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## Cross-cultural evidence for the two-facet structure of pride

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### Abstract

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

### Keywords

Authentic pride; Hubristic pride; Causal attributions; Self-conscious emotions; Cultural psychology

## 1. Introduction

Pride is a fundamental human emotion. In addition to playing a critical role in many domains of social and psychological functioning, a growing body of research suggests that pride may be a human universal. Studies have demonstrated that pride has a distinct, recognizable nonverbal expression that is reliably identified by children and adults from several different cultural groups, including geographically and culturally isolated traditional small-scale societies in Burkina Faso and Fiji (Tracy & Robins, 2004a, 2008; Tracy, Robins, & Lagattuta, 2005; Tracy, Shariff, Zhao, & Henrich, 2013). Furthermore, the pride

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expression is spontaneously displayed by individuals from a wide range of cultures in response to the pride-eliciting situation of success, and by congenitally blind individuals who could not have learned to display pride through visual modeling (Tracy & Matsumoto, 2008). Together, these findings suggest that the pride expression meets the criteria typically considered to indicate universality (see Norenzayan & Heine, 2005), and thus that pride may be part of humans' evolved emotional repertoire.

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

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

Drawing on this body of evidence, researchers have argued that the two pride facets may be distinct adaptations, each having evolved to serve a different, though related, adaptive function (e. g., Cheng et al., 2010; Shariff, Tracy, & Cheng, 2010; Tracy, Shariff, & Cheng, 2010; but see also Clark, 2010; Williams & DeSteno, 2010). Specifically, although both facets are likely to function to promote an individual's social status and group inclusion (Shariff & Tracy, 2009; Tiedens, 2000; Williams & DeSteno, 2009), the two facets of pride may promote different means of attaining social status. In this account, hubristic pride is a functional affective mechanism that facilitates individuals' attainment of Dominance, a form of social status that is derived through force and intimidation. By experiencing hubristic pride, individuals may acquire the motivation and mental preparedness to exert force and intimidate subordinates, and be motivated to engage in hubristic-pride associated behavioral tendencies of aggression and hostility. In contrast, authentic pride may facilitate the attainment of prestige, a form of status that is based on deserved respect for one's skills and expertise. By experiencing authentic pride and its associated feelings of confidence, accomplishment, and productivity, individuals may acquire the motivation to persevere and work hard, and the mental preparedness to achieve the socially valued goals that will garner

others' respect and admiration (Cheng et al., 2010; Tracy et al., 2010). This theoretical account has received empirical support from studies demonstrating that individuals who tend to experience hubristic tend to attain greater dominance, assessed via both self- and peer-reports, whereas individuals who tend to experience authentic pride tend to attain greater prestige, again assessed through self- and peer-reports (Cheng et al., 2010). By promoting the pursuit of these two forms of social rank—both of which have been shown to predict greater influence and control over others (Cheng, Tracy, Foulsham, Kingstone, & Henrich, 2013)—the two pride facets may each function to increase social status and, ultimately, fitness.

This account suggests not only that pride, at a broad level, is an evolved part of human nature, but also that the two facets of pride may have evolved separately, to serve somewhat distinct status-oriented functions. However, all of the studies supporting the two-facet account thus far were conducted with North American participants, who are often not representative of the vast majority of the world's populations (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). As a result, we cannot presently draw any conclusions about whether the two-facet structure of pride is likely to be universal, rather than an artifact of North American, or Western culture. Moreover, because self-evaluations are critical to the elicitation of all self-conscious emotions, including pride (Buss, 2001; Lewis, 2000; Tracy & Robins, 2004b), the experience of pride is particularly likely to vary across cultures that hold different construals of the self, because different self-construals may facilitate different self-evaluative processes (Mesquita & Karasawa, 2004). A large body of research (e.g., Heine, 2003; Heine & Hamamura, 2007; Heine, Kitayama, & Hamamura, 2007; Yamagishi et al., 2012) suggests that individuals from largely collectivistic Asian cultures, who tend to hold interdependent, rather than independent, self-construals, are generally less likely to self-enhance than those from individualistic Western cultures, where more independent self-construals predominate. More recent work examining the boundary conditions of this cultural difference indicates that East Asian self-effacement is primarily driven by concerns about face, harmony, and punishment (Lee, Leung, & Kim, 2014; Tam et al., 2012).

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

Indeed, notable differences have been observed in the handful of cross-cultural studies that have examined individuals' conceptualizations and experiences of pride. Several studies have found that individuals from Western cultures tend to hold more positive attitudes toward pride compared to individuals from Eastern cultures, who generally view pride negatively (Kim-Prieto, Fujita, & Diener, 2012), unless it is experienced in response to the success of others rather than oneself (Eid & Diener, 2001; Sommers, 1984; Stipek, 1998).

Mirroring these cultural differences in attitudes toward pride, other studies have shown that, not only do Asians report experiences of pride less frequently than Westerners (Scollon, Diener, Oishi, & Biswas-Diener, 2004), but when they are reported, they are often in the context of others' achievements rather than one's own (i.e., a group members' success; Neumann, Steinhäuser, & Roeder, 2009) and include both pleasant and unpleasant subjective components (Scollon, Diener, Oishi, & Biswas-Diener, 2005). It should be noted however, that cultural proscriptions against the experience and display of pride as documented in these studies might minimize the reporting of pride experiences even if it is felt (Smith, 2004). As a result, the finding that pride is experienced less frequently among East Asians should be interpreted with caution. Nonetheless, these findings offer tentative support for the characterization of pride as a socially disengaging and devalued emotion in Asian cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Despite these cultural differences, however, it remains possible that pride experiences—and the two-facet structure of pride—has cross-cultural generality, as a result of the fitness-enhancing effects of both facets, by virtue of their distinct functional effects on status-promotion. An alternative possibility, however, is that the general conceptualization of pride is universal, but the hypercognized distinction between authentic and hubristic pride is a learned product of a Western cultural tradition that emphasizes showing and enhancing one's pride (and status). As a first step to teasing apart these competing hypotheses, we tested whether the two-facet structure of pride replicates in cultural contexts that do not share the Western cultural emphasis on status-seeking and self-enhancement. Specifically, the present research examined the psychological structure of pride in two non-Western cultural contexts that are highly collectivistic and emphasize interdependent self-construals: Mainland China and South Korea (Hofstede, 2001; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). This work takes an important first step toward answering the question of whether the two-facet structure of pride is likely to be a human universal.

