**Positive Psychology Network Concept Paper 1999**

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Positive Psychology: Proposal for a Network

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# **Executive Summary: Positive Psychology Network**

Entering a new millennium, we face a historical choice. Left alone on the pinnacle of economic and political leadership, the United States can continue to increase its material wealth while ignoring the human needs of its people and that of the rest of the planet. Such a course is likely to lead to increasing selfishness, alienation between the more and the less fortunate, and eventually to chaos and despair.

At this juncture the social and behavioral sciences can play an enormously important role. They can articulate a vision of the good life that is empirically sound while being understandable and attractive. They can show what actions lead to well being, to positive individuals, and to flourishing community. Psychology should be able to help document what kind of families result in the healthiest children, what work environments support the greatest satisfaction among workers, what policies result in the strongest civic commitment.

Yet we have scant knowledge of what makes life worth living. Psychology has come to understand quite a bit about how people survive and endure under conditions of adversity. But we know very little about how normal people flourish under more benign conditions. Psychology has, since World War 2, become a science largely about healing. It concentrates on repairing damage within a disease model of human functioning. This almost exclusive attention to pathology neglects the flourishing individual and thriving community. The aim of this proposal is to create a critical mass of leading scholars who will catalyze a change in the focus of psychology from preoccupation only with repairing the worst things in life to also understanding and building positive qualities.

The field of “Positive Psychology” at the subjective level is about positive experience: well being, optimism, and flow. At the individual level it is about the character strengths—the capacity for love and vocation, courage, interpersonal skill, aesthetic sensibility, perseverance, forgiveness, originality, future-mindedness, and high talent. At the group level it is about the civic virtues and the institutions that move individuals toward better citizenship: responsibility, parenting, altruism, civility, moderation, tolerance, and work ethic.

We now propose to consolidate this new orientation by creating a network of its leading scholars and researchers. The network will encourage collaborations among researchers on Positive Psychology, will hold conferences and meetings, and will prime pioneering empirical research. These collaborations will fold the best younger investigators into the network and its ongoing research. The network will reach out to leading scholars and practitioners in allied social sciences whose concern is understanding and building positive institutions and positive communities.

The network will consist of three nodes: Positive Subjective Experience, The Positive Individual, and the Positive Community. We have structured the network so that scholarship at the intersection of the nodes will be prized. Over the four years of the network, it is our intention to expand from a base in positive psychology to become the seed crystal of a Positive Social Science, linking to related work in economics, sociology, political science, anthropology, philosophy, and law.

The scientific product will consist of each member finding a collaborator from within the network and together generating a major article, book, or externally funded research program within the field of Positive Psychology or Positive Social Science. We will evaluate the success of the network by quantifying conventional funding, major conspicuous publications, citation rate, new and tenured faculty, and graduate and undergraduate course offerings in the field of Positive Psychology over the four years of the network.

**A. The Basic Premise**:

The field of Psychology has, since World War 2, become a science and practice of healing. It concentrates on repairing damage within a disease model of human functioning. This almost exclusive attention to pathology neglects the flourishing individual and thriving community. As the 1998 President of the American Psychological Association, at 159,000 members the largest organization of scientists in the world, I proposed changing the focus of the science and the profession from repairing the worst things in life to understanding and building the qualities that make life worth living.

I call this new orientation “Positive Psychology.” At the subjective level, the field is about positive experience: well being, optimism, flow and the like. At the individual level it is about the character strengths—Love, vocation, courage, aesthetic sensibility, leadership, perseverance, forgiveness, originality, future-mindedness, and genius. At the community level it is about the civic virtues and the institutions that move individuals toward better citizenship: responsibility, parenting, altruism, civility, moderation, tolerance, and work ethic.

I now propose to consolidate this new field by creating a network of its leading scholars and researchers. The network will encourage collaborations among researchers on Positive Psychology and will hold conferences and meetings. These collaborations will fold the best younger investigators into the network and its ongoing research. The network will reach out to leading scholars and practitioners in allied social sciences whose concern is understanding and building positive institutions and positive communities.

I intend that from this network will expand from its base in positive psychology to become the beginning of a positive social science, linking to related work in economics, sociology, political science, and other fields. The dominant social science paradigm at present views the authentic forces governing human behavior to be self-interest, aggressiveness, territoriality, class conflict and the like. Such a science, even at its best, is by necessity incomplete. Imagine that Psychology were to come to measure, understand, and heal the entire panoply of “mental illnesses” and character “defects.” Imagine a world without schizophrenia, psychopathy, sadism, dishonesty and the like. Even if this were possible, it would not be a Utopia. Humanity would merely have gone from minus 8 to zero. But a complete science would also tell us how to identify, measure, understand, and build the characteristics that will move us from plus two to plus eight.

The aim of Positive Psychology is to understand and then build those factors that allow individuals, communities, and societies to flourish. It needs emphasizing that this endeavor **is descriptive, not prescriptive**. At best it can describe the conditions that result in optimism or pessimism, in flow or boredom, in courage or fear, in civility or intolerance. It cannot tell a society which of these ends to value. Given such descriptive knowledge, it is then up to people to choose. But such a descriptive science does not need to start afresh. Rather it requires for the most part a refocusing of scientific energy. In the fifty years since Psychology became a healing profession it developed a highly useful and transferable science of mental illness. It developed reliable and valid ways of measuring such fuzzy concepts as schizophrenia, anger, and depression. It developed sophisticated methods—both experimental and longitudinal—for understanding the causal pathways that lead to such undesirable outcomes. And it developed pharmacological and psychological interventions which have moved fourteen of the mental disorders from “untreatable” to “highly treatable” and in a couple of cases, “curable.” These same methods, and in many cases the same laboratories and the next generation of scientists, can be used to measure, understand, and build those characteristics that make life most worth living.

What is missing is the leadership and the structure to point the way toward a psychology that asks “What makes life worth living?” What should we strive for?” It is my hope that the network will provide the leadership and interim structure for this scientific endeavor.

#### B. Structure of the Network

The network will consist of a director, an associate director, one or two distinguished senior fellows, a small central staff, and three nodes. Each node will have a very senior scholar as chair, a more junior scholar as node coordinator, and about twelve colleagues from psychology and allied social sciences. The steering committee of the Network will consist of the Director, the three node Chairs, and the two Senior Fellows.

Each node will meet periodically both in person and electronically, as would the entire network. The aim of these meetings will be to create collaborations both within nodes and across the network. Meetings will also be arranged with individuals responsible for interventions that could benefit from the perspective of a positive psychology, e.g. education, social policy, urban planning, and law, in order to develop practical applications.

#### C. The Scientific Product and its Evaluation

The network would support meetings, infrastructure, and the training of post-doctoral fellows who would rotate among investigators. The network would also seed collaborative research on foundational, meritorious projects. Each member of the network would be expected to generate the following “product” by the end of four years: to find a collaborator from within the network and together generate a major article, book, or externally funded research program within the field of Positive Psychology or Positive Social Science. The success of the network can be evaluated by the quality and visibility of these articles, books, and grant requests as well as by the spread of the field in the education and research focus of other scientists. So we will evaluate the success of the network by explicitly quantifying increased conventional funding, major conspicuous publications, new and tenured faculty, citation rate, and graduate and undergraduate course offerings, and the like in the field of Positive Psychology over the course of the four years of the network.

## D. The Nodes

Martin Seligman will serve as network chair. Each of the three nodes will be made up of a very senior chair, a more junior coordinator, and about ten colleagues from psychology and related social sciences. The three nodes are called “Positive Experience,” The Positive Individual,” and “The Positive Community.” Robert Nozick, University Professor at Harvard and Amartya Sen, 1998 Nobelist in Economics, will be invited as Senior Fellows. Their job, along with Seligman’s, will be integration among the nodes.

The discussion of each of the three nodes below is organized into

a) its **defining concerns**,

b) followed by the **general conceptual issues and empirical findings** that frame the node.

For each node, the defining concerns and general issues are quite global and embracing. It is necessary to select from among these issues, those which are scientifically ripest for the actual work of the network. So each description ends with

c) the **focal issues** that will organize the personnel, and the actual conference and research agenda for that node.

**Node 1: Positive Experience** (Ed Diener, University of Illinois, Node Chair).

Professor Diener is the most eminent researcher in the field of “subjective well being,” and the editor-in-chief of the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, the premier journal of social psychology. Of the three nodes, this is the one with the most extensive scientific tradition already in place.

The **defining concerns** of this node are with the states related to “happiness” and the conditions under which these subjective experiences occur. They include the study of the positive states directed toward the past, e.g., well-being, contentment, satisfaction; toward the future, e.g., optimism, hope, spirituality—and toward the present, e.g., flow, joy, flexible attention, pleasure, ebullience, and communion,

A cardinal aspect of quality of life is the amount of positive subjective experience in that life – interest, pleasure, joy, affection, fulfillment, and contentment. Subjective positive experience reflects an individual’s evaluation of his or her own life, whether the appraisal is in terms of a cognitive judgment, pleasant emotions, physical pleasure, or pleasant interest. These experiences give various indications of how the individual judges his/her ongoing life. Some of these modes of appraisal, such as life satisfaction judgments, represent long-term or “big-picture” evaluations, and others such as physical pleasure represent a shorter-term, biologically based evaluation. A person’s life is replete with positive subjective experience when s/he feels frequent pleasant emotions, finds a pleasant interest in most daily activities, feels a degree of physical pleasure, judges his or her life and important domains such as work and health to be very satisfying, and finds his or her life to be meaningful and fulfilling.

**Conceptual Issues and Empirical Findings**

Subjective positive experience is important for a number of reasons. First, subjective positive experiences, reflecting as they do a person’s values, indicate the degree to which an individual is achieving those outcomes that he or she believes are important. The study of subjective positive experience is democratic in that it grants recognition to a person’s own evaluations of his or her life. In this approach we do not rely solely on the opinions of experts to assess a person’s “mental health,” but instead also listen to the respondent in determining the desirability of his/her life. In addition, subjective well being is an important topic for study because it seems to have a number of very desirable outcomes for the community. Finally, subjective positive experience is a topic of psychological importance because very intriguing findings emerge in this field, thus making the topic a promising one for concerted effort in terms of scientific research.

A person’s temperament is one important predictor of the levels of positive experience he or she feels. Twin studies, adoption studies, and longitudinal studies starting in infancy clearly indicate that inborn temperament affects a person’s happiness. For this reason, the effects on subjective well being of demographic variables such as education or income are often fairly small. Nevertheless, certain demographic variables such as marriage and religiosity on average do show regular, albeit modest, relations to positive experience.

Diener, Suh, Lucas, and Smith (Psychological Bulletin, 1999) review a host of **demographic variables** in relation to subjective well being. Some of the effects are intriguing.

* Men and women avow approximately the same levels of global life satisfaction and happiness, and yet women suffer depression twice as often as men, and report greater levels of unpleasant emotions. One explanation for this paradox is that women on average also experience greater levels of pleasant emotions, and thus their overall global level of happiness is about the same as that of men.
* Life satisfaction stays stable with age over the adult life span, but that the experience of intense emotions of both valences drifts downward.
* People appear to adapt over time to both good and bad circumstances. After a good (e.g., winning the lottery) or bad event (e.g., becoming paraplegic), people often react strongly in the happy or unhappy direction, respectively. However, in an astonishingly brief time people often return toward their baseline. Nevertheless, we do know that people do not adapt completely to all events. For example, those suffering from severe multiple handicaps from birth do not report as high of subjective positive experience as do non-disabled individuals, and widows often take a considerable amount of time to adapt to their loss.
* People adapt to some things quickly, to other events slowly, and to some events apparently not at all. For instance, we find that people in extremely poor countries are usually much less happy than people in nations where physical needs can be adequately met, even though poverty has existed for centuries in some societies. As yet, there is little understanding of what conditions people can adapt to, and to which they cannot adapt. It appears that individuals with certain characteristics such as optimism can adapt more quickly to bad events.
* People achieve greater life satisfaction when they work for things they value rather than merely for things that bring immediate pleasure. Life-task activities related to people’s individual goals are now seen as crucial for obtaining positive subjective experiences. Pure physical hedonism does not maximize positive experience for most people, and the effect of wealth on subjective well being is surprisingly small.

Knowledge about **cultural differences** in positive experience began to emerge in the 1990's.

* In some societies people report considerably lower levels of well being. In part this is due to the income levels (when societies cannot meet basic needs), but it also seems to be due to cultural differences. For instance, the Latin cultures in South America report higher levels of well-being than one might predict based on their incomes, and the Confucian based cultures of the Pacific Rim are often lower than we might expect based on their levels of wealth.
* Different psychological variables are correlated with feelings of well being in different cultures. Self-esteem is a much better predictor of feelings of satisfaction in individualistic cultures than in collectivist ones.
* Even the relation between pleasant emotions and life satisfaction varies from society to society. In an individualistic nation, people’s positive emotions predict their life satisfaction better than they do in a collectivist nation, where people’s personal feelings take second seat to the evaluations of the group.

