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Feeling Good and Authentic: Experienced Authenticity in Daily Life is Predicted by Positive

Feelings and Situation Characteristics, Not Trait-State Consistency

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Author Notes

All statistical analyses were conducted using R (R Core Development Team, 2014). Supplemental materials, including data and analytic scripts for reproducing the results presented herein will be available online at https://osf.io/p35nd/. This study was not preregistered.

Contributions: Bell Cooper was responsible for study conceptualization, data collection, data preparation, data analysis, and report writing. Ryne Sherman was responsible for study conceptualization, data collection, and report writing. John Rauthmann was responsible for report writing. David Serfass and Nicolas Brown were responsible for study conceptualization, data collection, and data preparation.

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- Behaving congruently with one's traits did not predict experienced authenticity, while positive feelings did.

- Participants felt more authentic in situations that were more pleasant.

- Our findings support the "feeling good = feeling authentic" hypothesis.

- We conclude that trait-state consistency and experienced authenticity are distinct constructs in daily life.

Abstract

According to an "acting consistently = feeling authentic" hypothesis, people with higher ipsative trait-state consistency (degree to which one's state expressions of personality patterns match one's personality trait patterns) should experience higher experienced authenticity (degree to which one feels authentic). According to a "feeling good = feeling authentic" hypothesis, this should be the case because of positive feelings. In an experience sampling study, $N = 210$ participants completed personality questionnaires and then eight surveys per day for one week, where they reported the current situational characteristics and states. Behaving congruently with one's traits did not predict experienced authenticity, while positive feelings did. Further, participants felt more authentic in situations that were characterized by them as more pleasant. Our findings thus support the "feeling good = feeling authentic" hypothesis, and we conclude that trait-state consistency and experienced authenticity cannot be used interchangeably and are distinct constructs in daily life.

Keywords: trait-state consistency, authenticity, positive feelings, affect, situations

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When a person is acting like he or she typically acts, does that person feel more

authentic? In principle, it seems that the answer ought to be "yes." However, recent evidence

from vignette-type studies (i.e., "imagine yourself in a situation…") suggest that self-reports of

authenticity are contaminated by the positivity or negativity of one's behavior (Jongman-Sereno

& Leary, 2016). This study further examines the assumption that being authentic = acting like

oneself using experience sampling methods to measure behavior in real-world environments in

real-time.

The importance of feeling authentic is deeply ingrained into our every language, being

exemplified in the positive valuation of phrases such as "being true to yourself", "being

yourself" and "expressing who you are." Not surprisingly, there is active research on authenticity

as a psychological construct (e.g., Harter, 2002; Schlegel, Hicks, Arndt, & King, 2009; Wilt &

Fleeson, 2010; Lenton, Bruder, Slabu, & Sedikides, 2013). Some strands of that research

highlight the beneficial side of authenticity, for example, for job satisfaction in employees

(Abraham, 1998; Pugliesi, 1999; Zerbe, 2000), self-esteem (Kernis 2003; Goldman & Kernis,

2003; Heppner, Kernis, Nezlek, Foster, Lakey & Goldman, 2008), well-being (Cross, Gore, &

Morris, 2003), satisfaction within a given role (Sheldon, Ryan, & Rawsthorne, 1997), and

psychological adjustment (Sherman, Nave, & Funder, 2012). Given the apparent importance of

authenticity in a broad range of contexts, it is also important to ask under what circumstances

people feel authentic. Specifically, authenticity has been related to (a) how people enact their

personality traits in behavioral states (Fleeson & Wilt, 2010), (b) how positively people feel in a

given situation (Lenton, Slabu, Sedikides, & Power, 2013), and (c) which situational effects may

be present (Lenton, Slabu, & Sedikides, 2016). Thus, in the current study, we set out to examine how trait-state consistency (i.e., when one's profile of state expressions of personality matches one's trait personality profile), state expressions of personality, positive feelings (i.e., happiness and self-esteem), situation characteristics (i.e., the Situational Eight DIAMONDS) predict experienced authenticity (i.e., the subjective feeling of authenticity) in people's everyday life with an experience sampling design.

Background

The Relation between Authenticity and Trait-State Consistency

Authenticity is often operationalized phenomenologically as a perception of authentic states, usually the degree to which one *feels* true to oneself (Fleeson & Wilt, 2010; Lenton, Bruder, et al., 2013; Sheldon et al., 1997; Turner & Billings, 1991). It can be measured by asking participants to self-report how authentic they feel or felt at a given moment. We refer to this form as *experienced authenticity*. On the other hand, we might also measure the extent to which people express or manifest momentary states in line with their enduring traits (Fleeson & Wilt, 2010; Sherman et al., 2012). We refer to this as *trait-state consistency* – the degree to which one is behaving in line with one's personality. This represents a form of personality consistency (Fleeson & Noftle, 2008) at the within-person profile level (Furr & Wood, 2016) where the patterning among personality traits ipsatively matches the patterning among corresponding personality states later. For example, a person that is dispositionally more extraverted than conscientious should also behave, within a given situation, more extraverted than conscientious. In other words, the rank-ordering among personality states should mirror those among personality traits for high trait-state consistency at a within-person profile level. Although both experienced authenticity (acting in line with oneself) and trait-state consistency (acting in line

with one's traits) seem to capture related constructs, few studies have so far empirically investigated their relations. Do people report being more authentic when they are behaving more congruently with their personality traits?

Arguably, people should report being more authentic when their personality traits and behaviors are more in alignment. As already mentioned, authenticity concerns the degree to which one feels like one feels true to oneself. It logically follows that people ought to feel more "true to themselves" when they are behaving in ways that are congruent with their core personality traits. As such, experienced authenticity should be positively related to the actual degree to which one's states in a given situation matches one's pattern of traits. In other words, feeling authentic should occur when one is acting in congruence with one's personality. We term this the *"acting consistently = feeling authentic" hypothesis*. However, previous findings present some conflicting evidence for this hypothesis. For example, one study showed that people report more authenticity when retrospective accounts of behavior within a specific role were more closely aligned with their own perceptions of themselves in general (Sheldon et al., 1997). In contrast, other research showed that individuals did not report feeling more authentic when their levels of Big Five behavior were directly in line with their trait levels (Fleeson & Wilt, 2010). Instead, people reported feeling more authentic when they were acting generally more socially desirable ways (i.e., more extraverted, conscientious, open, agreeable, and emotionally stable) – and *regardless* whether those states matched their traits or not. Thus, we set out to test the "acting consistently = feeling authentic" hypothesis that trait-state consistency is related to experienced authenticity.

The Role of Positive Feelings

Another explanation of experienced authenticity is positive feelings, which we term the *"feeling good = feeling authentic" hypothesis*. This hypothesis has long been philosophized; as detailed in historical Confucianism, authenticity and happiness are bidirectionally related and inseparable (Chen, 2013). Authenticity is empirically related to a variety of positive feelings, such as self-esteem (Wood, Linley, Maltby, Baliousis, & Joseph, 2008) and well-being (Goldman & Kernis, 2002; Wood et al., 2008). Further, experimental work has demonstrated a causal influence of mood on experienced authenticity, in that negative affective states can lead to decreases in experienced authenticity and positive affective states can lead to increases in experienced authenticity (Lenton et al., 2013). Fleeson and Wilt (2010) examined the possibility that feeling authentic at a given moment may simply come from feeling good at that moment, but demonstrate evidence against that case. More recently, Jongman-Sereno and Leary (2016) show that people's self-perceived authenticity is related to behaviors that reflected positive characteristics. Thus, we also aim to test the "feeling good = feeling authentic" hypothesis by examining how momentary positive feelings (i.e., happiness and self-esteem) predict experienced authenticity in experience sampling data. Notably, we are also interested in to what extent positive feelings predict experienced authenticity beyond the predictive effects of trait-state consistency (see the "acting consistently = feeling authentic" hypothesis).

