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Pride in family businesses: Authenticity, hubris, and cultural insights

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ABSTRACT

Research on family businesses praises the benefits of feeling proud of the family firm. However, pride displayed by next generation family members, who may have (yet) contributed little to the success, can create negative impressions. Building on emotions-as-social-information theory (E-A-S-I), we examine the perceptions of expressed pride in two experiments. Results from Western (Study1; $N_1=342$) and Asian contexts (Study2; $N_2=98$) show that (1) displaying authentic opposed to hubristic pride is more beneficial to the family member's image, and (2) reveal differences between genders and cultures. We discuss implications for current theorizing and illustrate how the display of the emotion of pride can be used strategically.

1. Introduction

There are many good reasons to express pride in a family business. From the early writings on family businesses (Davis, 1983), pride has been acclaimed as an important ingredient for creating commitment and cohesion (Ward, 2016). Expressing pride can enhance the development of family business identity (Aronoff & Ward, 1995; Zellweger, Kellermanns, Eddleston, & Memili, 2012) and is linked to socio-emotional wealth (Barrone et al., 2012; Hauck et al., 2016). Moreover, the proud display of family achievements is often strategically used as a marketing and branding tool (Binz-Astrachan & Botero, 2018; Micelotta & Raynard, 2011).

However, showing pride can also have a dark side. Common experience and psychological research in social emotions tell us that pride, albeit a positive-valenced emotion and pleasant to experience, can be associated with arrogance, hostility and snobbery when displayed to others (Tracy & Robins, 2007a). By displaying pride, members of successful family businesses may convey high status, potentially create impressions of superiority, and can indicate a lack of humility (Connelly, Certo, Ireland, & Reutzel, 2011).

Particularly, pride of family members who have not (or not yet) contributed to the business (e.g., next generation members) may be more likely to spawn negative attitudes in others. As opposed to founders of businesses who are associated with entrepreneurship, ingenuity, and hard work (Kets de Vries, 1996), next gens' contributions to the success of the business are less clear and thus their display of pride can be perceived as being entitled, idle, and undeserving of privilege. Creating such negative impressions has the potential for generating an

adverse public image which can make their lives with outsiders and other nonfamily stakeholders more difficult (Barbera, Bernhard, Nacht, & McCann, 2015; Dyer & Whetten, 2006). As family businesses regularly build on their members' favorable reputations with their stakeholders (Binz, Hair, Pieper, & Baldauf, 2013), maintaining a positive image is important. Family businesses well-described sustained competitive advantage is their embeddedness in local community, which is linked to the approachable image of a human figure (Hoffman, Hoelscher, & Sorenson, 2006; Santiago, Pandey, & Manalac, 2019). In contrast, family members that attract negative public perceptions by appearing overly proud can cause harm to the business.

Theoretical frameworks in the field of family business research rely heavily on the emotion of pride, as can be seen in the emergent construct of socio-emotional wealth (SEW) (Gomez-Mejia, Cruz, Berrone, & De Castro, 2011; Miller & Le Breton-Miller, 2014). When defining and measuring SEW expressed pride plays an essential role. For example, item 5 of the FIBER scale (Berrone, Cruz, & Gomez-Mejia, 2012) as well as the shortened REI scale (Hauck et al., 2016) ask whether "Family members are proud to tell others that we are part of the family business." The F-PEC scale measuring "family influence" comprises the identical question on pride (see item P3q7; Klein, Astrachan, & Smyrnios, 2005). Despite the importance of these constructs, the family business literature offers little systematic research on pride, and theorizing on SEW has not integrated the impressions pride can make on nonfamily stakeholder. Moreover, existing works primarily focus on the positive side, but neglect the potential drawbacks of showing pride. Thus, the current literature cannot answer the question, under which conditions showing pride of the family business is beneficial to next gens' image.

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The present paper sets out to address this gap and examines the impressions that displayed family business pride makes on outsiders. We build on the notion that emotions are not only feelings, but are also used as expressions in social interaction, i.e., Emotions As Social Information, EASI theory (Van Kleef, 2009, 2014). Taking into account the social-psychological distinction of *hubristic* pride (e.g., pride in being part of a family business) and *authentic* pride (e.g., pride in achievements related to the family business) (Tracy & Robins, 2007a), our research asks which kind of expressed pride creates a positive or a negative image in outsiders' perceptions. Furthermore, we explore gender differences and whether the same impressions are created when male or female family members display pride. Lastly, given that emotional experiences are influenced by cultural upbringing, we also test for potential differences in impressions that pride creates in Western and Eastern societies.

Our research contributes to our understanding of how emotions in family firms provide social information that influence not only family members, but also outside stakeholders. It thus adds to the growing study of emotions in family firms (Bernhard & Labaki, 2021; Bertschi-Michel, Kammerlander, & Strike, 2020; Humphrey, Massis, Picone, Tang, & Piccolo, 2021) and responds to the call for the integration of theories from psychological areas on family firm behavior (Rovelli, Ferasso, De Massis, & Kraus, 2021; Sharma, Chrisman, Chua, & Steier, 2020). On one side, understanding the effects of emotional display can inform research that sees emotions as part of the defining relationship between family and business (such as expressions of affective commitment, or the SEW perspective). On the other side, our paper contributes insights on displayed emotions through the lens of family business outsiders, such as external stakeholders and the general public. These are all potentially highly relevant groups to families in business, yet these are neglected in current theories on emotions in family business research. Moreover, members of socially aware family businesses might actively hide their pride to nonfamily members to avoid public envy. As a result, studies that define family businesses and measure SEW by relying on participating family members expressed pride, can be misguided. The present paper raises awareness and discusses this problem. Finally, from a practical perspective, our research can contribute advice on beneficial emotional display rules for family business members.

In the remainder of the paper, we outline the theoretical background and two distinct forms of pride. Building on existing studies on pride, primarily from the field of social psychology, we then theoretically deduct our hypotheses. In the empirical section, we conduct two experimental studies. Study 1 is based on a sample of Western participants evaluating family business members displaying pride ($N_1=342$). Study 2 addresses potential cultural differences by replicating Study 1 in an Asian context ($N_2=98$). We discuss our findings in the light of current family business theories, offer practical implications, and end with an outlook on future research.

2. Theoretical background

Lately, research into family businesses has increasingly gained interest in social emotions (Bernhard & Labaki, 2021; Bika & Frazer, 2020; Cardon, Foo, Shepherd, & Wiklund, 2012; De Massis & Foss, 2018; Lingo & Elmes, 2019). Among them is pride, a socially important emotion which plays a significant role in regulating interpersonal behavior (Frijda, 2004). We experience pride when we feel achievement or prestige (Tracy & Robins, 2007a; Weiner, 1985), thus providing intrapersonal benefits (Rudolph, Schulz, & Tscharaktschiew, 2013; Rudolph & Tscharaktschiew, 2014). In addition, pride serves several functions, such as representing a status relative to others, and creating bonds and identity. Family business scholars have often stressed the importance of expressing pride in creating family identity and the commitment of the next generation (Binz-Astrachan & Botero, 2018; Daspit, Holt, Chrisman, & Long, 2016; Groote & Schell, 2018; Zellweger et al., 2012). As such, pride is an example of how emotions are not only felt, but also

expressed in social interactions to influence others. Emotions-as-social-information theory (Van Kleef, 2009, 2014) builds thus the basis of our understanding how the expressing pride affect others' thinking and behavior by triggering inferential processes and affective reactions in them.

Pride can be expressed in verbal and nonverbal ways. When we feel proud, we tend to smile, stand up straight, expand the chest, and even raise our arms in the air (Tracy & Robins, 2004). The emotional display of pride is universal, can be recognized across cultures around the world, and has been observed in various social contexts - even in the animal kingdom, most notably among nonhuman primates (Tracy, Shariff, Zhao, & Henrich, 2013).