## Focal Issues for Node 1

Although we have made a degree of scientific progress in this field, much remains to be accomplished. There are many stimulating questions yet to be answered; too many to enumerate here. We will concentrate our resources and energy on the following set of issues, which we judge to be most scientifically viable right now:

# Positive disposition

A major predictor of subjective well-being is temperament, but only a portion of this predisposition appears to be genetic. The other component seems to be a learned positive outlook on life, encompassing hope, trust, self-esteem, and optimism. Both individual child-rearing as well as broader cultural factors are likely to be at work. Thus, one thrust of this node will be to examine how this cognitive predisposition is learned, and how it benefits the individual and society.

The influence of values and goal progress

Having strongly held important values, and goals related to these values, appears to be another major contributor to life satisfaction. People who have clear goals, expend effort working on them, and make progress toward them report higher levels of subjective well-being. It may be that because people tend to adapt to a given set of conditions, that making continuing progress toward new goals is essential to heightened pleasant emotions. Thus, a second focus of the subjective well-being node will be to integrate how and why values and goals create feelings of well-being.

# Beneficial outcomes of subjective well-being

Research to date suggests that happy people often contribute more to their communities, have better relationships with others, and are more creative in some realms. Thus, a third focus of the subjective well-being node is to explore when and why feelings of well-being contribute to behavior that benefits others and the community. Are there limits to this; for example is there an optimum level of life satisfaction and happiness beyond which there is a declining positive influence of feeling good?

Not only are there many exciting conceptual questions to be undertaken, but more sophisticated methods can be used to answer them. Much of the past research, although sometimes using large probability samples, has been cross-sectional, not longitudinal. Thus, we need much more work following respondents over time to understand the causal structure of what causes optimal experience. A greater emphasis on experience sampling and multi-component measurement is also needed.

**Node 2: The Positive Individual** (Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, Node Chair).

Professor Csikszentmihalyi, University of Chicago, is the leading investigator of flow and its relationship to artistic, intellectual, and entrepreneurial creativity.

The **defining concerns** of this node are with strengths of character and with the "good life:" It includes the study of purpose, growth, productivity, self-determination, genius, legacy building, sacrifice, creativity, future-mindedness, parenting, courage, empathy, wisdom, and philanthropy.

Throughout this century, psychology (and sociology and anthropology as well) have struggled to achieve scientific status in part by exposing the complacent self-centeredness of our Victorian ancestors. The social sciences have forced us to realize that we are not as rational as we believed we were, that economic interests and not benevolence rule our actions, and that our values instead of being universal are often rooted in narrow cultural prejudices. Salutary as such "de-bunking" has been, carried too far it can blind us to reality at least as much as the earlier complacency. For instance, operating within a relativistic framework we cannot distinguish good from bad -- whether these terms are applied to actions, individuals, lives, or societies. Nor does such a perspective allow us to recognize, below countless superficial differences, the profound similarities in what human communities everywhere prize.

Consequently, the social sciences have made themselves largely incapable of dealing with issues that are at the forefront of most people's concerns. What is a good life? How does one become a good person? What purpose can give meaning to existence? These are the questions that this node will focus on, in the hope of providing answers that will improve the quality of individual and social life. It is not that these issues have been completely ignored by contemporary social science. Inspired by the thought of Aristotle, the Stoics, Kierkegaard, Kant, as well as the great world religions, a few thinkers have continued to examine these fundamental questions. Their voices, however, have been marginalized and have failed to generate a vigorous research agenda. The defining concern of this node therefore is to generate a viable empirical agenda around the notion of the Positive Individual and the Good Life.

**Conceptual Issues and Empirical Findings**

Subjective experiences are an important component of a positive life, but not the only component. Suppose we had a hypothetical experience machine that could provide a lifetime of pleasurable virtual experiences. Would we choose to stay plugged in such a machine? Presumably we would also want to have the personal traits that make such experiences possible, to have real connections to other people and to the world, to actually engage in certain activities, and not merely to have the experience of doing these things. So what are the characteristics and ways of being that constitute the fulfilling life? This was the question that animated the meeting in Grand Cayman of potential senior members of this node (See Appendix C for the details). We proposed a tentative list of characteristics thought to be important contributors to a positive life.

I. Relationships and connections.

1. Love and Intimacy: meaningful relationships, including friendships; loving and being beloved. We know these ties improve not only longevity but also the quality of life. How do these ties develop? Given the great emphasis on individuality and competitiveness in the way we rear children, how can we do a better job inculcating relational skills?

2. Satisfying work. Next to relationships, work is perhaps the most necessary component of the quality of life. How do children learn occupational attitudes in a rapidly changing labor market? What working conditions are necessary for employee satisfaction and commitment?

3. Helping Others. There is increasing evidence suggesting that people who are altruistic, who care for others and are supportive, report significantly higher happiness and over-all quality of life. Yet popular wisdom emphasizes "Taking Care of Number One" as the end-all strategy for a good life. What are the roots of altruism? What are the best practices to support it?

4. Being a good citizen. Active participation in the public arena appears to be on the decline. Yet many would argue that taking part in the "vita activa" of the community offers the best opportunities for the development of individual potentialities. Certainly it is a prerequisite for the ongoing health of the community. What personal qualities predict and support such involvement? What conditions militate against it?

5. Spirituality: connection to a deeper meaning or reality. In all known cultures, a feeling of personal relatedness with the cosmos appears to have been necessary to mobilize the hopes and energies of the populace. Is this no longer necessary in the 21st century? What new forms might spirituality take?

6. Leadership. The recognition and support of youth with leadership potential is essential for the continued growth of a culture. Yet we have very few mechanisms in place to accomplish this purpose. What can we do to enable potential leaders across a wide spectrum of fields to show what they can do?

II. Individual Qualities

7. Principles and integrity. A good life ends with a feeling of integrity -- that the person has lived up to his or her dream. Yet many forces in our society conspire to compromise our principles in favor of the "bottom line". How do children learn to abide by principles? How do adults manage to do it?

8. Creativity. Many of our institutions -- schools, jobs -- are organized in such a way as to stifle originality and imagination. Yet these qualities not only improve individual lives, but are indispensable to the growth of society. We shall look at best practices in various institutions to develop guidelines for preserving original thinking.

9. Perseverance. The other side of the coin of originality is perseverance. Creativity requires both. It is impossible to accomplish anything important without acquiring a certain amount of self-discipline. Current child-rearing practices are woefully short on this trait. How can we best provide young people with a lifetime of tools in self-discipline?

10. Courage. Of all the qualities people admire in others, courage tends to be on top. People who can face obstacles with equanimity, who are not devastated by the fear of death, who are willing to run risks for their principles are likely to lead a good life, and serve as models for others. Is this a trait that can be learned?

III. Life Regulation

11. Purposive Future-mindedness. Great differences exist between individuals in the degree to which considerations of the future affect their present behavior. For example, Asian students are usually more happy when they are doing something they see as related to their future goals, while Caucasian students are significantly more unhappy in such circumstances. How do we learn to defer immediate gratification?

12. Individuality. Ideally, a well-lived life should lead to the unfolding of all the person's potentialities in an integrated, complex personality (provided such a person is also linked to others according to the ties specified in Section I. above). What turning points, at different stages of one's life, are most important in this process of development?

13. Self-regulation. Several models of optimal life-long development emphasize the importance of self-regulation as a key to a good life. This involves some of the issues already discussed (e.g. perseverance), but it brings to the fore the role of reasoned intelligence in guiding one's decisions.

14. Wisdom. Lately research has focused on wisdom as the capstone of a good life. Much has been learned about the pragmatics of wisdom in everyday life, but again almost nothing is known about how such a trait develops in childhood and adolescence, and how it is supported in adulthood.

**Focal Issues for Node 2**

* more precisely formulate and measure these 14 characteristics
* carry on research to discover to what extent the different characteristics go together (are correlated, group into clusters).
* consider whether other characteristics are necessary and that should be added to the list.
* investigate the factors that are conducive to the development of these characteristics over time -- how institutions such as various family types, schools, support them.

In concert the three main questions we shall consider as we select members of the node, plan the content of our meetings, and organize collaborations are the following:

1. Do these 14 dimensions provide an exhaustive inventory of the "Good Person", and the "Good Life?" If not, do they explain most of the variance? What is the state of the knowledge bearing on these traits?

2. What do we know about the developmental roots of these traits? How much of them might be inherited, how are they learned, how are they transmitted?

3. If we target 3-5 most urgently needed traits of a good life, what kind of interventions could we devise to increase the frequency of such traits? Following on these determinations, we would begin to contact partners in schools, businesses and other institutions with a view of applying knowledge to the improvement of the quality of life.

Such questions will be pursued with a view to integrate knowledge, stimulate research, and develop a conceptual framework that represents the full range of positive dimensions in the human condition. The dissemination of such knowledge should result in a major contribution to human well-being. Just as the greatest contribution of modern medicine to longevity has been the prevention of disease through advocacy of healthy physical conditions --such as pure water, safe foods, and clean environments -- perhaps the greatest improvement the social sciences can bring about is to help define the conditions of a psychologically positive life.

**Node 3: The Positive Community** (Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Node Chair).

Professor Jamieson is Dean of the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, and a leading expert on political rhetoric.

The **defining concerns** are groups and institutions that can promote or sustain, as opposed to minimize, human flourishing. The node will research and implement ways in which institutions such as legislative bodies, schools, the press, and public service can promote civility, reciprocity, tolerance of diversity, equality, and opportunity. In positive communities, individuals presumably are more likely to realize the positive individual traits investigated by Node 2. The Positive Community Node assumes that the structures institutionalized by the community affect the members within it by creating or undercutting an impulse to engage with others in the interests of the larger society. Effective and healthy communities might be tentatively defined as those that are productive, efficient, fair, and tolerant, whose members have a strong sense of personal efficacy and community engagement. Note that some of the “Connection Outward” individual traits of Node 2, such as altruism and leadership, presuppose that the individual exists at least in part as a member of a larger community.

This node will begin as our most interdisciplinary one, and it is significant that its chair is not a psychologist—she is a classicist by training, but better described now as a political scientist, sociologist and rhetorician. (Each of the other members of the steering committee has likewise become hard to fit into one discipline.) This node builds on the sociological view that there are social facts (e.g., productivity, civility, volunteerism) that are not reducible to psychological facts about individuals. It will also integrate psychological research on how social facts and cultural forces shape, and are shaped by, individuals. It will include communication theory that specifies the importance of the ways in which social facts, the self, and society are translated and carried in symbols. The node will produce and organize research findings that would help parents, teachers, reporters, and leaders create and participate in effective and healthy schools, families, workplaces, neighborhoods, and even perhaps nations.

**Conceptual Issues and Empirical Findings**

In the long run, positive experiences and good lives cannot be sustained unless they are embedded in a supportive community. Cross-cultural studies have shown that levels of personal happiness are highest in societies that are relatively prosperous, protect civil liberties, and preserve peace. However, little is known about the specific contributions of different societal conditions to individual well-being, and almost nothing about the other side of the relationship -- i.e., what personal qualities lead to specific forms of societal engagement and institutional change. For example, as environmental issues are bound to become more significant with each decade, it is essential to find answers to such questions as “What kind of education and child rearing practices best promote global awareness and to the understanding on the limits of consumption? To understanding the interdependence of human communities? Of other life-forms? These issues highlight the reciprocal causal chains between personal and societal well-being: happy people need good societies, and vice-versa.

The Positive Community node will attempt to study these causal relations at several levels. At the most micro level, the relationship between family structure on the one hand, and personal well-being on the other, is an obvious starting point. The impact of neighborhoods, communities, and metropolitan areas will be next. As several commentators have pointed out, mid-level institutions are necessary to mediate between the individual household and the planetary eco-system. If these links are endangered --and the evidence on this score is rather disturbing -- so is collective well-being. Finally, at the macro level, the focus shifts to the content of mass media, legislative bodies, and the effects of economic and political changes. Three specific domains in which the relationship of the individual to the community is played out are our focal concern: schools, legislative bodies, and the press.

**Education.** This node is predicated on the assumption that just as individuals can learn helplessness or optimism, institutions and their representatives can inculcate system-wide assumptions of failure or success that have the capacity to constrict or expand the possibilities of those in the system. Just as the scholarship in Psychology has focused on incapacity and deficit, models of failure and deficit have characterized much of the scholarly work on our nation's schools. Scholars of education such as Ogbu have concentrated on asking why the children of "voluntary and involuntary immigrants" fail, rather than asking how some children from these groups succeed. One might summarize the history of research about education by saying that it moved from an assumption that "minority" students had no culture, to the assumption that they had an inferior culture, to the assumption that their culture was neither better nor worse than the dominant culture but was instead simply different from it. However as Minow argues "different from" contains the assumption that the person, group, or culture marked as different is different in relationship to the normative dominate and hence superior person, group, or culture. Rather than assuming that a culture is homogeneous and must be marked as dominant or minority, we assume that facets of a culture can be ennobling or enervating to the individuals within it.