Situational Correlates

Several studies suggest that the situation surrounding an individual at a given moment may affect the degree to which he or she feels authentic (e.g., Lenton et al., 2016). For example, people feel more authentic in the company of friends (Turner & Billings, 1991). Similarly, having fun, relaxing with others, familiar settings, and achievement evoke authentic feelings, while having to meet certain expectations, feeling judged, facing difficult situations, or

experiencing isolation evoke inauthentic feelings (Lenton et al., 2013). Some researchers suggest an interactive approach, such that when people's situational goal strivings align with their personal values, they will feel more authentic (Sheldon & Elliott, 1998). Others suggest that situational cues, such as interacting with a stranger over the internet rather than face-to-face, may give people access to their true selves, thus encouraging feelings of authenticity (Bargh, McKenna, Fitzsimmons, 2002). Further, Fleeson and Wilt (2010) showed that people reported feeling most authentic when they were acting more extraverted, open to experience, conscientious, emotionally stable, and agreeable, regardless of their trait scores. This finding suggests that people will feel more authentic in situations that afford acting in specific (usually socially desirable) ways.

If trait-state consistency and experienced authenticity are closely tied (see "acting consistently = feeling authentic" hypothesis), then we may also be interested in the situational correlates of trait-state consistency as these should be largely the same as those of experienced authenticity. To our knowledge, only one study has so far examined trait-state consistency and its situational correlates. Sherman et al. (2012) showed that when people were in situations that afforded autonomy, competence, and relatedness, they acted more consistently in terms of how people are typically as operationalized via a normative personality trait profile (characterized by high Extraversion, Openness, Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, and Agreeableness). This finding suggests that people will have higher levels of trait-state consistency as a function of specific characteristics of a situation.

While the work of Fleeson and Wilt (2010) as well as the Sherman et al. (2012) suggests that authenticity and trait-state consistency should be systematically correlated with situational characteristics, both studies were limited to some extent. The experience sampling studies by

Fleeson and Wilt (2010) did not measure situations themselves, but rather inferred the role of situations via personality states and focused exclusively on experienced authenticity. On the other hand, while the study by Sherman and colleagues (2012) did measure situations directly, it focused exclusively on trait-state consistency and was only based on retrospective self-reports of situations and behavior. No study has to date directly examined the relations between experienced authenticity, trait-state consistency, and situation characteristics simultaneously. Thus, we set out to do exactly this in daily life using an experience sampling design.

The Current Study

The current study aims to address three research questions, as summarized in Figure 1. To what extent does trait-state consistency predict experienced authenticity (Point 1: "acting consistently = feeling authentic" hypothesis)? To what extent do positive feelings predict experienced authenticity (Point 2: "feeling good = feeling authentic" hypothesis)? To what extent do situational characteristics predict trait-state consistency and experienced authenticity (Point 3)? To answer these questions, we employed an experience sampling design wherein personality states, experienced authenticity, positive feelings, and situational characteristics were reported in real-time within people's everyday lives. Such methodology provides advantages over studies using narrative and retrospective measures of situations and behavior (e.g., Sherman et al., 2012; Turner & Billings, 1991) because real-time reports are less prone to memory errors (Shiffman, Stone, & Hufford, 2008).

Method

Participants

The number of participants was determined a priori to be N = 200 because this yields 95% confidence intervals on the scale of Zr that are less than +/- .15. In practice, we attempted to gather data from 220 participants to accommodate for attrition and other sources of data loss. We stopped at 218 because it marked the end of the subject pool period. We solicited participants

from Florida Atlantic University's undergraduate research subject pool in exchange for partial course credit. Seven participants completed only the first session of the study so that their data could not be used here. One participant's personality data was lost due to a computer error; however, experience sampling data from this subject was used wherever possible. Thus, most analyses reported here pertain to $n = 210$ participants (136 female, 73 male, 1 unknown). Participants ranged in age from 18 to 36 ($M = 18.61$, $SD = 1.78$). Their ethnic breakdown was 18.2% African American, 1.4% Asian, 47.4% Caucasian, 23.0 % Hispanic/Latino, 7.6% Other, and 2.4% did not indicate or did not know. Data from this project have been previously reported (Sherman et al., 2015; Jones, Brown, Serfass, & Sherman, 2017; Rauthmann, Jones, & Sherman, 2016), though the current analyses are novel. Information on materials used, raw data, and R codes can be found openly available at https://osf.io/p35nd/.

Measures

Traits. The HEXACO-60 (Ashton & Lee, 2009) is a 60-item measure for assessing the global trait dimensions of Honesty-Humility ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 0.55$, α = .62), Emotionality ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 0.67$, α = .76), eXtraversion ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 0.62$, α = .79), Agreeableness ($M = 3.31$, $SD = 0.63$, α = .75), Conscientiousness ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 0.57$, α = .75), and Openness ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 0.66$, α = .74). Each item was rated on a five-point Likert-type scale (1 = *disagree strongly*, 5 = *agree strongly*).[1]

Situations (experience sampling). To quantify aspects of people's current situations in daily life, we assessed major dimensions of psychological situation characteristics that capture the content and meaning of situations (Rauthmann, Sherman, & Funder, 2015). Towards this end, we used the S8-I (Rauthmann & Sherman, 2016) that succinctly measures with a single item each of eight major characteristic dimensions that were previously identified, the Situational Eight DIAMONDS (Rauthmann et al., 2014). It thus minimizes participant burden and is ideal for experience sampling designs. Participants were instructed to rate the situation they were in when texted on a seven-point Likert-type scale (1 = *extremely uncharacteristic*, 7 = *extremely characteristic*). The items included Duty: Work has to be done ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 1.16$); Intellect: Deep thinking is required ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.08$); Adversity: Someone is being threatened, blamed, or criticized ($M = 1.69$, $SD = 0.84$); Mating: Potential romantic partners are present (M

= 2.53, *SD* = 1.21); pOsitivity: Situation is enjoyable (*M* = 4.44, *SD* = 1.01); Negativity:

Situation includes negative feelings (e.g., stress, anxiety, guilt) (*M* = 2.46, *SD* = 1.01);

Deception: Someone is being deceived (*M* = 1.68, *SD* = 0.82); Sociality: Social interaction is

possible or required (*M* = 4.04, *SD* = 1.04). The items were presented together on a single page,

and item order was randomized each time the survey was taken. Importantly, we relied on the

current DIAMONDS taxonomy that has been empirically derived and also used for other

research (Brown & Rauthmann, 2016; Jones et al., 2017; Rauthmann et al., 2014; Rauthmann,

Jones, & Sherman, 2016; Rauthmann & Sherman, 2016, 2017; Serfass & Sherman, 2016;

Sherman et al., 2016), rather than using ad-hoc conceptualizations as in other related studies

(Fleeson & Wilt, 2010; Sherman et al., 2012).

States (experience sampling). Participants rated their *in situ* states on seven-point

bipolar adjective scales, inspired by Fleeson (2007) and Denissen, Geenen, et al. (2008). The

personality state items were composed of one item for each of the six HEXACO dimensions,

with following adjective pairs as scale: Honesty/Humility (*humble, honest – arrogant, dishonest*)

(*M* = 5.66, *SD*= 1.07), Emotionality (*nervous, emotional – calm, unemotional*),

eXtraversion/Sociability (*outgoing, sociable – reserved, quiet*) (*M* = 3.51, *SD* = 1.17),

Agreeableness (*warm, agreeable – cold, quarrelsome*) (*M* = 4.70, *SD* = 1.13),

Conscientiousness (*organized, hardworking – disorganized, lazy*) (*M* = 5.39, *SD* = 1.04),

Openness/Intellect (*intelligent, creative – unintelligent, uncreative*) (*M* = 5.12, *SD* = 1.04).