Psychologists differentiate between two forms of pride, namely *authentic* pride and *hubristic* pride (Tracy & Robins, 2007a). Authentic pride stems mainly from success that is attributed to one's own effort ("I'm proud of what I did") (Tracy & Prehn, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2007b; Weiner, 1985). Attributing success or social status to internal, stable, and controllable causes (e.g., accomplishments in relation to the family business) signals the authentic form of pride. It has been labeled "authentic" to highlight that it is based on accomplishments and relates to genuine feelings of self-worth and confidence (Tracy & Robins, 2007a).

In contrast, an attribution of success to internal, stable, but uncontrollable causes (e.g., "I am proud of who I am") indicates hubristic pride (Tracy & Prehn, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2007b; Weiner, 1985). It originates from the attribution of achievements to permanent status or origin and is fueled by a more inauthentic sense of self (i.e., distorted and self-aggrandized self-views). Hubristic pride has been described as related to egotism and arrogance, and overly strong hubristic pride has been linked to disagreeableness, aggression, and low implicit self-esteem (Tracy & Robins, 2007a; Tracy, Robins, & Schriber, 2009). In short, the primary difference between the two facets of pride is that authentic pride arises from a self-evaluation of "doing," whereas hubristic pride arises from a self-evaluation of "being."

Displaying pride influences how people are seen and evaluated by others in different ways (Kalokerinos, Greenaway, Pedder, & Margetts, 2014; Ritzenhöfer, Brosi, & Welpe, 2019). On one hand, showing pride informs others about achievements and sends a signal that one deserves high status, respect and admiration (Shariff & Tracy, 2009; Tiedens, Ellsworth, & Mesquita, 2000). On the other hand, the same display can be perceived as arrogant, fueling negative attitudes in observers, and begrudging them future success. The exact reaction, however, is closely linked to the two distinct forms of authentic and hubristic pride. While authentic pride creates more benevolence and social acceptance, hubristic pride tends to generate rejection (Cheng, Tracy, & Henrich, 2010; Lewis, 2000; Tracy, Cheng, Robins, & Trzesniewski, 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007a).

2.1. The impressions of displayed pride

The importance of a first impression when meeting a person cannot be overestimated. Whether meeting a customer, a business partner, or an investor for the first time, making a good impression is essential for the next gen's credibility with external stakeholders (Barbera et al., 2015). Initial impressions are quickly made, extend over a whole range of attributes, and are stable for a long time (Campagna, Mislin, Dirks, & Elfenbein, 2021; Schiller, Freeman, Mitchell, Uleman, & Phelps, 2009). For example, experiments show that pictures of people are rated within milliseconds in regard to their personality, perceived competence, potential for innovativeness and future performance (Anderson, 1991; Howard & Ferris, 1996). These first impressions are influenced not only by social categories and underlying stereotypes (Krieglmeyer & Sherman, 2012; Kunda & Spencer, 2003) but also by displayed emotions.

In social settings, the display of pride can have negative effects on impressions. Pride can elicit feelings of envy in others (Lange & Crusius, 2015) which triggers several negative attitudes towards the person

displaying the pride (Kalokerinos et al., 2014). People particularly feel envious when they experience inferiority and when the situation makes them feel negative (Kalokerinos, Greenaway, & Casey, 2017). For example, a series of studies with students displaying pride when they outperformed their classmates led to decreased popularity and acceptance among their peers (Schall, Martiny, Goetz, & Hall, 2016). In the same vein, other recent findings illustrate how high achievers tend to hide their pride as a social strategy to prevent negative perceptions by others (van Osch, Zeelenberg, Breugelmans, & Brandt, 2019).

Similar effects apply to family firms. Feeling pride about one's successful family enterprise and displaying it can bear the risk of negative impressions and reactions. Displayed pride can elicit envy within families but also among outsiders. Envy can then become a destructive force, creating resentment and negative attitudes. For example, de Vries and colleagues notice in their studies on family business dynamics that envy creates "anger at the possessor, perhaps expressed mildly (in chagrin or discontent), moderately (in resentment or ill will), or severely (in malicious and spiteful acts of spoiling or destruction)" (De Vries, Carlock, & Florent-Treacy, 2007, pp. 95-96). Other research describes how family business members are very much aware of creating envy in outsiders and as such prefer keeping low visibility in order not to attract attention (Weidenbaum, 1996).

2.2. Displaying hubristic pride

Being part of a successful family can elevate the own status but may also decrease the status of outsiders. People can feel hurt when they experience inferiority. Comparing one's self to others with higher status can create feelings of insecurity and prompt upward social comparisons (Collins, 1996). These comparisons can then alter how people see themselves, reduce self-evaluations and create negative feelings. However, system justification theory (Jost & Andrews, 2011) points out that people seek justification for higher status before internalizing and perpetuating systemic forms of inequality. When status differences are considered as legitimate, people of an alleged lower status group tend to provide favorable views on the higher status group (Jost & Burgess, 2000). Without such legitimization, however, display of higher status can result in negative perceptions of the person of perceived higher status

For next generation family business members who convey a high status by displaying pride, legitimizing may be challenging. A family member who displays pride but has contributed little to the family business, did not obtain high status from hard work, the demonstration and sharing of socially valued skills, and resultant respect from others (i. e., prestige) (Tracy & Prehn, 2012). Instead, by drawing on the unearned status of pure association with a family, EASI theory (Van Kleef, 2009, 2014) suggests next gens transfer social information and hence display hubristic forms of pride.

Displaying hubristic pride, based merely on "being part of a family business," is not justified by effort and accomplishments, and the next gen may be perceived as undeserving and arrogant. The negative perception of undeserved status unconsciously transfers and extends to other judged attributes – a well-known phenomenon, commonly described as halo effect (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977) – eventually leading to a more holistic negative perception of the next gen by outsiders. Accordingly, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 1: Other things being equal, displaying hubristic pride in a family business (i.e., displaying pride in being part of a family business) leads to less positive evaluations by others than displaying pride in general.

2.3. Displaying authentic pride

Expressing one's pride in family business settings is not necessarily always perceived in a negative light. Authentic pride, which derives

from specific accomplishments, is associated with feelings of achievement, accomplishment, self-worth, and productivity (Tracy & Robins, 2007a). When pointing to one's abilities or achievements, pride can lead to admiration, respect, prestige, and other positive evaluations by others. In that sense, pride has been described as a functional emotion because it elevates one's status in the eyes of others (Shariff & Tracy, 2009).

Displaying the authentic form of pride is regularly linked to a whole range of positive associations. It indicates that the proud person merits increased acceptance and social status (Tracy & Robins, 2007a). Pride has been shown to have positive effects on perceptions of agency and task-oriented leadership (Brosi, Spörrle, Welpe, & Heilman, 2016). Therefore, it can justify a high-status position within a group or an organization.

Family business members who express their pride in efforts and achievements related to the family business, display as social information (EASI theory, Van Kleef, 2009, 2014) the authentic form of pride. When focusing on actions as the reasons for their pride, next gens in particular, can gain legitimacy in the eyes of other stakeholders. By justifying their status based on accomplishments and the positive associations with authentic pride, we expect a halo effect (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977), leading to a more holistically positive evaluation of the family member. We therefore hypothesize that authentic pride creates more benevolence in others than pride in general or hubristic pride.

Hypothesis 2: Other things being equal, displaying authentic pride in a family business (i.e., pride in achievements related to the family business) leads to more positive evaluations by others than displaying pride in general.

Hypothesis 3: Other things being equal, displaying hubristic pride in a family business (i.e., pride in being part of a family business) leads to less positive evaluations by others than displaying authentic pride (i.e., pride in achievements related to the family business).

