

# Empathy Towards Individuals with Dissenting Opinions: The Role of Pride and Humility

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Master Thesis - Applied Social Psychology

s4022661 July 2024 Department of Psychology University of Groningen Examiner: I. Borinca, PhD Examiner/Daily supervisor: Prof. Dr. E.H. Gordijn Second Evaluator: I. Borinca, PhD A thesis is an aptitude test for students. The approval of the thesis is proof that the student has sufficient research and reporting skills to graduate, but does not guarantee the quality of the research and the results of the research as such, and the thesis is therefore not necessarily suitable to be used as an academic source to refer to. If you would like to know more about the research discussed in this thesis and any publications based on it, to which you could refer, please contact the supervisor mentioned.

#### Abstract

In a world with diverse opinions, empathizing with dissenting views is crucial, and pride and humility may have the ability to influence this empathy. This study examined the effect of different types of pride and humility on empathy towards others with dissenting opinions. Authentic pride, rooted in genuine accomplishments, and virtuous humility, characterized by an accurate self-assessment, might enhance empathy. Conversely, hubristic pride and hubristic humility, both involving self-focus, may hinder empathy. Therefore, it was hypothesized that hubristic pride should lead to the lowest levels of empathy, while virtuous humility should lead to the highest levels. In this between-subjects design, 349 non-religious Americans and Britons were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: authentic pride, hubristic pride, virtuous humility, or hubristic humility. Contrary to expectations, the results suggest that different types of pride and humility did not significantly affect participants' empathy towards others with dissenting opinions. However, exploratory findings using selfreported measures revealed that authentic pride and virtuous humility predicted more empathy and tolerance. Furthermore, empathy mediated the relationship between authentic pride and tolerance, and virtuous humility and tolerance. Additionally, authentic pride and virtuous humility predicted more empathy through an outward focus on others rather than inward self-concern. This study adds to existing research by highlighting the importance of fostering authentic pride and virtuous humility to enhance empathy and tolerance, primarily through an outward focus on others. To gain more insight into pride, humility, and empathy, further research is needed.

Keywords: pride, humility, empathy, tolerance

# Empathy Towards Individuals with Dissenting Opinions: The Role of Pride and Humility

In a world marked by diverse opinions, the ability to empathize with those who hold dissenting opinions is more crucial than ever. However, what makes individuals feel such empathy? The answer might lie in the interplay between different types of pride and humility. Research has indicated that humility might affect empathy (e.g., Davis et al., 2011). However, it is essential to note that genuine humility could be difficult to induce (Jans et al., 2015). Given this challenge, different types of humility may result in varying levels of empathy. To explain, 'virtuously humble' individuals are considered genuinely humble (Jans et al., 2015). They perceive their strengths and weaknesses accurately and put themselves in the larger scheme of things (Tangney, 2000), which might make them more empathic. Conversely, when humility is insincere, individuals try to appear humble on the outside but are driven by underlying motives (Still, 2021), potentially hindering their empathy. We term this 'hubristic humility'. Whereas virtuous humility involves a consideration of one's place within the larger scheme of things, making it more focused on others, we propose that hubristic humility, with its underlying motives, is more focused on the self.

Due to its self-focus, experiencing hubristic humility might resemble another emotion that potentially influences empathy: pride (Aaker & Williams, 1998; Ashton-James & Tracy, 2012). This resemblance arises because pride (Tracy & Robins, 2004) and hubristic humility might share a strong self-focus. The literature has generally distinguished between two types of pride: authentic and hubristic (Tracy & Robins, 2007). Authentic pride refers to a genuine sense of satisfaction and self-worth derived from personal achievements or qualities that are considered internally valuable (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007). In contrast, hubristic pride involves superiority and entitlement based on external validation or comparison with others (Dickens & Robins, 2022; Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007). Whether pride makes people more empathetic might depend on which type they feel. For instance, Ashton-James and Tracy (2012) found that hubristic pride reduced empathic concern for stigmatized groups, while authentic pride increased it. This raises key questions: Does hubristic humility positively affect empathy, similar to authentic pride, or negatively, similar to hubristic pride? Does authentic pride increase empathy similarly to virtuous humility, or does pride make people more self-focused and, therefore, hinders empathy? Consequently, the current research focuses on how different forms of pride and humility impact individuals' empathy towards others with dissenting opinions. Addressing these key questions not only enhances the understanding of the complexities surrounding humility, pride, and empathy but also has implications for fostering empathy in diverse social contexts.

# Humility and empathy

Most definitions of empathy differentiate between affective empathy and cognitive empathy (Pittelkow et al., 2021). Affective empathy is the "experience of emotion elicited by another person's emotional experience" (Cuff et al., 2016; Pittelkow et al., 2021, p. 2). Cognitive empathy refers to the "ability to recognize and identify the emotional states of others" (Cuff et al., 2016; Pittelkow et al., 2021, p. 2). Cognitive empathy is related to perspective-taking, which is the process of adopting someone else's viewpoint (Cuff et al., 2016), with some authors even arguing that they are the same construct (e.g., Duan & Hill, 1996). Drawing on this, we define empathy as the ability to experience and understand others' emotions and psychological states (Feshbach, 1997; Locraft & Teglasi, 1997). When someone is oppressed, or in need, empathic feelings may manifest as sympathy, compassion, tenderness, and similar emotions (Batson et al., 1997).

In prior research, empathy has been linked to many positive outcomes. For example, it is often linked to pro-social behaviors, such as an individual's willingness to help others (Preston, 2013; Yin & Wang, 2023) and greater open-mindedness (Price et al., 2015).

Furthermore, previous research has suggested that factors such as attractiveness (Fisher & Ma, 2014), psychological well-being (Blair, 2005; Quince et al., 2016), and personality traits (Silke et al., 2018) are associated with empathy. However, it is essential to note that we specifically focus on empathy towards individuals who hold dissenting opinions. To our knowledge, this focus distinguishes from previous studies, which, apart from Byun (2023), Gemmink et al. (2024), and Schuppert et al. (2024), did not examine empathy in this context.

Another concept that might affect empathy is humility (e.g., Davis et al., 2011; Krumrei-Mancuso, 2017; Porter et al., 2022). To better understand its effect on empathy, it is important to elaborate on the several reasons why humility is a complex construct. First, there are many types of humility (Worthington Jr. & Allison, 2018), and people assign different positive and negative meanings to each type (Exline & Geyer, 2004; Jans et al., 2015). Additionally, genuine humility, which is a sincere and accurate self-assessment marked by modesty, openness to others, and recognition of one's limitations and the value of others (Worthington Jr. & Allison, 2018), is challenging to manipulate. Inducing genuine humility can be difficult due to its potential negative associations, such as humiliation (Tangney, 2000), which might lead to individuals resisting experiences or situations that might evoke such feelings. Furthermore, there is a chance that induced humility is not sincere (Rowatt et al., 2002) – because how humble is someone if they say they are humble? This paradox highlights that self-proclaimed humility may not reflect genuine humility (Jans et al., 2015).

This complexity of humility poses challenges in understanding its influence on empathy. Given the difficulty of inducing genuine humility, different types of humility may lead to varying examples of empathy. Even though there are more types of humility, we will focus on virtuous and hubristic humility. Virtuous humility can be defined as "having an accurate perception of one's strengths and weaknesses, putting the self in perspective of the larger scheme of things, and being open-minded and appreciative of the value of all things" (Jans et al., 2015, p. 4). For instance, an individual displaying virtuous humility is likely to acknowledge their strengths and weaknesses, value the contribution of others, and remain open to learning from others. To repeat, 'virtuously humble' individuals' accurate perception of their strengths and weaknesses and the fact that they put themselves in the larger scheme of things (Tangney, 2000) potentially enhances their empathy.

In contrast, hubristically humble individuals try to appear humble but are driven by underlying motives (Still, 2021) and are self-focused. We define hubristic humility as a superficial or insincere display of humility, a façade aiming to come across a certain way, even when individuals are aware of their hard work or talent. For example, an individual displaying hubristic humility will likely downplay their achievements and attribute their success solely to luck, despite knowing their talent and hard work contributed significantly. To repeat, hubristically humble individuals try to appear humble on the outside but are driven by underlying motives (Still, 2021), potentially hindering their empathy. Thus, theoretically, virtuously humble individuals might be more prone to empathize with others, while hubristic humble individuals might have a hindered ability to empathize with others.

It is essential to note that past research linked humility to empathy (e.g., Davis et al., 2011; Krumrei-Mancuso, 2017; Porter et al., 2022) did not clearly distinguish between the sincere (virtuous) and insincere (hubristic) facets of humility but primarily focused on the positive relations between humility and empathy. Additionally, humility was not manipulated in these studies, meaning we do not know whether humility *leads to* empathy. Furthermore, our literature review revealed no empirical studies that examined the association between induced humility and empathy.

Nevertheless, unpublished research from Jans et al. (2015) did induce false humility (similar to hubristic humility) and genuine humility (similar to virtuous humility) in relation to tolerance, which is generally seen as being closely related to empathy (e.g., Butrus &

Witenberg, 2013; Byun, 2023). Jans et al. (2015) found that while experimentally induced self-focused humility did not enhance tolerance toward a particular out-group, directing attention to others' virtuous humility elicited genuine humility and heightened tolerance. More specifically, when individuals focused on others' virtuous humility, they showed more genuine humility and became more tolerant of the out-group. In addition, Jans et al. (2015) state that there seems to be a contradiction between perceiving oneself as humble (hubristic humility) and being humble (virtuous humility). This links to the *modest effect hypothesis* (Davis et al., 2013), which suggests a relationship between how genuinely humble people are and how they report their humility. Drawing on this hypothesis, it could be expected that virtuous, humble individuals modestly report their humility, while hubristically humble individuals modestly report their humility. For this reason, self-reports of humility have been criticized as a tool to measure humility (Davis et al., 2013; Jans et al., 2015). All of this suggests that it is crucial to differentiate between virtuous and hubristic humility. Therefore, in this study, we aim to address this gap by exploring how these different facets of humility affect empathy.

