Honor, Dignity, and Migration

Navigating Cultural Norms and Threat Responses among Native Indians, Germans, and Indian Migrants in Germany

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ABSTRACT

The present dissertation examines the role of honor and dignity norms in individual reactions to threats against one's reputation and intrinsic sense of being among two distinct groups: natives of honor and dignity cultures, and migrants transitioning from honor to dignity cultures. In doing so, it addresses three key research questions: how are honor and dignity perceived as distinct aspects of self-worth in honor and dignity cultures; are there differences in the endorsement of these norms between natives of these cultures and migrants who move between them; and what role do these norms play in one's reactions when their honor and dignity are threatened.

To address these questions, the thesis employs a mixed-methods approach. It begins with a qualitative exploratory study involving focus group discussions conducted in India and Germany, which were chosen as representative cases of honor and dignity cultures, respectively. This study aimed to explore what people in these cultural contexts mean when they act in the name of honor or strive to uphold dignity. Building on the insights from this qualitative work, a subsequent quantitative study was conducted which tested the norm endorsement and reactions to different threat scenarios, developed from the qualitative findings, among native Indians, Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany.

The findings from both studies make important contributions to two broad areas: acculturation within the honor-dignity paradigm; and the understanding of dignity as a facet of self-worth. These contributions have important implications for broader research in cross-cultural psychology, particularly within the honor-dignity framework, as well as practical applications in the context of migrant integration and cross-culturally sensitive interpersonal behavior.

Keywords: honor, dignity, migration, acculturation, norm endorsement, threat reactions

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Chapter 1 - General Introduction

Let us imagine a young woman, Tara, who lives in a close-knit community in Southern Asia. Tara works for a corporate firm and is quite successful in her field. However, due to work pressure, she needs to spend extra hours at the office, even at times until late evening. One day, her male colleague offers to drop her home. With the two being seen together starts rumors in Tara's neighborhood that she has been seen spending time with another man, causing Tara's husband and in-laws to experience a profound sense of shame. Upon hearing these accusations, Tara fears that her and her family's image is at stake. Determined to defend her reputation and prove her fidelity, Tara confronts the rumors head-on with as many neighbors as possible, vehemently denying any wrongdoing. She seeks the support of her family, particularly her parents, urging them to vouch for her character and help dispel the rumors. Tara, along with her and her husband's parents meet for a mediation session to also address the allegations within the family.

Now imagine Sarah, a young professional living in Northwestern Europe. In a very similar situation, one day, her partner expresses concerns about her recent interactions with a male colleague, suspecting emotional infidelity. Upon learning about these concerns, Sarah feels a mix of surprise and confusion. She initiates an open and honest conversation with her partner, acknowledging their feelings and sharing her perspective to clarify any misunderstandings. To navigate the emotional complexities and rebuild trust, Sarah and her partner might decide to seek couples counseling or relationship coaching.

Both hypothetical scenarios present similar challenging situations, where accusations of infidelity provoke significant distress for the women involved. However, their responses differ, probably influenced by personal beliefs and societal norms. In cultures where preserving personal and group reputation is paramount (hereafter called honor cultures), individuals may defensively react to threats against their honor to restore their worth, since such comments are seen as an affront to one's own and group's social image. However, the same comments might

not yield such defensive reactions in so-called dignity cultures where though the accusations are the same, its spillover to one's ingroup is not as evident and the focus of the accusation is limited to the person's integrity and character. In Tara's case, her vehement reactions might be because the rumors question not only her chastity, and fidelity but also her parent's failure to inculcate values in her, and her husband's failure to care for her. In contrast, Sarah's response focuses more on addressing the issue directly with her partner, as the accusations are confined to their relationship without broader social repercussions. Considering this, how might the cultural background of these women influence their responses if they were to reside in a cultural setting different from their upbringing?

For instance let us consider Aisha, originally from a traditional, tightly-knit community, now residing in a Western country and married to a European man, facing a similar situation where her fidelity is questioned. How might her response differ this time? Would she still involve her family, or might she address the issue differently given her changed cultural context? Furthermore, would her response vary if she had married a South Asian man and settled abroad? Would she react with the same level of vehemence in confronting any misunderstanding, or might her tendency to associate such accusations with her family's image reduce post-migration? Many of these reactions reflect a wide range of complexities involved in navigating cultural differences in behaviors and the challenges and opportunities that arise when individuals from honor cultures interact with dignity cultures. It underscores the significance of comprehending and adapting to these cultural variances in self-perception and subsequent reactions when faced with threats to one's honor.

But do these examples mean that only people from honor cultures react strongly? Do the reactions of people from dignity cultures remain this similar for all the problems or challenges they may encounter in their daily lives? What if the norms that dignity cultures value more (e.g., individual differences, personal standards) are threatened? Until now in all these scenarios, we

spoke about threats to one's honor and reputational damage to self and family. A lot of the time, while restoring and/or saving honor, or even irrespective of these, a threat could be posed to one's dignity. For instance, in Tara's case, what if her husband and family members ask her to resign from her job to keep her distance from her male colleague? It might be a solution to all the rumors, but will be against Tara's wish. Moreover, perhaps this would not have been the case if she was male due to the responsibility of breadwinning. There is a differential treatment based on Tara's gender. How would Sarah react if she would be asked to do the same? And would Aisha who now lives in another country give up her job?

Taking all these examples and the interplay between norms and responses to threats into consideration, the current doctoral project aims to understand how the endorsement of honor and dignity norms shapes individual responses to both honor and dignity threats among both natives and migrants. In doing so, I start with the cross-cultural literature on how honor is perceived and protected in honor cultures (e.g., Southern United States, Middle East, Eastern Europe) as well as dignity cultures (e.g., Northern United States, Northwestern Europe), and build on this through the current work on the understanding of dignity and its threats. Here, I extend the literature on honor and honor threats to a new region, India, a region in South Asia coming under the cluster of honor cultures (Ashokkumar & Swann, 2022; Kamir, 2006; Maitner et al., 2022) while still differing from the relatively more studied Middle Eastern and Muslim cultures. I compare the responses of Indian participants with those of participants from Germany, chosen to represent dignity cultures (Anjum et al., 2019; Maitner et al., 2022; Menkor et al., 2021). Finally, going beyond mere cultural comparisons, the project places a special emphasis on exploring the experiences of migrants transitioning from honor to dignity cultures. What is more, the processes underlying the transition from one culture to another are called acculturation strategies and have been described in different acculturation theories. Therefore, I will relate norm endorsement and

threat responses among migrants from an honor culture to their acculturation strategies, thereby further extending the available literature.

The entire thesis is divided into six chapters. The **first and current chapter** gives a broad introduction to the goals of this doctoral project by explaining its core variables along with its aims and objectives. I intend to discuss the understanding of honor and dignity as both individual norms as well as cultural logics, and further delve into the types and consequences of honor and dignity threats. I then try to situate this honor-dignity paradigm into the framework of migration using two theories, the acculturation model by John Berry (1997) and the social integration theory of Hartmut Esser (2001). Toward the end of this chapter, I bring these variables together to explain the plan of the entire doctoral project, elaborated through the description of my case selection, research questions, and hypotheses.

The starting point for the current research is twofold: First, most researchers have looked at the Mediterranean or Middle Eastern cultures as typical representatives of honor cultures. I extend this scope by suggesting that the Indians may also place a strong emphasis on honor beliefs. Yet, India differs from these other cultures in important respects which are discussed ahead. Hence, the Indian understanding of honor may not be entirely the same as described for other regions. Therefore, a qualitative bottom-up approach to capture the semantic space of honor beliefs among Indians is in place. Furthermore, while North-Western European cultures, such as Germany, are often treated as dignity cultures, there is still a relative lack of comprehensive measures that can capture dignity beliefs across these cultures, including Germany (Menkor et al., 2021; Wein, 2022). Moreover, the understanding of dignity as a concept remains underresearched in cross-cultural settings. In other words, here likewise a qualitative approach to capture the meaning and structure of the concept of dignity seems required. Accordingly, the **second chapter** titled, 'Honor and Dignity in Cultural Contexts: Insights from India and Germany', explains the qualitative and exploratory approach to understanding honor and dignity

in India and Germany. Here, I start with the need and relevance of such a bottom-up approach followed by elaborating on the method of data collection and analysis. I then discuss the obtained themes for both honor and dignity in both cultural groups using literature from different social science disciplines, including but not limited to psychology, sociology, and cultural studies.

Chapter three titled 'Instrument Development and Validation: Translating Qualitative Insights into Quantitative Measures' outlines the methodology employed in this study, which utilizes a mixed methods approach. It begins by detailing the process of developing a quantitative measure for dignity norms, drawing upon insights gained from the qualitative study. Additionally, the chapter elaborates on the creation of threat scenarios for both honor and dignity and the process of translating and adapting them for the Indian and German contexts. Furthermore, I report the psychometric properties of the scales and scenarios across the three participant groups: native Indians, native Germans, and Indians residing in Germany.

If my starting point is valid that India can also be considered an honor culture, and if the designed measures to capture honor and dignity beliefs are valid, one may expect important mean differences for the respective scales between German and Indian participants. Furthermore, by including a sample of Indian migrants living in Germany, the available literature on honor and dignity concepts is supposed to be extended. Therefore, the **fourth chapter** titled 'Cultural Differences in Honor and Dignity Norm Endorsement and Threat Reactions among Native Indians, Germans, and Indian Migrants in Germany' focuses on these comparisons based on the quantitative study. Accordingly, this section compares the endorsement of honor and dignity norms among the three participant groups, along with their reactions to honor and dignity threats. It includes a discussion of sample characteristics and statistical analyses offering insights into potential differences observed among the groups followed by a special focus on the migrant group by taking the different acculturation strategies into account. Here, I review Berry's and Esser's acculturation models and explain how these predict the norm endorsement and threat

reactions among migrants. Based on these models, in **chapter five** titled 'The Role of Cultural Norms in Reactions to Honor and Dignity Threats among Native Indians, Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany' I derive my own hypotheses on how all the relevant variables relate to one another and test these predictions using Structural Equation Modelling.

Finally, in **chapter six** titled 'General Discussion'**,** the study's findings from both qualitative and quantitative analyses are synthesized, offering a cohesive overview of the project's outcomes. It further continues with the theoretical and practical implications of these findings, addressing potential limitations and avenues for future research.

Throughout the following sections of the current chapter, each core concept of the project is examined in detail, providing a comprehensive review of the current state of the field.

1.1. Understanding honor

For many years, anthropologists and sociologists have extensively explored the concept of honor (for instance, see Abu-Lughod, 1986; Bhopal, 1997, Bourdieu, 1965; Campbell, 1965, Derne, 1995; Das, 1976; Gupta, 1999; Gilmore, 1987; Mandelbaum, 1988; Pitt-Rivers, 1965; Raheja & Gold, 1994; Wikan, 1982). Despite this wealth of research, defining honor remains a challenging endeavor. The notion of honor was introduced into the social science literature in the 1960s with the influential volume edited by Jean Peristiany (1965) titled 'Honor and Shame, The Values of the Mediterranean Society'. This volume brought together several anthropological studies that have tried to understand honor as a common but highly revered value in the intimate communities of Mediterranean societies. Pitt-Rivers (1965) in their contributions to the volume described honor as including both an individual's personal sense of self-worth as well as their reputation in the community. It is "the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society. It is an estimation of his own worth, his claim to pride, but it is also the acknowledgment of that claim . . . his right to pride" (Pitt-Rivers, 1965, p. 21). Thus, being honorable entailed not only

possessing self-respect and esteem (for example, claiming one's accomplishments) but also being known by others as a moral and reputable individual (Uskul et al., 2023). An individual who merely claims honor but is not granted it by others does in fact not have honor (Leung & Cohen, 2011). The positive self-view of a person therefore contains both intra and interpersonal features. This combined emphasis on both personal and social image has frequently been regarded as a distinguishing feature of so-called 'honor cultures' (Cross & Uskul, 2022; Cross et al., 2014; Uskul et al., 2023).

Additionally, honor is described in the volume as being relational and gendered. The relational nature of honor puts it within the context of groups such as family, kinships, communities, and other large social units such that the behavior of individual group members is closely tied to the image and welfare of the entire group (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016; Uskul et al., 2023). The gendered aspect of honor applies to both men and women but under different sets of rules. For instance, men in honor cultures are expected to be strong, independent, courageous, and capable enough to protect women and others in the family (Mendalbaum, 1988; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera 2016; Singh & Bhandari, 2021). By contrast, for women honor emphasizes female chastity as an important feature that is controlled by men and older women of the family (Rodriguez Mosquera 2016, Singh & Bhandari, 2021; Vandello & Cohen, 2003; 2008). These various aspects of honor serve as the codes of honorable conduct that individuals in these societies adhere to and endorse for better group functioning (Peristiany, 1965; Pitt-Rivers, 1965; Stewart, 1994). Building on this understanding, the concept of a "culture of honor" has gained prominence in social psychology, offering valuable insights into the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral frameworks associated with honor (Leung & Cohen, 2011).

***The cultural logic of honor*:** More recently, in social psychology, honor has been conceptualized as a type of cultural logic (along with cultural logic of dignity, which will be discussed ahead, and face, for which see Leung & Cohen, 2011). It refers to a cognitive structure that helps beliefs,

values, and practices in a given cultural context fit together into a coherent whole which is then used to make sense of the social world and respond appropriately to situations (Leung & Cohen, 2011). The concept of a "culture of honor" was introduced to social psychology by Nisbett and Cohen to explain the higher rates of violence among men in the Southern United States compared to the North (Cohen, 1996; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Nisbett, 1993). They argued that this cultural difference in violence levels persisted even when accounting for factors like poverty, historical slavery practices, and temperature. The culture of honor hypothesis suggests that the higher violence rates in the Southern United States are not across all types of violence but specifically emerge in situations threatening one's reputation, like argument-related violence triggered by insults (Nisbett, 1993). This cultural orientation towards honor can be traced back to economic and ecological conditions in the South, characterized by scarce resources and weak law enforcement. The South's herding-based economy, compared to the North's farming-based economy, made people more vulnerable to resource loss due to the mobility of livestock. Despite shifts from herding to more modern economic practices and improvements in law enforcement, the culture of honor persists among the White population in the Southern United States. Various social mechanisms maintain this culture, including interpersonal interactions leading to aggressive responses to insults, collective practices that condone honor-related violence, institutional tolerance of violence, and socialization processes reinforcing traditional gender norms associated with honor (Cohen et al, 1996; Cohen et al., 1999; Cohen, 1996; Cohen & Nisbett, 1997; Vandello & Cohen, 2008).

Since Nisbett and Cohen's pioneering studies, scholars have increasingly recognized that cultural norms promoting a strong emphasis on personal reputation are widespread across various regions worldwide, including the circum-Mediterranean, Middle East, South Asia, Eastern Europe, and Central and Southern United States (Aslani et al., 2011; 2016; Krys et al., 2017; Kulczycki & Windle, 2011; Maitner et al., 2017; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a; Smith et al., 2017; Świdrak et al., 2019; Szmajke, 2008; Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Yao et al., 2017; Zdybek &

Walczak, 2019). In these societies, individuals develop social psychological strategies to establish a reputation for toughness, strength, and readiness to respond to threats against their reputation and livelihood. This cultural context fosters a framework where an individual's self-perception (personal value), social standing (community value and status), and societal standards for evaluating behavior collectively influence one's sense of honor (Cross et al., 2014; Peristiany, 1965; Pitt-Rivers, 1965).

One important implication of honor as a basis of self-worth is its inherently fragile nature. One's reputation in the eyes of others can quickly be tarnished by an individual's actions and, once lost, it may be difficult to restore. Consequently, people in these societies are driven to safeguard and uphold their honor by reciprocating both positive and negative actions (Nesse, 2001; Leung & Cohen, 2011). They remain vigilant against threats to their honor and respond in ways that deter future challenges, such as retaliating against threats. This retaliation is also due to the relational nature of honor. As mentioned before, an individual's honor is associated with that of the ingroup and such vigilance and retaliation are instrumental in preventing the spillover of the tarnished image to one's ingroup (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2014). However, this association with in-group does not mean honor cultures are entirely collective. This is due to several reasons. First, even in cultures primarily considered collectivistic, certain elements of the honor code may align with individualistic values. For instance, the honor code of the Awlad 'Ali Bedouins in Western Egypt, while emphasizing loyalty to one's tribe, also values autonomy, an individualistic trait (Abu-Lughod, 1986). Second, honor encompasses various dimensions such as integrity, family honor, and gender-specific forms like masculine and feminine honor (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016). Traits like integrity and honesty are fundamental to honor across both individualistic Western societies and non-Western honor cultures (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1986; Pitt-Rivers, 1965; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a).

These diverse aspects of honor are reflected through values, concerns, ideologies, and beliefs, serving as standards or codes guiding honorable behavior. Stewart (1994, p. 55) defines the honor code as "a collection of essential standards that gauge an individual's worth across important dimensions; a person failing to meet these criteria is not only perceived as deficient but often as disgraceful." These codes of honor often emerge from the need to regulate behavior, maintain social cohesion, and ensure the survival of the group (Stewart, 1994). For example, in tightly-knit communities or societies with limited resources, adhering to an honor code can foster trust and cooperation, which are crucial for collective well-being (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016). Additionally, these codes can serve to protect the reputation of individuals and families, thereby maintaining social order and stability. Understanding these codes and their functions can help in comprehending their persistence and variability across different cultural contexts. While the specifics of honor code may vary among cultures, certain fundamental traits persist across different contexts. These include a focus on the image (personal and that of the family) and the gender norms. Cross et al. (2014) and Rodriguez Mosquera (2016) have added another important code, the focus on morality. In the following section, we will look into these facets of honor codes along with their functions in greater depth.

Codes of honorable conduct: The importance of two primary elements of honor, as identified by Pitt-Rivers (1965) and Peristiany (1965) – self-image and social image – have been empirically studied in subsequent research on honor. *Self-image* pertains to an individual's self-perception, encompassing their beliefs, values, skills, and overall self-worth (Cross et al., 2014). This aspect of honor is commonly shared between honor and dignity cultures. For instance, in a study by Rodriguez Mosquera and colleagues (2002a) comparing young individuals from Spain (an honor culture) and the Netherlands (a dignity culture), both groups emphasized the significance of self-worth or self-image when asked the question, "What does honor mean to you?". Similarly, a prototype analysis comparing perceptions of honor among Turkish and North

American university students revealed that self-respect was a central component in both cultural contexts (Cross et al., 2014).

The second component, *social image*, refers to how an individual is viewed by others within their social context (Gausel & Leach, 2011). While concern for social image is universal, it is more pronounced in honor cultures (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Children raised in honor-based societies are taught to value the opinions of others, often expressed through a sense of shame (Kağıtçıbaşı & Sunar, 1992; Taylor & Oskay, 1995; Yağmurlu et al., 2009). When children behave improperly, they are frequently cautioned with remarks like, "What will others think of you?" (Yağmurlu et al., 2009). Failing to preserve this social image can result in being subjected to ostracism, gossip, and discrimination (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Wikan, 2008, Singh & Bhandari, 2021). The importance of social image in honor cultures is supported by many studies. For example, in Rodriguez Mosquera and Imada's (2013) comparative research involving South Asian, and British students, it was observed that social image significantly predicted well-being among South Asian students, even surpassing the impact of their academic accomplishments, unlike the students from the U.K. Similarly, when participants were asked to outline situations endangering one's honor, Turkish individuals were more inclined than their Northern American counterparts to depict situations involving an audience or social group. (Uskul et al., 2012).

An integral aspect of honor is the esteemed regard and status attributed to one's family. *Family honor* encompasses the values and norms associated with safeguarding and upholding the social image or reputation of one's family (Kay, 2012; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016), particularly prevalent in the Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and select South Asian regions such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, and certain parts of India (Das, 1976; Derne, 1995; Kay 2012; Kulczycki & Windle, 2011). Within families, honor stems from preserving lineage, upholding individual and familial purity, and resisting cultural decline (Abu-Lughod, 1986; Mandelbaum, 1988; Pitt-Rivers, 1966). Rituals and practices are implemented to support family welfare and unity. For instance, in India,

such traditions include arranged marriages and strict prohibitions against extramarital affairs (Mandelbaum, 1988; Sule et al., 2015). Rodriguez Mosquera (2016) defines family honor in terms of the interconnectedness it fosters among family members, rooted in a shared social image. Crucially, the honor of each family member is contingent upon the family's collective social image; a positive family reputation maintains individual honor, while a negative one compromises it.

Given its shared nature, threats to family honor carry important consequences for family members. Incidents such as insults to the family provoke intense feelings of anger and shame among family members. Moreover, internal threats to family honor, originating within the family itself, are linked to strained relationships with family members (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000; 2002a; 2002b; Dodd, 1973). In cross-cultural studies involving Pakistani and European-American young adults, Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2014) demonstrated that Pakistanis placed greater importance on safeguarding their family's honor compared to European Americans, and were more severe in their response to a family member threatening the family's honor. They expressed feelings of decreased closeness and a tendency to distance themselves from the offending family member, relative to their European-American counterparts. Similarly, Indian men, when asked about their reactions to a daughter violating gender norms, indicated a willingness to resort to physical punishment or disownment, particularly if the transgression was public and threatened the family's honor (Ashokkumar & Swann, 2022). This need to preserve the family's image is closely related to the next code, the different gender norms for men and women.

In honor cultures, concerns about image include *gender-specific expectations and codes*. For men, maintaining honor entails upholding a reputation for strength, courage, and a readiness to defend oneself and one's family, while also exercising authority within the household. Women, on the other hand, are expected to uphold their honor by adhering to standards of sexual purity,

chastity, and loyalty to their male partners and family members (Campbell, 1964; Gilmore, 1987; Khan, 2018; Peristiany, 1965; Pitt-Rivers, 1965; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2011; 2016; Schneider, 1971).

Although gendered roles exist in most cultures globally, honor cultures place a heightened emphasis on their adherence (Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Vandello & Cohen, 2008; Khan, 2018). The consequences of failing to uphold these codes can be severe, leading to shame for individuals and their families, as well as negatively impacting their self-esteem, health, and overall well-being (Kulwicki, 2002; Mahalingam & Leu, 2005; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Vandello & Cohen, 2003, 2008). Consequently, individuals in honor cultures undertake various actions to safeguard their honor and, if tarnished, to restore it.

In such cultures, a man's reputation is not solely determined by his own conduct but also by the behavior of the women in his life (wife, sister, mother), particularly regarding their sexuality (Charrad, 2011; Gengler et al., 2021; Glick et al., 2016; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Mishra and Basu (2014), in their interviews with Indian women, discovered that many women carefully navigate societal expectations when sharing photos on social media to avoid conveying any hint of sexual assertiveness, given the potential consequences for themselves and their male partners. Due to the patriarchal dynamics inherent in honor cultures, women who deviate from these prescribed roles may provoke intense shame and anger within their families (Charrad, 2011; Gengler et al., 2021). Additionally, the prevalence of violence against women, such as honor killings, in honor cultures is often attributed to the desire to control female sexuality and restore perceived lost honor (Baldry et al., 2013; Caffaro et al., 2014; Cihangir, 2013; Dodd, 1973; Eisner & Ghuneim, 2013; Gengler et al., 2021; Khan, 2018; Sev'er, 2005'; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Vandello & Cohen, 2008).

Finally, the importance of integrity and virtuous behavior is in many ways the bedrock of cultures of honor, especially concerning horizontal honor or honor among equals (Pitt-Rivers, 1965;

Stewart, 1994). *Morality-based honor* plays a pivotal role in fostering trust among group members, a sentiment echoed across various cultures and age groups (Abu-Lughod, 1999; Betawi, 2023; Gilmore, 1987; Peristiany, 1965; Stewart, 1994). In a study comparing Spanish and Dutch university students, it was found that both groups strongly associated personal integrity and trustworthiness with feelings of honor (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a). Similarly, when asked to define honor, Turkish and Northern American individuals highlighted honesty and trustworthiness as central aspects of the concept (Cross et al., 2014). An honorable person is trustworthy, hospitable, honest, and true to his/her word (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a). Cohen and Leung (2011, p. 162) describe the role of these attributes in the development of cultures of honor, where law enforcement was often weak: "… it is good to be known as someone who will pay back both his threats and his debts."

Moreover, the importance of virtue for honor is recognized early in life. Research by Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002a) involving Spanish and Dutch children, adolescents, and university students revealed that integrity was consistently identified as a fundamental aspect of honor across cultural, age, and gender differences. Pandya et al. (2023) observed a similar trend in India, where children displayed an understanding of morality as a crucial component of self-worth from a young age, which evolved to include a sense of duty towards family and community as they grew older. Betawi's (2023) study on preschoolers in Jordan found that incorporating moral stories to instill core values like honesty, courage, and respect for the Jordanian society from an early age plays a key role in fostering these values, which in turn become important predictors of the children's self-worth.

These various dimensions of honor codes, encompassing concerns about reputation, gender, and morality are intertwined, making honor a contagious concept—an affront to an individual's honor is perceived as an attack on the entire family (and even broader social identity groups such as religious or gender groups; see Gelfand et al., 2012; Lee, et al., 2013). Research supports a

strong overlap between personal and family honor (Dodd 1973; Uskul et al., 2012; Kay, 2012; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2014). Individuals of Turkish descent, for example, view situations relevant to honor as equally affecting their own emotions and those of their family members, unlike their Northern American counterparts who prioritize the impact on their own feelings (Uskul et al., 2012). Similarly, Aslani et al. (2011) found in their negotiation study that participants from Qatar, an honor culture, encountered more challenges such as setting unrealistic aspirations and experiencing negative emotions, which led to lower joint gains when they perceived a threat to both their personal and family honor, unlike participants from the Northern United States, a dignity culture, who did not feel the same pressure to defend themselves or their group in social interactions. Kay (2012) in interviews with Hindu migrants to the United States found that participants commonly cited considerations of family reputation, religious group status, and cultural preservation as motivations for honorable behavior.

These different codes and the interconnection between personal and family honor underscores the significance of understanding how honor functions across different cultures. Interestingly, while anthropologists initially explored honor in regions like the Middle East, Mediterranean, South Asia, Southern United States, and North Africa, the concept later attracted social psychological inquiry in Western societies (e.g., Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000, 2002a, 2002b).

***Western understanding of honor*:** Studying Western societies alongside the different honor-oriented societies revealed that honor is not exclusive to specific geographic areas but is deeply ingrained in the human psyche, extending to Western cultural heritage as well (Gregg, 2007). However, there are discernible differences in how honor is understood and valued in these diverse cultural contexts. In Western cultures, honor is often defined as "strong moral character or strength, and adherence to ethical principles" (Encarta Dictionary, n.d., 2009). This definition

emphasizes the individual as the primary bearer of honor and portrays it as a quality inherent to the individual.

Wieczorek (2016) provides a comprehensive analysis of how honor is understood and defined in contemporary European contexts through a detailed lexicographical work including major European languages – German, French, Italian, and English. His study examines various dictionaries and lexicons to understand the evolution and current perceptions of honor in Europe. His analysis shows that while the core elements of honor (self-respect, moral integrity, social respect) remain consistent, their emphasis and application vary across different historical periods. For instance, medieval dictionaries and texts often defined honor in terms of valiant deeds in battle, the protection of one's honor through duels, and the strict adherence to duties of knighthood. Contemporary dictionaries define honor as adhering to moral principles, maintaining honesty and fairness, and earning respect through ethical conduct rather than through martial prowess. In all of this, the focus has remained on the individuals without direct association with their families or communities. Although, currently, honor does not play a prominent role in the daily psychological experiences of individuals in Western societies (Berger, 1970; Uskul et al., 2012) as compared to other places where honor matters more.

In summary, the construct of honor comprises multiple elements, including self-respect, social respect, family honor, gendered behavior, and moral codes. These elements form a complex, interdependent system of values, beliefs, ideals, motives, and practices—a cultural logic best understood as a cohesive whole. While honor is also present in Western societies, there it tends to focus more on the individual, who is viewed as independent of familial or communal ties. Compared to the West, its role is more complex and important in shaping the daily lives of people from honor cultures, who work hard to protect and enhance it. This certainly includes adhering to the codes of honorable conduct but also, importantly, being vigilant to and responding immediately to any threats to their honor.

1.2. When honor is threatened

Violations of the honor codes can threaten the honor of the person, and by extension, the honor of their group (Uhlmann et al., 2012; Van der Toorn et al., 2015). Moreover, since honor depends on the acknowledgments by others, it is possible that others can also threaten one's honor. Given its fragile nature, various exploratory studies have tried to understand different ways in which honor can be threatened in different cultural contexts and their respective consequences on intrapersonal and interpersonal processes.

Threats to honor: Threats to honor can come both from members of the outgroup as well as members of the ingroup. As mentioned before, the code of honor sets the standard against which these violations are tested. Certain studies, using exploratory approaches have tried to understand different ways in which these codes can be violated. For instance, using the situation sampling approach, Uskul et al. (2012) tried to understand both honor-enhancing as well as threatening situations among Turkish and North American students. The honor-threatening situations generated by members of both groups included public humiliation, sexual/physical attacks, false accusations, criticisms, non-achievements, and revealing someone's negative character. A consistent cultural difference observed between the two groups in their study was that American-generated situations focused more on the individual while the Turkish-generated situations included more examples focused on the target person's close others. Turkish honor-attacking situations were also more likely than American situations to involve a collective audience.

In many cultures, violating gender norms is a common breach of honor, such as when women assert their independence or men fail to protect their families. For instance, Ashokkumar and Swann (2022) discovered in their study with Indian men that excessive drinking by their daughters was viewed as extremely dishonorable, particularly in public, as it was seen as a failure to uphold family honor. Singh and Bhandari's (2021) research on honor threats in India,

especially within the Khap Panchayat system (informal assembly of elderly village leaders) of Northern India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and some areas of Canada has revealed that challenges to an individual's authority, status, or position within a community or group can be seen as threats to their honor. This might involve questioning their decisions, undermining their leadership, or disregarding their opinions. Additionally, according to Sule et al. (2015), extreme adherence to religious traditions is related to perceiving actions or behaviors deemed blasphemous, sacrilegious, or contrary to religious teachings as challenges to collective honor. The impact of such honor transgressions extends beyond familial dynamics to encompass interpersonal responses, ranging from anger to interpersonal aggression (Ashokkumar & Swann, 2022; Cooney, 2014).

Responding to honor threats: *Anger* is often experienced when individuals perceive themselves as equipped with sufficient coping resources to confront a motivationally relevant threat, indicating a sense of entitlement to control or address the threat (Frijda et al., 1989; Mesquita et al., 2017; Smith & Lazarus, 1993). Generally characterized as a proactive emotion, anger is associated with a desire to punish or antagonize the wrongdoer and engage in corrective action, often resulting in social distancing or disengagement (Averill, 1983; Fischer & Roseman, 2007; Frijda et al., 1989; Harmon-Jones et al., 2003; Kitayama et al., 2006). Although anger is a universal phenomenon, its manifestation varies, particularly concerning situations that threaten an individual's honor. Those from honor cultures or individuals who endorse honor norms often exhibit heightened stress and aggression hormones following insults, as well as a propensity for more violent responses (Aslani et al., 2011; 1996 Bond, 2004; Cohen, 1998; Cohen et al., 1996; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994, 1997; Nisbett, 1993; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2003).

The relationship between honor threat and *aggression* is deeply ingrained in individuals' attitudes as well as interpretations of societal norms (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). For instance, individuals from the Southern United States are more inclined to resort to violence to safeguard their own or

famaily's reputation compared to their Northern counterparts, reflecting cultural differences in responses to honor-related challenges (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). While men are traditionally expected to uphold honor through aggressive means in honor cultures, women may also exhibit forms of aggression consistent with gender norms. Women endorsing feminine honor norms have been observed to engage in reactive relational aggression, such as ostracism when faced with situations perceived as insulting or offensive (Chalman et al., 2021; Foster et al., 2022) However, it's essential to note that not all honor-related threats lead to aggressive responses (Aslani et al., 2016; Cohen et al., 1999; Cross et al., 2013; Harinck et al., 2013; Shafa et al., 2015).

As discussed previously, reciprocity, or "*payback*" plays a significant role in honor cultures, manifesting in both aggressive retaliation against affronts and positive reciprocity to acts of generosity or hospitality. For instance, individuals from Southern United States regions exhibit a heightened norm for politeness in interpersonal interactions, potentially serving as a means to mitigate the escalation of aggression stemming from insults or provocations (Cohen et al., 1999). In one study, Southern participants displayed delayed irritation responses to various annoyances compared to their Northern counterparts, yet once provoked, they exhibited greater levels of hostility (Cohen et al., 1999). Moreover, when presented with hypothetical scenarios varying in the severity of an insult, Turkish participants tended to view withdrawal from a mild affront more favorably than confrontation, compared to participants from Northern United States who viewed both similarly (Cross et al., 2013). Importantly, individuals from high-honor backgrounds demonstrate constructive and polite behavior in conflict resolution scenarios in the absence of provocation (Aslani et al., 2016; Harinck et al., 2013; Shafa et al., 2015). Most of these reactions in honor cultures are an effort to preserve their image and avoid the feeling of shame or humiliation.

Shame signifies a tarnished public image, indicating that an individual has been socially devalued or appears weak or dependent (Landers & Sznycer, 2022). Sznycer et al. (2018) argue that shame reflects public devaluation universally, making it particularly functional in honor cultures where self-image is influenced by others. Indeed, individuals from honor cultures exhibit heightened shame reactions when honor is threatened compared to those from dignity cultures (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a, Maitner et al., 2022). Furthermore, shame is more prevalent in interactions with strangers rather than with close others in honor cultures (Boiger et al., 2013). While shame is often associated with withdrawal, it can also prompt active, self-protective, or image-reparative responses in certain contexts. Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2008) demonstrated that in honor cultures, shame triggered verbal disapproval of wrongdoers, whereas in non-honor cultures, it predicted withdrawal.

In summary, threats to honor codes, whether from external sources—such as accusations, public humiliation, and attacks—or from internal sources—such as personal failure, and breaches of gendered expectations—can undermine both individual and group honor. These often provoke strong reactions, ranging from anger and shame to interpersonal aggression, particularly pronounced in honor cultures, where honor holds significant value.

Until now, our understanding of honor in contemporary social psychology comes from studies that have primarily focused on regions such as the United States, comparing responses to honor threats between Northerners and Southerners (e.g., Cohen et al., 1996; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996); or in Mediterranean and European regions comparing honor endorsement in Spanish and Dutch participants (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002b), or Turkish and Northern United States participants (Cross et al., 2014; Uskul et al., 2012). All these regions differ from one another in certain aspects. Even the different honor cultures differ from each other in certain aspects. For example, honor in the Southern United States may be influenced by the American values of individualism and personal autonomy. But honor in Spain includes the importance of a shared

social image (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000), as well as in Turkey, where family members play an important role in preserving honor (Uskul et al., 2012).

Building on the understanding of honor so far and the finding that its conceptions differ even within the different honor cultures, the current doctoral project aims to expand our understanding of honor by studying it in yet another under-researched country, India, along with its non-honor counterpart, Germany. While sharing some values and norms with other honor societies, India also stands out due to its distinct historical and religious foundations. As a non-Muslim-dominated country, India grapples with religious tensions and social stratification based on factors such as caste, gender, and social status (Singh & Bhandari, 2021). Moreover, honor represents a mix of both independent and interdependent self-construals (Uskul et al., 2023). This can capture the cultural viewpoints of Indians since their unequivocal nature as entirely interdependent is undergoing debates owing to findings of both tendencies among them (Jha & Singh, 2011; Mishra 1994; Sinha & Tripathi, 1994). Given this context, it becomes essential to explore whether the existing understanding of honor applies uniformly to Indians or if unique aspects emerge.

From the discussion so far, it is clear that honor continues to play an important role in shaping social behavior within honor cultures. However, honor also exists in Western dignity cultures, although it is less central to everyday life. Berger (1970) argues that the concept of honor is becoming obsolete in the West, gradually being replaced by the concept of dignity. Both honor and dignity serve as distinct aspects of self-worth and are viewed as both, complementary and opposites (Kamir, 2006). Since the concept of dignity is said to guide much of the behavior of people from the dignity cultures, it is important to see how they conceptualize and experience it. Moreover, just as how honor is experienced differently in honor and dignity cultures, it is essential to explore how dignity is perceived in honor cultures, where collective reputation may overshadow individual worth. Since both honor and dignity are influential in a person's sense of

self-worth (Kamir, 2006), examining them in a cross-cultural context is necessary to provide a more comprehensive understanding of their roles in the lives of individuals from both honor and dignity cultures.

1.3. Understanding dignity

Dignity holds a prominent place in discussions surrounding human rights across various disciplines. It is widely regarded as an inherent human quality that not only forms the basis of social and legal rights but also serves as a central principle in humanitarian value systems. However, despite its frequent mention in contemporary literature, especially in nations where it holds legal significance, scholars sometimes struggle to provide precise and comprehensive definitions and attributes of dignity (Kamir, 2006). The concept of human dignity spans diverse fields, leading to a wide array of perspectives that will be discussed in this section, ranging from philosophy and ethics to law and human rights. Towards the end, an attempt is made to identify some common aspects that could lead to definitional conclusions which then reflect into the cultural logic of dignity.

Dignity in philosophical traditions: Dignity has been a central concept in philosophical traditions rooted in the idea that all human beings possess inherent worth and value. In ancient philosophy, thinkers like Aristotle and Plato explored the importance of living a virtuous life, where dignity was closely linked to moral excellence and the pursuit of the good (Wein, 2022). Later, philosophers like Immanuel Kant articulated a more refined and formalized understanding of dignity, grounding it in the rational nature of human beings. Kant argued that a fellow human being should never be seen just as a means to an end that is external to them (Kant, 1785). According to Kantian philosophy, human dignity is an absolute, independent ideal that applies to everyone. In explaining it, he clearly distinguishes between the value of objects (which he calls price) and the value of human beings (which he calls dignity).

"Whatever has a price can be replaced by something else as its equivalent. On the other hand, whatever is above all price and therefore admits of no equivalent has a dignity. That which constitutes the condition under which alone something can be an end in itself does not have mere relative worth, that is price, but an intrinsic word that is dignity" (Kant, 1785, p. 97)

This was further extended by Debes (2017) and other philosophers as a universal, characteristic, and inalienable quality of persons, and entitles its holders to 'recognition respect'. In this sense, 'human dignity' refers to the inherent or unearned worth or status, which all humans enjoy equally. It is universal in that everyone has it, all of the time. It is characteristic, in that it is one of the things that defines someone as a person and is inalienable. Dignity can be offended against, but it cannot be taken away, no matter how badly one is treated (Debes, 2017).

Building on the work of Debesian philosophy, Kateb (2011) argues that human dignity is derived from two precepts. First the unique stature of humans, apart from the rest of nature, and second the equal status of individual humans. This uniqueness, he says, need not flow from a religious endowment, but rather from human language, ability to think, and the other potentialities that flow from these abilities. He places individual humans at the center of his argument and asserts that dignity must be about respecting individuals, and does not need any requirement of group identities. This has implications for how people should be treated by others. It is argued that simply because each person has dignity, they should be treated with respect. This respect he says is 'recognition respect'. It is the sort of respect due simply because you recognize a person's dignity, and people do not need to do anything extra to earn that respect (Dillon, 2020). For example, I show someone 'recognition respect' as a person when I give appropriate consideration to him/her in deciding what to do. That is, I appropriately circumscribe or revise my choices if they would affect him/her, and I do this precisely because of their dignity (Darwall 2004).

The importance of human dignity was recognized by the global community especially after World War II embedding it at the heart of international law through the Universal Declaration

of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. The UDHR, adopted by the United Nations, enshrined dignity as a core principle, declaring that all individuals are inherently free and equal in dignity and rights (Glendon, 1999; Morsink, 1999). This pivotal moment positioned dignity as a central tenet in international relations and human rights discourse giving dignity the pole position.

However, though Kant's famous formula of humanity - that a person is "an end in itself"- holds concise appeal, it is difficult to derive practical moral implications from it (Rosen, 2012). Thus, for this doctoral project, Kant is important primarily as an intellectual forebear of the ideas of dignity. These ideas will further be seen through the application of dignity in a multidisciplinary perspective.

Central features of dignity from different disciplines: The most sustained engagement with dignity is in international development in the work on displacement (Wein, 2022). Holloway and Grandi (2018) directly examined dignity as a theoretical concept and then explored those concepts through primary research among Rohingya (Holloway & Fan, 2018), and Syrian refugees (Grandi et al 2018), in Afghanistan, the Philippines, South Sudan, and Colombia (Holloway, 2019). In doing so, Holloway and Grandi, (2018) have given four fundamental principles of dignity - *humanity, impartiality, neutrality, and independence*. This appearance of dignity in humanitarian standards is also described by Karasawa et al. (2011, p. 38), who assert that "Dignity entails more than physical well-being; it demands respect for the whole person, including the values and beliefs of individuals and affected communities, and respect for their human rights, including liberty, freedom of conscience and religious observance." Applying these principles in the studies on war and conflict, several writers have said that an ethic of dignity requires peace; violence may be the ultimate affront to dignity (Nussbaum, 2007; Sen, 2009; Thomas et al., 2020). Hasenclever et al. (2004) while attempting to integrate dignity into the war tradition suggest that it should make us more skeptical of armed interventions, even when they are carried out to defend human rights.

A broader perspective on dignity comes from Jacobson (2009) who developed its typology drawing on 64 interviews with healthcare providers and people from marginalized groups in Toronto, Canada. In doing so, she identifies two types of dignity - *human dignity and social dignity.* Human dignity, on the one hand, is the abstract, universal value that belongs to every human being simply by virtue of being human. It admits of no quantity and cannot be created or destroyed. Social dignity, on the other hand, is generated in the interactions between and amongst individuals, collectives, and societies. It may be divided into two types: *dignity-of-self* and *dignity-in-relation.* Dignity-of-self is a quality of self-respect and self-worth that is identified with characteristics like confidence, and a demeanor described as dignified. Dignity-in-relation refers to how respect and worth are conveyed through individual and collective behavior.

The social aspect of dignity is further elaborated by Donna Hicks (2012) who provides a comprehensive insight into the application of dignity within workplaces, asserting that experiences of both dignity and indignity lie at the core of many dysfunctional organizational environments. Hicks defines dignity as "the glue that binds all our relationships" and as "the mutual acknowledgment of the desire to be seen, heard, listened to, treated fairly; to be acknowledged, understood, and to feel secure in the world" (Hicks, 2018 p 24). She outlines various elements of dignity, such as *acceptance of identity, inclusivity, safety, fairness, understanding, and tolerance*, as well as examples of indignity like blaming, shaming, victim-playing, and engaging in derogatory gossip. This perspective is reinforced by the research on workplace dignity in India conducted by Tiwari and Sharma (2019), who have identified five key aspects of dignity: *trust, equality, autonomy, fairness, and self-esteem*.

Along similar lines, in the area of gender studies, Darwall (2004) associates dignity with *egalitarianism* – if we believe that all humans have a basic relationship of equality, it is because we believe they all share some basic quality or status - what we call here “dignity”. Adding to the discourse on equality, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of

Discrimination against Women says that “discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity”. This statement, at least to some extent can be seen to refute the gendered concept of honor where the honor code prescribes differential roles and attributes to males and females.

***Dignity from non-Western perspectives*:** Until now, much of the work on dignity is derived from Western perspectives in most of these disciplines. There is, however, a long history of discussions of dignity across many cultures. Donnelly (1982) argues that equivalent concepts are observable across virtually all human cultures. Himanen (2014) says that dignity is intimately linked to empathy, and consequently argues that it is a universal value, manifested in the recognition of personhood, something he notes has appeared in Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Kantian philosophy. However, Schroeder (2008) reminds us that the concept of dignity only has force in the context in which it is being deployed, which means its meaning needs to be understood contextually through explorative approaches.

For instance, the meaning of dignity is captured in Rohingya through ‘ijjot’ to mean social identity, religious practice, and economic self-reliance (Holloway & Fan, 2018). Syrians refer to rights, respect, and independence through self-reliance using the word ‘karma’ (Grandi et al., 2018). Donnelly (1982) argues that while Western ideas of dignity have yielded the entitlements we call human rights, he believes that Islamic, African, Chinese, Indian, and Soviet conceptions of dignity yield an understanding of service towards and acceptance of humanity in a communitarian society.

In Hindu philosophy, writes Düwell et al. (2014), the Upanisads describe the relationship between the self and the whole, or the individual, the gods, and all other living things, suggesting that we are all alike and connected. In classical Buddhist traditions, the self is not regarded as permanent or reliable, so dignity cannot be an unchanging concept, as it is in Western ideas (Wein, 2022). In Mahayana Buddhism, practiced in northern Asia, dignity is attributed to all

things that participate in the world - humans, gods, animals, and spirits. People of all ranks respect it by showing compassion and practicing related values. This was given practical force under the reign of Emperor Asoka, who sought to bring positive religious liberty and well-being to all his subjects, eliminating humiliating treatment, as part of his Buddhist practice (Düwell et al., 2014). Following this concept, Lalljee et al. (2009) developed a measure for unconditional respect and tested it in Dubai, Kolkata, and Northern Ireland. With similar alpha values, they suggested that conceptions of respect for persons do not differ significantly between England, UAE, India, and Northern Ireland, at least when examined through this method.

In Kenya, a study on the residents of Mathare, an informal settlement of Nairobi, offered a distinctive definition of dignity (Wein, 2022). They phrased it as follows: “We all have dignity. That is why we show respect to those in our groups. There is a purpose to this: it lets us discharge our God-given duty to care for one another. But fully respecting people isn’t something everyone can do. Some stuff we can all do, like being polite in our speech and observing social codes.” This definition is echoed in the Kenyan constitution, which uses dignity somewhat loosely, but several times links it to social justice, equity, and positive protection for individuals (Ebert & Odour, 2012). The Mathare definition is quite similar to that of Western philosophy, with one difference: Western philosophers do not discuss a purpose to dignity, which they generally say is intrinsically good. Looking at these non-Western perspectives on dignity, it is safe to say that, in comparison to honor, the meanings attached to dignity are similar across cultures, making it a more universal concept.

Taking all the above multidisciplinary viewpoints on dignity and its implementation into consideration, it is evident that as a concept, dignity is blurry but its instrumental usage makes its existence evident. In the words of Schachter (1983),

"When it has been invoked in concrete situations, it has been generally assumed that a violation of human dignity can be recognized even if the abstract term cannot be defined. I know it when I see it even when I cannot tell you what it is" (Schachter 1983, p. 849)

Eckert (2002) asserts that it is challenging to grasp the judicial meaning of the notion of human dignity, even in the German legal system (Eberle, 2002), which has given it more judicial attention than any other system. Despite specifying and defining its legal aspects, a wide range of applications remain unattended. Can moral conduct affect dignity? Is it equal for all persons in all circumstances? How can dignity be taken away? These and other important questions are raised frequently about dignity, whose answers remain uncertain and are outside the purview of this doctoral project. For the scope of this project, human dignity is the contemporary and fundamental humanitarian value established in Article 1 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaims that "[a]ll human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

In this regard, the theoretical definition of dignity by Ayers (1984, p. 19) as "the conviction that each individual at birth possessed an intrinsic value at least theoretically equal to that of every other person" can serve as a theoretical cornerstone for the project, particularly considering its widespread adoption in constitutional and legal frameworks across nations such as Germany, South Africa, Israel, Canada, and within international organizations like the European Union during the latter half of the 20th century (Kamir, 2006). These rights are primarily framed as freedom rights allowing individuals to express their unique identities and thereby thrive. This foundational understanding allows for the incorporation of any nuanced interpretations that may arise through its application in diverse cultural contexts. Building upon this premise, the study aims to investigate the various facets of dignity, particularly as manifested in everyday situations in India and Germany.

***The cultural logic of dignity*:** In the realm of social psychology, akin to the cultural logic applied to honor, the principle of dignity is often analyzed through the framework of the cultural logic of dignity. This approach views dignity-based societies, such as those found in the Northern and Midwestern United States, and Northwestern Europe, as grounded in the notion that individuals inherently possess worth that is neither granted nor revoked by external sources (Leung & Cohen, 2011). Consequently, in these societies, an individual's self-esteem and esteem in the eyes of others are believed to be impervious to insults or challenges. “Sticks and stones may break my bones, but names will never hurt me” (Leung & Cohen, 2011, pg.3) would be the motto of this ideal. This independence of one’s actions from others’ evaluations is central to the dignity culture (Shweder et al., 1990, Triandis, 1994). Therefore, contrary to the logic of payback in honor cultures, exchanges here are marked by a contractual orientation backed up by individuals’ commitment to their personal standards of honesty and a rule of law that enforces contracts (Leung & Cohen, 2011).

Dignity-based societies are typically characterized as having a strong rule of law that protects individuals. Individuals do not need to take the law into their own hands and look out for themselves as in honor-based societies; thus, the importance of vigilant and aggressive defense of personal reputation has waned in dignity-based societies (Leung & Cohen, 2011). A strong sense of dignity allows behavior to be self-determined and guided by the person’s own beliefs, and standards. The focus on personal rights also allows people to have more conceptions of a specific truth rather than malleable definitions of morality based on what may benefit their group (Kim & Cohen, 2010). This means each person can act according to a “universal” set of standards without judgments of morality by other group members impacting an individual’s value. Individual behavior is therefore constrained by guilt over failure to act in accord with one’s personal standards, in contrast to the shame of public condemnation in honor-based societies (Leung & Cohen, 2011).

The idea of human "worth" in these cultures reflects its efforts to strike a balance between liberty (freedom from external constraints) and equality (everyone has inherent worth that is theoretically equal at birth). This is what sets dignity cultures apart from other individualistic cultures. Just as equating honor with collectivism is misleading, similarly equating dignity cultures with individualistic cultures is misleading in many ways. The conception of independent worth in the dignity culture reflects a specific type of individualism that emphasizes the importance of freedom from external constraints rather than types of individualism that correspond to freedom to exert one's influence over others or desire for admiration and praise (see Kim & Cohen, 2010; Kim et al., 2010). This view captures the commonalities between the Northwest European countries (Menkor et. al., 2021), one of which, Germany, is selected to represent dignity culture in the current doctoral project (Smith et al., 2017).

