

Revenge and reputation: honour culture sex differences among Nguni people.

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Word Count:

Abstract: 248

Main Body: 9495

Abstract

International research on societies with homogenous farming and herding ancestries have been unable to identify differences in the extent to which males and females subscribe to honour culture norms. In the Nguni cultures of South Africa, gender roles have structured the societies into having heterogeneous occupational ancestry. Nguni males have a herding ancestry while Nguni females have a farming lineage. This study asked the question ‘Are there honour culture sex differences among the Nguni people?’ The study hypothesised that honour culture sex differences do exist among the Nguni. It predicted that males would have systematically higher honour culture scores than females. The Culture of Honour questionnaire was administered to 71 male and female Nguni participants within the University of Cape Town community. The data was and analysed using a General Linear Model under the Type I sum of squares procedure. The results supported the hypothesis and prediction. Sex continued to significantly predict honour culture, even when a model was built to control for the possibility of socio-economic status, general conflict tactics, and life history strategy being possible alternative predictors of honour culture. The study also identified a spurious relationship between honour culture and life history strategy, and no relationship between general conflict tact and honour culture. These findings support the ecological and predictive validity of the culture of honour theory, but also question and add to existing ideas of honour culture theory.

Key Words: Evolutionary Psychology; Culture of Honour; Sex differences; Nguni; Farmers and herders; South Africa.

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Not every culture in the world sees violence as an inappropriate response to all interpersonal conflict. Some societies consist of honour cultures, which are social groups of herding ancestry that have scripts and norms that condone the propriety of violence when one's person, possessions, or family are threatened or insulted (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Cohen, 1998). These honour culture norms are passed down generationally and maintained by cohesive collectivist bonds between the individual members (Cohen, 1998). They result in behaviours that continue even when the herding ancestry that necessitates them ceases to be relevant in contemporary society (Cohen, 1998). The Nguni are the Xhosa, Zulu, Swati and Ndebele cultural groups of South Africa. Prompted by the realisation that three of the top ten precincts with the highest reported incidences of murder and aggravated assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm are Nguni residential areas (Crime Stats SA, 2013), this study set out to investigate if the culture of honour theory could be useful in explaining this prevalence of psychologically motivated contact crime. However, it was soon noted that the historical gender-role structuring of Nguni society resulted in the males having a herding ancestry while the females have a farming lineage (Kuper & van Leynseele, 1978). This realisation problematized the initial research intentions. However, the realisation also revealed the Nguni people as being an ideal sample to test the validity of the culture of honour (COH) theory. The theory asserts that people with a herding lineage adhere more strongly to honour culture norms than those with a farming ancestry (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).

Culture of honour theory

The COH theory is an evolutionary psychology concept. It premises that the way in which a society orients itself towards the environment influences its members psychologically (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Individuals with an ancestry of being herders are said to react in fundamentally different physiological, cognitive, and psychological ways compared to those with a farming ancestry when they perceive their honour as being violated (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Upon perception of threat or insult, individuals from cultures with a herding lineage exhibit a greater affinity for direct retaliation in the form of physical violence, than individuals with a farming ancestry (Figueredo, Tala, McNeil & Guille, 2004; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Shackelford, 2005). In honour cultures, threats and insults are understood as having the power to diminish the reputation of an individual. Immediate

violent retribution is therefore explained as being a swift and effective means of recovering social status in the community (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996).

Farmers are said to not have needed to develop honour culture norms in order to survive in their environment. Traditionally, farming societies have a consistent social structure, closer ties between their members, and a higher population density than nomadic herding societies (Figueredo et al., 2004). The farming society is organized in such a way that individual deviance from a (peaceful) norm is effectively dealt with by legitimate authoritative bodies, such as the police or chiefs. Therefore, farmers have a more secure faith in the lawful penal system for protection when insulted or threatened (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Farming societies also gain their wealth by making a living off secure, fixed land. Unlike herders whose wealth is in a mobile herd that can be stolen and herded off to another location, stealing the land of a farmer would involve removing the farmer from the land permanently. This feat is made difficult by the close ties farmers have with each other in the society (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Thus, historically speaking, farmers do not have the burden of having to have the reputation of being willing to violently defend themselves, their possessions or their families in the face of threats or insults (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).

Contrastingly, the tradition of scarcity of resources in herding societies, and the collective consent for individual execution of justice in the light of an ineffective legal system is what results in the development of honour cultures in herding societies (Brown & Osterman, 2012; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Resources are often disproportionately limited in herding societies. This leads to individuals forming coalitions for the sake of securing and protecting their limited resources and possessions. Risk of theft is high, and because of the nomadic mobility that characterises herding societies, the population is often located far from the jurisdiction of a lawful penal system. All of this increases the prevalence of lawlessness among individuals, and the idea that one may take it upon one's self to protect one's own (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Shackelford, 2005). This results in the development of socially condoned honour culture norms in herding societies.

Disproportionate retaliation is a key element in herding societies as it changes the risk-reward equation. For example, knowing that the herder will hang the individual he catches stealing his cattle should make the individual reconsider whether or not the attempt is worth risking his life (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Figueredo et al., 2004). In order to deter threats, thefts, and insults from others, one must have a widely known reputation of being ready and able to violently retaliate against one's abuser - even to the point of death (Figueredo et al., 2004).

These cultural norms of herding societies may persist among its members, even when the social and economic factors that necessitated them cease to prevail (Brown & Osterman, 2012). Even contemporary honour cultures socialise children into regarding swift aggressive responses to affronts as being necessary in the protection of the honour of whoever or whatever was insulted or threatened (Morowitz, 2008; Shackelford, 2005). Here, honour translates as the reputation of an individual; his/her entitlement to respect, esteem and status in society (Morowitz, 2008). The maintenance of honour culture norms in non-honour culture societies is often problematic. The liberal democracies under which many honour culture individuals live enforce punitive measures against typical honour culture behaviour. An individual who stabs someone who falsely accuses his mother of being a prostitute, for example, is subject to legal action in a liberal democracy, even though his actions might be considered justified in traditional honour cultures.

Both sexes participate in the maintenance of honour culture norms. Honour culture males especially express violent behaviour when they perceive their masculinity as being threatened physically and/or verbally by another man (Brown & Osterman, 2012). They also exhibit a greater concern with the sexual virtue of their female kin and respond aggressively when it is insulted (Cohen et al., 1996). Honour culture females are also more likely to endorse ideas consistent with honour culture ideologies in comparison to their non-honour culture counterparts. They often condone the use of violence when protecting one's self, relatives and belongings, stand in opposition to institutional control of gun ownership, and support the use of physical force when disciplining children (Shackelford, 2005). Both sexes play a vital role in the socialisation of their sons to be ready to respond immediately and violently to disrespect (Shackelford, 2005). However, having a mother from an honour culture is an even better predictor of a typical honour culture response to affront than having a father who is from an honour culture (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).

However, none of this should lead one to believe that individuals from honour cultures are wholly more aggressive than those whose cultures do not emphasise the importance of honour. In control groups with the absence of insult, honour culture males exhibit greater levels of polite behaviour than their non-honour culture counterparts. This politeness behaviour may have been evolutionarily useful in situations where herders had to trade with other groups in order to attain the goods they could not produce (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).

Alternative Explanations

As intriguing as the COH theory may be, however, it does not provide the only possible explanation for why some people are more likely to retaliate violently when insulted. Socio-economic status, general conflict tactics, and life history strategy are all plausible reasons why some individuals display behaviours that have now been characterised as ‘honour culture’ ideology.

Socio-economic status. Kubrin and Weitzer (2003) have linked low socio-economic status to a tendency towards retaliatory killings, as well as affinity for not including law enforcement groups when dealing with unlawful behaviour in a community. Low socio-economic status are often marginalised by institutional structures in larger society. This may lead them to not have faith in the willingness of law enforcement agencies to support them in conflict matters (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003).

General conflict tactics. General conflict tactics (GCTs) are strategies people assume when dealing with interpersonal conflict with people of both sexes (Archer, 1999). Some individuals generally have a greater inclination to violently retaliate, even in comparison to others of their own group. An individual with more aggressive conflict tactics, for example, might score highly on honour culture measures simply because s/he generally responds violently in conflict situations (Archer, 1999).

Life history strategy. Life history strategies (LHS) are patterns of decisions individuals unconsciously make based on the availability of resources in the environment in which they develop (Brumbach, Figueredo & Ellis, 2009). People are either defined as having a slow life history strategy or a fast life history strategy. A fast LHS often develops when the individual has to survive and reproduce in a social, biological or economic environment where resources are scarce and the competition for them is high. Conversely, a slow LHS is the result of an individual developing in an environment with more abundant resources and less competition (Brumbach et al., 2009). Individuals with a fast life strategy have been shown to have an inclination to consider short term gratification over long-term gains and needs when compared to slow life history strategy individuals. Fast life history strategy individuals are also less inclined to make long-term plans, are more impulsive, and also show a weaker adherence to the norms and values of contemporary industrialised societies than slow life history strategy individuals (Brumbach et al., 2009). It seems a possibility that individuals with a fast LHS would be more likely to think immediate and violent retribution in the face of insult more appropriate without first considering the long term effects of the retaliation. Therefore LHS instead of honour culture ideology could be the reasoned cause behind retaliatory action now characterised as ‘honour culture’ behaviour.

As plausible as these alternative explanations may be, they lack sufficient theoretical and empirical support to trump that of the COH theory. Tracing the lineage of the communities where a link between low socio-economic status and honour culture ideology has been reported indicates that they may be of herding ancestry (Schneider & Schneider, 2007). On the subject of GCTs, honour culture individuals have not been shown to generally be more violent than non-honour culture individuals. It is only when their honour is threatened that they are likely to be more violent than their non-honour culture counterparts (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). There is no empirical evidence to suggest GCTs as the reason why some people are more likely to retaliate than others. Similarly, no links between honour culture ideology and life history strategy have been empirically recognised (A. J. Figueredo, personal communication, February, 19, 2013). However, the fact that these retaliatory tendencies have been found among people linked by a cultural heritages of being herders still remains something of interest.

The herding lifestyle also produces structural changes in communities. The nomadic mobility of herding necessitates the absence of the obligation of childbearing, resulting in gendered social roles and sex-segregated herding communities (Morowitz, 2008). This type of sex segregation of gender roles because of the herding way of life is also historically evident communities within the Nguni tribes of Southern Africa.

The Nguni

The Nguni are the IsiXhosa, IsiZulu and SiSwati speaking tribes of Southern Africa. The tribes descend from the Bantu peoples of Africa who began migrating south from the Niger-Benue River territory (present day western Cameroon/ Southern Nigeria) 5 000 years ago (Berniell-lee et al., 2009; Gramly, 1978). The expansion was rapid, yet multidirectional, resulting in 450 known related Bantu languages in Africa (Vansina, 1984). Wherever they migrated, the Bantu participated in processes of cultural, technological, linguistic and genetic transmission with the people indigenous to the land. The Bantu eventually reached South Africa in approximately 300 A.D, both reproducing with and marginalizing the Khoisan and Pygmies who are the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa (Berniell-lee et al., 2009).

