Moderating Role of Momentary Social Anxiety in The Relationships Between Authenticity, Situational Appraisals, Expressivity, and Approach-Avoidance Motivation

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Moderating Role of Momentary Social Anxiety in The Relationships Between Authenticity, Situational Appraisals, Expressivity, and Approach-Avoidance Motivation

by

Jessica A. Birg

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts Department of Psychology College of Arts and Sciences University of South Florida

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Keywords: Ecological Momentary Assessment, Social Functioning, Social Anxiety Disorder, Social Impairment, Desire to Socialize, Desire to Avoid

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Dedication

This manuscript is dedicated to my cat, Maple, who is always her true self.
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Abstract

Authenticity, the sense of being true to oneself, may be less sought out or rewarding when concerns with social approval and/or rejection take priority. The present study extends prior work by investigating the moderating role of momentary social anxiety in concurrent relationships between (1) perceptions of social interaction partner (i.e., feeling close to or judged by an interaction partner) and authenticity and (2) expressivity while socializing and authenticity. This study also aimed to identify (3) how momentary social anxiety moderates the prospective relationship between authenticity and social approach/avoidance motivation. Using ecological momentary assessment (EMA), data was collected from 55 participants over 14 days. Results from multilevel models (prompts nested within participants) indicate that participants felt more authentic when they interacted with close others and less authentic with greater perceived judgment, and that these associations appear stronger when people are more socially anxious. Social anxiety moderated the relationship between authenticity and social avoidance motivation, such that it was stronger in moments of higher social anxiety. Findings suggest that momentary social anxiety may play a crucial role in context-dependent feelings of authenticity and social motivation.
Chapter One: Introduction

Authenticity is defined as the perception of being genuine or true to oneself (Erickson, 1995). People most commonly feel authentic when they are in social situations that are familiar, non-threatening, and allow them to express themselves with ease (Jongman-Sereno & Leary, 2020; Sleipan & Jacoby-Senghor, 2021). Feelings of authenticity increase a person’s motivation to socialize (social approach motivation) and facilitate social connection (Goldman & Kernis, 2002; Impett et al., 2014; Plasencia et al., 2016; Schmader & Sedikides, 2018; Thomaes et al., 2017; Wood et al., 2008). Thus, feeling authentic is considered critical for relationship development.

Authenticity does not come naturally for everyone. People with social anxiety disorder (SAD) infrequently feel authentic and prioritize avoiding social scrutiny over being themselves (Alden & Taylor, 2004; Asher & Aderka, 2020). Accordingly, these individuals often suppress or mask their true emotions to avoid being “seen” or judged (Dijk et al., 2018; Kashdan & Steger, 2006). These inauthentic behaviors may disrupt the flow of conversations and make conversations less enjoyable for both interaction partners involved (Butler et al., 2003; Heerey & Kring, 2007; Plasencia et al., 2016). In the longer term, people with SAD report poor relationship quality, low motivation to socialize, and difficulty getting social needs met (Richey et al., 2019; Rodebaugh et al., 2012). Further, research indicates that people prefer dating partners who engage in authentic behaviors over those who do not (Josephs et al., 2019), which may explain relationship difficulties related to social anxiety (Porter & Chambless, 2014). Thus, a majority of current treatment approaches for SAD focus on reducing avoidant behaviors in the hopes of
improving authenticity and social connection (Alden et al., 2018). However, there has been limited investigation of the link between momentary social anxiety symptoms and perceptions of authenticity in real social contexts. This gap is problematic given that perceiving oneself as inauthentic in a social situation (regardless of behavior) is aversive, impairs social approach and avoidance motivation, and may be central to relationship difficulties characteristic of social anxiety (Alden & Taylor, 2004; English & John, 2013). Prior work indicates that people feel the least like themselves when they are anxious and/or self-conscious in public situations, compared to other negative emotions (e.g., disappointment, sadness, loneliness, anger; Lenton et al., 2013). Therefore, current conceptual models should include the functional roles of momentary social anxiety and authenticity in the etiology of SAD.

More generally, we know surprisingly little about how different everyday social situations influence how socially anxious or authentic people feel. This gap is primarily because most research to date has used experimental or cross-sectional methodologies, which neglects the fact that social anxiety (Hur et al., 2020) and authenticity (Landa & English, 2021; Lenton et al., 2013; Placencia et al., 2016; Ryan & Ryan, 2019; Venaglia & Lemay, 2017) change situationally. Examining within-person processes may illustrate how impairment due to social anxiety unfolds momentarily, allowing us to generalize findings to real-life situations. To address these theoretical and methodological gaps, the present study used ecological momentary assessment (EMA) methodology (i.e., repeated phone-based assessments per day) to identify how authenticity functions in everyday social interactions and if/how these experiences differ based on a person’s momentary social anxiety symptoms.
The present study explored momentary appraisals (closeness and feeling judged by one’s interaction partner), positive and negative expressivity during interactions, and motivation to avoid or approach others as a result of authentic experiences.

**Momentary Authenticity**

People feel more authentic when they feel they belong or “fit in” socially (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). For example, interacting with someone of the same racial identity or with a familiar social group facilitates a sense of belonging and authenticity (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018; Slepian & Jacoby-Senghor, 2021). A strong sense of belonging decreases self-consciousness and concern with self-presentation, which in turn, leads to authentic behavior (Leary & Jongman-Sereno, 2014). Further, situations that increase chances of social approval and/or decrease chances of rejection predict greater authenticity (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018; Slepian & Jacoby-Senghor, 2021; Venaglia & Lemay, 2017). People tend to view situations as non-threatening when they feel close to and not judged by their interaction partners (Kashdan et al., 2014; Tanis & Postmes, 2005). One EMA study examining the relationship between closeness with an interaction partner and authenticity (Venaglia & Lemay, 2017) found that participants felt more authentic when interacting with closer versus more distant partners. In addition, one experiment primed participants by asking them to recall close, supportive, and loving social interactions versus neutral interactions (Gillath et al., 2010). Participants in the close and supportive prime condition disclosed more about themselves compared to those in the neutral prime condition. Participants who disclosed more also felt more authentic. Taken together, prior work suggests that people feel more authentic in the presence of safety cues (i.e., closeness) and absence of social threat (i.e., social judgment).