The literature on dignity so far acknowledges that, though its source as stemming from the intrinsic worth of a person is understood similarly across cultures, it is experienced and expressed differently. Therefore, there is a need to explore the unique cultural nuances that shape perceptions and experiences of dignity, particularly in cultural settings that are honor and dignity-oriented. Killmister (2017), for example, has expanded on the social element of dignity, arguing that our participation in the community of human beings at large is dependent on how we connect to other humans, regardless of their backgrounds. These methods of connecting may have a cultural or normative influence (Parekh, 2009). Therefore, while philosophical and theoretical discussions on dignity are abundant, translating these concepts into actionable practices is important and remains a challenge. There is a gap in understanding how abstract principles of dignity translate into tangible behaviors and practices in everyday situations. To address these gaps, this project endeavors to uncover the foundational elements of dignity by analyzing the perspectives of participants from both Germany and India. Moreover, it seeks to align dignity

with honor, examining it through the lens of norms and individuals' responses when these are threatened.

1.4. When dignity is threatened

Every human interaction holds the potential to be a dignity encounter–an interaction in which dignity comes to the forefront and may be either violated or protected. Dignity encounters can take place in any setting, public or private, social and physical environments in which actors engage in certain customary patterns of behavior (Jacobson, 2009). The encounters are more likely to result in violation when one actor is in a position of vulnerability–for example when the actor is sick, poor, weak, helpless, or confused–and the other actor is in a position of antipathy–for example, when the actor is prejudiced, arrogant, hostile, or impatient (Hicks, 2012). Violation is more common when the relationship between the actors is one of asymmetry; that is, when one actor has more power, authority, knowledge, wealth, or strength than the other (Jacobson, 2009). Settings characterized by harsh circumstances are also more likely to see a violation of dignity. Such settings are often described as hierarchical and rigid (Parekh, 2009). Dignity violation is tied to an order of inequality, a social order in which inequities like those based on racism, sexism, or economic disparity flourish. This section elaborates on ways in which dignity could be violated and the subsequent responses it might yield.

Threats to dignity: Acts like degradation, dehumanization, humiliation, and non-recognition point to ways in which we understand human beings to be violated in their dignity (Jacobson, 2009). Justice and non-discrimination—as well as the principle of equality for everyone—are the core values of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the global commitment to recognize inherent human dignity. Injustice, oppression, and discrimination are based on hierarchies of human value, which directly affect dignity. Violations of human dignity are brought about by concrete practices and conditions; some commonly acknowledged, such as

torture and rape, and others more contested, such as poverty and exclusion (Ignatief, 2001; Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 2010).

A large part of dignity violation revolves around a lack of consideration for people in any form and based on any ground (Turner, 2021). Jacobson (2009) identified instances in hospital settings where a patient's dignity is compromised. These include acts of gratuitous nastiness towards patients, generalized disrespect or indifference, and dismissal through a lack of consideration or care. Such behaviors often stem from judgments based on patient characteristics and can manifest as ignoring or discounting the patient's knowledge, concerns, needs, and feelings.

Another range of threats, mainly coming from gender studies revolves around controlling the actor and his/her decisions thereby limiting the actor's ability to direct his or her own life. (Butler 1999; Hooks, 2000). This can be seen through diminishment where the person is made to feel smaller or lessened by the form and content of the interaction, disregard by rendering the person invisible or voiceless, contempt through treating the person in a way that suggests he or she has no value, forcing the person to rely on others for basic needs, transgressing bodily or personal boundaries, and objectification. At extreme ends, these threats can also take the form of assault by using physical force to damage or demean a person's body and spirit and forcing a person to humble him or herself by compromising closely held beliefs (Hooks, 2000).

Yet another set of threats to dignity, especially from studies on social classes, and organizational contexts, includes acts such as grouping, where an individual is seen not as a unique individual, but only as a member of a collective; discrimination, where a person is treated poorly based on achieved or ascribed status or apparent membership in a low-status group; exclusion, where a person is made to feel unwelcomed in or left out of physical or social settings; revulsion, where a person is treated as though he or she is disgusting or tainted; bullying, where a person is threatened or intimidated, and trickery, where someone is taunted or manipulated for material gain or psychological advantage (Hicks, 2018; Jacobson, 2009; Keer, 1991; Sen, 2009).

These violations to dignity can occur at the micro, meso, and macro levels (Jacobson, 2009). For example, deprivation may describe both a female not being allowed to stay out of home late hours or a government's habitual failure to provide adequate health and social services for a segment of its population. Certain processes of violation seem more likely to occur in some settings than in others. For instance, closed environments like jails see some of the more violent processes, like assault, whereas "micro insults" or processes like rudeness and disregard are common in public places like street corners or stores (Nadal, 2011).

Jacobson (2009) emphasizes that for an act to be considered a dignity violation, it must not only occur but also be interpreted as such. The individual involved in the violation, including any observers, must perceive it as a violation. This itself is a social process structured by the multiple levels of conditioning. The person in a position of vulnerability, for example, may be more likely to read a relatively minor social slight as a dignity violation. Some may not see it as a violation of dignity but rather as a slight or a misunderstanding. This brings us to the point of why understanding dignity cross-culturally is important. Do people interpret and respond to dignity threats similarly?

Responding to dignity threats: Unlike honor threats, psychological consequences and responses to dignity threats have been relatively under-researched, especially in cross-cultural settings. Some understanding still comes from studies on organizational incivility that have tried to understand its impact on employees and their responses when their 'workplace dignity' is threatened.

Organizational incivility refers to subtle, low-intensity forms of negative behavior in the workplace that often go unaddressed but can have important psychological and organizational consequences (Cortina, 2022). This includes behaviors such as exclusion, condescension, or being ignored—actions that, while less overt than harassment, can still damage an individual's dignity (Vasconcelos, 2022). These behaviors, such as dismissiveness or rudeness, may appear

minor but disproportionately target marginalized groups like women and racial minorities (Cortina, 2022). This incivility functions as a modern expression of bias, difficult to recognize and address, yet it reinforces systemic inequalities (Pearson & Porath, 2009). Most research on responses to such challenges is limited to the organizational level (Ball, 2010; Joolaee et al. 2008; Lim & Cortina, 2005; Pollack et al. 2016; Stephen Ekpenyong et al. 2021; Zinko et al. 2022). For example, Lim and Cortina (2005) highlight the critical role of authority and leadership in mitigating the effects of workplace incivility by promoting respectful communication.

In contrast, fewer studies have explored individual employee reactions. Hershcovis et al. (2020) found that incidents of incivility from a single perpetrator often lead to feelings of isolation and embarrassment in the target, which are linked to perceived job insecurity and somatic symptoms both on the same day and three days later. These effects are more pronounced when the perpetrator holds a position of power. Tilton et al. (2024) studied indignities experienced by employees at different levels of the organization. At the lower level, the indignities experienced include being disrespected, devalued, and dehumanized. A common reaction by most employees in these situations included enduring these situations or indignities. These participants responded to the threats with a range of emotions including anger, stress, and sadness but the most common one was that of enduring these indignities. Next, at the middle level, the indignities included undermining one's competence, and ability to work. The emotional responses to these situations included extreme frustration and anger since these indignities also affected them financially. A common response here included strategizing to reclaim their dignity by taking charge of the situations, through confrontation. Finally, at higher-end jobs, some of the most experienced indignities included the dismissal of expertise and special rights. In these cases, some of the most common reactions included shock and extreme disappointment. In response to the shock, many participants decided to rise above the threats by walking out of the situation because of self-respect.

It is somewhat clear that, like honor, threats to dignity also elicit specific emotional responses such as frustration, anger, and distress; as well as behavioral responses such as confrontation or walking away from the situation. However, unlike honor, these remain unattended, especially in a cross-cultural context. Do dignity threats evoke anger and frustration similarly across cultures, considering that dignity may be perceived more universally than honor? Or are these reactions more severe in dignity cultures where dignity norms might be endorsed more than honor? What would then happen when these two cultural contexts meet? Would people who have come to dignity cultures from an honor cultural background respond to dignity threats similarly as the natives of the host culture? Or would their reactions be guided by the honor norms prevalent back in their home culture? Answering these brings us to the next important area of this thesis – migration and acculturation in the context of honor and dignity cultures.

1.5. Acculturation and norm endorsement

While the differences between honor and dignity cultures have received more literary and research attention, this project seeks to go beyond these comparisons to explore what happens when people migrate between these cultures, specifically from honor to dignity cultures. Migration often entails more than just physical relocation; including navigating new cultural landscapes, adapting to unfamiliar societal norms, and reconciling personal values with those of the host society. For individuals migrating from honor cultures to dignity cultures, this transition can be particularly challenging, given the significant shifts in cultural norms and expectations that may conflict with their ingrained beliefs and practices.

***Migration in the context of honor and dignity cultures*:** As migrants from honor cultures transition to dignity cultures, they may need to reassess longstanding beliefs about honor, shame, and social obligations, while adapting to new societal norms that prioritize individual freedoms, equality, and diversity (Ne'eman-Haviv, 2021). While migration to economically developed

countries such as Germany, Norway, and Belgium can offer financial benefits, migrants often face challenges such as language barriers, limited social support, and cultural disparities in norms and values (González & González, 2008). Navigating these hurdles can be daunting for migrants, potentially leading to feelings of cultural dissonance, identity conflict, and social isolation as they strive to reconcile their cultural heritage with the values of the host society (Rudnev, 2014).

For instance, migrants from honor cultures may struggle with the expectation to prioritize individual aspirations over family obligations, grappling with the tension between personal goals and traditional familial responsibilities. Additionally, they may encounter pressure from their community of origin to uphold traditional values, causing internal conflicts as they attempt to maintain cultural authenticity while adapting to new cultural expectations (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). Migrants may also face pressure to conform to traditional gender norms from their home country, leading to discrimination, and difficulties in achieving gender equality and empowerment. Furthermore, due to its gendered nature, males may experience this conflict to a greater extent than women. For instance, Ne'eman-Haviv (2021) investigated the acculturation dynamics and attitudes toward honor killings against women among Israeli Arabs. The study revealed that male participants who displayed higher levels of integration encountered heightened internal conflict and exhibited more favorable attitudes toward honor killings. Conversely, female participants who followed similar integration patterns demonstrated the most unfavorable attitudes toward honor killings. This suggests that men may face greater challenges in adapting to evolving gender roles post-migration.

Managing disputes and conflicts also differs between honor and dignity cultures. Dignity cultures often rely on formal mechanisms such as legal systems, negotiation, and mediation through established structures, emphasizing the rule of law. In contrast, honor cultures may employ informal methods like mediation by community elders, reconciliation within the family, or personal retaliation to restore honor and resolve disputes. Migrants may find it challenging to

adapt to formal legal systems and conflict resolution mechanisms, feeling hesitant to seek external intervention to resolve personal conflicts. For instance, Umubyeyi and Mtapuri (2019) found that men endorsing higher masculine beliefs found negotiation a difficult measure for marital conflict resolution due to the expectation of power hierarchy.

Challenges occur not just from the personal end, but also from the notions regarding honor prevailing in the host countries. For instance, media and public discourse in Western immigrant-receiving societies like the UK, Germany, and Canada, often paint a simplistic, dichotomous picture of honor as being in opposition to Western values like individual freedom. This representation not only misconstrues the complex, varied nature of honor but also perpetuates a negative stereotype about immigrant cultures. For instance, Korteweg (2014) proposes that such portrayals often reinforce the perception of immigrant 'backwardness' among the mainstream groups. Furthermore, Terman (2010) explores how such media representation not only stigmatizes immigrant groups but also pressures them toward assimilation, shaping policies in ways that target and marginalize honor-based practices. Despite these media reports and public discourses, empirical understanding in this area is limited.

Given the probability of challenges migrants might face and the lack of empirical work in acculturation within the honor-dignity paradigm, it is crucial to examine how migrants integrate in the host country by understanding the extent to which they endorse both, honor and dignity norms, as well as the way they would react when both are threatened. Specifically, this study aims to investigate this dynamic among Indians residing in Germany, comparing them with both Indian and German natives to discern potential differences in endorsement patterns that could result from migration. To explore this, the project employs two theoretical frameworks: Berry's acculturation model and Esser's social integration model.

Berry's model of acculturation: Migration of any type, whether voluntary or involuntary, short-term or long-term, forces people to address two basic questions about the nature of their

relationships with their heritage culture and with the host culture. The first question concerns cultural maintenance: Do I maintain heritage culture and identity? The second is related to cultural adaptation: Do I adapt to the culture of the majority? (Bourhis et al., 1997). Having assorted these two variables, Berry (1997) introduced a concept of four acculturation strategies (see Figure 1.1).

The positive answer to both questions leads to the integration strategy, usually considered in the literature as the most beneficial for the individual (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). If one sheds his or her heritage identity and decides to accommodate the new culture, one undertakes the assimilation strategy. Finally, separation happens when one maintains close and vivid connections with the home culture and does not participate in the host society. The least understood is the marginalization strategy, where an individual rejects both host and home cultures and excludes himself/herself from participation in social life (Berry, 1997).

The four acculturation strategies have been correlated with psychological outcomes, such as acculturative stress and adaptation (Berry & Sam, 1997). Acculturative stress refers to a short

Figure 1.1

Berry's acculturation model

Maintenance of heritage culture	**Adaptation to host culture**		
		Low	**High**
	Low	Marginalization	Assimilation
	High	Separation	Integration

Source: Own adaptation, based on Berry et al. (2006, p. 306).

-term response to “potentially challenging life events that are rooted in intercultural contact” (Berry, 2006, p. 43), while adaptation encompasses relatively stable changes that occur in response to external demands when moving to or living in a cultural environment different from one's heritage culture (Berry, 2006). Research indicates that marginalization, separation, and assimilation are negative predictors of ethnic minorities' adaptation and positive predictors of stress (Berry, 2006; Kunst & Sam, 2013). This may be because individuals adopting these strategies receive social support from only one or none of the available cultural spheres.

Given the favorable outcomes associated with the integration strategy, it is expected that migrants would endorse both honor and dignity norms. Previous research on migration, particularly longitudinal studies, has primarily focused on value changes following migration. For instance, Lönnqvist et al. (2011) discovered that the integration strategy is linked to higher universalism and security values and lower achievement and power values post-migration. A similar pattern might be observed in the endorsement of honor and dignity norms for Indians in Germany. To better understand this, the project treats integration as a psychosocial concept that needs attention not just from the individual’s subjective preferences but also from the perspective of social and economic adaptation in the host country which is elaborated by Esser (2001).

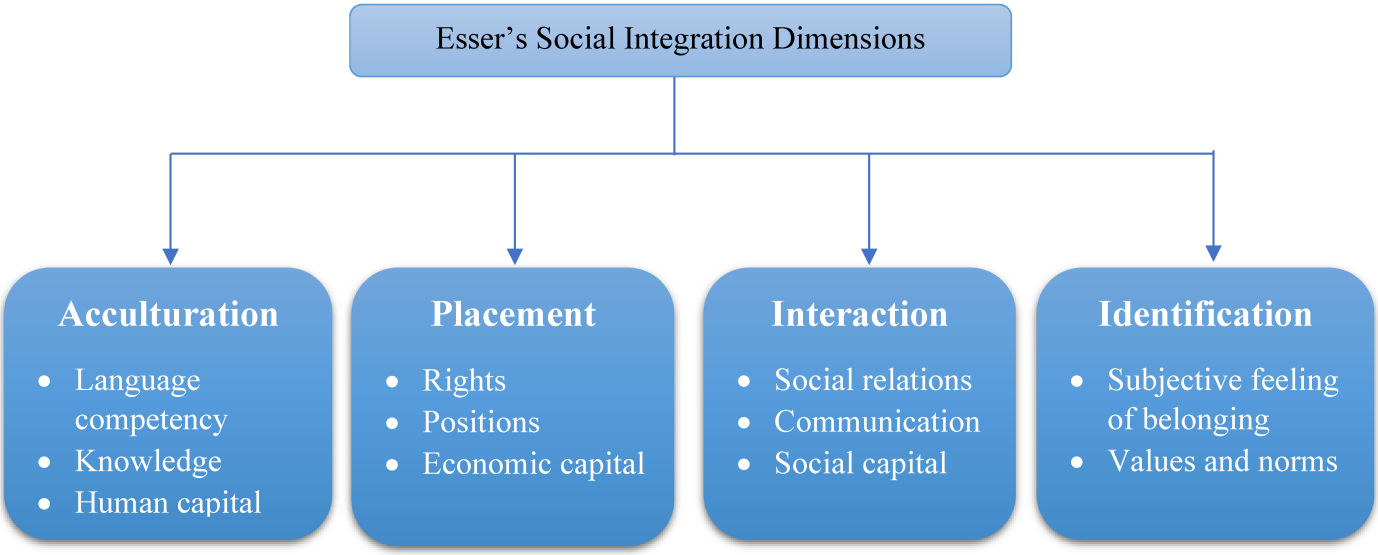
***Esser’s model of social integration*:** According to Esser (2001), integration is the cohesion of single parts into a whole. Applied to society, Lockwood (1964) makes two distinctions: system integration and social integration. System integration refers to “the orderly or conflictful relationships between the parts”, whereas social integration means “the orderly or conflictful relationships between the actors” of a social system (Esser, 2001). Thus, the focus in system integration is on the integration of the society’s system as a whole, while social integration focuses on the integration of individual actors into the system. Conceptually, system integration and social integration are independent of each other and can therefore be researched separately (Esser, 2001).

The focus of Esser's research is exclusively on social integration. Esser identifies four dimensions of social integration: acculturation, interaction, identification, and placement (See Figure 1.2). These four dimensions contain the key aspects of social integration. The first dimension is acculturation which includes cultural knowledge and language competencies needed for interaction and is part of the socialization process in a society. Placement here means the position in a society and the rights gained with it, may it be by citizenship or an economic position. Interaction refers to the building and maintaining of social relationships in daily life. Finally, identification encompasses the emotional relationship between the actor and the society, a subjective feeling of belonging. These dimensions can be applied to individuals or groups to assess their social integration status.

While Berry's model emphasizes the 'process' of acculturation, Esser's dimensions are more 'outcome-based' (Mittelstädt & Odag, 2016). Consequently, these frameworks can enhance the interpretation of the results derived from Berry's model. If Berry's integration strategy predicts the endorsement of both honor and dignity norms, the tangible elements outlined in Esser's

Figure 1.2

Esser's dimensions of social integration



Source: Own adaptation, based on Esser (2001, p. 16).

model can offer a more nuanced explanation. Proficiency in the host country's language, for instance, may facilitate the endorsement of dignity norms beyond economic resources. Alternatively, intercultural interactions might promote the endorsement of both norms. Incorporating these factors can enrich the findings by considering contextual influences within the migration process that either facilitate or impede norm endorsement among migrants.

1.6. Present study

In view of the literature discussed above and extending the discourse on honor, dignity, and migration, the current doctoral project aims to investigate how the endorsement of honor and dignity norms, both at the personal and perceived societal levels, relates to individual responses to honor and dignity threats. It seeks to explore these dynamics among both natives as well as migrants transitioning from honor to dignity cultures. In doing so, it starts by exploring honor and dignity in India and Germany, thereby developing an individual as well as cultural understanding of these two, followed by a quantitative study testing these variables. In the quantitative study, it is first expected that the groups will differ in their endorsement of honor and dignity norms, where Indian participants would exhibit higher endorsement of honor norms compared to their German counterparts, while the reverse pattern is expected for dignity norms. Further, in terms of threats, Indian participants are expected to react more strongly to honor threats than Germans, whereas Germans are expected to demonstrate stronger reactions to dignity threats compared to Indians.

Of particular interest are the responses of the migrant group whose norm endorsement cannot be understood without their acculturation strategy. Going with Berry's (1997, 2006) model, we can anticipate that an assimilation strategy would predict a positive endorsement of dignity norms, whereas a separation strategy would predict honor norms positively. Integration is expected to be associated with a positive endorsement of both honor and dignity norms, while

marginalization may negatively predict the endorsement of both. The project will use Berry's acculturation model to understand this process while using Esser's model to explain the obtained findings by linking them with objective components of social integration, such as economic resources, language acquisition, and intercultural interaction. Furthermore, the project aims to test the reactions of migrants to threats and see if these are also predicted by their acculturation strategies. The subsequent section provides a detailed overview of the project, including its context, primary research questions, and proposed hypotheses.

Context of the study- India and Germany: While it is difficult to characterize honor and dignity cultures into two extraneous categories, certain features of the two countries, India and Germany, relate to the existing literature on honor and dignity cultures and justify the case selection.

Indian culture, like the Mediterranean culture, is closely wrapped around feelings of honor but remains relatively under-researched. India, along with other independent nations like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Afghanistan belongs to the cluster of the South Asian Continent which forms a complex set of cultures striving for modernity while keeping its hold on tradition in a very high regard (Ahuja, 2006). Some of the attempts to understand honor in India come from studies by anthropologists and sociologists which rely heavily on qualitative approaches (Sharma, 2007; Kaushal, 2020).

In India, the honor culture is deeply rooted in its hierarchical caste system prevalent majorly in the Hindu religion (Kaushal, 2020). In several parts of the country, especially in Northern India, inter-caste and inter-religious marriages are frowned upon (Sharma, 2007). Many young Indians, especially in the villages, pay a heavy price for such transgressions, at times that of their life (Singh & Bhandari, 2021). The Indian patriarchal system places a strong emphasis on family honor since families still exert a powerful influence on the social structure (Kaushal, 2020). According to Sinha and Tripathi (1994), Indians have a primarily familial self that governs their decisions in social circumstances. Paradoxically, just like other honor cultures, they are places

of great politeness and hospitality (Cohen & Vandello, 2004). Indians are indeed known for their generosity and kindness (Narayanan, 2020). Moreover, due to the ramifications for bigger communities, such activities also take on moral relevance (Haidt, 2008; Shweder et al., 1997). These honor-related practices are referred to as symbols that maintain and/or promote collective group identity (Ledgerwood et al., 2007). When this group identity is threatened (e.g., through inter-caste, or inter-religious marriage), the perceived value of these symbols increases even more (Kay, 2012). While the group influence persists, modern India is also living through an interesting but troublesome transition where traditional ideas of collective honor are competing with the notion of individual dignity. In this clash, collective honor generally takes a preceding stance since living without communities is perceived to be difficult, even impossible (Singh & Bhandari, 2021). Against this background of hierarchy and family collectivism, this project tries to understand notions of honor and dignity for young Indian adults who seem to be caught in this clash more than any other generation (Singh & Bhandari, 2021).

The responses of Indian participants are compared to those of participants from Germany, selected as exemplifying dignity cultures. The concept of dignity in Germany, 'Würde', captures its efforts to uphold the rights of individuals and extends from the legal systems to other domains, including social interactions and workplace ethics (Schachter, 1983). It is important to note that while talking about Germany as a dignity culture, this study refers to its mainstream liberal, secular, and gender equality values also captured in its legal systems (Fuchs et al, 2021). Currently, about a quarter of the current German population has a so-called migration background comprising people predominantly from Muslim countries (Fuchs et al., 2021), most of which also come under the umbrella of 'culturally different' (Sliwka, 2010) and even honor cultures. As a result of immigration, people with diverse cultures and religions are increasingly living together and Germany is experiencing shifts from a culturally homogenous to a more pluralistic society (Sliwka, 2010).

To understand the difference from honor values in India, the project focuses on young adults born and brought up in Germany, who identify themselves as German and have at least one, preferably both parents with German lineage and citizenship. Just as the North Americans in Uskul et al.'s (2012) study and the Dutch in Rodriguez Mosquera et al.'s (2002a) study, it is assumed that German participants will perceive honor more as an individual attribute than as a salient construct influencing their social behavior. Moreover, given Germany's cultural alignment with the cultural logic of dignity (Anjum et al. 2019; Maitnet et al. 2022; Menkor et al. 2021), it is expected that German participants will prioritize dignity more than the participants from India. This focus on dignity may reveal insights into how dignity beliefs could shape one's social behavior. By studying honor and dignity in both India and Germany, the project addresses two research gaps, uncovering the elements of dignity, and testing honor in a relatively under-researched yet culturally meaningful area that can contribute to its multifaceted understanding.

Another rationale for examining honor and dignity in these nations is the notably higher presence of Indian student immigrants in Germany (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2021). Germany has become a prime destination for migrants seeking better opportunities and quality of life. Known for its strong economy, higher educational standards, better standard of living, and welcoming society, Germany attracts individuals from diverse backgrounds seeking economic stability, academic excellence, and cultural enrichment (Fuchs et al., 2021). With favorable migration policies, Germany is witnessing a surge in migrants, both voluntary and involuntary, predominantly from Europe and also worldwide. (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2021). Currently, international students constitute the second-largest migrant demographic in Germany, with Indian students comprising the largest proportion (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2021). Furthermore, voluntary migrants offer unique insights into adaptation and integration, given their greater agency in decision-making processes (Bhugra &

Becker, 2005). Their diverse motivations and varying levels of preparedness can shed light on the complexities of migration experiences and their relation to societal integration.

Research questions and hypotheses: The central aim of this doctoral project is to understand how endorsement of honor and dignity norms, both personal and perceived societal norms, is associated with individual reactions to honor and dignity threats. This is tested among native Indians (representing honor culture), native Germans (representing dignity culture), and Indians in Germany (migrants from honor to dignity culture). The entire project has three objectives targeting three novel contributions – i) expansion of honor research to a new and understudied area, India, that differs from the relatively more studied Middle Eastern, Southern United States, Mediterranean, and Eastern European countries in various manners such as the hierarchical caste structure, religious majority, political structure, colonial history, and linguistic diversity. ii) Understanding dignity as a norm in a cross-cultural setting and how it is perceived when threatened in both honor and dignity cultures. This is particularly important to test if reactions to threats are similar in both cultures or differ based on the norm that is threatened and thereby also clarify how both these concepts, honor and dignity, differ from each other. iii) Testing the acculturation and social integration theories within the honor-dignity paradigm. Employing a mixed methods approach, the project addresses these objectives through qualitative and quantitative studies across three overarching research questions.

Study 1 – Qualitative

Research question 1: How do native Indian and German participants perceive honor and dignity as two differential aspects of self-worth?

Given the need to explore the understanding and implementation of dignity in a cross-cultural setting as well as to test the understanding of honor in a new region, the project begins with a bottom-up approach using a qualitative methodology. Using a bottom-up approach had two main

objectives: i) to understand the broad overarching meaning of honor and dignity as reported by participants in India and Germany, and (ii) to identify the central features of honor and dignity by asking about their personal meaning as well as situations that enhance or threaten honor and dignity. Both these objectives would enhance the micro-level as well as cultural understanding of both these concepts which would support the next quantitative study in instrument development as well as in proposing hypotheses.

Since the aim was to understand the meaning of honor and dignity without delving into excessive details, a focus group discussion was deemed appropriate for addressing the first research question. This would enable to reach multiple participants at once, while simultaneously probing for elaboration to gain a comprehensive understanding of their views. The group setting would foster social interactions and collective reflection, potentially uncovering shared cultural values surrounding dignity and honor. Finally, considering that certain topics could be sensitive in nature, such as the gender dynamics in honor (Mansoor, 2015), focus groups could provide a more comfortable setting for participants to share their views. Morgan (1996) suggests that group discussions can create a supportive environment where individuals feel less isolated and more encouraged to express their opinions compared to one-on-one interviews. The collective setting can help mitigate the pressure associated with discussing sensitive issues, as participants can benefit from the shared experiences and reflections of others in the group (Kitzinger, 1995).

Given the exploratory nature of the study, explicit hypotheses were not formulated. However, building on prior research on honor, it was anticipated that Indian interpretations of honor would encompass both individual and collective narratives, whereas German perspectives might emphasize individual aspects to a greater extent. Additionally, it was expected that honor-threatening scenarios described by Indian participants would exhibit a stronger emphasis on group dynamics and audience compared to those described by German participants. Regarding dignity, no specific expectations were posited, given the preliminary nature of the investigation.

To analyze the content of focus group discussions for any emergent themes related to both honor and dignity, thematic analysis was deemed the most suitable approach.

Study 2 – Quantitative

The findings from the qualitative study will inform the subsequent quantitative study. The objective of Study 2 is to quantitatively assess the endorsement of personal and perceived societal honor and dignity norms, as well as reactions to honor and dignity threats, among three participant groups: native Indians, Germans, and Indians in Germany. The themes identified in the qualitative study will be used to create scenarios for both honor and dignity threats. Additionally, the themes of dignity will aid in developing a measure of dignity norms. Beyond informing survey design, the qualitative study will help generate hypotheses and contextualize findings by anchoring them in the derived themes. The mixed methods design of the entire project is detailed in Figure 1.3 (after research question 3).

The quantitative study has 2 research questions -

Research question 2: How do the three groups, native Indians, native Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany, differ in their norm endorsement and reactions to threats?

This question has two objectives in it, the first one is to test the group differences in norm endorsement and threat reactions. Based on the existing literature, it is anticipated that Indian participants will exhibit stronger endorsement of honor norms than German participants and more pronounced reactions to honor-related threats. Regarding dignity norms, two opposing hypotheses are possible: first, that participants from both cultural groups would endorse dignity norms equally, given its universal nature, resulting in similar reactions to dignity threats; and second, going with the logic that people in dignity cultures would endorse dignity norms stronger than honor cultures, thereby participants from Germany would endorse them stronger, and react more strongly to dignity threats.

The second objective focuses exclusively on migrants. Here, first, the study tests if their endorsement of norms differs from those of natives, both Indian and German. No specific hypotheses are formulated here, but in the case that their endorsement differs, it is further studied through their acculturation strategies. Here as well, preliminary hypotheses are formed based on Berry's (1997, 2006) model such that the integration strategy is expected to positively predict the endorsement of both honor and dignity norms while a marginalization strategy would predict the endorsement negatively. An assimilation strategy would predict a positive endorsement of dignity norms, whereas a separation strategy would predict honor norms positively. Moreover, Esser's (2001) model would further enhance the understanding of norm endorsement through the economic, linguistic, social, and emotional dimensions of integration in the host country. A similar approach would be used to test the reactions of migrants toward honor and dignity threats, by first seeing how they differ from the natives and then testing their association with acculturation strategies

Research question 3: How do honor and dignity norms mediate cultural differences in reactions to threats among native Indians, Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany?

This question aims to test the conceptual relation between norms and threat reactions among the three groups. Here, it is important to note that this study examines the comparison between groups based on specific norms and threats, rather than within-group comparisons of different norms. This is because, it does not treat honor and dignity as opposing values, or two ends of one continuum. It assumes honor and dignity as distinct constructs, though related but not similar, with individuals being able to endorse both norms equally within their respective cultural contexts. Therefore, conceptually, the study predicts the endorsement of honor norms to mediate cultural differences in reactions to honor threats and not dignity threats, and vice versa for the endorsement of dignity norms.

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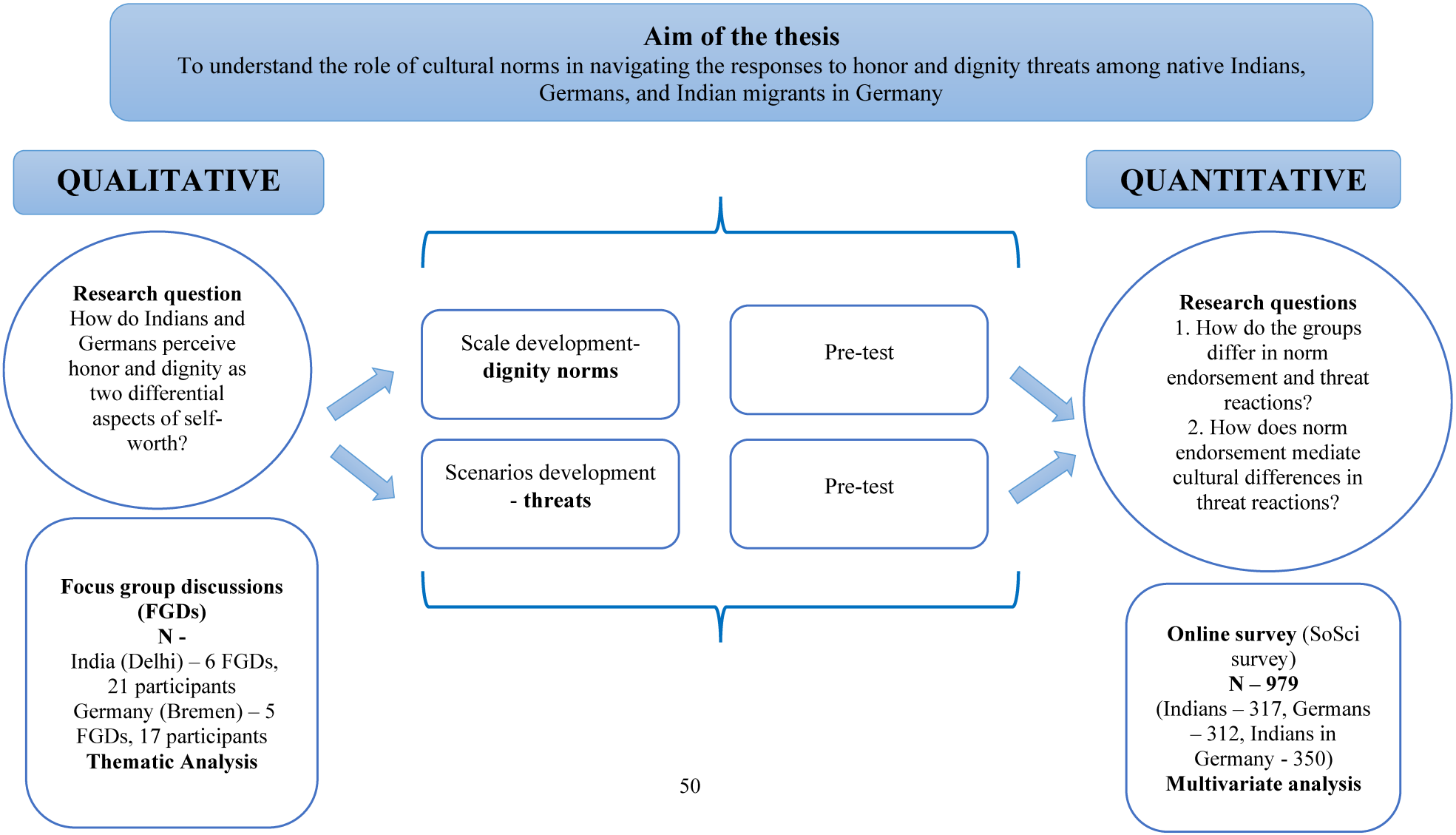
Figure 1.3.

Layout of the mixed methods design



Chapter 2 - Honor and Dignity in Cultural Contexts: Insights from India and Germany

This chapter is based on the article:

Keni, T. (2024). Understanding honor and dignity in North Indian and German cultural contexts. *Discover Psychology*, *4*(1), 138 - 166. https://doi.org/10.1007/s44202-024-00266-8

2.1. Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the starting point of this project is twofold: first, to extend the literature on honor to India, and second, to capture the understanding of dignity from a cross-cultural perspective. For both, a qualitative bottom-up approach is deemed appropriate to capture the semantic space of honor and dignity beliefs among Indians and Germans. Accordingly, this chapter seeks to address the first research question, "*How do native Indian and German participants perceive honor and dignity as two differential aspects of self-worth*?".

Individuals in all cultures rely on both their own and other people's opinions, to determine their self-worth (Kim & Cohen, 2010). However, there are likely to be cultural differences in whether self-worth is primarily an intrinsic independent aspect, rooted in a person's sense of dignity (Menkor et.al., 2021), or if it is a combination of both independent and interdependent aspects, as seen in the construct of honor (Pitt-Rivers, 1965), that belongs to both the individual as well as the group (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2014, Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016). These both are what this study seeks to explore in the context of honor and dignity cultures.

2.1.1. Honor in cultural contexts

Honor, as a social reputation or measure of esteem or prestige (Brandes, 1987; Mandelbaum, 1988) has become an important focus of psychological studies due to the ways in which the meanings, behaviors, and social interactions around honor-related practices evolve to create cultural psychological models of emotion, cognition, and behavior. This began with earlier research on regional differences in insult susceptibility. For instance, Nisbett and Cohen's (1996) study showed that white men from the Southern United States were more upset, more physiologically and cognitively primed to aggression, and more likely to respond aggressively to an insult to their reputation than white men from the Northern United States. In response to understanding these individual and group differences in emotional and behavioral reactions to

honor-related threats, researchers have attempted to explore the qualitative differences in honor-related meaning systems and conceptualizations.

Recent social psychological research indicates that cultural differences not only affect how honor is defended and maintained (e.g., Cohen et al., 1996; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008; Vandello et al., 2009) but also how it is conceptualized (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002a; Sharma 2015; Uskul et al., 2012). For instance, Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002a) found that Dutch participants associated honor with positive feedback for accomplishments, while Spanish participants linked it to interdependent behavior. Similarly, Uskul et al. (2012) observed that Turkish participants described honor threats as false accusations or unfair treatment, whereas North American participants focused on criticisms of character or integrity. When discussing honor enhancement, Turkish participants emphasized personal achievements, while Americans highlighted helping others. These findings suggest that cognitive representations of honor vary across honor and dignity cultures.

Theoretical conceptualizations of honor also vary. For instance, some stress the dual theory of honor that takes into account both, a person's sense of self-worth and the social recognition from others (Pitt-Rivers, 1965; Wikan, 2008). To this, Cross and colleagues (2014) added a third dimension of moral integrity having studied the prototypes of honor among Turkish and North American participants. Some scholars, like Miller (1993) highlight the reciprocity of deeds as central to honor cultures. Yet others consider honor as the approval of those who are important to us since they have the authority to assess our actions (Bowman, 2006). Salzman (2008) also emphasizes public opinion but focuses on one’s place in the social dominance hierarchy (see Henry, 2009). Thus, the research literature and theoretical analyses indicate that there is diversity in the definitions and key features of honor.

Another variation in the understanding of honor arises from studies conducted within different honor cultures. For instance, conceptions of honor in Southern United States are likely influenced by broader American values of individualism and personal autonomy (Vandello & Cohen, 1999). Comparative research on collectivist honor cultures highlights the importance of the attributes and behaviors of close others, particularly family members, in shaping notions of honor (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2000; 2002a; 2002b; Uskul et al., 2012).

Given that conceptualizations of honor vary not only between honor and dignity cultures but also within different honor cultures, likely influenced by their regional contexts (Cross et al., 2014), this research seeks to extend the understanding of honor to India, which differs, religiously and structurally (such as the caste system of social stratification determined by birth), from the more commonly studied Mediterranean, Southern United States, and Middle Eastern countries. The study employs an exploratory qualitative approach to investigate everyday conceptions of honor in India and compare them with those of participants from Germany. This approach is expected to provide deeper insights into the critical components of honor and how people interpret and act upon this concept in their daily lives. For example, in 2018, the Indian film ‘Padmavat’, depicting the revered Hindu queen Padmavati, sparked outrage among the Rajput (warrior class) group Karni Sena. Despite the film's respectful portrayal, the group felt it dishonored their queen and, by extension, their community's honor. Protests included storming film sets, burning movie posters, and threatening the director (Gettleman & Kumar, 2018 – The New York Times). This example illustrates behavior driven by caste-based honor and highlights how everyday conceptions of honor in India can motivate different actions and deepen our understanding of honor in this cultural context. Acting in the name of honor can have different implications, however, at times it comes alongside its complementary and opposite (Kamir, 2006) – dignity.

2.1..2 Dignity in cultural contexts

Compared to the exploratory studies on honor, those on dignity are relatively less. This comes rather surprising given how important it is considered in everyday life across the world (Mattson & Clark, 2011; Wein, 2022). At first, it seems gratifying that this study will be one of the very few to test the understanding of dignity from a psychological perspective. But on second thought, it is important to see why these studies lack. Two reasons seem plausible. First, the concept of dignity is often perceived as universal, rooted in the inherent nature of being a human. This universality is reflected in foundational documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), which asserts that all human beings possess inherent dignity. Because dignity is considered a fundamental, self-evident quality of humanity, it might be assumed that it does not require the same rigorous empirical investigation as more culturally variable concepts, such as honor. For example, Kateb (2011) argues that dignity is an intrinsic value tied to the very essence of personhood, suggesting that dignity transcends cultural and contextual differences, which could make it less of a focus for psychological research.

Second, the complexity and abstract nature of dignity might deter empirical exploration. Unlike honor, which can be relatively easily operationalized through specific social behaviors and norms, dignity is a more abstract concept, often associated with the rational nature of human beings. This complexity can make it challenging to measure and study within a psychological framework. Research by Hicks (2012) highlights how dignity encompasses a range of meanings, from the intrinsic worth of individuals to the recognition of this worth in social interactions, making it difficult to distill into measurable variables. This could also explain why there are fewer studies addressing dignity from a psychological perspective, as there could be methodological challenges posed by this concept.

In light of this, why would this dissertation still want to examine dignity? A compelling reason comes from the empirical, albeit limited, studies that have tried to explore its meaning and have found that, although dignity is often considered an internal and inherent trait, its experience also has a significant cultural and social dimension. For instance, Lee (2015) through her work on Confusion, Buddhist, and Islamic perspectives of dignity, advocates for the inclusion of non-western ideas of dignity in the formulation of rights. Her work suggests that the Confucian understanding of dignity represents 'filial piety' a fundamental concept in Confucianism, representing respect for one's parents, elders, and ancestors, while the Buddhist understanding represents mindfulness and the interconnectedness of all human beings.

Understanding this cultural and social aspect of dignity is important as it could affect how dignity is recognized and protected. For example, studies in healthcare, such as those by Matiti and Trorey (2008), have shown that patients' perceptions of being treated with dignity are influenced not only by the care provided but also by the cultural norms surrounding respect for older adults and autonomy in different healthcare systems.

These examples underscore the importance of examining dignity and its role in the daily lives of people from different cultural backgrounds. Such understanding is particularly crucial when findings in cross-cultural work on honor and dignity cultures suggest that people from honor cultures react strongly to threats to their honor. While this is true, it might provide only half of the picture. The realization and protection of dignity could also have a cultural dimension that warrants exploration. It is equally necessary to see how people from these two cultures—honor and dignity—would react when their dignity is threatened.

Given the importance attached to dignity but the lack in its empirical understanding, this study aims to fill this gap by qualitatively exploring the concept of dignity in a cross-cultural setting, uncovering its specific features and dimensions. Finally, these specific features and dimensions

of dignity can also contribute to the development and refinement of measurement tools, allowing for more accurate and culturally sensitive assessments of dignity across diverse populations.

2.1.3. Honor and dignity in comparison to each other

The features of honor and dignity, though bearing structural analogies, can also bear differences and exist in both, honor and dignity cultures. Honor, as a measure of esteem and regard, is gained and maintained via rigorous compliance with a specific honor code. By contrast, all people possess human dignity just by virtue of being human, and no further action is deemed necessary (Kamir, 2006). Hence, while many would contend that one cannot lose or be stripped of human dignity under any circumstances, one's honor can easily be lost with the simplest social blunder or be taken away by another.

This further implies variable honor by virtue of one's position in the hierarchy (such as men and women, superiors and inferiors.) unlike dignity that is equal to all. Hence, honor provides greater stakes and risks, which could also yield an achievement orientation, while dignity ensures a fundamental minimum (Kamir, 2006). Self-worth in the dignity ideal is immune to threats (such as insults) since an attack on one's dignity is an attack on the state's fundamental values that challenges the social order more than challenging the person. This propagates a rights-oriented approach as opposed to the duty-based approach of honor cultures where it is one's duty to reciprocate both good and bad deeds (Leung & Cohen, 2011).

Given these differences, it is important to note that honor and dignity are not mutually exclusive categories to define individuals or societies, but rather tendencies to behave in particular ways. For example, people from dignity cultures may sometimes take an insult personally while those from honor cultures might overlook it. Almost all individuals encounter social situations (with differing frequencies) that promote both honor and dignity. However, since people from honor

cultures may encounter honor-oriented situations more frequently (Cohen et al., 1996; Leung & Cohen, 2011), they are more likely to organize their worldviews around the central theme of honor and vice-versa for dignity. However, most studies comparing honor and dignity cultures have for the most part studied participant responses to honor-related threats while overlooking meanings and responses attached to the principle of dignity. In response to overcoming this research gap, the current study tries to understand both, honor, and dignity, in India and Germany to explore their culturally relative meanings and importance.

2.2. Methods

2.2.1. Objectives

This study uses a qualitative approach to draw an individual and contextual understanding of honor and dignity in India and Germany. Given this, it is guided by two objectives: (a) to understand the broad overarching meaning of honor and dignity as reported by participants in India and Germany, and (b) to identify the central features of honor and dignity as described by these participants. Both these objectives would enable us to see similarities and differences, if any, in the understanding of honor and dignity among these two groups of participants.

2.2.2. Participants

Focus group discussions were conducted with students from India and Germany. All participants were above 18 years of age and gave written consent before entering the focus group. A total of eleven focus group discussions (six in India and five in Germany) were conducted.

Indian sample - The focus groups for the Indian sample were conducted in Delhi, the Indian capital state located in Northern India. In June 2022, students from Amity University, Noida, and Delhi University were contacted through their professors. A message with the preliminary

details of the study along with a participation invitation was sent and the professors were asked to circulate it to their students after which, interested students contacted the primary researcher. The inclusion criteria for participation were their student status and sufficient knowledge of the Hindi language since the focus groups were conducted in Hindi. The method of selecting the sample was convenience sampling. In total, 20 students (55% females; ages ranging (in years) from 22-32, 70% pursuing a master's degree, and 25% married) participated in one of the six focus groups. Because the concept of honor has a gender component, two discussions were conducted solely with females, two with males, and two having both males and females. The number of participants per group ranged from 3 to 4.

German sample - The focus groups for the German sample were conducted in Bremen. In September 2022, participation invitations were sent to students at the University of Bremen through the university's online portal. The inclusion criteria were similar to those of the Indian sample. Focus groups were conducted in German, thus fluency in German was necessary. 17 students (58.8% female; ages ranging (in years) from 21-34; 52.9% pursuing a master's degree and none married) participated in one of the five focus groups. Of the total discussions, two were conducted solely with females, one with males, and two having both males and females. The number of participants per group ranged from 2-4.

2.2.3. Questions discussed in the focus groups

The questions were framed similarly for honor and dignity keeping the objectives in mind. Since the overall objective was to explore the meaning and features of honor and dignity as reported by laypeople, the first question for each construct was its definition. Participants were also allowed to express their free associations with the construct. The terms adopted for honor and dignity in India were '*izzat*' and '*garima*', respectively. These were taken by referring to English-Hindi dictionaries and also consulting with Hindi specialists in India. The word dignity

was also found to be translated to '*swabhimaan*' which stands for self-respect and is similar to the dignity ideal. However, it does not capture the entire essence of dignity (for instance, equality of intrinsic self-worth), hence was not used to refer to dignity. However, most of the time participants used the word '*swabhimaan*' while describing dignity. At times the English word dignity had to be used when participants did not completely understand the Hindi word as it is rarely used in colloquial scenarios as opposed to the word '*izzat*'. In Germany, the terms used were '*Ehre*' and '*Würde*' for honor and dignity respectively. In Germany, there appeared no confusion about the word dignity as was seen in India, which could hint towards its higher usage in Germany as compared to India.

This was followed by questions of gain and loss for both constructs. These questions aimed at understanding the behaviors regarded as honorable or dishonorable and dignified or undignified thereby pointing toward unwritten rules of conduct which may be different across the two cultural groups. Next, to understand the personal importance attached to honor and dignity, participants were asked if they thought both were essential and why. Finally, they were asked about the societal/public viewpoint for the two constructs. This was aimed at testing the case selection and understanding the societal viewpoints on honor and dignity according to the participants.

Toward the end of the discussion, participants filled out a questionnaire asking for their demographic details (age, gender, education, socio-economic status of the family, place of birth, and residence). Out of the six focus groups conducted in India, three started with a discussion on honor while the remaining three with dignity to control the effect of one construct over the other. Similarly, in Germany, three discussions started with honor and two with dignity. All the questions discussed in the focus groups are mentioned in the Appendix (Table A2.1)

2.2.4. Procedure and ethical considerations

The focus groups in India were conducted by the principal investigator in Hindi language. Similarly, the German focus groups were conducted in the German language by a research assistant. The assistant was trained in the concepts and methodology of the research and was given an overview of the Indian focus groups to keep the methodology for the German group discussions similar. The principal investigator was also present with the student assistant during the execution of the focus groups.

Ethical consent was granted by the principal investigator's research institute. In addition, written consent was obtained from all participants before starting the discussions. Only participants aged 18 years and older took part in the study. The consent forms were designed in both English and the respective national languages of the participants. Participants were given time to understand the form and ask their doubts, if any. The informed consent also requested authorization from each participant to record the audio of the discussion.

To avoid any discrepancies or biases, one common place was selected to conduct all the discussions in each cultural group that could offer privacy and confidentiality to the participants. It was ensured that every participant got a chance to contribute to the discussion by asking for their views and examples. All focus group discussions were audio recorded. To ensure anonymity, no identifying information (such as names) was used to address participants during the discussions (participants were also asked to follow the same) as well as while transcribing. All participants were compensated for their participation with cash (12,00 euros per participant in Germany and 500 rupees per participant in India).

2.2.5. Data analysis

The analysis followed two objectives, understanding the broad meaning of the two concepts and uncovering their specific elements. To do so, all focus group discussions were analyzed

following the steps of thematic analysis outlined by Braun and Clark (2006). This approach was considered appropriate to discover broad features of both constructs considering two cultural groups.

First, the audio recordings of all group discussions were transcribed word-for-word to get familiarized with the data. Initial transcriptions were in Hindi and German which were then translated into English and checked for quality (by the research assistant for German and another assistant, proficient in Hindi for the Hindi translations). The entire analysis hereafter was conducted on the English translations and the original transcripts were used only when deemed necessary. **Second**, a list of initial codes was generated by extracting the most basic element of raw data. After collating an extensive list of initial codes, the **third** step began by clustering these codes into an initial list of categories. The criteria for clustering were repetition and similarity of the initial codes (for example, the initial codes of 'keeping the promises made by self' and 'keeping promises made by others on our behalf' were grouped under one category, 'fulfilling promises'). These categories were named using words and phrases that were used and stressed frequently by participants in the focus groups. They were then revised by re-reading and re-visiting initial codes. The **fourth** step was to develop themes based on the final categories. This step had a broader focus that involved trying to summarise the entire data by grouping the categories into comprehensive themes. Here again, the criteria included similarity, however, with a broader focus (for example, the categories of 'fulfilling promises', 'reciprocity', 'acting by norms', and 'fulfilling roles' were grouped under one theme, 'duty' as they all represent an obligation toward fulfilling certain roles, norms etc.). The themes for the German data were discussed with the research assistant to ensure their relevance and meaningfulness. Until here, the analysis was conducted separately for the Indian and German groups. In step **five**, all the categories were re-visited to develop final themes for both

constructs (honor and dignity), merging the themes from India and Germany (but also keeping their important differences intact)

2.2.6. Researcher as an instrument

My self-reflectivity as a researcher surfaced throughout the analysis. I am aware that some aspects of my identity, including my gender, ethnicity, education, and socio-economic status could have influenced the processes of data gathering and analysis. My reactions, thoughts, feelings, or subjective experiences were logged into a journal. These aided my analysis, which was shared and discussed with the research assistant in the case of German focus groups to avoid bias and ensure collaboration in the analysis. This provided not just a forum for discussing and verifying my coding, but also assistance in processing the examples of participants from Germany.

