those with high honour culture (see Data S1 for visualization).

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masculine honour ideology (Barnes et al., 2012) and using data from a large number of Southeast Asian countries. This study allowed us to test our hypotheses in an understudied world region consisting of cultural groups not traditionally identified as fostering strong honour values. We should note that endorsement of masculine honour as ideology (not as a feature of individuals themselves) can be endorsed by both men and women and has been shown to be associated with important outcomes for both gender groups (e.g. Barnes et al., 2012; Osterman & Brown, 2011); we therefore asked both men and women to indicate their endorsement of this ideology following practice in past research.

Method

Participants and procedure

Study 2 data were extracted from a large cross-cultural investigation conducted in the Southeast Asian region. Data were collected in 26 sites across seven Southeast Asian countries (i.e. Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam) from 7305 individuals who reported residing in these countries since birth. In Study 2, research collaborators recruited undergraduate students in their own universities, with some in exchange for course credit. The questionnaires were translated into local languages using the back-translation approach (Brislin, 1973), with the exception of Brunei, Malaysia, and Singapore where participants completed the study in English, which is widely spoken in these countries and was used as the medium of instruction in educational contexts.

Our final sample comprised 5572 participants who completed the questions related to our main variable (76.8% women, 22.2% men, 1% other; age range: 18–57 years [$M = 20.23$, $SD = 2.53$]). Ethical approval for the study was obtained by the institution that coordinated the project (see Data S1 in SM for further information about the sample, measures, and reliability of measures). Informed consent was obtained for all participants. The data and syntax that support the findings of this study are openly available at this link: https://osf.io/egmvx/.

Measures

Subjective socioeconomic-status (SSES)

We used the same ladder measure as in Studies 1a and 1b (see Data S1 for frequency distribution).

Honour ideology for manhood

We used the 16-item *Honour Ideology for Manhood* (HIM) scale by Barnes et al. (2012) (e.g. *A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another man who slanders his family*; 1 = *strongly disagree* to 9 = *strongly agree*, $.87 \leq \alpha \leq .93$).

As before, we used participant gender and age as control variables in our analyses, as well as national wealth and economic inequality.

National wealth

We included the GNI per capita index as in the previous studies, using this index relative to the year 2022 (World Bank, 2022a).

TABLE 3   Multilevel models predicting honour ideology for manhood in Study 2.

Predictors	Estimates (95% CI)	p	Estimates (95% CI)	p
Fixed Effects				
(Intercept)	5.78 (5.49, 6.08)	<.001	5.56 (5.22, 5.90)	<.001
Gender	−0.38 (−0.48, −0.29)	<.001	−0.38 (−0.47, −0.29)	<.001
Age	0.02 (0.01, 0.04)	.010	0.02 (<0.01, 0.04)	.018
Economic inequality	0.06 (−0.23–0.36)	.680	0.06 (−0.25, 0.36)	.717
National wealth	−0.30 (−0.61, −<0.01)	.048	−0.29 (−0.60, 0.02)	.067
SSES			0.04 (0.01, 0.06)	0.006
Random effects				
σ^2	2.24		2.24	
τ_{00}	0.11 $_{Country}$		0.11 $_{Country}$	
ICC	0.05		0.05	
N	7 $_{Country}$		7 $_{Country}$	
Observations	5540		5540	
Marginal R^2/conditional R^2	0.021 / 0.066		0.023 / 0.070	
Deviance	20215.908		20207.295	
AIC	20248.032		20248.100	
Log-likelihood	−10117.016		−10116.050	

Economic inequality

We used the Gini coefficient from the World Bank as in the previous studies (World Bank, 2022b). Given that data from Singapore and Brunei were not available in the World Bank, the index for these two countries was therefore collected from Knoema (2022) and Spanish foreign ministry (2022), respectively.

Results and discussion

We conducted multilevel modelling to test our hypothesis using the lme4 package for R software (Bates et al., 2015), treating the responses of participants at Level 1 and the countries at Level 2. Age and country-level variables were grand mean centered. We computed a series of models to predict honour ideology for manhood scores. The first model was an intercept-only model to estimate its intraclass correlation ICC. The results showed an ICC = .05, indicating that 5% of the variance in honour ideology for manhood was between countries. Although this ICC is relatively low, it still calls for attention to the multilevel structure of the data (Dyer et al., 2005). The second model included our control variables at individual (gender, age) and country levels (GNI and GINI).