Currently, the Nguni comprise of the majority of the black population of South Africa. All of the Nguni languages are mutually intelligible and make up 4 the 11 official languages of the country, with IsiZulu being the home language of 22.7% of the South African population (Rudwick, 2008; Statistics South Africa, 2011). The abolishment of the apartheid laws of the nationalist government that restricted the movement of black South

Africans, has meant that individuals of the different Nguni tribes may now be found living all across South Africa (Rudwick, 2008). However, they are also still spread out in terms of geographical location; the Zulu being predominantly found in Kwa-Zulu Natal, the Xhosa in the Eastern Cape. The Swati and Ndebele are predominantly found in Mpumalanga, even though they are also largely located in neighbouring Swaziland and Zimbabwe respectively (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

In terms of this study, what is most intriguing about the Nguni is the sex-segregated way in which they have historically oriented themselves towards the environment. All documented studies of honour culture have compared groups of homogenous ancestry (farmers vs. herders) to one another. The Nguni however, have a sex-based heterogeneous distribution of occupational ancestry. The Bantu, from which the Nguni descend, herded their cattle while migrating to Southern Africa (Kuper & van Leynseele, 1978). They also engaged in horticultural activities, introducing the use of iron tools for farming, as well as the planting of staple foods to the tribes they came into contact with. Farming, however, was performed by women, with their fields producing the majority of the calorie intake of the societies (Kuper & van Leynseele, 1978). Cattle herding was reserved for men and primarily seen as proof of the social standing of a man and his family. The cattle were more often used in rituals than as a source of food (Kuper & van Leynseele, 1978). In short, in Bantu, and consequently, Nguni societies of Southern Africa, gender roles were structured so that the females were farmers and the males were herders. It appears that this type of heterogeneous sex-based ancestral occupational segregation has not yet been investigated by honour culture theorists.

Summary and Rationale

Evolutionary psychologists have significantly studied conducted a significant amount of research into cultures of honour. In many of these studies, they have compared individuals with a farming ancestry to those with a herding ancestry. The latter group of individuals are identified as having a greater inclination to having immediate violent responses to affronts and insults than the former. What distinguishes descendants of herders from those of farmers in this light is that they have a culture of honour and farmer descendant do not. Adherence to honour culture norms might have been necessary for the ancestral herders, but it proves to be problematic in contemporary society. However, alternate explanations as to why some people exhibit more honour culture behaviour than others also exist. These explanations do not identify ancestral occupation as being an important factor in influencing honour culture

behaviours. In all cases where comparisons have been made between honour culture and non-honour culture individuals, both the male and female participants have been from social groups with a homogenous farming or herding ancestry. The Nguni tribes of South Africa present a new and interesting case in which to study honour culture because the Nguni males have a herding ancestry and the females have a farming heritage. If the COH theory is cross-culturally applicable and has strong ecological and predictive validity, there should be systematic differences in the measured COH scores of the sexes among the Nguni. When administered the Culture of Honour Questionnaire (COHQ), Nguni males should systematically score higher than the females. Sex should also be the most significant contributor to the COH scores of the participants if indeed the development of honour culture norms is mostly due to whether one is of herding ancestry. It is these two 'ifs' that this study aimed to investigate in this test of theory study.

Aims and Hypotheses.

More specifically, this study aimed to test the hypotheses which state that

- I. Nguni males systematically and significantly subscribe to culture of honour norms more than Nguni females and
- II. Sex is the most significant predictor of honour culture, even when socio-economic status, general conflict tactics, and life history strategy are controlled for.

Both hypotheses were predicted to be true.

Methods

Design and Setting

This study made use of a quasi-experimental design as it sought to investigate the existence of a relationship between the pre-existing phenomena; sex (predictor variable) and COH score (outcome variable). The aforementioned alternative explanations that pertain to hypothesis II as potentially confounding predictor variables for COH score were also considered. These variables were named *socio-economic statuses*, *general conflict tactics*, (GCT) and *life history strategy* (LHS). The study was based online and was hosted by the survey website, Survey Monkey, under the URL

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/7YM338X>. This was done in order to prevent the

possibility of the researcher ever erroneously entering the data retrieved from the participants when running the statistical analyses - each measure had between 20 – 82 items. The study was open from August 1 2013 until September 30 2013. The research was a part of, and collected data for, a larger study, which is investigating more complex aspects of the honour cultures of Southern Africa.

Participants

The participants were all members of the South African Nguni tribes sampled from staff members and students of the University of Cape Town (UCT) community. This was done in order to increase the probability of achieving an ample sample size. Nonetheless, only 1 UCT staff member participated, and the rest were students, 77% of which being undergraduates of the psychology department. A total of 118 participants agreed to participate in the online study. However, only 100 people completed the Household Inventory (HI) questionnaire, 71 completed the Culture of Honour Questionnaire (COHQ), and 60 completed the Generalised Conflict Tactics scale (GCTS) and 46 completed the Mini-K questionnaire.

Of the 71 who completed the COHQ, 30.99% were male and 69.01% were female. Most of these participants were from the Xhosa cultural group (43.66%) which is to be expected seeing as the Xhosa make up most of the Nguni population in the Western Cape Province (Stats SA, 2012). The Zulu participants comprised of 25.35% of the sample, while the Swati and Ndebele participants each contributed 15.49% and 7.04 % respectively to the sample size. The remaining 8.457% of the participants described themselves as being of mixed Nguni heritage; having a Zulu mother and a Xhosa father, for example. The demographic characteristics of the participants are described in table 1 and figure 1 below.

Several cross-cultural studies (Figueredo et al., 2004) have tested cross-cultural differences in herding, farming, and fishing cultures in the United States of America, Spain, and Costa Rica. Sex differences have been tested and not found in any of these instances (A. J. Figueredo, personal communication, February, 19, 2013). Since this study used the same measures and methods similar to all the aforementioned studies, the participants of those studies served as a control group for this study.

Table 1.
Demographic Characteristics of the participants

Ethnicity	Males	Females	(N)
Zulu	5	13	18
Xhosa	8	23	31
Swati	5	6	11
Ndebele	2	3	5
Combination of the Nguni groups	2	4	6
(N)	22	49	71

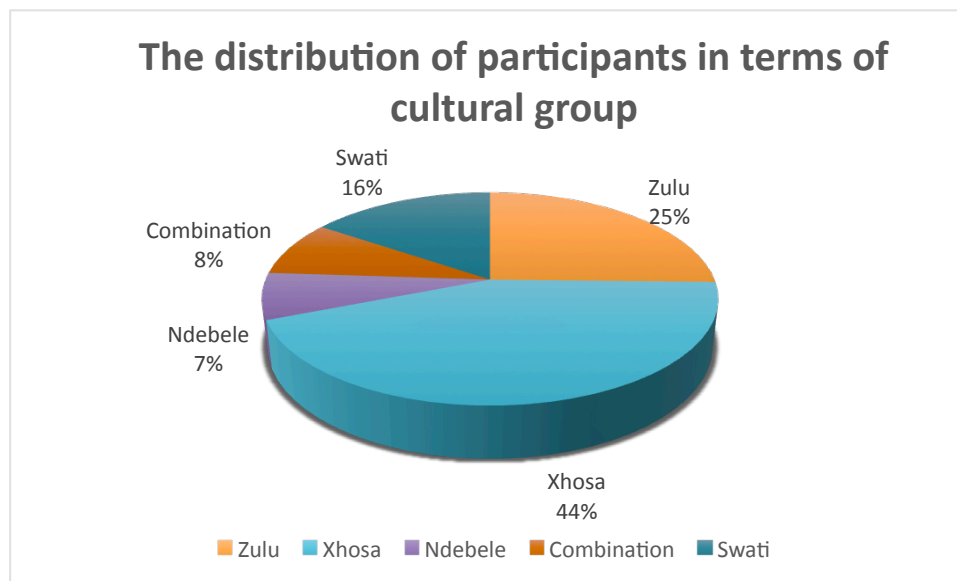


Figure 1. The distribution of the cultural groups of the participants ($N = 71$). The male and female participants are represented in each Nguni subgroup. 'Combination' refers to participants who reported having parents from different Nguni groups.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria. Only the participants who completed indicated their sex and completed at least the HI and the COHQ were included in the study. All who agreed to participate in the study but did not indicate their sex and complete the COHQ and the HI were excluded from the study, as were all non-Nguni participants and Nguni individuals who did not volunteer to participate in the study.

Measures

Demographics. The demographics questionnaire required participants to indicate their cultural background (Swati, Xhosa, or Zulu) and gender (male or female). They were

also asked to record their staff or student number to ensure that they were members of the UCT community, as well as the psychology course for which they required the SRPP points to be allocated for their participation if they were undergraduate students in the psychology department. The Household Inventory (HI) questionnaire was used to describe socio-economic status of each participant. The inventory lists 15 household items and requires participants to check the corresponding box if they have at least one of each of the 15 items. A HI score of 15 indicates high socio-economic standing, while one closer to 0 indicates lower socio-economic status. Analysis of the data received for household inventory revealed satisfactory reliability statistics with a Cronbach's Alpha measuring a coefficient of 0.856. Cronbach's Alpha estimates are read on a scale of 0 – 1, with coefficients closest to 1 being more desirable as they show that the items they account for are strongly inter-correlated, implying that they measure the same thing (Gorsuch, 1983). Appendices D1 and D2 describe the demographics questionnaire.

Culture of Honour questionnaire. The COHQ is a 32-item questionnaire designed by Figueredo and colleagues (2004). The questionnaire has two subscales; revenge and reciprocity. Revenge is defined as the inclination of individuals to repay an adverse act done unto him/her by others with an equal or greater adverse act onto his/her abusers. Reciprocity is understood as being the tendency of an individual to repay a positive act done unto him/her by others with an equal or greater positive act to said others (Figueredo et al., 2004). Items testing each of the subscales are placed in an alternating fashion with revenge items being evenly numbered, and reciprocity items being oddly numbered. Items 1, 23, 25 and 27 and items 24 and 32 are reversely coded, and accordingly, reversely scored. This structure controls for response bias, which is the tendency for participants to consistently (dis)agree with each item regardless of what the item actually states (Wilson & MacLean, 2011).

Each of the 32 items describe a situation involving one of two protagonist, named Duduzile and Njabulo, who either reciprocate or retaliate when interacting with others in different contexts. The participant has to rate the behaviour of Duduzile and Njabulo on a six-point scale from -3 to +3. In another effort to control for response bias in the participants, no 0 value exists to indicate neutrality. Possible scores for the measure thus range from -64 to 64. The lowest rating indicates the participant believes Duduzile or Njabulo 'did much more than he/she should have done,' and the highest score indicating that the participant believes that Duduzile or Njabulo 'did much less than he/she should have done,' in each of the situations. Hence a low COH score is indicative of low adherence honour culture norms and scripts, while a high COH score signifies a strong adherence to these norms and scripts. The

names of the protagonists were originally 'Mary' and 'John', but have been adjusted for cultural considerations in this study. Mary and John are Western names and may incline the participants to see the protagonists as Western individuals, and therefore expect them to not act in accordance to the Nguni Cultures. 'Duduzile' and 'Njabulo' are Nguni names common in all the Nguni subgroups. Duduzile is a female name meaning 'comforted' and Njabulo is a male name meaning 'happiness'.

The COHQ has been used in studies of honour culture in Tucson (United States of America); San Jose, Liberia and Puntarenas (Costa Rica); Mexico City, Hermosillo, and La Paz (Mexico); and Madrid (Spain). There, the Cronbach's Alpha for the Revenge items revealed an internal consistency of between 0.76 - 0.88 in these studies. However the Reciprocity items could only reveal internal consistency of between -0.1 - 0.55. This suggests that even though, in theory, honour cultures emphasise politeness there are great individual differences in the extent to which individuals reciprocate positive behaviour (Figueredo et al, 2004). The scales accounting for reciprocity and revenge have been proven to be measures independent of one another, and including the reciprocity items with the revenge items is still useful in controlling for response bias. In this study, the COHQ revealed a Cronbach's Alpha statistic of 0.788. Other than the name change of the protagonists, the questionnaire was used as originally set up by Figueredo (et al., 2004) in international studies where no systematic gender differences were found amongst the males and the females in adherence to honour culture norms. Appendices E1 and E2 describe the Culture of Honour questionnaire.