I, the principal investigator, have an Indian background. I acknowledge that my ethnicity could have aided the Indian participants in sharing their experiences of honor and dignity but could have also biased the analysis of my findings. I had expected the Indian participants' responses to revolve around group and collective sense of honor which I also found easier to explain in the discussion section. Moreover, I conducted the focus group discussions for the Indian participants myself, while a research assistant facilitated the German focus groups. This division in facilitation could have influenced both data collection and analysis. Although I was physically present during the German focus groups to address any issues and provide support, my presence might have affected the participants' responses. They may have felt self-conscious or constrained due to my presence, potentially impacting the openness and authenticity of their responses. Additionally, both the focus group facilitators, me, and the research assistant in Germany, identify as females, which could have affected any differences in the female and

male group discussions. These can be better understood if such a study is conducted by a male investigator.

2.3. Results

The two objectives of this study were to identify the broad meaning and the central features of honor and dignity as reported by Indian and German participants. To do so, a thematic analysis was conducted wherein, two key questions guided the coding for both honor and dignity: understanding their meaning and generating their distinctive elements. The meaning captures its broad understanding which may then be applied to each of the elements to gauge the link between the two lines of coding. In doing so, the structure of the results moves from a general understanding of the construct toward a more precise and contextual understanding.

2.3.1. Honor

This section starts by explaining the broad meaning, which is derived by analyzing participant responses to the initial questions - what honor meant to them, and their immediate associations with honor. This is then followed by specific elements of honor derived by analyzing responses to the questions on how to enhance and lose honor.

2.3.1.1. Meaning of honor

The immediate response associated with honor by participants in both groups was '*social reputation*'. They found it difficult to define or clearly express the term reputation. But they had many free associations through phrases such as '*respect by others*', '*my respect, but given to me by others*', '*pride*', '*my image that others have of me*', etc.

Instead of one particular meaning or explanation associated with honor, participants elaborated on the concept using various criteria. An important aspect more prevalent in Indian narratives was the target of honor where they made frequent distinctions between *individual* and

group/collective honor. As expected, Indian participants spoke about honor mostly in reference to the groups they associated themselves with, including family, and community (hinting towards caste). German participants also differentiated between the two, but in the Indian groups, this distinction was rather blurred leading to quicker and more frequent associations as seen in the following quote:

"I come from 'X' community, and we are always taught that we are known for our bravery and loyalty." – Indian female

Indian participants had more elaborate meanings for honor whereas in German groups, discussions on honor ended relatively quickly as they found the concept very limiting. Some participants even refrained from elaborating since they felt developing an understanding of honor would restrain their views of people and themselves.

"*I don't think I even developed such an understanding. Because if I have some perspective of what is more honorable, then I would be judging people through that lens." – German female*

For Indians, the collective sense of honor meant that honor exists as a system in which we develop, and the involvement of others also meant that honor could go beyond one's personal control in making somebody honorable or dishonorable.

"My uncle worked with a politician. And whole my life I have known him as a righteous man. But the politician did some fraud and blamed my uncle. We fought and my uncle was released clean. But still, people look at him and even us, as though he is wrong." – Indian male

Along similar lines, participants also discussed the source and vulnerability of honor. Regarding its source, almost all participants, more Indians, made references to public acknowledgment and the power people have in making someone honorable.

"The image that he (an individual) has in front of everyone is his (an individual's) biggest asset. A person can earn whatever amount of money that was lost (…) but respect once lost, then don't ask, it's the most unappealing thing, honor is the most delicate thing there is." – Indian male

The relatively higher external focus was mentioned concerning the vulnerability of honor. Almost all participants suggested that honor is an asset that needs to be protected as well as increased. While discussing ways to earn honor, participants in both groups differentiated between earned and ascribed reputation.

"You have to earn this respect. Especially if you come from a not-so-well-off background. And there are ways how this can be earned." – Indian male

"If you see the queen or the king, for example, that is, yes a privilege. Then it's an honor. I mean what they get from their background" – German female

This discourse on ways to achieve and protect reputation is further elaborated through the different elements that constitute honor for Indian and German participants.

2.3.1.2. Elements of honor

The elements, representing qualities that constitute honor, were determined by studying responses to questions on how can honor be enhanced or lost, and the qualities of honorable and non-honorable people. They capture two of the criteria mentioned in the meaning section: the target of honor and its vulnerability. The analysis revealed five core themes: *duty, morality, status, sociability, and stoicism*, each with its own subthemes (see Table 2.1 and, Figure 2.1). The first two themes are discussed as general and necessary components that are more inevitable compared to the next three, which were seen as more specific and additive in nature.

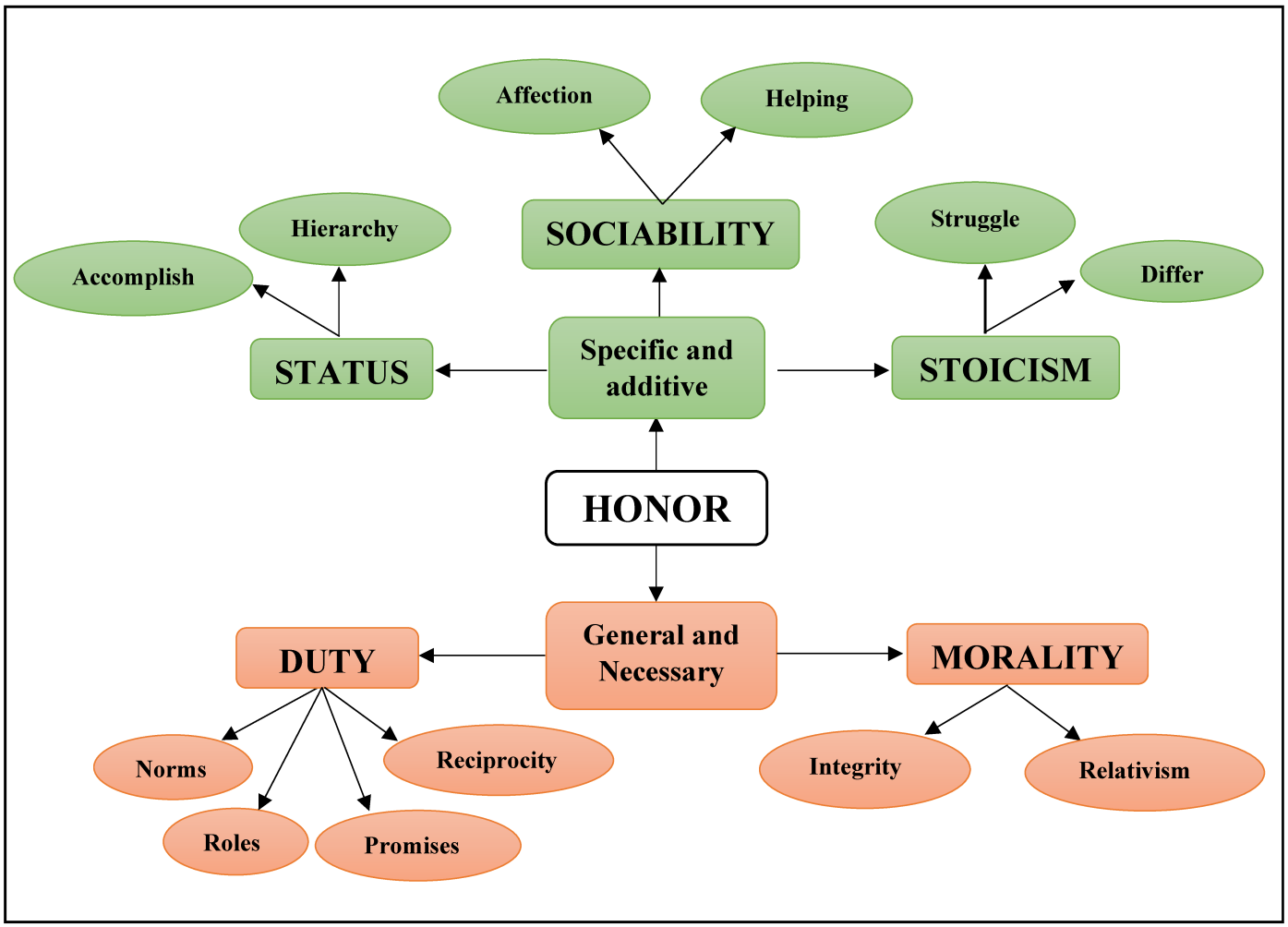
Table 2.1.

Core themes, sub-themes, and examples of their initial codes of honor

Core themes	Sub-themes	Open codes
	General and Necessary	
Duty	1. Social Norms	Depends on where I am and the situations, rules of the group, rules of society, dressing, manners, etc.
	2. Roles	Wife, man, student, employee, duty, roles, gender, rules, Female chastity, etc.
	3. Promises	Keep word, stand by, reliable, etc.
	4. Reciprocity	Comes with giving, can't only give, granted, can't only take, balance, etc.
Morality	5. Integrity	Honest, fair, right, goes by virtues, etc.
	6. Relativism	Group happiness, is right for everyone, as long as others are not affected, etc.
	Specific and Additive	
Status	7. Accomplishments	Known for something, active in an area, legacy, rewards by a minister, passing out of a reputed college, etc.
	8. Hierarchical advancement	Elders know more, guide and model behaviors, as an elder sibling I cannot give wrong examples, boss, do not disappoint seniors, seniors should be careful, etc.
Sociability	9. Affection	Caring, listens, comforts, good to talk to, kind-hearted, etc.
	10. Helping	Ready to help, not selfish, volunteer, donate, etc.
Stoicism	11. Struggles and sacrifices	How much struggle to reach somewhere, do anything but quit, Personal loss, go out of the way, revolutionary, etc.
	12. Differ for a good cause	Beg to differ, tolerate the taunts of others, stand different from the crowd, not simply a follower, not let others's opinions stop you, etc.

Figure 2.1

Map of core and sub-themes of honor



Note: The general and necessary elements are painted in red demonstrating their value from a loss perspective while the specialized and additional elements in green are stressed from a gain perspective. These are the overall themes for the understanding of honor in both groups. However, it does not capture the specific group differences which are detailed in the explanation of each sub-theme.

A. General and necessary elements. The most frequently associated responses to honor in both cultural groups were *duty and morality.* Though they may appear identical at first glance, their distinction lies in participants' understanding of the 'what' and 'how' of honorable actions. Participants found it difficult to articulate their exact meaning and mentioned these as inherently understood; hence they are classified as general elements of honor. Furthermore,

they were highlighted from a 'loss' perspective, which means fulfilling one's duty and acting morally are intended to preserve one's current reputation and may or may not contribute more to it. Their loss, however, can constitute a larger threat to one's honor.

1. Duty

Duty represents an obligation (actual and/or assumed) to fulfill certain societal norms, roles, and promises and to act reciprocally. The broad understanding of duty was similar across both groups, however, its behavioral implementation bears certain group differences.

1.1. Social norms

Both Indian and German participants spoke about norm fulfillment as an important requisite for maintaining honor. All participants referred to norms as unobservable rules existing in society or social groups. Although the concept of social norms was prevalent in both groups, the narratives of German participants frequently targeted the rules of a specific group compared to Indian participants whose references were broader and more abstract.

"It (gaining honor) mainly implies following some rules, especially of the group you are a part of. At work, I will not be honored if I keep breaking office rules." – German male

"Even when it is difficult to follow norms, I think it's one's duty to find a way out. We should accept the norms that society gives and work according to them. I am not saying follow them blindly, but also don't discard them." – Indian female

The non-fulfillment of norms was stressed in the context of losing honor, especially by Indian participants who made frequent references to the group identity. Additionally, most Indian participants referred to the dynamic nature of these norms depending on the society one lives in and to adapt oneself accordingly to protect one's honor.

"In the Indian scenario, I think if you're not dressing appropriately, people will automatically judge you. For instance, showing up in jeans for marriage. My aunt would immediately ask my mother why I did that. Nobody tells you what to wear or not. It's understood." – Indian female

1.1. Roles

The other obligation that emerged for maintaining honor is the fulfillment of roles that are assigned to or taken by individuals. Of all the sub-themes, this showed the greatest similarity across both cultural groups. While these roles can be varied in nature, such as academic, personal, and professional, gender roles emerged prominently in all focus groups. These discussions yielded restrictive approaches on the part of females and more promotion-focused approaches on the part of males.

"As a woman, there are more societal expectations to be sexually modest." - German female

"As a daughter. I am expected to be back home by 7 pm while I see my brother can stay out longer." – Indian female

"It is important for me that I start a family and be able to provide them with all comforts as the man of the house." – Indian male

Unlike the sub-theme of norms, German participants demonstrated a broader understanding of gender roles than Indian participants. In Indian groups the gender role discussion centered on family duties (e.g., daughter, son, husband, wife), illustrating the stronger relationship between gender and family roles in India.

"If someone questions my duty as a son to take care of my parents that will not look good. And if they say this to my parents then that will be even worse" – Indian male

"As a girl, the first thing striking my mind for losing honor is, if someone rapes me or sexually attacks me. And it comes with a huge loss because it affects my family as well" – Indian female

1.2. Promises

An obligation to fulfill promises emerged as another important facet of honor. It represents a more concrete understanding of duty compared to norms.

"People who can't keep promises are non-honorable in my eye. – German male

"Once you give your word (promise), do anything but let it down. – Indian male

Additionally in the Indian groups, besides the promises made by oneself, keeping promises made by others on our behalf, especially elders at home and seniors at work, was deemed equally important for maintaining honor.

"Whatever our boss or senior asks, we need to do it with the utmost integrity. For instance, when my boss says, X (the participant) would do it for the client, it's a pride that my boss trusts me that much." – Indian male

1.3. Reciprocity

Reciprocity was discussed extensively in the Indian groups, who viewed honor as primarily reciprocal, such that it enhances by honoring others and deteriorates by attacking others' honor.

"The only way to get honor is to give honor. It comes without saying." – Indian female

Reciprocity was also explained concerning family roles. For instance, the duty of parents is nourishment and upbringing of their kids. As kids grow into adulthood, they must cater to their aging parents, no matter how good or bad the family ties remain.

"It is a dharma (duty). Even if I am not attached to my parents, I can't disown them. It is my duty to pay back what they have done for me". – Indian male

2. Morality

The focus of this theme is on building a reputation of a moral character that can also aid in the group's functioning.

2.1. Integrity

Participants in both groups explained the importance of moral integrity and virtues in building a moral character. The virtues most referred to in German groups were honesty, fairness, etc., while those in Indian groups were compassion, generosity, etc. Moreover, in comparison to German participants, Indians used more negative statements to explain morality.

"You're not fraudulent and didn't do anything wrong so it's an honorary thing" – Indian female

In both groups, faking and greed were considered dishonorable, bearing the same impact as breaking a long-created legacy.

"If you look up to someone as honorable, but suddenly you come to know that this person has been faking it all this while, then he will immediately lose honor." – German male

"*In our culture, it is said that whatever is made for you, is enough for you. And when you take away something that is not yours then you lose honor within society." – Indian male*

2.2. Relativism

This sub-theme is particular to the Indian responses. It refers to an understanding that right or wrong could be contextual. The criteria used by most participants to judge the rightness of behaviors were avoidance of any possible harm to anyone and the benefits to the entire group or people involved in the situation. Moreover, the moral acts that can disturb a group's peace and harmony seemed not to be favored or elaborately discussed.

"Lying is situational. Sometimes you lie for everyone's good. I mean, if no one is harmed then it is fine, I guess. As long as everyone is happy, no one is harmed, it is justifiable." – Indian female

Whereas, in the German groups, such relativism was considered detrimental to honor and depicted excessive concern over losing honor. Such a tendency to be overcareful implied adapting our choices according to others and being indecisive.

B. Specific and additive elements. In addition to the above two, participants discussed accomplishments, hierarchical standing, social competency, affection for people, ability to struggle, and so on, all of which are grouped under the next three core themes: *status, sociability, and stoicism*. These were explained more easily using situational examples from participants' lives and were highlighted from a 'gain' perspective. In other words, having more accomplishments in one's field, being on a pedestal, being sociable and renowned, etc., would strengthen and boost one's honor. However, lacking these does not always jeopardize honor when contrasted with being immoral and non-dutiful. An important point to consider here is that these categories, general and necessary versus specific and additive elements, emphasize their relative and not absolute association with honor enhancement or loss. These features can also act as two sides of the same coin, where, for instance, non-accomplishments can be considered non-honorable for both the person and the group.

3. Status

This theme depicts an endeavour to obtain a greater status than is now available, via accomplishments and advancement to higher positions.

3.1. Accomplishments

This sub-theme meant being competent and active in some fields such that a lot can be achieved over time, to even build a legacy. This in turn would enhance the chances that people recognize

us for our achievements in those areas. This sub-theme was more frequently discussed in the German groups specifically for the enhancement of honor. It included being a role model and a positive example to others.

"If an athlete has won medals, it is due to his persistence and hard work in the area of sports for a long time. He receives honor in terms of awards, and praise from people. Others also look at him as a role model. That's like a good example for the rest." – German male

While German participants focused more on building a legacy, Indian participants discussed accomplishments in association with being influential through receiving awards from ministers, passing out of a reputed college, greater wealth possession, etc. Having power and using it for the betterment of others was considered very honorable.

"Just yesterday my mother told me about my neighbor getting into IIT (Indian Institute of Technology – considered to be a prestigious educational institute). He is certainly a very helpful and social boy. But now people look up to him even more and give examples of him to others." – Indian female

"…. another thing is money. Recognition from others comes easily if you have money as well." – Indian male

As mentioned earlier, the focus on enhancement does not exclude its association with loss. Both Indian and German groups frequently discussed the pressure of legacy noting that a single mistake could have significant repercussions. The negative impact was considered particularly potent, as it could erase years of work and commitment. This also brings a sense of disappointment to those who have high expectations from us.

"Bill Cosby comes to mind immediately. I mean, he was like that in the 80s and 90s, the father for a lot of people (…). But then it all came out with his sex crimes and his legacy just fell apart. If you admire a person so much, (…) it is as if you see them on a higher level, and then if

something happens that doesn't correspond to the legacy, this illusion is gone." – German female

3.2. Hierarchical advancement

This sub-theme comes largely through analyzing Indian narratives. Most participants in India spoke about the hierarchy within their families and in other social settings such as work. Hierarchies were favored due to more experience and knowledge possessed by the elders and seniors. This theme's relative importance in reaching higher positions (with time and effort) makes it different from the previous sub-theme where accomplishments were more general and area-related (e.g., sports, academics).

Age hierarchy was prevalent in discussions about family ties and represents an ascribed aspect of honor. The interests of the elders were seen to take priority over individual interests even in case of conflicting scenarios. The age hierarchy was endorsed as a responsibility to model respectful behavior to the younger generations.

"*My parents, and my life partner, are all worthy of my honor and respect. They are elderly, they have more experience. I have learned many things from them (…). And the younger ones can learn something from us and we are a model to them." – Indian female*

Yet another aspect of hierarchical status was achieving higher positions at work. Seniors were considered honorable and addressing them by their first names or having a casual attitude around them was seen to be highly dishonorable. Participants in both groups demonstrated an understanding that higher positions come with reputations and risks and these individuals need to be more concerned about threats to honor.

"… my supervisor, I look at him as a very respectable figure. And I feel happy when he trusts me with any work. I would like to be at that place one time." – Indian female

4. Sociability

This theme entailed being socially competent, seeking social interactions, and feeling comfortable in social settings. It is concerned with how affectionate one is towards others and how much one can help them.

4.1. Affection

Participants, mainly from the Indian groups, elaborated on the quality of being empathic and considerate with others. This includes making sure that people are comfortable around us, listening to them, being polite to everyone, and keeping their needs in mind (sometimes putting them above ours). Participants also mentioned the importance of having a reputation for being good to others, especially when the context demands it, as seen in this quote -

"*If you go to a shop, like a small tea shop, and he says, take tea, but rudely. So you would be like, how did he say this to me? And then I would tell everyone, this guy sells tea but his mannerisms are not good. So, in society, honor is not something that can be calculated but it is what you do. So be nice to others. You never know where what reaches." – Indian male*

4.2. Helping

Another aspect of being sociable was being helpful to others. An honorable person, according to all participants, is someone ready to help. German participants mentioned selflessness - help that bears no profits in return - more often.

"I think it's about this selflessness again, on the study-drive platform people upload study materials before exams. It helps everyone. If you think later, it is not that big of a deal. But that person did it when others couldn't as we are all in the exam phase"- German female

Other aspects of helping that surfaced throughout the conversation were donation, as underlined by Indian participants, and volunteering, as stressed by German participants.

Indians spoke about donation in response to bearing/taking a loss for society, making the assistance much more noble. German participants spoke of volunteering as a service to society with no mention of personal loss, which could be a difference in intentions, both having identical consequences.

"If you're earning and you give, say 10% to improve society, you feel happy that yes, I have done something and people value you. You could use the money for your benefit but choose to give it to society. So, it (honor) comes with more giving, needless to say". – Indian male

"I see youngsters volunteering for the society and I feel that's honorable since they are doing something for the society." – German female

5. Stoicism

This facet elaborates on the concept of personal loss briefly mentioned in the sub-theme of helping. Indian participants, more men, spoke about the quality of enduring difficult situations, maintaining stoicism, and appearing tough. This endurance is demonstrated through the struggles one faces and differing from the crowd for a noble cause.

5.1. Struggle and sacrifice

Participants stressed the struggles to achieve a particular outcome that made the outcome more honorable than an outcome that was much easier to attain. Moreover, quitting in between might go against honor.

"Sometimes background matters, like how much they (honorable people) struggle to get where they are. Not just family background, it can also be like, whether they were homeless, and then they got a lot of fame" – Indian female

"One can't just stop or give up. You either don't start or once you do, finish it. You can't just say it's difficult. There has got to be a way." – Indian male

Bearing a personal loss was seen to make the outcome even more valuable and the person doing the sacrifice even more honorable.

"When you sacrifice your wishes for your family, then you should not look at the loss. Rather see that everyone is happy and what you have gained through that." – Indian male

5.2. Differ for a good cause

This implies doing something not everyone does and being different from the crowd. It was seen to require excessive courage and the ability to deal with group refusal. Participants also referred to some Indian revolutionary figures, for instance during the Indian freedom struggle against the British, who challenged the caste system and taboos for the greater benefit of the society (e.g. banning of the Hindu custom of Sati, where a widow sacrifices her life by sitting atop her deceased husband's funeral pyre).

"... he (honorable person) is not afraid to differ from the opinion of others or is someone who is there to challenge the taboos and has a greater aim in mind for everyone." – Indian male

However, participants, mainly women, also mentioned the caution of such actions hinting that the loss might feel bigger than the gain.

"If I go against my family's wishes and succeed, they will still accept me back. But if I fail, then I don't know." – Indian female

Summary. Participants, both from India and Germany, associated honor primarily with social reputation, often expressed through phrases like 'respect by others', 'my image that others have of me' etc. Further analysis of participant responses on honor enhancement and loss revealed five core themes which were deemed important for honor. Two of these, general and necessary (duty and morality), reflect an attempt to protect the reputation and were further addressed concerning community or collective honor in India and individual honor in Germany. The

remaining three, specific and additive (status, sociability, and stoicism), serve as strategies that are relatively more important in enhancing one's reputation and had a more individual focus in both cultural groups.

2.3.2. Dignity

Similar to honor, this section starts with the broad meaning of dignity derived by analyzing responses to what dignity meant to the participants, and their immediate associations with dignity. This is then followed by specific elements of dignity derived by analyzing responses to the questions on probable gain or loss of dignity.

2.3.2.1. Meaning of dignity

Akin to the discussions on honor, almost all the participants found it difficult to define dignity and were even more short of words. Some found it difficult to differentiate between honor and dignity but still showed an understanding of dignity as having internal worth. Many had to refer to honor to express what dignity is not and found it easier to express its meaning by suggesting how it can be threatened.

"Dignity is more like an inner system. Honor comes from outside and that's not what dignity is." – Indian female

German participants spoke about dignity concerning *rights* as belonging to the entire mankind by virtue of being humans. They frequently made references to the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' and mentioned different rights that need to be protected to value human beings.

"… the first thing coming to my mind with the word dignity is rights. I and everyone have rights like the right to speech, equality, etc. I have never thought about it so much in real life. But I think everywhere, the state has laws to protect these." – German male

The reference to rights was less frequent in the Indian groups. Most participants referred to their inner system in explaining the meaning of dignity making its source more internal.

"It is mine, or everyone's. It's like honor, but I think this depends more on what I feel about myself, like my respect for myself." – Indian male

They further showed an understanding of how rights can get offended in daily living without making direct reference to these.

"(…) w*hat I mean is this lower than us, higher than us (caste hierarchy), is not a good feeling. And we see this so much during marriage choices." – Indian female*

The meaning of dignity was also reflected through participants' viewpoints on the stability of dignity. Unlike honor, dignity was discussed as being relatively stable. Participants from both groups expressed difficulties in imagining how dignity could be enhanced. With regards to threats, some participants from Germany and many from India gave examples of how dignity can be threatened if not fully lost. Indian participants focused more on individual efforts to stand up for themselves; failing to do so could result in losing dignity. While German participants focused on external sources of threats such as misuse of power, slavery, etc.

"I think it can still be reduced when you have to compromise your decisions for others" – Indian female

"I thought of a picture I had seen where some refugees were treated badly by throwing food at them. That is like an attack on someone's dignity." – German male

In contrast to honor, dignity was discussed in terms of how it should be respected and realized rather than enhanced or lost, which is further captured by its elements.

2.3.2.2. Elements of dignity

Similar to honor, the elements of dignity were identified by analyzing responses to how it can be gained or lost and the qualities of dignified and non-dignified people. In doing so, four themes emerged: *individuality, self-governance, resistance, and enrichment* (see Table 2.2 and Figure 2.2). Of these, the first two provide a general understanding of dignity while the latter two are discussed as being more context-specific. Unlike honor, these do not reflect necessary or additive aspects since all of them were seen as equally conducive to respecting own and others' dignity.

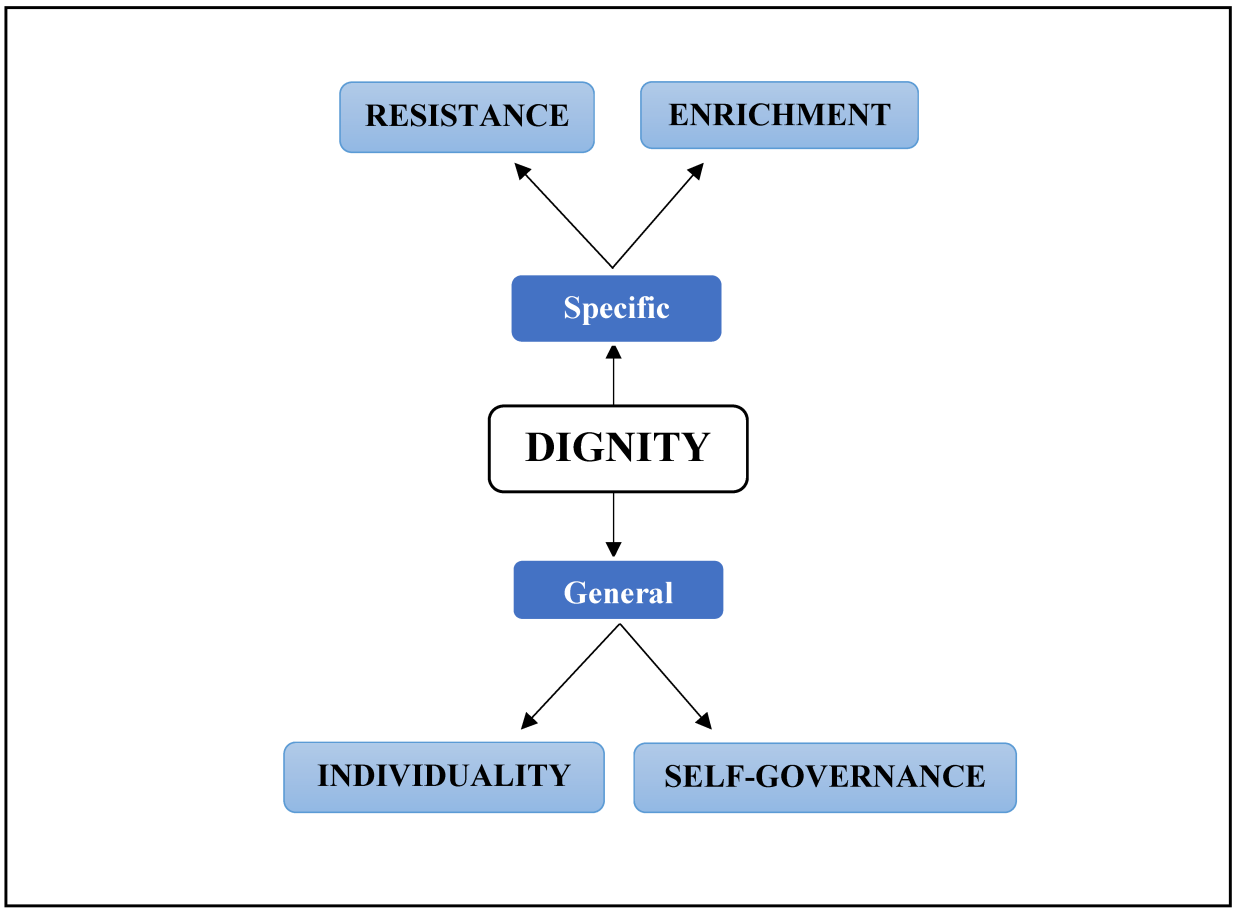
Table 2.2

Core themes, and examples of their initial codes of dignity

Themes	Open Codes
	General
Individuality	Respecting differences, personal boundaries, everyone is different, not discriminating, making people feel low, taking advantage, LGBTQ rights, etc.
Self-governance	Autonomy in decision-making, freedom for career choices, speaking without the need to alter, not needing to think what others will think, not depending on others, self-capable, etc.
	Specific
Resistance	Avoid those who last time had hurt me, avoid helplessness, only if nothing else works, act without guilt, act without compromise, without justifying, etc.
Enrichment	Personal growth, self-discipline, working towards my goals, making myself better than yesterday, etc.

Figure 2.2

Map of core themes of dignity



Note: These are the overall themes for the understanding of dignity in both groups. The figure does not capture the specific group differences which are detailed in the explanation of each theme

A. General elements. Two of the most frequently discussed themes in both cultural groups revolved around individuality and self-governance. Though they may appear identical at first glance, their distinction lies in having social and personal focus, respectively. The social aspect, seen in the theme of individuality, refers to the behaviors and attitudes targeted toward respecting the dignity of other individuals and behaving in a dignified manner. This is also different from the group or collective aspect of honor. It does not refer to any ingroup but is rather targeted toward any human being in general. The personal aspect seen in self-governance refers to realizing one's own dignity and behaving accordingly. The two elements represent unconditional respect for others and the cognizance of inalienable self-worth.

1. Individuality

The major theme around which all of the discussion for the construct of dignity revolved was the idea of human beings and that people should be respected for their individuality, irrespective of their background by trusting their capacity to express and take care of themselves. Individuality refers to participants' understanding that every individual aspect of a person needs to be respected the way it is and was seen to be discussed similarly across both cultural groups.

Just as the broad meaning of dignity was expressed with more negative examples stating what dignity is not, individuality was also explained using examples of how it can be threatened.

"I see in India the LGBTQ community still needs to suffer because people don't accept them as they are." – Indian female

"It is important to be tolerant even of people we don't like. We need not be the best to them. But also not discriminate." – Indian male

Another way of threatening individuality which was discussed more in the German groups related to exploiting the unfortunate circumstances of some people.

"I don't remember the movie, but the actress desperately needed money to raise the kid and someone asked her to go into prostitution. I mean, that is taking advantage of someone's unfortunate circumstance." – German female

1. Self-governance

Participants expressed their need to be considered capable of making choices for themselves without external interference. This does not exclude the need for assistance or help in certain regards, but a general tendency towards taking charge of one's life through facets like autonomy and self-sufficiency.

Autonomy reflects a personal need to acknowledge one's value and make decisions accordingly. It implies letting everyone make their choices, without questioning their relevance or utility.

"Dignity has an awful lot to do with how you make decisions or let others do it. You see the person as a person and have respect for them and their decision." – German female

Autonomy was also highlighted through the aspect of 'consent' as a basic etiquette to respect someone's dignity. The idea of consent was discussed in both groups but was stressed in the Indian groups as a habit to be cultivated and practiced.

"If we are talking about dignity, the basic thing everyone needs to learn is the practice of taking consent. And further to understand that a no means no." – Indian female

It also implies developing a level of independence (especially for females) to not have to depend on others for their own needs.

"I think not making people self-sufficient is so wrong and against dignity. Many females in India, at least the ones I know of, are house helpers, not even by choice. They have to depend constantly on their husband for money. ." – Indian female

Apart from making own decisions, the freedom and ability to convey them without hesitation were considered important in realizing one's dignity.

"I find it so important that people speak their minds and have the freedom to do so. Nothing can be more dignified than the feeling that my opinions are heard."- German male

Particularly in the Indian context, rejecting suggestions, especially from elders or seniors, was deemed to be difficult as it accompanies the reputation of being stubborn and non-compliant.

"I have tried many times to say no. But I don't think I have succeeded. I also don't want people to think that I am always saying no. (…) you see what I mean?" – Indian female

B. Specific elements. As discussions on dignity progressed, participants highlighted resistance and enrichment as means to protect and uphold dignity. These concepts connect to the broader themes by illustrating how individuals can safeguard and enhance individuality and self-governance. Like with honor, participants found it easier to explain these aspects through personal examples.

3. Resistance*:*

This theme focused on protecting one's dignity by resisting any threats to it, through avoidance and being resolute. Participants spoke about avoiding any associations or activities that according to them have led to dignity violations in the past to preserve one's value and worth.

"You need not treat people, who treat you badly, with a lot of respect and with a lot of care, because then you're just wasting your efforts, time, emotional investment, like it's going to waste. You can't even harm them, better is to avoid them."- Indian male

Through avoidance of people, participants hinted towards avoiding the feeling of helplessness or powerlessness.

"… if the only person who can help me treats me badly, I will feel so helpless going to that person. I will try all the ways to avoid him. That way I protect my value." – Indian female

Moreover, participants, particularly in the female-only groups, emphasized the need to be determined and unwavering. In the narratives of Indian women, this was reflected in not feeling apologetic and not compromising their choices. In the German groups, it was seen through the refusal to justify their decisions constantly.

"You can choose dignity but not without its cost. This feeling of guilt that you couldn't satisfy your family." – Indian female

"I think when you don't have to adjust your decisions for others that's when you know you have been accepted with your choices." - Indian female

"If you go to a party and you're hit on, you say no but that is not respected. When you say, I have a boyfriend and then you're left in peace. That is not right. Because (...), you are like the property of your boyfriend. (...). His will is respected, he is given dignity, not you. – German female

4. Enrichment

This element of dignity suggests realizing personal worth by making consumption choices that are thought to be personally meaningful. This differs from the accomplishments seen in honor as this is steering towards self-care and happiness and not enhancing one's image and status. While talking about dignity, participants, from both groups made references to behaviors intended to enhance personal well-being through acts of creativity, discipline, recreation, etc.

"Self-care, as how everyone calls it. It is taking care of your personal needs. Leisure or hobbies or anything that makes you happy."- German female

***Summary**:* Dignity was understood as an internal sense of worth, with Indian participants emphasizing unconditional respect and German participants linking it to universal human rights. Further analysis of participant responses on realizing and protecting dignity revealed four core themes. Two of these, general elements (individuality and self-governance), reflect unconditional respect towards the individuality of every other person and an understanding of inalienable self-worth. The other two, specific elements (resistance and enrichment), reflect protecting one's dignity by resisting any threats to it, through avoidance and being resolute;

and realizing one's dignity through consumption choices that are conducive to personal well-being and care. Unlike honor, these themes do not reflect necessary and additive elements but rather reflect what dignity is meant to be and how it can be protected or realized. Thereby, all elements were deemed equally important for the construct.

2.4. Discussion

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the study's starting point was twofold: to extend the understanding of honor to India, seeking novel aspects, if any, and to develop an understanding of dignity, particularly from a cross-cultural perspective. To achieve this, both constructs were studied in India and Germany using qualitative exploratory approaches to capture their individual and contextual nuances. The exploratory approach aimed to uncover the broad meanings and central features of honor and dignity as described by participants from both cultural groups, utilizing thematic analysis. No specific predictions were made. However, in the case of honor, it was anticipated that the descriptions would vary between the two cultural groups. Specifically, the Indian narratives would be characterized by a dual focus on both individual and group aspects, while German narratives would primarily focus on individual attributes. In the case of dignity, given its universal nature (Mattson & Clark, 2011; Wein, 2022), these narratives were expected to be more similar in both cultural groups. In this section, the themes derived for honor and dignity will be discussed examining them in the contexts of India and Germany, and relating them to the existing literature while highlighting novel findings.

2.4.1. Honor in the Indian and German contexts

When asked about the meaning of honor, the immediate response by almost all participants, German and Indian, revolved around social reputation or their public image, emphasizing the power people have to consider somebody honorable. These meanings are congruent with the

theoretical conceptualizations that define honor from the perspective of public judgment (Bowman, 2006; Salzman, 2008). The meanings also included an aspect of self-acknowledgment in deciding acts that could be honorable, as seen in the dual theory of honor (Pitt-Rivers, 1965). However, the role of self differed depending on the type of honor that the participants were referring to, individual or collective, from which Indian participants stressed the need to safeguard collective honor more than personal honor. Along similar lines, Mansoor (2015) while exploring shame and honor in South Asian British men and women, found that the importance of a collective sense of honor is instilled right from childhood, even before the individual sense of honor develops.

Due to the collective nature of honor, many Indian participants found that honor extends beyond personal control, involving the collective influence of many people. In collectivistic cultures, honor tends to be a shared resource (Rodrigues Mosquera, 2016; Uskul et al., 2012). For example, both Indians and Germans linked honor to higher academic or athletic success, as seen in the sub-theme of accomplishment. However, in India, it is honorary for the entire family to share and boast about such achievements with relatives and friends, while this behavior might be socially unacceptable in Germany. On the positive side, this indicates that individuals can feel a sense of accomplishment through the successes of their close ones. Conversely, it also implies that one's image can be tarnished by the actions of others, underscoring the need to control group members' behaviors. This was further seen in codes of honorable conduct, as captured in the specific elements of honor.

These elements are categorized into necessary and additional ones. The necessary elements, duty, and morality, point toward obligatory aspects of honor such that their presence may not bring enhanced honor but their absence could certainly jeopardize it. This finding supports Vandello and Cohen’s (2003) work on the spillover effect of honor, especially for honor-attacking situations. In their work on Latinos in the United States, they showed that honor

threats have implications for close others (e.g., a wife's unfaithfulness affects the husband's honor) and this spillover occurs in a wide variety of situations, at times affecting even the distant group members.

Duty, as one of the necessary elements, was seen as a responsibility but also an obligation towards social norms, roles, and promises. This is in line with the theory by Leung and Cohen (2011) who called honor cultures 'duty-based' compared to the 'rights-based' dignity cultures. Among all the obligations discussed, gender role descriptions had minimal differences in both cultural groups, supporting the existence of gender roles cross-culturally (Mueller & Dato-on, 2011). More than females, the descriptions and priorities of most Indian males seemed to support the gendered honor concept (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016; Vandello & Cohen, 2003; 2008) where it was important for them to provide for the family economically and appear tough. Moreover, many male participants saw this from an achievement orientation, a state that they would like to have, while many females spoke about their associated roles (daughter, wife, aunt, friend, etc.) from a prevention perspective, stressing the rules to follow and things to avoid or protect (such as returning home early). Wang et. al. (2021) in their study on regulatory focus also proved that females are more likely to take a prevention approach compared to men.

Within the theme of duty, the discussions on the sub-theme of reciprocity were more different among the two cultural groups where Indian participants discussed it elaborately and as one of the prerequisites to maintaining honor whereas German participants found it non-conducive to honor. According to Indian participants, only 'giving' is a sign of weakness and could imply being taken for granted, while only 'taking' was seen as a sign of greed. A balance of give and take was deemed necessary for any relationship as well as for personal honor. This resonates with the concept of 'payback' in a culture of honor. According to Miller (1993), positive and negative reciprocity go together in the logic of an honor culture. At times this reciprocity can appear to cross the limits of what seems 'rational' to the members of dignity cultures, such as

risking a limb in a fight for revenge or making grand gestures to return a small favor. These acts, though appearing irrational in the short term, are considered important in the long run to establish a reputation as both reliable as well as tough (Nesse, 2001).

While duties represent obligations, the next element of morality represents ways and mannerisms to fulfill these obligations. The need to build a reputation of moral character is emphasized in both groups which is in line with the finding that moral honor is experienced similarly in both honor and dignity cultures (Gilmore, 1987; Cross et al., 2014; Peristiany, 1965; Rodriguez Mosquera 2016; Stewart, 1994). This sub-theme included moral virtues such as honesty, fidelity, fairness, compassion, etc. that predicted moral conduct, even when not seen by others. However, in addition to integrity, only Indians spoke elaborately on moral relativism, which is an additional facet of honor seen in India. Shweder (1990) extensively studied ethical relativism in a Hindu community in Eastern India and compared it with the perspectives of Americans. In his work, he asserts the existence of genuine differences in what is considered moral depending on cultural and religious background. For instance, in the present study of the doctoral project, Indian participants found it dishonorable to trade family and group happiness over a truth that seems extremely harsh to everyone's happiness. Miller et al. (2017) in their comparative study with Indians and Americans have shown that for Indians, their role obligations, such as meeting the needs of family and friends, also carry moral relevance as opposed to Americans who treat any moral decision as a matter of personal choice and differentiate between their duties and morality. Similarly, for Indian participants in the present study, the demands and happiness of the group could override personal moral choices which may not align with the group's needs. Whereas, for German participants, such relativism was seen to be non-honorable. This could also be because for them, just like for American participants in Miller et al's (2017) study, morality represents a personal choice that is not

altered by one's duty towards the group or others. Hence, such relativism might represent a lack of control over personal choices and constantly adapting them to fit those of others.

Apart from these two necessary elements, status, sociability, and stoicism were identified as additional aspects of honor that were more conducive to honor enhancement, as their absence may not be as honor-threatening as that of duty and morality.

Status, as a way of honor enhancement through accomplishments, had more similarities across both cultural groups. Specifically in the German groups, references to creating legacy were frequent such that mere accomplishments may not matter as much as accomplishments in one particular area. This can relate to the concept of 'depth over breadth' or cultural emphasis on precision in Germany demonstrating that profound expertise and influence within a particular domain can be more important than a broader range of accomplishments across different domains (Burns, 1995; Olesko, 1998). In the Indian groups, a higher status was associated with hierarchical advancements, especially with age and work. In India, various hierarchies within families and kinship groupings exist (Kaushal, 2020). For instance, men outrank women of the same age, and senior relatives outrank junior relatives. Even among siblings, there is an acknowledgment of age differences through linguistic terms used to address elder siblings. Kay (2012) studied family honor among two generations of Hindu Indian Americans and found that endorsing hierarchy was seen as an important way of maintaining the family identity and keeping the family or cultural lineage alive. Even in a business or academic setting, hierarchical structures exist, and everyone looks up to the person at the next level to make decisions that to the West might appear traditional (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2011). Additionally, Indian participants in the present study said "It is necessary to fall onto something" while referring to hierarchy, which could hint toward what Kay (2012) called 'convention' or social efficiency associated with family traditions or customs. While discussing hierarchy, Indian participants did not elaborately discuss caste hierarchy though they mentioned it while

explaining the characteristics of their communities. In India, caste is a prevalent but not highly discussed topic (Kaushal, 2020) that greatly affects its members. Each caste is made up of communities that can differ regionally and have a unique identity. Honorable conduct lies in an awareness of what their community is known for, for instance, when some Indian participants mentioned that their community is known for bravery and loyalty, thereby living up to those standards.

The next additive element, sociability, emphasizing the importance of being socially competent in interactions through affection and helping, showed more similarities in the narratives of both cultural groups, particularly in the importance of affection. This aligns with Anderson's (2015) extensive review of studies on sociability across age, gender, and cultures, where she found that the concept is often treated as universally understood and agreed upon in its meaning and application. Finally, the last additive element, stoicism represents the quality of enduring hardships and losses to achieve outcomes. López-Astorga, (2016) contends that the Indian upbringing, especially of men, resonates with the stoic logic of self-restraint, calm during turmoil, not displaying pain or emotions, not quitting, etc. Similarly, for many Indian participants in the present study, honor is a revolutionary concept such that honorary individuals go through extreme difficulties and endure them. This was evident through participant narratives that honorable individuals have a struggle-filled background, are ready to sacrifice personal happiness, or do not fear to differ from others if it is meant for the greater good, etc. Therefore, if two events have the same outcomes, the one with more struggles might seem honorary to individuals from honor cultures compared to those from dignity cultures for whom both outcomes might bear similar meanings since no such references were mentioned in the German group discussions.

In summary, this study on honor aimed to explore its understanding in the relatively under-researched context of India and compare these insights with narratives from Germany. The

exploratory approach investigated both the enhancement and loss of honor, offering a more nuanced understanding of its various elements. The study identified two essential themes—duty and morality—that imply the protection of honor and emphasize their persistent adherence without which people risk losing their honor. Further, the three additive themes—status, sociability, and stoicism—are associated with the enhancement of honor and may vary based on individual choices and priorities. Here, certain novel concepts of honor were introduced, such as enduring hardships, making sacrifices, and achieving hierarchical advancements from Indian narratives. However, certain other aspects of honor identified in previous studies on honor cultures, such as male aggression and the sexual purity of females, were not extensively discussed and only briefly mentioned by participants. It would be premature to conclude that these aspects are unimportant to Indians. Instead, the limited discussion could be attributed to methodological factors, such as the sensitivity of these topics and their potential inappropriateness for group discussions.

2.4.2. Dignity in the Indian and German contexts

Like honor, the study aimed to explore the meaning and elements of dignity in the Indian and German groups. Due to the literature stemming from various disciplines and a lack of one clear definition, this study envisions dignity as an equal intrinsic value that is inalienable and independent of others' evaluations. Due to its stable nature and internal locus, it was assumed that, unlike honor, dignity would have lesser variations in both cultural contexts.

When asked about the meaning, similar to honor or even more so, participants experienced difficulty explaining dignity. Most German participants needed to make references to legal and constitutional enactments, and most Indian participants started by differentiating it from honor. This distinction was however unclear for most German participants since both honor and dignity, according to them, had a high individual focus and could exist in relation to each other,

although dignity was perceived to be more important than honor. The difficulty in defining dignity is also evident in the literature which talks about dignity instrumentally rather than theoretically (Kamir, 2006). All participants seemed to know what dignity is, but could not describe it and needed more negative phrases to explain what dignity is not, pointing towards its functional role (Mattson & Clark, 2011). The functional role of human dignity is highlighted by Kolakowski (2002, p. 42), who states, "It is difficult to define what human dignity is. It is not an organ to be discovered in our body, it is not an empirical notion, but without it, we would be unable to answer the simple question: what is wrong with slavery?"

The most frequent explanations of dignity revolved around its first element – individuality, acceptance of people irrespective of their backgrounds - which is in line with Kant's (1785) idea of treating dignity as an end in itself and respecting people for their own sake. Though the element reflects Kant's idea, it has a social component on how this can be achieved. This theme is a broad understanding of how people should behave with each other in upholding one's dignity. Similar to Killmister's (2017) idea of social dignity, the target of these descriptions was always another human being. For instance, German participants mentioned avoiding exploitation and misuse of power while Indians spoke elaborately about non-discrimination of others based on their backgrounds. The German narratives of exploitation are also seen in the work by Schmidt et al., (2020) who studied the dignity of social workers and said one of the ways they felt their dignity was violated was by being treated as an object and feeling exploited since they were not needed once the purpose is complete. The Indian narratives of discrimination can be related to the existence of differences in the country based on gender, age, and specifically caste and sexual orientation (Parekh, 2009). One of the strongest forms of humiliation mentioned in Indian judicial writings is discrimination and untouchability. These narratives also point to the idea of social equality seen in B. R. Ambedkar's (architect of the Indian constitution) vision of human dignity (Keer, 1991). This supports Killmister's (2017)

claim that while the understanding of respecting individuals is generally similar, the ways of relating to people can vary across cultures, as seen in the different dignity violations emphasized by German and Indian participants in the present study.

The idea of dignity became more transparent through participants' understanding of how stable dignity can be. Participants, more in German groups, found it to be more stable compared to honor. Their references to constitutional laws in support of their claims implied the universal importance of dignity and hence its inclusion in the legal documents. This supports the assertion by Schachter (1983) who wrote elaborately on the German legal system which bases dignity as the judicial grounding for all laws due to its inalienable nature. In the cultural theory of self-worth, Leung and Cohen (2011) have mentioned that dignity cultures have an established legal system on which people base their trust for ensuring individual rights. Whereas in the Indian groups, no such claims were made to any legal regulations.

The second theme, self-governance, reflects a personal aspect of dignity where individuals are in charge of their own lives by recognizing their worth and value as individual beings. It allows individuals to exercise their autonomy, which according to Kamir (2006) is one of the fundamental components of dignity. The ability to make decisions independently without being affected by others' opinions, is also one of the unwritten norms of dignity cultures (Yao, et. al., 2017). In this theme, participants made a specific reference to the practice of respecting these decisions through consent. Consent is a gateway to respecting an individual's right to self-determination and to making meaningful choices (Fischer & Oransky, 2008). In German groups, the practice of consent was considered self-evident while in the Indian groups, it was stressed, mainly by females, as an act to be cultivated and practiced, indirectly hinting towards men. This could be attributed to the prevalence of gender and age hierarchy, where people in higher positions might find it normal to make decisions for those in lower positions (Singh & Bhandari, 2021).

