

The Nature of Pride

The Emotional Origins of Social Rank

Jessica L. Tracy

Department of Psychology, University of British Columbia



Richard Sherman and the Awesome Block

“I’m the best corner in the game. When you try me with a sorry receiver like Crabtree, that’s the result you gonna get.”

Richard Sherman and the Awesome Block



- “I’m the greatest athlete to live” -Usain Bolt



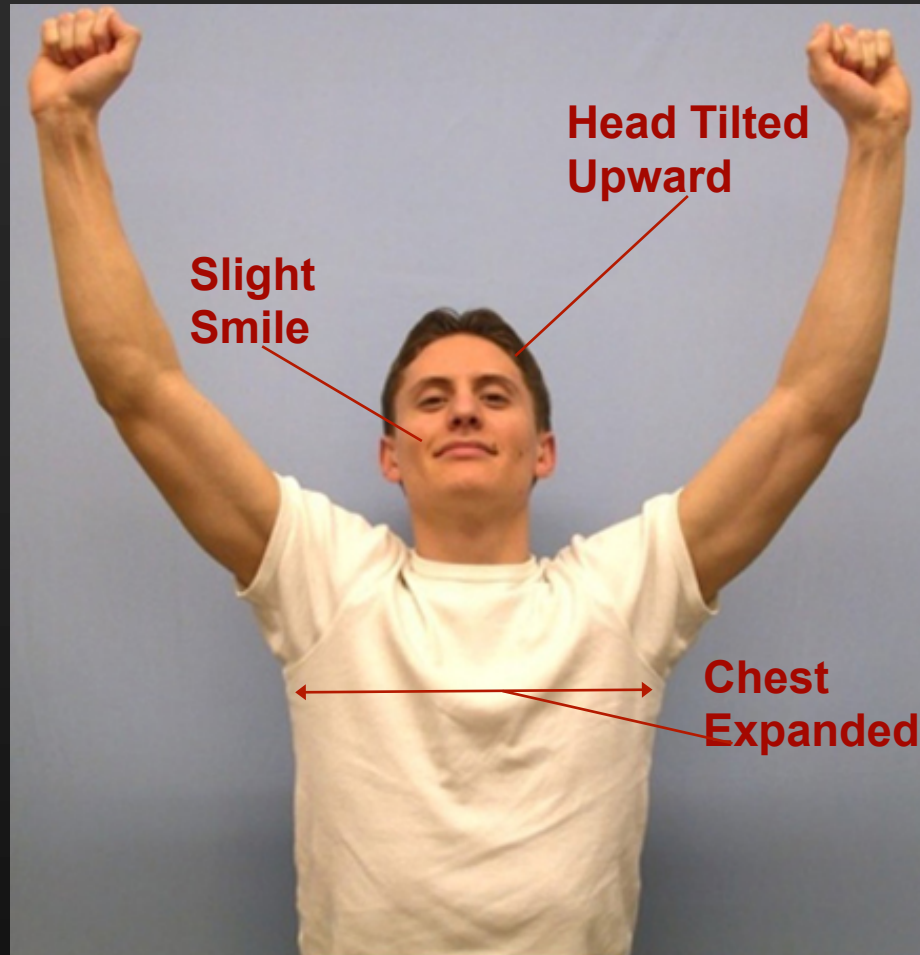
- “I was dreaming about being some dictator of a country or some savior like Jesus.”





The Pride Expression

Arms Raised



Folded



Akimbo



The Pride Expression

- Reliably recognized by adults
- Recognized by children as young as 4
- Recognized by adolescents on the autism spectrum
- Recognized quickly and automatically

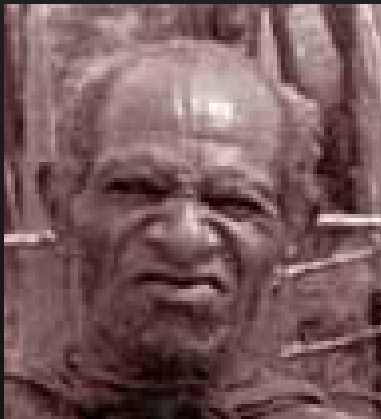


89%
recognize
this as pride

Tracy & Robins (2004, *Psych. Science*; 2008, *Emotion*); Tracy, Robins, & Lagattuta (2005, *Emotion*); Tracy, Robins, Schriber, & Solomon (2011, *JADD*)

Cross-Cultural Recognition of Emotions

- Ekman et al. (1969; 1971)
 - ❖ Found that Fore tribe in Papua New Guinea recognized Western emotion expressions
 - Anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise



Is Pride Universal?

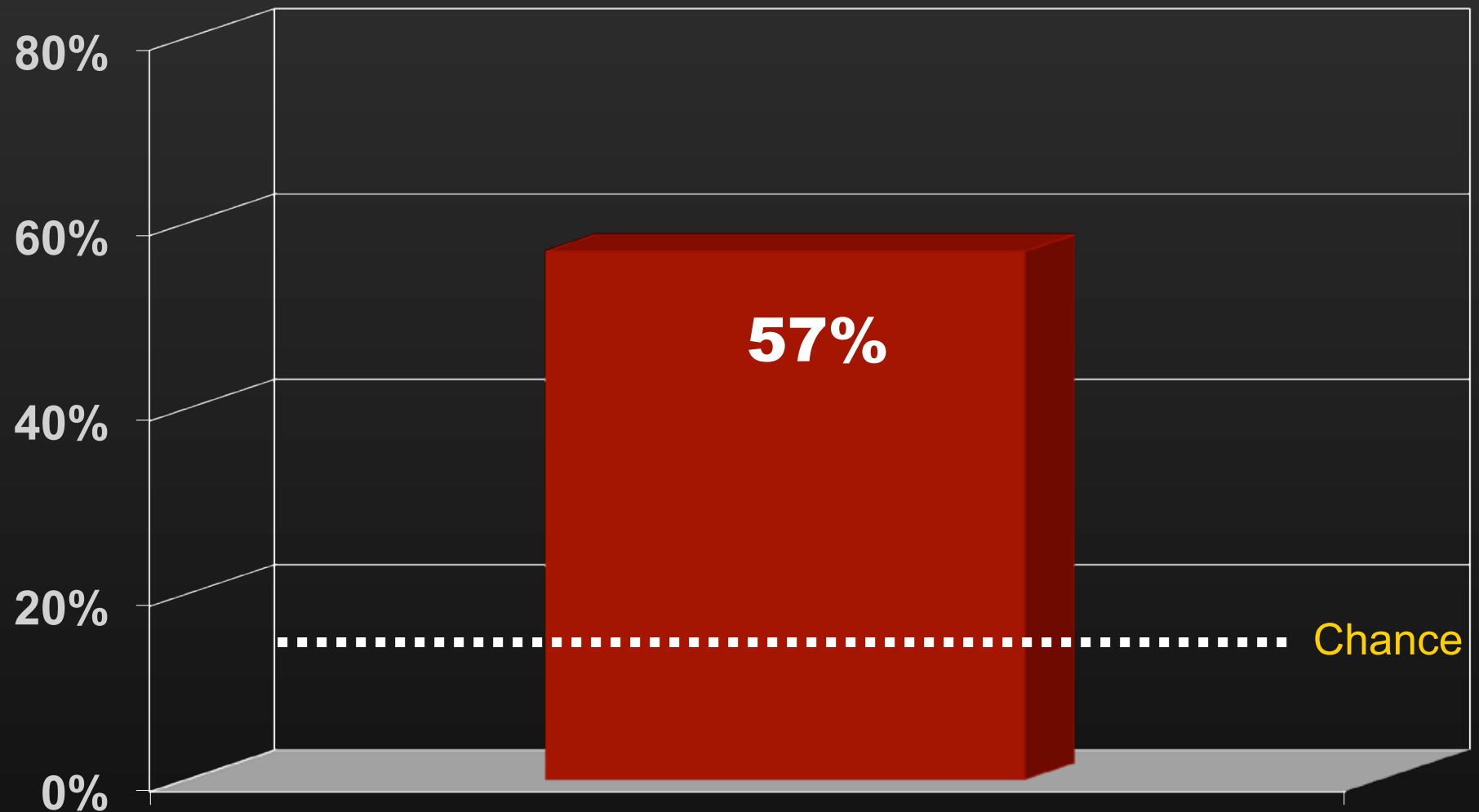


Burkina Faso Study

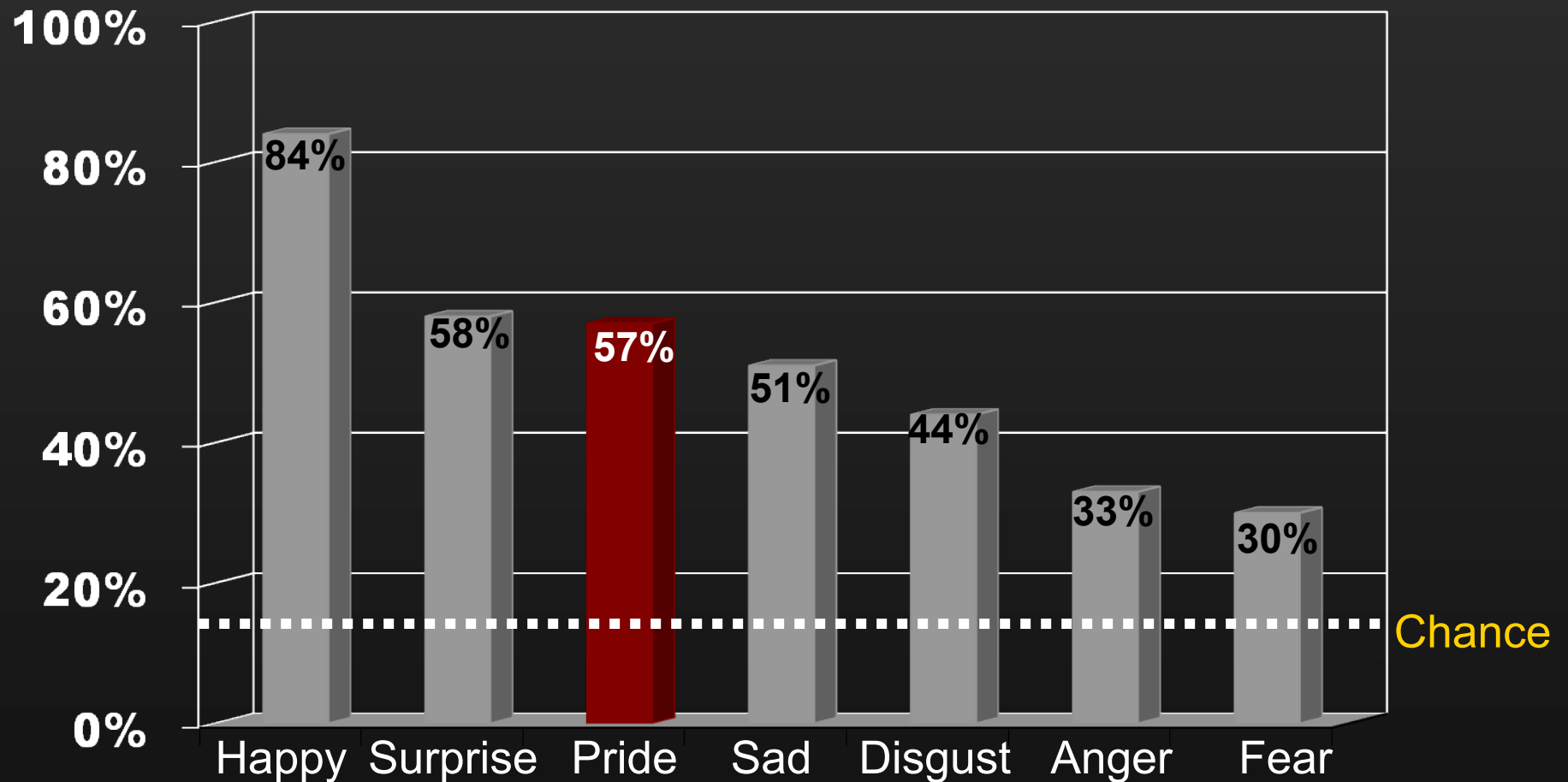
- Subsistence farmers
- Practice traditional, animistic religions
- Non-literate
- Minimal exposure to other cultures



Burkinabe Pride Recognition



Pride Recognition is Comparable to Other Emotions



Tracy & Robins (2008, *JPSP*)

Universal Expressions of Emotions



Surprise



Anger



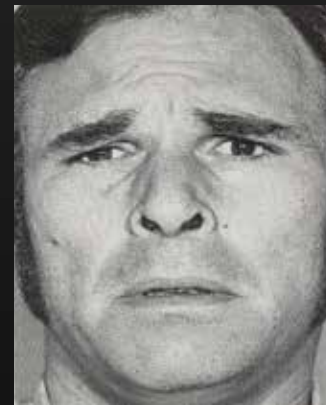
Disgust



Fear



Happiness



Sadness

Universal Expressions of Emotions



Surprise



Anger



Disgust



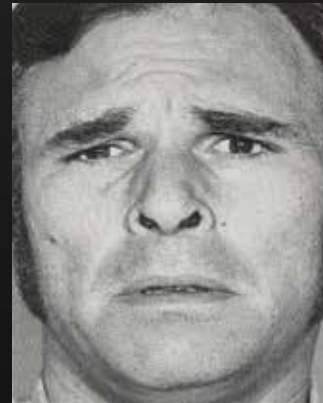
Pride



Fear



Happiness



Sadness

Universal Expressions of Emotions



Surprise



Anger



Disgust



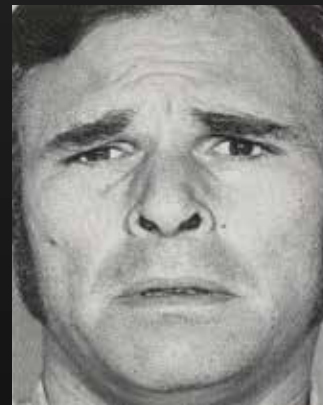
Pride



Fear



Happiness



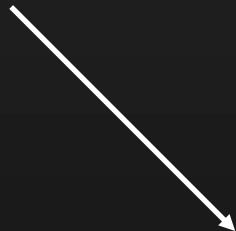
Sadness

Pride as a Mechanism for Promoting Social Rank

Pride Expression



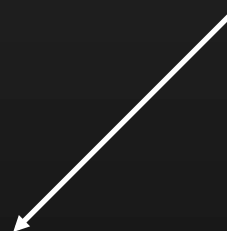
**Communicates
success**



Pride Experience



**Enhances
self-esteem**



**Promotes
high rank**

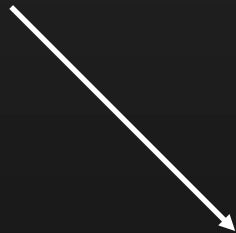
Shariff & Tracy (2009, *Emotion*); Tiedens, Ellsworth, & Mesquita (2000; *PSPB*); Tracy & Robins (*Current Directions in Psych. Sci.*, 2007); Tracy, Shariff, & Cheng (2010; *Emotion Rev.*); Williams & DeSteno (2009, *Psych. Sci.*)

