

Review

Personality states

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Personality states refer to an individuals' feelings, thoughts, behaviours, and goals at a particular time. We review recent research with a focus on broad factor models of personality (Big Five, HEXACO), identifying several themes. First, studies show both convergence and significant differences between average states and traits and provide initial evidence that state fluctuations play a role in long-term trait change. Second, recent studies have identified theoretically plausible contingencies between situation characteristics and personality states as well as sizeable individual differences in these contingencies. Third, in applied contexts, personality states are associated with variables such as job performance, sleep quality, and stress. Finally, we highlight recent advances in the measurement of personality states.

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Personality states are “quantitative dimension[s] describing the degree/extent/level of coherent behaviours, thoughts, and feelings at a particular time” [1], [p. 528]. They are often assumed to be manifestations of corresponding traits “having the same affective, behavioral, and cognitive content [...], but as applying for a shorter duration” [2], [p. 84]. In contemporary personality psychology, personality states thus typically refer to short-term manifestations of traits described by broad factor models such as the HEXACO and the Big Five. We provide an overview of the recent literature on personality states (ca. 2020–2025). We limit ourselves to empirical studies which assess personality states corresponding to the HEXACO and the Big Five and largely ignore states corresponding to lower-order nuances of broader traits (such as specific

affective states) as well as cross-cutting aversive and clinical states (e.g., Narcissism). Methodologically, we focus on studies that capture short-term, moment-to-moment fluctuations, typically using experience sampling methods.

Box 1. Overview of theories

Whole Trait Theory (WTT). WTT comprises a descriptive and an explanatory model [2,3]. Descriptively, the theory posits that personality traits correspond to distributions of personality states over time (Figure 1c). This correspondence is explained by individual differences in social-cognitive mechanisms – interpretive, motivational, stability-inducing, temporal, and random – which process varying environmental inputs, generating a distribution of states. The explanatory part of WTT borrows from the CAPS model (see below), but aligns it with the Big Five taxonomy of personality traits.

Cognitive-Affective Personality System (CAPS). The CAPS model posits that individuals differ in patterns of cross-situational variability, which are described as ‘if ... then’ contingencies: *if in situation A, then do X; if in situation B, then do Y* (Figure 1b). Thus, traits are thought to correspond to such contingencies between environmental inputs and (behavioural) outputs. Individual differences are explained by variation in the accessibility of cognitive-affective units (such as beliefs, affect, or goals) and their organisation [4,5].

Latent State-Trait Theory—Revised (LST-R). LST-R Theory defines a “person-in-a-situation” whose state reflects both trait-like (i.e. cross-situational) and situation-specific influences [6]. In the revised version of the theory, traits are dynamic, such that the trait level can change in response to earlier states. Because LST-R theory is formulated as a measurement model, it is possible to decompose measured states into variance due to trait, situation, and random error.

Trait Activation Theory (TAT). TAT posits that traits are activated by trait-relevant situations [7,8]. Although TAT does not explicitly refer to personality states, it is implied that the expression of traits in states is constrained by situational factors. As TAT was originally formulated as a theory of job performance, it is most prominent in studies of personality variation in organisational contexts.

TESSERA. The TESSERA framework seeks to ground long-term personality development in a sequence of short-term personality processes [9]. In a TESSERA sequence, triggering situations give rise to expectancies, which in turn – and depending on the situational context – lead to personality states. Personality states generate (intrapersonal and interpersonal) reactions. Repeated TESSERA sequences are thought to accumulate into trait change through associative and reflective processes.

