

Pride and Prejudice: How Feelings About the Self Influence Judgments of Others

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Abstract

The present research demonstrates that pride has divergent effects on prejudice, exacerbating or attenuating evaluative biases against stigmatized groups, depending on the form of pride experienced. Specifically, three experiments found that *hubristic* pride—associated with arrogance and self-aggrandizement—promotes prejudice and discrimination, whereas *authentic* pride—associated with self-confidence and accomplishment—promotes more positive attitudes toward outgroups and stigmatized individuals. Findings generalized to discriminatory judgments (Experiment 2) and were found to be mediated by empathic concern for the evaluative target. Together, these experiments suggest that pride may be a cause of everyday prejudice and discrimination but that these social consequences depend on whether hubristic or authentic pride is experienced, and the degree to which empathic concern is subsequently aroused.

Keywords

authentic pride, hubristic pride, prejudice, discrimination, empathic concern

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In *Pride and Prejudice* (Austen, 1813/2002), protagonist Mr. Darcy is alternatively loathed and loved for his “proud manner.” When Darcy’s pride is “high and conceited,” he demonstrates a propensity toward disdain for all but his own kin and members of his social class. Yet when his pride is expressed as “probity and honor,” he displays generosity and hospitality to all, regardless of their class. Austen’s characterization of Darcy thus presents a paradoxical portrait of pride; it seems to promote prejudice against the weak on one occasion, and compassion and equity for such individuals on another. However, this two-faced appearance is not merely a fictional creation; history is fraught with examples of proud individuals who influence the social outcomes of others for better (e.g., Oprah Winfrey, Bono, Obama) and worse (e.g., Hitler, Milosevic, Stalin). The present research examines the impact of pride on feelings toward, and judgments of, others. In particular, we investigate whether different forms of pride may have different effects on prejudice, removing negative evaluative bias against stigmatized groups on one hand, and increasing negative bias against them on the other.

The Two Faces of Pride

Pride is an emotional response to success or mastery (Lazarus, 1991). Indeed, pride is commonly experienced by individuals high in social status and by those who have achieved challenging personal goals (Cheng, Tracy, & Henrich, 2010; Tiedens, 2001; Tracy & Matsumoto, 2008). However, pride is not a unitary construct; studies demonstrate that it is

composed of two distinct facets—*hubristic* and *authentic*—that are associated with divergent thoughts and feelings about the self and others, and are elicited by distinct cognitive processes (Tracy & Robins, 2007).

Hubristic pride results from success that is attributed to internal, stable, and uncontrollable causes (“I did well because I’m great”), whereas authentic pride results from success attributed to internal, unstable, and controllable causes (“I did well because I worked hard”). Accordingly, hubristic pride is associated with arrogance, superiority, and egotism, whereas authentic pride is accompanied by feelings of accomplishment and humility (Cheng & Tracy, 2011; Tracy & Robins, 2007).

Studies have also found that hubristic pride is associated with insecure self-worth, evidenced by defensive self-esteem (low implicit, high explicit) and narcissism (Tracy, Cheng, Robins, & Trzesniewski, 2009). In contrast, authentic pride is associated with genuine feelings of self-worth and self-integrity, reflected by secure self-esteem (high implicit, high explicit) and authenticity (Tracy et al., 2009). These divergent patterns of feelings about the self may promote divergent feelings and behaviors toward others. Insecure self-esteem

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can lead to aggression, hostility, and a disregard for the rights and feelings of others (Baumeister, Bushman, & Campbell, 2000; Brown & Bosson, 2001; Bushman & Baumeister, 1998), whereas a genuine positive self-image can promote empathic concern for others and altruistic behavior (Batson & Powell, 2003). Moreover, hubristic and authentic pride may have divergent effects on interpersonal relationship goals. Hubristic pride is associated with a motivation to “get ahead” at the expense of others, whereas authentic pride is associated with both getting ahead and “getting along” with others (Cheng et al., 2010). As such, individuals prone to hubristic pride tend to demonstrate an antisocial personality profile, characterized by self-centeredness, aggression, disagreeableness, and hostile and antisocial interpersonal behaviors, whereas individuals prone to authentic pride tend to demonstrate a prosocial personality profile, characterized by cooperative and generous behaviors toward others, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and emotional stability (Cheng et al., 2010; Hart & Matsuba, 2007; Tracy & Robins, 2007; Tracy et al., 2009).

Based on these findings, we predict that the two facets will have divergent effects on prejudice and discrimination. Specifically, we expect that the experience of hubristic pride may reduce empathic concern for others and thus heighten prejudice against minority group members and other stigmatized individuals, whereas the experience of authentic pride will elicit a degree of empathic concern for others, which in turn could prevent prejudice.

Feelings About the Self Influence Evaluations of Others

Prejudice is a negatively biased evaluation of individuals belonging to groups that are perceived to be inferior on some dimension (e.g., racial, sexual, religious, political, physical, mental, or socioeconomic; Fiske, 1998). Several theories have been proposed to explain the social motivations underlying prejudice and discrimination (for a review, see Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). Although they differ in important ways, these theories converge to suggest that feelings about the self (i.e., self-esteem or feelings of self-worth) influence evaluations of stigmatized others (Fein & Spencer, 1997; Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997; Steel, Spencer, & Lynch, 1993). In particular, prejudice and discrimination are most evident in situations where one’s self-image is threatened. In response to threats to the self, individuals evaluate stigmatized others more negatively to achieve a sense of mastery or self-superiority that temporarily allows them to reclaim self-worth and avoid confronting the actual source of the threat (Fein & Spencer, 1997). Conversely, studies have shown that bolstering participants’ self-worth attenuates prejudice; those with a positive and secure self-image were found to hold equally positive evaluations of stigmatized (here, Jewish or gay) and nonstigmatized (Italian or heterosexual) individuals and groups (Fein & Spencer, 1997). Jordan, Spencer, and Zanna (2005) clarified

these findings by demonstrating that it is not the positivity but rather the *security* of individuals’ self-esteem that moderates prejudice. Specifically, individuals with insecurely high self-esteem were found to boost self-worth by recommending a more severe punishment for a Native American than for a White American who started a fight. In contrast, those with genuine high self-esteem showed no such prejudice. Hence, negative evaluations of stigmatized groups or individuals may be elicited by insecure feelings about the self.