Generalised Conflict Tactics Scale (GCTS). The GCTS is a 78-item questionnaire whose use is being pioneered by this study, as well as other honour culture studies currently being conducted in Mexico by evolutionary psychologist, A. J Figueredo. The GCT asks its respondents to indicate how often they have resolved conflict they have had with males and females in physically aggressive ways over the past year. The scale is a modification of the Conflict Tactics II scale (CTS2), which is used to identify self-reported cases of domestic violence (Archer, 1999). In order to create the GCTS, the items which inquire as to how often the respondent has been the victim of different types of domestic violence within the past year are removed, leaving the items which focus on the frequency with which the response has been the perpetrator of the violent actions. The questions in the GCTS also apply to all male and females the respondent may have been in conflict with, not just his/her intimate partner (A. J. Figueredo, personal communication, February, 19, 2013). The questions alternate between aggression towards same-sex targets (odd numbered items) and opposite-sex targets (even numbered items). The items are scored between 0 and 5 where 0 = Never, 1

= Only Once, 2 = 6 times, 3 = 12 times, 4 = Once a Week, Daily = 5. Possible scores, therefore range between 0 and 390. Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 39, 40, 77 and 78 are reversely coded and, consequently, reversely scored. The higher an individual scores on the GCTS, the more violent/aggressive s/he is perceived as being when dealing with conflict. Since this scale is still under development, its validity is still in the process of being confirmed. For this study, the scale showed itself as being reliable, revealing a Cronbach's Alpha estimate of 0.959.

Mate Retention Inventory. This self-report questionnaire enquires about the strategies participants use to retain the affections of their romantic partners. The data collected by use of this questionnaire is intended for the larger study of which this presented study is a part of.

The Mini-K questionnaire. The Mini-K is the short form of the K (type II) questionnaire, which is life history strategy scale developed by Figueredo and colleagues (2006) as a part of the Arizona Life History Battery. The Arizona Life History Battery is a collection of a variety of original measures that are underpinned by a latent singular multivariate construct that represents life history strategy (Dunkel, Mathes, & Decker, 2009). The Mini-K counts as a self-report of this life history strategy, and comprises of 20-items graded on a Likert-type scale from -3 (disagree strongly) to +3 (agree strongly) with 0 being a response that points to a given statement as being 'not applicable' to the participant. The questionnaire produces scores between -60 and 60, with scores closer to 60 indicating a faster life history strategy while those closer to -60 are indicative of a slower life history strategy. Examples of the items are, 'I have a close and warm romantic relationship with my sexual partner,' and 'I avoid taking risks'. The Mini-K has been shown to have good internal consistency, with Cronbach's Alpha being reported at 0.71 (Dunkel at al., 2009). For this study, the Mini-K revealed a Cronbach's Alpha coefficient of 0.725. This is considered as a being a good Cronbach's Alpha estimate, showing pleasing item inter-correlation (Gorsuch, 1983). The measure has also been shown to have construct validity, correlating strongly with the High-K Strategy Scale, which also measures life history strategy (Dunkel & Decker, 2010; Giosan, 2006). However, the Mini-K is more preferable and selected for use in this study because it is short and time-efficient.

Procedure

Firstly, ethical approval for this study was granted by the Ethics Committee of the University of Cape Town's Department of Psychology. The study was not limited to the undergraduate population of the university in order to increase the probability of achieving an ample sample

size. Participants were recruited using posters which advertised the study which were placed in and around buildings at UCT. Appendix A includes the said advertisements. A request for participants was also posted on the Vula website, targeting undergraduate students in the psychology department. Each Nguni student in the psychology department was also sent a personalised email requesting for their participation. Appendix B describes an example of the personalised email. These students were informed that they would receive Student Research Participation Points (SRPP) for participating in the study as a form of incentive. A similar email advertising the study was also sent to the secretary of the African studies department who was asked to forward the advertisements to Nguni students in the African languages department. The participation of all involved was voluntary.

Since the study was based online, the participants could complete the study at their own time so long as they had Internet enabled computerised technologies. The UCT Beatie Building computer laboratory was also booked on the 5th and 6th of August from 13h00 – 14h00 to allow any participants, who might not have otherwise had been privy to the availability of the necessary time, space, or technologies, the opportunity to participate. No participant made use of this opportunity, however. The participants were informed that the study was regarding sex differences in honour culture among the Nguni people, but the concept of honour cultures and the reasoning behind the study was only explained to them in a debriefing document at the end of the study. This was done in order to not influence the responses of the participants.

The online study was set in nine consecutive pages. The first was the consent form which informed the participants of the aims of the study, the study procedure, and their ethical rights as participants. Appendices C1 and C2 describe the consent form. Before they could continue further, participants had to then agree to participate in the study by clicking on the appropriate tab. This led each participant to the second page wherein began the demographics questionnaire which required information regarding his/her sex, ethnicity, student number, and the psychology course for which they wanted the SRPP points to be allocated. The household inventory was also found on the same page. Page four described the COHQ, while pages five, six, and seven described the GCTS the Mate Retention Inventory and the Mini-K respectively. The debriefing form was found on page eight, while page nine included the contact details of various organizations where participants would be able to receive counselling if participating in the study had triggered any psychological distress within them. Appendices E – L describe these pages respectively.

Data analysis

The data was first downloaded from the Survey Monkey website in the form of a Microsoft Excel document. It was then coded from alpha form to numeric form in order for it to be analysed appropriately. All statistical analyses were carried out using the statistical software package, IBM SPSS 21. Descriptive statistics of the data were first computed in order to observe the distribution, means, and variance of the data collected through the demographics questionnaire. It was also ensured that the assumptions necessary for a General Linear Model (GLM) that was used were not violated. The residuals were independent of one another and more-or less normally distributed, had constant variance (homoscedasticity). Non-zero variance in the descriptives and linearity in the partial plots was also observed. This all indicated the data as suitable for analysis using the GLM.

The main analysis considered between subjects difference in COH score between the Nguni males and females. The sex of the individual (Male or Female) was treated as the predictor variable, and COH score, as measured by the COHQ, was the criterion variable and named 'Sex'. Socio-economic status, generalised conflict tactics, and life history strategy were controlled for as covariates and respectively named SES, GCT, and LHS. The GLM tested the relationship between Sex and COH score after controlling for the covariates by hierarchically partitioning the variance in COH score, using Type I sum of squares in SPSS's GLM procedure. A Type I sum of squares was specifically set at 0.05 and confidence levels being automatically at 95% for judicious stringency and accuracy in the findings. A GLM was considered the most appropriate statistical technique for this study as the study has quantitative data and seeks to identify the relationship between an outcome variable (COH score) and a single predictor (Sex), and because of the ability of the GLM to statistically control for potential confounds. Since only one statistical test needs to be run, the Type I error is controlled for. All of these factors were taken into consideration in an effort to ensure statistical conclusion validity.

Results

Descriptives

The descriptive statistics for the univariate analysis of variance for the model constructed to test the main hypothesis of the study while controlling for the effects of the covariates

revealed that only 46 participants (11 males and 35 females) actually completed all the questionnaires of the study. Even though the lack of equality in the size of the groups was unfortunate, this did not negatively affect the statistical analysis because the GLM is robust, even under unequal sample sizes. Selection bias, which would otherwise be a threat to internal validity (Wilson & MacLean, 2011) was therefore addressed by this statistical procedure. The males had a higher Culture of Honour mean score ($M = -10.455$) than the females ($M = -31.40$). This means that, on the whole, the Nguni males adhered more strongly to honour culture norms than their female counterparts. The male participants also had less variance among the scores ($SD = 13.90$) than the females ($SD = 17.04$). This implies that the male participants were more in agreement with one another than the females in answering the questionnaire. See table 2 and figure 2 below for a visual representation of the data.

Table 2.

COH score descriptives of those who completed the study.

Sex	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
Male	-10.46	13.90	11
Female	-31.40	17.04	35

Note. This table reveals the statistics for the COH scores of the male and female Nguni participants who completed all the questionnaires in the study. *M* = Mean, *SD* = Standard deviation, *N* = number of participants.

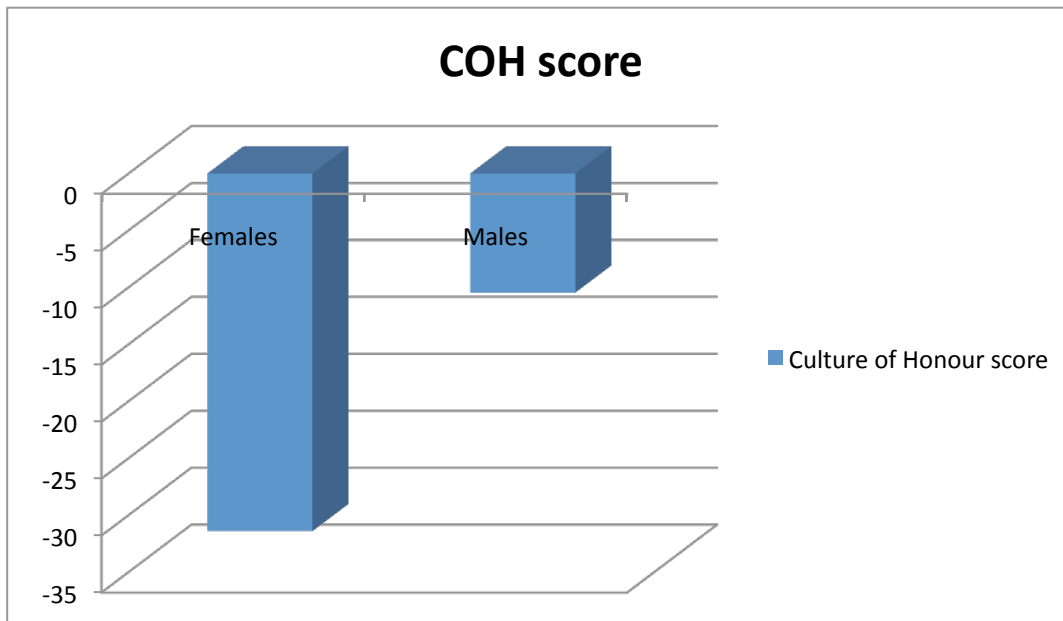


Figure 2. This figure is a graphical representation of the mean COH scores for the Nguni participants. It is clear that the males had higher mean scores than the females. This is what was expected to happen in the study.

Regression Analyses

Testing for hypothesis II. A GLM using Type I sums of squares was created in order to test for both hypothesis. In the in the first model, the predictor variables were entered in the following order: SES; GCT; LHS; Sex. This order of entry was necessary for checking for the effects of Sex on the outcome variable, COH score, when all the potentially confounding variables are controlled for. The test of between-subject effects revealed that SES significantly predicts COH score $F(1, 45) = 5.16, p = 0.29, \eta^2 = 0.11$. GCT was shown as unable to significantly predict COH score $F(1, 45) = 2.29, p = .138$. LHS was also a significant predictor of COH score with the estimate $F(1, 45) = 2.29, p = .37$. Nonetheless Sex seemed to be the predictor with the most influence, being statistically significant at $F(1, 45) = 11.25, p = .002, \eta^2 = 0.22$ (see Table 3). Hypotheses II was thus supported. Ultimately, 36.3% of the variance in COH score can be explained by the combination of SES, GCT, LHS, and Sex.

Table 3

General Linear Model: looking for relationship between Sex and Culture of Honour score while controlling for confounding variables

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>t</i>	η^2	<i>p</i>
Socio-economic status	-.96	5.16	-1.35	.11	.029
GCT	-.14	2.29	2.20	.05	.138
Life History Strategy	-.11	2.29	-.634	.10	.037*
Sex	-.02	11.25	-2.76	.22	.002**

Note. The dependent variable was the COH score. $R^2 = .363$. Adjusted $R^2 = .30$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. Degrees of freedom were (1, 45) in each case.

Investigating adventitious finding. A model that placed Sex before LHS in terms of order and hierarchy was constructed to for the existence of a spurious relationship between LHS and COH score. No changes in any of the statistics of the other predictor variables were observed. However, changes in the statistics of the variables Sex and LHS were noted. Sex moved from being significant at $F(1, 45) = 11.25$, $p = .002$ to being even more significant at $F(1, 45) = 15.50$, $p < .001$. Contrastingly, LHS moved from being significant at $F(1, 45) = 2.293$, $p = .37$, to not being a significant predictor of COH score at $F(1, 45) = .403$, $p = .529$. When sex is controlled for, the relationship between LHS and COH score disappears (*see Table 4*). This indicates that the relationship between LHS and COH score is a spurious one, existing, in this case, because of Sex

Table 4

General Linear Model: examining the relationship between Sex and Life History Strategy

Predictor	<i>F</i>	η^2	<i>p</i>
Socio-economic status	5.16	.11	.029
GCT	2.29	.05	.138
Sex	15.50	.22	.001**
LHS	.403	.10	.53

Note. The dependent variable was the COH score. R^2 remained at .363, as did the Adjusted R^2 at .30. The model still explains the same amount of variance in COH score ** $p < .001$. Degrees of freedom were (1, 45) in each case.