2.4. Displaying pride or showing no emotion

Given the outlined risks of creating negative impressions, families in business might ponder whether expressing no emotion to outsiders is a better strategy. However, feeling proud is a positive emotional experience. Positive emotions are believed to strengthen personal resources, and conveying positive emotions has been linked to several beneficial outcomes, among them well-being, health, and even personal success (Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005). People who express positive emotions such as happiness are considered to be more likable, warmer, friendlier and more intelligent (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005). Studies show that observers of photos rated people who displayed positive emotions more favorably on several personality dimensions, and expected interactions with them to be more rewarding (Harker & Keltner, 2001). Such findings suggest that minimal information beyond display of positive affect is needed to have people draw deep conclusions about others across a range of personal attributes (Kalokerinos et al., 2014). In contrast, not displaying positive emotions when expected or actively withholding them can create negative impressions on others. Experiencing positive events but not expressing related positive feelings has been found to indicate emotional dissociation, which can make people appear less authentic and less likable (Mauss et al., 2011).

Drawing on EASI theory (Van Kleef, 2009, 2014) and these findings, we hypothesize that displaying pride, a positive-valenced emotion (Tracy & Robins, 2007a), has the potential to create positive impressions of members of successful family businesses, and thus lead to more positive evaluations by others. This may be the case particularly when showing authentic pride, which signals achievement, accomplishment, and feelings of self-worth. Displays of hubristic pride, in contrast, may signal undeserved status which can be seen as egotism and arrogance. Positive emotional display attributed to hubristic pride, such as related

smiling, can thus be perceived with the negative form of "grinning" (Kalokerinos et al., 2014). In the case of hubristic pride, we thus expect the social cost of displaying pride to outweigh the benefits of positive emotional display or showing no emotion. For members of family businesses, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 4: Other things being equal, displaying hubristic pride in a family business (i.e., displaying pride in being part of a family business) leads to less positive evaluations by others than displaying no emotion. Hypothesis 5: Other things being equal, displaying authentic pride in a family business (i.e., displaying pride in achievements related to the family business) leads to more positive evaluations by others than displaying no emotion.

2.5. Observers' family business background and gender

Finally, we hypothesize that similarity is a potential interference on the perception of displayed pride. That is, personal attributes of the observer may influence their judgement of others. In fact, there is a large body of social psychology research that shows that people prefer others who are similar to them. A large meta-analysis by Montoya and colleagues (2008) found that the effect of more positive perceptions of others who are similar is significant and the effect size is large. The study also shows that the less information people have about someone else, the more they rely on similarity to evaluate them. The reason for such influence may lie in the cognitive evaluation process. When people see that a person has something in common with them, it makes them feel positive about that person because they feel positive about themselves (Hampton, Fisher Boyd, & Sprecher, 2019).

Therefore, it might be the case that people's evaluation of displayed pride is influenced in a way that they provide more positive evaluation when the person is similar to them. For example, one characteristic of similarity is being of the same gender. Men might perceive displaying pride in other men more positively than in women. In turn, women might see other women displaying pride in a more positive light.

Having a family business background might be another relevant characteristic of similarity. Being from a family business might positively influence one's perception of a display of pride on the part of someone with a family business background. This similarity in background allows them to relate better, feel more connected based on their shared identity as a family business member, and maintain a positive image of their assumed peers, i.e., their ingroup (Turner, Brown, & Tajfel, 1979). Such perceptual bias is based on effects ascribed to collective narcissism, the positive image one has of a group one feels associated with (de Zavala, Cichocka, Eidelson, & Jayawickreme, 2009). Inclined to maintaining a positive image of one's ingroup and identifying with the person who displays pride can thus elicit a more favorable evaluation. Accordingly, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 6: The evaluations of displaying pride in a family business is influenced by similarity between the person who displays the emotion and the person who perceives it, in a way that

- (a) a person with a family business background perceives more positively the pride displayed by a member of another family business (Similarity effect);
- (b) a person perceives more positively the pride displayed by a family business member of the same gender (Similarity effect).

3. Study 1

3.1. Sample

Experimental studies in the field of family business research are still rare but offer unique opportunities for knowledge creation (Lude & Prügl, 2021). The fundamental idea of our experiment is to create a pool of homogeneous participants and similar environment (i.e., keeping

other things equal), but randomly assign participants to different conditions which vary by only one factor. Thus, we contacted 945 alumni (graduates from a master's program) of a business school located in Western Europe. Alumni from a business school are suitable for our research as they are potential stakeholders or business partners in family businesses. In contrast to current students, alumni have already had exposure to the business world which informs their judgement. We contacted the alumni through the email addresses provided by the Business Schools' alumni network. We conducted the experiment online and received responses from 436 subjects (response rate = 46 %). Among all respondents we selected only those who grew up and were socialized in Western Europe (specifically France), reducing the sample to 342 subjects, to further homogenize the sample and reduce potential influence of culture. Half of the participants (49 %) were female, on average 27.9 years old. All of them had a completed master's degree in business studies. 154 participants stated that at least one member of their family owns or runs a business.

3.2. Study design

The experiment employed a between-subject design and presented a picture of a male and a female next gen randomly distributed in one of four conditions. The pictures showed persons displaying emotions and were taken from the validated UC Davis Set of Emotion Expression (UCDSEE). The pictures in the UCDSEE are designed to be as neutral as possible, with no social information beyond emotion expression, ethnicity and sex (Tracy et al., 2009). They are validated and verified by means of Facial Action Coding System (FACS; Ekman & Friesen, 1978) to ensure that the expressions accurately convey pride and that neutral displays convey no emotion (Tracy et al., 2013). A wide range of studies have reliably used the UCDSEE (e.g., Brosi et al., 2016; Shariff & Tracy, 2009).

The chosen photographs of our study displayed either a proud person (conditions #1-#3) or a person in an emotionally neutral state (condition #4). Specifically, we used a photograph of a male and a female person displaying pride with hands akimbo, expanded posture, head tilted backward, and a slight smile. We chose the Caucasian expressers as this was the most frequent ethnicity in our sample. Previous use of the UCDSEE has shown that the pride display in the pictures does not differentiate between authentic and hubristic pride (Tracy & Prehn, 2012). However, the expression can be disambiguated by knowledge about the proud person's attribution pattern. Therefore, additional information was given with the picture, stating that the depicted person (male/female) is either proud of being from a family business (hubristic pride; condition #1) or proud of the efforts and achievements related to the family business (authentic pride; condition #2). Conditions #3 and #4 were control conditions. They displayed either a person (male/female) being proud without additional information about the family business context (general pride; condition #3), or a person (male/female) in an emotionally neutral state with additional information about the family business context (no pride; condition #4).

The conditions can thus be summarized in the following way and are also illustrated in Exhibit 1:

- Condition #1 was the hubristic pride condition and depicted a proud next gen (male/female). The text explained that the person is proud of being from a family business.
- Condition #2 was the authentic pride condition and depicted a proud next gen (male/female). The text explained that the person is proud of achievements related to their family business.
- 3. Condition #3 was a control condition of general pride and depicted a proud person (male/female). The text explained that the person is proud. No connection to the family business context was given.
- 4. Condition #4 was a control condition for the family business context and depicted a next gen (male/female) in an emotionally neutral

state. The text explained that the person comes from a family business, but no connection to pride was given.

3.3. Procedure

Participants were randomly presented only one of the four conditions with a male person and only one of the four conditions with a female person. To avoid order effects, the sequence of the male and female condition was also randomized. Participants were asked whether they recognize several emotions in the presented pictures. Among these emotions was pride, which served as a manipulation check.

3.4. Dependent variables

A substantial body of research has shown that people draw trait inferences from the appearance of other people within less than a second (Willis & Todorov, 2006). Among the commonly tested judgements are attractiveness, likability, trustworthiness, competence/achievement, and aggressiveness (e.g., van Osch et al., 2019; Willis & Todorov, 2006) or agency-related and communality-related judgements (e.g., Brosi et al., 2016; Ritzenhöfer et al., 2019). In accordance with these studies, we asked study participants to evaluate their perception of the presented person on a variety of attributes relevant to the family business context.

