

Authentic and Hubristic Pride: Is the Distinction also visible in Ourselves?

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Abstract

Previous studies have implicated that pride exists of two facets: *authentic* achievement-oriented pride and *hubristic* self-aggrandizing pride. Since this structure is based on attitudes towards others expressing pride, the current thesis investigated whether the two-facet structure is still apparent when judging yourself. Participants were shown one of two photos representative for a posture of pride, either arms up or arms akimbo, and were asked to judge the expression. Depending on the condition they were in they were asked to judge the person in the photo (observer condition) or imagine themselves as the person in the photo (actor condition). Based on literature regarding actor-observer differences and the hot-cold empathy gap, in the actor condition less mentions for hubristic pride and attributions to trait/characteristics were expected than in the observer condition. Likewise, less hubristic pride mentions were expected for arms up than for arms akimbo. Results indicated effects for posture and gender, but no effect for perspective (actor-observer). In the arms up condition there were more mentions for effort, and less for hubristic pride and trait than in arms akimbo. The gender difference was in such a way that women scored higher on authentic pride, rather than the expected higher score of men on hubristic pride. The current thesis thus implies no actor-observer difference. Regarding posture differences, further research is needed since the postures were thought to measure pride in the same manner. Moreover, the difference seems based on a distinction between hubristic pride versus triumph, not versus authentic pride.

Key words: pride, authentic, hubristic, emotion, two-facet structure, effort, trait, actor, observer, posture, triumph, Dutch culture

Pride in our everyday lives is treated as a singular emotion, but according to Tracy and Robins (2007b) it consists of two facets. This thesis will discuss these authentic and hubristic facets of pride and tries to discover whether the structure is also apparent when judging yourself expressing pride rather than judging someone else. Before exploring these two facets, it is important to look at what is meant exactly when we talk about the emotion pride.

When people think about emotions, they tend to think only about the six universally recognised emotions by Paul Ekman. Happiness, sadness, fear, disgust, anger and surprise are known for their recognition by the sole facial expression in different cultures (Ekman & Cordaro, 2011). Pride is an emotion that we all know as well, but it differs from these universal emotions because it is harder to come up with a straightforward image and definition. Researchers do not agree upon one definition of pride, though something can be said about the elicitation of pride. A study by Tracy and Robins (2003) suggests that pride is elicited when individuals “(a) direct attentional focus toward the self; (b) appraise an event as relevant to and congruent with their identity goals; and (c) attribute the cause of the event to internal factors”.

Pride also differs from Paul Ekman’s universal emotions because it is a self-evaluative emotion; it depends on the ability to form accurate self-representations. When people experience pride, a mental form of self-reference occurs (Sullivan, 2007). An universal emotion such as surprise is not a self-evaluative emotion and consequently does not require such self-representations (Tracy & Robins, 2007a).

Recent research by Tracy and Robins (2004) suggests that even for the expression of the self-evaluative emotion pride, a combination of certain postures and facial features are characteristic and can be recognized across cultures. In their study they showed that an expanded posture with either hands in fists raised above the head or hands on the hips (called *akimbo*), head tilted slightly backwards and a smile, could be recognised as pride by most people.

Based on these results, later research (Tracy & Robins, 2007b) argued that pride exists of the aforementioned two facets, namely authentic pride and hubristic pride. This distinction is based on whether people attribute their feelings of pride to internal or external factors. People are said to experience authentic pride when they attribute proud feelings to their efforts in accomplishing something. Hubristic pride on the other hand occurs when people attribute their feelings to the self. Therefore authentic pride can be seen as an achievement-oriented facet of pride, whereas hubristic pride can be seen as a self-aggrandizing facet of pride. That authentic pride can be seen as an achievement-oriented facet of pride has been supported by several studies. Weidman, Tracy and Elliot (2015) were the first to provide evidence that authentic pride not only motivates achievement-oriented behavior but also results in actual improvement on achievement tasks. The direct relationship between self-aggrandizing and hubristic pride has received less attention.

Shi et al. (2015) further supported the existence of this two-facet structure of pride by showing that it could not only be found in a North-American population, but also in both a Korean and a Chinese sample. Their study was not solely based on looking at the conceptualizations of pride but also included dispositional tendencies and momentary experiences of pride. Moreover, they took both an emic and etic approach to their study in order to be able to understand the culture but also look at it from a more objective perspective. Shi et al. (2015) were thus able to take into account a broad picture of pride and compare it between cultures, confirming the existence of the two-facet structure beyond the North-American culture.

Even though the evidence for the two-facet structure of pride seems quite robust, there has been some critique on the scales developed to measure these facets. Holbrook, Piazza and Fessler (2013) found that the hubristic pride scale did not measure feelings of pride, but the extent to which someone had shown pride in an excessive manner. Scores on hubristic pride were correlated with participants' sensitivity to social evaluations of the self and their perceptions of

not being deserving of true credit for success (Holbrook et al., 2013). Tracy and Robins (2014) have responded to this paper by concluding that the findings by Holbrook et al. (2013) only applied to one of the four components of the authentic/hubristic (A/H) model, namely the attribution of hubristic pride. Holbrook et al. (2013) found that people were to report greater hubristic pride when they were boasting in their glory. Tracy and Robins (2014) however explained that this corresponds exactly with their conceptualization of hubristic pride: “an exaggerated form of pride that is less rooted in actual achievements than authentic pride”. Therefore they concluded that the critique points had no consequences for their model as a whole.