Self-governance as a theme also included self-sufficiency, as a way of not having to depend on anyone to make decisions and to communicate these even when others don't approve of it. Self-sufficiency was stressed more by almost all females, which could subtly hint toward value systems that associate dependency with females (Hentschel, et al., 2019). Male participants, especially from India, also mentioned self-sufficiency which was oriented towards having enough monetary capacity to fulfill personal wishes. This perspective is echoed in the ideas of B. R. Ambedkar, who emphasized that true dignity lies not only in social and cultural equality but also in economic equality as it ensures equality of life chances (Keer, 1991). The elements of individuality and self-governance are also reflected in the social dignity aspect of Jacobson's (2009) taxonomy of dignity in the medical field. According to Jacobson, social dignity is manifested in a person's demeanor as dignified (for instance in how older patients maintain the ability to make choices about their health), and conveying this respect for their autonomy through individual and collective behavior (such as when medical practitioners and household members respect the patient's decision and the right to make one).

While the first two elements reflect a broad understanding of dignity that can be applied to multiple circumstances, the next two - resistance and enrichment – are situation-specific. Resistance shows actions to protect one's individuality and the right to self-governance through avoidance of known threats and being resolute in one's decisions. According to Schachter (1983), with dignity comes the natural assertion to protect it which also needs to be treated as a part of dignity and people need to be viewed as capable of this assertion. Along similar lines, participants in both groups felt that protecting dignity was equally important as realizing it. The natural urge to protect dignity is reflected in Kass's (2009) work on dignity in bioethics which argues that understanding dignity involves defending and protecting both the dignity of a human being and the dignity of being human.

The last theme of enrichment reflects efforts to promote dignity by making consumption choices that are seen to be personally meaningful. This was the least discussed aspect of dignity as opposed to the other three since participants were quick to imagine cases of dignity violations but needed time to think about its promotion. Rather, they spoke about self-care and well-being as another way of realizing one's dignity through creativity, discipline, recreation, etc. Jacobson (2009) explains that dignity promotion is also a kind of work performed by individuals to encourage respect for either their own dignity or that of others.

In summary, consistent with prior, albeit limited, research on dignity, the meaning and elements of dignity showed less cultural variation between participants from India and Germany. However, some differences were noted in the specific elements. For instance, the two general themes of individuality and self-governance targeted unconditional acceptance of people and the right to self-determination. The similarity was that participants from both cultures could articulate these themes and their threats, yet the nature of these threats differed: Indians often referred to discrimination, whereas Germans highlighted exploitation. These differences likely reflect the structural and social disparities between the two countries. The other themes—resistance and enrichment—were more situation-specific and exhibited even less variation. Overall, these themes stem from the broader, inherent concept of dignity, which is better understood when viewed in relation to honor, as distinct yet interconnected dimensions of self-worth.

2.4.3. Honor and dignity: complementary or contradictory

When first asked, to define the terms, participants in both groups had difficulty differentiating the two concepts and suggested that they are similar. Many even said that a dignified life is important for honor and honorable conduct is considered dignified. True to that, the two bear some features that could make them similar, for instance, moral integrity. Moreover,

participants had greater difficulty explaining the meaning of dignity compared to honor which is also evident in the number of themes and sub-themes generated for honor and dignity.

At times, clarity in both these constructs was achieved when participants tried to explain what the other construct was not. For instance, they identified that external acknowledgment is important for honor through recognition, awards, appreciation, trust of people, etc. Whereas for dignity, the acknowledgment is not through such awards or appreciation, but through unconditional acceptance of people, for instance, accepting the LGBTQ community, letting people make their choices, etc. This distinction aligns with Kamir's (2006) differentiation between the achievement orientation of honor and the fundamental minimum inherent in dignity.

At times participants even contradicted the two. For instance, Indian participants said that honor is a system in which we exist and hence the sense of honor develops even before that of dignity. They further added that excess of one can hinder the persuasion of the other. For instance, excess importance to dignity could make one stubborn and unwilling to compromise for the group or close others, while excess support for honor can infringe on dignity through instances like honor killings. German participants said that an elaborate understanding of honor could limit one's judgments or acceptance of people, which could threaten dignity.

Finally, the discussions ended with a question on what the participants found more important, honor or dignity. Here, Indian participants could not make a direct choice, unlike German participants who were quick to choose dignity. Indian participants gave instances of how this decision is contextual, for instance, if the family is involved, or if it is about their personal growth. This is in line with the literature on the coexistence of differing values in India (Jha & Singh, 2011; Shah & Rajadhyaksha, 2016; Sinha, et al., 2001). It relates to the research on contextual frame-switching among Indians (Sinha & Kanungo, 1997). The equal importance

given to both honor and dignity highlights more complex ways of processing different, at times contradictory situations among Indians. These findings suggest that there are good reasons to study the two concepts together in both cultures since any alternative can have important implications for different life choices.

2.4.4. Summary

The two objectives of this chapter included understanding the broad meaning and central features of honor and dignity as reported by Indian and German participants. Participants from both India and Germany associated honor primarily with social reputation, often expressed through phrases like ‘my respect, but given to me by others’, ‘my image that others have of me’ etc. While the Indian narratives were much more intricate involving the influence of family and community, those of German participants were limited to individual qualities and aspects needed to be honorable. Further analysis of participant responses on honor enhancement and loss revealed five core themes for honor. Two of these were general and necessary (duty and morality) and focused on protecting one’s honor while the remaining three, specific and additive (status, sociability, and stoicism), focused on enhancing it. The necessary aspects had a more group focus, especially in India while the additive ones were seen from an individual perspective.

Concerning dignity, it was understood as an internal sense of worth, with Indian participants emphasizing self-respect and German participants linking it to universal human rights. Further analysis of participant responses on dignity revealed four core themes. Two of these were seen as general elements (individuality and self-governance) that reflected unconditional respect towards the individuality of every other person and an understanding of inalienable self-worth. These elements were explained by how they are threatened. For instance, Indian narratives focused on discrimination while the German ones focused on exploitation. The other two

elements were seen as specific and contextal (resistance and enrichment) reflecting protection of one's dignity by resisting any threats to it and realizing one's dignity through consumption choices that are conducive to personal well-being and care. Unlike honor, these themes do not reflect necessary and additive elements but rather reflect what dignity is meant to be and how it can be protected or realized. Thereby, all elements were deemed equally important for the construct.

2.5. Concluding comments

By examining the meanings of honor and dignity for participants from India and Germany, this chapter highlights key dimensions along which these concepts can be studied within each cultural context. It sets the stage for further investigation into how these concepts are endorsed across the two cultures and how individuals might react when their honor or dignity is threatened. Notably, given the intricate ways in which honor could shape the lives of people in India alongside the important role of dignity, it is crucial to explore how these both are perceived and prioritized when individuals migrate from India to Germany.

Chapter 3 - Instrument Development and Validation: Translating Qualitative Insights into Quantitative Measures

3.1. Introduction

The broad aim of this doctoral project is to understand how endorsing honor and dignity norms is associated with individual responses to honor and dignity threats among natives and migrants. To achieve this aim, a mixed methods design is employed. The previous chapter delved into the qualitative part of this project, which used an exploratory approach for two objectives - to extend our understanding of honor codes by including India (which in several ways is different from most other cultures where honor has been studied so far) that required a bottom-up qualitative approach to capture the Indian-specific understanding of honor; and second to develop an understanding of dignity, especially in a cross-cultural setting.

The first qualitative study addressed the initial research question: How do native Indian and German participants perceive honor and dignity as distinct aspects of self-worth? The central findings from the thematic analysis revealed certain themes for each concept. For honor, the themes identified were duty, morality, status, sociability, and stoicism. For dignity, the themes included individuality, self-governance, resistance, and enrichment. The findings from this qualitative study were used to inform the second, quantitative study, which aims to answer the next two research questions – i) How do the three groups, native Indians, native Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany, differ in their norm endorsement and reactions to threats? And ii) How do honor and dignity norms mediate the cultural differences in reactions to threats?

This chapter serves as a bridge, detailing how findings from the prior qualitative study were utilized to develop survey materials for the subsequent quantitative study. The entire chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is dedicated to outlining the process of creating new survey materials—specifically, the Dignity Norms Scale and threat scenarios for honor and dignity. This development involved a thorough review of existing literature, item generation and refinement through expert reviews and cognitive interviews, and translation into Hindi and

German for Indian and German participants, respectively. Following this, a pre-test was conducted with native Indian and German speakers to assess the psychometric soundness of the scales which would inform the final selection of items for the main study. The second part of the chapter describes the data collection process for the main study, including participant details, the measures used, and the psychometric properties of these measures. From hereon, to avoid any confusion and mix-up especially while discussing literature, the prior qualitative study of this doctoral project will be referred to as 'Study I', and the subsequent quantitative study will be referred to as 'Study II'.

3.2. Developing survey material from the qualitative findings

Findings from Study I were used in creating two new materials for Study II - a dignity norms scale and threat scenarios for both honor and dignity.

3.2.1. Developing the dignity norms scale

A review of the existing scales: Before deciding to develop a new tool for the current study, an extensive review of existing scales was conducted to determine if any met the desired meaning, aims, and context of the study. Just as defining dignity is complex and varies across different fields, the measurement of dignity is also relatively rare. Wein (2022), in his extensive review of the definition, application, and measurement of dignity, suggests that there are very few attempts to measure dignity directly. His review of nine major collections of measures and tests in the social sciences—such as APA PsychTESTS, ETS Testlink, and the Measurement Instrument Database for the Social Sciences.—yielded very few tests that directly focus on dignity or related concepts like respect. Using Wein's (2022) review and further supplemented by my informal searches and grey literature throughout the course of this project, I have identified various scales for measuring dignity in various disciplines. While these existing scales have been helpful references for understanding how dignity is measured in research,

they do not meet the specific needs of this project for several reasons discussed ahead. Consequently, this underscores the need to develop a new tool tailored to this research context.

Dignity frequently appears in the areas of international relations, medicine, and workplace environment. In the field of international relations and policy creation, two measures of dignity surfaced frequently. One measure is used in the study by Shapiro (2019) which aimed to assess the value of incorporating participants' preferences in measuring the effectiveness of various agricultural aid programs, such as agricultural extension, subsidized agricultural inputs, and poultry transfers. Effectiveness of programs was measured using a weighted, standardized index of survey questions addressing autonomy (e.g., “The aid I received was tailored to my benefit and to solve my problems”), dignity (e.g., "Other people and organizations enable me to live with dignity"), and trust (e.g., “NGOs that try to lift people from poverty trust the people they seek to help”). The study found no significant impact of incorporating respondent preferences in aid allocation. While this study does use the measure of dignity, it conceptualizes dignity as a manifest variable by directly asking about it. A similar attempt was made in Study I of this doctoral project where participants were directly asked to define dignity. However, many struggled to provide a clear explanation, and instead, used examples of situations and behaviors that reflect dignity. The literature on dignity, which often treats it instrumentally, similarly views it as a latent variable, inferred from various behaviors. Therefore, in Study II, this project aims to measure dignity as a latent variable, using insights from Study I to assess how dignity manifests in participants' beliefs and behaviors.

This attempt is seen in the next measure of dignity developed by Knight et al. (2018) to see the extent to which different non-governmental organizations are concerned with upholding dignity. They define dignity as a mission to be accomplished by instilling a sense of agency in people. The items in their measure include missions related to dignity, such as “providing an enabling environment where people can flourish”, “helping people participate in society so that

they can advocate for a better life for themselves and their families", etc. These are to be rated on importance by the organizations on a five-point scale. These missions tap into the self-governance theme identified in Study I, and also suggest that dignity can't be measured directly but as a mission to be upheld. Yet, it differs from the approach of this doctoral project. It conceptualizes dignity at the organizational level suggesting what needs to be done so that people have dignity. This gives guiding missions but also puts conditions on dignity. The doctoral project looks at dignity at an individual level where the actions come from unconditional acceptance of oneself and others, regardless of their success.

This conditional aspect is also seen in yet another important scale in the field of medicine, the attributed dignity scale by Jacelon and Choi (2014) which measures self-perceived attributed dignity in community-dwelling older adults. Attributed dignity refers to the value and respect that individuals or groups receive based on societal norms (Rosen, 2012; Sulmasy, 2013). This is measured in four dimensions – the individual's self-value (e.g., "I think I have made a difference"), their perceived value from others (e.g., "I believe other people have treated me as an equal"), their self-reflection on how they interact with others (eg., "I have avoided saying or doing things that might hurt other people"), and their perception of the extent to which their behavior demonstrates respect for other (eg., "I have been polite to other people").

The scales that come closest to this project's understanding of dignity are in the area of organizational management. Two such scales have been identified. The first is a scale developed by Pirson (2023), based on Donna Hicks' (2012) dignity model. This scale aims to see whether participants feel their dignity has been respected in the workplace. It focuses on measuring intrinsic worth in different social contexts at work and has a three-factor structure: personal sense of dignity (e.g., "I feel like a human being"), managerial dignity (e.g., "My manager approaches others as neither inferior nor superior"), and organizational dignity (e.g.,

“In this organization, people assume others have integrity”). Another notable scale was developed by Tiwari and Sharma (2019) to measure workplace dignity in India. This scale has five factors: trust and respect (e.g., “Trust leads to fair treatment”), equality (e.g., “Discrimination based on caste or creed leads to inequality in the organization”), autonomy (e.g., “Lack of freedom of expression affects my autonomy,”), fair treatment (e.g., “Unfair distribution of work hurts me”), and self-esteem (e.g., “When there is a mismatch between my skill set and assigned role, it affects my esteem,”). While these both tap into the general themes of dignity, individuality, and self-governance, identified in Study I, they primarily reflect dignity norms that hold meaning in specific social, or professional contexts, for instance concerning managers, other work colleagues, or the organization in specific. A common factor in both these scales is their understanding of dignity as an intrinsic value associated with people, which is similar to what this doctoral project also looks at. Yet, the way it is manifested in items is tailored to particular domains having specific situational factors that may not translate well to the everyday experiences of people. There is a need for a scale that contextualizes dignity within the everyday social interactions and lived experiences of people.

In the field of Organizational management, and now in social and cultural psychology, two measures come close to examining norm endorsement of dignity, as targeted in this study. One is a measurement model developed by Yao et al. (2017) to understand cultural differences in negotiations. In doing so, their scale differentiates between three cultural norms - dignity norms (e.g., "How much a person respects himself is far more important than how much others respect him"), face norms (e.g., "People should be very humble to maintain good relationships”), and honor norms (e.g., "People should be concerned about damaging their families’ reputation"). The other scale ‘inalienable versus socially conferred worth’ by Leung and Cohen (2011) measures the extent to which individuals endorse the belief that personal worth is either inalienable or socially conferred. Example items include, “How others treat me is irrelevant to

my worth as a person" and "No one can take a person's self-respect away from him or her." Higher scores reflect a stronger belief in worth as inalienable (an aspect of dignity), while lower scores indicate a belief in worth as socially conferred (an aspect of honor or face cultures).

The measures by Yao et al. (2017) and Leung and Cohen (2011) represent an advancement in measuring dignity norms within social and cultural psychology. However, they predominantly focus on self-oriented dignity. This aspect emphasizes respecting oneself and standing up for one's beliefs despite disagreement from others, as also seen in the self-governance theme in Study I. However, to fully capture the concept of dignity, it is imperative to consider the social aspect of dignity as well. This aspect encompasses how individuals interact with and treat others, emphasizing acceptance and respect irrespective of their backgrounds (Hay, 2013; Jacobson, 2009; Killmister, 2017). Norms suggest how one should behave, not just concerning oneself but also, and importantly, in interactions with others (Bicchieri & Mercier 2006; Bicchieri et al., 2018; Tomasello, 2009). Almost all participants in Study I of this doctoral project indicated the importance of how they should behave with others or how others should behave with them to uphold dignity norms.

The social aspect aligns with the dignity-in-relation dimension from the study by Grigoryan (2023), which aimed to adapt the dignity, honor, and face scale to the Armenian context and has found two dimensions for dignity – the dignity of self and dignity in relation. The items for dignity in relation assess how bad a person would feel if they broke certain norms associated with the dignity of others (e.g., "If I had not kept a promise that I had made to another person," "If I had lied to others"). However, most of these items represent moral obligation, similar to the moral honor dimension described by Rodriguez Mosquera (2016). Findings from focus groups and literature from other fields indicate that the social aspect of dignity is not limited only to moral obligation. It hints toward more general and unconditional acceptance of others

and of oneself by others (Gerber, 2013; Jacobson, 2009). To incorporate these ideas, a new tool was deemed necessary that caters to both the social as well as personal aspects of dignity.

***Item generation from the thematic analysis*:** From the thematic analysis of focus group discussions on dignity in Study I, four themes emerged: two were broad in scope, reflecting the overarching meaning of dignity—individuality and self-governance; and two were more context-specific—resistance and enrichment. While all four themes are integral to understanding dignity, the scale development focused solely on the first two (individuality and self-governance). These themes reflect the fundamental aspects of dignity that can be applicable across different contexts. Whereas, resistance and enrichment reflect more specific situations concerning individuality and self-governance. For instance, resistance arises in response to probable violations of one's dignity, when one is not accepted for who they are (threat to individuality), or when one cannot make their own choices (threat to self-governance), serving as a protective mechanism. Enrichment occurs when individuals actively seek opportunities for well-being, or recreation, thereby enhancing their sense of self. These latter themes may not have as broad an applicability, potentially limiting the scale's utility across different settings and populations. Consequently, an initial pool of 35 items was generated in English, focusing on the themes of individuality and self-governance.

The theme of individuality highlights the social aspect of dignity, suggesting that one's behavior toward others should not be influenced by factors such as gender, status, or race. An example of an item from this theme is 'people should accept the diverse identities that others hold, even if they differ from their own'. The theme of self-governance emphasizes the personal aspect of dignity, reflecting an individual's capacity to regulate and control their own actions and decisions without unwarranted external interference. An example of an item from this theme is 'peoples' sense of self-respect should come from within and not from others'

opinions of them'. The items were designed to capture the essence of the themes as expressed by participants whose references were drawn from the open codes for these themes of dignity (see Table 2.2 of Chapter 2), while also incorporating insights from relevant literature, (for instance the concepts of dignity as discussed by Ayers (1984), Jacobson (2009), Killmister (2017), and Hicks (2012)).

Expert review: The purpose of this phase was to review the content validity of the items (Schriesheim et al., 1993). Two experts were identified to review the initial pool of items. Both experts were scholars with over 15 years of experience in social psychology, particularly focused on the concept of dignity. A formal email was sent to each expert to seek their consent. Following their agreement, the initial list of items was sent to them, along with instructions to rate the items on coverage, clarity, and relevance (Demaio & Landreth, 2004; Presser & Blair, 1994; Willis et al., 2000). The experts were asked to provide ratings on these criteria based on the guidelines from DeVellis (2012). Based on the experts' ratings, the items were reassessed for relevance, coverage, comprehensibility, any missing aspects, possible doubts, and length (Sharma Radha & Sharma, 2015). After analyzing the experts' comments, 15 items were deleted due to low scores on relevance and clarity. This process resulted in a revised list containing 20 items (10 each for individuality and self-governance) following the first attempt at content validity assessment by the experts. Moreover, on the suggestion from experts, the themes of individuality and self-governance were renamed to other-oriented dignity and self-oriented dignity respectively, as the two probable dimensions of the scale.

3.2.2. Development of the threat scenarios for honor and dignity

Review of prior studies using threat vignettes: Similar to the process of developing the dignity norms scale, studies that have worked with vignettes and threat-inducing narratives were reviewed before developing scenarios. Most studies working with such scenarios were

identified for honor. In the case of dignity, only a few such studies were identified and are discussed ahead.

In the case of honor, an attempt was made to identify studies that have used threat vignettes targeted towards an individual participant and not a group. Many such studies were identified. One is by Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002b), which aimed to study the role of honor concerns in emotional reactions to threats among Spanish and Dutch participants. The researchers created vignettes that threatened feminine, masculine, and family honor, as well as competence, assertiveness, and autonomy. A vignette for the threat to family honor is - *'You feel rejected by your own family. One of your uncles often makes negative comments about you, such as: ''You bring shame on the family.'' If others were then to say to you: ''Even your own family is ashamed of you"* (p. 163). Among all, the threat to family honor had severe reactions among Spanish participants which was mediated by individual differences in concern for family honor.

Krys et al. (2016) examined differences in honor, dignity, and face cultures through three behavioral reactions to honor threats: aggression, withdrawal, and amusement. An example of a threat scenario is – "*During a party in the presence of many of your friends your acquaintance severely insulted your mother by abusively calling her a prostitute. As a reaction to this insult you would: – do nothing and expect the host of the party to intervene (withdrawal); return the insult to that person using swear-words (Aggression); humorously comment on that person's behavior (Amusement)"* (p. 322). The study found that aggression is often the preferred response in honor cultures, while responses in dignity and face cultures vary between withdrawal and amusement.

In yet another study, Cross et al. (2014) the studied the different behavioral responses, confrontation or withdrawal, to two types of honor threats, a false accusation or humiliation. In doing so, they have created different scenarios for each threat type. While all these studies

and many more (e.g., Anjum et al., 2019; Cohen & Rozin, 2001; Maitner et al., 2017; Murphy-Berman & Berman, 2012) have used threat scenarios, they have few commonalities which are also the reason for this doctoral project to generate new scenarios. First, all these studies have created these scenarios from participant narratives through previous qualitative approaches. For example, in another study on the consequences of threats to family honor, Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2014) created vignettes from the narratives generated by Pakistani and European participants where they recalled instances of their family members posing a threat to their image, or vice-versa. Second, the scenarios are specific to the aims of these studies and reflect threats to only those aspects of honor that have been focused on. For instance, in the scenarios created by Cross et al. (2014), the focus is on the type of insult, humiliation or false accusation, and not on the area of insult such as academic achievement, job promotion, morality, etc. Hence, it is not possible to directly take the scenarios from existent literature and there is a need to generate new ones that threaten the themes obtained in Study I, especially since some themes were new (e.g., stoicism).

Next, Most existing studies on dignity have primarily focused on threats occurring at institutional levels such as work policies affecting employees's well-being (Zinko et al., 2022), and hospital policies affecting patients or nurses (Joolaee et al., 2008; Stephen Ekpenyong et al., 2021). An example of a few such policies studied in workplace settings is – Micromanagement policies requiring employees to submit detailed reports of their daily activities (Pollack et al., 2016), or monitoring policies implementing continuous surveillance (Ball, 2010), etc. Whereas, the current doctoral project focuses on threats to dignity at the individual level. Two studies were identified that created scenarios threatening dignity. One was by Maitner et al., 2017 which aimed to study the difference between Arab and American students in response to honor and dignity insults. The dignity insult was framed as – "*Academic integrity has become one of the largest challenges facing [university]. The number of students*

who obtain papers and assignments from external sources, or use technology or other means to cheat on tests is astounding. (……). [University] students are clearly to blame—they demonstrate a complete lack of responsibility for themselves and their futures, and their behavior is an appalling reflection of students, in general, lack of integrity" (p. 900). While it does tap into the fact that people are responsible for themselves and their behavior, it still looks at dignity through the lens of a quality to be developed, such as integrity. This could be confused with the construct of honor which also includes qualities to be developed to be honorable. The current doctoral project looks at dignity as the fundamental minimum (Kamir, 2006). Hence it needs scenarios that will threaten these aspects of people which are beyond their conscious choice.

A guide for this comes from the study by Oyserman et al. (2007) who investigated the negative relationship between unfair treatment and well-being, focusing on the role of self-regulatory focus. In one of their studies, participants were asked to recall hopes or obligations to prime a promotion or prevention focus. Post this they were presented with an an ambiguous job situation targeting unfair treatment wherein the participant received an annual evaluation from a new supervisor who said the participant was slacking off, and not working hard enough, despite no previous such feedback. Results revealed that primed prevention focus heightened vigilance, leading participants to perceive the situation as more unfair and increasing their likelihood of taking action, such as quitting or confronting the supervisor. This study is particularly useful as it reveals how unfair treatment can impact individuals even without their conscious awareness. It serves as a valuable guide for understanding these dynamics. The current work, however, aims to expand on this by examining how unfair treatment operates across specific dimensions such as gender, age, and socio-economic background.

Considering the approaches taken by prior researchers in the studies on honor and the relative lack of such work in the context of dignity, using the participant narratives from focus groups

in Study I seemed most suitable. This could also be a contribution to the literature on threats, especially for dignity. An important point here is that, though the scenarios were taken from the participant narratives in focus group discussions, the language, and style of framing them are heavily guided by the examples provided in the existing studies in literature.

Scenario generation: An initial list of 20 threat scenarios (10 each for honor and dignity) was generated using the examples narrated by participants in Study I. In the case of honor, two scenarios were developed for each theme, duty, morality, status, sociability, and stoicism. Each scenario included a hypothetical situation where an offender insults the participant on each of these qualities. For instance, the quality of stoicism reflects the capacity of an individual to endure hardship, adversity, or pain with fortitude. Any achievement that comes easily through shortcuts is not highly valued. The effort and struggles of the achievement are glorified. Hence, an an insult would include belittling the participant for easily achieving the outcome and dismissing any efforts by the participant. An example from the survey is-

"You bumped into your former neighbor in the washroom of a restaurant where you were treating your friends for your new job that you achieved with your hardwork and efforts. In the conversation, your neighbor taunted you by saying, "Success is made readily available to you by your rich family, and you have no idea what it means to struggle".

The examples from participant narratives were selected on the grounds that they were familiar parts of student life in both cultures and were easily translated into both languages. Further, Rodriguez Mosquera et al.'s (2014) study shows an important finding that insults from in-group members, mainly family, are responded to more severely and result in different group dynamics (such as wanting to distance oneself from the in-group member). Hence, the scenarios for Study II were designed such that the insult comes from an acquaintance (neighbor, colleague, etc.) and not a very close member (such as a family member).

In the case of threats to dignity, the scenarios were designed to encompass the first two themes, four scenarios for individuality, and six for self-governance. These scenarios did not focus on insults. Rather, they were conceptualized using the understanding of dignity as an inherent quality. Threats to this inherent nature can manifest in forms such as non-acceptance or discrimination based on fundamental aspects of an individual (Jacobson, 2009). For instance, the theme of individuality in Study I entails the acceptance of individuals irrespective of age, gender, race, socio-economic status, sexuality, etc. Here, a threat to dignity, as discussed by participants, can come through discrimination based on any of these criteria, exploitation of powerless people, etc. An example highlighting discrimination based on age is as follows -

"In a group project at work, your senior gives you the least important tasks since you are the youngest in the group without considering your experience and education."

Over and above the examples given by participants, one aspect that is used in separating the conceptual understanding of dignity and honor threats is the idea of 'fundamental minimum versus higher stakes' given by Kamir (2006). According to him, dignity represents the 'fundamental minimum' suggesting that people do not have to do anything to have it and that it is given to everyone. This is used as the foundation to understand that people can differ in aspects such as age, biological gender, ethnicity, etc. These aspects are beyond their conscious choice and hence require unconditional acceptance and respect of this fundamental minimum. When people are discriminated against or exploited based on these aspects, it could result in a threat to their dignity.

On the other hand, honor represents 'higher stakes' where there is more to gain or lose, or where the potential consequences of an action are significant. Hence people need to work on developing qualities to achieve or maintain honor. In this case, the qualities identified in the Study I included being dutiful, moral, hardworking, etc. These are qualities that need to be

developed or worked upon and hence the insult includes belittling the participant on these qualities. Given the different nature of both of these threats, the study is not comparing honor and dignity threats to each other. But is more focused on comparing the three groups (Indians, Germans, and Indian migrants) on honor threats separately and on dignity threats separately.

Cognitive interviews: Post creating these scenarios, in-depth cognitive interviews were conducted with two Indian (one male and one female) and two German (one male and one female) students who were not a part of the first qualitative study. These interviews aimed to test the clarity, comprehension, and relatability of these scenarios in both cultures and thereby modify them. These were conducted by the primary researcher in English. All 20 scenarios were retained as a result of these interviews.

3.2.3. Translation of material

All the material (the new one - items for the dignity norms scale, and the threat scenarios; and the existing one – honor norms scale, and acculturation scale for migrants) exists in English. However, the survey was planned to be conducted in German for the German participants and in Hindi for the Indian participants, both native and migrants. Hence, initially, the items were translated from English to Hindi by the principal researcher and then back-translated by an expert fluent in Hindi and English. Similarly, the items were translated from English to German by a research assistant and then back-translated by another assistant. A third check was conducted by translating the material from Hindi to German by an Indian assistant in Germany, fluent in both languages. The new German translation by the Indian assistant and the original one by the German research assistant were checked for any obvious deviations. Once it was sure that the translations were similar, the translated versions were pre-tested.

3.2.4. Pre-test

Once the items were translated into Hindi and German, a pre-test was conducted with native Indian and German participants. The pre-test would help in clarifying the latent construct of dignity. Additionally, it aimed to check the soundness of the newly generated measures (dignity norms scale and threat scenarios) as well as the suitability of the existing measures (honor norms scale) for the Indian and German samples.

Participants: The data for the pre-test was collected from 100 participants (50 German and 50 Indians, males 55%, age range 21-32) using online means (Google Forms). An introductory page covering the objectives of the study with instructions for filling up the questionnaire was added. Voluntary participation was invited, and anonymity and confidentiality were assured while recognizing their association with the research.

Measures: The measures included in the pre-test involved an already existing honor norms scale and the newly developed dignity norms scale along with threat scenarios for honor and dignity.

1. **Endorsement of honor and dignity norms:** To measure endorsement of honor norms, four items from Yao et al. (2017) which focus on family honor (e.g., "People should not allow others to insult their family"), and six items from Smith et al. (2017) that focus on personal and gender honor (e.g., "People always need to show off their power in front of their competitors"; "Men need to protect their women's reputations at all costs") were used to increase the conceptual coverage of the honor measure. The items were rephrased to read "People should…" instead of the original wording of "People are…" or "People do…" to reflect the endorsement of norms rather than states or behaviors. For dignity norm endorsement, the 20 items that were retained (10 each for other-oriented and self-oriented dignity) post-expert review were used. The items

on both honor norms and dignity norms scale were rated on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 – strongly disagree to 7 – strongly agree.

2. **Reactions to honor and dignity threats:** Along with honor and dignity norms, the 20 threat scenarios (10 each for honor and dignity) were also included in the pre-test. The aim was to check if these are accurately interpreted by participants and if the scenarios threaten the intended construct (for instance, a scenario generated for an honor element does threaten honor and not dignity and vice-versa). For this, some items intended to check the manipulation were used while measuring reactions to these scenarios, which are discussed ahead. Finally, another objective of this pre-test was to reduce the number of scenarios for the main Study II data collection. The reactions to these threat scenarios were assessed in three general domains: cognitive evaluations, emotional reactions, and behavioral intentions to respond. These were taken from Maitner et al. (2022), Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002b), and Cross et al. (2013).
   a) Cognitive evaluations of the threats: The cognitive evaluations included four reactions. The first reaction measured was the extent to which participants perceived the threats to be offensive. This was followed by measuring how damaging participants found it to be to their personal (the way they think about themselves), social (the way they think others think about them), and family (the way they think others think about their family) image. All the reactions were measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = not at all to 7 = very much). These items also served as manipulation checks for the scenarios since an affront to both personal and ingroup image suggests a threat to one's honor and serves as a precondition for amplified anger responses in honor cultures. On the other hand, since dignity is conceptualized as an internal, independent trait, the affront is hypothesized to not be carried on to one's own and family's social image.
   b) Emotional reactions: Next, participants reported how the scenario made them feel with two reactions. These included one emotion previously identified as being afforded in honor

cultures, the extent to which participants felt angry toward the perpetrator, and a second emotion that may be afforded in honor cultures, which is the extent to which participants felt respect toward the perpetrator (taken from Maitner et al., 2022). Because honor has to be socially conferred, it is possible that one way to respond when one's honor has been questioned is to reciprocally disrespect a target. Both anger and respect were also measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = not at all to 7 = very much)

c) Behavioral intention: Finally, one item measured their likelihood to verbally confront the perpetrator, also on a 7-point scale (1 = not at all to 7 = very much). Here, they were informed that lower values indicated a tendency to withdraw from the situation.

Analysis of the pre-test: The data from the pre-test was analysed using SPSS (v29) to examine the credibility of the preliminary measures. To understand the latent structure of the measures exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was carried out. Principle component analysis (PCA) was used to check the factor loading of the items. The reliability was checked through Cronbach α.

In the case of honor norms scale, EFA revealed a two-factor solution. The two factors that emerged included a factor for self-honor (emphasizing the need to project oneself as strong and to respond decisively to threats to one's honor; α = 0.83) and a factor for Family honor (emphasizing the maintenance and defense of family reputation; α = 0.89). All items had a factor loading above 0.40 and were retained for the final Study II data collection. For the dignity norms scale as well, EFA revealed a two-factor solution, one for other-oriented dignity (α = 0.78) and one for self-oriented dignity (α = 0.88). However, 10 items had low factor loadings (<0.40) and were deleted. This also helped maintain the same length as that of the honor scale.

Next, following the steps of Grigoryan (2023) a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted for honor and dignity norms separately using SPSS AMOS (v29) and R (version 4.3.2). Based on the PCA findings from the EFA, three models were compared for the norm

endorsement of honor and dignity: a unidimensional model, a two-factor model, and a bifactor model. Maximum Likelihood Estimation was used in the CFAs. Model fit indices included a chi-square (χ^2) significance test, root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA <0.08), the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR <0.08), the comparative fit index (CFI >0.8), and the Tucker–Lewis index (TLI >0.8). Compared to the unidimensional and two-factor models, the bifactor model presented acceptable fit indices for both honor and dignity norms, indicating the validity of the two-dimensional structure.

Finally, the validity and reliability of threat scenarios were tested separately for honor and dignity threats. There were 10 threats for honor, two each for the five themes obtained in Study I (duty, morality, status, sociability, and stoicism). Similarly, 10 scenarios were generated to threaten dignity, four for individuality, and six for self-governance. For each threat, four cognitive, two emotional, and one behavioral reactions were measured. At first, the EFA revealed a five-factor structure of these reactions – offensive ($\alpha = 0.61$), damage to image ($\alpha = 0.89$), anger ($\alpha = 0.65$), respect ($\alpha = 0.54$), and confrontational intention ($\alpha = 0.51$), for both honor and dignity threats.

Post this, two criteria were used to retain good scenarios. First, the mean scores on the reaction of offensiveness were seen. If these were 1, on a 7-point scale, for both Indians and Germans, it indicated that the scenario is not offensive in nature and would not serve the purpose of the study. Secondly, scenarios where all the reactions had low factor loadings (< 0.40) were to be discarded. Using these two criteria, 8 threat scenarios (4 each for honor and dignity) were retained for the final data collection. In the case of honor, these scenarios included insults to participants' morality, status, sociability, and stoicism. In the case of dignity, the four scenarios threatening individuality were retained. These included two instances of exploitation (unpaid labor and underpayment) and two instances of discrimination (based on family SES and age). In Study I, status as a theme for honor encompassed accomplishment and hierarchical

advancement. The threat scenario for this theme targeted the participant's competency in having accomplishments. To avoid tautological confusion with the dignity threat to one's socio-economic status, the honor threat for the theme of status will henceforth be referred to as competency.

In summary, the pre-test, conducted on native Indians and Germans, measured their norm endorsement on the honor (10 items) and dignity (20 items) scales followed by their cognitive (4), emotional (2), and behavioral (1) responses to honor and dignity threats (10 each). After analyzing the psychometric soundness of these measures, 10 items for the honor norms scale, 10 items for the dignity norms scale, and all the reactions for 4 honor and 4 dignity threats were retained for the main data collection of Study II.

3.3. Study II (main study) data collection

This section describes the data collection procedure for Study II including participant details, the measures used, and their psychometric properties. This is the data that will be used for the final analysis to test the difference in norm endorsement and threat reactions among native Indians, Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany.

Participants: The total sample for Study II consisted of 317 native Indian students (both, undergraduate and graduate, 164 women, Mean age = 25.4, *SD* = 2.1) from two universities in Delhi, 312 German students (both, undergraduate and graduate, 179 women, Mean age = 26.02, *SD* = 2.57) from three universities in Bremen, and 350 Indian students in Germany (both, undergraduate and graduate, 187 women, Mean age = 26.7, *SD* = 2.35) for the most part from Bremen, and some from the neighboring states of Northern Germany (Hamburg and Hannover). Participants in all three groups completed the questionnaire online through the software 'Sosci Survey'. All other details of sample characteristics are presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1:

Sample characteristics for the main data collection

		Migrant	Indian	German	Total
Gender	Female	187	164	179	530
	Male	163	151	130	444
	Diverse	0	0	1	1
	Prefer not to say	0	2	2	4
Age	18-25	107	182	146	435
	26-35	243	135	162	540
	36 and above	0	0	4	4
Education	Secondary school-leaving certificate/Junior High Diploma	0	20	20	40
	Vocational secondary certification (specialized secondary school/college)	14	0	9	23
	A-levels/International Baccalaureate, subject-related higher education entrance qualification	0	0	28	28
	University degree	336	297	255	888
Employed	Yes	302	180	295	777
	No	48	137	17	202
Hours of work	None	41	131	16	188
	Less than 5	19	14	0	33
	5 – 10	8	0	35	43
	11 – 20	198	77	193	353
	21 – 40	79	90	68	352
	Above 40	5	5	0	10
Marital status	Single	226	237	66	529
	Married	44	25	9	78
	In a relationship	78	55	237	370
Family SES	Low income	9	2	4	15
	Low – Middle income	21	12	26	59
	Middle income	139	168	110	417
	Middle – High income	154	120	146	420
	High income	16	3	7	26
Citizenship	Indian	350	317	0	667
	German	0	0	312	312
	Other	0	0	0	0
Parent Citizenship	Both parents Indian/Both parents German	350	317	240	907
	One parent from a different country	0	0	55	55
	Both parents from a different country	0	0	17	17

Among other variables, the groups differed considerably in education and employment. A majority of Indian migrants (336), natives (297), and German (255) participants hold university degrees. These are students currently enrolled in the master's or doctoral program and hold a bachelor's degree. Additionally, some German participants also have secondary school-leaving certificates (40), vocational certifications (23), or A-levels (28). Data from Germans was collected from both bachelor's and master's students, so these could be students currently pursuing their bachelor's degrees. With regards to employment, more Indian natives (137) reported not working compared to migrant (48) and German (17) participants. This may be due to migrants and Germans living away from family on university campuses and needing to support themselves. In contrast, native Indians might still live with their parents or receive family support, which is also reflected in their fewer work hours.

Measures: The final questionnaire consisted of the measures retained from the pre-test (honor norms scale, dignity norms scale, and threat scenarios). There were some ***additions*** during this data collection. First, in addition to measuring the own endorsement of honor and dignity norms, they were also measured at the level of ***perceived societal endorsement***. For both endorsement levels, the items were the same as those tested in the pre-test. However, for the perceived societal endorsement, the phrasing was adapted to include '*In your culture (consider the country you are currently residing in)'* at the beginning of the items. An example of an item from the perceived societal honor endorsement scale is – *In your culture, People must always be ready to defend their honor* (See Appendix A3.1 for the questions). This addition was considered important for two reasons – first, measuring the perceived societal endorsement would allow for an assessment of the broader cultural context in which individuals operate. This can also help in comparing if the individual's own endorsement of honor and dignity norms or their perceptions of what is expected in their respective countries is a better predictor of their responses. This was considered important given some studies that have compared own

and perceived endorsement of honor norms (Barnes et al., 2012; Mandel & Litt, 2013; Vignoles et al., revised and resubmitted); and have found that perceived endorsement could be a better predictor of one's actions in response to honor threats (Barnes et al., 2012; Mandel & Litt, 2013). second, this addition would have even more value for studying the migrant group to test the extent to which they perceive these norms to be endorsed in the host society and if these would better predict their responses.

The other addition in this phase was an ***acculturation measure*** for the migrant group. Both, the perceived societal endorsement of norms and the acculturation measures were not pre-tested. Finally, a consent form was added at the beginning, and a demographic sheet towards the end of the questionnaire along with a debriefing statement to inform participants about the purpose of the study and thank them for their response. The debriefing also included contact details of the principal investigator allowing participants to ask any follow-up questions or express concerns. (see Appendix A3.1 for the complete questionnaire). The psychometric properties of each of these measures are discussed ahead.

i) ***Endorsement of honor and dignity norms:*** Similar to the pre-test, for honor norm endorsement the items from Yao et al. (2017) and Smith et al. (2017) were used. EFA revealed a two-factor solution for both own and perceived societal endorsement. In both measures, the two factors that emerged included a factor for self-honor ($\alpha_{Own} = 0.90$, $\alpha_{Perceived} = 0.92$) and a factor for Family honor ($\alpha_{Own} = 0.88$, $\alpha_{Perceived} = 0.93$). Two items 'You must punish people who insult you' and 'If a person gets insulted and doesn't respond, he or she will look weak' had low loading (< 0.40). Moreover, the reliability and the model fit increased (from cfi = 0.79 and gfi = 0.78 to cfi = 0.91.and gfi = 0.89) when these items were not added to the model. Hence, they were excluded from the final analysis. Similarly, the EFA for dignity norms scale revealed a two-factor solution for both own and perceived norms, one for other-oriented dignity ($\alpha_{Own} = 0.85$, $\alpha_{Perceived} = 0.92$) and one for self-oriented dignity (α

$_{Own}$ = 0.89, $\alpha_{Perceived}$ = 0.94) (See Appendix Table A3.2 and A3.3 for factor loadings and alpha scores of both honor and dignity norms scale for each cultural group). Similar to the pre-test, the CFAs were performed. Here as well, compared to the unidimensional and two-factor models, a bifactor model presented acceptable fit indices for both honor and dignity norms (for both personal and perceived endorsement), indicating the validity of the two-dimensional structure. All the fit indices are reported in Appendix (Table A3.4)

ii) ***<u>Threat scenarios:</u>*** A total of eight scenarios (four each for honor and dignity) were presented to the participants in the main data collection. All the reactions measured were the same as those asked in the pre-test: perceived offensiveness of the threats (α_{Honor} = 0.64, $\alpha_{Dignity}$ = 0.56), perceived damage to personal, social, and family image (α_{Honor} = 0.87, $\alpha_{Dignity}$ = 0.81), felt anger (α_{Honor} = 0.62, $\alpha_{Dignity}$ = 0.61) and respect (α_{Honor} = 0.61, $\alpha_{Dignity}$ = 0.58) toward the perpetrator, and finally the likelihood to confront verbally (α_{Honor} = 0.51, $\alpha_{Dignity}$ = 0.48). All the factor loadings of threat reactions for both honor and dignity threats along with alpha scores for each cultural group are mentioned in the Appendix (Table A3.5 and A3.6). An additional analysis tested whether participants perceived honor threats as more damaging to their social and family image compared to dignity threats. Since affronts to one's own and group's image signify an honor threat and can amplify anger in honor cultures, the questions on perceived image damage also served as manipulation checks. In contrast, dignity, being an internal trait, the affront was not expected to affect social or family image. A two-way ANOVA was conducted with threat type (honor vs. dignity) and culture (Migrants, Indians, Germans) as the two factors, and perceived image damage as the dependent variable. The analysis was conducted separately for social and family image. Results confirmed that across all groups, honor threats were perceived as more damaging to social and family image than dignity threats, validating the scenarios. Descriptive statistics and mean differences are presented in Appendix Table A3.7.

iii) ***Acculturation measures for migrant sample:*** In addition to the norm endorsement and threat reactions, Indian migrants in Bremen completed an additional questionnaire measuring their acculturation strategies. Since the study uses a Psycho-social aspect to measure acculturation, two scales were used. One was the East Asian Acculturation Measure by Barry (2001) which was used to test the four acculturation strategies as outlined by Berry (1997). The scale has four dimensions, assimilation (e.g., "Most of my friends at work/school are Germans", α = 0.73), separation (e.g., "I feel more relaxed when I am with an Indian than when I am with a German", α = 0.72), integration (e.g., "I feel that both Germans and Indians value me", α = 0.70), and marginalization (e.g., "Sometimes I find it hard to trust both Germans and Indians", α =0.89). The other measure was the social integration model of Esser (2001), the items for which were taken from Heath and Schneider (2021). The four dimensions of Esser's model represent acculturation (cultural knowledge and language competencies), placement (citizenship or an economic position), interaction (building and maintaining social relationships), and identification (a subjective feeling of belonging). For acculturation, language proficiency was measured in speaking, writing, and comprehension of the German language (on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 = not at all fluent to 7 = very fluent). For placement, their employment status, weekly hours of work, and socioeconomic status of the family of origin were asked. For interaction, participants answered if they have friends of other ethnic origin and also specifically German friends. Finally, for identification, they rated their emotional attachment to Germany on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = not at all attached to 7 = very attached).

iv) ***Demographic information:*** Towards the end, participants reported their demographic information including their gender, age, educational status, employment status, marital status, socioeconomic status of the family of origin, and their and their parents' citizenship.

Invariance of measures: A set of MGCFA (Multi-Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis) analyses was conducted to evaluate measurement invariance for the norm endorsement of honor and dignity as well as for the responses to threat scenarios among the three groups of participants. Based on the results of simple CFA, bifactor models for norm endorsement of honor and dignity were considered. Configural, metric, and scalar invariance were examined. The assessment levels of the models were ordered hierarchically. Full invariance based on these three levels was achieved for both honor and dignity norms as well as threat scenarios.

3.4. Concluding comments

This chapter aimed to serve as a bridge between Study I and Study II, by explaining how the qualitative findings of Study I were utilized to develop survey materials for the quantitative Study II. In doing so, it started with outlining the entire process of creating two new survey materials—the Dignity Norms Scale and threat scenarios for honor and dignity. This was followed by the description of the data collection process for Study II, including the participant details, and final measures used. Other than outlining the process of material generation and data collection, this chapter points out the next contribution of this doctoral project, a standardized two-dimensional measure of dignity norms scale that can be used to assess the endorsement of dignity, concerning others as well as self. Certainly, the whole process of scale and scenario development is not short of limitations such as small sample size, only focusing on a student sample that limits its generalizability, and self-selection bias. Both, these limitations as well as the contribution of this phase are discussed in the final chapter (General Discussion). Upon understanding the methodology of Study II, the next two chapters, four and five, will focus on answering each of the two remaining questions of the doctoral project.

Chapter 4 - Cultural Differences in Honor and Dignity Norm Endorsement and Threat Reactions among Native Indians, Germans, and Indian Migrants in Germany

4.1. Introduction

The thesis began with a hypothetical example of Tara from a close-knit community in Southern Asia, Sarah from Northwestern Europe, and Aisha, originally born in Southern Asia who has migrated to a Western country. In all three cases, the focus was on how they would respond to being accused of spending excess time with a male colleague at work while being married. The example was meant to reflect how threats to one's image, personal or family, are responded to differently in honor and dignity cultures, probably influenced by their endorsement of cultural norms. Building on this example, the doctoral project aimed to examine whether threats to dignity also elicit different responses in the two cultural settings probably influenced by differential endorsement of dignity norms. This focus on dignity developed through a central aim of this project - to understand if migration from honor to dignity cultures is associated with any differences in the endorsement of honor and dignity norms and responses to honor and dignity threats compared to natives. Study I of this project, apart from the generating themes of honor and dignity, ended with a remark that it is safe to consider India one of the representatives of honor cultures and Germany for dignity cultures. Upon understanding the different themes of honor and dignity and seeing how these were used to develop survey material used in the data collection for study II, the current chapter aims to answer the second research question of this thesis - *How do the three groups, native Indians, native Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany, differ in their honor and dignity norm endorsement and threats reactions?* This question encompasses two objectives: first, to test for differences between groups, and second, to understand the responses of migrants while considering their acculturation strategies.

The chapter begins by reviewing the literature on honor and dignity cultural differences in norm endorsement and threat reactions to make predictions about native Indians and Germans. It

then explores acculturation within the honor-dignity paradigm to determine if specific predictions can be made about the migrant group. This leads to defining specific objectives regarding the three groups, and then particularly migrants, which will be addressed in the results section. The chapter concludes by discussing the findings, setting the stage for the final research question of this doctoral thesis to be answered in the next chapter.

4.1.1. Norm endorsement and threat reactions in Honor and dignity cultures

Why might the study assume that the three groups would differ in their honor and dignity norm endorsement and threat reactions? The motivation to view oneself positively appears to be universally shared (Kim & Cohen, 2010). Yet, the strategies employed to safeguard one's image can vary across cultures. Leung and Cohen (2011) propose that the assessment of self-worth can be influenced by internal factors, external factors, or a combination of both, with culture playing an important role. Going by the qualitative findings of Study I, and the literature discussed in Chapter 1 on the importance of maintaining one's image and reputation in honor cultures (Cohen et al., 1996; Cross et al., 2013; Günsoy et al., 2015; Henry, 2009; Nowak et al., 2016; Saucier and McManus, 2014; Uskul et al., 2014; Vandello and Cohen, 2003; Vandello et al., 2009), it can be hypothesized that ***native Indian participants would endorse honor norms more strongly than German participants.*** Here, as discussed in Chapter 3, the norms are tested at two levels, one is the extent to which participants personally endorsed both honor and dignity norms (own endorsement), and second, their perceptions of the extent to which most people in the society (i.e., the country where they are currently residing) endorsed these norms (perceived societal endorsement). Here as well, it can be assumed that ***native Indian participants would perceive a higher societal endorsement of honor norms in India compared to the perceived societal endorsement of German participants in Germany.***

Just as it is hypothesized that Indians would endorse honor norms more strongly than Germans, along similar lines it can be hypothesized that ***native Indian participants would exhibit heightened reactions to honor threats compared to German participants***. The link between honor threat and its reactions is embedded in both, people's attitudes as well as their perceptions of social norms (Aslani et al., 2016; Ijzerman et al., 2007; Uskul et al., 2023; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). In honor cultures, an individual's worth is not solely determined by their behavior and self-evaluation but, crucially, by how others perceive and evaluate them, which could amplify responses to perceived honor threats. Leung and Cohen (2011) describe honor cultures as having strong reciprocity norms, where cooperation is enhanced by a reputation for trustworthiness and reciprocation of gifts, including 'negative gifts' such as insults or attacks (Miller, 1993). As a result, individuals in honor cultures are acutely aware of being observed and evaluated by others, leading them to respond more vigorously to threats to their honor and reputation compared to those in non-honor cultures (Cohen et al., 1996). Failing to do so could result in gossip, ostracism, and discrimination (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Wikan, 2008). Sociological studies in India, particularly concerning gender and caste differences, provide some support here (Chakravarti, 2017; Kaur, 2010; Patel, 2016; Rao, 2012; Shahid, 2015). For instance, Kaur (2010) while investigating honor killings, especially in Northern India, found that inter-caste and inter-religious marriages are seen as threats to family honor, often resulting in violence or ostracism of the couple.

