

Running Head: CROSS-CULTURAL STRUCTURE OF PRIDE

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Cross-Cultural Evidence for the Two-Facet Structure of Pride

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Abstract

Across six studies conducted in Mainland China and South Korea, the present research extended prior findings showing that pride is comprised of two distinct conceptual and experiential facets in the U.S.: a pro-social, achievement-oriented “authentic pride”, and an arrogant, self-aggrandizing “hubristic pride”. This same two-facet structure emerged in Chinese participants’ semantic conceptualizations of pride (Study 1), Chinese and Koreans’ dispositional tendencies to experience pride (Studies 2, 3a, and 3b), Chinese and Koreans’ momentary pride experiences (Studies 3a, 3b, and 5), and Americans’ pride experiences using descriptors derived indigenously in Korea (Study 4). Together, these studies provide the first evidence that the two-facet structure of pride generalizes to cultures with highly divergent views of pride and self-enhancement processes from North America.

Word Count: 120

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2 Pride is a fundamental human emotion. In addition to playing a critical role in many
3 domains of social and psychological functioning, a growing body of research suggests that
4 pride may be a human universal. Studies have demonstrated that pride has a distinct,
5 recognizable nonverbal expression that is reliably identified by children and adults from
6 several different cultural groups, including geographically and culturally isolated traditional
7 small-scale societies in Burkina Faso and Fiji (Tracy & Robins, 2004a; 2008; Tracy, Robins,
8 & Lagattuta, 2005; Tracy, Shariff, Zhao, & Henrich, 2013). Furthermore, the pride
9 expression is spontaneously displayed by individuals from a wide range of cultures in
10 response to the pride-eliciting situation of success, and by congenitally blind individuals who
11 could not have learned to display pride through visual modeling (Tracy & Matsumoto, 2008).
12 Together, these findings suggest that the pride expression meets the criteria typically
13 considered to indicate universality (see Norenzayan & Heine, 2005), and thus that pride may
14 be part of humans' evolved emotional repertoire.

15 However, few studies have examined whether conceptualizations of pride, or the
16 subjective experience of pride, generalizes across cultures. As a result, it is possible that
17 humans universally display and recognize the nonverbal expression of pride, but different
18 cultural groups have different conceptualizations of the meaning associated with this
19 expression, and may experience different subjective feelings of pride. In other words, we do
20 not know whether the psychological structure of pride previously found in the U.S. reflects a
21 universal structure of pride.

22 In prior research conducted in the U.S., a series of eight studies demonstrated that pride
23 is comprised of two distinct and largely independent facets (Tracy & Robins, 2007). This

24 research measured lay-people's conceptions of the semantic similarity among of pride-related
25 words, to uncover a consensual conceptual structure of pride, as well as the feelings
26 individuals tend to report when experiencing pride. Across all these studies, results revealed
27 two distinct facets of pride, which are conceptually consistent with theoretical notions of the
28 emotion (e.g., Lewis, 2000; Tangney, Wagner, & Gramzow, 1989; Tracy & Robins, 2004b).
29 Specifically, the first facet, labeled "authentic pride", is reliably associated with feelings of
30 confidence, self-worth, productivity, and achievement. The second facet, labeled "hubristic
31 pride", is reliably associated with arrogance, egotism, and conceit. Further supporting this
32 distinction, the tendency to experience each pride facet is associated with theoretically
33 predicted, divergent personality profiles, cognitive elicitors, and behavioral outcomes
34 (Ashton-James & Tracy, 2012; Carver, Sinclair, & Johnson, 2010; Cheng, Tracy, & Henrich,
35 2010; Tracy & Robins, 2004b; Tracy & Robins, 2007).

36 Drawing on this body of evidence, researchers have argued that the two pride facets
37 may be distinct adaptations, each having evolved to serve a different, though related, adaptive
38 function (e.g., Cheng et al., 2010; Tracy, Shariff, & Cheng, 2010; Shariff, Tracy, & Cheng,
39 2010; but see also Clark, 2010; Williams & DeSteno, 2010). Specifically, although both
40 facets are likely to function to promote an individual's social status and group inclusion
41 (Shariff & Tracy, 2009; Tiedens et al., 2000; Williams & DeSteno, 2009), the two facets of
42 pride may promote different means of attaining social status. In this account, hubristic pride
43 is a functional affective mechanism that facilitates individuals' attainment of Dominance, a
44 form of social status that is derived through force and intimidation. By experiencing hubristic
45 pride, individuals may acquire the motivation and mental preparedness to exert force and

46 intimidate subordinates, and be motivated to engage in hubristic-pride associated behavioral
47 tendencies of aggression and hostility. In contrast, authentic pride may facilitate the
48 attainment of Prestige, a form of status that is based on deserved respect for one's skills and
49 expertise. By experiencing authentic pride and its associated feelings of confidence,
50 accomplishment, and productivity, individuals may acquire the motivation to persevere and
51 work hard, and the mental preparedness to achieve the socially valued goals that will garner
52 others' respect and admiration (Cheng et al., 2010; Tracy et al., 2010). This theoretical
53 account has received empirical support from studies demonstrating that individuals who tend
54 to experience hubristic tend to attain greater dominance, assessed via both self- and
55 peer-reports, whereas individuals who tend to experience authentic pride tend to attain greater
56 prestige, again assessed through self- and peer-reports (Cheng et al., 2010). By promoting the
57 pursuit of these two forms of social rank—both of which have been shown to predict greater
58 influence and control over others (Cheng, Tracy, Foulsham, Kingstone, & Henrich,
59 2013)—the two pride facets may each function to increase social status and, ultimately,
60 fitness.

61 This account suggests not only that pride, at a broad level, is an evolved part of human nature,
62 but also that the two facets of pride may have evolved separately, to serve somewhat distinct
63 status-oriented functions. However, all of the studies supporting the two-facet account thus
64 far were conducted with North American participants, who are often not representative of the
65 vast majority of the world's populations (Henrich, Heine & Norenzayan, 2010). As a result,
66 we cannot presently draw any conclusions about whether the two-facet structure of pride is
67 likely to be universal, rather than an artifact of North American, or Western culture.

68 Moreover, because self-evaluations are critical to the elicitation of all self-conscious
69 emotions, including pride (Buss, 2001; Lewis, 2000; Tracy & Robins, 2004b), the experience
70 of pride is particularly likely to vary across cultures that hold different construals of the self,
71 because different self-construals may facilitate different self-evaluative processes (Mesquita
72 & Karasawa, 2004). A large body of research (e.g., Heine, 2003; Heine & Hamamura, 2007;
73 Heine, Kitayama, & Hamamura, 2007; Yamagishi et al., 2012) suggests that individuals from
74 largely collectivistic Asian cultures, who tend to hold interdependent, rather than independent,
75 self-construals, are generally less likely to self-enhance than those from individualistic
76 Western cultures, where more independent self-construals predominate. More recent work
77 examining the boundary conditions of this cultural difference indicates that East Asian
78 self-effacement is primarily driven by concerns about face, harmony, and punishment (Lee,
79 Leung, & Kim, 2014; Tam et al., 2012).

80 Given that pride is both a typical emotional response to self-enhancement and a
81 motivator of self-enhancement (Tracy, Cheng, Martens, & Robins, 2011), it is possible, and
82 even likely, that pride is experienced somewhat differently in cultures where
83 self-enhancement is discouraged and self-criticism encouraged. However, it should be noted
84 that although pride is thought to be most prevalent and intensely felt in cultures that hold
85 heightened self-enhancing tendencies, pride is an emotion that, in all likelihood, also operates
86 independently of self-enhancement motives. As a result, we would expect that even
87 individuals who hold self-effacing cultural values experience pride, especially pride that is
88 well-calibrated to their achievements.

89 Indeed, notable differences have been observed in the handful of cross-cultural studies

90 that have examined individuals' conceptualizations and experiences of pride. Several studies
91 have found that individuals from Western cultures tend to hold more positive attitudes toward
92 pride compared to individuals from Eastern cultures, who generally view pride negatively
93 (Kim-Prieto, Fujita, & Diener, 2012), unless it is experienced in response to the success of
94 others rather than oneself (Eid & Diener, 2001; Sommers, 1984; Steipek, 1998). Mirroring
95 these cultural differences in attitudes toward pride, other studies have shown that, not only do
96 Asians report experiences of pride less frequently than Westerners (Scollon, Diener, Oishi, &
97 Biswas-Diener, 2004), but when they are reported, they are often in the context of others'
98 achievements rather than one's own (i.e., a group members' success; Neumann, Steinhäuser,
99 & Roeder, 2009) and include both pleasant and unpleasant subjective components (Scollon,
100 Diener, Oishi, & Biswas-Diener, 2005). It should be noted however, that cultural
101 proscriptions against the experience and display of pride as documented in these studies
102 might minimize the reporting of pride experiences even if it is felt (Smith, 2004). As a result,
103 the finding that pride is experienced less frequently among East Asians should be interpreted
104 with caution. Nonetheless, these findings offer tentative support for the characterization of
105 pride as a socially disengaging and devalued emotion in Asian cultures (Markus & Kitayama,
106 1991).

