

**Introduction**

How often do we say things like, “if only there were an extra hour in the day, I would finally do x” where x is “learn another language” or ‘spend more time connecting with your family.’ Sentiments like this imply that with even just a little extra time in our day, we would make **meaningful choices** and in turn, become more of the person **we most want to be**. But are these sentiments true? With more time, do our choices lead to a better life? Or are there, as research would predict, psychological trade-offs that accompany these choices? Certainly, we expect that rest and self-improvement improve productivity and well-being, but extra time at home can also entail any number of increased distractions or temptations (e.g. sleeping in, eating more, browsing social media).

As the COVID-19 pandemic has swept across the globe, spending time at home has rapidly become the new norm. COVID-related consequences like remote work, social distancing, furloughs, and layoffs have almost unilaterally given Americans increased access to one vital resource: time. Some of this increase in time is a direct result of unemployment. The NY Times reports that 36.5 million Americans have filed for jobless benefits in May of 2020 alone and people often choose to work remotely to avoid daily commutes, reduce workplace distractions and fulfill family care responsibilities (Owl Labs State of Remote Work, 2017). Another large antecedent of increased time is an increase in remote-working behavior in “non-essential” industries. It is hard not to stipulate that this near universal increase in time at home will not presage new organizational norms beyond the COVID pandemic. Indeed, even before the pandemic remote work was growing in popularity, following a steady increase for almost a

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton  
decade. In the U.S alone, the number of remote workers has grown by 91% over the last 10 years (Reynolds, 2021).

Social science does not yet have a strong grasp of the psychological consequences of this societal shift. Will increased time inside and at home be psychologically beneficial, detrimental, or simply a new set of complicated trade-offs? Do the fears and restrictions of a pandemic outweigh the benefits of increased sleep, time with family, self-reflection, etc? Despite the tragedy of COVID-19, the pandemic has provided a unique opportunity to gain insight regarding a larger picture of how we establish work-life balance and what specific behaviors most help us achieve that balance. How are people choosing to spend their extra time at home? Do these choices have lasting positive or negative effects?

Although we have little insight into what behaviors people are choosing to engage in, many news outlets paint a bleak picture and sensationalize increases in time as increases in behaviors they presume to be detrimental (e.g. [people spending more time on dating apps](#) and [phones in general](#)). Psychological research, on the other hand, is divided and suggests that there are considerable trade-offs when it comes to personal choice when working from home (Allen, 2015). On the negative side, remote work can deprive individuals of critical social support (Gajendran, & Harrison, 2007), and work roles often function to provide us with authenticity and purpose (Ebrahimi, Kouchaki, & Patrick, 2020; Ward, & King, 2017). On the positive side, a wealth of research finds that increased autonomy and choice (i.e. deciding how to spend extra time at home) is beneficial in and out of work, predicting a greater sense of control over our time and life (Langer & Rodin, 1976; Valcour, 2007). Moreover, recent research on employment during the pandemic found that employees began to recover a sense of autonomy almost immediately (Anicich, et al., 2020). The benefits of increased choice are not straightforward

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

however, as decisions where complexity is manageable (which may not be the case when working remotely) are preferable. As decision complexity rises, what is at first seemingly desirable and beneficial, soon becomes paralyzing and debilitating (Botti & Iyengar, 2006). Thus, it is important to examine whether perceptions of time and increased choice during the pandemic influence well-being and meaning in life.

The current research investigates how increased time at home (as a result of remote working and social distance precautions) and the choices that accompany increased time influence behavior, perception, and well being. Our research goals can be summarized in two questions. First, has the onset of the pandemic resulted in lasting behavioral change? Second, in naturalistic settings, have perceptions of behavioral change had any lasting impact on well-being?