Given that hubristic pride is characterized by feelings about the self that are insecurely positive, and research suggests that insecure self-worth promotes prejudice against stigmatized groups, we predict that hubristic pride states will induce negative evaluations of stigmatized others. In contrast, given that authentic pride is characterized by securely positive feelings about the self, and such feelings can help prevent individuals from holding a negative evaluative bias toward stigmatized groups, we predict that authentic pride states will attenuate negative evaluations of stigmatized others. Consistent with these expectations, personality traits found to be associated with hubristic-pride proneness—insecurity, narcissism, and dominance (Cheng et al., 2010; Tracy et al., 2009)—have also been found to predict prejudice against out-group members (Jordan et al., 2005). Similarly, individuals prone to authentic pride tend to experience secure self-esteem and behave in a moral and prosocial manner toward others (Hart & Matsuba, 2007; Tracy et al., 2009)—factors found to promote more positive evaluations of stigmatized others.

The Mediating Role of Empathic Concern

We expect the process through which authentic and hubristic pride influences prejudice will involve empathic concern for others. Previous research has identified empathic concern as critical to the reduction and exacerbation of prejudice (Dovidio et al., 2005; Dovidio et al., 2010; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Empathic concern provides individuals with the motivation necessary to overcome perceived biases in making evaluations of less fortunate others (Batson, Duncan, Ackerman, Buckley, & Birch, 1981; Dovidio et al., 2010; Finlay & Stephan, 2000; Galinsky & Ku, 2004). Correspondingly, reduced empathic concern for others reduces motivation to control prejudice, thereby increasing the expression of prejudice and discrimination (Glaser, Dixit, & Green, 2002; Johnson, Brems, & Alford-Keating, 1997).

The overly defensive focus on the self that occurs as part of the hubristic pride experience may undermine one’s capacity for empathic concern for others. Indeed, feelings of superiority and dominance, associated with hubristic pride, have been shown to decrease one’s sense of similarity to weaker others (Oveis, Horberg, & Keltner, 2010), and feeling similar to others is an important predictor of empathic concern for such others (Batson & Shaw, 1991; Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, & Neuberg, 1997). Furthermore, the hubristic-pride-relevant traits of latent self-doubt and

insecure self-esteem are known to promote excessive self-focus and self-centered rumination (Crocker & Park, 2004), which can undermine one's responsiveness to the needs of others (Cialdini et al., 1997; Davis, 1983; Joireman, Parrott, & Hammersla, 2002). Therefore, it is hypothesized that feelings of hubristic pride will exacerbate negative evaluative bias against minority groups and stigmatized individuals by reducing empathic concern for these evaluative targets.

Conversely, authentic pride is characterized by genuine feelings of humility and self-worth, which enhance feelings of similarity and connection to others (Neff, 2003). Increased similarity to others, in turn, increases empathic concern for those others (Batson et al., 1997; Cialdini et al., 1997). Genuine self-esteem also promotes empathic identification with others (Davis, 1983; Joireman et al., 2002) by alleviating the necessity to boost one's own self-esteem via downward comparisons (Neff, 2003). Secure self-esteem also reduces self-focused attention, further allowing for increased responsiveness to the needs of others (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Garber, Robinson, & Valentiner, 1997). Thus, it seems likely that authentic pride will enhance empathic concern for the targets of prejudice and discrimination, thereby reducing negative evaluative bias against these groups.

Overview of Studies

A pilot study and three experiments were conducted to test our hypotheses about the relation between pride and prejudice. Our pilot study measured correlations between dispositional authentic and hubristic pride and scores on the Modern Racism Scale (MRS), to examine whether individuals prone to experiencing each form of pride demonstrate divergent racial attitudes. Experiment 1 more specifically tested our causal hypotheses by experimentally manipulating pride states and examining the effect of each on prejudicial evaluations of a racial outgroup—Asians. Experiment 2 extended these findings to discriminatory judgments against a different outgroup—homosexuals—and correspondent decision making. Finally, Experiment 3 experimentally manipulated pride states and assessed the impact of each on prejudice against a racial outgroup (Asians) and empathic concern for members of that outgroup, and tested whether empathic concern for stigmatized others mediates these effects.

Pilot Study

We conducted an initial test of our hypothesis about the divergent relations of each facet of pride with prejudice. We measured trait levels of hubristic and authentic pride together with MRS—a measure of prejudice against African Americans (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981). It was predicted that, controlling for authentic pride, trait hubristic pride would predict higher scores on the MRS, whereas trait authentic pride would predict lower scores.