People may perceive social situations as more threatening and therefore feel less safe
being themselves when they focus on negative social cues or self-relevant information (Goldman & Kernis, 2006). When people feel socially anxious, they tend to “scan” for cues in the environment that indicate they may be rejected or evaluated, and this heightened vigilance can lead to perceptions of greater social threat (Mobini et al., 2013; Vassilopoulos, 2005). A host of evidence suggests that biased processing is common in people with SAD and may predict lower authenticity (Chen et al., 2020; Peschard & Philippot, 2016; Yoon & Zinbarg, 2007). One study found that when participants were told the person they would be interacting with was dissimilar to them in terms of personality traits and values, socially anxious participants disclosed less about themselves and had shorter reported duration of interactions than non-socially anxious participants (Alden & Bieling, 1998). Results from this study coincide with other experimental findings suggesting that the more favorable socially anxious individuals’ appraisals of their interaction partners are, the more comfortable they feel being themselves (Josephs et al., 2019; Plasencia et al., 2016).

Yet, in highly socially anxious states, people may have a weakened relationship between feeling judged and authentic relative to when they are in less anxious states. Hypervigilance for threat or negative social cues is related to social anxiety, even when an interaction partner is viewed as less threatening (Gutiérrez-García & Calvo, 2017), because social anxiety functions to prevent making unfavorable impressions on others (Schlenker & Leary, 1982; Vassilopoulos, 2005). Thus, the protective effect of closeness with an interaction partner on authenticity may not be as strong when feeling more socially anxious. In addition, feeling judged by interaction partners may not impact authenticity as much when people are less vs. more socially anxious. This is because when people are not socially anxious, they are relatively less concerned about the impression they are making on others and may behave and feel consistently authentic regardless
of how judged they feel (Leary & Jongman-Sereno, 2014). Accordingly, the negative relationship between feeling judged and authenticity may be amplified when individuals experience high versus low social anxiety.

**Expressivity and Authenticity**

Expressivity is linked to feeling authentic and facilitating intimate social connections (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Jongman-Sereno & Leary, 2020). When people feel out of place, they suppress or mask their true emotions in an effort to protect themselves from social threat (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018; Slepian & Jacoby-Senghor, 2021). As a result, these behaviors inadvertently disrupt social connection (Grandey, 200). In the short-term, suppressing and masking disrupts the natural flow of conversations and decreases mutual responsiveness, making conversations feel disjointed or awkward (Butler et al., 2003). Accordingly, people who more frequently suppress their emotions (such as putting on a “poker” face) or mask their emotions (meaning they display a different emotion from what they are feeling) experience sustained consequences, such as lower felt authenticity and social connection (English & John, 2013; Impett et al., 2012). Together, existing literature suggests that people base their ratings of their own authenticity, to some extent, on whether they behave outwardly in congruence with how they feel (Jongman-Sereno & Leary, 2019), at least in individualistic cultures where greater expressivity is encouraged (Le & Impett, 2013).

People with high social anxiety exhibit lower expressivity with their romantic partners and close friends than are people with low social anxiety (Davila & Beck, 2002; Grant et al., 2007). They also reciprocate genuine smiles less frequently than those who are not socially anxious, and instead respond to genuine smiles with “polite” smiles (i.e., forced smiles lacking involvement of the eye region; Heerey & Kring, 2007). Although suppression and masking
provide a sense of protection from feeling or being judged in the moment, these “safety” behaviors often lead to an uncomfortable awareness of being inauthentic (English & John, 2013; Placencia et al., 2011; Placencia et al., 2016). In an experimental study conducted by Placencia et al. (2016), participants diagnosed with SAD were randomly assigned to either reduce their use of safety behaviors or not during a conversation with an unacquainted interaction partner. Participants with SAD who were instructed to reduce their safety behaviors during the interaction felt more authentic during that conversation compared to those who did not, suggesting that individuals with SAD have the capacity to feel authentic. Low expressivity has been shown to be detrimental to developing close relationships because it can interfere with intimacy building and motivation to socialize (Kashdan & Steger, 2006). As a whole, prior literature supports the idea that, on average, people who are more expressive around others feel more authentic.

It is likely that expressivity does not lead to the same degree of authenticity when feeling more socially anxious versus less socially anxious—for a number of reasons. First, social anxiety is characterized by persistent rumination on social performance during and after social interactions with others (Brozovich & Heimberg, 2008); thus, even when expressive, people may worry that they are making an unfavorable impression rather than attending to authenticity. Second, people with SAD tend to dampen positive emotions more and savor positive experiences less than those low in social anxiety (Richey et al., 2009). Thus, despite the social and affective benefits expressivity can afford, social anxiety may compete with resources needed to upregulate authenticity in the same way. Third, those with high social anxiety have demonstrated functional impairments in expressivity and intimacy in that they feel closer to others when they express themselves less compared to when they express more, which is opposite to what is found in those
low in social anxiety (Kashdan et al., 2007). Despite the fact that low expressivity seems adaptive in the moment (i.e., increasing perceived intimacy), withholding true expression ultimately costs them their authenticity and may result in unfulfilled social needs in the longer term (Taylor et al., 2017).

**Authenticity and Social Approach and Avoidance Motivation**

Authenticity reinforces engagement in social interactions (i.e., approach motivation; Schmader & Sedikides, 2018; Impett et al., 2013). When people are able to express themselves in social interactions, they feel more authentic, and in turn, more positively about those interactions (Venaglia et al., 2017). As a result, the future sight or thought of a familiar interaction partner may increase the expectancy of authenticity and social connectedness, given memory of prior experiences, and indicate that it is safe to engage in social interaction (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). In sum, people approach situations they expect will be rewarding for them.