We focus on two key dimensions of personal well being: (1) a subject's perception that they are living an authentic life and (2) a subject's perception that they are living a meaningful life. These two dimensions were selected because they are important and distinct outcomes in organizational settings. This allows us to assess theoretical trade-offs accompanying increased time at home. That is, past research might predict increases in authenticity when at home but decreases in meaning in life when away from work. Although authenticity is linked to greater employee engagement and well-being across social roles, feeling authentic in organizational settings (particularly organizations where individuals must juggle competing values and motivations) is often distinctly challenging (Cha & Edmondson, 2006; Sutton, 2020; Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne, & Ilardi, 1997). Meanwhile, though increased time working is often detrimental (Valcour, 2007), work itself often provides a space for the expression of purpose and the attainment of meaning (Dik & Duffy, 2012; Ward & King, 2017). Substantial time and effort have been spent investigating how we might increase authenticity and meaning in the workplace

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton (Walumbwa, et al., 2008; Dik, Byrne, & Steger, 2013), but the pandemic allows us to examine one under-explored solution to increasing both authenticity and meaning in life: removing or reducing time in the workplace overall.

Of course, past theory is divided in this arena. Some research on authenticity suggests that spending less time at work (where one may have to hide their true self) and more time at home should predict heightened feelings of authenticity (Goffman, 2005; Pillemer, 2019). However, research on remote-work also finds that working from home can blur boundaries between social roles (e.g. with working behaviors and roles intruding on family roles and personal time), likely mitigating authenticity benefits (Eddleston, & Mulki, 2017). Similarly, meaning often follows on the heels of role-specific, goal-supporting activity (Gollwitzer, 1999), and long-term planning (e.g., Little, Salmela-Aro, & Phillips, 2006), all of which may be more difficult when at home dealing with pandemic restrictions. These predictions are largely theoretical, however, and more empirical work is needed.

To that end, we aim to begin by asking a pressing question, how *should* one spend extra time at home if one wants to live a more authentic and meaningful life? We address this question by adopting hypotheses predicted by lay theory. That is, folk wisdom predominantly ties [default consumer behaviors](#) (like eating more, shopping online, and bingeing tv shows) to decreased well being; and similarly ties behaviors which involve [creativity](#), [self-care](#), and [self-improvement](#) to increased well-being. These lay-theories may paint a somewhat idealistic picture, however, as research often observes positive hedonic outcomes from consuming behaviors depending on a number of factors (Richins, 2013). Thus, while we adopt hypotheses driven by lay theories (i.e. consumption will decrease well-being, while creativity, self-care, and self-improvement will increase well-being), we acknowledge that past research could be used to endorse a competing

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

hypothesis: mainly that the effect of behavioral change on well-being is far less important than the effect of *perception* of behavioral change on well-being (or that changes in well-being predict behavioral change). To address some of these concerns, we consider a broad constellation of categorizable behaviors as well as the perceptions of time and choice surrounding these behaviors.

### **Methods and Material**

Our research consisted of three large scale surveys measuring participant behavior and perception at three points in time. Survey 1 (n = 982) was administered in April of 2020, Survey 2 (n = 768) in June of 2020, and Survey 3 (n = 488) in November of 2020 (i.e. 54% attenuation across 7 months).

For behavioral change, we focused pre-selected behaviors intended to represent broad categories (1) *consuming* behaviors like online purchases, social media browsing, television, eating, etc. (2) *generative or creative* behaviors like cooking, crafting, artistic pursuits, posting to social media, etc. (3) *self-care* behaviors like sleeping, connecting with loved ones, grooming, etc. and (4) *self-improvement behaviors* like learning a new skill, exercising, planning for the future, etc.

For perceptions surrounding behavioral change, we focused on perceptions of certainty (whether people know what to do with their time), whether participants view their time as being used wisely, and whether or not participants are enjoying their time.