## 2. Overview of research

Six studies were conducted to provide the first systematic analysis of the psychological structure of pride in two East-Asian countries—Mainland China (Studies 1, 2, and 5) and South Korea (Studies 3a, 3b, and 4). Across these studies, we used a combination of emic and etic approaches—two long-standing methodological traditions that respectively emphasize the importance of understanding a particular culture from within, and of examining cross-cultural similarities and differences from an external perspective (Pike, 1967). In addition, we examined the structure of pride by studying three different ways in which individuals relate to or experience the emotion: (1) participants' conceptualizations of pride (Study 1), (2) their dispositional tendency to experience pride (Studies 2–4), and (3) their momentary experiences of pride (Study 3–5). Past research has indicated possible differences between the structure of affect for enduring and temporary mood ratings (e.g., Diener & Emmons, 1984; Egloff, 1998), and for this reason we examined both individuals' chronic, trait pride, which refers to the characteristic duration or frequency with which a person generally experiences prideful episodes, and also transient, state pride, which refers to more short-lived pride episodes evoked by particular emotion-inducing stimuli (see Ekman, 1984). The examination of both trait and state pride allowed us to draw conclusions

about the structure of pride across these different ways in which the emotion manifests in everyday life.

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

Specifically, Study 1 employed an emic approach to examine whether Chinese participants' lay conceptions of pride reveal a structure parallel to the authentic and hubristic distinction found in the U.S. While this first study focused on the dimensionality of pride in individuals' perceptions of the emotion, subsequent studies examined the structure of pride in individuals' personal, subjective introspective experience of pride. This two-pronged strategy allowed us to ascertain whether the structure of pride that emerged is consistent across the two methodological approaches and not merely a by product of either lay understandings or subjective experiences of pride. In particular, Study 2 used a combined emic and etic approach to examine whether Chinese participants' dispositional experiences of pride are best characterized by a two-facet structure. In addition, we examined the associations between each facet and several theoretically relevant personality traits that have been examined in prior work on authentic and hubristic pride conducted in the U.S. (Tracy & Robins, 2007), including self-esteem, narcissism, shame-proneness, and the Big Five personality dimensions. We focused on these particular traits because of their tight links with self-positivity and broad dimensions of individual differences, and also because prior research has established that they show divergent relations with the two pride facets among several samples of American participants (Tracy, Cheng, Robins, & Trzesniewski, 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007).

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

### 3. Study 1: the conceptual structure of pride in China (based on an emic approach)

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

#### 3.1. Method

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

**3.1.2. Procedure**—Participants were shown 153 pairs of 18 pride-related words (each word paired one time with each other word), and were instructed to “carefully rate the similarity between” each pair of words, on a scale ranging from 1 (“not at all similar”) to 5 (“extremely similar”). These similarity ratings offer insights into participants' lay perceptions of the relations between these pride-related words, thus allowing us to study how to best organize them into meaningful constructs. All words and instructions were in Chinese, and were generated in two ways. First, a separate group of participants generated words (in Chinese) to describe the emotional expression shown as they viewed two photos of individuals posing the cross-culturally recognized pride expression (adapted from Tracy & Robins, 2004a; see Appendix for all translated materials). Second, another group of participants listed in an open-ended fashion the subjective feelings they associate with pride. The pride-related words generated across these two procedures were subsequently combined and reduced to a set of 18 words based on prototypicality ratings (see Supplemental Materials for more details on word generation).

#### 3.2. Results and discussion

To identify the number of distinct, internally coherent conceptual clusters that exist in the pride domain, we analyzed the similarity ratings using hierarchical cluster analysis. This data-driven approach classifies items into clusters by identifying those that are similar to each other but distinct from items in another cluster or clusters. The use of this analytic approach therefore allowed us to both identify the number of clusters in the pride domain and determine the membership of each pride-related word within the emergent clusters. The clustering algorithm begins by treating each pride word as a cluster unto itself, and, at each successive step, similar clusters are merged until all pride words are merged into a single cluster. The number of clusters that define the pride domain was subsequently determined by examining the agglomeration coefficients at each stage. A large change in coefficient size—resulting from a marked increase in the squared Euclidean distance between successive steps of clustering, which indicates dissimilarity between the clusters—was observed at Step 17, the last step of the clustering procedure. In this final clustering step, in which two clusters were merged into a single cluster solution, the similarity coefficient increased sharply from



16.57 to 68.75 (the final four coefficients were 68.75, 16.57, 13.78, and 10.13). These results indicate that, consistent with our prediction, Chinese-derived pride-related words are best organized into two conceptual clusters (see Fig. 1).

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

#### 4. Study 2: dispositional experiences of pride in China (based on both emic and etic approaches)

Study 2 built on the findings of Study 1 in two ways. First, we tested whether the two-facet structure of pride, found in Study 1 to characterize Chinese conceptualizations of pride, also characterizes Chinese participants’ dispositional tendency to *experience* a large set of pride-related states. As a result, unlike in Study 1, where similarity ratings were obtained, here we asked participants to report their tendency to personally experience pride. This complementary focus is important because shared cultural perceptions of an emotion may differ from individuals’ actual subjective emotional experience. Second, we examined the personality profiles associated with the two facets in Mainland China, with a particular interest in examining whether these profiles are similar to those previously found in the U.S. (Tracy & Robins, 2007).

##### 4.1. Method

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

##### 4.2. Measures

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

words were eliminated from the combined 74 words due to repetition, and the final set contained 63 pride-related words.

**4.2.2. Personality traits**—Participants completed Chinese versions of the 44-item Big Five inventory (BFI; John & Srivastava, 1999) which assesses the Big Five Factors of Extroversion ( $\alpha = .87$ ), Agreeableness ( $\alpha = .74$ ), Conscientiousness ( $\alpha = .82$ ), Neuroticism ( $\alpha = .83$ ), and Openness to Experience ( $\alpha = .74$ ), as well as the 10-item Rosenberg Self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965;  $\alpha = .88$ ) and the 40-item Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Terry, 1988;  $\alpha = .83$ ). Following Paulhus, Robins, Trzesniewski, and Tracy (2004), narcissism scores free of shared variance with self-esteem, and self-esteem scores free of shared variance with narcissism, were computed by saving the standardized residuals from a regression predicting narcissism from self-esteem, and vice versa. Participants also completed the 16-item Shame-Proneness and the 16-item Guilt-Proneness Scales from the TOSCA-3 (Tangney & Dearing, 2002;  $\alpha$ s = .80 and .81, respectively). Similar to above, scores of guilt-free shame, and shame-free guilt, were computed by saving the standardized residuals from a regression predicting shame from guilt and vice versa (Tangney & Dearing, 2002).