People with SAD wish to connect with others and to avoid rejection (Clark & Wells, 1995; Kashdan et al., 2008). This motivational conflict is distressing and ultimately results in greater avoidance of social situations. One EMA study found that socially anxious individuals spent less time socializing and reported fewer close companions than non-socially anxious individuals (Hur et al., 2020). Researchers posit that motivation to socialize can be increased in these individuals by increasing authenticity (Plasencia et al., 2016). In one experiment, those with SAD who decreased their safety behaviors and instead behaved naturally while socializing were more likely to want to interact or be with an interaction partner again in the future than
those with SAD who did not decrease their safety behaviors (Plasencia et al., 2016). This evidence suggests there may be some motivational benefit to authenticity, even in the presence of social anxiety.

However, it is likely that people do not achieve the same motivational benefits of authenticity in the context of higher (versus lower) social anxiety. There are many mechanisms that could explain this motivational deficit common in social anxiety (see Richey et al., 2019 for a review). People with SAD experience positive emotions less frequently and intensely than do those with lower social anxiety (Kashdan & Collins, 2010). They also attend to fewer positive social cues (Buckner et al., 2010) and their positive social events tend to be more short-lived (Kashdan et al., 2011). This data, along with contemporary learning models of social anxiety (Mineka & Zinbarg, 2007), suggest that positive social experiences are less reinforcing because greater attention is focused on the worry about social approval and avoiding judgment from others. Further, individuals with severe social anxiety have lower expectations for social interactions than do those with low social anxiety (Gilboa-Schechtman et al., 2000) and interpret events more negatively than those with low social anxiety (Everaert et al., 2018); momentary social anxiety may facilitate similar expectations. Thus, it is plausible that the benefits of feeling authentic across contexts compete with anxiety about social approval. Taken together, literature suggests that the prospective relationship between authenticity during a social interaction and motivation to socialize may be weaker when people are more versus less socially anxious.
The Present Study

The purpose of this study was to identify the moderating role of momentary social anxiety in concurrent relationships between (1) perceptions of social interaction partner (i.e., feeling close to or judged by an interaction partner) and authenticity and (2) expressivity while socializing and authenticity.

This study also aimed to identify (3) how momentary social anxiety moderates the prospective relationship between authenticity and social approach/avoidance motivation.

**Aim 1: Momentary Appraisals and Correlates of Authenticity**

I aim to identify how perceived contextual factors predict momentary feelings of authenticity, and how social anxiety moderates the relationship between interaction context and authenticity. On average, participants will feel more authentic when they report higher closeness to interaction partner(s) compared to when they report lower closeness and when they report feeling less judged by their interaction partners compared to when they feel more judged. On average, social anxiety will be negatively related to momentary closeness and positively related to feeling judged by an interaction partner. Social anxiety will moderate the relationships between authenticity and closeness such that these relationships will be weaker when participants experience high levels of social anxiety (1 SD above participants’ average social anxiety) compared to low levels of social anxiety (1 SD below participants’ average social anxiety). Social anxiety will moderate the relationship between authenticity and judgmentalness such that this relationship will be stronger when participants experience high levels of social anxiety compared to when they are less socially anxious.

**Aim 2: Behavioral Correlates of Authenticity**

I aim to identify how expressivity of positive and negative emotions during a social
interaction predict authenticity, and how social anxiety moderates this relationship. On average, participants will feel more authentic when they report greater expressivity during the social interaction. On average, social anxiety will be negatively related to expressivity. Social anxiety will moderate the relationships between expressivity and authenticity, such that these positive relationships will be weaker when participants experience high levels of social anxiety compared to when they are less socially anxious.

**Aim 3: Predicting Social Approach/Avoidance Motivation**

I aim to identify how authenticity during social interactions prospectively predicts social approach and avoidance motivation, and how social anxiety moderates these relationships. On average, participants will experience greater motivation to socialize and greater social connectedness following interactions characterized by greater authenticity than interactions characterized by lower authenticity. Social anxiety will moderate the positive relationships between social approach/avoidance motivation and connectedness and authenticity such that these relationships will be weaker when participants experience high levels of social anxiety compared to when they are less socially anxious.
Chapter Two: Method

Participants and Procedure

A sample of 55 students were recruited from the University of South Florida. Participants consisted of 83.64% Women, 14.55% Men, and 1.82% Not Listed (Please Specify): “demigirl”. Participants identified as 45.45% White, 25.45% Latinx or Hispanic, 12.73% Asian, 10.91% Black, and 5.45% Middle Eastern or North African. Average age range of participants was 20.35 (standard deviation = 2.94).

A total of 136 participants completed a baseline survey on SONA, an online system used for recruiting undergraduate participants in psychology classes. The baseline survey assessed various demographic information as well as trait social anxiety and authenticity. Participants were ineligible to move on to the EMA portion of the study if their data or response style was invalid (n=10), if they indicated that they were not interested in continuing in the study (n=36), if their phone was incompatible with MetricWire smartphone app (n=1), if they had duplicate survey responses (n=8), if they participated outside the SONA open/close window such that they would not be able to receive credit for participating in the EMA portion (n=11), or if they had a combination of the reasons stated (n=12). We excluded outliers with average durations less than two standard deviations below sample mean (i.e., if duration was less than ten minutes; n=3).

Eligible SONA participants (N=55) were emailed by a member of the research lab and invited to participate in the EMA portion of the study. Non-eligible SONA participants were not contacted nor invited to continue in the study. After again providing informed consent, all

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1 Invalid responding included having low variability in responses (i.e., selecting the same response across different items; n=7) or responses indicative of not paying attention (e.g., nonsensical text entry; n=3).
eligible SONA participants were briefed on the EMA portion of the study by attending a 30-minute virtual baseline training session via Microsoft Teams, where study coordinators met with each participant individually and instructed them on how to download the *MetricWire* (MetricWire, Inc., 2019) app onto their smartphones (iPhone or Android) and complete a practice survey to ensure it works properly. All EMA surveys were completed through *MetricWire* (a free HIPAA-compliant mobile phone application). *MetricWire* is a secure mobile application that participants will download for free onto their personal cell phones. EMA surveys were administered 6 times a day, at least 1 hour apart, between 10am and 10pm. Participants had 30 minutes to complete surveys from when the prompts were sent, after which the surveys expired. The EMA portion of this study lasted 14 days.