### **Independent Variables**

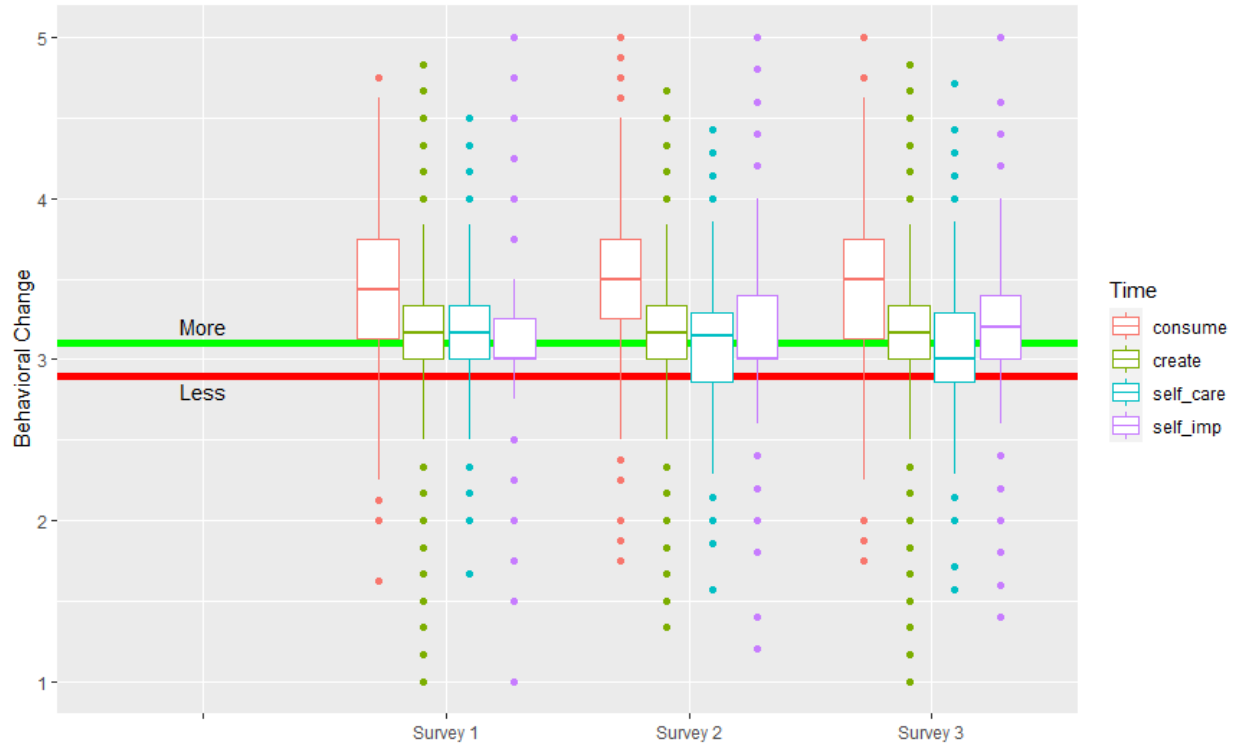
**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton  
**Behavioral Change.** Participants were asked to self-report changes in behavior, measured using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = a lot less than usual, 5 = a lot more than usual) for 33 different items corresponding to different pre-selected behaviors (see Appendix Figure 1). These items were accompanied by the following prompts:

Survey 1: As compared to your life before the COVID-19 pandemic, please rate the extent to which you have been engaging in the following behaviors.

Survey 2: As compared to your life before COVID-19 pandemic, please rate the extent to which you have engaged in the following behaviors **in the past few weeks**.

Survey 3: As compared to your life before COVID-19 pandemic, please rate the extent to which you have engaged in the following behaviors **in the past few weeks**.

**Table 1. Distribution of Participants' Reported Behaviors Across Surveys**

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

**Perceptions of Extra Time.** Perceptions regarding certainty (i.e. whether people know what to do with their time), whether participants view their time as being used wisely, and whether or not participants are actually felt they had more time were measured with three unique items, each rated on a 7-Point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree):

“I am less sure what to do with myself most of the time.”

“I am spending my time more wisely .”

“I am finding time to do more things that I enjoy.”