Experienced authenticity was measured using a similar bipolar scale with the anchors *Authentic*

(true to myself) and *Inauthentic* (not true to myself) (*M* = 5.76, *SD* = 1.11). Two positive

feelings items also used a bipolar scale with the following anchors: Happiness (*happy, positive –*

sad, negative) (*M* = 5.34, *SD* = 1.11), and Self-esteem *(Feeling good about myself – feeling bad*

about myself) (*M* = 5.39, *SD* = 1.19). Table 1 displays the correlations among all state variables. This was achieved by using the statsBy function in the psych package (Revelle, 2018) in R (R Core Team, 2015), which decomposed the observed correlations between varaibles into the between group (upper triangle) and within group (lower triangle) correlations.

Procedure

Participants arrived at the laboratory individually and were greeted by a research assistant. The research assistant explained that the goal of the study was to "understand the situations that you experience in a typical week as well as how you feel, think, and behave in these situations." Participants were informed that the study included two parts. The first part consisted of a brief video-recorded interview and a number of personality measures (only the HEXACO-60 reported here) using a computerized testing format. For the second part of the study, participants were sent a text message eight times per day over the course of seven consecutive days containing a personalized link to a survey about their current situation and state expressions. Because this study required text messaging capabilities and Internet access on a mobile device (i.e., a smartphone), only participants who had such devices were permitted to complete the second part of the study. All participants had such capabilities, but the eight participants who did not complete the second portion of the study indicated they had technical problems. The text-messaging portion of the study began on the day immediately following the first laboratory visit. Although participants could begin the study on any weekday (M–F), the text messaging schedule was fixed across the seven days of the week for all participants. For example, all participants received text messages at the same time of day on the Monday (Tuesday, Wednesday, etc.) that they were in the study. The text times for each day were randomly generated by choosing eight times between the hours of 9 am and 11 pm. Because we

wanted to have at least one-hour gaps between reports, a new set of times was randomly selected

if any times fell within one hour of each other. The full text-messaging schedule is available at

https://osf.io/p35nd/.

Data-Analytical Plan

      Preprocessing of Experience Sampling Data. Participants were informed that they had

to complete the survey within an hour of receiving the text and in total at least 75% of the

surveys (i.e., 6 per day or 42 total) to receive full credit for the study. With 210 participants each

receiving 8 text messages over the course of 7 days, the total number of possible responses was

11,760. In total, participants completed 9,753 reports (82.9%), which is on average 46.44 reports

per participant. Survey responses were considered valid only if they (a) were started within an

hour after any text was sent, (b) finished within an hour after that specific text message was sent,

and (c) were the only survey completed in that interval. Removing invalid reports based on these

criteria left a total of 8,318 (70.7%) of completed reports, or on average 39.61 reports per

participant ($SD = 9.67$, median $= 41$, min $= 1$, max $= 55$). Such preprocessing is consistent with

similar research using experience sampling methods (Fleeson, 2001, 2007; Fleeson & Gallagher,

2009; McCabe, Mack, & Fleeson, 2012).

      Quantifying Trait-State Consistency. We examined trait-state consistency here at the

profile level (Furr, 2008) instead of on a separate trait-by-trait basis (as in Fleeson & Wilt, 2010).

This treats trait-state consistency as a within-person (or person-centered) construct wherein

someone else's traits or states have no bearing on one's own level of authenticity (when that is

the outcome to be predicted). Thus, this profile approach is useful because it treats the whole

individual as the unit of concern (Lamiell, 1981) instead of separate variables. Moreover, at the

profile level, trait-state consistency falls into two types that cannot be distinguished in variable-

oriented trait-by-trait approach (for a discussion of profile approaches, see Wood & Furr, 2016).

First, *overall trait-state consistency* refers to the degree to which one's pattern of traits matches

one's pattern of states in a given situation (where both the trait and state profile contain

normativeness). Second, *distinctive trait-state consistency* refers to the degree to which one's

distinct (i.e., non-normative) pattern of traits matches one's distinct pattern of states in a given

situation. Distinctive trait-state consistency is useful because it captures the trait-state association

that is distinctly attributable to an individual and it is not confounded with social desirability,

typicalness, or psychological adjustment (Baird, Le, & Lucas, 2006; Sherman et al., 2012; Wood

& Furr, 2016). This distinction cannot be accounted for in trait-by-trait analyses that may contain

confounding effects.

Overall trait-state consistency was calculated by computing profile correlations between

HEXACO state scores within each situation and HEXACO trait scores[2] (see Sherman et al., 2012

for this approach). This profile correlation was computed separately for each participant in each

situation and represents the degree to which that participant's states were profile-congruent with

his or her traits.[3] Distinctive trait-state consistency was calculated by removing the normative

patterns of trait-state consistency from the overall level of trait-state consistency (Sherman et al.,

2012). This was done by first calculating the normative (i.e., average) trait profile from the

sample level means for the each of the HEXACO scales. Then, each person's trait profile was

regressed onto the normative trait profile, and the residuals were retained. The residuals

represent the degree to which the person was different from the normative trait profile. This was

similarly done for each person's state profile. Finally, each person's residual trait profile was

correlated with each person's residual state profile in each situation to create a distinctive trait-

state consistency score. Because all trait-state consistency scores were correlations, they were *r*-

to-*z* transformed for analyses and back-transformed for reporting purposes where appropriate.

Thus, each participant obtained one overall trait-state consistency score (*M* = .11, *SD* = .53;

calculated across all reports) and one distinctive trait-state consistency score (*M* = .07, *SD* = .49;

calculated across all reports) for each situation he or she encountered.

Multi-level modeling. All variables of interest – overall and distinctive trait-state

consistency, experienced authenticity, positive feelings, and DIAMONDS situation

characteristics – were measured repeatedly within participants in our experience sampling

design. Thus, all analyses employed multilevel modeling with participants as the nesting factor

using the lme4 package (Bates, Maechler, Bolker, & Walker, 2014) in R (R Core Team, 2015).

Results

To describe overall levels and sources of variability in overall and distinctive trait-state

consistency, experienced authenticity, positive feelings, and DIAMONDS situation

characteristics, we calculated unconditional cell means models (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken,

2003). Table 2 displays the results of these analyses. All variables showed both between-person

and within-person variability meaning that (a) individuals reliably differed in their average levels

across situations and (b) an individual's level at any moment varied substantially around his or

her average level. Of note, the proportion of variability in trait-state consistency due to between-

person processes was substantially lower for its distinctive (ICC1 = .16, ICC2 = .85; Bliese,

2000) than for its overall form (ICC1 = .37, ICC2 = .94) and also than experienced authenticity

(ICC1 = .48, ICC2 = .97). Nonetheless, the presence of some variability at both the between- and

within-person levels means that it is possible for other variables measured at these levels to

predict this variation.

– Table 2 –

Question 1: Are trait-state consistency and authenticity associated with each other?

