Perfectionism and Self-Conscious Emotions in British and Japanese Students:

Predicting Pride and Embarrassment After Success and Failure

Joachim Stoeber, University of Kent

Osamu Kobori, Chiba University

Yoshihiko Tanno, University of Tokyo

Abstract

Regarding self-conscious emotions, studies have shown that different forms of perfectionism show different relationships with pride, shame, and embarrassment depending on success and failure. What is unknown is whether these relationships also show cultural variations. Therefore, we conducted a study investigating how self-oriented and socially prescribed perfectionism predicted pride and embarrassment after success and failure comparing 363 British and 352 Japanese students. Students were asked to respond to a set of scenarios where they imagined achieving either perfect (success) or flawed results (failure). In both British and Japanese students, self-oriented perfectionism positively predicted pride after success and embarrassment after failure whereas socially prescribed perfectionism predicted embarrassment after success and failure. Moreover, in Japanese students, socially prescribed perfectionism positively predicted pride after success and self-oriented perfectionism negatively predicted pride after failure. The findings have implications for our understanding of perfectionism indicating that the perfectionism–pride relationship not only varies between perfectionism dimensions, but may also show cultural variations.

Keywords: perfectionism; self-conscious emotions; achievement; success; failure; pride; embarrassment; cross-cultural comparisons

Perfectionism and Self-Conscious Emotions in British and Japanese Students:

Predicting Pride and Embarrassment After Success and Failure

Individuals with high levels of perfectionism are characterized by striving for flawlessness and setting exceedingly high standards for performance accompanied by tendencies for overly critical evaluations of their behavior (Flett & Hewitt, 2002; Frost, Marten, Lahart, & Rosenblate, 1990). Consequently it has been argued that such individuals regard all their achievements as under-achievements and therefore are prone to experience shame and embarrassment and are unable to experience pride (e.g., Hewitt & Flett, 1991; Sorotzkin, 1985; see Tangney, 2002 for a comprehensive review).

This argument, however, ignores that perfectionism has many faces (Benson, 2003) and is best conceptualized as a multidimensional personality characteristic (Frost et al., 1990; Hewitt & Flett, 1991; Slaney, Rice, Mobley, Trippi, & Ashby, 2001; see Enns & Cox, 2002 for a review). Moreover, it ignores findings that some forms of perfectionism show positive correlations with pride, particularly pride after success (Fedewa, Burns, & Gomez, 2005; Stoeber, Harris, & Moon, 2007; Stoeber, Kempe, & Keogh, 2008). Finally, the argument ignores that there may be cultural variations in the relationships of perfectionism and pride. Research has shown that people from Western cultures show marked differences compared to people from Asian cultures regarding self-conscious emotions like pride, shame, and embarrassment (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1994). Consequently, it may be important to take cultural differences into account when examining how different forms of perfectionism are related to self-conscious emotions following success and failure.

Perfectionism

Regarding multidimensional conceptualizations of perfectionism, one of the most prevalent and widely researched models is Hewitt and Flett's (1991) model of perfectionism.

Recognizing that perfectionism has personal and social aspects, the model differentiates two main forms of perfectionism: self-oriented perfectionism and socially prescribed perfectionism.[1] Self-oriented perfectionism is characterized by setting exceedingly high standards for oneself and comprises beliefs that striving for perfection and being perfect are important. In contrast, socially prescribed perfectionism comprises beliefs that others have high standards for oneself and that acceptance by others is conditional on fulfilling these standards (Hewitt & Flett, 1991, 2004).

Regarding the literature on self-oriented perfectionism and socially prescribed perfectionism, the findings are in agreement that socially prescribed perfectionism is a maladaptive form of perfectionism showing strong and consistent positive correlations with indicators of psychological maladjustment such as general negative affect (Enns & Cox, 2002; Hewitt & Flett, 2004). Self-oriented perfectionism, in comparison, appears to be a more adaptive form of perfectionism (Enns & Cox, 2002). While some studies found that self-oriented perfectionism showed positive correlations with indicators of psychological maladjustment such as general negative affect (e.g., Dunkley, Zuroff, & Blankstein, 2006; Kobori & Tanno, 2005), other studies found significant positive correlations with indicators of subjective well-being such as self-esteem and general positive affect (e.g., Frost, Heimberg, Holt, Mattia, & Neubauer, 1993; Molnar, Reker, Culp, Sadava, & DeCourville, 2006; Trumpeter, Watson, & O'Leary, 2006). Moreover, in factor analyses of multidimensional perfectionism measures, self-oriented perfectionism always loaded on the factor representing more adaptive forms of perfectionism whereas socially prescribed perfectionism always loaded on the factor representing maladaptive forms (e.g., Bieling, Israeli, & Antony, 2004; Frost et al., 1993; see Stoeber & Otto, 2006, for a comprehensive review). Therefore, the differentiation between self-oriented and socially prescribed perfectionism is important when regarding

relationships between perfectionism and how people feel about themselves. In particular, self-oriented perfectionism and socially prescribed perfectionism can be expected to show different relationships with self-conscious emotions such as pride, shame, and embarrassment.

Perfectionism and Self-Conscious Emotions

Self-conscious emotions are emotions that fundamentally involve an evaluation of the self (Tangney, 2002; Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Pride is a positive self-conscious emotion associated with feelings of accomplishment and satisfaction. Moreover, pride is associated with positive self-evaluations which contribute to a person's self-esteem and subjective well-being. In contrast, shame and embarrassment are negative self-conscious emotions. Shame involves a painful negative scrutiny of the entire self and feelings of worthlessness, powerlessness, and incompetence. Embarrassment is closely related to shame. However, embarrassment is a less intense emotion felt in response to more minor errors and transgressions. Compared to shame, embarrassment is usually experienced as less serious and less deeply painful (Edelstein & Shaver, 2007; Tangney, 2002; Tangney & Dearing, 2002).

A number of studies have investigated how self-oriented and socially prescribed perfectionism relate to proneness to experience pride and shame (e.g., Fee & Tangney, 2000; Hewitt & Flett, 1991; Klibert, Langhinrichsen-Rohling, & Saito, 2005; Lutwak & Ferrari, 1996; Tangney, 2002; see Stoeber et al., 2007 for a comprehensive review). Across these studies, only socially prescribed perfectionism consistently showed positive correlations with proneness to shame. In contrast, self-oriented perfectionism showed positive correlations with proneness to shame only in some studies, but not in others. Moreover, Tangney (2002) found that only socially prescribed perfectionism showed a positive correlation with proneness to embarrassment, but not self-oriented perfectionism. None of these studies found that self-oriented perfectionism and socially prescribed perfectionism showed significant negative

correlations with proneness to pride, calling into question the notion that perfectionists are generally unable to experience pride (e.g., Hewitt & Flett, 1991; Sorotzkin, 1985).

On the contrary, people high in self-oriented perfectionism may experience *more* pride than people low in self-oriented perfectionism—but only if they achieve perfect results. First evidence for this was found in a study that investigated how self-oriented and socially prescribed perfectionism predicted emotional reactions to success and failure (Stoeber et al., 2008). Students were presented with the task of finding errors in a series of cartoons. Half of the students were assigned to the success condition: they were told that each cartoon contained five errors, and all cartoons in the series did contain five errors. The other half of the students were assigned to the failure condition: they too were told that each cartoon contained five errors, but the last cartoon in the series contained only four errors. After the task, students completed measures of state pride and shame. Results showed that self-oriented perfectionism and socially prescribed perfectionism showed positive correlations with shame after failure: Students with high levels of either form of perfectionism who failed to achieve a perfect result (finding all errors in all cartoons except the last one) experienced more shame than students with low levels of perfectionism who failed to achieve a perfect result. In contrast, self-oriented perfectionism showed a positive correlation with pride after achieving a perfect result (finding all errors in all cartoons): Students high in self-oriented perfectionism experienced more pride than students low in self-oriented perfectionism.

Cultural Variations in Self-Conscious Emotions

It is important to note that there are cultural variations in how people experience self-conscious emotions. Due to cultural norms, people from some cultures display certain emotions more frequently than people from other cultures (Eid & Diener, 2001). Moreover, the self is viewed differently depending on the predominant cultural norms, and this affects the experience

and evaluation of self-conscious emotions (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In cultures in which individualism has a strong tradition, such as Western cultures (particularly European-American cultures), people tend to have an independent conception of the self: the self is construed in terms of the psychological qualities that are distinct from others. In cultures in which collectivism has a strong tradition, such as Asian cultures (particularly East Asian cultures), people tend to have an interdependent conception of the self: the self is construed in terms of people's roles within their family and social relationships. Consequently, people in traditionally collectivistic cultures tend to view themselves primarily in terms of their connections with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995, 1997).