Taking all of this into consideration, the study expects native Indians to endorse honor norms and also react to honor threats strongly compared to Germans. These findings, if proven, can support the existing literature on honor and dignity cultural differences in the endorsement of honor norms and responding to honor threats. Yet, this thesis aims to extend the literature in two ways – by including dignity norms and threats, and by adding a special group, migrants from honor to dignity cultures.

So far we have discussed and predicted the cultural differences concerning honor norms and honor threats. We will now look at the aspect of dignity and what predictions can be made, particularly concerning its threats. Countries such as Germany, The Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the Northern United States, and other North-Western European countries have been identified as dignity cultures (Aslani et al., 2016; Harinck et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2010; Krys et al., 2017; Leung & Cohen, 2011; Maitner et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2017; Świdrak et al., 2019; Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Yao et al., 2017) where all people are assumed to have inherent, inalienable worth. Norms in these cultures reciprocally emphasize individual rights and autonomy (Aslani et al., 2016; Maitner et al., 2022) and perceive individuals as rough equals. Given the high importance of valuing individual differences and rights in these cultures, it can be assumed that ***German participants would endorse dignity norms higher than native Indian participants.*** Additionally, ***German participants would perceive a higher societal endorsement of dignity norms in Germany compared to the perceived societal endorsement of native Indian participants in India.*** A point to keep in mind here is that the study does not say Indians would endorse honor norms more than dignity or Germans might endorse dignity norms more than honor. It is equally possible that one group endorsed both norms equally, or that Indians also find dignity norms more important than honor. But when treated as cultural norms and the comparison is between the groups, German participants might endorse dignity norms more than Indians.

Extending this to dignity threats, it would be straightforward to predict that Germans would react strongly to dignity threats compared to native Indian participants. However, in the case of reactions to dignity threats, two competing hypotheses are possible. At first, going by the cultural theory of self-worth (Leung & Cohen, 2011), one can assume that Germans would react strongly to these threats given they threaten the cultural norms that Germans are expected to endorse strongly. However, going by the literature that dignity as an inherent trait is universal

(Ayers, 1984; Wein 2022), it is possible that the groups may not differ significantly in these threat reactions. The conceptualization of threats also offers some insights as to why these competing hypotheses might be in place.

As seen in Chapter 3, the threats to honor are insults to the qualities derived from the analysis in Study I (morality, competence, sociability, and stoicism). Here, it can be hypothesized that Germans may not react so strongly to these insults as compared to Indians, because the literature on dignity cultures suggests that individuals here are socialized to ignore taunts, and those who refrain from retaliation after being provoked are viewed as mature (Cross et al., 2014, Krys et al., 2017). However, in the case of dignity, the threats include exploitation and discrimination based on personal backgrounds. These are not conceptualized as insults but as an attack on individual differences or circumstances, both of which might be equally important across cultural groups. Hence both competing hypotheses are considered probable and the question of dignity threat reactions is left open.

While discussing the conceptualization of threats, it is equally important to see how the reactions to these threats are operationalized in order to identify certain complexities, especially for dignity threats. The study measures threat reactions in three areas, cognitive evaluations, emotional reactions, and behavioral intentions. The choice of these reactions comes from research on honor (Cross et al., 2013; Maitner et al., 2017; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002) more than research on dignity. This is because existing research on dignity threats tend to focus more on how dignity is undermined, particularly in institutional settings (Ball, 2010; Hicks, 2012; Jacobson, 2009; Joolaee et al., 2008; Pollack et al., 2016; Stephen Ekpenyong et al., 2021; Zinko et al., 2022) rather than on how individuals respond to these threats. The cognitive evaluations aim to test how offensive participants found the threats to be and how damaging they found it to their personal, social, and family image. Here, for honor threats, it can be hypothesized that ***native Indian participants would find honor threats more offensive and***

damaging to their personal, social, and family image compared to German participants. In the case of dignity threats, while the study does not make explicit predictions, a point to note is that perceived damage to the image also serves as a manipulation check for both threat types. It is expected that participants across all cultural groups find threats to honor more damaging to their image compared to dignity threats. Since threats to dignity are not expected to threaten participants' image, it could be that there are no group differences in these reactions.

The next reactions include emotional responses measuring anger and respect towards the perpetrator. Here, it can be hypothesized that ***Indian participants would exhibit higher levels of anger and less respect toward the offender compared to German participants for honor threats.*** The final reaction was the likelihood of confronting the perpetrator where it is hypothesized that ***Native Indian participants would confront the perpetrator more than Germans for honor threats.*** Here as well, for both emotional and behavioral reactions no explicit predictions are made for the dignity threats.

Till now we have seen how the two groups, native to honor and dignity cultures are expected to differ in their norm endorsement and threat reactions. The other important group of this study is the migrant group whose predictions have not been made yet. Before doing so, it is important to consider prior, though limited, work on honor and dignity in the context of acculturation and integration.

4.1.2. Honor, dignity, and acculturation

Acculturation involves the transformations in behaviors, values, norms, and identities that immigrants undergo as they engage with members of the dominant group (Berry, 1997, 2017). This process has been widely researched, focusing on how immigrants' attitudes toward their own and the mainstream cultures change and the effects these changes have on their adaptation, social connections, psychological distress, and well-being (Berry, 1997; Esser, 2001; Phinney

et al., 2022; Ward et al., 2001; Yoon et al., 2013). Within this framework, few studies have examined the role of honor in the integration of migrants. Media and public discourse often portray "honor" as fundamentally incompatible with Western values such as individual freedom and gender equality (Korteweg, 2014). Most references to honor in the immigration context focus on honor-related violence, giving the concept a negative connotation among mainstream groups (Korteweg, 2014). Consequently, honor is often viewed as a barrier to the successful integration of immigrants into mainstream culture (Hague et al., 2013).

Despite the media portrayal of honor, very few studies have empirically tested the link between honor and acculturation. Some of these suggest that honor endorsement does not predict adaptation to mainstream culture beyond the commonly studied factors such as economic opportunities and language abilities (Lopez-Zafra & El Ghoudani, 2014; Uskul et al., 2024). A recent study by Uskul and colleagues (2024), tested the association between honor concerns and orientation to mainstream and heritage cultures among migrants from various honor-based societies (European countries e.g., Bulgaria, Italy, countries in South America, Africa, Middle Eastern or South Asian countries e.g., Saudi Arabia, India, etc.). They found that stronger endorsement of honor in the form of concerns and gendered codes was mainly associated with heritage culture but not with reduced mainstream cultural orientation. Moreover, most of these relations became nonsignificant when the commonly studied variables (duration of stay in the host country, religiosity, SES, cultural distance, and perceived visual dissimilarity) were added to the model. In yet another analysis of acculturation strategies and culture of honor among Moroccan women immigrants in Andalucía, Spain; Lopez-Zafra and El Ghoudani (2014) failed to find a significant difference in the endorsement of the culture of honor as a function of immigrants' acculturation strategies. They concluded that "…culture of honor… does not impede them (migrants) in integrating or determining which (acculturation) strategy to follow" (p. 6).

Another line of research explores whether contact with Western culture is associated with a decrease in honor orientation, again with mixed evidence. For instance, Ne'eman-Haviv (2020) found a decrease in honor-killing attitudes only among those Israeli Arab females who adopted the assimilation strategy of Berry's acculturation model. Conversely, Świdrak et al. (2019) found that an internal locus of self-worth predicted life satisfaction among honor-oriented Polish immigrant couples in Norway, irrespective of the acculturation strategy. Their research suggested that the adaptation of host norms is important beyond the chosen acculturation strategy.

Given the limited and mixed findings, this doctoral project aims to offer new insights into the thus-far understudied relationship between acculturation and the endorsement of norms within the honor-dignity paradigm. To date, the literature has primarily focused on the endorsement of honor norms and has tested integration using Berry's psychological model. Here, an extension is in place by including dignity norms and understanding how different aspects of acculturation predict the endorsement of both these norms among migrants. This extension could contribute in two ways – By including dignity norms alongside honor norms, this extension provides a deeper understanding of how migrants reconcile multiple cultural values and norms, particularly in dignity cultures. Second, by seeing which acculturation strategy predicts which norm, we can understand the different roles associated with both these norms. For instance, which norms are predicted by heritage cultural maintenance, which by host adaptation, etc.

For this, two approaches to integration are employed, one being Berry's (1997) psychological model of acculturation (assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization) and the other is Hartmut Esser's (2001) sociological model of integration, which focuses on the host language, economic resources, social relations, and identification to the host country. The need and eventual contribution of using both these approaches is evident in the added complexity it

brings to understanding integration (Mittlestadt & Odag, 2016). While Berry's model emphasizes the adjustment process to both host and home cultures, Esser's approach provides outcome-oriented insights, focusing on practical dimensions such as language proficiency and employment opportunities (Heath & Schneider, 2021; Mittlestadt & Odag, 2016). By using both Berry's and Esser's frameworks, we can gain a fuller understanding of how migrants navigate their new environments and which aspects of acculturation predict their endorsement of honor and dignity norms.

While this study offers clearer predictions for Indian natives and Germans, it remains uncertain whether the migrant group would endorse honor norms lower than or dignity norms higher than Indian natives. Or would their endorsement be similar to German participants? Moreover, will these differences reflect in threat reactions? This uncertainty arises from the contradictory findings and relatively less empirical work on honor, dignity, and acculturation, with an even further lack of studies comparing migrants with natives. Hence the segment with migrants is treated exploratorily through two questions – is migration from honor to dignity cultures associated with any differences in honor and dignity norm endorsement as well as threat reactions? And secondly, which acculturation strategies predict both these norms?

In summary, this chapter seeks to address the second research question of this doctoral project, '*How do the three groups, native Indians, native Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany, differ in their norm endorsement and threats reactions?*' through **four specific objectives** and the research hypotheses aligned with each of them –

1. To test the differences in honor and dignity norm endorsement (both own and perceived) among native Indians, Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany

   H_1 - Native Indian participants would endorse honor norms more strongly than German participants.

H_2 - Native Indian participants would perceive a higher societal endorsement of honor norms in India compared to the perceived honor endorsement of German participants in Germany.

H_3 - German participants would endorse dignity norms more strongly than native Indian participants.

H_4 – German participants would perceive a higher societal endorsement of dignity norms in Germany compared to the perceived dignity endorsement of native Indian participants in India.

The norm endorsement of migrants is treated exploratorily.

2. To test the differences in honor and dignity threat reactions among native Indians, Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany

   H_5 - Native Indian participants would exhibit heightened reactions to honor threats (i.e., finding them more offensive; more damaging to their personal, social, and family image; would be angrier, have lesser respect for the perpetrator, and be more likely to confront the perpetrator) compared to German participants.

   The group differences in reactions to dignity threats are treated exploratorily due to two competing explanations: the cultural theory of self-worth (according to which Germans might react more strongly to dignity threats compared to Indians), and the concept of dignity as an intrinsic universal trait (which implies there may not be significant group differences in reactions to dignity threats).

   Similar to norm endorsement, the reactions of migrants to both honor and dignity threats are examined in an exploratory manner.

3. To see how the four acculturation strategies and the four dimensions of social integration predict honor and dignity norm endorsement among Indian migrants in Germany.

4. To see how the four acculturation strategies and the four dimensions of social integration predict honor and dignity threat reactions among Indian migrants in Germany.

Each of these objectives will be handled separately in the results section. The process of data collection and measurement of each of these variables – honor and dignity norms, reactions to honor and dignity threats, and acculturation and social integration for migrants - is elaborated in chapter three.

4.2. Results

The results section is divided into three parts. The first two parts address the first two objectives of testing group differences in norm endorsement and threat reactions, respectively. Here, a between-group approach is used to compare these norms and reactions among the three groups, rather than comparing the two norms and threats within each group. Any significant differences observed, particularly in the scores of migrants compared to natives, are further explored in the third section of the results. This final section focuses solely on migrants, examining the association of their scores with acculturation strategies and social integration.

4.2.1. Group differences in honor and dignity norm endorsement

The first objective was to test the differences in honor and dignity norm endorsement among native Indians, Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany. These norms were measured at two levels, own and perceived societal endorsement. Since both, honor and dignity measures yielded a bi-factorial structure (see Chapter 3, and appendix Table A3.4), the scores were computed for each sub-dimension as well as the complete general factor.

Descriptive statistics for the ***own norm endorsement*** of all three groups can be seen in Table 4.1. Here, two assumptions were made – Native Indian participants would endorse honor norms

Table 4.1

Mean differences in own endorsement of honor and dignity norms

Norms	Cultural groups			
	Indians in Germany	**Native Indians**	**Native Germans**	
	M (SD)	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***F***
Self honor	4.94 (1.07)***	4.88 (1.09)***	3.26 (0.45)	336.35***
Family honor	5.14 (1.36)***	4.94 (1.17)***	3.40 (0.69)	227.72***
Honor total	**5.04 (1.06)*** **	**4.90 (1.01)*** **	**3.33 (0.40)**	**364.80*** **
Other-oriented dignity	5.89 (1.02)**	5.55 (0.78)	5.90 (0.68)**	19.20**
Self-oriented dignity	5.90 (1.22)**	5.54 (0.77)	6.22 (0.55)**	44.30**
Dignity total	**5.90 (1.03)** **	**5.54 (0.70)**	**6.06 (0.55)** **	**34.90** **

Note: The bolded values represent the overall factor for honor and dignity norms. Asterisks are used to indicate which means are significantly higher than others in the table. For example, under honor norms, the means for both Indian groups are significantly higher than the mean for the German group.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

more strongly than German participants, and vice-versa for dignity norms. No specific predictions were made with regard to migrants. A simple one-way ANOVA was performed to test the significance of group differences in the endorsement of these norms among the three cultural groups. In the case of honor norms, it can be seen that native Indian participants scored significantly higher on honor norm endorsement in both self and family honor compared to German participants which provides support for hypothesis H_1. However, Indian migrant participants scored significantly higher on both these dimensions of honor compared to native Indian and German participants. Regarding dignity norms, native German participants scored significantly higher on both self and other-oriented dignity norms compared to native Indian

participants. This supports hypothesis H_3 regarding dignity norm endorsement. However, Indian migrant participants scored significantly higher on dignity norm endorsement compared to the native Indian participants.

Next, the descriptive statistics for ***perceived societal norms*** are presented in Table 4.2. Here as well, the group differences were tested using a one-way ANOVA. It was assumed that native Indian participants would perceive honor norms to be endorsed higher in India compared to what German participants would perceive in Germany. The opposite prediction was tested for German participants. Again, no specific predictions were made for the migrant group.

Table 4.2

Mean differences in perceived endorsement of honor and dignity norms

	Cultural groups			
	Indians in Germany	**Native Indians**	**Native Germans**	
Norms	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***F***
Self honor	4.79(1.03)***	5.64(0.84)***	3.49(0.62)	217.06***
Family honor	5.4(1.07)***	5.96(0.80)***	3.82(0.59)	337.07***
Honor total	**5.09(0.91)***	**5.8(0.68)***	**3.65(0.41)**	**338.77***
Other-oriented dignity	5.07(1.04)***	3.65(0.88)	5.09(0.68)***	69.3***
Self-oriented dignity	5.42(1.43)***	3.89(0.93)	4.73(0.71)***	59.18***
Dignity total	**5.24(1.11)***	**3.77(0.80)**	**4.91(0.60)***	**20.39****

Note: The bolded values represent the overall factor for perceived honor and dignity norms. Asterisks are used to indicate which means are significantly higher than others. For example, under honor norms, the means for both Indian groups are significantly higher than the mean for the German group.
** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

It can be seen that the perceived societal endorsement of native Indian participants for India is significantly higher than that of German participants for Germany This is true for both the dimensions, self and family honor, which is in line with hypothesis H_2. Here, Indian migrant participants perceived honor norms to be endorsed less in Germany compared to the perceived endorsement of native Indian participants for India. However, the perceived scores of Indian migrant participants are still higher than those of German participants. With regards to perceived dignity norms, German participants perceived a higher endorsement of them in Germany compared to native Indian participants in India. This is also in line with the hypothesis H_4. However, Indian migrant participants perceived a higher endorsement of dignity norms in Germany, even higher than German participants.

In addition to examining the endorsement of both own and perceived norms across the three cultural groups, demographic variables were also tested for differences in norm endorsement. Among these, gender differences were significant. A two-way ANOVA was conducted with gender and culture as the two factors and norm endorsement as the dependent variable. The analysis was conducted for every norm separately. Results indicated that, for both own and perceived endorsement of honor norms, male participants scored higher than female participants across the three groups, while no gender differences were observed for dignity endorsement. Since gender was not the primary focus of this study, these findings are not discussed in detail; however, the descriptive statistics and mean differences are provided in Appendix Tables A4.1 and A4.2 for further reference.

To summarize the findings of the ***first objective***, the own and perceived endorsement of honor norms is higher in native Indian participants compared to German participants and vice versa is true for dignity norms, both of which are in line with the hypotheses. Notably, Indian migrant participants scored significantly higher on own endorsement of honor and dignity norms

compared to native Indian participants and on perceived societal endorsement of these norms in Germany compared to native German participants.

4.2.2. Group differences in reactions to honor and dignity threats

The second objective was to test the group differences in reactions to honor and dignity threats. At first, the group differences in reactions to all four honor threats taken together were tested using a one-way ANOVA (see Table 4.3). Here, it was hypothesized that native Indian participants would react to honor threats more severely than German participants (H_5). That is, they would find these threats more offensive, and damaging to their image (personal, social, and family), would be angry, would respect the perpetrator less, and would be more likely to confront the perpetrator.

Table 4.3

Mean differences in reactions to all honor threats taken together

	Cultural groups			
	Indians in Germany	**Native Indians**	**Native Germans**	
Reactions	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***F***
Offensive	5.00(1.02)***	4.66(0.85)***	4.31(0.63)	112.06***
Personal Image	3.26(1.22)***	3.08(0.66)***	2.5(0.44)	131.97***
Social Image	4.38(1.21)***	3.98(0.71)***	3.03(0.49)	397.46***
Family Image	3.76(1.09)***	3.88(0.84)***	2.36(0.40)	358.45***
Anger	4.67(1.05)**	4.67(0.86)**	4.00(0.54)	98.63**
Respect	3.39(1.02)***	3.04(0.51)	3.05(0.35)	46.68***
Confront	4.98(0.82)***	4.23(0.57)***	3.68(0.49)	662.26***

Note: Asterisks are used to indicate which means are significantly higher than others in the table.
** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

The perusal of Table 4.3 provides support for all of these with one exception, there was no significant difference in the extent to which they would respect the perpetrator. Further, a look at the scores of migrant participants suggests that with the exception of perceived damage to the family image and respect for the perpetrator, rest all reactions to honor threats are stronger in the migrant sample compared to Indian native participants. Indian migrant participants found honor threats less damaging to their family image and had more respect for the perpetrator.

Next, it was tested if the type of honor threat (morality, competence, sociability, and stoicism) also plays a role in the reactions of these three groups by using a two-way ANOVA with threat type and culture as the two independent factors. The analysis was carried out for each of the threat reactions separately. The scores of each group for each threat are presented in Table 4.4.

The bolded values indicate the average responses of all participants for each honor threat. The main effect of threat type was significant for all reactions, except confrontation. Threat to morality was seen to be most damaging for social (*M(SD)* = 4.11(1.1), $F(3,978) = 81.7$, $p<0.001$) and family image (*M(SD)* = 3.58(1.1), $F(3,978) = 41.7$, $p<0.001$) with more anger for the perpetrator (*M(SD)* = 4.57(1.2), $F(3,978) = 38.4$, $p<0.001$), while the threat to competence was seen to be most offensive (*M(SD)* = 4.92 (1.3), $F(3,978) = 78.6$, $p<0.001$) and damaging personal image (*M(SD)* = 3.18 (1.11), $F(3,978) = 14.3$, $p<0.001$). The main effect of culture was stronger across all reactions compared to the effect of threat type. There was an interaction between the threat type and culture for the reaction of perceived offensiveness ($F(6,978) = 48.9$, $p<0.001$) where native Indian participants found the threat to stoicism more offensive, while Germans and Indian migrants found the threat to competency more offensive.

Overall, the reactions to honor threats were more severe in the Indian migrant group compared to native Indian and German groups. The threats to morality and competence have elicited stronger reactions among the three groups of participants compared to the other two threats.

Table 4.4 – *Mean differences in reactions to each honor threat across the three groups*

		Morality	Competence	Sociability	Stoicism			
Reaction	**Cultural Groups**	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	$F_{3,978}$ **(Threat type)**	$F_{2,978}$ **(Culture)**	$F_{6,978}$ **(Threat type*Culture)**
Offensive	Migrants	5.04(1.4)	5.07(1.5)	4.88(1.3)	4.99(1.3)	78.6***	192.5***	48.9***
	Indians	4.79(1.7)	4.6(1.3)	4.33(1.2)	4.91(1.3)			
	Germans	4.47(0.8)	5.13(1.0)	3.96(0.9)	3.66(1.1)			
	All	**4.77(1.1)**	**4.92(1.3)**	**4.39(1.1)**	**4.52(1.2)**			
Damage to Personal Image	Migrants	3.32(1.7)	3.56(1.5)	2.95(1.3)	3.23(1.6)	14.3**	240.7***	<1.00
	Indians	2.85(1.2)	3.32(1.0)	2.99(0.9)	3.18(1.0)			
	Germans	2.04(0.7)	3.09(0.7)	2.59(0.9)	2.28(0.8)			
	All	**2.81(1.2)**	**3.18(1.1)**	**2.84(1.0)**	**2.94(1.1)**			
Damage to Social Image	Migrants	4.53(1.5)	4.36(1.5)	4.62(1.5)	4.03(1.6)	81.7***	725.8***	3.5
	Indians	4.57(1.1)	3.68(1.1)	3.63(1.1)	4.02(1.1)			
	Germans	3.25(0.8)	3.19(0.7)	3.11(1.1)	2.58(0.8)			
	All	**4.11(1.1)**	**3.74(1.1)**	**3.78(1.2)**	**3.54(1.1)**			
Damage to Family Image	Migrants	3.95(1.5)	3.53(1.5)	3.22(1.4)	3.33(1.7)	41.7***	669.1***	3.1
	Indians	3.91(1.3)	3.84(1.2)	3.42(1.1)	3.86(1.2)			
	Germans	2.91(0.6)	2.20(0.8)	2.22(0.7)	2.14(0.8)			
	All	**3.58(1.1)**	**3.19(1.2)**	**2.95(1.1)**	**3.11 (1.2)**			
Angry	Migrants	4.75(1.5)	4.76(1.4)	4.43(1.5)	4.72(1.4)	38.4***	169.0***	3.7
	Indians	4.75(1.1)	4.55(1.3)	4.62(1.2)	4.70(1.2)			
	Germans	4.23(0.9)	4.44(1.0)	4.05(0.8)	3.28(0.9)			
	All	**4.57(1.2)**	**4.52(1.2)**	**4.36(1.2)**	**4.25(1.2)**			
Respect	Migrants	3.65(1.4)	3.35(1.2)	3.15(1.2)	3.43(1.4)	30.5***	79.3***	<1.00
	Indians	3.30(1.0)	2.87(0.9)	3.11(0.8)	2.88(0.8)			
	Germans	3.25(0.5)	2.77(0.5)	3.23(0.8)	2.88(0.6)			
	All	**3.40(1.0)**	**2.99(0.9)**	**3.16(0.9)**	**3.06(1.0)**			
Confront	Migrants	5.03(1.6)	4.87(1.9)	4.9(2.0)	5.16(1.5)	<1.00	467.9***	4.2
	Indians	4.09(1.4)	4.36(1.5)	4.41(1.3)	4.04(1.3)			
	Germans	3.85(1.7)	3.5(1.2)	3.89(1.2)	3.47(1.1)			
	All	**4.32(1.6)**	**4.24(1.5)**	**4.40(1.5)**	**4.22(1.3)**			

Upon understanding the group differences in reactions to honor threats, a similar analysis was conducted to test the group differences in reactions to dignity threats. At first, the group differences in reactions to all four dignity threats taken together were tested using a one-way ANOVA (see Table 4.5). Here, there were two competing hypotheses. At first, it was hypothesized that German participants would react strongly to these threats given they threaten the norms (dignity norms) that German participants are expected to endorse more. Or it was assumed that there would be no significant cultural differences since dignity as an intrinsic trait is important universally. Hence a threat to this trait might evoke similar responses across cultures.

Table 4.5

Mean differences in reactions to all dignity threats taken together

	Cultural groups			
	Indians in Germany	**Native Indian**	**Native German**	
Reactions	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***F***
Offensive	4.52(1.04)**	4.32(0.76)	5.13(0.39)**	86.07**
Personal Image	2.66(0.90)**	2.77(0.60)**	2.44(0.39)	18.38**
Social Image	2.70(0.8)***	2.78(0.66)***	2.08(0.36)	205.4***
Family Image	2.06(0.83)**	2.22(0.68)**	1.54(0.27)	99.42**
Anger	4.58(1.19)	4.51(0.73)	4.94(0.35)**	26.32**
Respect	3.53(0.97)**	2.74(0.52)	3.17(0.38)**	53.94**
Confront	4.32(0.88)	4.37(0.69)	4.94(0.58)***	111.3***

Note: Asterisks are used to indicate which means are significantly higher than others in the table.
** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 4.5 shows mixed findings concerning dignity threat reactions. German participants found these threats to be more offensive, were angrier, and more likely to confront the perpetrator

compared to native Indian participants. However, native Indian participants found the threats more damaging to their image (personal, social, and family) and were less likely to respect the perpetrator. These findings provide partial support to one of the competing hypotheses that German participants would react to dignity threats more strongly compared to native Indians. Concerning the migrant group, their reactions are similar to German participants, such that they found these threats to be more offensive, were angrier, and more likely to confront the perpetrator compared to native Indian participants. They have also found these threats less damaging to their image compared to native Indian participants.

Akin to honor threats, for dignity threats as well, the effects of threat type with culture in a two-way ANOVA with threat type and culture as the two factors whose effects were tested separately with each threat reaction as the dependent variable. The scores of each group for each threat type along with their significance scores are presented in Table 4.6. The bolded values indicate the overall responses of all participants for each dignity threat.

The main effect of threat type was significant for almost all reactions, except respect for the perpetrator. Unpaid labor was seen to be most offensive (*M(SD)*= 4.80(1.18), $F(3,978) = 11.24$, $p<0.01$), damaging personal image (*M(SD)* = 2.92 (1.11), $F(3,978) = 52.1$, $p<0.001$), and eliciting anger (*M(SD)* = 4.95 (1.14), $F(3,978) = 76.5$, $p<0.001$), while discrimination based on family SES was seen to be damaging to family image (*M(SD)*= 2.25 (0.99), $F(3,978) = 57.9$, $p<0.001$), and eliciting higher likelihood of confrontation (*M(SD)* = 4.88 (1.36), $F(3,978) = 9.7$, $p<0.05$). The main effect of culture was stronger across all reactions compared to the effect of threat type. There is an interaction between the threat type and culture for the reactions of offensiveness ($F(6,978) = 45.3$, $p<0.001$), anger ($F(6,978) = 42.5$, $p<0.001$), and respect for the perpetrator ($F(6,978) = 52.17$, $p<0.001$) where reactions of native Germans and Indians are stronger for unpaid labor while those of migrants are stronger for discrimination based on age.

Table 4.6 – *Mean differences in reactions to each dignity threat across the three groups*

		Unpaid labor	Underpayment	Discri_SES	Descr_Age			
Reaction	**Group**	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	$F_{3,978}$ **(Threat type)**	$F_{2,978}$ **(Culture)**	$F_{6,978}$ **(Threat type*Culture)**
Offensive	Migrants	4.22(1.4)	4.55(1.7)	4.38(1.6)	4.92(1.4)	11.24**	139.3***	45.3***
	Indians	4.77(1.1)	4.05(1.2)	4.27(0.9)	4.19(1.2)			
	Germans	5.59(1.0)	5.01(0.7)	4.78(0.8)	5.12(0.5)			
	All	**4.80(1.1)**	**4.53(1.2)**	**4.47(1.1)**	**4.74(1.0)**			
Damage to Personal Image	Migrants	2.68(1.3)	2.35(1.3)	2.70(1.2)	2.92(1.4)	52.1***	24.0**	5.5
	Indians	3.19(1.1)	2.80(0.7)	2.47(1.0)	2.61(0.9)			
	Germans	2.90(0.8)	2.21(0.9)	2.13(0.5)	2.51(0.7)			
	All	**2.92(1.1)**	**2.45(1.0)**	**2.43(0.9)**	**2.68(1.0)**			
Damage to Social Image	Migrants	2.55(1.2)	2.40(1.2)	2.83(1.2)	3.35(1.4)	80.1***	264.2***	4.8
	Indians	2.90(1.3)	2.56(0.9)	2.68(1.0)	2.68(1.1)			
	Germans	2.59(0.8)	1.47(0.6)	2.17(0.5)	2.10(0.5)			
	All	**2.68(1.1)**	**2.14(0.9)**	**2.56(0.9)**	**2.71(1.0)**			
Damage to Family Image	Migrants	1.97(1.0)	1.83(0.9)	2.41(1.4)	2.02(1.0)	57.9***	178.4***	5.3
	Indians	2.17(1.0)	1.96(0.8)	2.47(1.0)	2.29(0.9)			
	Germans	1.57(0.7)	1.15(0.3)	1.88(0.5)	1.54(0.5)			
	All	**1.90(0.9)**	**1.64(0.7)**	**2.25(0.9)**	**1.95(0.8)**			
Angry	Migrants	4.28(1.4)	4.31(1.7)	4.80(1.7)	4.95(1.4)	76.5***	49.5***	42.5***
	Indians	5.17(1.0)	4.24(1.2)	4.23(1.0)	4.39(1.2)			
	Germans	5.41(0.9)	4.53(0.5)	4.86(0.7)	4.95(0.7)			
	All	**4.95(1.1)**	**4.36(1.1)**	**4.63(1.1)**	**4.76(1.1)**			
Respect	Migrants	3.83(1.4)	3.45(1.5)	3.61(1.4)	3.04(1.3)	<1.00	77.14***	52.17***
	Indians	2.75(1.0)	2.57(0.7)	2.96(0.8)	2.80(0.8)			
	Germans	2.85(0.9)	3.49(0.5)	3.07(0.6)	3.27(0.7)			
	All	**3.14(1.1)**	**3.17(0.9)**	**3.09(0.9)**	**3.18(0.9)**			
Confront	Migrants	3.96(1.5)	4.31(1.6)	4.84(1.6)	4.20(1.6)	9.7*	117.1***	<1.00
	Indians	3.98(1.3)	4.60(1.2)	4.74(1.2)	4.16(1.4)			
	Germans	4.87(1.1)	5.04(1.1)	5.06(1.2)	4.78(1.2)			
	All	**4.27(1.3)**	**4.65(1.3)**	**4.88(1.3)**	**4.38(1.4)**			

Overall, native German participants found dignity threats to be most offensive, were angrier, and more likely to confront the perpetrator. However, native Indian participants found them to be most damaging to their image. Native Indian participants were also less likely to respect the perpetrator. Unpaid labor and discrimination based on family SES yielded stronger reactions compared to the other two threats.

To conclude, the ***second objective*** of this study was to assess group differences in reactions to honor and dignity threats. As anticipated, native Indian participants exhibited stronger reactions to honor threats compared to German participants. However, Indian migrant participants demonstrated stronger reactions than native Indian participants, except for perceived damage to the family image. Specifically, threats to morality and competence elicited the strongest responses. Regarding dignity threats, German participants showed stronger reactions in terms of perceived offensiveness, anger, and the likelihood of confronting the perpetrator. In contrast, native Indian participants reported higher levels of perceived damage to the image and lesser respect for the perpetrator. Reactions from the Indian migrant sample generally fell between those of native Indian and German participants. Among the different threats examined, unpaid labor and discrimination based on family SES elicited stronger reactions across all groups.

4.2.3. Acculturation and social integration

A notable finding from the above two objectives was that migrant participants scored higher on both honor and dignity norm endorsement as well as threat reactions compared to the native Indian participants. Given this, the next two objectives were to see how the four acculturation strategies from Berry's (1997) model and the four dimensions of Esser's (2001) social integration model predict norm endorsement and threat reactions among Indian migrants in Germany.

To start with, the scores of the Indian migrant group on both Berry's model and Esser's dimensions are presented in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 respectively. Among the four strategies of Berry's acculturation model, Indian migrant participants scored highest on the strategy of separation followed by integration, and their least preferred strategy was assimilation. Gender differences in these strategies were not significant.

Table 4.7

Means scores for acculturation strategies on Berry's model

	Gender		
	Males	**Females**	**All**
Strategies	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	***M(SD)***
Assimilation	3.00(1.05)	2.88(0.64)	2.93(0.86)
Separation	4.47(1.34)	4.46(0.88)	4.46(1.12)
Integration	4.65(0.84)	4.00(0.55)	4.32(0.82)
Marginalization	3.65(1.52)	3.15(1.17)	3.38(1.36)

For Esser's dimensions, the questions asked to measure each dimension differed in their response format which is elaborated on in Table 4.8. For acculturation, proficiency in the German language was asked. Almost all participants rated their language skills to be in the middle range (*M(SD)* = 3.58(1.41)) on a 7-point scale (1 – very weak to 7- very fluent). The next two dimensions were those of placement and interaction for which the response format was categorical. Placement measures the economic positioning of the migrants. Almost all the participants were students, hence the questions in this dimension that are taken for analysis include their employment status (part-time, if any) and the socio-economic status of the family of origin. About 86 % of participants are employed (part-time, with average working hours of

Table 4.8

Frequencies and scores on Esser's four dimensions of social integration

Dimension		**Gender**		
		Male	Female	All
Placement		*No. (%)*	*No. (%)*	*No. (%)*
Employment	Yes	136 (83)	166 (88)	302 (86)
	No	27 (16)	21 (11)	48 (13)
SES	Low income	9 (5.5)	0	9 (2.27)
	Low – Middle income	20 (12.3)	1 (0.5)	21 (6)
	Middle income	92 (56.4)	47 (25.1)	139 (39.7)
	Middle – High income	34 (20.9)	120 (64.2)	154 (44)
	High income	3 (1.8)	13 (6.9)	16 (4.57)
Acculturation		*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*
Language proficiency		3.87(1.59)	3.51 (1.21)	3.58(1.41)
Identification		*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*	*M(SD)*
Emotional attachment to Germany		4.58(1.4)	4.51(1.68)	4.51(1.56)
Interaction		*No. (%)*	*No. (%)*	*No. (%)*
German Friends	1-2	58 (35.5)	18 (9.5)	76 (21.62)
	3-4	62(38.4)	101 (53.94)	163 (46.5)
	5 and above	43 (26.38)	68 (36.36)	111 (31.71)
Friends of other ethnicity	Yes	145 (88.9)	178 (95.19)	323 (92.29)
	No	18 (11.04)	9 (4.8)	27 (7.74)

11-20 hours a week). More females are employed than males. Almost all participants (83.7%) belong to middle or middle-high-income families, with more females belonging to higher-income families. For interaction, participants indicated the approximate number of German friends they have and whether they have friends of another ethnicity. Almost all participants have more than 3-4 German friends, with females indicating more friends than males. More females also indicated having friends of other ethnicities. Lastly, for the dimension of identification, participants rated their emotional attachment to Germany, with an average score (*M(SD))* of 4.51(1.56) on a seven-point-Likert scale suggesting a moderate to high attachment.

When seeing both Berry's and Esser's models in combination, these findings suggest that this group of migrant students prioritizes maintaining their heritage culture (as reflected in their high scores on the separation strategy) while still participating moderately in the host society (seen in their moderate language proficiency, social connections with Germans, and moderate attachment to Germany).

Upon understanding the relative standing of the migrant group on each of the acculturation strategies, the next step was to understand how these are associated with their norm endorsements and threat reactions. In doing so, a series of linear regression analyses were conducted. First, the analyses were conducted with norm endorsements as the outcome variables (Table 4.9) and all Berry's strategies (assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization) and Esser's dimensions (language, employment, family SES, ethnic friends, German friends, and emotional attachment to Germany) as the predictors.

As seen in Table 4.9, through the regression analysis it was found that only integration positively predicted both honor and dignity norm endorsement, own and perceived, among Indian migrants in Germany. This implies that choosing to maintain heritage culture as well as adapt to host culture is associated with the endorsement of both honor and dignity norms. Other

Table 4.9

Acculturation and integration strategies as predictors of own and perceived norms

	Honor norms		**Dignity norms**		**Perceived honor**		**Perceived dignity**	
R^2	0.12		0.09		0.18		0.11	
	ß	*t*	*ß*	*t*	*ß*	*t*	*ß*	*t*
Assimilation	-0.02	-0.39	0.02	0.44	-0.15	-2.67**	0.01	0.17
Separation	0.18	3.20**	0.09	1.67	-0.01	-0.18	-0.04	-0.8
Integration	**0.16**	**2.68****	**0.16**	**2.66****	**0.19**	**3.40****	**0.21**	**3.53****
Marginalization	-0.06	-1.20	-0.06	-1.11	-0.12	-2.19**	0.17	3.08**
Language	**0.12**	**2.30****	**0.14**	**2.55****	**0.14**	**2.81****	**0.11**	**2.10****
Employed	0.05	0.94	-0.02	-0.40	0.10	1.17	0.09	1.20
Family_SES	0.05	0.88	0.07	1.26	-0.06	-1.11	0.05	1.09
Ethnic_Friends	0.08	1.56	0.17	3.20**	0.06	1.29	0.12	2.39**
German_Friends	-0.13	-2.43**	-0.01	-0.19	-0.165	-3.07**	0.014	0.25
Emot_Attch_Germany	0.24	4.44***	-0.07	-1.33	-0.01	-0.23	0.10	1.84

***Note*:** Emot_Attch_Germany = Emotional Attachment to Germany, *ß* – standardized regression coefficients; *t* = t-value, The bolded values represent the coefficients of predictors that have significantly predicted all the outcome variables, which in this case are Integration and Language skills.

**$p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

than integration, some more predictions have turned out to be significant. For instance, in own endorsement, separation predicted honor norms positively, suggesting that maintaining Indian culture is associated with higher honor endorsement. In perceived societal endorsement, assimilation and marginalization predicted perceived honor norms negatively, which means that choosing to only maintain the host culture or not keeping any cultural ties is associated with a reduced perception of honor endorsement. Finally, marginalization predicted perceived

dignity positively indicating that not keeping any cultural ties is associated with an increased perception of dignity.

The predictions from Esser's dimensions offer additional information. Only language competencies predicted both honor and dignity norms positively, in a similar way as the integration dimension in Berry's model. Further, Social interaction predicted norm endorsement in different directions. Having friends of other ethnicities positively predicted own and perceived dignity, whereas having German friends negatively predicted own and perceived honor endorsement. Finally, emotional attachment to Germany positively predicted own honor endorsement.

Upon seeing which strategies predict both honor and dignity norm endorsement, in the next step, the regression analysis was conducted with threat reactions as the outcome variables (see Table 4.10). However, here, only the perceived damage to the personal, social, and family image were included as the outcome variables since only these turned out to be significantly related to the acculturation strategies (See Appendix Table A4.4 and A4.5 for the correlations). As seen in Table 4.10, almost all of Berry's strategies positively predicted perceived damage to the image. Moreover, from Esser's dimensions, only social interaction (both having friends of other ethnicities and specifically, German friends) predicted these responses positively. Both these findings together suggest that concern for the image might be prevalent in any social interaction irrespective of the strategies chosen to integrate in the host country.

In conclusion, the third and fourth objectives of this study sought to explore whether the way migrants choose to integrate into the host society is associated with their endorsement of norms and reactions to threats. Specifically, the study aimed to identify which acculturation strategies predict certain norm endorsements and threat reactions. For norm endorsement, the findings

. **Table 4.10 -** *Acculturation and integration strategies as predictors of perceived damage to the image*

	Honor threats						**Dignity threats**					
	Personal Image		**Social Image**		**Family Image**		**Personal Image**		**Social Image**		**Family Image**	
R^2	0.52		0.14		0.22		0.18		0.18		0.20	
	ß	*t*	*ß*	*t*	*ß*	*t*	*ß*	*t*	*ß*	*t*	*ß*	*t*
Assimilation	0.31	5.48***	0.09	1.92*	0.28	5.14***	0.16	2.86**	0.05	0.87	0.16	2.59**
Separation	0.16	3.00***	0.30	5.36***	0.13	2.45***	0.09	1.91*	0.25	4.71***	0.09	1.86*
Integration	0.10	1.96*	0.09	1.86*	0.03	0.61	0.04	0.84	0.08	1.6*	0.08	1.67*
Marginalization	0.12	2.35***	0.03	0.64	0.12	2.34***	0.29	5.39***	0.25	4.72***	0.27	5.06***
Language	0.07	1.27	0.06	1.12	0.04	1.00	0.00	0.88	-0.01	-0.20	-0.06	-1.26
Employed	0.00	0.46	0.07	1.25	0.06	1.15	0.04	1.54	0.03	0.59	0.00	0.16
Family_SES	0.03	0.58	0.07	1.23	-0.05	-1.10	0.07	1.25	0.06	1.18	0.08	1.00
Ethnic_Friends	0.19	3.73***	0.16	2.14***	0.09	1.68*	0.05	0.99	0.09	1.80*	0.15	3.04***
German_Friends	0.08	1.64*	0.10	1.82*	0.11	2.13**	0.08	1.50*	0.14	2.76**	0.02	0.38
Emot_Attch_Germany	-0.06	-1.20	0.05	1.23	0.07	1.40	-0.04	-0.16	-0.04	-0.91	-0.03	-0.60

Note: Attch_Germany = Emotional Attachment to Germany *ß* – standardized regression coefficients; *t* = t-value

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

suggest a pattern - maintaining own cultural identity is associated with the endorsement of honor norms while adapting to the host culture is linked to the endorsement of dignity norms. The integration strategy from Berry's acculturation model and language proficiency from Esser's social integration model positively predicted both honor and dignity norms. In terms of threat reactions, nearly all of Berry's acculturation strategies, as well as social interaction from Esser's model, positively predicted perceived damage to the image, suggesting a concern for image preservation across various strategies for integrating into the host culture.

4.3. Discussion

This study aimed to understand the differences in norm endorsement and threat reactions among native Indians, Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany. In doing so, it had four objectives. We will now discuss the obtained findings taking these objectives and the related hypotheses into consideration.

4.3.1. Endorsement of honor and dignity norms

The ***first objective*** was to test the differences in honor and dignity norm endorsement (both own and perceived) among native Indians, Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany. Here, it was assumed that native Indian participants would endorse honor norms more strongly than German participants, and vice-versa was assumed for dignity norm endorsement. Both these hypotheses were was supported in this data set. These findings are in line with the literature on honor and dignity cultural differences, where participants from honor cultures such as Spain (Rodriquez Mosquera et al., 2002a, 2002b), Turkey (Cross et al., 2014; Uskul, et al., 2012), Poland (Swidrak et al., 2019), Arab (Maitner et al., 2017, 2022), Southern United States (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Cohen et al., 1996; Barnes et al., 2012), etc. have scored higher on the variables of honor (such as concerns, values, etc.) compared to their dignity culture counterparts such as the Netherlands, Northern United States., Norway, the United Kingdom,

etc. The significantly higher endorsement of dignity norms by German participants is also in line with the relatively higher importance given to aspects such as self-determination, personal rights, and individual autonomy in the cultural logic of dignity (Aslani et al., 2016; Leung & Cohen, 2011; Maitner et al., 2022). The current findings also provide quantitative support to the qualitative analysis of Study I.

An important group of Study II was the Indian migrants in Germany for whom no specific predictions were made. However, two questions were framed which can guide this discussion. The first was whether migration can be associated with any differences in the endorsement of honor and dignity norms. For this, the cross-sectional approach of this study compared their norm endorsement with that of both the native groups. Concerning their own endorsement, Indian migrants endorsed both honor and dignity norms more than the native Indian participants. This difference in scores from Indian natives implies that migration could be at play here. There are several explanations to associate this difference in scores with the process of migration. Lönnqvist et al. (2011) studied personal values before and after migration among Ingrian–Finnish migrants from Russia to Finland, discovering higher universalism and security values post-migration. This finding can also explain the higher endorsement of honor and dignity norms among migrants. The higher honor endorsement may be linked to a greater need for security. According to Schwartz (1992), security values aim to reduce uncertainty and maintain safety and stability. Migration can be a stressful experience with many uncertainties, such as financial insecurity and housing issues (Kirkcaldy et al., 2005), which could heighten the need for safety and stability. This need could manifest in conformity to tradition and adherence to in-group norms and practices (Lönnqvist et al., 2011). Similarly, higher dignity norms may be associated with an increase in universalism post-migration. Schwartz (1992) notes that universalism is crucial for tolerance and the protection of the welfare of all people. In the migration context, greater intergroup contact and a heightened sense of social justice—

stemming from personal and others' national or ethnic backgrounds—could amplify the importance of universalism (Lönnqvist et al., 2011) and hence dignity.

With regards to perceived societal norms, migrant participants perceive both honor and dignity norms to be endorsed higher in Germany compared to native German participants. Naujoks (2022) suggests that migrants, especially in their early years of migration, perceive the host country through the lens of their heritage norms and values. Many of the students surveyed have spent approximately two years in Germany and may have been to India during this time, which could influence their perceptions of honor norms in Germany. They also perceive dignity norms to be endorsed in Germany even more than the native Germans. Migrants often enter a new cultural context with heightened sensitivity to societal norms, as these norms are critical for their adaptation and integration. This heightened awareness could lead to an overestimation of the importance of these norms in the host culture (Rudmin, 2009). Migrants may feel that adhering to these norms is essential for social acceptance and success in the host country, leading to their perception that these norms are more strongly endorsed than they might be among native Germans. This perception might be driven by a desire to fit in or to avoid negative social consequences in a new environment (Rudmin, 2009).

As we discuss honor and dignity endorsement among migrant participants, we will supplement these findings with those from the ***third objective***, which examined these norms through acculturation strategies and social integration dimensions. This objective addresses the second question posed for the migrant group: if migration can be associated with differences in norm endorsement, how can these differences be explained by their acculturation strategies? This focus is particularly important because both honor and dignity norms were considered, and the study aimed to identify which strategies predicted either or both of them. We will continue focusing on norm endorsements before addressing threat reactions (objectives two and four) separately.

Study II used two approaches to acculturation by including the four strategies of Berry's (1997) psychological model of acculturation along with the four dimensions of Esser's (2001) social integration model. All these eight were treated as predictors of migrants' norm endorsements. From Berry's model, only integration predicted both honor and dignity norms positively. Integration, as explained by Berry (1997, 2017) refers to the strategy where individuals maintain their original cultural identity while also engaging with and participating in the larger society. This implies a bicultural orientation which is reflected in the norm endorsement of the migrant group in this study. The acculturation scale used in Study II measured integration through items such as "I have both Indian and German friends", "I feel comfortable around both Indians and Germans", etc. suggesting that exposure to both Indian and German groups is associated with the endorsement of both these norms among migrants. This is in line with other findings on integration and well-being among migrants (Chow, 2007; Gniewosz & Noack, 2015; Wei & Gao, 2017). For instance, Chow (2007) demonstrated that a sense of belonging among Hong Kong adolescent immigrants in Canada is significantly associated with their integration, reflecting positive adherence to both home and host norms.

Another finding from Berry's model was the positive prediction of honor endorsement by the separation strategy. This supports one-half of the integration finding by confirming that associations with the home community are positively related to honor endorsement. The items that measured the separation strategy in Study II indicated spending more time with Indians over Germans (e.g., My closest friends are Indians, I prefer going to social gatherings where most people are Indians, etc.). Some support for this finding comes from the work by Uskul et al. (2024) who found that stronger endorsement of honor in the form of concerns and gendered codes was mainly associated with heritage cultural orientation, although their work does not treat heritage orientation as similar to separation.

Concerning perceived endorsement of norms, here as well, integration predicted the perception of both honor and dignity norms positively suggesting a balanced approach, allowing individuals to value their own cultural norms while appreciating the aspects of the host culture (Phinney et al., 2022; Sam & Berry, 2010). Higher perceptions of honor norms could be linked to the higher number of Indian communities in Germany (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2021; 2022), which migrants may be part of. The perceived endorsement of honor might reflect these community norms rather than those of German society as a whole. Moreover, Germany receives migrants from many countries that fall in the bracket of honor cultures, for instance, from Middle Eastern, South Asian, and Eastern European countries, etc. (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2021). Higher perceptions of honor norms among Indian migrants could be linked to the norms and values of these international migrants. Conversely, perceived dignity norms may reflect the values and norms of their German colleagues or batchmates, as migrants could generalize these norms from even limited interactions with host community members (Güngör et al., 2012).

Two more findings were seen in addition to that of integration in perceived norms. Assimilation and marginalization negatively predicted perceived honor. This suggests that fully adopting the host culture (assimilation) or not adopting any (marginalization) is related to a lower perception of societal endorsement of honor norms in Germany. This could be due to several factors such as a perceived lack of support for honor norms in the broader German society, lacking strong ties to their heritage culture, missing out on the reinforcement of honor norms that typically occurs within tight-knit ethnic communities, cultural isolation in the case of marginalization and lacking a clearer framework of social norms, etc. While saying this, a caution is in place. It is important to see that this relationship can also be the other way around. In this analysis, acculturation strategies were studied as predictors to see if the way migrants choose to integrate can predict their endorsement. But it could also be that they may not assimilate, given a higher

number of Indian communities and friends in Germany who might reinforce a higher perception of honor endorsement. Assimilation occurs when individuals do not wish to maintain their original cultural identity and instead seek to fully participate in the dominant society (Berry, 1997). This is also associated with certain negative outcomes for immigrant health and well-being. For instance Rumbaut, (1997) in his article "Assimilation and its discontents: Between rhetoric and reality" discusses how assimilation can be associated with a loss of cultural identity, resulting in psychological distress and lower life satisfaction. Applying this to the findings of Study II, Indian migrants in Germany may themselves choose not to assimilate and give up honor endorsement.