### 4.3. Results and discussion

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

Next, to interpret these two factors, we examined the content of the words that loaded onto each (see Table 1). The first factor was clearly identifiable as authentic pride; all 8 words from the authentic pride cluster in Study 1 loaded higher on this factor. Similarly, the second factor was clearly identifiable as hubristic pride; all 10 of the 10 words from the hubristic pride cluster in Study 1 loaded higher on the second factor. This pattern of factor loadings suggests that participants' dispositional pride ratings are best characterized by two factors that correspond well to authentic and hubristic pride found in the U.S. Furthermore, given that factor loadings represent the correlation between observed variables and factors, comparing the magnitude of the loadings obtained here with those found in the U.S. in prior research (Tracy & Robins, 2007) allows for a crude comparison of the effect size of each factor on the variability of pride-related words. Here, for the authentic pride component, the factor loadings for the first seven items with the highest loadings ranged from .78 to .68, and those found previously in the U.S. ranged from .78 to .66. For the hubristic pride component, the factor loadings found here for the first seven items ranged from .73 to .66, and those observed in the U. S. ranged from .84 to .69. The similarity in the range and magnitude of these loadings suggests similar effect sizes of the factors in organizing the pride feelings of Chinese and American samples.



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

Correlations with other theoretically relevant personality dimensions reveal a number of noteworthy cross-cultural similarities and differences (see Table 2). Similar to what was found in the U.S., authentic pride was negatively correlated with shame-proneness. But, unlike in the U.S., where hubristic pride was positively correlated with shame-proneness, in China hubristic pride was unrelated to shame-proneness. However, consistent with the generally adaptive vs. maladaptive personality profiles associated with authentic vs. hubristic pride in U.S., authentic pride was positively, and hubristic pride negatively, correlated with guilt-proneness, a self-conscious emotional disposition generally associated with a wide range of positive behaviors and traits (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Also similar to patterns observed in the U.S., authentic pride was strongly positively correlated with both self-esteem and narcissism. However, the association between authentic pride and self-esteem appeared to be weaker in magnitude than that between authentic pride and narcissism among Chinese participants. The relations between hubristic pride and self-esteem and narcissism were similar to those found in the U.S., with a negative direction between hubristic pride and self-esteem and a positive trend between hubristic pride and narcissism, but these correlations did not reach conventional levels of significance. Overall, these results point to several potential cultural differences in the links between the two pride facets and self-esteem and narcissism, but offer consistent support for the two-facet structure of pride in Chinese culture, and for the interpretation of these facets as authentic and hubristic pride.

## 5. Study 3a: dispositional and momentary experiences of pride in Korea (based on an emic approach)

In Studies 3a, 3b, and 5, we sought to examine the structure of pride in South Korea, another Asian country with a largely collectivistic culture that fosters interdependent self-construals. Study 3a used an emic approach to examine participants' state and trait experiences as described by indigenously derived Korean pride-related words. Complementing this study, Study 3b used an etic approach to examine state and trait experiences of pride as described by pride scale items originally derived in the U.S. and translated into Korean.

### 5.1. Method

**5.1.1. Participants**—Sixty-three students (67% women) at Korea University participated in exchange for 5000 won (equivalent to 4.50 USD). All participants were born and raised in

South Korea, and indicated that Korean is their native language. All instructions and questions were presented in Korean.

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

## 5.2. Results and discussion

**5.2.1. Trait pride**—To examine the structure of South Koreans' dispositional pride experiences, we conducted an exploratory factor analysis. The scree test suggested two factors; eigenvalues for the first six unrotated factors were 7.8, 2.4, 1.0, 0.8, 0.7 and 0.6. The first two factors accounted for 63.9% of the variance; the correlation between the two oblimin-rotated factors was .37. As is shown in Table 3, all items had high loadings on their primary factor and relatively low loadings on the secondary factor, with the exception of the item “triumphant,” which had a moderate cross-loading on both factors. For authentic pride, the loadings for the first seven words with the highest loadings ranged from .88 to .76, and were similar in magnitude to those observed in the U.S. in prior work, which ranged from .78 to .66 (Tracy & Robins, 2007). For hubristic pride, the loadings ranged from .80 to .54, and again were similar to those observed in the U.S., which ranged from .84 to .69. The similarity in these loadings suggests similar effect sizes of the factors in organizing the pride feelings of Koreans and Americans in their trait pride experiences.

We next interpreted the two factors that emerged empirically by examining the content of the words that loaded onto each (see Table 3). The first factor, clearly identifiable as authentic pride, included the items: “accomplished (성취하다)”, “confident (자신 있네)”, “noble (당당함)”, “satisfied (만족함)”, “self-confident (자신만만함)”, “self-worth (자부심)”, “successful (성공)”, and “victorious (승리한)”. The second factor, in contrast, mapped well onto hubristic pride, and included items: “conceited (우쭐대네)”, “haughty (거만함)”, “ostentatious (과시하네)”, “stuck-up (잘난척하네)”, and “superior (우월함)”.

**5.2.2. State pride**—The structure of momentary state pride experiences revealed a similar two-factor structure. The scree test again suggested two factors; eigenvalues for the first six unrotated factors were 8.5, 2.3, 1.1, 0.9, 0.6, 0.5. The first two factors accounted for 67.4% of the variance; the correlation between the two oblimin-rotated factors was .34. As is shown in Table 3, all items had high loadings on their primary factor and relatively low loadings on the secondary factor, with the exception of the item “triumphant,” which had moderate cross-loadings on factors.

The first factor, which can be clearly interpreted as authentic pride, included the items: “accomplished (*seongchwhihada*)”, “confident (*jasin inneun*)”, “noble (*dangdangham*)”, “satisfied (*manjokham*)”, “self-confident (*jasinmanmanhan*)”, “self-worth (*jabusim*)”,

“successful (*seonggong*)”, and “victorious (*sungrihan*)”. The second factor, identifiable as hubristic pride, included the items: “conceited (*ujjuldaeneun*)”, “haughty (*geomanhan*)”, “ostentatious (*gwasihaneun*)”, “stuck-up (*jallan cheokhaneun*)”, and “superior (*uwolhan*)”. Importantly, these items are identical to those that emerged in Korean participants’ trait pride experiences. Taken together, results from Study 3a replicate prior findings from the U.S. and Mainland China, and demonstrate that both dispositional and momentary pride experiences in Korea reveal two distinct facets that correspond conceptually to authentic and hubristic pride. For authentic pride, the loadings for the first seven words with the highest loadings ranged from .88 to .78, and were similar in magnitude to those observed in the U.S. in prior work, which ranged from .79 to .61 (Tracy & Robins, 2007). For hubristic pride, the loadings ranged from .78 to .55, and again were similar to those observed in the U.S., which ranged from .88 to .63. The similarity in these loadings suggests similar effect sizes of the two pride factors among Koreans and Americans in their state experiences of pride.