#### The Overlap Between Hubristic Humility and Pride

As mentioned, in a way, hubristic humility might resemble pride, as both pride (Tracy & Robins, 2004; van Osch et al., 2018) and hubristic humility involve a focus on the self. Pride is characterized by feelings of personal accomplishment and superiority, which inherently directs attention towards oneself (Tracy & Robins, 2007). At the same time, we propose that hubristic humility involves displaying humility outwardly, being driven by underlying motives, possibly masking an underlying sense of self-centeredness. So, for both hubristic humility and pride, individuals may prioritize their own needs and desires over empathizing with others. This raises the question: How does experiencing pride, the opposite of virtuous humility (Tangney, 2000), with its emphasis on self-focus affect empathy?

#### **Pride and Empathy**

Pride is a significant emotion crucial in various aspects of psychological functioning (Tracy & Robins, 2007). Like humility, pride is a complex construct that can be viewed differently: positively, as an emotional response to personal success, or negatively, as an expression of arrogance or egoism (Dickens & Robins, 2022). To deal with this dichotomy Tracy and Robins (2007) proposed that pride is two-faceted: authentic and hubristic<sup>1</sup>.

Authentic pride refers to a genuine sense of satisfaction and self-worth derived from personal achievements or qualities that are considered internally valuable (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007). It is often seen as the more socially desirable facet and is associated with positive factors, such as higher self-esteem, confidence, and accomplishments (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007). On the other hand, hubristic pride involves superiority and entitlement based on external validation or comparison with others (Dickens & Robins, 2022; Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007). It is often seen as the more selfish facet and is associated with factors such as feelings of superiority, high self-focus, arrogance, and egoism (Dickens & Robins, 2022; Tracy & Robins, 2007). This differentiation is well-established in scientific literature (Dickens & Murphy, 2023).

However, it is essential to note that there has been increasing criticism of the scales used to measure authentic and hubristic pride in recent years (Dickens & Murphy, 2023; Holbrook et al., 2014). This criticism is mainly about the fact that the scales may not effectively capture the distinct facets of pride. For example, Dickens and Murphy (2023) expressed their concerns, including significant deficiencies in the measurement accuracy of the hubristic pride scale, stating that too strongly negative terms that could contradict selfdescription are in the scale's items. By considering the critiques on the pride scales, we aim

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Not all researchers distinguish between these two facets of pride. Other perspectives often align more closely with authentic pride (Dickens & Robins, 2022).

to bring clarity and refinement to the measurement of pride and understanding of pride in our study.

Past research on the relationship between pride and empathy has shown that hubristic and authentic pride affect empathy differently. For instance, Ashton-James and Tracy (2012) found that hubristic pride reduced empathic concern for stigmatized groups, while authentic pride increased it. According to Ashton-James and Tracy (2012), their results indicate the possibility that hubristic pride heightens self-focus to the extent of diminishing empathy, whereas authentic pride could have the adverse effect, amplifying individuals' empathy. Furthermore, Ho et al. (2016) found that narratives associated with authentic pride demonstrated greater empathy compared to those associated with hubristic pride.

This discrepancy between authentic and hubristic pride could possibly be explained by the underlying motivations and self-perceptions of each type. Authentic pride, rooted in genuine accomplishments and self-worth (Tracy & Robins, 2007), might lead to an enhanced capacity for empathy. In contrast, individuals who experience hubristic pride often have a sense of arrogance and superiority (Tracy & Robins, 2007), which may lead to a heightened focus on oneself and, therefore, a diminished capacity for empathy. Given the contrasting effects of authentic and hubristic pride on empathy, it is crucial to investigate this relationship further. Therefore, we aim to investigate whether the distinct effects of authentic and hubristic pride on empathy, as found in previous research, will also be observed in the context of empathy towards individuals with dissenting opinions.

# Pride, Humility, and Empathy

Based on previously discussed research on pride, humility, and empathy, different forms of pride and humility may distinctly influence empathy levels. Drawing on this, it can be theoretically assumed that hubristic pride might lead to lower empathy, while authentic pride leads to higher empathy. Similarly, hubristic humility might result in lower empathy, whereas virtuous humility might lead to higher empathy. More specifically, since hubristic pride is assumed to involve a heightened self-focus and sense of superiority (Ashton & Lee, 2007), it is possible that hubristic pride will result in the lowest levels of empathy. In contrast, since virtuous humility involves an accurate self-assessment and open-mindedness (Jans et al., 2015), possibly leading individuals to be more other focused, it is possible that virtuous humility will lead to the highest levels of empathy. Therefore, we aim to investigate how these distinct facets of pride and humility influence empathy towards individuals with dissenting opinions.

# **Current research**

All of this raises some interesting questions. First, does hubristic humility positively affect empathy, similar to authentic pride, or does it yield adverse effects, similar to hubristic pride? Second, does authentic pride increase empathy similarly to virtuous humility, or does pride (regardless of the type) make people more self-focused and, therefore, hinder empathy in contrast to the influence of virtuous humility? Addressing these questions not only enhances the understanding of the complexities surrounding humility, pride, and empathy but also has implications for fostering empathy in diverse social contexts. Based on previously discussed research, different forms of pride and humility may distinctly influence empathy levels. Consequently, the current research focuses on how different forms of pride and humility impact individuals' empathy towards others with dissenting opinions.

To examine this, this study will test the following hypothesis: Hubristic pride will result in the lowest levels of empathy toward others with dissenting opinions, while virtuous humility will lead to the highest levels of empathy toward others with dissenting opinions<sup>2</sup>. Specifically, we expect that individuals who experience hubristic pride are least empathetic towards others with dissenting opinions. In contrast, individuals who experience virtuous

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This thesis refers to pre-registration available at: https://aspredicted.org/PKY\_2HK and is part of a larger project. In this thesis, we only tested hypothesis 1.

humility are most empathetic towards others with dissenting opinions. Moreover, we will explore whether authentic and hubristic pride will result in more empathy than hubristic pride but less than virtuous humility. This will be examined by inducing various forms of pride (authentic and hubristic) and humility (virtuous and hubristic) and assessing their impact on empathy towards individuals with dissenting opinions.

# Explorative Research

To further uncover patterns and identify potential relationships, we will explore some additional aspects. First, we will examine the relationships between the self-reported pride, humility, and empathy measures. Considering the critiques on the pride scales (e.g., Dickens and Murphy, 2023), we will add new items for hubristic pride designed by Gemmink et al. (2024). Therefore, we will specifically explore whether the new items for hubristic pride predict empathy differently than the original items.

Furthermore, previous research shows a significant relationship between empathy and tolerance, where greater empathy is associated with increased tolerance (Butrus & Witenberg, 2013; Byun, 2023). Also, empathy has been recognized as a mediator in the relationship between humility and tolerance (Byun, 2023). Given this, it is reasonable to view empathy as a potential mediator for the relationship between different forms of pride and humility and tolerance. Hence, we will explore whether empathy mediates the relationship between different forms of pride, humility, and tolerance,

Lastly, since pride is associated with being more self-focused (e.g., Tracy & Robins, 2007), while we propose that humility is associated with being more other-focused (e.g., Worthington Jr. & Allison, 2018), this could influence how individuals empathize with those who hold dissenting opinions. Therefore, we will explore the role of self-concern and other orientation as mediators for the relationship between different forms of pride, humility and empathy towards others with dissenting opinions.

#### Method

#### **Participants and design**

Participants were recruited through Prolific. They received an incentive of £1.50 (approximately \$2.07) upon completing the questionnaire. The sample consisted of non-religious American and British adults. To determine the minimum sample size, we used G\*Power software (Faul et al., 2009). We set the effect size at .20 (Cohen's f), the alpha error probability at 0.05, and the desired power at 0.80 (Faul et al., 2009) to test the differences between 4 groups in a one-way ANOVA. This resulted in a minimum sample size of 280. To ensure sufficient participant numbers for mediation testing and to account for potential exclusions based on our predetermined criteria, we recruited additional participants.

In total, 435 participants responded to the questionnaire. Following the pre-registered exclusion criteria (https://aspredicted.org/PKY\_2HK), we excluded participants who wrote less than five words that were in line with the manipulation (2), failed more than one attention check (1), or answered less than 50% of the dependent measures (83; 80 stopped after the demographic questions and three after the manipulation). After these exclusions,  $349^3$  participants were retained. Regarding gender, 145 participants (41.5%) identified as male, 198 (56.7%) as female, 5 (1.4%) as non-binary/third gender, and 1 (0.3%) preferred not to say. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 77 (M = 41.77, SD = 13.29).