The third model included SSES as our main predictor. The results showed that the third model provided an improvement in model fit, χ^2 (1) = 8.61, p =. 003, and SSES positively predicted honour ideology for manhood, β = .04, p =.003 (see Table 3 and Figure 3). This finding is consistent with Studies 1a and 1b and provides additional supportive evidence for the Status Attachment Hypothesis.[3]

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[3]Additional analyses testing the robustness and generality of this main finding are presented in Section S4. Consistent with our main finding, SSES positively predicted honour ideology for manhood in a model omitting control variables, as well as in a model additionally controlling for the two cultural dimensions of the Minkov-Hofstede model (Minkov & Kaasa, 2022). The relationship between SSES and honour ideology for manhood was not significantly moderated by national wealth, nor by gender.
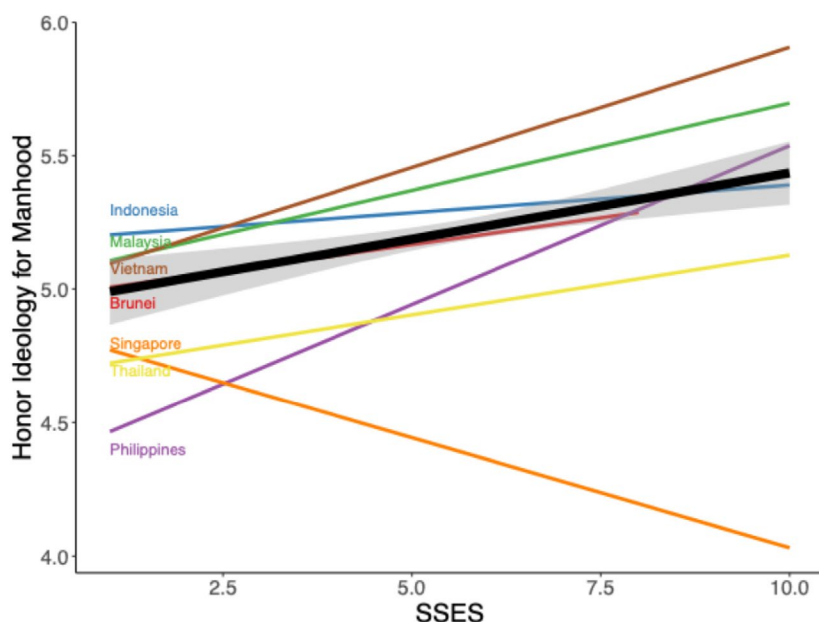
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FIGURE 3   Relationship between subjective socioeconomic status and honour ideology for manhood by country (coloured) and pancultural (black line) in Study 2. The legend shows countries and their national wealth in brackets.

Thus, Study 2, conducted in a world region different to those covered in Studies 1a and 1b, revealed that *SSES positively* predicted another facet of honour, with individuals who perceived themselves as occupying a higher SSES within their society endorsing stronger honour ideology, supporting the *Status Attachment Hypothesis* consistent with findings obtained in Studies 1a and 1b.

STUDIES 3A AND 3B

We conducted Studies 3a and 3b to further test the relationship between SSES and honour endorsement focusing on the manifestations of the construct of honour that remained unaddressed in the previous studies: socially conferred self-worth, reciprocity, street code, importance of family and personal image (Leung & Cohen, 2011; Perugini et al., 2003; Rodriguez Mosquera & Imada, 2013). Moreover, we examined income as an objective measure of SES to test whether the relationship between objective SES and a range of honour indicators shows a comparable or a different pattern to those observed in previous studies in which we employed measures of subjective SES.