Nonetheless, in most of the research confirming the two-facet structure of pride, the same type of method was used. A method that claims to measure experiences of pride, while it is actually more focused on measuring attitudes towards someone expressing pride rather than actual experiences. Participants had to judge which emotion was expressed on a photo representing a typical posture for pride (Tracy & Robins, 2004). The open answers participants gave were then analysed in a follow-up study by pairing up those answers that were coded as very prototypical for pride. This resulted in 190 word pairs of 20 pride related words. People were asked to rate to what extent they felt as if the word pairs measured something similar, in order to find out whether there are different facets of pride. Using a hierarchical cluster analysis, judgement of these word pairs resulted in two different clusters representing authentic pride and hubristic pride (Tracy & Robins, 2007b). But if people have to describe their own feelings of pride, would they really say that they experience themselves to be proud in a hubristic manner (think of items such as arrogant, stuck-up and conceited)? It is not hard for people to judge others, but would you really say that you yourself experience hubristic pride? Maybe the two-facet structure is apparent when thinking about pride in others, but not in ourselves.

A study by Nordgren, McDonnell and Loewenstein (2011) suggests that judgements differ between people who are in a hot state and people who are in a cold state. This phenomenon

is called the hot-cold empathy gap. People in a cold state tend to underestimate the way they would react in a hot state (Loewenstein, 2005; Sayette, Loewenstein, Griffin, & Black, 2008). Nordgren et al. (2011) focused on judgements of people who had experienced torture (hot state) and people who had not (cold state), but their results could be relevant for this thesis. When people judge themselves, this could be seen as a hot state because you have feelings and emotions related to your self-image. Judging others on the contrary can be regarded as a cold state, since no personal feelings are attached. The current thesis will attempt to investigate whether the clear distinction between two facets of pride is still present when people reflect the posture of pride on themselves (hot state) instead of others (cold state). Therefore the hypotheses based on the difference between the actor (hot state) and observer (cold state) conclude:

Hypothesis 1a: Participants in the actor condition are less likely to come up with ‘negative’ responses than participants in the observer condition (negative responses meaning ‘arrogant, stuck-up, egotistical, etc.).

Hypothesis 1b: Participants in the actor condition score lower on hubristic pride in comparison to participants in the observer condition. No difference in the score on authentic pride is expected.

Tracy and Robins (2004) have used photos that are recognized universally as postures for pride: with raised hands in fists above the head and arms akimbo. Even though their research concluded that the first posture could be distinguished from happiness very well, the posture could be seen as more exuberant. For instance, when people celebrate a victory their first reaction is often to raise hands above their heads as well. A recent study by Matsumoto & Hwang (2012) even found strong evidence that a posture with arms up above the head might be better labelled triumph than pride. So the posture might be seen as a more genuine feeling of self-worth that people would sooner relate to authentic pride than hubristic pride. Combining this notion of victory/triumph with the two types of pride, the following hypotheses are expected:

Hypothesis 2a: Photos with the arms akimbo posture are more likely to be judged with ‘negative’ responses than photos with the posture with hands raised in fists above the head.

Hypothesis 2b: Photos with the arms akimbo posture are rated higher on hubristic pride than photos of the posture with hands raised in fists above the head. No difference for authentic pride is expected.

In the research on hubristic and authentic pride, there has not been much emphasis on a possible gender difference. A meta-analysis by Else-Quest, Higgins, Allison, and Morton (2012) found negligible differences in gender for both authentic and hubristic pride. However, the authors admitted that their sample of experiences of pride was not variable enough. A study by Tracy and Robins (2007b) has actually demonstrated that men scored higher on the hubristic pride scale than women did. For the scale of authentic pride, there was no difference in gender. Their study was also included in the meta-analysis by Else-Quest et al (2012) but was one of the only studies with an item type based on adjectives. One other study that used the same item type of adjectives (Orth, Robins, & Soto, 2010) found the exact same pattern as did Tracy and Robins (2007b). Since in this study the items for hubristic pride and authentic pride are based on those same adjectives, the following is expected:

Hypothesis 3: Male participants rate the photos higher on the hubristic pride scale than female participants. For the authentic pride scale, no difference in gender is expected.

Considering the focus of this thesis is on the difference between conditions, it is important to take into account the actor-observer difference. Several studies concerning the actor-observer difference have focused on attribution of behavior. Ruble (1973) already found that actors tended to attribute successes to environmental factors, while observers were more likely to attribute behavior to dispositions of people. These results have been replicated in more recent studies

(Harré, Brandt, & Houkamau, 2004). In addition, Abele, Bruckmüller and Wojciszke (2014) showed that observers might react more negatively in terms of arrogance and unfairness when judging other people's behavior. These results on actor-observer differences can be administered to the current thesis. If it is the case that observers and actors are thought to differ in their attributions of behavior, the following is expected:

Hypothesis 4a: Participants in the observer condition are more likely to attribute the expression to trait/characteristics on the open questions than participants in the observer condition. No difference for attributions regarding effort/hard work is expected.

Hypothesis 4b: Participants in the actor condition are more likely to rate higher on 'effort/hard work' than participants in the observer condition.

Hypothesis 4c: Participants in the observer condition are more likely to rate higher on 'trait/characteristics' than participants in the actor condition.

Method

Participants

A random sample is taken from the Dutch population ($N = 423$), $n_{\text{♀}} = 295$, $M_{\text{age}} = 33.63$, $SD = 15.96$ (originally $N = 427$, 4 excluded due to age < 18)). Dutch participants were approached through social media. Participants were informed that they don't receive any form of compensation and that their participation is completely voluntary and anonymous. After this, their consent to participate in the study was obtained. At the end of the questionnaire participants received a short debriefing about the aim of the study. Moreover, participants were given an email address in case they had any further questions, remarks, or wanted to learn more about the study.