## 6. Study 3b: dispositional and momentary experiences of pride in Korea (based on an etic approach)

Study 3b moves beyond the largely emic approach used in Studies 1–3a, to adopt a complementary etic methodology. Here, we examined Korean participants’ pride experiences from an external, cross-cultural vantage, by using pride scales originally derived in the U.S. and translated into Korean. While the emic approach asks about the structure of pride in Korea (and China) without regard to what has been found previously in other cultures, this etic approach allows us to examine whether the previously found American pride facets are understood and experienced in the same way by Koreans.

### 6.1. Method

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

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

## 6.2. Results and discussion

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

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

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

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

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

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

**6.2.4. Pooling together all items derived using an emic and etic approach**—In the next section, we report analyses that parallel those reported in Study 2, by combining the 16 pride-related words from Study 3a, which were derived indigenously in Korea using an emic approach, with the 14 words from Study 3b here, which were originally derived in the U.S. and translated into Korean using an etic approach. After removing 6 overlapping items, the final combined set contained 24 words. We first report results of a factor analysis conducted on participants' ratings of their dispositional tendency to experience this set of 24 words to examine the structure of trait pride, followed by results of a factor analysis conducted on their ratings of momentary feelings of these words, to examine the structure of state pride.

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

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

**State pride:** To examine the structure of Korean participants' momentary pride experiences across emic and etic methods, we conducted a factor analysis on state ratings of the full set of 24 words. A scree test indicated 2 factors; eigenvalues for the first 6 factors were 10.11, 3.97, 1.26, 1.10, .99, and .78. The first two factors accounted for 61.22% of the variance; the correlation between the two oblimin-rotated factors was .28.

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

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

## 7. Study 4: dispositional and momentary experiences of pride in the U.S. (based on an etic approach)

Study 4 used an etic approach to examine whether the pride-related feelings and experiences derived indigenously in Korea, when translated into English, are characterized by the same two-facet structure in the U.S. Words derived indigenously in China were not included in the present study.

### 7.1. Method

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

### 7.2. Procedure

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



### 7.3. Results and discussion

**7.3.1. Trait pride**—A scree test conducted on participants' dispositional pride-related experiences revealed two factors; eigenvalues for the first six unrotated factors were 6.3, 2.6, 0.8, 0.7, 0.7, and 0.5. The first two factors accounted for 63.6% of the variance; the correlation between the two oblimin-rotated factors was .28. As shown in Table 6, all items had relatively high loadings on their primary factor and relatively low loadings on the secondary factor. Of note, “triumphant” loaded highly on the authentic pride factor but not the hubristic pride factor, in contrast to Study 3a where it loaded highly on both factors, when these same items were used (in Korean) with the Korean sample. In prior research in the U.S., “triumphant” was found to semantically cluster with other authentic pride words (Tracy & Robins, 2007, Study 1), but did not load highly enough on either factor in analyses of state and trait pride experiences to be included in the final scales (Tracy & Robins, 2007, Studies 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7). It thus seems that there is some ambiguity, across cultures, regarding whether this particular word fits better within the authentic or hubristic pride facet. In addition, for authentic pride, the loadings of the seven words ranged from .89 to .78, and were roughly similar in magnitude to those observed in the U.S. in prior work, which ranged from .78 to .66 (Tracy & Robins, 2007). For hubristic pride, the loadings ranged from .89 to .69, and again were similar in magnitude to those observed in the U.S., which ranged from .84 to .69. Thus, once again, the similarity of these loadings suggests similar effect sizes of the two factors in organizing the dispositional pride-related feelings of Koreans and Americans.

How does the mean intensity of dispositional authentic and hubristic pride as rated here by Americans compare to that of South Koreans in Study 3a? To address this question, we examined the mean rating across the 9 authentic pride items and 5 hubristic pride items, defined using the pattern of factor loadings displayed in Table 6, such that each item was designated to the facet on which it had a high primary loading and low secondary loading. The resultant mean ratings across the authentic and hubristic pride items were 3.02 ( $SD = .83$ ) and 1.54 ( $SD = .64$ ), respectively. In comparison to the mean ratings on the same items by South Koreans in Study 3a, whose mean ratings on the authentic and hubristic pride items were 3.05 ( $SD = .86$ ) and 2.27 ( $SD = .80$ ) respectively, no difference was found on authentic pride, but reports of hubristic pride were significantly lower among Americans than among Koreans (from Study 3a),  $t(261) = -7.24$ ,  $p < .0001$ ,  $d = 1.01$ . These results differ from those reported above, in Study 3b, based on items originally derived in the U.S., which indicated no cultural difference in the mean intensity of dispositional authentic or hubristic pride.

**7.3.2. State pride**—A scree test conducted on the state ratings suggested two factors; eigenvalues for the first six unrotated factors were 6.6, 2.4, 0.8, 0.7, 0.6, and 0.5. The first two factors accounted for 64.4% of the variance; the correlation between the two oblimin-rotated factors was .32. As shown in Table 6, all items had relatively high loadings on their primary factor and relatively low loadings on the secondary factor. As was found with the trait ratings in this sample, “triumphant” loaded highly onto the authentic pride factor. For

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

authentic pride, the loadings for the seven words ranged from .89 to .77, and were similar in magnitude to those observed in the U.S. in prior work, which ranged from .79 to .61 (Tracy & Robins, 2007). For hubristic pride, the loadings ranged from .88 to .61, and again were similar to those observed in the U.S., which ranged from .88 to .63. Once again, the similarity in the range of these loadings suggests that the effect sizes of the two pride factors were similar among Koreans and Americans in their state experiences of pride.

Turning to the parallel cultural comparisons for state authentic and hubristic pride, Americans' the mean ratings across the authentic and hubristic pride items were 2.79 ( $SD = .90$ ) and 1.39 ( $SD = .57$ ), and South Koreans' were 2.74 ( $SD = .90$ ) and 1.99 ( $SD = .78$ ). Similar to results for trait ratings, there was no significant cultural difference for authentic pride, but state levels of hubristic pride were significantly lower among Americans than Koreans (from Study 3a),  $t(1, 262) = -6.64$ ,  $p < .0001$ ,  $d = .88$ . Notably, this pattern of results differs from that reported above, in Study 3b, based on items originally derived in the U.S., which indicated no difference in the mean intensity of state hubristic pride but higher levels of state authentic pride among Americans than Koreans. Although this difference was unexpected, it is consistent with prior work showing that Asians tend to report greater hubristic pride than members of other ethnic groups (Orth, Robins, & Soto, 2010). Overall, the divergent patterns observed and the fact that different pride-related items were used in each of these studies prevents us from drawing any firm conclusions about the relative intensity of dispositional and state pride in the two cultural groups. However, they point to the importance of using both emic-and etic-derived response items in future efforts aimed at examining cultural differences in emotional experiences.

