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The Display of Pride: An Exploration Across Social Contexts, Ethnic Heritage, and Gender

THESIS

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in Social Ecology

by

Hugo Sanchez Hernandez

Dissertation Committee:
Associate Professor Belinda Campos, Chair
Associate Professor Jessica L. Borelli
Professor Linda J. Levine

2020

DEDICATION

To

my family

For always believing in me. Through all of the financial challenges that we have gone through, you never stopped encouraging me to aim for a college education.

my friends and peers

I cannot express how much I appreciate your endless support and your ability to get me through the tough, stressful times.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The Display of Pride: An Exploration Across Social Contexts, Ethnic Heritage, and Gender

by

Hugo Sanchez Hernandez

Master of Arts in Social Ecology

University of California, Irvine, 2020

Associate Professor Belinda Campos, Chair

Pride is a complex self-conscious emotion that is linked with social status. As pride is also recognized for evoking undesired social consequences under certain contexts, individuals may decide to inhibit their pride. Although our understanding of the significance of pride displays is increasing, we know little about possible sources of variation in how it is displayed. I examined variation in pride displays across social context, ethnic heritage, and gender in an experiment where participants were video-recorded while describing an experience of pride in one of three social context conditions: a competitor, a loved one, or a stranger. Videos were coded for verbal and nonverbal displays of pride. Although there were no differences in pride displays by social context condition, ethnic variation was observed. Asian Americans described their pride experiences both less emotionally and less vividly than European Americans. Latino/a/x Americans described their pride experiences less vividly than European Americans. Gender differences were also observed. Women described their pride experiences with more emotion and intensity than did men. Discussion focuses on integrating these findings into the broader understanding of pride and considering future directions for the study of this important positive emotion with distinct implications for interpersonal relationships.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Expressing positive emotions is important for fostering mutually-rewarding interactions (Gable, Reis, Impett, & Asher, 2004). However, as displays of pride may not always elicit socially-rewarding responses (Gable & Reis, 2010), knowing when to manage the display of one's pride is an important part of effective communication. The current study aimed to (1) examine whether displays of pride differ by social context and (2) explore possible individual (i.e., ethnicity and gender) differences in displays of pride.

Pride is a complex positive emotion related to the regulation of self-esteem. Its display alerts others that one merits high status (Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2007b). When alerting others of one's achievements, displaying pride can elicit negative emotions in observers (Kalokerinos, Greenaway, Pedder, & Margetts, 2014; Lange & Crusius, 2015). For example, work by Kalokerinos et al. (2014) showed that participants evaluated winners who expressed more positive emotions more negatively than inexpressive winners. A key question then is: how can individuals display pride without suffering negative social consequences? Focusing on social context may hold the answer.

Why expect variation by social context?

Displays of pride may be most likely to have negative social consequences in the context of competition. According to the self-evaluation maintenance model, if the performance of a high-achieving individual is relevant to an observer (e.g., competitor), then the observer will suffer by comparing themselves to the high-achieving individual (Tesser, 1988). van Osch and colleagues (2018) found preliminary support for this, showing that participants inhibited expressions of pride more towards observers for whom the achievement was relevant. Thus,

research should continue examining whether pride displays are inhibited in competitive contexts. Additionally, there is reason to think that cultures and genders may vary in how much they value the expression of self-focused positive emotions.

Why expect variation by ethnicity and gender?

Findings indicate differences between individualistic and collectivistic cultures in how they value and express individual-focused emotions like pride (Eid & Diener, 2001). This literature has often examined East Asians (e.g., Eid & Diener, 2001), yet findings within collectivistic cultures have shown differences in positive emotion expressions (i.e., East Asian and Mexican heritage; Ruby, Falk, Heine, Villa, & Silberstein, 2012). Thus, more literature is needed that examines possible variation in pride displays within collectivistic cultures in addition to individualistic cultures. Additionally, the topic of gender differences should be considered. Current debates about whether there are differences between women and men in the experience of pride (e.g., Else-Quest, Higgins, Allison, & Morton, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2008) suggest it is important to further investigate the role of gender in pride displays.

Current Study

This study examined whether individuals' verbal and nonverbal displays of pride varied by social context. Supported by recent preliminary work (van Osch et al., 2018), I hypothesized that for verbal displays of pride, individuals would describe a prideful experience to a competitor less emotionally, less intensely, and less vividly than to a loved one or stranger. Due to discrepant findings on some nonverbal expressions (Campos, Shiota, Keltner, Gonzaga, & Goetz, 2013; Tracy & Robins, 2007a), I did not formulate hypotheses for nonverbal displays. My

secondary aim was to explore whether verbal and nonverbal displays of pride varied by ethnicity (i.e., Americans of Asian, Latino/a/x¹, and European heritage) and gender.