The different views of the self have consequences for the evaluation of pride and shame. According to Markus and Kitayama (1991), shame is a negative, but interpersonally engaged emotion. Shame is painful, but in highlighting acceptance of the social norms, it makes people feel engaged with others. Consequently, shame is an emotion that is valued more positively and is more desirable and more openly displayed in collectivistic cultures than in individualistic cultures (Kitayama & Markus, 2000; Kitayama, Markus, & Matsumoto, 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Wong & Tsai, 2007).

In contrast, pride is a positive, but interpersonally disengaged emotion (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Pride is enjoyable, but in highlighting individual achievement, it makes people distinct from others. Pride often results from accomplishing one's goals or affirming some internal attributes (e.g., "I am special"), which reinforces the separateness of the self from others (Kitayama et al., 1995). Because pride is self-focusing and separates the individual from the group it is often seen as inappropriate in collectivistic cultures compared to individualistic cultures. Consequently, pride is valued less positively, is less desirable, and is less openly displayed in collectivistic cultures (Eid & Diener, 2001). Pride is a truly positive emotion only

in individualistic cultures. In collectivistic cultures, pride is an ambivalent emotion. This was illustrated by Scollon, Diener, Oishi, and Biswas-Diener (2005) who conducted a large-scale study using factor analysis to examine emotion frequency and intensity in samples from different cultures. They found two factors: a pleasant emotions factor and an unpleasant emotions factor. Whereas pride loaded on the pleasant emotions factor in the Western samples, it loaded on both factors—the pleasant emotions factor and the unpleasant emotions factor—in the Asian samples.

The findings have consequences for research on perfectionism and self-conscious emotions. If pride (because it is positive, but interpersonally disengaged) is regarded as an ambivalent emotion in collectivistic cultures compared to individualistic cultures, the experience of pride may be less positive in collectivistic cultures than in individualistic cultures. Consequently, pride may show cultural variations in how it is related to positive/adaptive versus negative/maladaptive forms of perfectionism. In the same vein, if shame (because it is negative, but interpersonally engaged) is regarded as a less negative emotion in collectivistic cultures compared to individualistic cultures, shame may show cultural variations in how it is related to the different forms of perfectionism.

A number of studies have investigated cultural differences in the experience of self-conscious emotions. Many of the studies focused on pride and shame comparing students from the U.S.A. (a society with a traditionally individualistic culture) with students from Japan (a society with a traditionally collectivistic culture). Across studies, Japanese students indicated less pride and more shame than U.S. students (e.g., Bear, Uribe-Zarain, Manning, & Shiomi, 2009; Imahori & Cupach, 1994; Lewis, Takai-Kawakami, Kawakami, & Sullivan, 2010; Scollon, Diener, Oishi, & Biswas-Diener, 2004) corroborating the view that people in collectivistic cultures are less likely to feel and display pride and more likely to feel and display

shame than people in individualistic cultures. In contrast, the case for embarrassment is less clear. A number of studies have examined embarrassability (the disposition to be easily embarrassed) comparing Asians and people from European descent and found that Asians report higher levels of embarrassability than Westerners of European descent (e.g., Singelis, Bond, Sharkey, & Kriss, 1999; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995). However, when concrete experiences of embarrassment were examined, the findings were less clear as was demonstrated in two studies comparing Japanese and U.S. students (Imahori & Cupach, 1994; Lewis et al., 2010). Whereas Lewis et al. (2010) found that Japanese students experienced embarrassment more often compared to U.S. students, Imahori and Cupach (1994) found that U.S. students experienced embarrassment more often than Japanese students.

The Present Study

So far only one study has investigated cultural differences in perfectionism comparing U.S. and Japanese students (Chang, Chang, & Sanna, 2012). The study examined performance perfectionism which is a multidimensional conception of perfectionism regarding positive versus negative consequences for performance that can result from self-oriented and socially prescribed perfectionism (see Chang, 2006 for details). Japanese students showed lower levels of positive self-oriented performance perfectionism (self-oriented perfectionism that is perceived as having positive consequences for performance) and higher levels of negative socially prescribed performance perfectionism (socially prescribed perfectionism that is perceived as having negative consequences for performance) compared to U.S. students. The findings indicate that Japanese students regarded self-oriented perfectionism as having fewer positive consequences and socially prescribed perfectionism as having more negative consequences, compared to U.S. students. This suggests that self-oriented and socially prescribed perfectionism may have different consequences in people from traditionally

collectivistic cultures compared to people from traditionally individualistic cultures. The question is if these consequences also include self-conscious emotions and reactions to success and failure.

The aim of the present study was to investigate the relationships between perfectionism and self-conscious emotions after success and failure comparing people from a traditionally collectivistic culture (Japanese students) to people from a traditionally individualistic culture (White British students). Regarding perfectionism, we followed Hewitt and Flett's (1991) model examining self-oriented perfectionism and socially prescribed perfectionism. Regarding self-conscious emotions, we examined pride and embarrassment after success and failure using everyday scenarios describing perfect achievements (success) and flawed achievements (failure). The reason we examined embarrassment rather than shame was that cross-cultural semantic studies have indicated that—although shame and embarrassment are close neighbors in semantic space—the Japanese word for ashamed/embarrassed (*hazukashii*) is broader than the English term and appears to be semantically closer to the English word *embarrassed* than the English word *ashamed* (Rusch, 2004; see also Crystal, Parrott, Okazaki, & Watanabe, 2001). Moreover, the failures presented in the everyday scenarios were rather minor. Therefore embarrassment appeared to be the more appropriate emotion.

Based on the literature and the previous findings reviewed in the introduction, we formulated a number of expectations. First, following Chang and colleagues' (2012) findings, we expected Japanese students to show lower self-oriented perfectionism and higher socially prescribed perfectionism than British students. Second, following the literature on cross-cultural differences in the experience of pride (Eid & Diener, 2001; Kitayama et al., 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Scollon et al., 2005), we expected Japanese students to show less pride than British students. Finally, following previous studies on perfectionism and pride and

shame after success and failure (Stoeber et al., 2008), we expected self-oriented perfectionism to show positive relationships with pride after success (perfect achievements) and with embarrassment after failure (flawed achievements). In contrast, we expected socially prescribed perfectionism to show positive relationships with embarrassment after success and failure. Regarding further differences, our study was more exploratory. In particular, because of the contradictory findings regarding the experience of embarrassment in Japanese versus U.S. students (Imahori & Cupach, 1994; Lewis et al., 2010), we had no specific expectations regarding differences between Japanese and British students in the experience of embarrassment. Moreover, based on the findings of Chang and colleagues (2012), we expected Japanese and British students to show differences in the relationships of perfectionism and self-conscious emotions as a consequence of success and failure. However, as the present study was the first to investigate cross-cultural differences in these relationships, we had no specific expectations regarding the direction of such differences.

Method

Participants

Two samples of students were recruited, one at a British university and one at a Japanese university. Because Britain is a multicultural society (Home Office, 2007), we restricted our study to White students born and raised in the British Isles (Great Britain and Ireland, subsequently referred to as British students) and compared them to Japanese students born and raised in Japan (subsequently referred to as Japanese students) to make sure that we were comparing students from a traditionally individualistic culture (White British students born and raised in the British Isles) to students from a traditionally collectivistic culture (Japanese students born and raised in Japan). At the British university, 366 students (111 male, 255 female; M age = 20.3 years, SD = 3.6) were recruited who indicated they were White, born and

raised in the UK or Ireland, and native English speakers. At the Japanese university, 357

students (252 male, 105 female; *M* age = 19.8, *SD* = 2.0) were recruited who indicated they

were Japanese, born and raised in Japan, and native Japanese speakers. With this, the total

sample comprised 723 students (363 male, 360 female; *M* age = 20.1 years, *SD* = 2.9). The

British students volunteered to participate in the study for extra course credit or a participant fee

of £3 (ca. U.S. $5). The Japanese students volunteered without receiving any compensation.