The study had a between-subjects design with four conditions, inducing authentic pride, hubristic pride, virtuous humility, or hubristic humility. The participant distribution across experimental conditions was as follows: 91 participants (26.1%) in the authentic pride condition, 84 (24.1%) in the hubristic pride condition, 81(23.2%) in the virtuous humility condition, and 93 (26.6%) in the hubristic humility condition. The primary dependent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A separate dataset was created excluding participants who did not follow the manipulation instructions (that is, they only described a success), as a considerable number of participants did so. The method and results section of this data file are detailed in Appendix A. As the data analyses did not reveal different patterns, we used the dataset with most participants for the main text.

variable was empathy towards others with dissenting opinions. Based on a set of questions developed by the EC-BSS at the University of Groningen, the study was submitted using the fast-track procedure and, therefore, was exempt from review.

# Procedure

This study consisted of an online English questionnaire created in Qualtrics that participants accessed via Prolific to complete it. The questionnaire, including manipulations and measures, can be found in Appendix B. At the start of the questionnaire, participants received information about the study and were asked to give informed consent to participate. After this, participants were asked to fill out demographic information (age and gender). Next, they were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: authentic pride, hubristic pride, virtuous humility, or hubristic humility based on Ashton-James and Tracy (2012). Each group was asked to reflect on a successful experience, with the focus differing in each condition.

In the *authentic pride condition*, participants were asked to reflect on a successful experience where their success resulted from their hard work and effort. Meanwhile, those in the *hubristic pride condition*, were asked to reflect on a successful experience where their success resulted from natural talent without putting in much effort. Additionally, those in the *virtuous humility condition* were asked to reflect on a successful experience in which they were aware of their strengths and weaknesses, realizing they were not better than others as each individual has their own qualities. Lastly, those in the *hubristic humility condition* were asked to reflect on a successful experience asked to reflect on a successful experience where they despite their hard work or talent, downplayed their success to avoid seeming arrogant. After this, the manipulation checks and measures were taken (Likert-scales). Participants were first asked to indicate how the experience made them feel. Next, empathy and tolerance were measured. Lastly, participants were asked for feedback and were debriefed. Specifically, the purpose of the study was explained, and participants were thanked for their participation.

#### Measures

Several manipulation checks were included using direct measures of humility and pride and established scales for virtuous humility, authentic pride, and hubristic pride to test whether the conditions effectively induced the intended changes (Ejelöv & Luke, 2020). All manipulation checks and measured items were answered on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *absolutely disagree*; 7 = absolutely agree).

# Authentic Pride and Hubristic Pride

Authentic pride and hubristic pride were measured using items on a shortened scale introduced by Witkower et al. (2022), who adapted the scale from Tracy and Robins (2007). To assess authentic and hubristic pride, participants were asked questions concerning their levels of pride. Both scales consisted of four items. For authentic pride, an example item is: "I felt productive" (M = 5.84, SD = 1.01,  $\alpha$  = .82). For hubristic pride (original), an example item is: "I felt arrogant" (M = 2.48, SD = 1.14,  $\alpha$  = .79).

Since existing literature (Dickens & Murphy, 2023; Kusano & Kemmelmeier, 2022) has criticized the hubristic pride scale, additional novel items designed by Gemmink et al. (2024) were used that were phrased as less socially undesirable and negative. The scale consisted of five items; an example item is: "I felt the center of attention" ( $\alpha = .62$ ). Given that this alpha may suggest inadequate internal consistency (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011), we removed the item "I felt like little effort was needed because I was simply up for the task," which increased alpha coefficient to  $\alpha = .73$  (M = 3.06; SD = 1.24).

# Virtuous Humility

Virtuous humility was measured using items from two scales. First, six items from the BHS state humility scale (Kruse et al., 2017) were used. To assess virtuous humility, participants were asked questions regarding their momentary experience of humility. An example item is: "I felt overall no better or worse than the average person" (M = 5.11, SD = 0.94,  $\alpha = .68$ ).

Second, four items regarding modesty from the HEXACO-PI-R Honesty-Humility subscale designed by Ashton and Lee (2007) and shortened by Byun (2023) were used. To assess virtuous humility, participants were asked questions regarding their tendency towards modesty. An example item is: "I felt like I am an ordinary person who is no better than others" (M = 5.30, SD = 1.16,  $\alpha = .70$ ).

#### Direct Measures of Pride and Humility

Direct measurements for pride and humility were included. Pride was measured using "I felt proud" (M = 5.98, SD = 1.29). Humility was measured using: "I felt humble" and "I felt modest" (M = 4.39, SD = 1.15, r = .45).

# **Empathy and Tolerance (Explorative)**

To measure empathy and explore tolerance, participants read four stories about societal issues based on Byun (2023). Before this, participants were asked about their attitudes toward the issues covered in the stories to determine if the stories were counterattitudinal, which was the case<sup>4</sup>. These stories included scenarios depicting a man expressing support for the death penalty for the murderer of his daughter, another man refusing lifesaving medical treatment for his daughter due to religious beliefs, and a woman who believes her primary role is to care for her family as a housewife. After reading each story, empathy was measured based on items comprising the cognitive empathy scale and the affective empathy scale by de Vos et al. 2018 and adapted by Byun (2023). To assess empathy, participants were asked to answer questions concerning their ability to comprehend thoughts,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The mean scores and standard deviations for each item were: "I am in favor of the death penalty" (M= 2.81, SD= 2.03), "People should be allowed to refuse life-saving medical treatments of people under their care (e.g., their children) based on religious or personal beliefs" (M= 2.35, SD= 1.87), and "A woman's primary role is to care for her family and home" (M= 1.97, SD= 1.37). These scores indicate that the stories were counter-attitudinal for participants.

feelings, and perspectives (cognitive empathy) and to measure their emotional response to the emotions of others (affective empathy). The scale consisted of four items, two of each scale, focused on the actor of the story. An example item is: "I find it difficult to, in this case, take the perspective of X" (M = 4.68, SD = 0.84,  $\alpha = .76$ ).

Additionally, after reading each story, tolerance was measured using a scale developed by Hjerm et al. (2020), which was adapted by Byun (2023). Each item in the scale pertained to one of three dimensions of tolerance: "tolerance as acceptance of diversity," "tolerance as respect for diversity," and "tolerance as appreciation for diversity". To assess tolerance, participants were asked to answer questions concerning their attitudes toward tolerance. The scale consisted of three items focused on the actor of the story. An example item is: "X should have the right to live and think how he wishes" (M = 4.87; SD = 0.91;  $\alpha = .80$ ).

# Self-concern and Other Orientation (Explorative)

Self-concern and other orientation were measured based on items by De Dreu and Nauta (2009). To assess self-concern, participants were asked to answer questions concerning the extent to which they prioritize their interests, needs, and well-being over those of others. The scale consisted of three items; an example item is: "I felt concerned about my own needs and interests" (M = 4.72, SD = 1.11,  $\alpha = .56$ ). Given that this alpha may suggest inadequate internal consistency (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011), a 'scale if item deleted' analysis was conducted. The analysis revealed that none of the items profoundly affects the reliability, which indicates structural or conceptual issues within the scale that require further investigation for future research (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011).

To assess other orientation, participants were asked to answer questions concerning the extent to which they consider others' interests, needs, and well-being. The scale consisted of three items. An example item is: "I felt others' wishes and desires to be relevant" (M = 4.71, SD = 1.34,  $\alpha = .76$ ).

#### **Analytical Procedure**

This study examined the influence of different types of pride and humility on empathy toward others with dissenting opinions using SPSS Version 29.0.2.0. To test the manipulation checks and hypothesis, we conducted One-way Analyses of Variance. The assumptions were checked beforehand (See Appendix C). To explore, we conducted multiple regression analyses, post-hoc tests and tested mediation using PROCESS Procedure version 4.2 (model 4, mediation analysis).

#### Results

# **Correlations Between the Variables**

Table 1 provides an overview of zero-order correlations between all study variables. Empathy towards individuals with dissenting opinions correlated positively and significantly with the direct measure of pride, authentic pride, direct measures of humility, and both virtuous humility scales. On the other hand, empathy correlated negatively with the original and new scale of hubristic pride, although these correlations were not significant.

Additionally, there were notable significant correlations between the different pride and humility scales. Individuals who scored higher on the original hubristic pride scale reported lower levels of humility. Similarly, individuals scoring higher on the new hubristic pride scale reported lower levels of humility. Additionally, the original and newly constructed hubristic pride scales were strongly positively related, indicating that both scales capture the same underlying construct.

Furthermore, individuals who scored higher on authentic pride also tended to report higher levels of humility, although these correlations were not significant for virtuous BHS and HEX indicates that both scales capture the same underlying construct.

# Table 1

<b>Correlations</b>	for	Study	Variables
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		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Direct	-							
	Measure								
	Pride								
2.	Authentic	.69**	-						
	Pride								
3.	Hubristic	.08	.02	-					
	Pride								
	Original								
4.	Hubristic	.15**	.16**	.63**	-				
	Pride								
	New								
5.	Direct	.10	.11*	20**	20**	-			
	Measures								
	Humility								
6.	Virtuous	04	08	44**	59**	.31**	-		
	Humility								
	BHS								
7.	Virtuous	05	06	52**	61**	.31**	.75**	-	
	Humility								
	HEX								
8.	Empathy	.12*	.12*	09	10	.14**	.20**	.18**	-

*Note.* \* *p* < .05, \*\* *p* < .01 (2-tailed).