To examine the association between trait-state consistency and authenticity, we considered experienced authenticity the outcome variable for two multilevel models with each overall and distinctive trait-state consistency as predictors, respectively. Both overall and distinctive trait-state consistency could be related to experienced authenticity in two ways. First, participants who experienced higher levels of trait-state consistency (either overall or distinctive) on average across the week might report higher levels of experienced authenticity on average across the week. That is, both variables could be related at the *between-person level*. Second, within-person variation in trait-state consistency (either overall or distinctive) could be related to within-person variation in experienced authenticity. That is, both variables could be related at the *within-person level*. To account for both of these possibilities, trait-state consistency (either overall or distinctive) scores were within-person centered, and each participant's average trait-state consistency (overall: $M = .11$, $SD = .37$; distinctive: $M = .07$, $SD = .24$) was entered as a person-level predictor (Enders & Tofighi, 2007). All within-person variables were estimated as random effects (i.e., allowed to vary across participants). In addition, all between-person variables were grand mean centered to maintain the interpretability of the intercepts. Models were estimated using restricted maximum likelihood estimation. Table 3 displays the results of these analyses.

– Table 3 –

The first model (M1) in Table 3 predicted experienced authenticity from overall trait-state consistency. As can be seen, the associations at both the within- and between-person levels were quite weak. The *b*s of 0.10 and 0.61 are unstandardized regression coefficients and therefore can be interpreted as indicating that a 1-point increase in overall trait-state consistency

yields increases of 0.10 and 0.61 in experienced authenticity, respectively. As a reminder, experienced authenticity was measured on a 1 to 7 scale, while trait-state consistency is on the scale of z_r, running from negative infinity to positive infinity, and with a score of -1 corresponding to an r of -.76 and +1 to an r of .76. Thus, a 1-point increase in overall trait-state consistency roughly corresponds to a change in r from .00 to .76, which is a very substantial change. Even under such circumstances, we would only expect to see an increase in self-reported authenticity of 0.10 if such a change occurred at the within-person level (i.e., changes in trait-state consistency from one situation to the next) and 0.61 if such a change represented individual differences in average overall trait-state consistency levels. A similar pattern of results emerged for distinctive trait-state consistency in Model 2 (M2). As can be seen, the associations at both the within- and between-person levels were again rather weak at the between- and within-person level (*b*s of 0.15 and 0.81, respectively). Thus, the association between a person's distinctive trait pattern and distinctive state pattern did not strongly correspond with self-reports of how authentic the person reported feeling in a given situation. Overall, we conclude that the association between overall and distinctive trait-state consistency and experienced authenticity, although in the expected direction, is quite small at both within- and between-person levels of analyses.

Question 2: What role do state expressions of personality traits play?

To examine the relationship between state expressions of personality traits and experienced authenticity, we estimated one multilevel model for each HEXACO state predicting experienced authenticity. The results of these can be seen in Table 4. Emotionality was negatively associated with experienced authenticity at the within- and between-person level, and

Honesty/Humility, Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness were all

positively associated with experienced authenticity at the within- and between-person level.

All items were measured on a 1 to 7 scale, so the raw regression coefficients for each model

indicate the amount of movement on the scale resulting from a 1-point increase in that item. For

example, a 1-point increase on Honesty/Humility corresponded to a 0.50 increase in experienced

authenticity at the within-person level and a 0.96 increase at the between person level. This

demonstrates that a) people who reported experiencing more Honesty/Humility, Emotional

Stability (reverse Emotionality), Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness

reported more experienced authenticity on average, and b) a given person experiencing more of

each of these characteristics in a given situation also reported higher experienced authenticity.

Question 3: What role do positive feelings play?

To examine the relation between positive feelings and experienced authenticity, we

estimated two multilevel models predicting experienced authenticity from the affective states of

happiness (Model 3, M3) and self-esteem (Model 4, M4). As can be seen in Table 3, these

models yielded very strong positive associations for both happiness and self-esteem. Of note,

momentary happiness and self-esteem were measured on a 1 to 7 scale, so the raw regression

coefficients for M3 and M4 indicate that a 1-point increase on self-reported happiness and self-

esteem corresponded to a 0.33 and 0.39 point increase, respectively, in experienced authenticity

at the within-person level and a 0.81 and 0.75 increase, respectively, at the between-person level.

We next examined whether the relationship between positive feelings and experienced

authenticity would dampen the effects of state expressions of personality traits. We estimated

each of the six HEXACO models predicting experienced authenticity again, this time controlling

for happiness and self-esteem. The results can be shown in Table 3. All associations between

state expressions and experienced authenticity within- and between-person were weakened, and the effects of Emotionality and Extraversion were reduced to essentially 0.

To further explore this association, we also predicted experienced authenticity from (a) overall trait-state consistency while controlling for happiness and self-esteem (Model 5, M5) and (b) distinctive trait-state consistency while controlling for happiness and self-esteem (Model 6, M6). In both cases, the already weak associations between experienced authenticity and trait-state consistency were further weakened. Overall, the pattern of results in Table 3 suggests that (a) experienced and trait-state consistency were barely (but still positively) related constructs and (b) experienced authenticity was more closely related to momentary positive feelings than to trait-state consistency.

Question 3: What role do situational characteristics play?

We examined how situational characteristics predicted experienced authenticity as well as overall and distinctive trait-state consistency separately. For each of these three outcome variables, eight mixed effects models – one for each DIAMONDS characteristic – were estimated. Once again, all lower-level predictors (DIAMONDS characteristics) were within-person centered and each person's average level of the characteristic was entered as a higher-level predictor (Characteristic M / SD: Duty = 4.19 / 1.16; Intellect = 3.35 / 1.08; Adversity = 1.69 / 0.84; Mating = 2.53 / 1.21; pOsitivity = 4.44 / 1.01; Negativity = 2.46 / 1.02; Deception = 1.68 / 0.82; Sociality = 4.04 / 1.04). The results for experienced authenticity as well as as overall and distinctive trait-state consistency are displayed in Table 4.

– Table 4 –

As shown in Table 4, the situational characteristics most associated with experienced authenticity were Adversity, pOsitivity, Negativity, and Deception. All four of them were related

to experienced authenticity at both the between- and within-person levels, meaning two things. First, people who reported experiencing more pOsitivity and less Adversity, Negativity, and Deception on average also reported feeling most authentic on average. Second, when a given person reported experiencing more pOsitivity and less Adversity, Negativity, and Deception, that person also reported feeling more authentic in a given situation. While other situation characteristics showed relations with experienced authenticity at the within-person level that meet the traditional criteria for statistical significance (e.g., Duty, Intellect, Sociality), we recommend some caution in taking these relations too seriously as the effect sizes were rather small in magnitude. Overall, these findings paint a picture that is consistent with those from Question 2: experienced authenticity seems to be largely associated with positive situation experiences.

As shown in Table 4, situational characteristics generally had very weak relations with overall trait-state consistency. The largest effect indicated that average levels of pOsitivity experienced across all situations was associated with more overall trait-state consistency, $b = .09$. In other words, a 1-point increase in average pOsitivity was associated with an increase in trait-state consistency of about $r = .09$. As a whole, the findings in Table 4 indicate that situation experiences had little association with overall trait-state consistency.

As shown in Table 4, the lack of associations between trait-state consistency and situation characteristics was even more pronounced for distinctive trait-state consistency. The coefficients were virtually zero at both the between- and within-person levels, meaning that the DIAMONDS characteristics had virtually little to no association with distinctive trait-state consistency. This result is consistent with the findings of Sherman and colleagues (2012) in that once

normativeness is removed from the picture, any associations between trait-state consistency and situation characteristics disappear completely.

