Saleem, Shiva, and Status: Authentic and Hubristic Pride Personified in *Midnight's Children*

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The emotion of pride has received complex and often opposing evaluations from scholars throughout history. On one hand, religious and philosophical thinkers have long decried the dangers of excessive pride, a view most famously put forth in the Biblical Proverb: "Pride goes before destruction, a haughty spirit before a fall."[1] This negative view of pride was widespread among early Christian thinkers; both Augustine and Aquinas saw the emotion as the most fundamental of all sins.[2] Similarly, the sixth century Pope Gregory variously described pride as "the queen of sin," "the beginning of all sin," and even "the root of all evil."[3] To Dante, of course, it was the deadliest of the Seven Deadly Sins, beating out more innocuous transgressions such as envy and wrath.[4] This intense disdain for pride is not limited to the Judeo-Christian tradition; in Buddhism pride is one of the 'ten fetters' that shackles an individual to *samsara,* an endless cycle of suffering.[5] Likewise, Chinese philosopher Lao Tzu wrote in the *Tao Te Ching* (circa sixth century BCE) that, "those who glorify themselves have no merit, those who are proud of themselves do not last."[6]

Yet, despite this overwhelmingly negative characterization of pride in some of history's most canonical texts, a deeper analysis of the ancient philosophical literature reveals a different, more laudatory view. Aristotle admired the "proud man," and viewed pride as "the crown of the virtues" (a stark contrast to Gregory's "queen of sin" metaphor).[7] Aristotle saw virtue in claiming what one deserved, and, like Nietzsche, despised individuals too humble to recognize their own worth, calling them "little-souled."[8] However, even these rare thinkers who advocated for the acceptability and even importance of pride chided those who displayed undue or excessive pride (*hyperephanos,* or over-appearing). These authors made a distinction between a

virtuous pride (*megalopsuchia*, or proper pride), aligned with one's merits, and the claiming of pride beyond one's merits, which they considered to be vanity, and which they viewed as more akin to the sinful pride decried by those quoted above. The distinction between proper pride and excessive pride appears repeatedly from many sources, and seems to capture an essential bifurcation between two distinct kinds of pride. Even the Dalai Lama echoes Aristotle's denunciation of both excessive and deficient pride, stating that "excess—both in terms of exaggeration and devaluation—are equally destructive."[9]

Modern psychological conceptions of pride have a considerably briefer history than these religious and philosophical views, beginning only with Darwin, who was the first to suggest that pride might be a fundamental human emotion.[10] In more recent psychological formulations,[11] pride is considered a "self-conscious" emotion, meaning that its experience requires self-evaluation, and thus the capacity for self-awareness (the executive, subjective "I" self, that does the evaluating) and self-representations (the "me," or objective, evaluated self).[12] Following this formulation, a growing body of psychological research on pride has emerged in recent years; findings from these studies suggest that pride is important to everyday psychological and social functioning, and may have served essential evolutionary functions throughout human history.[13] In addition, psychologists have uncovered two distinct facets of pride, which correspond to the two prides described by religious and philosophical scholars. In the newer empirical work, these are labeled *authentic pride*, which is conceptualized as a genuine sense of pride in one's accomplishments. and achievements, and *hubristic pride,* which is considered to be a shallower, self-centered, and egotistical pride that is less tied to specific accomplishments and more linked to a grandiose sense of self."[14]

In this article, we review the extant psychological theory and research on the everyday experience and likely evolutionary functions of pride, draw on the characters of Saleem and Shiva from Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* to provide a more vivid portrait of these psychological findings, and discuss how perspectives on the novel offered by literary scholars may shed new light on psychologists' understanding of pride. In the first section, we will discuss research demonstrating that there are two distinct facets of pride—authentic and hubristic—and use Saleem to illustrate this account. Integrating the research with Rushdie's novel, Saleem can be said to experience hubristic pride early in life, due to his famous birth, but to later experience authentic pride as result of his accomplishments as leader of the Midnight's Children Conference (MCC). Furthermore, literary analyses of the novel point to the possibility of a slightly more benign view of the outward manifestation of hubristic pride than has been traditionally held by psychologists, and provide new insights into the ways in which pride-prone individuals narrate their lives, as well as the potential for socio-cultural forces to engender feelings of pride among a national population. In the second section, we will review empirical evidence providing strong support for the claim that pride has a distinct nonverbal

expression, which is displayed and recognized by individuals across ages and cultures, and which reliably and automatically conveys the high social status of those who show it. We will then discuss Shiva's posturing—a tactic used to intimidate Saleem—to help illuminate these findings. In the third section, we will review research suggesting that authentic and hubristic pride promote social status by facilitating two distinct status-attainment strategies, and we will discuss how Saleem and Shiva employ these two distinct strategies to attain status as leaders of the MCC. We will further draw on the work of literary scholars to speculate on the potential emotional costs of chronically experiencing pride in the pursuit of status, as well as the potential relation between masculinity, hubristic pride, and dominance-based status.

Authentic and Hubristic Pride: A Tale of Two Facets

Psychological scientists, like the philosophers noted above, have argued that there is more than one kind of pride.[15] This claim is generally based on the observation that pride is linked to markedly divergent psychological outcomes, ranging from achievement and altruism to relationship conflict and aggression.[16] Several researchers have addressed the apparently dual-faceted nature of pride by postulating distinct "authentic" and "hubristic" components of the emotion.[17] Indeed, findings from several lines of research support this two-facet account.[18] First, when asked to think about and list words relevant to pride, research participants consistently generate two very different categories of concepts, which empirically form two separate clusters of semantic meaning. The first cluster (authentic pride) includes words such as "accomplished" and "confident," and fits with the pro-social, achievement-oriented conceptualization of pride. The second cluster (hubristic pride) includes words such as "arrogant" and "conceited," and fits with a more self-aggrandizing conceptualization.

Second, when asked to rate their subjective feelings during an actual pride experience, participants' ratings consistently form two relatively independent dimensions, which closely parallel these two semantic clusters. Third, when asked to rate their general dispositional tendency to feel each of a set of pride-related emotional states, participants' ratings again form the same two dimensions. Importantly, the finding that the two pride dimensions are largely independent means that any single pride experience—or any person's dispositional tendency to experience pride—may involve feelings of authentic or hubristic pride, or a combination of both; in other words, experiencing high levels of authentic pride does not mean that one will necessarily also experience high levels of hubristic pride, or low levels of hubristic pride.

How might we understand the distinction between these two kinds of pride? Studies examining the relation between pride and personality have shown that the two pride facets have highly divergent personality correlates, meaning that people who tend, on average, to experience authentic pride have a different personality from people who tend, on average, to experience

hubristic pride.[19] This finding may help resolve the longstanding question of whether pride is psychologically healthy and virtuous or narcissistic and, as previously-noted writers argued, sinful. Contradictory conceptions may exist because one facet is associated with a socially desirable personality profile and pro-social behaviors, whereas the other is associated with a more socially undesirable profile and antisocial behaviors. In particular, individuals prone to experiencing authentic pride tend to also show high levels of adaptive traits such as extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and genuine self-esteem. These individuals also tend to experience high quality and secure interpersonal relationships, to engage in lower levels of aggressive and antisocial behaviors, and to experience fewer mental health problems such as anxiety and depression.[20]

In contrast, individuals prone to experiencing hubristic pride show a personality profile characterized by narcissism and a highly defensive, fragile self-esteem, as well as underlying insecurities and shame.[21] These individuals also experience lower levels of social support (meaning they do not feel that they have close friends they can turn to in times of need) and higher levels of anxiety in their interpersonal relationships, and they tend to engage in aggressive and manipulative interpersonal behaviors.[22] Yet, individuals prone to hubristic pride cannot be said to be simply depressed or anti-social; they are self-promoting achievement seekers who set unrealistically high goals for fame and success, and tend to interpret any positive event as indicative of their own greatness.[23]

Other research has shown that the developmental trajectories of authentic and hubristic pride—that is, the ways in which the tendency to experience these emotions shifts across the lifespan—closely mirror the trajectories of the personality traits to which each pride dimension is related.[24] Hubristic pride levels, much like those of narcissism, tend to peak in early adolescence, and to decline sharply as individuals move into adult social roles.[25] In contrast, authentic pride steadily increases from early adolescence through old age, a trend that is closely mirrored by socially desirable traits such as agreeableness, conscientiousness, and self-esteem.[26] These findings suggest that the development of pride follows a principle of maturation similar to many personality traits. Younger individuals show a more immature emotional balance (i.e., a preponderance of the more dysfunctional hubristic pride), whereas as individuals age, they come to have a more mature emotional balance (i.e., a preponderance of the more adaptive and socially desirable authentic pride).