A final interesting finding from Berry's acculturation model is the positive prediction of perceived dignity norms by marginalization strategy. This implies that not adopting any culture, home, or host, is associated with a higher perception of dignity norms in the host culture. A paper that comes in support is by Swidrak et al., (2019), who found that among honor-oriented Poles in Norway, internal locus of self-worth predicted life satisfaction even with weak Polish cultural maintenance and weak Norwegian cultural adaptation. Their finding suggests that in some cases, the marginalization strategy might be adaptive. A reason could be that individuals who experience marginalization may turn to universally applicable values such as dignity to find stability and self-worth (Hicks, 2012; Nussbaum, 2011). For marginalized individuals, who may feel alienated and unsupported by both cultural groups, dignity norms could provide a reliable framework for self-identity and interpersonal relationships.

Till now we have looked at migrants' endorsement of honor and dignity norms through Berry's acculturation strategies. Through all the findings till now, one general pattern can be seen – the maintenance of heritage associations is related to own and perceived honor endorsement while exposure to the host community is associated with the endorsement of dignity norms. This is mainly seen through integration strategy positively predicting own and perceived endorsement

of both honor and dignity norms. Aligning these results with the current, albeit limited, research on honor and acculturation is crucial. First, these findings challenge some existing ones that deny any link between honor endorsement and acculturation (Lopez-Zafra & El Ghoudani, 2014). They also do not align completely with studies suggesting a decline in honor orientation among migrants who adopt assimilation (Ne'eman-Haviv, 2020). This is because assimilation showed no relation to own honor endorsement, however negatively predicted perceived honor endorsement in the host country. Further, the findings support research that connects honor with heritage orientation (Uskul et al., 2024) and raise new questions by highlighting the need to consider both honor and dignity norms to fully understand their roles in integration.

We will now elaborate on these findings through those from the four dimensions of Esser's (2001) social integration model – acculturation, placement, interaction, and identification. These were expected to complement Berry's model by going beyond the psychological process and adding some practical outcome-oriented aspects of integration, especially from the perspective of the host country.

Four findings emerge from Esser's model. At first, it is seen that only language competency predicts both the norms positively similar to the integration dimension of Berry (1997). Secondly, two findings emerge from the dimension of integration - having friends of other ethnicity was associated positively with dignity endorsement indicating that multicultural interactions may foster values of respect and equality (Hicks, 2012). On the other hand, having German friends was associated negatively with honor endorsement suggesting that interactions with the host community may reduce the personal importance of honor. Finally, emotional attachment to Germany positively predicted honor norms. However, before discussing these four findings, it is important to contextualize this group of students.

Esser's (2001) model was designed for migrants who intended to stay in Germany for an extended period and planned to settle there. For this, he proposed that proficiency in the language (acculturation) would facilitate entry into the workplace (placement), enabling migrants to establish social connections (interaction) and subsequently develop an emotional attachment to Germany (identification). Just as the model suggests that language is the first step towards integration in Germany, it is also seen in the findings that only language positively predicts endorsement of both honor and dignity norms. Language, especially in the German context, is the tool for multiple opportunities (Esser, 2001). Knowing the language can increase access to diverse economic and social opportunities. The finding that it predicts both honor and dignity endorsement, own and perceived, may hint towards the beginning of the integration process of these Indian migrants in Germany as outlined by Esser (2001).

However, the next dimension of his integration process, placement, did not predict any norms significantly, whereas the subsequent dimension of interaction did. Given their student status, these participants do not work full-time and may find social interactions at university or in student dorms, etc. here, having friends of other ethnicities positively predicted the endorsement of dignity norms, both own and perceived, highlighting the importance of mutual respect and tolerance in diverse experiences (Hick, 2012). Conversely, having German friends specifically predicted a negative endorsement of honor norms. Similar to the finding of assimilation from Berry's model, it is important to note that this relationship could be bidirectional. It could be that a higher endorsement of honor norms is associated with preferring friends of Indian origin. Additionally, the increasing number of Indian students entering Germany each year (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022) means they may end up with more Indian flatmates or batchmates. Many Indian students come to Germany to study technical courses (e.g., computational and engineering sciences, robotics, automation, space sciences) or management and business-related courses (Gereke, 2013; The

Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration, 2015), which have a large number of South Asian students (The Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration, 2015; German Academic Exchange Service, 2022). In contrast, other courses in social sciences, arts, and humanities have a higher number of German and other international students (German Academic Exchange Service, 2022). Thus, it is possible that these Indian migrants in Germany are more exposed to other Indian or South Asian students and consequently have fewer German friends.

Finally, it is seen that emotional attachment to Germany positively predicted own endorsement of honor norms. This could imply that a strong emotional connection to the host country does not necessarily diminish the importance of honor norms. This provides support to the integration strategy in Berry's model by suggesting that emotional ties to Germany coexist with the retention of important cultural values such as honor (Berry, 1997, 2017).

Overall, the major findings from Esser's (2001) dimensions – positive prediction of both the norms by language, additionally the positive prediction of dignity norms with inter-ethnic friendships, and that of honor norms with emotional attachment to Germany, complement Berry's (1997) finding of retaining both, honor and dignity, norms in the host society by providing more practical dimensions of this process.

4.3.2. Reactions to honor and dignity threats

The other important outcome variable of this study was the response to honor and dignity threats. The doctoral thesis began with the literature that people from honor cultures, compared to dignity cultures, react strongly to threats to their honor, probably influenced by their cultural norms. Building on this, the project aimed to determine whether individuals from an honor culture would continue to react strongly to honor threats even when living in a dignity culture, or if their reactions would shift towards dignity threats. To explore this, four threats each for

honor and dignity were designed based on themes from Study I. For both types of threats, seven reactions were measured: perceived offensiveness, damage to personal, social, and family image; anger and respect towards the perpetrator; and the likelihood of confronting the perpetrator.

Just like norm endorsement, the ***second objective*** of this study aimed to compare these threat reactions across the three groups as well. Accordingly, first, it was predicted that native Indian participants would respond to all honor threats severely compared to German participants. This hypothesis stands true for all reactions and supports the literature on honor and dignity cultural differences (Barnes et al., 2012; Cohen et al., 1996; Cross et al., 2014; Maitner et al., 2017, 2022; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriquez Mosquera et al., 2002a; Swidrak et al., 2019; Uskul, et al., 2012). In the case of dignity threats, two competing hypotheses were framed. First, German participants would respond strongly to these threats since they threatened the norm that German participants were expected to endorse strongly. Or, as an inherent trait, dignity is expected to be universal, and hence the groups might not differ on these threat reactions. The findings for these threats were mixed.

First, German participants found almost all threats more offensive, were more angry at the perpetrator, and were more likely to confront. Given the two competing hypotheses, this finding partially proves the first one. Next, concerning perceived damage to image, native Indian participants found the threats more damaging compared to German participants. Here, it was assumed that the way of conceptualizing dignity threats was such that, it should not damage social and family image. The threat was directed at the inherent quality of being a human, either through exploitation or discrimination. And hence, it could be that none of the groups find it damaging to their image. However, Indian natives finding it more damaging to their image could suggest that the tendency to associate threats to their own or family's image might be higher in Indians for any kind of threat. This could be due to the tight-knit nature of

these communities. Or it could also hint at a problem in the framing of these threats. If native Indian participants found all the threat scenarios damaging to their image, and hence may not have differentiated them as honor or dignity, this could have confounded the study. Hence, another analysis was carried out to test the manipulation check (see under main study data collection in Chapter 3 as well as Appendix Table A3.7), where it was assumed that all the participants should find honor threats more damaging to their image compared to dignity threats. This was proved across all groups supporting the conceptual understanding of honor as an interdependent and relational phenomenon while that of dignity as being more intrinsic and independent (Kamir, 2006). This then means that native Indian participants compared to German participants did find even dignity threats damaging to their image, although less than honor threats.

The findings thus far offer some implications for our understanding of dignity. It is true that as an intrinsic trait, dignity appears to be more universal, especially when compared to the group differences in honor. However, the idea that dignity applies equally to everyone (Ayers, 1984) individuals may confront the perpetrator directly, even if the perpetrator is a superior, such as a boss or elder. This could be due to the perception of rough equality, even within hierarchies. In contrast, in honor cultures, where hierarchical acceptance is greater (Hofstede, 1980), threats from higher-ups might not be perceived as offensive, especially if the threat is not targeting one's ingroup, reputation, etc. Nevertheless, such threats could still be seen as damaging to one's image due to the tight-knit nature of these communities, and the unpredictable nature of how any news spreads (Ashokkumar, & Swann, 2022). Therefore, while the fundamental understanding of dignity may be similar across cultures, how it translates into actions, especially when responding to its threats has distinct social and cultural nuances that need to be considered.

Other than culture, the important variables in understanding group differences in threat reactions are the type of threat and the type of reaction. In the case of honor, the four threats targeted morality, competence, sociability, and stoicism. Of these four, threats to morality and competence elicited higher reactions among all participants compared to the other two threats. In specific, the threat to morality was seen to be more damaging to social and family image, eliciting higher anger. This finding aligns very well with a qualitative finding from Study I that morality constitutes the general and necessary aspect of honor which is seen more from the loss perspective – that is, being moral might not add up to honor, but the reputation of not being moral is more detrimental. This supports a claim that Baumeister et al. (2001) make in their paper titled 'Bad is stronger than good'. They propose that negative experiences, emotions, and behaviors generally have a stronger and more lasting impact on individuals than positive ones. In the current study, this might be particularly true in the case of morality.

Next, the threat to competency was considered to be most offensive and damaging to personal image. Competency is seen as a measure of success and professional identity. Any indication of incompetence or failure to meet expectations could be seen as a personal setback (De Vries, 2005). Moreover, German participants found this threat most offensive. This is in line with the study by Rodriguez Mosquera et al., (2002b) who compared threats to family and gendered honor on one side and threats to competence, and assertiveness on the other among Spanish and Dutch participants. She found that Spanish participants were angrier and more ashamed for not defending against threats to family and gendered honor while Dutch were more offended by threats to their competence and assertiveness. While German participants in the current study found the threat to competence most offensive, native Indian participants found the threat to stoicism more offensive. Stoicism was discussed in Indian groups as a way of enduring hardships, maintaining emotional restraint, not giving up, etc. These are in line with the values found by Bhatia et al., (2022) in her study on child-rearing in India. These qualities

are highly valued as signs of strength and maturity in Indians (Kakar & Kakar, 2009). Hence, any attack on these qualities might be seen as a challenge to their perceived strength and capability to handle difficult situations or might hint towards a tendency to use shortcuts or other easy means (such as the influence of a wealthy relative) to get outcomes.

In the case of dignity, the threats included two types of exploitation – unpaid labor and underpayment, and two types of discrimination – based on family SES and age. Exploitation through unpaid labor was seen to be most offensive, anger-eliciting, and damaging to personal image. Here, the scenario aimed to create a feeling of exploitation in participants due to their inferior status in a work project where they receive an experience letter instead of the deserved monetary compensation. Though there is some reward, such as the experience letter, this scenario still violates a fundamental principle of justice. When individuals contribute to a work project, they expect fair compensation, and the absence of this compensation not only devalues their contributions but might also undermine their self-worth. It might reinforce a sense of inferiority and highlight power imbalances, further exacerbating the feelings of exploitation, which could explain why participants also found it damaging to their personal image. Secondly, discrimination based on family SES was seen to be most damaging to family image and elicited a higher likelihood of confronting the perpetrator. In this hypothetical scenario, the participant, coming from a lower SES background, experiences a form of exclusion where a friend from a higher SES refuses to allow them to make financial decisions, although both of them have equal shares and returns. This type of discrimination may not only diminish the participant's autonomy and respect but also symbolically devalue their background and decision-making capabilities which could explain why participants felt a strong urge to confront the perpetrator. These findings suggest that while dignity is an intrinsic aspect of self-worth, different facets of dignity can trigger varying reactions.

So far, we have discussed the differences between honor and dignity cultures in reactions to honor and dignity threats. We will discuss the findings of Indian migrants to see if post migrating to Germany, their reaction to honor and dignity threats is any different compared to Indian and German natives.

In the case of honor threats, almost all reactions (except perceived damage to the family image) of migrant participants were stronger than both native participants. Concerning dignity threats, their reactions were stronger than native Indian participants. Both these findings suggest that the process of migration could be at play here. Specifically, among honor threats, they found the threat to competency more offensive, and among dignity threats, they found discrimination based on family SES more offensive. As seen before, competence is a measure of success and an ability to accomplish. This quality might be even more important in the migration context to establish oneself in the host country. Indian migrants may face heightened expectations, both from their home community and from the host country, and hence could have found this threat more damaging. For dignity threats, migrants found discrimination more offensive while for both natives, exploitation was more offensive. Any experiences of real and/or perceived discrimination in the host country serve as potential threats to integration (Schmitt et al., 2014). Migrants might be more sensitive to discrimination compared to natives also due to their minority status in the new country (Leaune et al., 2019). These findings combined with the finding of higher honor and dignity norm endorsement among migrants compared to Indian natives have an important implication for our understanding of honor and dignity in the migration context. They suggest that, though the importance of both honor and dignity might increase post-migration, the specific areas of honor and dignity are also important to consider. From the current study, the achievement orientation in honor (seen in higher concern for competence) and the need for acceptance in dignity (seen through concern for discrimination) are more important in the migration context.

Seeing that migration does have an association with the threat reactions of migrants, the ***fourth objective*** aimed to elaborate on this association by looking at the acculturation strategies involved. Out of all the reactions, only perceived damage to one's image (personal, social, and family) was predicted positively by all the acculturation strategies in Berry's model. Moreover, this was true for both honor and dignity threats. This could mean that there is a concern for maintaining one's image in the host culture, regardless of the specific acculturation approach adopted. This is also seen in the work by Ward and Kennedy (1994), who found that maintenance of self-esteem and social identity is a common challenge for migrants, that transcends the way they choose to integrate in the host country.

This idea is further elaborated through Esser's model of social integration. Among the four dimensions of social integration, only interaction (having interethnic and German friends) positively predicted the perceived concern for one's image. This implies that social interactions, whether with people from the home country or the host country, could play a crucial role in shaping one's social image. This finding complements Berry's model of acculturation by identifying a specific dimension—social interaction—that is associated with perceived concern for image among migrants.

These findings are supported by research in two areas: the relationship between social interactions and social image, and the relationship between migration and social image. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982) posits that individuals derive a sense of identity and self-esteem from their group memberships, highlighting the significant impact that social interactions within these groups have on an individual's self-perception. This impact may increase post-migration, as migrants become part of groups in both their home culture and the host culture. Consequently, their concern for image may stand out irrespective of the acculturation strategy. Research on ingroup and outgroup dynamics (Fiske 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) also suggests that individuals strive to maintain a positive image within their

ingroup (e.g., ethnic community) and manage their perceptions within the outgroup (e.g., host society). Rudmin (2009), in her work on acculturation and acculturative stress, mentions that migration may be associated with increased concern for how migrants are being perceived in the host country as part of their acculturative stress. Yu and Wang (2011) also found that Chinese immigrants in the U.S. often exhibit increased concern for maintaining a positive social image as part of their adaptation process which is partly due to the pressures of meeting the host country's social norms and expectations.

Overall, the positive prediction of perceived damage to image by all the acculturation strategies and specifically by social interactions in the host country supports these two lines of research discussed above and implies that migrants' concern for their image may serve as a mechanism to navigate perceptions of various groups in both their home and host countries. This concern is not tied to any specific acculturation strategy but is a broader adaptive response to their new social environment.

4.3.3. Summary

This chapter aimed to answer the second research question of this doctoral thesis - *How do the three groups, native Indians, native Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany, differ in their norm endorsement and threats reactions?* In doing so, it had four objectives, each giving a cluster of important findings that are summarized here.

In terms of norm endorsement, native Indian participants endorsed honor norms more than German participants while the vice-versa was true for dignity norms, both own and perceived. In the case of migrants, their own endorsement of honor and dignity norms was more than that of native Indian participants while their perceived endorsement of honor and dignity norms in Germany was more than that of native German participants. This answers the first objective

that there is a cultural difference in norm endorsement and secondly, migration is associated with it owing to the difference in scores between native and migrant participants.

This was further elaborated in the third objective by testing norm endorsement of the migrant sample with their acculturation strategies. Here, from Berry's model, integration positively predicted both honor and dignity norm endorsement among migrants (own and perceived). This could imply that endorsing honor norms might be associated with own cultural maintenance (which was also positively predicted by the separation strategy) while dignity might be associated with host cultural adaptation. In this process, language competencies and having inter-ethnic friendships might prove helpful as seen from Esser's model.

The second objective of the study was to see group differences in honor and dignity threat reactions. Here, native Indian participants reacted strongly to all honor threats compared to German participants. For dignity threats, German participants found these more offensive and were more angry and likely to confront the perpetrator. Whereas, native Indian participants found these more damaging to their image. Migrant participants reacted more strongly to both honor and dignity threats compared to native Indian participants. This suggests that cultural differences exist in reactions to not just honor threats but also dignity threats. Moreover, the particular type of honor and dignity threat is also important in the given context. This was evident because migrant participants found threats to competence and age discrimination more offensive. Whereas both native participants found the threat to morality and exploitation more offensive (these were honor and dignity threats, respectively).

Finally, in the fourth objective, we tried to understand the reactions of migrant participants through their acculturation strategies and found that only the perceived threat to the image was seen to be predicted by all acculturation strategies on Berry's model and the social interaction dimension from Esser's model. This could imply that a concern for image, irrespective of the

acculturation strategy, might be a way to navigate the perceived expectations of different people or groups in the home and host country.

4.4. Concluding comments

This chapter aimed to test the differences between the three cultural groups in own and perceived endorsement of honor and dignity norms as well as in individual reactions to honor and dignity threats. By demonstrating group differences in both these variables (norm endorsement and threat reactions), it supports the qualitative findings of Study I, validates the measures and hypotheses developed from them; introduces the new and important group of this project – the migrants; explains the relative standing of the three groups on these variables, particularly that of the migrants through their acculturation strategies; and finally, sets the stage for the next analysis, where all these elements will be integrated into a comprehensive framework to answer the final research question of this thesis – *How do honor and dignity norms mediate the group differences in reactions to honor and dignity threats?*

Chapter 5 - The Role of Cultural Norms in Reactions to Honor and Dignity Threats among Native Indians, Germans, and Indian Migrants in Germany

5.1. Introduction

In the realm of interpersonal behavior, cultural norms play a crucial role in shaping how individuals and groups respond to various stimuli, including threats (Gelfand & Brett, 2004; Leung & Cohen, 2011; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996, Triandis, 2001; Uskul et al., 2019). These norms convey the shared expectations and values within a cultural group and act as guiding principles for perceptions, emotions, and actions (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). In the previous chapter, we have seen how the three groups - Indians, Germans, and Indians in Gemrnay - differ in the extent to which they personally endorse honor and dignity norms as well as the extent to which they perceive these to be endorsed in their respective countries. Additionally, we examined how these groups responded differently to various honor threats (morality, competency, sociability, and stoicism) and dignity threats (unpaid labor, underpayment, and discrimination based on family SES and age). Moving forward, the current chapter aims to investigate how both, honor and dignity norms mediate the cultural differences in reactions to threats aiming to clarify the theoretical distinctions between these constructs. Specifically, it tests whether honor norms predominantly mediate responses to honor-related threats (morality, competency, sociability, and stoicism) and whether dignity norms primarily mediate reactions to dignity-related threats (unpaid labor, underpayment, and discrimination).

This is important for three reasons: first, it helps delineate the conceptual boundaries between honor and dignity, enhancing our theoretical understanding. Second, this distinction can be especially important in the migration context. If the finding that these norms play a role in different areas stands true, it can help in advancing the integration and acculturation work in the honor-dignity paradigm. And finally, this finding can have practical implications for designing culturally sensitive interventions and policies. If certain threats are more likely to trigger reactions based on either honor or dignity norms, then interventions can be tailored to

address these specific concerns within different cultural contexts. This could improve the effectiveness of efforts aimed at conflict resolution, social integration, and the promotion of cross-cultural understanding by ensuring that strategies are aligned with the cultural values and norms of the target populations.

This chapter begins by discussing the role of cultural norms in shaping an individual's reactions to threats. This is specifically discussed in the context of honor and dignity norms and for natives and migrants leading to specific hypotheses that are tested using mediational analysis. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the obtained findings.

5.1.1. The role of cultural norms in threat reactions

As seen in the last two chapters, Study II measures threat reactions in three components: cognitive evaluations (perceived offensiveness of the threat and damage to the personal, social, and family image), emotional reactions (specifically anger and respect towards the perpetrator), and behavioral tendencies (likelihood to confront the perpetrator). These domains—emotional, cognitive, and behavioral—are largely influenced by cultural norms (Fischer & Manstead, 2016; Frijda & Mesquita, 1994; Keltner & Haidt, 1999). According to Fischer and Manstead (2016), our emotions and behaviors help achieve two broad classes of social goals: affiliative and distancing. On one hand, they facilitate the establishment and maintenance of cooperative or harmonious relationships; on the other, they allow for differentiation or distancing of the self from others, and even competition for social status or power (Fischer & Manstead, 2016).

In the honor cultural contexts, these functions also align with the objectives of honor codes, which aim to protect one's image and uphold group bonding in tight-knit communities (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Pitt-Rivers, 1965; Uskul et al., 2023). We have seen in Chapter 1 that honor codes encompass a set of values and norms that define honorable and dishonorable behavior, guiding individuals on what they should be concerned about to maintain their sense of honor.

Most of these emphasize the significance of family honor, social interdependence, and both masculine and feminine honor (Gilmore, 1987, Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Peristiany, 1965; Pitt-Rivers, 1977; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016; Stewart, 1994). For instance, the code of family honor emphasizes the shared social image within a family, where individual actions impact the entire family's reputation (Peristiany, 1965; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016; Stewart, 1994). Adhering to this code helps maintain harmonious family relationships. Just as honor codes outline acceptable behaviors, they also prescribe strategies for safeguarding one's image during times of threat. For example, masculine honor emphasizes toughness and social status, with challenges requiring assertive responses to maintain one's standing (Gilmore, 1987). Failing to retaliate can be seen as a weakness and a breach of the honor code (Gilmore, 1987). A common point in both these examples is that these codes are influential for any behavior related to one's social standing and reputational concerns.

Here, certain studies understand the endorsement of this honor code in two aspects – an individual's own endorsement of them and their perceived societal endorsement of these honor norms (Mandel & Litt, 2013; Vignoles et al., revised and resubmitted). Own endorsement reflects an individual's internalization and adherence to honor norms, whereas perceived endorsement pertains to one's beliefs about how these values are upheld by others in society. Some studies that have compared these two have found that perceived endorsement of honor norms tends to be a stronger predictor of responses to honor threats compared to personal endorsement (Barnes et al., 2012; Mandel & Litt, 2013). This suggests that individuals' reactions to insults or challenges to honor are largely influenced by their perceptions of how others in their cultural environment view and uphold honor norms.

Most of these honor codes and people's reactions to their breaches (such as anger, shame, aggressive confrontation, reciprocal harm, or revenge) are studied within honor cultural settings. These norms emerged as a function of competitive environments characterized by

high levels of status inequality and historically weak institutions (Henry, 2009; Leung & Cohen, 2011; Maitner et al., 2022). Nowak et al. (2016) have shown that over time some aspects of these codes – such as aggressive comebacks when confronted — have reduced as institutions become more reliable. However, the norms of upholding the group's image continue to direct much of the behavior among people such as anger, and shame of tarnished image. While such reactions hold importance in honor cultural settings, participants' reactions are not as strong when the same instances (such as breach of honor codes) were studied in countries identified as dignity cultures (such as the Netherlands, Sweden, the US, etc.). Eriksson et al. (2017) showed that in dignity cultures, participants perceived a target who retaliated against a perpetrator, and may have violated distributive justice norms more negatively than targets who took no action. This is probably influenced by cultural variation in the importance of honor codes and the related reactions to threats targeting one's reputation and image. This raises the question: would these norms also guide reactions to threats that target not one's reputation but the intrinsic sense of self?

The concept of dignity is often understood instrumentally by examining how it is violated or threatened (Kamir, 2006; Schachter, 1983). Yet, the reactions to these violations remain relatively underexplored. Similar to how honor codes evolved in regions characterized by inequalities and weak institutions—where establishing a reputation for strength and reliability became crucial and influenced related behaviors—a similar assumption can be made for dignity norms and their role in guiding responses to threats against inherent worth and equality. Dignity cultures have evolved within systems where individuals operate autonomously, guided by robust institutions and legal frameworks (Aslani et al., 2016; Leung & Cohen, 2011). The norms in dignity cultures are characterized by an inherent sense of worth, internal standards of behavior, and a strong emphasis on autonomy, all of which are influenced by the concept of dignity. These may also prescribe behaviors to embrace and avoid. For instance, as seen in

Chapter 2, the norm of individuality prescribes unconditional acceptance of others and condemns any action where people are treated differently for reasons beyond their conscious control (eg., gender, race, etc.). Given that these behaviors bear certain conceptual differences to the construct of honor, it is likely that the norms guiding them might also be different than the norms targeting reputation and image.

Most studies on dignity tend to treat it instrumentally, examining violations at institutional levels such as in workplaces, healthcare, education, and elder care (for instance, see Matiti & Trorey, 2008; Tilton et al., 2024). However, there is a scarcity of research on how individuals react to these threats and whether their responses are influenced by dignity norms. Moreover, we have seen in Chapter 4 that there are cultural differences in the reactions to dignity threats which might be mediated by cultural differences in the importance of these norms as well. And are dignity norms, like honor norms, more influential at the perceived level or at the level of personal internalization?

Finally, what about those contexts where both these norms operate, as in the context of migration from honor to dignity cultures? Research on the influence of norms on migrants is complex and debated. Migrants often navigate between the norms of their home and host countries to guide their behavior. Some studies, like Vedder et al. (2009), suggest that migrants' acculturation strategies and well-being are closely tied to their perceptions of societal attitudes and expectations in the host country. However, these perceptions may not always be accurate, leading migrants to rely on norms from their home country in guiding many of their actions. If honor and dignity norms indeed mediate reactions to domain-specific threats, this should hold true for a population exposed to both honor and dignity cultures. In the current study, Indian migrants in Germany showed stronger endorsement of both honor and dignity norms compared to Indian natives (as discussed in Chapter 4), making this interplay particularly relevant.

This brings us to our final research question of the thesis – *how do honor and dignity norms mediate the cultural differences in threat reactions among both natives and migrants?* Embedded in this broad question are two key objectives that this chapter aims to address – the first is concerning the role of honor norms in reactions to honor threats among the three groups of participants. And second is regarding the role of dignity norms in reactions to dignity threats. Given the conceptual distinction between honor and dignity—where individuals can score high or low on both—and the significance of cultural norms in guiding behavior when these norms are challenged, it can be hypothesized that conceptually they should mediate reactions to only those threats that fall in their respective domains. In other words, ***honor norms and not dignity norms will mediate reactions to honor threats.*** Similarly, ***dignity norms and not honor norms will mediate reactions to dignity threats.***

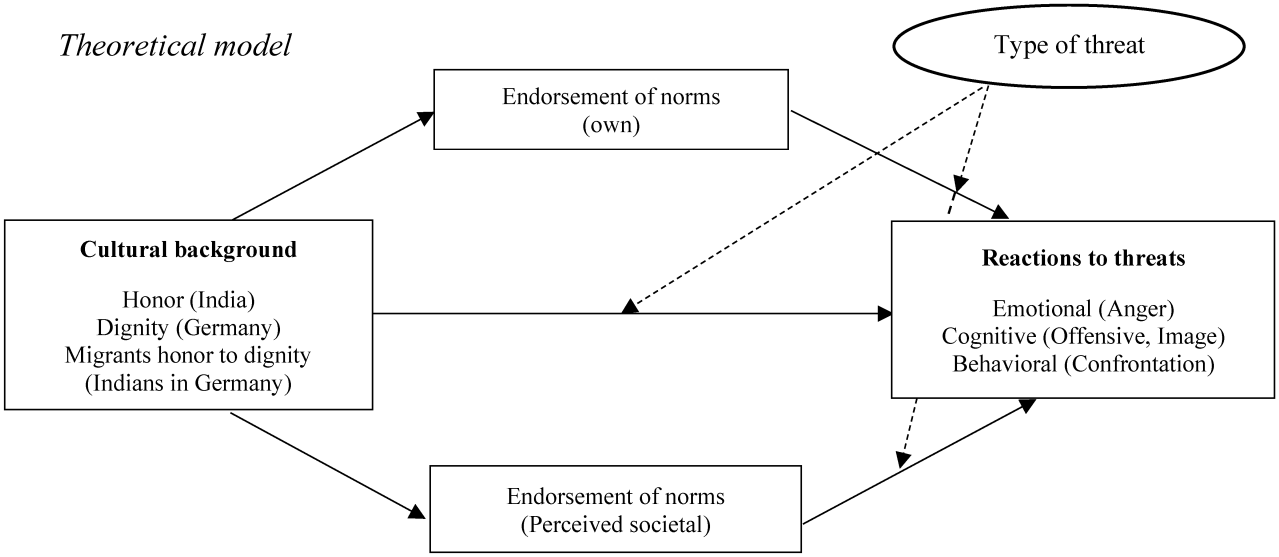
Building on these basic hypotheses, the analysis expands by adding exploratory dimensions. The first involves examining these norms at both personal and perceived levels. Literature on perceived norms suggests that they often have a stronger influence on behavior than personally endorsed norms, particularly within honor cultures where threats to one's honor are involved. However, in the context of migrants, it is plausible that their perceptions of societal norms in the host country may be less accurate due to the relatively short time they have spent there, compared to their homeland (Ward & Kennedy, 1994). As a result, their personal endorsement of norms might predict their reactions more accurately than perceived norms. Additionally, literature on dignity cultures suggests that behavior in these societies is often guided by personal standards and intrinsic motivation, rather than by external social expectations. This raises the possibility that reactions to dignity threats may be better predicted by one's own norm endorsement rather than perceived norms. Therefore, the study refrains from making a definitive prediction about whether perceived or personal norms will more effectively mediate reactions, leaving this aspect of the hypothesis open for exploration.

The second dimension involves examining the role of these norms in the context of different types of honor and dignity threats. As observed in the previous chapter, not all threats elicit the same intensity of reactions. For example, within honor threats, reactions were particularly severe in response to threats targeting morality and competence. Similarly, within dignity threats, reactions were more intense when related to issues like unpaid labor and discrimination based on family background. Additionally, we found that not all reactions are similar for one particular threat. For instance, a threat to morality was perceived as most damaging to social and family image and provoked high levels of anger toward the perpetrator, whereas a threat to competence was considered the most offensive and detrimental to personal image. In other words, the specific type of threat is assumed to moderate the intensity of different reactions.

All these considerations bring us to the theoretical model for this study –

Figure 5.1

Theoretical model



Note: The above model explains the theoretical framework for understanding cultural differences in reactions to honor and dignity threats across native Indians, Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany. The model will be tested separately for honor and dignity threats. Moreover, the model will be tested first with mediation by honor norms (own and perceived) and then separately by dignity norms (own and perceived). An a priori power analysis was conducted to determine the necessary sample size for a moderated mediation model, where endorsement of norms mediates the relationship between culture and threat reaction and is moderated by the type of threat. Using *G*Power* (version 3.1), a total sample size of 759 was estimated based on a small effect size of 0.02 (Cohen, 2016) and a power level of 0.80, and with an alpha of 0.05.

In summary, this chapter seeks to address the final research question of this doctoral project, through **two specific objectives** –

1. To examine whether honor norms, rather than dignity norms, mediate reactions to honor threats, and to explore how this mediation varies depending on the type of honor threat and the specific reactions to these threats.
2. To examine whether dignity norms, rather than honor norms, mediate reactions to dignity threats, and to explore how this mediation varies depending on the type of dignity threat and the specific reactions to these threats.

5.2. Results

The results will be presented in line with these two objectives. To assess the role of norms in reactions to different types of threats, a moderated mediation analysis was conducted using structural equation modeling in SPSS Amos (V29). In this analysis, the independent variable, culture, is categorical with three levels (native Indians, migrants, and Germans). Given the nature of the independent variable, it is necessary to exclude one of the three groups from the model, treating it as a baseline group for comparison. For this analysis, the native Indian group was selected as the comparison group. This approach allows for two meaningful comparisons: one between native Indian and German participants, which contrasts honor and dignity cultures, and another between native Indian and migrant participants, which examines differences between native and migrant groups. The comparison that this method does not allow is that of German and Indian migrant participants.

The analysis was conducted separately for honor and dignity threats. At first, correlations between norms and threat reactions were computed (see Appendix Table A5.1) In these, the reaction of respect for the perpetrator was not correlated to the norms and hence was not put in the model as one of the outcome variables. Next, when all the other variables were put in SPSS

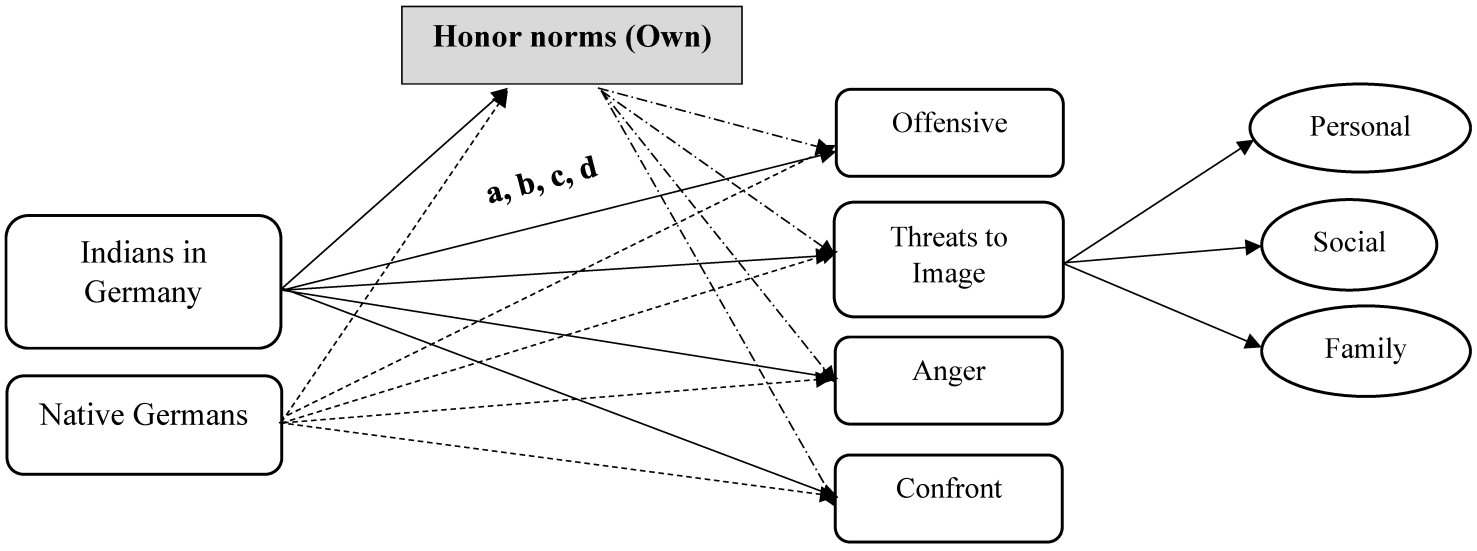
Amos to define the model, all three types of images (personal, social, and family) loaded on one latent factor which improved the overall model fit. All the details of the model including the fit indices are explained separately for honor and dignity threat reactions.

5.2.1. Cultural belonging and reaction to honor threats

Concerning honor threat reactions, it was hypothesized that honor and not dignity norms would mediate the reactions to honor threats. In this, the aspect of own and perceived norms was treated exploratorily. To test the hypothesis, the mediation (as seen in Figure 5.2) was first conducted with only own endorsement of honor norms. The model fit the data well, indicating a good match (X2/df –10.01, GFI - 0.97, CFI - 0.96, RMSEA - 0.05). A bootstrap analysis with

Figure 5.2:

Honor norms as mediators to honor threat reactions



Note: **a**-threat to morality, **b**-threat to competence, **c**-threat to sociability, **d**-threat to stoicism
Model fit = **X2/df** –10.01, **GFI** - 0.97, **CFI** - 0.96, **RMSEA** - 0.05

10000 samples using a 95% Bias-Corrected (BC) confidence interval was conducted to test the direct and indirect effects. Then the model was tested separately with perceived endorsement of honor norms. The model fit was reduced (X2/df –15.05, GFI - 0.86, CFI - 0.89, RMSEA - 0.09), and many indirect effects of culture on most threat reactions, especially for confrontation, were insignificant. Then the model was tested with both own and perceived norms together. The model fit increased but was still lower than the one with just own endorsement. Finally, the model was tested with dignity norms, first own, then perceived, and finally together. In each, the model fit was poor (X2/df > 15, GFI < 0.80, CFI< 0.80, RMSEA> 1.00) and none of the indirect effects were significant, suggesting that dignity norms did not mediate the reactions to honor threats. This supports the first hypothesis that honor norms and not dignity norms mediate the reactions to honor threats.

Looking at the model fit for own and perceived norms, it was finally decided to retain the model with only own endorsement of honor norms. The coefficients for direct, indirect, and total effects are presented in Table 5.1. All the **'1s'** in the table (a_1, b_1, c_1, and d_1) are the coefficients for direct effects of cultural group belonging on the threat reaction *controlled for the mediator*. For instance, the values under a_1 show how belonging to the migrant or German group is directly related to different reactions to the threat of morality without considering the impact of honor norms. All the **'2s'** (a_2, b_2, c_2, and d_2) are the coefficients for the indirect effects of cultural group belonging to the threat reactions *through the effect of the mediator*. For instance, the values under a_2 show how belonging to the migrant or German group affects reactions to the threat of morality by way of honor norms. In other words, they reveal how much the influence of cultural group membership on threat reactions is explained by the honor norms these participants endorse. Here, all the significant mediations are highlighted in blue and the non-significant ones are highlighted in red. Finally, the **'3s'** are the total effects of the

Table 5.1 - *Honor norms as mediators to* ***honor threat reactions***

	a (Morality)			b (Competence)			c (Sociability)			d (Stoicism)		
Reactions	**Indian migrants – Honor norms own (H) (0.09**)**											
	a_1	**a_2**	**a_3**	**b_1**	**b_2**	**b_3**	**c_1**	**c_2**	**c_3**	**d_1**	**d_2**	**d_3**
Offensive	0.09**	**0.06***	0.15**	0.15**	**0.06***	0.18***	0.16**	**0.05***	0.21***	0.05*	**0.05***	0.09*
Image	0.04	0.02	0.06	-0.03	-0.01	-0.03	0.13**	**0.05***	0.18*	-0.01	-0.02	-0.00
Anger	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.06	0.05**	**0.05***	0.10*	-0.03	-0.03	-0.06
Confront	0.27***	**0.00**	0.27***	0.14**	**0.01**	0.14**	0.15**	**0.01**	0.15**	0.35***	**0.02**	0.35***
Native Germans - Honor norms own (H) (-0.52*)**												
Offensive	0.01	**-0.13****	-0.14**	0.20***	0.02	0.18**	0.01	**-0.14****	-0.13**	-0.30***	**-0.11****	-0.41***
Image	-0.32***	**-0.17*****	-0.49***	-0.44***	**-0.09***	-0.51***	-0.27***	**-0.11****	-0.38***	-0.53***	**-0.10****	-0.63***
Anger	-0.05	**-0.13****	-0.18***	-0.00	-0.03	-0.03	-0.07*	**-0.12****	-0.19***	-0.38***	**-0.10****	-0.48***
Confront	-0.14***	**-0.08****	-0.22***	-0.31***	**0.03**	-0.23***	-0.14**	**-0.12****	-0.26**	-0.17**	**-0.05***	-0.25***
Honor norms – threat reactions												
H- Offensive	0.22***			0.10**			0.22***			0.18***		
H – Image	0.26***			0.11**			0.16**			0.14**		
H – Anger	0.20***			0.05*			0.28***			0.15**		
H – Confront	0.13**			0.05*			0.19***			0.06*		

***Note**:* **1 –** coefficients for direct effect of cultural group belonging on the threat reaction in comparison to native Indians, **2 –** coefficients for indirect effect of cultural group belonging on the threat reaction through the mediation of honor norms, significant coefficients highlighted, **3 -** coefficients for total effect
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

cultural group belonging on the threat type considering *both direct and indirect effects*. For instance, all values under a_3 show the overall impact of being in a migrant or German group on how people react to the threat of morality. This includes both the direct impact of the cultural group and the impact that happens through honor norm endorsement. A point to remember again is that all these values of the two groups (migrant and German) are presented in comparison to the scores of native Indian participants. The last four rows of the table are the direct effects of honor norms on all four reactions for each threat type.

As Table 5.1 demonstrates, the honor norm endorsement of migrant participants is more than native Indian participants (β= 0.09, p<0.005) while that of German participants is weaker (β = - 0.52, p<0.001). Next, moving towards threat reactions, a look at all the 1s under the migrant group shows that migrant participants have scored higher than native Indian participants in two reactions across all threats – perceived offensiveness and the likelihood to confront. Additionally, the threat to sociability (see c_1 for the migrant group) is also seen to be more damaging to their image and as eliciting more anger in them compared to the native Indian participants. A look at all the 2s under the migrant group shows that from these group differences in threat reactions, perceived offensiveness, damage to the image, and anger are partially mediated by honor norms. However, the likelihood of confrontation is not mediated by the endorsement of honor norms. In other words, while honor norms help explain why migrants, compared to native Indian participants, feel more offended, perceive more damage to their image, and experience more anger in response to threats, these norms do not explain why migrants are more or less likely to confront the situation. This suggests that other factors, beyond honor norms, might be driving the differences in confrontational intention between these two groups.

In the case of German participants, their reactions to almost all threats are less severe than those of native Indian participants (see all the 1s under the German group). These differences are partially mediated by honor norms (see all the 1s under the German group), except the reactions to competency threat (see b_2 under the German group). Additionally, honor norms fully mediate the reactions of perceived offensiveness and anger for the threat to morality. The only reaction that is partially mediated by honor norms across all threat types is that of perceived damage to the image. In other words, for German participants, their lower honor endorsement compared to native Indian participants can partially explain why their reactions to most threats are less intense, except when it comes to reactions for the threat to their competence. For morality threat, honor norms entirely explain why German participants feel less offended and angry compared to native Indian participants.

From the above findings for both migrant and German groups, it can be said that the mediation of honor norms differs for the type of threat and the type of reaction. Hence, the significance of their moderation was assessed by conducting multi-group comparisons in SPSS Amos (V29). This was conducted by equalizing the paths in the model for all four threat types and comparing them to the unconstrained model. This revealed the significance of moderation by showing that the observed differences in groups for the different threat types are significant.

As previously mentioned, the mediating role of dignity norms in explaining cultural differences in responses to honor threats was also tested, with the results presented in Table 5.2. These represent the mediation by personally endorsed dignity norms. This, however, had a poor model fit with all indirect effects (see all the 2s in Table 5.2) being insignificant. Hence, supporting the hypothesis that honor norms and not dignity norms would mediate the reactions to honor threats.

Table 5.2 - *Dignity norms as mediators to* ***honor threat reactions***

	a (Morality)			b (Competence)			c (Sociability)			d (Stoicism)		
Reactions	**Indian migrants – Dignity norms own (D) (0.21***)**											
	a_1	**a_2**	**a_3**	**b_1**	**b_2**	**b_3**	**c_1**	**c_2**	**c_3**	**d_1**	**d_2**	**d_3**
Offensive	0.14**	**0.01**	0.15**	0.17**	**0.00**	0.18***	0.20***	**0.01**	0.21***	0.09*	**0.00**	0.09*
Image	0.04	0.00	0.04	-0.03	-0.01	-0.03	0.13**	**0.00**	0.18***	-0.01	-0.02	-0.00
Anger	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.06	0.05**	**0.03**	0.10**	-0.03	-0.03	-0.06
Confront	0.27***	**0.00**	0.27***	0.14**	**0.01**	0.14**	0.15**	**0.01**	0.15**	0.35***	**0.02**	0.35***
Native Germans - Dignity norms own (0.29*)**												
Offensive	-0.15**	**0.02**	-0.14**	0.15**	**0.03**	0.18***	-0.14**	**0.01**	-0.13**	-0.44***	**0.03**	-0.41***
Image	-0.44***	**0.04**	-0.49***	-0.39***	**0.01**	-0.38***	-0.27***	**-0.01**	-0.30***	-0.70***	**0.01**	-0.69***
Anger	-0.21***	**0.02**	-0.18***	-0.04	**0.00**	-0.03	-0.22***	**0.01**	-0.20***	-0.53***	**0.03**	-0.48***
Confront	-0.14**	**-0.02**	-0.22***	-0.23***	**0.00**	-0.23***	-0.14**	**-0.02**	-0.16**	-0.17**	**-0.04**	-0.14**
Dignity norms – threat reactions												
D- Offensive	0.05*			0.13**			0.10*			0.08*		
D – Image	0.11**			0.02			-0.03			0.04		
D – Anger	0.01			0.03			0.10*			0.09*		
D– Confront	-0.04			0.04			0.16**			-0.12**		

Note: **1** – coefficient for direct effect of cultural group belonging on the threat reaction in comparison to native Indians, **2** – coefficient for indirect effect of cultural group belonging on the threat reaction through the mediation of dignity norms, significant coefficients highlighted, **3** – coefficient for total effect.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

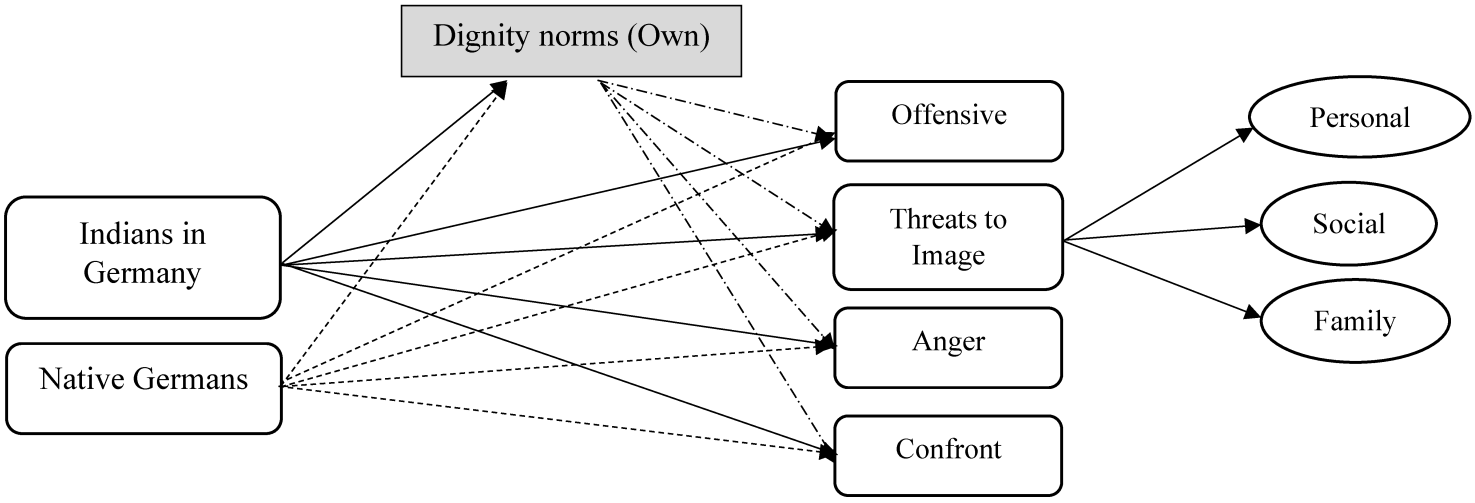
In summary, the model with personally endorsed honor norms as mediators showed the best fit to explain cultural differences in reactions to honor threats. The type of threat and reaction played a crucial role: honor norms partially mediated reactions to all threats except competence, and they did not mediate the likelihood of confrontation among the migrant group.

5.2.2. Cultural belonging and reaction to dignity threats

The other objective of this study was to test the role of dignity norms in dignity threat reactions. Here likewise, it was assumed that dignity norms and not honor norms would mediate the reactions to dignity threats. For this, the analysis was conducted similar to that of honor threat reactions. Figure 5.3 shows the model that was tested in SPSS Amos. Here as well, the model fit was the best for own endorsement of dignity norms (X2/df –8.01, GFI - 0.97, CFI - 0.96, RMSEA - 0.05) compared to all other mediators. Moreover, when honor norms were tested in

Figure 5.3*:*

Dignity norms as mediators to dignity threat reactions



Note: a -Unpaid Labor, b -Underpayment, c- discrimination_SES, d- discrimination_Age

Model fit - **X2/df** – 8.01, **GFI** - 0.97, **CFI** - 0.96, **RMSEA** - 0.05

the mediation model, most of the indirect effects were non-significant. This supports the second hypothesis, that dignity norms and not honor norms would mediate the reactions to dignity threats. A bootstrap analysis with 10000 samples using a 95% Bias-Corrected (BC) confidence interval was conducted to test the significance of direct and indirect effects. The final model with personally endorsed dignity norms as the mediator was retained to explain group differences in reactions to all four dignity threats.

The coefficients for direct, indirect, and total effects are presented in Table 5.3. The structure of Table 5.3 is the same as that of Tables 5.1 and 5.2 (for reactions to honor threats). As seen in Table 5.3, both migrant and German participants have endorsed dignity norms more than native Indian participants (β (migrants) = 0.21, $p<0.001$; β (Germans) = 0.29, $p<0.001$). Concerning threat reactions, a perusal of all the 1s under the migrant group indicates that except unpaid labor, migrant participants found all other dignity threats more offensive and anger-eliciting than native Indian participants. They also found both the discrimination threats to be more damaging to their image (see coefficients for image under c_1 and d_1 in the migrant group). However, migrant participants do not differ from native Indian participants in their likelihood of confronting the perpetrator. A look at the 2s suggests that dignity norms partially mediated these differences in reactions to all threats, except that of unpaid labor.

Looking at the values of 1s under the German group, it can be said that they found all the threats more offensive and anger-eliciting than native Indian participants and were more likely to confront the perpetrator. However, they have found these threats less damaging to their image than native Indian participants. Here likewise, a perusal of all the 2s indicates that dignity norms partially mediated the responses for all threats except unpaid labor. Moreover, dignity norms mediated all responses except the likelihood of confronting the perpetrator.

