8. Promoting happiness in the workplace

Kristin Layous

Employee happiness may seem like a frivolous concern given the variety of immediate and long-term priorities that occupy executive management's attention. To the contrary, meta-analytic and qualitative reviews provide overwhelming evidence that happy employees are productive employees who contribute to organizational success (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005a; Walsh et al., 2018). For example, in cross-sectional and prospective studies, happy employees have higher supervisor evaluations, put forward more effort, make more sales, help their co-workers more often, and have lower burn-out, absenteeism and turnover than their less happy peers. Experimental evidence indicates that the relationship between happiness and positive workplace attitudes and behaviors is causal. People randomly assigned to become happy (versus neutral or negative) are more likely to persevere on challenging tasks, produce quantity and quality work, negotiate well, and be creative, original and flexible. As an added bonus, happiness is also related to better physical health and interpersonal skills (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005a), potentially leading to lower employee healthcare costs and less workplace arbitration. Thus, employee happiness should be prioritized because happy employees perform better than less happy ones.

HAPPINESS DEFINED

Happiness is often defined as the frequent experience of positive emotions like joy, contentment, amusement, and gratitude (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005a). Other researchers prefer the term "subjective well-being" to happiness and note its tripartite structure including one's cognitive and global conception of how life is going (that is, life satisfaction), as well as how frequently one experiences positive emotions and how infrequently one experiences negative emotions (Diener et al., 1999). Some researchers prefer to measure each individual component of subjective well-being (for example, life satisfaction, positive emotions and negative emotions), some

prefer just to measure positive emotions, and others prefer to ask participants directly how happy they are, whatever that means to them. In the current chapter, I review research that measured happiness in various ways and therefore often use the terms "happy", "positive emotions", "positive affect", and "subjective well-being" interchangeably to refer to people who are flourishing versus languishing.

HAPPINESS CAN CHANGE

Executive management may believe that employee happiness is important, but they may also believe that prioritizing employee happiness is futile because people are either born happy or not (for example, Lykken and Telegen, 1996). Indeed, genetics do explain about 40–50 percent of individual differences in happiness, but genetic predispositions are not deterministic and these estimates still leave at least half of individual differences in happiness unexplained (for example, Layous, 2018; Lyubomirsky et al., 2005). Similarly, life circumstances (for example, income, gender, or marital status) are also relatively stable influences on happiness and tend to explain about 10 to 15 percent of individual differences in happiness (Diener et al., 1999), which still leaves a large proportion open to influence from other factors.

Researchers theorized that, after genetics and life circumstances, the rest of individual differences in happiness could be explained by how people attend to their environments and choose to spend their time (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005b). The researchers reasoned that if happiness is at least partially a matter of attention and behaviors, it is under people's control and therefore could be subject to intervention. Thus, researchers explored the thoughts and behaviors of naturally happy people and attempted to package them into interventions to test whether people randomly assigned to engage in the thoughts and behaviors of happy people would become happier as a result. For example, happier people are also more grateful (McCullough et al., 2002), so researchers randomly assigned people to engage in gratitude exercises (described below) and found that those who expressed gratitude (as opposed to those who wrote about neutral or negative topics) saw greater increases in positive affect (Emmons and McCullough, 2003; Lyubomirsky et al., 2005b).

Adding to pioneering attempts to increase people's happiness (Fordyce, 1977; 1983), mounting empirical evidence supports the theory that happiness can be increased through the practice of simple and often self-administered activities (Bolier et al., 2013; Quoidbach et al., 2015; Sin and Lyubomirsky, 2009). Some evidence even supports the sustainability

of this change provided that people continue to practice happiness-promoting activities and perhaps internalize them over time (see Layous, 2018 for a review).

HAPPINESS-PROMOTING ACTIVITIES

Various happiness-promoting activities – also called positive activities or positive psychological interventions – have now been tested in the literature and shown to increase well-being over neutral control groups. For practical application, I include a description of the most commonly studied activities below (but see Greater Good in Action for more: www.ggia.berkeley.edu). Importantly, certain ways of administering the activities may be more effective than others and certain people may benefit more from the practice of these activities than others (see Moderators of Happiness-Promoting Activities below). In addition, understanding how these activities work to promote well-being can inform other workplace practices that might enhance or inhibit well-being (see Mediators of Happiness-Promoting Activities below).

Examples of Happiness-Promoting Activities

Happiness-promoting activities seek to help people attend to, reflect upon and look forward to the good things in their lives. A major theme of many happiness-promoting activities is focusing people's attention on important people in their lives. Naturally happy people tend to find it easy to notice the positive in their lives, whereas less happy people tend to find it all too easy to ruminate upon the negative, perhaps overlooking or at least not extracting much positivity out of what is going well. Thus, positive activities are meant to help people redirect their attention to the good in their lives. A non-comprehensive description of specific happiness-promoting activities is included below.

Gratitude
Trait levels of gratitude are positively related to desirable outcomes like well-being, prosocial behavior, spirituality, perceived social support and relationship satisfaction, and negatively related to undesirable outcomes like envy, materialism, depression and stress (Algoe, 2012; McCullough et al., 2002; Wood et al., 2008). Echoing the trait evidence, experimental evidence demonstrates that participants randomly assigned to practice gratitude show increases in well-being and connectedness over comparison groups (for example, Emmons and McCullough, 2003; Seligman et al., 2005).

One way to practice gratitude is to keep a gratitude journal in which people write down various things for which they are grateful (for example, a good friend, a wonderful view of nature). The instructions for this activity have typically been framed as directly about gratitude or more indirectly about gratitude. In the direct version, people are prompted to think of aspects of their lives for which they are grateful (that is, "counting one's blessings"; Emmons and McCullough, 2003), whereas in the indirect version, people are prompted to think about three things that went well that day and why they went well (for example, "Three Good Things in Life"; Seligman et al., 2005; Seligman et al., 2006). Both framings prompt people to actively attend to the good in their lives. Theoretically, some researchers may consider this "gratitude intervention" to be more of a savoring or appreciation intervention as it promotes a focus on what one has, but does not directly implicate a benefit received from another person, which some researchers view as a requirement of true gratitude (for example, Adler and Fagley, 2005). That said, in the literature, this type of journaling is usually referred to as a gratitude intervention.

Gratitude journaling has been tested in the workplace. Specifically, in one study, employees at a Japanese engineering firm were randomly assigned either to write about three things that went well at work during the previous week (and why they happened) or to write three tasks they completed at work last week (leaving out feelings and opinions) weekly for six weeks (Chancellor et al., 2015; see also Kaplan et al., 2014). Employees in the gratitude condition reported greater happiness over time than those in the comparison group, indicating that this gratitude exercise can be effective within the context of the workplace.