## **Dependent Variables**

**Inauthenticity.** Feelings of inauthenticity were measured using a psychological questionnaire validated in previous research ( $\alpha = .86$ ; Horton et al., unpublished). Participants rated three items: “I feel like I am pretending to be someone else,” “I feel fake,” “I feel pressure to be something that I am not” on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

**Meaning in Life.** Meaning in life was also measured using a psychological questionnaire validated in previous research, referred to as the *The Meaning in Life Questionnaire* (Steger et al., 2006).

**Time Enjoyment.** In surveys 2 and 3, participants also rated the statement, “I am enjoying the extra time I have” (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

## **Summary Statistics for Demographic and Control Variables**

We controlled for a number of demographic variables in our analysis. We detail these below along with descriptive statistics. For each variable, where we report the mean and standard deviation for continuous variables or percentages of nominal variables (see Appendix Figure 2).

## **Results**

### **Naive Authenticity Models**



**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

Fixed effects regression with standard error clustered at the individual level was used to examine changes in feelings of inauthenticity as a function of changes in behavior (generating, consuming, self improving, and self caring) and perceptions of extra time (more time to enjoy, time being used wisely, and knowing what to do with time)<sup>1</sup>.

Despite participants generally suggesting slight increases in almost every type of behaviors relative to their life before the pandemic (i.e. mean above 3), there were no observable relationships between feelings of inauthenticity and behavioral changes.

Using each of the three measure perceptions of extra time as a simultaneous and independent predictors, we observed a negative and significant relationships between the perception of having more time to enjoy and inauthenticity ( $b = -.09$ ,  $t(965) = -2.45$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI[-.14, -.04]) and a positive and significant relationship between not knowing what to do with your time and feelings of inauthenticity ( $b = .09$ ,  $t(965) = 4.08$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI[.05, .14]).

### **First Difference Authenticity Models**

We then used first difference regression with standard error clustered at the individual level to examine changes in feelings of inauthenticity as a function of changes in behavior (generating, consuming, self improving, and self caring) and perceptions of extra time (more time to enjoy, time being used wisely, and knowing what to do with time).

There were no observable relationships between feelings of inauthenticity and behavioral changes.

---

<sup>1</sup> In all regressions we control for employment status as those unemployed may have more time but perceive the value of this time different. We also control for whether or not an individual has spent the pandemic with family, addressing the notion that caring for children or elderly relatives may substantially influence the way time is spent and perceived.

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

Using each of the three measure perceptions of extra time as a simultaneous and independent predictors, we observed a trending negative relationships between the perception of having more time to enjoy and inauthenticity ( $b = -.05$ ,  $t(964) = -1.74$ ,  $p = .08$ , 95% CI[-.11, -.01]) and a positive and significant relationship between not knowing what to do with your time and feelings of inauthenticity ( $b = .11$ ,  $t(964) = 3.71$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI[.07, .16]).

**Naive Meaning in Life Models**

Fixed effects regression with standard error clustered at the individual level was used to examine changes in feelings of meaning in life as a function of changes in behavior (generating, consuming, self improving, and self caring) and perceptions of extra time (more time to enjoy, time being used wisely, and knowing what to do with time).

There was a trending positive relationship between increased self-care behaviors and meaning behaviors ( $b = .12$ ,  $t(965) = 1.79$ ,  $p = .07$ , 95% CI[.003, .23]). There were no observable relationships between any other behavioral changes and meaning in life.

Using each of the three measure perceptions of extra time as a simultaneous and independent predictors, we observed a trending positive relationship between the perception of having more time to enjoy and meaning in life ( $b = .04$ ,  $t(964) = 2.04$ ,  $p = .07$ , 95% CI[.01, .07]) and a positive and significant relationship between the perception that one is using their time wisely and meaning in life ( $b = .04$ ,  $t(964) = 2.49$ ,  $p = .01$ , 95% CI[.01, .08]).