107 Despite these cultural differences, however, it remains possible that pride
108 experiences—and the two-facet structure of pride—has cross-cultural generality, as a result
109 of the fitness-enhancing effects of both facets, by virtue of their distinct functional effects on
110 status-promotion. An alternative possibility, however, is that the general conceptualization of
111 pride is universal, but the hypercognized distinction between authentic and hubristic pride is a

112 learned product of a Western cultural tradition that emphasizes showing and enhancing one's
113 pride (and status). As a first step to teasing apart these competing hypotheses, we tested
114 whether the two-facet structure of pride replicates in cultural contexts that do not share the
115 Western cultural emphasis on status-seeking and self-enhancement. Specifically, the present
116 research examined the psychological structure of pride in two non-Western cultural contexts
117 that are highly collectivistic and emphasize interdependent self-construals: Mainland China
118 and South Korea (Hofstede, 2001; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). This work
119 takes an important first step toward answering the question of whether the two-facet structure
120 of pride is likely to be a human universal.

121 **Overview of Research**

122 Six studies were conducted to provide the first systematic analysis of the psychological
123 structure of pride in two East-Asian countries—Mainland China (Studies 1, 2, and 5) and
124 South Korea (Studies 3a, 3b, and 4). Across these studies, we used a combination of emic and
125 etic approaches—two long-standing methodological traditions that respectively emphasize
126 the importance of understanding a particular culture from within, and of examining
127 cross-cultural similarities and differences from an external perspective (Pike, 1967). In
128 addition, we examined the structure of pride by studying three different ways in which
129 individuals relate to or experience the emotion: (1) participants' conceptualizations of pride
130 (Study 1), (2) their dispositional tendency to experience pride (Studies 2-4), and (3) their
131 momentary experiences of pride (Study 3-5). Past research has indicated possible differences
132 between the structure of affect for enduring and temporary mood ratings (e.g., Diener &
133 Emmons, 1984; Egloff, 1998), and for this reason we examined both individuals' chronic,

134 trait pride, which refers to the characteristic duration or frequency with which a person
135 generally experiences prideful episodes, and also transient, state pride, which refers to more
136 short-lived pride episodes evoked by particular emotion-inducing stimuli (see Ekman, 1984).
137 The examination of both trait and state pride allowed us to draw conclusions about the
138 structure of pride across these different ways in which the emotion manifests in everyday life.

139 Together, these studies were designed to illuminate the underlying psychological
140 structure of pride across cultures. As is typical of cross-cultural research programs spanning
141 more than one nation, these studies were conducted by separate research teams, with
142 extensive experience with the local culture in Mainland China and Korea, respectively. By
143 combining data across these two teams and sets of studies, the present research allows for
144 more robust conclusions, in the cases where results converge across samples.

145 Specifically, Study 1 employed an emic approach to examine whether Chinese
146 participants' lay conceptions of pride reveal a structure parallel to the authentic and hubristic
147 distinction found in the U.S. While this first study focused on the dimensionality of pride in
148 individuals' perceptions of the emotion, subsequent studies examined the structure of pride in
149 individuals' personal, subjective introspective experience of pride. This two-pronged strategy
150 allowed us to ascertain whether the structure of pride that emerged is consistent across the
151 two methodological approaches and not merely a byproduct of either lay understandings or
152 subjective experiences of pride. In particular, Study 2 used a combined emic and etic
153 approach to examine whether Chinese participants' dispositional experiences of pride are best
154 characterized by a two-facet structure. In addition, we examined the associations between
155 each facet and several theoretically relevant personality traits that have been examined in

156 prior work on authentic and hubristic pride conducted in the U.S (Tracy & Robins, 2007),
157 including self-esteem, narcissism, shame-proneness, and the Big Five personality dimensions.
158 We focused on these particular traits because of their tight links with self-positivity and broad
159 dimensions of individual differences, and also because prior research has established that
160 they show divergent relations with the two pride facets among several samples of American
161 participants (Tracy & Robins, 2007; Tracy, Cheng, Robins, & Trzesniewski, 2009).

162 In Studies 3a and b, we examined the psychological structure of pride in South Korea,
163 by assessing Korean participants' dispositional tendency and momentary experience of
164 pride-related feelings, when the descriptor terms of these feelings were generated either
165 indigenously by Korean participants (Study 3a; emic approach), or by Americans and then
166 exported (i.e., translated) into the Korean language (Study 3b; etic approach). Study 4 tested
167 whether the pride-related words generated indigenously by Koreans in Study 3a, when
168 translated to English and judged by Americans, would reveal a two-facet structure in the U.S.
169 This etic-based approach provided a test of whether the pride descriptions that correspond to
170 either authentic or pride in Korea apply to the U.S, and similarly reveal a two-facet structure,
171 which, if confirmed, would offer additionally evidence that the two-factor structure of pride
172 is culturally neutral. Finally, Study 5 examined momentary experiences of pride (derived
173 through a combined emic and etic approach) in Mainland China, testing whether Chinese
174 participants' actual pride experiences would yield two distinct facets that correspond to the
175 content of authentic and hubristic pride. Study 5 additionally examined whether Chinese
176 authentic and hubristic pride are distinguished by distinct cognitive causal attributions.

177

178 Study 1: The Conceptual Structure of Pride in China (Based on an Emic Approach)

179 In Study 1, we examined the conceptual structure of pride in Chinese culture,
180 specifically testing whether Chinese individuals conceptualize pride as consisting of two
181 distinct facets that map onto the theoretical distinction between authentic and hubristic pride
182 previously found to characterize Americans' conceptualizations of pride (Tracy & Robins,
183 2007). Consistent with the emic approach, participants were asked to rate the semantic
184 similarity of pride-related words that were generated indigenously in Chinese by Chinese
185 participants.

186 Method

187 **Participants.** One hundred and four undergraduate and graduate students (60% men;
188 84% undergraduates) at the Southwest University, China, completed a questionnaire in
189 exchange for a small token.

190 **Procedure.** Participants were shown 153 pairs of 18 pride-related words (each word
191 paired one time with each other word), and were instructed to "carefully rate the similarity
192 between" each pair of words, on a scale ranging from 1 ("not at all similar") to 5 ("extremely
193 similar"). These similarity ratings offer insights into participants' lay perceptions of the
194 relations between these pride-related words, thus allowing us to study how to best organize
195 them into meaningful constructs. All words and instructions were in Chinese, and were
196 generated in two ways. First, a separate group of participants generated words (in Chinese) to
197 describe the emotional expression shown as they viewed two photos of individuals posing the
198 cross-culturally recognized pride expression (adapted from Tracy & Robins, 2004a; see
199 Appendix for all translated materials). Second, another group of participants listed in an

200 open-ended fashion the subjective feelings they associate with pride. The pride-related words
201 generated across these two procedures were subsequently combined and reduced to a set of
202 18 words based on prototypicality ratings (see Supplemental Materials for more details on
203 word generation).

204 **Results and Discussion**

205 To identify the number of distinct, internally coherent conceptual clusters that exist in
206 the pride domain, we analyzed the similarity ratings using hierarchical cluster analysis. This
207 data-driven approach classifies items into clusters by identifying those that are similar to each
208 other but distinct from items in another cluster or clusters. The use of this analytic approach
209 therefore allowed us to both identify the number of clusters in the pride domain and
210 determine the membership of each pride-related word within the emergent clusters. The
211 clustering algorithm begins by treating each pride word as a cluster unto itself, and, at each
212 successive step, similar clusters are merged until all pride words are merged into a single
213 cluster. The number of clusters that define the pride domain was subsequently determined by
214 examining the agglomeration coefficients at each stage. A large change in coefficient
215 size—resulting from a marked increase in the squared Euclidean distance between successive
216 steps of clustering, which indicates dissimilarity between the clusters—was observed at Step
217 17, the last step of the clustering procedure. In this final clustering step, in which two clusters
218 were merged into a single cluster solution, the similarity coefficient increased sharply from
219 16.57 to 68.75 (the final four coefficients were 68.75, 16.57, 13.78, and 10.13). These results
220 indicate that, consistent with our prediction, Chinese-derived pride-related words are best
221 organized into two conceptual clusters (see Figure 1).

222 We then sought to determine whether these two clusters correspond to the authentic
223 and hubristic pride facets previously found in the U.S., by examining the content of words in
224 each cluster as revealed by the dendrogram—the visual output of hierarchical links among
225 words in the cluster analysis. As can be seen from Figure 1, the words in the first cluster
226 appear to fall clearly within the domain of authentic pride, describing feelings about a
227 controllable, effort-driven achievement, such as “confident (自信的)”, “struggling (奋斗的)”,
228 and “honored (荣誉的)”. None of these words convey the stable attributions or grandiosity
229 associated with hubristic pride. In contrast, words falling in the second cluster, such as
230 “provoking (挑衅的)”, “arrogant (傲慢的),” and “scornful (不屑的)”, describe feelings more
231 characteristic of narcissistic self-aggrandizement and self-enhancement, consistent with the
232 American hubristic pride facet. In summary, results of Study 1 demonstrate that Chinese
233 participants’ indigenous semantic conceptualizations of pride are characterized by two facets,
234 which closely replicate the facets found previously in the U.S.

235 **Study 2: Dispositional Experiences of Pride in China (Based on both Emic and Etic**
236 **Approaches)**

237 Study 2 built on the findings of Study 1 in two ways. First, we tested whether the
238 two-facet structure of pride, found in Study 1 to characterize Chinese conceptualizations of
239 pride, also characterizes Chinese participants’ dispositional tendency to *experience* a large set
240 of pride-related states. As a result, unlike in Study 1, where similarity ratings were obtained,
241 here we asked participants to report their tendency to personally experience pride. This
242 complementary focus is important because shared cultural perceptions of an emotion may
243 differ from individuals’ actual subjective emotional experience. Second, we examined the

244 personality profiles associated with the two facets in Mainland China, with a particular
245 interest in examining whether these profiles are similar to those previously found in the U.S.
246 (Tracy & Robins, 2007).