Method

Participants and procedure

We conducted Study 3a in Spain and Study 3b in the U.S. A total of 215 undergraduate participants completed Study 3a in an online platform in exchange for course credit. Two participants were excluded because they failed the attention checks, leaving a final sample of 213 participants. We recruited adult participants from the U.S. via the online recruitment platform CloudResearch (Litman et al., 2017) for Study 3b. A total of 596 participants accessed the study in Qualtrics. We excluded 45 participants who had missing data on the entirety of at least one measure and 45 who failed one or more of our quality checks (captchas), leaving us a final sample size of 506 participants. Given the design of both studies was similar,

we pooled the data set controlling for the sample origin (i.e. Spain vs. USA). We had a total sample of 719 participants (44.8% women, 50.7% men, 0.6% transgender, 0.8% nonbinary and 3.1% others) between 18 and 84 years old ($M = 37.04$, $SD = 15.93$).[4] Ethical approval was secured from the host institutions. Informed consent was obtained for all participants. The results of our sensitivity power analysis showed that our sample size ($n = 719$) was sufficient to detect a small effect size ($r = .10$) with $\alpha = 0.05$ and $1\text{-}\beta = 0.80$. The data and syntax that support the findings of this study are openly available (https://osf.io/egmvx/).

Measures

Subjective Socioeconomic-Status (SES)

We used the same ladder measure as in the previous studies (see Figures S8 and S9 for frequency distribution in Study 3a and 3b respectively).

Objective socioeconomic-status

We asked about the family income after taxes per month using a ten-item scale: less than 650€ [1]; 651€-1300€[2]; 1301€-1950€[3]; 1951€-2600€[4]; 2601€-3250€[5]; 3251€-3900€[6]; 3901€-4550€[7]; 4551€-5200€[8]; 5.201€-5.800€[9], more than 5800€[10] (e.g. Sánchez-Rodríguez et al., 2022) in Study 3a. We asked participants to indicate their monthly household income using an open question on a sliding scale ranging from $0–10,000 USD per month in Study 3b.

Importance of social image

We used the six-item Importance of Social Image Scale developed by Rodríguez-Mosquera and colleagues (2013), which asked participants to indicate how important certain aspects of their social image were to them (1 = *Not important at all* to 9 = *Extremely important*). Given the importance of differentiating personal honour from family honour, we averaged relevant items to get an importance of *family* image score (3 items, e.g. *The reputation of your family*, $\alpha_{Study3a} = .79$, $\alpha_{Study3b} = .88$) and an importance of *personal* image score (3 items, e.g. *Your reputation*, $\alpha_{Study3a} = .72$, $\alpha_{Study3b} = .83$).

Socially conferred self-worth

We used the Inalienable Versus Socially Conferred Worth Scale developed by Leung and Cohen (2011) to assess self-worth. Participants indicated their agreement with four items (e.g. *How others treat me is irrelevant to my worth as a person*, $\alpha_{Study3a} = .69$, $\alpha_{Study3b} = .85$) using a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) response scale. We reverse-coded the scores, so that higher scores indicate greater dependence of personal worth on others, a characteristic in line with a cultural logic of honour.

Reciprocity

We used the 18-items scale developed by Perugini et al. (2003) which asked participants to indicate the extent to which a series of positive (e.g. *If someone does a favour for me, I am ready to return it*, α

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[4]For separate detail of both samples see Section S5 in Supplementary Material.

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$_{\text{Study3a}}$ = .71, α $_{\text{Study3b}}$ = .89) and negative (e.g. *If somebody is impolite to me, I become impolite*, α $_{\text{Study3a}}$ = .82, α $_{\text{Study3b}}$ = .93) reciprocity statements are true for them (1 = *It's not true for me at all* to 9 = *Completely true for me*). Higher scores on these scales indicate a stronger tendency to reciprocate both positive and negative behaviours.

Street code

We used the scale developed by Pedersen et al. (2014) to ask participants to indicate their agreement with ten items assessing support for the rules of street life (e.g. *Sometimes, you have to fight to uphold your honour or put someone in his or her place.*, α $_{\text{Study3a}}$ = .76, α $_{\text{Study3b}}$ = .91; 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*). Higher scores on this scale indicate that individuals support the street code.

Masculine honour beliefs

We also included a shorter form of a broader measure of masculine honour ideology in Study 3b, the *Masculine Honour Beliefs Scale* (Saucier et al., 2016). This scale is composed of seven items, with one item taken from each of the seven subscales of the original scale designed to provide a broad assessment of masculine honour ideology (e.g. *A man should not be afraid to fight*, 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*) (α = .84).