The two facets of pride have also been found to be caused by distinct cognitive antecedents. Indeed, emotion researchers have shown that specific emotions are uniquely elicited and distinguished from each other not on the basis of distinct events, but rather by the ways in which those events are interpreted, or appraised; the same event can elicit two very different emotions, depending on how it is appraised. Pride, in particular, is elicited when individuals appraise a positive event as relevant to their identity (i.e.,

their most important self-representations) and their goals for their identity (i.e., their ideal self-representations), and as internally caused—that is, due to the self.[27]

Authentic and hubristic pride are further distinguished by subsequent attributions; authentic pride seems to result from attributions to causes that are internal but unstable (i.e., will not change over time), specific (i.e., unique to a given situation), and controllable, such as effort (e.g., "I won because I practiced"), whereas hubristic pride results from attributions to causes that are internal but stable (i.e., will not change over time), global (i.e., present across all situations), and uncontrollable, such as ability (e.g., "I won because I'm great"). One study supporting these links found that individuals who were told to attribute a hypothetical success experience (i.e., a positive, identity-relevant and identity-goal congruent event) to their hard work (unstable, specific attribution) expected to feel authentic pride in response, whereas those told to attribute the same success to their stable, global ability expected to experience relatively higher levels of hubristic pride. Another study found that individuals who tend to make internal but unstable and controllable attributions for a wide range of events also tend to be dispositionally prone to authentic pride, whereas those who tend to make internal but stable and uncontrollable attributions for a range of events tend to be more prone to hubristic pride.[28] Thus, authentic pride is more closely linked to attributions to effort, hard work, and specific accomplishments, whereas hubristic pride is more closely linked to attributions to talents, abilities, and global positive traits.

Saleem's Hubristic Pride Early in Life

Early in Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*, Saleem illustrates the characteristic features of hubristic pride. Saleem was born at midnight on August 15, 1947—the exact moment of India's independence from Great Britain—and as a result his birth is portrayed as historically significant. Saleem views the trajectory of his own life as emblematic of the fate of his country. At first, Saleem's historic birth, combined with his innate ability to read minds, leads him to display some of the characteristic features of hubristic pride, most notably an inflated sense of self-importance. Saleem notes that, prior to his birth, "history had finally...brought itself to the point at which it was almost ready for me to make my entrance."[29] The grandiosity expressed in Saleem's thinking that the world had to prepare itself to appreciate his birth nicely exemplifies the grandiose thinking that is a core part of hubristic pride.

More broadly, Saleem's far-fetched rationale for attributing prominence to himself, and his corresponding inflated sense of self-importance, indicates that he is someone who experiences high levels of hubristic pride. Saleem adopts an inflated sense of self based largely upon his appraisal of *who he is* rather than anything in particular he has done; "newspapers celebrate [him]"[30] from the day he is born, so by his mere existence he feels that he has attained greatness in the eyes of others. The fact that Saleem's hubristic pride arises from

something completely beyond his control—his date of birth—is consistent with evidence suggesting that hubristic pride is most likely to occur when individuals attribute their successes (or positive qualities) to uncontrollable, stable, and global aspects of themselves.

Toward Novel Understandings of Hubristic Pride

Saleem's character clearly mirrors psychological conceptions of hubristic pride in many ways. Most notably, psychologists view hubristic pride as arising from a grandiose sense of self-importance that is not grounded in reality, such that hubristic pride involves feelings of arrogance, pompousness, and snobbishness based on somewhat incorrectly perceived abilities and accomplishments.[31] Saleem fits this portrayal in that his sense of greatness, especially early in the novel, is not based in any actual accomplishments or notable deeds. Rather, Saleem merely internalizes the overly positive feedback he receives from others, indicating that he is destined for greatness. For example, Saleem's father proclaims that he will experience "great things…great deeds, a great life;"[32] the Prime Minister of India writes a letter to Saleem upon his birth proclaiming that "we shall be watching over your life with the closest attention…";[33] and Saleem's parents hang *The Boyhood of Raleigh* on his wall as a child, a painting symbolizing the spirit of British Imperialism and conquest. As a result, Saleem comes to rely on the persistent positive affirmation of others to maintain his grandiose self-esteem, in a manner very similar to that of the classic narcissist, or individual with highly contingent self-esteem, based on psychological accounts."[34]

Yet, in contrast to the psychological conceptualization of hubristic pride and narcissism, Saleem is portrayed throughout the novel as, to some extent, a victim of his circumstances. Indeed, as critic Niel ten Kortenaar has argued, Saleem appears to arrive at his grandiose sense of greatness and feelings of hubristic pride in a passive manner, as a result of the constant exposure, throughout his early life, to the various icons that constantly reaffirmed his greatness.[35] Saleem is never portrayed as actively seeking to enhance his self-image, and in fact routinely questions the legitimacy of his supposed greatness.[36] In contrast, psychological research on hubristic pride and narcissism suggests that individuals who demonstrate these traits actively enhance their self-image by regularly over-generalizing small successes and viewing them as indicative of broader abilities, aggressing and lashing out against any others who challenge their perceived superiority, and engaging in constant grandiose self-presentation.[37] Saleem's character thus points to a slight variation on this traditional psychological conceptualization: an individual high in hubristic pride may be aware of the illegitimacy of others' constant positive feedback, and thus retain a certain cynicism with respect to that grandiosity, such that he or she does not go to great lengths to maintain his or her overly grandiose self-representations through exploitative or exhibitionistic interpersonal tactics.

A second area in which Saleem's character and resultant literary analyses may help psychologists push the boundaries of their knowledge about hubristic pride is that of personal narratives. Not surprisingly, given the antecedents and consequences known to accompany hubristic pride, Saleem comes across as highly enamored with emphasizing the links between his own life events and important historical developments when narrating the novel, in part to create the feeling that his own fate and the fate of newly-independent India are inextricably intertwined. Literary critics have noted that "Saleem's narrative [is] an artificial construct rather than an inevitable and factual rendering of his life," arguing that Saleem constructs his narrative with the goal of tantalizing the emotional needs of the reader and creating a sensationalized feeling of suspense."[38] Saleem's obsession with tempting the emotional appetite of his audience is apparent in the way he crafts links between his own development and India's history to fascinate his caretaker, Padma, who has been described by critics as "the haven that an artist needs in order to be an artist."[39]

Saleem's tendency to construct a suspenseful and sensationalist narrative around his own greatness suggests a potential link between hubristic pride and narrative styles. Psychologists have long believed that a key part of an individual's personality (i.e., the consistent ways in which people think, feel, and behave) may be understood in the ways in which he or she describes important life events and key characters who have influenced his or her development.[40] In this view, persons are seen as authors of their own life stories, and an emerging body of research suggests that unique features of individual's autobiographies (e.g., sense of coherence, perceived ability to chance negative circumstances, presence of redemptive themes) have consequences for mental health and well-being.[41] Yet no research to date has examined the links between hubristic pride and narrative styles. A fascinating future line of inquiry would be to examine whether individuals prone to hubristic pride—as we have argued characterizes Saleem—narrate their lives in a similarly fictional, grandiose fashion, which may include exaggerating the broader historical or social importance of mundane events, revealing daily events as if they were suspenseful mysteries, or making a strong effort to incite the fascination of their audience members.