**Deliberative groups such as Congress**. Members of an institution create and enforce norms or standards of behavior to make it possible for the institution to function efficiently. So, for example, political scientist Herbert Asher argues that reciprocity, courtesy, hard work, and expertise are norms of the House of Representatives. Underlying most deliberative bodies is the assumption that interaction among humans who are tasked with locating solutions to problems is best carried out in an environment in which certain rules of discourse are honored. The word civility is drawn from the Latin *civilitas*, which is in turn, derived from civic, citizen or state. Civility or comity presupposes respect for other deliberators and "acceptance of the legitimacy, if not the correctness, of opposing views. Comity enhances the ability of a collective body to hear out individual differences as part of the process for reaching consensus."

In recent years, the heightened sense of incivility in deliberative bodies has raised concerns. This node will examine the assumption that civility is a desirable norm in a deliberating body and will attempt to determine what can be done to increase individual and group satisfaction with both the process and the products of deliberation.

**The Press**. Most of what we know about the world of government and politics comes to us not through direct experience but mediated through the mass media. A large body of scholarship confirms that in the past 20 years, the news media, both broadcast and print, have increasingly focused on what is "negative" in those worlds often to the exclusion of a focus on what is "positive." Where the speeches of presidential candidates, on average, attack less than 15% of the time, news reports of those speeches feature attack more than 50% of the time. The same disproportionate coverage of "attack" characterized news about political ads and debates both at the state and federal level. When there are three attack lines in a speech or press conference, the most hyperbolic not the most representative will receive news space or time. Consequently the public perceives that campaigns are far more attack-driven and less issue-oriented than they actually are. At the same time, by focusing on attack, the press provides an incentive for candidates to increase both its amount and stridency. This node will examine the role of the press in facilitating the healthy community.

**Focal Issues for Node 3**

* What kind of education and child rearing practices best promote understanding of the limits of consumption and of the interdependence of human communities?
* What is the role of the press in facilitating healthy communities?
* What motivates people to participate in voluntary organizations?
* What prompts willingness to sacrifice private benefits for greater goods?
* What can be done to increase individual and group satisfaction with both the process and the products of deliberation?

### Integrating the Three Nodes

Much of the serious intellectual work will take place between and among the three nodes. After all, positive experience, the positive person, and the positive community are just three levels of analysis; in the world they depend on each other. To the extent that positive topics have been studied in the past, researchers have concentrated upon topics, such as subjective well-being, within each node. A focus also upon the interrelations will be a unique contribution of this project.

This project will encourage interactions among the people within different nodes. The network and node directors will keep each other aware of what their nodes are doing both in person and by electronic workgroups, and this information will be passed on to the members of the nodes so that they can assess its relevance to their work. The steering committee of the network, which will consist of the Director, the three node chairs and the two Senior Fellows will meet periodically for this purpose. The two Senior Fellows we intend to appoint are people who have previously worked explicitly upon the interrelationships of the nodes, and they will serve to interknit the nodes, and to suggest new questions for a node to investigate. For instance, Robert Nozick wrote on happiness and emotions (in The Examined Life), which falls within the first node. He also wrote there on love, wisdom, creativity, and enlightenment, and (in Philosophical Explanations) wrote on the meaning of life, which falls within the second node. He wrote on political philosophy (in Anarchy, State, and Utopia)--the third node. The project also hopes to include Amartya Sen, 1998 Nobelist in economics as the other Distinguished Senior Fellow. His work, like Nozick’s and Seligman’s, spans the three nodes and their interconnections, and adds an economic perspective.

## Focal Issues of Node Interaction

Among the focal issues that fall at the intersection of the nodes are:

* How are the positive subjective experiences related to the positive personal traits?
* In what ways do positive subjective experiences result from the exercise of these positive traits?
* How are the positive individual characteristics related to the organization of society.
* Is a society to be judged by the extent that it produces people with these characteristics?
* Should society attempt to maximize the level of the lowest scores along these characteristics; or the average level of achievement along them, or what?
* Does focussing upon these characteristics, and upon human fulfillment, alter the way we look at the traditional social options, and upon distributive issues?

**E. Tiling and Framing**

The sections on the three nodes and their integration place the tiles into the mosaic of Positive Psychology. The nodes and their focal issues constitute the subject matter within the science. What is excluded? What frames the mosaic?

“Framing” is a mild word here. “Firewall” would be more exact. The subject matter of Positive Psychology, because of the paucity of serious science, has recently been the province largely of New Age Guru’s and feel-good hucksters. We intend a firewall between such activities and the science we are in the process of creating.

The systematic study of positive psychology presents some challenges unique to the subject. For many individuals, the quality of life is enhanced by beliefs and practices that traditionally have remained outside the pale of scientific investigation. For example, surveys have repeatedly found correlations between religious commitment and personal happiness. An increasing segment of the population is turning to a variety of "New Age" practices in an effort to reduce the stress or the boredom in their lives. And to exploit this discontent any number of hucksters have moved in to fill the void. “Three weeks to Joy” books probably outsell diet books now.

This raises the specter that the content of what positive psychology must study will lead into areas that have been considered too "soft" for scientific scrutiny, and even inimical to it’s basic assumptions. Each one of the steering committee has walked this tightrope most of their careers and we are acutely aware of the dangers involved. We believe, however, that the need to articulate and empirically research positive motivation demands that we confront the facts wherever they lead us. As long as we preserve the skeptical, self-correcting methods that have made the empirical epistemology the most trusted reflection of reality, we believe that trying to understand what makes life more meaningful and rewarding will be an essential contribution to our future well-being. The ultimate firewall is, of course, the scientific track record of the steering committee and the rigor of scholarship that they each have created over a lifetime of empirical and conceptual investigations. We intend that the products of the network live up to this standard.

**F. Progress Report on Positive Psychology (through April 15, 1999)**

It may seem premature to present a progress report in an application, but I have spent a large part of the past two years, organizing (and trying out) senior and junior people, sponsoring various meetings, research, and publications, obtaining funding, and heating the intellectual yeast. This was my mission as APA President, and the creation of a formal network will bring the first stage of the mission to culmination. There have been ten relevant activities that should be seen as samples of the work that the Network will do if you fund it, but on a larger scale.

1) **Akumal 1 (January 1999)—the “Junior Scientists.”** For the first week in January of this year, Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi, Ray Fowler (CEO of APA), Don Clifton (Owner of the Gallup Corporation) and I hosted six days of conversation among eighteen of the brightest 25-40 year olds in or near the field of Positive Psychology. Here is how it came about:

In January 1998, we wrote fifty of the individuals we consider the leaders of world social science, and asked each for one nominee. We described the field of Positive Psychology and asked each nominator to bring forward the name of an “ideal young person: ages 25‑40, assistant to young associate professor at a good university, well-published and with grant money in a field related to positive psychology; articulate, creative, ambitious, with academic leadership qualities (future department chairs).” We suggested that the single best student they ever had, or their current best young colleague would be appropriate nominations.

Forty-five nominations were received, along with much spontaneous, enthusiastic support for the creation of the field of Positive Psychology from the nominators. We selected, from a truly luminescent group, 18 people and invited them to attend “a gathering of young, rising academics to meet with the Drs. Seligman, Csikszentmihalyi, and Fowler in Akumal, Mexico to brainstorm about the major intellectual issues in this field and perhaps to become the nucleus of its future.”

All of them accepted. The meeting can be described as an unqualified success. A common evaluation was “the best intellectual experience of my career.” All of them will be returning for Akumal2 (see #10 below). Half of this group met again in Swarthmore the weekend of April 9, 1999 and planned three collaborative research ventures: a longitudinal study of the outcomes of the positive traits, an intervention to produce “thoughtful living,” and an experimental study on the criteria by which we decide whom we can trust.

The names, affiliations, and research focus of the attendees give a flavor of their work:

Lisa Aspinwall Assoc. Prof Univ. of Maryland, College Park

(Beyond Hedonism)

Michael Carey Professor Syracuse Univ.

(Sexuality)

Edward Chang Assist. Prof Northern Kentucky Univ

(Optimism and Positive Affect)

Dov Cohen Assist. Prof Univ. of Illinois, Urbana

(Honor)

Barbara Fredrickson Assist. Prof. Univ. of Michigan

(Evolution of Positive Traits)

Jon Haidt Assist. Prof. Univ. of Virginia

(Moral Elevation)

Thomas Joiner Assoc. Prof Florida State Univ

(Overcoming Depression)

Corey Keyes Assist. Prof (Sociology) Emory Univ.

(Health and Well-being in Mid-life)

Laura King Assoc. Prof Southern Methodist Univ.

(Creating the Good Life under adversity)

Joachim Krueger Assoc. Prof Brown Univ.

(Self-enhancement and realism)

Sonja Lyubomirsky Assist. Prof Univ. of CA, Riverside

(The Positive Personality structure)

Bertram Malle Assist. Prof. Univ. of Oregon

(Judgement and Decision-making)

Kevin Rathunde Assoc. Prof. Univ. of Utah

(Wisdom)

Arthur Reynolds Assoc. Prof Univ. Wisconsin, Madison

(School Achievement)

David Schkade Prof.(Management) Univ. of Texas, Austin

(Negotiation and Decision)

Jonathan Schooler Assoc. Prof Univ. of Pittsburgh

(Greatness)

Ken Sheldon Assist. Prof Univ. of Missouri

(Competition and Cooperation)

Ursula Staudinger Research Scientist Max‑Planck (Berlin)

(Meaning and Insight)

Several work products have already ensued (in the two months) from Akumal 1.

1. We started a listserv among this group, which is currently roaring along in intellectual exchange about the field. [Positive-psychology@lists.apa.org](mailto:Positive-psychology@lists.apa.org) (Sonja Lyubomirsky, Listmeister.)
2. Several of the participants generated an annotated bibliography of the field, and this 80 page document is Appendix A. This is a living document, which will be the heart of a web-site.
3. Two subgroups of the participants and others will hold weekend meetings at Swarthmore College this spring to plan substantial collaborative research grant requests. Swathmore has donated its facilities and I am funding travel and other expenses.
4. The mission statement the group developed is Appendix B.

2.  **Grand Cayman (February 1999). The “Senior Scholars.”**

With support from the Gallup Foundation, I gathered eight senior scholars to discuss the taxonomy and measurement of “The Roots of A Positive Life.”

The participants:

* Don Clifton (Owner, Gallup),
* Mike Csikzentmihalyi,
* Ed Diener (Editor-in-chief, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Professor, University of Illinois),
* Kathleen Hall Jamieson (Dean of the Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania),
* Robert Nozick (University Professor, Harvard)
* Dan Robinson (Professor, Georgetown)
* Martin E.P. Seligman,
* George Vaillant (Professor of Psychiatry, Harvard).

The goal of the Cayman meeting was the enumeration of potential components of a good life, which would form the basis of a research agenda on positive psychology and positive social science. After discussing concerns about the culture-specificity of such an endeavor and how this project would relate to classical notions of the good life, the group devised a list of 17 characteristics that may be related to a positive life, such as love/intimacy and satisfying work. The characteristics cluster in three categories: Connections Outward, Individual Qualities, and Life Regulation. Each of the characteristics can be empirically related to outcome measures of a positive life, including subjective fulfillment (such as life satisfaction), objective fulfillment (such as number of children) and civic/societal recognition (such as the evaluations of others). Certain enabling factors, including genetic and cultural capital, were hypothesized to affect many of the characteristics.

The lists are considered local to our present time and culture, nonexclusive and non-exhaustive. The group attempted to devise preliminary questions to measure each of the 17 proposed characteristics, and agreed to call the endeavor "The Roots of a Positive Life." The next step in the development of a positive psychology and a positive social science will be the measurement of the 17 characteristics and 3 categories of outcome measures, and the examination of their relationships to each other.

A detailed summary of the meeting is Appendix C.

3. **Positive Youth Development (with the Mayerson Foundation)**.

Negotiations are coming to a conclusion with The Mayerson Foundation aimed toward the creation of several curricula for teaching Positive Development to teenagers in school. These programs would involve several of the Network members in collaboration with educators. We have tentatively agreed on a three-year program funded at a 1.1 million dollar level. There are three programs on the drawing board, the first of which is the object of the Mayerson grant, and I include them as examples of potential practical applications of the work of a Positive Psychology Network.

Moral Judgment (perspective taking, social problem solving, alternatives to violence, conflict resolution, equity, empathy, elevation)

Its main targets are moral behavior and values, kindness, empathy, philanthropy, peace-making, drug use and criminal behavior. Its potential effect sizes are unknown, since no one has done anything like this intervention in any setting. But it should be said that we are after qualitative changes in moral behavior, not small increments: teaching elevation is, if Jon Haidt is right, like pushing a reset button. This makes it like pregnancy: if it works, it produces massive change.