247 **Method**

248 **Participants.** Eighty-seven undergraduate students (66% women) at the Southwest
249 University, China, completed a questionnaire in Chinese in exchange for course credit.

250 **Measures.**

251 ***Pride-related feelings.*** Participants rated the extent to which they “generally feel this
252 way” for 63 pride-related words, using a scale ranging from 1 (“not at all”) to 5 (“extremely”).
253 These words were derived by pooling together the 60 pride-related words listed most
254 frequently by participants in Study 1 (i.e., using an emic approach) with Chinese translations
255 of the 14 words that constitute the Authentic and Hubristic Pride Scales derived in the U.S.
256 (i.e., using an etic approach; see Tracy & Robins, 2007). After translating the latter 14 items
257 into Chinese, they were back-translated to English to verify accuracy. Eleven words were
258 eliminated from the combined 74 words due to repetition, and the final set contained 63
259 pride-related words.

260 ***Personality traits.*** Participants completed Chinese versions of the 44-item Big Five
261 inventory (BFI; John & Srivastava, 1999) which assesses the Big Five Factors of
262 Extroversion ($\alpha = .87$), Agreeableness ($\alpha = .74$), Conscientiousness ($\alpha = .82$),
263 Neuroticism ($\alpha = .83$), and Openness to Experience ($\alpha = .74$), as well as the 10-item
264 Rosenberg Self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965; $\alpha = .88$) and the 40-item Narcissistic
265 Personality Inventory (Raskin & Terry, 1988; $\alpha = .83$). Following Paulhus, Robins,

266 Trzesniewski, and Tracy (2004), narcissism scores free of shared variance with self-esteem,
267 and self-esteem scores free of shared variance with narcissism, were computed by saving the
268 standardized residuals from a regression predicting narcissism from self-esteem, and
269 vice-versa. Participants also completed the 16-item Shame-Proneness and the 16-item
270 Guilt-Proneness Scales from the TOSCA-3 (Tangney & Dearing, 2002; α s = .80 and .81,
271 respectively). Similar to above, scores of guilt-free shame, and shame-free guilt, were
272 computed by saving the standardized residuals from a regression predicting shame from guilt
273 and vice-versa (Tangney & Dearing, 2002).

274 **Results and Discussion**

275 **What is the structure of trait pride?** We examined the structure of dispositional
276 reports of pride by conducting an exploratory factor analysis on participants' ratings of
277 pride-related feeling states. Consistent with our hypothesis, a scree test indicated 2 factors;
278 eigenvalues for the first 6 factors were 13.86, 10.76, 4.17, 2.71, 2.66, and 2.0. The first two
279 factors accounted for 39.07% of the variance; the correlation between the two oblimin-rotated
280 factors was .06, suggesting that they are largely independent.

281 Next, to interpret these two factors, we examined the content of the words that loaded
282 onto each (see Table 1). The first factor was clearly identifiable as authentic pride; all 8
283 words from the authentic pride cluster in Study 1 loaded higher on this factor. Similarly, the
284 second factor was clearly identifiable as hubristic pride; all 10 of the 10 words from the
285 hubristic pride cluster in Study1 loaded higher on the second factor. This pattern of factor
286 loadings suggests that participants' dispositional pride ratings are best characterized by two
287 factors that correspond well to authentic and hubristic pride found in the U.S. Furthermore,

288 given that factor loadings represent the correlation between observed variables and factors,
289 comparing the magnitude of the loadings obtained here with those found in the U.S. in prior
290 research (Tracy & Robins, 2007) allows for a crude comparison of the effect size of each
291 factor on the variability of pride-related words. Here, for the authentic pride component, the
292 factor loadings for the first seven items with the highest loadings ranged from .78 to .68, and
293 those found previously in the U.S. ranged from .78 to .66. For the hubristic pride component,
294 the factor loadings found here for the first seven items ranged from .73 to .66, and those
295 observed in the U.S. ranged from .84 to .69. The similarity in the range and magnitude of
296 these loadings suggests similar effect sizes of the factors in organizing the pride feelings of
297 Chinese and American samples.

298 **What is the personality profile of the authentic versus hubristic pride-prone**
299 **person?** We next examined the personality profiles of individuals prone to authentic and
300 hubristic pride, by correlating individuals' factors scores on the two pride factors with
301 theoretically relevant personality dimensions. Results indicated that the two pride factors
302 largely share similar Big Five profiles in China and the U.S. Consistent with findings from
303 the U.S. (Tracy & Robins, 2007), authentic pride was positively correlated with the pro-social,
304 well-adjusted personality traits of Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness,
305 Emotional Stability, and Openness. In contrast, hubristic pride was associated with a more
306 anti-social, undesirable personality profile; it was positively correlated with Neuroticism and
307 negatively with Agreeableness and Conscientiousness, similar to the pattern found in the U.S.

308 Correlations with other theoretically relevant personality dimensions reveal a number
309 of noteworthy cross-cultural similarities and differences (see Table 2). Similar to what was

310 found in the U.S., authentic pride was negatively correlated with shame-proneness. But,
311 unlike in the U.S., where hubristic pride was positively correlated with shame-proneness, in
312 China hubristic pride was unrelated to shame-proneness. However, consistent with the
313 generally adaptive vs. maladaptive personality profiles associated with authentic vs. hubristic
314 pride in U.S., authentic pride was positively, and hubristic pride negatively, correlated with
315 guilt-proneness, a self-conscious emotional disposition generally associated with a wide
316 range of positive behaviors and traits (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Also similar to patterns
317 observed in the U.S., authentic pride was strongly positively correlated with both self-esteem
318 and narcissism. However, the association between authentic pride and self-esteem appeared
319 to be weaker in magnitude than that between authentic pride and narcissism among Chinese
320 participants. The relations between hubristic pride and self-esteem and narcissism were
321 similar to those found in the U.S., with a negative direction between hubristic pride and
322 self-esteem and a positive trend between hubristic pride and narcissism, but these correlations
323 did not reach conventional levels of significance. Overall, these results point to several
324 potential cultural differences in the links between the two pride facets and self-esteem and
325 narcissism, but offer consistent support for the two-facet structure of pride in Chinese culture,
326 and for the interpretation of these facets as authentic and hubristic pride.

327 **Study 3a: Dispositional and Momentary Experiences of Pride in Korea (Based on an**
328 **Emic Approach)**

329 In Studies 3a, 3b, and 5, we sought to examine the structure of pride in South Korea,
330 another Asian country with a largely collectivistic culture that fosters interdependent
331 self-construals. Study 3a used an emic approach to examine participants' state and trait

332 experiences as described by indigenously derived Korean pride-related words.
333 Complementing this study, Study 3b used an etic approach to examine state and trait
334 experiences of pride as described by pride scale items originally derived in the U.S. and
335 translated into Korean.

336 **Method**

337 **Participants.** Sixty-three students (67% women) at Korea University participated in
338 exchange for 5,000 *won* (equivalent to 4.50 USD). All participants were born and raised in
339 South Korea, and indicated that Korean is their native language. All instructions and
340 questions were presented in Korean.

341 **Procedure.** Similar to the procedure used in Study 2, participants were asked to rate
342 both the extent to which they generally tend to feel each of 16 pride-related words derived
343 indigenously in Korea (trait pride), and their momentary feelings of each of these words
344 (state pride; see Supplemental Materials for more detail on word generation and rating
345 instructions). Order of trait and state ratings was counterbalanced across participants. Unlike
346 in Study 2, in generating these pride-related words, we did not ask participants to additionally
347 write down the words that describe their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors when feeling pride,
348 because of time constraints with this sample.

349 **Results and Discussion**

350 **Trait pride.** To examine the structure of South Koreans' dispositional pride
351 experiences, we conducted an exploratory factor analysis. The scree test suggested two
352 factors; eigenvalues for the first six unrotated factors were 7.8, 2.4, 1.0, 0.8, 0.7 and 0.6. The
353 first two factors accounted for 63.9% of the variance; the correlation between the two

354 oblimin-rotated factors was .37. As is shown in Table 3, all items had high loadings on their
355 primary factor and relatively low loadings on the secondary factor, with the exception of the
356 item “triumphant,” which had a moderate cross-loading on both factors. For authentic pride,
357 the loadings for the first seven words with the highest loadings ranged from .88 to .76, and
358 were similar in magnitude to those observed in the U.S. in prior work, which ranged from .78
359 to .66 (Tracy & Robins, 2007). For hubristic pride, the loadings ranged from .80 to .54, and
360 again were similar to those observed in the U.S., which ranged from .84 to .69. The similarity
361 in these loadings suggests similar effect sizes of the factors in organizing the pride feelings of
362 Koreans and Americans in their trait pride experiences.

363 We next interpreted the two factors that emerged empirically by examining the content
364 of the words that loaded onto each (see Table 3). The first factor, clearly identifiable as
365 authentic pride, included the items: “accomplished (성취하다)”, “confident (자신 있는)”,
366 “noble (당당함)”, “satisfied (만족함)”, “self-confident (자신만만한)”, “self-worth (자부심)”,
367 “successful (성공)”, and “victorious (승리한)”. The second factor, in contrast, mapped well
368 onto hubristic pride, and included items: “conceited (우쭐대는)”, “haughty (거만한)”,
369 “ostentatious (과시하는)”, “stuck-up (잘난 척하는)”, and “superior (우월한)”.