Method

Participants and procedure. Participants were 2,213 undergraduates (44% Asian/Asian American, 33% Caucasian, 8% Latino, 15% Other/Interracial) at a university in northern California who completed questionnaires for course credit.¹

Measures. Authentic and hubristic pride were assessed with the trait version of the Authentic and Hubristic Pride Scales (Tracy & Robins, 2007), two 7-item scales that reliably measure the two facets of pride ($\alpha = .91$ and $.91$, respectively). These previously validated scales include the following items: accomplished, achieving, confident, fulfilled, productive, having self-worth, successful (authentic pride), arrogant, conceited, egotistical, pompous, smug, snobbish, and stuck-up (hubristic pride), all of which are rated for the extent to which they describe “the way you generally feel” on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). Racist attitudes were assessed with the MRS (McConahay et al., 1981; $\alpha = .84$), a relatively nonreactive 7-item (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*) measure of explicitly held negative attitudes toward African Americans (e.g., “Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve” and “Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect for Blacks than they deserve”).

Results and Discussion

Authentic and hubristic pride were slightly positively correlated ($r = .12, p < .001$), so partial correlations were computed to determine the unique correlates of each facet not due to shared pride variance. However, all reported partial correlations remained significant when we examined zero-order effects. As predicted, individuals high in trait hubristic pride (controlling for authentic pride) evidenced racist attitudes toward African Americans ($r = .29, p < .001$), whereas individuals high in trait authentic pride (controlling for hubristic pride) were low in racism ($r = -.12, p < .001$).

Our pilot study thus provides support for the hypothesis that hubristic and authentic pride are associated with divergent prejudicial tendencies. Building on these initial results, Experiments 1-3 investigated whether authentic and hubristic forms of pride have *causal* effects on prejudice and whether these effects are due to the impact of situation-specific, momentary pride *states* rather than dispositional trait-like pride tendencies.

Experiment 1

Experiment 1 manipulated hubristic and authentic pride using an emotional recall task and compared the impact of each pride state on evaluative bias with that of a neutral-emotion control group. It was hypothesized that the experience of hubristic pride would produce more negative attitudes toward a stigmatized group (Asians) compared to a nonstigmatized

group (Caucasians), whereas the experience of authentic pride would attenuate evaluative bias against the stigmatized group. As such, it was expected that participants experiencing hubristic pride would produce more negative evaluations of stigmatized others (i.e., demonstrate greater prejudice) than a neutral-emotion control group, whereas participants experiencing authentic pride would produce less negative evaluations of stigmatized others than the control group.

Method

Participants and design. Participants were 138 Caucasian students (65% female; mean age = 27.47) at a Canadian university who participated in a 3 (hubristic pride, neutral, authentic pride) \times 2 (Asian, Caucasian) between-subjects experiment in exchange for a candy bar.

Materials and Procedure

Emotion manipulation. Participants completed a modified version of the Relived Emotion Task (Ekman, Levenson, & Friesen, 1983), designed to induce either hubristic pride, authentic pride, or a neutral emotional state. Participants in the hubristic pride condition were asked to recall and describe “in as much detail as you can remember,” a time that they “behaved in a self-important manner, or felt pretentious or stuck-up.” Participants in the authentic pride condition recalled a time that they “felt like they had succeeded through hard work and effort, reached their potential, or achieved a goal.” These instructions were derived from previous research showing that lay-person conceptualizations and experiences of hubristic pride are associated with self-importance, pretentiousness, and being stuck-up, whereas authentic pride is associated with hard work, effort, achievement, and accomplishment of personal goals (Tracy & Robins, 2007). Participants in both pride conditions were assured that everyone has at some time in their lives felt this way—innately superior to or better than others (hubristic pride condition) or a sense of accomplishment and self-worth (authentic pride condition); this information was included to encourage participants to honestly report pride experiences, despite social norms discouraging the open discussion or display of one’s pride feelings (Tracy, Shariff, Zhao, & Henrich, 2011; Zammuner, 1996). In the neutral emotion condition, participants were simply asked to recall everything that they had done that day.

The effectiveness of the emotion manipulation was checked with the state version of the Authentic and Hubristic Pride Scales, which includes the same 14 items as the Trait version of these scales used in our pilot study (Tracy & Robins, 2007; α s = .83 and .91, respectively) but asks participants to rate, using a 5-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*), the extent to which they currently felt each of the 14 affective states. In addition, three research assistants who were blind to experimental condition and hypotheses were trained to read participants’ narrative descriptions of their pride

experiences and identify in them the distinct thoughts and feelings associated with authentic pride, hubristic pride, shame, and guilt. Each rater independently coded the extent to which each participant’s Relived Emotion Task narrative expressed authentic pride, hubristic pride, shame, and guilt using a 5-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*). Interrater reliabilities suggested a high level of agreement among the coders, α s = .72 (shame), .80 (guilt), .87 (hubristic pride), and .94 (authentic pride).