Measures

   Perfectionism. To measure self-oriented and socially prescribed perfectionism, we used

the respective scales of the Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale (MPS; Hewitt & Flett, 1991,

2004). The MPS is a widely-used reliable and valid instrument to measure self-oriented and

socially prescribed perfectionism (Enns & Cox, 2002; Hewitt & Flett, 1991, 2004). It comprises

15 items capturing self-oriented perfectionism (e.g., "I demand nothing less than perfection of

myself") and 15 items capturing socially prescribed perfectionism (e.g., "People expect nothing

less than perfection from me") on a 7-point answer scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7

(*strongly agree*). British students completed the original version of the scales (Hewitt & Flett,

2004) which has demonstrated reliability and validity in numerous studies with British students

(e.g., O'Connor & O'Connor, 2003; Stoeber, Feast, & Hayward, 2009; Stoeber & Stoeber,

2009). Japanese students completed the Japanese version of the scales (Ohtani & Sakurai, 1995)

which has demonstrated comparable reliability and validity in studies with Japanese students

(e.g., Kobori & Tanno, 2005; Kobori, Yamagata, & Kijima, 2005; Ohtani & Sakurai, 1995).

With self-oriented perfectionism scores showing Cronbach's alphas of .91 (British) and .89

(Japanese) and socially prescribed perfectionism scores showing alphas of .85 (British) and .80

(Japanese), all scores showed satisfactory internal consistencies (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994).

   Pride and embarrassment. To measure pride and embarrassment after success and

failure, we created 14 scenarios describing events in which the protagonist achieves either a perfect result or a flawed result. For example, the success version (perfect achievement) of Scenario 1 read: "*Birthday card.* You are invited to a friend's birthday and have bought a very nice and expensive birthday card to go with your present. You add a few personal lines to the birthday card in your very best handwriting, and the card really looks perfect." In comparison, the failure version (flawed achievement) read: "*Birthday card.* You are invited to a friend's birthday and have bought a very nice and expensive birthday card to go with your present. You add a few personal lines to the birthday card in your very best handwriting, but when you hand over the card you notice that you have misspelled your friend's name."

To ensure that all scenarios were relevant for students in both cultures, the scenarios were simultaneously developed in English and Japanese by the first and the second author using standard backtranslation procedures recommended by Brislin (1970, 1986). To cover a broad range of different situations that were relevant for British and Japanese students and so that these students could imagine themselves experiencing the situation, the scenarios comprised various personal and interpersonal situations ranging from private situations (where success/failure was evident only to the protagonist) to ambivalent situations (where it was unclear if success/failure was noted by others) to public situations (where success/failure was evident to the protagonist and others; see Appendix).

Because we wanted all participants to respond to perfect and flawed results, two versions of the scenarios were constructed. In Version 1, the even-numbered scenarios were presented with the perfect result and the odd-numbered with the flawed result. In Version 2, it was the other way round. Participants were instructed to carefully read the description of each situation, imagine vividly that the situation was happening to them, and then indicate how much pride (Japanese: *hokori*) and embarrassment (Japanese: *hazukashisa*) they would feel if this situation

happened to them on a 6-point answer scale from 0 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). To obtain

overall scores for pride and embarrassment, we computed average scores across the responses

to the seven perfect scenarios and the seven flawed scenarios, respectively. With Cronbach's

alphas between .72 and .87, all scores showed satisfactory internal consistencies.[2]

Preliminary Analyses

      Manipulation check. First we computed pairwise *t*-tests to examine whether the students

reacted to the manipulation of the scenarios in the intended direction, that is, (a) higher pride

after perfect achievements compared to flawed achievements and (b) higher embarrassment

after flawed achievements compared to perfect achievements. This was confirmed: both

differences were in the intended direction and significant (see Table 1).

      Transformations. Next we inspected the distribution of the scores. As expected,

embarrassment after perfect achievements and pride after flawed achievements showed L-

shaped distributions. Most participants responded with a score of 0 (*not at all*) when asked how

much embarrassment they would feel after achieving a perfect result and how much pride they

would feel after a flawed result. Consequently, following recommendations by Tabachnick and

Fidell (2007), we transformed these scores using the formula for L-shaped distributions with

zero (in SPSS syntax): NEWX = –1 / (X – 1).

      Outliers. Because outliers can severely distort the results of correlation and regression

analyses, we inspected the data for univariate and multivariate outliers (Tabachnick & Fidell,

2007). Three participants showed *z* values larger than the critical value of $z = 3.29$, $p < .001$

indicating they were univariate outliers. A further five participants showed a Mahalanobis

distance larger than the critical value of $\chi^2(9) = 27.88$, $p < .001$ indicating they were

multivariate outliers. The eight participants were excluded from further analyses. With this, our

final sample comprised $N = 715$ (363 British, 352 Japanese) students.

Analytic Strategy

Correlations. When bivariate correlations between the variables were computed (see Table 2, correlations below the diagonal), gender and version showed significant correlations with culture (British, Japanese). The reason for this was that the Japanese sample (70% males, 30% females) comprised a significantly higher percentage of males than the British sample (30% males, 70% females). Furthermore, due to a clerical error, more students in the Japanese sample received Version 2 of the scenarios (61%) than Version 1 (41%) whereas both versions were equally distributed in the British sample (Version 1: 50%; Version 2: 50%). Consequently, we computed partial correlations controlling for gender and version (see Table 2, correlations above the diagonal) to control for these effects and focused on these correlations in the results section.

Regression analyses. To examine differences between British and Japanese students in how the two forms of perfectionism predicted pride and embarrassment, we computed moderated regression analyses using effect coding for culture, gender, and version as recommended for designs with no explicit control group (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003; see also Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004). The regression analyses comprised three steps. In Step 1, we entered gender (coded –1 = male, 1 = female) and version (coded –1 = Version 1, 1 = Version 2) to control for the effects of gender and version. In Step 2, we entered culture (coded –1 = British, 1 = Japanese), self-oriented perfectionism, and socially prescribed perfectionism. Finally in Step 3, we entered the interactions of culture × self-oriented perfectionism and culture × socially prescribed perfectionism to examine whether perfectionism showed different relationships with pride and embarrassment in Japanese compared to British students.

<div style="text-align:center">

Results

</div>

Correlations

Regarding the partial correlations controlling for gender and version (Table 2, correlations above the diagonal), we first examined the correlations involving culture. As expected, Japanese students showed lower self-oriented perfectionism ($pr = -.09$) and higher socially prescribed perfectionism ($pr = .11$) than British students. In addition, Japanese students showed less pride after perfect achievements ($pr = -.33$) and after flawed achievements ($pr = -.13$). Moreover, they showed more embarrassment after perfect achievements ($pr = .10$; see Table 2 for the associated significances and Table 3 for the estimated means and standard errors corresponding to these correlations).

Next we examined the correlations between perfectionism, pride, and embarrassment. As expected, self-oriented perfectionism showed a positive correlation with pride after perfect achievements ($pr = .27$) and with embarrassment after flawed achievements ($pr = .29$): Students high in self-oriented perfectionism imagined experiencing more pride after perfect achievements and more embarrassment after flawed achievements compared to students low in self-oriented perfectionism. Furthermore as was expected, socially prescribed perfectionism showed a positive correlation with embarrassment after perfect achievements ($pr = .17$) and after flawed achievements ($pr = .30$): Students high in socially prescribed perfectionism imagined experiencing more embarrassment compared to students low in socially prescribed perfectionism regardless of whether they achieved perfection (success) of failed to achieve perfection (failure). Unexpectedly, socially prescribed perfectionism also showed a positive correlation with pride after perfect achievements ($pr = .15$). As this finding runs contrary to previous findings on socially prescribed perfectionism and pride (Stoeber et al., 2008), we turned to the regression analyses to examine whether differences between Japanese and British students were responsible for this unexpected finding.

Regression Analyses

The results of the regression analyses confirmed that this was the case. The regression analyses showed a significant interaction of culture and socially prescribed perfectionism on pride after perfect achievements (see Table 4, Step 3, pride, perfect achievements) indicating cultural variations in the relationships between socially prescribed perfectionism and pride after success. To investigate the nature of this interaction, regression graphs for values of 1 SD above and below the mean of socially prescribed perfectionism were plotted separately for Japanese and British students with the slopes tested for significance (Cohen et al., 2003; Frazier et al., 2004). Results showed that socially prescribed perfectionism was positively associated with pride only in Japanese students ($b = 0.23$, $SE = 0.07$, $\beta = .19$, $p < .001$, semi-partial correlation [sr] = .11), but not in British students ($b = 0.00$, $SE = 0.06$, $\beta = .00$, $p = .946$, $sr = .00$). Differing from British students, Japanese students with higher levels of socially prescribed perfectionism reported more pride than Japanese students with lower levels of socially prescribed perfectionism when achievements were perfect (see Figure 1).