The instruction read "Based on the presented information, to what extent do you think Tom/Kim is...", followed by a list of attributes. They were taken from Anderson's traits creating likableness (Anderson, 1968) and included: "aggressive," "intelligent," "friendly/nice/kind," "egoistical/selfish." The evaluation was measure by a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from "not at all" to "very much" for each attribute. Less likable traits were reverse coded, so higher scores indicated more positive evaluations. Together, they build the measure of a *likable personality* (for a similar approach see: Kalokerinos et al., 2014). Cronbach's Alpha was 0.64 for the male evaluations and 0.60 for the female evaluation.

In addition, we included six other attributes considered relevant for next generation family business members' image: "successful," "achieving," "innovative," "open-minded," "arrogant," and "snobbish." Results from an explorative factor analysis suggested combining "innovative" and "open-minded" for a measure of *innovative* ($\alpha_{male}=0.75$; $\alpha_{female}=0.70$), "successful" and "achieving" for a combined measure of achieving ($\alpha_m=0.85$; $\alpha_f=0.87$), as well as "snobbish" and "arrogant" for a combined measure of *snobbish* ($\alpha_m=0.86$; $\alpha_f=0.86$). To summarize, our dependent variables are participants' judgements on the degree the presented condition illustrates a person who is likable, innovative, achieving, and snobbish.

3.5. Interaction variables

In addition to age and gender (interaction variable of H6b), we asked participants for their country of origin and whether they have a family business background (interaction variable of H6a). For the purposes of this study, we defined having a family business background as having a close relative (i.e., parents, grandparents, siblings) who owns or runs a family business.

3.6. Results study 1

3.6.1. Manipulation check

In order to check whether participants had recognized the emotion of pride as intended, we compared the degree of identified pride in conditions #1 through #3 versus the emotionally neutral condition #4. As intended, participants could correctly identify pride in the male ($M_{\#1-3m} = 4.36$; $M_{\#4m} = 3.20$; p <.01) and female pride conditions ($M_{\#1-3f} = 4.22$; $M_{\#4f} = 3.29$; p <.01). Particularly, in the conditions of hubristic and authentic pride participants recognized similar degrees of pride ($M_{\#1m} = 4.39$; $M_{\#2m} = 4.44$; n.s.; $M_{\#1f} = 4.28$; $M_{\#2f} = 4.32$; n.s.). This supports the idea that the two forms of pride can only be distinguished

through the additional context as described in previous research (Tracy & Prehn, 2012). The manipulation checks thus suggest that differences in the reported impressions must be the result of the recognized form of the pride (i.e. hubristic pride of "being from a family business" vs. authentic pride of "achievements in the family business"), but not the degree of pride.

3.6.2. Findings

Fig. 1 illustrates the means of participants' evaluations of appearing likable/innovative/achieving/snobbish for the male conditions #1 through #4 and the female conditions #1 through #4. Error bars represent ± 1 standard error of the mean.

In order to test our hypotheses, we conducted separate analyses of variances (ANOVA) with the four conditions of male and female as independent variables, and with the four dependent variables of perceptions (likability, innovativeness, achievement, snobbery). The results for Hypotheses 1 through 5 are presented in Table 1.

3.6.3. Main effects

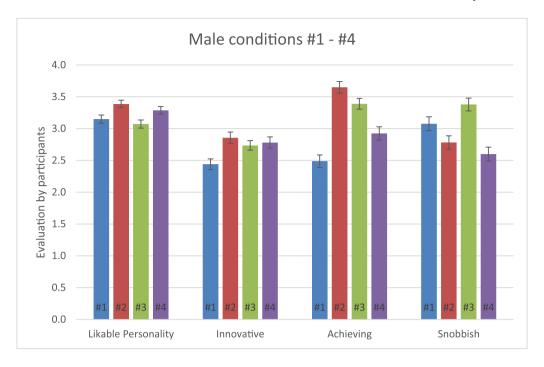
To test Hypothesis 1, we compared hubristic pride of the family business (condition #1) with displaying pride in general (control condition #3). Participants evaluated that the display of pride in being from the family business significantly reduced their perceptions of innovativeness ($M_{\#1m} = 2.44$, $SD_{\#1m} = 0.77$; $M_{\#3m} = 2.74$, $SD_{\#3m} = 0.71$; F(1, 1)173) = 7.01; p <.01; η =0.04) and snobbery in the male condition $(M_{\#1m} = 3.08, SD_{\#1m} = 1.00; M_{\#3m} = 3.38, SD_{\#3m} = 0.97; F(1, 173) =$ 4.12; p = .04; η =0.02); and achievement in the male and female condition ($M_{\#1m} = 2.49$, $SD_{\#1m} = 0.91$; $M_{\#3m} = 3.39$, $SD_{\#3m} = 0.81$; F(1, 1)173) = 48.65; p < .01; η =0.22); $(M_{\#1f} = 2.76, SD_{\#1f} = 0.97; M_{\#3f} = 3.61,$ $SD_{\#3f} = 0.69$; F(1, 170) = 46.77; p < .01; $\eta = 0.21$). These results support H1 to the extent that men showing hubristic pride in being from a family business are perceived as less achieving and less innovative compared to general displays of pride. However, they are also seen as less snobbish. Women showing hubristic pride in being from a family business are perceived as less achieving, which also supports H1.

For Hypothesis 2, we compared displaying authentic pride in the family business (condition #2) with displaying pride in general (control condition #3). Participants evaluated that the display of pride in achievements related to the family business significantly improved perceptions of males' and females' likable personality, achievement, and snobbery. Displaying authentic pride significantly improved judgements on innovativeness in females. (See Table 1, lines Hypothesis 2, for respective means, standard deviations, significance in differences and effect sizes). These findings largely support H2.

Hypothesis 3 proposed that expressing hubristic pride in being from a family business leads to less positive evaluations by others than displaying authentic pride. We thus compared evaluations of conditions #1 with #3. In full support of H3, we find significantly favorable evaluations for both male and female conditions in terms of all four characteristics, i.e., likable personality, innovativeness, achievement, and snobbery. For the sake of a concise and easily readable presentation, we do not list the detailed statistical results here but refer to Table 1 (see Table 1, lines Hypothesis 3).

Hypothesis 4 predicted that expressing hubristic pride in being from a family business would lead to less positive evaluations by others than displaying no emotion. Accordingly, we compared evaluations of condition #1 with #4. We found significantly less favorable evaluations for both male and female conditions in terms of innovativeness, achievement, and snobbery, and for females' likable personality (see Table 1, lines Hypothesis 4). These findings support H4.

To test Hypothesis 5 whether displaying authentic pride in a family business leads to more positive evaluations by others than displaying no pride, we compared conditions #2 and #4. This was the case for the perceptions of females' innovativeness and likable personality. This was also the case for perceptions of both male and female achievement. We found no significantly more favorable evaluations for perceptions of



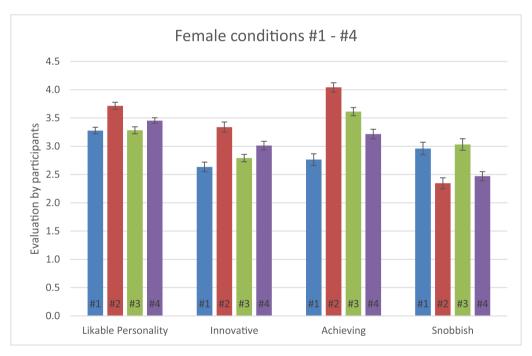


Fig. 1. Study 1. Means for reported perceptions of likable personality, innovativeness, achievement and snobbery for experimental conditions #1 to #4 (male and female). Note: All bars refer to the mean perception assessed on 5-point scales as explained in the method section. Error bars represent \pm 1 standard error of the mean. The number in the bars refer to the experimental conditions, i.e. condition #1: hubristic pride, from family business; condition #2: authentic pride, from family business; condition #3: control condition, general pride, but not from family business; condition #4: control condition, no pride, but from a family business.

snobbery (see Table 1, lines Hypothesis 5). Overall, results partially support ${\sf H5}.$

An additional finding becomes apparent when we studied the effect sizes. When examining the results in Table 1 and comparing the same conditions, in almost all cases, the effect sizes of the female cases were higher than those of the male conditions. This finding suggests that the effects of displaying pride are stronger for females than for males.