Another way to practice gratitude is via writing a gratitude letter. In this activity, people think of a person for whom they are extremely grateful and pen a letter explaining why they are grateful and what benefit that person has brought to their life. In multiple studies, people who wrote weekly letters of gratitude over six weeks increased in well-being compared to control groups (for example, Boehm et al., 2011; Lyubomirsky et al., 2011). Preliminary evidence from a workplace sample suggests that gratitude letters can boost employee well-being. Employees who were randomly assigned to write weekly gratitude letters for four weeks self-reported greater job performance and empowerment, as well as greater feelings of general connectedness with others and autonomy than employees in the control group (Armenta et al., 2016).

In some studies, instead of just writing the gratitude letter, people are also prompted to deliver it. This activity, termed "Gratitude Visit", has also been found to increase well-being (Seligman et al., 2005), but many researchers do not include the delivery part as it adds an additional layer

of variance to the results (that is, how the person responds can affect well-being; Boehm et al., 2011; Lyubomirsky et al., 2011). If a gratitude recipient responds positively to the visit, that could enhance the well-being benefit for the gratitude expresser, but if the gratitude recipient is not enthusiastic or if the interaction is awkward, it could detract from the gratitude expresser's well-being.

Gratitude interventions have been explored in so many studies that meta-analyses of gratitude interventions have sprung up to summarize the field. Overall, gratitude interventions are effective in increasing well-being over comparison groups with small to moderate effect sizes (Davis et al., 2016; Dickens, 2017). That said, researchers caution that the comparison group and the specific outcomes of the studies need to be carefully explored. For example, Dickens (2017) noted that some gratitude interventions are compared to a negative task (that is, counting daily hassles), which overestimates the differences between groups and suggests that gratitude interventions can reduce negative affect and stress, patterns that are not significant when comparing gratitude interventions to a neutral comparison group.

Savoring
Savoring can be defined as a process through which people boost their positive feelings by attending to positive events in their past, present and future (Kurtz and Layous, 2017). Some researchers consider savoring or appreciation to be an umbrella term that is broader than gratitude, but includes gratitude within it (Adler and Fagley, 2005). Under this definition, a gratitude intervention would be one that prompts appreciation for a direct benefit received from the goodwill of another person. Also under this definition, a gratitude intervention would be considered a specific type of savoring intervention. In addition to gratitude interventions, savoring interventions have successfully increased participant happiness over a control group by prompting them to actively appreciate their past or present or to look forward to their future.

In one study, participants were asked to reflect on a positive event which improved happiness compared to a control condition (Bryant et al., 2005; see also Burton and King, 2004; 2008). Importantly, another study demonstrated that thinking about your positive past experience may promote more well-being than writing about your past experience, perhaps because writing leads to analysis of the event which may undermine its specialness (Lyubomirsky et al., 2006). Other researchers do not necessarily label their experimental manipulation a savoring intervention, but much research has demonstrated that writing about nostalgic experiences promotes greater positive emotions, social connection and meaning in life than writing about

neutral experiences (Sedikides et al., 2015). All of these experiments suggest that reminiscing on past positive experiences can promote well-being.

Gratitude journaling can be viewed as a way to savor the present, as can strategies like actively sharing positive news with a significant other (Gable et al., 2004) or taking photographs of one's surroundings in a mindful, creative way (Kurtz, 2015). Counterintuitively, some activities that promote a sense of scarcity have also boosted happiness and appreciation. For example, in one study, married adults were prompted to imagine what their lives might be like had they not met their spouse. Those randomly assigned to mentally subtract their spouse from their lives reported greater current marital satisfaction and general happiness than those assigned to a control group, indicating that an imagined scarcity was enough to boost appreciation (Koo et al., 2008). Similarly, among students in their final semester of college, those who got a message that framed graduation as soon (that is, time in college was scarce) were happier, more appreciative of their college, and more motivated to make the most of their remaining time than those who got a message that framed graduation as relatively far away (Kurtz, 2008). Although time scarcity in college may be easy to evoke among graduating seniors, we were surprisingly able to evoke this sense of scarcity among a sample of mostly freshmen and sophomores as well. Specifically, we randomly assigned students to think about this month as their "last in their location for a while" (due to them moving) and to do all of the things they are going to miss while they are away. Students who lived the month like it was their last gained in happiness over time compared to a neutral control group (Layous et al., 2017). Lastly, participants assigned to abstain from eating chocolate for a week (that is, to give it up) appreciated their next piece of chocolate more than those assigned to eat as much chocolate as they wanted or those who received no instructions regarding chocolate (Quoidbach and Dunn, 2013). Together, these studies imply that evoking a sense of scarcity may make people less likely to take the positive aspects of their lives for granted.

Thinking ahead to future positive events (that is, future mental time travel) can also boost happiness. For example, in one study, participants were randomly assigned to imagine four positive, negative or neutral events that could happen to them the next day. After fifteen days of the activity, those who imagined positive events increased in happiness, but those who imagined negative or neutral events did not (Quoidbach et al., 2008). This implies that part of happiness might be the anticipation and expectation that positive events will occur. Other studies have also prompted people to "visualize their best possible future self", resulting in their seeing increased happiness as a result, but I will discuss those in the optimism section below (for example, King, 2001; Boehm et al., 2011).

Overall, whether focused on past, present or future events, interventions that seek to boost appreciation of one's life also boost happiness. Thus, in the workplace, activities that promote positive reminiscence or projections about future positive events may boost happiness among employees. Research has yet to explore whether mentally subtracting your job from your life would promote greater appreciation of your workplace and position. My best prediction is that the intervention may need to be framed as mentally subtracting all of the benefits from your job like engagement in inspiring tasks, money to feed loved ones, healthcare, or friends who are co-workers. Focusing on these clear benefits of the job may help reduce the likelihood that people will imagine all the free time they could gain from quitting their job as they savor their lives on a beach somewhere in Hawaii.

Kindness

Happy people tend to be more prosocial (Krueger et al., 2001) and researchers have tested whether prompting people to engage in prosociality could boost their well-being. Across multiple randomized controlled studies, participants who engaged in five kind acts, all in one day, per week, increased in happiness over control groups (for example, Layous et al., 2013a; Nelson et al., 2015). In one study, researchers randomly assigned participants to perform three kind acts for others, for the world, or for themselves, or to engage in a neutral control activity weekly for four weeks (Nelson et al., 2016). Results indicated that participants who performed kind acts for others or for the world had higher levels of flourishing than those who performed kind acts for themselves or engaged in the neutral task. The differences in flourishing among conditions were explained by increases in positive affect and decreases in negative affect among those in the other- and world-kindness groups. Those who engaged in self-focused kind acts did not increase in flourishing, positive affect, or negative affect compared to controls, indicating that treating yourself may not be as effective in boosting well-being as popular wisdom may suggest.