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Recent research on personality states

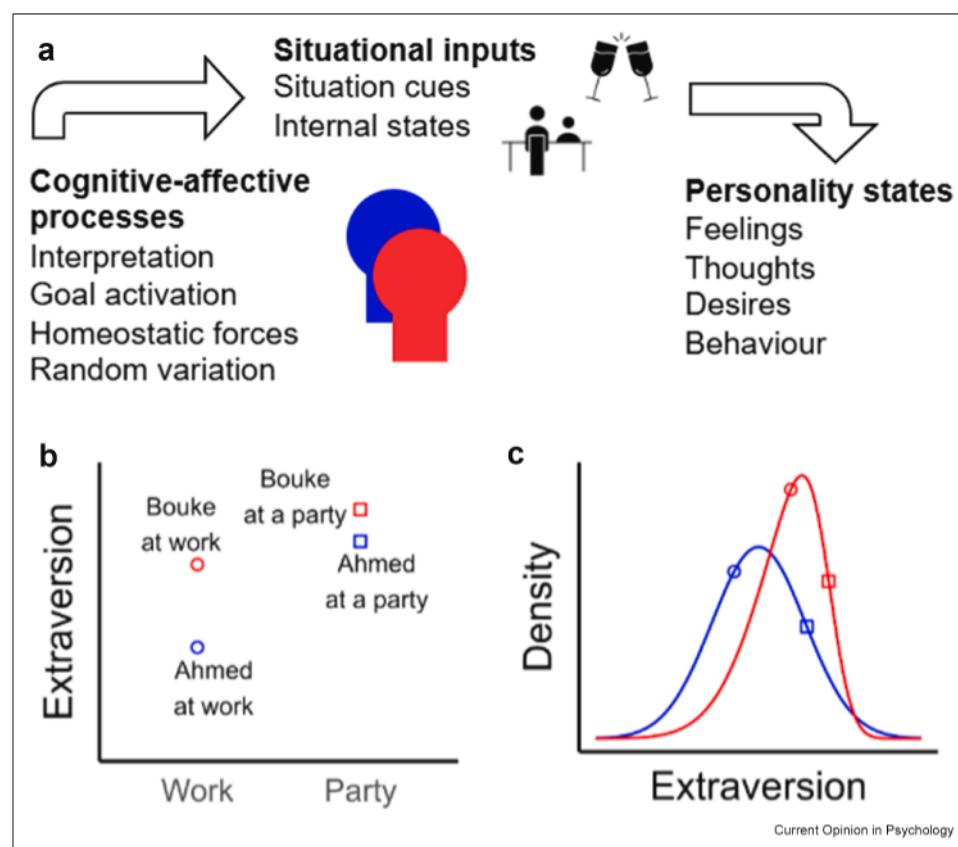
Linking states and traits

Box 1 provides an overview of major theoretical frameworks for the study of personality states. A core tenet of whole trait theory (WTT) is that traits correspond to the density distribution of states. An early meta-analysis of 15 experience sampling studies reported that average states correlated only imperfectly with trait scores (with correlations ranging from $r = 0.42 - 0.56$ [10]). Recent studies report average state-trait correlations in a similar ($r = 0.46 - 0.62$ [11]) or somewhat lower range (in adults, $r = 0.12 - 0.36$ [12]; in adolescents, $r = 0.22 - 0.47$ [13]). Extending this analysis to observer ratings, compared to self-other agreement on traits (across Big Five dimension in six studies, $r = 0.32 - 0.73$ [14]), correlations between average self-reported states and observer-rated traits are weaker ($r = -0.02 - 0.55$ [14]) and average states provide no incremental validity over self-reported traits [14,15]. Because WTT associates traits with the entire density distribution of states, trait

measures may be correlated not just with measures of the central tendency (such as the mean), but also measures of dispersion. One challenge to earlier work had been that mean and variance are confounded: individuals with a high or low average state have less range for variance. Several recent papers make use of measures such as the relative variability index to address this issue [16–19]. For example, trait Neuroticism was weakly associated with more variable state Neuroticism in a work context, but there were no such links for other Big Five dimensions [17]. This line of research could benefit from explicitly modelling central tendency and dispersion using distributional models, as recently applied to the relationship between Neuroticism and affect [20].