¹ Considering the differing viewpoints on what term is best or represents the group more accurately, I aim to be as inclusive as I can be by using Latino/a/x.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

Participants ($N = 110$; 74.5% women; $M_{age} = 21$ years) were undergraduates who were drawn from a larger dataset ($N = 146$).² For my question regarding ethnicity, I drew a sample of 117 participants from the larger dataset.³ Of this sample, participants self-identified as Asian American (50.4%), Latino/a/x American (34.2%), and European American (15.4%). All procedures were approved by the University's Institutional Review Board.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through the university social science participant pool. Upon arriving at the lab, participants were consented and led through study procedures, which they were told included taking part in the videotaped Emotion Expression Task.

Emotion Expression Task

Participants were seated at a table in front of a dome ceiling camera. They were instructed to talk about a school-related accomplishment that evoked pride as if another person was sitting in an empty chair across from them. The participants were randomly assigned to imagine that they were talking to either a competitor, loved one, or stranger. For the “competitor” condition ($n = 37$; 13 Asian Americans, 12 Latino/a/x Americans, 6 European Americans, 5 other, and 1 missing ethnicity data; 28 women), participants were instructed to imagine that they were talking to someone who initially believed would do better than the participant but did not. For the “loved one” condition ($n = 39$; 17 Asian Americans, 10 Latino/a/x

² 35 participants were excluded from larger dataset because they participated in a no-context study condition outside of my research question and 1 was excluded due to missing data.

³ 26 participants were excluded because they self-identified as “other” and 3 were excluded due to missing data.

Americans, 5 European Americans, and 7 other; 27 women), participants were instructed to imagine that they were talking to a significant other, family member, or close friend. For the “stranger” condition ($n = 34$; 17 Asian Americans, 8 Latino/a/x Americans, 1 European American, 7 other, and 1 unknown; 28 women), participants were instructed to imagine that they were talking to someone they had just met.

Measures⁴

Verbal Pride Displays

In order to examine how emotionally, intensely, and vividly the pride experience was described, the videotaped tasks were coded by three research assistants who were blind to the study conditions. Based on watching the full-length videos, they coded all participants on three questions using a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*): “How much emotion is the person showing?,” “How intense is the pride description?,” and “How vivid is the event description?” The three coders showed good interrater reliability ($ICCs = .72 - .81$) and their ratings for each question were averaged for each participant.

Nonverbal Pride Expressions

The following actions were operationalized as movements that represent the expression of pride: lip presses, raising of the head or head tilting up, one or both arms raised, hands on hips, arms crossed on chest, and chest expanded (Campos et al., 2013; Tracy & Robins, 2004; Tracy & Robins, 2007a). Additionally, the following actions that have been shown to less consistently characterize pride were coded: Duchenne smile (the contraction of muscles orbiting

⁴ As a manipulation check to test whether the Emotion Expression Task did elicit pride, participants were asked to rate the extent to which they were feeling pride on a scale of 1 (*no emotion*) to 7 (*intense emotion*).

the eye and the lifting of lip corners) and eye gaze directed straight ahead (Campos et al., 2013; Ekman, Davidson, & Friesen, 1990; Tracy & Robins, 2007a).

The three coders were trained to identify momentary expressions of pride by watching the full video with sound and identifying a meaningful momentary peak expression of pride (approximately 3- 5 seconds). These moments were typically when the participants mentioned the accomplishment and expressed it to the target. The momentary expression was selected if at least two coders identified that segment of video as a meaningful expression. When multiple meaningful expressions were evident and coders did not identify the same segment as a pride expression, the group met and came to agreement on which segment of video to select as a momentary expression of pride. Once a specific 3-5s segment had been identified as the most meaningful to code from each video, two different certified researchers coded three nonverbal expressions (lip presses, raising of the head, and Duchenne smiles) based on the presence of their facial muscle movements (0 = *Not present* and 1 = *Yes present*) using the Facial Action Coding System (FACS; Ekman & Friesen, 1978). The first team of three research assistants coded the other nonverbal expressions using a set of ratings, where the action was measured by their intensity level using a scale of 0 (*not at all present*) to 5 (*extreme intensity*). Coders showed good-to-excellent interrater reliability ($ICCs = .83 - .92$) and their intensity ratings for each expression were averaged for each participant.