Saleem's Maturation and Development of Authentic Pride

We have thus far demonstrated how Saleem shows a range of tendencies associated with hubristic pride early in life. As Saleem matures,[42] however, the shallow grandiosity that characterized his early sense of self appears to shift into a more genuine sense of self-worth. This shift is accompanied by more frequent experiences of authentic pride. A turning point occurs when Saleem contemplates the extreme expectations his family members hold for him: "I simply did not know how [to be great]. Where did greatness come from? How did you get some?"[43] Saleem's stated desire to acquire greatness reflects a

transition from crediting uncontrollable, stable, and global dispositions for his prominence to valuing controllable, unstable, specific behaviors (e.g., effort, work) which can promote genuine accomplishments. This shift is made clear by a comparison between Saleem's early-life feelings that his greatness emanated quite simply from who he is, and his later life understanding that greatness must be earned, and should originate from some specific source, act, or achievement.

Concurrent with his maturing self-understanding, Saleem begins to base his sense of self-worth on an actual achievement: his active use of telepathy. Saleem cultivates his inborn ability to read minds, evidenced by his frequent mention of learning to hone his telepathic skills,[44] and his hours of practice listening to passersby on the Bombay streets. Although Saleem's mindreading ability is innate (and thus uncontrollable and stable), he does not take telepathy for granted; he understands that he must work at it, and as a result shifts toward attributing his successes in this domain to unstable and controllable behaviors. These appraisals likely allow Saleem to experience authentic pride from his successes, instead of only hubristic pride. Saleem strives further to turn his mind into an open forum in which all of the Midnight's Children (those children born at the moment of India's independence) can converse about the path of their nation. He views his quest for telepathic mastery as a wide-ranging and formidable achievement: "...the feeling had come upon me that I was somehow creating a world, that the thoughts I jumped inside were *mine*...that I was somehow *making them happen*."[45] Saleem's language further captures his shift from hubristic to authentic pride. Later in life, he uses phrases such as "*I was creating a world*" and "*I was making [thoughts] happen*" to describe his mind-reading, which demonstrate his active agency as well as his sense of self-efficacy in pursuit of greatness. In contrast, earlier in life, Saleem talked of his prominence with phrases such as "*I simply do not know how to be great*," which illustrate passivity and a lack of sense that he has the ability to pursue his goals.

Saleem's maturation also illustrates the previously researched developmental parallel between pride's two facets and self-esteem. Early in life, despite outwardly proclaiming his importance, Saleem seems to have a fragile and defensive self-esteem, the kind of self-esteem that characterizes individuals prone to hubristic pride. Saleem bristles at the notion that some may not fully acknowledge his importance, and expresses frustration at journalists who "trivialize" his birth, claiming that they "[have] no idea of the importance of the event they were covering."[46] Whereas Saleem may outwardly express his prominence, and expects others to appreciate his greatness, these comments suggest that his grandiose self is contingent on continual reinforcement from others, and that he has a defensive need for others' appreciation and support.

As Saleem cultivates his telepathic skill and emerges as a leader of the MCC, however, he begins to experience a more genuine self-esteem. Saleem views his telepathy as his ultimate "triumph,"[47] suggesting he sees it as an earned achievement, and enthusiastically proclaims his self-worth (and worth

to others) in turning his mind into an open forum "in which [the children] could all talk to one another."[48] This shift from hubristic to authentic pride, coupled with the decreasing fragility of Saleem's self-esteem, mirrors the general developmental shift found in studies based on large, nationally representative samples of adults across ages. Saleem's development can thus be seen as an example of the progression from grandiose child to mature young adult experienced by a broad range of individuals whose personality development across the life span reflects a psychologically adaptive trajectory.

Toward Novel Understandings of Authentic Pride

Although, as we have discussed, Saleem's character nicely illustrates authentic pride at an individual level, a consideration of the novel's historical context leads to intriguing speculations regarding the potential for cultural forces to shape the development and manifestation of authentic pride. Critics have suggested that Saleem's agentic pursuit of greatness represents the emerging possibilities for young Indian men in a society that became increasingly upwardly mobile around the time of its independence from British colonial rule. In particular, following the emergence of elite educational opportunities for young men such as Saleem, "it [was] no longer the case...that professions and status are inherited;" rather, Saleem and his cohort were able to envision working toward a career path that held no particular connection to the social demographic into which they were born.[49] In contrast, one might expect social mobility and concomitant agentic pursuit of a career to be more curtailed in previous eras characterized by a more strict caste system.

Given that psychologists have documented a link between authentic pride and effortful achievement,[50] and given our previous discussion of how authentic pride helps drive Saleem's agentic pursuit of greatness as the novel progresses, we might hypothesize that the cultural forces conspiring to create opportunities for upward social mobility in turn engender chronic feelings of authentic pride among those individuals pursuing upward social mobility. In societies in which most individuals have the opportunity to self-determine their career paths, people on average might be expected to engage in greater levels of achievement behavior, which would in turn lead to an increase in the average level of authentic pride experienced by a nation's citizens. This previously unexamined hypothesis might be tested by comparing levels of authentic pride among democratic nations which present upward social mobility opportunities (e.g., the United States) and nations which still embrace some form of a caste system (e.g., Nigeria), or by tracking levels of authentic pride in a population that undergoes a shift away from a caste-based social system. The results of such investigations would provide a fascinating advance in the field of cultural psychology, which has embraced the study of differences and similarities between individuals from both industrialized and non-industrialized nations.[51]

The Pride Nonverbal Expression

Within the psychological literature on emotions, there has long been an emphasis on identifying distinct, recognizable nonverbal expressions associated with each emotion.[52] This emphasis can be traced to Darwin's use of nonverbal emotion expressions to make the claim (based, at that time, largely on anecdotal observations) that not only did people all over the world express emotions with the same nonverbal displays, but that these displays also corresponded to behaviors shown by non-human animals, suggesting a phylogenetic continuity. Building on this theoretical speculation, Paul Ekman, Carroll Izard, and their colleagues famously laid the foundation for the scientific study of affect by demonstrating that at least six distinct emotion expressions (i.e., anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise) are reliably recognized by individuals from a broad range of populations, suggesting that emotion expressions—and thus, emotions—may be universal.

Despite this foundation, it was not until the past decade that studies began to empirically address this issue for pride.[53] These studies, using a range of methods, have now accumulated to suggest that pride is associated with a reliably recognized nonverbal expression which may be universal and even innate. The prototypical pride expression includes the body (i.e., expanded posture, head tilted slightly back, arms akimbo with hands on hips or raised above the head with hands in fists) as well as the face (i.e., small smile)[54], and is reliably recognized and distinguished from other positive emotions (e.g., happiness, excitement) by individuals from the U.S., Italy, and Burkina Faso and Fiji. It is important to note that individuals from Burkina Faso and Fiji were members of highly isolated, traditional small-scale societies, who had almost no exposure to the Western world.[55] Pride-recognition rates, among educated Western samples, are typically around 80-90% which is comparable to recognition rates found for the more established emotions; and, like those emotions, pride can be recognized automatically from a single snapshot image.[56]

Importantly, the recognizable pride expression is also spontaneously displayed in pride-eliciting situations (i.e., success) by children as young as 3-years-old, high-school students who have performed well on a class exam, and adult Olympic athletes from a wide range of cultures, including athletes who are congenitally blind.[57] Together, these findings suggest that the pride expression may be a human universal. It is unlikely that recognition would be so robust, or would generalize to individuals who could not have learned it through cross-cultural transmission (i.e., films, television, magazines), if it were not a species-constant phenomenon. Furthermore, the finding that individuals from a diverse range of cultures—including blind individuals who have never seen others show the pride expression—spontaneously display pride in response to success suggests that the reason for the expression's ubiquitous recognition is that it is universally displayed.