# **Manipulation checks**

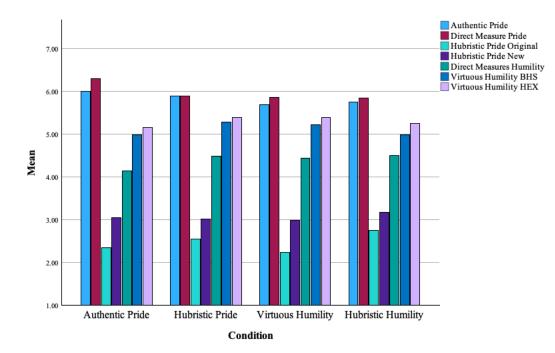
To test the differences between the groups for the manipulations of authentic pride, hubristic pride, virtuous humility, and hubristic humility, one-way ANOVAs were conducted (See appendix D for an overview of the means). We used the direct measures of humility, the direct measure of pride, virtuous humility HEX, virtuous humility BHS, hubristic pride original, hubristic pride new, and authentic pride in the analyses. Results showed significant differences for original hubristic pride: F(3, 345) = 3.75, p = .011,  $\eta^2 = .03$  and the direct measure of pride: F(3, 345) = 2.63, p = .050,  $\eta^2 = .02$ . Post-hoc tests (i.e., Least Significant Difference tests), revealed that for the original hubristic pride scale, the virtuous humility condition significantly differed from hubristic pride condition. Furthermore, for the direct measure of pride, the authentic pride condition significantly differed from hubristic pride conditions.

On the other hand, we found no significant differences for virtuous humility HEX:  $F(3, 345) = 0.87, p = .456, \eta^2 = .01$ , virtuous humility BHS:  $F(3, 345) = 2.43 p = .065, \eta^2 =$ .02, authentic pride:  $F(3, 345) = 1.78, p = .151, \eta^2 = .01$ , hubristic pride new: F(3, 345) =  $0.39, p = .762, \eta^2 = .00$ , and the direct measures of humility:  $F(3, 345) = 1.92, p = .125, \eta^2 =$ .02. Despite the one-way ANOVA showing no significant differences for authentic pride post-hoc-tests revealed a significant difference between the virtuous humility and authentic pride conditions. Similarly, significant differences for the virtuous humility scale were found between hubristic pride and hubristic humility conditions and between hubristic pride and authentic pride conditions. Additionally, a significant difference was found for the direct measures scale between hubristic humility and authentic pride conditions.

Considering the overall pattern (See Figure 1), the authentic pride condition exhibited the highest average score for both the direct measure of pride and the authentic pride scales, significantly differing from other conditions. It also had the lowest scores on humility scales. This suggests that the manipulation might have been effective in inducing authentic pride. However, the high pride scores across other conditions indicate that the manipulation might not have been specific enough. Therefore, there is some evidence of the effectiveness of authentic pride manipulation. Furthermore, the hubristic pride condition exhibited a relatively high average score for the direct measure of pride and virtuous humility BHS, significantly differing from the authentic pride condition. This pattern suggests that we have no evidence of the effectiveness of the hubristic pride manipulation.

Additionally, the virtuous humility condition exhibited the highest average score for virtuous humility HEX, although not significantly differing from other conditions. It also showed a low score for hubristic pride original, significantly differing from authentic pride. This pattern suggests that we have no evidence of the effectiveness of the manipulation of virtuous humility. Lastly, the hubristic humility scale exhibited the highest average score for hubristic pride original, significantly differing from the virtuous humility and authentic pride conditions. It also had the highest score for the direct measure of humility, significantly differing from the authentic pride condition. Furthermore, it showed a high average score of virtuous humility BHS, significantly differing from authentic pride. It also had the lowest scores of hubristic pride new, although not significantly differing from other conditions.

#### Figure 1



Mean Scores of Pride and Humility Across Conditions

*Note.* The y-axis shows the mean scores on a 7-point scale, with higher scores indicating greater levels of the measured constructs.

#### **Hypothesis Testing**

According to our hypothesis, hubristic pride should lead to the lowest levels of empathy, while virtuous humility should lead to the highest empathy. Moreover, we aimed to explore whether authentic pride and hubristic humility would result in more empathy than hubristic pride but less than virtuous humility. Contrary to our expectations, the One-way ANOVA revealed no significant effect as a function of the different conditions: F(3, 345) = $0.04 p = .989, \eta^2 = .00$ . In other words, this suggests that different types of pride and humility did not significantly affect participants' empathy towards dissenting opinions.

# **Exploratory Analyses**

The primary analyses did not show any significant differences between groups. However, due to significant correlations observed among self-reported levels of pride, humility, empathy, and other measured variables, we conducted further exploration. First, we conducted separate regression analyses to examine the predictive value of each study variable on empathy and tolerance (see Appendix E). Additionally, we performed multiple regression analyses to assess the combined predictive value of authentic pride, hubristic pride, and virtuous humility on empathy and tolerance. Furthermore, we examined empathy as a mediator for the relationship between different types of pride and humility with tolerance. Lastly, we explored whether self-concern and other orientation mediate the relationship between different forms of pride and humility with empathy.

# **Correlations**

Table 3 provides an overview of all explanatory variables' zero-order correlations. Empathy towards individuals with dissenting opinions correlated positively and significant with other orientation and tolerance. Furthermore, tolerance correlated positively and significantly with self-concern, other orientation, the direct measure of pride, authentic pride, direct measures of humility, and both virtuous humility scales.

Additionally, there are notable correlations between the self-concern and other orientation and the study variables. Individuals who scored higher on the direct measure of pride, authentic pride, and hubristic pride tended to report higher levels of self-concern, while those who scored higher on virtuous humility HEX tended to report lower levels. Lastly, individuals who scored higher on the direct measure of pride, authentic pride, direct measures of humility, and virtuous humility BHS tended to report higher levels of other orientation.

# Table 3

	1	2	3
1. Self-concern	-		
2. Other Orientation	06	-	
3. Tolerance	.13*	.16**	-
4. Direct Measure Pride	.36**	.15**	.17**
5. Authentic Pride	.31**	.22**	.15**
6. Hubristic Pride Original	.18**	.04	08
7. Hubristic Pride New	.27**	08	10
8. Direct Measures Humility	.06	.24**	.22**
9. Virtuous Humility BHS	03	.11*	.20**
10. Virtuous Humility HEX	11*	.05	.20**
11. Empathy	.08	.17**	.62**

# Correlations for Exploratory Study Variables

*Note.* \* *p* < .05, \*\* *p* < .01 (2-tailed).

# **Computing Scales**

For the explorative analyses, we created three scales. First, an authentic pride scale, consisting of items for the authentic pride scale and the direct measure of pride ( $\alpha = .86$ ).

Second, a hubristic pride scale, consisting of original hubristic pride and hubristic pride new ( $\alpha = .81$ ). Third, a virtuous humility scale, consisting of virtuous humility BHS, virtuous humility HEX and the direct measure of humility ( $\alpha = .83$ ).

# **Predicting Empathy and Tolerance**

First, we conducted a multiple regression analysis to assess the predictive value of authentic pride, hubristic pride, and virtuous humility on empathy. Our results showed that the model was significant: F(3, 345) = 7.96, p < .001,  $R^2 = .06$ . Authentic pride (B = 0.12, SE = 0.04,  $\beta = 0.14$ , t = 2.69, p = .007) and virtuous humility (B = 0.20, SE = 0.06,  $\beta = 0.21$ , t = 3.25, p = .001) significantly predicted higher levels of empathy, while hubristic pride (B = -0.01, SE = 0.05,  $\beta = -0.01$ , t = -0.15, p = .877) did not.

Second, we conducted a multiple regression analysis to assess the predictive value of authentic pride, hubristic pride, and virtuous humility on tolerance. Our results showed that the model was significant (F(3,345) = 11.18, p <.001). Authentic pride (B = 0.16, SE = 0.05,  $\beta = 0.17$ , t = 3.36, p <.001) and virtuous humility (B = 0.27, SE = 0.07,  $\beta = 0.26$ , t = 4.01, p <.001) significantly predicted higher levels of tolerance, while hubristic pride did not (B = 0.02, SE = 0.06,  $\beta = 0.02$ , t = 0.29, p = .775).

# Empathy as a Mediator

Next, we used PROCESS by Hayes, (2013) (model 4) to test whether empathy mediates the relations between the different forms of pride and humility and tolerance. First, we tested whether empathy mediated the relation between authentic pride and tolerance while controlling for hubristic pride and virtuous humility. Our results revealed a significant indirect effect of authentic pride on tolerance (b = 0.07, SE = 0.03, 95% CI [0.01; 0.14]). Hence, empathy did mediate the relationship between authentic pride and tolerance, as more authentic pride predicted more tolerance through higher empathy.

Second, we tested whether empathy mediates the relationship between hubristic pride and tolerance while controlling for authentic pride and virtuous humility. Our results revealed a nonsignificant indirect effect of hubristic pride on tolerance (b = -.00, SE = 0.04, 95% CI [-0.08; 0.07]). Hence, empathy did not mediate the relationship between hubristic pride and tolerance.

Third, we tested whether empathy mediates the relationship between virtuous humility and tolerance while controlling for authentic and hubristic pride. Our results revealed a significant indirect effect of virtuous humility on tolerance (b = 0.13, SE = 0.04, 95% CI [0.05; 0.21]). Hence, empathy did mediate the relationship between virtuous humility and tolerance, as more virtuous humility predicted more tolerance through higher empathy.

# Self-concern and Other Orientation as Mediators

We used the combined scales of authentic pride, hubristic pride, and virtuous humility to test whether self-concern and other orientation mediate the relationship between different forms of pride and humility and empathy<sup>5</sup>. First, we tested whether self-concern and other orientation mediate the relationship between authentic pride and empathy while controlling for hubristic pride and virtuous humility. Our results revealed that the indirect effect of authentic pride on empathy through self-concern was nonsignificant (b = 0.02, SE = 0.02, 95% CI [-0.01; 0.05]), while the indirect effect through other orientation was significant (b =0.02, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [0.00; 0.05]). Hence, other orientation mediated the relationship between authentic pride and empathy, as more authentic pride predicted more empathy through higher other orientation, while self-concern did not mediate this relationship.