Future Mindedness (learned optimism, delay of gratification, planfulness, time perspective, goal setting).

Its main targets are depression, resilience, school performance, positive affect, physical health, drug use, teen pregnancy, drop-out, and criminal behavior. This is the only one for which we can responsibly estimate an effect size a priori: The LO program in 10-12 year olds halves the rate of depression with two year follow-up. Big effect size (see The Optimistic Child). Adding the other components can only improve on this effect size

Optimal Experience (flow, intrinsic motivation, creativity, flexibility of attention, engagement, humor, capacity for pleasure)

Its main targets are school performance, positive affect, work performance, sense of project, self-reliance, persistence, drug use and criminal behavior. Its potential effect sizes are unknown, since no one has done anything like this intervention in any setting.

4. **Book Series: Advances in Positive Psychology.** A book series, Advances in Positive Psychology, edited by Lisa Aspinwall, is taking shape. APA books has informally offered to publish the series (The prospectus is Appendix D.)

5. **Truly Extraordinary People Meeting** (March 27-28, 1999, Philadelphia). I sponsored a meeting using APA funds, which brought together the child researchers on genius with the adult researchers on Extraordinary Lives. In my view both these traditions have been fruitful, but unsatisfying. The genius tradition does fine prospective science, but by starting in childhood, fails to identify much more than good professors. The extraordinary lives tradition always hits the mark by definition, but is retrospective and anecdotal in its method. The aim of the gathering was to generate a project which combines the methodological sophistication of the prospective child work with the richness of the targets identified in the retrospective, but anecdotal, adult work. The participants

* Howard Gardner,
* David Feldman,
* Mike Csikszentmihalyi,
* Camilla Benbow,
* Nancy Robinson,
* Ray Fowler,
* Rena Subotnik,
* Charlan Nemeth,
* Martin Seligman

The participants surprisingly looked for a broader way of studying human excellence. After expressing their concerns about the limitations of the zero-sum model of artistic and scientific genius, the participants embraced a framework that departs radically from the achievement-oriented approach to giftedness. The framework outlines five kinds of excellence, only one of which maps directly onto the well-developed achievement domain. The four new elements include the domains of:

* Relationships
* Responsibility
* Spirituality
* Life as a work of art

The participants commended this broadening of the concept of giftedness as more inclusive and inspiring than solely achievement giftedness. They agreed that the next step should be a conceptual analysis of the four new domains, starting with relationship genius. Next the nomination and study of exemplars should be done, followed by the development of prospective measurement techniques. A detailed summary of the meeting is in Appendix E.

6. **The Millennial Issue of The American Psychologist.** The entire January 2000 issue of this journal, the flagship journal of APA, will be devoted to Positive Psychology. Mike Csikszentmihalyi and I are the guest editors. This is intended to be a statement of our vision for the future direction of Psychology. The tentative Table of Contents is Appendix F.

Should you believe that the Millennium actually falls in January 2001, you will be satisfied to know that that issue of The American Psychologist will also contain a special supplement, “Positive Psychology” edited by Laura King and Ken Sheldon.

7. **The Templeton Positive Psychology Award**. The John Templeton Foundation of Radnor, Pa., has agreed to sponsor the largest cash award ever given to a psychologist, an annual $100,000 prize for outstanding research in the field of positive psychology. And, at $50,000, even its second prize will be among the highest awards now presented in psychology.

The award will be administered by APA under a three-year pilot program that will name its first winners in February 2000. Directing the program is Martin Seligman, APA’s past president, whose research in the science of positive psychology initially attracted the Templeton Foundation’s interest.

In 1997 Seligman gave the keynote address at a symposium on optimism hosted by the foundation. During his speech, Sir John Templeton, the billionaire philanthropist knighted by Queen Elizabeth, rose from the audience and asked Seligman how his foundation could help promote positive psychology. Together they decided to create this award which is intended to induce the brightest young scientists to move their research in this direction.

The prize will be open to psychologists no more than 12 years out of their PhD’s, who have attained the academic appointment of assistant professor or higher in either the United States or Canada. We are in the process of organizing the selection committee, which will begin accepting applications in early May. In addition to the first and second prizes, a third-place winner will receive $30,000 and a fourth prize will pay $20,000.

According to the agreement between the foundation and APA the award “will create a highly leveraged opportunity to associate the mission and vision of the John Templeton Foundation with the most brilliant and visionary researchers emerging in psychological research and neuroscience.

8. **The Lincoln, Nebraska Meeting on Taxonomy and Measurement** (September 9-12,1999). As a follow-up to the Cayman meeting and also sponsored by Gallup, we are presently organizing a larger meeting which will bring together the leading scientists who work on the conceptualization and measurement of the “Roots of A Positive Life.” Ed Diener, Don Clifton, Corey Keyes, and Martin Seligman are the organizing committee. Included will be some subset of:

Characteristics

\*Love and Intimacy

\*Satisfying work/ Occupation

\*Helping Others/Altruism

\*Being a good citizen

\*Spirituality

\*Leadership

\*Aesthetic appreciation/ Pleasures of the mind

\*Knowledge and understanding of areas of life larger than one's self/ Depth

and Breadth

\*Being a person with principles and integrity/ Ethics

\*Creativity/Originality

\*Play

\*Feeling of subjective well-being

\*Courage

\*Purposive Future-mindedness

\*Individuality

\*Self-regulation

\*Wisdom

Outcome Measures – Fulfillments

\*Subjective fulfillment

\*Objective fulfillment

\*Societal/Civic fulfillment and recognition

Professor Corey Keyes will edit a book based on the proceedings.

9.  **Bahamas Meeting on Meaning and Purpose**. The Templeton Foundation has asked Robert Wright (“The Moral Animal”) and Martin Seligman to organize a meeting of scientists and other scholars to pursue the question of the evolutionary basis of meaning and purpose. This is tentatively scheduled for February, 2000, and will include several of the likely Network Members.

10. **Akumal 2**. The second meeting of the “junior scientists” with Drs. Csikszentmihalyi, Fowler, Clifton, and Seligman is scheduled for the 9th to the 14th of January 2000 in Akumal. The meeting will be subsidized by a donation from the James Hovey Foundation.

# **Appendix A: Annotated Bibliography for a Positive Social Science**

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**Positive Subjective Experience**

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**Preface**

“shall we not, like archers who have a mark to aim at,

be more likely to hit upon what we should?

If so, we must try, in outline at least, to determine what it is…”

Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, Book I

**The Structure of the Bibliography**

The structure of the bibliography is conceived as a pyramid (see Figure 1)—starting from the very specific micro-level phenomena of positive emotions and broadening and embedding those phenomena into the good person and the good life. The person is then broadened and embedded into the consideration of the community. The movement from specific to broad is also reflected in the breadth of disciplines included in each section. The positive subject experience section contains work that is drawn primarily from psychology, psychophysiology, and some ethology. This consideration includes a consideration of the shades of positive emotion and the role of emotion in coping, goal directed activity, and self-regulation. Finally, some consideration is given to the cultural context of emotion. The next level is the positive person and life. At this level, work is drawn primarily from psychology, philosophy, and sociology. Consideration is given to historical treatments of The Good Life. In addition, empirical work and theoretical perspectives on human strengths such resilience, generativity, productivity, and meaning making are included. The person is then broadened into the essential relationships—marriage, family and friendships—how we contribute to our communities and how we leave a legacy for the next generation. This broadening leads logically to a consideration of the broadest level—the good community. Here research is included from the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, psychology, political science, economics, and philosophy. At this macro-level consideration is given to the institutional forces that influence and shape the positive life.

**The Fuzzy Boundaries of the Bibliography**

It is worthwhile to consider some of the overlap that is implicit in the three divisions. As can be seen in Figure 1, at the borders of the divisions we have some of the most important goods of life—subjective well-being, goal striving, relationships, generativity. It is worthwhile to consider the ways in which the different levels impinge on and implicate each other. For example, all of the divisions consider motivation. At the level of subjective positive experience, we have the emotional experiences of “interest” and flow which provide the affective core of intrinsic motivation. Regulating interest is a crucial element of self-regulation which, in turn, contributes to achievement, which itself occurs and is given meaning within a cultural context. Another demonstration of the interplay between emotional experience and the person is goal striving. Most theories of the good life include a sense of purpose that is provided by meaningful goals toward which an individual may strive. Theories of self regulation (e.g., Carver & Scheier, 1990) emphasize the way that positive and negative moods serve as a gauge of progress in goal pursuit. A final example is provided by the interplay of physical environment and emotion. Environmental factors such as crowding impinge on the subjective emotional state, in turn contributing to the capacity for prosocial or antisocial behavior.

One caveat about categorization: In no case should the classification of an entry be considered more important than the entry itself. The degree of overlap was evident immediately when all three sections included identical articles in their first drafts. Prime examples are work on perceived control and environmental factors or life satisfaction and positive mental health. Such research crosses into all three areas of the bibliography. Rather than debate the placement of a specific entry, most items appear where the contributors felt they belonged. No one area was viewed as sovereign. The divisions exist for ease of navigation and nothing else.

**I. Positive Subjective Experience**

Prepared by

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We are grateful to Sonja Lyubomirsky and Nick Kuiper for the entries under subjective well-being and happiness and humor, respectively.

This bibliography was assembled as a guide for the creation of a positive psychology research node on Positive Subjective Experience to be headed by Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi, University of Chicago. The selection of works was guided by the goal of understanding the nature and function of different positive subjective states, their antecedents, their consequences, and their potential for promoting individual and social well-being. Specific topics of interest include 1) feelings of subjective well-being and happiness, 2) future-oriented positive feelings, such as optimism and hope, 3) emotions associated with goal-striving, such as effectance, interest, and flow, 4) socially-oriented positive feelings, such as love, fellow-feeling, and belonging, 5) feelings of peace, calm, relaxation, transcendence, gratitude, acceptance and faith; and 6) cross-cultural differences in the nature and function of the above states.

The scientific study of positive subjective experience has suffered from two unfortunate trends in the field of psychology. The first is the view of positive states as trivial. For many years -- and even today -- the prevailing view of positive feelings are that they are trivial, ephemeral, unworthy of scientific study, and even potentially dangerous, as they are feared to compromise careful thinking, productive behavior, and prudent action. The second trend is to paint all positive states with the same broad brush instead of examining distinctions among different positive states. While there are some common properties and functions of positive states, there are also some important, intriguing, and understudied differences. As a result of these two unfortunate tendencies in the field, the study of negative feelings in all their forms is predominant, and we know relatively little about different kinds of positive subjective experience and their relation to thinking, behavior, social interaction, and health. We know even less about cross-cultural similarities and differences in the nature and function of positive subjective experience.

A central goal of the proposed node is the rigorous scientific study of such experiences, their antecedents, and their consequences. Elucidating these aspects of positive feelings will allow the development of individual, situational, and community level interventions to promote goods feelings as the strong social bonds, human productivity, and creativity they seem to foster. Such research also has the potential to yield valuable insights in the areas of neuroscience, immunology, social behavior, creativity, parenting, teaching, and self-regulation. To this end, we have highlighted strong empirical and/or theoretical contributions to the study of positive subjective experience in a number of life domains.

**A. GENERAL POSITIVE EMOTIONS AND POSITIVE AFFECT**

**Ashby, F. G., Isen, A. M., & Turken, A. U. (in press). A neurological theory of positive affect and its influence on cognition. Psychological Review.**

This paper advances a new theory about the brain mechanisms that underlie the effects of positive emotions on cognitive processes. The authors suggest that increased levels of circulating dopamine in two specific areas of the frontal cortex create the more flexible and open processing style characteristic of positive subjective states. Supportive empirical evidence drawn from multiple research laboratories is reviewed. This paper is likely to be highly influential as it is the first to draw from multiple levels of analysis to examine the neuropsychological mechanisms underlying the effects of positive mood on creativity and decision making. The paper’s conclusions also call attention to the role of the executive attention system in many of the more intriguing phenomena involving flexibility in judgment and behavior among people in a positive mood.

**Aspinwall, L. G. (1998). Rethinking the role of positive affect in self-regulation. Motivation and Emotion, 22, 1-32.**

This article reviews recent evidence that suggests that positive mood may play a beneficial, multifaceted, and flexible role in self-regulatory processes that cannot be explained by most current theories. In contrast to the view the positive moods compromise careful thinking or lead people to avoid negative information, evidence suggests that, under some conditions positive mood seems to facilitate careful processing of goal-relevant information, even negative information. Additionally, evidence suggests that people in a positive mood respond more flexibly and constructively to important information about themselves and their environments. Three theoretical frameworks (mood as input, processing advantages conferred by positive mood, and mood as resource) that may account for these facilitating effects of positive mood on self-regulation are discussed. These processes may work together to explain the benefits of positive mood on a wide range of tasks.