In addition, culture showed a significant interaction with self-oriented perfectionism on pride after flawed achievements (see Table 4, Step 3, pride, flawed achievements). Again regression graphs were plotted to investigate the nature of this interaction. Self-oriented perfectionism was negatively associated with pride in Japanese students ($b = -0.04$, $SE = 0.02$, $\beta = -.16$, $p < .05$, $sr = -.09$), but not in British students ($b = 0.00$, $SE = 0.01$, $\beta = .01$, $p = .802$, $sr = .01$). Differing from British students, Japanese students with higher levels of self-oriented perfectionism reported less pride than Japanese students with lower levels of self-oriented perfectionism when achievements were flawed (see Figure 2).

Else, the results of the regression analyses confirmed the findings from the partial correlations corroborating that the two forms of perfectionism showed differential patterns with

pride and embarrassment (cf. Table 1 and Table 4). In line with previous findings (Stoeber et al., 2008), self-oriented perfectionism was positively associated with pride after perfect achievements. In contrast, socially prescribed was positively associated with embarrassment after perfect achievements. Moreover, both forms of perfectionism were positively associated with embarrassment after flawed achievements.

The regression analyses, however, failed to confirm the cultural differences in embarrassment we found in the partial correlations. Instead, British and Japanese students showed comparable levels of embarrassment after success and failure. Moreover, they showed comparable relationships between perfectionism and embarrassment. While there was a significant positive partial correlation between culture and embarrassment after perfect achievements, suggesting that Japanese students experienced more embarrassment after success than British students (see Table 2), this correlation became nonsignificant once perfectionism was controlled for (see Table 4, Step 2, embarrassment, perfect achievements). This pattern indicated the presence of a mediation effect (Baron & Kenny, 1986) suggesting that Japanese students' higher levels of socially prescribed perfectionism were responsible for their higher embarrassment after achieving perfect results. To test whether this was the case, we conducted a mediation analyses following the procedures provided by Preacher and Hayes (2004) with culture as the independent variable, socially prescribed perfectionism as the mediator, and embarrassment after perfect achievements as the dependent variable (using residual scores controlling for gender and version).[3] The Sobel test of the mediation effect was significant with $z = 2.28$, $p < .05$, and the 95% confidence interval from the bootstrap test of the indirect effect did not include zero (see Preacher & Hayes, 2004 for details). Socially prescribed perfectionism fully mediated the relationship between culture and embarrassment after success (see Figure 3).

Discussion

The present study investigated the relationships between perfectionism and self-conscious emotions comparing people from a traditionally collectivistic culture (Japanese students) to people from a traditionally individualistic culture (White British students). Regarding perfectionism, we examined self-oriented perfectionism and socially prescribed perfectionism. Regarding self-conscious emotions, we examined pride and embarrassment after success (perfect achievements) and failure (flawed achievements) using everyday scenarios the students imagined experiencing. We found evidence for cross-cultural consistency and cross-cultural variability. Regarding cross-cultural consistency, self-oriented perfectionism showed positive relationships with pride after success and embarrassment after failure in both Japanese and British students. In contrast, socially prescribed perfectionism showed positive relationships with embarrassment after success and failure. Regarding cross-cultural variability, Japanese students showed lower levels of self-oriented perfectionism and higher levels of socially prescribed perfectionism compared to British students. Furthermore, Japanese students reported lower levels of pride after success and failure. They also reported more embarrassment after success. However, as a mediation analysis showed, the latter effect was fully explained by Japanese students' higher levels of socially prescribed perfectionism.

The present study also found evidence for cross-cultural variability in the *relationships* between perfectionism and self-conscious emotions. First, socially prescribed perfectionism was positively associated with pride after success in Japanese students, but not in British students. Differing from British students, Japanese students high in socially prescribed perfectionism imagined feeling more pride after success compared to Japanese students low in socially prescribed perfection. Second, self-oriented perfectionism was negatively associated with pride after failure in Japanese students, but not in British students. Differing from British students, Japanese students high in self-oriented perfectionism imagined feeling less pride after

failure compared to Japanese students low in self-oriented perfectionism.

The relationships between perfectionism and pride that the Japanese students showed are noteworthy because they appear to contradict previous theory and research on perfectionism and self-conscious emotions (e.g., Fedewa et al., 2005; Stoeber et al., 2007, 2008) according to which maladaptive forms of perfectionism (such as socially prescribed perfectionism) are expected to show positive correlations with *negative* emotions. Therefore, socially prescribed perfectionism should not be positively associated with pride. In contrast, more adaptive form of perfectionism (such as self-oriented perfectionism) are expected to show positive correlations with *positive* emotions. Therefore, self-oriented perfectionism should not be negatively associated with pride.

However, note that pride is a positive emotion only in Western cultures where we can expect self-oriented perfectionism, but not socially prescribed perfectionism to be positively associated with pride. In Asian cultures, pride is an ambivalent, that is, partly negative emotion (Scollon et al., 2005). Moreover, pride is an interpersonally disengaged emotion making people stand out from their group which is a negative quality in collectivistic cultures (Kitayama et al., 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). People from Asian cultures regard pride as more undesirable and inappropriate compared to people from Western cultures (Eid & Diener, 2001). Consequently, when taking into account the different evaluations of pride in Western and Asian cultures, the present findings with the Japanese students do not necessarily contradict expectations from theory and research that consider socially prescribed perfectionism a maladaptive form of perfectionism and self-oriented perfectionism as a more adaptive form (Enns & Cox, 2002; Frost et al., 1993; Stoeber & Otto, 2006). On the contrary, they may be in line with these expectations. Self-oriented perfectionism, as a more adaptive form of perfectionism, should be associated with more adaptive emotional responses. Reduced pride

after failure can be considered adaptive for Japanese students. If so, Japanese students high in self-oriented perfectionism showed a more adaptive emotional response (i.e., reduced pride) after failure compared to Japanese students high in self-oriented perfectionism. In contrast, socially prescribed perfectionism should be associated with more maladaptive emotional responses. Increased pride after success can be considered maladaptive for Japanese students, particularly for Japanese students high in socially prescribed perfectionism who are concerned about others' expectations. If so, Japanese students high in socially prescribed perfectionism showed a more maladaptive emotional response (i.e., increased pride) after success.

The present study is the first to find cultural differences in the relationships between perfectionism and self-conscious emotions. Consequently, our interpretation of the perfectionism–pride relationships we found in the Japanese students is rather speculative. Other interpretations are possible. For example, because many scenarios contained a social element, Japanese students high in socially prescribed perfectionism may have felt more pride than Japanese students low in socially prescribed perfectionism because they perceived they fulfilled others' high expectations of them. Still, pride is an ambivalent emotion in Asian cultures, often regarded as undesirable and inappropriate because it sets the self apart from others and is interpersonally disengaged. Therefore it can be argued that—even though Japanese students high in socially prescribed perfectionism were right to feel more pride from a Western perspective—from an Asian perspective, increased pride would not be experienced as positive, but rather as ambivalent or even negative. However, many of the everyday scenarios we used were unclear as to whether they represented public situations (where the protagonist felt that others were aware of what was happening) or private situations (where this was not the case). This may also explain why we did not find any cross-cultural differences in embarrassment. Comparing feelings of shame in public and private situations in Japanese and US students,

Crystal et al. (2001) found that Japanese students felt more shame than US students only in public situations. In private situations, US students felt more shame. Consequently, future studies using scenarios to elicit emotions should use scenarios that are clear as to whether the situation is private or public.