Pride as a Mechanism for Promoting Social Rank

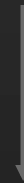
Pride Expression



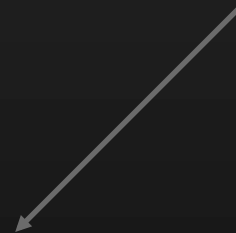
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**Is pride reliably
displayed in response
to success?**

Olympic Judo Study



Olympic Judo Study

- Official photos by Judo Federation photographer
- 48% winners
- 46% women
- 36 nations, varying on major cultural dimensions
 - ❖ Collectivism vs. individualism
 - ❖ Self-expression vs. survival values
 - ❖ Secular vs. traditional values

Pride Behavioral Coding Scheme

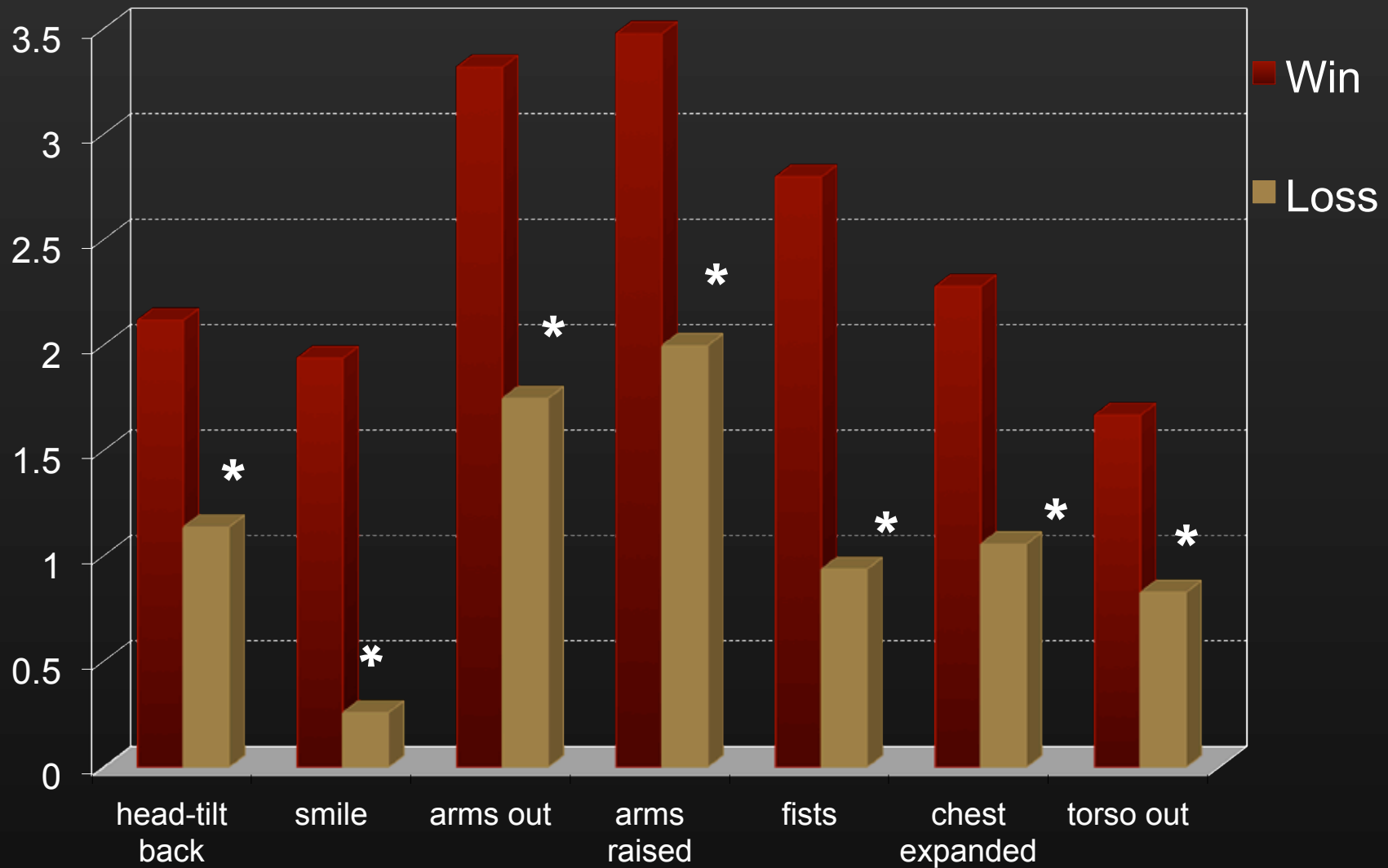
- For each of the following, please rate the intensity of the particular behavior or movement.

0-----1-----2-----3-----4-----5
Not at all Visible, but Extreme
present very mild intensity
 intensity

Sample items

____ Head tilted back/up
____ Head tilted forward/down
____ Smile
____ Chest expanded
____ Arms extended out from body

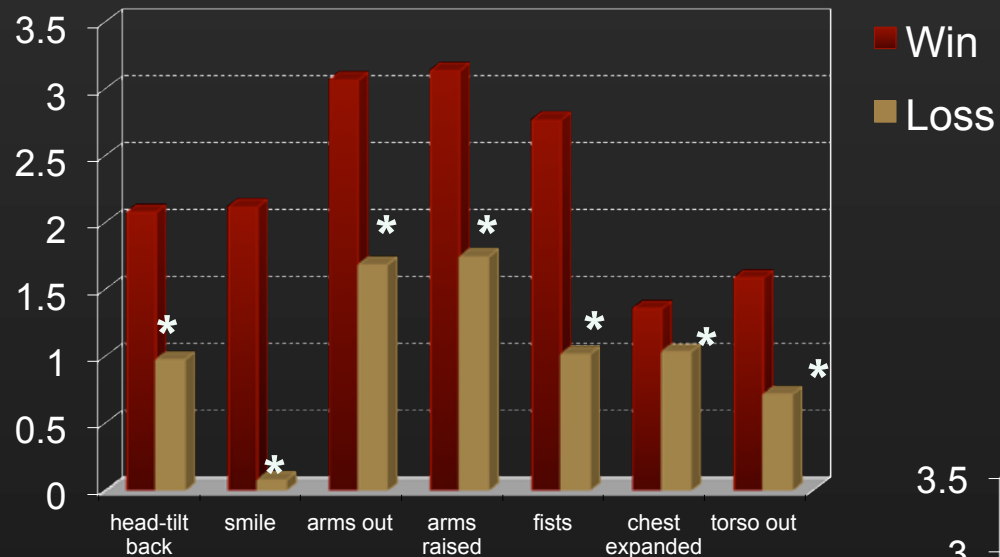
Are Pride Behaviors Displayed in Response to Success?



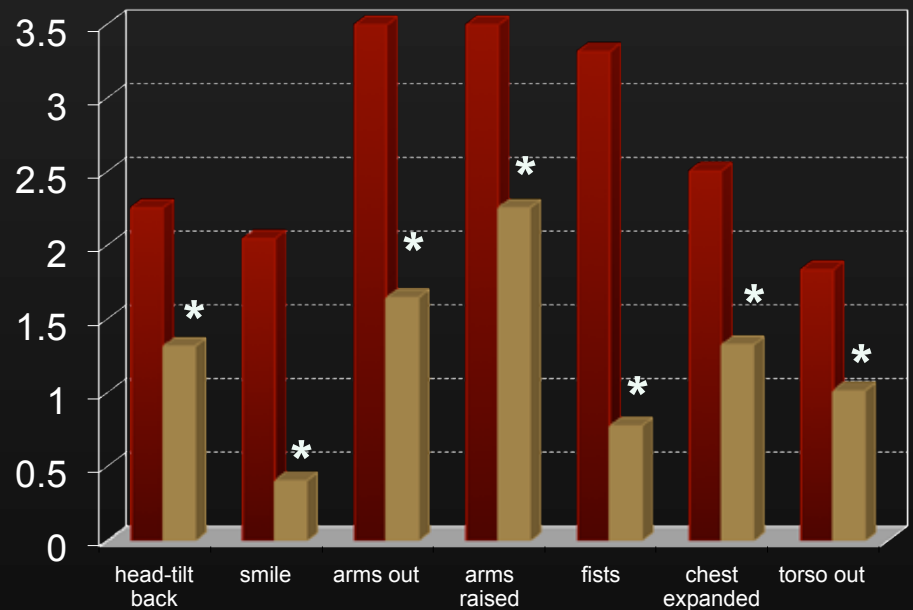
Tracy & Matsumoto (2008, *Proc. Natn'l Acad. Sci.*)