**Cabanac, M. (1992). Pleasure: The common currency. Journal of Theoretical Biology, 155, 173-200.**

This article advances Cabanac’s earlier work that demonstrates that pleasure signals biological usefulness. According to this view, any stimulus that corrects an “internal trouble” will be experienced as pleasurable. Experiences of pleasure, in turn, motivate and individuals to pursue these biologically useful stimuli.

**Fredrickson, B. L. (1998). What good are positive emotions? Review of General Psychology, 2, 300-319.**

Noting first that positive emotions do not fit existing models of emotion, this paper advances a new evolutionary theory to describe the form and ancestral function of a subset of positive states, including joy, interest, contentment, and love. This new model posits that these positive emotions serve to broaden an individual’s momentary thought-action repertoire, which in turn has the effect of building that individual’s physical, intellectual, and social resources. Empirical evidence for the broaden-and-build model is reviewed, and implications for emotion regulation and health promotion are discussed.

**Fredrickson, B. L. & Levenson, R. W. (1998). Positive emotions speed recovery from the cardiovascular sequelae of negative emotions. Cognition and Emotion, 12, 191-220.**

This paper introduces and provides empirical support for the undoing effect of positive emotions. Positive emotions, the authors argue, have a special capacity to undo the cardiovascular reactivity that lingers following negative emotions. Thus, whereas negative emotions may prepare individuals for specific actions, positive emotions may undo this preparation, efficiently restoring quiescence.

**Folkman, S. (1997). Positive psychological states and coping with severe stress. Social Science Medicine, 45, 1207-1221.**

This article advances a revised model of coping processes that, for the first time, gives positive emotions a key role. Even in the midst of severely distressing events, such as care-giving and bereavement, people experience positive emotions. Folkman links these positive emotions to people’s efforts to find positive meaning within their adverse circumstances. Positive emotions not only give people momentary relief from their distress, but also energize and sustain coping efforts. Supportive evidence from Folkman’s research program on bereaved caregiver is featured.

**Isen, A.M., & Levin, P.F. (1972). Effect of feeling good on helping: Cookies and kindness. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology**, **21, 384-388.**

In the first paper to link positive subjective experience to prosocial behavior, the authors report two experiments that show that people experiencing positive affect or “a warm glow” are more likely to help others. Both studies were conducted in naturalistic settings (a library and a shopping mall). The first study showed that people who have just received a cookie unexpectedly are more likely to volunteer for a study in which they would be helping another person, but less likely to volunteer for a study in which they would be distracting and hindering another person. In the second experiment, participants who had just found a dime in a pay-phone change slot were more likely to help a confederate who had dropped some papers. These studies suggest that positive affect plays an important role in helping behavior. Apparently, when people feel good, they are more willing to help others. Positive feelings may lead people to behave in ways that maintain them and may also alter how they view the costs and rewards of helping others.

**Isen, A. M. (1987). Positive affect, cognitive processes, and social behavior. Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 20, 203-253.**

In this classic paper Alice Isen reviews her program of experimental laboratory research on the cognitive and social effects of positive affect. She evidence shows that positive emotions “enlarge the cognitive context.” The thinking styles of people experiencing positive affect are more creative, flexible, and open. Her data also show that, perhaps as a consequence, positive affect also enhances altruistic behavior.

**Isen, A.M. (1993). Positive affect and decision making. In M. Lewis & J.M. Haviland (Eds.), Handbook of emotions (pp. 261-277). New York: Guilford.**

In this comprehensive review, Isen maintains that positive mood has distinct and salutary effects on cognitive processes, such as creativity, problem solving, and decision making. Some of these gains may be due to the impact of positive mood on the retrieval of information from memory. Specifically, to the extent that positive valence serves as a large organizational category in memory, positive mood primes diverse and unusual associations and more flexible categorization of stimuli that may facilitate creative decisions and effective problem solving. An especially important aspect of Isen’s conceptualization is that positive mood (and people’s motivation to maintain it) leads to avoidance of negative information only when such avoidance has relatively few costs (i.e., when the task is unimportant). Specifically, Isen argues that people in a positive mood will avoid only nonessential stimuli that are incompatible with their mood; if negative information is urgent or essential (i.e., when real loss is possible), people in a positive mood will expend cognitive effort to process this information with no discernible disadvantage. Consistent with this view, Isen and her colleagues find that people in a positive mood sensibly avoid large risks in several studies of risk-taking and gambling. Finally, Isen reviews her large set of rigorous experimental studies showing that positive mood facilitates some kinds of complex decision making and problem solving in important real-world contexts, such as medical decision making. These results suggest that people in a positive mood not only solve problems more quickly, but also more thoroughly and efficiently.

**Kahneman, D., Diener, E., & Schwarz, N. (1999). Well-being: Foundations of hedonic psychology. New York: Russell Sage.**

This forthcoming edited volume explores the emotional underpinnings of subjective well-being from a variety of perspectives. The opening chapter by Kahneman offers a provocative new model for measuring “objective happiness” by tracking momentary variations in people’s subjective states.

CONTRIBUTORS: Daniel Kahneman, Arthur A. Stone, Saul S. Shiffman, Martin DeVries, Randy J. Larsen, Barbara L. Fredrickson, Norbert Schwarz, Fritz Strack, George Loewenstein, David Schkade, Paul Rozin, Michael Kubovy, Eric Eich, Ian A. Brodkin, John L. Reeves, Anuradha F. Chawla, William N. Morris, Nico H. Frijda, Ed Diener, Richard E. Lucas, Nancy Cantor, Catherine A. Sanderson, E. Tory Higgins, Heidi Grant, James Shah, Howard Berenbaum, Chitra Raghaven, Huynh-Nhu Le, Laura Vernon, Jose Gomez, Christopher Peterson, Shane Frederick, Susan Nolen-Hoeksema, Cheryl L. Rusting, Michael Argyle, David G. Myers, Peter Warr, Bernard M.S. Van Praag, Paul Frijters, Eunkook Suh, Robert Sapolsky, Tiffany A. Ito, John C. Cacioppo, Joseph LeDoux, Peter Shizgal, Kent C. Berridge, Bartley G. Hoebel.

**Lewis, M. & Haviland, J. M. (1993). Handbook of Emotions. New York, NY: Guilford Press.**

The goal of this edited volume was to begin an interdisciplinary dialogue on current research on emotion. The first section has useful disciplinary summaries for philosophy, history, anthropology, sociology, psychopathology, and neurophysiology. The second section covers biological and neurophysiological approaches. Subsequent sections cover psychological processes, social processes, and selected emotions. A major contribution of this volume is a number of core chapters on positive subjective states. Most notably, Hatfield and Rapson have a chapter on love and attachment processes, Ruch has a chapter on exhilaration and humor, and Diener & Larsen have a chapter on emotional well-being.

**Ryff, C. D. & Singer, B. (1998). The contours of positive human health. Psychological Inquiry, 9, 1-28.**

This article critiques approaches to health and wellness that rely solely on medical definitions of health, and suggests that philosophical perspectives on the “goods” in life is also necessary for understanding human flourishing. Drawing from philosophical traditions, Ryff & Singer argue that leading a life of purpose and having quality connections to others are the core features of positive human health. These sources of meaning, the authors argue, generate positive emotions. Emotions, being the nexus between mind and body, are proposed to be the pathway between meaning and health.

**Trope, Y., & Pomerantz, E. M. (1998). Resolving conflicts among self-evaluative motives: Positive experiences as a resource for overcoming defensiveness. Motivation and Emotion.**

This set of empirical studies examines the role of prior positive or negative mood on how people approach negative information about themselves. People who have just experienced success in one domain or who are in a positive mood are more likely to seek out useful negative feedback about their liabilities, whereas those who have just failed seem only to want to learn about their strengths. Trope’s self-evaluation perspective is an important corrective to views of human motivation as guided by self-enhancement at the expense of self-improvement, and this series of studies suggest that positive mood may serve as a resource that allows people to learn from their mistakes. See also Trope, Y., & Neter, E. (1994). Reconciling competing motives in self-evaluation: The role of self-control in feedback seeking. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 66, 646- 657.

**B. DISTINCTIONS AMONG POSITIVE SUBJECTIVE STATES**

**de Rivera, J., Possel, L., Verette, J. A., & Weiner, B. (1989). Distinguishing elation, gladness, and joy. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57, 1015-1023.**

This article reports on a series of theory-driven studies that distinguish the bodily transformations, action tendencies, and outcomes of three distinct positive emotions: elation, gladness, and joy. Data suggested that elation is connected to having wishes and fantasies fulfilled, whereas gladness is connected to having a hope fulfilled. Although less definitive, evidence also suggested that joy is connected to experiencing deep meaning in connection with others.

**Ellsworth, P. C. & Smith, C. A. (1988). Shades of joy: Patterns of appraisal differentiating pleasant emotions. Cognition and Emotion, 2, 301-331.**

This article reports of series of studies, derived from appraisal theories of emotions, aimed at distinguishing various types of positive emotions. Ellsworth and Smith conclude that positive emotions are somewhat less differentiated than negative emotions. Even so, discernable differences are found among six positive emotions: interest, hope/confidence, challenge, tranquility, playfulness, and love.

**Feldman Barrett, L., & Russell, J.A. (1998). Independence and bipolarity in the structure of affect. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology**, \*\*\*.

This technically complex, but exceedingly important analysis provides a useful and sophisticated solution to many years of debate concerning the dimensional structure of both positive and negative emotions (e.g., are happiness and sadness two ends of a continuum, or separate entities?). Using a variety of sophisticated statistical techniques, Feldman Barrett and Russell demonstrate that two orthogonal (independent) dimensions are necessary to characterize the full range of emotion terms. These dimensions are pleasantness (bad--good) and activation (deactivated, activated). For example, emotions such as calm are pleasant deactivated states, whereas an emotion such as joy is a pleasant activated state. On the negative side, an activated negative state would be anxiousness, whereas a deactivated negative state would be depression. Thus, happiness and sadness are opposites on one dimension of affect (pleasantness), but they may differ on the other (activation). They further analyze many of the widely used measures of emotion in the field and demonstrate that they fail to capture both dimensions adequately and in some cases confound these dimensions completely. These results are likely to prompt a sea change in the conceptualization and measurement of emotion that will affect research across many areas of psychology.

**Izard, C. E. (1977). Human emotions. New York: Plenum Press.**

Izard’s early work builds gracefully on the contributions of Silvan Tomkins. This early book provides rich theoretical accounts of the distinctions between interest and various levels of joy, ranging from contentment to elation.

**Lazarus, R. S. (1991). Emotion and adaptation. New York: Oxford University Press**.

This classic book provides the definitive presentation of Lazarus’ cognitive-motivational-relational theory of emotion. Central to this view is that emotion result from meanings people forge from their current circumstances. Distinct emotions, according to Lazarus and other appraisal theorists, arise from distinct core relational themes. Chapter 7 details the distinctions among four positive emotions: happiness/joy, pride, love/affection, and relief.

**Lewis, M. & Hatfield, J. M. (1993). Handbook of Emotions. New York: Guilford.**

This edited volume contains a number of core chapters on positive subjective states. Most notably, Hatfield and Rapson have a chapter on love and attachment processes, Ruch has a chapter on exhilaration and humor, and Diener & Larsen have a chapter on emotional well-being.

**Shaver, P., Schwartz, J, Kirson, D.,& O’Connor, C. (1987). Emotion knowledge: Further exploration of a prototype approach. Journal of Personality & Social Psychology 52, 1061-1086.**

This article explores the hierarchical organization of the emotion prototypes based on 135 emotion concepts. Drawing from research on the development of emotions and people’s everyday descriptions of emotions, Shaver and his colleagues reported 5-6 basic or primary emotion prototypes: love, joy, anger, sadness, fear, and perhaps surprise. These prototypes may be useful in determining how emotion-related information is processed in a variety of real-life situations, including social interactions, and may also provide a means of integrating findings concerning cross-age and cross-cultural similarities and differences in emotion concepts, and the development of emotion knowledge.

**Weiner, B., & Graham, S. (1989). Understanding the motivational role of affect: Lifespan research from an attributional perspective. Cognition & Emotion, 3, 401-419.**

Examined the attributional antecedents and the behavioral consequences of pride, gratitude, guilt, anger, and sympathy in a large sample from a wide age range (aged 5-95 yrs) to study changes throughout the life span. The elderly participants were characterized as kind and altruistic: Pity and helping increased through the life span, whereas anger decreased. Relations between attributions, emotions, and judged behavior did not decrease among the very elderly. Particular attributions ma y give rise to feeling states, and these emotions then guide specific actions.

**1. Subjective Well-Being and Happiness**

**Argyle, A. M. (1987). The psychology of happiness. London: Methuen.**

In this classic work, Argyle tackles questions such as, What constitutes happiness? and Why are some people happier than others? He proceeds to chronicle numerous psychological and sociological studies, which have shown that the most important determinants of happiness are social relationships, work, and leisure. In addition, Argyle shows that “objective” variables, such as wealth, social class, age, sex and nationality, do not greatly influence happiness. He analyzes several psychological theories of happiness, such as the role of personality, aspirations, adaptation, and social comparison, and suggests methods for enhancing happiness.