Sociodemographic variables

Participants indicated their age and gender. We also included an item that assesses political orientation, with higher scores indicating a more right-wing (Study 3a) or conservative orientation (Study 3b).[5] All these sociodemographic variables were included as control variables.[6]

Results and discussion

Table 4 shows descriptive statistics of and correlations between study variables in each study. Before conducting the analyses, we standardized the variables in both datasets separately to homogenize the two scales and then pooled them. We used the Lavaan package (Rosseel, 2012) for R software (R Core Team, 2008). We provided the standardized outcome. We included SSES and objective SES together with control variables —i.e. political ideology, age, gender (1 = men, 2 = women) and sample (1 = USA, 2 = Spain)— as predictors, and all honour variables included in both studies as criterion variables —i.e. importance of family and personal image, positive and negative reciprocity, socially conferred self-worth and street code. We computed an additional model with Masculine Honour Beliefs as a dependent variable.[7]

The results show that SSES was a significant positive predictor of importance of family image (β = .22, p < .001), personal image (β = .19, p < .001), street code (β = .10, p = .014), and masculine

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[5]In the original scale of Study 3b, higher scores indicated a liberal orientation. Therefore, the scale was reversed before conducting the analyses to align its meaning with that of Study 3a.

[6]The findings were similar when we analysed the data with bivariate correlations, omitting our control variables (see Table 4). Moreover, additional measures and results about ecological features can be found in Data S1. These results show that individuals with lower SES perceived the context in which they grew up as more violent and insecure than those belonging to higher SES. Moreover, these ecological features significantly and negatively predicted socially conferred self-worth.

[7]Since the Masculine Honour Beliefs scale was included only in Study 3b, we conducted a separate analysis for this outcome to avoid reducing the sample size included in the first model as only the participants that answered all the measures were included in a path model.

TABLE 4 Means, *SD*s, and correlations of measures in Study 3a (Spain, below the diagonal) and Study 3b (USA, above the diagonal).

	M (SD) study 3a	M (SD) study 4b	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Subjective SES	6.11 (1.12)	5.07 (1.80)	-	.30***	.23***	.19***	.02	.05	.06	−.05	.16***
2. Objective SES	4.31 (1.74)	$4358.77 ($2702.03)	.46***	-	−.02	.07	−.03	.06	.01	−.13**	.06
3. Importance of family image	4.63 (1.22)	4.52 (1.54)	.16*	−.01	-	.73***	.18***	.18***	.04	.08	.40***
4. Importance of personal image	4.83 (1.07)	4.74 1.36	.23**	−.02	.67***	-	.20***	.16***	.08	.11*	.30***
5. Street code	3.33 (0.91)	3.27 (1.28)	.22**	−.09	.27***	.33***	-	−.11*	.68***	<.01	.69***
6. Positive reciprocity	5.78 (0.69)	5.52 (1.00)	.08	.01	−.01	.07	.21*	-	−.22***	−.33***	.06
7. Negative reciprocity	3.12 (1.03)	2.93 (1.34)	.06	−.07	.10	.18*	.44***	.03	-	.14**	.40***
8. Socially conferred self-worth	3.48 (1.32)	5.10 (1.39)	−.10	−.12	.10	.23**	.04	−.02	−.03	-	.11*
9. Masculine honour beliefs scale	3.81 (1.24)		—								

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honour beliefs ($\beta = .17$, $p < .001$), but not socially conferred self-worth ($\beta = -.03$, $p = .535$), positive reciprocity ($\beta = .04$, $p = .373$) or negative reciprocity ($\beta = .07$, $p = .092$). In contrast, objective SES was a significant *negative* predictor of both socially conferred self-worth ($\beta = -.12$, $p = .003$) and importance of family image ($\beta = -.08$, $p = .031$), whereas it was not significantly related to positive reciprocity ($\beta = .02$, $p = .584$), negative reciprocity ($\beta = -.02$, $p = .629$), importance of personal image ($\beta = -.02$, $p = .604$), street code ($\beta = -.06$, $p = .134$) or masculine honour beliefs ($\beta = -.08$, $p = .088$; see Table 5). Analyses of the individual studies separately showed a similar pattern for the relationship between SSES and the importance of family and personal image. Street code was predicted by SSES in Study 3a only. However, the association of objective SES with importance of family image did not reach statistical significance in either study, and the association with socially conferred self-worth reached significance in Study 3b only.