That said, there is a great deal of literature about burnout among carers or people in helping professions, so more research needs to be conducted to explore the boundary effects on the link between other-focus and well-being. Although the Nelson and colleagues (2016) study included students, community-based adults, and adults from Amazon Mechanical Turk in the sample, it did not explicitly focus on carers or people in highly other-oriented professions (for example, teachers, nurses, social workers). These people might very well benefit from some self-focused time. Future research might also code these self-focused acts to see if some are more effective than others. For example, there is a great deal of literature on self-compassion, which is often described as treating yourself as you would a

good friend rather than being hard on yourself in the face of life's struggles (Neff, 2003). Self-care, like practicing self-compassion or reading a good book, might boost positivity more than other self-focused activities like treating oneself to a piece of chocolate cake. Another thing to note from the Nelson and colleagues (2016) study is that three acts were effective in boosting well-being, so the "five acts" from previous instructions does not seem to be an exact number necessary for boosts to well-being.

Another particularly clever experiment conducted in a workplace randomly assigned participants to be givers (performers of kind acts), receivers or controls (Chancellor et al., 2017). In this controlled environment, researchers were able to explore the benefits not only to the givers, but also to receivers. They found that givers and receivers both showed well-being benefits over controls, and, interestingly, givers' kind acts inspired receivers to pay forward their kind acts – they engaged in 278 percent more kind acts compared to controls. Thus, this type of intervention can work in the workplace and, given the closed network of a workplace, can inspire true change as receivers too engage in more prosocial acts.

Another way of practicing kindness is to respond positively to the good news of close others. Earlier, I mentioned that one savoring strategy is to capitalize on your positive news by sharing it with close others (Gable et al., 2004). In that same set of studies, researchers explored how the partner's response to the participants' positive news affected their well-being. They found that participants who had partners who responded with enthusiastic support of their good news (versus ignoring or undermining the event) reported even greater well-being benefits, as well as higher intimacy and marital satisfaction. Although research has not yet extrapolated these findings to the work setting, I would predict that co-workers who provide enthusiastic support in which they emote positively and ask encouraging questions about the event would promote positive work relationships which would also promote productivity.

Optimism
Naturally happy people tend to be optimistic about their futures (Lucas et al., 1996), thus another avenue to boosting happiness is prompting people to visualize and write about their best possible selves (BPS) to promote positive expectations for their future (King, 2001). Some BPS interventions stay general, prompting people to think about their life in the future, imagining everything has gone as well as it possibly could. Then they are prompted to write about what they imagined (King, 2001). Other researchers adapted this to multi-week interventions, asking participants to focus on different domains of their lives each week (for example, family, friends, romantic partner, career, health and hobbies in working adults or

academic, social, career and health in college students; Boehm et al., 2011; Layous, 2013b). Across these studies, people in the BPS condition reported higher well-being than those in a neutral control group, indicating that anticipating positive outcomes in one's future can boost well-being.

Some researchers warn that fantasizing about one's positive future outcomes can make people feel as if they have already accomplished their goals, prompting less effort to make the imagined future a reality (Oettingen, 2012). So, although visualizing a best possible self may be good for one's well-being, it may undermine goal-directed behavior. Instead, Oettingen and colleagues recommend that people engage in a process called mental contrasting with implementation intentions (MCII; or wish, outcome, obstacle, plan: WOOP) in which they contrast a desired future with a current reality, identify obstacles, and create implementation intentions to overcome each potential obstacle (for example, if I get tempted by an unhealthy snack, I will reach for an orange instead; Oettingen, 2012). Oettingen and colleagues have now compiled a great deal of empirical evidence that MCII helps people achieve desirable outcomes in a variety of domains (for example, school, health, mental health). In one experiment, 5th graders were randomly assigned to engage in MCII or a positive thinking exercise in which they thought about a positive future outcome, but did not consider potential obstacles. Students who engaged in MCII improved their report card grades, attendance and conduct compared to students who only thought positively about their futures (Duckworth et al., 2013).

In the workplace, simply visualizing a best possible work future may not be enough to bring about productive action. Layous et al. (2013b) included a goal-setting activity at the end of their BPS activity in which participants set specific goals that would help them achieve their desired future. The study did not isolate the BPS activity from the goal-setting activity to see if BPS plus goal-setting was more effective in increasing well-being than BPS alone, but, according to Oettingen's research, the BPS plus goal-setting made it more likely that students took action toward their desired future.

Strengths-focus

People often dwell on their weaknesses, wondering if their Achilles heel will undermine their ability to be a capable person. Strengths-focused interventions seek to re-focus people's attention on areas of strength rather than weakness. After taking an assessment to identify their top five signature strengths (www.authentichappiness.org), participants are either prompted to use their strengths "more often" during the following week or to use them in a "new way" each day during the following week (Seligman et al., 2005). Although using strengths more often showed decreases in depression over the control group at post-test, the effects were not long

lasting. In contrast, using strengths in a new way showed well-being benefits over a control group even at a six-month follow-up (see also Senf and Liau, 2013).

In addition to the strengths assessment used in the above research, which highlights 24 strengths within six categories of character virtues (for example, courage, humanity and wisdom), Gallup also has the CliftonStrengths assessment (formerly Clifton StrengthsFinder; https://www.gallupstrengthscenter.com), which identifies 34 possible strengths in four possible domains (strategic thinking, execution, relationship building, and influencing). Arguably, the latter framing of strengths lends itself more readily to workplace conversations surrounding strengths.

Mindfulness

In today's age of constant email interruptions and eyes glued to smart-phones, mindfulness is a buzzword that gets thrown around quite a bit. Mindfulness is defined as a non-judgmental present awareness of one's experience (Kabat-Zinn, 2003; see Kabat-Zinn, 2003 also for cultural and religious foundations of mindfulness). Kabat-Zinn (2003, p. 145) says that mindfulness involves "paying attention on purpose". In one experiment, participants were randomly assigned to engage in guided mindfulness practice (Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction) for eight weeks or to a waitlist control group. Participants who engaged in the mindfulness training showed greater activation in the left-side anterior cortex – a part of the brain associated with positive emotions – as well as better immune function (Davidson et al., 2003). Thus, it seems that people can be trained to experience the world more mindfully and that this mindfulness can have effects on one's physical and mental well-being.