Discussion

When people are behaving in line with their personalities, do they also report feeling authentic? The data from this study suggest that this is not the case. Whether we examined overall or distinctive trait-state consistency, or whether we looked at the associations at the between- or within-person levels, the associations between trait-state consistency and experienced authenticity were tiny (albeit always in the predicted positive direction). These results are consistent with those of Fleeson and Wilt (2010), who examined this possibility on a trait-by-trait rather than whole profile basis. Taking both sets of findings into account, experienced authenticity and trait-state consistency seem to be distinct and non-interchangeable constructs. Thus, we were not able to supplant an "acting consistently = feeling authentic" hypothesis with empirical evidence. However the "feeling good = feeling authentic" hypothesis was supported in that experienced authenticity was closely linked to positive feelings of happiness and self-esteem (both on a within- and between-person level), irrespective of trait-state consistency.

Predicting Experienced Authenticity by Trait-State Consistency and Positive Emotions

If people do not report feeling authentic when acting in congruence with their traits, then what are experienced reports of authenticity tapping? Consistent with experimental methods used by Lenton, Slabu, and colleagues (2013), we found that experienced authenticity was highly associated with feeling happy and good about oneself in the moment. Thus, positive affective states seemed to be more associated to feeling authentic than actually behaving consistently with ones' traits. There are several possible explanations for this finding.

First, our operationalization of trait-state consistency concerned the congruence between broad HEXACO traits and corresponding states. Experienced authenticity does not seem tied to such a trait-state consistency. One possible conclusion could be that experienced authenticity just is not related to acting in ways consistent with one's personality, perhaps regardless of how "consistency" is defined (see Fleeson & Noftle, 2008). However, experienced authenticity could still be tied to the consistency of personality-relevant characteristics other than broad trait domains, such as needs, motives, goals, beliefs, values, and narratives.

This should not be taken to mean that traits are not consequential for authenticity; rather, the *actualization* of a broad trait profile in a corresponding trait profile, both capturing HEXACO content, did not seem associated with feeling more authenticity on both a within- and between-person level in our experience sampling data. Other recent works suggest that there are indeed features of personality that contribute to feelings of authenticity. For example, Strohminger and Nichols (2014) suggest that moral traits contribute strongly to self-identity. In the HEXACO model of personality, the traits most closely aligned with Strohminger and Nichols's operationalization of morality are Honesty/Humility, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness (see Lee & Ashton, 2009). Indeed, in our follow-up analyses to explore the associations with state expressions of personality and feelings of authenticity, these three traits (along with Openness) retained positive relationships with experienced authenticity even after controlling for state feelings of happiness and self-esteem. Thus, it is likely that feelings of morality also contribute to the overall equation of authenticity.

Second, the small positive association there was between trait-state consistency and authenticity vanished almost completely when controlling for positive feelings. This may not be surprising given that the trait and state poles are loaded with a certain valence (e.g., high

Conscientious is more positively and low more negatively valenced). As such, acting in more socially desirable and normative ways should feel more authentic to people (Fleeson & Wilt, 2010). However, distinctive trait-state consistency was, if anything, a little more strongly (positively) predictive of experienced authenticity than overall trait-state consistency which contained normativeness (0.10 vs. 0.15. and 0.61 vs. 0.81 for within- and between-person analyses, respectively). Indeed, one may even argue that it is an intriguing finding to begin with that distinctive trait-state consistency, despite capturing the profile matching of non-normative trait and state levels, is positively related to experienced authenticity and not negatively. On the one hand, distinctiveness from typical trait-state profiles does not seem to preclude people from feeling authentic. On the other hand, this finding may also suggest that the nexus among normativeness, social desirability, and valence is more complex than it appears (Wood & Furr, 2016). Nonetheless, as soon as positive feelings are controlled for, effects of trait-state consistency, whether overall or distinctive, were further diminished, which was especially the case for between-person analyses but not so much for within-person analyses. This points towards experienced authenticity possibly (a) being perceived as something positive (hence, co-occurring with or even entailing positive feelings) and/or (b) it simply tapping or being responsive to when someone is feeling good or worthwhile about themselves.

Third, another explanation comes from self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987), which highlights the differences between *ideal*, *ought*, and *actual* selves. An ideal self is a representation of one's hopes or aspirations for oneself. Perhaps people who are asked to report on their experienced authenticity are self-referencing how they momentarily align with some ideal self rather than their actual self of who they generally tend to be (Schlegel et al., 2009). Because most people want to be happy and feel good, it is when they experience these feelings of

ideal self-alignment that they report feeling most authentic. Under this scenario, a congruence between one's ideal trait profile and one's state profile would yield a higher association with experienced authenticity than the typical or actual trait profile used in our analyses.

Situational Correlates

Do state expressions of personality traits in a given situation influence feelings of authenticity? In which kinds of situations are people more consistent, and when do they feel authentic?

Consistent with Fleeson and Wilt's (2010) findings, all state HEXACO expressions (reverse emotionality, or emotional stability) were positively associated with experienced authenticity. The notion that people feel more authentic when they are behaving in socially normative ways is supported. Additionally, consistent with other studies examining person-situation relationships (Sherman et al., 2015; Jones, Brown, Serfass, & Sherman, 2017; Rauthmann, Jones, & Sherman, 2016), the magnitude of the effects of personality expressions were also considerably stronger than the effects of situation characteristics.

However, when controlling for feelings of experienced happiness and self-esteem, the effects of state expressions on experienced authenticity within- and between-person were considerably weakened, the effects of Emotionality and Extraversion nearly disappeared, but the effects of Happiness (within-person) and self-esteem (both within- and between-person) remained strong. This suggests that feelings of happiness and self-esteem in a given situation elicit higher feelings of experienced authenticity, regardless of whether an individual is behaving in a socially normative way. When people feel better about themselves, they feel more authentic, supporting the "feeling good" hypothesis.

Regarding an explanation for the support of this hypothesis, it is possible that feelings of authenticity are due to a deeper insight into one's self-concept. Previous work (DeSteno & Salovey, 1997) has demonstrated that fluctuations in mood states allow for further insight into one's concept of the self. However, this does not explain why only positive affective states (and not negative) contribute to feeligns of authenticity.

Otherwise, feeling authentic in a given moment may be partially due behavioral and emotional expression in a given situation, in that people may feel more authentic when they do not have to conform to the expectations of others (Schmid, 2005, Wood et al., 2008). Situations in which there is no social pressure should by definition have situational characteristics of higher Positivity and lower Adversity, Negativity, and Deception. Each of these characteristics is related to between-person differences in respectively higher or lower feelings of happiness (Sherman et al., 2015). Thus, positive feelings may be a mediator between pressure to conform in a given situation and feeling authentic.

 Regarding trait-state consistency, broad dimensions of situation characteristics, as captured by the DIAMONDS taxonomy, were barely if at all predictive of how people's trait profiles matched their *in situ* state profiles. There are at least two explanations for this finding. First, the DIAMONDS taxonomy, while striving for inclusiveness (Rauthmann et al., 2014), is certainly not comprehensive and may thus have missed dimensions that could be predictive of trait-state consistency. For example, the taxonomy does not contain a straightforward way to assess situational strength (Meyer & Dalal, 2009; Meyer, Dalal, & Bonaccio, 2009; Mischel, 1977; Sherman et al., 2012; Snyder & Ickes, 1985) which may be relevant to what extent one's traits may manifest in one's states. Theory and research on situational strength suggests that people should act more like in line with their personality traits when they are in situations that

are psychologically "weak" (i.e., less socially prescriptive rules on how to act and thus more freedom to act as oneself). While Sherman and colleagues (2012) found that situational strength predicted the degree to which people behaved congruently with their personalities, this relationship disappeared when normativeness was removed. Similarly, in our data distinctive trait-state consistency showed virtually no relation to any of the DIAMONDS characteristics. Second, perhaps trait-state consistency – as a within-person profile congruence – simply is not associated strongly with any situational variables at all. For example, situational influences may shift mean levels of behavior, but may not necessarily impact the profile shape of a set of behaviors. In any case, the lack of associations between situational characteristics and trait-state consistency, both as measured in daily life, represents an intriguing finding.