3.6.4. Interaction effects

Finally, we tested two potential interaction effects as proposed in

Hypothesis 6. We hypothesized that the participants' gender influences their perception. Men may perceive displaying pride in the male conditions more positively than women, and vice versa. A second potential interaction effect relates to having a family business background. We expected that participants who come from family businesses perceive expressions of pride with regard to a family business more favorably than participants without such a background.

To test Hypotheses 6 and the potential effect of similarity between participants and the presented condition, we performed an Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) of participants' gender and their own family

Table 1Study 1. ANOVA results for Hypotheses 1 – 5.

Innovative												
Hypothesis	Condition		М	SD	n	Condition	М	SD	n	F value	p	η
1	#1	male	2.44	0.77	84	#3	2.74	0.71	91	7.01	0.01	0.0
	#1	female	2.63	0.81	89	#3	2.79	0.63	93	2.10	0.15	0.0
2	#2	male	2.86	0.84	87	#3	2.74	0.71	91	1.06	0.31	0.0
	#2	female	3.34	0.83	84	#3	2.79	0.63	93	25.10	0.00	0.1
3	#1	male	2.44	0.77	84	#2	2.86	0.84	87	11.29	0.00	0.0
	#1	female	2.44	0.77	84	#2	3.34	0.83	84	32.04	0.00	0.1
4	#1	male	2.44	0.77	84	#4	2.78	0.79	80	7.78	0.01	0.0
	#1	female	2.63	0.81	89	#4	3.01	0.71	85	10.64	0.00	0.0
5	#2	male	2.86	0.84	87	#4	2.78	0.79	80	0.35	0.56	0.0
	#2	female	3.34	0.83	84	#4	3.01	0.71	85	7.68	0.01	0.0
Likable Perso	nality											
Hypothesis	Condition		M	SD	n	Condition	M	SD	n	F value	p	η
1	#1	male	3.15	0.60	84	#3	3.07	0.62	91	0.70	0.40	0.0
	#1	female	3.28	0.54	89	#3	3.28	0.59	93	0.00	0.96	0.0
2	#2	male	3.39	0.55	87	#3	3.07	0.62	91	13.01	0.00	0.0
	#2	female	3.72	0.57	84	#3	3.28	0.59	93	24.46	0.00	0.1
3	#1	male	3.15	0.60	84	#2	3.39	0.55	87	7.36	0.01	0.0
	#1	female	3.28	0.54	89	#2	3.72	0.57	84	26.78	0.00	0.1
4	#1	male	3.15	0.60	84	#4	3.29	0.52	80	2.48	0.12	0.0
	#1	female	3.28	0.54	89	#4	3.45	0.45	86	5.38	0.02	0.0
5	#2	male	3.39	0.55	87	#4	3.29	0.52	80	1.46	0.23	0.0
	#2	female	3.72	0.57	84	#4	3.45	0.45	86	10.96	0.00	0.0
Achieving												
Hypothesis	Condition		M	SD	n	Condition	M	SD	n	F value	p	η
1	#1	male	2.49	0.91	84	#3	3.39	0.81	91	48.65	0.00	0.2
	#1	female	2.76	0.97	89	#3	3.61	0.69	93	46.77	0.00	0.2
2	#2	male	3.65	0.86	87	#3	3.39	0.81	91	4.33	0.04	0.0
	#2	female	4.04	0.75	84	#3	3.61	0.69	93	15.84	0.00	0.0
3	#1	male	2.49	0.91	84	#2	3.65	0.86	87	74.33	0.00	0.3
	#1	female	2.76	0.97	89	#2	4.04	0.75	84	93.76	0.00	0.3
4	#1	male	2.49	0.91	84	#4	2.93	0.93	80	9.31	0.00	0.0
	#1	female	2.76	0.97	89	#4	3.22	0.79	86	11.38	0.00	0.0
5	#2	male	3.65	0.86	87	#4	2.93	0.93	80	27.53	0.00	0.1
	#2	female	4.04	0.75	84	#4	3.22	0.79	86	49.33	0.00	0.2
Snobbish												
Hypothesis	Condition		M	SD	n	Condition	M	SD	n	F value	p	η
1	#1	male	3.08	1.00	84	#3	3.38	0.97	91	4.12	0.04	0.0
	#1	female	2.96	1.04	89	#3	3.03	0.98	93	0.23	0.63	0.0
2	#2	male	2.78	0.99	87	#3	3.38	0.97	91	16.58	0.00	0.0
	#2	female	2.35	0.89	84	#3	3.03	0.98	93	23.69	0.00	0.1
3	#1	male	3.08	1.00	84	#2	2.78	0.99	87	3.78	0.05	0.0
	#1	female	2.96	1.04	89	#2	2.35	0.89	84	17.37	0.00	0.0
4	#1	male	3.08	1.00	84	#4	2.60	0.99	80	9.49	0.00	0.0
4	#1											
4	#1 #1	female	2.96	1.04	89	#4	2.47	0.76	86	12.58	0.00	0.0
4 5		female male	2.96 2.78	1.04 0.99	89 87	#4 #4	2.47 2.60	0.76 0.99	86 80	12.58 1.41	0.00 0.24	0.0

business background as fixed factors and their interaction across all four conditions.

We found for the male conditions that having a family business background had a significant influence on the perception of likable personality (F = 9.12, p <.01, η =0.10) and snobbery (F = 7.23, p <.01, η =0.08). For the female conditions, we found a significant effect on the perception of innovativeness (F = 3.22, p <.05, η =0.04). Those who come from a family business provided more positive evaluations of likable personality and lower ratings of snobbery of men, as well as more innovativeness of women, compared to the evaluations by those without a family business background. This finding partially supports H6a.

When studying the potential influence of similarity between participants' gender and the presented condition, the ANCOVA indicated no significant interaction effects in the male conditions. However, for the female conditions we found effects in the evaluations of likable personality (F = 3.24, p <.05, η =0.04), innovativeness (F = 2.73, p <.05, η =0.03), and achievement (F = 3.50, p <.01, η =0.04). The displayed pride of females led to higher evaluations by female participants than by male participants. Therefore, H6b is only partially supported.

3.7. Rationale for Study 2 - replication and cultural influence

A general concern of judging displayed emotions relates to the generalizability of findings from one cultural setting. Considerable evidence shows that pride has a distinct, cross-culturally recognized nonverbal expression that is accurately identified by children and adults (Tracy and Matsumoto, 2008; Tracy and Robins, 2008; Tracy, Robins, & Lagattuta, 2005). These research findings suggest that pride can be considered as a basic emotion which is biologically based and therefore valid across cultures (Tracy & Robins, 2007b; Tracy et al., 2013).

While the recognition of pride is universal, the connected judgements might vary across different cultures. The little empirical evidence that exists indicates that in Asian cultures pride is perceived as a more negative and unconstructive emotion than in Western cultures (Van Osch, Breugelmans, Zeelenberg, & Fontaine, 2013). For example, in an intercultural comparison, Stipek (1998) found that Chinese respondents had a negative view of experiencing and expressing pride, whereas on average, American respondents valued pride more. Americans considered it as much more appropriate to experience or express pride for

personal accomplishments.