Design & Procedure

Participants had to fill in an online questionnaire, made using Qualtrics. The design for the study was a 2 (Arms raised or Akimbo) x 2 (Actor or Observer condition) between subjects

design. Firstly, participants were shown one of two photos representing a posture of pride that can be recognized across cultures: arms raised or arms akimbo. These photos were selected from multiple photos representing a pride posture in previous research by Tracy and Robins (2004). The photos chosen for this study were restricted to those of a white male (Figure 1 & 2, Appendix). Hence participants were shown either a photo of a white male with his hands in fists raised above his head or of a white male with arms in akimbo. Secondly, participants were randomly assigned to either an ‘observer’ condition or an ‘actor’ condition. In the observer condition participants were asked “Which emotion is being expressed in this photo?” and in the actor condition participants were asked “If you were the person in the photo, which emotion would you be expressing?” Participants had to either answer the question just observing the man in the photo or they had to imagine themselves as the person in the photo.

After answering the open ended question regarding the emotion in the photo, participants were asked to rate either their observation or their imagined feeling of the emotion on the scales of authentic pride and hubristic pride. Both the authentic pride (1. *Accomplished*, 2. *Like I am achieving*, 3. *Confident*, 4. *Fulfilled*, 5. *Productive*, 6. *Like I have self-worth*, 7. *Successful*) and the hubristic pride scales (1. *Arrogant*, 2. *Conceited*, 3. *Egotistical*, 4. *Pompous*, 5. *Smug*, 6. *Snobbish*, 7. *Stuck-up*) consist of seven items each. These items were all rated on a 5-point scale (ranging from 1: *totally disagree* to 5: *totally agree*).

Subsequently participants were asked to think about a possible cause for the emotion that was expressed in the form of an open question. In the observer condition participants were asked “If you have to think about a cause for the emotion being expressed, what cause would you think of? In other words, why do you think this person expresses this emotion?”. In the actor condition participants were asked “If you were the person in the photo and you would have to think about a cause for the emotion being expressed, what cause would you think of? In other words, why would you express this emotion?” After this open question, participants were asked to rate to

what extent they would ascribe the emotion to the following two items: 1. *Effort/Hard work* and 2. *Traits/characteristics*. These items were also rated on a 5-point scale (ranging from 1: *totally disagree* to 5: *totally agree*). At last general questions regarding gender and age had to be filled in.

For the open questions regarding emotion and cause three different types of categories were established. For both emotion and cause the open answers were scanned by two coders who individually tried to come up with categories that were applicable to the given responses. After agreeing and deciding upon definite categories, the open answers were categorized by each coder individually. For emotions one set of categories was established: 1. *Pride*, 2. *Victory*, 3. *Happiness/Euphoria*, 4. *Satisfied/Content*, 5. *Self-Confident*, 6. *Sturdy* ('stoer' in Dutch, no perfect (back)translation could be found), 7. *Arrogant*, 8. *Other*. For causes two different sets of categories were established. One set contained categories in which the type of cause was identified: 1. *Sports/Winning a game*, 2. *Passing (driver's license/diploma/exam)*, 3. *Positive (news)*, 4. *Goals reached/Achievement*, 5. *Victory*, 6. *Self-Confident*, 7. *Other*, 8. *Non-response*. The other set regarding cause looked at whether the mentioned cause could be attributed to effort or trait, resulting in the following categories: 1. *Effort/Hard Work*, 2. *Trait/Characteristics*, 3. *Neither*. An overview of all categories including examples of given answers, can be found in Table 1 (Appendix).

Results

Reliability and PCA on the Pride Scales

The items of the hubristic pride scale and the authentic pride scale were subjected to a reliability analysis and principal component analysis (PCA) using SPSS version 22. We excluded item five from the hubristic pride scale ('smug') from further analyses, since it seemed to measure something different from the other items of the hubristic pride scale. The reliability analysis resulted in a good internal consistency (Nunnally, 1978) of both the authentic pride scale

($\alpha = .77$) and the hubristic pride scale ($\alpha = .85$, compared to old $\alpha = .82$ which included item five). The principal component analysis revealed the presence of three components containing eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 28.6%, 23.6% and 8.7% of the variance respectively. The scree plot on the other hand showed a clear break after two components, therefore two components were retained for the further study.

Pride, Effort and Trait by Perspective, Posture and Gender

A MANOVA was performed with perspective, posture and gender as independent variables and hubristic pride, authentic pride, effort and trait as dependent variables. The MANOVA revealed significant main effects for posture, Wilks' $\lambda = .90$, $F(4, 412) = 11.23$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$ and for gender, Wilks' $\lambda = .97$, $F(4, 412) = 2.86$, $p = .023$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. No significant effects were found for perspective ($p = .410$) nor for any of the interactions: perspective* posture ($p = .097$), perspective*gender ($p = .623$), posture*gender ($p = .186$) and perspective*posture*gender ($p = .780$). Therefore hypothesis 1b concerning a possible difference in scores on pride between the actor and observer condition, is only partly confirmed. The expected difference in hubristic pride between perspectives is not found, but the idea that there is no difference in authentic pride between perspectives on the contrary is confirmed. Hypotheses 4b and 4c regarding expected differences between perspectives in effort and trait are completely disconfirmed, since there is no effect of perspective.