Regarding experienced authenticity, we found that people reported feeling more authentic in situations characterized by higher pOsitivity and lower Adversity, Negativity, and Deception. These relationships existed at both the between- and within-person levels, meaning that both individual differences and within-person changes in situation experiences were associated with experienced authenticity. These results are consistent with the notion that self-reports of authenticity capture (or even reflect) predominantly positive feelings, and situations with pleasant characteristics are likely to evoke such positive feelings.

Limitations and Future Directions

The limitations of this study as well as potential explanations for our findings point towards future lines of research. First, while the use of experience sampling methodology allowed us to capture state and situation assessments in real time as people live their daily lives, it is also based entirely on self-reports. This allows for a true understanding of the psychological situations participants experienced, but such experiences may not necessarily correspond to

actual accounts of the situations with which the participant came into contact. As such, the

associations between situation characteristics and authenticity described in this paper cannot

separate situation contact (In which situation was a person actually?) from situation construal

(How has the person interpreted the situation?) (see Rauthmann et al., 2015; Rauthmann,

Sherman, Nave, & Funder, 2015). This concern is at least somewhat mitigated by the fact that

the vast majority of the variance in situation ratings is due to the situation itself (Rauthmann,

2012) and that people largely agree about what situations are like (Serfass & Sherman, 2013;

Sherman et al., 2013). Nonetheless, future research should attempt separate situation contact

from construal could illuminate the process by which situation characteristics are related to

experienced authenticity.

Second, we did not employ an experimental design which means that we are not able to

ascertain causal relations (see Figure 1). For example, it is unclear whether positive feelings

contribute to experienced authenticity or vice versa or if authenticity is just one (special) subfacet

of momentary positive affective states. Similarly, it is not clear how situation characteristics,

authenticity, and positive feelings relate causally: Are situations being perceived as positive

because they allow feeling authentic or because people feel good, or do people feel authentic and

good because the situation makes them do that? Questions such as these can only be answered

with experimental studies designed to manipulate situation characteristics, positive feelings,

and/or authenticity.

Third, trait-state consistency was operationalized as the within-person correlation

between six global trait scores and six *in situ* state scores. In general, the reliability of a profile

correlation is in part a function of the number of items making up the profile, with longer profiles

being more reliable (e.g., Sherman et al., 2012 had 42 items per profile). The trade-off, in this

case, is that by measuring fewer state items per time point, we were able to assess participants

repeatedly in real-time and across many more time points (e.g., Sherman et al., 2012 had only 4

measurements). This limitation may be somewhat mitigated by the fact that our measures of

traits and states cover the large breadth of the personality domain by using the HEXACO model.

Nonetheless, it is difficult to speculate how our results may have been different could more

comprehensive measures of traits and states have been used. Additionally, we could not examine

the consistency between needs, values, beliefs, and narratives with their *in situ* state

manifestations. If authenticity refers to being true to one's "real" or "true" self, then maybe traits

such as the HEXACO dimensions are not enough or not the predominant criterion people strive

to feel true towards. For example, they may want to behave in accordance with their ideal trait

levels or with their needs, values, beliefs, or narratives. As such, future research may seek to

construct different profiles of stable personality characteristics and *in situ* manifested

counterpart-states to examine whether they would relate to experienced authenticity.

Third, in a similar vein of economical state assessments in experience sampling, also only

used a single experienced authenticity item at each time point. Maximally face-valid single items

are customs in experience sampling research (e.g., Fleeson & Gallagher, 2009). However, it is

possible that longer and more comprehensive measures of authenticity (as in Wood, Linley,

Maltby, Baliousis, & Joseph, 2008; Goldman & Kernis, 2002) would yield more nuanced results,

especially when different types or facets of authenticity are differentiated (Lenton, Slabu,

Bruder, & Sedikides, 2014).

Conclusion

This study makes at least three key contributions. First, it appears that experienced

authenticity and trait-state consistency are distinct constructs that are only barely related to each

other. This suggests that acting in line with one's personality traits does not mean that one also feels authentic at the same time. This finding thus disconfirmed a "acting consistently = feeling authentic" hypothesis. Second, experienced authenticity was closely linked to positive feelings (i.e., happiness and self-esteem and happiness). This corroborated the "feeling good = feeling authentic" hypothesis. Third, situations characterized by high pOsitivity and low Adversity, Negativity, and Deception were linked to experienced authenticity but not to trait-state consistency. Overall, our study sheds new light on the nexus between trait-state consistency, experienced authenticity, positive feelings, and situational characteristics.

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Footnotes

[1] We also gathered self-reports of the California Adult Q-set (Block, 1978), the Inventory of Individual Differences in the Lexicon (Wood, Nye, & Saucier, 2010), and the participant's life situation – a measure specifically developed for a different aspect of this data collection. None of these measures were used in the analyses here.

[2] We included originally two items for eXtraversion, one to tap its Sociability and the other its Dominance aspect. For the current analyses, we decided in advance to exclude the Dominance item so that each HEXACO trait dimension would correspond to a single corresponding state item. This decision was made based on previous analyses of this data set indicating that the eXtraversion personality dimension of the HEXACO corresponded most closely with sociability behavior (Sherman et al., 2016).

[3] Trait-state consistency scores were only calculated for those situations in which at least 5 of the 6 state expressions reports were completed, leaving $n = 7,566$ valid reports.

Table 1.
Within- and Between-person Correlations Among State Variables

Variables	D	I	A	M	O	N	D	S	H	E	X	A	C	O	Aut	Hap	SE
D	39.48	.72	.14	.13	.17	.37	.11	.41	.02	.00	-.05	-.07	.07	.03	-.02	-.08	-.09
I	.54	39.46	.37	.24	.06	.47	.35	.30	-.11	.13	-.18	-.19	.00	-.05	-.15	-.21	-.20
A	.01	.09	39.45	.39	-.19	.72	.94	.09	-.45	.24	-.17	-.42	-.21	-.25	-.47	-.43	-.40
M	-.05	.02	.09	39.53	.20	.30	.39	.35	-.13	.07	.06	-.10	-.01	-.02	-.12	-.07	-.08
O	-.19	-.21	-.08	.20	39.45	-.25	-.19	.57	.33	-.32	.32	.47	.21	.30	.33	.49	.45
N	.24	.31	.26	-.01	-.36	39.51	.65	.16	-.38	.34	-.31	-.53	-.34	-.36	-.42	-.57	-.55
D	.02	.08	.43	.12	-.04	.24	39.50	.06	-.48	.22	-.17	-.44	-.22	-.27	-.50	-.43	-.41
S	.05	.05	.06	.32	.31	-.05	.05	39.51	.15	.02	.26	.22	.13	.16	.11	.16	.15
H	-.03	-.03	-.12	.03	.13	-.16	-.14	.04	39.50	-.21	.54	.79	.58	.68	.91	.74	.73
E	.06	.11	.09	-.01	-.23	.24	.09	-.05	-.14	39.35	.00	-.23	.01	-.08	-.29	-.34	-.34
X	-.06	-.09	-.06	.14	.24	-.22	-.06	.33	.26	-.09	39.45	.71	.74	.73	.51	.72	.69
A	-.09	-.11	-.18	.07	.27	-.33	-.16	.11	.43	-.21	.41	39.43	.67	.75	.71	.89	.86
C	.21	.17	-.06	-.01	-.03	-.01	-.06	.06	.21	.05	.21	.20	39.50	.83	.55	.66	.66
O	.08	.06	-.09	.04	.12	-.17	-.10	.09	.34	-.07	.33	.38	.38	39.46	.64	.74	.75
Aut	-.02	-.04	-.15	.02	.13	-.18	-.15	.04	.50	-.15	.27	.41	.22	.34	39.51	.76	.79
Hap	-.12	-.15	-.17	.08	.36	-.39	-.14	.14	.40	-.30	.45	.59	.18	.37	.41	39.46	.95
SE	-.10	-.12	-.16	.06	.28	-.33	-.14	.12	.39	-.27	.41	.53	.21	.40	.44	.62	39.50

Note. DIAMONDS = Situation characteristics: Duty, Intellect, Adversity, Mating, pOsitivity, Negativity, Deception, Sociality.
HEXACO = State expressions of personality: Honesty/Humility, Emotionality, eXtraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness,

Openness. Aut = Experienced Authenticity. Hap = Happiness. SE = Self-Esteem. Upper triangle = Between-person Pearson correlations. Lower triangle = Within-person Pearson correlations. Diagonal = Average n for each group on each variable.