370 **State pride.** The structure of momentary state pride experiences revealed a similar
371 two-factor structure. The scree test again suggested two factors; eigenvalues for the first six
372 unrotated factors were 8.5, 2.3, 1.1, 0.9, 0.6, 0.5. The first two factors accounted for 67.4% of
373 the variance; the correlation between the two oblimin-rotated factors was .34. As is shown in
374 Table 3, all items had high loadings on their primary factor and relatively low loadings on the

375 secondary factor, with the exception of the item “triumphant,” which had moderate
376 cross-loadings on factors.

377 The first factor, which can be clearly interpreted as authentic pride, included the items:
378 “accomplished (*seongchwihada*)”, “confident (*jasin inneun*)”, “noble (*dangdangham*)”,
379 “satisfied (*manjokham*)”, “self-confident (*jasinmanmanhan*)”, “self-worth (*jabusim*)”,
380 “successful (*seonggong*)”, and “victorious (*sungrihan*)”. The second factor, identifiable as
381 hubristic pride, included the items: “conceited (*ujjuldaeneun*)”, “haughty (*geomanhan*)”,
382 “ostentatious (*gwasihaneun*)”, “stuck-up (*jallan cheokhaneun*)”, and “superior (*uwolhan*)”.
383 Importantly, these items are identical to those that emerged in Korean participants’ trait pride
384 experiences. Taken together, results from Study 3a replicate prior findings from the U.S. and
385 Mainland China, and demonstrate that both dispositional and momentary pride experiences in
386 Korea reveal two distinct facets that correspond conceptually to authentic and hubristic pride.
387 For authentic pride, the loadings for the first seven words with the highest loadings ranged
388 from .88 to .78, and were similar in magnitude to those observed in the U.S. in prior work,
389 which ranged from .79 to .61 (Tracy & Robins, 2007). For hubristic pride, the loadings
390 ranged from .78 to .55, and again were similar to those observed in the U.S., which ranged
391 from .88 to .63. The similarity in these loadings suggests similar effect sizes of the two pride
392 factors among Koreans and Americans in their state experiences of pride.

393 **Study 3b: Dispositional and Momentary Experiences of Pride in Korea (Based on an**
394 **Etic Approach)**

395 Study 3b moves beyond the largely emic approach used in Studies 1-3a, to adopt a
396 complementary etic methodology. Here, we examined Korean participants’ pride experiences

397 from an external, cross-cultural vantage, by using pride scales originally derived in the U.S.
398 and translated into Korean. While the emic approach asks about the structure of pride in
399 Korea (and China) without regard to what has been found previously in other cultures, this
400 etic approach allows us to examine whether the previously found American pride facets are
401 understood and experienced in the same way by Koreans.

402 **Method**

403 **Participants.** The same sample of 63 students (67% women) from Study 3a
404 participated in this study. All instructions and questions were translated from English into
405 Korean.

406 **Procedure.** Participants were given the same instructions as in Study 3a, in which they
407 were asked to rate both their dispositional tendency to experience a series of 14 pride-related
408 words and their momentary experience of pride. The order of trait and state ratings was again
409 counterbalanced across participants. These words were taken from the 14-item
410 American-derived Authentic and Hubristic pride scales (Tracy & Robins, 2007), which were
411 translated into Korean by a team of professional translators at Korea University, and
412 subsequently back-translated into English to ensure accuracy. The resulting
413 American-derived authentic pride items included: “accomplished (*seongchwihada*)”,
414 “achieving (*jal haenaego inneun*)”, “confident (*jasin inneun*)”, “fulfilled (*manjokgameul*
415 *neukkineun*)”, “productive (*saengsanjeogin*)”, “self-worth (*jabusim*)”, and “successful
416 (*seonggong*)”, and the American-derived hubristic pride scale included the items: “arrogant
417 (*omanhan*)”, “conceited (*ujjuldaeneun*)”, “egotistical (*jagijungsimjeogin*)”, “pompous

418 (*jenchehan*), “smug (*jallanchehaneun*)”, “snobbish (*songmuljeogin*)”, and “stuck-up (*jallan*
419 *cheokhaneun*)”.

420 **Results and Discussion**

421 **Trait pride.** As in the previous studies, we conducted an exploratory factor analysis of
422 participants’ ratings of their dispositional pride-related tendencies. The scree test suggested
423 two factors; eigenvalues for the first six unrotated factors were 5.8, 2.5, 1.0, 0.8, 0.8, and 0.6.
424 The first two factors accounted for 59.4% of the variance; the correlation between the two
425 oblimin-rotated factors was .31. As shown in Table 4, all items had high loadings on their
426 primary factor and relatively low loadings on the secondary factor, and these loadings were
427 consistent with those found in prior research in the U.S., such that all items derived from the
428 authentic pride scale loaded more highly on the authentic pride factor, and all items derived
429 from hubristic pride words loaded more highly on the hubristic pride factor. For authentic
430 pride, the loadings of the seven words ranged from .89 to .70, and were similar in magnitude
431 to those observed in the U.S. in prior work, which ranged from .78 to .66. For hubristic pride,
432 the loadings ranged from .81 to .58, and again were similar in magnitude to those observed in
433 the U.S., which ranged from .84 to .69 (Tracy & Robins, 2007). The similarity of these
434 loadings suggests similar effect sizes of the two factors in organizing the dispositional
435 pride-related feelings of Koreans and Americans.

436 The mean trait ratings across the authentic and hubristic pride items (7-item each) were
437 3.04 ($SD = .81$) and 2.29 ($SD = .74$), respectively. These scores are comparable to those
438 previously found in the U.S. ($M_s = 3.16$ and 1.70 ; Tracy & Robins, 2007), suggesting an
439 absence of major differences between Koreans and Americans in the intensity of their

440 dispositional experiences of either forms of pride.

441 **State pride.** The scree test conducted on participants' momentary pride experiences
442 revealed two factors; eigenvalues for the first six unrotated factors were 5.9, 2.7, 1.0, 0.9, 0.7,
443 and 0.6. The first two factors accounted for 61.7% of the variance; the correlation between
444 the two oblimin-rotated factors was .20. As shown in Table 4, all items had high loadings on
445 their primary factor and relatively low loadings on the secondary factor, and these loadings
446 were consistent with what was expected based on prior research in the US, with the exception
447 of the word "conceited", which cross-loaded moderately on both factors. For authentic pride,
448 the loadings for the seven words ranged from .89 to .74, and were similar in magnitude to
449 those observed in the U.S. in prior work, which ranged from .79 to .61. For hubristic pride,
450 the loadings ranged from .82 to .61, and again were similar to those observed in the U.S.,
451 which ranged from .88 to .63. The similarity in the magnitude of these loadings indicates that
452 the effect sizes of the two pride factors were similar among Koreans and Americans in their
453 state experiences of pride.

454 The mean state ratings across the authentic and hubristic pride items were 2.73 (*SD*
455 = .92) and 2.06 (*SD* = .72), respectively. The observed score on authentic pride among South
456 Koreans was thus somewhat lower than that previously found among Americans ($M = 4.20$;
457 Tracy & Robins, 2007), and may indicate that Americans experience relatively stronger
458 feelings of authentic pride than South Koreans. The score on hubristic pride, however, was
459 similar to those found among Americans ($M = 1.73$). Although theoretical accounts suggest
460 that Americans are more self-enhancing than East Asians (Heine, Lehman, Markus, &
461 Kitayama, 1999), which might lead to the expectation of a difference in hubristic pride, these

462 findings suggest that hubristic pride may be seen as a problematic or socially undesirable
463 emotion in both cultures, whereas authentic pride is considered a much more highly valued
464 emotion in the U.S. than in Korean culture.

465 **Correspondence between emic- and etic-derived pride facets.** Next, we examined
466 the association between participants' reports of their pride-related experiences as assessed via
467 the items derived using an emic approach in Study 3a and those assessed via the items used
468 here in Study 3b which originated from an etic approach. For our state measures, the
469 correlation between the emic-derived and etic-derived authentic pride factor scores was $r =$
470 $.98$, and the correlation between the two hubristic pride factor scores was $r = .88$, $ps < .05$.
471 For our trait measures, the correlation between the emic-derived and etic-derived authentic
472 pride factor scores was $r = .95$, and the correlation between the two hubristic pride factor
473 scores was $r = .83$, $ps < .05$. These very large positive correlations between a person's factor
474 score on emic- and etic-derived pride-related words indicate that the authentic and hubristic
475 pride dimensions that emerged from the two methodologies were tapping into the same
476 underlying concepts. In other words, the two facets of pride appeared to be culture-neutral,
477 such that the authentic pride concept that emerged indigenously in the East was similar to that
478 emerged indigenously in the West, and the same was true for hubristic pride.

479 **Pooling together all items derived using an emic and etic approach.** In the next
480 section, we report analyses that parallel those reported in Study 2, by combining the 16
481 pride-related words from Study 3a, which were derived indigenously in Korea using an emic
482 approach, with the 14 words from Study 3b here, which were originally derived in the U.S.
483 and translated into Korean using an etic approach. After removing 6 overlapping items, the

484 final combined set contained 24 words. We first report results of a factor analysis conducted
485 on participants' ratings of their dispositional tendency to experience this set of 24 words to
486 examine the structure of trait pride, followed by results of a factor analysis conducted on their
487 ratings of momentary feelings of these words, to examine the structure of state pride.