The main effect of posture is significant on hubristic pride ($F(1, 415) = 33.400$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$), effort ($F(1, 415) = 11.000$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$) and trait ($F(1, 415) = 10.417$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$), but not on authentic pride ($p = .190$). Participants reported significantly more hubristic pride in the arms akimbo condition ($M = 2.715$, $SD = .840$) than in the arms up condition ($M = 2.265$, $SD = .831$). These results are consistent with hypothesis 2b: in arms akimbo more hubristic pride is mentioned than in arms up, but no difference on authentic pride is expected. Participants also reported significantly greater perceived effort in the arms up ($M = 4.255$, $SD = 1.008$)

condition than in the arms akimbo condition ($M = 3.867$, $SD = 1.065$) and significantly less perceived trait in the arms up condition ($M = 3.453$, $SD = .970$) than in the arms akimbo condition ($M = 3.716$, $SD = .928$). Considering the partial eta squared, the effect sizes can be considered small to medium for hubristic pride ($\eta_p^2 = .07$) and quite small for effort ($\eta_p^2 = .03$) and trait ($\eta_p^2 = .02$) (Pierce, Block & Aguinis, 2004).

The main effect of gender is only significant on authentic pride ($F(1, 415) = 9.330$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$) and not on hubristic pride ($p = .241$), effort ($p = .072$) or trait ($p = .227$). Females reported significantly more authentic pride ($M = 4.116$, $SD = .623$) than males ($M = 3.919$, $SD = .596$), but considering the effect size this effect can be considered quite small ($\eta_p^2 = .02$). This effect is opposite to hypothesis 3, which described an expected effect only for hubristic pride in which males would score higher than females. No difference in authentic pride was expected, which in the results is exactly the variable that did show a significant difference in gender.

Categories for the open ended questions

The categorizations of the coders were compared and inter-rater reliability was calculated. Inter-rater reliability was high for categorizing emotions ($k = .918$, $p < .001$) and causes ($k = .928$, $p < .001$). The Kappa Measure of Agreement for effort-trait categories was lower ($k = .798$, $p < .001$) but still of an acceptable level (Peat, 2001).

Frequencies for all types of categories were calculated to figure out whether the main effect of posture was also visible in the open answers that were given. Since differences in perspectives were negligible for these frequencies as well, only differences in postures will be mentioned (for an overview of percentages including perspective, see Table 2, 3 and 4 in the Appendix). This already provides disconfirmation for hypothesis 1a which expected a difference between perspectives in the emotions mentioned. All notable differences between postures in the categories will be specified below. For an overview of clear graphs visualizing these differences, see the Appendix (Figure 3, 4 and 5).

Emotion categories

Regarding emotion, participants in the arms up condition mentioned more Happiness/Euphoria (35.4%) and Victory (28.3%) than participants in the arms akimbo condition (8.1%, 2.4%). Participants in the arms akimbo condition on the other hand cited more Pride (45%) and Satisfied/Content (13.7%) than participants in the arms up condition (26.4%, 4.2%). Moreover, another mentionable difference was in Self-Confident: participants in arms akimbo mentioned more Self-Confident (16.1%) than participants in the arms up condition, who barely mentioned emotions related to Self-Confident (.5%). Overall this provides partial support for hypothesis 2a which expected a difference in the recalled emotions between postures. This distinction is clearly visible in several categories as mentioned above. Yet the distinction is not in such a way that participants in the arms up condition recalled more mentions relating to authentic pride and participants in the arms akimbo condition recalled more mentions relating to hubristic pride.

Cause categories

Participants in the arms up condition mentioned more Sport/Winning a game (25%) and more Victory (34.9%) than participants in the arms akimbo condition (6.2%, 6.6%). In the arms akimbo condition on the contrary, more Goals reached/Achievement (58.3%) was mentioned than in the arms up condition (24.5%). Self-Confident was only mentioned in the arms akimbo condition (10%) and not once in the arms up condition.

Effort-Trait categories

Further, the mentioned causes were rated for effort-trait, but the distinction between postures was less strong for this category. More mentions regarded Effort/Hard work (96.2%) in arms up and less Trait/Characteristics (.9%) than in arms akimbo (82%, 10.9%). This provides only little support for hypothesis 4a, which expected that participants in arms akimbo would mention more causes related to Trait/Characteristics than participants in arms up.

Trait/Characteristics were indeed mentioned more often mentioned in the arms akimbo condition than in the arms up condition, but the difference might not be big enough for strong support of the hypothesis.

Discussion

The main research question for this thesis was to uncover whether there is a difference in judging pride when we judge others versus when we judge ourselves. Based on literature regarding actor-observer differences and the hot-cold empathy gap, it was expected that you would mention less hubristic pride when judging yourself than when you are judging someone else. However, no difference in perspective was found on any of the dependent variables in both the multiple choice and open ended questions. It could be that imagining that you are the person in the photo is not a strong enough manipulation to get an actual ‘actor-effect’. In previous studies on actor-observer differences participants were judging behavior that they themselves had acted out beforehand or had to act out, instead of solely having to imagine themselves doing so (Harré, Brandt & Houkamau, 2004). This accounts for the hot-cold empathy gap as well, participants had to for example actually quit smoking for a certain amount of time to truly get in that ‘hot’ state (Sayette et al., 2008). Maybe participants in the current thesis did not focus enough on themselves to actually imagine themselves standing in the same posture as the man in the photos, thereby making the distinction between conditions too weak. Later on in this discussion, and idea for future studies to strengthen this manipulation will be discussed.