**Brickman, P., Coates, D., & Janoff-Bulman, R. (1978). Lottery winners and accident victims: Is happiness relative? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36, 917-927.**

In this paradigm-changing paper, Brickman and his colleagues report a study in which they interviewed three groups -- recent victims of a disabling accident, individuals who had recently won up to a million dollars in a lottery, and a comparison group. Strikingly, their results suggested that lottery winners were not significantly happier than the comparison group of individuals and that accident victims (paraplegics and quadriplegics) were not as unhappy as one might expect. The authors invoked adaptation-level theory to explain these findings. That is, both contrast and habituation processes may operate to prevent the winning of a fortune from elevating happiness as much as might be expected, and also work to make the experience of permanent disability less depressing than might be expected. Additionally, contrast with the peak experience of winning was found to lessen the impact of ordinary pleasures (e.g., watching television), thus reducing the happiness of the lottery winners. Interestingly, the disabled respondents reported greater enjoyment of everyday activities, a finding that sparked research interest concerning changes in values and priorities following adversity.

**Costa, P. T., Jr., & McCrae, R. R. (1980). Influence of extraversion and neuroticism on subjective well-being: Happy and unhappy people. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 38, 668-678.**

Costa and McCrae present a model of individual differences in happiness. Using a sample of over 1,000 male adults (ages 35 to 85), they report finding that the personality trait of extraversion influences positive affect or satisfaction and the personality trait of neuroticism influences negative affect or dissatisfaction. Additionally, these personality differences predicted differences in happiness 10 years later. (For further supporting evidence, see McCrae, R. R., & Costa, P. T. (1991). Adding Liebe und Arbeit: The full five-factor model and well-being. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 17, 227-232.

**Diener, E., Suh, E., Lucas, R. E., & Smith, H. L. (in press). Subjective well-being: Three decades of progress -- 1967 to 1997. Psychological Bulletin.**

In 1984, Diener wrote a seminal review of the state of the field of subjective well-being (composed of positive affect, negative affect, and life satisfaction), emphasizing theories of happiness that stressed psychological factors. In this current state-of-the-art review and update, Diener and his colleagues extensively evaluate current evidence for previously proposed correlates of happiness (Wilson, 1967) -- e.g., youth, health, religion, self-esteem, job morale -- and discuss in detail the modern theories of subjective well-being, including the role of dispositional factors and coping strategies, adaptation-level theories, and goal theories. They proceed to suggest future directions in the evolution of the field of happiness and well-being -- for example, advancing beyond correlations to understand the causal pathways to happiness and attempting to understand the interaction of psychological factors with life circumstances in producing happiness.

**Lykken, D. & Tellegen, A. (1996). Happiness is a stochastic phenomenon. Psychological Science, 7, 186-189.**

In this influential and controversial paper, Lykken and Tellegen offer evidence for a strong genetic influence on levels of subjective well-being. Using a sample of 2,310 middle-aged twins, they calculated that socioeconomic status, educational attainment, family income, marital status, and religious commitment each accounted for no more than 3% of the variance in well-being. In contrast, from 44% to 52% of the variance in well-being was found to be associated with genetic variation. Based on a retest of smaller samples of twins after intervals of 4.5 and 10 years, the authors estimated that the heritability of the stable component of well-being approaches 80%, which is similar to that for height. They conclude that well-being may have a “set point” or a “set range” of genetic origin. Other authors have pointed out that 48-54% of the variance in well-being remains to be explained, and that well-being is not a static quality, but one that must be maintained (for discussion and related research, Lyubomirsky, S., & Tucker, K.L. (1998). Implications of individual differences in subjective happiness for perceiving, interpreting, and

thinking about life events. Motivation and Emotion, 22, 155-186.

**Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57, 1069-1081.**

Ryff critiques the contemporary subjective well-being literature as being founded on conceptions of well-being that have little theoretical rationale and, consequently, as have neglected the definition and assessment of its essential features. In turn, from the extensive literature on positive psychological functioning (e.g., Maslow, Jung, Rogers), she distills six important characteristics of happiness, including self-acceptance, positive interpersonal relations, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose and meaning in life, and personal growth. In this influential paper, Ryff operationalizes these proposed dimensions of happiness using a large representative sample of men and women (young, middle-aged, and old). (For further supporting evidence, see also Ryff and Keyes (1995). The structure of psychological well-being revisited. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69, 719-727.)

**Wilson, W. (1967). Correlates of avowed happiness. Psychological Bulletin, 67, 294-306.**

According to Wilson’s analysis of the literature in 1967, the happy person is a young, healthy, well-educated, well-paid, extraverted, optimistic, worry-free, religious, married individual with high self-esteem, high job morale, modest aspirations, of either sex, and of varying intelligence. To explain individual differences in well-being, he proposes two theoretical postulates -- 1) the prompt satisfaction of needs causes happiness, while the persistence of unfulfilled needs causes unhappiness and 2) the degree of fulfillment required to produce satisfaction depends on one’s adaptation or aspiration level, which is influenced by past experience, social comparisons, personal values, etc.

**2. Flow/Enjoyment**

**Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). Flow: The psychology of optimal experience. New York: HarperPerennial.**

This classic and accessible text provides a comprehensive overview of Csikszentmihalyi’s flow theory. Flow is the intense enjoyment that people experience when they are fully immersed in activities that provide challenges to match their skills. This book details the psychological conditions and typical activities that lead to flow experiences. Flow experiences, Csikszentmihalyi argues, determine the quality of life.

**Csikszentmihalyi, M. & Rathunde, K. (1998). The development of the person: An experiential perspective on the ontogenesis of psychological complexity. In W. Damon (Series Ed.) & R. M. Lerner (Vol. Ed.), Handbook of Child Psychology: Vol. 1. Theoretical models of human development (5th ed., pp. 635-684). New York: Wiley.**

This chapter expands upon flow theory to position flow as fundamental to the development of intelligence and psychological complexity across the lifespan. The key role of dialectical thinking in producing optimal states of engagement as well psychological complexity and flexibility provides the link between flow and human growth and development. Supportive evidence from the authors’ research on flow in child and adult development is reviewed.

**3. Joy/Play**

**Boyer, W. A. R. (1997). Enhancing playfulness with sensorial stimulation**. **Journal of Research in Childhood Education, 12, 78-87**.

Boyer reviews research showing that playfulness is associated with academic and behavioral success and that playfulness serves as a constructive means of learning about the world. He reports a study testing an intervention designed to increase playfulness in pre-school children. This intervention consisted of ten lessons emphasizing the development of the senses through guided imagery and exploration of the environment. Results indicated that the intervention increased total playfulness, as well as three specific categories of playfulness: social/emotional, manifest joy, and humor. These results suggest that playfulness is not a fixed personality trait as genetic theories maintain, but rather a factor which can be influenced by a stimulating environment.

**Knutson, B., Bergdorf, J., & Panksepp, J. (1998). Anticipation of play elicits high-frequency ultrasonic vocalizations in young rats. Journal of Comparative Psychology, 112, 65-73.**

Considerable evidence has accumulated demonstrating that rats emit low frequency vocalization in adverse conditions—during submissive behavior, in the presence of predators, etc. This article presents a series of studies investigating whether rats might vocalize at high frequencies as an expression of appetitive motivation for social interaction. Young rats engage in rough and tumble play that is unique to their age group. In a series of six studies, young rats were observed playing and anticipating play. The results demonstrate that rats laugh, albeit at high-frequency levels inaudible to the unassisted human ear while playing and in anticipation of play. These effects are independent of arousal and are systematically related to aspects of later play behavior (rats who emit more high frequency ultrasonic vocalizations (USVs) also are more likely to place their paws on the backs of their playmates). In addition, these high frequency USVs are not a by product of the physical activity of play, as is demonstrated by the occurrence of these vocalizations in anticipation of play. These high frequency USVs are also seen in adult rats when exploring with conspecifics and during courtship. This work is significant in that it provides a gateway to conducting animal studies on the brain substrates of joy.

**Martin, R.A. & Lefcourt, H.M. (1983).  Sense of humor as a moderator of the relation between stressors and mood.  Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45, 1313-1324.**

In the late 1970's Norman Cousins published his book on how laughter had helped cure him from a life-threatening disease.  Although this book stimulated wide-spread interest in discussing the potentially beneficial effects of humor, it was an entirely antecdotal case study. This paper by Martin & Lefcourt (1983) represented one of the first contemporary psychology approaches to the scientific study of humor, as it provided empirical data regarding the relationship between stress and affect, as moderated by humor. It showed that stress had a different relation to well-being for people high in humor and laughter. This article provided "scientific respectability" to an area of research that has often been discussed, but rarely tested in a controlled empirical fashion, set the standard for measurement in this area, and has served as a major stimulus for empirical research on humor and its effects on health and well-being. See, for example, **Kuiper, N.A., & Martin, R.A., Laughter and Stress in Daily Life: Relation to Positive and Negative Affect, Motivation and Emotion, 22, 133-153.**

**Panksepp, J. (1998). Attention deficit hyperactivity disorders, psychostimulants, and intolerance of childhood playfulness: A tragedy in the making? Current Directions in Psychological Science, 7, 91-98**.

This brief article introduces the idea that play promotes brain development -- particularly in the frontal lobes—in areas critical to regulating attention and behavior, and thereby enabling learning.

4. Interest/Intrinsic Motivation

**Renninger, K. A., Hidi, S. & Krapp, A. (Eds.). (1992). The role of interest in learning and development. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.**

This edited volume presents a range of perspectives on the critical role of emotion of interest in learning, development, and education. Interest is variously construed as a person variable (e.g., profile of individual interests), a situational variable (e.g., the interestingness of a given topic), and an emotional state. Diverse empirical approaches are featured.

**Sansone, C. & Morgan, C. (1992). Intrinsic motivation and education: Competence in context. Motivation and Emotion,** **16, 249-270.**

This article reports on a study of 297 students, ranging from 1st grade to college. The data suggest that there may be multiple routes to interest, which can be aided or obstructed by the quality and quantity of information we choose to provide students. The results also suggest that the need to attend to how the student perceives and defines academic activities in order to optimize the match between his or her goals and potential feedback. The potential to foster interest in education, then, may not depend solely on the ability and efforts of teachers or educational materials, but also on the ability and efforts of individual students to self-generate feelings of interest and intrinsic motivation. These ideas -- and their implications for strategies for changings one’s phenomenal experiences to futher motivation and persistence -- are further elaborated in **Sansone, C., & Harackiewicz, J. M. (1996). "I don't feel like it": The function of interest in self-regulation. In L.L. Martin & A. Tesser (Eds.), Striving and feeling: Interactions among goals, affect, and self-regulation (pp. 203-228). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum**.

**Vallerand, R. J., Fortier, M. S., Guay, F. (1997). Self-determination and persistence in a real-life setting: Toward a motivational model of high school dropout. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72, 1161-1176.**

This article reports on a prospective study of 4,537 high school students. The results showed that when teachers, parents, and school administrators fail to support student autonomy, student’s perceptions of their own competence and autonomy are eroded. This erosion, in turn, lowers their self-determined motivation for school, and increases their likelihood of dropping out.

**5. Optimism and Hope**

**Armor, D. A., & Taylor, S. E. (1998). Situated optimism: Specific outcome expectancies and self-regulation. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), Advances in experimental social psychology (Vol. 30, pp. 309-379). New York: Academic Press.**

Armor and Taylor developed the concept of “situated optimism” to describe domain-specific (as opposed to general) optimistic beliefs. In contrast to the prevailing view that “optimistic biases” (the belief that one is less at risk of negative outcomes and more likely to experience positive outcomes than similar others) are always harmful, the authors identify several ways in which these beliefs are fundamentally based in reality and serve to fuel constructive action. Specifically, optimistic beliefs are bounded (that is, they don’t get too far out of line), strategic (they help people meet their goals and are used selectively, rather than indiscriminantly), and responsive (that is, they are adjusted to match features of a situation). These findings suggest that there is a strategic element to optimistic beliefs -- that we are able to hold them (and enjoy their motivational benefits) when they will serve us well (situation is controllable) and when they won’t get us into trouble (they can’t be disconfirmed), but temper them when they may put us at risk (failure, disconfirmation, embarrassment). Consistent with this point, research on the role of optimism at different points in making decisions and implementing goals suggests that people seem to use their optimism to fuel actions toward goals, but to suspend it when making important planning decisions about how to meet their goals (see, e.g., Taylor & Gollwitzer, 1995).