Second, we tested whether self-concern and other orientation mediate the relationship between hubristic pride and empathy while controlling for authentic pride and virtuous humility. Our results revealed that the indirect effect of hubristic pride on empathy through

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The sample size for these analyses is n = 348 because one participant did not have a score on other orientation.

self-concern was nonsignificant (b = 0.02, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [-0.01; 0.04), which was also the case for other-orientation (b = 0.01, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [-0.00; 0.03]). Hence, both selfconcern and other orientation did not mediate the relationship between hubristic pride and empathy.

Third, we tested whether self-concern and other orientation mediate the relationship between virtuous humility and empathy while controlling for authentic and hubristic pride. Our results revealed that the indirect effect of virtuous humility on empathy through selfconcern was insignificant (b = 0.01, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [-0.00; 0.03]), while the indirect effect through other orientation was significant (b = 0.02, SE = 0.01, 95% CI [0.00; 0.06]). Hence, other orientation mediated the relationship between virtuous humility and empathy, as more virtuous humility predicted more empathy through higher other orientation, while selfconcern did not mediate this relationship.

# Discussion

In this study, we aimed to investigate the influence of different types of pride and humility on empathy toward others with dissenting opinions. Additionally, we explored the predictive value of authentic pride, hubristic pride, and virtuous humility on empathy and tolerance. Furthermore, we explored empathy as a mediator between authentic pride, hubristic pride, virtuous humility, and tolerance. Lastly, we explored whether self-concernand other orientation mediated the relationship between authentic pride, hubristic pride, and virtuous humility and empathy.

Contrary to our hypothesis, different types of pride and humility did not influence empathy towards others with dissenting opinions. Interestingly, some of our findings do suggest that authentic pride and virtuous humility have the ability to predict empathy positively. However, we did not find any support for a negative relationship between hubristic pride and empathy. The lack of support for our hypothesis could be due to the fact that our manipulations may not have worked effectively. The overall pattern of our manipulation checks showed some support for the effectiveness of the authentic pride manipulation. However, this support was lacking for the hubristic pride, virtuous humility, and hubristic humility manipulations.

Given these results, we explored further using self-reported pride and humility. Taken together, the current research revealed that authentic pride and virtuous humility predicted more empathy and tolerance, while hubristic pride was not related to them. Furthermore, we found that individuals who experienced authentic pride or virtuous humility showed higher levels of tolerance, and this relationship was mediated by empathy, while this was not the case for hubristic pride. Additionally, we found that both authentic pride and virtuous humility predicted more empathy primarily through an outward focus on others (other orientation) rather than inward self-concern. However, neither self-concern nor other orientation were significant mediators for the relationship between hubristic pride and empathy.

# **Theoretical Implications**

#### **Manipulations**

We found some support for the effectiveness of the authentic pride manipulation, but high pride scores across of authentic pride other conditions implicated that the manipulation might not have been specific enough. However, these high scores are consistent with Ashton-James & Tracy (2012) and Tracy & Robins (2007), who also found greater authentic than hubristic pride across conditions. A possible explanation for this could be that people are more comfortable admitting to positive emotions like confidence (authentic pride) than negative ones like feeling stuck-up (hubristic pride) (Ashton-James & Tracy, 2012). This might also explain our relatively high scores for virtuous humility across conditions, as humility is often associated with positive emotions. This adds to existing research by highlighting the importance of social desirability when measuring pride (and possibly humility) and considering the potential of high scores across all conditions.

Additionally, we did not find support for the manipulation of hubristic pride consistent with Schuppert et al. (2024), who used the same manipulations but contradicted Ashton-James & Tracy (2012). A possible reason for our differing results could be the manipulation instructions of hubristic pride. Ashton-James and Tracy (2012, p. 469) asked participants to recall and describe "in as much detail as you can remember" a time that they "behaved in a self-important manner, or felt pretentious or stuck-up.". These words are emotionally charged because they carry negative connotations – socially undesirable traits that are linked to the concept of hubristic pride (Tracy & Robins, 2007) . Research has indicated that emotionally charged words are likely to be perceived as more intense (e.g., Mohammad & Turney, 2010) and might elicit stronger emotional responses (Kensinger & Corkin, 2003; Kissler et al., 2007). It is possible that our instructions, focusing on success from "natural talent without putting in much effort," might have been perceived as more neutral and, therefore, not evoked the same intensity of hubristic pride. This adds to existing research by emphasizing the potential importance of carefully selecting words in instructions to elicit stronger emotional responses.

Regarding the manipulations of virtuous humility and hubristic humility, a possible reason why they might not have been successful could be due to the emphasis on success in the instructions. Since we asked participants to reflect on a successful experience, it could be possible that this did not align with their understanding of humility, which typically involves factors like modesty and lack of self-focus (Worthington Jr. & Allison, 2018). By emphasizing personal success, the manipulation could inadvertently increase participants' self-focus and conflict with their understanding of humility, leading to weaker emotional responses and less effective manipulations. Since we are the first to manipulate humility in this manner, we add to existing research by highlighting the potential pitfalls of using success-oriented instructions to elicit humility. Future studies might consider alternative approaches that better capture the essence of humility, such as focusing on appreciation of others' contributions.

#### **Empathy Context**

Despite finding some support for the effectiveness of the authentic pride manipulation, we did not find an effect on empathy, contradicting Ashton-James and Tracy (2012). A possible reason for this could be the unique context, based on Byun (2023), in which we investigated empathy. We examined empathy in the context of others with dissenting opinions, while Ashton-James and Tracy (2012) examined it in the context of stigmatized others. Since we examined empathy in another context, it is possible that our context might not evoke the same level of empathy, leading to different results. For example, as stigmatized groups face widespread disapproval or discrimination (Craig & Richeson, 2016) , people might perceive these individuals as more vulnerable. Therefore, they might feel more empathy for stigmatized individuals than for those who have dissenting opinions but are not necessarily part of a stigmatized group. This adds to existing research by exploring empathy in a relatively new context, demonstrating that the elicitation of empathy can vary depending on the specific social context.

# Differential Effects of Pride

Our explorative findings indicate that authentic pride enhances empathy and tolerance towards others with dissenting opinions. Conversely, both original and new hubristic pride were negatively correlated with empathy and tolerance; however, these correlations were not significant. This provides some support for the distinction that Tracy and Robins (2007) made, which posits that authentic pride is typically seen as pro-social by being associated to humility and empathic concern (Batson et al., 1997; Neff, 2003). In contrast, hubristic pride is commonly seen as the more anti-social form associated with superiority and increased prejudice (Ashton-James & Tracy, 2012; Oveis et al., 2010). Our study supports the idea that individuals who experience authentic pride might tend to show more pro-social behaviors – in this case, empathy and tolerance. However, it is essential to note that hubristic pride did not predict empathy or tolerance, and the lack of hubristic pride's significant effects suggests limited evidence of its antisocial nature in our study.

#### **Empathy and Tolerance**

In line with Byun (2023) and Gemmink et al. (2024), our explorative findings showed that empathy and tolerance towards individuals with dissenting opinions are related. This supports prior research claiming that tolerance and empathy are closely related (e.g., Butrus & Witenberg, 2013). Furthermore, examining the predictive value of empathy and tolerance, our results showed that self-reported virtuous humility predicts empathy and tolerance towards others with dissenting opinions. This aligns with previous research indicating that humility is positively related to empathy (Davis et al., 2013; Krumrei-Mancuso, 2017; Nadelhoffer et al., 2017; Porter et al., 2022) and tolerance (Byun, 2023; Krumrei-Mancuso & Rouse, 2016). For example, Krumrei-Mancuso & Rouse (2016) found that intellectual humility<sup>6</sup> was associated with tolerance and Krumrei-Mancuso (2017) demonstrated that it predicted prosocial values, including being associated with higher empathy. Furthermore, Byun (2023) found that self-reported virtuous humility predicted tolerance, though only with one measurement (HEXACO-PI-R). However, the mentioned studies, except for Byun (2023), did not examine empathy and tolerance as we did; towards individuals with dissenting opinions. Our research adds to the existing literature by replicating Byun's (2023) findings, demonstrating that humility predicts empathy and tolerance in this specific context. Empathy as a Mediator

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Intellectual humility is defined as recognizing one's potential for error and being open to new information (Krumrei-Mancuso, 2017)

Similar to Byun (2023), we found that empathy mediated the relationship between virtuous humility and tolerance. To our knowledge, Byun (2023) was the first to investigate this model, and we add to this by replicating this finding. However, it is important to note that Byun's (2023) findings were solely based on self-report measures of humility, and we also observed this effect only in our self-reported measures. Moreover, our findings revealed that empathy mediated the relationship between authentic pride and tolerance but did not mediate the relationship between hubristic pride and tolerance. Together, this indicates that individuals who experience virtuous humility or authentic pride are likely to show more empathy, which in turn makes them more tolerant towards others with dissenting opinions. To our knowledge, we are the first to examine empathy as a mediator between pride and tolerance, adding to the existing literature by offering new insights into the mediating role of empathy in the relationship between pride and tolerance.