Table 5.3 - *Dignity norms as mediators to* ***dignity threat reactions***

	a (Unpaid Labor)			b (Underpayment)			c (Descrimintation_SES)			d (Descrimintation_Age)		
Reactions	**Indian migrants – Dignity norms own (D) (0.21***)**											
	a_1	**a_2**	**a_3**	**b_1**	**b_2**	**b_3**	**c_1**	**c_2**	**c_3**	**d_1**	**d_2**	**d_3**
Offensive	-0.20***	**0.01**	-0.19***	0.12**	**0.05***	0.17**	0.24***	**0.05***	0.29***	0.05*	**0.05***	0.09
Image	-0.03	-0.01	-0.04	-0.02	-0.01	-0.03	0.25**	**-0.05***	0.20***	0.11**	**-0.05***	0.06*
Anger	-0.33***	**0.00**	-0.33***	0.08*	**0.04***	0.06*	0.18***	**0.06***	0.25***	0.18***	**0.02****	0.21***
Confront	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.06	-0.02	-0.08	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.03
Native Germans - Dignity norms own (0.29*)**												
Offensive	0.27***	**0.01**	0.28***	0.29***	**0.03***	0.31***	0.29***	**0.05***	0.34***	0.17**	**0.05***	0.22***
Image	-0.17**	**-0.07***	-0.24***	-0.40***	**-0.07***	-0.47***	-0.16**	**-0.05***	-0.22***	-0.21***	**-0.06***	-0.27***
Anger	0.09*	**0.00**	0.09*	0.05*	**0.05***	0.10*	0.17**	**0.05***	0.22***	0.17**	**0.05***	0.22***
Confront	0.29***	**0.00**	0.29***	0.20***	**-0.01**	0.19**	0.20***	**-0.02**	0.18**	0.10**	**0.01**	0.11***
Dignity norms – dignity threat reactions												
D- Offensive	0.04			0.11**			0.18***			0.09*		
D – Image	-0.27***			-0.13**			-0.10**			-0.15**		
D – Anger	0.02			0.16**			0.14**			0.12**		
D– Confront	-0.02			-0.05			-0.04			-0.01		

Note: **1** – coefficient for direct effect of cultural group belonging on the threat reaction in comparison to native Indians, **2** – coefficient for indirect effect of cultural group belonging on the threat reaction through the mediation of dignity norms, significant coefficients highlighted, **3** – coefficient for total effect.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Another important finding here is the negative association of dignity norms with the reaction of damaged image. This suggests that the higher endorsement of dignity norms is associated with a reduced perception of these threats as damaging to one's image. Finally, a multi-group comparison was conducted to test the significance of the difference between these four threats which confirmed that the type of threat significantly moderates this relationship.

Akin to the analysis in reactions to honor threats, with dignity threats as well, in addition to dignity norms, the mediating role of honor norms in explaining cultural differences in threat reactions was tested, with the results presented in Table 5.4. These represent the mediation by personally endorsed honor norms. This, however, had a poor model fit with almost all indirect effects (see all the 2s in Table 5.4) being insignificant with one exception. A perusal of the d_2 under the German group suggests that honor norms partially mediate the cultural differences in the reaction of perceived damage to the image for the threat of age discrimination. This mediation is positive unlike that of dignity norms (see d_2 for the German group in Table 5.3) which was negative. This is one scenario where both honor and dignity norms mediated the cultural differences in perceived damage to the image. There could be various reasons to explain this including methodological limitations. These will be discussed in the subsequent discussion section.

In summary, the model with personally endorsed dignity norms as mediators showed the best fit to explain cultural differences in reactions to dignity threats. However, the type of threat and reaction are important to consider: dignity norms partially mediated responses to all dignity threats except unpaid labor. Moreover, they mediated all reactions except the likelihood of confronting among the German group. Notably, dignity norms were associated with a negative indirect effect on perceived damage to one's image. Finally, honor norms positively mediated perceived damage to image for age discrimination.

Table 5.4 – *Honor norms as mediators to* ***dignity threat reactions***

	a (Unpaid Labor)			b (Underpayment)			c (Descrimintation_SES)			d (Descrimintation_Age)		
Reactions	**Indian migrants – Honor norms own (H) (0.09**)**											
	a_1	**a_2**	**a_3**	**b_1**	**b_2**	**b_3**	**c_1**	**c_2**	**c_3**	**d_1**	**d_2**	**d_3**
Offensive	-0.20***	**0.01**	-0.19***	0.17**	**0.00**	0.17**	0.29***	**0.00**	0.29***	0.09*	**0.00**	0.09
Image	-0.03	-0.01	-0.04	-0.02	-0.01	-0.03	0.25**	**-0.00**	0.20***	0.11**	**-0.01**	0.10**
Anger	-0.33***	**0.00**	-0.33***	0.08*	**0.01**	0.08*	0.25***	**0.00**	0.25***	0.19***	**0.02**	0.21***
Confront	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.06	-0.02	-0.08	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.03
Native Germans - Honor norms own (H) (-0.52*)**												
Offensive	0.27***	**0.01**	0.28***	0.29***	**0.03**	0.31***	0.35***	**-0.01**	0.34***	0.20***	**0.02**	0.22***
Image	-0.28***	**0.04**	-0.24***	-0.43***	**-0.03**	-0.47***	-0.23***	**-0.02**	-0.22***	-0.33***	**0.05***	-0.27***
Anger	0.09*	**0.00**	0.09*	0.08*	**0.02**	0.10**	0.24***	**-0.03**	0.22***	0.20***	**0.01**	0.22***
Confront	0.29***	**0.00**	0.29***	0.17**	**0.04**	0.20***	0.20***	**-0.02**	0.18**	0.10**	**0.01**	0.11**
Honor norms – dignity threat reactions												
D- Offensive	-0.02			-0.03			0.04			0.01		
D – Image	0.06*			-0.02			-0.03			0.12**		
D – Anger	-0.03			-0.01			0.03			-0.02		
D– Confront	-0.04			-0.03			0.03			-0.04		

Note: **1** – coefficient for direct effect of cultural group belonging on the threat reaction in comparison to native Indians, **2** – coefficient for indirect effect of cultural group belonging on the threat reaction through the mediation of dignity norms, significant coefficients highlighted, **3** – coefficient for total effect.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

5.3. Discussion:

This chapter aimed to test the role of cultural norms in the reactions to honor and dignity threats among the three groups of participants, native Indians, Germans, and Indians in Germany. In doing so, it had two objectives – one was to test the role of honor norms in reactions to honor threats. Here, it was hypothesized that honor norms rather than dignity norms should mediate reactions to honor threats. The second objective was to test the role of dignity norms in reactions to dignity threats. Here it was hypothesized that dignity norms rather than honor norms should mediate reactions to dignity threats. The exploratory part of this analysis was to test the role of own versus perceived societal endorsement and to determine if this relationship varies for the type of threat and reaction. In the moderated mediation analysis, native Indian sample was treated as the comparison group against which the reactions and norm endorsement of migrant and German groups were tested

5.3.1. Role of honor norms in reactions to honor threats

The first objective looked solely at honor threat reactions. Firstly, it was hypothesized that honor norms and not dignity norms would mediate the reactions to honor threats. This was confirmed in the moderated mediation analysis. Specifically, own endorsement of honor norms mediated the reactions to honor threats better than the perceived endorsement of norms. Three things are important in this finding - the mediating role of honor norms, the non-mediating role of dignity norms, and the role of own endorsement over perceived. We will discuss each of these.

The mediating role of honor norms aligns well with the literature on the role of honor concerns and honor values in reactions to threats. For instance, Rodriguez Mosquera et al. (2002b) investigated the role of specific honor concerns in emotional reactions to threats towards specific honor codes such as family, masculine, feminine, etc. They found the reactions to be

higher in Spanish participants over Dutch and these were mediated by the related honor concerns, such as concern for family honor mediating the reaction to family threat, concern for gendered honor mediating the reaction to feminine or masculine threat, etc. Similarly, Maitner et al. (2017) found that identification with honor mediated reactions to insults regarding national identity, but not student identity, among Arab and British participants.

In addition to supporting existing literature, the findings of the current study extend it by testing the mediation of dignity norms and showing that they did not mediate this relationship. This supports Kamir's (2006) assertion that honor and dignity, while related, are conceptually distinct. Berger (1970) in his paper "On the Obsolescence of Honor" contrasts honor with dignity, highlighting their different functions. He argues that honor requires constant defense against insults to maintain reputation and standing, whereas dignity involves recognizing the intrinsic worth of every person, including oneself and others. Although Berger suggests that honor is becoming obsolete over time, the different functions of honor and dignity are evident in the findings of the current study. However, while saying this, it is important to consider how these reactions were measured. The study focused on reactions from honor threat research, which may not capture the different reactions that dignity threats can evoke. It could be that if we had added some other reactions related to dignity, dignity norms could have mediated them. Therefore, the current finding should be interpreted as indicating that the reactions to honor threats, which are related to reputation, were not mediated by dignity norms. This also quantitatively supports the qualitative findings from Study I, showing that the dimensions tested—morality, competence (status), sociability, and stoicism—reflect qualities essential for being honorable.

Finally, own norms have mediated the reactions to honor threats better than perceived norms. This contradicts previous research (Barnes et al., 2012; Mandel & Litt, 2013) that has found that perceived societal norms are better predictors of behaviors and emotions related to honor.

However, these prior studies have tested this relationship in an honor cultural setting. In this study, the groups that were tested in the mediation model were migrants and Germans, while native Indians, who represent honor culture were kept as the baseline group. The finding of perceived norms from previous research may still hold in the case of native Indians since they scored higher on perceived societal endorsement of honor in India (see Chapter 4). Regarding migrants, their own endorsement of honor was higher than native Indians, while the perceived societal endorsement of honor in Germany was lesser. Hence their own endorsement may be a better predictor of their reactions. As seen in the previous chapter, migrants' honor endorsement is associated with maintaining heritage connections. In doing so, their personal beliefs may play a relatively higher role in heritage cultural maintenance compared to the perceived norms of the host country. This finding implies that the role of honor norms may become more internalized post-migration.

In the case of Germans, the stronger mediation through personal endorsement could be due to the higher internal standards guiding their behavior. In dignity cultures, people tend to act according to their internal standards, providing consistency in behavior (Leung & Cohen, 2011). When individuals internalize societal norms and values, they become part of their personal belief system (Schwartz, 1992). Acting in accordance with them may promote greater psychological coherence and integrity (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999). Therefore, for native Germans in the current study, the norms they personally endorse might be more stable and less subject to change, making them better predictors of their reactions.

Upon seeing which norms mediate the reactions to honor threats, the next part was to see if this relation differs for the type of threat (morality, competence, sociability, and stoicism) and the type of reaction. Here, two findings are important to consider. First, honor norms mediated the responses to all threats, except those of competence. Both German and migrant participants found the threat to competence more offensive than native Indian participants. But this was not

mediated by honor norms. Competence reflects the capacity and intelligence to achieve something, which was aimed to be threatened in this scenario. The insult was directed toward the capacity to perform at the workplace such that one does not deserve the intended promotion. It could be that this threat posed a challenge to their esteem or beliefs in their capacity. It was not more damaging to their image, and they did not want to confront more suggesting that this threat may not be related to reputation and personal image but individual factors of self-esteem and personal abilities may be at play here.

The second finding was that honor norms mediated reactions to all threats except the likelihood of confronting in the migrant group. For the German group, honor norms did mediate this reaction suggesting that for migrants other factors could be at play here. It could reflect the complex process of acculturation, where their responses might be influenced by their perceived position in the social hierarchy, concerns about social acceptance, or the risks associated with confrontation in a new cultural context. Integration often involves navigating multiple identities and cultural expectations, which could lead to a more nuanced approach to confrontation, including factors like cultural adaptation, fear of repercussions, desire to integrate smoothly into the host society, etc. When interpreting this finding, it is also crucial to consider the methodology. The scenarios presented to participants did not specify the nationality of the perpetrator, only referring to them as an acquaintance, such as a classmate or colleague. In the context of migration, this could be important, as migrants' reactions may vary depending on whether the threat comes from someone from their home country or the host country. Future research could explore this dimension, examining how reactions differ based on the perpetrator's cultural background, thereby providing a more comprehensive understanding of how honor norms operate in migrational contexts.

A final finding that is important to consider is that honor norms only partially mediate most reactions, with few fully mediated, such as those to the threat to morality. This supports the

qualitative finding of Study I that morality is seen as a fundamental aspect of honor. Therefore, its loss may be more damaging to one's honor than the loss of the other three qualities tested in this study. The other qualities—competence, sociability, and stoicism—are additive, enhancing one's honor when present but not as damaging when absent. Therefore, here, in addition to cultural norms, individual and social factors may play a role. For example, stoicism reflects the capacity to endure hardships and achieve outcomes, suggesting that self-esteem might influence reactions, with high self-esteem buffering against threats and low self-esteem exacerbating them (Baumeister et al., 2003). Moreover, these threats could be perceived as challenges rather than threats, reflecting one's self-control (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Situational factors also need to be considered. For instance, migrants may find the threat to sociability more damaging due to a lack of a strong social support network in the new country, whereas native Indians might find it less threatening as they already have many friends in their home country. Therefore, the availability of social support can play a role in how these threats are perceived, in addition to the role of honor norms.

To conclude the findings of the first objective, personally endorsed honor norms partially mediated the reactions of Indian migrants and Germans to honor threats. This mediation is moderated by the type of threat and reaction. Specifically, honor norms mediated reactions to threats concerning morality, sociability, and stoicism, but not competence. Additionally, among migrants, honor norms do not mediate the likelihood of confronting the perpetrator.

5.3.2. Role of dignity norms in reactions to dignity threats

The second objective looked at dignity threat reactions. Here, it was hypothesized that dignity norms and not honor norms would mediate the reactions to honor threats. This was confirmed in the moderated mediation analysis, with one exception: honor norms positively mediated the difference between native Indian and German participants for perceived damage to image in

the case of age discrimination. Additionally, here as well, personally endorsed norms, mediated the responses to dignity threats better than perceived norms. The salient things to consider include the mediating role of dignity norms over that of honor norms for most reactions and the role of own over perceived norms.

To conceptualize the threat scenarios for dignity, Ayers' (1984) definition was used, which posits that dignity is the theoretically equal intrinsic value that all people are born with. The scenarios were designed to threaten the concept of equal rights or equal treatment. These scenarios were specifically designed not to damage the public or family image of the participants, which may explain why honor norms do not play a role here for most of the reactions. This aligns with the distinction made by Berger (1970) and Kamir (2006) between dignity and honor as 'fundamental minimum versus higher stakes.' Since dignity serves as a fundamental value, one's inner sense of worth is crucial in guiding behavior (Kamir, 2006; Berger, 1970). Whereas the concept of honor involves higher stakes, so adherence to codes of honorable conduct might be at play here (Kamir, 2006). This finding implies that threats targeting intrinsic aspects of the individual tap into the norms related to dignity more than the norms related to reputation.

There was, however, one exception where honor norms positively mediated the perceived damage to image in the case of age discrimination. Two plausible reasons emerge. First is a methodological limitation in the framing of this scenario. In this hypothetical situation, participants were assigned less important tasks at work solely due to their younger age, without considering their experience or education. While this scenario poses a dignity threat by undermining an individual's intrinsic worth, it could also be perceived as an affront to one’s social standing. Disregarding experience and qualifications in favor of age may activate honor norms alongside dignity norms. Second, since the scenario likely triggers honor norms, these norms specifically mediate responses tied to reputational concerns—namely, perceived

damage to image. Honor norms are closely associated with reputation, which explains why only the reaction of perceived damage to image was mediated, rather than other responses.

The other finding from the mediational analysis was that the dignity norms are more influential at the own endorsement level than at the level of perceived endorsement. This also provides support for the concept of dignity as an intrinsic concept that guides one's behavior through personal standards (Leung & Cohen, 2011). Similar to the explanation of honor norms, personally endorsed dignity norms might be more stable and less subject to change promoting greater psychological coherence and integrity (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999), hence making them better predictors of their reactions.

Upon testing that dignity norms mediate the reaction to dignity threats, the next part was to see if this relationship differs for the type of threat and the type of reaction. Three findings are important here. First, dignity norms mediated the reaction to all threats except that of unpaid labor. The scenario of unpaid labor was designed to make participants feel exploited due to their inferior status in a work project, receiving an appreciation letter highlighting their contributions instead of the deserved monetary compensation. Here, migrant participants found it less offensive than native Indian participants and German participants found it more offensive, both of which were not mediated by dignity norms. The framing and conceptualization of the threat scenario could also be a reason here. For the migrant group, the work project and the appreciation letter may have been seen as opportunities to build networks at work or university, which could reduce feelings of exploitation and thus not activate dignity norms. On the other hand, while German participants found the situation more offensive than native Indian participants, the scenario's emphasis on economic exploitation, rather than dehumanizing or degrading behavior, may have shifted their focus to issues like labor laws or employment rights. As a result, concerns about fairness or justice were likely triggered rather than personal dignity which may not directly trigger dignity-related concerns.

The second finding is the negative indirect effect of dignity norms on perceived damage to image across all threats. This suggests that their endorsement reduces the effect of culture on perceived damage to image. In other words, since migrants and Germans endorsed dignity norms more than native Indians, it could be that they found the threats less damaging to their image. This is in line with the conceptualization of dignity as an intrinsic rather than an external aspect of an individual. This also aligns with the work of Lucas et al., (2013) who found that in the workplace, threats to dignity are seen more from a personal growth or harm perspective and not as how other teammates will perceive them.

The third finding is that dignity norms mediate all reactions except the likelihood of confronting the perpetrator. Reactions to dignity threats are still underresearched, especially in behavioral responses. Some reasoning for this finding comes from work on organizational management by Tilton et al., (2024) who found that when threats to dignity occur for employees who are at beginner levels, the usual response is to ignore it or to withdraw oneself. Many factors could be at play here, such as acceptance of power differences, and availability of other options (for instance other jobs are easily available so walking out can be easier). This may not relate to dignity per se. Moreover, just as the discussion for unpaid labor, it is also important to see the methodological approach. The behavioral reaction was measured with one item asking how likely participants would confront the perpetrator. This might work in the context of honor threats where the perpetrator was an acquaintance who could be confronted. However, dignity threats were formulated in settings of inequality where the perpetrator was higher up in the hierarchy. Here, confrontation might look different than directly approaching the perpetrator for instance, through indirect complaints. Future work could employ more rigorous methods to measure behavioral intentions regarding dignity threats, which give participants more options such as indirect confrontation, involving third parties, etc.

Finally, similar to the findings in honor threats, it should be noted that dignity norms partially mediate the reactions to dignity threats, suggesting more factors are at play. As Wein (2022) has suggested in his extensive review of the measurement and application of dignity, many concepts are related to dignity. First, being an intrinsic concept, it is closely related to self-respect and self-esteem (Lalljee et al., 2013). Second, as discussed in the confrontational responses to dignity threats, situational factors are important to consider. Most dignity threats, even in these scenarios, occur in the context of power or hierarchical differences. Organizational environment, power dynamics, support networks, etc. could also play a role in buffering or exacerbating these responses in addition to dignity norms (Beehr & Glazer, 2001; Van Kleef & Cheng, 2020).

To conclude the findings of the second objective, personally endorsed dignity norms partially mediated the reactions of Indian migrant and German participants to dignity threats. This was moderated by the type of threat and reaction. Specifically, dignity norms mediated the reactions to all dignity threats except that of unpaid labor. They did not mediate the likelihood of confronting the perpetrator and negatively mediated perceived damage to one's image.

5.3.3. Summary

In summary, both honor and dignity norms mediated responses to the threats within their respective domains, and in both, personally endorsed norms mediated this relationship partially. The type of threat and the type of reaction moderated this relationship. In the case of honor norms, it is the non-mediation of reactions to the threat to competence and the likelihood of confronting among migrants. For dignity norms, it is the non-mediation of reactions to unpaid labor and for the likelihood to confront, with a negative indirect effect on perceived damage to one's image.

5.4. Concluding comments

The current chapter highlights the crucial role played by personal norms in mediating individuals' responses to threats directed at one's reputation and one's intrinsic sense of self. Key considerations in this analysis include the type of threat and the corresponding reactions elicited. Building upon the findings in the previous chapter, this chapter provides a cohesive framework that systematically examines these variables and explores their interrelationships. By investigating both honor and dignity in the context of norms and threats, the study makes some theoretical advancements, particularly in understanding dignity-related phenomena. Moreover, the comparison between migrant and native groups offers valuable insights into the dynamics of migration in the honor-dignity paradigm. Nonetheless, the study is not without its limitations, all of which will be thoroughly addressed in the subsequent and final chapter of this thesis – General Discussion.

Chapter 6 - General Discussion

6.1. Introduction

In today's increasingly globalized world, the movement of people across countries has become more prevalent than ever. Individuals migrate for various reasons, including but not limited to economic opportunities, educational aspirations, family reunions, and forced displacement. (Castles, 2003; De Haas, 2010; Massey et al., 1993; Zetter, 2015). As a result, diverse cultural groups interact and coexist within shared spaces. This, however, brings to light the importance of understanding and respecting cultural differences without which we risk exacerbating tensions and misunderstandings that can arise from cultural clashes (Cohen, 2001; Hofstede, 2001).

There are various dimensions on which cultures differ, for instance in communication styles (e.g., high vs. low context), values (individualism-collectivism, power distance (Hofstede, 1980), social norms (tight versus loose norms (Gelfand et al., 2011), and many more probably influencing how individuals perceive and react to the world around them. This doctoral project looked at a specific variable in studying cultural differences - reactions to hypothetical threats targeting reputation and inherent sense of being. Specifically, it examined threats to honor and dignity across three cultural groups: native Indians, representing honor cultures; native Germans, representing dignity cultures; and Indian migrants to Germany, whose responses were expected to shed light on differences, if any, associated with migration from honor to dignity cultures

Honor, defined as one's perceived worth in the eyes of both oneself and society (Pitt-Rivers, 1965), is more fragile due to its relatively higher reliance on external validation. In contrast, dignity refers to the intrinsic and stable trait every individual is believed to possess from birth (Ayers, 1984). In cultures where honor plays an important role in guiding individual behavior and social system, such as Southern United States, Southern Asia, the Middle East, Eastern

Europe, etc. (Aslani et al., 2016; Krys et al., 2017; Maitner et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2017; Szmajke, 2008; Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Yao et al., 2017; Zdybek & Walczak, 2019), people often react strongly to threats that target their honor in order to uphold this valued attribute compared to people in dignity cultures such as Northwestern Europe, the United Kingdom, Northern United States, etc. (Harinck et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2010; Krys et al., 2017; Leung & Cohen, 2011; Maitner et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2017). Taking this as the starting point, this thesis aimed to extend the literature on honor and dignity cultural differences in two areas: one being the understanding of dignity and the other being migration within the honor-dignity paradigm. Many migrants currently entering the Northwestern European dignity cultures often come from honor-based societies (Enwing, 2008; Ne'eman-Haviv, 2021). There have also been media and public discourses on how honor beliefs could interfere with the integration of these communities in Western societies, arguing that these beliefs may be fundamentally incompatible with Western values of rights, gender equality, freedom, etc. (Korteweg, 2014). Yet, empirical studies testing these claims are limited and show mixed evidence.

The differences in how these two societies perceive and uphold honor, combined with the limited work on migration in the honor-dignity paradigm, prompted the central research question of this thesis: 'Is migration from honor to dignity cultures associated with any differences in the endorsement of honor and dignity norms, and subsequently in reactions to honor and dignity threats among migrants compared to the natives?' Answering this question would tell us if movement between cultures has any association with the differences in norm endorsement among migrants compared to natives. For instance, if we find that the endorsement of honor is lower among Indian migrants than among native Indian participants, and that of dignity is higher, it could indicate that migration has some relation to these differences. In doing so, the study also included native German participants, allowing us to

compare migrants' responses not just to natives back home but also to natives in the host country.

This addition of native German participants led to the second key focus of this study: understanding dignity. While there is relatively more research on how honor is understood and protected across different cultures, studies on dignity are less common. This may be because dignity is often seen as an intuitive concept, perceived as intrinsic and universally stable (Ayers, 1984; Wein, 2022). However, in cross-cultural contexts, even similar concepts can provoke different behavioral and emotional responses, making it essential to explore the meaning of dignity. This would also help to shed light on how individuals from dignity cultures respond when norms that are important to them are threatened.

Given the above background, this project aimed to address three key research questions (RQ):
RQ1: *How do native Indian and German participants perceive honor and dignity as two differential aspects of self-worth?*

RQ2: *How do the three groups, native Indians, native Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany, differ in their norm endorsement and threats reactions?*

RQ3: *How do endorsement of honor and dignity norms mediate the cultural differences in reactions to honor and dignity threats?*

6.2. Overview of main objectives and findings

This thesis aimed to answer the above three questions employing a mixed methods approach. The aim of the first research question was twofold: To extend the regional scope of honor cultures by studying it in India, and secondly, to advance our understanding of dignity in a practical, everyday, cross-cultural setting; thereby also developing a measurement tool for dignity norms. Due to its exploratory nature, the study employed a qualitative bottom-up

approach to understand the concepts of honor and dignity in North India and Germany through focus group discussions. These discussions were structured around key questions designed to explore the definitions, components, personal importance, and perceived societal views on honor and dignity. The transcribed data was analyzed using thematic analysis **(Chapter 2).**

The analysis was conducted separately for honor and dignity. Participants from both North India and Germany associated honor primarily with social reputation, often expressed through phrases like 'respect by others', 'my image that others have of me' etc. Indian participants emphasized the collective aspect of honor, frequently referencing family and community, and highlighted how honor can be beyond personal control and vulnerable to public perception. German participants, on the other hand, found the concept more limiting and were less inclined to elaborate on it, viewing it as a potential constraint on judging others. Both groups acknowledged the importance of earning honor. Indian narratives were more detailed, reflecting a broader and more intricate understanding of honor, while German discussions on the topic were relatively brief supporting the literature on honor's limited role in guiding the social life of people in dignity cultures (Berger, 1970; Stewart, 2015).

By asking about the ways to enhance and lose honor, the study identified five core themes representing the important qualities of honor: duty, morality, status, sociability, and stoicism, each with specific sub-themes. Duty and morality were seen as general and necessary elements and were highlighted more from a 'loss' perspective. In other words, fulfilling one's duty and acting morally are intended to preserve one's reputation and may or may not contribute more. However, their loss might be more detrimental to honor. This perspective of loss is in line with the work on honor cultures suggesting that loss of reputation is close to being irreversible and that one needs to be wary of maintaining the reputation (Cohen, et al., 1997; Kay, 2012). ***Duty*** represented obligations to societal norms, roles, promises, and reciprocity. ***Morality*** focused on building a reputation of moral character, with participants in both groups valuing integrity

and condemning actions like faking and greed. Indian participants additionally discussed moral relativism, where right and wrong are contextual and dependent on group harmony. The identification of duty and morality as necessary elements of honor, especially from a loss perspective, points to the psychological effects of such loss, including feelings of intense shame, social anxiety, etc., and highlights the importance of studying culturally specific coping mechanisms for these specific aspects of honor.

The other three, status, sociability, and stoicism, were seen as specific and additive elements of honor, discussed from a 'gain' perspective. In other words, having more accomplishments in one's field, being on a pedestal, being sociable and renowned, etc., would strengthen and boost one's honor. However, lacking these does not always jeopardize honor when contrasted with being immoral and non-dutiful. These are in line with the situations generated by Turkish and American participants in the study by Uskul et al., (2012) where the honor-threatening situations included accusations of cheating, public humiliation, etc. whereas individual achievement, praise, helping, etc, were associated with honor enhancement. An important remark here is that these categories emphasize their relative and not absolute impact on honor enhancement or loss. ***Status*** involved accomplishments and hierarchical advancement, with German participants emphasizing building a legacy and Indian participants highlighting the influence of power and hierarchical positions. ***Sociability*** included being socially competent, affectionate, and helpful, with a focus on selflessness and community service in both groups. ***Stoicism*** was discussed as enduring personal loss and struggling for honorable outcomes, with Indian participants valuing sacrifice and differing from the crowd for a greater cause.

These additive elements suggest a need for further investigation into how these elements contribute to honor enhancement and how their impact varies across different cultural contexts. In this thesis, we looked at how participants reacted when these were threatened and saw that Germans found the threat to competence offensive while native Indians found the threat to

stoicism more offensive. Just as how the negative impact varies between the groups, the positive could also vary and motivate different behaviors in people. These elements are particularly important in settings such as organizational or professional contexts where achievement motivation may be higher than just maintaining honor.

Concerning dignity, participants found it challenging to define it, often contrasting it with honor to clarify its meaning. Dignity was understood as an internal sense of worth, with Indian participants emphasizing self-respect and German participants linking it to universal human rights. While honor was viewed as externally conferred and variable, dignity was seen as relatively stable, rather than being enhanced or easily lost, though it could be threatened. This aligns with Kamir's (2006) and Schachter's (1983) view that dignity is often understood more through the absence or violation of it, rather than through a direct and explicit understanding, highlighting its functional role.

Participants discussed dignity as a concept intertwined with both individual and social dimensions, distinct from honor yet similarly rooted in respect and self-worth. Two primary themes emerged as general or fundamental elements: individuality and self-governance. ***Individuality*** underscored the importance of respecting each person's unique characteristics and backgrounds, which can often be violated through discrimination, misuse of power to exploit inferior people, etc. ***Self-governance*** emphasizes the importance of letting people take charge of their own life choices without external interference, with a strong emphasis on the concept of consent, particularly stressed in Indian discussions. These are also seen in the social and human dignity proposed by Jacobson (2019) or the societal dignity by Killmister (2017).

In contrast to honor, which had additive elements that could enhance it, dignity was portrayed as more stable. Many participants had trouble imagining how it is gained or lost, though everyone gave examples of how it is threatened. Across both cultural groups, participants

suggested ways to realize one's dignity and act accordingly. This was seen in the two contextual themes of dignity – resistance and enrichment. ***Resistance*** involved avoiding situations that compromise one's dignity or standing firm against any challenges to it. ***Enrichment*** emphasized realizing personal importance through self-care, creativity, fulfillment, etc. Unlike honor's emphasis on external achievements, enrichment here, focused on making choices for oneself to realize one's value or worth and not for enhancing one's image.

These four elements of dignity imply two key themes: recognizing dignity and protecting it, both for oneself and others. The qualitative findings of this study illustrated how dignity is perceived and enacted in practice. However, given that participants struggled to conceptualize how dignity is gained or lost, it highlights a need for further research into the mechanisms that sustain dignity over time. While legal mechanisms exist to address wrongdoings, social mechanisms could also play a critical role in preserving dignity. For instance, for honor, participants mentioned how honor codes shape behavior through mechanisms such as social acceptance, image preservation, etc. Future research could explore such mechanisms for the maintenance and protection of dignity. Such insights could be valuable for developing training programs and policies designed to uphold and safeguard dignity in various contexts.

Participants in the study initially struggled to distinguish between honor and dignity, often describing them as closely intertwined concepts. However, as discussions progressed, the distinctions became clearer - dignity was consistently portrayed as deriving from within, reflecting personal worth and stability, whereas honor was perceived as externally bestowed and more susceptible to societal influences. Indian participants noted that honor operates as a pre-existing societal order that shapes early perceptions and behavior. Unlike Germans, who tended to prioritize dignity more definitively, Indians viewed both concepts as equally important, highlighting a dual and perhaps contextual focus on both honor and dignity.

These findings suggest two key implications for the next study. First, they emphasize the importance of examining honor and dignity separately, acknowledging their distinct roles in shaping individual responses across different cultural contexts. This stems from several observations. The differential analysis of honor and dignity revealed that honor involves both necessary and additive aspects, suggesting that different qualities need to be prioritized to earn or maintain one's honor. In contrast, dignity focuses on realizing and upholding intrinsic worth. This difference implies that honor and dignity, while distinct, may not be mutually exclusive or incompatible. Individuals can value both, as evidenced by the difficulty and hesitation Indian participants expressed when choosing which one is more important for them. The qualitative study, therefore, provides valuable themes for further exploration among Indians, Germans, and especially Indian migrants in Germany. The second implication is the support these findings offer for the selection of India as an honor culture and Germany as a dignity culture. This is evidenced by the complex and nuanced meanings Indian participants attributed to honor, frequently linking it to their families and communities, while German participants provided brief, straightforward responses regarding honor and often associated dignity with legal rights and laws.

Other than this, the findings from this study were used in developing two new materials **(Chapter 3)** for the second quantitative study - first, the dignity scale, a bi-factorial measure with two dimensions - other-oriented dignity and self-oriented dignity; and second, the scenarios, which were generated to explore the reactions of participants to both honor and dignity threats based on the obtained themes. Both of these were pre-tested for their psychometric soundness. For honor threats, the scenarios for the themes of morality, status (competence), sociability, and stoicism, were retained for the main data collection. These scenarios capture situations where individuals are insulted by an acquaintance on these four qualities. In contrast, for dignity, the scenarios only from the theme of individuality were

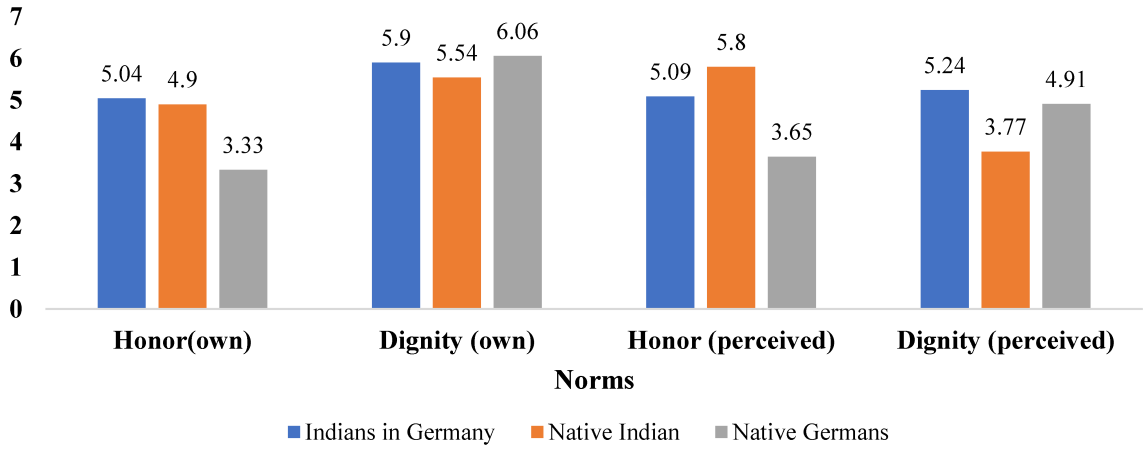
retained emphasizing threats that undermine inherent qualities like age, socioeconomic status, etc. The scenarios captured two types of exploitation (unpaid labor and underpayment) and two types of discrimination (on family SES and age). The study avoids direct comparisons between honor and dignity threats and instead focuses on the cultural variations in reactions of Indians, Germans, and Indian migrants to each threat.

Data was collected from all three groups online through the SoSci survey. To answer the second research question - *How do the three groups, native Indians, native Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany, differ in their norm endorsement and threats reactions?* – the three groups were compared on their mean differences in all the variables of the study **(Chapter 4)**. The chapter had four objectives, each aiming towards a new contribution to the two areas discussed at the beginning of this chapter – dignity and migration.

The first objective aimed to see how the three groups differ in honor and dignity norm endorsement. Here, norms were measured at two levels, participants' own endorsement and their perceived endorsement of these norms in the country they currently reside. Figure 6.1 summarizes the responses of the three groups across all the norms.

Figure 6.1

Own and perceived societal norm endorsement across the three participant groups



As seen in Figure 6.1, for own endorsement, the Indian migrant sample endorsed honor norms significantly higher than both native Indian and German participants, while German participants endorsed dignity norms the highest. Notably, Indian migrant participants endorsed both honor and dignity norms more than native Indian participants. In terms of perceived societal norms, native Indian participants perceived a higher societal endorsement of honor norms in India, while migrants perceived a higher endorsement of dignity norms in Germany. Here, migrant participants perceived higher societal endorsement of both honor and dignity in Germany compared to native German participants.

The findings for both native participants are in line with the literature on higher concern for valuing honor codes in honor over dignity cultures and vice-versa for dignity norms. (Barnes et al., 2012; Cohen et al., 1996; Cross et al., 2014; Maitner et al., 2017, 2022; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Rodriquez Mosquera et al., 2002; Uskul, et al., 2012). However, the findings from the migrant group provide an important research implication that migration might be associated with differences in honor and dignity norm endorsement. The general pattern here was a positive and higher endorsement of both honor and dignity norms, at own and perceived levels, among the migrant group. This is similar to a study by Lonnquist et al (2011) who found an increase in both, conservation as well as universalism among Russian immigrants in Finland post-migration. This supports the implication from the first qualitative study of this thesis that honor and dignity, though distinct and at times contradictory, are not entirely incompatible. There are good reasons to study the role of both these norms separately, especially for a group of people who are exposed to both cultural settings. This is further complemented by relating their norm endorsement to their acculturation strategies.

This study used two theoretical models to measure acculturation– the psychological acculturation model of John Berry (1997) and the sociological integration model of Hartmut Esser (2001). Among the four strategies in Berry's model, only integration positively predicted

both honor and dignity norm endorsements, own as well as perceived. This indicates that Indian cultural maintenance, as well as adaptation to German culture, are associated with the endorsement of both these norms among migrants. This was further supported by other findings like separation predicting honor norms positively, associating its role with the connections back home.

Further exploration using Esser's (2001) dimensions complements the findings of Berry's (2001) model by providing some practical inputs from the host society that could be helpful in the integration of migrants considering both honor and dignity norms. From his model, language proficiency positively predicted both honor and dignity endorsement, suggesting the importance of language in cultural integration (Schmid, 2001), particularly in Germany (Mittelstadt & Odag, 2016). Having friends of other ethnicities positively predicted dignity norm endorsements (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), while emotional attachment to Germany was linked to higher honor norm endorsement probably suggesting the retention of honor norms despite a strong emotional connection to the host country (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007).

These findings suggest that honor and dignity norms are associated with different acculturation strategies among migrants. The ways they choose to integrate might reflect the varying importance of these norms in the two contexts - home and host. By demonstrating this, the findings indicate that honor norms, at least in the way treated in this study, may not interfere with the integration of migrants into Western societies. This was seen even when both these norms were studied using Esser's model which examines integration purely from the perspective of host society. For instance, learning the language of the host country predicted both the norms positively suggesting that they are not incompatible. Yet, these are associations and do not imply that acculturation strategies are the reason for these norms. A longitudinal study conducted pre- and post-migration, coupled with experimental approaches, would be an excellent way to build on and contribute to this initial understanding.

The other objective of chapter four was to compare the three groups on reactions to honor and dignity threats. This objective aimed not only to enhance the findings on migration but also to contribute to our understanding of dignity by examining reactions to its threats. At first, in line with previous literature, native Indian participants reacted strongly to honor threats compared to German participants. Concerning dignity threat participants, Germans found them more offensive, were angrier, and more likely to confront. Whereas, native Indian participants found them more damaging to their image, although across all groups honor threats were seen to be more damaging to the image compared to dignity threats. This suggests that cultural differences might exist not only in responding to honor but also towards dignity threats. This could be because most dignity threats exist in settings of inequality or hierarchy (Jacobson, 2009) such as in age, gender, financial or professional status, and so on. There are cultural differences in the extent to which these hierarchies are accepted (Hofstede, 2001). This could influence how people perceive or react to dignity threats. For instance, a threat to dignity coming from a senior at work, or an elderly at home, may not be responded to strongly in honor cultures, as was seen in the current study. This suggests that though the understanding of dignity as an intrinsic and stable trait might be similar across cultures (as seen in some of the narratives from the first qualitative study), how one reacts when it is threatened might have a cultural side to it that needs to be explored more in future research. Additionally, future studies could investigate reactions that are more specific to the concept of dignity, rather than relying on frameworks developed from research on honor, as was done in the present study. This approach could clarify whether certain scenarios are genuinely perceived as threats to dignity and how these perceptions vary across different cultural contexts.

With regards to the migrant group, except for damage to the image, their reactions to both honor and dignity threats were stronger than native Indian participants. Moreover, the type of threat also has an association with the context of the group. Migrant participants found threats

to competence and discrimination more damaging. While both native participants found the threat to morality and exploitation more damaging (these are honor and dignity threats, respectively). This suggests that with migration, not just honor and dignity norms, but also the specific qualities of these concepts might hold differential significance. The concern of migrants with competence and discrimination suggests the importance of these aspects in a new country where the need to establish oneself is evident. Here, people might be sensitive to any threats targeted toward their capabilities as well as their backgrounds, perhaps given their minority status in the new country (Yang & Ebaugh, 2001).

Just as norms, the threat reactions of migrants were also tested with their acculturation strategies. From all the threat reactions, perceived damage to image (personal, social, and family) was positively predicted by all four of Berry's (1997) acculturation strategies, and only the social interaction dimension of Esser (2001). Both these findings indicate that concern for the image is prevalent in any social interaction, regardless of the strategies one chooses to integrate into the host country.

The findings of Chapter 4 confirmed that the three groups differ in both, norm endorsements as well as threat reactions. Given this, **Chapter 5** aimed to answer the final research question of the thesis – *How do endorsement of honor and dignity norms mediate the cultural differences in reactions to honor and dignity threats?* This question was answered separately for honor and dignity threats. In both cases, the hypotheses were similar. The study treats honor and dignity as conceptually different and predicts that they should mediate cultural differences in responses to only those threats related to them. That is, honor norms should mediate the differences in reactions to honor and not dignity threats and vice versa for dignity norms. To test this, moderated mediational analysis was conducted using structural equation modeling in SPSS Amos (V29). Here, the independent variable, Culture, was entered into the model such that the native Indian group was kept as the comparison group against which the reactions of

migrants and native German participants were tested. The outcome variables included the reactions of offensiveness, damaged image (personal, social, and family combined), anger, and likelihood to confront. For mediators, both honor and dignity norms were studied at both levels, own and perceived. Finally, the type of threat was included as the moderator.

In the case of honor threat reactions, personally endorsed honor norms partially mediated the reactions of migrants and German participants better than perceived honor norms and dignity norms, supporting the conceptual differences between honor and dignity (Berger, 1973; Kamir, 2006). Moreover, honor norms mediated reactions to all threats except the threat to competence. This exception could be attributed to the scenario's framing or suggest that other individual factors like self-efficacy might be at play. For the migrant group, honor norms mediated all reactions except the likelihood of confronting the perpetrator. This might reflect the complexity of migration, where additional factors beyond honor, such as cultural adaptation, fear of repercussions, etc. come into play. Confrontation, being a visible action, may be influenced by the specifics of whom the migrant must confront—whether individuals from their home country or the host country. This nuance in response underscores the need for future research to explore how these factors interact in the context of migration and confrontation.

With dignity threats as well, personally endorsed dignity norms partially mediated the reactions to dignity threats better than perceived dignity norms and honor norms. Further, they mediated the reactions to all threats except that of exploitation (unpaid labor). This could have also been an issue with the framing of this scenario, where the participant receives an experience letter instead of a deserved monetary compensation while working on a project. The letter could have mitigated the effects of exploitation. Moreover, dignity norms mediated all the reactions except the likelihood of confronting. Since most of these threats occur in any work scenarios with hierarchical differences, various factors other than dignity could be at work in the

confrontational responses, such as acceptance of power distance, availability of other jobs (Tilton et al., 2024), policies in the institution (Hick, 2011), etc. Another aspect could be different ways of reacting to dignity threats other than mere confrontation that need to be explored and tested.

Finally, the endorsement of dignity norms negatively mediated the perception of damage to the image. This suggests that the higher endorsement of dignity norms is associated with a reduced tendency to associate the threat to personal, social, or family image. This further adds support to the concept of dignity as an internal aspect whose effect is limited more to the self rather than spilling over to others (Kamir, 2006; Maitner, et al., 2017).

Overall, the results of this mixed-method study can be summarized using the three research questions that were used to guide this entire thesis. By answering the first research – *How do native Indian and German participants perceive honor and dignity as two differential aspects of self-worth?* – the first qualitative study gave important themes of honor and dignity seen through differential focus (enhancement and loss for honor while general and specific understanding for dignity); provided qualitative support to the selected cases, and an understanding of honor and dignity when studied together. By answering the second research question - *How do the three groups, native Indians, native Germans, and Indian migrants in Germany, differ in their norm endorsement and threats reactions?* – the quantitative study confirmed that migration from honor to dignity cultures might be associated with differences in endorsing honor and dignity norms and reacting when these are threatened. Further, through acculturation, it suggested that while honor norms are important for heritage cultural maintenance, dignity norms are important for host adaptation. And that these might not be incompatible with each other. Secondly, the answer to this research question also suggests that reactions to dignity threats can differ across cultures and across types of dignity threats. Finally, the answer to the final research question - *How do endorsement of honor and dignity norms*

mediate the cultural differences in reactions to honor and dignity threats?– shows that honor and dignity norms play a role in reactions to threats related to only their domain. For instance, honor norms did not mediate the reactions to dignity threats and vice versa for dignity norms. This suggests that they are conceptually different and have different roles. In this, the type of threat and the type of reaction are also important to consider.

6.3. Conceptual and theoretical contributions

By answering every research question, this project aims to make conceptual as well as practical contributions. To begin with, the first research question aimed at testing the understanding of both honor and dignity in India and Germany. Here, the findings for honor added to its multifaceted nature by looking from both, gain and loss perspectives. Most research on honor looks at the consequences of its loss, which may limit its understanding to a restrictive concept (for instance, see Baldry et al., 2013; Barnes et al., 2012; Cohen, 1996). Very few studies have looked at honor from both these perspectives (for instance, see Cross et al., 2013; Uskul et al., 2012). The findings from the current project indicate the differential impact of honor when both, its gain and loss, are considered. For example, duty and morality were seen as necessary while the other three, status, sociability, and stoicism, were seen as additive. This has implications for how people react when necessary versus when additional aspects are threatened. This was seen in the empirical findings, where the threat to morality was seen to be most damaging for image and anger-eliciting in all three groups. Therefore, considering both gain and loss perspectives adds an important aspect to the multifaceted nature of honor. Here, a new component of stoicism emerged in the additive themes, which reflects the enduring hardships and glorifies the struggles to be honorable. This was seen to be more elaborated in the Indian groups. For example, while providing food for a friend who is hospitalized, it could be that for people from honor cultures, the efforts to make the food are important, even if, or

especially when one's schedule does not permit time for it. Whereas, for people from dignity cultures, the final action, which is taking the food, may it be self-cooked or ordered, is more important. This is a hypothetical scenario and needs more attention through empirical work. In this study, this theme was quantitatively tested across groups through insults to this quality. Here, Indian participants found it more offensive than German participants. However future studies can directly test this theme by studying its importance through various similar examples.

Another important theoretical contribution from this qualitative study was towards the understanding of dignity in a cross-cultural setting. Studies that have tried to understand the meaning of dignity as reflected in daily life are limited (Kamir, 2006; Menkor et al., 2018; Schachter, 1973) Here, unlike honor, a gain or loss perspective was not evident for dignity, rather realization and protection were the major aspects for its understanding. These yielded four important themes, two of which – individuality and self-governance, were further used in creating a bi-factorial dignity norms scale. The scale presents an important contribution to the literature by covering both social and personal aspects of dignity.

Yet another contribution comes from testing cultural differences in reactions to dignity threats. Very few studies have looked at how people react when their dignity is threatened (Wein, 2022). By studying dignity at the individual threat level, these findings show that the reactions of people from dignity cultures can also be stronger compared to those from honor cultures. While showing this, it opens up some more related questions. For instance, in the present study, all threats to dignity were framed within scenarios involving inequality or hierarchical differences. This context may have contributed to the differing reactions observed between honor and dignity cultures. Future research could explore whether threats to dignity also arise in situations characterized by equality. It would then be intriguing to examine whether the

cultural differences identified in the current study persist in such contexts. Moreover, as discussed earlier, all of the reactions were taken from honor research. Hence some of the reactions (especially those related to the image) were still higher in native Indian participants. Future studies could look at more specific reactions to dignity threats.

By including both honor and dignity, this project showed that they can exist as distinct concepts with differential roles. This was seen initially in the qualitative study through the different categories for analyzing each construct. Next, it was seen in the final mediational analysis where they mediated the reactions to only those scenarios that threatened their respective domains. Moreover, different acculturation strategies predicted both these norms in the migrant group further providing support to their differential roles.

This brings us to the other central contribution of this study which lies in the understanding of acculturation within the honor-dignity paradigm by studying the Indian migrants in Germany. This research focus within the honor-dignity paradigm is relatively new with very few empirical findings but is important given the growing number of migrants from honor-oriented backgrounds on one hand and the negative connotation towards honor in media and public discourse (Kortweg, 2014) on the other.

The findings of this study showed that movement from honor to dignity cultures is associated with higher endorsement of both honor and dignity norms among migrants compared to the natives from honor cultures. Moreover, both these norms play different roles in integration related to own cultural maintenance and host cultural adaptation. In doing so, the study used two approaches towards acculturation by including the aspects of its process (through Berry's (1997) model) as well as the outcome-oriented dimensions (through Esser's (2001) model). This validated the distinct roles of honor and dignity norms by demonstrating that different factors predict these norms (e.g., separation predicting honor, interethnic friendships predicting

dignity, etc.). Furthermore, factors that predicted both honor and dignity norms, such as integration and language acquisition, do so positively, indicating that an increase in one does not necessitate a decrease in the other. Consequently, endorsing honor norms may not impede migrants' integration, and forming friendships and learning the language in the host country could enhance the integration process.

6.4. Practical implications

With growing diversity, comes the need to be culturally sensitive and respectful (Hicks, 2012). One of the major practical implications of this study lies in facilitating cross-cultural sensitivity and understanding. This comes from certain findings from the qualitative study. For instance, the discussions with Indian participants revealed the coexistence of differing values in India, such as the equal importance towards honor and dignity, moral integrity as well as moral relativism, etc. This was also seen in the quantitative study through high scores on both honor and dignity norm endorsement among Indian participants, especially migrants. This finding might help Germans, in this case, and Westerners in general, understand the power of situational context for Indians, and people from other honor backgrounds, and hence the consequential variations in their behaviors. This is important because such variation in behavior from a Western perspective might appear as oversensitivity to slights or mistakes and an extreme concern over losing honor, at times infringing personal dignity. Conversely, people from honor-oriented societies might fail to understand Westerners who could make decisions without speculating its effects on their group and might consider them self-centered. The findings of the current study can help prevent such cultural misunderstandings and aid in interculturally sensitive interpersonal behavior.