The equation of average states with traits implies that average states ought to be highly consistent over time. One study assessed this using experience sampling waves two years apart [21]. Rank-order correlations between the two waves were medium to high for

Figure 1



Key concepts. (a) Personality states are the product of cognitive-affective processes, which differ between individuals, and inputs, which differ from situation to situation. (b) Schematic representation of situation-state contingencies in two individuals, Ahmed (in blue) and Bouke (in red), across two situations, at work and at a party. Ahmed experiences low Extraversion at work, but a higher level at a party. In contrast, Bouke experiences similarly high levels of Extraversion in both situations. This illustrates that variation in cognitive-affective processes gives rise to individual differences in situation-state contingencies. (c) As a result of individual differences in cognitive-affective processes and situational inputs, Ahmed and Bouke's density distributions of Extraversion states across all situations they experience differ in central tendency, dispersion, and shape.

individual items averaged across situations ($r = 0.46 - 0.74$) and increased when individual items were combined into personality dimensions ($r = 0.68 - 0.79$). Finally, the study considered the entire profile of all five personality dimensions, which was highly stable over time ($r = 0.97$). Thus, consistency increases when averaging not just across situations, but also across items within a dimension and when considering the entire, multidimensional personality profile. The same study also examined the consistency of personality state networks, i.e., the consistency over time of the correlations between items at the same time point (so-called ‘edge weights’). Rank-order correlations for individual edge weights were low (average $r = 0.10$), showing that the associations between individual items varied between waves. However, when considering all edge weights together, the profile correlation for the entire network was medium to high ($r = 0.62$). This suggests that the structure of the personality state network is fairly consistent over time. These estimates of network consistency do however vary in magnitude between different modelling approaches. Strikingly, there are significant individual differences in consistency: while some individuals’ personality state networks are virtually unchanged two years later, others show significant reconfiguration. Similarly, consistency may depend on the environment: A follow-up study of experience sampling waves before and during the COVID pandemic showed somewhat lower network consistency [22].

Changes in average personality states should be associated with changes in traits. The TESSERA framework proposes that changes in personality states over time accumulate into trait change (Box 1) [9]. Quintus, Egloff and Wrzus [12] assessed the components of the TESSERA process – situation characteristics, expectations, personality states, affective reactions, and reflections – in a multi-wave experience sampling study. Contemporaneous correlations between these variables were consistent with the TESSERA sequence. The study provides some support for the notion that states accumulate into trait change, as higher average state Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Extraversion were associated with greater change in trait levels at six months follow-up, though effects were small and somewhat inconsistent. More direct evidence comes from a twelve-week personality change intervention study, which elicited traits as well as daily states [11]. Whereas the intervention was successful in raising self- ($d = 0.31$) and observer-reported trait levels ($d = 0.07$), it did not affect average state levels. However, state deviations from the trait level – rather than absolute state levels – were correlated with the degree of trait change ($r = 0.31$ for self-rated and $r = 0.13$ for observer-rated traits). This suggests that those individuals who did successfully implement change goals in their daily states experienced greater sustained trait change.

Situation-state contingencies

All major frameworks for personality states endorse some version of interactionism, which posits that personality states are partly caused by features of the situation (Figure 1B). Most recent studies assess subjective situation characteristics using the DIAMONDS taxonomy [23]. Conceptually, five of the DIAMONDS correspond to Big Five personality states [24]. Empirically, raw correlations between situation characteristics and personality states are rather diffuse [25–27]. However, Horstmann, Rauthmann, Sherman and Ziegler [25] show that correlations between situation characteristics and personality states are theoretically plausible and correspond to their semantic overlap (e.g. Conscientiousness and Duty, $r = 0.27$) when controlling for affect, which suggests that general affect or valence may confound the measurement of states and situation characteristics. In contrast to these correlations between situation characteristics and personality states, studies have yielded few robust interactions in predicting outcomes such as affect [28] or job performance [29]. This suggests that, contrary to the predictions of interactionist models such as trait activation theory [7,8], the expression of personality states in behaviour may not be constrained by how the situation is perceived. However, more research using specific and theoretically plausible behaviours as criteria is necessary.