Research on best EMA data collection practices suggests that the frequency of sampling should align with however much is needed to sufficiently capture the construct and how much the construct fluctuates (Trull & Ebner-Primer, 2020). Because authenticity is dependent on context, assessments should capture a sufficient variety of social contexts per day. Evidence from prior EMA studies with university students and/or psychiatric illnesses (prior to the Covid-19 pandemic) suggest that on average, participants report anywhere from 3 to 8 social interactions, lasting longer than 5 minutes, per day (Wang et al., 2014). Yet, meta-analytic research on EMA study compliance in populations with psychiatric illnesses suggest that increasing the number of prompts per day by one can significantly decrease compliance by 1% point (Vachon et al., 2020). Thus, 6 time points were chosen to maximize compliance while still trying to capture sufficient social interactions/contexts.
Measures

Baseline Measures

Social Anxiety. The 20-item Social Interaction Anxiety Scale (SIAS; Mattick & Clarke, 1998) was used to measure trait social anxiety symptoms. Items (e.g., “I feel I’ll say something embarrassing when talking”) are rated from 0=not at all to 4=extremely. Based on factor analytical research (Rodebaugh et al., 2007), seventeen straightforward items will be summed to compute total scores, with higher scores indicating higher social anxiety symptoms. The 17 straight-forward SIAS items have demonstrated stronger criterion validity and internal consistency (Rodebaugh et al., 2006, 2007, 2011) than the original 20-item SIAS measure (Mattick & Clarke, 1998). This measure has also demonstrated strong convergent validity with other social anxiety measures, high sensitivity and specificity in determining clinical cut-offs, and divergent validity with unrelated psychological constructs (Rodebaugh et al., 2011). This measure will be correlated with the EMA social anxiety scale and other study variables for descriptive and predictive validity purposes. Reliability in the present sample was acceptable (alpha = .94).

Authenticity. The 12-item Authenticity scale (Wood et al., 2008) was used to measure trait authenticity. Items are rated from 1=does not describe me at all to 7=describes me very well. This scale is comprised of three subscales: Authentic Living (e.g., “I always stand by what I believe in.”), Accepting External Influence (e.g., “I am strongly influenced by the opinions of others,” reverse-scored), and Self-Alienation (e.g., “I feel out of touch with the ‘real me’”, reverse-scored). Subscales are averaged together to form one composite trait authenticity score, whereby greater scores indicate greater authenticity. This measure will be correlated with the EMA authenticity measure and other study variables for descriptive and predictive validity.
purposes. Reliability in the present sample was acceptable (alpha = .75).

**EMA Measures**

All participants will be asked “Since the last prompt you completed, did you have any social interactions (in-person or virtual) that lasted at least 5 minutes?” with a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ response option. If participants respond ‘yes’, they will be directed toward questions related to their most recent social interaction lasting at least 5 minutes (i.e., Interaction-Contingent Questions); If participants respond ‘no’, they will be directed toward questions related to how they feel in the moment (i.e., No-Interaction-Contingent Questions). Items will be like those included in the interaction-contingent measures but with different item stems (e.g., “right now” instead of “during the interaction”). Only Interaction-Contingent Question responses are used in the present study analyses. EMA measure reliability information is presented in Table 1.

**Closeness.** “How close are you to this person?” A Likert scale from 1=not at all to 5=extremely was used. If participants interacted with 2 or more people, they were asked the following questions: “Of all the people in your interaction, think about who you feel CLOSEST to. How close are you to this person?” and “Besides the person who you are closest to, how close are you to the OTHER people in this interaction?” A Likert scale from 1=not at all familiar to 5=very familiar was used for these items. Responses to these questions were averaged together as one perceived “closeness” score for each interaction, where higher scores indicate greater perceived closeness. This measure of closeness was created for this study.

**Feeling Judged.** “I felt judged by people during this social interaction.” A Likert scale from 1=not at all to 5=extremely was used. Higher scores will represent feeling more judged by others. This item was created for this study.

**Authenticity.** Three items were used to assess momentary authenticity: (1) authentic
feeling: “I felt like my authentic self.” (2) not pretending: “I was genuine and didn't pretend to be someone I'm not.” (3) commitment to authentic values/beliefs: “I behaved in a way that was consistent with my values/beliefs.” A Likert scale from 1=not at all to 5=extremely was used for all items. Higher scores indicate higher momentary authenticity. Items were both adapted from previous momentary measures (e.g., Landa & English, 2021) and created for this study to capture four distinct aspects of momentary authenticity. Multilevel reliability for this measure was high (Rkrn = .93), indicating that these three items reliably capture authenticity across participants and time points.

Expressivity. Two items were used to assess expressivity: (1) “I expressed positive emotions (e.g., through smiling, laughing, using positive words or emojis).” (2) “I expressed negative emotions (e.g., through frowning, crying, using negative words or emojis).” A Likert scale from 1=not at all to 5=extremely was used for each item. These items were created for this study. Given low multilevel reliability of total expressivity scores (averaging the two items; Rkrn = .46), positive and negative expressivity items were entered separately into respective analyses.

Social Anxiety. Three items were used to assess social anxiety: (1) “I was worried I would say or do the wrong things.” (2) “I was afraid that others did not approve of me.” (3) I was worried about what other people thought of me.” A Likert scale from 1=not at all to 5=extremely was used for each item. These items were adapted from Steger and Kashdan (2006) and Kashdan et al. (2014). Multilevel reliability for this measure was high (Rkrn = .92), indicating that these three items reliably capture momentary social anxiety across participants and time points.

Approach Motivation. “This social interaction increased my desire to be with people.”