Going beyond intercultural sensitivity, these findings can also inform integration programs by recognizing how honor and dignity perceptions differ. The important finding here is that a high endorsement of one need not go with a low endorsement of the other, precisely because they

play different roles and are predicted by different dimensions of acculturation. This could help address specific cultural concerns and facilitate smoother adaptation processes. A finding that resonates here is that language and having inter-ethnic friends positively predicted dignity norm endorsement, suggesting that efforts to increase intercultural contact in addition to enhancing language capacities are a good way to foster adaptation to the host culture. It may also be beneficial for migrants to recognize that while this process aids in adaptation and attachment to the host country, they can still maintain connections to their home culture, as evidenced by the positive association between honor norms and emotional attachment to Germany. This insight is crucial, as migrants may sometimes hesitate to integrate into the host society due to concerns that doing so could reduce their commitment to heritage norms and, in turn, weaken their sense of belonging to their heritage culture.

Insights into these cultural norms could also guide the development of policies in workplaces, educational institutions, and social services that respect and integrate the diverse values of different cultural groups, promoting a more inclusive environment and enhancing social cohesion. Here, an area related to cross-cultural sensitivity is conflict resolution where the findings from this study could be helpful by illustrating how honor and dignity norms are related to one's reactions to perceived threats. This could help mediators effectively navigate conflicts involving individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds, fostering an understanding of these norms and reducing social tensions.

6.5. Limitations and directions for future research

While making important contributions, the study has certain limitations that need to be acknowledged to clarify its scope and area of improvement. The first limitation concerns the generalizability of this project. In both, the qualitative as well as quantitative sections, primary data was collected which may not represent the broader population. The study focused only on Indians, natives and migrants, and Germans which limits its generalizability to other honor and

dignity cultures at large. Future studies could strive to balance the representativity more effectively. Including more diverse samples, particularly from different cultural contexts, is crucial for assessing the universality of this study's findings.

This is particularly true for the migrant context. Indian students in Germany represent a very specific group of migrants. They are young adults who have migrated for academic purposes. Their findings may not be generalized to all migrant groups, considering the vast domain that migration is, the various types of migrations that exist (such as family reunion, forced displacement, and skilled migration.), as well as different levels of migration such as intergenerational migration. It is possible that, for instance, when people migrate with their families or for family reunification, they might not seek out new social circles as actively, especially if their family members become their primary social network. (Kurti Sinatra & Sabanova, 2021). The presence of a family can also mean that the need to establish new social ties may feel less urgent, as the emotional and social support usually provided by friends might already be met by family members. This could affect their norm endorsement, especially of dignity, since in the current doctoral project intercultural friendships were related to higher dignity endorsement. Future studies can include these dimensions in their research to understand more nuances of migration within the honor-dignity paradigm. They can also look at migration from other directions, such as dignity to honor, honor to honor, and dignity to dignity, etc. as well as migration back home post a long stay in the host country.

An important limitation of this study is the potential for self-selection bias among Indian students who migrate to Germany for academic purposes. Individuals who opt to leave their home country and pursue higher education abroad may possess distinct personal traits, such as a higher degree of openness to new experiences, adaptability, or motivation for success, compared to those who choose to remain in their home country. These inherent characteristics may influence their attitudes toward dignity and honor norms, making them more likely to

endorse values associated with dignity culture. For instance, individuals with a greater tendency to seek personal growth or academic achievement may prioritize individuality and self-governance, the two core components of dignity norms assessed in this project. This could mean that their cultural attitudes would already be more aligned with dignity norms before migration, potentially skewing the results of the study. Additionally, self-selection might also explain why this group of migrants would form intercultural friendships more readily, further increasing their exposure to dignity-based norms. Those who might be more open to new social circles and diverse cultural experiences may actively seek out these relationships, whereas individuals less inclined toward intercultural engagement may not migrate at all. This selection effect can limit the generalizability of the findings, as the migrant students in the study might not reflect the attitudes or experiences of other migrant groups, such as those who migrate for family reunification or for employment purposes, where different norms and motivations can come into play.

Another issue related to generalizability is the small sample size and the validation of measures. The small sample size of the study limits the general use of the new survey material, especially the dignity scale. Future work can focus on rigorous validation of the scale through a large cross-national sample. Another issue is the measurement of some variables, especially threat reactions. The threat scenarios were created from the prior qualitative work and in a manner that they could be relatable in both cultural contexts, India and Germany. However, it is also possible that they may not be relatable in the migration context. For instance, in the scenarios, the nationality of the threat perpetrator was not mentioned. Indian migrants may assume these threats to come from Germans or fellow Indians in Germany, both of which could influence the results. Future studies can compare both these sources of threats for the migrant community. Moreover, all measures used in this study are self-report measures whose use while common

in psychological research, may introduce biases of social desirability or interpretation differences across cultural groups.

Yet another limitation comes from the non-inclusion and treatment of certain variables that can influence honor and dignity endorsement. Given the complexity of the design, especially in the final moderated mediational analysis, the study did not consider some more variables that could play an important role here. These include religion and religiosity, ecological characteristics of acculturative contexts (e.g., immigration policies, institutional racism.), etc. that could be relevant to understanding the honor and dignity norm endorsement in an acculturation context (Ward & Geeraert, 2016; Uskul et al., 2024). Moreover, the study treated norm endorsements and threat reactions as outcomes and not predictors of acculturation since some prior work has shown that honor does not play a significant role in acculturation (Uskul et al., 2024) beyond the commonly studied factors like the stay duration, cultural distance, SES, etc. However, the present study also looked at perceived societal norms and these could play a role in the acculturation strategies of migrants. Moreover, acculturation is not limited only to the strategies that were used here. It can manifest as various other outcomes such as socio-economic mobility, inter-racial marriages, etc. where the coexistence of honor and dignity norms could be even more visible.

This study treated honor and dignity as distinct constructs and empirically tested their different functions. While acknowledging their differing roles, it does not deny the potential for conflict, as seen in the qualitative study, where participants explained dignity by contrasting it with honor. This tension may be particularly relevant in migration contexts, where both concepts might hold equal importance initially but could clash over time. Future mixed-method studies could explore these dynamics, identifying scenarios where honor and dignity conflict, and testing their impact quantitatively. Additionally, such studies could examine scenarios that threaten both norms together to understand the conceptual overlap as well as boundaries.

Finally, this project uses a cross-sectional design which limits these findings to mere association and not any causal relationships. This is especially true for migration and acculturation. It cannot indicate if migration can increase one's norm endorsement since the migrants studied, were different from the natives and many personal factors may be at play here. It could be that, for instance, they already endorsed higher dignity and hence chose to migrate instead of migration leading to higher dignity. To better understand these causal relationships, future studies should adopt longitudinal designs, studying these effects pre- and post-migration.

6.6. Concluding remarks

The current dissertation aimed to advance our understanding in two key areas within the honor-dignity paradigm: migration and the concept of dignity. Its central findings highlight the distinct roles of honor and dignity, both qualitatively and quantitatively, especially by examining them in a unique group exposed to both cultural settings. Given the increasing global diversity on one hand and the cross-cultural misunderstandings on the other, these findings could debunk some misconceptions — such as the idea that honor hinders migrant integration - while raising new questions — for instance, how certain threats could challenge both honor and dignity norms. This work broadens our perspectives on these concepts, enhancing sensitivity in cross-cultural contexts. I would like to conclude with a quote that highlights the importance of both honor and dignity -

"Dignity consists not in possessing honors, but in the consciousness that we deserve them"

- *Aristotle*

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Appendices

Appendix – Chapter 2

A2.1 – Focus group guide

Section	Description and objectives
Introduction/Icebreaker	Welcoming the participants, introduction of the moderator, the study, and its purpose. Introducing the participants to each other.
The main questions of the discussion	
Questions for honor	1. Please think about the word '**honor'** and I would like to know what you understand by the term.
	2. How can one gain honor?
	3. How can one lose honor?
	4. Think of a person who, according to you, has high honor. How would you describe this person?
	5. Now think of a person who, according to you, has lost honor. How would you describe this person?
Questions for dignity	6. Please think about the word '**dignity'** and I would like to know what you understand by the term.
	7. Can dignity be gained or lost? If yes, how? If not, why?
	8. What does it mean to respect others' dignity? (Asking them what it looks like in practice/behavior).
	9. What do you think of someone not respecting the dignity of others?
Questions for cultural views on honor/dignity	10. What do you think is the public viewpoint of honor in India/Germany?
	11. How, according to you, is dignity viewed in public in India/Germany?
Closing	12. Is there anything else about you wish to add?
	Thanking and requesting to answer the demographic/goodbye questionnaire.

A2.2 – Goodbye questionnaire

Thank you very much for your participation in the focus group discussion. It has significantly contributed to Ms. Tanya Keni's doctoral project.

You are requested to kindly answer these questions.

1. Name (optional): _____
2. Age: _____
3. Gender: _____
4. Education: _____
5. Occupation: _____
6. Place of birth: _____
7. Place of residence: _____
8. Language spoken at home: _____
9. Have you migrated before? (Within and/or outside Germany. This question excludes short-term travels or vacations)
   - Yes
   - No
10. If yes, where and for how long?

    _____
11. Contact number: _____
12. Email id: _____
13. Will you be willing to participate in a small personal interview if the researcher is interested in more information?
    - Yes
    - No

Appendix – Chapter 3

A3.1 – The complete final questionnaire for Study II

Section	Name of the scale
I	Consent form
II	Honor Norms – Personal Endorsement
III	Dignity Norms – Personal Endorsement
IV	Honor threats
V	Honor Norms – perceived Cultural Norms
VI	Dignity Norms – perceived Cultural Norms
VII	Dignity threats
VIII	Acculturation scale – Berry's dimensions
IX	Demographics (For Migrants) – Esser's dimensions
X	Demographics for all

I. Consent Form

You are invited to participate in an online survey on value endorsement and threat reactions among students. This is a research project being conducted by Tanya Keni, a doctoral research fellow at the Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences, University of Bremen, as part of her doctoral thesis under the guidance of her supervisors, Prof. Dr. Ulrich Kuehnen and Dr. Mandy Boehnke.

It will take 20-25 minutes to complete the entire survey.

Participation
Your participation in this survey is voluntary. You may refuse to take part in the research or exit the survey at any time without penalty. You are free to decline to answer any particular question you do not wish to answer for any reason.

Benefits
You will receive no direct benefits from participating in this research study. However, your responses may help us learn more about value endorsements and subsequent threat reactions.

Risks

The possible risks or discomforts of the study are minimal. You may feel a little uncomfortable responding to certain hypothetical scenarios in the survey. However, you can choose to not

answer those questions which you feel give you distress.

Confidentiality
Your survey answers will be stored in a survey software named Unipark only accessible through login and password by the primary researcher, Ms. Tanya Keni, and her supervisors Prof. Dr. Kuehnen and Prof. Dr. Boehnke until data collection has closed. Once data collection has closed, all data will be downloaded in spreadsheet form for analysis and deleted from the survey software. No one will be able to identify you or your answers, and no one will know whether or not you participated in the study.

The findings of this study will be used in conference presentations or for publishing in scientific journals. Results will be presented at the aggregate level, not at the individual level. This means that no identifying information will be included in either of the above circumstances, and your responses will remain confidential.

Contact
If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact Tanya Keni via email at tkeni@bigsss.uni-bremen.de.

If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or that your rights as a participant in research have not been honored during the course of this project, or you have any questions, concerns, or complaints that you wish to address to someone other than the researcher, you may contact the doctoral supervisors of Ms. Keni under whose guidance this survey is being conducted: Prof. Dr. Ulrich Kuehnen at ukuehnen@constructor.university and/or Prof. Dr. Mandy Boehnke at boehnke@bigsss-bremen.de

Consent: Please select your choice below. You may print a copy of this consent form for your records. Clicking on the "Agree" button indicates that

- You have read the above information.
- You voluntarily agree to participate.
- You are 18 years of age or older.

☐ Agree

☐ Disagree

II. Honor Norms – Personal Endorsement

Please, read the following statements carefully, and indicate how much you agree with each of them on a scale ranging from 1 – "strongly disagree" to 7 – "strongly agree".

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	People must always be ready to defend their honor							
2	It is important to promote oneself to others.							
3	People always need to show their power in front of their competitors.							
4	Men need to protect their women's reputations at all costs.							
5	You must punish people who insult you.							
6	If a person gets insulted and doesn't respond, he or she will look weak.							

7	People should be concerned about their family having a bad reputation.							
8	People should not allow others to insult their family.							
9	People should be concerned about defending their families' reputation.							
10	People should be concerned about damaging their families' reputation.							

III. Dignity Norms – Personal Endorsement

Please, read the following statements carefully, and indicate how much you agree with each of them on a scale ranging from 1 – "strongly disagree" to 7 – "strongly agree".

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	People should accept the diverse identities that others hold, even if they don't align with their own.							
2	People should acknowledge the feelings of others, even when they feel differently.							
3	People should consider what others think and feel before forming their own opinions about others.							
4	People should acknowledge the decisions of others even if they do not agree to them.							
5	People should acknowledge the opinions of others even if they are not in line with their own.							
6	How much people value themselves is far more important than how much others value them.							
7	People's worth is independent of how others treat them.							
8	People' sense of self-respect should come from within and not from others' opinions of them.							
9	What others think about us is not as important as what we think about ourselves.							
10	Our self-respect cannot be taken away from us by anyone							

Given below are a few hypothetical scenarios. Please imagine yourself in these hypothetical scenarios and answer the questions asked after each scenario on a 7-point scale, where 1 – very low and 7 – very high. Please give the first answer that comes to your mind.

IV. Honor threats

1 (Morality) - You overheard one of your batchmates speaking poorly about your moral conduct (eg: you are a cheat, and your moral conduct is poor) with some of your friends.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	How angry would you get at your batchmate?							

2	How much would you respect your batchmate?							
3	How offensive would you find your batchmate's behavior?							
4	How damaging would you find this to your personal image? (The way you think about yourself)							
5	How damaging would you find this to your social image? (The way you think others think about you)							
6	How damaging would you find this to your family's social image? (The way you think others think about your family)							
7	How would you respond to this comment? (here 1 – avoid it completely and 7 – Verbally confront your batchmate asking why he/she did it)							

2 (Competence) - You and your co-worker went for lunch at the office mess and you both were discussing your upcoming promotion. Your colleague indirectly taunted you by saying "It is pointless to discuss office matters with you since you hardly understand anything", subtly implying that you are undeserving of this promotion.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	How angry would you get at your colleague?							
2	How much would you respect your colleague?							
3	How offensive would you find your colleague's comment?							
4	How damaging would you find this to your personal image? (The way you think about yourself)							
5	How damaging would you find this to your social image? (The way you think others think about you)							
6	How damaging would you find this to your family's social image? (The way you think others think about your family)							
7	How would you respond to this comment? (here 1 – avoid it completely and 7 – Verbally confront your colleague asking why he/she did it)							

3 (Sociability) - During one of your group study sessions, a newly joined student approached you for help. One of your group members laughed at this and told the student that he/she was asking for help from the wrong person and falsely accusing you of never sharing your notes though you are good at the subject.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	How angry would you get at this group member?							
2	How much would you respect this group member?							
3	How offensive would you find your group member's comment?							

4	How damaging would you find this to your personal image? (The way you think about yourself)							
5	How damaging would you find this to your social image? (The way you think others think about you)							
6	How damaging would you find this to your family's social image? (The way you think others think about your family)							
7	How would you respond to this comment? (here 1 – avoid it completely and 7 – Verbally confront your group member asking why he/she did it)							

4 (Stoicism) - You bumped into your former neighbor in the washroom of a restaurant where you were treating your friends for your new job that you achieved with hardwork and efforts. In the conversation, your neighbor taunted you by saying, "success is made readily available to you by your rich family, and you have no idea what it means to struggle."

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	How angry would you get at your neighbor?							
2	How much would you respect your neighbor?							
3	How offensive would you find your neighbor's comment?							
4	How damaging would you find this to your personal image? (The way you think about yourself)							
5	How damaging would you find this to your social image? (The way you think others think about you)							
6	How damaging would you find this to your family's social image? (The way you think others think about your family)							
7	How would you respond to this comment? (here 1 – avoid it completely and 7 – Verbally confront your neighbor telling him/her the efforts you put to get this job)							

V. Honor Norms – perceived Cultural Norms

Please, read the following statements carefully, and indicate how frequently people in your culture (consider the country you are currently residing in) think, feel, or act in the ways described in each question on a scale of 7 where 1 - strongly disagree and 7 - strongly agree.

	In your culture ….	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	People must always be ready to defend their honor							
2	It is important to promote oneself to others.							
3	People always need to show their power in front of their competitors.							
4	Men need to protect their women's reputations at all costs.							

5	You must punish people who insult you.							
6	If a person gets insulted and doesn't respond, he or she will look weak.							
7	People should be concerned about their family having a bad reputation.							
8	People should not allow others to insult their family.							
9	People should be concerned about defending their families' reputation.							
10	People should be concerned about damaging their families' reputation.							

VI. Dignity Norms – perceived Cultural Norms

Please, read the following statements carefully, and indicate how frequently people in your culture (consider the country you are currently residing in) think, feel, or act in the ways described in each question on a scale of 7 where 1 - strongly disagree and 7 - strongly agree.

	In your culture ….	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	People should accept the diverse identities that others hold, even if they don't align with their own.							
2	People should acknowledge the feelings of others, even when they feel differently.							
3	People should consider what others think and feel before forming their own opinions about others.							
4	People should acknowledge the decisions of others even if they do not agree to them.							
5	People should acknowledge the opinions of others even if they are not in line with their own.							
6	How much people value themselves is far more important than how much others value them.							
7	People's worth is independent of how others treat them.							
8	People' sense of self-respect should come from within and not from others' opinions of them.							
9	What others think about us is not as important as what we think about ourselves.							
10	Our self-respect cannot be taken away from us by anyone							

VII. Dignity threats

1 (Unpaid Labor) - You are selected to assist in a project for a month and the coordinator asks you to start the work saying that the contract and payment will be done later. Towards the end, the coordinator says, 'we cannot pay you due to insufficient funds, but we have a great recommendation letter for you that can help you for future applications.'

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	How angry would you get at your coordinator?							
2	How much would you respect your coordinator?							
3	How offensive would you find your coordinator's behavior?							
4	How damaging would you find this to your personal image? (The way you think about yourself)							
5	How damaging would you find this to your social image? (The way you think others think about you)							
6	How damaging would you find this to your family's social image? (The way you think others think about your family)							
7	How would you respond to this comment? (here 1 – avoid it completely and 7 – Verbally confront your coordinator and urge him/her to give you the letter)							

2 (Underpayment) - At work, your boss gives you tasks that do not fall in your work contract nor your work timings. You find it difficult to refuse since being a new employee, you are expected by your boss to help in these tasks to maintain a good working relationship.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	How angry would you get at your boss?							
2	How much would you respect your boss?							
3	How offensive would you find your boss's behavior?							
4	How damaging would you find this to your personal image? (The way you think about yourself)							
5	How damaging would you find this to your social image? (The way you think others think about you)							
6	How damaging would you find this to your family's social image? (The way you think others think about your family)							
7	How would you respond to this comment? (here 1 – avoid it completely and 7 – Verbally confront your boss saying that your work schedule doesn't allow these tasks.)							

3 (Discrimination _Family SES) - You and your friend are planning to invest in a property together. However, your friend neither considers your opinions nor asks you for suggestions since you come from a lower socioeconomic background and your friend thinks you might not have any idea about an expensive investment. Hence, your friend expects you to cooperate with all the decisions he/she makes.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	How angry would you get at your friend?							
2	How much would you respect your friend?							
3	How offensive would you find your friend's behavior?							

4	How damaging would you find this to your personal image? (The way you think about yourself)							
5	How damaging would you find this to your social image? (The way you think others think about you)							
6	How damaging would you find this to your family's social image? (The way you think others think about your family)							
7	How would you respond to this comment? (here 1 – avoid it completely and 7 – Verbally confront your friend asking to include your decisions as well)							

4 (Discrimination_Age) - In a group project at work, your senior gives you the least important tasks since you are the youngest in the group without considering your experience and education.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	How angry would you get at your senior?							
2	How much would you respect your senior?							
3	How offensive would you find your senior's behavior?							
4	How damaging would you find this to your personal image? (The way you think about yourself)							
5	How damaging would you find this to your social image? (The way you think others think about you)							
6	How damaging would you find this to your family's social image? (The way you think others think about your family)							
7	How would you respond to this comment? (here 1 – avoid it completely and 7 – Verbally confront your senior asking to include you in other major tasks as well)							

VIII. Acculturation scale – Berry's (1997) Dimensions

Please, read the following statements carefully, and indicate how frequently you think, feel, or act in the ways described in each question on a scale of 7 where 1 - strongly disagree and 7 - strongly agree

			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Assimilation (AS)									
AS1	1	I write better in German than in my native language							
AS2	5	When I am in my apartment/house, I typically speak German							
AS3	9	If I were asked to write poetry, I would prefer to write it in German							
AS4	13	I get along better with Germans than Indians							
AS5	17	I feel that Germans understand me better than Indians do							
AS6	21	I find it easier to communicate my feelings to Germans than to Indians							

AS7	24	I feel more comfortable socializing with Germans than I do with Indians							
AS8	27	Most of my friends at work/school are Germans							
Separation (SP)									
SP1	2	Most of the music I listen to is Indian							
SP2	6	My closest friends are Indians							
SP3	10	I prefer going to social gatherings where most of the people are Indians							
SP4	14	I feel that Indians treat me as an equal more so than Germans do							
SP5	18	I would prefer to go out on a date with an Indian than with a German							
SP6	22	I feel more relaxed when I am with an Indian than when I am with a German							
SP7	25	Indians should not date non-Indians							
Integration (IN)									
IN1	3	I tell jokes both in German and in my native language							
IN2	7	I think as well in German as I do in my native language							
IN3	11	I have both German and Indian friends							
IN4	15	I feel that both Germans and Indians value me							
IN5	19	I feel very comfortable around both Germans and Indians							
Marginalization (MG)									
MG1	4	Generally, I find it difficult to socialize with anybody, Indian or German							
MG2	8	I sometimes feel that neither Germans nor Indians like me							
MG3	12	There are times when I think no one understands me							
MG4	16	I sometimes find it hard to communicate with people							
MG5	20	I sometimes find it hard to make friends							
MG6	23	Sometimes I feel that Indians and Germans do not accept me							
MG7	26	Sometimes I find it hard to trust both Germans and Indians							
MG8	28	I find that both Indians and Germans often have difficulty understanding me							
MG9	29	I find that I do not feel comfortable when I am with other people							

IX. Demographics (For Migrants) – Esser's dimensions

1. **Stay_duration** - Please mention the duration of your stay in Germany in months.

2. Proficiency in the German Language

a. **Language_Writ** - Writing (1 – not at all proficient to 7 – fully proficient)
b. **Language_Spk** – Speaking (1 – not at all proficient to 7 – fully proficient)
c. **Language_Undr** - Understanding (1 – not at all proficient to 7 – fully proficient)

3. **Emot_AttchGermany** - How emotionally attached do you feel to the country you are currently residing in? (1- not at all attached to 7 – extremely attached)

4. **Ethnic_Frnd** - Do you have friends of different ethnic groups?
   a. Yes - **1**
   b. No - **2**

5. **Germ_Frnd -** How many German friends do you have (rough estimation)?
   a. 0 – **1**
   b. 1 – 3 – **2**
   c. 4 – 7 – **3**
   d. 8 -10 – **4**
   e. Above 10 – **5**
6. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life these days?
   a. **1 -** Completely dissatisfied
   b. **7 –** Completely satisfied

Demographics for all

1. **Gender** - To which gender do you mostly identify?
   a. Female -**1**
   b. Male - **2**
   c. Diverse - **3**
   d. Prefer not to say - **4**

2. **Age** – Kindly mention your age in years.

3. **Education** - What is the highest level of education you have completed?
   a. Still in school - **1**
   b. Secondary school-leaving certificate/Junior High Diploma - **2**
   c. General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSEs) - **3**
   d. Vocational secondary certification (completion of specialized secondary school/college) - **4**
   e. A-levels/International Baccalaureate, subject-related higher education entrance qualification - **5**
   f. University degree - **6**
   g. Other _____ - **7**

4. **Employed -** Are you currently Employed?
   a. Yes - **1**
   b. No - **2**

5. **Hours_of_work** - If yes, the number of hours per week:
   a. Less than 5 - **1**

b. 5 – 10 - **2**
c. 11 – 20 - **3**
d. 20 – 40 - **4**
e. Above 40 - **5**

6. **Marital_status –** Kindly select your marital Status.
   a. Single - **1**
   b. Married - **2**
   c. In a relationship - **3**
   d. Divorced - **4**
   e. Widow - **5**
   f. Other _____ - **6**

7. **Family_SES** – Kindly select the socio-economic status of your family of origin.
   a. Low income - **1**
   b. Low – Middle income - **2**
   c. Middle income **- 3**
   d. Middle – High income - **4**
   e. High income - **5**

8. **Citizenship** - Kindly mention your citizenship _____
   a. Indian / German (based on the form) – Indian (1) German (2)
   b. Other _____

9. **Parent_Citizenship** - Is one/both of your parents from another country?
   a. No - **1**
   b. Yes (one parent) - **2**
   c. Yes (both parents) - **3**

10. **Citizenship_Country_Parent** - If yes, which country/ies _____

Table A3.2

Factor loadings for the items of honor norm endorsement

Item	Loading
Honor norm endorsement (Own) α = 0.93 [$\alpha_{Migrants}$ = 0.85, $\alpha_{Indians}$ = 0.84, $\alpha_{Germans}$ = 0.78]	
*Self-oriented honor (*α = 0.90) [$\alpha_{Migrants}$ = 0.77, $\alpha_{Indians}$ = 0.76, $\alpha_{Germans}$ = 0.79]	
People must always be ready to defend their honor.	0.77
It is important to promote oneself to others.	0.87
People always need to show their power in front of their competitors.	0.87
Men need to protect their women's reputations at all costs.	0.71
*Family-oriented honor (*α = 0.88) [$\alpha_{Migrants}$ = 0.82, $\alpha_{Indians}$ = 0.78, $\alpha_{Germans}$ = 0.89]	
People should be concerned about their family having a bad reputation.	0.80
People should not allow others to insult their family.	0.73
People should be concerned about defending their families' reputation.	0.73
People should be concerned about damaging their families' reputation.	0.85
Honor norm endorsement (perceived) α = 0.95 [$\alpha_{Migrants}$ = 0.80, $\alpha_{Indians}$ = 0.85, $\alpha_{Germans}$ = 0.80]	
*Self-oriented honor (*α = 0.92) [$\alpha_{Migrants}$ = 0.70, $\alpha_{Indians}$ = 0.82, $\alpha_{Germans}$ = 0.79]	
People must always be ready to defend their honor.	0.78
It is important to promote oneself to others.	0.89
People always need to show their power in front of their competitors.	0.79
Men need to protect their women's reputations at all costs.	0.78
*Family-oriented honor (*α = 0.93) [$\alpha_{Migrants}$ = 0.79, $\alpha_{Indians}$ = 0.78, $\alpha_{Germans}$ = 0.87]	
People should be concerned about their family having a bad reputation.	0.79
People should not allow others to insult their family.	0.83
People should be concerned about defending their families' reputation.	0.82
People should be concerned about damaging their families' reputation.	0.85

Table A3.3

Factor loadings for the items of dignity norm endorsement

Item	Loading
Dignity norm endorsement (Own) α = 0.91 [$\alpha_{Migrants}$ = 0.91, $\alpha_{Indians}$ = 0.86, $\alpha_{Germans}$ = 0.92]	
*Other-oriented dignity (*α = 0.85) [$\alpha_{Migrants}$ = 0.83, $\alpha_{Indians}$ = 0.82, $\alpha_{Germans}$ = 0.90]	
People should accept the diverse identities that others hold, even if they don't align with their own.	0.68
People should acknowledge the feelings of others, even when they feel differently.	0.79
People should consider what others think and feel before forming their own opinions about others.	0.81
People should acknowledge the decisions of others even if they do not agree with them.	0.69

People should acknowledge the opinions of others even if they are not in line with their own.	0.65
*Self-oriented dignity (*α = 0.89) [$\alpha_{Migrants}$ = 0.90, $\alpha_{Indians}$ = 0.80, $\alpha_{Germans}$ = 0.91]	
How much people value themselves is far more important than how much others value them.	0.79
People's worth is independent of how others treat them.	0.82
People's sense of self-respect should come from within and not from others' opinions of them.	0.79
What others think about us is not as important as what we think about ourselves.	0.80
Our self-respect cannot be taken away from us by anyone	0.71

Dignity norm endorsement (perceived) α = 0.94 [$\alpha_{Migrants}$ = 0.91, $\alpha_{Indians}$ = 0.92, $\alpha_{Germans}$ = 0.89]

*Other-oriented dignity (*α = 0.91) [$\alpha_{Migrants}$ = 0.82, $\alpha_{Indians}$ = 0.90, $\alpha_{Germans}$ = 0.89]	
People should accept the diverse identities that others hold, even if they don't align with their own.	0.86
People should acknowledge the feelings of others, even when they feel differently.	0.82
People should consider what others think and feel before forming their own opinions about others.	0.80
People should acknowledge the decisions of others even if they do not agree with them.	0.78
People should acknowledge the opinions of others even if they are not in line with their own.	0.76
*Self-oriented dignity (*α = 0.94) [$\alpha_{Migrants}$ = 0.95, $\alpha_{Indians}$ = 0.90, $\alpha_{Germans}$ = 0.86]	
How much people value themselves is far more important than how much others value them.	0.78
People's worth is independent of how others treat them.	0.84
People's sense of self-respect should come from within and not from others' opinions of them.	0.86
What others think about us is not as important as what we think about ourselves.	0.91
Our self-respect cannot be taken away from us by anyone	0.85

Table A3.4

Fit indices of the models in the CFA for the honor and dignity norm endorsement

	χ^2(df)	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
		>0.9	>0.9	<0.08	<0.08
Honor norm endorsement (Own)					
Unidimensional model	743.68 (20)***	0.884	0.837	0.192	0.063
Two-factor model	531.661(20)***	0.918	0.885	0.162	0.104
Bifactor model	90.60(10)***	0.987	0.964	0.091	0.02
Honor norm endorsement (perceived)					
Unidimensional model	1006.023(20)***	0.867	0.813	0.224	0.064
Two-factor model	251.565(20)***	0.969	0.956	0.109	0.056
Bifactor model					
Dignity norm endorsement (Own)					
Unidimensional model	1599.176(35)***	0.754	0.683	0.214	0.092
Two-factor model	1041.591(35)***	0.842	0.769	0.171	0.082
Bifactor model	**507.74(23)*** **	**0.924**	**0.851**	**0.147**	**0.054**

Dignity norm endorsement (perceived)					
Unidimensional model	2826.557(35)***	0.718	0.638	0.286	0.115
Two-factor model	1234.296(35)***	0.879	0.844	0.187	0.177
Bifactor model					

Table A3.5

Factor loadings for the items of honor threat responses

Item	Loading
Offensive (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.64) [$\alpha_{Migrants} = 0.68$, $\alpha_{Indians} = 0.60$, $\alpha_{Germans} = 0.59$]	
Threat 1	0.30
Threat 2	0.61
Threat 3	0.70
Threat 4	0.62
Damage to image (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.87) [$\alpha_{Migrants} = 0.86$, $\alpha_{Indians} = 0.76$, $\alpha_{Germans} = 0.56$]	
Threat 1 Personal Image	0.50
Threat 2 Personal Image	0.55
Threat 3 Personal Image	0.65
Threat 4 Personal Image	0.71
Threat 1 Social Image	0.37
Threat 2 Social Image	0.56
Threat 3 Social Image	0.52
Threat 4 Social Image	0.77
Threat 1 Family Image	0.42
Threat 2 Family Image	0.65
Threat 3 Family Image	0.67
Threat 4 Family Image	0.62
Anger (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.62) [$\alpha_{Migrants} = 0.62$, $\alpha_{Indians} = 0.66$, $\alpha_{Germans} = 0.50$]	
Threat 1	0.40
Threat 2	0.72
Threat 3	0.60
Threat 4	0.58
Respect (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.61) [$\alpha_{Migrants} = 0.77$, $\alpha_{Indians} = 0.57$, $\alpha_{Germans} = 0.50$]	
Threat 1	0.51
Threat 2	0.64
Threat 3	0.57
Threat 4	0.66
Confront (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.51) [$\alpha_{Migrants} = 0.52$, $\alpha_{Indians} = 0.45$, $\alpha_{Germans} = 0.46$]	
Threat 1	0.47
Threat 2	0.27
Threat 3	0.25
Threat 4	0.22

Table A3.6

Factor loadings for the items of dignity threat responses

Item	Loading
Offensive (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.56) [$\alpha_{Migrants} = 0.55$, $\alpha_{Indians} = 0.59$, $\alpha_{Germans} = 0.55$]	
Threat 1	0.23
Threat 2	0.61
Threat 3	0.77
Threat 4	0.5
Damage to image (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.81) [$\alpha_{Migrants} = 0.82$, $\alpha_{Indians} = 0.79$, $\alpha_{Germans} = 0.79$]	
Threat 1 Personal Image	0.38
Threat 2 Personal Image	0.69
Threat 3 Personal Image	0.4
Threat 4 Personal Image	0.56
Threat 1 Social Image	0.43
Threat 2 Social Image	0.67
Threat 3 Social Image	0.42
Threat 4 Social Image	0.61
Threat 1 Family Image	0.6
Threat 2 Family Image	0.65
Threat 3 Family Image	0.66
Threat 4 Family Image	0.7
Anger (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.60) [$\alpha_{Migrants} = 0.73$, $\alpha_{Indians} = 0.53$, $\alpha_{Germans} = 0.51$]	
Threat 1	0.23
Threat 2	0.66
Threat 3	0.79
Threat 4	0.49
Respect (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.58) [$\alpha_{Migrants} = 0.59$, $\alpha_{Indians} = 0.54$, $\alpha_{Germans} = 0.53$]	
Threat 1	0.55
Threat 2	0.57
Threat 3	0.68
Threat 4	0.54
Confront (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.48) [$\alpha_{Migrants} = 0.48$, $\alpha_{Indians} = 0.50$, $\alpha_{Germans} = 0.48$]	
Threat 1	0.28
Threat 2	0.22
Threat 3	0.22
Threat 4	0.17

Table A3.7

Mean cultural differences in the perceived damage to image for honor and dignity threats

		Honor Threats	**Dignity Threats**			
Image	**Cultural Groups**	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	$F_{1,978}$ **(Threat type)**	$F_{2,978}$ **(Culture)**	$F_{2,978}$ **(Threat type*Culture)**
Social Image	Migrants	4.38 (1.21)	2.70 (0.80)	534.85***	362.52***	57.63***
	Indians	3.98 (0.71)	2.78 (0.66)			
	Germans	3.03 (0.49)	2.08 (0.36)			
	All	**3.79 (0.80)**	**2.52 (0.60)**			
Family Image	Migrants	3.76 (1.09)	2.06 (0.83)	580.03***	239.35***	92.68***
	Indians	3.88 (0.84)	2.22 (0.68)			
	Germans	2.36 (0.40)	1.54 (0.27)			
	All	**3.33 (0.77)**	**1.94 (0.59)**			

*** $p < .001$

Appendix – Chapter 4

Table A4.1 - *Means differences in own endorsement of honor and dignity norms considering culture and gender*

		Female	Males			
Norm	**Groups**	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	$F_{1,978}$ **(Gender)**	$F_{2,978}$ **(Culture)**	$F_{2,978}$ **(Gender*Culture)**
Self honor	Migrants	5.04 (1.3)	4.84 (0.72)	1.09	451.2***	2.10
	Indians	4.85 (1.26)	4.92 (0.88)			
	Germans	3.28 (0.44)	3.25 (0.46)			
	All	**4.38 (1.3)**	**4.40 (1.0)**			
Family honor	Migrants	5.07 (0.95)	5.23 (1.71)	90.54***	378.07***	17.3**
	Indians	4.5 (1.05)	5.40 (1.13)			
	Germans	3.06 (0.54)	3.89 (0.58)			
	All	**4.21 (1.22)**	**4.89 (1.42)**			
Honor total	Migrants	5.00 (0.97)	5.04 (1.17)	34.34***	526.75***	10.66**
	Indians	4.67 (1.06)	5.16 (0.89)			
	Germans	3.17 (0.34)	3.57 (0.37)			
	All	**4.30 (1.18)**	**4.65 (1.14)**			
Other-oriented dignity	Migrants	5.88 (0.86)	5.95 (1.18)	3.8	<1.00	10.48**
	Indians	5.57 (0.86)	5.53 (0.68)			
	Germans	6.09 (0.65)	5.65 (0.64)			
	All	**5.85 (0.82)**	**5.72 (0.90)**			
Self-oriented dignity	Migrants	5.86 (0.91)	5.94 (1.51)	<1.00	17.43***	5.1*
	Indians	5.43 (0.72)	5.66 (0.81)			
	Germans	6.32 (0.55)	6.09 (0.51)			
	All	**5.90 (0.83)**	**5.89 (1.08)**			
Dignity total	Migrants	5.87 (0.77)	5.95 (1.27)	1.5	4.61*	11.2**
	Indians	5.50 (0.72)	5.59 (0.67)			
	Germans	6.20 (0.57)	5.87 (0.45)			
	All	**5.87 (0.73)**	**5.79 (0.90)**			

*p <.05, ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Table A4.2 - *Means differences in perceived endorsement of honor and dignity norms considering culture and gender*

		Female	Males			
Norm	**Groups**	***M (SD)***	***M (SD)***	$F_{1,978}$ **(Gender)**	$F_{2,978}$ **(Culture)**	$F_{2,978}$ **(Gender*Culture)**
Self honor	Migrants	4.52 (1.1)	5.11 (0.83)	86.05***	507.7***	1.64
	Indians	5.28 (0.77)	6.04 (0.73)			
	Germans	3.37 (0.56)	3.64 (0.66)			
	All	**4.36 (1.15)**	**5.00 (1.22)**			
Family honor	Migrants	5.34 (1.06)	5.46 (1.07)	14.61**	530.05***	<1.00
	Indians	5.84 (0.81)	6.09 (0.77)			
	Germans	3.77 (0.59)	3.90 (0.59)			
	All	**4.96 (1.22)**	**5.22 (1.23)**			
Honor-total	Migrants	4.93 (0.96)	5.28 (0.81)	53.32***	747.87***	<1.00
	Indians	5.56 (0.66)	6.06 (0.60)			
	Germans	3.57 (0.36)	3.77 (0.44)			
	All	**4.66 (1.09)**	**5.11 (1.13)**			
Other-oriented dignity	Migrants	5.02 (0.90)	5.11 (1.17)	<1.00	276.99***	3.6
	Indians	3.66 (0.69)	4.15 (1.08)			
	Germans	5.17 (0.63)	4.99 (0.74)			
	All	**4.59 (1.09)**	**4.65 (1.14)**			
Self-oriented dignity	Migrants	5.51 (1.31)	5.30 (1.55)	<1.00	103.88***	<1.00
	Indians	3.66 (0.69)	4.15 (1.08)			
	Germans	4.82 (0.69)	4.60 (0.72)			
	All	**4.71 (1.22)**	**4.70 (1.29)**			
Dignity-total	Migrants	5.27 (0.99)	5.21 (1.23)	<1.00	231.49***	1.34
	Indians	3.56 (0.62)	4.00 (0.91)			
	Germans	4.99 (0.57)	4.80 (0.63)			
	All	**4.65 (1.06)**	**4.67 (1.11)**			

*p <.05, ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Table A4.3

Correlations between norm endorsement and acculturation strategies for the Indian migrant group in Germany

	H	D	HP	DP	AS	SP	IN	MG	Language	Emo_Att	Ethn_Frnd	Germ_Frnd	Employed	Fam_SES
H	1													
D	0.42**	1												
HP	0.38**	0.27**	1											
DP	0.32**	0.33**	0.02	1										
AS	0.06	0.08	-0.10*	0.07	1									
SP	0.08*	0.00	0.00	-0.02	-0.04	1								
IN	0.14*	0.15*	0.19*	0.19*	0.37**	-0.02	1							
MG	-0.04	-0.09*	-0.08*	0.15*	0.14*	0.15*	0.00	1						
Language	0.13*	0.16*	0.11*	0.10*	0.05	-0.22**	0.06	0.00	1					
Emo_Att	0.19*	-0.03	-0.08	0.10*	0.24**	-0.23**	0.02	0.03	0.13*	1				
Ethn_Frnd	0.02	0.23*	0.07	0.06	-0.02	0.20**	-0.02	0.03	-0.11*	-0.10*	1			
Germ_Frnd	-0.09*	0.02	-0.19**	0.02	0.17**	-0.21**	0.08*	0.00	0.15*	0.20**	-0.14*	1		
Employed	0.05	0.00	0.04	0.06	-0.06	0.14*	0.16*	0.14*	-0.20**	-0.13*	-0.11*	-0.17*	1	
Family_SES	0.01	0.04	-0.06	0.02	-0.14*	-0.15*	-0.31**	-0.30**	0.02	0.09	-0.11*	0.09	-0.22**	1

Note: **H**- Honor norms (own), **D**- Dignity norms (own), **HP**- Honor norms (perceived), **DP-** Dignity norms (perceived), **AS -** Assimilation, **SP –** Separation, **IN -** Integration, **MG –** Marginalization, Emo_Att – Emotional Attachment to Germany, Ethn_Frnd – Having friends of other ethnicities, Germ_Frnd – German friends

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

Table A4.4

Correlations between reactions to honor threats and acculturation strategies for the Indian migrant group in Germany

	HTE1	*HTE2*	*HTC1*	*HTC2*	*HTC3*	*HTC4*	*HTB1*	*AS*	*SP*	*IN*	*MG*	*Iang*	*Emo_Att*	*Ethn_Frn*	*Emp*	*SES*
HTE1	1															
HTE2	-0.05	1														
HTC1	0.76**	-0.03	1													
HTC2	0.17*	-0.03	0.19*	1												
HTC3	0.26**	0.07	0.25**	0.48**	1											
HTC4	0.34**	0.14*	0.36**	0.68**	0.65**	1										
HTB1	0.18*	-0.09	0.10*	0.06	0.21**	0.16*	1									
AS	-0.02	0.01	-0.01	0.26**	0.16*	0.37**	0.10*	1								
SP	0.04	0.05	0.00	0.19*	0.20**	0.10*	-0.05	-0.04	1							
IN	-0.01	-0.02	0.04	0.10*	0.10*	0.18*	0.08	0.37**	-0.02	1						
MG	0.00	0.09	0.01	0.19*	0.09*	0.22**	-0.05	0.14**	0.15**	0.00	1					
Language	-0.01	-0.01	-0.10	0.02	0.08	0.08	0.04	0.05	-0.22**	0.06	0.00	1				
Emo_Att	0.00	0.08	-0.00	-0.02	0.08	0.02	0.03	0.24**	-0.23**	0.02	0.03	0.13*	1			
Ethnic_Frnd	0.06	-0.02	0.02	0.20**	0.09*	0.09*	-0.09	-0.02	0.20**	-0.02	0.03	-0.11*	-0.10*	1		
Employed	-0.06	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.08	0.04	0.01	-0.06	0.14*	0.16*	0.14*	-0.20**	-0.13*	-0.11*	1	
Family_SES	0.08	-0.03	0.00	-0.07	-0.01	-0.02	0.02	-0.14*	-0.15*	-0.31**	-0.30**	0.02	0.09*	-0.11*	-0.22**	1

Note: **HTE1** – Anger for honor threats, **HTE2** – Respect for perpetrator for honor threats, **HTC1** – How offensive, honor threats, **HTC2** – How damaging for personal image (honor threats), **HTC3** – How damaging for social image (honor threats), **HTC4**- How damaging for family image (honor threats), **HTB1** – Likelihood of confrontation (honor threats). **AS -** Assimilation, **SP –** Separation, **IN -** Integration, **MG –** Marginalization, **Emo_Att** – Emotional Attachment to Germany, **Ethn_Frnd** – Having friends of other ethnicities

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

Table A4.5

Correlations between reactions to dignity threats and acculturation strategies for the Indian migrant group in Germany

	DTE1	*DTE2*	*DTC1*	*DTC2*	*DTC3*	*DTC4*	*DTB1*	*AS*	*SP*	*IN*	*MG*	*language*	*Emo_Att*	*Ethn_Frn*	*Empl*	*Fam_SES*
DTE1	1															
DTE2	0.02	1														
DTC1	0.70**	-0.01	1													
DTC2	0.13*	-0.11*	0.08	1												
DTC3	0.12*	-0.17*	0.07	0.74**	1											
DTC4	-0.13*	-0.21**	-0.11*	0.61**	0.56**	1										
DTB1	0.20**	-0.18*	0.18*	-0.05	-0.06	-0.11*	1									
AS	-0.03	-0.05	-0.05	0.16*	0.10*	0.26**	-0.05	1								
SP	0.02	-0.04	0.04	0.13*	0.28**	0.16*	-0.08	-0.04	1							
IN	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	0.09*	0.18*	0.13*	0.03	0.37**	-0.02	1						
MG	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01	0.29**	0.28**	0.30**	-0.09	0.14*	0.15*	0.00	1					
Language	-0.08	-0.05	-0.07	-0.07	-0.05	-0.08	-0.08	0.05	-0.22**	0.06	0.00	1				
Emo_Att	-0.06	-0.00	-0.00	-0.06	-0.05	0.01	-0.09	0.24**	-0.23**	0.02	0.03	0.13*	1			
Ethn_Frnd	-0.09	-0.02	-0.03	0.16*	0.19*	0.18*	0.06	-0.02	0.20**	-0.02	0.03	-0.11*	-0.10*	1		
Employed	0.04	0.03	0.09	0.06	0.07	0.00	-0.02	-0.06	0.14*	0.16*	0.14*	-0.20**	-0.13*	-0.11*	1	
Family_SES	0.09	-0.01	0.01	-0.04	-0.09	-0.05	0.05	-0.14*	-0.15*	-0.31**	-0.30**	0.02	0.09	-0.11*	-0.22**	1

***Note*: DTE1** – Anger for dignity threats, **DTE2** – Respect for perpetrator of dignity threats, **DTC1** – How offensive_dignity threats, **DTC2** – How damaging for personal image (dignity threats), **DTC3** – How damaging for social image (dignity threats), **DTC4-** How damaging for family image (dignity threats), **DTB1** – Likelihood of confrontation (dignity threats). **AS -** Assimilation, **SP –** Separation, **IN -** Integration, **MG –** Marginalization, **Emo_Att** – Emotional Attachment to Germany, **Ethn_Frnd** – Having friends of other ethnicities

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

Appendix – Chapter 5

Table A5.1

Correlations between norms and threat reactions to all honor and dignity threats together for the entire sample

	H	D	HP	DP	HTE1	HTE2	HTC1	HTC2	HTC3	HTC4	HTB1	DTE1	DTE2	DTC1	DTC2	DTC3	DTC4	DTB1
H	1																	
D	0.06	1																
HP	0.60*	-0.04	1															
DP	0.01	0.31**	-0.23**	1														
HTE1	0.35**	0.05	0.29**	0.02	1													
HTE2	0.07	-0.12*	-0.00	0.07	-0.09	1												
HTC1	0.33**	0.11*	0.27**	0.14*	0.77**	-0.10*	1											
HTC2	0.23**	-0.12*	0.15*	0.05	0.31**	0.04	0.31**	1										
HTC3	0.50**	0.01	0.39**	0.00	0.48**	0.07	0.50**	0.55**	1									
HTC4	0.50**	-0.08	0.47**	-0.07	0.51**	0.10*	0.47**	0.61**	0.72**	1								
HTB1	0.30**	-0.02	0.28**	0.11*	0.26**	0.08	0.26**	0.23**	0.43**	0.37**	1							
DTE1	0.06	0.19**	-0.13*	0.00	0.15*	-0.18*	0.11*	-0.14*	-0.02	-0.13*	0.01	1						
DTE2	0.03	0.20**	-0.06	0.34**	0.02	0.28**	0.16*	-0.07	-0.05	-0.09	0.10*	-0.02	1					
DTC1	-0.04	0.20**	-0.09	0.03	0.06	-0.09	0.04	-0.13*	-0.10*	-0.22**	-0.10*	0.79**	-0.02	1				
DTC2	-0.07	-0.24**	-0.06	-0.00	0.06	0.05	0.00	0.40**	0.08	0.27**	0.11*	0.08	-0.02	0.05	1			
DTC3	0.14*	-0.16*	0.13*	-0.08*	0.13*	0.05	0.07	0.39**	0.37**	0.40**	0.27**	0.04	0.00	-0.01	0.63**	1		
DTC4	0.10*	-0.30**	0.12*	-0.16*	0.09	0.07	-0.01	0.51**	0.25**	0.40**	0.16*	-0.07	-0.10	-0.07	0.59**	0.63**	1	
DTB1	-0.29**	-0.05	-0.24**	-0.05	-0.11*	-0.11*	-0.15*	-0.20**	-0.24**	-0.29**	-0.11*	0.16	-0.13	0.22**	-0.09	-0.21**	0.19	1

Note: **H-** Honor norms (own), **D-** Dignity norms (own), **HP-** Honor norms (perceived), **DP-** Dignity norms (perceived), **HTE1 –** Anger for honor threats, **HTE2** – Respect for perpetrator for honor threats, **HTC1** – How offensive, honor threats, **HTC2** – How damaging for personal image (honor threats), **HTC3** – How damaging for social image (honor threats), **HTC4**- How damaging for family image (honor threats), **HTB1** – Likelihood of confrontation (honor threats). The same codes are applied for the dignity threats, however beginning with DT (Dignity Threats).

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

STATUTORY DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that no unauthorized aids have been used. I declare that all work, quotations, and ideas of others are indicated. I permit this dissertation to be reviewed by qualified software as part of an investigation into allegations of plagiarism.

No part of this PhD thesis has been accepted or is currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification at this university or elsewhere.

Tanya Keni Bremen, September 18th, 2024