In addition, it might be the case that cultural background influences people's perceptions of "family businesses" in general. In turn, the judgement of expressed pride by people from a family business might then be overshadowed by their cultural perception of family business in general. Annual studies by Edelman, (2019) show that the way family businesses are perceived varies around the globe, and intercultural research on family businesses finds that the business reputation in Confucian Asian countries is of significantly less importance than in European and Anglo cultures (Gupta, Levenburg, Moore, Motwani, & Schwarz, 2011).

Given the relevance of cultural upbringing on the evaluation of people from family businesses we decided to replicate Study 1 in a different cultural setting. In Study 2, we test whether perceptions between those from a Western upbringing differ from those from a Confucian Asian context.

4. Study 2

4.1. Study design and sample

To test whether people's cultural upbringing would influence the perception of displayed pride in family businesses, we replicated Study 1 in a different cultural setting. For that purpose we chose Asia, a cultural setting that potentially is very different from Western countries in the interpretation of displayed pride in the family business (Van Osch et al., 2013). To recruit participants from that region we contacted former exchange students at the same Business School as in Study 1. We sourced email contacts from the Asian subchapter of the school's alumni club. The Asian sample consisted of 98 participants (48 % women, mean age of 29.6 years, all of them hold a master's degree in business studies, had lived for at least one semester in France, and 45 of them are part of a family business). Manipulation checks indicated that also in the Asian sample pride was recognized in the male ($M_{\#1-3m}=4.37$; $M_{\#4m}=3.14$; p<.01) and female conditions ($M_{\#1-3f}=4.05$; $M_{\#4f}=3.25$; p<.01).

The experiment employed the same procedures and methods as in Study 1 in a between-subject design of identical conditions. Checks on recognized pride confirmed again that study manipulations worked as intended. Because the sampling pool of Study 1 (alumni) differed from the one of Study 2 (alumni with a different cultural background having studied abroad in France), we decided to treat these two samples separately in two studies, instead of combining them into a single sample and introducing more control variables. Given the lower sample size of Study 2, we expected a replication of those results that have particularly strong effect sizes.

4.2. Results study 2

We used the same procedures and tested the hypotheses by separate analyses of variances (ANOVA) as described in Study 1. In the following we report the statistically significant findings of the replication. The respective means, standard deviations, significance in differences and effect sizes can be found in the supplementary data appendix (see Table 2 and Fig. 2 in the appendix).

4.2.1. Main effects

In line with Hypothesis 1, hubristic pride in condition #1 led to significantly lower perceptions of achievement in males ($M_{\#1m}=2.63,$ $SD_{\#1m}=0.68;$ $M_{\#3m}=3.13,$ $SD_{\#3m}=0.74;$ $F(1,\ 36)=4.66;$ p<.05; $\eta{=}0.12)$ and females ($M_{\#1f}=2.47,$ $SD_{\#1f}=1.06;$ $M_{\#3f}=3.25,$ $SD_{\#3f}=0.55;$ $F(1,\ 36)=7.77;$ p<.01; $\eta{=}0.18)$ than generally displayed pride in the control condition #3.

Hypothesis 2 was confirmed for perceptions of male and female conditions appearing as achieving, for female as innovative, for female as likable personality as well as female as snobbish (See Table 2 in the Appendix, lines Hypothesis 2).

Comparing condition #1 and #2 for Hypothesis 3 led to significant differences for perceptions in male and female as achieving, female as innovative, and female as likable personality (See Table 2 in the Appendix, lines Hypothesis 3).

In the Asian sample we did not find significant differences of judgements between conditions #1 and #4, and therefore no support for Hypothesis 4.

In line with Hypothesis 5, we found significant differences for male and female as achieving, as well as female as innovative (See Table 2 in the Appendix, lines Hypothesis 5).

4.2.2. Interaction effects

The interaction effects as hypothesized in Hypothesis 6a were significant for male likable personality x family business background (F = 2.79, p <.05, η =0.14). Furthermore, we found a significant interaction effect of achieving x gender in the male condition (F = 2.70, p <.05, η =0.14). Interestingly, in contrast to Study 1, female participants gave more positive evaluations than men for the male conditions, which runs counter to Hypothesis 6b in which we proposed effects based on similarity.

Overall, most of the Study 1 findings with relatively strong effect sizes replicated in Study 2. Particularly, the differences in perceptions of the female conditions replicated. The differences without statistical significance, pointed in the same direction as in Study 1. Their failure to reach statistical significance level may partly be the result of the smaller sample size.

One of the underlying reasons for Study 2 was the concern related to culturally diverging perceptions of family businesses. This concern related primarily to the comparisons with condition #3 in Hypotheses 1 and 2, because conditions #1, #2 and #4 would be equally affected by potential cultural bias towards family businesses. However, the findings from Study 2 are mixed. On the one hand, the concern was mitigated in regard to the judgement of being achieving, which replicated. On the other hand, the judgements of being snobbish did not replicate. In the Asian sample, there was little difference between hubristic or authentic pride and the control condition. Different forms of pride were relatively equally judged as snobbish. In the following section we discuss these findings.

5. Discussion

The impressions we make on others are important – in private life but even more so in business. Within milliseconds, we draw conclusions about a range of qualities about an acquaintance (Willis & Todorov, 2006), which persist even after we learn new information about them (Mann & Ferguson, 2015). Rather than updating our first impressions in future meetings, we often look for reasons supporting our initial impressions and vet new information carefully (Campagna et al., 2021; Rydell & McConnell, 2006), making the first impression persistent and essentially important.

In two studies, we examined how people perceive expressed pride by family business members. The findings demonstrated that the way next generation family members display pride can make a difference and hence can be a social strategy to influence how others judge them. Expressing hubristic pride, that is, being proud of being part of a family business, or authentic pride, that is, the pride in achievements related to the family business, created very different impressions. Our study led to several relevant insights which can inform current thinking on the emotion of pride in family business and make practical contributions by offering advice to next gens.

5.1. Hubristic pride

First, across both studies, next gens expressing hubristic pride regularly created less positive judgements by participants. Being proud of coming from a family business led to being perceived as a lowachieving and less innovative person. Even displaying no emotion at all proved to be superior to showing hubristic pride. This is an interesting finding as other studies and meta-analytic research state that expressing positive emotions usually leads to more favorable perceptions by others (Harker & Keltner, 2001; Lyubomirsky et al., 2005). In our study, however, hubristic pride, albeit a positively-valenced emotion, elicited negative perceptions, such as arrogance, when compared to showing no emotion at all. It also created less positive evaluations on next gens' achievement, innovativeness, and likeability when compared to showing no emotion.

These findings on hubristic pride are notable since most research emphasizes the benefits of pride. The family business literature unanimously praises the positive outcomes of expressing family business pride for motivation, family identity and the commitment of the next generation (Binz-Astrachan & Botero, 2018; Daspit et al., 2016; Zellweger et al., 2012). For example, it has been suggested that members of the senior generation in family firms should freely communicate pride in their family business, both verbally and nonverbally, (Levinson, 1971) and thus transfer a sense of pride to the next generation. This in turn creates identity and affective commitment within the family firm (Garcia, Sharma, De Massis, Wright, & Scholes, 2019; Sharma & Irving, 2005). Similarly, recent theorizing in family business presents pride as an essential and constructive element to socio-emotional wealth (Gómez-Mejía, Haynes, Núñez-Nickel, Jacobson, & Moyano-Fuentes, 2007).

The present study, however, questions the unified view on the advantages of pride by taking an outside perspective. It demonstrates another side of displaying pride, in which next gens who are proud of their identity as a member of a family business can make negative impressions on others, especially on stakeholders outside the family realm. As such, showing the "wrong" type of pride, namely hubristic pride, could backfire and have a negative impact. This finding on pride joins ongoing research on how a positive emotion can have negative outcome (Lindebaum & Jordan, 2014; Nikolaev, Shir, & Wiklund, 2020). Theorizing on family business behavior can therefore gain by considering emotions as social information (EASI theory, van Kleef, 2014) and carefully distinguishing between the effects of pride on inside and outside stakeholders.