Overall, in line with the *Status Attachment Hypothesis*, these findings provide additional evidence that individuals with higher (vs. lower) SSES endorsed various different manifestations of a cultural logic of honour more strongly, including importance of family and personal image, and endorsement of street code, but excluding reciprocity and socially conferred self-worth. However, we found that income, an objective measure of SES, was negatively related to two of the honour indicators, suggesting that lower incomes predict more socially conferred (i.e. less inalienable) self-worth and greater importance of family image, in line with the *Threat Vulnerability Hypothesis*.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The goal of the current research was to examine the relationship between SES and endorsement of honour focusing on its different facets and manifestations. Initial evidence by Henry (2009) showed that individuals of lower (vs. higher) SES tended to be more likely to report engaging in aggressive behaviours. This finding was interpreted as this group of individuals endorsing honour more strongly as a guiding principle in their lives to self-protect against external threats, providing the basis for the *Threat Vulnerability Hypothesis*. Alternative evidence suggested that individuals of higher (vs. lower) SES might may be more motivated to defend their status, as losing it would have more harmful psychological consequences (Easterbrook et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2020); this in turn would motivate them to engage to a greater extent in reputational maintenance strategies (Bourdieu, 1986; Kraus & Callaghan, 2016). This reasoning provided the basis for the *Status Attachment Hypothesis*. Our studies provided a test for these competing hypotheses using data from different datasets.

Overall, the current findings provided stronger support for the *Status Attachment Hypothesis*, demonstrating that individuals who subjectively perceived themselves of higher (vs. lower) SES tended to endorse different indicators of a cultural logic of honour more strongly. Specifically, we found that individuals of higher (vs. lower) SSES more strongly endorsed defence of family honour values and concerns, and self-promotion and retaliation values (Studies 1a and 1b). This group of participants also more strongly endorsed masculine honour beliefs (Studies 2 and 3b) and placed greater emphasis on personal and family social image, and the so-called street code (Studies 3a and 3b) compared with individuals of lower SSES. However, we did not find evidence that SSES predicted (positively or negatively) other honour manifestations such as integrity, family authority and sexual propriety concerns (Study 1a and 1b), nor positive and negative reciprocity (Studies 3a and 3b). We should note, however, in some of the non-significant results, there was a trend for a positive association with *p*-values ranging between .05 and .10 suggesting some (albeit weak) support for the *Status Attachment Hypothesis*, in particular in the case of the association between SES and family authority and sexual concerns (Studies 1a and 1b) and negative reciprocity (Studies 3a and 3b). The only evidence inconsistent with the *Status Attachment Hypothesis* originated from associations observed between objective SES and several indicators of honour logic: objective SES negatively predicted socially conferred self-worth and perceived importance of family image.

TABLE 5 Path models output of SSES predicting honour related outcomes in Studies 3a and 3b pooled.