# Self-concern and Other Orientation

Our explorative findings showed that the relationship between virtuous humility and empathy, as well as the relationship between authentic pride and empathy, were mediated by other orientation. In contrast, self-concern did not mediate these relationships. Additionally, neither self-concern nor other orientation mediated the relationship between hubristic pride and empathy. To our knowledge, we are the first to examine these mediating effects.

Generally, pride is seen as involving a focus on the self as feelings of personal accomplishment and superiority should direct the attention toward oneself self (Tracy & Robins, 2004; van Osch et al., 2018), while humility is proposed to be more other focused (Davis et al., 2011; Exline & Geyer, 2004). However, previous research did link authentic pride, as opposed to hubristic pride, with behavior that is more focused on others (Ashton-James & Tracy, 2012; Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007). Furthermore, regarding pride, Schuppert et al. (2024) found significant differences in self-concern and other

orientation among authentic pride, hubristic pride, and control conditions. More specifically, they found that both authentic pride and hubristic pride led to higher self-focus and other orientation, with authentic pride leading to the highest self-focus.

Our research extends these findings by demonstrating that individuals experiencing authentic pride and virtuous humility experience more empathy primarily through an outward focus on others rather than an inward self-concern. Thus, in the context of empathy towards others with dissenting opinions, it is possible that other orientation is what predicts empathy, while self-concern does not play a role. However, since we did not find significant effects for hubristic pride, we cannot make definitive conclusions about the role of self-concern and other orientation in the relationship between hubristic pride and empathy towards others with dissenting opinions.

# **Practical implications**

Our findings indicate that authentic pride and virtuous humility predict higher levels of empathy and tolerance. Specifically, individuals experiencing authentic pride and virtuous humility tend to show more empathy, which in turn increases their tolerance towards others with dissenting opinions. Moreover, our results suggest that individuals experiencing authentic pride and virtuous humility show more empathy through a focus on others. This suggests that when individuals focus on others, they are more likely to show empathy towards others with dissenting opinions. Therefore, interventions aiming to enhance empathy and tolerance could benefit from incorporating activities and exercises that encourage individuals to consider and prioritize the needs and perspectives of others. For example, such interventions could promote understanding and valuing different viewpoints to help individuals develop a more outward focus, thereby fostering empathy and subsequent tolerance towards those with differing opinions.

# Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions

By building on previous research and making our own contributions, we have added valuable insights to the existing knowledge of pride, humility, empathy, and tolerance. However, it is important to interpret this study's results considering the limitations discussed below.

#### Manipulation Instructions

Out of 349 participants, 64 (18.3%) solely described a successful experience. This non-compliance with the manipulation instructions could complicate attributing any observed effects to the intended manipulations rather than other factors. To address this, we conducted an additional analysis excluding participants who only described a success (see Appendix A). However, the data analyses did not show a different pattern of findings. One possible reason for this could be the well-followed instructions in the authentic pride condition, leading to an uneven distribution of participants. This uneven distribution might have introduced bias and affected the statistical analyses. Given that our self-reported measures of pride and humility show patterns that align with what we expected based on the literature, this raises some questions: Do hubristic pride and humility simply not influence empathy and tolerance? Or do the manipulations themselves cause us to not find an effect? Or is the effect not found because of how we measured our dependent variables (in the context of others with dissenting opinions)? Therefore, future research should refine the manipulation instructions for greater clarity, add sensitivity analyses to assess the robustness of findings, use statistical methods to account for differences in participant numbers across conditions, and investigate alternative explanations.

Moreover, the manipulation instructions were based on Ashton-James and Tracy (2012) and adapted by Gemmink et al. (2024), who manipulated pride but not humility. To our knowledge, no other studies attempted to manipulate humility similarly to how we did. Interestingly, we observed that most participants who solely described a successful experience (thus did not comply with our instructions) were in the humility conditions compared to the pride conditions. This highlights the need for further refinement and clarification of the humility manipulation instructions in future studies. Future research could address this limitation by conducting pre-tests or pilot studies to refine the humility manipulation instructions and ensure their clarity and effectiveness. Additionally, researchers could also choose to provide additional guidance or examples to help participants better understand the concept of humility and how to respond to the manipulation prompts.

#### New Hubristic Pride

Additionally, based on critiques on the pride scales (Dickens & Murphy, 2023), we added new items for hubristic pride, designed by Gemmink et al. (2024). It is important to note that we did not find significant differences in the association of the original and new hubristic pride scale and empathy and tolerance. They both showed similar correlations with other study variables, showed similar means, and were correlated with each other. Based on this, our study cannot say much about the effectiveness of these scales. Therefore, future research should further examine the development of the hubristic pride scale by considering the critiques on the pride scales, such as refraining from using overly negative terms.

# **Cultural Differences**

Our participant pool consisted of non-religious American and British adults. However, previous research indicates that empathy can be experienced differently across cultures. For instance, Jami et al. (2024) highlighted that empathy is influenced by cultural values and societal norms, particularly distinguishing between individualistic and collectivistic cultures (e.g., Cassels et al., 2010; Chopik et al., 2016; Heinke & Louis, 2009). Jami et al. (2024) also noted that research on empathy often struggles to report consistent findings due to varying terminology. Despite this, all studies agree that cultural background significantly shapes empathic behavior. Similarly, humility can be perceived differently across different groups.

For example, religious cultures often view humility positively because it is promoted as a virtue in their teachings (Davis et al., 2017). However, some religious communities may also link humility with submission to authority (Davis et al., 2017). In contrast, non-religious people might see humility from a secular or human-focused perspective, emphasizing the importance of caring for others without relying on religious reasons.

Although our study found relationships between pride, humility, and empathy, it did not examine whether these relationships generalize across different contexts. The cultural background of our participants might shape empathic behavior differently than it would in other cultural groups. This limitation suggests that the generalizability of our findings might be restricted to non-religious Americans and Britons. Future research should consider these cultural differences to gain a more comprehensive understanding of empathy. This could involve including participants from various cultural backgrounds or comparing how empathy differs among cultural groups using data from past studies. Addressing these cultural variations will help to better understand the universality and specificity of the observed relationships between pride, humility, and empathy.

#### Conceptualization, Measure, and Context of Empathy

Jami et al. (2024) state that research on empathy often struggles to report consistent findings due to varying definitions of empathy. Therefore, they propose an urgent need for a consensus on defining empathy regardless of the discipline or field. Research that did find a relationship between pride and empathy (Ashton-James & Tracy, 2012) and humility and empathy (Krumrei-Mancuso, 2017) used different conceptualizations and measures of empathy. For instance, Krumrei-Mancuso (2017) viewed empathy as involving both cognitive and affective components, and defined it as "the emotional reaction that results from cognitive perspective taking" (Krumrei-Mancuso, 2017, p. 15). Furthermore, Ashton-James and Tracy (2012, p. 476) identified empathy as "critical to the reduction and exacerbation of prejudice" and "providing individuals with the motivation necessary to overcome perceived biases in making evaluations of less fortunate others". In our study, we defined empathy as the ability to experience and understand others, emotions, and psychological states (Feshbach, 1997; Locraft & Teglasi, 1997). Furthermore, it is important to note that our findings specifically address empathy towards others with dissenting opinions (both affective and cognitive empathy). This differs from the study by Ashton-James and Tracy (2012), which focused on empathy in the context of stigmatized individuals. Therefore, it is essential to interpret the findings of this study within this specific context.

Taking Jami et al's. (2024) criticism and the differing contexts into account, these inconsistent findings can be due to using varying definitions and examining empathy in varying contexts. Future research should strive for clarity and consistency in defining empathy since there is a lack of adequate evidence to support a standardized definition of empathy (Jami et al, 2024). For example, researchers could conduct conceptual analyses of empathy to identify commonalities and discrepancies in existing definitions across disciplines and propose a standardized definition. Additionally, research on empathy should be considered within the specific context in which it is examined and should not be generalized to other contexts.

#### Conclusion

In sum, this study aimed to test the influence of different types of pride and humility on empathy toward dissenting opinions. Although we found some support for the manipulation of authentic pride, this support was missing for hubristic pride and hubristic humility. Contrary to our hypothesis, different types of pride and humility did not significantly influence empathy levels.

However, our exploratory analyses showed that self-reported authentic pride and virtuous humility were significant predictors of other concern, empathy and tolerance, while

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hubristic pride was not. Furthermore, other orientation mediated the relationship between both authentic pride and virtuous humility with empathy, while this was not true for hubristic pride. Moreover, empathy mediated the relationship between both authentic pride and virtuous humility with tolerance but not again hubristic pride. This suggests that fostering authentic pride and virtuous humility could enhance empathy and tolerance, primarily through an outward focus on others. Future research should further examine these relationships and try to find more evidence for causality. Moreover, future research could consider cultural differences and strive for consistent definitions, measures and context of empathy to further understand these dynamics.

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#### Appendix A

#### Method and Results Section Datafile Two

#### Method

#### **Participants**

After deleting the participants who only described a success, a sample of 285 participants remained in datafile two. Participant distribution across experimental conditions was as follows: 90 (31.6%) in the authentic pride condition, 69 (24.2%) in the hubristic pride condition, 55 (19.3%) in the virtuous humility condition, and 71 (24.9%) in the hubristic humility condition. Regarding gender, 121 participants (42.5%) identified male, 160 (56.1%) as female, and 4 (1.4%) as non-binary/third gender. Participants ages ranged from 18 to 77 years old (M = 40.66, SD = 13.01).