In recent years, the association between situation characteristics and personality states has increasingly been framed in terms of ‘if ... then’ contingencies [4]. The strength of situation-state contingencies varies significantly between individuals [12,30]. However, individual differences in contingencies are only weakly and inconsistently related to personality traits [12,30,31]. These findings suggest that there are replicable individual differences in situation-state contingencies, but that these do not correspond to stable individual differences in self-rated traits. This contradicts the explanatory model of WTT and poses a challenge to the integration of trait psychological models with interactionist social-cognitive models such as CAPS, which describe traits as situation-state contingencies. Further research is necessary to understand how individual differences in situation-state contingencies arise and relate to personality traits.

One promising direction is to extend the conception of situational influences beyond subjectively perceived situation characteristics. Kandler and Rauthmann [32] introduce a framework to integrate cross-situational environments into the study of personality states. Formally, the model is based on the revised latent-state trait theory (LST-R), which distinguishes between trait-like and occasion-specific influences on the personality state [6,33]. Kandler and Rauthmann [32] add to these environmental influences, which are temporally bounded, but may cut across situations. Conceptually, this

can be illustrated by the difference between a particular conversation (a situation) which occurs at work (an environment). This model provides a promising framework to understand the influence of the social and physical environment on personality states. Two studies illustrate such influences. An experience sampling study of adolescents found that personality states were influenced by the social environment [13]. For example, when they were with friends rather than with family, the participants reported being more extraverted, more open to new experiences, more agreeable, and more conscientious. Matz and Harari [34] studied the influence of places – such as one's home, a vehicle, or the gym – on students' personality states. They found that the influence of the environment varied across personality dimensions: Extraversion states were most strongly affected by the places participants were in, while Neuroticism states were least affected (for a related study, see Ref. [35]). Mobile sensing promises to capture such environmental variables non-intrusively [36–39]. However, a study which used machine learning to predict ipsatized personality states using smartphone indicators ranging from time spent at different locations to the loudness of the environment found few robust associations [37]. Extraversion was the only dimension for which smartphone data improved prediction beyond time and day. Hence, further research is needed to explore the potential of sensor data to support personality state assessment.

Applications to work and health

Several studies have begun to link personality states to occupational and health outcomes. One study of mid-level managers undergoing professional development showed that state Conscientiousness and Neuroticism varied with the demands of their tasks [17]. Another study followed student teachers during a two-week placement in schools, eliciting ratings of personality states, situation characteristics, and job performance from teachers, their supervisors, and their pupils [16,29]. Whereas personality states were correlated with self-rated job performance, these associations all but vanished when job performance was rated by supervisors or by pupils [29]. In the health domain, personality states have been shown to vary with perceived stress [40] and subjective sleep quality during the previous night [41]. Another study, which tracked personality states across the menstrual cycle, reports suggestive evidence that personality states may respond to varying hormone levels [42]. Whereas studies in work contexts have mostly treated personality states as predictors of performance, in the health domain, they are typically treated as outcomes. Future studies may examine their full dynamic interplay by treating personality states both as antecedents and as consequences of their correlates.

Challenges and future directions

One challenge to research synthesis is the diversity of measures used to study personality states. An earlier review highlighted the prevalence of ad hoc measures and lack of validated measures for personality states [43]. Since then, several new state measures have become available. The HEXACO-PSI is a 24-item, facet-level state measure corresponding to the HEXACO model of personality optimised for specificity in experience sampling studies [44]. The FFM-PSI is a German-language, 15-item, factor-level state measure corresponding to the Big Five Inventory-2 [45]. Finally, Ringwald, Manuck, Marsland and Wright [46] and Schock, Hausinger and Pletzer [47] report psychometric analyses of two existing Big Five state scales.