	Estimate	Stand. Error	Z-value	p-values	(95% CI)
Socially conferred self-worth ~					
Subjective SES	−.03	.04	−0.62	.535	(−0.10, 0.05)
Objective SES	−.12	.04	−2.94	.003	(−0.20, −0.04)
Age	−.06	.04	−1.67	.094	(−0.14, 0.01)
Gender	.02	.04	0.49	.625	(−0.05, 0.08)
Political ideology	−.01	.08	−0.17	.868	(−0.08, 0.07)
Sample	−.01	.08	−0.13	.896	(−0.17, 0.15)
Positive reciprocity ~					
Subjective SES	.04	.04	0.89	.373	(−0.04, 0.11)
Objective SES	.02	.04	0.55	.584	(−0.06, 0.10)
Age	.20	.04	5.42	<.001	(0.13, 0.27)
Gender	−.11	.03	−3.24	.001	(−0.17, −0.04)
Political ideology	.01	.04	0.32	.751	(−0.06, 0.08)
Sample	.01	.08	0.12	.902	(−0.15, 0.17)
Negative reciprocity ~					
Subjective SES	.07	.04	1.68	.092	(−0.01, 0.14)
Objective SES	−.02	.04	−0.48	.629	(−0.10, 0.06)
Age	−.17	.04	−4.66	<.001	(−0.25, −0.10)
Gender	.03	.03	0.79	.432	(−0.04, 0.09)
Political ideology	−.02	.04	0.64	.521	(−0.10, 0.05)
Sample	−.01	.08	−0.09	.927	(−0.17, 0.15)
Family image ~					
Subjective SES	.22	.04	5.77	<.001	(0.15, 0.30)
Objective SES	−.08	.04	−2.16	.031	(−0.16, −0.01)
Age	.03	.04	0.76	.502	(−0.05, 0.10)
Gender	−.06	.03	−1.81	.071	(−0.12, 0.01)
Political ideology	.14	.04	3.74	<.001	(0.07, 0.21)
Sample	−.01	.08	−0.04	.965	(−0.16, 0.15)
Personal image ~					
Subjective SES	.19	.04	4.91	<.001	(0.12, 0.27)
Objective SES	−.02	.04	−0.52	.604	(−0.10, 0.06)
Age	.03	.04	0.83	.407	(−0.04, 0.10)
Gender	−.07	.03	−2.21	.027	(−0.14, −0.01)
Political ideology	.06	.04	1.50	.133	(−0.02, 0.13)
Sample	−.01	.08	−0.12	.901	(−0.17, 0.15)
Street code ~					
Subjective SES	.10	.04	2.45	.014	(0.02, 0.17)
Objective SES	−.06	.04	−1.50	.134	(−0.14, 0.02)
Age	−.18	.04	−4.77	<.001	(−0.25, −0.10)
Gender	.04	.03	1.31	.190	(−0.02, 0.11)
Political ideology	.08	.04	2.09	.036	(0.05, −0.15)
Sample	−.02	.08	−0.19	.853	(−0.17, 0.14)

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TABLE 5   (Continued)

	Estimate	Stand. Error	*Z*-value	*p*-values	*(95% CI)*
Masculinity Honour beliefs ~					
Subjective SES	.17	.04	3.79	<.001	(0.08, 0.25)
Objective SES	−.08	.04	−1.71	.088	(−0.16, 0.01)
Age	−.09	.04	−2.10	.037	(−0.17, −0.01)
Gender	.02	.03	0.63	.529	(−0.04, 0.08)
Political ideology	.30	.04	−7.00	<.001	(0.22, 0.38)

Abbreviations: SES, Socio-economic status.

Indeed, the relationships between SES and honour may be explained by the way in which SES has been operationalized (Antonoplis, 2023). We argued, and found, that the *Status Attachment Hypothesis* was most supported when we used subjective SES as predictor. On the other hand, the *Threat Vulnerability Hypothesis* was most supported when we focused on objective SES. The *Status Attachment Hypothesis* seems to depend more on where people subjectively perceive themselves to be and the psychological vulnerability that results from people's status in relation to others. Despite this, we should note that the little relationship found between income and honour was somewhat unstable becoming non-significant in some cases when considered Spain and U.S. separately.

Although it was not the focus of our research, it is interesting to note that we found low national wealth to be associated with stronger honour endorsement. Indeed, in countries with more scarce resources, defence of family honour and self-promotion and retaliation values were more strongly endorsed, as were family reputation and integrity concerns (Studies 1a and 1b), and Honour Ideology for Manhood (Study 2). These results align with the rationale that honour cultures tend to emerge in societies facing economic vulnerability (Leung & Cohen, 2011; Uskul & Cross, 2020), which may be because poorer countries tend to have weak institutions and poorer law enforcement (Acemoglu et al., 2003), where individuals may have to develop a cultural logic that allows them to defend their wealth to compensate for the inefficiency of institutions to do so. We did not find, however, a significant relationship between economic inequality and any of the measures we used to assess different aspects of honour. This contrasts with Henry's (2009) finding pointing to a relationship between economic inequality and violent events, which was interpreted as a manifestation of honour. Current findings suggest that national wealth may be a stronger feature of the economic environment at the national level to predict a cultural logic of honour, however this conclusion should be read with caution given the small number of countries in our analyses, which means that our tests of country level associations were inevitably underpowered. Future research should investigate the role of national wealth and economic inequality as predictors of country-level differences in honour logic across a larger number of countries.