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

## 8. Study 5: momentary experiences of pride in China (based on both emic and etic approaches)

Study 5 further tested whether Chinese individuals' momentary, state experiences of pride reveal the hypothesized two-facet structure. Specifically, we asked participants to write about an actual pride experience and then rate the extent to which a set of pride-related words characterized their subjective feelings during the experience. In addition, we examined whether the two pride facets are elicited by distinct cognitive processes, and whether these processes are similar to that found in the U.S., by content-coding their pride narratives. Prior research has found that, among Americans, authentic pride is underpinned by attributing positive events to internal, unstable, controllable causes (e. g., one's own effort), whereas hubristic pride is underpinned by attributing the same positive events to internal, stable, uncontrollable causes (e.g., one's own ability; Tracy & Robins, 2007). The goal of this final study was both to provide one more replication of the two-facet structure of

pride in an Asian cultural context, but also to provide the first test of whether the two facets are in Asia are associated with similar cognitive processes as in the U.S.

## 8.1. Method

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

## 8.2. Procedure

**8.2.1. Pride narrative**—Participants were instructed to “Think about an event which made you feel very proud of yourself. Describe what led up to your feeling this way and how you felt at that time, in as much detail as you can remember.” This task is a version of the well-established Relived Emotion Task (Ekman, Levenson, & Friesen, 1983), which has been shown to effectively manipulate emotional experiences and produce emotion-typical subjective feelings and physiology (Ekman et al., 1983; Levenson, 1992), and used effectively by Tracy and Robins (2007) to elicit momentary experiences of both facets of pride in the U.S. After providing open-ended narrative responses, participants were asked to rate the extent to which each of the 63 pride-related words used in Study 2—which was comprised of both indigenously generated Chinese words and words translated into Chinese from the American pride scales—described their feelings during the event, using a scale ranging from 1 (“not at all”) to 5 (“extremely”).

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

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

### 8.3. Results and discussion

**8.3.1. Are there two dimensions of the pride experience?**—We conducted an exploratory factor analysis on participants' ratings of the 63 pride-related feeling states that occurred during the pride event participants described. Consistent with Studies 1–4, a scree test indicated two factors; eigenvalues for the first 6 factors were 13.39, 12.41, 3.11, 2.67, 2.34, and 1.93, and the first two factors accounted for 40.94% of the variance; the correlation between the two oblimin-rotated factors was .06.

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

To statistically examine the extent to which these two pride factors replicated those found in Study 2, which emerged from Chinese participants' dispositional ratings of the same words, we computed correlations between the profile of factor loadings obtained in Studies 2 and 5. These correlations (which are computed across the 63 items, not across people), indicate the extent to which items that have a high (vs. low) loading on each factor in Study 2 also have a high (vs. low) loading on each factor in Study 5. Results indicated that authentic pride factors correlated .90 across studies, and hubristic pride factors correlated .92, across studies, both  $ps < .01$ . The strength of these correlations indicates the robustness of the two factors in China. Moreover, for authentic pride, the loadings for the seven words ranged from .77 to .68, and were similar in magnitude to those observed in the U.S. in prior work, which ranged from .79 to .61 (Tracy & Robins, 2007). For hubristic pride, the loadings ranged from .79 to .74, and again were similar to those observed in the U.S., which ranged from .88 to .63. Thus, the effect sizes of the two pride factors were similar among Chinese and Americans.

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

## 9. General discussion

The primary goal of the present research was to provide the first test of whether the two-facet structure of pride, previously found and replicated across eight studies in North

America, characterizes the structure of pride in Mainland Chinese and South Korean cultures. Using a combined emic (indigenous) and etic (external, comparative) approach, in which pride-related concepts were derived from Mainland Chinese and South Korean participants, and exported from the U.S. and translated, we found that East Asian individuals' conceptualizations of pride and their actual pride experiences—both trait and state—are characterized by two distinct dimensions that parallel authentic and hubristic pride as found in the West. As further evidence of their distinction, among Chinese participants these two facets are associated with distinct causal attributions and show divergent associations with the Big Five Factors of personality, self-esteem, narcissism, and proneness to two negative self-conscious emotions, guilt and shame. These patterns, which bear striking resemblance to those found in the U.S., indicate that, in China, authentic pride is elicited when individuals attribute their successes to unstable and controllable causes (i.e., effort) and is associated with a more adaptive, pro-social, and achievement-oriented personality profile. In contrast, hubristic pride is experienced when individuals attribute their successes to ability and not to effort, and hubristic pride is associated with largely maladaptive and anti-social profile.

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

One potential limitation of this research, however, is that the current results may, to some extent, represent participants' intuitions about pride in Western cultures, rather than their own subjective experience of pride, as experienced in their local culture. This possibility arises because a subset of the pride-related words used in those studies were derived with an emic approach in which Chinese and South Korean participants generated words to describe the emotions they saw expressed by Caucasian actors—rather than Asian actors—displaying the pride expression. However, given that these words form only a very small subset of the pride-related words examined across the six studies, and that this limitation does not apply to results based on the etic approach, we think it highly unlikely that our findings were substantially driven by any impact of this methodological feature. Furthermore, prior studies have found that people across highly diverse cultures—including a small-scale traditional society in Burkina Faso—recognize pride expressions shown by Caucasian Americans at rates almost identical to that for expressions shown by members of their own cultural group (Tracy & Robins, 2008), suggesting that the Asian participants in the present research are unlikely to have interpreted the images they viewed any differently than they would if these expressions had been portrayed by Asian actors. Nonetheless, future research should examine the structure of pride using pride-related labels applied to

photographs of actors who share participants' ethnicity, as well as a wider range of emic-based methods.