One way to start practicing mindfulness is to attempt to focus on one's breath and nothing else. If one's mind starts wandering, mindfulness practitioners say not to worry about it, but to bring one's attention back to the breath. If trying to calm oneself in a particularly stressful moment, taking exaggerated (especially deep) breaths at first may help slow the heart rate. Otherwise, just breathing normally and focusing on the rise and fall of one's chest and the breath leaving the nostrils can bring present awareness and a break from the distractions of a busy world. Another way that people are cultivating mindfulness is with the help of various guided videos posted to YouTube and a popular (near 5-star rated app) called Headspace, which includes daily guided meditation. Importantly, mindfulness practice is not limited to meditative practice – it can simply involve pulling oneself back to the present moment when one realizes one is distracted (Kabat-Zinn, 2003). The goal of mindfulness is sustained attention in the present moment, but the way of getting to that goal can

vary by people. Kabat-Zinn (2003) notes that regardless of how one practices mindfulness, intentional practice is key, as one will need to develop this ability over time.

Workplaces can make mindfulness more likely in a variety of ways. Some workplaces bring therapists or mindfulness coaches into the workplace to teach employees directly about mindfulness and mindfulness practice. Another idea is to have quiet space dedicated to mindfulness practice. Many workplaces are open-concept, meaning that people's desks are right next to their co-workers, sometimes with no divider. This can promote distraction rather than mindful attention. Having quiet private spaces may help employees practice mindfulness throughout the day. In addition, a perhaps controversial suggestion is to allow employees to turn off their email notifications when they go home for the day, allowing them time for mindful attention at home. This could have the added benefit of making them more mindful at work as well, as they were able to fully attend to their loved ones while at home.

Moderators of Happiness-Promoting Activities

Although a great deal of evidence now exists to demonstrate that people can intentionally boost their happiness via the practice of positive activities, more research needs to address what types of activities are most successful in boosting well-being, what types of people benefit from or are harmed by the practice, as well as whether there is an optimal fit between the type of activity and the type of person (that is, person–activity fit) that might lead to the best well-being outcomes. Layous and Lyubomirsky (2014) thoroughly review these potential factors in their positive activity model, but below is a sampling of potential considerations (see also Lyubomirsky and Layous, 2013).

Activity features
Researchers have explored whether there are ways of administering positive activities that make them more likely to be effective. One consideration is dosage, which concerns how often people should practice these activities. In one experiment, participants randomly assigned to count blessings three times a week were less happy than those assigned to count blessings once a week (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005b). Researchers reasoned that those assigned to count blessings three times a week might have felt overburdened by the task. Similarly, in another experiment, participants randomly assigned to perform five acts of kindness throughout the week were less happy than those assigned to perform five acts of kindness all in one day, indicating that maybe concentrating the activities in one day was more

effective than diffusing them over the week (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005b). That said, a study about happiness-seekers on the internet reported that they typically practiced about eight positive activities and that they practiced their most valued activity between "several times a week" and "everyday" (Parks et al., 2012). This study indicates that the correct dosage of an activity probably varies by person.

Research also suggests that the positive activity will be more likely to boost well-being if the practice is variable. For example, in one experiment, participants randomly assigned to vary their kind acts each week reported higher well-being than those assigned to do the same kind acts each week (Sheldon et al., 2012). This variety could prevent hedonic adaptation to the activity, keeping it fresh (for example, Lyubomirsky, 2011). Indeed, this need for variety could be why the internet happiness-seekers reported actively engaging in almost eight activities at a time (Parks et al., 2012).

Many other potential activity features could affect the efficacy of positive activities. For example, does it matter whether the activity is social or reflective? Could focusing on a weakness be more effective than focusing on a strength (that is, if someone knows they easily get distracted, should they focus on mindfulness practice to address that weakness)? Is the practice of a positive activity more effective if social support is embedded into the practice (that is, performing the activity with a buddy)? All of these questions remain unanswered and could help researchers make positive activities more effective for more people.

Person features

People differ in a variety of ways that might also make them respond differently to a happiness-promoting activity. First, people differ in their motivation to pursue happiness – some may not believe that happiness can be changed or some may feel that happiness-promoting activities are hokey or forced. Importantly, this motivation will affect people's ability to gain in well-being from happiness interventions. In one clever experiment, researchers posted recruitment materials for two different kinds of studies: a happiness intervention study or a cognitive exercises study (Lyubomirsky et al., 2011). In reality, both recruitment posters were leading to the same happiness intervention study. Those who self-selected into the happiness intervention study were considered motivated to improve their own happiness. All participants were randomly assigned to one of two happiness interventions or a control group for a 2 (Self-selected: Yes, No) × 3 (Activity: Gratitude, Optimism, Control) design. A planned contrast comparing the two happiness intervention conditions to the control group failed to reach significance after the 6-week intervention, but, as expected, those who self-selected into the happiness intervention study and engaged

in the happiness-promoting conditions saw greater gains in well-being than the other groups, which persisted at a 6-month follow-up. The authors stated that people needed both a will (a motivation to engage in happiness interventions) and a way (an empirically supported approach to increasing happiness) to intentionally improve their well-being.

Initial motivation may predict the amount of effort people put into the happiness-promoting activities. Indeed, people who put relatively more effort into the happiness-promoting activities also tend to report greater gains in well-being (Chancellor et al., 2015; Layous et al., 2013a; Lyubomirsky et al., 2011). This relationship was found when measuring effort in three different ways: coder-rated effort (Lyubomirsky et al., 2011); character count of participant responses (Chancellor et al., 2015); and self-reported effort (Layous et al., 2013a). Importantly, in two of the studies, greater effort was only predictive of greater well-being among participants in the happiness-promoting conditions, not in the control condition, indicating – just like the motivation finding – that greater effort only predicts greater benefit when one is performing an efficacious activity (Chancellor et al., 2015; Lyubomirsky et al., 2011).