One question that arises, however, in the face of evidence for two distinct pride facets is whether each facet is associated with a distinct nonverbal expression. Several studies have addressed this issue by asking participants to identify different versions of the pride expression (e.g., versions with arms raised above the head, vs. with arms akimbo and hands on hips) using either authentic or hubristic pride labels. All recognizable variants (i.e., expressions reliably identified as "pride") were equally likely to be identified as authentic or hubristic, suggesting that the same expression conveys both facets.[58] Yet, anecdotal evidence would suggest otherwise; observers seem to believe that they know which facet of pride a given proud individual is experiencing. One explanation for this apparent discrepancy is that everyday judgments of authentic and hubristic pride are made on the basis of expressions combined with contextual information about the situation or the person, providing some index of whether the pride is merited (e.g., did the individual have a success?) and what kinds of attributions were made for the causal event. Recent research supports this expectation; several studies found that observers could reach agreement about whether a given pride expression conveyed authentic or hubristic pride if the expression was presented alongside relevant contextual information about the expresser.[59]

Building on the strong evidence pointing to the universality of the pride expression, researchers have also examined the expression's evolutionary significance by testing the hypothesis that the expression may function to inform observers (i.e., other social group members) of the proud individual's achievement, and thereby communicate that he or she deserves higher status. Early evidence supporting this account came from studies that found that individuals who are believed to be experiencing pride are assumed by others to be high status, suggesting an intuitive association between perceptions of pride and status.[60] More directly supporting this link, another study found that individuals manipulated to experience pride prior to engaging in a group task were perceived by others in the group and by outside observers as behaving in a more "dominant" manner, suggesting that something about the pride experience promoted interpersonal behaviors that increased the perceived status of the proud individual.[61]

In research most directly supporting the assumption that pride displays communicate high status, a series of studies found that when confronted with individuals displaying pride, observers respond by automatically perceiving the displayers as high status, and this tendency is so powerful that it holds even when pride displayers are known—via other contextual cues—to possess low status.[62] This effect of pride displays on automatic status perceptions was also found to generalize to a highly divergent population: a traditional small-scale society on Yasawa Island, in Fiji, where individuals hold a set of cultural practices and norms that largely suppress displays of status.[63] The finding that, despite these cultural rules, participants showed a strong automatic association between pride displays and high-status concepts indicates that status signaling may be a universal function of the pride display.

Shiva's Puff of Pride: A Status Signal

Pride's nonverbal expression, and its status signaling function, are both illustrated in Shiva's encounters with Saleem. When Shiva first meets Saleem, he boldly asserts his higher status in an effort to intimidate Saleem and begin his quest to take control of the MCC. Along with verbally asserting his intention to become the gang boss, Shiva displays a nonverbal "puff of pride," which is aimed to intimidate Saleem.[64] The metaphor of a puff clearly depicts the expanded chest and broadened posture that are reliably associated with the prototypical, universally recognized pride display.

Shiva's display of pride upon meeting Saleem is effective: it serves to communicate Shiva's status. In response to Shiva's display, Saleem, despite his current role presiding over the MCC, becomes defensive; he urges Shiva to reconsider his decision to take the MCC by force, and states his intention to actively stop Shiva from doing so. In other words, Saleem responds to Shiva's status-seeking behavior by defending his own high status position.[65] Saleem's response suggests that Shiva's puff is perceived as powerful; the puff occurs immediately after Shiva begins to describe his prowess running a street gang, and thus likely helps to communicate to Saleem that Shiva possesses the physical brawn necessary to attain the status he seeks. In addition, the manner in which Saleem perceives Shiva's puff of pride illustrates the automaticity with which pride conveys status. Rushdie notes Saleem's observation of the puff in parentheses inserted in the middle of one of Shiva's grandiose statements,[66] and the parenthetical comment does not stop or interrupt Shiva's rant, suggesting that the observation is made quickly and is not closely or consciously attended to. That is, by placing this observation within the narrative's stream-of-consciousness, Rushdie may be suggesting that Saleem perceived the pride expression without any conscious effort, consistent with empirical studies suggesting that pride displays are recognized and perceived as high status without any need for conscious deliberation.[67] In sum, Shiva's puff of pride, the way it is used by Shiva to convey high status, and the way it is automatically perceived by Saleem, is consistent with empirical research on the pride expression.

Two Prides, Two Routes to Status

We have thus far reviewed evidence suggesting that pride consists of two distinct facets—authentic and hubristic—which are associated with divergent subjective experiences and personality profiles, and are elicited by distinct attributions for one's success. We have also reviewed evidence suggesting that the nonverbal expression of pride is a cross-cultural, and likely universal behavioral response to success, which signals high status, and thus may have evolved to promote social status. In this section, we will discuss emerging research linking these two bodies of work on pride together by suggesting that

the experience of each of the two facets of pride promotes the attainment of social status in distinct ways.

In their comprehensive review of the ethnographic literature on status attainment in small-scale societies, anthropologists Joseph Henrich and Francisco Gil-White argued that humans throughout evolutionary history have used two distinct strategies to attain social status.[68] They labeled these strategies *dominance* and *prestige,* defining dominance as status attained through force, threat, and intimidation and prestige as status attained through the display of knowledge, valuable skills, and earned respect. Dominant individuals incite fear in subordinates by controlling or withholding resources, and subordinates submit by complying with demands or providing deference. Prestigious individuals, in contrast, acquire power by virtue of their competence, expertise, and genuine care for others, thereby encouraging and permitting followers to copy them. A recent empirical study examining hierarchy formation in small groups of unacquainted individuals found evidence to support this account; this work demonstrated that individuals who were viewed as using a dominance strategy *and* those who were viewed as using a prestige strategy were both likely to attain high status and influence over others.[69] These findings suggest that both dominance and prestige are likely to have been adaptive in evolutionary history, as both facilitate the attainment of social rank, which in turn provides a number of fitness-promoting benefits (e.g., increased access to shared resources, mates, etc).[70]

How does this model of status relate to our account of pride? A recent set of studies demonstrated that each distinct pride dimension is uniquely associated with only one of the distinct status-attainment strategies.[71] First, in a study assessing dispositional levels of authentic and hubristic pride, and self-perceived dominance and prestige, individuals prone to authentic pride were found to rate themselves as highly prestigious, whereas those prone to hubristic pride were found to rate themselves as more dominant. In a second study this pattern was replicated using peer ratings of status; varsity athletes rated the extent to which their teammates used each status-attainment strategy to climb their team's social hierarchy. Individuals who rated themselves as high in authentic pride were viewed by teammates as prestigious (but not dominant), whereas those who rated themselves high in hubristic pride were viewed by teammates as dominant (but not prestigious).