The present study has further limitations. First, the interaction effects indicating cross-cultural differences in the relationships of perfectionism and pride were comparatively small. However, note that effect sizes of interaction effects are generally smaller than main effects because they represent second-order effects over and above the main effects (e.g., Frazier et al., 2004). Still, future studies need to replicate the present findings before firmer conclusions about cross-cultural differences in the perfectionism–pride relationships can be drawn. Second, we examined only achievement-oriented pride. Research on self-conscious emotions, however, differentiates between two forms of pride: achievement-oriented (or authentic) pride and hubristic pride (Tracy & Robins, 2007a, 2007b). Consequently, future studies may profit from investigating if the present findings also apply to hubristic pride. Third, the emotional reactions we examined were imagined emotional reactions to scenarios describing hypothetical situations. While eliciting affective responses to scenarios is an established method in cross-cultural research on self-conscious affect (e.g., Crystal et al., 2001; Tang, Wang, Qian, Gao, & Zhang, 2008) and has been demonstrated to be a valid method of indicating affective responses in real life showing convergence of real and imagined reactions to emotional stimuli (Robinson & Clore, 2001), future studies need to show that the present findings can be replicated when affective reactions to real-life experiences of achieving perfect versus flawed results are examined. Finally, the present study only included White students born and raised in the British Isles. Consequently, the findings' generalizability may be limited to students from this specific ethnic background. Future studies may consider additionally including British students with a

different ethnic background to examine if the present findings generalize to Non-White British students. In particular, it would be interesting to include British students of Asian origin born and raised in the British Isles to examine acculturation effects in the relationships of perfectionism, pride, and embarrassment.

Despite these limitations, the present study makes a significant contribution to our understanding of perfectionism and self-conscious emotions. First, the study provides further evidence that, while perfectionism is often associated with shame and embarrassment, perfectionists are able to experience pride (Fedewa et al., 2005; Stoeber et al., 2007, 2008). Furthermore, some perfectionists may experience more pride than nonperfectionists—particularly when they achieve perfect results (Stoeber et al., 2008). Second, the present findings provide further evidence for cross-cultural differences in the experience of pride comparing people from Western with people from Asian cultures (e.g., Eid & Diener, 2001; Kitayama et al., 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Scollon et al., 2005). In addition, the findings of lower self-oriented and higher socially prescribed perfectionism in Japanese students compared to British students expands on previous findings of differences in performance perfectionism comparing Japanese and U.S. students (Chang et al., 2012). Finally, and most importantly, the study provides first evidence that the relationships between perfectionism and pride may show cultural variations. Whereas the study corroborated previous findings that self-oriented perfectionism was positively associated with pride after success, it showed that socially prescribed perfectionism too may be positively associated with pride after success, but only in people from cultural contexts where pride is an ambivalent and often inappropriate and undesirable emotion. With this, the study encourages perfectionism researchers to pay closer attention to possible cultural variations in the relationships that different forms of perfectionism show in different cultures, and to variations in the meaning that

these relationships may have in different cultural contexts.

References

Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51*, 1173-1182. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.51.6.1173

Bear, G., Uribe-Zarain, X., Manning, M., & Shiomi, K. (2009). Shame, guilt, blaming, and anger: Differences between children in Japan and the US. *Motivation and Emotion, 33*, 229-238. doi: 10.1007/s11031-009-9130-8

Benson, E. (2003). The many faces of perfectionism. *Monitor on Psychology, 34*(10), 18.

Bieling, P. J., Israeli, A. L., & Antony, M. M. (2004). Is perfectionism good, bad, or both? Examining models of the perfectionism construct. *Personality and Individual Differences, 36*, 1373-1385. doi: 10.1016/S0191-8869(03)00235-6

Brislin, R. W. (1970). Back-translation for cross-cultural research. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 1*, 185-216.

Brislin, R. W. (1986). The wording and translation of research instruments. In W. J. Lonner & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *Field methods in cross-cultural research* (pp. 137-164). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chang, E. C. (2006). Conceptualization and measurement of adaptive and maladaptive aspects of performance perfectionism: Relations to personality, psychological functioning, and academic achievement. *Cognitive Therapy and Research, 30*, 677-697. doi: 10.1007/s10608-006-9060-7

Chang, E. C., Chang, R., & Sanna, L. J. (2012). A test of the usefulness of perfectionism theory across cultures: Does perfectionism in the US and Japan predict depressive symptoms across time? *Cognitive Therapy and Research, 36*, 1-14. doi: 10.1007/s10608-011-9376-9

Cohen, J., Cohen, P., West, S. G., & Aiken, L. S. (2003). *Applied multiple regression/correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences* (3rd ed.). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Crystal, D. S., Parrott, W. G., Okazaki, Y., & Watanabe, H. (2001). Examining relations between shame and personality among university students in the United States and Japan: A developmental perspective. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 25*, 113-123. doi: 10.1080/01650250042000177

Dunkley, D. M., Zuroff, D. C., & Blankstein, K. R. (2006). Specific perfectionism components versus self-criticism in predicting maladjustment. *Personality and Individual Differences, 40*, 665-676.

Edelstein, R. S., & Shaver, P. R. (2007). A cross-cultural examination of lexical studies of self-conscious emotions. In J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins, & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *The self-conscious emotions* (pp. 194-208). New York: Guilford.

Eid, M., & Diener, E. (2001). Norms for experiencing emotions in different cultures: Inter- and intranational differences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*, 869-885. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.81.5.869

Enns, M. W., & Cox, B. J. (2002). The nature and assessment of perfectionism: A critical analysis. In G. L. Flett & P. L. Hewitt (Eds.), *Perfectionism* (pp. 33-62). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Fedewa, B. A., Burns, L. R., & Gomez, A. A. (2005). Positive and negative perfectionism and the shame/guilt distinction: Adaptive and maladaptive characteristics. *Personality and Individual Differences, 38*, 1609-1619. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2004.09.026

Fee, R. L., & Tangney, J. P. (2000). Procrastination: A means of avoiding shame or guilt? *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality, 15*, 167-184.

Flett, G. L., & Hewitt, P. L. (2002). Perfectionism and maladjustment: An overview of

theoretical, definitional, and treatment issues. In P. L. Hewitt & G. L. Flett (Eds.),

Perfectionism (pp. 5-31). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Frazier, P. A., Tix, A. P., & Barron, K. E. (2004). Testing moderator and mediator effects in

counseling psychology research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51*, 115-134. doi:

10.1037/0022-0167.51.1.115

Frost, R. O., Heimberg, R. G., Holt, C. S., Mattia, J. I., & Neubauer, A. L. (1993). A

comparison of two measures of perfectionism. *Personality and Individual Differences,*

14, 119-126. doi: 10.1016/0191-8869(93)90181-2

Frost, R. O., Marten, P., Lahart, C., & Rosenblate, R. (1990). The dimensions of perfectionism.

Cognitive Therapy and Research, 14, 449-468. doi: 10.1007/BF01172967

Hewitt, P. L., & Flett, G. L. (1991). Perfectionism in the self and social contexts:

Conceptualization, assessment, and association with psychopathology. *Journal of*

Personality and Social Psychology, 60, 456-470. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.60.3.456

Hewitt, P. L., & Flett, G. L. (2004). *Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale (MPS): Technical*

manual. Toronto, Canada: Multi-Health Systems.

Home Office (2007). *Life in the United Kingdom* (2nd ed.). Norwich, UK: The Stationary

Office.

Imahori, T. T., & Cupach, W. R. (1994). A cross-cultural comparison of the interpretation and

management of face: U.S. American and Japanese responses to embarrassing

predicaments. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 18*, 193-219. doi:

10.1016/0147-1767(94)90028-0

Kitayama, S., & Markus, H. R. (2000). The pursuit of happiness and the realization of

    sympathy: Cultural patterns of self, social relations, and well-being. In E. Diener & E. M.

    Suh (Eds.), *Culture and subjective well-being* (pp. 113-161). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., & Matsumoto, H. (1995). Culture, self, and emotion: A cultural

    perspective on "self-conscious" emotions. In J. P. Tangney & K. W. Fischer (Eds.), *Self-*

    conscious emotions (pp. 439-464). New York: Guilford.

Klibert, J. J., Langhinrichsen-Rohling, J., & Saito, M. (2005). Adaptive and maladaptive

    aspects of self-oriented versus socially prescribed perfectionism. *Journal of College*

    Student Development, 46, 141-156.

Kobori, O., & Tanno, Y. (2005). Self-oriented perfectionism and its relationship to positive and

    negative affect: The mediation of positive and negative perfectionism cognitions.