Measurement of intergroup bias. Participants next completed a “population survey” in which they estimated the percentage of Caucasians or Asians in the Canadian population whom they believed were characterized by each of a list of traits, which included two strongly positive traits (friendly, likable) and 2 strongly negative traits (hostile, aggressive). Pretesting with a matched sample of Caucasian Canadian undergraduates ($N = 40$; 25 female) who rated the extent to which a number of different traits were stereotypical of Caucasians and Asians revealed that each of these four traits were not considered to be stereotypical of either group (mean stereotypicality scores of each trait were < 3 on a 5-point scale where 1 = *not at all*, 3 = *moderately*, and 5 = *very much*). Evaluative bias, or prejudice, was calculated by subtracting the mean of the two negative trait scores from the mean of the two positive trait scores, separately as applied to Caucasians and Asians.²

Results and Discussion

Pride Manipulation Checks

Self-reported authentic and hubristic pride. Participants’ responses to the state version of the Authentic and Hubristic Pride Scale (Tracy & Robins, 2007) were scaled into composite measures of authentic and hubristic pride (α s = .86 and .91, respectively). As expected, participants in the hubristic pride condition reported greater hubristic pride ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 0.80$) than participants in the authentic pride condition ($M = 2.00$, $SD = .59$), $t(87) = 3.40$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.15$, and less authentic pride ($M = 3.80$, $SD = 1.05$) than participants in the authentic pride condition ($M = 4.20$, $SD = .56$), $t(87) = -2.36$, $p < .05$, $d = .47$. Participants in the control condition reported less hubristic pride ($M = 1.81$, $SD = .85$) than participants in the hubristic pride condition, $t(89) = -3.40$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.21$, and less authentic pride ($M = 3.08$, $SD = .76$) than participants in the authentic pride condition, $t(95) = -3.95$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.67$. Thus, these participants experienced less hubristic and authentic pride than participants induced to feel either pride state.

Replicating previous research findings on authentic and hubristic pride (Tracy & Robins, 2007), participants consistently reported greater authentic than hubristic pride across emotion conditions, $F(2, 130) = 25.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .28$. As Tracy and Robins (2007) explain, this result is likely due to the large social desirability difference between the two scales; it is considerably less socially appropriate to report feeling

“stuck-up” and “pretentious” (two representative items on the hubristic pride scale) than to report feeling “confident” and “accomplished” (two representative items on the authentic pride scale). Thus, because the two scales differ in social desirability, analyses must focus on the difference in levels of each facet between conditions of interest rather than the difference between levels of the two facets within a particular condition, given that self-reported authentic pride will, in almost every case, be higher.

To test whether the hubristic pride manipulation induced self-threat or shame rather than hubristic pride—a possibility given that participants in the hubristic pride condition were asked to report about socially undesirable feelings—we next compared feelings of self-confidence, self-worth, and fulfillment (items in the authentic pride scale, which can also be used to assess momentary self-worth and self-respect) reported by participants in the hubristic pride versus neutral control condition.³ Compared to participants in the control condition, those who received the hubristic pride manipulation reported feeling significantly greater self-confidence, $t(87) = 4.87, p < .005, d = 1.03$; self-worth, $t(87) = 3.0, p < .005, d = .64$; and fulfillment, $t(87) = 3.71, p < .001, d = .77$. These additional analyses suggest that the hubristic pride manipulation did not significantly reduce feelings of self-worth and thus that lowered self-esteem cannot be responsible for any effects of hubristic pride on prejudice.

Narrative coding. Coders’ ratings of participants’ feelings of authentic pride, hubristic pride, shame, and guilt were scaled to create a mean score on each emotion for each participant. Comparisons of these scores between conditions revealed that participants who were asked to recall a time when they felt hubristic pride wrote narratives that did in fact express greater hubristic pride ($M = 2.55, SD = 1.17$) than those asked to recall a time when they felt authentic pride ($M = 1.86, SD = .68$), $t(35) = -2.189, p < .01, d = .72$. In addition, participants asked to recall a time when they felt authentic pride expressed greater authentic pride ($M = 3.94, SD = .81$) than those asked to recall a time they felt hubristic pride ($M = 2.52, SD = 1.34$), $t(35) = 3.91, p < .001, d = 1.28$. For example, one participant in the authentic pride condition wrote:

I felt very proud after achieving a promotion at my place of work after I had worked hard in the company to prove my loyalty and show my dedication . . . after hearing my ideas and seeing me work for 8 months, they agreed to my promotion.

In contrast, one participant in the hubristic pride condition wrote:

Last weekend I was with a bunch of friends at a night club and I walked right in past the huge line up because I knew that the bouncers would let me in, because I am very good looking and the bartenders all like me.

There were no differences in the levels of shame and guilt expressed by participants induced to feel hubristic versus authentic pride (all $ps > .05$), further supporting our interpretation of these manipulations as inducing pride and not shame, guilt, or self-threat. In fact, participants induced to feel hubristic pride reported feeling less shame ($M = 1.50, SD = .66$) than hubristic pride ($M = 2.55, SD = 1.17$), $t(18) = -3.81, p < .001, d = 1.11$, or authentic pride ($M = 2.53, SD = 1.34$), $t(18) = -2.91, p = .012, d = .98$.

Pride States and Evaluative Bias. The mean percentage of Asians and Caucasians in the general population that were characterized by positive traits ($\alpha = .70$) and negative traits ($\alpha = .77$) were calculated separately. Evaluative bias (a percentage difference score) was calculated by subtracting the mean percentage for negative traits from the mean percentage for positive traits. As such, higher scores indicate more positive evaluations.

A significant main effect of emotion emerged on evaluative bias, $F(2, 131) = 3.26, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .048$. A linear trend analysis revealed a linear relation between the evaluative bias exhibited by participants in each of the emotion conditions, $F(1, 129) = 6.50, p = .01$, with those in the hubristic pride condition forming the most negative evaluations of others ($M = 24.85, SD = 32.31$), followed by the neutral emotion control group ($M = 33.23, SD = 25.38$), and participants in the authentic pride condition forming the most positive evaluations of others ($M = 40.50, SD = 26.70$). Within this linear trend, there was a significant difference between the evaluations of participants induced to feel hubristic compared to authentic pride, $t(82) = -2.43, p = .017, d = .53$, but not between the evaluations of emotion-induced participants and control participants.