Table 2

Variance Components, ICCs, and Intercepts for Authenticity and situation variables

Measure	τ_{00}	σ	ICC	Intercept	n
Trait-State Consistency					
Overall	0.13	0.22	0.37	0.11	7566
Distinctive	0.05	0.24	0.16	0.07	7566
Experienced Authenticity	1.18	1.28	0.48	5.76	8297
Situation Characteristics					
Duty	1.23	4.12	0.23	4.19	8290
Intellect	1.02	3.79	0.21	3.34	8286
Adversity	0.68	1.18	0.36	1.69	8284
Mating	1.29	3.19	0.29	2.51	8302
pOsitivity	0.92	3.30	0.22	4.43	8285
Negativity	0.96	2.46	0.28	2.45	8298
Deception	0.63	1.09	0.36	1.68	8295
Sociality	0.90	4.43	0.17	4.03	8397
Positive Feelings					
Happiness	1.10	1.97	0.36	5.35	8268
Self-esteem	1.30	1.78	.42	5.40	8296

Note. $N = 210$.

τ_{00} = Variance between intercepts (between-person variance), σ = Variance around intercepts (within-person variance), ICC = proportion of variance between persons divided by total variance, Intercept = fixed effects intercept from unconditional cell means model (approximately the average score on the measure).

Table 3
Within- and between-person effects on experienced authenticity

Predictors	*b*	*t*	LL	UL	*SD*	*n*	*m*
M1: Overall Trait-State Consistency						7550	208
Intercept	5.78				1.09		
Within-person	0.10	1.53	-0.03	0.20	0.59		
Between-person	0.61	3.06	0.25	1.00			
M2: Distinctive Trait-State Consistency						7550	208
Intercept	5.78				1.11		
Within-person	0.15	2.58	0.03	0.26	0.43		
Between-person	0.81	2.55	0.13	1.45			
M3: Happiness						7185	183
Intercept	5.74				0.69		
Within-person	0.33	16.39	0.29	0.37	0.23		
Between-person	0.81	17.34	0.71	0.90			
M4: Self-esteem						7514	191
Intercept	5.78				0.64		
Within-person	0.39	18.61	0.34	0.43	0.24		
Between-person	0.75	19.64	0.67	0.83			
M5: Overall Trait-State Consistency (controlled for Happiness & Self-Esteem)						6063	168
Intercept	5.80				0.77		
Within-person	0.10	1.72	-0.10	0.27	0.35		
Between-person	0.07	0.46	-0.36	0.78			
M6: Distinctive Trait-State Consistency (controlled for Happiness & Self-Esteem)						6063	168
Intercept	5.80				0.92		
Within-person	0.14	2.70	-0.05	0.22	0.29		
Between-person	0.39	1.61	-0.52	0.82			

Note. M1 = Model 1, M2 = Model 3, etc. *b* = fixed effect estimate. LL and UL represent lower and upper limits for 95% confidence intervals, respectively, based on *k* = 500 bootstrap resamples. *SD* = Standard deviation of random effect scores. *n* = number of lower situation-level observations, *m* = number of higher participant-level observations.

Table 4

Within- and between-person associations between situational characteristics and other variables

Predictors	b	t	LL	UL	SD	n	m
Outcome: Experienced Authenticity							
Duty						7357	187
Intercept	5.82				1.03		
Within-person	-0.02	-2.45	-0.04	-0.00	0.07		
Between-person	-0.06	-0.89	-0.18	0.07			
Intellect						7464	189
Intercept	5.77				1.08		
Within-person	-0.03	-2.95	-0.04	-0.01	0.06		
Between-person	-0.14	-1.93	-0.29	-0.00			
Adversity						7043	179
Intercept	5.75				1.00		
Within-person	-0.14	-6.16	-0.18	-0.09	0.21		
Between-person	-0.59	-6.77	-0.76	-0.41			
Mating						7663	195
Intercept	5.79				1.06		
Within-person	0.01	0.75	-0.01	0.03	0.07		
Between-person	-0.11	-1.70	-0.25	0.02			
pOsitivity						7291	185
Intercept	5.82				1.03		
Within-person	0.09	7.50	0.06	0.11	0.11		
Between-person	0.33	4.32	0.18	0.48			
Negativity						7664	194
Intercept	5.76				0.97		
Within-person	-0.13	-8.81	-0.15	-0.10	0.15		
Between-person	-0.49	-6.99	-0.62	-0.36			
Deception						7415	189
Intercept	5.75				0.95		
Within-person	-0.18	-6.64	-0.23	-0.12	0.27		
Between-person	-0.68	-7.90	-0.86	-0.53			
Sociality						7503	190
Intercept	5.79				1.08		
Within-person	0.02	2.25	0.00	0.03	0.05		
Between-person	0.06	0.73	-0.09	0.22			

Honesty/Humility						7431	189
Intercept	5.76				0.44		
Within-person	0.50	20.88	0.45	0.55	0.27		
Between-person	0.96	30.28	0.90	1.03			
Emotionality						7317	187
Intercept	5.77				1.04		
Within-person	-0.11	-6.49	-0.14	-0.07	0.18		
Between-person	-0.34	-5.25	-0.46	-0.21			
Extraversion						7085	180
Intercept	5.77				0.94		
Within-person	0.19	10.32	0.16	0.23	0.22		
Between-person	0.61	10.24	0.49	0.74			
Agreeableness						7177	183
Intercept	5.80				0.64		
Within-person	0.36	15.11	0.31	0.41	0.28		
Between-person	0.81	17.75	0.71	0.90			
Conscientiousness						7401	189
Intercept	5.76				0.93		
Within-person	0.19	9.61	0.15	0.22	0.23		
Between-person	0.69	11.08	0.57	0.81			
Openness						7248	183
Intercept	5.74				0.83		
Within-person	0.29	12.38	0.24	0.33	0.27		
Between-person	0.79	14.33	0.69	0.90			
Honesty/Humility *(controlled for Happiness & Self-Esteem)*						6188	159
Intercept	5.77				0.39		
Within-person H	0.35	15.02	0.31	0.40	0.23		
Between-person H	0.71	15.12	0.61	0.81			
Within-person Happiness	0.11	6.80	0.08	0.14	0.14		
Between-person Happiness	-0.15	-1.41	-0.36	0.06			
Within-person SE	0.18	10.67	0.15	0.22	0.14		
Between-person SE	0.39	4.04	0.19	0.58			
Emotionality *(controlled for Happiness & Self-Esteem)*						6065	157
Intercept	5.77				.66		