Predicting Culture of honour among the Nguni. A hierarchical partitioning of variance using the Type I sum of squares revealed that only Socio-economic status and Sex were the

variable that were continuously statistically significant, regardless of what order the variables were entered in the model. This observation resulted in the final modelling of Culture of Honour using only these two variables. The following results were found.

Descriptives. Since more participants completed the HI and COHQ, than the other questionnaire, the number of recorded participants, and Culture of honour mean scores and standard deviations identified by the descriptive statistics also increased. Thus the descriptives identified 71 participants, 30.99% of which were male and 69.01% of which were female. The males still had a higher Culture of Honour mean score ($M = -13.64$) than the females ($M = -32.31$). However the standard deviation from the mean were still high, indicating great variance in mean COH scores of each group ($SD = 16.66$ for males and $SD = 16.35$ for females). Nonetheless the standard deviations for both groups were more-or-less equal. This implies that, in this case, with more participants, there is similar variance in adherence to honour culture norms in both sexes (*see table 5*).

Table 5.

Descriptive Statistics of the COH score among the 71 Nguni males and females who completed the HI and COHQ

Sex	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
Male	-13.64	16.66	22
Female	-32.31	16.35	49

Note. This table reveals the statistics for the COH scores of the male and female Nguni participants who completed all the questionnaires in the study. *M* = Mean, *SD* = Standard deviation, *N* = number of participants

The final model shows both Socio-economic status and Sex as being significant predictors of COH score, with socioeconomic status being significant at $F(1, 70) = 4.42$, $p = .04$ and Sex being significant with a higher F statistics at $F(1, 70) = 18.504$, $p < 0.001$.

Table 6

General Linear Model: Predicting Culture of Honour among Nguni participants (N = 71)

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>t</i>	η^2	<i>p</i>
SES	-.96	4.42	-1.35	.06	.04*
Males	18.00	18.504	4.302	.21	.001**

Note. The dependent variable was the COH score. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$. Degrees of freedom were (1, 70) in each case. $R^2 = .252$. Adjusted $R^2 = .23$. The final model explains a satisfying 25.2% of variance in COH score** $p < .001$. The males were coded as the baseline so that the females are represented the y-intercept of -20.236. This shows that the Nguni male participants have statistically significant and systematically higher COH scores than their female counterparts

Discussion

Findings

The general purpose of this study was to investigate the existence of sex differences in honour culture norm adherence between Nguni males and females. Hypothesis 1 stated that Nguni males would have a systematically higher COH score than Nguni females. An observation of the descriptive statistics, a GLM that used a Type I sum of squares and the interpretation of the parameter estimates for the relationship between Sex and COH score all revealed the Nguni males as having higher, statistically significant and systematic COH mean scores than their female counterparts. Thus hypothesis 1 was supported. This finding is divergent with current theories on honour culture. As far as this study is aware, sex differences in COH scores have never been found; neither in the theoretical descriptions given by Nisbett and Cohen (1996) who are the main proponents of the COH theory, nor in the international and the cross-national honour culture studies performed by Figueredo and colleagues (2006). The explanation for the novelty of this finding, however, is in alignment with the COH theory. A potential reason why sex differences have never been found in honour culture research is that both sexes in the cultures that are studied have been of homogenous ancestry in terms of how their progenitors have lived off the land. Both the males and the females of these cultures have ancestors who have either been herders or farmers; hence both the males and females participated in the herding and farming duties (A. J. Figueredo, personal communication, February 19, 2013). Among the Nguni, however, the males have a herding ancestry while Nguni females have a farming lineage. Since the theory states that individuals with a herding ancestry are more likely to subscribe to culture of honour norms and scripts than those with a farming ancestry, it follows that the Nguni males should systematically score higher on the COHQ than their female counterparts. However, this implies the relationship between Sex and COH scores in this study may be spurious, existing primarily because of the type of lineage. Nonetheless, this finding contributes something new to honour culture theory. It stands as a documented empirical case where the

males and females of a cultural group systematically differed in their adherence to honour culture norms.

The second hypothesis was driven by the desire to test the strength of the confirmed hypothesis I. It sought to investigate if sex was indeed the most influential characteristic that determined the COH scores of the Nguni participants. It was considered that rather than being male or female, one's socio-economic status, conflict tactics, and the type of life history strategy one subscribes to may be markers that influence one's adherence to honour culture norms. Therefore hypothesis II stated that even when socio-economic status, general conflict tactics, and life history strategy are controlled for, sex still significantly predicts COH score. The variance in COH score was then hierarchically partitioned using the GLM procedure under the Type I sum of squares method. The model confirmed that Sex still explains a statistically significant amount of unique variance, in fact the greatest amount of unique variance, in COH score, even when the effects of the stated potentially confounding variables are accounted for. Therefore, the second hypothesis was supported. The sex-segregated occupational ancestry of the participants seems the likely explanation for why the sex of the participants was still able to predict their tendency towards honour culture norms most significantly even when the alternate hypothesis had been controlled for. Nonetheless, this finding is still convergent to that of Figuredo and colleagues (2006) who found statistically significant differences in COH scores between people with a farming ancestry and those with a herding ancestry, even when the effects of socio-economic status on their COH scores were accounted for.

While testing for hypothesis II, no statistically significant relationship between GCT and COH score was observed. This implies that there is no reason to believe that honour culture individuals generally resort to more violent or aggressive conflict resolution tactics than non-honour culture individuals. This finding aligns with that observed by Nisbett and Cohen (1996) who describe honour culture individuals as being more polite than non-honour culture individuals when they are not insulted or threatened. However, the lack of a relationship between these two constructs also diverges from COH. The GCTS measures how frequently individuals acted in a physically violent or aggressive manner towards both males and females within the last year. Honour culture individuals are known to be more likely to think violence a judicious form of retribution to insult than non-honour culture individuals. It seems reasonable to believe, therefore, that they would have reported acting in violent ways more often than non-honour culture individuals, but this was not the case. A possible reason for this could be that the participants under-reported the number of times they have reacted in

violent way in an effort to not shock the researcher. Such social desirability has been documented as being a potential problem with self-report measures such as the GCTS (Holtgraves, 2004). However, the participants may have been honest in reporting to not have acted in these violent ways. Having a university education has been shown to be a buffer against the tendency to use violence in resolving conflict (Swan & Snow, 2006). Being a member of a university community may have affected the participants' tendency to adhere to honour culture norms with regard to actually enacting violence when dealing with people in conflict situations.

Testing for Hypothesis II also serendipitously identified socio-economic status as being able to predict COH score with a statistically significant estimate, even in the presence of sex. The fewer goods participants reported having in their homes, the higher their COH score was. This finding is similar to that of Figueredo et al. (2001) who report a relationship between socio-economic status and personal honour, which is an aspect of honour culture ideology. It is understandable how these findings could emerge from the data. As previously explained, honour culture norms develop in societies where individuals have limited resources in an environment where lawlessness is ripe. Being known for being willing to react swiftly and violently when his/her possessions are threatened therefore serves an evolutionary adaptive function. It follows that not having many goods in his/her possession would inspire an individual to be willing to resort to violence to protect the little he/she has. As a contribution to literature, this finding further supports the link between low socio-economic status and honour culture.

Finally, testing for hypothesis II also revealed an adventitious finding. The GLM demonstrated a statistically significant relationship between LHS and COH score. When the model hierarchy was altered in order to control for the effects of Sex in influencing the relationship between LHS and COH score, the significance of the said relationship disappeared. This implies that the relationship between LHS and COH score was a spurious one, existing only in the presence of Sex. This finding aligns with current understandings of honour culture theory. Sex differences in life history strategy have been found between males and females cross culturally. Females tend to have a slow LHS while males have more of a fast life-history strategy (Brumbach et al., 2009; Figueredo & Wolf, 2009). Cross-national and international studies have yet to report links between life history strategy and honour culture adherence. The possible explanation why this relationship has been identified in this study in particular is because both life history strategy and the farming/herding ancestries of

the Nguni have sex differences – a phenomenon that is yet to be reported anywhere else in the world. What does this suggest about new distinctions and controls?

Implications of findings

Theoretical Implications. The study hypothesised and predicted that Nguni males consistently and significantly subscribe to culture of honour norms more than Nguni females. This hypothesis was confirmed. Therefore, the finding of these systematic sex differences among the Nguni in the adherence to honour culture scripts and norms attests to the predictive validity of the COH theory. The COH theory has been tested among people with farming and herding ancestries in the United States of America, Spain, Mexico, and Costa Rica, with differences in honour culture norm adherence being found in all cases that compared the two ancestries (Figueredo et al., 2006). The finding of similar results among the Nguni of South Africa further also testifies of the ecological validity of the COH theory.

The finding that Sex still significantly predicts COH score, even when Socio-economic status, Conflict Tactics, and Life History Strategy are controlled for also has theoretical implications. It attests to the significance and ability of ancestry (through Sex) in predicting culture of honour, even when all other plausible explanations are considered.

Socio-economic status being a significant predictor of COH score also increases one's faith in what is already known about the theory with this regard. However, the lack of a relationship between GCT and COH score has practical implications in the sense that it fails to support the notion that honour culture individuals are more taken to violence than non-honour culture individuals. The finding of a spurious relationship between LHS and COH score through Sex indicates the importance of sex as being the link between life history theory and honour culture theory (through ancestry).

All in all, these findings add to the nomological validity of the constructs of the study. Nomological validity is a type of construct validity that describes 'the degree to which a construct behaves as it should within a system of related constructs called a nomological net' (Campbell, 1960, p.547). Sex was expected to be linked with COH score the way it revealed itself to be and the relationship between LHS and COH score was spurious, as was expected. The links between SES and COH, LHS and COH both show these variables and the constructs behind them as being related to one another as a part of a larger network. This network of relationship is represented by figure 3.

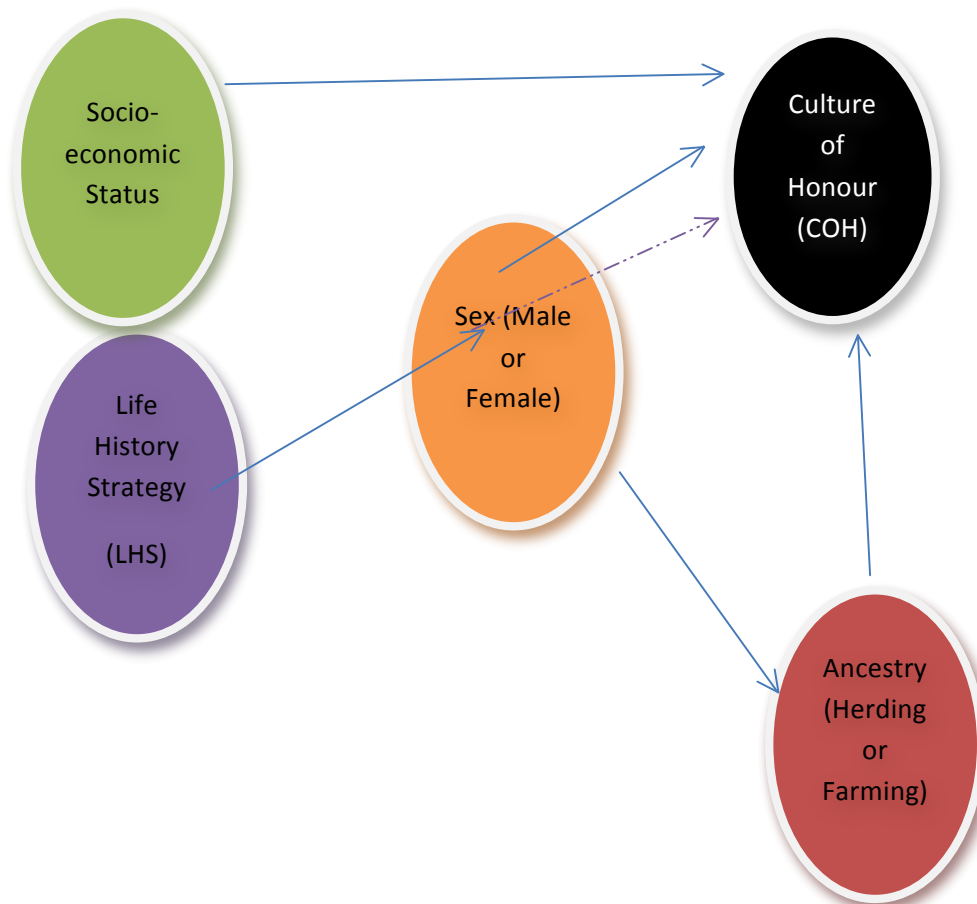


Figure 3. Explains the nomological network between the findings made in this study. LHS is linked to Sex, and then linked to COH spuriously under the influence of sex (dotted line). *Socioeconomic status*, *Ancestry*, and *Sex* are linked to COH.