Main effects of posture and gender were found. The effect of posture was significant on hubristic pride, effort and trait, while gender was significant only on authentic pride. Reliability analyses and factor analyses indicated good reliability. Although, item five of the hubristic pride scale (‘smug’) was not measuring what it was supposed to measure. The item ‘smug’ correlated more with authentic pride items than with hubristic pride items, which indicates that the item might not measure what it is meant to measure. It could be that some people had trouble

understanding a couple of items in the scales. Certain participants reported trouble with understanding items four ('smug'), five ('snobbish') and six ('stuck-up') of the hubristic pride scale. All items were translated and back-translated to make sure that the Dutch items were measuring the same thing as the English items. However, maybe item five of the hubristic pride scale ('smug') is associated with different things in the Dutch language than in the English language. Research by van Zyl and Meiselman (2015) has before shown the important role language has regarding associations with emotion concepts. They focused on the English and the Spanish culture and found that one English emotion could result in two different emotion labels in the Spanish culture with two different meanings and thus different associations. It could be that 'smug' is directly associated with really negative ideas in the American culture, while the Dutch translation ('zelfvoldaan') has the exact same meaning translation-wise but might be associated with less negative images. When describing people, 'zelfvoldaan' is not really a term that people will quickly use for someone who maybe has an arrogant expression in their face. Smug on the other hand might be used in that way sooner.

The main effect of posture found in this thesis gives an important insight in the way people view the postures labelled as pride in previous studies. The arms up posture was seen as significantly higher in effort, and lower in trait and hubristic pride than the akimbo posture. These results correspond with the literature that supported hypothesis 3. Matsumoto & Hwang (2012) found that the posture of pride with arms up could be better labelled as triumph than as pride. The categories mostly mentioned in the arms up condition related to Sports/Winning a game and Victory, which corresponds with Matsumoto & Hwang's findings (2012). The results point out that holding your hands up above your head can be seen more as a celebratory reaction, an expression of triumph, rather than pride. The finding that the category Happiness/Euphoria was recalled in the arms up condition more than in the arms akimbo condition also provides support for this idea.

Moreover, if previous studies regarding pride would be replicated such as the one by Tracy and Robins (2007b) researching the two-facet structure of pride, this study would indicate different findings and conclusions. The strong two-facet structure they found through word pairings and hierarchical cluster analysis, seems to be attributable to a difference in pride and triumph rather than a difference between two facets of pride. Moreover, follow-up studies researching that two-facet structure of pride with the same photos, could possibly have found results applicable to a difference in postures rather than an actual difference in pride facets. If it is triumph and pride rather than two facets of pride, this study has implications for the view people apparently have when judging someone whom they think is expressing pride. In the arms up condition more triumph was mentioned. The arms akimbo posture on the other hand was categorized more as pride, but was also rated higher on hubristic pride and attributed more to trait/characteristics. That would indicate that people associate a posture they think is reflecting pride more with the hubristic pride facet. For these conclusions further research is needed. Currently it is not clear whether triumph is a different construct or whether it is in some way related to authentic pride. The results definitely show the importance for future studies to test whether these differences between postures can be replicated. Especially since the distinction was even noticeable when participants had to come up with answers themselves for the open ended questions.

Contrary to previous studies and the expected outcome, a main effect of gender was found in such a way that women perceived more authentic pride than men did. Overall many studies did not focus on a possible gender effect and when they did find a gender effect it was only on hubristic pride (Orth, Robins, & Soto, 2010; Tracy & Robins, 2007b). Thus in this thesis a gender difference was found exactly on the facet of pride that had not before shown any possible gender differences. It could be that women perceive someone that is thought of as showing pride differently from men. Maybe women judge men who look confident and proud differently from

the way men judge them. A study by Tracy and Beall (2011) showed that pride was the expression thought of as most attractive in males by females. Men on the other hand, when judging females, thought of females as least attractive when they had a proud expression. Of course in the current study there was no emphasis on sexual attractiveness. However, if women tend to perceive proud men as attractive, they might also rate them higher on 'favourable' items on a scale in comparison to men. In this case these 'favourable' items would be the items of authentic pride. Moreover, men might not see this extra positivity in the male in the photo and therefore rate lower on the authentic pride items. This explanation seems to only apply to the condition in which participants were asked to judge others, though if women already perceive the man more favourable it will probably influence the way they imagine themselves in the posture as well. The same accounts for men: already viewing a woman as less positive can influence the manner in which you imagine yourself in the posture. This aspect of attraction can thus provide an explanation for both the actor and the observer condition.

Limitations

As discussed above, one limitation of this study is that the manipulation of the actor condition might not be strong enough to obtain a clear distinction between perspectives. Therefore it is possible that a difference between judging others and judging yourself expressing pride does exist, but that the manipulation was not strong enough to measure that possible difference (below 'future research' an idea to strengthen the manipulation is discussed).

A second limitation of this study is the extent to which the results can be generalized. Only two pictures were chosen, both of a white male, in order to be able to obtain enough participants for the comparison between postures and perspectives. However, the main effect of gender for females scoring higher on authentic pride, does give rise to the question whether this effect would still be there when women have to judge a female instead of a male. With the current results there is not enough support for the attraction explanation.

Lastly, another limitation of this study is that it used a Dutch population. Results differing from previous studies could be attributable to possible cultural differences, since those studies used samples from the American population. The American and Dutch culture seem quite similar since they both have a culture low in honor values (Novin, Tatar and Krabbendam, 2015). Research by Mosquera, Manstead and Fisher (2000) indicates that the extent to which pride is expressed is higher for these low-honor cultures because expressing pride can have a socially positive effect, whereas it can be damaging for the feeling of interdependence in cultures scoring higher on honor values. That would indicate that participants from a Dutch culture would have the same associations when it comes to showing and judging pride as people from an American culture would have.