Pride Response Holds Across Collectivism—Individualism

Collectivistic cultures

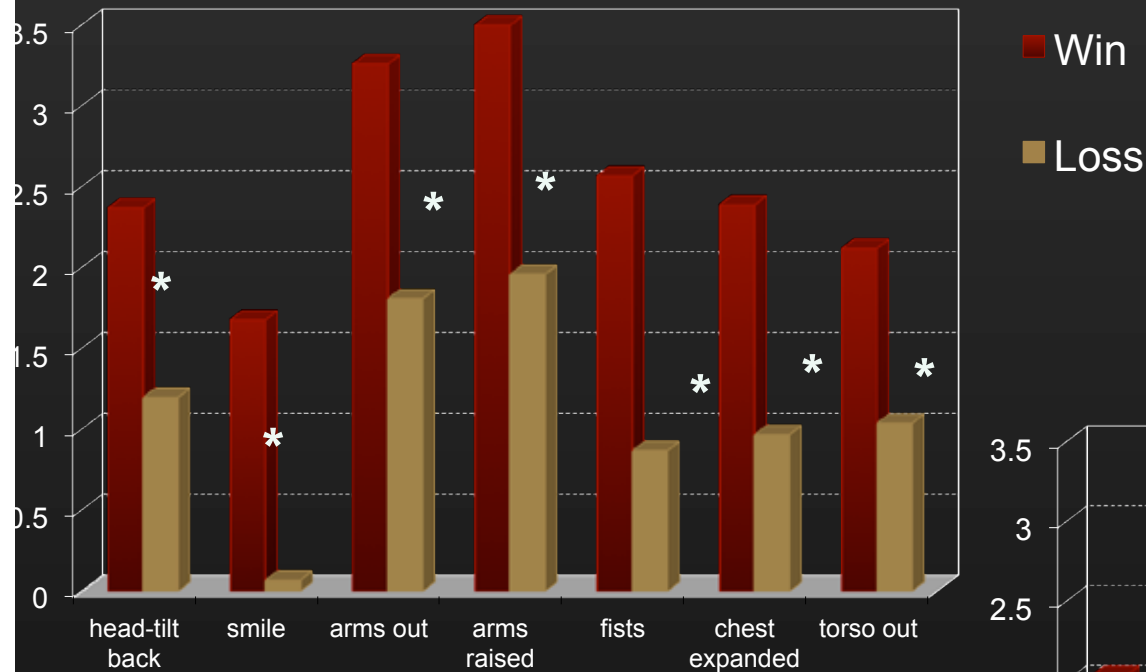


Individualistic cultures

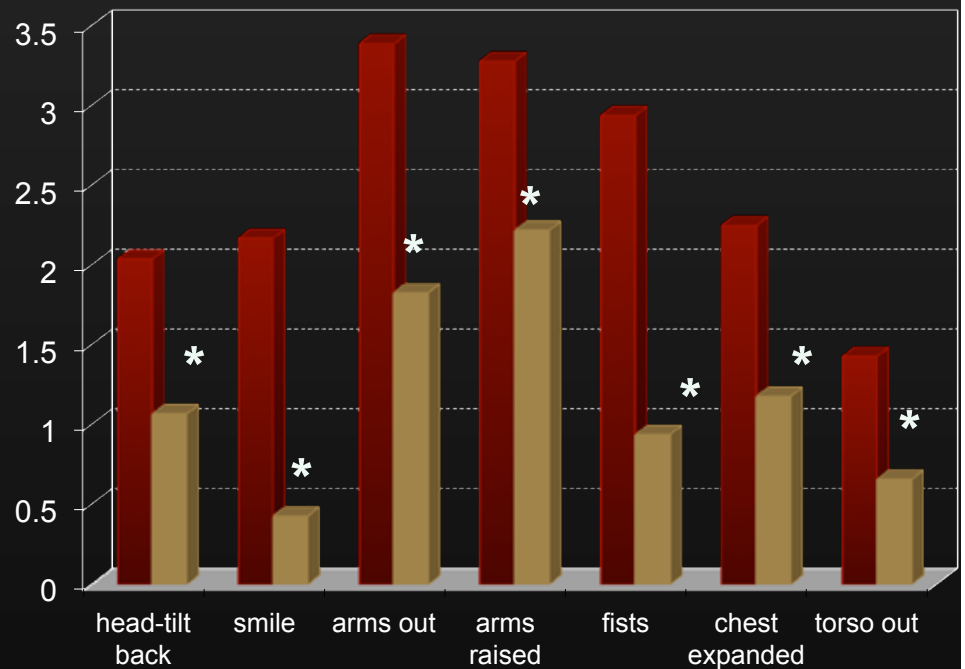


Pride Holds Across Survival—Self-Expression Values

Survival-Focused

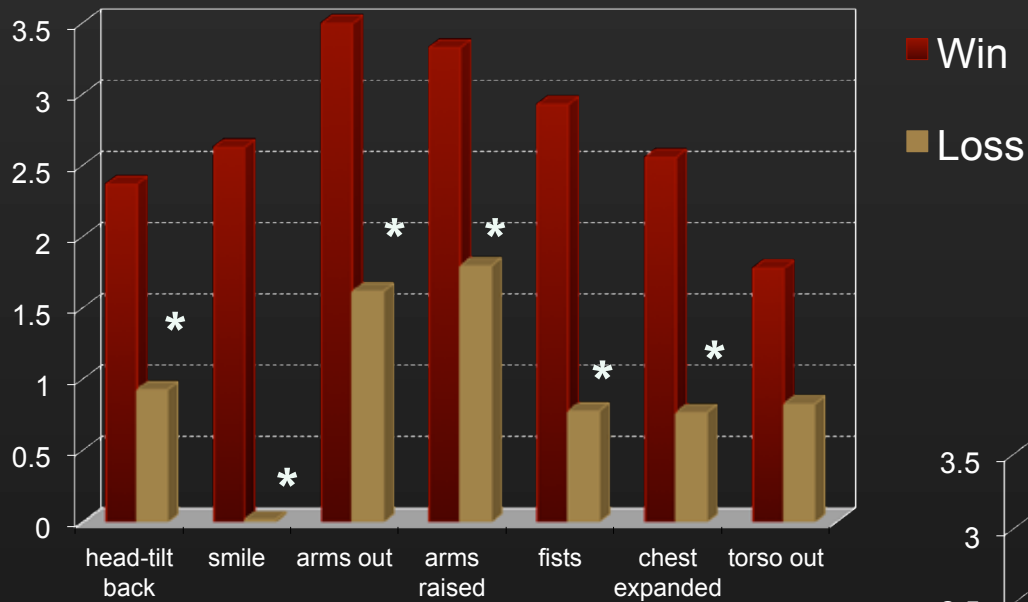


Self-Expression Focused

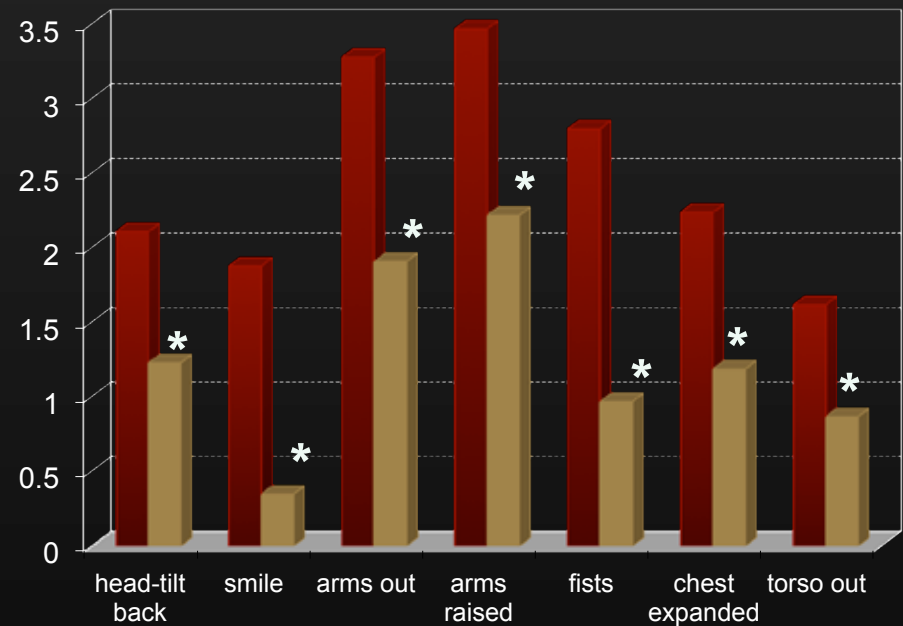


And Across Traditional-Secular Values

Traditional



Secular-Rational



The Pride Expression

- Cross-cultural behavioral response to success
- May be an evolved signal of success
- But, could this be a learned response?

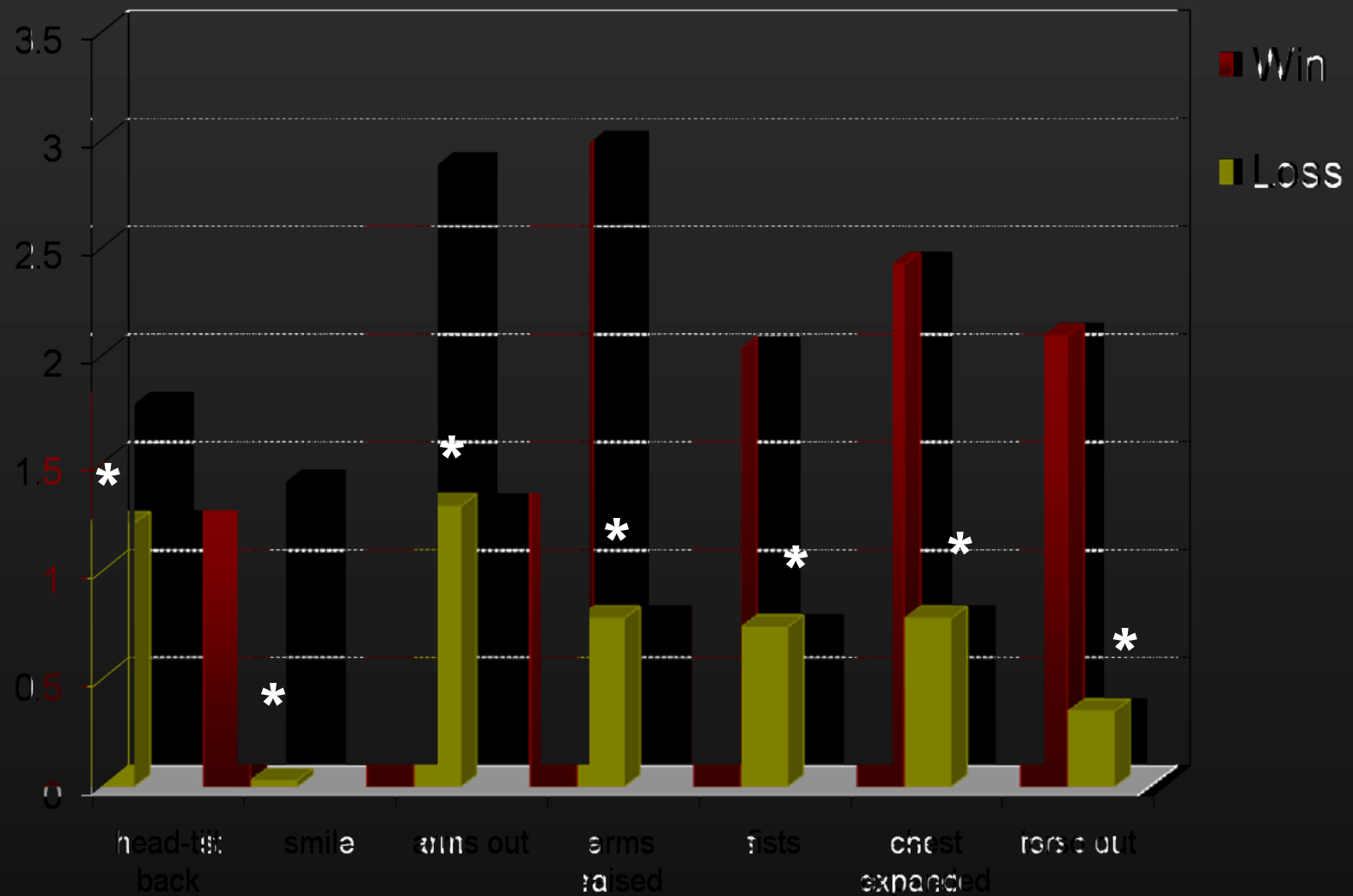
Paralympics Judo Study: Blind Athletes



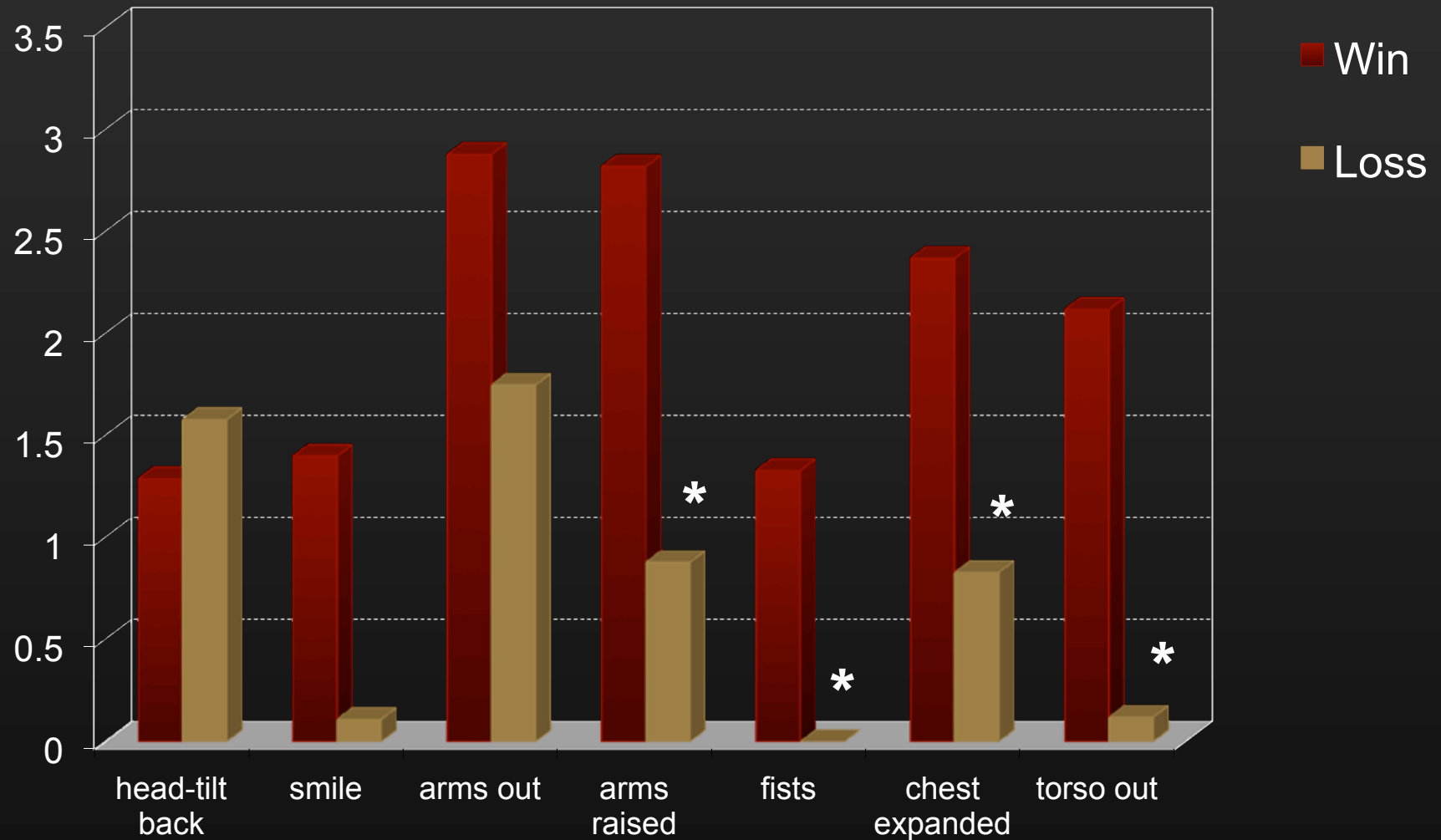
Blind Judo Study

- Official Judo Federation photos
- 60% winners, 21% female
- 20 nations
- Blind status (congenital or not) for 69% ($n = 40$)
 - ❖ 30% ($n = 12$) born blind (6 winners, 6 losers)

Blind Athletes Display Pride



What about the born-blind?



* $p < .05$

Tracy & Matsumoto (2008, *Proc. Natn'l Acad. Sci.*)

The Pride Expression

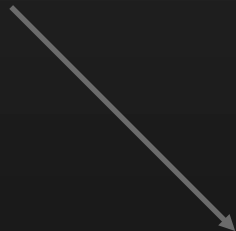
- Spontaneously displayed in response to success
 - ❖ Across cultures
 - ❖ Sighted and blind
- May be evolved behavioral response to success
- Does it communicate success to observers?

Pride as a Mechanism for Promoting Social Rank

Pride Expression



**Communicates
success**



Pride Experience



**Enhances
self-esteem**



**Promotes
high rank**

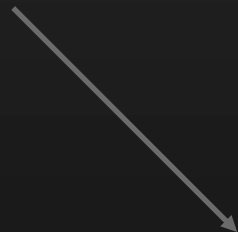
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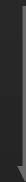
Pride Expression



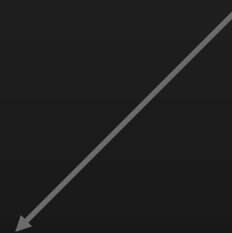
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Does Pride Expression Bias Social Learning?