Data Analyses

A review of ten comparable articles on positive emotion expressions revealed a pattern of medium to large effect sizes (e.g., van Osch, Zeelenberg, & Breugelmans, 2016). Based on that review, I estimated that a minimum of 21 participants for each of three groups ($N = 63$ participants) was needed for between-subjects Analyses of Variance (ANOVA) that had

appropriate statistical power to examine group differences with a large effect size (.40) at the recommended .80 level and at an alpha level of .05 (Cohen, 1992). G*Power confirmed a similar sample size ($N = 66$).

For verbal displays, I conducted separate between-subject ANOVAs for social context conditions, ethnic groups, and gender to examine differences in the emotionality, intensity, and vividness of participants' pride narratives. For nonverbal pride expressions, Pearson Chi-Square analyses were conducted to examine differences in presence of lip presses, raising of the head, and Duchenne smiles while between-subjects ANOVAs were conducted to examine differences in intensity levels of the other nonverbal expressions.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS⁵

Verbal Pride Displays

There were no differences between the three social context task conditions on any verbal pride displays. However, there were ethnic group differences on how emotionally, $F(2, 114) = 3.64, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .06$, and how vividly, $F(2, 114) = 4.74, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .08$, the pride experience was described (but not how intensely). Tukey post hoc tests showed that Asian Americans described the pride experience less emotionally ($M = 2.74; SD = .95$) than European Americans ($M = 3.37; SD = .90$), $p = .02$, 95% CI (-1.18, -0.08), and that both Asian Americans ($M = 2.52; SD = .77$), $p = .02$, 95% CI (-0.97, -0.07), and Latino/a/x Americans ($M = 2.44; SD = .57$), $p = .01$, 95% CI (-1.08, -0.12), described the pride experience less vividly than European Americans ($M = 3.04; SD = .80$). Results also showed that women described the pride experience with greater emotion ($M = 3.01; SD = .83$) than men ($M = 2.52; SD = 1.00$), $F(1, 106) = 6.13, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .06$, and with greater intensity ($M = 2.94; SD = .74$) than men ($M = 2.39; SD = .90$), $F(1, 106) = 9.70, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .08$. See Figure 1 in Appendix A for a visual of verbal pride display differences.

Nonverbal Pride Expressions

There were no differences between the three social context task conditions or between the three ethnic groups on any nonverbal pride expressions. However, women and men differed with

⁵ For the manipulation check, descriptive statistics showed that participants reported a mean pride rating of 5.56 ($SD = 1.63$) on a scale of 1 to 7. Between-Subjects ANOVA showed that the level of pride felt by participants did not differ across the three social context conditions, $p = .18$, across the three ethnic heritage groups, $p = .27$, or between women and men, $p = .78$.

respect to the presence of Duchenne Smiles, $\chi^2 (1) = 5.70, p = .02, V = .23$, and raising of the head, $\chi^2 (1) = 4.00, p = .045, V = .19$. Specifically, 42% of women showed a Duchenne smile in comparison to only 16% of men, whereas only 2% of women showed a raising of their head in comparison to 12% of men. See Table 1 in Appendix A for specific statistics.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

My findings reveal nuances in pride displays that are not yet part of the literature on positive emotions. As such, they are an important contribution to the study of pride specifically and emotions more generally.

Social Context

Contrary to what I predicted, individuals did not describe their pride experiences less emotionally, less intensely, and less vividly to competitors than to loved ones or strangers. One reason may be that the emotion, intensity, and vividness shown by the participants when describing their experience could have been tempered by covariation with other emotions that may have been felt when describing an achievement (e.g., gratitude over achievement). Future research should further examine whether pride experiences reliably co-vary with other emotion experiences in ways that individuals may describe these experiences with overlapping emotions.

Participants' nonverbal pride expressions also did not differ by condition, possibly due to a lack of base rates (i.e., floor effects) in these expressions (e.g., only three participants showed lip presses and only five showed raising of the head). My observations differ from the prototypical pride expressions (Campos et al., 2013; Tracy & Robbins, 2007a). However, most research on pride's display has been with posed expressions rather than people expressing feelings in real time. Additional exploration of pride displays across situations is needed to yield more insight on these intriguing patterns.

My findings also suggested that there may be more similarity than previously predicted in the display of pride across social contexts. In order to arrive at further conclusions, it will be important for future studies to not only explore *how* but also *why* participants express pride the

way they do across contexts. Further examining pride displays is important because how individuals decide to inhibit or not inhibit these displays influences the way observers will perceive those displays, impacting interpersonal relationships and communication.