A second limitation of the studies presented here involves the assumption that the Chinese and South Korean respondents sampled in fact hold the collectivistic values that are traditionally characteristic of their cultures. This assumption has been called into question by recent evidence indicating that a large segment of these societies, particularly those belonging to the younger age groups sampled in our studies, have faced strong pressures to adopt more individualistic values (e.g., Cho, Mallinckrodt, & Yune, 2010; Park & Kim, 2006), raising the possibility that these groups are not as dissimilar to Americans in their cultural values and self-construals as previously assumed. As a result, future work should directly assess the individualistic–collectivistic orientation of respondents in East Asia to establish the distinctiveness of Chinese and Korean populations from Americans, and thus the meaningfulness of the comparisons made here.

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

## 10. Implications

By providing evidence for the cross-cultural generality of the two facets of pride in China and Korea—two cultural contexts in which pride in personal achievements (particularly hubristic pride) is likely to be viewed as socially undesirable—the present findings provide support for the notion that the two facets are human universals. Given the importance of modesty and self-derision in Chinese culture, and the well-replicated finding of reduced self-enhancement among individuals from Asian compared to North American cultures (Heine & Hamamura, 2007; Heine et al., 2007), it is difficult to imagine how, or why, a highly cognized cultural distinction between two facets of pride—an emotion central to self-enhancement processes—would be as reliably identified and endorsed if the two-facet structure was not a human universal. Furthermore, the finding that there is a form of pride—authentic pride—that is positively associated with a range of adaptive and pro-social personality traits in Mainland China suggests that the links between each facet of pride and broader personality processes may also be universal. Again, it is difficult to imagine that these East Asian cultures would have simultaneously developed and fostered a cultural norm that is antagonistic to self-enhancement and a form of pride that is positively linked to a largely pro-social and psychologically healthy personality profile, if these associations were not already in place by virtue of a universal emotional architecture.



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

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

## Supplementary Material

Refer to Web version on PubMed Central for supplementary material.

## Acknowledgments

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## Appendix A Supplementary material

Supplementary data associated with this article can be found, in the online version, at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2015.01.004>.

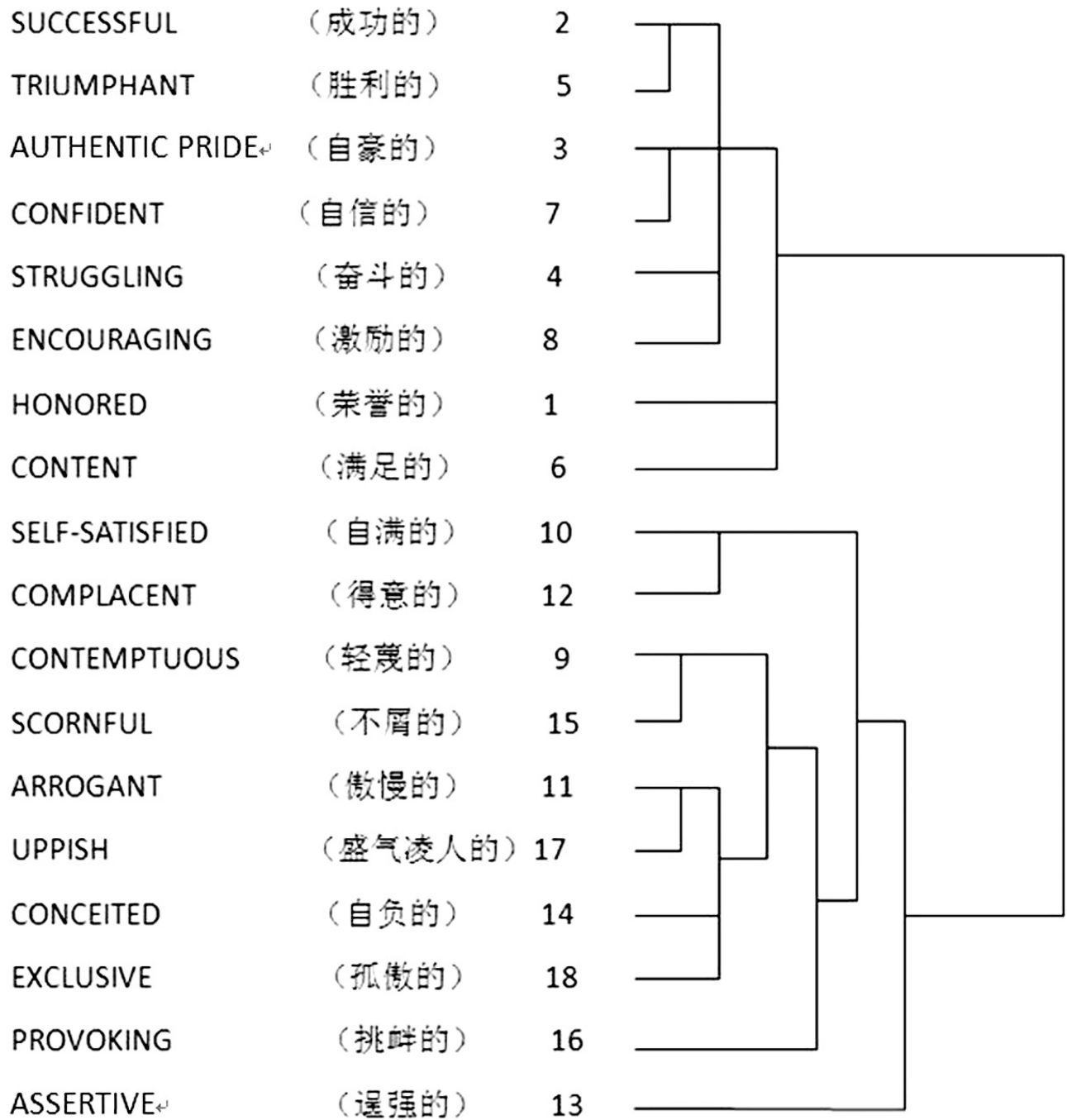
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**Fig. 1.**  
Dendrogram of hierarchical structure of pride-related constructs in Mainland China,  
produced from hierarchical cluster analysis (Study 1).

**Table 1**

Factor loadings of pride-related words in mainland china (rated as a dispositional trait in Study 2 and as a momentary state in Study 5).