488 *Trait pride.* To examine the structure of Korean participants' dispositional pride
489 experiences across emic and etic methods, we conducted a factor analysis on trait ratings of
490 the full set of 24 words. A scree test again indicated two factors; eigenvalues for the first 6
491 factors were 10.14, 3.69, 1.29, 1.23, 1.05, and .89. The first two factors accounted for 57.62%
492 of the variance; the correlation between the two oblimin-rotated factors was .38.

493 Next, to interpret these two factors, we examined the content of the words that loaded
494 onto each. As can be seen in Table 5, words that conceptually map onto authentic pride (e.g.,
495 accomplished, satisfied, fulfilled, successful, confident, victorious, achieving) had high
496 loadings on the primary factor and relatively low loadings on the secondary factor. By
497 contrast, words that conceptually map onto hubristic pride (e.g., arrogant, haughty, pompous,
498 smug, ostentatious, stuck-up, conceited, egotistical) had high loadings on the primary factor
499 and relatively low loadings on the secondary factor. The word "triumphant", however, had a
500 moderate cross-loading on both factors. In general, this pattern of factor loadings suggests
501 that participants' dispositional pride ratings are best characterized by two factors that
502 correspond to authentic and hubristic pride found in the U.S.

503 *State pride.* To examine the structure of Korean participants' momentary pride
504 experiences across emic and etic methods, we conducted a factor analysis on state ratings of
505 the full set of 24 words. A scree test indicated 2 factors; eigenvalues for the first 6 factors

506 were 10.11, 3.97, 1.26, 1.10, .99, and .78. The first two factors accounted for 61.22% of the
507 variance; the correlation between the two oblimin-rotated factors was .28.

508 Again, to interpret these two factors, we examined the content of the words that
509 loaded onto each. As can be seen in Table 5, words that are conceptually linked to the
510 authentic pride concept, which, as expected, were the same words that loaded highly on a
511 common factor in the exploratory factor analysis of trait ratings reported above, had high
512 loadings on the primary factor and relatively low loadings on the secondary factor. Similarly,
513 words that are conceptually linked to the hubristic pride concept, which were also the same
514 words that loaded highly on a common factor in the aforementioned exploratory factor
515 analysis of trait ratings, had high loadings on the primary factor and comparatively lower
516 loadings on the secondary factor. Similar to above, however, the word “triumphant” showed
517 high cross-loadings on both factors. Taken together, these results indicate that participants’
518 momentary pride experiences are also best characterized by two factors that correspond to
519 authentic and hubristic pride previously found in the U.S.

520 Collectively, findings from Study 3b indicate that the previously found American
521 structure of pride also characterizes dispositional and momentary pride experiences in South
522 Korea, providing further evidence for the cross-cultural generality of the two-facet structure
523 of pride.

524 **Study 4: Dispositional and Momentary Experiences of Pride in the U.S. (Based on an**
525 **Etic Approach)**

526 Study 4 used an etic approach to examine whether the pride-related feelings and
527 experiences derived indigenously in Korea, when translated into English, are characterized by

528 the same two-facet structure in the U.S. Words derived indigenously in China were not
529 included in the present study.

530 **Method**

531 **Participants.** Participants were 203 undergraduate students (77% women) from the
532 University of California, Davis, who participated in exchange for course credit. All
533 participants were born and raised in the United States, and listed English as their native
534 language. Only approximately 2.4% ($n = 5$) of this sample was of Korean descent.

535 **Procedure.** Participants were given the same instructions as in Studies 3a and b, in
536 which they were asked to rate both their dispositional tendency to experience each of 14
537 pride-related words derived in Korea from Study 3a, as well as the extent to which each of
538 these same 14 words characterized their feelings during a momentary pride experience, with
539 the order of trait and state ratings counterbalanced. These Korean-derived pride words were
540 translated into English by professional Korean translators, and back-translated to ensure
541 accuracy.¹

542 **Results and Discussion**

543 **Trait pride.** A scree test conducted on participants' dispositional pride-related
544 experiences revealed two factors; eigenvalues for the first six unrotated factors were 6.3, 2.6,
545 0.8, 0.7, 0.7, and 0.5. The first two factors accounted for 63.6% of the variance; the
546 correlation between the two oblimin-rotated factors was .28. As shown in Table 6, all items
547 had relatively high loadings on their primary factor and relatively low loadings on the
548 secondary factor. Of note, "triumphant" loaded highly on the authentic pride factor but not
549 the hubristic pride factor, in contrast to Study 3a where it loaded highly on both factors, when

550 these same items were used (in Korean) with the Korean sample. In prior research in the U.S.,
551 “triumphant” was found to semantically cluster with other authentic pride words (Tracy &
552 Robins, 2007, Study 1), but did not load highly enough on either factor in analyses of state
553 and trait pride experiences to be included in the final scales (Tracy & Robins, 2007, Studies
554 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7). It thus seems that there is some ambiguity, across cultures, regarding
555 whether this particular word fits better within the authentic or hubristic pride facet. In
556 addition, for authentic pride, the loadings of the seven words ranged from .89 to .78, and
557 were roughly similar in magnitude to those observed in the U.S. in prior work, which ranged
558 from .78 to .66 (Tracy & Robins, 2007). For hubristic pride, the loadings ranged from .89 to
559 .69, and again were similar in magnitude to those observed in the U.S., which ranged from
560 .84 to .69. Thus, once again, the similarity of these loadings suggests similar effect sizes of
561 the two factors in organizing the dispositional pride-related feelings of Koreans and
562 Americans.

563 How does the mean intensity of dispositional authentic and hubristic pride as rated
564 here by Americans compare to that of South Koreans in Study 3a? To address this question,
565 we examined the mean rating across the 9 authentic pride items and 5 hubristic pride items,
566 defined using the pattern of factor loadings displayed in Table 6, such that each item was
567 designated to the facet on which it had a high primary loading and low secondary loading.
568 The resultant mean ratings across the authentic and hubristic pride items were 3.02 ($SD = .83$)
569 and 1.54 ($SD = .64$), respectively. In comparison to the mean ratings on the same items by
570 South Koreans in Study 3a, whose mean ratings on the authentic and hubristic pride items
571 were 3.05 ($SD = .86$) and 2.27 ($SD = .80$) respectively, no difference was found on authentic

572 pride, but reports of hubristic pride were significantly lower among Americans than among
573 Koreans (from Study 3a), $t(261) = -7.24, p < .0001, d = 1.01$. These results differ from those
574 reported above, in Study 3b, based on items originally derived in the U.S., which indicated no
575 cultural difference in the mean intensity of dispositional authentic or hubristic pride.

576 **State pride.** A scree test conducted on the state ratings suggested two factors;
577 eigenvalues for the first six unrotated factors were 6.6, 2.4, 0.8, 0.7, 0.6, and 0.5. The first
578 two factors accounted for 64.4% of the variance; the correlation between the two
579 oblimin-rotated factors was .32. As shown in Table 6, all items had relatively high loadings
580 on their primary factor and relatively low loadings on the secondary factor. As was found
581 with the trait ratings in this sample, “triumphant” loaded highly onto the authentic pride
582 factor. For authentic pride, the loadings for the seven words ranged from .89 to .77, and were
583 similar in magnitude to those observed in the U.S. in prior work, which ranged from .79 to
584 .61 (Tracy & Robins, 2007). For hubristic pride, the loadings ranged from .88 to .61, and
585 again were similar to those observed in the U.S., which ranged from .88 to .63. Once again,
586 the similarity in the range of these loadings suggests that the effect sizes of the two pride
587 factors were similar among Koreans and Americans in their state experiences of pride.

588 Turning to the parallel cultural comparisons for state authentic and hubristic pride,
589 Americans’ the mean ratings across the authentic and hubristic pride items were 2.79 (SD
590 = .90) and 1.39 ($SD = .57$), and South Koreans’ were 2.74 ($SD = .90$) and 1.99 ($SD = .78$).
591 Similar to results for trait ratings, there was no significant cultural difference for authentic
592 pride, but state levels of hubristic pride were significantly lower among Americans than
593 Koreans (from Study 3a), $t(1, 262) = -6.64, p < .0001, d = .88$. Notably, this pattern of results

594 differs from that reported above, in Study 3b, based on items originally derived in the U.S.,
595 which indicated no difference in the mean intensity of state hubristic pride but higher levels
596 of state authentic pride among Americans than Koreans. Although this difference was
597 unexpected, it is consistent with prior work showing that Asians tend to report greater
598 hubristic pride than members of other ethnic groups (Orth, Robins, & Soto, 2010). Overall,
599 the divergent patterns observed and the fact that different pride-related items were used in
600 each of these studies prevents us from drawing any firm conclusions about the relative
601 intensity of dispositional and state pride in the two cultural groups. However, they point to
602 the importance of using both emic- and etic-derived response items in future efforts aimed at
603 examining cultural differences in emotional experiences.

604 In summary, consistent with the findings of Study 3b, where pride scales adapted from
605 the U.S. and exported to Korea revealed a two-facet structure, Study 4 demonstrated that
606 American participants' responses on the pride scales originally derived in Korea also showed
607 a coherent two-facet structure at both trait and state levels, and, in all cases, the content of
608 these two dimensions fits well with the theoretical distinction between authentic and hubristic
609 pride found previously in the U.S. and in Mainland China.