This main effect was qualified by the predicted Emotion \times Evaluative Target interaction, $F(2, 126) = 5.67, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .083$. Emotion had no effect on evaluations of the nonstigmatized group (Caucasians), $F(2, 126) = .03, p = .97$, but did influence evaluations of the stigmatized group (Asians), $F(2, 126) = 9.13, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .257$. As presented in Figure 1, simple comparisons revealed that Asians were evaluated most negatively by participants induced to feel hubristic pride ($M = 11.62, SD = 31.01$) compared to neutral condition participants ($M = 32.73, SD = 22.13$), $t(57) = -2.52, p = .014, d = -.78$, who felt significantly more negative toward Asians than participants induced to feel authentic pride ($M = 49.95, SD = 26.06$), $t(57) = -2.34, p = .02, d = .71$. Hence, compared to participants in the control condition, those induced to feel hubristic pride evaluated Asians more negatively, and those induced to feel authentic pride evaluated Asians more positively. Moreover, participants experiencing hubristic pride evaluated Caucasians significantly more favorably ($M = 36.63, SD = 30.27$) than Asians ($M = 11.61, SD = 31.01$), $t(38) = 2.35, p = .024, d = .82$, whereas participants experiencing authentic pride evaluated Caucasians significantly less favorably ($M = 32.62, SD = 25.09$) than Asians ($M =$

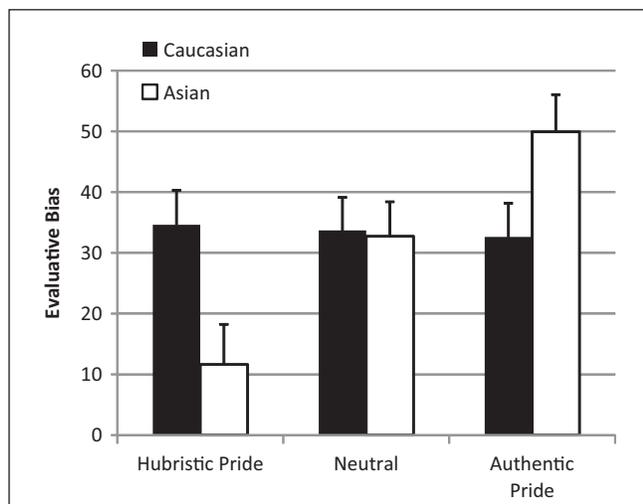


Figure 1. The impact of emotion states (hubristic pride vs. neutral vs. authentic pride) and evaluative target (Caucasian vs. Asian) on evaluative bias. Error bars represent +1 SEM.

49.95, $SD = 26.06$, $t(42) = -2.24$, $p = .03$, $d = .67$. Control participants showed no difference in their evaluations of Asians versus Caucasians, $t(46) = .13$, $p = .88$.

In summary, Experiment 1 found that the two facets of pride have divergent effects on prejudice: Hubristic pride promotes more negative evaluations of stigmatized compared to nonstigmatized groups and promotes more negative evaluations of stigmatized groups than does authentic pride (see Figure 1). There was no effect of pride states on evaluations of the nonstigmatized group. However, both hubristic and authentic pride manipulations influenced evaluations of the stigmatized group compared to the control group (albeit in opposing ways). These findings are supportive of our hypotheses; however, it is noteworthy that although Asians living in Canada are stigmatized in many ways, they are not necessarily perceived as an inferior or weak group compared to Caucasian Canadians (Maddux, Galinsky, Cuddy, & Polifroni, 2008). Indeed, some research has indicated that they may pose a threat to Caucasian Canadians (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001). Experiment 2 thus investigated whether the results of Experiment 1 would generalize to less dominant stigmatized groups who are also clearly a minority group: gays. In addition, Experiment 2 examined whether pride states would influence not only prejudice but also intended discriminatory judgments.

Experiment 2

Experiment 2 examined the impact of pride states on punitive judgments dealt to homosexual versus heterosexual defendants. We predicted that hubristic pride would lead to discrimination against a stigmatized individual (harsher penalties dealt to a gay than straight defendant) compared to authentic

pride, which we expected to attenuate judgmental bias against stigmatized individuals (gay) compared to nonstigmatized (straight) individuals.

Method

Participants and design. Participants were 83 undergraduates (52% female, mean age = 20.3; 39.8% Caucasian, 36.1% Asian, 13.3% African American, 4.8% Hispanic, 6% unspecified) from a university in North Carolina who participated in a 2 (hubristic pride, authentic pride) \times 2 (straight target, gay target) between-subjects experiment.

Materials and procedure. Participants completed two ostensibly unrelated surveys. The first survey was a revised version of Relived Emotion Task used in Experiment 1, modified to induce pride states by directly manipulating participants' attributions for a success, in accordance with the attribution-based definitions of authentic pride and hubristic pride discussed above. By using a different method to manipulate pride in this study, we can ensure that any effects that converge across experiments cannot be attributed to common method variance. In addition, because the revised emotion manipulation instructions did not include any specific authentic or hubristic pride words, we can be sure that positive results on the manipulation check for each pride state in the present experiment cannot be attributed to overlap between the manipulation instructions and the items included in the manipulation check.

Specifically, participants in the hubristic pride condition were asked to recall a time when:

you were doing really well in your courses [i.e., internal attribution for success], and finding you didn't even have to work hard—you just felt naturally talented [stable, uncontrollable, global attribution], and pretty good about yourself as a result—even superior to many of your classmates.