- Humans may have an evolved preference to copy and learn from models who are successful in the domain of interest (Henrich & Gil-White, 2001)
- If pride communicates success, observers would benefit from selectively copying pride expressers

Do observers copy the knowledge of pride displayers?



I think the answer is B.

Which number is the closest to the actual value of Pi, Π ?

- A) 3.141592652
- B) 3.141592635
- C) 3.141592654
- D) 3.141592665
- E) 3.141592721

■ **Incentivized to answer correctly**

Do observers copy the knowledge of pride displayers?



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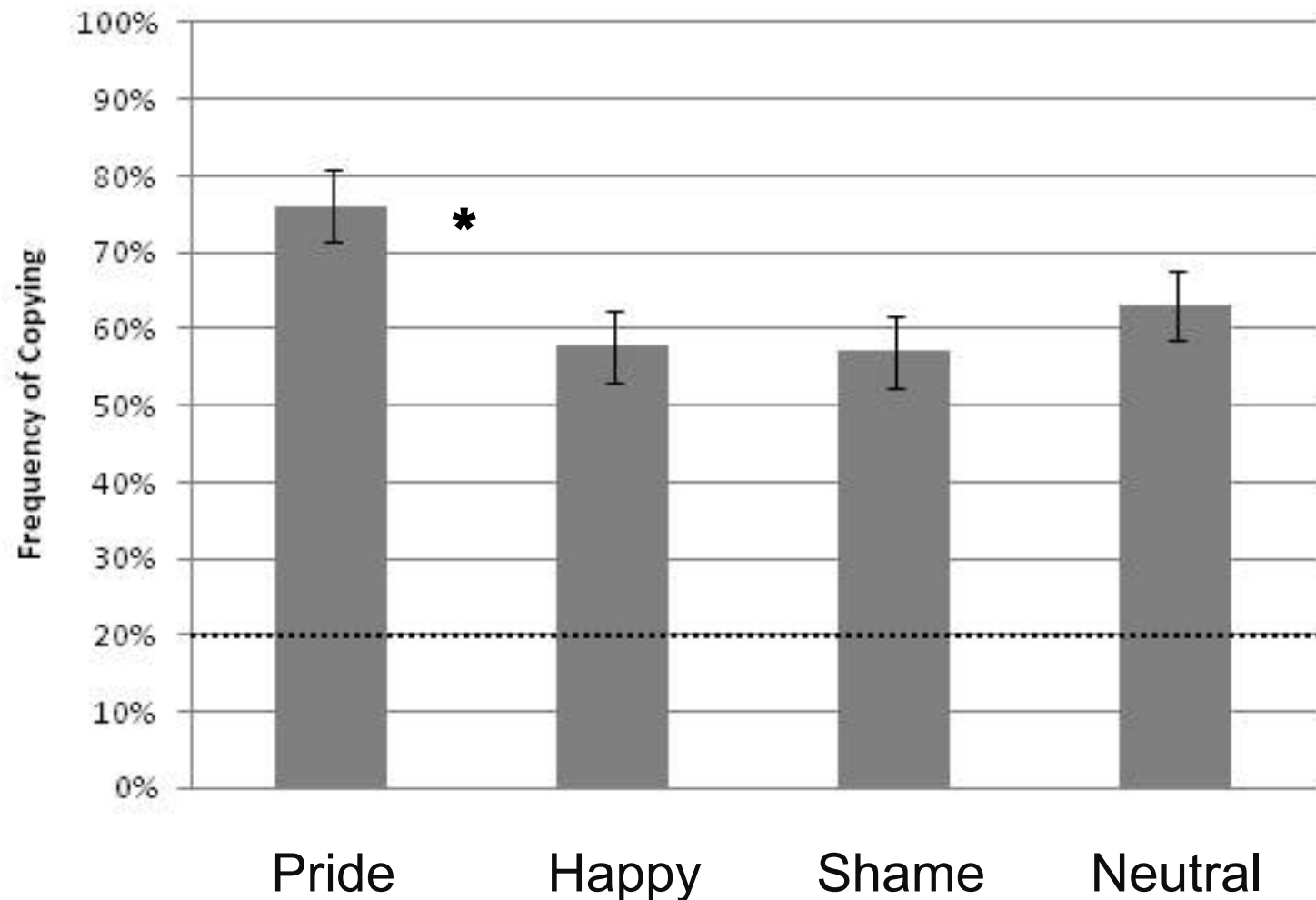
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■ **Incentivized to answer correctly**

Observers more likely to copy the answer of pride displayers



Live Social Models Study

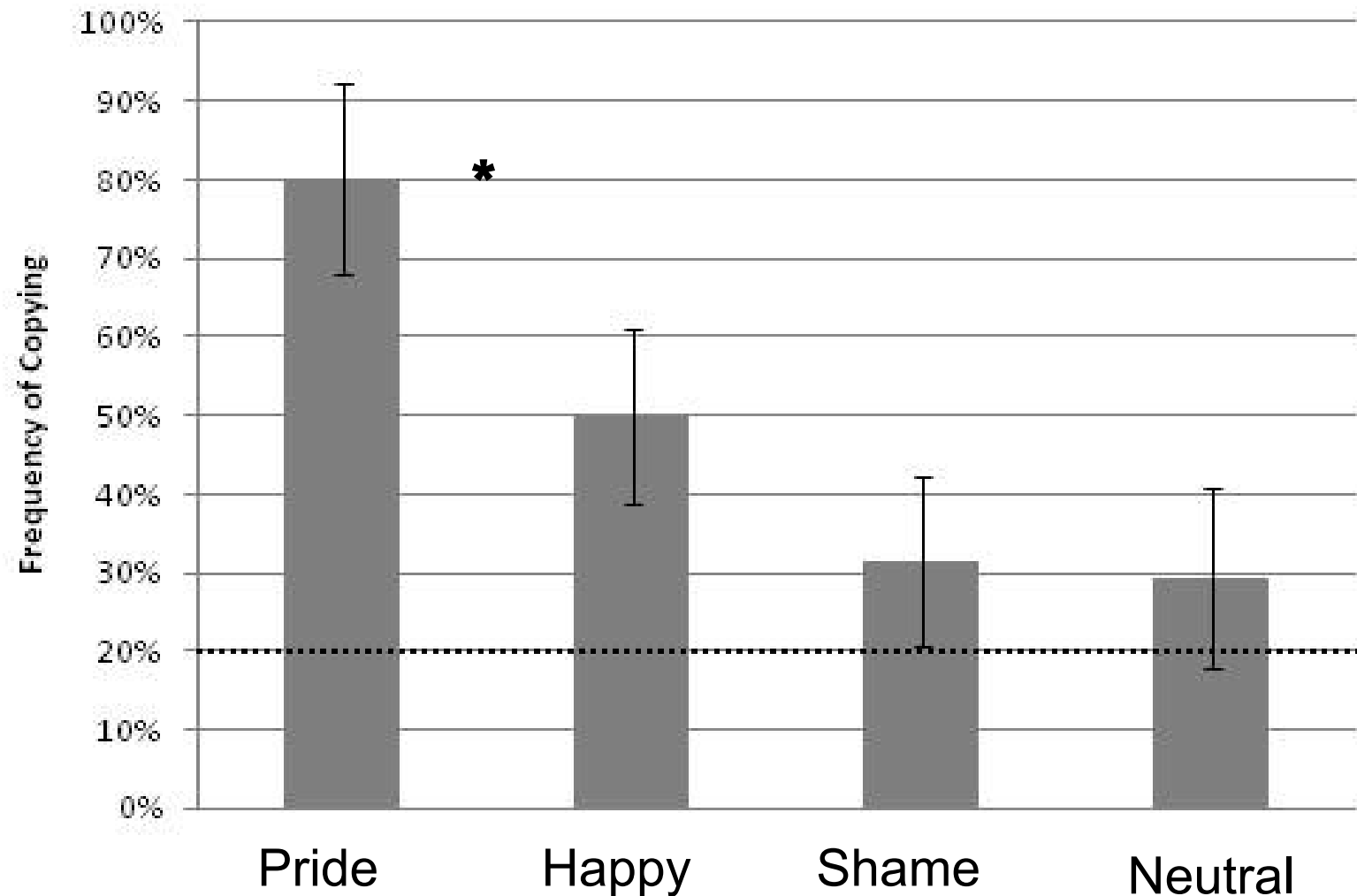
- Participants told:
 - ❖ “We are interested in people’s ability to do two tasks at once...”
- Watch video of “another participant” answering a trivia question



Live Social Models Study



Pride Displayers Copied Most Frequently

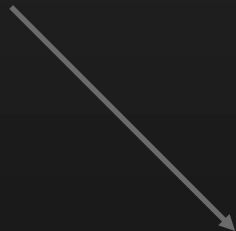


Pride as a Mechanism for Promoting Social Rank

Pride Expression



**Communicates
success**



Pride Experience



**Enhances
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**Promotes
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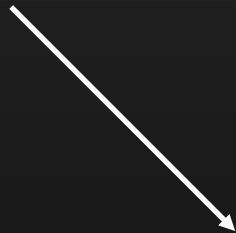
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Is pride an *implicit* rank signal?

- If pride *evolved* to communicate high rank, perceivers should automatically infer high rank from the expression
 - ❖ Pre-linguistic, pre-conscious form of communication
- Implicit Association Test (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995)

Is the pride display automatically associated with high rank?

Position A



Position B



- Positions paired with high or low rank words
 - ❖ *High rank*: commanding, dominant, important, powerful, prestigious
 - ❖ *Low rank*: humble, minor, submissive, unimportant, weak

Is the pride display automatically associated with high rank?

- LEFT INDEX FINGER

- RIGHT INDEX FINGER

High Rank word

OR

Position A



Low Rank word

OR

Position B



Is the pride display automatically associated with high rank?

- LEFT INDEX FINGER

- RIGHT INDEX FINGER

Low Rank word

High Rank word

OR

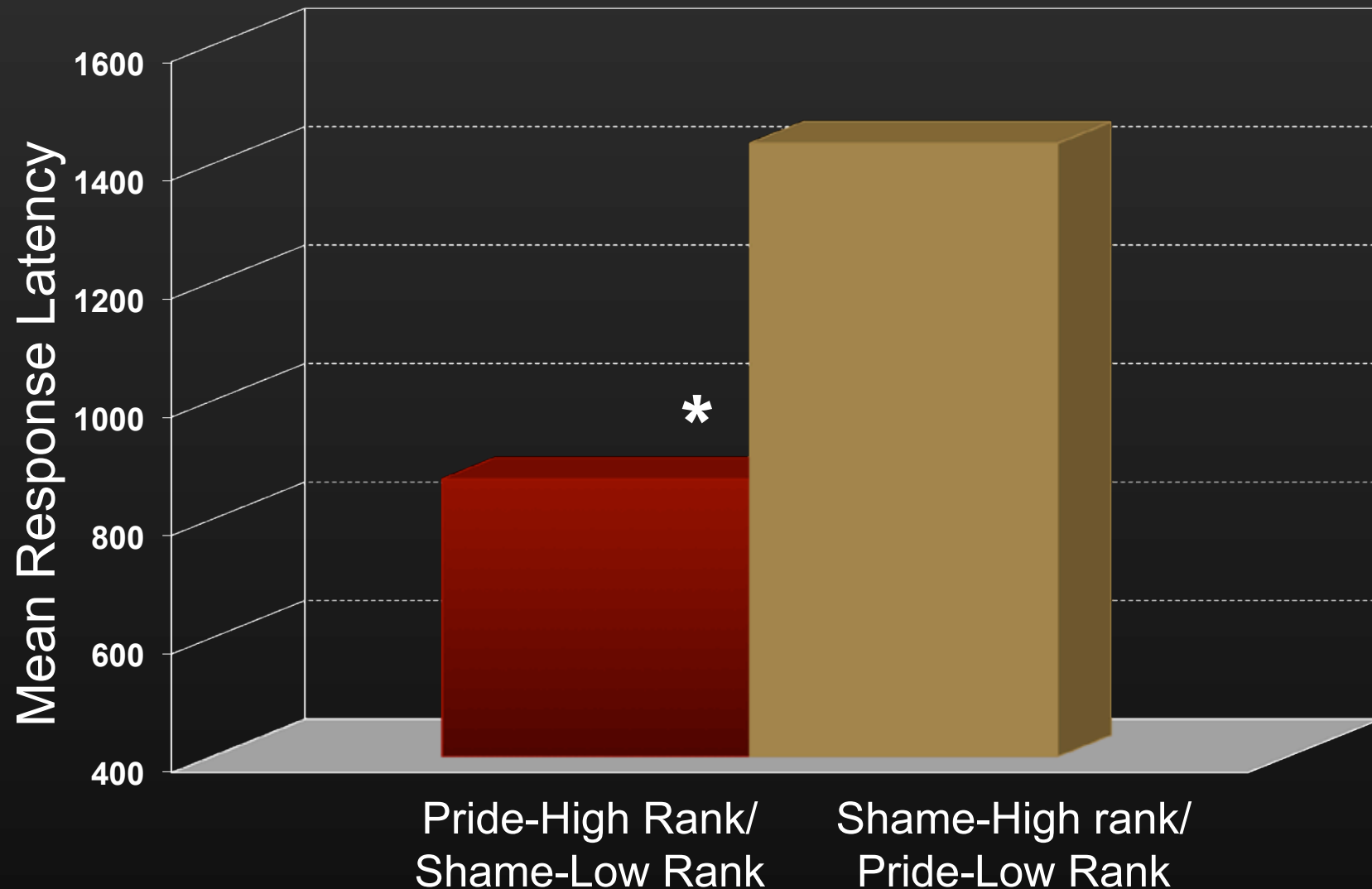
OR

Position A

Position B



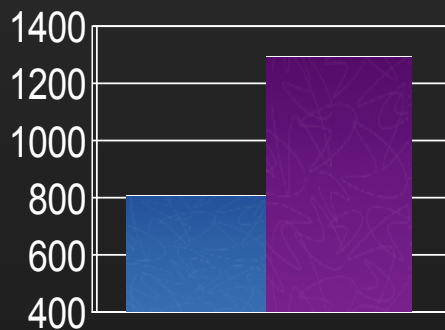
Pride display is automatically associated with high rank