Other person-level features have also been found to predict how much one gains from a happiness-promoting activity. For example, one study found that people who are relatively more extraverted and open to experiences gain more in well-being from positive activities (Senf and Liau, 2013). Another study found that US participants showed significant gains in well-being over six weeks from a weekly gratitude letter activity, but South Korean participants showed a non-significant decline in well-being, indicating that people from different cultures may experience these activities differently (Layous et al., 2013a). Researchers have also found that people's baseline levels of well-being can predict how early they will benefit from happiness-promoting interventions, with relatively happier people benefiting earlier than their less happy counterparts (Cohn and Fredrickson, 2010). Importantly, regardless of baseline levels of well-being, people on average benefited from the happiness-promoting activity, indicating that being at a certain level of well-being at the beginning of a happiness intervention may predict earlier gains in well-being, but being lower in well-being does not preclude someone from gaining in well-being from the activity. Although evidence is still accumulating to explore the effect of happiness-promoting activities among people with depression, some evidence suggests that these activities can be efficacious in reducing depressive symptoms (Seligman et al., 2005; Sin and Lyubomirsky, 2009; but see Sin et al., 2011). Much research is needed to explore other aspects of a person that may make positive activities more or less likely to work (for example, their gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, social support system).

Person–activity fit

In addition to the main effect of certain activity and person-features on the efficacy of happiness-promoting activities, an interaction may exist such that an optimal match between the features of the activity and the features of the person will likely best predict gains in well-being (that is, person–activity fit). Indeed, people who reported that a certain activity felt more natural and enjoyable to them were also more likely to show gains in well-being over time than those who reported less of a fit with the activity (Dickerhoof, 2007; see also Proyer et al., 2015). Similarly, people assigned to perform an activity that was similar to one they previously liked showed marginally greater gains in well-being than those assigned to perform a dissimilar activity (Schueller, 2011). On the other hand, one study of users of a happiness app reported that the activities people preferred were not necessarily the most efficacious, indicating that participants' liking of an activity should not be the sole criterion of person–activity fit (Parks et al., 2012, Study 3).

Future research would do well to continue exploring the role of person–activity fit in happiness-intervention efficacy, as well as different possible definitions of person–activity fit. For example, a fitting activity could be one that builds upon one's strengths (for example, kindness) or perhaps helps one build skills in an area one is typically weak in (for example, expressing gratitude). In the case of matching an activity to someone's weakness, fit would be giving the person what they need the most. Alternatively, fit could also be determined more practically by exploring someone's schedule and seeing which activities fit best into that lifestyle. For example, a person who drives two hours to work each day could use the commute to reflect gratefully, thus working the positive activity seamlessly into a busy schedule. Different conceptions of person–activity fit may help further individualize positive activities to maximally benefit the people practicing them.

Mediators of Happiness-Promoting Activities

In addition to exploring the potential moderators of happiness-promoting activities, the positive activity model also proposes the mechanisms by which happiness-promoting activities stimulate changes in well-being (Layous and Lyubomirsky, 2014; Lyubomirsky and Layous, 2013). Specifically, the positive activity model proposes that happiness-promoting activities boost positive emotions, positive thoughts, positive behaviors and psychological need satisfaction, which in turn boost overall happiness.

Positive emotions, thoughts and behaviors

The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions specifies that when people are in a positive state, their thinking and attention is broadened, allowing them to be more creative and urging them to play and explore (Fredrickson, 2001; 2013). In this space of openness and exploration, Fredrickson (2001; 2013) argues that people can take important steps to build psychological, cognitive, social and physical resources. For example, if someone is in a positive mood, they may take action to invite a new acquaintance to coffee, and that new acquaintance may over time become a beloved friend. If not for the initial action performed in the positive state, the friendship may never have taken off. Thus, positive activities can create positive emotions in the moment that may prompt actions that lead to durable resources. In one study, participants who engaged in a seven-week loving-kindness meditation training meant to focus their attention on positive, compassionate thoughts toward themselves and others increased in positive emotions over time throughout the training, and these positive emotions in turn promoted increases in resources like life satisfaction, mindfulness and decreases in symptoms of physical illness (Fredrickson et al., 2008).

In another study, participants were instructed to list three memorable experiences and to rate how satisfying they were (Dickherhoof, 2007). Participants randomly assigned to engage in a happiness intervention reported that their daily experiences were becoming marginally more satisfying over time compared to participants assigned to the control group. This perception of satisfying experiences mediated the relationship between condition (intervention vs. control) and well-being. Interestingly, independent coders actually rated participant experiences as becoming less (not more) satisfying over time, indicating that participants in the happiness intervention group simply construed their experiences as more satisfying over time even though they objectively were not. This indicates that one way in which happiness interventions work is by changing people's perspective of their daily events, increasing positive thoughts about one's day.

Finally, happiness interventions have been found to increase positive behaviors that are unrelated to the assigned positive activity. For example, in a gratitude intervention study, participants who counted their blessings were more likely to exercise than participants who listed their daily hassles (Emmons and McCullough, 2003). Given that exercise is as effective at relieving depression as antidepressant medication (Blumenthal et al., 2007), boosting exercise would also in turn boost well-being. Similarly, hypertensive African Americans randomly assigned to a positive affect and self-affirmation condition adhered more to their medication than

those assigned to a patient education condition, indicating that boosting positive affect can also increase the practice of important health behaviors (Ogedegbe et al., 2012). Thus, engaging in happiness interventions could prompt other positive behaviors that in turn benefit well-being.

Psychological need satisfaction

Another proposed mechanism by which happiness-interventions boost well-being is via psychological need satisfaction. Self-determination theory specifies that, for optimal functioning, humans need to meet three distinct but related psychological needs: autonomy, competence and connectedness (sometimes called relatedness; Ryan and Deci, 2000). Autonomy is the degree to which people feel free to make their own choices without external pressure, competence is the degree to which people feel like efficacious, capable actors, and connectedness is the degree to which people feel close and connected to those around them. The positive activity model posits that one way in which happiness-interventions work to increase well-being is by boosting autonomy, competence and connectedness (Lyubomirsky and Layous, 2013). Indeed, students assigned to think of time as scarce at their college (a happiness-intervention) improved in well-being more than a control group who simply listed daily activities. These changes in well-being were mediated by increases in psychological need satisfaction in the happiness-intervention versus the control group (Layous et al., 2017). In a direct test of the path from need satisfaction to well-being, one study found that people randomly assigned to increase one of the three psychological needs saw greater gains in well-being over time than those assigned to improve their life circumstances (Sheldon et al., 2010). Thus, happiness-interventions may provide opportunities for people to fulfill their psychological needs, thereby improving their well-being.

PROMOTING HAPPINESS AT WORK

Workplaces can promote happiness in various ways. First, employers can allow employees the space, time or informational resources to practice the happiness-increasing activities outlined above. Importantly, what-ever direct efforts workplaces engage in to promote employee happiness should be completely optional to the employees. Given the importance of autonomy for happiness, it would be counterproductive to pressure employees to engage in happiness-promoting activities. Related to the all-important need for autonomy is the finding that positive activities work best when people are motivated to become happy (Lyubomirsky et al., 2011) and therefore a pursuit of happiness that is not self-initiated may be

unlikely to work. Even just the mention of happiness-promoting activities at work may have some employees rolling their eyes. Thus, instead of directly advocating for happiness-promoting activities, organizations can instead create environments and policies that boost psychological need satisfaction, which in turn will boost employee happiness.