As a direct implication, it appears advisable for next gens who like to create positive impressions to abstain from hubristic pride. Such a conclusion, however, may come with a price. It is in opposition to research which emphasizes the negative effects of emotional suppression (Gross & Levenson, 1993), which has shown that suppressing positive emotions is linked to reduced self-esteem, decreased positive emotions, and increased negative emotions (Nezlek & Kuppens, 2008). In addition, avoiding hubristic pride might inhibit positive effects of displaying pride, such as transferring identity and creating cohesion inside the family. Therefore, instead of avoiding hubristic pride at all, it may be best combined with setting display rules when and how to express pride to outside stakeholders. Family business may be well advised to teach next gens to pay close attention to the importance of context when showing hubristic pride. Our research thus contributes to the field by exploring the risks of expressing pride and when it may be preferable to suppress this positive emotion.

5.2. Authentic pride

Second, in contrast to hubristic pride, the present study demonstrated that being proud of efforts and achievements related to the family business can be a superior strategy. Authentic pride led to more favorable judgements across most attributes compared to hubristic pride as well as compared to general pride without a family business connection. Authentic pride also outperformed the "neutral" (i.e., no emotion) condition in several of the judged attributes. Expressions of authentic pride led to higher judgements of being an innovative, achieving, and likable person. Authentic pride conditions were also seen

as less snobbish by Westerners.

This finding suggests that putting the focus on efforts and achievements in relation to the family business, and hence expressing authentic pride, is a suitable strategy to gain outsiders' goodwill. This finding concurs with studies that suggest authentic pride be associated with positively connoted *prestige*, which differs from the hubristic pride's association with *dominance* (Cheng et al., 2010).

The result also adds to current research that illustrates the beneficial effects of authentic pride, such as promoting individual motivation and achievements (Van Doren et al., 2019; Weidman, Tracy, & Elliot, 2016) and superior leadership practices (Yeung & Shen, 2019).

As such, feeling and expressing authentic pride may be advisable, particularly to founders and entrepreneurs who can directly link pride to their achievements (Goss, 2005), and who are thus most comparable to experimental condition #2. Next gens, however, may need to be more cautious as their own achievements in the family business may be less obvious than those of founding members, particularly to outsiders. Thorough consideration of the object of their pride and careful balancing of how and when to express pride may be advisable to them.

5.3. Culture, similarity, and gender effects

These findings come with a caveat, as can be seen in the Asian context of Study 2. One of the functions of pride is to elevate and demonstrate one's status, setting one apart from others (Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006). However, pride needs to be appropriately expressed depending on the situation and the respective culture (Westphal, Seivert, & Bonanno, 2010). Confucianism, and Asian culture in general, values harmony and group cohesion (Li, 2008). It is believed that among Asians, setting oneself apart by expressing pride can jeopardize relationships and is thus regarded as more negative than in Western individualistic societies (van Osch et al., 2019). This may explain why evaluations of any form of displayed pride in Study 2 were predominantly less positive than in Study 1. Pride in all its forms is seen in a more negative light among the Asian participants which can also be an explanation for fewer significant differences between the different forms of pride. The finding is in line with other research that has pointed out that members of interdependent, collectivistic cultures tend to shy away from expressing pride as they fear reactions of others in situations of social comparison (Matsumoto, Yoo, & Fontaine, 2008; Matsumoto, Yoo, & Nakagawa, 2008).

Studies on pride in Asian family businesses are rare. Building on the results of the present research, however, it may be the case that the negative perception of pride causes stricter emotional display rules in Asian family businesses, as other intercultural studies report (Safdar et al., 2009). Such rules apply especially when it comes to expressing pride to out-group members, and to a lesser extent when families remain among themselves (Matsumoto, Yoo, et al., 2008). Pride inside the family may still function as an instrument for creating cohesion and shaping identity. However, to outsiders the emotional expression should be inhibited as showcased by our study. As an implication, next generation family members may be advised to be cautious when expressing their pride in a collectivistic cultural setting. It conveys more negative impressions on others than in individualistic Western cultures.

Another finding of our study is the interaction effect of family business background on the perception of others' pride. Those who come from a family business have a more positive impression of displayed pride in a family business than others. Similarity creates liking (see Similarity-Attraction theory: Byrne, 1997; Montoya, Horton, & Kirchner, 2008) and those coming from a family business may be able to relate better. While this finding might sound intuitive to family business researchers, it stands contrary to other research in social psychology. For example, van Osch and colleagues found that pride has a higher likelihood of envy and is especially painful to others when the object of pride is of "relevance" to them (van Osch et al., 2019). Therefore, in competitive situations displayed pride in (imagined) superiority

contexts can create negative perceptions. Family business members could therefore begrudge competitors' success when displaying pride. While in our study participants were not in a situation of competition for status, and thus the perceptions of others similar to them were more positive, next gens outside such experimental conditions might want to act with caution. Displaying pride to members of other competing family businesses could, in certain circumstances, unintentionally elicit jeal-ousy and resentment.

A last finding of the present research relates to the effects of gender. The effect sizes of the female conditions were higher than for the male conditions which suggests that the effects of displayed pride are stronger for women than for men. Female next gens were more negatively judged for expressing hubristic pride than their male counterparts. This finding concurs with research in leadership that shows that female leaders were found to experience negative effects for even minor or moderate displays of emotion, especially when the emotion conveys dominance such as pride (Brescoll, 2016). However, in our study, the effect also worked in the other direction. The positive influence of authentic pride was stronger when the female conditions were shown to participants. Other research supports these results. For example, Brosi et al. (2016) argue that pride functions as a signal for status and agency and that typical gender stereotypes depict women being less agentic than men. As men are already seen as agentic, their display of pride may have little effect on others' perceptions. The display only reinforces what corresponds to gender-typical expectations. However, for women showing pride may have stronger consequences as they alter perceptions in contrast to existing stereotypes. These findings suggest that paying close attention to the expressed type of pride is even more advisable to female than to male next gens.

We also found interaction effects with gender that we had hypothesized were related to similarity, i.e., men would judge other men expressing pride more positively, and women vice versa. In the Western sample, we observed that female participants provided significantly better evaluations to the female conditions, but men did not do so for the male conditions. In contrast, in the Asian sample we found more positive evaluations by female participants to the male conditions. A possible explanation might be the well-noted tendency of women to care more about social relationships than men and thus to provide better evaluations in both samples (Yang & Girgus, 2019). Given the more negative perception of displayed pride in Asian cultures, female participants in Study 2 might be particularly lenient towards men's deviance from socially acceptable emotional display rules. They were comparably harsher to female's displayed pride.

These mixed findings speak to the complexity in which different genders perceive emotional display (Hall, Carter, & Horgan, 2000) and how ethnicity matters in the interpretation of emotions (Arar & Oplatka, 2018; Hess, Blairy, & Kleck, 2000). For next gens, strategically using the display of pride thus becomes even more challenging between genders in intercultural settings.

5.4. Limitations

The presented studies have strengths and limitations. One of the strengths are the two samples, each with relatively homogeneous participants which minimized exogenous interferences when capturing differences of evaluations. As with any choice of samples, the question of generalizability of results remains. There might be differences across different age groups, educational levels, regional preferences, cultural aspects, etc. We decided to rely on the perceptions of participants with a business background, as they can be believed to have a mutual understanding when referring to an "achieving" or an "innovative" person. Moreover, in spite of notable limitations when assessing self-conscious emotions (Bernhard & Rudolph, 2024; Bernhard, 2022), we believe perceptions of business school graduates are a suitable reference as next gens will probably face relevant stakeholders in a business context and thus care most about the impressions they create on them. With

mounting calls for replication studies in the management field (Köhler & Cortina, 2021), we also delivered findings from two samples embedded in very different cultural contexts, highlighted robust similarities in the effects of pride, and discussed limits to generalizability.