Shariff & Tracy (2009, *Emotion*)

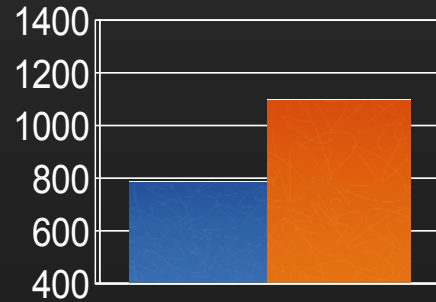
Follow-Up Studies

■ PRIDE ■ OTHER



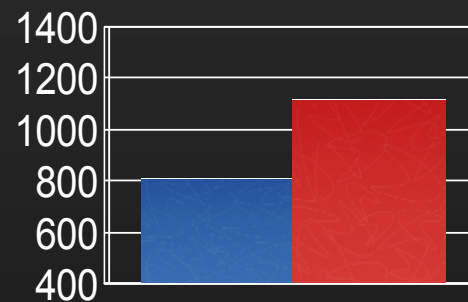
D-score = 0.60
Cohen's $d = 2.36$

■ PRIDE ■ HAPPY



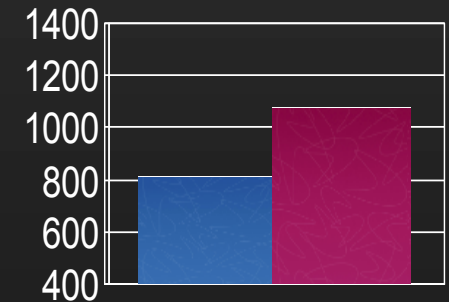
D-score = 0.65
Cohen's $d = 2.50$

■ PRIDE ■ ANGER



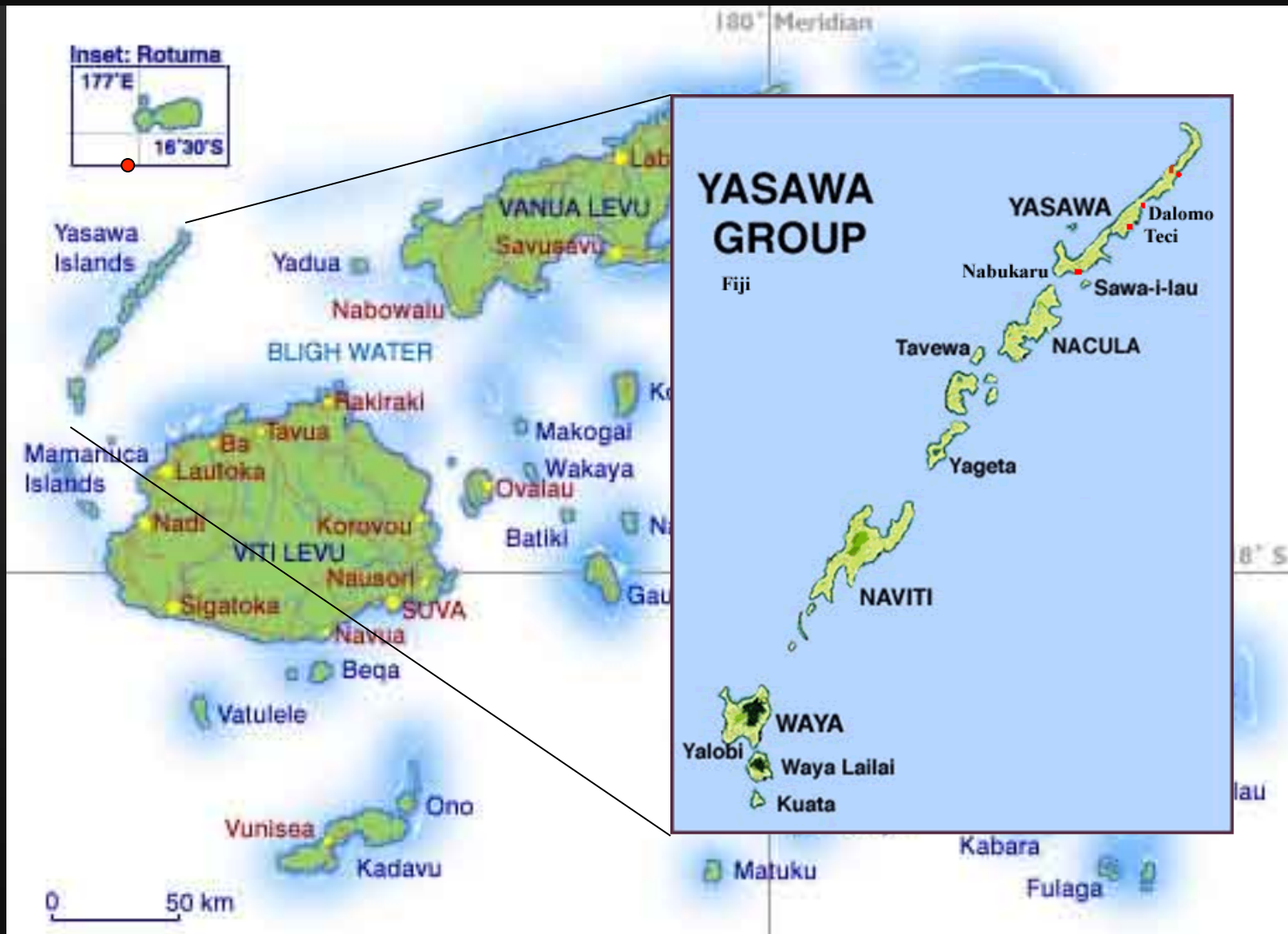
D-score = 0.45
Cohen's $d = 1.93$

■ PRIDE ■ ARMS



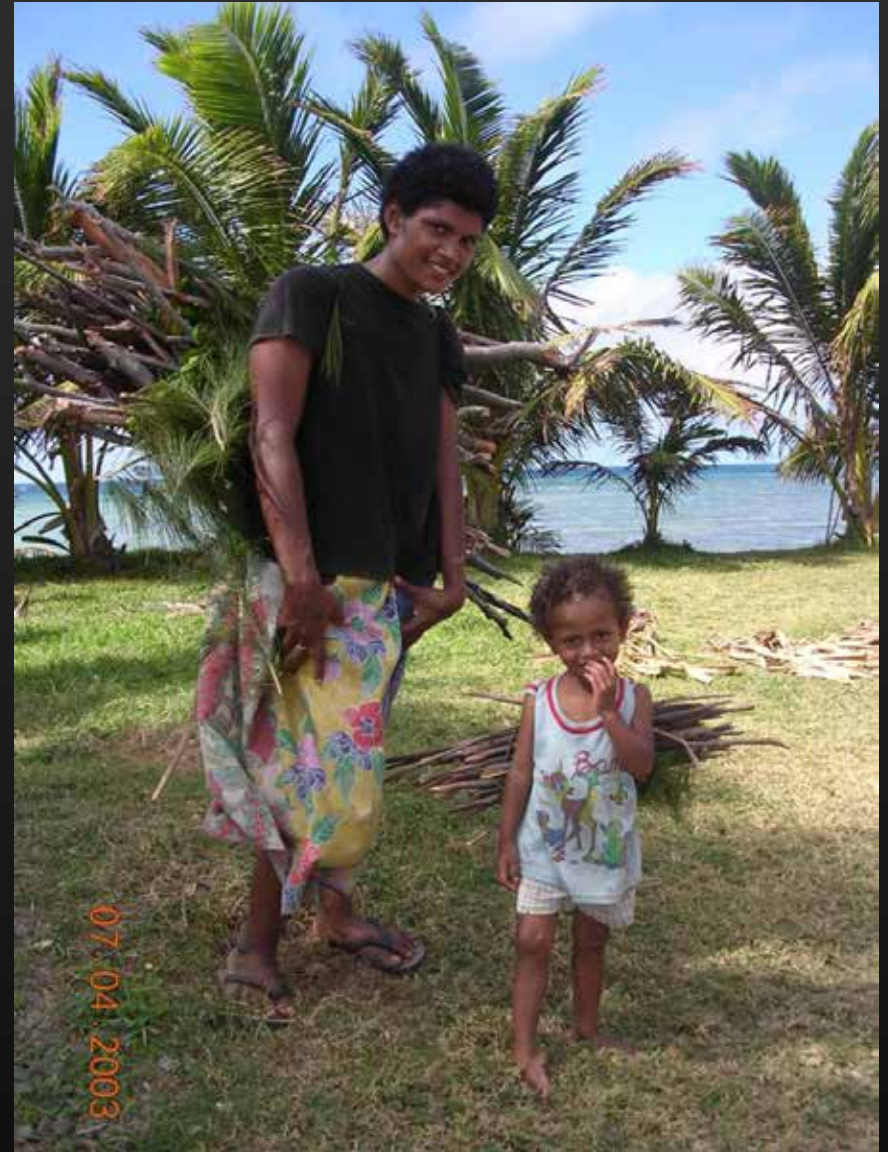
D-score = 0.45
Cohen's $d = 2.00$

Does pride automatically signal high rank across cultures?



Fiji Study

- Village of Teci, Yasawa Island
- Small-scale hereditary system of leadership
- Subsistence economy
- No computers, TVs, electricity, or newspaper

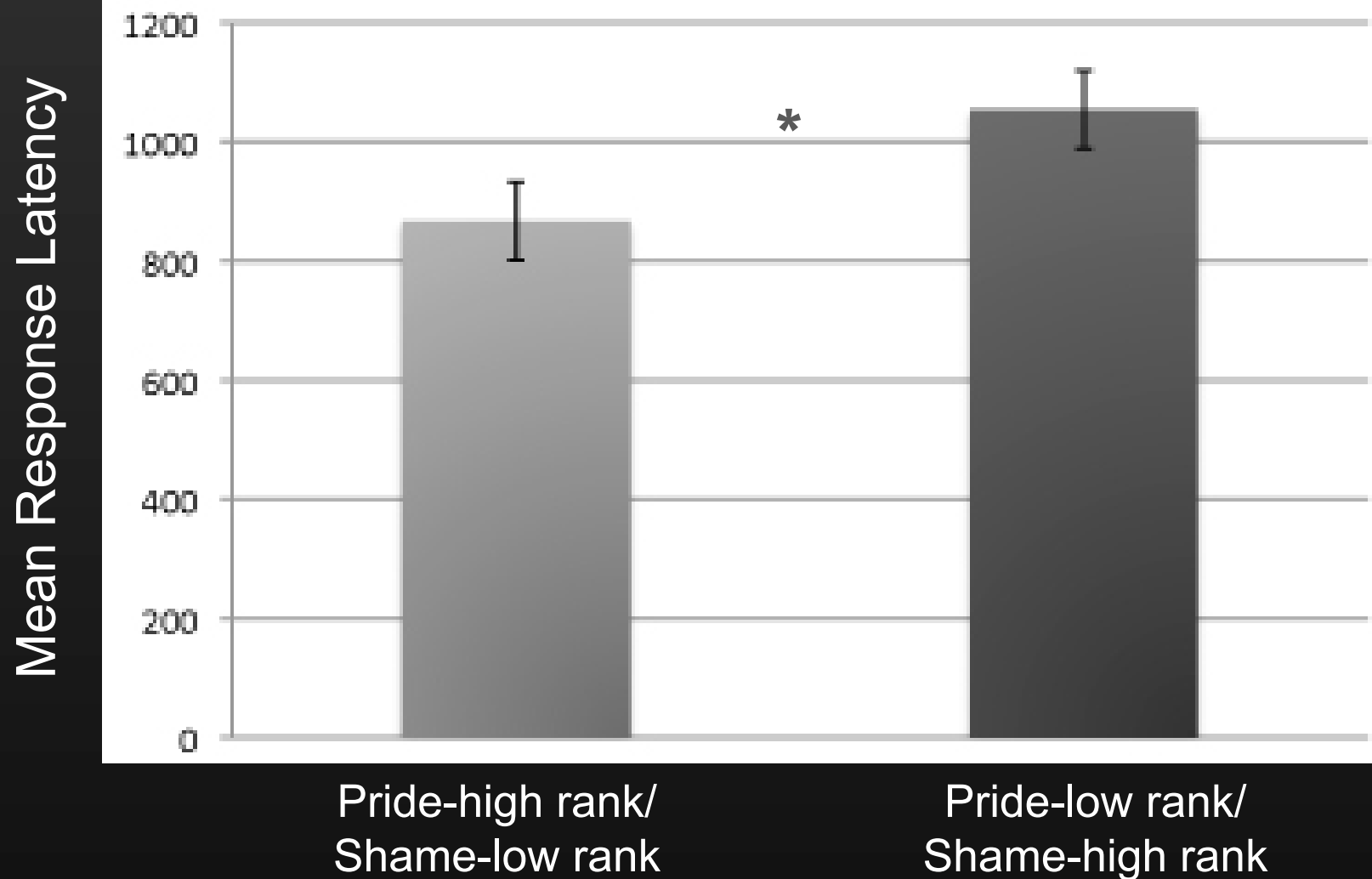


Is pride a status signal in Fiji?