For example, to promote autonomy, some organizations have adopted Cali Ressler and Jody Thompson's Results-Only Work Environment in which employees do not have defined or mandatory work hours and instead are evaluated only on what they produce. In a less extreme example, other workplaces could allow employees to work from home once or twice a week to give them more flexibility with their time. Also in the service of autonomy, Google has famously encouraged employees to spend 20 percent of their work time engaging in passion projects (although this policy has been criticized as more lip service than reality). In their new "Area 120" Googlers can pitch their passion project and, if selected, they can work full time on it for a few months. After their full-time focus, Googlers have the opportunity to once again pitch their idea, but this time for the chance to create a new company that Google will invest in. Although the aforementioned are well-defined plans to encourage employee autonomy, organizations can also encourage autonomy in simpler ways. For example, because working toward goals that match with one's values (that is, self-concordant goals) boosts psychological need satisfaction and well-being (Sheldon and Elliot, 1999), the more that the company's values can be espoused and connected with the employee's values, the more autonomous the employee will feel and the higher their well-being will be.

Organizations can also provide space for employees to develop competence, ensuring that employees continually learn in their job and become more capable over time. Paid opportunities for professional development opportunities, as well as well-developed in-house training programs are crucial to make employees feel that they are growing and cultivating skills and becoming effective, efficient employees. Similarly, human resources departments that help manage the trajectories of their employees' careers may also be able to ensure that employees are continually learning new skills and occupying positions to use those skills effectively.

In addition, employees can increase connectedness in various ways. Many work-groups engage in team-building activities in the hope that this connection with one's co-workers will promote better working relationships and more productivity. According to the positive activity model, this connectedness will also promote greater happiness. Other companies have found ways for employees to feel more connected to the ones they love most. For example, Patagonia has onsite subsidized childcare for its employees, which allows parents to connect with their children throughout the working day

without a huge cost of time. Patagonia also offers paid parental leave (16 weeks for mothers and 12 weeks for fathers and adoptive mothers), which allows parents to bond with their newly born children without the stress of returning to work quickly to meet the financial burden of having children. In addition, if parents have to travel for work, Patagonia foots the bill for nannies or partners to travel with the parent and child. With these parent-friendly policies, Patagonia has been able to retain 100 percent of their new mothers over the last five years, whereas the average retention rate in the US is 79 percent (Anderson, 2016). Although onsite childcare may sound like too expensive an endeavor, Patagonia is able to recoup 91 percent of the costs via tax breaks and the value of employee retention and engagement. Not only do these policies allow for greater connectedness with children, they also reduce many potential stressors that could distract parents in the workplace or even draw them away from work.

Aside from creating environments that foster psychological need satisfaction, employers can also promote other major predictors of well-being. For example, taking a walk through nature (versus an urban environment) increases positive affect and cognitive functioning (Berman et al., 2008; 2012). Even desk employees who had a window with a view toward natural elements reported higher job satisfaction than desk employees with either no window or a window with no view of natural elements (Kaplan, 1993). Companies like Facebook are taking note: Facebook has a park on the roof of its building that allows employees a chance to experience nature throughout their day. Similarly, as mentioned before, exercise has been shown to improve well-being at comparable levels to antidepressants (Blumenthal et al., 2007). Thus, organizations that allow time in the day for exercise or an opportunity for onsite exercise would likely promote employee well-being. Finally, higher well-being is associated with fewer sleep problems (Steptoe et al., 2008). Some evidence also suggests that well-being can attenuate the relationship between stressors like financial strain and social isolation and sleep, making these negative psychosocial factors less likely to result in poor sleep (Steptoe et al., 2008). Many organizations are including nap rooms or flexible work hours to accommodate employees' various sleep schedules.

Finally, if employers want to know what could improve the well-being of their employees, they would do well to hold focus groups or administer surveys to understand the issues that are on their employees' minds. Employers may not realize that employees simply want work-from-home Fridays or access to natural space from time to time. Of course, once employers ask for employee input, they need to be prepared to implement at least some of employees' suggestions lest they decrease employees' feelings that they have some control over their environment (that is, their autonomy).

PSYCHOLOGICAL SAFETY

So far, this chapter has been explicitly focused on boosting happiness both within and outside of the workplace. Another way to think about promoting well-being is to decrease the frequency of negative emotions. Often people can experience negative emotions in the workplace due to poor interpersonal relationships among co-workers or, for more malevolent reasons like sexual harassment or discrimination. Recently, the #MeToo movement has shone a light on instances of sexual harassment and abuse in the workplace – dynamics that create a hostile environment and make it impossible for people to feel valued and happy in the workplace. Similarly, people from underrepresented groups also often feel uncomfortable in the workplace given the lack of diversity in certain fields (for example, technology firms), which results in tension and anxiety as minorities feel the pressure to represent their whole group (for example, Steele, 1997). These types of interpersonal dynamics make going to work difficult and efforts should be made to reduce the presence of toxic actors and promote belonging for all employees. By paying attention to employee claims of abuse and discomfort, employers may be able to act promptly to alleviate bad situations, thereby reducing negative feelings at work and allowing for the possibility that positive emotions can emerge.

Sexual harassment and discrimination are extreme examples of hostile work environments, but there are also less extreme forms of interpersonal disharmony that make it difficult for groups to function to the best of their ability. Google conducted a fascinating study called Project Aristotle in which they explored 180 teams to identify characteristics of well-functioning and poorly functioning teams (Duhigg, 2016). Surprisingly, they found very little evidence that particular compositions of personality, skills or demographics related to well-functioning teams. After some failed attempts to find the characteristics of high-performing teams, they were inspired by research demonstrating that certain features of a group seemed to promote "psychological safety", a feeling characterized by trust and mutual respect among teammates in which each person feels free to take risks without fear of rebuke (Edmondson, 1999). Other research has shown that group norms of high-performing teams include each team member speaking equally and social sensitivity in which group members were good at intuiting how others felt based on various non-verbal cues (Woolley et al., 2010). Both of the features highlighted by Woolley and colleagues (2010) could be considered indicators of psychological safety in the group. Finally, the Google research team felt that their results made sense and they saw these patterns of psychological safety in their high-performing teams too.