A second limitation relates to Study 2. In addition to the limited number of participants in Sample 2, there is also imprecise information on participants' exact cultural background. Within Asian countries, culture and emotional expression differ. While the interpretation of pride as a basic emotion has been shown to be universally recognized (Tracy & Robins, 2007b; Tracy et al., 2013), the appropriateness of emotional display can still deviate across Asian cultures. That said, the vast majority of participants in the pool of Asian alumni, from where we recruited, come from mainland China. So, the probability is very high that Study 2 participants are primarily Chinese and relatively homogenous in their culture.

The samples may also be biased due to preconceived notions of family businesses in general, particularly as these ideas relate to conditions #1, #2, and #4. While we do not have information on individual participant's stereotypes of family businesses, given the randomization in the sample, biases by underlying stereotypes can be assumed to be normally distributed. However, preconceptions about family businesses may vary among different countries which would limit the generalizability of our results. Research on trust in family businesses in different countries, which represent the societal image of family businesses, indicate that stereotypes indeed differ (Edelman, , 2019). In France (participants of Study 1), family businesses are more trusted than businesses in general (ranked #6 out of 27 countries in the Edelman study). In contrast, in China (participants of Study 2) family businesses are usually trusted less than businesses in general (ranked #25 out of 27 countries). Given these findings, we would expect participants' judgements of the conditions #1, #2, and #4 to be less favorable in the Asian sample than in the French sample. However, this is not the case. Evaluations by Asian participants tended to be more positive than those of the French participants. Furthermore, the significant differences between the family conditions (#1 and #2) and the control condition without family business association (#3), replicated in the Asian sample across many dimensions. These findings suggest only a limited influence of family businesses' societal image on participants' judgements.

Overall, given that participants of Study 1 and Study 2 were sampled from geographically and culturally very distant populations, the findings on the effects of hubristic versus authentic pride replicated to a large degree, which supports the belief in the generalizability of the presented results.

5.5. Future research

In light of the prominent role pride plays in theoretical and empirical considerations in family business, for example in socio-emotional wealth (Berrone et al., 2012; Gómez-Mejía et al., 2007; Miller & Le Breton-Miller, 2014) or as part of the well-cited F-PEC scale (Klein et al., 2005), we encourage future research in this domain and provide the following three directions as examples.

First, while the present study offers initial insights on how outsiders perceive pride, the empirical part is based on experimental conditions generated by researchers and the reactions to somewhat hypothetical situations. Future studies might profit by observing actual pride display in family businesses and respective nonfamily reactions in the field. For example, one could collect data by studying self-presentations (e.g. at annual meetings, on web-pages, in announcements, or on Social Media such as Instagram or Facebook) and non-family stakeholders' (e.g. employees', external shareholders', or banks') reactions to displayed pride of family members. Building on such data collections, one can test the effects of expressed pride in different environments. For example, future studies in other countries may find it worthwhile to investigate the influence of the societal image of family businesses. Similarly, it may be of interest to further explore how gender roles in next gens' expressed

pride is evaluated across industries and cultures.

Second, future research could also increase our understanding of the underlying processes driving responses to displayed pride. We know little about the reasons non-family members react negatively towards displayed hubristic pride of family business. Theories from emotional psychology suggest that feelings of jealousy or envy (Tracy & Robins, 2007a) drive this response, while researchers on ethics and justice hypothesize associations related to perceived unfairness in the eve of outsiders. Identifying the mechanism by which expressed pride triggers reactions, both positive and negative, may help us understand how outsiders experience broader concepts. For example, socio-emotional wealth in family business theorizing has only been studied from the inside view, and we know little about the conditions of expressed socioemotional wealth leading to negative perceptions among nonfamily. On a practical side, it may also lead to better advice for families on how to use the positive effects of pride while simultaneously preventing a negative image among outsiders.

Third, another fruitful avenue may be the exploration of emotional display rules in family businesses: When do family members show pride and when do they avoid appearing to be proud? For example, there are qualitative research accounts of family businesses who have emotional display rules with regard to pride (e.g., "We are proud of our capabilities, but we feel ashamed of such pride and do not extravert it" (Beck, Prügl, & Walter, 2020, p.100)). When do family businesses install emotional display rules and what is their intention in doing so? Particularly, with respect to the often-cited behavioral differences between the "new rich" and "old money" it is worthwhile to ask: Are children and the next generation members in long-standing family business more instructed on when to display pride? Qualitative approaches with interviews, but also observations, action research, historical or ethnological studies might be appropriate methods to offer new insights.

6. Conclusion

Typically, family business members carefully consider their reputation, and the ways others see the owning family. After all, in businesses where family owners interact with nonfamily stakeholders, social perception is of crucial relevance. For example, investors may prefer owner-managers who appear innovative and achieving. Clients are attracted by likable personalities and alienated by owners who appear snobbish. Employees might like humble leaders, whose pride is not perceived as arrogance, but as self-worth. Therefore, the conscious choice of which emotions business families display can be a decisive management practice.

As the present findings suggest, balancing humility and pride can be such a practice. The display of authentic pride, associated with efforts and accomplishments in relation to the family business, is associated with several positive attributes. In contrast, hubristic pride, i.e., being

proud of being part of a family business, leads to less positive evaluations. Particularly, next gens and those who have yet to contribute to the family business, should be aware of the potential drawbacks of displaying pride. In order not to create negative impressions related to entitlement or snobbism, they should practice humility and only show pride when it comes to their own achievements and contributions to the family business. Moreover, as this study has shown, depending on the context, gender and culture, displayed pride can produce very different effects. Therefore, the display of pride should be adjusted to the respective environment. Finally, family business researchers are well advised that the display of pride may not necessarily be a suitable indicator of socio-emotional wealth as suggested in common conceptualizations and measurements (cp., FIBER or REI scales). Conscious family businesses may avoid expressing pride in public in order to comply with societal expectations for modesty and humility.

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Fabian Bernhard: Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Visualization, Validation, Supervision, Software, Resources, Project administration, Methodology, Investigation, Funding acquisition, Formal analysis, Data curation, Conceptualization.

Declaration of competing interest

The author declares that he has no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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Appendix A

Exhibit 1: Experimental Conditions #1(male) to #4(male) and #1(female) to #4(female)

Condition 1 (male): Hubristic Pride, from Family Business



This is Tom. He grew up in a family business. Tom is very proud of being from this family business.

Condition 2 (male): Authentic Pride, from Family Business

Condition 4 (male): Not proud, but from a Family Business

Condition 2 (female): Authentic Pride, from Family Business



This is Tom. He grew up in a family business. Tom is very proud of his efforts and achievements with this family business

Condition 3 (male): Proud, but not from a Family Business



This is Tom. Generally, he is very proud.

Control condition



This is Tom, He grew up in a family business.

Control condition

Condition 1 (female): Hubristic Pride, from Family Business



This is Kim. She grew up in a family business. Kim is very proud of being from this family business.



This is Kim. She grew up in a family business. Kim is very proud of her efforts and achievements with this family business.

Condition 3 (female): Proud, but not from a Family Business



This is Kim. Generally, she is very proud.

Control condition



This is Kim. She grew up in a family business.

Control condition

Note: The presented pictures are part of the UC Davis Set of Emotion Expression (UCDSEE) and can be downloaded free of charge from the UBC Emotion & Self Lab (https://ubc-emotionlab.ca/research-tools/nucdsee). The two illustrations of expressed pride (conditions male/female #1-#3) and neutral state (conditions male/female #4) are FACS-verified and include only those facial muscle movements described as relevant to each expression by Tracy and Robins (2004) for pride. Further information on validation can be found in Tracy et al. (2009).

Appendix B. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2024.114597.

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