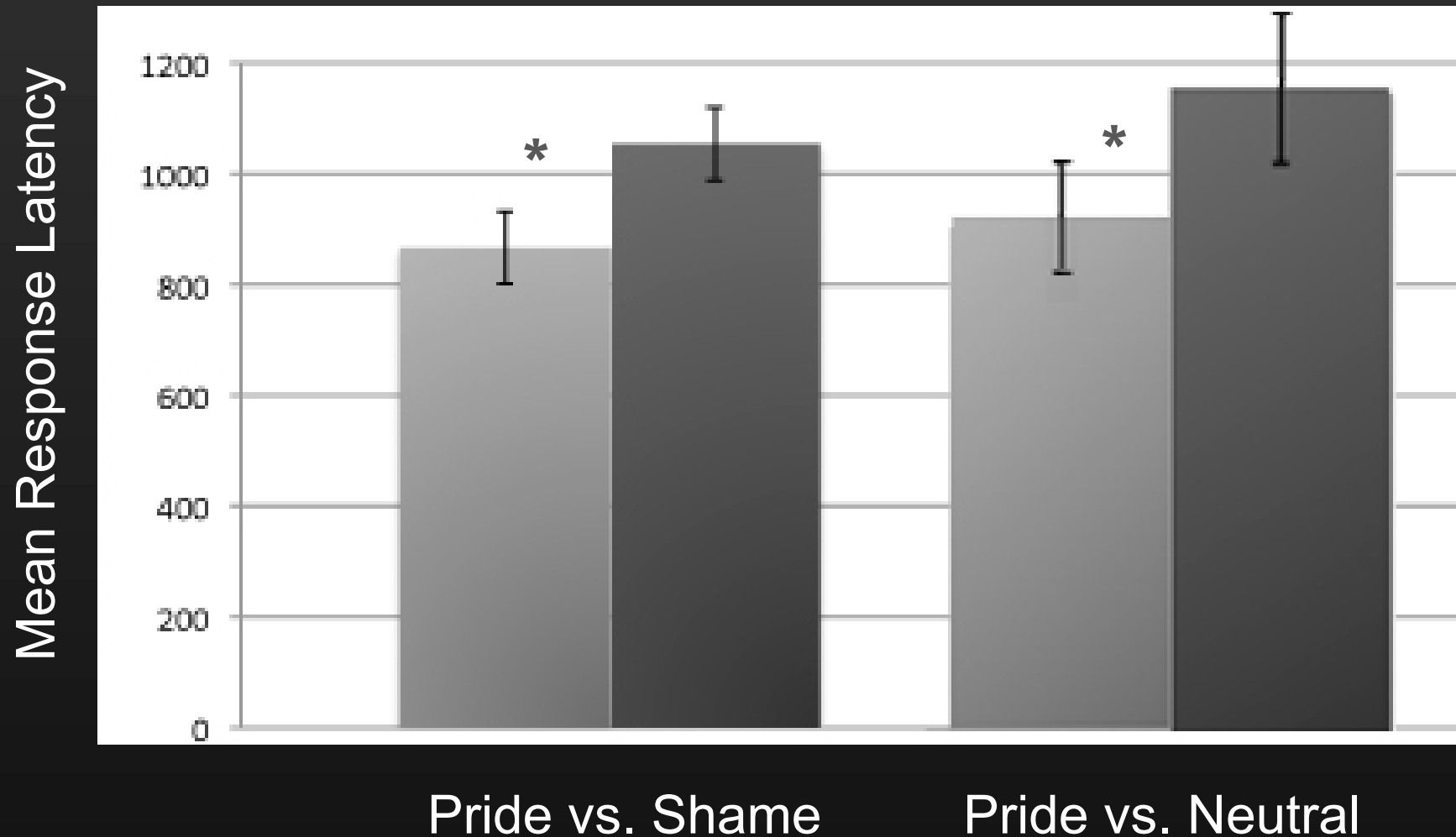


- Translated rank words into Fijian
- Responses recorded with large external buttons instead of keyboard

Fijians automatically associate pride with high rank



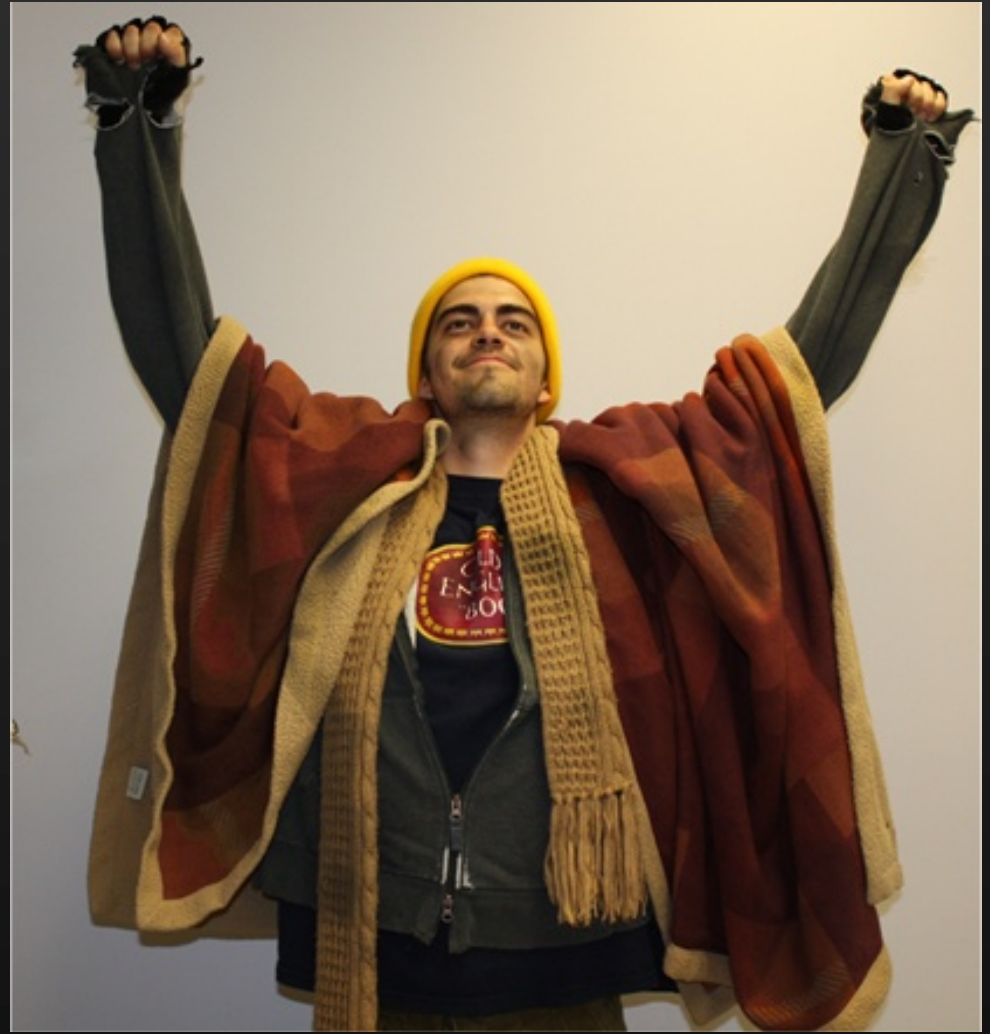
Fijians automatically associate pride with high rank



The Pride Status Signal

- Reliably occurring behavioral response to success
- Communicates success and expertise
- Sends strong implicit message of high rank
 - ❖ Generalizes across cultures
- But, what happens when competing contextual information is available?

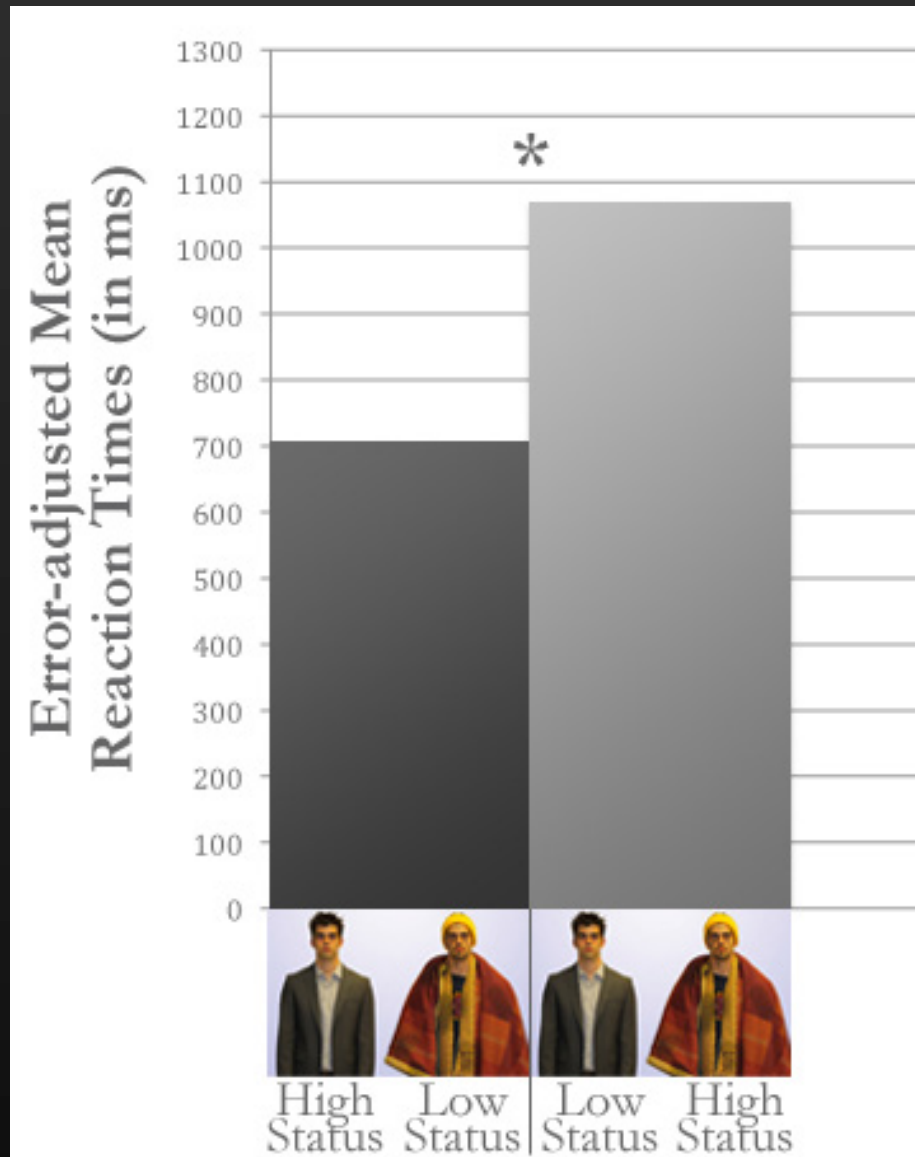
**What if we know that
someone is low status?**



What if we *know* that
someone is low status?

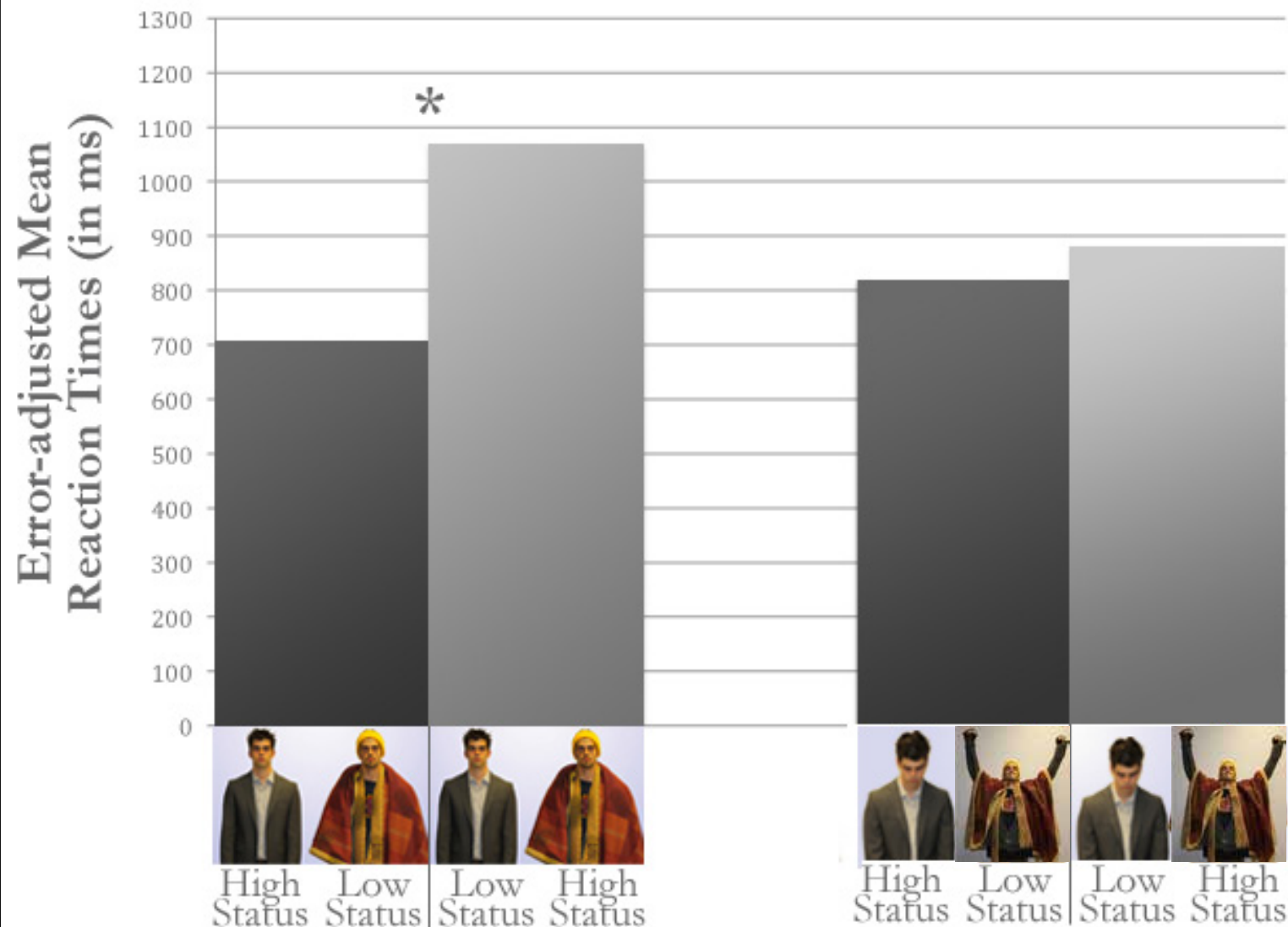


When neutral expressions are shown...