**First Difference Meaning in Life Models**

We then used first difference regression with standard error clustered at the individual level to examine changes meaning in life as a function of changes in behavior (generating,

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton  
 consuming, self improving, and self caring) and perceptions of extra time (more time to enjoy, time being used wisely, and knowing what to do with time). In all regressions, we control for the demographic variables listed above.

There was a positive significant relationship between increased self-care behaviors and meaning behaviors ( $b = .14$ ,  $t(964) = 2.08$ ,  $p = .04$ , 95% CI[.02, .26]). There were no observable relationships between any other behavioral changes and meaning in life.

Using each of the three measure perceptions of extra time as a simultaneous and independent predictors, we observed a trending positive relationship between the perception of having more time to enjoy and meaning in life ( $b = .04$ ,  $t(964) = 2.00$ ,  $p = .06$ , 95% CI[.01, .07]) and a trending positive relationship between the perception that one is using their time wisely and meaning in life ( $b = .04$ ,  $t(964) = 1.93$ ,  $p = .06$ , 95% CI[.00, .07]).

### **Naive Time Enjoyment Models**

Fixed effects regression with standard error clustered at the individual level was used to examine changes in feelings of enjoyment as a function of changes in behavior (generating, consuming, self improving, and self caring). We observed a positive and significant relationship between self care behaviors and the perception of time enjoyed ( $b = .39$ ,  $t(965) = 3.33$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI[.16, .63]). We also observed a positive and significant relationship between self improvement behaviors and the perception of time enjoyed ( $b = .29$ ,  $t(965) = 2.68$ ,  $p = .007$ , 95% CI[.08, .49]). We observed no relationship between the perception of time enjoyed and generative behaviors or consuming behaviors.

### **First Difference Time Enjoyment Models**

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

We then used first difference regression with standard error clustered at the individual level to examine changes in feelings of enjoyment as a function of changes in behavior (generating, consuming, self improving, and self caring). We observed a positive and significant relationship between self care behaviors and the perception of time enjoyed ( $b = .40$ ,  $t(965) = 3.33$ ,  $p = .004$ , 95% CI [.16, .64]). We observed no relationship between the perception of time enjoyed and generative behaviors, consuming behaviors, or self improvement behaviors.

### **Discussion**

The current research tempers some of the doom and gloom that has dominated the pandemic newscycle. That is, our research suggests few and small relationships between behavioral change during the pandemic and well-being. Despite participants generally suggesting that they have increased engagement in almost every behavioral composite relative to their life before the pandemic, there were almost no observable relationships between behavioral change and authenticity or meaning in life with one exception. Of the four behavioral composites, only self caring behaviors demonstrated a robust relationship with positive outcomes. Self-care predicted meaning in life and the perception of having enjoyed one's time. Indeed, self-care may have helped help lessen the stress of pandemic life in a way generating, consuming, and self improving behaviors do not.

The current research is limited in a few key ways. One minor concern is that these perceptual effects may have been inflated by the survey itself. Which is to say, after having reported changes in over 32 behaviors relative to life before the pandemic, participants may

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

themselves have been unsure about how they *should* be spending their time. For example, a participant who sees no pattern in their own responses on the behavioral change items may feel like they don't know themselves precisely because the survey prompted thoughts about not having taken advantage of increased time. We label this a minor concern because one might stipulate that if this is true, the survey may only have amplified previously existing perceptual effects.

Another partial concern is that these behavioral composites may not be reflective of latent groups of behavior out in the world. Which is to say, behaviors were grouped together in our analysis based on *theoretical* relationships (e.g. reading a book, watching tv, and eating were all considered "consuming behaviors" in our analyses). These behavioral composites showed varying degrees of uniformity. For example, at time 1 the respective cronbach alphas for each behavioral composite varied<sup>2</sup>. This statistic gives some indication of how closely related a set of items are as a group and the observed values suggest that consuming and generating behaviors covary more frequently within an individual than do self-improving and self-care behaviors. This suggests, for example, that a participant who watched more tv during the pandemic may also have been more likely to read a book (two consuming behaviors) but that a participant who learned a new language may not also have been more likely to exercise (two self-improvement behaviors). Indeed, post-hoc analysis reveals that the self-care behaviors were the least interrelated (i.e. the composite with the lowest cronbach). Supplementary analysis reveals that maintained or increased sleep and grooming behaviors may have been the strongest driving