|							
Within-person E	-0.00	-0.40	-0.03	0.02	0.10		
Between-person E	-0.03	-0.64	-0.12	0.06			
Within-person Happiness	0.19	9.79	0.15	0.23	0.18		
Between-person Happiness	0.19	1.20	-0.14	0.52			
Within-person SE	0.26	12.71	0.22	0.30	0.18		
Between-person SE	0.56	3.84	0.26	0.87			
Extraversion *(controlled for Happiness & Self-Esteem)*						5986	153
Intercept	5.79				0.66		
Within-person X	0.04	2.90	0.01	0.06	0.10		
Between-person X	0.04	0.72	-0.08	0.17			
Within-person Happiness	0.17	9.02	0.13	0.21	0.17		
Between-person Happiness	0.06	0.40	-0.26	0.39			
Within-person SE	0.24	11.64	0.20	0.28	0.18		
Between-person SE	0.67	4.97	0.38	0.94			
Agreeableness *(controlled for Happiness & Self-Esteem)*						5987	154
Intercept	5.81				0.62		
Within-person A	0.17	8.08	0.13	0.21	0.20		
Between-person A	0.38	3.36	0.15	0.61			
Within-person Happiness	0.13	7.32	0.09	0.16	0.14		
Between-person Happiness	-0.15	-0.84	-0.51	0.21			
Within-person SE	0.19	9.87	0.15	0.22	0.16		
Between-person SE	0.51	3.61	0.21	0.80			
Conscientiousness *(controlled for Happiness & Self-Esteem)*						6152	159
Intercept	5.78				0.93		
Within-person C	0.09	6.70	0.06	0.11	0.23		
Between-person C	0.12	2.00	-0.01	0.28			
Within-person Happiness	0.18	9.84	0.14	0.21	0.14		
Between-person Happiness	0.07	0.44	-0.26	0.40			
Within-person SE	0.23	11.70	0.20	0.28	0.14		
Between-person SE	0.62	4.22	0.31	0.92			
Openness *(controlled for Happiness & Self-Esteem)*						5974	153
Intercept	5.78				0.67		

Within-person O	0.12	6.10	0.08	0.15	0.18		
Between-person O	0.17	2.24	0.01	0.32			
Within-person Happiness	0.18	9.39	0.14	0.21	0.16		
Between-person Happiness	0.10	0.64	-0.22	0.43			
Within-person SE	0.20	10.36	0.16	0.24	0.17		
Between-person SE	0.53	3.65	0.23	0.84			
Outcome: Overall Trait-State Consistency							
Duty						6654	185
Intercept	0.11				0.36		
Within-person	0.01	2.53	0.00	0.02	0.04		
Between-person	-0.04	-1.67	-0.09	0.01			
Intellect							
Intercept	0.12				0.37	6762	187
Within-person	0.01	1.27	-0.00	0.01	0.05		
Between-person	0.02	0.76	-0.03	0.07			
Adversity							
Intercept	0.13				0.37	6368	177
Within-person	-0.01	-1.34	-0.02	0.00	0.06		
Between-person	-0.04	-1.25	-0.11	0.02			
Mating							
Intercept	0.11				0.37	6969	193
Within-person	-0.01	-1.14	-0.01	0.00	0.04		
Between-person	0.03	1.12	-0.02	0.07			
pOsitivity							
Intercept	0.10				0.37	6711	183
Within-person	0.00	0.51	-0.01	0.02	0.07		
Between-person	0.09	3.40	0.04	0.15			
Negativity							
Intercept	0.10				0.35	6947	192
Within-person	-0.00	-0.15	-0.02	0.01	0.08		
Between-person	-0.04	-1.68	-0.09	0.00			
Deception							
Intercept	0.11				0.37	6732	187
Within-person	-0.02	-1.92	-0.03	0.00	0.06		
Between-person	-0.03	-0.78	-0.09	0.04			
Sociality							

Intercept	0.12				0.37	6812	188
Within-person	0.00	0.58	-0.01	0.01	0.05		
Between-person	-0.02	-0.57	-0.07	0.04			
Outcome: Distinctive Trait-State Consistency							
Duty						6654	185
Intercept	0.07				0.20		
Within-person	0.00	0.29	-0.01	0.01	0.05		
Between-person	-0.01	-0.53	-0.03	0.02			
Intellect							
Intercept	0.07				0.21	6762	187
Within-person	0.00	0.57	-0.01	0.01	0.05		
Between-person	0.01	0.83	-0.02	0.04			
Adversity							
Intercept	0.07				0.22	6368	177
Within-person	-0.01	-0.98	-0.02	0.01	0.05		
Between-person	0.02	1.12	-0.02	0.06			
Mating							
Intercept	0.08				0.21	6969	193
Within-person	-0.01	-1.49	-0.02	0.00	0.05		
Between-person	0.03	1.91	-0.00	0.06			
pOsitivity							
Intercept	0.06				0.21	6711	183
Within-person	-0.00	-0.24	-0.02	0.01	0.08		
Between-person	0.01	0.48	-0.03	0.04			
Negativity							
Intercept	0.06				0.21	6947	192
Within-person	0.01	0.68	-0.01	0.02	0.08		
Between-person	0.00	0.23	-0.03	0.03			
Deception							
Intercept	0.06				0.22	6732	187
Within-person	-0.01	-0.89	-0.02	0.01	0.05		
Between-person	0.02	0.98	-0.02	0.06			
Sociality							
Intercept	0.07				0.22	6819	188
Within-person	-0.01	-0.91	-0.01	0.01	0.06		
Between-person	-0.00	-0.03	-0.04	0.04			

Note. b = fixed effect estimate. LL and UL represent lower and upper limits for 95% confidence intervals, respectively, based on k = 500 bootstrap resamples. SD = Standard deviation of random effect scores. n = number of lower situation-level observations, m = number of higher participant-level observations.

Figure 1.

Overview of Research Questions
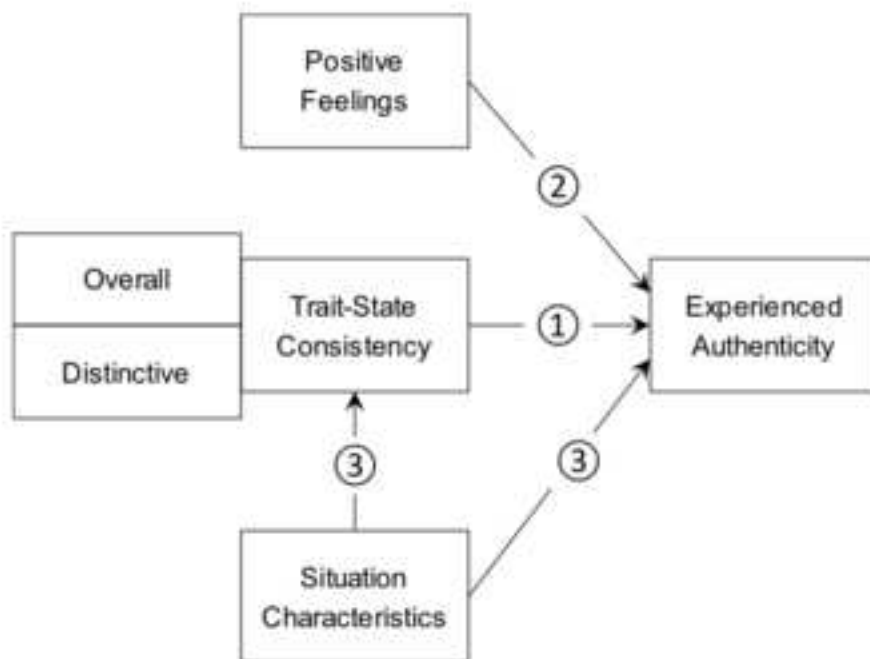
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