Methodological Implications. The finding of a statistically significant relationship between Socio-economic status and COH score implies that socio-economic status should be controlled for in future studies that seek to replicate this study or test for honour culture differences in other populations in other parts of the world as Figueredo and colleagues are currently doing in different parts of Africa.

Practical Implications. It may be difficult for individuals who are not from an honour culture to understand why, for example, a Nguni male would beat a man that falsely accused his mother of being a prostitute instead of simply not paying any mind to such a false claim. The study has given a theoretical framework through which non-honour culture people can attempt to understand why a Nguni male would do this – an explanation that does not involve the Nguni people being an inherently violent group of people. This type of understanding may be particularly useful when in the clinical setting where a swift and subjectively judicious use of violence as a form of retaliation to affront might be pathologised as a sign of lack of impulse control. These findings call practitioners to place the observations they make back into the cultural context in which they occur.

Limitations of study

With all these positive contributions mentioned, however, the study was not without limitations.

Attrition. Even though a total of 118 participants – a sample size that would have given adequate statistical power – began the study, only 46 of them completed it in its entirety. This experimental mortality was a notable flaw in the study, as the lack of sufficient participants could possibly have contributed to the lack of statistical significance of GCT. It may just be that only the strongest effects arose as significant because of the small sample size. Because this study was unfunded and had to be completed in 9 months, the researcher lacked the resources in time and money that would have been necessary to follow up with all defaulting participants in an effort to encourage them to participate.

A possible reason for participant attrition might have been testing effects from the actual measurements. After the COHQ, the rest of the measures (GCT and Mink-K) stop being about judgements of the behaviours of others and start being about the participant's own self. The GCT asks participants how often they have enacted various violent acts against others within the past year, and the Mini-K asks them about things like the quality of their relationships with others, and even their sexual behaviour. It is possible that the participants stopped participating because they no longer felt comfortable doing so.

Another potential reason for the attrition is the length of the measures. The COHQ has 32 items, the GCT has 82 items, the MRI has 71 items and the Mini-K has 20 items. Perhaps participants just grew tired

Other measurement issues. Since this study saw the first use of the GCT, the construct validity of this measure was unknown. It still produced excellent Cronbach's Alpha estimates of 0.971 on standardised items, however. The HI, GCT and Mini-K are self-report-type questionnaires. The things participants report themselves as having or have done may not always correspond with what they really have or direct observation in reality. However, the subjectivity of these tests appears a difficult people one simply has to swallow as the researcher had neither the time nor the money to be able to go into the homes of each of the participants to account for their socio-economic status while also directly observing the participants for a year for signs of honour culture behaviour.

Generalizability. These findings might be extended to the greater Nguni community, but not without a generous pinch of salt. As previously stated, the participants of the study were Nguni people who were also members of the UCT community reading for various university qualifications. The majority of the Nguni population of South Africa does not share this characteristic with the participants (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2011).

Future directions

The Nguni of South Africa vs The Vaqueros of Mexico. The researcher and her supervisor are still collecting data for this Nguni honour culture study. The data collected from this study will be compared to that collected from the Vaqueros, which are a Mexican cultural group with a herding ancestry. The researchers will be looking to see in what ways people from these cultural groups can be said to be comparable to one another in their emphasis of honour in their culture.

In replicating the study. As unfortunate as they may have been, the limitations of this study could inspire some useful ideas for replication of the study in future research. In future, funding may be secured with the Department of Arts and Culture of the South African government or others who might be interested in this type of research. Secured funding would allow the researchers more time and money to actually follow up on potential defaulters, and to consider more direct measures than self-report questionnaires. Alternatively, a coding system could be developed to address the missing data caused by the attrition. This would render the data more research-friendly, and similar or even different results could be found.

In future, it might be interesting to compare the results of this study with those of another which would look for honour culture sex differences among Nguni people living in rural areas with less contact with potentially acculturating institutions such as universities. One could also conduct a comparative study with people from Sotho, Tswana, Xstonga, and Tshivenda cultural groups to see what differences and similarities can be observed between the different cultural groups.

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We are looking for 120 males and females from the Nguni tribes (Zulu, Swati, Ndebele and Xhosa) to test the culture of honour theory.

WHEN - 28 June 2013, 16h00 - 17H30

WHERE -Southside Computer Laboratory.

SRPP points will be awarded to Nguni undergraduate Psychology students who participate!

Invitation to participate in Nguni honour culture study

Sinenhlanhla Zungu <sine.zungu@gmail.com>
to fkdsib001

Dear Sibusiso

I hope this finds you well.

I would like you to invite you to participate in my FUN and EXCITING online honours research study about honour in the Nguni cultures (Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, Swati). Mine is the only study in the department that focuses on the indigenous cultures, but I am struggling to find participants - there are not enough Nguni people in the psych department.

I cannot, therefore, tell you how valuable your participation will be to me. Please also tell your friends from the Nguni cultures to participate. SRPP Points will be rewarded.

Please click on this link, and it will lead you there

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/TYM338X>

Deadline is 12 August.
You are so Best!

Warm Regards
Sine Zungu
TEDxUCT Speaker Liaison Officer
UCT Psychology department tutor
email sine.zungu@gmail.com
076 543 9586

Sinenhlanhla Zungu <sine.zungu@gmail.com>
to Pedro, Pedro, Pedro

Dear Pedro

This is what I sent each participant

Click here to [Reply](#), [Reply to all](#), or [Forward](#)

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Appendix C1: Consent form (Online)

Revenge and Reputation: Testing Culture of Honour theory among Nguni people.

Consent Form
University of Cape Town
Consent to Participate in Research Study:
Revenge and Reputation: Testing Culture of Honour theory among Nguni people.

Dear Participant

Study Aims

Please regard this as a formal invitation to participate in a research study aimed at examining whether or not there are gender differences in honour culture amongst members of the Nguni cultures of South Africa. I, Sinenhlanhla Zungu, will be conducting the study in my capacity as an honours student in the psychology department at the University of Cape Town.

Study Procedure

Should you agree to be a participant in the study, you will be required to complete 6 questionnaires. The first is a demographic questionnaire aimed at getting an understanding of who you are in terms of demographics. The second is the Culture of Honour questionnaire. You will also be required to complete the Generalized Conflict Tactic scale, the Derogation of Rivals scale, the Mate Retention inventory, and the MINI-K questionnaire. Completing all the questionnaires, and reading all the documents in this study should take approximately an hour and 30 minutes in total, however, you will be permitted to take breaks in between the questionnaires if needed. If you would like any item in any of the questionnaires explained, please feel free to raise your hand and a member of the research team will assist you. Upon completion of the questionnaires, you will be debriefed and informed of the purposes of the study through the Debrief Form. You will also be given the opportunity to ask questions about the study after reading the Debrief Form. Completing the questionnaire is simple, just follow the instructions given on each questionnaire and respond to the tabs at the end of each questionnaire.

Risks and Benefits

Participating in this study should not lead you to incur any risks, or put you in any harm that is above what you experience on a daily basis. The study does come with benefits, however. Your participation will lead to more information about the topic of Culture of Honour theory in a way that has never been approached before in Southern Africa. You will be adding to scientific knowledge! Also, if you are an undergraduate student in the psychology department of the University, you will be receiving SRPP points for your participation. Reception of your SRPP points is dependent on you fully completing the study.

Options and Voluntary Participation

You have the option of not participating in this study; your participation is voluntary. You also have the option of not answering a question if you wish not to. You also have the option withdraw from the study at any point in time, without giving a reason

Confidentiality and Anonymity

Appendix C2: Consent Form (in full).

Dear Participant

Study Aims

Please regard this as a formal invitation to participate in a research study aimed at examining whether or not there are gender differences in honour culture amongst members of the Nguni cultures of South Africa. I, Sinenhlanhla Zungu, will be conducting the study in my capacity as an honours student in the psychology department at the University of Cape Town.

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Should you agree to be a participant in the study, you will be required to complete 6 questionnaires. The first is a demographic questionnaire aimed at getting an understanding of who you are in terms of demographics. The second is the Culture of Honour questionnaire. You will also be required to complete the Generalized Conflict Tactic scale, the Derogation of Rivals scale, the Mate Retention inventory, and the MINI-K questionnaire. Completing all the questionnaires, and reading all the documents in this study should take approximately an hour and 30 minutes in total, however, you will be permitted to take breaks in between the questionnaires if needed. If you would like any item in any of the questionnaires explained, please feel free to raise your hand and a member of the research team will assist you. Upon completion of the questionnaires, you will be debriefed and informed of the purposes of the study through the Debrief Form. You will also be given the opportunity to ask questions about the study after reading the Debrief Form. Completing the questionnaire is simple; just follow the instructions given on each questionnaire and respond to the tabs at the end of each questionnaire.

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Options and Voluntary Participation

You have the option of not participating in this study; your participation is voluntary. You also have the option of not answering a question if you wish not to. You also have the option to withdraw from the study at any point in time, without giving a reason.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

You will not be required to identify yourself, either by name, identity or student number in this study. You will only be asked to explicitly describe yourself in terms of the categories gender and ethnicity, and to implicitly describe your socio-economic status by completing the household inventory questionnaire. Your anonymity is thus, guaranteed. Your confidentiality is also guaranteed; the information you give in this study will not be known to anyone other than the researcher and her supervisor. Should this study be published or reported, you will still not be identified, because of the guaranteed anonymity.

Questions and Concerns

Should you have any questions about the study, please feel free to contact the following researcher:

Dr Pedro Wolf – 021 650 3430 or email Pedro.Wolf@uct.ac.za

If you have other queries or concerns about psychology honours research studies in general, please contact

Ms. Rosalind Adams on 021 650 3417

If you would like to get in touch with a counselor after participating in the study, please feel free to contact a counselor at the UCT Student Wellness Services. Below are the contact details of the organization.

The Student Wellness Service
28 Rhodes Ave
Mowbray 7700
Tel: 021 650 1017 / 1020

Checking the box below will mean that you:

- ❖ Confirm that you have read and understand the information sheet for this study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- ❖ Understand that your participation is voluntary and that you are free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.
- ❖ Understand that any and all information you give will remain anonymous and confidential.
- ❖ Agree to take part in the above study.

Click **Next** to Save and Continue

Appendix D1: Demographics questionnaire

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Revenge and Reputation: Testing Culture of Honour theory among Nguni people.

***5. Ethnicity**

Ndebele

Swati

Xhosa

Zulu

A combination of the Nguni groups

i. If you have selected the A combination of the Nguni groups category, please state the combination

***7. Household Inventory**
Do you have at least one of the following items in your permanent residential address?

Running water inside the house

Yes

No

***8. Electricity inside the house**

yes

no

***9. Radio/Hi-fi**

yes

no

***10. Car**

yes

no

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Appendix D2: Demographics Questionnaire (in full).