610 **Study 5: Momentary Experiences of Pride in China (Based on both Emic and Etic**
611 **Approaches)**

612 Study 5 further tested whether Chinese individuals' momentary, state experiences of
613 pride reveal the hypothesized two-facet structure. Specifically, we asked participants to write
614 about an actual pride experience and then rate the extent to which a set of pride-related words
615 characterized their subjective feelings during the experience. In addition, we examined

616 whether the two pride facets are elicited by distinct cognitive processes, and whether these
617 processes are similar to that found in the U.S., by content-coding their pride narratives. Prior
618 research has found that, among Americans, authentic pride is underpinned by attributing
619 positive events to internal, unstable, controllable causes (e.g., one's own effort), whereas
620 hubristic pride is underpinned by attributing the same positive events to internal, stable,
621 uncontrollable causes (e.g., one's own ability; Tracy & Robins, 2007). The goal of this final
622 study was both to provide one more replication of the two-facet structure of pride in an Asian
623 cultural context, but also to provide the first test of whether the two facets are in Asia are
624 associated with similar cognitive processes as in the U.S.

625 **Method**

626 **Participants and Procedure.** One hundred undergraduate and graduate students (56%
627 women; 85% undergraduates) at the Southwest University, China, completed questionnaires
628 in exchange for course credit.

629 **Procedure.**

630 **Pride narrative.** Participants were instructed to "Think about an event which made you
631 feel very proud of yourself. Describe what led up to your feeling this way and how you felt at
632 that time, in as much detail as you can remember." This task is a version of the
633 well-established Relived Emotion Task (Ekman, Levenson, & Friesen, 1983), which has been
634 shown to effectively manipulate emotional experiences and produce emotion-typical
635 subjective feelings and physiology (Ekman et al., 1983; Levenson, 1992), and used
636 effectively by Tracy and Robins (2007) to elicit momentary experiences of both facets of
637 pride in the U.S. After providing open-ended narrative responses, participants were asked to

638 rate the extent to which each of the 63 pride-related words used in Study 2—which was
639 comprised of both indigenously generated Chinese words and words translated into Chinese
640 from the American pride scales—described their feelings during the event, using a scale
641 ranging from 1 (“not at all”) to 5 (“extremely”).

642 ***Content-coding of causal attributions from pride narrative.*** Seven expert coders
643 (graduate students in psychology), blind to the aims of the study and participants’ ratings,
644 were trained to independently code all open-ended narratives on the following dimensions: (a)
645 Ability (“To what extent does the participant believe that his/her ability was the cause of the
646 event?”), using a 1 (“not at all”) to 5 (“extremely”) scale; (b) Effort (“To what extent does the
647 participant believe that his/her effort was the cause of the event?”), using a 1 (“not at all”) to
648 5 (“extremely”) scale; and (c) Self vs. Behavior (“To what extent does the participant think
649 the cause is due to something about him/herself; does he/she attribute it more to his/her
650 personality and self, or to his/her actions and behaviors?”), using a 1 (“completely attributes
651 to actions, behaviors”) to 5 (“completely attributes to self or personality) scale.² The “self
652 versus behavior” item provided a second index of ability and effort attributions, given that
653 self and personality are typically viewed as stable and uncontrollable, whereas behaviors and
654 actions are unstable and controllable. Mean ratings across judges were computed for each
655 dimension, and interrater alpha reliabilities were .79 (ability), .80 (effort), and .71 (self versus
656 behavior). These items were taken directly from prior research on the attribution distinction
657 between the two facets (Tracy & Robins, 2007, Study 3) and translated into Chinese.

658 **Results and Discussion**

659 **Are there two dimensions of the pride experience?** We conducted an exploratory

660 factor analysis on participants' ratings of the 63 pride-related feeling states that occurred
661 during the pride event participants described. Consistent with Studies 1-4, a scree test
662 indicated two factors; eigenvalues for the first 6 factors were 13.39, 12.41, 3.11, 2.67, 2.34,
663 and 1.93, and the first two factors accounted for 40.94% of the variance; the correlation
664 between the two oblimin-rotated factors was .06.

665 Also consistent with the prior studies, the content of the words that loaded onto each
666 factor fit with the distinction between authentic and hubristic pride (see Table 1). Specifically,
667 the first factor was clearly identifiable as authentic pride, with all 8 words from the authentic
668 pride cluster (found in Study 1) loading more highly on the first factor. In contrast, the second
669 factor was clearly identifiable as hubristic pride, with all 10 words from the hubristic pride
670 cluster (found in Study1) loading more highly on the second factor.

671 To statistically examine the extent to which these two pride factors replicated those
672 found in Study 2, which emerged from Chinese participants' dispositional ratings of the same
673 words, we computed correlations between the profile of factor loadings obtained in Studies 2
674 and 5. These correlations (which are computed across the 63 items, not across people),
675 indicate the extent to which items that have a high (vs. low) loading on each factor in Study 2
676 also have a high (vs. low) loading on each factor in Study 5. Results indicated that authentic
677 pride factors correlated .90 across studies, and hubristic pride factors correlated .92, across
678 studies, both $ps < .01$. The strength of these correlations indicates the robustness of the two
679 factors in China. Moreover, for authentic pride, the loadings for the seven words ranged
680 from .77 to .68, and were similar in magnitude to those observed in the U.S. in prior work,
681 which ranged from .79 to .61 (Tracy & Robins, 2007). For hubristic pride, the loadings

682 ranged from .79 to .74, and again were similar to those observed in the U.S., which ranged
683 from .88 to .63. Thus, the effect sizes of the two pride factors were similar among Chinese
684 and Americans.

685 **Do stability and controllability attributions distinguish between authentic and**
686 **hubristic pride?** We next correlated the two pride factors with participants' causal
687 attributions, based on content coding of their narratives. The correlations that emerged were
688 generally consistent with our predictions based on previous research in the U.S. As is shown
689 in Table 7, individuals who tended to attribute the pride-eliciting event to their ability and to
690 "the self" (as opposed to more unstable behaviors or actions), tended to experience hubristic
691 pride. In addition, individuals who attributed the pride event to their effort tended *not* to
692 experience hubristic pride. These results indicate that, in both the U.S. and Mainland China,
693 internal, unstable attributions (i.e., to effort) for positive events are positively associated with
694 authentic pride, whereas internal, stable attributions (i.e., to ability) for positive events are
695 more positively associated with hubristic pride.

696 **General Discussion**

697 The primary goal of the present research was to provide the first test of whether the
698 two-facet structure of pride, previously found and replicated across eight studies in North
699 America, characterizes the structure of pride in Mainland Chinese and South Korean cultures.
700 Using a combined emic (indigenous) and etic (external, comparative) approach, in which
701 pride-related concepts were derived from Mainland Chinese and South Korean participants,
702 *and* exported from the U.S. and translated, we found that East Asian individuals'
703 conceptualizations of pride and their actual pride experiences—both trait and state—are

704 characterized by two distinct dimensions that parallel authentic and hubristic pride as found
705 in the West. As further evidence of their distinction, among Chinese participants these two
706 facets are associated with distinct causal attributions and show divergent associations with the
707 Big Five Factors of personality, self-esteem, narcissism, and proneness to two negative
708 self-conscious emotions, guilt and shame. These patterns, which bear striking resemblance to
709 those found in the U.S., indicate that, in China, authentic pride is elicited when individuals
710 attribute their successes to unstable and controllable causes (i.e., effort) and is associated with
711 a more adaptive, pro-social, and achievement-oriented personality profile. In contrast,
712 hubristic pride is experienced when individuals attribute their successes to ability and not to
713 effort, and hubristic pride is associated with largely maladaptive and anti-social profile.

714 The present research thus provides the first cross-cultural replication of the distinction
715 between authentic and hubristic pride previously found in North America. Importantly, our
716 finding that pride as experienced and conceptualized in Mainland China and South Korea has
717 a two-factor structure very similar to that found in the U.S. is supported by three primary sets
718 of evidence. First, results from the hierarchical cluster analysis in Study 1 clearly suggest a
719 2-cluster structure, with clusters that conceptually map onto the factors that emerged in
720 Studies 2, 3a and b, 4, and 5. Second, scree tests based on exploratory factor analyses of data
721 collected in Studies 2-5 suggest a break between the second and third factors. Taken together,
722 the present research provides consistent support for the cross-cultural generality of authentic
723 and hubristic pride.

724 One potential limitation of this research, however, is that the current results may, to
725 some extent, represent participants' intuitions about pride in Western cultures, rather than

726 their own subjective experience of pride, as experienced in their local culture. This possibility
727 arises because a subset of the pride-related words used in those studies were derived with an
728 emic approach in which Chinese and South Korean participants generated words to describe
729 the emotions they saw expressed by Caucasian actors—rather than Asian actors—displaying
730 the pride expression. However, given that these words form only a very small subset of the
731 pride-related words examined across the six studies, and that this limitation does not apply to
732 results based on the etic approach, we think it highly unlikely that our findings were
733 substantially driven by any impact of this methodological feature. Furthermore, prior studies
734 have found that people across highly diverse cultures—including a small-scale traditional
735 society in Burkina Faso—recognize pride expressions shown by Caucasian Americans at
736 rates almost identical to that for expressions shown by members of their own cultural group
737 (Tracy & Robins, 2008), suggesting that the Asian participants in the present research are
738 unlikely to have interpreted the images they viewed any differently than they would if these
739 expressions had been portrayed by Asian actors. Nonetheless, future research should examine
740 the structure of pride using pride-related labels applied to photographs of actors who share
741 participants' ethnicity, as well as a wider range of emic-based methods.