### Cronbach's Alpha, Means, and Standard Deviations

For datafile two, the reliability was as follows: authentic pride (M = 5.80, SD = 1.03,  $\alpha = .83$ ), hubristic pride original (M = 2.51, SD = 1.15,  $\alpha = .80$ ), hubristic pride new (M = 3.03, SD = 1.20,  $\alpha = .61$ ), virtuous humility BHS (M = 5.14, SD = 0.92,  $\alpha = .67$ ), virtuous humility HEX (M = 5.32, SD = 1.14,  $\alpha = .70$ ), direct measures humility (M = 4.40, SD = 1.16,  $\alpha = .60$ ), and empathy (M = 4.68, SD = 0.83,  $\alpha = .76$ ), The mean for direct measure of pride was M = 6.00 and the standard deviation was SD = 1.28.

#### Results

Table A1 provides an overview of all study variables' zero-order correlations. Empathy towards individuals with dissenting opinions correlated positively and significantly with direct measures of humility, virtuous humility BHS, and virtuous humility HEX. On the other hand, empathy correlated negatively with the original and new scale of hubristic pride, although these correlations were not significant.

Additionally, there are notable correlations between the different pride and humility scales. Individuals who scored higher on the original hubristic pride scale tend to report lower levels of the direct measure of humility, hubristic pride new, virtuous humility BHS, and HEX. Furthermore, individuals scoring higher on the new hubristic scale show tend to report lower levels of direct measures of humility and virtuous humility BHS and HEX. Also, individuals scoring higher on the new hubristic pride scale tend to report higher levels of direct measure of pride and authentic pride. Moreover, a significant correlation exists between the original and newly constructed hubristic pride scales, indicating that both scales capture similar aspects of hubristic pride. Lastly, a significant correlation between virtuous humility BHS and HEX indicates that both scales capture similar aspects of humility.

### Table A1

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Direct	-							
	Measure								
	Pride								
2.	Authentic	.71**	-						
	Pride								
3.	Hubristic	.08	.02	-					
	Pride								
	Original								
4.	Hubristic	.16**	.16**	.62**	-				
	Pride								
	New								
5.	Direct	.07	.13*	18**	17**	-			
	Measures								
	Humility								

Correlations for Study Variables

6.	Virtuous	06	06	44**	63**	.27**	-		
	Humility								
	BHS								
7.	Virtuous	05	06	52**	64**	.31**	.76**	-	
	Humility								
	HEX								
8.	Empathy	.05	.07	08	09	.15*	.17**	.13*	-

*Note.* \* *p* < .05, \*\* *p* < .01 (2-tailed).

# Hypothesis Testing

According to our hypothesis (H1), hubristic pride should lead to the lowest levels of empathy, while virtuous humility should lead to the highest empathy. Moreover, we aimed to explore whether authentic pride and hubristic humility would result in more empathy than hubristic pride but less than virtuous humility. Contrary to our expectations, the One-way ANOVA showed no significant differences between the levels of participants' empathy in the different conditions: F(3, 281) = 0.17, p = .918,  $\eta^2 = .00$ . In other words, this suggests that different types of pride and humility did not significantly affect participants' empathy towards dissenting opinions.

#### **Appendix B**

#### **Participant Instructions and Items**

#### **Manipulation Instructions**

After the demographic questions, participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: authentic pride, hubristic pride, virtuous humility, or hubristic humility. They received one of the following instructions based on Ashton-James and Tracy (2012).

### Authentic Pride

In the authentic pride condition, participants received the following instructions: "Next, we ask you to reflect on a successful experience you had. Reflect on a situation where your hard work and efforts led to success. As you revisit this experience, focus on the emotions you felt associated with your success. Please describe, in as much detail as you can, how much effort you put in, what the experience meant to you, and how you felt and perceived yourself afterward.".

### Hubristic Pride

In the hubristic pride condition, participants were asked: "Next, we ask you to reflect on a successful experience you had. Reflect on a situation in which your success resulted from your natural talent without putting in much effort. As you revisit this experience, focus on the emotions you felt associated with your success. Please describe, in as much detail as you can, how much effort you put in, what the experience meant to you, and how you felt and perceived yourself afterward.".

### Virtuous Humility

In the virtuous humility condition, participants were instructed to: "Next, we ask you to reflect on a successful experience you had. Reflect on a situation in which you were aware of your strengths and weaknesses, realizing that you are not necessarily better than others as each individual has their own qualities. As you revisit this experience, focus on the emotions you felt associated with your success. Please describe, in as much detail as you can, how much effort you put in, what the experience meant to you, and how you felt and perceived yourself afterward.".

### Hubristic Humility

In the hubristic humility conditions, participants were instructed to: "Next, we ask you to reflect on a successful experience you had. Reflect on a situation where, despite your hard work or talent, you downplayed your success to avoid seeming arrogant. As you revisit this experience, focus on the emotions you felt associated with your success. Please describe, in as much detail as you can, how much effort you put in, what the experience meant to you, and how you felt and perceived yourself afterward.".

### **Manipulation Checks**

After the manipulation, all participants got these instructions: "Next, we would like to know how the experience that you described makes you feel. Please indicate for each statement to what extent you agree (1=absolutely disagree; 7=absolutely agree)". Tables B1 through B7 display the items.

# Table B1

	1:	2	3	4	5	6	7:
	absolutely						absolutely
	disagree						agree
I felt productive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I felt accomplished	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I felt achieving	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I felt confident	О	0	0	0	0	0	0

## Authentic Pride

*Note*. Authentic pride was measured using items on a condensed scale introduced by Witkower et al. (2022) who adapted the items from Tracy and Robins (2007).

# Table B2

# Hubristic Pride Original

	1:	2	3	4	5	6	7:
	absolutely						absolutely
	disagree						agree
I felt arrogant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I felt smug	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I felt egoistical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I felt stuck-up	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Note. Hubristic pride	original was	measure	d using ite	ems on a c	condensed	scale in	troduced by

Witkower et al. (2022) who adapted the items from Tracy and Robins (2007).

# Table B3

# Hubristic Pride New

	1:	2	3	4	5	6	7:
	absolutely						absolutely
	disagree						agree
I felt superior	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I felt the center of attention	0	0	0	0	Ο	0	0
I felt more important than others	0	0	0	0	0	0	Ο

I felt I was the	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
only person who							
mattered							
I felt that little	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
effort was needed							
because I was							
simply up for the							
task							
<b>37 . TT 1 1</b>	l		1.		11 0	• • •	1 (2024)

Note. Hubristic pride new was measured by novel items designed by Gemmink et al. (2024).

# Table B4

# Virtuous Humility BHS

	1:	2	3	4	5	6	7:
	absolutely						absolutely
	disagree						agree
I felt overall no	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
better or worse							
than the average							
person							
I felt, to be	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
completely honest,							
that I am better							
than most people							
I felt like I do not	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
deserve more							
respect than other							
people							
	I						

I felt I like I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
deserve more										
respect than										
everyone else										
<i>Note</i> . Virtuous humility BHS was measured by items from the BHS state humility scale										

(Kruse et al., 2017)

# Table B5

# Virtuous Humility HEX

	1:	2	3	4	5	6	7:
	absolutely						absolutely
	disagree						agree
I felt I am an	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ordinary person							
who is no better							
than others							
I felt like I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
wouldn't want							
people to treat me							
as though I were							
superior to them							
I felt like I think I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
am entitled to							
more respect than							
the average person							
is							
I felt like I want	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
people to know I							
am an important							

person of high status

*Note*. Virtuous humility HEX was measured items regarding modesty from the HEXACO-PI-R Honesty-Humility subscale designed by Ashton and Lee (2007) and shortened by Byun (2023).

# Table B6

# Direct Measure of Pride

	1:	2	3	4	5	6	7:
	absolutely						absolutely
	disagree						agree
I felt proud	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Table B7	1						

# Direct Measures of Humility

	1:	2	3	4	5	6	7:
	absolutely						absolutely
	disagree						agree
I felt humble	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I felt modest	0	0	0	0	0	0	О

## Measures

Besides the items for the manipulation checks, participants were also asked questions regarding their self-concern and other orientation (See Table B8 and B9).

# Table B8

## Self-concern

1:	2	3	4	5	6	7:
absolutely						absolutely
 disagree						agree

I felt concerned	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
about my own							
need and interests							
I felt my personal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
goals and							
aspirations are							
important to me							
-							
I felt my own	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
wishes and desires							
to be relevant							

Note. Self-concern was measured based on items by De Dreu and Nauta (2009).

# Table B9

# **Other Orientation**

	1:	2	3	4	5	6	7:
	absolutely						absolutely
	disagree						agree
I felt concerned	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
about the needs							
and interests of							
other people							
I felt the goals and	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
aspirations of							
others are							
important to me							
I felt others'	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
wishes and desires							
to be relevant							

*Note*. Other orientation was measured based on items by De Dreu and Nauta (2009).

Next, the participants got these instructions: "The next part of the questionnaire concerns different societal issues and your opinion towards these issues. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? (1=absolutely disagree; 7=absolutely agree)" (see Table C10).

# Table B10

## Attitudes

	1:	2	3	4	5	6	7:
	absolutely						absolutely
	disagree						agree
I am in favour of	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
the death penalty							
People should be	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
allowed to refuse							
life-saving							
medical treatments							
of people under							
their care (e.g.,							
their children)							
based on religious							
or personal beliefs							
A woman's	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
primary's primary							
role is to care for							
her family and							
home							
Note. Based on Byun	(2023).						