Avoidance Motivation. “This social interaction increased my desire to avoid people.” A Likert scale from 1=not at all to 5=extremely was used for each motivation item. These items
were adapted from Doorley et al. (2021) and kept separate in analyses given literature on approach and avoidance motivational systems being distinct from one another (Corr, 2013).
Table 1

Within- and Between-Person Descriptive Statistics and Pearson r Correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Descriptive Statistics</th>
<th>Pearson r Correlations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EMA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Social Anxiety</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Authenticity</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Closeness</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Felt Judged</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a. Desire to Avoid People</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b. Desire to Be with People</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a. Expressivity (Total)</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b. Expressed Positive Emotions</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6c. Expressed Negative Emotions</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Baseline</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. SIAS</td>
<td>29.03</td>
<td>15.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Trait Authenticity</td>
<td>12.38</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Three: Data Analysis Overview

Analyses were conducted in R (R Core Team, 2020). Given the hierarchical data structure (prompts nested within participants), multilevel modeling was used via the lme4 package (Bates et al., 2015). Maximum likelihood estimation method was used to obtain relatively unbiased variance estimates, accounting for missing data. Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 1.

Aims 1 and 2

Momentary social anxiety was entered as a person-mean-centered moderator and closeness, feeling judged, positive and negative expressivity were entered as person-mean-centered predictors in respective analyses. Authenticity was an uncentered outcome.

Aim 3

In examining social anxiety as a moderator in the relationships between authenticity and social approach/avoidance motivation, authenticity was entered as a person-mean-centered predictor, social anxiety was entered as a person-mean-centered moderator, and desire to avoid and desire to be with people were entered as uncentered outcomes in respective analyses. Given the stem of the authenticity items being focused on moments during social interactions and the social approach/avoidance motivation items being focused on desires resulting from interactions (e.g., “This social interaction increased my desire to be with people”), authenticity was best conceptualized as a predictor and social approach/avoidance motivation as an outcome variable. Results from these models can be seen in Table 4. All simple slopes were examined at +1SD above and –1SD below person-mean-centered averages.
Chapter Four: Results

Power

A post-hoc power analysis was conducted using EMAtools::ema.powercurve (Kleiman, 2021) with a sample size of 55 participants and 2415 observations. Model ICCs ranged from .28 to .48. Average ICC across models (.43) was entered into the power analysis, which indicated sufficient power (.8) to detect effects larger than $d = .2$. Models with lower ICCs indicate greater power to detect within-person effects (note: all effects in the present study are within-person).

Main Effect of Social Anxiety on Authenticity

Momentary social anxiety was a strong, negative predictor of authenticity (Cohen’s $d$ ranged from –.53 to –.74) controlling for closeness, feeling judged, and expressivity.

Effects of Social Appraisals on Authenticity, Moderated by Social Anxiety

Participants felt more authentic when they socialized with closer ($b = 0.18, t = 16.37, p < .001$) versus more distant interaction partners. Social anxiety did not moderate this relationship ($p = .20$).

Participants felt more authentic when they felt less judged by their interaction partner(s) ($b = –0.13, t = –5.07, p < .001$) than when they felt more judged. Social anxiety moderated this relationship ($b = –0.07, t = –3.07, p = .002$), such that the negative relationship between feeling judged and authentic was stronger when participants felt more socially anxious ($b = –0.17, t = –5.05, p < .001$) than when they felt less socially anxious ($b = –0.08, t = –3.67, p < .001$). See Figure 1 and Table 2.
Table 2

**Feeling Judged by and Close to Interaction Partner Predicting Authenticity, Moderated by Social Anxiety**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Authenticity</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>CI</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
<td>-0.30, -0.22</td>
<td>-12.98</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>-0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closeness</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.15, 0.20</td>
<td>16.37</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety x Closeness</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.00, 0.05</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>.200</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Model Statistics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$R^2_m$</th>
<th>$R^2_c$</th>
<th>$\sigma^2$</th>
<th>$\tau_{00}$</th>
<th>ICC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety</td>
<td>.124</td>
<td>.541</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt Judged</td>
<td>-0.32</td>
<td>-0.37, -0.28</td>
<td>-14.30</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>-0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety × Judged</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.11, -0.02</td>
<td>-3.07</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Model Statistics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$R^2_m$</th>
<th>$R^2_c$</th>
<th>$\sigma^2$</th>
<th>$\tau_{00}$</th>
<th>ICC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Note. N = 55 participants and 2415 total observations for all models. $b =$ unstandardized beta estimates, CI = 95% confidence intervals, $t =$ t–statistic, $p =$ p–value, $d =$ Cohen’s d effect size. Marginal R–squared ($R^2_m$) = the proportion of variance in authenticity explained by the independent variables in the model; Conditional R–squared ($R^2_c$) = the proportion of variance in authenticity explained by both the fixed effects and the random effects in the model. Error variance ($\sigma^2$) = the variability of data points around the model's predicted values after accounting for the fixed effects and random intercepts; $\tau_{00}$ = random intercept variance of participants. Significant $p$ values are bolded.
Figure 1. Perceptions Related to Interaction Partner Predicting Authenticity, Moderated by Social Anxiety. Figure one depicts the relationships between closeness and authenticity (left) and feeling judged and authenticity (right). Predictors (closeness and feeling judged) and moderator (social anxiety) are person-mean centered, which means higher vs. lower levels of each variable indicate within person increases and decreases.