Items	Study 2 (dispositional trait)		Study 5 (momentary state)	
	Factor 1 (authentic pride)	Factor 2 (hubristic pride)	Factor 1 (authentic pride)	Factor 2 (hubristic pride)
Competent	<b>0.78</b>		<b>0.64</b>	
Productive	<b>0.78</b>	−0.17	<b>0.69</b>	−0.16
Glorious	<b>0.73</b>		<b>0.60</b>	0.17
Brilliant	<b>0.71</b>		<b>0.58</b>	<b>0.35</b>
Achievable	<b>0.71</b>	−0.18	<b>0.68</b>	−0.19
Vigorous	<b>0.70</b>	−0.17	<b>0.67</b>	0.25
Successful	<b>0.68</b>	−0.19	<b>0.68</b>	−0.21
Triumphant	<b>0.68</b>	−0.13	<b>0.73</b>	
Substantial	<b>0.68</b>	−0.22	<b>0.74</b>	
Genuinely proud	<b>0.66</b>	−0.16	<b>0.64</b>	
Dynamical	<b>0.65</b>		<b>0.65</b>	
Complacent	<b>0.64</b>		<b>0.51</b>	<b>0.36</b>
Contributive	<b>0.64</b>	−0.15	<b>0.48</b>	0.12
Enterprising	<b>0.63</b>	−0.12	<b>0.58</b>	<b>0.34</b>
Self-valued	<b>0.62</b>		<b>0.56</b>	
Honored	<b>0.59</b>	−0.14	<b>0.64</b>	
Dedicative	<b>0.59</b>	−0.14	<b>0.54</b>	0.14
Satisfied	<b>0.59</b>	−0.11	<b>0.64</b>	
Happy and contented	<b>0.58</b>		<b>0.45</b>	<b>0.36</b>
Full	<b>0.58</b>	−0.29	<b>0.61</b>	
Confident	<b>0.57</b>		<b>0.62</b>	
Strenuous	<b>0.55</b>	−0.24	<b>0.77</b>	
With complete confidence	<b>0.54</b>		<b>0.74</b>	
Encouraging	<b>0.53</b>	−0.28	<b>0.62</b>	−0.21
Abundant	<b>0.51</b>		0.28	0.18
Progressive	<b>0.50</b>	−0.40	<b>0.68</b>	0.15
Struggling	<b>0.50</b>	−0.34	<b>0.63</b>	−0.22
Content and grateful	<b>0.48</b>		<b>0.63</b>	0.13
Well-pleasing	<b>0.48</b>		<b>0.71</b>	
Versatile	<b>0.47</b>		0.16	0.13
With chest and head high	<b>0.46</b>		<b>0.59</b>	0.20
Satisfactory	<b>0.45</b>	−0.12	<b>0.52</b>	0.15
Peak state	<b>0.42</b>	0.21	<b>0.46</b>	<b>0.41</b>
Consistently effortful	<b>0.41</b>	−0.30	<b>0.33</b>	
Content	<b>0.33</b>		<b>0.49</b>	
Egoistic		<b>0.73</b>		<b>0.63</b>



Items	Study 2 (dispositional trait)		Study 5 (momentary state)	
	Factor 1 (authentic pride)	Factor 2 (hubristic pride)	Factor 1 (authentic pride)	Factor 2 (hubristic pride)
Sarcastic		<b>0.72</b>	<b>-0.31</b>	<b>0.61</b>
Disparaging		<b>0.71</b>	-0.22	<b>0.74</b>
Supercilious		<b>0.67</b>		<b>0.74</b>
Arrogant	0.13	<b>0.66</b>		<b>0.76</b>
High-handed		<b>0.66</b>	-0.11	<b>0.79</b>
Despising	0.16	<b>0.66</b>	-0.20	<b>0.79</b>
Hubristically proud	0.25	<b>0.65</b>		<b>0.76</b>
Swaggering	<b>0.38</b>	<b>0.64</b>		<b>0.56</b>
High above	0.12	<b>0.63</b>		<b>0.79</b>
Contemptuous		<b>0.63</b>	-0.26	<b>0.71</b>
Offish	-0.19	<b>0.61</b>	<b>-0.33</b>	<b>0.52</b>
Self-righteous	0.24	<b>0.61</b>		<b>0.74</b>
Showy	<b>0.35</b>	<b>0.60</b>	0.23	<b>0.46</b>
High-hat	<b>0.30</b>	<b>0.58</b>		<b>0.74</b>
Scornful	0.15	<b>0.58</b>		<b>0.61</b>
Ostentatious	<b>0.32</b>	<b>0.58</b>		<b>0.51</b>
Conceited	0.16	<b>0.57</b>		<b>0.64</b>
Peacockish	0.18	<b>0.56</b>		<b>0.52</b>
Uppish	0.18	<b>0.56</b>		<b>0.60</b>
High and mighty	<b>0.47</b>	<b>0.55</b>	0.25	<b>0.61</b>
Provoking	<b>0.40</b>	<b>0.54</b>	-0.15	<b>0.63</b>
Overwhelming	0.27	<b>0.54</b>		<b>0.59</b>
Exclusive	-0.12	<b>0.52</b>	-0.21	<b>0.67</b>
Self-satisfied	<b>0.36</b>	<b>0.46</b>	0.19	<b>0.42</b>
Dissocial	-0.29	<b>0.43</b>	-0.26	<b>0.58</b>
Assertive	<b>0.33</b>	<b>0.33</b>		0.25
Snobbish		<b>0.32</b>	-0.26	<b>0.40</b>

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

*N* = 87 for Study 2, *N* = 100 for Study 5. Loadings < |.10| are not presented, and loadings > |.30| are shown in bold.

**Table 2**

Correlations of authentic and hubristic pride with the big five factors, shame- and guilt-proneness, and self-esteem and narcissism among Chinese participants (Study 2).

	Authentic pride	Hubristic pride
Extraversion	0.62 **	−0.11
Agreeableness	0.33 **	−0.44 **
Conscientiousness	0.59 **	−0.22 *
Neuroticism	−0.57 **	.30 **
Openness	0.36 **	0.04
Shame-proneness <sup>a</sup>	−0.35 **	−0.01
Guilt-proneness <sup>a</sup>	0.39 **	−0.44 **
Self-esteem <sup>b</sup>	0.15 *	−.08
Narcissism <sup>b</sup>	0.40 *	0.11

Note:  $N = 87$ .

\*  $p < .05$ .

\*\*  $p < .01$ .

<sup>a</sup> Shame-proneness scale is “guilt-free” shame (i.e., shame-proneness controlling for guilt-proneness, following Tangney and Dearing (2002).

<sup>b</sup> Self-esteem scale is “narcissism-free” self-positivity (i.e., self-esteem controlling for narcissism, following Paulhus et al., 2004).

**Table 3**

Factor loadings of Korean-derived pride related items in South Korea (Study 3a).