742 A second limitation of the studies presented here involves the assumption that the
743 Chinese and South Korean respondents sampled in fact hold the collectivistic values that are
744 traditionally characteristic of their cultures. This assumption has been called into question by
745 recent evidence indicating that a large segment of these societies, particularly those belonging
746 to the younger age groups sampled in our studies, have faced strong pressures to adopt more
747 individualistic values (e.g., Cho, Mallinckrodt, & Yune, 2010; Park & Kim 2006), raising the

748 possibility that these groups are not as dissimilar to Americans in their cultural values and
749 self-construals as previously assumed. As a result, future work should directly assess the
750 individualistic-collectivistic orientation of respondents in East Asia to establish the
751 distinctiveness of Chinese and Korean populations from Americans, and thus the
752 meaningfulness of the comparisons made here.

753 Finally, a somewhat surprising finding that emerged here was that South Koreans
754 reported higher levels of trait and state hubristic pride than Americans, when pride was
755 assessed using items originally derived in Korea. Although this pattern diverges from what
756 might be expected from prior work on the East Asian tendency toward self-effacement
757 (Heine et al., 1999), it is consistent with prior evidence that Asians generally report higher
758 levels of hubristic pride than both Blacks and Whites (Orth et al., 2010). However, because
759 this difference did not emerge when pride was assessed with items derived in the U.S., no
760 firm conclusions can be drawn regarding this possible cultural difference. Nevertheless, these
761 findings point to the need for future investigations into cultural differences in the frequency
762 and intensity of pride experiences, with studies that systematically compare results using
763 scale instruments derived using both emic and etic methods.

764 **Implications**

765 By providing evidence for the cross-cultural generality of the two facets of pride in
766 China and Korea—two cultural contexts in which pride in personal achievements
767 (particularly hubristic pride) is likely to be viewed as socially undesirable—the present
768 findings provide support for the notion that the two facets are human universals. Given the
769 importance of modesty and self-derision in Chinese culture, and the well-replicated finding of

770 reduced self-enhancement among individuals from Asian compared to North American
771 cultures (Heine & Hamamura, 2007; Heine, Kitayama, & Hamamura, 2007), it is difficult to
772 imagine how, or why, a highly cognized cultural distinction between two facets of pride—an
773 emotion central to self-enhancement processes—would be as reliably identified and endorsed
774 if the two-facet structure was not a human universal. Furthermore, the finding that there is a
775 form of pride—authentic pride—that is positively associated with a range of adaptive and
776 pro-social personality traits in Mainland China suggests that the links between each facet of
777 pride and broader personality processes may also be universal. Again, it is difficult to
778 imagine that these East Asian cultures would have simultaneously developed and fostered a
779 cultural norm that is antagonistic to self-enhancement and a form of pride that is positively
780 linked to a largely pro-social and psychologically healthy personality profile, if these
781 associations were not already in place by virtue of a universal emotional architecture.

782 An important next step entails examining whether the two facets of pride are uniquely
783 associated with the attainment of different forms of status across cultures, as was found in the
784 West (Cheng et al., 2010). Such investigations must bear in mind that any cross-cultural
785 similarities found in emotional processes, including those that emerged in the present
786 research, may reflect a shared underlying human biology (i.e., shared ancestry), or the
787 evolution of convergent solutions to recurrent problems faced by humans and human
788 societies, but also may reflect a process of cross-cultural transmission. In other words, while
789 it seems unlikely, particularly given the indigenous methods used in the present research, the
790 two-faceted pride structure observed in East Asia might be the result of a culturally acquired
791 Western perspective on pride.

792 It is also important to note that although the present findings are consistent with the
793 suggestion that the two-facet structure of pride may be universal, this should not be taken to
794 imply that pride is immune to cultural influences. Rather, previous research suggests that the
795 intensity and frequency with which pride is experienced varies across cultures (Scollon et al.,
796 2004), and this is likely to be the case for both facets. There are also likely to be cultural
797 differences in the regulation of pride. Previous research indicates that Asian Americans report
798 higher levels of suppression and masking of their emotions compared to Caucasian
799 Americans (Butler, Lee, & Gross, 2007; Gross & John, 1998; 2003). Given that pride is
800 generally viewed as a problematic emotion in Asian cultures, it is likely to be highly
801 regulated by individuals in these cultures, such that Asians may more frequently regulate both
802 the expression and experience of both facets of pride, compared to North Americans. Future
803 research is needed to explore such cultural differences, as well as other possible cross-cultural
804 similarities. The present findings, and in particular the strong evidence emerging here that
805 there are two reliably reported, measureable pride facets in two distinct East Asian cultures,
806 lays the groundwork for such future research endeavors.
807

808 **References**

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1013 **Acknowledgments**

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1021 Table 1
 1022 *Factor Loadings of Pride-Related Words in Mainland China (Rated as a Dispositional Trait*
 1023 *in Study 2 and as a Momentary State in Study 5)*

Items	Study 2 (Dispositional Trait)		Study 5 (Momentary State)	
	Factor 1 (Authentic Pride)	Factor 2 (Hubristic Pride)	Factor 1 (Authentic Pride)	Factor 2 (Hubristic Pride)
competent	0.78		0.64	
productive	0.78	-0.17	0.69	-0.16
glorious	0.73		0.60	0.17
brilliant	0.71		0.58	0.35
achievable	0.71	-0.18	0.68	-0.19
vigorous	0.70	-0.17	0.67	0.25
successful	0.68	-0.19	0.68	-0.21
triumphant	0.68	-0.13	0.73	
substantial	0.68	-0.22	0.74	
genuinely proud	0.66	-0.16	0.64	
dynamical	0.65		0.65	
complacent	0.64		0.51	0.36
contributive	0.64	-0.15	0.48	0.12
enterprising	0.63	-0.12	0.58	0.34
self-valued	0.62		0.56	
honored	0.59	-0.14	0.64	
dedicative	0.59	-0.14	0.54	0.14
satisfied	0.59	-0.11	0.64	
happy and contented	0.58		0.45	0.36
full	0.58	-0.29	0.61	
confident	0.57		0.62	
strenuous	0.55	-0.24	0.77	
with complete confidence	0.54		0.74	
encouraging	0.53	-0.28	0.62	-0.21
abundant	0.51		0.28	0.18
progressive	0.50	-0.40	0.68	0.15
struggling	0.50	-0.34	0.63	-0.22
content and grateful	0.48		0.63	0.13
well-pleasing	0.48		0.71	
versatile	0.47		0.16	0.13
with chest and head high	0.46		0.59	0.20
satisfactory	0.45	-0.12	0.52	0.15
peak state	0.42	0.21	0.46	0.41

consistently effortful	0.41	-0.30	0.33	
content	0.33		0.49	
egoistic		0.73		0.63
sarcastic		0.72	-0.31	0.61
disparaging		0.71	-0.22	0.74
supercilious		0.67		0.74
arrogant	0.13	0.66		0.76
high-handed		0.66	-0.11	0.79
despising	0.16	0.66	-0.20	0.79
hubristically proud	0.25	0.65		0.76
swaggering	0.38	0.64		0.56
high above	0.12	0.63		0.79
contemptuous		0.63	-0.26	0.71
offish	-0.19	0.61	-0.33	0.52
self-righteous	0.24	0.61		0.74
showy	0.35	0.60	0.23	0.46
high-hat	0.30	0.58		0.74
scornful	0.15	0.58		0.61
ostentatious	0.32	0.58		0.51
conceited	0.16	0.57		0.64
peacockish	0.18	0.56		0.52
uppish	0.18	0.56		0.60
high and mighty	0.47	0.55	0.25	0.61
provoking	0.40	0.54	-0.15	0.63
overwhelming	0.27	0.54		0.59
exclusive	-0.12	0.52	-0.21	0.67
self-satisfied	0.36	0.46	0.19	0.42
dissocial	-0.29	0.43	-0.26	0.58
assertive	0.33	0.33		0.25
snobbish		0.32	-0.26	0.40

1024 *Note.* All of these 60 words were used for both trait (Study 2) and state (Study 5) ratings.

1025 $N = 87$ for Study 2, $N = 100$ for Study 5. Loadings $< |.10|$ are not presented, and loadings $>$

1026 $|.30|$ are shown in bold.

1027 Table 2
 1028 *Correlations of Authentic and Hubristic Pride with the Big Five Factors, Shame- and*
 1029 *Guilt-proneness, and Self-esteem and Narcissism among Chinese Participants (Study 2)*

	Authentic Pride	Hubristic Pride
Extraversion	0.62 **	-0.11
Agreeableness	0.33 **	-0.44 **
Conscientiousness	0.59 **	-0.22 *
Neuroticism	-0.57 **	0.30 **
Openness	0.36 **	0.04
Shame-proneness ^a	-0.35 **	-0.01
Guilt-proneness ^a	0.39 **	-0.44 **
Self-esteem ^b	0.15*	-.08
Narcissism ^b	0.40*	0.11

1030 *Note.* $N = 87$.

1031 * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$.

1032 ^a Shame-proneness scale is “guilt-free” shame (i.e., shame-proneness controlling for
 1033 guilt-proneness, following Tangney and Dearing (2002). ^b Self-esteem scale is
 1034 “narcissism-free” self-positivity (i.e., self-esteem controlling for narcissism, following
 1035 Paulhus et al., 2004).