However, even though these cultures seem quite similar, they show differences on Hofstede's cultural dimensions of individualism/collectivism and masculinity/femininity that could indicate differences in judging pride. The Dutch culture scores high on individualism and femininity. The American culture scores even higher on individualism than the Dutch culture, and scores high on masculinity instead of femininity (Hofstede, n.d.). Individualistic masculine cultures are focused on being able to look after yourself and are driven by competition, achievement and success. Feminine cultures contrariwise are more focused on caring for others and quality of life. Americans grow up in a culture surrounded by a mentality of competition, so they might have less appreciation for seeing someone else who is doing well and showing pride. It could thus be that the reason that we found a less pride-related view on the arms up photo is because Americans are more judgemental of other's success than Dutch people. In the current Dutch sample participants tended to see the arms up posture as a victory/triumph celebration, while Americans have been shown to view it as a form of pride that can even have a certain negative aspect attached to it (hubristic pride).

Future research

Future studies should first and foremost focus on the perceiving differences between the postures found in this study. The differences in posture found in this study could possibly be attributed to cultural differences between the Dutch and the American culture. If the difference between postures can be replicated in an American sample, this would have big implications not only for future research on pride but also on studies of pride based on the two postures now universally seen as pride expressions.

Moreover, based on these differences between postures, research should try to figure out to what extent triumph and authentic pride are related. In the arms akimbo condition pride was not only mentioned as a cause more, but also more hubristic pride was mentioned. No difference in authentic pride was noted, though there was a clear difference in categories of victory. The current thesis thus gives an indication that maybe the two-facet structure is a structure relatable to triumph versus hubristic pride. If other studies can provide evidence that authentic pride and triumph are related, the current concept of authentic pride might have to be adjusted.

A follow-up study could also try to replicate the current study but with a strengthened manipulation for the actor condition, since the used manipulation of the condition might be too weak. It is hard to actually let actors act out the action themselves, because first of all you cannot force someone to feel proud on the spot. Secondly, the chance that they would then show one of the postures naturally is too small. Therefore, participants could be asked to stand in front of a mirror and hold one of the two postures for a certain amount of time. Standing in front of a mirror has previously been supported as a measure that manipulates self-focus (Carver & Scheier, 1978). Once you are more focused on the self, you are also more focused on any feelings or thoughts you might have. Such strengthening of the manipulation could make the distinction between perspectives clearer, because participants truly see themselves embodying the posture.

Lastly, future research could include both photos of men and women. It would be interesting to see whether the main effect of gender is different when judging photos of women and photos of men. This could be especially insightful, since the given explanation for the main gender effect in this study is based on attractiveness. This attractiveness explanation indicates an interaction effect between gender of participants and gender of people in the photo. Future research including both genders in the pictures could test whether an interaction effect can be found and thus whether the attractiveness explanation holds.

Conclusion

The main objective for this study was to find out whether there is a difference between judging pride in others and judging pride in yourself. Even though no such difference between perspectives was found, this could possibly be attributed to the strength of the manipulation. The existence of perspective differences should thus not immediately be ruled out. The differences between postures found in this study give important insights into the overall idea of pride and the manner in which pride has been measured up until now. The results indicate that the difference between these postures is in a manner of triumph and effort on the one hand for arms up and hubristic pride and trait/characteristics on the other hand for arms akimbo. The categorizations even implicated that people judged those whom they mentioned as expressing pride with more negative aspects (arrogant, self-confident) and more hubristic pride. These findings would indicate that when people perceive someone as expressing pride, they intend to have a judgement of pride related to hubristic pride.

Future studies should try to figure out whether the arms up and arms akimbo postures measure something different. Moreover, it is important to understand whether the triumph versus hubristic pride structure can be compared to the two-facet structure of pride. In other words, is triumph in some way related to authentic pride or do the current findings indicate the possible existence of another structure? Studies including an American sample are needed to be able to

exclude cultural differences as a possible explanation for the current findings. However, it can be concluded that the differences between postures found in this study give rise to a lot of questions concerning the two-facet structure of pride.

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Appendix

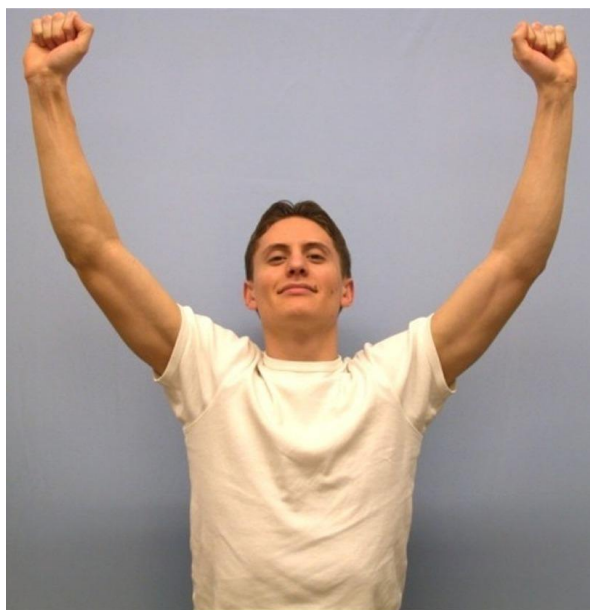


Figure 1. Posture recognizable as pride – Arms up (Tracy & Robins, 2004)



Figure 2. Posture recognizable as pride – Arms akimbo (Tracy & Robins, 2004)