**Aspinwall, L.G., & Brunhart, S.M. (1996). Distinguishing optimism from denial: Optimistic beliefs predict attention to health threats. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 22, 993-1003.**

This paper reported the first experimental attempt to determine whether optimistic beliefs help or hinder people’s efforts to acquire useful negative information about themselves. College students were given the option of reading information about the risks and benefits of their own health behaviors (as determined by pretesting) or those of behaviors they did not practice. The results were striking: students who were optimistic (either dispositionally or about their health in particular) paid spent more time reading risk information and showed greater recall for it in a follow-up session than did pessimists. The results were especially strong for information about the risks of optimists’ own behaviors, a finding that is completely inconsistent with a characterization of optimism as functioning like denial or rose-colored glasses. No evidence was found to support the belief that people with positive beliefs maintain them by avoiding negative information. Instead, positive beliefs are associated with increased attention to such information.

**Aspinwall, L.G., Richter, L., & Hoffman, R.R. (in press). Understanding how optimism “works”: Mediators, moderators, and future research directions. In E.C. Chang (Ed.), Optimism and pessimism: Theory, research, and practice. Washington: American Psychological Association.**

With few exceptions, optimists appear to achieve better outcomes in a wide range of situations, including adjustment to life-threatening and chronic illness (e.g., cancer, AIDS), to major new situations (the transition to college, emigration), and to the small hassles of daily life, yet studies consistently indicate that optimism is not associated with intelligence, academic achievement, wealth, or other characteristics that might convey advantages in adjusting to adversity. How, then, are optimistic beliefs translated into good outcomes in such a wide range of life domains? This chapter reviews what is known about how optimistic beliefs are associated with good outcomes and examines some intriguing evidence concerning greater flexibility in the cognitive processing and behavior of optimists that may explain their ability to adapt successfully to new situations, especially those that are negative or threatening. The authors review evidence that optimism is associated with the successful moderation of beliefs and behavior, depending on important features of a situation or problem, such as whether the situation is controllable or not. If a stressor is controllable, optimists appear to cope actively with it; however, if it is uncontrollable, optimists are more likely to report accepting the problem, rather than trying to change it. Using evidence from a laboratory experiment on task persistence, research on the optimistic bias, and experiments on optimists’ processing of threatening health information, the authors suggest that optimists’ greater ability to distinguish controllable from uncontrollable situations may be part of a larger pattern of successful moderation of belief and behavior that may account for optimists’ success in so many life domains.

**Carver, C.S., Pozo, C., Harris, S.D., Noriega, V., Scheier, M.F., Robinson, D.S., Ketcham, A.S., Moffat, F.L., Jr., & Clark, K.C. (1993). How coping mediates the effect of optimism on distress: A study of women with early stage breast cancer. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65, 375-390.**

Carver and his colleagues (1993) examined the role of optimism in coping and adjustment in a sample of women adjusting to surgery for breast cancer. Compared to pessimists, optimistic women were more likely to indicate that they had accepted the reality of the fact that they had surgery for breast cancer, reported greater use of humor in coping, and reported lower levels of denial (refusing to believe the surgery had happened) and disengagement (giving up attempts to cope with the aftermath of the surgery). Each of these coping strategies was in turn related to lower psychological distress at various follow-up assessments in the year following the surgery. This study conclusively established that some of the benefits of optimism are due to optimism’s association with more constructive and fewer destructive coping methods. For further information about the psychometric properties and predictive validity of the Life Orientation Test measure of optimism, see Scheier, M.F., Carver, C.S., & Bridges, M.W. (1994). Distinguishing optimism from neuroticism (and trait anxiety, self-mastery, and self-esteem): A re-evaluation of the Life Orientation Test. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67, 1063-1078. For a comprehensive review of the physical and mental health benefits of optimism, see Scheier, M.F., Carver, C.S., & Bridges, M.W. (in press). Optimism, pessimism, and psychological well-being. In E.C. Chang (Ed.) (in press), Optimism and pessimism: Theory, research, and practice. Washington: American Psychological Association.

**Chang, E.C. (Ed.) (in press), Optimism and pessimism: Theory, research, and practice. Washington: American Psychological Association.**

This forthcoming major volume considers in detail current research on the nature, antecedents, and consequences of optimism and pessimism, as well as future research directions and potential applications. Noteworthy features are the inclusion of both the Carver and Scheier approach (dispositional optimism as generalized positive expectancies) and the Seligman, Peterson et al. explanatory style approach (as well as related work on hope and defensive pessimsim), a noteworthy focus on social behavior and health, and a strong intervention focus that considers both adults and children. Contents: 1. **Defining optimism and pessimism**. a. Optimism and pessimism from a historical perspective. (D. Conway); b. Optimism, pessimism, and self-regulation(C. Carver & M. Scheier ); c. Optimism, pessimism, and defensive pessimism (J. Norem); d. Optimism, pessimism, and hope. (C. Snyder); e. Optimism, pessimism, and explanatory style (M. Seligman et al.); 2. **Antecedents of optimism and pessimism**. a. Biological factors. 1.Biological foundations (M. Zuckerman); b. Psychological factors. 1. Optimism and pessimism as self-protection. (J. Brown); c. Social/Environmental factors. 1. Social learning. (D. Cervone et al.); 2. Cultural factors. (E. Chang); 3. C**onsequences of optimism and pessimism**. a. Psychological consequences of optimism and pessimism. 1.Optimism, pessimism, and treatment for depression (children). (M. Seligman et al.); 2. Optimism, pessimism, and treatment for disorders (adults) (J. Pretzer et al.); 3.Optimism, pessimism, and psychological well-being. (M. Scheier & C. Carver); b. Physical consequences of optimism and pessimism. 1. Optimism, pessimism, and physical well-being. (C. Peterson); 2. Optimism, pessimism, and daily health (H. Tennen & G.Affleck); c. Social consequences of optimism and pessimism. 1.Optimism, pessimism, and social/group behaviors? (W. Dember); 4. **Future directions.** a. Teaching optimism or pessimism? (J. Norem & E. Chang); b. One, two, or more constructs? (G. Marshall); c.Moderators and mediators of optimism and pessimism. (L. Aspinwall);

**Epstein, S., & Meier, P. (1989). Constructive thinking: A broad coping variable with specific components. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57, 332-350.**

In an attempt to account for why intelligence does not always predict success for real life problems other than educational attainment, the authors propose a more practical kind of intelligence. which they call Constructive Intelligence. The authors designed set of measures called the Constructive Thinking Inventory (CTI) to measure this practical intelligence and predict life success in important areas, including mental health, physical health, family relations, and success in work. The CTI consists of a Global Constructive Thinking scale, as well as six sub-scales that make up different aspects of Constructive Thinking (emotion coping, behavioral coping, categorical thinking, superstitious thinking, naïve optimism, and negative thinking). The CTI was found to predict life success in all of the previously mentioned areas better than other existing measures. This study shows that the CTI can predict important outcomes that intelligence cannot, and has implications for identifying skills that can be taught to increase chances of life success.

**Gillham, J. (Ed.)(in press), The Science of Optimism: Research and Essays in Honor of Martin Seligman. Philadelphia: Templeton Foundation.**

This forthcoming tribute to Marty Seligman reviews current and classic contributions to the scientific study of hope and optimism. Contributions examine the neurobiology of control, stress resistance, and coping; the relation of optimism to human health, growth and resilience; the role of optimism and hope in coping with bereavement, preventing depression, and processing negative information; interventions in children; the role of optimism in family relationships; the relation of optimism to faith and religiosity, and cultural and historical analyses of optimism in leaders.

**Greenberg, M. (1997). High-rise public housing, optimism, and personal and environmental health behaviors. American Journal of Health Behavior, 21, 388-398.**

This groundbreaking study examined the relationship of optimism to perceptions of problems and constructive social change among residents of a troubled public housing project in central New Jersey. Optimists in this largely African-American and Hispanic sample were just as likely as pessimists to perceive problems in their neighborhood, but they reported greater actions to protect their personal health and the health of their neighborhood through civic participation, volunteer work, and other activities. This study is important for three reasons: 1) it links optimistic beliefs to actions undertaken to improve one’s community, 2) it provides evidence that the benefits of optimism may generalize to groups other than the affluent whites who populate most studies of chronic illness, and 3) it provides a counterargument to the view that only advantaged people are optimistic (that is, that optimism is a luxury in an unkind world).

**Peterson, C., Seligman, M.E.P., & Vaillant, G.E. (1988). Pessimistic explanatory style is a risk factor for physical illness: A thirty-five-year longitudinal study. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 55, 23-27.**

This extraordinary longitudinal study tracked physical health outcomes of 99 of the healthiest and most successful members of the Harvard classes of 1942-44, from age 25 to age 60. Those who showed evidence of a pessimistic explanatory style at age 25 (determined by an analysis of interview transcripts when participants were asked to discuss their difficult wartime experiences) were rated as having worse physical health later in life, even when both physical and mental health at age 25 were taken into account. These results suggest that explaining negative events in pessimistic ways -- by seeing such events as internally caused, as stable, and as affecting many domains of life -- constitutes a life-long vulnerability factor for physical illness. Importantly, other work, such as Seligman’s (1991) Learned Optimism book, suggests that such explanatory styles can be changed. For related evidence on the health costs of pessimism, see also Schulz, R., Bookwala, J., Knapp, J. E., Scheier, M. F., & Williamson, G. M. (1996). Pessimism, age, and cancer mortality. Psychology and Aging, 11, 304-309.

**Reed, G. M., Kemeney, M. E., Taylor, S. E., Wang, H. J., & Visscher, B. R. (1994). Realistic acceptance as a predictor of decreased survival time in gay men with AIDS. Health Psychology,** **13, 299-307.**

Some theories have suggested that acceptance of a fatal condition is psychologically adaptive. The authors of this study found that the opposite was true in a longitudinal study of gay men with AIDS. In this sample, realistic acceptance predicted more active coping, but it also predicted increased mortality even when other risk factors were taken into account. The median survival time for men who did not display realistic acceptance was twice that of those who did (18 mos. vs. 9 mos.; note that these data was collected in 1988 when overall survival rates were much lower.) This study was one of the first to link people’s hopeful attitudes about their illness to survival data. The authors review other studies which have found that positive beliefs lead to better adjustment and coping among people with life-threatening and/or chronic illnesses.

**Seligman, M. E. P. (1991). Learned optimism. New York: A.A. Knopf.**

In this influential popular book, Seligman draws on his long-term program of human and animal research on learned helplessness and depression to examine an important flip side of this question -- how does optimism work, and can it be learned? He examines why optimists fare better in politics, sports, sales, and other life domains. He further examines several specific ways in which pessimists can learn optimistic ways of thinking, such as learning to view setbacks as temporary, not taking everything personally, recognizing that beliefs are not facts and can thus be challenged and changed, and focusing on problem-solving actions. Interventions derived from this work have been used successfully to prevent depression in children and adults.

**Snyder, C. R. (1994). The psychology of hope: You can get there from here. New York: Free Press.**

Snyder’s “wills and ways” theory of hope defines hope as a two-dimensional construct. One dimension is agency (the will), the sense of successful determination in meeting goals in the past, present, and future. The second dimension is pathways (the ways), the sense of being able to generate successful plans to meet goals. Snyder and his colleagues postulate that these two aspects of hope are reciprocally derived, additive, and positively related, but they are not identical. For example, one could conceivably generate multiple avenues of goal attainment, yet not believe that he/she has the ability to accomplish the goal. Conversely, one could believe that one is capable of goal attainment, yet not be able to conjure up the necessary means of achieving the goal. Snyder and his colleagues have shown that hope may be a trait or a state, and is related to superior outcomes in a number of life domains.

**Taylor, S.E., & Brown, J.D. (1988). Illusion and well-being: A social psychological perspective on mental health. Psychological Bulletin, 103, 193-210.**

Taylor and Brown present the provocative argument that a social psychology of mental health involves investment in positive illusion about the self. In contrast to traditional views of mental health as reflecting an engagement with reality and an objective view of the self and others, Taylor and Brown argued that research on self esteem and self enhancement tends to support, instead, the idea that positive illusions about the self the basis of healthy mental functioning. This viewpoint has been the subject of enormous debate.

**Tiger, L. (1995/1979). Optimism: The biology of hope. New York: Kodansha.**

This book advances the idea that tendencies toward optimism developed over the course of human evolution to counteract the downside of having evolved a large cortex that could newly imagine the future. While envisioning the future is essential to planning and goal-striving, it can also lead to demoralizing thoughts, such as images of possible defeat, dispair, even death. Compared to pessimists, optimists would have been more likely to cope, forge ahead, achieve success, and thus live long enough to reproduce.