1036

1037 Table 3

1038 *Factor Loadings of Korean-Derived Pride Related Items in South Korea (Study 3a)*

Item	Dispositional Trait		Momentary State	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
	(Authentic Pride)	(Hubristic Pride)	(Authentic Pride)	(Hubristic Pride)
accomplished	.88	-.20	.88	-.23
satisfied	.86	-.14	.78	-.10
confident	.84	.11	.84	.14
self-worth	.84	.13	.84	.15
victorious	.84		.84	
self-confident	.82	.12	.78	.24
proud (positive/neutral)	.76	.18	.87	
successful	.76		.84	
noble	.64	.24	.63	.10
triumphant	.43	.54	.54	.55
haughty	-.22	.80		.75
ostentatious	-.11	.77	-.36	.78
stuck-up	.14	.74	.22	.56
superior	.18	.70	.33	.66
proud (negative)	.10	.65	.22	.76
conceited	.17	.62	.33	.66

1039 *Note.* All of these 16 words were used for both trait and state ratings.1040 *N* = 63. Loadings < |.10| are not presented, and loadings > |.30| are shown in bold.

1041

1042 Table 4

1043 *Factor Loadings of U.S.-derived Pride Scale items in South Korea (Study 3b)*

Item	Dispositional Trait		Momentary State	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
	(Authentic Pride)	(Hubristic Pride)	(Authentic Pride)	(Hubristic Pride)
accomplished	.89	-.16	.88	-.22
successful	.87		.89	
fulfilled	.83		.82	
self-worth	.77	.20	.85	.15
achieving	.73	.18	.81	
confident	.70	.25	.83	.17
productive	.70		.74	
arrogant		.81		.82
smug	.14	.76	.13	.79
pompous	-.16	.75		.59
egotistical		.68	-.15	.67
conceited	.17	.67	.40	.56
stuck-up	.21	.63	.26	.63
snobbish		.58	-.22	.61

1044 *Note.* All of these 14 words were used for both trait and state ratings.1045 *N* = 63. Loadings < |.10| are not presented, and loadings > |.30| are shown in bold.

1046

1047 Table 5
 1048 *Factor Loadings of Korean- and U.S.-derived Pride Scale items in South Korea (Studies 3a*
 1049 *and 3b combined)*

Item	Dispositional Trait		Momentary State	
	Factor 1 (Authentic Pride)	Factor 2 (Hubristic Pride)	Factor 1 (Authentic Pride)	Factor 2 (Hubristic Pride)
accomplished	.87	-.19	.85	-.26
satisfied	.85	-.11	.75	-.11
fulfilled	.84	-.15	.83	
self-worth	.83	.12	.87	
successful	.79		.84	-.10
confident	.78	.15	.86	
self-confident	.77	.15	.81	.17
victorious	.76		.83	
proud (positive/neutral)	.74	.16	.86	
achieving	.71	.15	.76	
noble	.61	.24	.58	.11
productive	.53		.66	
arrogant		.80		.83
haughty	-.20	.78	.12	.68
pompous	-.14	.75		.59
smug	.15	.69	.12	.75
ostentatious		.66	-.20	.66
stuck-up	.19	.64	.29	.49
proud (negative)	.10	.63	.31	.73
superior	.21	.59	.43	.55
conceited	.17	.58	.42	.54
egotistical	.12	.47	-.14	.58
triumphant	.44	.47	.62	.43
snobbish		.42	-.10	.52

1050 *Note.* All of these 24 words were used for both trait and state ratings.

1051 $N = 63$. Loadings $< |.10|$ are not presented, and loadings $> |.30|$ are shown in bold.

1052

1053

1054 Table 6

1055 *Factor Loadings of Korean-Derived Pride Items in the U.S. (Study 4)*

Item	Dispositional Trait		Momentary State	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
	(Authentic Pride)	(Hubristic Pride)	(Authentic Pride)	(Hubristic Pride)
successful	.89		.87	
self-confident	.87	-.11	.89	
victorious	.82	.15	.77	.23
confident	.80		.78	
self-worth	.80	-.19	.82	-.15
accomplished	.79		.77	
satisfied	.78		.84	-.12
triumphant	.77	.17	.75	.22
noble	.51	.14	.50	.32
stuck-up	-.18	.89	-.18	.88
haughty		.78		.76
conceited	.03	.77		.78
ostentatious	.12	.74	.14	.74
superior	.19	.69	.30	.61

1056 *Note.* All of these 14 words were used for both trait and state ratings.1057 *N* = 203. Loadings < |.10| are not presented, and loadings > |.30| are shown in bold.

1058 Table 7

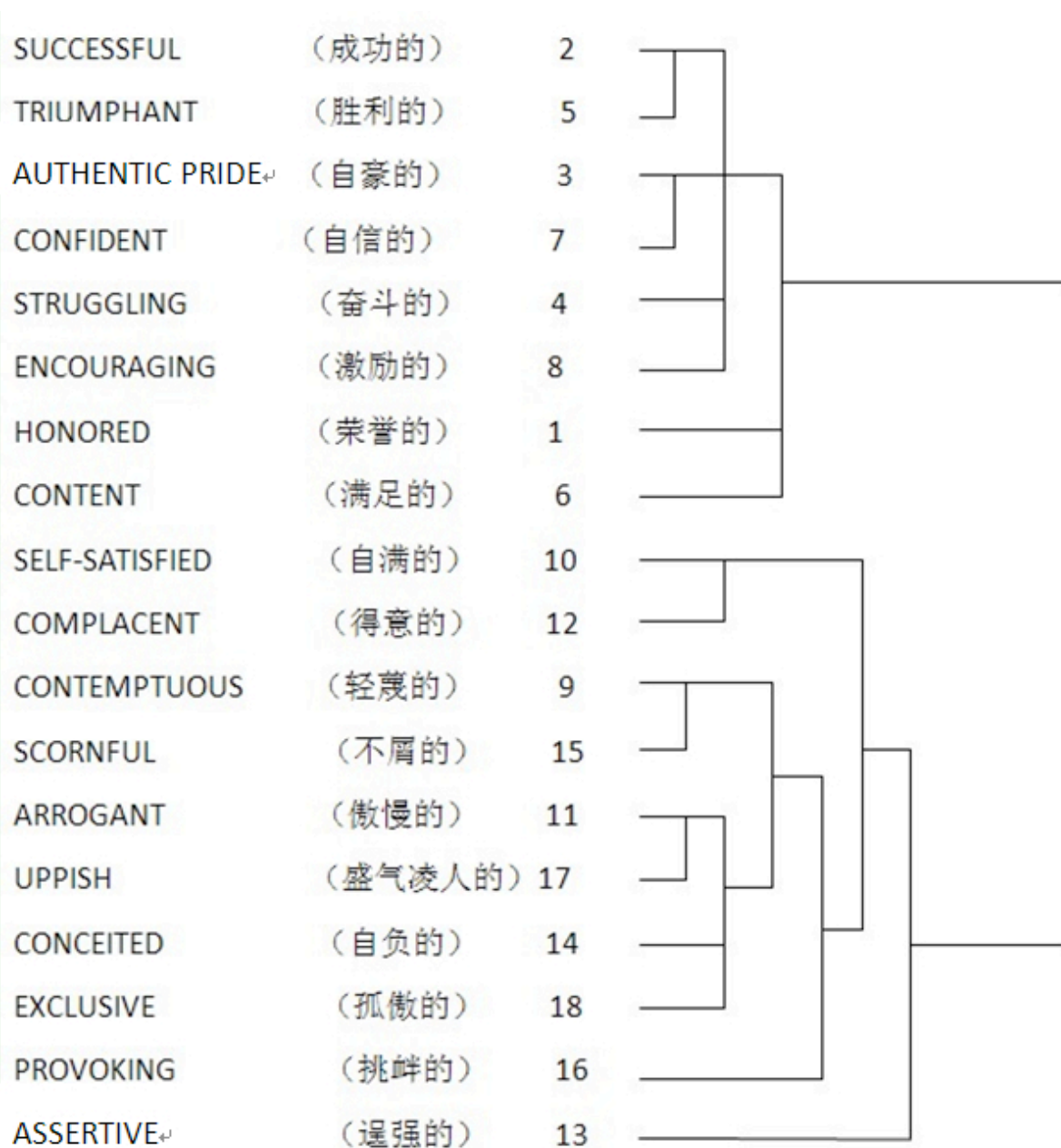
1059 *Correlations of Authentic and Hubristic Pride Factor Scores and Causal Attribution*1060 *Dimensions in Mainland China (Study 5)*

	Authentic Pride	Hubristic Pride
Attribution to ability	0.20 [†]	0.24 [*]
Attribution to effort	-0.02	-0.26 [*]
Attribution to self as opposed to behavior	0.10	0.29 [*]

1061 *Note.* $N = 92$.1062 [†] $p < .10$. ^{*} $p < .05$

1063

1064 *Figure 1.* Dendrogram of hierarchical structure of pride-related constructs in Mainland China,
 1065 produced from hierarchical cluster analysis (Study 1).



1066

1067

¹ Two items, *jamanhan* and *jarangseureoun*, were dropped from the total pool of 16 Korean-derived pride words in Study 3a because they both translate into “proud” in English, and thus best excluded for theoretical reasons (i.e., both authentic and hubristic pride are forms of pride, so the term “proud” should not be included on any scale that aims to exclusively measure one facet or the other).

² Eight participants described pride events that involved taking pride in others’ success (i.e., group pride) instead of one’s own achievement; we removed these eight cases from the content-coding analyses.