    Cognitive Therapy and Research, 29, 559-571. doi: 10.1007/s10608-005-2835-4

Kobori, O., Yamagata, S., & Kijima, N. (2005). The relationship of temperament to

    multidimensional perfectionism trait. *Personality and Individual Differences, 38*, 203-

    211. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2004.04.003

Lewis, M., Takai-Kawakami, K., Kawakami, K., & Sullivan, M. W. (2010). Cultural

    differences in emotional responses to success and failure. *International Journal of*

    Behavioral Development, 34, 53-61. doi: 10.1177/0165025409348559

Lutwak, N., & Ferrari, J. R. (1996). Moral affect and cognitive processes: Differentiating

    shame from guilt among men and women. *Personality and Individual Differences, 21*,

    891-896. doi: 10.1016/S0191-8869(96)00135-3

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition,

    emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review, 98*, 224-253. doi: 10.1037/0033-

    295x.98.2.224

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1994). The cultural construction of self and emotion: Implications for social behavior. In S. Kitayama & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Emotion and culture* (pp. 89-130). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Molnar, D. S., Reker, D. L., Culp, N. A., Sadava, S. W., & DeCourville, N. H. (2006). A mediated model of perfectionism, affect, and physical health. *Journal of Research in Personality, 40*, 482-500. doi: 10.1016/j.jrp.2005.04.002

Nunnally, J. C., & Bernstein, I. H. (1994). *Psychometric theory* (3rd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

O'Connor, R. C., & O'Connor, D. B. (2003). Predicting hopelessness and psychological distress: The role of perfectionism. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 50*, 362-372. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.50.3.362

Ohtani, K., & Sakurai, S. (1995). Relationship of perfectionism to depression and hopelessness in college students. *Japanese Journal of Psychology, 66*, 41-47.

Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2004). SPSS and SAS procedures for estimating indirect effects in simple mediation models. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers, 36*, 717-731.

Robinson, M. D., & Clore, G. L. (2001). Simulation, scenarios, and emotional appraisal: Testing the convergence of real and imagined reactions to emotional stimuli. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27*, 1520-1532. doi: 10.1177/01461672012711012

Rusch, C. D. (2004). Cross-cultural variability of the semantic domain of emotion terms: An examination of English *shame* and *embarrass* with Japanese *hazukashii*. *Cross-Cultural Research, 38*, 236-248. doi: 10.1177/1069397104264274

Scollon, C. N., Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Biswas-Diener, R. (2004). Emotions across cultures and

methods. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 35*, 304-326. doi:

10.1177/0022022104264124

Scollon, C. N., Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Biswas-Diener, R. (2005). An experience sampling and

cross-cultural investigation of the relation between pleasant and unpleasant affect.

Cognition and Emotion, 19, 27-52. doi: 10.1080/02699930441000076

Singelis, T. M., Bond, M. H., Sharkey, W. F., & Kriss, S. Y. L. (1999). Unpackaging culture's

influence on self-esteem and embarrassability: The role of self-construals. *Journal of

Cross-Cultural Psychology, 30*, 315-341. doi: 10.1177/0022022199030003003

Singelis, T. M., & Sharkey, W. F. (1995). Culture, self-construal, and embarrassability. *Journal

of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 26*, 622-644. doi: 10.1177/002202219502600607

Slaney, R. B., Rice, K. G., Mobley, M., Trippi, J., & Ashby, J. S. (2001). The revised Almost

Perfect Scale. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development, 34*, 130-

145.

Sorotzkin, B. (1985). The quest for perfection: Avoiding guilt or avoiding shame?

Psychotherapy, 22, 564-571. doi: 10.1037/h0085541

Stoeber, J., Feast, A. R., & Hayward, J. A. (2009). Self-oriented and socially prescribed

perfectionism: Differential relationships with intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and test

anxiety. *Personality and Individual Differences, 47*, 423-428. doi:

10.1016/j.paid.2009.04.014

Stoeber, J., Harris, R. A., & Moon, P. S. (2007). Perfectionism and the experience of pride,

shame, and guilt: Comparing healthy perfectionists, unhealthy perfectionists, and

nonperfectionists. *Personality and Individual Differences, 43*, 131-141. doi:

10.1016/j.paid.2006.11.012

Stoeber, J., Kempe, T., & Keogh, E. J. (2008). Facets of self-oriented and socially prescribed perfectionism and feelings of pride, shame, and guilt following success and failure. *Personality and Individual Differences, 44*, 1506-1516. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2008.01.007

Stoeber, J., & Otto, K. (2006). Positive conceptions of perfectionism: Approaches, evidence, challenges. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 10,* 295-319. doi: 10.1207/s15327957pspr1004_2

Stoeber, J., & Stoeber, F. S. (2009). Domains of perfectionism: Prevalence and relationships with perfectionism, gender, age, and satisfaction with life. *Personality and Individual Differences, 46*, 530-535. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2008.12.006

Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2007). *Using multivariate statistics* (5th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.

Tang, M., Wang, Z., Qian, M., Gao, J., & Zhang, L. (2008). Transferred shame in the cultures of interdependent-self and independent self. *Journal of Cognition and Culture, 8*, 163-178. doi: 10.1163/156770908x289260

Tangney, J. P. (2002). Perfectionism and the self-conscious emotions: Shame, guilt, embarrassment, and pride. In P. L. Hewitt & G. L. Flett (Eds.), *Perfectionism* (pp. 199-215). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Tangney, J. P., & Dearing, R. L. (2002). *Shame and guilt*. New York: Guilford.

Tracy, J. L., & Robins, R. W. (2007a). The nature of pride. In J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins, & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *The self-conscious emotions* (pp. 263-282). New York: Guilford.

Tracy, J. L., & Robins, R. W. (2007b). The psychological structure of pride: A tale of two facets. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 92*, 506-525. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.92.3.506

Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Triandis, H. C. (1997). Cross-cultural perspectives on personality. In R. Hogan, J. A. Johnson,

    & S. R. Briggs (Eds.), *Handbook of personality psychology.* (pp. 439-464). San Diego,

    CA: Academic Press.

Trumpeter, N., Watson, P. J., & O'Leary, B. J. (2006). Factors within multidimensional

    perfectionism scales: Complexity of relationships with self-esteem, narcissism, self-

    control, and self-criticism. *Personality and Individual Differences, 41*, 849-860. doi:

    10.1016/j.paid.2006.03.014

Wong, Y., & Tsai, J. (2007). Cultural models of shame and guilt. In J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins

    & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *The self-conscious emotions* (pp. 209-223). New York: Guilford.

Zwick, W. R., & Velicer, W. F. (1986). Comparison of five rules for determining the number of

    components to retain. *Psychological Bulletin, 99*, 432-442. doi: 10.1037/0033-

    2909.99.3.432

Footnotes

[1]In addition the model differentiates other-oriented perfectionism, which captures individual differences in holding perfectionistic standards for others. Because other-oriented perfectionism is not regarded a core dimension of multidimensional perfectionism (e.g., Enns & Cox, 2002; Stoeber & Otto, 2006), it was not included in the present study.

[2]In addition we analyzed the responses to the individual scenarios by means of principal components analysis (PCA) to examine if the dimensionality of the measures. For all four measures—pride after success, pride after failure, embarrassment after success, and embarrassment after failure—inspection of the eigenvalues from the PCA using scree test and parallel analysis (see Zwick & Velicer, 1986) indicated only one significant component suggesting that each measures was unidimensional.

[3]The results were virtually the same when gender and version were not controlled for.

Table 1

Manipulation Check: Means and Standard Deviations of Pride and Embarrassment Following Perfect and Flawed Achievements

| | Achievements | | | | |
| | Perfect | | Flawed | | |
Variables	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*(722)
Pride	2.82	1.19	0.59	0.64	49.94***
Embarrassment	0.29	0.51	2.57	1.03	−56.41***

Note. N = 723. All variables were measured on a scale from 0 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*).