Effects of Expressivity on Authenticity, Moderated by Social Anxiety

Participants felt more authentic when they were more expressive ($b = 0.23, t =10.55, p < .001$) than when they were less emotionally expressive around others. Participants felt more authentic with greater positive expressivity ($b = 0.16, t =12.42, p < .001$) than with lower positive expressivity. Expressivity of negative emotions was unrelated to authenticity when controlling for social anxiety ($p = .589$). Social anxiety did not moderate any of these relationships ($ps > .072$). See Figure 2 and Table 3.
### Table 3

Expressivity of Positive and/or Negative Emotions Predicting Authenticity, Moderated by Social Anxiety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Authenticity</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>CI</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety</td>
<td>−0.34</td>
<td>−0.38, −0.30</td>
<td>−17.93</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>−.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressivity (Total)</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.18, 0.27</td>
<td>10.55</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety × Expressivity (Total)</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>−0.03, 0.08</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>.419</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R²m</td>
<td>R²c</td>
<td>σ²</td>
<td>τ00</td>
<td>ICC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety</td>
<td>.095</td>
<td>.510</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Expressivity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety × Positive Expressivity</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>−0.00, 0.07</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>.072</td>
<td>.07</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R²m</td>
<td>R²c</td>
<td>σ²</td>
<td>τ00</td>
<td>ICC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety</td>
<td>.103</td>
<td>.520</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Expressivity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety × Negative Expressivity</td>
<td>−0.01</td>
<td>−0.05, 0.03</td>
<td>−0.54</td>
<td>.589</td>
<td>−.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R²m</td>
<td>R²c</td>
<td>σ²</td>
<td>τ00</td>
<td>ICC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety</td>
<td>.073</td>
<td>.487</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. N = 55 participants and 2415 total observations for all models. b = unstandardized beta estimates, CI = 95% confidence intervals, t = t–statistic, p = p–value, d = Cohen’s d effect size. Marginal R–squared (R²m) = the proportion of variance in authenticity explained by the independent variables in the model; Conditional R–squared (R²c) = the proportion of variance in authenticity explained by both the fixed effects and the random effects in the model. Error variance (σ²) = the variability of data points around the model's predicted values after accounting for the fixed effects and random intercepts; τ00 = random intercept variance of participants. Significant p values are bolded.
Figure 2. Expressivity Predicting Authenticity, Moderated by Social Anxiety. Figure two depicts the relationships between expressivity (total score) and positive and negative emotional expressivity (all person-mean-centered predictor variables) and authenticity (uncentered outcome variable). Social anxiety was entered as a person-mean-centered moderator such that higher levels represent within-person increases in social anxiety.

Effects of Authenticity on Approach/Avoidance Motivation, Moderated by Social Anxiety

Participants reported that social interactions made them want to avoid people more when they were more socially anxious \( (b = 0.24, t = 9.37, p < .001) \) than when they were less socially anxious during those interactions. Participants reported a stronger desire to avoid people when feeling less authentic in their interactions \( (b = -0.16, t = -6.27, p < .001) \).

Social anxiety moderated the relationship between feeling authentic and wanting to avoid people, such that this relationship was weaker when participants felt more socially anxious \( (b = -0.11, t = -3.20, p < .001) \) than when they felt less socially anxious \( (b = -0.20, t = -6.32, p < .001) \).
Participants reported that social interactions increased their desire to be with people more when they were less socially anxious ($b = -0.27$, $t = -7.47$, $p < .001$) than when they were more socially anxious during those interactions. Participants reported a stronger desire to be with others when feeling more authentic in their interactions ($b = 0.28$, $t = 8.18$, $p < .001$). Social anxiety did not moderate the relationship between authenticity and wanting to be with people ($p = .117$). See Figure 3 and Table 4.

**Table 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Desire to Avoid People</th>
<th>Desire to be with People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>CI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>-0.19, 0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authenticity</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>-0.20, -0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety × Authenticity</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.01, 0.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Model Statistics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$R^2_m$</th>
<th>$R^2_c$</th>
<th>$\sigma^2$</th>
<th>$\tau00$</th>
<th>ICC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Desire to Avoid People</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>0.326</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to be with People</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>0.383</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. N = 55 participants and 2415 total observations for all models. $b =$ unstandardized beta estimates, CI = 95% confidence intervals, $t =$ t–statistic, $p =$ p–value, $d =$ Cohen’s d effect size. Marginal $R^2$ ($R^2_m$) = the proportion of variance in authenticity explained by the independent variables in the model; Conditional $R^2$ ($R^2_c$) = the proportion of variance in authenticity explained by both the fixed effects and the random effects in the model. Error variance ($\sigma^2$) = the variability of data points around the model's predicted values after accounting for the fixed effects and random intercepts; $\tau00 =$ random intercept variance of participants. Significant $p$ values are bolded.*
Figure 3. Authenticity Predicting Approach and Avoidance Motivation, Moderated by Social Anxiety. Figure three depicts the relationships between authenticity and social avoidance (desire to avoid people) and approach (desire to be with people) motivation. In these two analyses, authenticity was person-mean-centered such that higher levels of authenticity indicate within-person increases. Social anxiety was entered as a person-mean-centered moderator, and social anxiety levels depicted are one standard deviation above, at, and below participant averages.
Chapter Five: Discussion

The present study aimed to investigate the role of momentary social anxiety as a moderator in the concurrent relationships between social appraisals (closeness, feeling judged) and authenticity and emotional expressivity and authenticity. To test prior theory suggesting that authenticity increases approach motivation (Schmaeder & Sedikides, 2018), my third aim was to examine whether authenticity during a social interaction is related one’s desire to avoid or approach people after those interactions and whether social anxiety moderates these relationships.

Momentary Social Anxiety and Authenticity

Consistent with my hypotheses and prior work (Lenton et al., 2013; Plascencia et al., 2016), participants felt much less authentic in social interactions during which they were more socially anxious. Social anxiety is conceptualized as the concern that someone will see “the real you” and reject it, thereby motivating self-concealment (Asher & Aderka, 2021; Dabas et al., 2023). Besides inauthentic behavior, research on emotional labor suggests that inauthenticity arises as an internal feeling of emotional dissonance between how you feel and present to others (Grandey, 2000; Taxer & Frenzel, 2018). People may experience this dissonance partly because of social display rules, which encourage positive expressivity in social settings more than negative expressivity (particularly in Western cultures; Kitayama et al., 2000). When it is socially inappropriate to display negative emotions and one feels more negative (e.g., socially anxious), emotional dissonance may be greater. Yet, the relationship between inauthenticity and social anxiety is likely bidirectional. Past work finds that inauthentic behavior (e.g., expressive
suppression) in social situations contributes to greater social anxiety (Kashdan et al., 2014). Despite the strong link between momentary authenticity and social anxiety, my findings suggest that this relationship may change depending on certain contextual moderators.