Table 1
Categories for open questions with Dutch examples of answers given

Emotion	Cause	Effort-Trait
1. Pride <i>Trots</i>	1. Sports/Winning a game <i>Wedstrijd gewonnen</i>	1. Effort/Hard work <i>Prestatie geleverd, Iets bereikt, Gewonnen</i>
2. Victory <i>Overwinning, Juichen, Victorie</i>	2. Passing (driving test/diploma/exam) <i>Tentamen, Diploma gehaald, Geslaagd</i>	2. Trait/Characteristics <i>Persoonlijkheid, Arrogant, Stoer, Indruk maken</i>
3. Happiness/Euphoria <i>Blijdschap, Vreugde</i>	3. Positive news <i>Sollicitatie, Auditie gehaald</i>	3. Neither <i>Enig kind, Loterij gewonnen</i>
4. Satisfied/Content <i>Tevreden, Voldaan</i>	4. Goals reached/Achievement <i>Prestatie geleverd, Iets bereikt</i>	
5. Self-Confident <i>Zelfverzekerd, Zelfvertrouwen</i>	5. Victory <i>Overwinning</i>	
6. Sturdy <i>Stoer</i>	6. Self-Confident <i>Zeker van zichzelf</i>	
7. Arrogant <i>Arrogant</i>	7. Other <i>Gebrek aan aandacht, Moest van jullie, Enig kind</i>	
8. Other <i>Grootmoedig, Gespannen, Dapper</i>	8. Non-response <i>-</i>	