***$p < .001$.

Table 2

Bivariate Correlations and Partial Correlations Controlling for Gender and Version

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Culture (−1 = British, 1 = Japanese)		−.09*	.11**	−.33***	.10**	−.13***	.05	–
Perfectionism								–
2. Self-oriented perfectionism	−.12**		.46***	.27***	.02	−.02	.29***	–
3. Socially prescribed perfectionism	.11**	.46***		.15***	.17***	.01	.30***	–
Perfect achievements								–
4. Pride	−.38***	.28***	.14***		.01	.38***	.49***	–
5. Embarrassment	.18***	.00	.17***	−.05		.30***	.26***	–
Flawed achievements								–
6. Pride	−.09*	−.03	.01	.34***	.32***		.12**	–
7. Embarrassment	.04	.29***	.30***	.48***	.24***	.12**		–
8. Gender (−1 = male, 1 = female)	−.40***	.08*	−.03	.19***	−.19***	−.05	.00	
9. Version (−1 = Version 1, 1 = Version 2)	.09*	−.01	−.02	−.12**	.21***	.11**	−.03	.01

Note. N = 715 (363 British, 352 Japanese). Correlations below the diagonal = bivariate correlations; correlations above the diagonal = partial correlations controlling for gender and version. Version: Version 1 (even-numbered scenarios = perfect, odd-numbered scenarios = flawed), Version 2 (odd-numbered scenarios = perfect, even-numbered scenarios flawed) (see Measures). Embarrassment (perfect achievements) and pride (flawed achievements) = transformed scores (see Preliminary Analyses, Transformations).

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Table 3

Differences Between British and Japanese Students (Controlling for Gender and Version): Estimated Means and Standard Errors

	British		Japanese	
Variable	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Perfectionism				
Self-oriented perfectionism	69.13	0.81	66.13	0.83
Socially prescribed perfectionism	52.01	0.63	54.69	0.64
Perfect achievements				
Pride	3.25	0.60	2.43	0.61
Embarrassment	−0.87	0.01	−0.83	0.01
Flawed achievements				
Pride	−0.69	0.01	−0.75	0.01
Embarrassment	2.53	0.06	2.63	0.06

Note. $N = 715$ (363 British, 352 Japanese). Estimated means and standard errors from ANCOVAs controlling for gender and version. Embarrassment (perfect achievements) and pride (flawed achievements) = transformed scores (see Preliminary Analyses, Transformations). The differences correspond to the correlations reported in Table 2, Line 1, Columns 2-7. Except for embarrassment after flawed achievements, all differences were significant. See Table 2 for the corresponding significance levels.

Table 4

Predicting Pride and Embarrassment: Effects of Culture and Perfectionism (Controlling for Gender and Version)

Step and variable	Pride			Embarrassment		
	ΔR^2	β	*sr*	ΔR^2	β	*sr*
Perfect achievements						
Step 1	.050***			.082***		
Gender (−1 = male, 1 = female)		.19***	.19		−.19***	−.19
Version (−1 = Version 1, 1 = Version 2)		−.12**	−.12		.21***	.21
Step 2	.163***			.037***		
Gender		.04	.04		−.15***	−.14
Version		−.08*	−.08		.21***	.21
Culture (−1 = British, 1 = Japanese)		−.34***	−.30		.07	.07
Self-oriented perfectionism		.20***	.17		−.06	−.06
Socially prescribed perfectionism		.08*	.07		.19***	.17
Step 3	.007*			.004		
Gender		.04	.03		−.15***	−.14
Version		−.08*	−.08		.21***	.21
Culture		−.34***	−.30		.07	.07
Self-oriented perfectionism		.19***	.17		−.07	−.06
Socially prescribed perfectionism		.09*	.08		.20***	.17
Culture × self-oriented perfectionism		−.06	−.05		−.02	−.02
Culture × socially prescribed perfectionism		.10*	.08		.07	.06

(Table 4, continued)

	Flawed achievements					
Step 1	.015**			.001		
Gender (–1 = male, 1 = female)		–.05	–.05		.00	.00
Version (–1 = Version 1, 1 = Version 2)		.11**	.11		–.03	–.03
Step 2	.020**			.119***		
Gender		–.11**	–.10		.01	.01
Version		.13***	.13		–.03	–.03
Culture (–1 = British, 1 = Japanese)		–.15***	–.14		.05	.04
Self-oriented perfectionism		–.06	–.05		.20***	.18
Socially prescribed perfectionism		.05	.05		.20***	.17
Step 3	.006			.004		
Gender		–.12**	–.11		.01	.01
Version		.13***	.13		–.03	–.03
Culture		–.16***	–.14		.05	.05
Self-oriented perfectionism		–.07	–.06		.21***	.18
Socially prescribed perfectionism		.06	.05		.20***	.18
Culture × self-oriented perfectionism		–.09*	–.07		.00	.00
Culture × socially prescribed perfectionism		.07	.06		.06	.05

Note. $N = 715$ (363 British, 352 Japanese). *sr* = semipartial correlation. Version: Version 1 (even-numbered scenarios = perfect, odd-numbered scenarios = flawed), Version 2 (odd-numbered scenarios = perfect, even-numbered scenarios flawed) (see Measures). Pride after flawed achievement and embarrassment after perfect achievement scores were transformed prior to the analyses (see Preliminary Analyses for details). The significance levels of the semipartial correlations are the same as those of the corresponding standardized regression coefficients (βs).
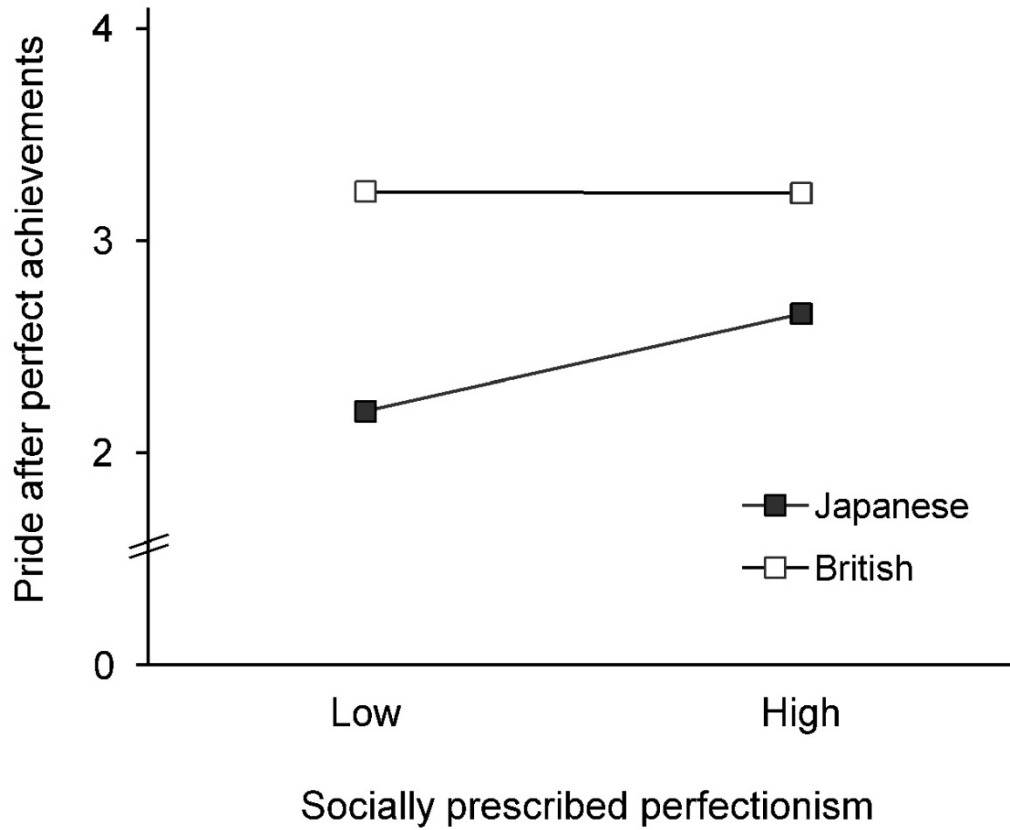
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Figure 1. Interaction effect of culture and socially prescribed perfectionism on pride after