This research on high-performing teams dovetails nicely with research on how important feelings of self-worth and psychological safety are to individual performance. Many studies have shown that members of underrepresented groups often have poor academic trajectories in school over time as anxiety over representing their group and lack of belonging threaten their self-integrity. On the other hand, people from underrepresented groups who undergo interventions to increase their sense of belonging in school or their self-integrity perform far better than their peers who do not undergo this intervention, indicating that psychological safety can be increased to improve the performance of the individual (for example, Cohen and Sherman 2014; Walton, 2014). The research from Google's Project Aristotle and others also suggests that certain factors can make teams more psychologically safe, which can boost team-based performance in the workplace.

In relation to the current chapter, psychological safety can be seen as an indicator of well-being in the workplace or perhaps a prerequisite to well-being in the workplace. Thus, organizations should not only consider the degree to which their employees feel positive or satisfied at work, but also the degree to which they feel safe to express their opinions and new ideas without worry of ridicule or embarrassment.

CONCLUSION

Happiness is not just a superficial goal for people who dream of vacations from work and retirement. Instead, happiness predicts productivity, creativity, perseverance and better supervisor ratings in the workplace. Thus, the happiness of employees is important to the bottom line of organizations. Importantly, research on the science of happiness offers empirically based practices to help people increase their happiness, leading to positive downstream consequences at work. Given the importance of happiness for worker productivity, organizations should consider how their workplace policies may affect employee happiness and take steps to provide an environment in which employees can flourish.

REFERENCES

Adler, M.G. and Fagley, N.S. (2005). Appreciation: Individual differences in finding value and meaning as a unique predictor of subjective well-being. *Journal of Personality*, *73*(1), 79–114.
Algoe, S.B. (2012). Find, remind, and bind: The functions of gratitude in everyday relationships. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *6*(6), 455–69.

Anderson, J. (2016). This is what work–life balance looks like at a company with 100% retention of moms. *Quartz at Work*. October. Accessed at https://work.qz.com/806516/the-secret-to-patagonias-success-keeping-moms-and-onsite-child-care-and-paid-parental-leave/.

Armenta, C.N., Layous, K., Nelson, S.K., Chancellor, J. and Lyubomirsky, S. (2016). Gratitude and self-improvement in the workplace. Poster presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychologists, San Diego, CA.

Berman, M.G., Jonides, J. and Kaplan, S. (2008). The cognitive benefits of interacting with nature. *Psychological Science*, *19*(12), 1207–12.

Berman, M.G., Kross, E., Krpan, K.M., Askren, M.K., Burson, A., Deldin, P.J., Kaplan, S. et al. (2012). Interacting with nature improves cognition and affect for individuals with depression. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, *140*(3), 300–305.

Boehm, J.K., Lyubomirsky, S. and Sheldon, K.M. (2011). A longitudinal experimental study comparing the effectiveness of happiness-enhancing strategies in Anglo Americans and Asian Americans. *Cognition and Emotion*, *25*, 1263–72.

Bolier, L., Haverman, M., Westerhof, G.J., Riper, H., Smit, F. and Bohlmeijer, E. (2013). Positive psychology interventions: A meta-analysis of randomized controlled studies. *BMC Public Health*, *13*(1), 119–39.

Blumenthal, J.A., Babyak, M.A., Doraiswamy, P.M., Watkins, L., Hoffman, B.M., Barbour, K.A., Herman, S. et al. (2007). Exercise and pharmacotherapy in the treatment of major depressive disorder. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, *69*(7), 587–96.

Bryant, F.B., Smart, C.M. and King, S.P. (2005). Using the past to enhance the present: Boosting happiness through positive reminiscence. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *6*(3), 227–60.

Burton, C.M. and King, L.A. (2004). The health benefits of writing about intensely positive experiences. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *38*(2), 150–63.

Burton, C.M. and King, L.A. (2008). Effects of (very) brief writing on health: The two-minute miracle. *British Journal of Health Psychology*, *13*(1), 9–14.

Chancellor, J., Layous, K. and Lyubomirsky, S. (2015). Recalling positive events at work makes employees feel happier, move more, but interact less: A 6-week randomized controlled intervention at a Japanese workplace. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *16*(4), 871–87.

Chancellor, J., Margolis, S., Jacobs Bao, K. and Lyubomirsky, S. (2017). Everyday prosociality in the workplace: The reinforcing benefits of giving, getting, and glimpsing. *Emotion*. Accessed at http://dx.doi.org.proxylib.csueastbay.edu/10.1037/emo0000321.

Cohen, G.L. and Sherman, D.K. (2014). The psychology of change: Self-affirmation and social psychological intervention. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *65*, 333–71.

Cohn, M.A. and Fredrickson, B.L. (2010). In search of durable positive psychology interventions: Predictors and consequences of long-term positive behavior change. *Journal of Positive Psychology*, *5*, 355–66.

Davidson, R.J., Kabat-Zinn, J., Schumacher, J., Rosenkranz, M., Muller, D., Santorelli, S.F., Urbanowski, F. et al. (2003). Alterations in brain and immune function produced by mindfulness meditation. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, *65*(4), 564–70.

Davis, D.E., Choe, E., Meyers, J., Wade, N., Varjas, K., Gifford, A., Quinn, A. et al. (2016). Thankful for the little things: A meta-analysis of gratitude interventions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *63*(1), 20–31.

Dickens, L.R. (2017). Using gratitude to promote positive change: A series of

meta-analyses investigating the effectiveness of gratitude interventions. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *39*(4), 193–208.

Dickerhoof, R.M. (2007). Expressing optimism and gratitude: A longitudinal investigation of cognitive strategies to increase well-being. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, *68*, 4174 (UMI No. 3270426).

Diener, E., Suh, E.M., Lucas, R.E. and Smith, H.L. (1999). Subjective well-being: Three decades of progress. *Psychological Bulletin*, *125*, 276–302.

Duckworth, A.L., Kirby, T.A., Gollwitzer, A. and Oettingen, G. (2013). From fantasy to action: Mental contrasting with implementation intentions (MCII) improves academic performance in children. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *4*(6), 745–53.

Duhigg, C. (2016). What Google learned from its quest to build the perfect team. *The New York Times Magazine.* February. Accessed at https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/28/magazine/what-google-learned-from-its-quest-to-build-the-perfect-team.html.

Edmondson, A. (1999). Psychological safety and learning behavior in work teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *44*(2), 350–83.

Emmons, R.A. and McCullough, M.E. (2003). Counting blessings versus burdens: An experimental investigation of gratitude and subjective well-being in daily life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *84*, 377–89.

Fordyce, M.W. (1977). Development of a program to increase personal happiness. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *24*, 511–21.