Ethnicity

In regard to the verbal displays, Asian Americans and Latino/a/x Americans differed from European Americans, although no differences between ethnic groups were found in nonverbal expressions. Although literature supports the universality and cross-cultural recognition of the pride experience and expression (Chung & Robins, 2015; Shi et al., 2015; Tracy & Robins, 2008), norms about the acceptability of expressing individual pride may still vary across cultures, particularly when values around individualism and collectivism differ (e.g., individuals from Asian cultures endorse more emotional self-control; Chung & Robins, 2015). Americans whose ethnic heritage comes from collectivistic cultures may find the emotion of pride more undesirable than those from individualistic cultures (Eid & Diener, 2001), and thus may be more attuned to undesirable social consequences that may arise from displaying pride considering how individually-focused it is.

Of particular importance, there were no pride display differences between Asian Americans and Latino/a/x Americans. Although these two collectivistic cultures are rarely compared, Ruby et al. (2012) did find differences between the two (East Asian individuals preferring lower activation positive affect than Mexican individuals). Additionally, the two have been found to differ in other positive emotions (i.e., gratitude; Corona et al., 2020). Thus, my findings show that there may be nuances in how these collectivistic cultures display pride and other positive emotions, an important avenue of research that needs to be further explored.

Gender

For verbal displays, women described their pride experience with greater emotion and greater intensity. For nonverbal expressions, they showed more Duchenne smiles but less raising of the head when compared to men. Raising of head is in line with the way literature associates maleness with pride, as men may have heightened attunement to status as compared to women (Schram, Brandts, & Gërkhani, 2018) and may thus seek status-raising opportunities more. However, my finding that women described their pride experience with greater emotion and intensity and showed more Duchenne smiles is inconsistent with this idea. Although the discrepant literature on Duchenne smiles in pride displays may explain this, another possibility is that the women in this study expressed positive emotion more generally with greater intensity – not specific to pride – while indulging less in the status display aspect of pride (raising of the head) than men did. My findings may indicate that the relation between gender and pride displays is not as well-defined as norms would lead us to believe. Thus, future studies should continue to explore gender differences in pride displays, and studies of people with non-binary genders may be particularly insightful. Considering that our ideas about gender have changed, these research avenues will become more important as our social norms around status-seeking also change.

Study Strengths and Limitations

The strengths of this investigation include that I examined individuals from two collectivistic cultures, rather than from just one, for comparisons with European Americans (i.e., East Asian Americans and Latino/a/x Americans), that nonverbal expressions were coded based on facial muscle movements and body postures in addition to verbal displays, and that a behavioral performance task was used rather than asking participants to self-report their

likelihood of expressing pride in different contexts. However, study limitations include that participants imagined the social contexts, which may have limited potential for more natural expressions, and only undergraduates were included, limiting the generalizability of findings. Additionally, although the sample size was sufficient to detect large effects according to the power analysis, effect size variability in the literature means that we may have failed to detect medium effects if they existed.

Conclusion

This work adds to a growing understanding of pride. I hope that future studies continue to examine pride displays across social contexts, ethnicity, and gender, and as an additional next step, individuals' motivations for displaying pride. Additionally, recent research has found pride displays to vary between social rank signals of prestige (more related to authentic pride) and dominance (more related to hubristic pride; Witkower, Tracy, Cheng, & Henrich, 2020). Thus, it might be important to understand how displays might vary across different forms of pride and social rank signals. These various research avenues that expand on the current study will help us better understand positive emotions displays, which can contribute to the literatures on interpersonal emotion regulation, relationships, and intergroup relations while also helping us facilitate and improve our interpersonal relationships.

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APPENDIX
TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1

Statistics on the Differences in the Nonverbal Expressions of Pride

	Social Contexts				Ethnic Heritage				Gender			
	χ^2	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Lip Presses	.01		2	.99	.62		2	.73	.93		1	.34
Raising of Head	2.73		2	.26	2.51		2	.28	4.0		1	.045
Duchenne smiles	.63		2	.73	.36		2	.84	5.70		1	.02
Head Titling Up		.46	(2, 97)	.63		.56	(2, 104)	.57		.88	(1, 96)	.35
Arm/s raised		1.05	(2, 97)	.35		2.08	(2, 104)	.13		.04	(1, 96)	.84
Hands on Hips		NA*	NA*	NA*		NA*	NA*	NA*		NA*	NA*	NA*
Arms Crossed on Chest		.28	(2, 97)	.76		.73	(2, 104)	.49		.21	(1, 96)	.65
Chest Expanded		.63	(2, 97)	.53		1.51	(2, 104)	.23		.63	(1, 96)	.43
Eye Gaze Straight		1.25	(2, 97)	.29		1.18	(2, 104)	.31		1.91	(1, 96)	.17

Note. *All participants had a code of 0 (*not at all present*) for this non-verbal expression.

Figure 1

Differences in the Verbal Displays of Pride