Another challenge is that few studies report reliability estimates for state measures, which makes it difficult to compare effect sizes across studies and to the correlates of traits. A particular challenge is that personality state measures, when used to examine within-person associations, should be specific, that is, responsive to situation-specific influences. Bader, Columbus, Zettler and Mayer [33] recently introduced a framework for evaluating personality state measures using models of LST-R theory, which distinguish between consistency (reliability due to trait-like influences) and specificity (reliability due to occasion-specific influences). This framework was used to develop the HEXACO-PSI, but can also be used to evaluate existing state measures. Such efforts should be supplemented by establishing the validity of state scales, for example, by establishing self-other agreement on states [48,49].

In this review, we have focused on states corresponding to broad factor models of personality, that is, the HEXACO and the Big Five. This line of research implicitly accepts the premise that states are manifestations of corresponding traits and that the structure of traits and states is isomorphic. Few studies directly address the within-person structure of personality states, but those that do find that idiographic personality structure may be more heterogeneous than nomothetic personality structure [21]. Similarly, a study using multiple years of trait measures found that the within-person structure of Big Five scales is not isomorphic with the between-person structure [50]. Even these studies, however, rely on items derived from broad factor models of personality. A more nuanced understanding of idiographic personality structure may require a more fine-grained lexical approach. Although this is challenging due to the large number of items needed to be evaluated multiple times by the same rater, planned missingness designs provide a promising approach.

The publications we have reviewed show that states have become a central theme in the study of personality.

Increasingly sophisticated methods applied to rich datasets provide a wealth of insight into the nature and correlates of personality states. The field has also begun to address the ad hoc nature of state measures by introducing new, validated scales. Some empirical results challenge central claims of existing models, such as the close correspondence of average states and traits [14], as claimed by WTT, or the link between situation-state contingencies and traits [30]. Meanwhile, theoretical developments lag behind. Although there have been attempts to update CAPS and LST-R [e.g., 5, 6, 32] and to introduce new dynamic systems models of personality [51,52], these have received limited uptake in the empirical literature. A particular limitation is that research on personality states relies overwhelmingly on experience sampling methods. While experience sampling studies provide rich insights into personality dynamics, they must be complemented by methods which can elucidate the underlying causal mechanisms. The next steps in the study of personality states may benefit from interdisciplinary engagement to build and test computational cognitive models which integrate individual differences, environmental variables, and personality states.

Credit author statement

Simon Columbus: Conceptualization; Investigation; Visualization; Writing – original draft; Writing – review & editing.

Cecilie Fenja Strandsbjerg: Conceptualization; Investigation; Writing – original draft; Writing – review & editing.

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Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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- * of special interest
- ** of outstanding interest

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Further information on references of particular interest

11. This paper reports the effects of a personality change intervention
 ** on states and traits. Whereas personality traits changed in line with participants' goals, average states remained stable. However, individuals whose states deviated most from their initial trait levels exhibited more trait change.
13. This study followed adolescents in everyday social interactions.
 * Personality states varied meaningfully across interaction partners, but did not predict personality trait change a year later.
21. Drawing on data from two experience sampling wave two years apart, this study explores the consistency of personality states using a variety of measures. It finds that aggregated states are highly consistent across time, whereas the network structure of contemporaneous states is less stable.
29. One of the largest and most comprehensive studies of personality states in an applied setting. Whereas personality states were correlated with self-rated job performance of teachers, these associations all but vanished when job performance was rated by supervisors or by pupils.
30. Situation characteristic-state contingencies are associations between situations and personality states. Across multiple datasets, this paper finds stable individual differences in contingencies. Contrary to predictions, these contingencies do not align with personality traits.
32. This theoretical paper seeks to introduce environments into the study of personality states. Formally based on the revised latent state-trait theory, it distinguishes between the influence of situations and of environments, which may span multiple situations.
33. A formal framework for developing and evaluating personality state measures based on the revised latent state-trait theory. The framework emphasises specificity as a key feature of personality state scales.
49. A study of self-observer and observer–observer agreement on personality states across a wide variety of laboratory tasks. It finds low to medium agreement on personality states, with stronger agreement on extraversion, neuroticism, and openness.