These findings suggest that both facets of pride may facilitate status attainment, but through distinct mechanisms. Authentic pride likely promotes prestige by motivating and reinforcing achievements and other indicators of competence. Authentic pride provides individuals with the feelings of genuine self-confidence that allow them to comfortably demonstrate both social attractiveness and generosity, and to acknowledge the importance of others in their successes, rather than taking sole credit themselves.[72] In order to retain subordinates' respect, prestigious individuals must avoid succumbing to the feelings of power and superiority which would promote perceptions of dominance, and authentic pride—through its association with pro-social

personality traits such as agreeableness—may allow these individuals to recognize and appreciate their achievements while still maintaining a sense of humility. Consistent with this account, a series of studies found that when individuals are experimentally manipulated to experience authentic pride, they respond by demonstrating greater empathy toward those who are different from them.[73] In contrast, hubristic pride may promote dominance by engendering a grandiose sense of self-importance, which allows individuals to focus on their own selfish needs, while feeling little empathy or genuine care for followers or rivals who get in the way. Indeed, individuals experimentally manipulated to experience hubristic pride were found to respond by demonstrating less empathy toward those who are different from them, and even demonstrating prejudice against those individuals.[74] Hubristic pride is also associated with a proclivity toward physical intimidation and aggression, behaviors which could further promote dominance by motivating individuals to forcefully take power rather than earn it.[75]

Saleem and Shiva: Two Pride-Driven Routes to Status

Saleem's life provides a clear illustration of the ways in which authentic pride might promote prestige-based status. As was discussed above, Saleem comes to experience authentic pride in response to the hard work he puts into honing his telepathic skills and in using them to form the MCC, and he views these endeavors as providing a great service to his followers.[76] Becoming the leader of the MCC earns Saleem high status, and he gains further prestige by maintaining closeness to his followers and refusing to situate himself on a pedestal of power or to allow his followers to call him chief.[77] When urged by the other children to take a more formidable leadership role, Saleem modestly remarks that they should "just think of me as a...big brother, maybe."[78] As a result, Saleem gains the respect and admiration of the MCC by engaging in a kind of leadership that fosters their well-being and maintains close leader-follower relationships. These are behaviors that are indicative of a prestigious leader, and are made possible by the regular experience of authentic pride.

In contrast, Shiva embodies the link between hubristic pride and dominance-based status. Shiva is Saleem's alter-ego—the two were accidentally switched at birth—and possesses a physical brawn and tenacity equal to Saleem's intellectual stature. Shiva exhibits a grandiose self-image, viewing himself as a "natural leader,"[79] and runs street gangs in a tough manner, often remarking that, "nobody messes with me."[80] Shiva employs aggressive and intimidating tactics—including his aforementioned puff of pride—when attempting to wrest control of the MCC from Saleem, vehemently asserting that Saleem would be foolish to try to prevent him from becoming the "gang boss:" "I'm going to have to take this thing over...you just try to stop me."[81] In pursuing power, Shiva seems preoccupied with his own selfish desires, rather than by any genuine concern for his followers, which is a behavioral pattern characteristic of hubristic pride and dominance. The story of Shiva exemplifies

how hubristic pride can lead to the attainment of dominance-based status, through physical intimidation, grandiosity, and evincing disdain toward one's followers, and also how this form of status attainment and pride differ quite dramatically from prestige and authentic pride.

Toward Novel Understandings of Pride and Status

Although, in *Midnight's Children,* authentic and hubristic pride play a key role in the attainment of prestige and dominance in a manner largely consistent with psychological theorizing, analyses of the pains both Saleem and Shiva suffer to attain and maintain high status suggests an intriguing possibility regarding the psychological costs of pursuing pride. First, regarding Saleem, although he eventually experiences authentic pride in his accomplishments as leader of the MCC, he also experiences tremendous anxiety and insecurity during his initial pursuit of greatness: "I became afraid that everything was wrong—that my much trumpeted existence might turn out to be utterly useless, void, and without a shred of purpose."[82] Indeed, critics have argued that the same signs from adults around him that plant the seed of greatness in Saleem's mind "inculcate in [him] a fear of failure" and "conspire to deny [him] that greatness."[83] As a result, Saleem develops a great deal of anxiety and doubt about his ability to live up to others' expectations and to attain high status.

Saleem also demonstrates a constant preoccupation with, and uncomfortable awareness of, the possibility that he may lose the abilities associated with his pride and high status, and these insecurities exert a tremendous physical and psychological toll on him. In a moment of stark contrast to the young boy about whom adults forecast greatness, the adult Saleem summarizes his yet-to-be-told narrative by detailing the consequences of his quest to attain and maintain greatness: "please believe that I am falling apart...I mean quite simply that I have begun to crack all over like an old jug...In short, I am literally disintegrating, slowly for the moment, although there are signs of acceleration."[84] Indeed, critics have argued that Saleem's biggest fear comes from the threat of losing his special powers as he ages, arguing that his life can be seen as a progression "from dynamic growth to castration and impotence, premature aging, and death; from a deep sense of connectedness with the pulse of India to alienation, betrayal, and insignificance."[85] Other critics have noted that Saleem's attempts to combat his preoccupation with not losing his powers can be viewed as a tumultuous inner battle which ultimately leaves him feeling defeated and lacking a coherent sense of life's meaning.[86] As the novel nears its conclusion, a distraught Saleem discloses that "I am tearing myself apart...none of it makes sense anymore."[87]

Saleem's plight suggests that pursuit of status and associated chronic experience of pride could, in certain cases, be part of a turbulent emotional life that includes doubt and insecurity when excessive ambitions are thwarted. One interesting question is how authentic and hubristic pride might each contribute

to anxiety or self-doubt, in distinct ways. Psychologists have argued that hubristic pride—and certain kinds of narcissism—are associated with conscious and unconscious feelings of low self-worth and shame, and a chronically insecure self-concept.[88] These findings are clearly paralleled by the self-doubt experienced by Saleem. However, authentic pride has not been found, in psychological research, to be underscored by similar negative self-views; in contrast, people who tend to experience authentic pride tend to have excellent mental health and report positive self-views.[89] It is thus somewhat surprising that Saleem demonstrates considerable self-doubt and insecurity, despite appearing to experience high levels of authentic pride, as he works toward acquiring prestige-based status as leader of the MCC.

One possible explanation for this discrepancy between the psychological scientific literature and the novel is that, at least in the case of Saleem, high levels of authentic pride resulting from effortful pursuit of status and achievement could have left Saleem feeling drained, depleted, and wary of losing those achievements. This possibility can be seen in Saleem's reference to "tearing himself apart," and is consistent with the finding that individuals high in authentic pride are prone to constantly strive toward achievements;[90] such striving could result in the experience of unpleasant emotions when goals are not reached. A reading of the novel and the psychological literature together lead us to suspect that such self-doubt and anxiety associated with achievement failure might manifest more strongly among individuals who initially demonstrated high levels of hubristic pride and associated grandiosity—as seen in Saleem's early life—than among individuals whose pursuit of status revolved entirely around their hard work and achievements. For the former, high status may be an expected and necessary part of life, making it all the more essential that it is continuously maintained. For the latter, working one's way up the status hierarchy might be more expected, allowing these individuals to appreciate and embrace the effort required to attain and maintain high status. Research seeking to answer these questions would prove a fascinating advance in psychologists' understanding of pride.

A final way in which *Midnight's Children* might help generate new understandings of pride is by casting light on the potentially gendered nature of hubristic pride and dominance-based status. The persona Shiva enacts and the behaviors with which he gains dominance-based leadership are highly masculine. Shiva's defining physical characteristic is a strong pair of knees (in contrast to Saleem, who most notably bears an over-sized nose), and Shiva's image revolves around various masculine tropes such as possessing many lovers, fathering many children, and running street gangs. Furthermore, Shiva uses various forms of physical intimidation, such as his puff of pride, to attempt to wrest away control of the MCC from Saleem. Given the ways in which Shiva pursues dominance-based status, critics have argued that *Midnight's Children* sends an implicit message that "those who succeed in the unforgiving world of adults accentuate a brutish masculinity, promiscuous, exploitative, and violent."[91] In contrast, Saleem, who does not pursue

dominance-based status, has been viewed as a character most comfortable in the safety of female companions, including his nurturing caregiver Padma.[92] Psychologists have previously uncovered small gender differences in hubristic pride, such that men tend to experience more of it than do women,[93] yet studies examining status attainment in small, same-sex groups have suggested that dominance-based status is attained through similar processes across genders, and is equally effective in generating social influence in both male and female groups.[94] The hyper-masculinity displayed in Shiva's character is consistent with the previously demonstrated gender differences in hubristic pride, but suggests a more stark contrast in the ways in which men and women prone to hubristic pride attain status than has previously been observed.