Shariff, Tracy, & Markusoff (2012, *PSPB*)

Versus when inappropriate emotion expressions are shown...



Shariff, Tracy, & Markusoff (2012, *PSPB*)

The Pride Status Signal

- Sends a strong implicit message of high rank
 - ❖ Counteracts the effect of context
- What about status-based decision making?
 - ❖ Do pride-based status inferences influence real-world decisions?
 - ❖ What if they are contradicted by context?

Pride vs. Context in Decision Making

Good Resume

- Honor's degree from Univ. of Toronto (A+ avg)
- High School Average: 88%
- Varsity Reader/Tutor
- Rotary Club
- Varsity Tennis Player
- Fluent in French

KATHERINE DYSON
123-45 Street NE, Calgary, AB, Canada, T2B 5C9
Mobile: 780.017.0620 email: kdyson@kdyson.com

EDUCATION

Sept 2003 - May 2008 University of Toronto, B.A. (Hons.)
Major: Economics, Minor: English
(GPA: 3.8/4.3 avg)

Sept 1998 - June 2003 John Diefenbaker Secondary School
Graduating with average: 88%

WORK EXPERIENCE

Jan 2007 - Present Head Teller - Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce
• Participated in extensive training. Responsibilities included training new employees, handling large amounts of cash, customer customer interaction.

May 2003 - April 2004 Barista - Starbucks Coffee
• Participated in extensive training. Responsibilities included opening/closing, handling new beverages every season, dealing with large amounts of cash, customer customer interaction.

Jan 2003 - May 2003 Service Attendant - Petco Canada
• Responsibilities included being reliable, changing oil, cleaning service bays and their supplies.

SERVICE

Jan 2007 - Present Varsity Reader/Tutor (2 hours per week)
• Read to help in inner-city schools.
• Tutored elementary school students with learning disabilities.

Sept 2004 - June 2005 Rotary International (2 hours per week)
• Interact Club of Western Canada High School Club consisted of 50 members who contributed to international activities.

SKILLS

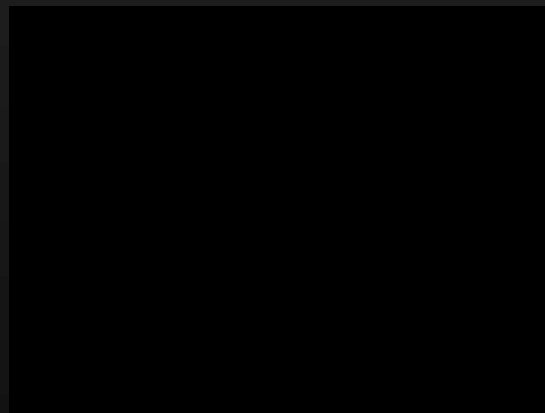
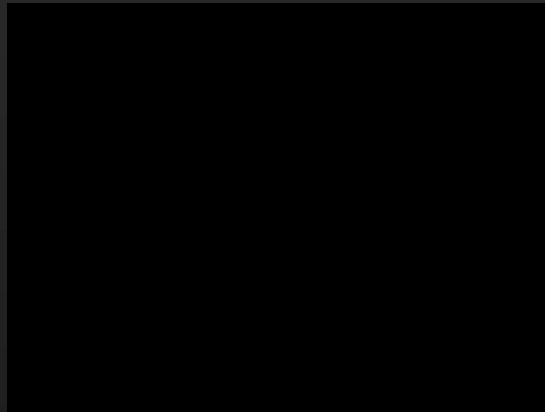
- Varsity level tennis
- English, French fluency
- Financially certified
- Computer proficiency
 - o word processing
 - o spreadsheets
 - o internet research
 - o basic statistical analysis
- Fast, eager learner
- Personable and leadership-oriented

References available upon request.

Bad Resume

- Degree from Kwantlen community college (C+ avg)
- High School Average: 73%
- No service section
- Pickup Sports
- Some knowledge of French

Pride vs. Context in Decision Making



Pride vs. Context in Decision Making



Pride vs. Context in Decision Making



Pride vs. Context in Decision Making



Pride vs. Context in Decision Making



The Pride Expression

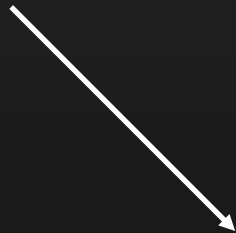
- Universal recognition
- Spontaneous behavioral response to success
- Communicates success and high status
 - ❖ Implicitly
 - ❖ Across cultures
 - ❖ Overrides contextual information
 - ❖ Shapes decisions
- May have evolved to signal high status

Pride as a Mechanism for Promoting Social Rank

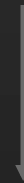
Pride Expression



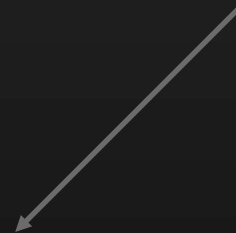
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But is this really necessary?

“I’m the best corner in the game. When you try me with a sorry receiver like Crabtree, that’s the result you gonna get.”

A Tale of Two Proud Men



At my direction, the United States launched a targeted operation... They killed Osama Bin Laden and took custody of his body. The death of Bin Laden marks the most significant achievement to date in our nation's effort to defeat Al Qaeda... Tonight, we are once again reminded that America can do whatever we set our mind to.



Today I'm very proud of myself because I accomplished something that nobody else has been able to accomplish... our President has finally released a birth certificate.

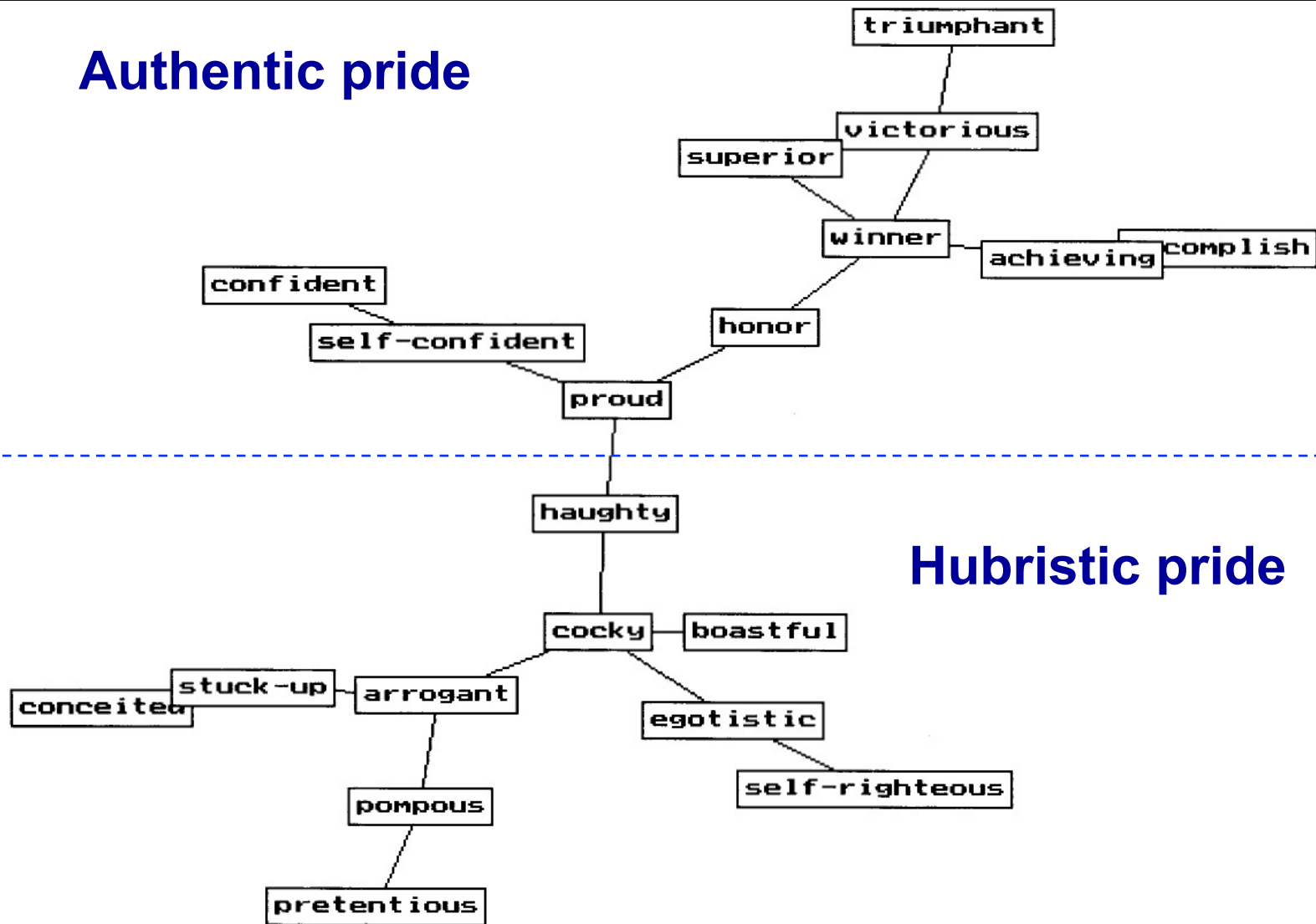


Two Kinds of Pride

- Authentic pride
 - ❖ Self-confidence
 - ❖ Focus on specific accomplishments
 - ❖ Associated with genuine self-esteem
- Hubristic pride
 - ❖ Arrogance, egotism
 - ❖ Grandiose sense of self
 - ❖ Associated narcissistic self-esteem

Conceptual Structure of Pride

Authentic pride



Hubristic pride

Pride Experience Study

- **“Describe a time when you felt very proud of yourself...”**
 - ❖ “...I was awarded the All-League honor. I had worked hard to play well and when the honor was announced, I felt proud of myself. The years of practice and hard work had paid off.”
- **Participants rated emotion words**

Pride Factors

Authentic Pride

- Accomplished
- Achieving
- Confident
- Fulfilled
- Productive
- Successful
- Self-worth

Hubristic Pride

- Arrogant
- Conceited
- Egotistical
- Pompous
- Smug
- Snobbish
- Stuck-up

Replicated in 7 studies, scales validated
Generalize to China and Korea

Shi, Chung, Cheng, Tracy, Robins, et al. (2016, *JRP*)
Tracy & Robins (2007, *JPSP*)

Pride Experiences

“...I was awarded the All-League honor. I had worked hard to play well and when the honor was announced, I felt proud of myself. The years of practice and hard work had paid off.”

Authentic Pride

“I felt very proud of myself when I got a 4.0 GPA...I would initiate conversations by asking groups of people how they did last quarter. After hearing their response I would obviously mention my success.”

Hubristic Pride

How to conceptualize the two forms of pride?

Authentic Pride

- High self-esteem
- Extraverted, agreeable, conscientiousness, emotionally stable
- Unaggressive
- High social support (supportive friends)

Hubristic Pride

- Low self-esteem
- Narcissistic
- Aggressive
- Tend to engage in misbehaviors
- Disagreeable, low social support
- Machiavellian

Other Differences

Authentic Pride

- Secure attachment
- Satisfying relationships
- Low in depression and anxiety
- High self-control, perseverance; low impulsivity
- Promotes empathy toward out-groups

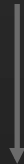
Hubristic Pride

- Anxious & avoidant attachment
- Problematic relationships
- Depressed & anxious
- Low self-control, high impulsivity
- Reduces empathy, promotes prejudice

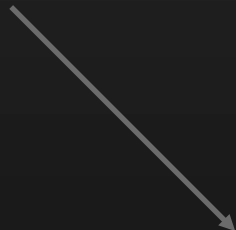
**Why do we have a dark-
sided hubristic pride?**

Pride as a Mechanism for Promoting Social Rank

Pride Expression



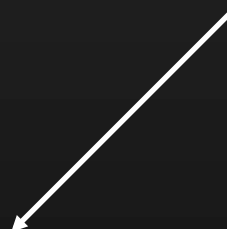
**Communicates
success**



Pride Experience



**Enhances
self-esteem**



**Promotes
high rank**

Shariff & Tracy (2009, *Emotion*); Tiedens, Ellsworth, & Mesquita (2000; *PSPB*); Tracy & Robins (*Current Directions in Psych. Sci.*, 2007); Tracy, Shariff, & Cheng (2010; *Emotion Rev.*); Williams & DeSteno (2009, *Psych. Sci.*)

Two Facet Model of Rank Attainment

Henrich & Gil-White (2001)

- Prestige
 - ❖ Respect based status
 - ❖ “The Persuasive Leader”
- Dominance
 - ❖ Fear based status
 - ❖ “The Forceful Leader”
- But, do both promote social influence?