Please tick under the category that best describes you

Gender

Male	Female

Ethnicity

Ndebele	Swati	Xhosa	Zulu	A combination of the Nguni groups

If you have selected the *A combination of the Nguni groups* category, please state the combination e.g. *Xhosa and Zulu*.

Household Inventory

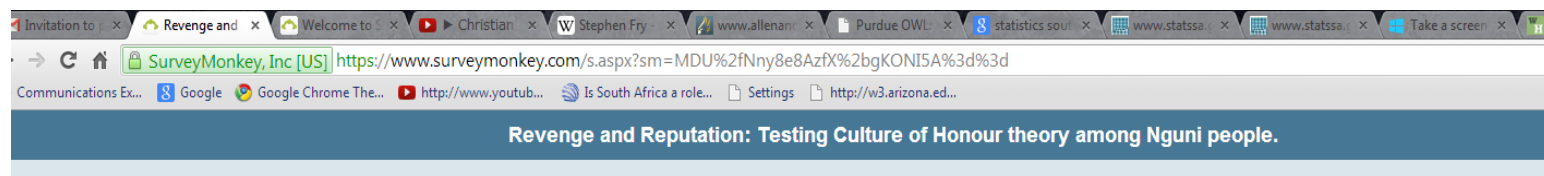
Please mark the box with an **X** if you have **at least one** of the following items in your permanent residential address.

	Item	Present in home
1	Running water inside the house	
2	Electricity inside the house	
3	Flushing toilet inside the house	
4	Radio/Hi-fi	
5	Car	
6	Television	

7	Fridge	
8	Video machine/DVD	
9	Microwave Oven	
10	DSTV/ Satellite	
11	Washing Machine	
12	Computer	
13	Landline telephone	
14	Internet	
15	Cell phone	

Click **Next** to Save and Continue

Appendix E1: Culture of Honour Questionnaire (online)



*22. Culture of Honour questionnaire

Imagine that a person named Njabulo or Duduzile finds himself or herself in each of the following situations. Please tell us if this person:

- +3 = Did much less than he/she should have done
- +2 = Did less than he/she should have done
- +1 = Did slightly less than he/she should have done
- 1 = Did slightly more than he/she should have done
- 2 = Did more than he/she should have done
- 3 = Did much more than he/she should have done

Please consider each situation separately. There is no relationship between Njabulo's or Duduzile's action in one situation and what they might have done in any other situation.

Duduzile went shopping for a present for a female friend who bought her a present last year. Duduzile chose to buy a more expensive present than her friend had given her. Duduzile

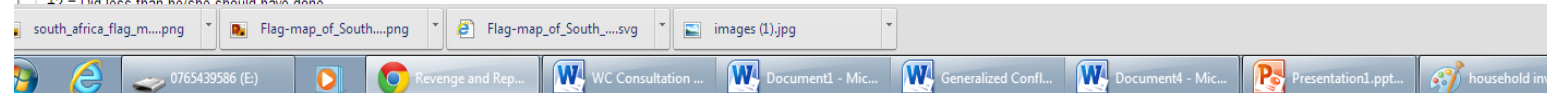
- +3 = Did much less than he/she should have done
- +2 = Did less than he/she should have done
- +1 = Did slightly less than he/she should have done
- 1 = Did slightly more than he/she should have done
- 2 = Did more than he/she should have done
- 3 = Did much more than he/she should have done

*23. Duduzile's male neighbour once threw trash in Duduzile's back yard. Duduzile later threw her own trash into her neighbour's yard. Duduzile

- +3 = Did much less than he/she should have done
- +2 = Did less than he/she should have done
- +1 = Did slightly less than he/she should have done
- 1 = Did slightly more than he/she should have done
- 2 = Did more than he/she should have done
- 3 = Did much more than he/she should have done

*24. Njabulo's male friend had once saved Njabulo's life. Njabulo later offered a high-paying job to his friend's son. Njabulo

- +3 = Did much less than he/she should have done
- +2 = Did less than he/she should have done



Appendix E2: Culture of Honour Questionnaire (in full).

Imagine that a person named Njabulo or Duduzile finds himself or herself in each of the following situations. Please tell us if this person:

+3 = Did much less than he/she should have done

+2 = Did less than he/she should have done

+1 = Did slightly less than he/she should have done

1 = Did slightly more than he/she should have done

2 = Did more than he/she should have done

3 = Did much more than he/she should have done

Please fill in the number you think most appropriate in the blank cell (under the column 'Rating of Njabulo's /Duduzile's behaviour') that corresponds with each Situation.

Please consider each situation separately. There is no relationship between Njabulo's or Duduzile's action in one situation and what they might have done in any other situation.

	Situation	Rating of Njabulo's /Duduzile's behaviour
1	Duduzile went shopping for a present for a female friend who bought her a present last year. Duduzile chose to buy a more expensive present than her friend had given her.	
2	Duduzile's male neighbour once threw trash in Duduzile's back yard. Duduzile later threw her own trash into her neighbour's yard	
3	Njabulo's male friend had once saved Njabulo's life. Njabulo later offered a high-paying job to his friend's son	

4	A drunken man bumped into Njabulo's wife on the street. Njabulo hit the drunk.	
5	Njabulo's country was invaded by another nation. Njabulo voluntarily enlisted in the army and asked to be sent to the front.	
6	While at work, a fellow female employee called Duduzile a liar and a cheat. Duduzile then publicly accused the fellow employee of dishonesty.	
7	A man from a distinguished family of good reputation asked Njabulo for a job. Njabulo agreed to hire the man, even though Njabulo didn't know anything about the man's accomplishments.	
8	An acquaintance of Njabulo looked over Njabulo's girlfriend and started talking to her in an offensive way. Njabulo then started a fight with his acquaintance.	
9	A man from a distinguished family of good reputation let Duduzile know that he was romantically interested in her. Duduzile agreed to have dinner with the man before she knew anything else about him.	
10	A male stranger deeply insulted Duduzile's sister in public. Duduzile then slapped the stranger.	
11	A contagious epidemic once affected Duduzile's community. Duduzile volunteered to serve as a nurse at a local hospital	
12	During an argument, Njabulo's male friend called him a liar and a coward to his face. Njabulo then started a fist fight with his friend	
13	Duduzile's lifelong female friend had just died. Duduzile adopted her friend's young child.	
14	A man sexually assaulted Duduzile's sister. Duduzile then shot the man who did it	
15	Njabulo did not have enough money to buy his male friend a gift this year. When Njabulo's friend tried to give him a gift, Njabulo refused to accept it.	
16	A female stranger tried to steal Njabulo's baseball cap on the bus. Njabulo took back his cap and then pushed the stranger off the bus.	
17	Njabulo had paid for his male friend's dinner at a restaurant. The next time they were at a restaurant, Njabulo expected his friend to	

	pay for their dinner	
18	Duduzile's male friend had borrowed money from Duduzile to buy a vase and refused to pay Duduzile back. While at her friend's house, Duduzile intentionally broke the vase.	
19	Duduzile's 10-year-old brother-in-law was trapped in a burning building. Duduzile risked her life to save her husband's younger brother.	
20	A man seduced Njabulo's 16-year-old daughter. To get even, Njabulo then seduced that man's teenage daughter.	
21	Duduzile was offered a high-paying job in the city. Duduzile decided to turn down that job and stay in her rural community to teach underprivileged children.	
22	A man looked over Njabulo's girlfriend and talked to her in a suggestive way. Although Njabulo's girlfriend was not offended, Njabulo hit the man.	
23	A man has two uncles who were convicted criminals. Njabulo was willing to befriend this man because he had heard nothing bad about his character.	
24	A male acquaintance insults Njabulo's wife. Njabulo simply ignores it. 26. A female acquaintance insulted Duduzile's mother. Duduzile slapped the acquaintance in the face.	
25	A girl's three sisters were notorious delinquents. Duduzile allowed the girl to baby-sit her children because the girl herself was not known to have done anything wrong.	
26	A female acquaintance insulted Duduzile's mother. Duduzile slapped the acquaintance in the face.	
27	Duduzile's local church collected used clothing for the poor. Duduzile chose not to donate her used clothes and threw them away	
28	Duduzile's female friend had offended her. Duduzile then revealed her friend's secrets to their common acquaintances.	
29	While traveling abroad, Njabulo meets a man from his own hometown. Even though Njabulo did not know him personally,	

	Njabulo lent the man some money for plane fare to get home.	
30	An adult male stranger had beaten up Njabulo's mother. Njabulo stabbed the stranger.	
31	Njabulo was working in a group. Every day, Njabulo kept track of how much work he was doing in comparison to everyone else and would work less if he noticed he was doing more work than the others.	
32	Duduzile's female neighbour always steals tomatoes from Duduzile's garden. Even though Duduzile works hard in her garden, she always forgives her neighbour.	

Click **Next** to Save and Continue

Appendix F1: Generalised Conflict Tactics Scale (online)

Revenge and Reputation: Testing Culture of Honour theory among Nguni people.

54. Generalized Conflict Tactics Scales

No matter how well people get along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with the other people, want different things from each other, or just have spats or fights because they are in a bad mood, are tired, or for some other reason. People also have many different ways of trying to settle their differences. This is a list of things that might happen when you have differences. Please indicate how many times you did each of these things in the past year to other people that were: (a) of the same sex as yourself; and (b) of the opposite sex as yourself.

0 – Never
 1 – Only once
 2 – 6 times
 3 – 12 times
 4 – Once a week
 5 – Daily

I showed a same-sex person as myself I cared even though we disagreed.

0 – Never
 1 – Only once
 2 – 6 times
 3 – 12 times
 4 – Once a week
 5 – Daily

55. I showed an opposite-sex person I cared even though we disagreed.

0 – Never
 1 – Only once
 2 – 6 times
 3 – 12 times
 4 – Once a week
 5 – Daily

56. I explained my side of a disagreement to a same-sex person as myself.

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Appendix F2: Generalised Conflict Tactics Scale (in full).

Generalized Conflict Tactics Scales

No matter how well people get along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with the other people, want different things from each other, or just have spats or fights because they are in a bad mood, are tired, or for some other reason. People also have many different ways of trying to settle their differences. This is a list of things that might happen when you have differences. Please indicate how many times you did each of these things in the past year to other people that were: (a) of the same sex as yourself; and (b) of the opposite sex as yourself.

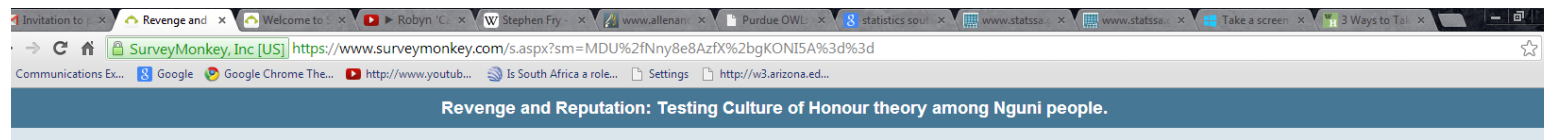
Never	Only Once	6 times	12 times	Once a Week	Daily
0	1	2	3	4	5

1. ___ I showed a same-sex person as myself I cared even though we disagreed.
2. ___ I showed an opposite-sex person I cared even though we disagreed.
3. ___ I explained my side of a disagreement to a same-sex person as myself.
4. ___ I explained my side of a disagreement to an opposite-sex person.
5. ___ I insulted or swore at a same-sex person as myself.
6. ___ I insulted or swore at an opposite-sex person.
7. ___ I threw something at a same-sex person as myself that could hurt.
8. ___ I threw something at an opposite-sex person that could hurt.
9. ___ I twisted a same-sex person's arm or hair
10. ___ I twisted an opposite-sex person's arm or hair
11. ___ A same-sex person as myself had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with me.
12. ___ An opposite-sex person had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with me.
13. ___ I showed respect about a same-sex person's feelings about an issue.
14. ___ I showed respect about an opposite-sex person's feelings about an issue.
15. ___ I made a same-sex person as myself have sex without a condom.
16. ___ I made an opposite-sex person have sex without a condom.
17. ___ I pushed or shoved a same-sex person as myself.
18. ___ I pushed or shoved an opposite-sex person.
19. ___ I used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make an opposite-sex person have oral or anal sex.
20. ___ I used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make a same-sex person as myself have oral or anal sex.
21. ___ I used a knife or gun on a same-sex person as myself.
22. ___ I used a knife or gun on an opposite-sex person.
23. ___ I passed out from being hit on the head by a same-sex person as myself in a fight.
24. ___ I passed out from being hit on the head by an opposite-sex person in a fight.
25. ___ I called a same-sex person as myself fat or ugly.
26. ___ I called an opposite-sex person fat or ugly.
27. ___ I punched or hit a same-sex person as myself with something that could hurt.
28. ___ I punched or hit an opposite-sex person with something that could hurt.
29. ___ I destroyed something belonging to a same-sex person as myself.