Conclusion: Toward a Dialogue Between Humanists and Social Scientists

In this article we have reviewed psychological research on the everyday manifestation, apparent universality, and status-promoting function of pride. Drawing on the character of Saleem, from Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*, we discussed theory and research on the psychological structure of pride, and evidence for two distinct pride facets, authentic and hubristic, each of which is related to distinct psychological characteristics and processes. Authentic pride underlies achievements and genuine self-esteem, is elicited when individuals attribute their success to their unstable, controllable efforts, and is associated with pro-social, socially adaptive personality traits. Hubristic pride, in contrast, underlies grandiosity, snobbishness, and a defensive, narcissistic self-esteem, is elicited when individuals attribute their successes to their stable, uncontrollable abilities, and is associated with an anti-social and even dysfunctional personality profile.

Second, we used Shiva's puff of pride to illustrate how the nonverbal pride expression works in everyday life to communicate one's pride to others, and to signal high status. Individuals who have had no exposure to Western cultural norms nonetheless recognize the pride expression, and congenitally blind individuals who have never seen others show pride still show the display in response to success. Furthermore, individuals across cultures automatically associate pride with high status, suggesting that the pride expression is a cross-cultural status signal.

Finally, we used Saleem and Shiva to illustrate how authentic and hubristic pride can promote status through the attainment of prestige and dominance, respectively. Authentic pride promotes prestige-based status by facilitating both agentic and pro-social tactics such as motivating achievements and fostering compassion for one's subordinates and followers. In contrast, hubristic pride promotes dominance-based status by facilitating agentic and anti-social tactics such as narrowing one's focus to selfish ends and engaging in physical intimidation and coercion toward subordinates and followers.

In sum, we have sought to review recent empirical findings on a fundamental human emotion, and to illustrate the utility of drawing on psychological science to help understand literary characters. In the case of Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*, psychological research on pride provides several novel insights. For example, we can understand the developmental transition seen in Saleem from an arrogant, self-centered child to a mature, pro-social leader as reflecting a shift in his emotional balance from hubristic to authentic pride. In addition, we can view Shiva's posturing toward Saleem as a manifestation of a psychologically ancient, universal mechanism—the pride display—by which humans gain social status. We might also distinguish the tactics Saleem and Shiva use to influence the MCC as reflecting two distinct, adaptive status-attaining strategies, which are each motivated and facilitated by a distinct facet of pride.

In addition to using *Midnight's Children* to illustrate the psychological literature on pride, we have drawn on previous literary analyses of the novel to develop new insights into the psychological causes and consequences of pride. First, although hubristic pride has generally been seen as leading to a pernicious interpersonal style in which an individual seeks to maintain his or her self-image by derogating and aggressing against others, Saleem's experience raises the possibility that certain individuals may more benignly experience hubristic pride, such that they question the legitimacy of their presumed greatness and shy away from self-promotion. Second, the way in which Saleem narrates his life story suggests that individuals prone to experiencing hubristic pride may craft sensational, exaggerated narratives aimed at creating an aura of importance around their lives. Third, analyses of the social climate in mid-twentieth century India, and its liberating effect on the social mobility prospects of young men such as Saleem, raise the previously unexamined possibility that national-level forces may collectively influence the degree to which a nations' citizens experience authentic pride. Fourth, Saleem's willingness to disclose his feelings of doubt and insecurity regarding his attainment and maintenance of greatness and status shed light on the heretofore unexamined emotional costs of frequently experiencing pride as a means toward attaining social status. Finally, the way in which Shiva enacts dominance-based status suggests a potential link between hubristic pride, dominance, and masculinity. Regardless of which of these or other avenues psychologists may choose to pursue, there is little doubt that a researcher wishing to further his or her understanding of pride might gain novel insights by closely examining *Midnight's Children*.

In conclusion, we have attempted to model an exchange between psychologists and humanists that may enhance both parties' understanding of their subject matter. To be sure, scientific, research-based interpretations of literature, as well as literary reinterpretations of psychological science, may provide only a marginal advance in each field's scholarship; a simple search for *Midnight's Children* in the JSTOR database yields nearly 800 hits, and the two most formative papers in pride research have been cited a combined 167 times

in less than ten years since publication.[95] Nonetheless, we believe that psychological research (particularly research on personality, emotions, and social interactions) represents a fruitful and largely untapped source from which literary criticism might draw numerous new insights; pride-prone characters, in particular, abound in texts throughout literary history, ranging from Achilles and Ajax in the *Iliad* to Willy Loman in *Death of a Salesman*.[96] The strategy employed here might be successfully extended to these and other texts, potentially enhancing our understanding of both literary works and psychological science. Similarly, literature and literary criticism, given its typical interest in delving into the minute details of characters' lives, likely contains many pearls of research wisdom for the aspiring personality or social psychologist Indeed, the prominent social psychologist Richard Nisbett, in a parody meant to shed light on several creativity-hindering tendencies of psychologists, once wrote that "I am quite pleased that [the typical] reading program...has steered [the young psychologist] away from philosophy and literature by intimations of 'hot air,' 'speculation,' 'fantasy, waste of time,' and so forth. This is much to be commended because great philosophy and great literature are an unparalleled source of ideas in psychology."[97]

Notes

[1] Proverbs 16:18 (NIV)

[2] James J. O'Donnell, *Augustine: A New Biography*. New York: Ecco, 2005, and Stephen J. Pope, *The Ethics of Aquinas*. Washington, DC: Georgetown UP, 2002.

[3] Matthew Baasten, *Pride According to Pope Gregory the Great: A Study of the Moralia*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 1986.

[4] Dante Alighieri. *The Divine Comedy*, trans. John Ciardi. New York: New American Library, 2003.

[5] Akira Hirakawa, *History of Indian Buddhism: From Sakyamuni to Early Mahayana*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000.

[6] Lao Tzu, *Tao Te Ching: 25th Anniversary Edition*, trans. Gia-Fu Feng and Jane English. New York: Vintage, 1997.

[7] Aristotle, *The Nichomachean Ethics*, trans. William David Ross. New York: Oxford UP, 1925.

[8] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, trans. Walter Kaufmann. New York: Random House, 2000.

[9] Dalai Lama XIV and Howard C. Cutler, *The Art of Happiness: A Handbook for Living*. New York: Riverhead Books, 1998.

[10] Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. New York: Appleton & Co, 1872.

[11] Jessica L. Tracy and Richard W. Robins, "Putting the Self into Self-Conscious Emotions: A Theoretical Model," *Psychological Inquiry* 15 (2004): 103-125.

[12] See William James, "The Consciousness of Self," in *The Principles of Psychology*, ed. William James (New York, NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1890), 291-401, for a more complete discussion of the subjective and objective self.

[13] Jessica L. Tracy, Azim F. Shariff, and Joey T. Cheng, "A Naturalist's View of Pride," *Emotion Review* 2 (2010): 163-177.

[14] Jessica L. Tracy and Richard W. Robins, "The Psychological Structure of Pride: A Tale of Two Facets," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 92 (2007): 506-525.