Implications and future directions

Our research is a first step in demonstrating the direction of the relationship between SES and a cultural logic of honour using samples from different world regions. Although our results were consistent with the *Status Attachment Hypothesis* and the underlying rationale that it should be the subjective SES which drives the relationship between SES and honour, we must note that our results do not directly test the degree of status attachment. Future research is needed to identify the psychological mechanisms underlying the link between higher subjective SES and stronger endorsement of a cultural logic of honour. Further exploration of these mechanisms may help to explain why in some samples, we obtained opposing pattern of relationship between SES and honour (e.g. Turkey and Singapore: see Figures 1 and 3, respectively). Furthermore, considering that the magnitude of the results varies across countries, even when a positive relationship is observed, future research should investigate potential moderating

factors, such as economic conditions, religious heritage, or other cultural dimensions (Minkov & Kaasa, 2022; Sánchez-Rodríguez et al., 2023). Here, we found initial evidence that the relationships between SSES and at least some honour variables may be stronger in wealthier societies and in cultures that endorse less honour ideology compared to poorer societies and cultures with stronger honour norms (see Footnote 2).

Future studies could also test whether an honour-based socialization might be a driving force to seek higher SES in life as a means to project a positive social image and whether those who strongly endorse an honour endorsement may also engage in strategies that help them artificially inflate their status in other domains as a protective motivation. This insight could also help us understand general reputational inflation across a number of self-perceptions (i.e. tending to artificially inflate one's own ego) which could shed light on why honour-based reputations are so easily threatened (see precarious manhood research, e.g. Bosson & Vandello, 2011).

Previous research found that people in lower SES contexts tend to be more violent than those in higher SES contexts, which was explained by their stronger endorsement of honour values (Henry, 2009). However, our results showed that it is those who perceived themselves as belonging to a higher SES who endorse honour values and beliefs more strongly. Specifically, it is those with higher SSES who consistently attached more importance to social image although we did not find evidence of the relationship between SSES and some common ways of building a positive social image (e.g. integrity or reciprocity). It is possible that individuals higher in SES might build their social image through other means such as the ostentation of their economic success, in line with previous research that has shown that social class is positively related to conspicuous consumption—i.e. display of overspending money on goods to signal one's wealth and social status (Oh, 2021)—while those lower in SES might adopt more aggressive defences of their reputation when given the choice. Each of these responses is arguably consistent with a cultural logic of honour and research on reputation building in society, but their manifestations may be different. Members of higher (vs. lower) SES groups might manage their social image in different ways than honour culture societies that use integrity and reciprocity as a way of building and keeping their social image (Rodríguez Mosquera, 2018; Uskul & Cross, 2019). These possibilities remain speculative, and future research can examine them to provide important insights into the ways in which honour ideologies manifest in different cultures as a function of SES.

Limitations

Although we provided evidence of the relationship between SES and honour ideologies in 20 different sites from different world regions, this is not a comprehensive coverage of all world regions. Future research should include a greater number of countries and regions to both increase generalization and statistical power and test if manifestations of honour ideologies in behaviour may vary between countries or regions.

We should acknowledge that the current datasets only allowed for correlational evidence about the link between SES and honour ideologies, which does not permit causal inference, and some effects were modest in size. An alternative explanation of our findings could be that individuals who endorse aspects of honour to a greater extent end up occupying higher SES positions. Although we consider this causal direction less plausible, we cannot rule it out with the current datasets. Future research should test how the importance of social image and other honour-related variables may change when subjective social class is manipulated.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Current findings showed that individuals of higher subjective socioeconomic status tended to endorse a variety of facets and manifestations of honour more strongly than those with lower subjective

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socioeconomic status, supporting the *Status Attachment Hypothesis*. Our findings contribute to the literature on how subjective socioeconomic status can shape human psychological experiences and to the diversification of the study of SES by including samples of underrepresented regions of the world.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The authors have no conflicts of interest to disclose.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data and syntax that support the findings of this study and produced this article are openly available in the Open Science Framework at https://osf.io/egmvx/. These studies were not preregistered.

ETHICS STATEMENT

The study received approval from the ethical committees of all involved institutions or national bioethics committees.

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SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of this article.

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