---

<sup>2</sup> .63 for consuming behaviors, .68 for generating behaviors, .38 for self-improving behaviors, and .27 for self-care behaviors

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

variables behind increased meaning in life<sup>3</sup>. Future research would do well to explore these further.

We contribute to several important areas regarding how we understand business, psychology, and society. For instance, this work is critical to research on remote working behavior. A common refrain in reviews of research in this field has been an inability, despite over 20 years of studies, to draw consistent conclusions (Bailey & Kurland, 2002; McCloskey & Igarria, 1998). Smaller sample sizes ( $n \approx 200$ ), a narrow focus on specific industries, a focus on outdated technologies (i.e. research before Zoom), an inability to control for variation when it comes to flexible work locations (e.g. working from coffee shops rather than from home), and too much focus on the broader effect of remote working as a whole are substantial limitations of past research. Our research compensates for these by focusing on a **larger representative sample of the US population**. We explore **causal mechanisms** behind the effects of remote work by paying special attention to the **accompanying choices and behaviors**. Finally, we leveraged COVID-19 restrictions, which allowed us considerably more control over the selection and locations of behaviors. Indeed, ours is one of the first studies to examine experimentally whether specific constellations of behaviors can be

---

<sup>3</sup> The effect of sleep on meaning in life was positive and significant ( $b = .07$ ,  $t(963) = 2.24$ ,  $p = .03$ , 95% CI [.02, .11]). The effect of grooming on meaning in life was positive and significant ( $b = .06$ ,  $t(963) = 2.19$ ,  $p = .03$ , 95% CI [.01, .12]).

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

leveraged to increase authenticity and meaning in life in both socially distanced and remote working environments.

In particular, we shed new light on authenticity as an experience. Past research typically links authenticity to self expression (Bailey, et al., 2020; Gino & Kouchaki, 2020; Kraus, Chen, & Keltner, 2011). One should feel authentic when one has the freedom to be and act like oneself—when one can be one’s “backstage self” (Goffman, 2005). In this regard, we might predict that the pandemic shift towards extra time at home should allow for greater authenticity in so far as it provides freedom from social constraint. Extra time and freedom to engage in self-selected activities should be a boon for authenticity. Interestingly, we observed almost no relationship between behavioral change and feelings of authenticity. Rather, the strongest predictor of authenticity in our data was whether or not participants knew what to do with their time. The perception of certainty around how to spend one’s time displayed a significant relationship with inauthenticity that was robust across all models. While it is not surprising that how one spends one’s time may not be as important as how one feels about that time spent it is surprising that around 36% of our participants reported they were altogether unsure of what to do with their time. It seems the value of extra time may be severely diminished by clear foresight in terms of how one *wants* to spend that time.

As we reflect on the way our lives have changed as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, an odd mixture of unprecedented physical isolation coupled with digital connectedness for both employees and leaders has emerged. As social distancing persists and we continue to adjust to changing work and life demands, it is critical that the world retain (or regain) new levels of well-being. To that end, our research suggests that self knowledge and self care might be the best panacea.

### Works Cited

- Allen, T. D., Golden, T. D., & Shockley, K. M. (2015). How effective is telecommuting? Assessing the status of our scientific findings. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 16(2), 40-68.
- Walumbwa, F. O., Avolio, B. J., Gardner, W. L., Wernsing, T. S., & Peterson, S. J. (2008). Authentic leadership: Development and validation of a theory-based measure. *Journal of Management*, 34(1), 89-126.
- Anicich, E. M., Foulk, T. A., Osborne, M. R., Gale, J., & Schaerer, M. (2020). Getting back to the “new normal”: Autonomy restoration during a global pandemic. *Journal of Applied Psychology*.