After this, participants received the following instructions: "Next, please read the following stories about different people and answer some questions about the people

described in these stories. (1=absolutely disagree; 7=absolutely agree)". These were the three stories participants were instructed to read:

#### Story 1: John

John is a 70-year-old man who has lived a long and fulfilling life. However, his world was shattered when he lost his only daughter, Mary, to a brutal murder. The pain and anguish he felt are beyond words, and he can not comprehend how someone could commit such an evil act. John has always been a firm believer in justice, and he cannot rest until the person responsible for his daughter's death is brought to justice. He supports the death penalty for the perpetrator, as he believes that the perpetrator deserves to pay the ultimate price for the horrible crime they have committed. For John, justice means closure, and he will not stop until he finds it.

### Story 2: Jack

As a Jehovah's Witness, Jack, a 45-year-old man, refuses blood transfusions for himself and his children, viewing it as a divine commandment. However, if his 4-year-old daughter faced a life-threatening situation requiring a blood transfusion, Jack would have a very tough decision to make. Despite his conviction that blood transfusions contradict God's will, Jack's love for his daughter and his desire to ensure her survival would strongly influence him. In such a situation, Jack would explore every alternative medical treatment that avoids the use of blood. Simultaneously, he would pray for guidance and wisdom to make the best decision for his daughter's health and spiritual well-being.

### Story 3: May

May, a 35-year-old woman, believes that a woman's primary role is to care for her family and home and that by doing so, she is fulfilling a noble and important purpose. For May, being a housewife and caring for her husband and children (3-year-old Jane, and 6year-old Sam) brings her great joy and fulfilment. May is happy she has the opportunity to create a warm and nurturing environment for her family and to ensure that their needs are met. May sees it as the way of contributing to the well-being of her family. For May, being a housewife is the best choice for a woman, and she is grateful she can fulfil this role. After reading each story, participants were asked the same questions regarding their empathy and tolerance (See Tables B11 and B12).

# Table B11

## Empathy

	1:	2	3	4	5	6	7:
	absolutely						absolutely
	disagree						agree
I find it difficult	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
to, in this case,							
take the							
perspective of X							
I can easily place	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
myself in X's							
shoes							
I empathize with	0	0	0	0	о	0	0
Х							
I could not care	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
less for X							

*Note.* X stands for the specific actor in each story. Empathy was measured based on items comprising the cognitive empathy scale and the affective empathy scale by de Vos et al. 2018 and adapted by Byun (2023).

# Table B12

Tolerance

	1:	2	3	4	5	6	7:
	absolutely						absolutely
	disagree						agree
X should have the	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
right to live and							
think how he							
wishes							
I respect X's	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
beliefs and							
opinions							
I like to spend	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
time with X, even							
if X thinks							
differently about							
important issues							
than me							
Note V stands for the	   a specific este	r in anal	stowy To	loronoo u		rad using	

*Note.* X stands for the specific actor in each story. Tolerance was measured using a scale developed by Hjerm et al. (2020), which was adapted by Byun (2023).

## Appendix C

### **Assumption Checks**

## **One-way ANOVA**

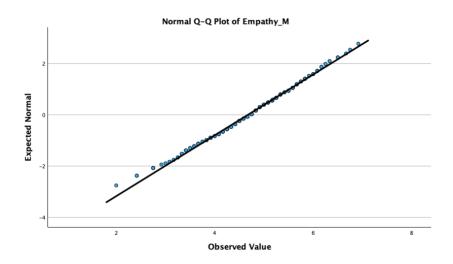
## Assumption of Normality

The Shapiro-Wilk test showed no evidence of non-normality (W = .99, p = .299).

Additionally, visual examination of the QQ-Plot (Figure C1) and histogram (Figure C2) show a normal distribution. Therefore, the assumption of normality is met.

### Figure C1

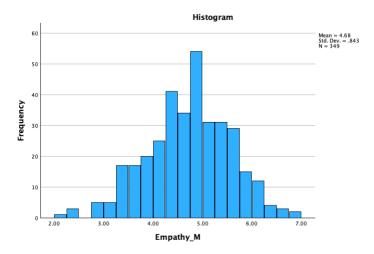
Normal Q-Q Plot of Regression Standardized Residual to Check the Assumption of Normality



Note. The Q-Q- Plot shows a normal distribution.

### Figure C2

Histogram to Check the Assumption of Normality



*Note.* The histogram shows a normal distribution.

### Assumption of Homogeneity

Levene's test showed that the assumption of equal variances was met (F(3,345) = .22,

*p* = .884).

# Multiple Regression Analyses

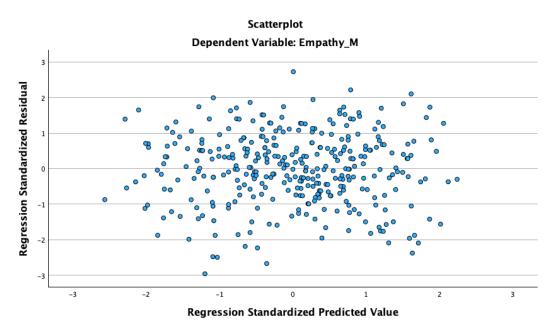
## Linearity

The partial regression plots (Figures C3 and C4) show that the assumption of linearity

was met. The residuals were randomly scattered around zero, indicating linearity.

### Figure C3

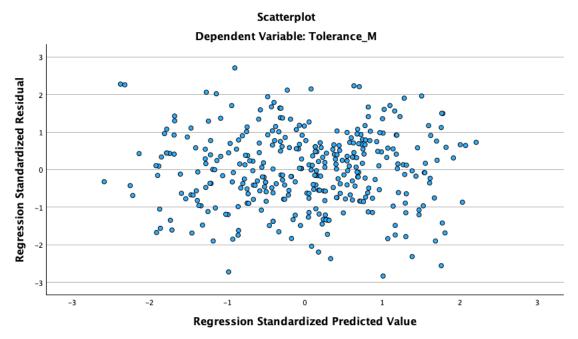
Partial Regression Plot of the Relation Between Authentic Pride, Hubristic Pride, Virtuous Humility, and Empathy to check the Assumption of Linearity



Note. The residuals are randomly scattered around zero, indicating linearity.

### Figure C4

Partial Regression Plot of the Relation Between Authentic Pride, Hubristic Pride, Virtuous Humility, and Tolerance to check the Assumption of Linearity



*Note.* The residuals are randomly scattered around zero, indicating linearity.

# Appendix D

# Means and Standard Deviations of Pride and Humility Measures Across Conditions

# Table D1

Means and Standard Deviations of Pride and Humility Measures Across Conditions

	AP	HP	VH	HH
Direct Measure	6.31a	5.89b	5.86b	5.85b
Pride	(0.96)	(1.34)	(1.40)	(1.35)
Authentic Pride	6.01a	5.90ab	5.68b	5.76ab
	(0.92)	(1.07)	(1.08)	(0.96)
Hubristic Pride	2.35a	2.56ab	2.24a	2.77b
Original	(1.06)	(1.16)	(1.10)	(1.18)
Hubristic Pride	3.05a	3.02a	2.99a	3.17a
New	(1.16)	(1.28)	(1.36)	(1.18)
Direct Measures	4.15a	4.48ab	4.44ab	4.51b
Humility	(1.10)	(1.13)	(1.16)	(1.19)
Virtuous	4.98b	5.28a	5.23ab	4.99b
Humility BHS	(1.00)	(0.99)	(0.79)	(0.93)
Virtuous	5.16a	5.40a	5.40a	5.25a
Humility HEX	(1.27)	(1.08)	(1.21)	(1.07)

*Note.* The means with different subscripts differ significantly (p < .05) based on Least

Significant Differences tests.

### Appendix E

#### **Simple Linear Regression Analyses**

Regression analyses were conducted to test whether virtuous humility BHS, virtuous humility HEX, authentic pride, hubristic pride original, hubristic pride new, the direct measure of pride, and direct measures of humility predict tolerance and empathy. Our results showed that for tolerance and empathy, only hubristic pride, original and new, did not significantly predict them. See Tables 5 and 6 for the results of the regression analyses.

### Table E1

Predictor Variable	В	SE	β	р
Authentic Pride	0.13	0.05	0.15	.005**
Hubristic Pride Original	-0.07	0.04	-0.08	.113
Hubristic Pride New	-0.07	0.04	-0.10	.062
Direct Measures	0.17	0.04	0.22	<.001**
Humility				
Direct Measures Pride	0.12	0.04	0.17	.001**
Virtuous Humility BHS	0.19	0.05	0.20	<.001**
Virtuous Humility HEX	0.16	0.04	0.20	<.001**

Regression Analyses Predicting Tolerance

*Note.* \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01. The table presents the results of separate linear regression analyses. Thus, each row corresponds to a different regression analysis conducted for a specific dependent variable with a specific predictor variable.

### Table E2

Regre	ession	Anal	vses	Prec	licting	Empa	thv
			,			<b>_</b> p	,

Predictor Variable	В	SE	β	р
Authentic Pride	0.10	0.04	0.12	.022*
Hubristic Pride Original	-0.07	0.04	-0.09	.094
Hubristic Pride New	-0.07	0.04	-0.10	.067

0.10	0.04	0.14	.009**
0.08	0.03	0.12	.019*
0.18	0.05	0.20	<.001**
0.13	0.04	0.18	<.001**
	0.08 0.18	0.08     0.03       0.18     0.05	0.080.030.120.180.050.20

*Note.* \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01. The table presents the results of separate linear regression

analyses. Thus, each row corresponds to a different regression analysis conducted for a specific dependent variable with a specific predictor variable.