**Effects of Social Appraisals: Closeness and Feeling Judged**

Participants reported feeling more authentic when interacting with closer interaction partners than with more distant others. This result is consistent with previous research suggesting that proximity and familiarity with others foster feelings of authenticity during social interactions (e.g., Goldman & Kernis, 2002) and closeness generating conversations predict more beneficial outcomes than small-talk conversations even among individuals with SAD (Asher & Aderka, 2020). Research suggests that it is common to suppress emotions around non-close others (English et al., 2017), so people do not typically show *all* of their true selves, thereby feeling less authentic than they would around close others.

Given research suggesting that people with greater social anxiety are more vigilant to social threats and therefore pay less attention to positive stimuli (Chen et al., 2020), I hypothesized that cues of social *safety* (i.e., close others) would be less salient in moments of high versus low social anxiety, such that we would see relatively decreased authenticity in the presence of close others and high social anxiety. Instead, we found that participants felt similarly authentic around close others at high and low levels social anxiety. While most literature suggests that social anxiety leads to greater blunting (less savoring) or less attention to rewards, there is a relative dearth of literature investigating reward learning in real time in relation to social anxiety symptoms. For example, Beltzer et al. (2019) investigated reward learning using a Cyberball task and found that individuals with greater trait social anxiety are hypervigilant to “punishing” or rejecting individuals such that they learn to avoid these individuals more quickly.
than less socially anxious individuals. However, they did not find a relationship between social anxiety and blunted reward processing; people with greater social anxiety made similarly rewarding social choices (i.e., throwing the ball to an individual perceived as neutral or rewarding) to those with lower social anxiety\(^2\). Consistent with this work, we did not find support for the reward blunting hypothesis. Other experience-sampling research indicates individuals with SAD experience more positive affect around other people than they are when alone (Goodman et al., 2021), suggesting that social anxiety does not predict inflexible reward blunting across contexts. However, it is worth noting that Goodman et al. (2021) did see a less drastic change in positive affect (in alone vs. social settings) in individuals with SAD compared to healthy controls; accordingly, we may see more reward blunting reflected in authenticity in clinical samples with more chronic social stressors. In line with cognitive behavioral models of SAD, people with SAD have beliefs that they are flawed in some way which will inevitably lead to rejection and seek out evidence that confirms this belief (Clark & Wells, 1995). Knowledge about individual differences in trait-like symptoms such as negative core beliefs cannot be gleaned from our momentary social anxiety items which consist of fleeting worry or concerns about social approval that fluctuate within individuals.

Consistent with my hypotheses and with prior work (Lenton et al., 2013), participants felt less authentic when they felt greater judgment from their interaction partners, controlling for their level of social anxiety. When people feel judged by others, they become more hypervigilant to threat and try to keep tight control over their behaviors (Hartgerink et al., 2015; Lenton et al., 2013), which may be advantageous in preventing rejection or harm, but comes at the cost of abandoning one’s authentic self. Second, inauthenticity likely evokes judgment from others, as

\(^{2}\) Note that these researchers examined social anxiety at the trait, but not state, level. It is possible social anxiety-reward learning processes would be stronger when both are assessed in the moment.
behaving inauthentically interferes with essential relational processes like being attuned and flexibly responding to your interaction partner’s momentary thoughts and emotions (Alden & Bieling, 1998; Butler et al., 2003; Leary & Kowalski, 1995; Plasencia et al., 2016; Vohs et al., 2005).

Social anxiety moderated the relationship between feeling judged and authentic, such that the negative link between feeling judged and authentic was stronger when participants were more socially anxious than usual. Indeed, research suggests that people pay more attention to threatening cues when in a socially anxious state, detecting possible signs of rejection at lower thresholds (Gutiérrez-García & Calvo, 2017; Mobini et al., 2013; Vassilopoulos, 2005). More research is needed to parse whether perceptions of judgment from others predicts subjective feelings of inauthenticity in addition to behavioral indicators of inauthenticity (e.g., greater concealment). Further, prior work indicates that anhedonia is a predictor of blunted reward processing in depression and social anxiety (Reilly et al., 2020); thus, while anhedonia is a defining feature of depression, it may not be integral to social anxiety.

**Expressivity**

Consistent with my hypotheses, people felt more authentic when they reported being more expressive during social interactions. Yet, when examining the type of emotion expressed, positive, but not negative, emotional expression contributed to a heightened sense of authenticity during interactions when controlling for social anxiety. Without controlling for social anxiety, however, there was a significant effect of negative expressivity. Participants felt less authentic when they expressed more negative emotions \(r = -.22, p < .001\). This finding is consistent with prior work suggesting positive emotions uniquely facilitate openness and acceptance of the self, leading to greater authenticity than negative emotions (Wilt et al., 2023). Other research suggests
that people feel positively when fulfilling authentic needs, regardless of emotional valence (Smallenbrook et al., 2017). Positive expressivity has been found to facilitate intimacy through encouraging responsiveness and reciprocity, positive impressions, and greater social influence in most social contexts (Sels et al., 2021), while negative expressivity has been found to facilitate social support for individuals under specific conditions (e.g., close relationships, low social anxiety; Kashdan et al., 2007).

While expressing more emotion should theoretically relate more to being authentic, people often express emotions that are not felt depending on social goals that they have (Greenaway et al., 2021), which may increase emotional dissonance. For example, research suggests that expressing negative emotions that are not felt decreases authenticity in certain situations (e.g., trying to provide comfort to someone who is upset; Le & Impett, 2013), and that expressive flexibility is most useful for social and psychological functioning (Chen et al., 2018; Southward & Cheavens, 2017). In the context of social interactions, the relationship between expressing negative emotions and feeling authentic may be more complex than that of positive emotions.