Participants in the authentic pride condition were asked to recall a time when:

you were doing really well in your courses [internal attribution for success] as a result of your efforts. You just felt good about your accomplishments in this course [unstable, controllable, specific attribution]—but you did not feel superior to any of your classmates.

This task was followed by the state Authentic and Hubristic Pride Scales, again used as a manipulation check (see Experiment 1 for details).⁴

Next, participants completed a survey (based on Rosenblatt et al., 1989) in which they read a pretrial case brief for a person named either Emily Thompson or David Thompson. The defendant was accused of engaging in prostitution in the *men's* bathroom of a fast-food restaurant. This

information was used to manipulate whether the target represented a stigmatized (gay) or nonstigmatized (straight) group member. Participants were informed of the purpose of a bail bond and were asked to judge the bond amount that the defendant should be required to deposit (between \$0 and \$999). On a separate page, participants were asked to recall the gender of the defendant, to check whether they understood that the defendant was engaging in straight or gay behavior.

Results and Discussion

Manipulation checks. Consistent with the results of Experiment 1, participants in the hubristic pride condition reported feeling greater hubristic pride ($M = 2.66$, $SD = .97$) than participants in the authentic pride condition ($M = 1.69$, $SD = .58$), $F(1, 80) = 29.01$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .27$, and less authentic pride ($M = 4.02$, $SD = .88$) than participants in the authentic pride condition ($M = 4.39$, $SD = .77$), $F(1, 80) = 4.05$, $p = .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Ninety-seven percent of participants correctly recalled the defendant's gender.

Pride and discrimination. A significant two-way interaction between pride states and evaluative target emerged on punitive judgments, $F(1, 79) = 6.26$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Consistent with the results of Experiment 1, pride states influenced the amount of bond allocated to the stigmatized target (gay defendant), such that he was allocated heavier penalties by participants experiencing hubristic pride than by participants experiencing authentic pride, $F(1, 79) = 10.12$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$ (see Figure 2). As in Experiment 1, pride states had no effect on penalties allocated to the nonstigmatized target (straight defendant), $F(1, 79) = 0.19$, $p = .66$. As shown in Figure 2, participants experiencing hubristic pride also trended toward suggesting higher (less favorable) bond amounts for the gay defendant compared to the straight defendant, $F(1, 79) = 2.71$, $p = .10$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, whereas participants experiencing authentic pride trended toward lower (more favorable) bond amounts for the gay defendant compared to the straight defendant, $F(1, 79) = 3.56$, $p = .06$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, though these patterns did not reach statistical significance. Importantly, post hoc analyses revealed no main or interactive effects of participant gender on judgments of the male or female defendants.

In conclusion, Experiment 2 confirmed that hubristic pride leads to more negative judgmental biases against stigmatized others than authentic pride. Experiment 2 thus replicated the pattern of results obtained in Experiment 1 in the context of discrimination—an intention to penalize a target differently on the basis of his or her membership in a stigmatized group.

Experiment 3

Experiment 3 tested our hypothesis about the causal process underlying the effect of pride on prejudice, specifically,

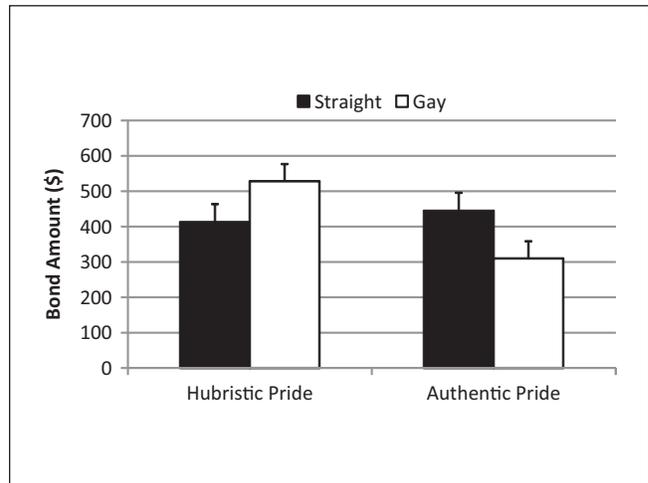


Figure 2. The impact of pride states (hubristic pride vs. authentic pride) and the sexual orientation of the evaluative target (straight vs. gay) on punitive judgments (bond allocation in dollars). Error bars represent $+1$ SEM.

that hubristic pride would reduce empathic concern for stigmatized others (in this case, Asians) and authentic pride would increase empathic concern for stigmatized others, and these contrasting effects on empathic concern would mediate the impact of the distinct pride states on prejudice.

Method

Participants and design. Participants were 61 Caucasian students (69.1% female) at a Canadian university who participated in a 2 (hubristic pride, authentic pride) \times 2 (Asian, Caucasian) between-subjects experiment.