Item	Dispositional trait		Momentary state	
	Factor 1 (authentic pride)	Factor 2 (hubristic pride)	Factor 1 (authentic pride)	Factor 2 (hubristic pride)
Accomplished	<b>.88</b>	–.20	<b>.88</b>	–.23
Satisfied	<b>.86</b>	–.14	<b>.78</b>	–.10
Confident	<b>.84</b>	.11	<b>.84</b>	.14
Self-worth	<b>.84</b>	.13	<b>.84</b>	.15
Victorious	<b>.84</b>		<b>.84</b>	
Self-confident	<b>.82</b>	.12	<b>.78</b>	.24
Proud (positive/neutral)	<b>.76</b>	.18	<b>.87</b>	
Successful	<b>.76</b>		<b>.84</b>	
Noble	<b>.64</b>	.24	<b>.63</b>	.10
Triumphant	<b>.43</b>	<b>.54</b>	<b>.54</b>	<b>.55</b>
Haughty	–.22	<b>.80</b>		<b>.75</b>
Ostentatious	–.11	<b>.77</b>	–.36	<b>.78</b>
Stuck-up	.14	<b>.74</b>	.22	<b>.56</b>
Superior	.18	<b>.70</b>	.33	<b>.66</b>
Proud (negative)	.10	<b>.65</b>	.22	<b>.76</b>
Conceited	.17	<b>.62</b>	.33	<b>.66</b>

*Note:* All of these 16 words were used for both trait and state ratings.

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

**Table 4**

Factor loadings of U.S.-derived pride scale items in South Korea (Study 3b).

Items	Dispositional trait		Momentary state	
	Factor 1 (authentic pride)	Factor 2 (hubristic pride)	Factor 1 (authentic pride)	Factor 2 (hubristic pride)
Accomplished	<b>.89</b>	-.16	<b>.88</b>	-.22
Successful	<b>.87</b>		<b>.89</b>	
Fulfilled	<b>.83</b>		<b>.82</b>	
Self-worth	<b>.77</b>	.20	<b>.85</b>	.15
Achieving	<b>.73</b>	.18	<b>.81</b>	
Confident	<b>.70</b>	.25	<b>.83</b>	.17
Productive	<b>.70</b>		<b>.74</b>	
Arrogant		<b>.81</b>		<b>.82</b>
Smug	.14	<b>.76</b>	.13	<b>.79</b>
Pompous	-.16	<b>.75</b>		<b>.59</b>
Egotistical		<b>.68</b>	-.15	<b>.67</b>
Conceited	.17	<b>.67</b>	<b>.40</b>	<b>.56</b>
Stuck-up	.21	<b>.63</b>	.26	<b>.63</b>
Snobbish		<b>.58</b>	-.22	<b>.61</b>

*Note:* All of these 14 words were used for both trait and state ratings.

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

**Table 5**

Factor loadings of Korean- and U.S.-derived pride scale items in South Korea (Studies 3a and 3b combined).

Item	Dispositional trait		Momentary state	
	Factor 1 (authentic pride)	Factor 2 (hubristic pride)	Factor 1 (authentic pride)	Factor 2 (hubristic pride)
Accomplished	<b>.87</b>	–.19	<b>.85</b>	–.26
Satisfied	<b>.85</b>	–.11	<b>.75</b>	–.11
Fulfilled	<b>.84</b>	–.15	<b>.83</b>	
Self-worth	<b>.83</b>	.12	<b>.87</b>	
Successful	<b>.79</b>		<b>.84</b>	–.10
Confident	<b>.78</b>	.15	<b>.86</b>	
Self-confident	<b>.77</b>	.15	<b>.81</b>	.17
Victorious	<b>.76</b>		<b>.83</b>	
Proud (positive/neutral)	<b>.74</b>	.16	<b>.86</b>	
Achieving	<b>.71</b>	.15	<b>.76</b>	
Noble	<b>.61</b>	.24	<b>.58</b>	.11
Productive	<b>.53</b>		<b>.66</b>	
Arrogant		<b>.80</b>		<b>.83</b>
Haughty	–.20	<b>.78</b>	.12	<b>.68</b>
Pompous	–.14	<b>.75</b>		<b>.59</b>
Smug	.15	<b>.69</b>	.12	<b>.75</b>
Ostentatious		<b>.66</b>	–.20	<b>.66</b>
Stuck-up	.19	<b>.64</b>	.29	<b>.49</b>
Proud (negative)	.10	<b>.63</b>	<b>.31</b>	<b>.73</b>
Superior	.21	<b>.59</b>	<b>.43</b>	<b>.55</b>
Conceited	.17	<b>.58</b>	<b>.42</b>	<b>.54</b>
Egotistical	.12	<b>.47</b>	–.14	<b>.58</b>
Triumphant	<b>.44</b>	<b>.47</b>	<b>.62</b>	<b>.43</b>
Snobbish		<b>.42</b>	–.10	<b>.52</b>

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

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

**Table 6**

Factor loadings of Korean-derived pride items in the U.S. (Study 4).

Item	Dispositional trait		Momentary state	
	Factor 1 (authentic pride)	Factor 2 (hubristic pride)	Factor 1 (authentic pride)	Factor 2 (hubristic pride)
Successful	<b>.89</b>		<b>.87</b>	
Self-confident	<b>.87</b>	–.11	<b>.89</b>	
Victorious	<b>.82</b>	.15	<b>.77</b>	.23
Confident	<b>.80</b>		<b>.78</b>	
Self-worth	<b>.80</b>	–.19	<b>.82</b>	–.15
Accomplished	<b>.79</b>		<b>.77</b>	
Satisfied	<b>.78</b>		<b>.84</b>	–.12
Triumphant	<b>.77</b>	.17	<b>.75</b>	.22
Noble	<b>.51</b>	.14	<b>.50</b>	.32
Stuck-up	–.18	<b>.89</b>	–.18	<b>.88</b>
Haughty		<b>.78</b>		<b>.76</b>
Conceited	.03	<b>.77</b>		<b>.78</b>
Ostentatious	.12	<b>.74</b>	.14	<b>.74</b>
Superior	.19	<b>.69</b>	.30	<b>.61</b>

*Note:* All of these 14 words were used for both trait and state ratings.

*N* = 203. Loadings < |.10| are not presented, and loadings > |.30| are shown in bold.



**Table 7**

Correlations of authentic and hubristic pride factor scores and causal attribution dimensions in Mainland China (Study 5).

	Authentic pride	Hubristic pride
Attribution to ability	0.20 <sup>†</sup>	0.24 <sup>*</sup>
Attribution to effort	-0.02	-0.26 <sup>*</sup>
Attribution to self as opposed to behavior	0.10	0.29 <sup>*</sup>

Note:  $N = 92$ .

<sup>†</sup>  $p < .10$ .

<sup>\*</sup>  $p < .05$ .