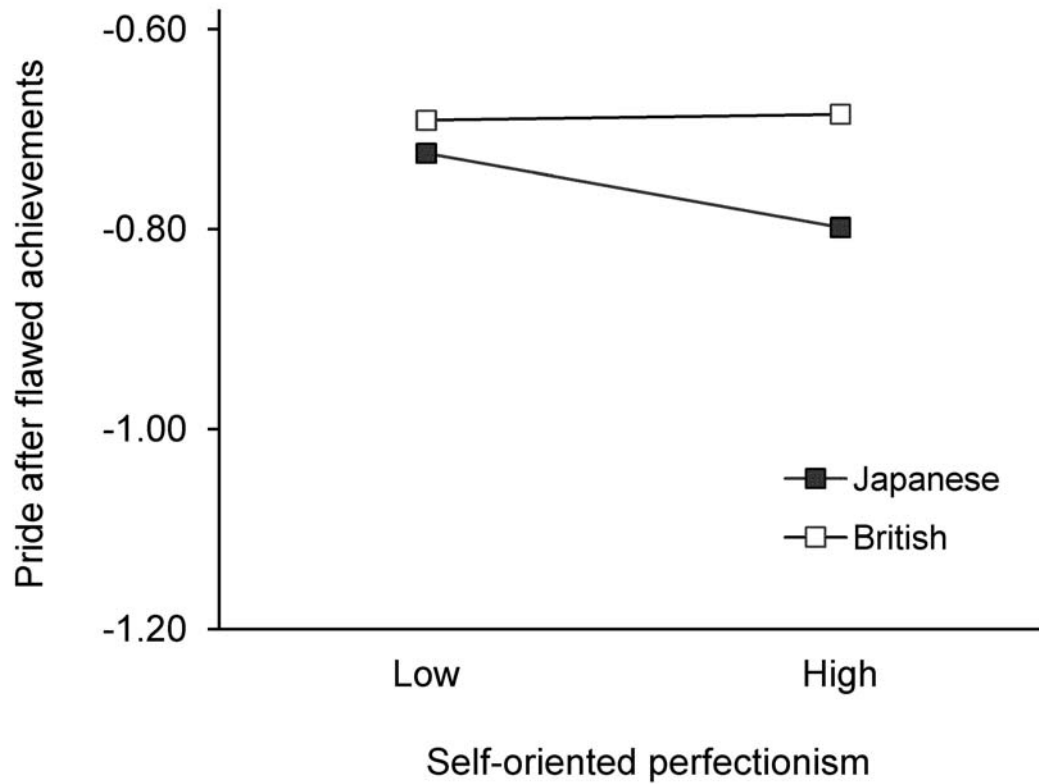perfect achievements (low = −1 *SD* below mean, high = +1 *SD* above mean).

Figure 2. Interaction effect of culture and self-oriented perfectionism on pride after flawed achievements (low = –1 *SD* below mean, high = +1 *SD* above mean). Note that pride scores were transformed prior to the analyses (see Preliminary Analyses for details).
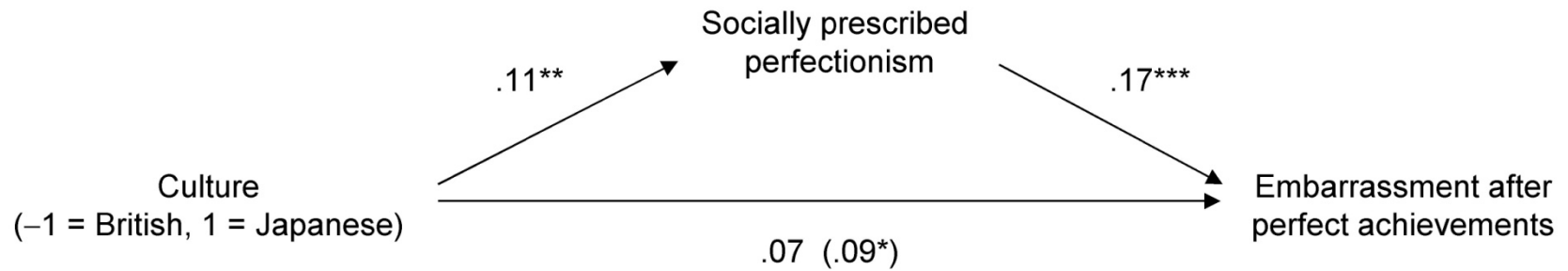
Figure 3. Socially prescribed perfectionism fully mediated the relationship between culture and embarrassment after perfect achievements (standardized regression coefficients: *p* < .05, **p* < .01, ***p* < .001).

Appendix

Scenarios

1. Birthday card. You are invited to a friend's birthday and have bought a very nice and expensive birthday card to go with your present. You add a few personal lines to the birthday card in your very best handwriting, [Perfect] and the card really looks perfect / [Flawed] but when you hand over the card you notice that you have misspelled your friend's name.

2. Project report. You are supposed to hand in a project report which you have written the day before, and now you only have to check for any spelling errors. So you go over the report several times checking for any errors. When you hand in the report, [Perfect] it looks perfect / [Flawed] you notice that there is a typo on the title page.

3. Cleaning glasses. You have a part-time job at an expensive restaurant. For a banquet of important guests, you have to polish the wine glasses. After the guests arrive and sit down at the table, [Perfect] you look around, and all glasses are crystal clear with perfect shine / [Flawed] you notice that one of the glasses shows some fingerprints.

4. Deadline. You have an important deadline to meet, so you carefully plan when you are going to work on everything and get it in on time. Everything goes according to plan, [Perfect] and you hand in your piece of work without any rush / [Flawed] but then you notice that the deadline is one day earlier than you had realized, so you have to press hard to get your piece of work handed in on time.

5. Weekend picnic. You are planning a weekend excursion with friends including a picnic. When you arrive at the picnic area and set up the goods, [Perfect] everything is there— just as planned / [Flawed] you realize that you forgot to bring the plates for everybody as you were supposed to.

6. Take your pills. You fall ill with a bad infection. The doctor prescribes you some pills that you need to take three times a day for a whole week: one in the morning, one at noon, and one before you go to bed. Its important to follow this schedule for the medicine to have any effect, so you follow this schedule meticulously [Perfect] and never forget to take a pill in time during the whole week / [Flawed] but on the third day, you realize that you forgot to take a pill the previous day before you went to bed.

7. Holiday trip. You are preparing for a holiday trip abroad and have made a list of all items that you want to take. When packing your suitcase, you check and double-check the list and the contents that you have packed. [Perfect] During your trip, you find that nothing is missing: everything you wanted to pack is there / [Flawed] But during your trip, you realize that you forgot to pack your address book with all the addresses of friends and family whom you promised to send a card to, even though it was on your list.

8. Movie night. You and your friends are planning a movie night at home watching a movie together that all of you like a lot. Because it is an older movie that you could not find at the usual DVD rental, you mail-ordered it. The DVD arrives in the mail in plenty of time, [Perfect] so when you meet at your friends house, you put in the DVD and it's a perfect home movie night for everybody / [Flawed] but when you meet at your friends house, you open the DVD case and realize that you took the wrong DVD case and left the DVD you mail-ordered at home.

9. Returning a book. You borrow a book from a friend who really does not like lending people her things and you promise you will definitely get it back to her by the end of the week. You finish the book during the week [Perfect] and as promised return the book by the end of the week / [Flawed] but forget to return the book by the end of the week, and instead return it one day late.

10. Organizing a dinner. You are asked to organize a dinner for the members of a university society, that you belong to, in a restaurant in town. As the place is very popular, you phone a week in advance to make a reservation and again the day before the dinner to make sure everything is alright. When you and the other members arrive at the set time, [Perfect] the seating hostess leads you immediately to your table and everything is perfect [Flawed] the seating hostess tells you that you have to wait for 1 hour as you accidentally booked the table for 1 hour later than you thought you did.

11. Spending. You are short on money, so you plan a careful budget so that you will have enough for the month until your next pay day. You stick to your budget, [Perfect] and at the end of the month you have spent no more than you intended and are exactly within your budget / [Flawed] but at the end of the month, you realize that you miscalculated your budget and are a small sum of money short.

12. List of tasks. You work part-time in a shop. The manager has left you in charge for the afternoon, and given you a list of tasks to complete. The afternoon goes without a hitch [Perfect] and you manage to get everything done perfectly / [Flawed] and you think that you managed to get everything done perfectly, but realize later that you have forgotten to make an important phone call, which was one of your tasks.

13. Grandmother's 10 pills. While your parents are away, you have taken over the task of caring for your grandmother who has been very ill for a long time. Your grandmother has to take 10 different pills every day according to a certain schedule. You observe the schedule meticulously [Perfect] and you give your grandmother each and every pill every day exactly as prescribed / [Flawed] but on one day you mix up one of the evening pills with one of the morning pills.

14. Revision. You have an exam and spend a lot of time revising a selection of topics which you expect to come up in the paper. When you sit the exam, [Perfect] all the topics you expected come up and so you are perfectly prepared / [Flawed] one topic comes up that you did not revise even though you now remember that it was something you should have expected.