Materials and procedure. Participants first completed the Relived Emotion Task used to induce hubristic or authentic pride in Experiment 2. Second, participants completed Davis's (1980) measure of empathic concern. This scale asks participants to rate, using a 9-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 9 = *very much*), the extent to which they feel responsibility, compassion, warmth, empathy, concern, and soft-heartedness for the target population (Asian or Caucasian). Third, participants completed the same measure of evaluative bias as was employed in Experiment 1. Fourth, as an emotion manipulation check, participants were asked to recall how they felt after completing the Relived Emotion Task, using the same state Authentic and Hubristic Pride Scales as were used in Experiments 1 and 2 but this time making ratings on a 9-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*, 9 = *very much*) to maintain consistency with the empathy measure. In addition, participants completed a measure of positive and negative affect (i.e., rating the items happiness and unhappiness; 1 = *not at all*, 9 = *extremely*) and arousal (i.e., alert, calm; 1 = *not at all*, 9 = *extremely*). These were included so that we could examine whether effects of authentic and hubristic pride on intergroup

evaluations might be attributable to broader shifts in positive and negative affect or arousal. These manipulation checks were placed at the end of the survey to reduce participants' awareness of their emotional state before completing the dependent measures; previous studies have shown that making participants aware of their emotions by asking them to self-report on them can inadvertently reduce the effects of emotions on various outcomes (Robinson & Clore, 2002). Although this did not occur in Experiments 1 or 2, given that in this study we were assessing several different emotional states (i.e., empathic concern, positive and negative affect, arousal, and pride) rather than only pride, we opted to avoid any potential for reduced effects via inadvertently alerting participants to their current feelings prior to completing the measure of evaluative bias.⁵

Results and Discussion

Pride manipulation check. The pride manipulation was effective; participants in the hubristic pride condition reported greater hubristic pride ($M = 4.86$, $SD = 1.96$) than those in the authentic pride condition ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 2.00$), $F(1, 65) = 3.52$, $p = .05$, $d = .49$, and less authentic pride ($M = 6.78$, $SD = 2.28$) than those in the authentic pride condition ($M = 7.63$, $SD = 1.12$), $F(1, 65) = 3.52$, $p = .06$, $d = .47$. The pride manipulation had no effect on mood (happiness or unhappiness), $F(1, 65) = 0.07$, $p = .78$, or arousal (alert or calm), $F(1, 65) = 0.12$, $p = .73$, suggesting that any effects of pride on prejudice are unlikely to be due to differences in generalized positive or negative affect or arousal.

Pride states and prejudice. Replicating the analytic method described in Experiment 1, two positive traits (likable and friendly) and two negative traits (hostile and aggressive) were combined ($\alpha = .65$ and $.75$, respectively) to form scales representing the percentage of the Asian and Caucasian populations that participants rated as characterized by positive versus negative traits. Again, the mean for negative traits was subtracted from the mean for positive traits to create a measure of evaluative bias representing the percentage difference between positive and negative evaluations. Once again, an interaction emerged between emotion and evaluative target, $F(1, 64) = 7.77$, $p = .007$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$ (see Figure 3). Replicating Experiments 1 and 2, pride condition had no effect on evaluations of the nonstigmatized group (Caucasians), $F(1, 64) = 2.69$, $p = .11$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, but did significantly affect evaluations of the stigmatized group (Asians), $F(1, 64) = 5.26$, $p = .025$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. Specifically, participants in the hubristic pride condition evaluated Asians less positively ($M = 23.25$, $SD = 23.32$) than did participants in the authentic pride condition ($M = 43.18$, $SD = 28.04$). Once again participants in the hubristic pride condition also evaluated Asians less positively than Caucasians ($M = 45.29$, $SD = 20.74$), $F(1, 64) = 6.78$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$, whereas participants in the authentic pride condition showed no evaluative bias against Asians, $F(1, 64) = 1.84$, $p = .18$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$ (as shown in Figure 3).

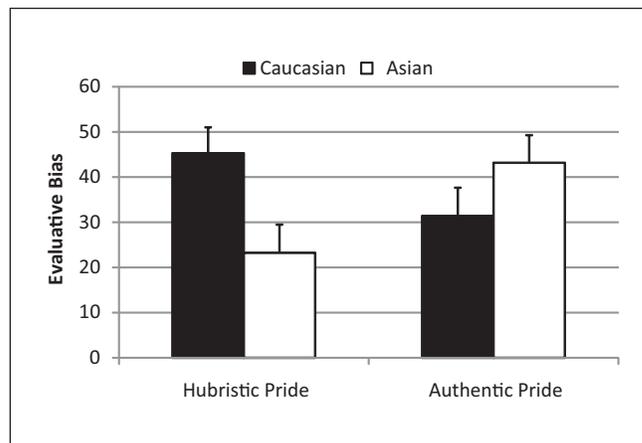


Figure 3. The impact of emotion states (hubristic pride vs. authentic pride) and evaluative target (Caucasian vs. Asian) on evaluative bias
Error bars represent + 1 SEM.

Pride states and empathic concern. A two-way ANOVA revealed no main effects of emotion nor evaluative target on empathic concern for the target population, $F_s < 2.0$, $p_s > .10$, but an Emotion \times Evaluative Target interaction emerged, $F(1, 64) = 20.84$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$. As expected, participants experiencing hubristic pride reported less empathic concern for Asians than participants experiencing authentic pride, $F(1, 64) = 18.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$. On the other hand, participants experiencing hubristic pride felt significantly more empathy for Caucasians compared to those experiencing authentic pride, $F(1, 64) = 4.70$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Furthermore, participants experiencing hubristic pride reported less empathic concern for Asians ($M = 5.30$, $SD = 1.27$) than Caucasians ($M = 6.89$, $SD = 1.08$), $F(1, 64) = 17.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$, whereas participants experiencing authentic pride reported greater empathic concern for Asians ($M = 6.95$, $SD = 1.00$) than Caucasians ($M = 6.07$, $SD = 1.1$), $F(1, 64) = 5.14$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$.