30. ___ I destroyed something belonging to an opposite-sex person.
31. ___ A same-sex person as myself went to a doctor because of a fight with me.
32. ___ An opposite-sex person went to a doctor because of a fight with me.
33. ___ I choked a same-sex person as myself.
34. ___ I choked an opposite-sex person.
35. ___ I shouted or yelled at a same-sex person as myself.
36. ___ I shouted or yelled at an opposite-sex person.
37. ___ I slammed a same-sex person as myself against a wall.
38. ___ I slammed an opposite-sex person against a wall.
39. ___ I said I was sure an opposite-sex person and I could work out a problem.
40. ___ I said I was sure we could work out a problem.
41. ___ A same-sex person as myself needed to see a doctor because of a fight with me, but didn't
42. ___ An opposite-sex person needed to see a doctor because of a fight with me, but didn't
43. ___ I beat up a same-sex person as myself
44. ___ I beat up an opposite-sex person
45. ___ I grabbed a same-sex person as myself.
46. ___ I grabbed an opposite-sex person.
47. ___ I used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make an opposite-sex person have sex.
48. ___ I used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make a same-sex person as myself have sex.
49. ___ I stomped out of the room or house or yard during a disagreement with an opposite-sex person.
50. ___ I stomped out of the room or house or yard during a disagreement with a same-sex person as myself.
51. ___ I insisted on sex when a same-sex person as myself didn't want to (but did not use physical force).
52. ___ I insisted on sex when an opposite-sex person didn't want to (but did not use physical force).
53. ___ I slapped a same-sex person as myself.
54. ___ I slapped an opposite-sex person.
55. ___ A same-sex person as myself had a broken bone from a fight with me.
56. ___ An opposite-sex person had a broken bone from a fight with me.
57. ___ I used threats to make a same-sex person as myself have oral or anal sex.
58. ___ I used threats to make an opposite-sex person have oral or anal sex.
59. ___ I suggested a compromise to a disagreement with a same-sex person as myself.
60. ___ I suggested a compromise to a disagreement with an opposite-sex person.
61. ___ I burned or scalded a same-sex person as myself on purpose.
62. ___ I burned or scalded an opposite-sex person on purpose.
63. ___ I insisted a same-sex person as myself have oral or anal sex (but did not use physical force)
64. ___ I insisted an opposite-sex person have oral or anal sex (but did not use physical force)
65. ___ I accused a same-sex person as myself of being a lousy lover.
66. ___ I accused an opposite-sex person of being a lousy lover.
67. ___ I did something to spite a same-sex person as myself.
68. ___ I did something to spite an opposite-sex person.
69. ___ I threatened to hit or throw something at a same-sex person as myself.
70. ___ I threatened to hit or throw something at an opposite-sex person.

71. ___ A same-sex person as myself still felt physical pain the next day because of a fight we had.
72. ___ An opposite-sex person still felt physical pain the next day because of a fight we had.
73. ___ I kicked a same-sex person as myself.
74. ___ I kicked an opposite-sex person.
75. ___ I used threats to make a same-sex person as myself have sex.
76. ___ I used threats to make an opposite-sex person have sex.
77. ___ I agreed to try a solution to a disagreement a same-sex person as myself suggested.
78. ___ I agreed to try a solution to a disagreement an opposite-sex person suggested.

Appendix G1: Mate Retention Inventory (online).



136. Mate Retention Inventory (MRI Self-Report)

Instructions: On the following pages are listed a series of acts or behaviors. In this study, we are interested in the acts that people perform in the context of their relationship with their romantic partner. For each act, use the following scale to indicate how frequently you performed the act within the past ONE year:

- 0 – Never
- 1 – Only once
- 2 – 6 times
- 3 – 12 times
- 4 – Once a week
- 5 – Daily

Called at unexpected times to see who a member of the opposite-sex was with.

- 0 – Never
- 1 – Only once
- 2 – 6 times
- 3 – 12 times
- 4 – Once a week
- 5 – Daily

137. Did not take a member of the opposite-sex to a party where other individuals of my sex would be present.

- 0 – Never
- 1 – Only once
- 2 – 6 times
- 3 – 12 times
- 4 – Once a week
- 5 – Daily

138. Flirted with someone else in front of someone the opposite-sex on purpose.

- 0 – Never
- 1 – Only once



Appendix G2: Mate Retention Inventory (in full)

Mate Retention Inventory (MRI Self-Report)

Instructions: On the following pages are listed a series of acts or behaviors. In this study, we are interested in the acts that people perform in the context of their relationship with their romantic partner. For each act, use the following scale to indicate how frequently *you* performed the act *within the past ONE year*:

Never	Only Once	6 times	12 times	Once a Week	Daily
0	1	2	3	4	5

Please write in the blank to the left of each item the number that best represents how frequently you performed the act *within the past ONE year*. For example, if you *never* performed the act within the past one year, write a "0" in the blank to the left of the item.

- ___ 1. Called at unexpected times to see who a member of the opposite-sex was with.
- ___ 2. Did not take a member of the opposite-sex to a party where other individuals of my sex would be present.
- ___ 3. Flirted with someone else in front of someone the opposite-sex on purpose.
- ___ 4. Spent all my free time with someone of the opposite-sex so that he or she could not meet anyone else.
- ___ 5. Became angry when someone of the opposite flirted too much with someone else.
- ___ 6. Cried when someone of the opposite-sex said he or she might go out with someone else.
- ___ 7. Asked someone of the opposite-sex to marry me.
- ___ 8. Cut down the appearance of other opposite-sex people.
- ___ 9. Spent a lot of money on someone of the opposite-sex.
- ___ 10. Gave in to someone's sexual requests.
- ___ 11. Dressed nicely to maintain an opposite-sex person's interest.
- ___ 12. Told an opposite-sex person "I love you."
- ___ 13. Told an opposite-sex person that I would change in order to please her.
- ___ 14. Introduced an opposite person as my spouse or romantic partner.
- ___ 15. Held an opposite-sex person's hand when other men were around.
- ___ 16. Asked an opposite-sex person to wear my jacket.
- ___ 17. Told same-sex people as myself terrible things about an opposite-sex person so that they wouldn't like him or her.
- ___ 18. Yelled at a same-sex person as myself who looked at an opposite-sex person.

- ___ 19. Hit a same-sex person as myself who made a pass at an opposite-sex person.
- ___ 20. Called to make sure an opposite-sex person was where he or she said he or she would be.
- ___ 21. Refused to introduce an opposite-sex person to my same-sex friends.
- ___ 22. Insisted that an opposite-sex person stay at home rather than going out.
- ___ 23. Picked a fight with a same-sex person as myself who was interested in an opposite-sex person.
- ___ 24. Made an opposite-sex person feel guilty about talking to another man.
- ___ 25. Fixed up my face to look nice.
- ___ 26. Either got someone pregnant or got pregnant so someone would stay with me.
- ___ 27. Started a bad rumor about a same-sex person as myself.
- ___ 28. Bought an opposite-sex person an expensive gift.
- ___ 29. Acted sexy to take an opposite-sex person's mind off other same-sex people.
- ___ 30. Wore the latest fashion to enhance my appearance.
- ___ 31. Went out of my way to be kind, nice, and caring.
- ___ 32. Told my same-sex friends how much an opposite person and I were in love.
- ___ 33. Kissed an opposite-sex person when other same-sex people were around.
- ___ 34. Asked an opposite-sex person to wear my ring.
- ___ 35. Told same-sex people as myself that an opposite-sex person was not a nice person.
- ___ 36. Stared coldly at a same-sex person as myself who was looking at an opposite-sex person.
- ___ 37. Became a "slave" to an opposite-sex person.
- ___ 38. Ignored an opposite-sex person when he or she started flirting with others.
- ___ 39. Had my friends check up on an opposite-sex person.
- ___ 40. Went out with one opposite-sex person to make another jealous.
- ___ 41. Bought an opposite-sex person a bouquet of flowers.
- ___ 42. Cut down the strength of another same-sex person as myself.
- ___ 43. Took an opposite-sex person away from a gathering where other men were around.
- ___ 44. Threatened to hit a same-sex person as myself who was making moves on a member of the opposite-sex.
- ___ 45. Gave an opposite-sex person jewelry to signify that he or she was taken.
- ___ 46. Told other same-sex people that an opposite-sex person was stupid.
- ___ 47. Monopolized an opposite-sex person's time at a social gathering.
- ___ 48. Threatened to break-up if an opposite-sex person ever cheated on me.
- ___ 49. Bragged about an opposite-sex person to other same-sex people.
- ___ 50. Gave in to an opposite-sex person's every wish.
- ___ 51. Got my friends to beat up someone who was interested in someone of the opposite-sex.
- ___ 52. Held an opposite-sex person closer when another same-sex person as myself walked into the room.

- ___ 53. Snooped through an opposite-sex's personal belongings.
- ___ 54. Pointed out to an opposite-sex person the flaws of another same-sex person as myself.
- ___ 55. Performed sexual favors to keep an opposite-sex person around.
- ___ 56. Wore an opposite-sex person's clothes in front of others.
- ___ 57. Told other men that an opposite-sex person might have a sexually transmitted disease.
- ___ 58. Complimented an opposite-sex person on her appearance.
- ___ 59. Questioned an opposite-sex person about what she did when we were apart.
- ___ 60. Told an opposite-sex person that we needed a total commitment to each other.
- ___ 61. Took an opposite-sex person out to a nice restaurant.
- ___ 62. Mentioned to other same-sex people that an opposite-sex person was taken.
- ___ 63. Told an opposite-sex person that the other person he or she is interested in has slept with nearly everyone.
- ___ 64. Dropped by unexpectedly to see what an opposite-sex person was doing.
- ___ 65. Yelled at an opposite-sex person after he or she showed interest in another same-sex person as myself.
- ___ 66. Told an opposite-sex person that I was dependent on him or her.
- ___ 67. Made sure that I looked nice for an opposite-sex person.
- ___ 68. Gave a same-sex person as myself a dirty look when he or she looked at a particular opposite-sex person.
- ___ 69. Pretended to be mad so that an opposite-sex person would feel guilty.
- ___ 70. At a party, did not let a particular opposite-sex person out of my sight.
- ___ 71. Hit an opposite-sex person when I caught him or her flirting with someone else.
- ___ 72. Went along with everything a particular opposite-sex person said.
- ___ 73. Told other men to stay away from a particular opposite-sex person.
- ___ 74. Bought an opposite-sex person some jewelry (for example, ring, necklace).
- ___ 75. Told an opposite-sex person I would "die" if he or she ever left me.
- ___ 76. Read an opposite-sex person's personal mail.
- ___ 77. Insisted that an opposite-sex person spend all his or her free time with me.
- ___ 78. Cried in order to keep an opposite-sex person with me.
- ___ 79. Told an opposite-sex person that another same-sex person as myself was stupid.
- ___ 80. Was helpful when an opposite-sex person really needed it.
- ___ 81. Vandalized the property of a same-sex person as myself who made a pass at a particular opposite-sex person.
- ___ 82. Said that I would never talk to a particular opposite-sex person again if I saw him or her with someone else.
- ___ 83. Had a physical relationship with an opposite-sex person to deepen our bond.
- ___ 84. Put my arm around an opposite-sex person in front of others.