[15] Michael Lewis, "Self-Conscious Emotions: Embarrassment, Pride, Shame, and Guilt," in *Handbook of Emotions*, ed. Michael Lewis and Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones (New York: Guilford Press, 2000), 623–636.; and June P. Tangney, Patricia F. Wagner, and Richard Gramzow, *The Test of Self-Conscious Affect*. Fairfax, VA: George Mason UP, 1989.

[16] See Otto F. Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions and Pathological Narcissism* (New York: Aronson, 1975).; Lewis, "Self-Conscious Emotions."; Carolyn C. Moft and Fredrick Rhodewalt, "Unraveling the Paradoxes of Narcissism: A Dynamic Self-Regulatory Processing Model," *Psychological Inquiry* 12 (2001): 177–196.; and Ian McGregor et al., "Defensive Pride and Consensus: Strength in Imaginary Numbers," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 89 (2005): 978–996.

[17] We have adopted the terms "authentic" and "hubristic" to emphasize that the first facet (authentic pride) is based on actual accomplishments and is likely accompanied by genuine feelings of self-worth. This label also connotes the full range of academic, social, moral, and interpersonal accomplishments that may be important elicitors (in previous work, we referred to this facet of pride with the narrower descriptor of "achievement-oriented" pride). However, the label "hubristic pride" should not be taken to imply that this facet is not an authentic emotional experience. Rather, from our theoretical perspective at least, the *elicitors* of hubristic pride are more loosely tied to actual accomplishments, and involve a self-evaluative process that reflects a less authentic sense of self (e.g., distorted and self-aggrandized self-views), but the subjective experience is likely to be as genuine as that of any other emotion. For related discussions, see Lewis, "Self-Conscious Emotions."; Tangney, Wagner, and Gramzow, *Test of Self-Conscious Affect.*; Tracy and Robins, "Putting Self into Self-Conscious Emotions."; and Tracy and Robins, "Structure of Pride."

[18] Tracy and Robins, "Structure of Pride."

[19] Ibid.; and Jessica L. Tracy et al., "Authentic and Hubristic Pride: The Affective Core of Self-Esteem and Narcissism," *Self and Identity* 8 (2009): 196-213.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Several scholars have built on psychoanalytic accounts of narcissism to argue that individuals who show such defensiveness while outwardly self-aggrandizing suffer from low implicit self-esteem and psychological vulnerability. For discussions, see Christian H. Jordan et al., "Secure and defensive high self-esteem," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 85 (2003): 969-978.; Kernberg, *Borderline Conditions.*; Heinz Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self.* New York: International Universities Press, 1971; and Jessica L. Tracy et al., "The Affective Core of Narcissism: Inflated by Pride, Deflated by Shame," in *Handbook of Narcissism and Narcissistic Personality Disorder*, ed. W. Keith Campbell and Joshua D. Miller (New York: Wiley, 2011): 330-343.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Charles S. Carver., Sungchoon Sinclair, and Sheri L. Johnson, "Authentic and Hubristic Pride: Differential Relations to Aspects of Goal Regulation, Affect, and Self-Control," *Journal of Research in Personality* 44 (2010): 698-703.

[24] Ulrich Orth, Richard W. Robins, and Christopher J. Soto, "Tracking the Trajectory of Shame, Guilt, and Pride Across the Lifespan," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 99 (2010): 1061-1071.

[25] Joshua D. Foster, W. Keith Campbell, and Jean M Twenge, "Individual Differences in Narcissism: Inflated Self-Views Across the Life Span and Around the World," *Journal of Research in Personality* 37 (2003): 469-486.; and Brent W. Roberts, Grant Edmonds, and Emily Grijalva, "It's Developmental Me, Not Generation Me: Developmental Changes are More Important than Generational Changes in Narcissism," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 5 (2010): 97-102.

[26] Richard W. Robins et al., "Global Self-Esteem Across the Life Span," *Psychology and Aging* 17 (2002): 423-434.; and Brent W. Roberts, Kate E. Walton, and Wolfgang Viechtbauer, "Patterns of Mean-Level Change in Personality Traits Across the Life Course: A Meta-Analysis of Longitudinal Studies," *Psychological Bulletin* 132 (2006): 1-25.

[27] Tracy and Robins, "Putting Self into Self-Conscious Emotions."; for related discussions, see Phoebe C. Ellsworth and Craig A. Smith, "Shades of Joy: Patterns of Appraisal Differentiating Pleasant Emotions," *Cognition and Emotion* 2 (1988): 301–331.; Lewis, "Self-Conscious Emotions."; Ira J. Roseman, "Appraisal Determinants of Discrete Emotions, *Cognition and Emotion* 5 (1991): 161–200.; and Bernard Weiner, "An Attributional Theory of Achievement Motivation and Emotion," *Psychological Review* 92 (1985): 548–573.

[28] Tracy and Robins, "Structure of Pride."

[29] Salman Rushdie, *Midnight's Children* (London: Picador Books, 1982), 90.

[30] Ibid., 122.

[31] Carver, Sinclair, and Johnson, "Authentic and Hubristic Pride."; Tracy and Robins, "Structure of Pride."; and Tracy et al., "Authentic and Hubristic Pride: Affective Core of Self-Esteem and Narcissism."

[32] Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, 152.

[33] Ibid., 122.

[34] Michael H. Kernis, "Toward a conceptualization of optimal self-esteem," *Psychological Inquiry* 14 (2003): 1-26.; Morf and Rhodewalt, "Paradoxes of Narcissism."; and Jessica L. Tracy and Richard W. Robins, "Death of a (Narcissistic) Salesman: An Integrative Model of Fragile Self-Esteem," *Psychological Inquiry* 14 (2003): 57-62.

[35] Neil ten Kortenaar, *Self, Nation, and Text in Salman Rushdie's Midnight's Children* (Montreal: McGill-Queens UP, 2004), 65-66.

[36] Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, 156.

[37] Carver, Sinclair, and Johnson, "Authentic and Hubristic Pride."; Morf and Rhodewalt, "Paradoxes of Narcissism."; Robert Raskin and Howard Terry, "A Principal Components Analysis of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory and Further Evidence of its Construct Validity," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 54 (1988): 890-902.; and Tracy et al., "Authentic and Hubristic Pride: Affective Core of Self-Esteem and Narcissism."

[38] Nancy E. Batty, "The Art of Suspense: Rushdie's 1001 (Mid-)Nights," *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 18 (1987): 106.

[39] Uma Parameswaran, "Handcuffed to History: Salman Rushdie's Art," *ARIEL: An Review of International English Literature* 14 (1983): 44.

[40] Dan P. McAdams, "What do We Know when We Know a Person?" *Journal of Personality* 63 (1995): 365-396.

[41] For recent empirical examples, see Jonathan M. Adler, "Living into the Story: Agency and Coherence in a Longitudinal Study of Narrative Identity Development and Mental Health Over the Course of Psychotherapy," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 102 (2012): 367-389.; William L. Dunlop and Jessica L. Tracy, "Sobering Stories: Narratives of Self-Redemption Predict Behavioral Change and Improved Health Among Recovering Alcoholics," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 104 (2013): 576-590.; and William L. Dunlop and Jessica L. Tracy, "The Autobiography of Addiction: Autobiographical Reasoning and Psychological Adjustment in Abstinent Alcoholics," *Memory* 21 (2013): 64-78.

[42] Although we employ terms such as "growing older" and "maturing" when discussing Saleem's experience of authentic pride, it is important to note that the entirety of Saleem's retrospective narrative occurs within his youth. However, our portrayal of Saleem's ageing is appropriate because Rushdie portrays Saleem as a man who has aged before his time; this is evidenced by the fact that, at age 31, Saleem sees himself as crumbling as he nears the end of life. See Rushdie, *Midnights Children*, 9.