Contrary to my hypotheses, social anxiety did not moderate the relationships between expressivity and authenticity, suggesting that expressing positive (but not negative) emotions is related to feeling more authentic, at all levels of social anxiety. Although social anxiety did not interact with expressivity in predicting authenticity, social anxiety was negatively related to both authenticity and expressivity in the present study. Specifically, when participants felt greater social anxiety, they were less positively expressive and more negatively expressive, than when they were less socially anxious. Prior work has found authenticity to be a mediator in the relationship between suppression and social functioning (English & John, 2013), such that
greater expressive suppression predicted feeling less authentic, which predicted poorer quality relationships. A direction for future research may be examining expressivity (or lack thereof) as a mediator that explains why social anxiety is negatively associated with authenticity. Nonetheless, null effects should be cautiously interpreted.

**Approach and Avoidance Motivation**

Participants were less motivated to interact with others after greater social anxiety, regardless of how authentic they felt during those interactions. While a majority of past work is focused on identifying global motivational deficits in relation to trait social anxiety or SAD (Kashdan, 2007; Richey et al., 2019), this finding suggests that momentary social anxiety is linked to decreased desire to be with others and increased desire to avoid others. Recent evidence suggests that individuals with higher social anxiety tend to expect fewer gains and greater costs from socializing compared to those with lower social anxiety, which in turn decreases approach motivation (Hudd & Moscovitch, 2022). This explanation may be applicable within individuals as well; when individuals are more socially anxious than usual, their ability to process rewards may be temporarily blunted relative to when they are less socially anxious.

In terms of the main effects of authenticity on approach and avoidance motivation, we found that participants wanted to socialize again after relatively authentic interactions and wanted to avoid people after relatively less authentic interactions, controlling for social anxiety. In contrast to social anxiety, momentary authenticity reinforces social approach behavior and reduces avoidance behavior (Impett et al., 2013). Yet, in the presence of high social anxiety, the relationship between authenticity and the desire to avoid others was weaker (i.e., avoidance motivation was high and depended less on authenticity level), suggesting that self-presentation concerns or worries may override some benefits of authentic interactions. While social anxiety
predicted a weaker relationship between authenticity and desire to avoid people, social anxiety did not predict a weaker relationship between authenticity and the desire to be with people. It may be that authenticity promotes approach motivation more strongly than it reduces avoidance motivation. Approach and avoidance motivational systems are distinct (Corr, 2013). Approach systems relate to appetitive rewards (positive affective states) that drive behavior and avoidance is driven by aversion to stimuli or by the conflict between aversive stimuli and goal attainment. Thus, when individuals are less authentic (less reward) and more socially anxious than usual (more aversion), avoidance may be at its peak. However, when people feel more authentic (more reward) and more socially anxious (more aversion) than usual, avoidance may result from an approach-avoidance conflict. Alternatively, individuals may sometimes feel more socially anxious as a result of being unusually authentic (e.g., oversharing), leading to momentary desire for social avoidance. According to models of inhibitory learning in exposure therapy for SAD (e.g., Blakey & Abramowitz, 2016), habituation, or decreased anxiety, is not always crucial to treatment outcomes. Instead, authenticity may momentarily increase anxiety but cause beneficial long-term effects on approach and avoidance motivation due to cognitive restructuring that occurs as a result of the exposure (e.g., “I was my complete self and they did not reject me” or “they rejected my true self and I handled it okay”). Collecting more data would allow us to test lagged effects of social anxiety and authenticity on motivation to approach or avoid others.

**Limitations**

There are some notable limitations to the present study. We are limited in power given the sample size, so interpretation on null results or very small effects are speculative. Second, though associations are nested within social interactions (i.e., temporal conclusions are rooted in response time points), collecting more data would allow for sufficiently powered time-based or
lagged analyses and conclusions to really parse temporal direction of effects. Third, generalizability may be limited given our study sample. While research suggests that moderate to severe symptoms of social anxiety are quite prevalent in non-clinical, undergraduate samples (e.g., Chow et al., 2017; Purdon, 2001), the present study sample was drawn from an undergraduate psychology subject pool, which may have resulted in a self-selection bias or greater knowledge about the questions being asked; therefore results may not generalize to undergraduates across all college majors or same-aged peers who are not in the same collegiate social environment. Most of the sample identified as women, which limits generalizability to men and other gender identities. A larger sample would allow for added diversity and variability in symptoms and demographics, leading to greater representativeness of undergraduates at similarly sized public universities in the U.S. Fourth, approach and avoidance motivation items are assessed concurrently with all other items during the momentary prompts. Although item stems require participants to reflect on the interaction as a whole (e.g., “this interaction increased my desire to be with people”), these reports are still vulnerable to retrospective biases.

Conclusion

The way we perceive the self may vary based on the people we interact with. Authenticity, the sense of being true to oneself, may be less sought out or rewarding when concerns with social approval and/or rejection take priority. Our findings indicate that people generally feel more authentic when they interact with close others and less authentic when they perceive greater social threat, and that these associations appear stronger when people are more socially anxious. Relationships are built around genuine experiences; thus, social costs of inauthenticity can be distressing and impairing, leading to social avoidance and potentially chronic social anxiety. While recent literature has named inauthenticity as an important
etiological factor in the development of SAD, there is a dearth of literature examining concurrent relationships between momentary social anxiety and authenticity in real-life social interactions. The present study extends prior work by examining the social conditions under which authenticity and social anxiety interact and differentially predict approach and avoidance motivation.
References


Appendix A: Supplemental

Table S1

Momentary Authenticity Scale Item Descriptive Statistics, Reliability, and Correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Momentary Authenticity Items</th>
<th>Descriptive Statistics</th>
<th>Pearson r Within- and Between-Person Correlations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. I felt like my authentic self.</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I was genuine and didn’t pretend to be someone I’m not.</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I behaved in a way that was consistent with my values/beliefs.</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. M and SD are used to represent between–person mean and standard deviation, respectively. ICC = intraclass correlation coefficient, Rkrn = generalizability of between person differences averaged over time and items, and Rcn = generalizability of within person variations averaged over items (nested structure). The upper–right correlation triangle represent within–person correlations; bottom–left triangle represent between–person correlations.

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