Mediation by empathic concern. We centered all variables, then entered empathic concern for the target population into a hierarchical linear regression predicting evaluative bias, controlling for emotion condition (hubristic vs. authentic pride), evaluative target (Caucasian vs. Asian), and the interaction between these two centered variables. As predicted, greater empathic concern was associated with more positive evaluations of the target population, $\beta = .46$, $SE = .11$, $p < .01$. As shown in Figure 4, when controlling for the proposed mediator (empathic concern), the relation between the interaction variable (Pride States \times Evaluative Target) and evaluative bias was reduced to zero, $\beta = -.14$, $SE = .13$, $p = .27$. A Sobel test statistic of -2.34 , $p = .019$, was calculated to determine whether empathic concern fully mediated the impact of pride and target group membership on evaluative bias.

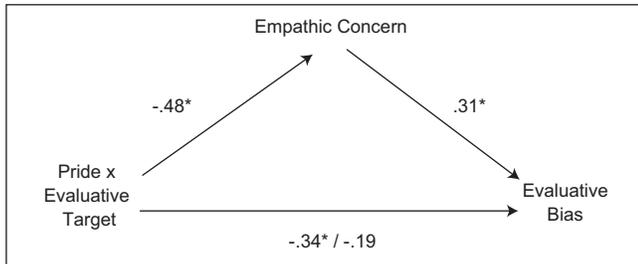


Figure 4. Empathic concern mediates the impact of Pride (hubristic vs. authentic) \times Evaluative Target (Caucasian vs. Asian) on evaluative bias

** $p < .01$.

Thus, we found support for our hypothesis that the impact of pride states on prejudice is mediated by empathic concern for stigmatized others. Hubristic pride was found to increase prejudice against stigmatized others by reducing empathic concern for them relative to nonstigmatized others, whereas authentic pride was found to reduce prejudice against stigmatized others by increasing empathic concern for them, relative to nonstigmatized others.

General Discussion

The present research provides the first evidence that hubristic and authentic pride have divergent effects on prejudice and discrimination. Specifically, our pilot study provided correlational evidence for divergent associations between the two facets of pride and prejudice, and Experiments 1, 2, and 3 confirmed these associations experimentally, showing that the experience of hubristic and authentic pride are causally related to distinct evaluative biases: Hubristic pride elicits a strong negative bias against stigmatized others compared to authentic pride and a neutral control, whereas authentic pride attenuates bias against stigmatized others. Experiment 3 demonstrated that the divergent effects of pride states on evaluative judgments was due to the distinct impact of each pride state on empathic concern for others. Hubristic pride decreases, and authentic pride increases, empathy for stigmatized others, which leads to increased prejudice against stigmatized others on one hand, and reduced prejudice against these others on the other hand.

Implications and Future Directions

The empirical distinction between hubristic and authentic pride is a relatively recent development in emotion research (Tracy & Robins, 2007); before these findings, research on pride generated somewhat paradoxical results. Pride was associated both with autonomy and disengagement from others (Rodríguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2000), and with increased contact and seeking out of others (Nofle & Robins, 2006). The present research helps reconcile these

inconsistencies by providing the first experimental evidence that the two facets of pride have opposing effects on social attitudes and corresponding behaviors. These findings suggest that pride's conflicting associations with social engagement are likely due to the distinctions between the two facets.

This has an important implication for future research: Studies examining the social implications of pride must specify which facet they are measuring. For instance, Frederickson (2001) has argued that pride is a positive emotion that may broaden individuals' "thought-action repertoires," driving them toward greater future achievements. Consistent with this, Williams and DeSteno (2008) demonstrated that pride engenders perseverance at socially valued tasks. The present findings raise important questions for these previous lines of work: Do both facets of pride promote prosocial outcomes such as achievement, or might such behaviors be indicative of authentic pride, in particular? Future research is needed to address this issue.

In addition, our finding that authentic pride and hubristic pride influence prejudice via empathic concern has several important implications. First, it suggests that the divergent effects of hubristic and authentic pride on prejudice are not simply due to an increased tendency to respond in a socially undesirable or socially desirable manner. Rather, both facets actually produce change in proud individuals' empathic concern for others, a concern that lies at the affective core of prejudice. Second, the finding that pride states, which are traditionally conceptualized as self-conscious and thus self-focused emotions, can increase or decrease empathy for *others* suggests that the social effects of pride (and perhaps other self-conscious emotions, such as shame and guilt) may be more far reaching than previously theorized. Although hubristic pride may intensify self-focus to the point of minimizing empathy toward stigmatized others, authentic pride has the opposite effect, increasing individuals' concern for members of groups that are different from their own. The present findings also have major implications for real-world prejudice and discrimination, given the importance of pride to the attainment and maintenance of social status (Cheng et al., 2010; Shariff & Tracy, 2009; Tracy, Shariff, & Cheng, 2010; Williams & DeSteno, 2008). The more power individuals have, the more pride they feel (Tiedens, 2001) and, to the extent that this pride is hubristic, the more prejudiced they may be. High-status business leaders, politicians, and others who are likely motivated by pride on an almost daily basis are precisely the individuals whose prejudice could do the most harm, leading them to hire and fire others in a discriminatory manner. On a positive note, a leader who regularly experiences authentic pride may be free from bias against stigmatized others and be as likely to seek them out for promotions and other benefits as they would majority group members. In either case, the present research suggests that the experience of pride is unlikely to be innocuous to interpersonal behavior.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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Notes

1. Forty-one African Americans were excluded from analyses given our interest in focusing on outgroup evaluations.
2. Five participants did not complete the Population Survey because of time constraints.
3. We thank our associate editor and an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.
4. One participant did not complete the emotion manipulation check.
5. One participant did not complete the emotion manipulation check.

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