Social Influence Study

- Problem solving task
 - ❖ “Lost on the Moon”
- Group interaction task
 - ❖ 4-6 unacquainted individuals work together to solve the problem while video-recorded
- Participants rate each other on dominance, prestige, & influence
 - ❖ Developed 8-item scales of Dominance and Prestige
 - “I try to control others rather than let them control me” (D)
 - “Members of my peer group respect and admire me” (P)

Assessing Social Influence

- Peer ratings
 - ❖ Other group members' ratings of each participant's influence over the group
- Outside Observer ratings
 - ❖ RAs viewed videos and rated each participant
- Behavioral measure
 - ❖ Comparison between each participant's private task solution and group solution
- Social Attention
 - ❖ New sample of participants viewed videos while wearing eye-tracker

Dominance and Prestige both Predict Social Influence

Prestige
(Peer rated)

Dominance
(Peer rated)

Peer-rated
Social Influence

Outside-observer rated
Social Influence

Behavioral Measure of
Social Influence

Eye Gaze Duration

* $p < .05$

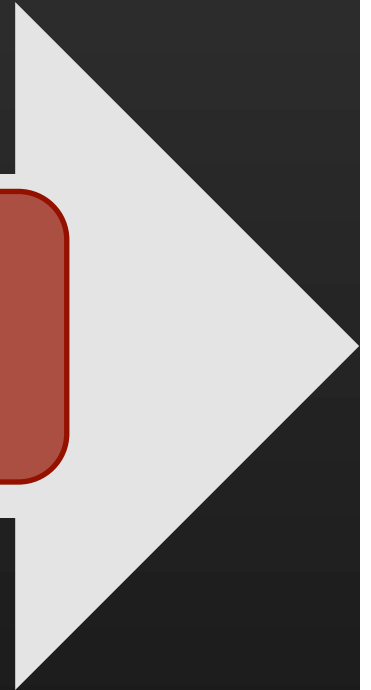
Dominance and Prestige both Predict Social Influence

	Prestige (Peer rated)	Dominance (Peer rated)
Peer-rated Social Influence	✓	✓
Outside-observer rated Social Influence	✓	✓
Behavioral Measure of Social Influence	✓	✓
Eye Gaze Duration	✓	✓

From Pride to Social Rank

Pride

**High
Rank**



Authentic Pride to Prestige



**Authentic
Pride**

Conscientiousness
High self-esteem
Social support

Authentic Pride to Prestige

**Authentic
Pride**

Display of skills

Conscientiousness
High self-esteem
Social support

Authentic Pride to Prestige

**Authentic
Pride**

Display of skills
Advice-giving

Conscientiousness
High self-esteem
Social support

Authentic Pride to Prestige

**Authentic
Pride**

Display of skills
Advice-giving
Pro-sociality

Conscientiousness
High self-esteem
Social support

Authentic Pride to Prestige

**Authentic
Pride**

Display of skills
Advice-giving
Pro-sociality

Prestige

Conscientiousness
High self-esteem
Social support

Hubristic Pride to Dominance



**Hubristic
Pride**

Disagreeable/Hostile
Machiavellianism

Hubristic Pride to Dominance

**Hubristic
Pride**

Threat
Intimidation
Aggression

Disagreeable/Hostile
Machiavellianism

Hubristic Pride to Dominance

**Hubristic
Pride**

Threat
Intimidation
Aggression

Dominance

Disagreeable/Hostile
Machiavellianism

Trait Pride and Hierarchical Rank Study

- Study 1:
 - ❖ Measured self-reported dominance and prestige
 - ❖ Measured self-reported trait authentic and hubristic pride
- Study 2:
 - ❖ Measured peer-reported dominance and prestige, based on varsity sports teammates
 - ❖ Measured self-reported trait authentic and hubristic pride

Trait Pride and Rank

	Self-rated Prestige	Self-rated Dominance	Peer-rated Prestige	Peer-rated Dominance
Authentic Pride	✓		✓	
Hubristic Pride		✓		✓

Pride as a Mechanism for Promoting Social Rank

■ Pride Expression

- ❖ Universally recognized
- ❖ Spontaneous cross-cultural behavioral response to success
- ❖ Implicit signal of success and status
 - Biases social learning
 - Across cultures
 - Powerful enough to counteract contextual information
 - Shapes decisions

■ Pride Experience

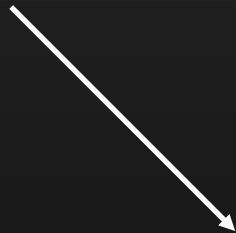
- ❖ Two facets linked to two distinct rank-attainment strategies
- ❖ Both strategies promote social influence

Pride as a Mechanism for Promoting Social Rank

Pride Expression



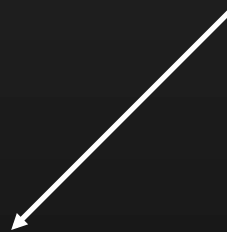
**Communicates
success**



Pride Experience



**Enhances
self-esteem**



**Promotes
high rank**

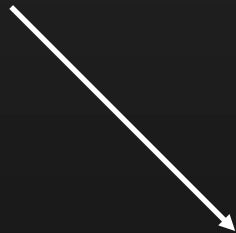
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Pride as a Mechanism for Promoting Social Rank

Pride Expression



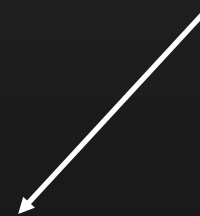
**Communicates
success**



**Authentic
Pride**



Prestige



**Hubristic
Pride**

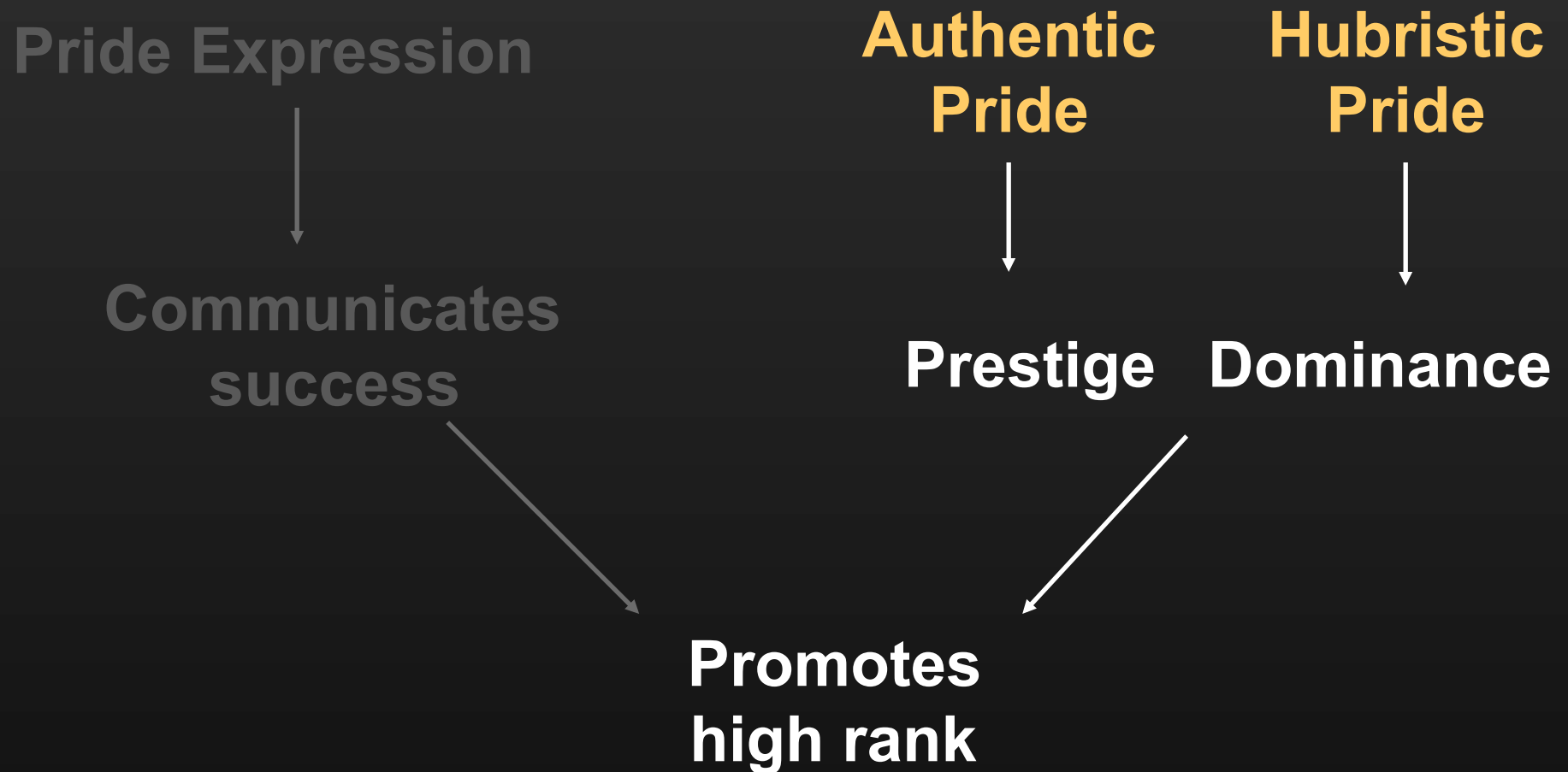


Dominance

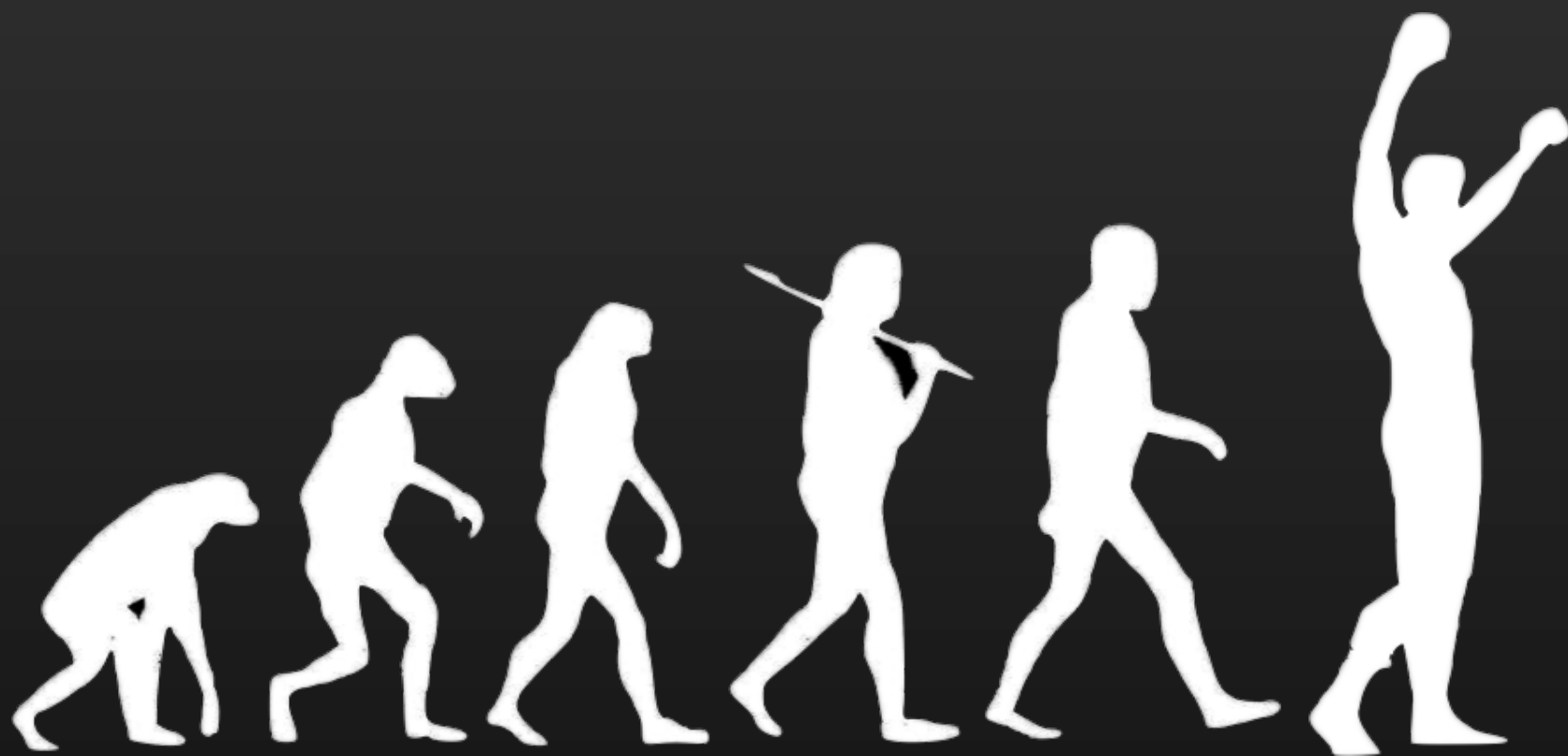
**Promotes
high rank**

Shariff & Tracy (2009, *Emotion*); Tiedens, Ellsworth, & Mesquita (2000; *PSPB*); Tracy & Robins (*Current Directions in Psych. Sci.*, 2007); Tracy, Shariff, & Cheng (2010; *Emotion Rev.*); Williams & DeSteno (2009, *Psych. Sci.*)

Pride as a Mechanism for Promoting Social Rank



Shariff & Tracy (2009, *Emotion*); Tiedens, Ellsworth, & Mesquita (2000; *PSPB*); Tracy & Robins (*Current Directions in Psych. Sci.*, 2007); Tracy, Shariff, & Cheng (2010; *Emotion Rev.*); Williams & DeSteno (2009, *Psych. Sci.*)



Thank You

Collaborators & Students:

Joey Cheng

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Rick Robins

Azim Shariff

Jason Martens

Jeff Markusoff

David Matsumoto

Alec Beall

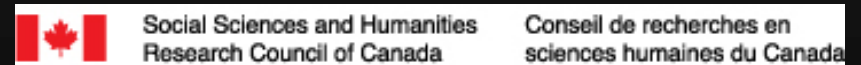
Dan Randles

Kristin Lagattuta

Conor Steckler

Aaron Weidman

Funders:



TAKE
PRIDE



WHY THE DEADLIEST
SIN HOLDS THE SECRET
TO HUMAN SUCCESS

JESSICA TRACY