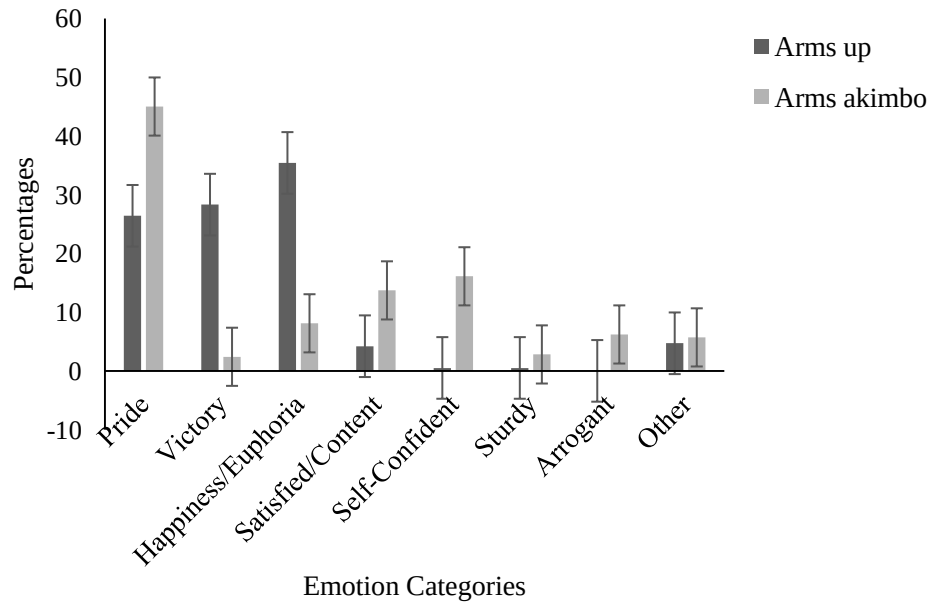


Figure 3. Frequencies in percentages for categories of Emotion by Posture

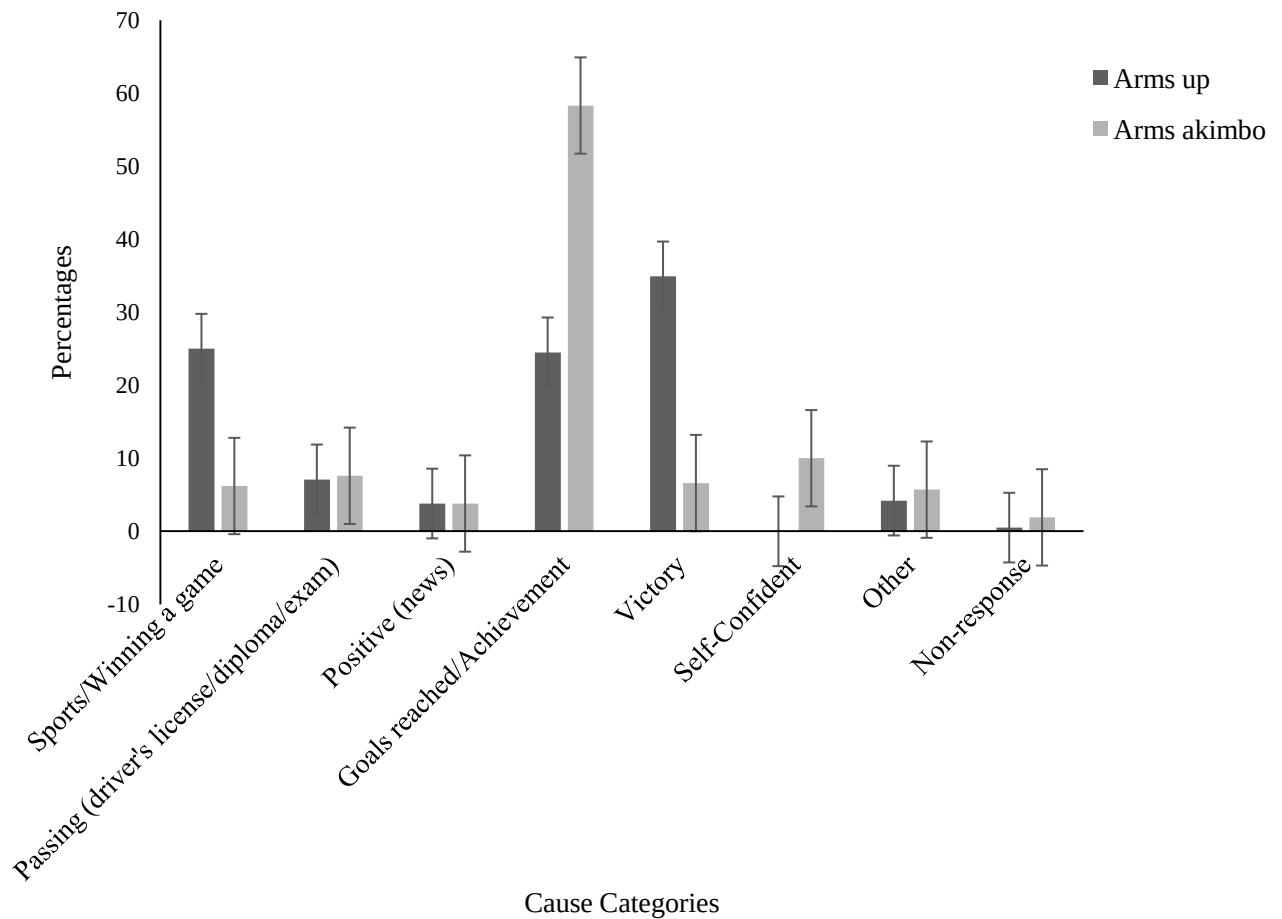


Figure 4. Frequencies in percentages for categories of Cause by Posture

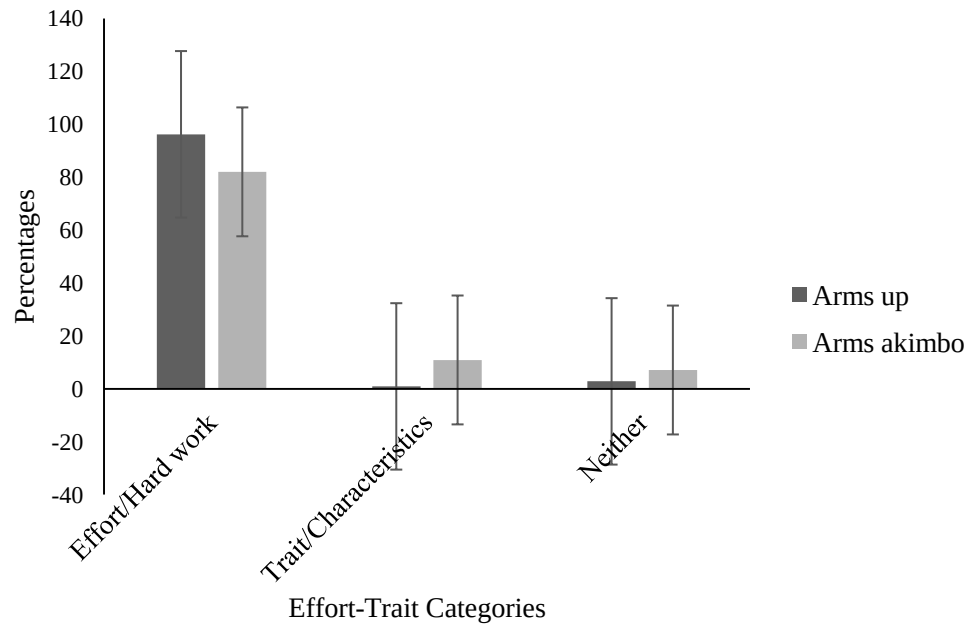


Figure 5. Frequencies in percentages for categories of Effort-Trait by Posture

Table 2
Frequencies in percentages for categories of Emotion by Posture and Perspective

Posture	Categories	Perspective	
		Other - Percentages	Actor - Percentages
Arms up	Pride	25.9	26.9
	Victory	30.6	26.0
	Happiness/Euphoria	36.1	34.6
	Satisfied/Content	2.8	5.8
	Self-Confident	0.0	1.0
	Sturdy	0.9	0.0
	Arrogant	0.0	0.0
	Other	3.7	5.8
	Total	100	100
Arms akimbo	Pride	49.1	40.2
	Victory	1.8	3.1
	Happiness/Euphoria	10.5	5.2
	Satisfied/Content	12.3	15.5
	Self-Confident	12.3	20.6
	Sturdy	3.5	2.1
	Arrogant	4.4	8.2
	Other	6.1	5.2
	Total	100	100

Table 3

Frequencies in percentages for categories of Cause by Posture and Perspective

Posture	Categories	Perspective	
		Other – Percentages	Actor-Percentages
Arms up	Sports/Winning a game	21.3	28.8
	Passing (driving test/diploma/exam)	5.6	8.7
	Positive (news)	3.7	3.8
	Goals reached/Achievement	30.6	18.3
	Victory	34.3	35.6
	Self-Confident	0.0	0.0
	Other	4.6	3.8
	Non-Response	0.0	1.0
	Total	100	100
Arms akimbo	Sports/Winning a game	7.0	5.2
	Passing (driving test/diploma/exam)	4.4	11.3
	Positive (news)	3.5	4.1
	Goals reached/Achievement	57.0	59.8
	Victory	8.8	4.1
	Self-Confident	12.3	7.2
	Other	5.3	6.2
	Non-Response	1.8	2.1
	Total	100	100

Table 4

Frequencies in percentages for categories of Effort-Trait by Posture and Perspective

Posture	Categories	Perspective	
		Other-Percentages	Actor-Percentages
Arms up	Effort/Hard work	96.3	96.2
	Trait/Characteristics	1.9	3.8
	Neither	1.9	0.0
	Total	100	100
Arms akimbo	Effort/Hard work	81.6	82.5
	Trait/Characteristics	12.3	9.3
	Neither	6.1	8.2
	Total	100	100