- ___ 85. Threatened to harm myself if a particular opposite-sex person ever left me.
- ___ 86. Displayed greater affection for some opposite-sex person.
- ___ 87. Confronted someone who had made a pass at some opposite-sex person.
- ___ 88. Told others the intimate things I and an opposite-sex person had done together.
- ___ 89. Stayed close to an opposite-sex person while we were at a party.
- ___ 90. Talked to one opposite-sex person at a party to make another opposite-sex-person jealous.
- ___ 91. Bought an opposite-sex person a small gift.
- ___ 92. Told others an opposite-sex person was a pain.
- ___ 93. Sat next to an opposite-sex person when others were around.
- ___ 94. Made myself “extra attractive” for an opposite-sex person.
- ___ 95. Told an opposite-sex person that another same-sex person as myself was out to use her.
- ___ 96. Did not let an opposite-sex person talk to other same-sex people.
- ___ 97. Gave in to sexual pressure to keep an opposite-sex person.
- ___ 98. Hung up a picture of an opposite-sex person so others would know he or she was taken.
- ___ 99. Became jealous when an opposite-sex person went out without me.
- ___ 100. Slapped a same-sex person as myself who made a pass at a particular opposite-sex person.
- ___ 101. Pleaded that I could not live without a particular opposite-sex person.
- ___ 102. Would not let a particular opposite-sex person go out without me.
- ___ 103. Acted against my will to let an opposite-sex person have his or her way.
- ___ 104. Showed interest in one opposite-sex person to make another angry.

Appendix H1: Mini-K (online).

invitation to x Revenge and x Welcome to x Robyn C x Stephen Fry x www.allenar x Purdue OWL x statistics sou x www.statssa x www.statssa x Take a screen x 3 Ways to T

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	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Dont Know or Not Aplicable	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
I can often tell how things will turn out.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I try to understand how I got into a situation to figure out how to handle it.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I often find the bright side to a bad situation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I don't give up until I solve my problems.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I often make plans in advance.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I avoid taking risks.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
While growing up, I had a close and warm relationship with my biological mother.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
While growing up, I had a close and warm relationship with my biological father.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have a close and warm relationship with my own children.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have a close and warm romantic relationship with my sexual partner.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would rather have one than several sexual relationships at a time.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have to be closely attached to someone before I am comfortable having sex with them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am often in social contact with my blood relatives.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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Appendix H2: Mini-K (in full).

MINI-K

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements. Use the scale below and write your answers in the spaces provided. For any item that does not apply to you, please enter "0".

	-3	-2	-1	0 +1	+2	+3	
	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Don't Know/ Not Applicable	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly

_____ 1. I can often tell how things will turn out.

_____ 2. I try to understand how I got into a situation to work out how to handle it.

_____ 3. I often find the bright side to a bad situation.

_____ 4. I don't give up until I solve my problems.

_____ 5. I often make plans in advance.

_____ 6. I avoid taking risks.

_____ 7. While growing up, I had a close and warm relationship with my biological mother.

_____ 8. While growing up, I had a close and warm relationship with my biological father.

_____ 9. I have a close and warm relationship with my own children.

_____ 10. I have a close and warm romantic relationship with my sexual partner.

_____ 11. I would rather have one than several sexual relationships at a time.

_____ 12. I have to be in a close relationship with someone before I am comfortable having sex with them.

_____ 13. I am often in social contact with my blood relatives.

_____ 14. I often get emotional support and practical help from my blood relatives.

_____ 15. I often give emotional support and practical help to my blood relatives.

_____ 16. I am often in social contact with my friends.

_____ 17. I often get emotional support and practical help from my friends.

_____ 18. I often give emotional support and practical help to my friends.

_____ 19. I am closely connected to and involved in my community.

_____ 20. I am closely connected to and involved in my religion.

Submit Answers

Appendix I1: Debrief form (online).

Revenge and Reputation: Testing Culture of Honour theory among Nguni people.

Debrief Form

Dear Participant

Thank you for participating in this research study. As previously stated this study is aimed at examining whether or not there are gender differences in honour culture norms amongst members of the Nguni cultures of South Africa. I imagine you may have the following questions:

What are honour cultures and what are honour culture norms?

Honour cultures are types of societal groups that emphasise the importance of honour to their members. Honour, here, is defined as the reputation of an individual; his entitlement to respect, esteem and status in society (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Individuals who are from cultures of honour prize their reputation very highly - higher than individuals who are not from honour cultures - and may react in aggressive or violent ways when their reputation is threatened. Honour culture individuals are known to respond in especially violent ways when their families, possessions, or persons are threatened. Honour culture norms are the types of behaviours that are viewed as appropriate or 'normal' by individuals from honour cultures in specific contexts (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). The norms that this study is interested in has to do with what level of revenge or retaliation individuals from honour cultures think are appropriate when one's honour is insulted or violated.

Honour cultures generally develop in societies with individuals whose ancestors are herders. This is because herders need to deter others from stealing from them, and they do so by building a reputation of being willing to be violent and even kill in order to protect their herd (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Herders need to build this reputation, because often times, they are located too far away from policing authorities like chiefs, and cannot, therefore, depend on a legitimate lawful structure to defend them when they are threatened or insulted. Farmers, contrastingly, can because they make their living off secure land and are in close and stable proximity to lawful penal systems. Historically, farmers have a lesser need to build a reputation of being ready and able to protect themselves from enemies (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).

These culture of honour norms described above are passed down to generations of people of the honour cultures as ways of thinking, and continue to exist as a part of the culture's norms, even when the individuals of that culture are no longer herders Brown & Osterman, 2012). This is what we suspect has happened among the males of the Nguni people of South Africa.

The Nguni descend from the Bantu people of what is present day western Cameroon/ Southern Nigeria, who began migrating towards Southern Africa 5000 years ago, reaching the South Africa in approximately 300 A.D (Berniell-lee et al., 2009). What is interesting about the Bantu societies, however, is that herding was a task performed by the males, and farming a task designated to the females (Kuper & van Leynseele, 1978). With this line of reasoning, we expect there to be a difference in the level of revenge Nguni males and females should feel is appropriate when one's honour is insulted in different social situations. This is what was tested in the Culture of Honour Questionnaire you were required to complete.

The demographics questionnaire asked for you select your cultural group for descriptive purposes. You were asked to complete the household inventory scale as a measure of your socio-economic status, as socio-economic status is to be treated as a covariate in this study, as it has been shown to be linked with a tendency towards retaliation, as well as a tendency to deal with unlawful behaviour as a community without including law enforcement (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). The other questionnaires you were asked to answer (MINI-K, Mate Retention Inventory and Derogation of Rivals) are a part of a different study answered collected only for information purposes of that study. If you have questions about th

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Revenge and Reputation: Testing Culture of Honour theory among Nguni people.

Here are contact details of various organizations where you may be able to receive counselling

UCT Student Counselling Service
The Student Wellness Service 28 Rhodes Ave Mowbray 7700
Tel: 021 650 1017 / 1020
<http://www.uct.ac.za/students/health/wellness/counselling/overview/>

Life Line Toll Free No.:
086 132 2322 Tel: (021) 461 1111
<http://www.lifeline.org.za/>

Childline Toll Free No.:
080 005 5555 Tel: (021) 461 1114

FAMSA
Tel: 021 447 7951

Suicide Crisis Line
Toll Free No.: 0800 567 567

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Appendix I2: Debrief form (in full).

Dear Participant

Thank you for participating in this research study. As previously stated this study is aimed at examining whether or not there are gender differences in honour culture norms amongst members of the Nguni cultures of South Africa. I imagine you may have the following questions:

What are honour cultures and what are honour culture norms?

Honour cultures are types of societal groups that emphasise the importance of honour to their members. Honour, here, is defined as the reputation of an individual; his entitlement to respect, esteem and status in society (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Individuals who are from cultures of honour prize their reputation very highly - higher than individuals who are not from honour cultures - and may react in aggressive or violent ways when their reputation is threatened. Honour culture individuals are known to respond in especially violent ways when their families, possessions, or persons are threatened. Honour culture norms are the types of behaviours that are viewed as appropriate or 'normal' by individuals from honour cultures in specific contexts (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).. The norms that this study is interested in has to do with what level of revenge or retaliation individuals from honour cultures think are appropriate when one's honour is insulted or violated.

Honour cultures generally develop in societies with individuals whose ancestors are herders. This is because herders need to deter others from stealing from them, and they do so by building a reputation of being willing to be violent and even kill in order to protect their herd (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Herders need to build this reputation, because often times, they are located too far away from policing authorities like chiefs, and cannot, therefore, depend on a legitimate lawful structure to defend them when they are threatened or insulted. Farmers, contrastingly, can because they make their living off secure land and are in close and stable proximity to lawful penal systems. Historically, farmers have a lesser need to build a reputation of being ready and able to protect themselves from enemies (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996).

These culture of honour norms described above are passed down to generations of people of the honour cultures as ways of thinking, and continue to exist as a part of the

culture's norms, even when the individuals of that culture are no longer herders Brown & Osterman, 2012). This is what we suspect has happened among the males of the Nguni people of South Africa.

The Nguni descend from the Bantu people of what is present day western Cameroon/ Southern Nigeria, who began migrating towards Southern Africa 5000 years ago, reaching the South Africa in approximately 300 A.D (Berniell-lee et al., 2009). What is interesting about the Bantu societies, however, is that herding was a task performed by the males, and farming a task designated to the females (Kuper & van Leynseele, 1978). With this line of reasoning, we expect there to be a difference in the level of revenge Nguni males and females should feel is appropriate when one's honour is insulted in different social situations. This is what was tested in the Culture of Honour Questionnaire you were required to complete.

The demographics questionnaire asked for you select your cultural group for descriptive purposes. You were asked to complete the household inventory scale as a measure of your socio-economic status, as socio-economic status is to be treated as a covariate in this study, as it has been shown to be linked with a tendency towards retaliation, as well as a tendency to deal with unlawful behaviour as a community without including law enforcement (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). The other questionnaires you were asked to answer (MINI-K, Mate Retention Inventory and Derogation of Rivals) are a part of a different study answered collected only for information purposes of that study. If you have questions about this study, please refer them to Dr Pedro Wolf - whose contact details are given in the consent form.

Relevance of Study

The top ten highest contributing precincts to the Murder, homicide and Aggravated Assault cases in South Africa are Nguni residential areas (Crime Stats South Africa, 2012). If the study reveals that the males, or even the females of the Nguni cultures subscribe to a culture of honour, it might begin to explain the high incidence of violence in these areas. The proposed study is relevant for policy considerations as it might shed a light on how honour cultures may be a space that encourages violent acts among its members. It may provide a new understanding that might influence social systems such as customary law, which is an important facet in the South African constitution. If, for example, a violent act performed by a member of an honour culture can be proved as being aggravated by threat or insult, the magistrate may have to take his honour culture into consideration when deliberating a sentence for the defendant. If this hypothesis is upheld, it should begin a discussion as to

what evolutionary psychology can do to change these honour culture norms that perpetuate violence in South African societies, because even though honour culture norms might have been necessary in the history of the culture, they do not seem to be congruent with the expectations of modern society.

As you can see, your participation in this study has been of vital importance and we are grateful for the contribution you have made to science. If you have any questions, you may address them to the researchers in the laboratory right now. Alternatively, you can email them to Sine Zungu at Sine.Zungu@gmail.com. Please be reminded that if you would like to see a counselor after completing this study, you may contact a counselor at the Student Wellness Center. Here, again, are their details:

The Student Wellness Service

28 Rhodes Ave

Mowbray 7700

Tel: 021 650 1017 / 1020