**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyengar & Carl B Horton

- Bailey, D. E., & Kurland, N. B. (2002). A review of telework research: Findings, new directions and lessons for the study of modern work. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 23, 383–400.
- Bailey, E. R., Matz, S. C., Youyou, W., & Iyengar, S. S. (2020). Authentic self-expression on social media is associated with greater subjective well-being. *Nature communications*, 11(1), 1-9.
- Botti, S., & Iyengar, S. S. (2006). The dark side of choice: When choice impairs social welfare. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 25(1), 24-38.
- Cha, S. E., & Edmondson, A. C. (2006). When values backfire: Leadership, attribution, and disenchantment in a values-driven organization. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 17(1), 57-78.
- Dik, B. J., Byrne, Z. S., & Steger, M. F. (2013). *Purpose and meaning in the workplace*. American Psychological Association.
- Dik, B. J., & Duffy, R. D. (2012). *Make your job a calling: How the psychology of vocation can change your life at work*. Templeton Foundation Press.
- Ebrahimi, M., Kouchaki, M., & Patrick, V. M. (2020). Juggling work and home selves: Low identity integration feels less authentic and increases unethicality. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 158, 101-111.
- Gajendran, R. S., & Harrison, D. A. (2007). The good, the bad, and the unknown about telecommuting: Meta-analysis of psychological mediators and individual consequences. *Journal of applied psychology*, 92(6), 1524.
- Gino, F., & Kouchaki, M. (2020). Feeling authentic serves as a buffer against rejection. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 160, 36-50.
- Goffman, E. (2005). *Interaction ritual: Essays in face to face behavior*. AldineTransaction.
- Gollwitzer, P. M. (1999). Implementation intentions: strong effects of simple plans. *American psychologist*, 54(7), 493.
- Horton, C.B., Bailey, E., & Iyengar, S.S., Felt Authenticity Scale. *Manuscript in preparation*.
- Kraus, M. W., Chen, S., & Keltner, D. (2011). The power to be me: Power elevates self-concept consistency and authenticity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(5), 974-980.

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

- Langer, E. J., & Rodin, J. (1976). The effects of choice and enhanced personal responsibility for the aged: A field experiment in an institutional setting. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 34(2), 191.
- Little, B. R., Salmela-Aro, K., & Phillips, S. D. (Eds.). (2017). *Personal project pursuit: Goals, action, and human flourishing*. Psychology Press.
- McCloskey, D. W., & Igarria, M. (1998). A review of the empirical research on telecommuting and directions for future research. In M. Igarria & M. Tan (Eds.), *The virtual workplace* (pp. 338 –358). Hershey, PA: Idea Group.
- Owl Labs. (2017). State of Remote Work 2017. Retrieved May 21, 2020, from <https://www.owl-labs.com/state-of-remote-work/2017>
- Pillemer, J. (2019). *The Complexity Of Being Me: Understanding The Perks And Perils Of Cultivating Authentic Impressions At Work*. Dissertation.
- Reynolds, B. (2021) Remote Work Growth Reaches 159% Since 2005: FlexJobs; GWA Report.” FlexJobs Job Search Tips and Blog, FlexJobs.com, 22 Jan. 2021, [www.flexjobs.com/blog/post/flexjobs-gwa-report-remote-growth/](http://www.flexjobs.com/blog/post/flexjobs-gwa-report-remote-growth/).
- Richins, M. L. (2013). When wanting is better than having: Materialism, transformation expectations, and product-evoked emotions in the purchase process. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40(1), 1-18.
- Rivera, G.N., Christy, A.G., Kim, J., Vess, M., Hicks, J.A., & Schlegel, R.J. (2018). Understanding the relationship between perceived authenticity and well-being. *Review of General Psychology*.
- Sheldon, K. M., Ryan, R. M., Rawsthorne, L. J., & Ilardi, B. (1997). Trait self and true self: Cross-role variation in the Big-Five personality traits and its relations with psychological authenticity and subjective well-being. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 73(6), 1380.
- Steger, M. F., Frazier, P., Oishi, S., & Kaler, M. (2006). The Meaning in Life Questionnaire: Assessing the presence of and search for meaning in life. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 53, 80-93.
- Sutton, A. (2020). Living the good life: A meta-analysis of authenticity, well-being and engagement. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 153, 109645.