[43] Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, 156.

[44] Ibid., 168-169.

[45] Ibid., 174.

[46] Ibid., 119.

[47] Ibid., 174.

[48] Ibid., 227.

[49] ten Kortenaar, *Self, Nation, and Text*, 74-75.

[50] Tracy and Robins, "Structure of Pride."; and Lisa A. Williams and David DeSteno, "Pride and Perseverance: The Motivational Role of Pride," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 94 (2008): 1007-1017.

[51] For a seminal review of differences between individuals from various industrialized cultures, see Hazel Rose Markus and Shinobu Kitayama, "Culture and the Self: Implications for Cognition, Emotion, and Motivation," *Psychological Review* 98 (1991): 224-253.; for more recent examinations of differences between individuals from industrialized and non-industrialized cultures, see Jessica L. Tracy and Richard W. Robins, "The Nonverbal Expression of Pride: Evidence for Cross-Cultural Recognition," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 94 (2008): 516-530.; and Jessica L. Tracy et al., "Cross-Cultural Evidence that the Pride Expression is a Universal Automatic Status Signal" *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 142 (2013): 163-180.

[52] Darwin, *Descent of Man*.; Paul Ekman, E. Richard Sorenson, and Wallace V. Friesen, "Pan-Cultural Elements in Facial Displays of Emotion," *Science* 164 (1969): 86–88.; and Carroll E. Izard, *The Face of Emotion* (East Norwalk, CT: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1991).

[53] One notable exception is in the developmental psychology literature, where researchers in the 1990s assessed behaviors such as 'erect posture' and 'head up' as indicators of pride and early development of self in preverbal children. See Michael Lewis, Steven M. Alessandri, and Margaret W. Sullivan, "Differences in Shame and Pride as a Function of Children's Gender and Task Difficulty," *Child Development* 63 (1992): 630–638.; and Deborah Stipek, Susan Recchia, and Susan McClintic, "Self-Evaluation in Young Children," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development* 57 (1992): 100.

[54] Jessica L. Tracy and Richard W. Robins, "Show Your Pride: Evidence for a Discrete Emotion Expression," *Psychological Science* 15 (2004): 194-197.; and Jessica L. Tracy and Richard W. Robins, "The Prototypical Pride Expression: Development of a Nonverbal Behavioral Coding System," *Emotion* 7 (2007): 789-801.

[55] Tracy and Robins, "Nonverbal Expression of Pride: Evidence for Cross-Cultural Recognition."; and Tracy et al., "Cross-Cultural Evidence that the Pride Expression is a Universal Automatic Status Signal."

[56] Jessica L. Tracy and Richard W. Robins, "The Automaticity of Emotion Recognition," *Emotion* 8 (2008): 789-801.

[57] For examples of research with children, see Jay Belsky and Celene Domitrovich, "Temperament and parenting antecedents of individual difference in three-year-old boys' pride and shame reactions," *Child Development 68* (1997): 456-466.; Lewis, Alessandri, and Sullivan, "Differences in Shame and Pride."; and Stipek, Recchia, and McClintic, "Self-Evaluation in Children." For examples of research with high school students, see Glenn E. Weisfeld and Jody M. Beresford, "Erectness of Posture as an Indicator of Dominance or Success in Humans," *Motivation and Emotion* 6 (1982): 113-131. For examples of research with congenitally blind Olympic athletes, see Jessica L. Tracy and David Matsumoto, "The Spontaneous Display of Pride and Shame: Evidence for Biologically Innate Nonverbal Displays," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 105 (2008): 11655-11660.

[58] Tracy and Robins, "The Prototypical Pride Expression."

[59] Jessica L. Tracy and Christine Prehn, "The Use of Contextual Knowledge to Differentiate Hubristic and Authentic Pride from a Single Non-Verbal Expression," *Cognition and Emotion* 26 (2012): 14-24.

[60] Larissa Z. Tiedens, Phoebe C. Ellsworth, and Batja Mesquita, "Stereotypes About Sentiments and Status: Emotional Expectations for High- and Low-Status Group Members. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 26 (2000): 560–574.

[61] Lisa A. Williams and David DeSteno, "Pride: Adaptive Social Emotion or Seventh Sin?" *Psychological Science* 20 (2009): 284-288.

[62] Azim F. Shariff and Jessica L. Tracy, "Knowing Who's Boss: Implicit Perceptions of Status from the Nonverbal Expression of Pride," *Emotion* 9 (2009): 631-639.; and Azim F. Shariff, Jessica L. Tracy, and Jeffrey L. Markusoff, "(Implicitly) Judging a Book by its Cover: The Automatic Inference of Status from Pride and Shame Expressions," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 38 (2012): 1178-1193.

[63] Tracy et al., "Cross-Cultural Evidence that the Pride Expression is a Universal Automatic Status Signal."

[64] Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, 220-221.

[65] Ibid., 220.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Tracy and Robins, "Automaticity of Emotion Recognition."; Shariff and Tracy, "Knowing Who's Boss."

[68] Joseph Henrich and Fancisco J. Gil-White, "The Evolution of Prestige: Freely Conferred Deference as a Mechanism for Enhancing the Benefits of Cultural Transmission," *Evolution and Human Behavior* 22 (2001): 165-196.

[69] Joey T. Cheng et al., "Two Ways to the Top: Evidence that Dominance and Prestige are Distinct Yet Viable Avenues to Social Rank and Influence," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 104 (2013): 103-125.

[70] Laura Betzig, "Sex, Succession, and Stratification in the First Six Civilizations: How Powerful Men Reproduced, Passed Power on to their Sons, and Used Power to Defend their Wealth, Women, and Children," in *Social Stratification and Socioeconomic Inequality*, ed. Lee Ellis (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993), 37-74.; and J. Hill, "Prestige and Reproductive Success in Man," *Ethology and Sociobiology* 5 (1984): 77-95.

[71] Joey T. Cheng, Jessica L. Tracy, and Joseph Henrich, "Pride, Personality, and the Evolutionary Foundations of Human Social Status," *Evolution and Human Behavior* 31 (2010): 334-347.

[72] Tracy et al., "Authentic and Hubristic Pride: Affective Core of Self-Esteem and Narcissism."

[73] Claire E. Ashton-James and Jessica L. Tracy, "Pride and prejudice: Feelings about the self influence judgments about others," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 39 (2012): 466-476.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Tracy et al., "Authentic and Hubristic Pride: Affective Core of Self-Esteem and Narcissism."

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid., 227.

[80] Ibid., 220.

[81] Ibid., 221.

[82] Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, 180.

[83] ten Kortenaar, *Self-Nation, and Text*, 67.

[84] Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, 37.

[85] Josna E. Rege, "Victim into Protagonist? *Midnight's Children* and the Post-Rushdie National Narratives of the Eighties," in *Rushdie's Midnight's Children: A Book of Readings*, ed Meenakshi Mukherjee (New Dheli: Pencraft International, 1999), 199; see also ten Kortenaar, *Self, Nation, and Text*, 100.

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[87] Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, 503.

[88] Morf and Rhodewalt, *"Paradoxes of Narcissism."*; Tracy and Robins, "Structure of Pride."; Tracy et al., "Authentic and Hubristic Pride: Affective Core of Self-Esteem and Narcissism."

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[91] ten Kortenaar, *Self, Nation, and Text*, 113.

[92] Ibid.; and Batty, "The Art of Suspense."

[93] Tracy and Robins, "Structure of Pride," 520.

[94] Cheng et al., "Two Ways to the Top."

[95] Tracy and Robins, "Show Your Pride."; and Tracy and Robins, "Structure of Pride."

[96] For an example of these types of analyses, see Tracy and Robins, "Death of a (Narcissistic) Salesman."

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