Fordyce, M.W. (1983). A program to increase happiness: Further studies. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *30*, 483–98.

Fredrickson, B.L. (2001). The role of positive emotions in positive psychology: The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *American Psychologist*, *56*, 218–26.

Fredrickson, B.L. (2013). Positive emotions broaden and build. In E.A. Plant and P.G. Devine (eds), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 47, pp. 1–53). New York: Elsevier.

Fredrickson, B.L., Cohn, M.A., Coffey, K.A., Pek, J. and Finkel, S.M. (2008). Open hearts build lives: Positive emotions, induced through loving-kindness meditation, build consequential personal resources. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *95*, 1045–62.

Gable, S.L., Reis, H.T., Impett, E.A. and Asher, E.R. (2004). What do you do when things go right? The intrapersonal and interpersonal benefits of sharing positive events. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *87*(2), 228–45.

Kabat-Zinn, J. (2003). Mindfulness-based interventions in context: Past, present, and future. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*, *10*(2), 144–56.

Kaplan, R. (1993). The role of nature in the context of the workplace. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, *26*(1–4), 193–201.

Kaplan, S., Bradley-Geist, J.C., Ahmad, A., Anderson, A., Hargrove, A.K. and Lindsey, A. (2014). A test of two positive psychology interventions to increase employee well-being. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *29*(3), 367–80.

King, L.A. (2001). The health benefits of writing about life goals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *27*, 798–807.

Koo, M., Algoe, S.B., Wilson, T.D. and Gilbert, D.T. (2008). It's a wonderful life: Mentally subtracting positive events improves people's affective states, contrary to their affective forecasts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *95*(5), 1217–24.

Nelson, S.K., Della Porta, M.D., Jacobs Bao, K., Lee, H.C., Choi, I. and Lyubomirsky, S. (2015). 'It's up to you': Experimentally manipulated autonomy support for prosocial behavior improves well-being in two cultures over six weeks. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *10*(5), 463–76.

Oettingen, G. (2012). Future thought and behaviour change. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *23*(1), 1–63.

Ogedegbe, G.O., Boutin-Foster, C., Wells, M.T., Allegrante, J.P., Isen, A.M., Jobe, J.B. and Charlson, M.E. (2012). A randomized controlled trial of positive-affect intervention and medication adherence in hypertensive African Americans. *Archives of Internal Medicine*, *172*(4), 322–6.

Parks, A., Della Porta, M., Pierce, R.S., Zilca, R. and Lyubomirsky, S. (2012). Pursuing happiness in everyday life: The characteristics and behaviors of online happiness seekers. *Emotion*, *12*, 1222–34.

Proyer, R.T., Wellenzohn, S., Gander, F. and Ruch, W. (2015). Toward a better understanding of what makes Positive Psychology Interventions work: Predicting happiness and depression from the person X intervention fit in a follow-up after 3.5 years. *Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being*, *7*(1), 108–28.

Quoidbach, J. and Dunn, E.W. (2013). Give it up: A strategy for combating hedonic adaptation. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *4*(5), 563–8.

Quoidbach, J., Mikolajczak, M. and Gross, J.J. (2015). Positive interventions: An emotion regulation perspective. *Psychological Bulletin*, *141*(3), 655–93.

Quoidbach, J., Wood, A.M. and Hansenne, M. (2009). Back to the future: The effect of daily practice of mental time travel into the future on happiness and anxiety. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *4*(5), 349–55.

Ryan, R.M. and Deci, E.L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, *55*, 68–78.

Schueller, S.M. (2011). To each his own well-being boosting intervention: Using preference to guide selection. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *6*, 300–13.

Sedikides, C., Wildschut, T., Routledge, C., Arndt, J., Hepper, E.G. and Zhou, X. (2015). To nostalgize: Mixing memory with affect and desire. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *51*, 189–273.

Seligman, M.E.P., Rashid, T. and Parks, A.C. (2006). Positive psychotherapy. *American Psychologist*, *61*, 774–88.

Seligman, M.E.P., Steen, T.A., Park, N. and Peterson, C. (2005). Positive psychology progress: Empirical validation of interventions. *American Psychologist*, *60*, 410–21.

Senf, K. and Liau, A.K. (2013). The effects of positive interventions on happiness and depressive symptoms, with an examination of personality as a moderator. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *14*(2), 591–612.

Sheldon, K.M. and Elliot, A.J. (1999). Goal striving, need satisfaction, and longitudinal well-being: The self-concordance model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *76*(3), 482–97.

Sheldon, K.M., Boehm, J.K. and Lyubomirsky, S. (2012). Variety is the spice of happiness: The hedonic adaptation prevention (HAP) model. In I. Boniwell and S. David (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Happiness* (pp. 901–14). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sheldon, K.M., Abad, N., Ferguson, Y., Gunz, A., Houser-Marko, L., Nichols, C.P. and Lyubomirsky, S. (2010). Persistent pursuit of need satisfying goals leads to increased happiness: A 6-month experimental longitudinal study. *Motivation & Emotion*, *34*, 39–48.

Sin, N.L. and Lyubomirsky, S. (2009). Enhancing well-being and alleviating depressive symptoms with Positive Psychology Interventions: A practice friendly meta-analysis. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *65*, 467–87.

Sin, N.L., Della Porta, M.D. and Lyubomirsky, S. (2011). Tailoring positive psychology interventions to treat depressed individuals. In S.I. Donaldson, M. Csikszentmihalyi and J. Nakamura (eds), *Applied Positive Psychology: Improving Everyday Life, Health, Schools, Work, and Society* (pp. 79–96). New York: Routledge.

Steele, C.M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, *52*(6), 613–29.

Steptoe, A., O'Donnell, K., Marmot, M. and Wardle, J. (2008). Positive affect, psychological well-being, and good sleep. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, *64*(4), 409–15.

Walsh, L.C., Boehm, J.K. and Lyubomirsky, S. (2018). Does happiness promote career success? Revisiting the evidence. *Journal of Career Assessment.* DOI: 10.1177/1069072717751441.

Walton, G.M. (2014). The new science of wise psychological interventions. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *23*(1), 73–82.

Wood, A.M., Maltby, J., Gillett, R., Linley, P.A. and Joseph, S. (2008). The role of gratitude in the development of social support, stress, and depression: Two longitudinal studies. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *42*(4), 854–71.

Woolley, A.W., Chabris, C.F., Pentland, A., Hashmi, N. and Malone, T.W. (2010). Evidence for a collective intelligence factor in the performance of human groups. *Science*, *330*(6004), 686–8.