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

Ward, Sarah J., and Laura A. King. "Work and the good life: How work contributes to meaning in life." *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 37 (2017): 59-82.

Valcour, M. (2007). Work-based resources as moderators of the relationship between work hours and satisfaction with work-family balance. *Journal of applied psychology*, 92(6), 1512.

**Appendix Figure 1.**

List of behaviors rated in Study 1:

- Watching TV or movies
- Shopping online
- Browsing social media (just looking and not posting)
- Browsing the internet (e.g. watching any videos online, reading Wikipedia. etc)
- Reading (books, comics, blogs) for fun
- Eating food
- Using recreational substances (e.g. alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, etc)
- Playing video games
- Cooking
- Visual art activities (drawing, painting, etc.)
- Writing (poetry, stories, etc)
- Performing arts activities (singing, dancing, playing an instrument, etc)
- Crafting (sewing, knitting, DIY, etc)
- Posting on any social media platforms
- Gardening/Tending to plants

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

- Learning new skills (languages, first aid, music, etc)
- Exercising
- Journaling
- Self-reflecting
- Speaking with friends
- Connecting with family
- Spending quality time with pets/animals
- Meditating
- Sleeping
- Doing household chores (cleaning, laundry, etc)
- Spending time inside
- Personal grooming (shaving, showering, dying hair, etc)
- Working
- Applying for jobs
- Checking the news
- Wearing a protective mask or gloves
- Washing your hands
- Checking email
- Planning for the future
- Taking care of my finances
- Taking care of family members (watching children, assisting elderly, etc)

**Appendix Figure 2.**

Demographic Variable	<i>Summary</i>
Age	<i>m</i> = 50.14 <i>sd</i> = 14.87
Gender	male = 44% female = 55% other = 1%
Education	47% some college or lower 44% undergraduate degree or equivalent 21% graduate degree or higher
Income	20k or less = 15% 20 - 50k = 32% 50 -100k = 35% 100k or more = 15%
Race	Asian 5% Black 10 %

**Time, Choice, and Authenticity in a Pandemic** Authors: Sheena Iyenger & Carl B Horton

White 79 %  
 Hispanic 3 %  
 Multiple 2 %  
 Other 1 %

Religiosity  
 (i.e. “How religious do you consider yourself?” where 1 = not at all, 7 = very religious)

$m = 2.94$   
 $sd = 2.08$

Political Identity  
 (i.e. “How do you identify politically?” -3 = strongly liberal, 0 = moderate, 3 = strongly conservative)

$m = -0.85$   
 $sd = 1.75$

Employment Status at Time 1

Working (full-time) = 34%  
 Working (one part-time job) = 15%  
 Working (multiple part-time jobs) = 8%  
 Not working (looking for a job) = 5%  
 Not working (not looking) = 19%  
 Not working (other) = 18%

Employment Status at Time 2

Working (full-time) = 34%  
 Working (one part-time job) = 15%  
 Working (multiple part-time jobs) = 8%  
 Not working (looking for a job) = 5%  
 Not working (not looking) = 19%  
 Not working (other) = 17%

Employment Status at Time 3

Working (full-time) = 38%  
 Working (one part-time job) = 18%  
 Working (multiple part-time jobs) = 8%  
 Not working (looking for a job) = 6%  
 Not working (not looking) = 16%  
 Not working (other) = 13%

Unless stated otherwise all summary statistics above are from Survey 1.