**6. Future-Oriented Feelings**

**Aspinwall, L.G., & Taylor, S.E. (1997). A stitch in time: Self-regulation and proactive coping. Psychological Bulletin, 121, 417-436.**

This paper integrates research on stress and coping with research on self-regulation (the process through which people control and direct their own actions), personality, and social cognition to examine how people act in advance to prevent or reduce potential sources of stress. To the extent that people are successful in anticipating and warding off potential stressors, their actions may go unstudied. For example, the person who correctly anticipates impending layoffs at her job and acquires extra training, bolsters her relationship with her boss, or applies for other jobs, is less likely to show up in a study of long-term unemployment. Similarly, the person who responds early and correctly to signs that an important relationship is deteriorating may act to improve the relationship, but she is unlikely to show up in a study of marital distress. The paper presents a model for understanding the resources necessary to identify and counteract potential stressors, attentional factors in responding to negative events and information, their relation to appraisals of such information, and preliminary coping efforts undertaken to address the potential stressor. The model also is unique in that it considers how people make use of the information elicited by their early efforts to shape subsequent appraisals and coping efforts. One important contribution of this paper to the study of stress and coping is its portrayal of people as active and constructive agents in the face of potential stress, not as reactive recipients of stressful events. Finally, the paper also considers the beneficial role of positive beliefs, such as optimism and control beliefs, in this process.

**Friedman, S.L., & Scholnick, E.K. (Eds.) (1997).** **The developmental psychology of planning: Why, how, and when do we plan? Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.**

Planning is a complex activity in which we bring together cognitive, emotional, and motivational resources to reach desired goals. Often, we must also overcome the impulse to respond to the immediate situation and instead focus our attention and efforts on this desired goal. This follow-up to editors’ (1987) volume, Blueprints for thinking: The role of planning in cognitive development, examines planning from a variety of perspectives, including social, motivational, cognitive, and cultural determinants of strategy selection and use. Individual chapters consider the development of future thinking in children, the interrelation of emotion regulation, instrumental control, and planning, planning skills in adolescence and their relation to contraceptive use and nonuse, interpersonal and social aspects of planning, and the role of optimism and control beliefs in planning and proactive coping.

**Jones, J. M. (1994). An exploration of temporality in human behavior. In Schank, Roger C. (Ed), Langer, Ellen (Ed), et al (1994). Beliefs, reasoning, and decision making: Psycho-logic in honor of Bob Abelson. (pp. 389-411). Hillsdale, NJ, USA: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.**

Jones identifies time as a psychological construct with meaning for cognitive and affective aspects of experience, as well as significant influence on human behaviors. Temporal perspective is presented as the composite representations of past, present, and future along several dimensions (extension, density, valence, accessibility, content, and structure). People and culture may vary in the way in which the dimensions manifest themselves, as well as in their relation to overall temporal perspective. He describes preliminary data demonstrating the utility of a scale to measure temporal orientation and its relationship to personality and selected behavioral characteristics.

**7. Task Related Feelings**

**a. Effectance/Mastery**

**Ben-Sira, Z. (1985). Potency: A stress-buffering link in the coping-stress-disease relationship. Social Science & Medicine**, **21, 397-406.**

Studied a representative sample of 1,179 Israeli adults to investigate the factors that facilitate maintaining an individual’s emotional homeostasis despite occasional failures in initially coping with stressors due to resource inadequacy. Ss were administered measures of potency (mastery/anomie), physical health, stress, successful coping, and resources. Data support the hypothesis that potency, a feeling of confidence in one’s own capacities and in the meaningful orderliness of society, fulfills a tension-bounding function by weakening the association among the components of the coping-stress-health relationship, thus moderating the deleterious effect of occasional failures in coping on homeostasis and health. Data further allude to potency being enhanced both by accumulation of successful coping experiences and by social support.

**b. Velocity, progress, movement toward goals**

**Carver, C.S., & Scheier, M.F. (1990). Origins and functions of positive and negative affect: A control process view. Psychological Review, 97, 19-35.**

Carver and Scheier have written the most readable applications of control theory to personality, social and health psychology. In this article, they integrate emotional life into the systems approach to self-regulation. In control theory, self-regulation occurs in a dynamic system of negative feedback loops in which people seek to close discrepancies between their current and desired states. For such a system to work some kind of monitor is necessary to track progress. Carver and Scheier argue that our emotions serve as gauges of the effectiveness of our goal pursuit. We feel happy, excited or elated as our progress at closing gaps is assessed as quite good or better than expected. In addition, negative emotions indicate that progress is slower than expected or nonexistent.

**Hobfoll, S. E. (1989). Conservation of resources: A new attempt at conceptualizing stress. American Psychologist, 44, 513-524.**

A central part of Hobfoll’s thesis is that people are motivated to retain, protect, and build resources and that much of their behavior under conditions of stress, as well as during nonstressful conditions, can be understood this way. These resources can be objects, personal characteristics (mastery, self-esteem, learned resourcefulness), conditions (employment, tenure, marriage) or energies (time, money, knowledge) that are valued by the individual or that serve as a means for the attainment of resources. In Hobfoll’s framework, stress is defined as the loss of resources, the potential loss of resources, or the failure to gain resources in proportion to one’s investment in a task. When resources are threatened, people act to protect them or to restore them. When resources are not threatened, people act to build them for future use. This approach resolves several problems in the conceptualization of stress, such as the confounding of the process of stress with the outcome of stress, and highlights the value of psychological, social, and other resources in people’s behavior. Interventions based on this work -- to increase social support resources and personal resources such as mastery -- have been successful to date.

**Hsee, C. K. & Abelson, R. P. (1991). Velocity relation: Satisfaction as a function of the first derivative of outcome over time. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60, 341-347.**

The authors suggest that satisfaction with an outcome depends not only on the amount of change (displacement) in an outcome, but also on the rate of change (velocity) of an outcome. In other words, the perception of movement toward an outcome is an important determinant of goal-directed behavior. People may even be willing to sacrifice a positive outcome or endure a negative outcome to experience this greater velocity, which would explain some forms of aversive behavior. Two studies supported this hypothesis. In the first, participants rated scenarios that differed in the amount and velocity of change. In the second, participants observed a computerized display of a vertical bar which represented the possible outcome. The speed at which this bar changed was varied, and participants were asked to rate their satisfaction. The authors conclude that people are more satisfied with faster rewards. The authors also suggest that people seek not just a particular outcome but also a faster process. This line of work has the potential to explain many of the rewarding properties of the pursuit of goals, as well as their attainment. For further reading, see Hsee, Christopher K.; Abelson, Robert P.; & Salovey, Peter. (1991). The relative weighting of position and velocity in satisfaction. Psychological Science, 2, 263-266.

**Martin, L. L. & Tesser, A. Eds. (1996). Striving and feeling: Interactions among goals, affect, and self-regulation. Mahwah, NJ, USA: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.**

This book attempts to integrate 2 recent lines of research--one that explores the effects of goals on people's feelings and one that explores the role of goals in moderating the influence of people's feelings on their thoughts and behaviors. The general aim of the book is to bring together investigators who are operating from new, integrative perspectives, and who are giving us new ways to think about goals and affect. CONTENTS: McIntosh, W. D. When does goal nonattainment lead to negative emotional reactions, and when doesn't it?: The role of linking and rumination; Emmons, R. A., & Kaiser, H. A. Goal orientation and emotional well-being: Linking goals and affect through the self; Cochran, M., & Tesser, A. The "what the hell" effect: Some effects of goal proximity and goal framing on performance; Halberstadt, J. B., Niendenthal, P. M., & Setterlund, M. B. Cognitive organization of different tenses of the self mediates affect and decision making; Showers, C., & Kling, C. The organization of self-knowledge: Implications for mood regulation; Strauman, T. J. Self-beliefs, self-evaluation, and depression: A perspective on emotional vulnerability. Sansone, C., & Harackiewicz, J. M. "I don't feel like it": The function of interest in self-regulation; Singer, J. A., & Salovey, P. Motivated memory: Self-defining memories, goals, and affect regulation; Erber, R. The self-regulation of moods; Martin, L. Mood as input: What we think about how we feel determines how we think; Hirt, E. R., McDonald, H. E., & Melton, J. R. Processing goals and the affect-performance link: Mood as main effect or mood as input? Wegener, D. T., & Petty, R. E. Effects of mood on persuasion processes: Enhancing, reducing, and biasing scrutiny of attitude-relevant information; Oatley, K., & Johnson-Laird, P. N. The communicative theory of emotions: Empirical tests, mental models, and implications for social interaction.

**c. Challenge Appraisals and Their Physiological Correlates: Mobilization**

**Blascovich, J., & Tomaka, J. (1996). The biopsychosocial model of arousal regulation. In M. Zanna (Ed.), Advances in experimental social psychology (Vol. 28, pp. 1-51). New York: Academic Press.**

The authors present a theoretical framework for understanding the physiological correlates of threat and challenge perceptions, based on their experimental studies of demanding mental tasks. This work has identified two distinct pattern of physiological responses to demanding tasks -- one corresponding to perceptions of threat (increased heart rate, decreased stroke volume and increased vascular resistance, placing greater demands on the heart), and one corresponding to perceptions of challenge (increased heart rate, but increased stroke volume and decreased vascular resistance, placing fewer demands on the heart to get the body “going”). The threat-linked response impairs performance, whereas the challenge-linked response is a positive state of energy mobilization to meet task demands and is associated with better performance. This work represents an important advance over previous studies of simple constructs, such as arousal and activation, because it distinguishes positive, constructive forms of such activation from debilitating ones. It also provides a framework that may be used to understand the superior coping and adaptation outcomes observed among people who are optimistic or who have strong beliefs in personal control. Related work by Allen and Blascovich has examined the role of music in cultivating this positive form of arousal in surgeons and the role of pets in reducing the negative form of arousal in their owners.

**Dienstbier, R. A. (1989). Arousal and physiological toughness: Implications for mental and physical health. Psychological Review, 96, 84-100.**

Richard Dienstbier has developed an approach to a kind of resilience based on early hardships. This research program resonates with folk notions that trying times lead to stronger people. Dienstbier traces the negative view of sympathetic nervous system (SNS) activity that has predominated in the psychological literature. He then presents a contrary positive view of peripheral arousal. Results from a series of studies (using animal and human models) demonstrates that intermittent exposure to stressors leads to low SNS arousal base rates, but to strong and responsive challenge- or stress-induced SNS-adrenal-medullary arousal. This response is also associated with resistance to brain catecholamine depletion and with suppression of pituitary adrenal-cortical responses. That pattern of arousal defines physiological toughness and, in interaction with psychological coping, corresponds with positive performance in even complex tasks, with emotional stability, and with immune system enhancement. Toughness is thus associated with having a “stronger” constitution (in the Pavlovian sense) and is associated with superior performance under pressure.

**8. Serenity/Relaxation/Calm**

**Fredrickson, B. L. (in press). Cultivating positive emotions to optimize health and well-being. Prevention and Treatment.**

This forthcoming article develops the argument that relaxation therapies, ranging from progressive muscle relaxation to meditation and yoga, work to reduce stress and negative emotional states because they cultivate the positive emotion of contentment/serenity, and thus capitalize on the broadening and undoing effects of positive emotions.

**Kaplan, S. (1995). The restorative benefits of nature: Toward an integrative framework. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 15, 169-182.**

This article, although not based on positive subjective states, reviews the empirical evidence that suggests that nature experiences can restore optimal cognitive functioning. The findings attributed to nature can conceivably be attributed to experiences of fascination and serenity.

**Legostaev, G. N. (1996). Changes in mental performance after voluntary relaxation. Human Physiology, 22, 637-638.**

Examined the effects of short-term autogenic training exercises of voluntary relaxation on mental activity. The training course included basic exercises to attain calm repose, muscle relaxation, dilatation of peripheral and abdominal blood vessels, and a decrease in breathing and heart activity. Three parameters of mental activity (i.e., attention, memory, and thinking) were assessed in Ss and controls before and after training. Data show a possibility of using short-term autotraining sessions of voluntary relaxation performed in lecture halls before class as a method of improving mental activity.

**9. Shared Fate/Perceptions Of “We-Ness” And Ties To Others**

**Buehlman, K. T., Gottman, J. M., & Katz, L. F. (1992). How a couple views their past predicts their future: Predicting divorce from an oral history interview. Journal of Family Psychology, 5, 295-318.**

Coded the behavior of 52 couples during an oral history interview and during an interaction task to determine what qualities predicted divorce or marital stability. Ss completed follow-up questionnaires 3 yrs later. Time 1 variables were able to significantly predict which couples would be separated, divorced, or intact at follow-up. At Time 1, couples who eventually divorced were low in fondness for their partners, high in negativity, low in “we-ness,” high in chaos, low in glorifying the struggle, and high in disappointment of the marriage. Gender differences in these variables were found. In the behavioral coding of the marital interaction, these dimensions also were consistently related to negativity and the absence of positivity in problem solving as well as to negative affect.

**Lerner, Y., & Zilber, N. (1996). Psychological distress among recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union to Israel, II. The effects of the Gulf War. Psychological Medicine, 26, 503-510.**

Investigated the psychological effects of the Gulf War with 328 immigrants to Israel from the former Soviet Union. Participants (who had already been screened for psychological distress just before the war) were reassessed with the Psychiatric Epidemiology Research Interview. Psychological symptoms during the war were associated with prewar level of distress and with actual physical harm from the missiles, but not with exposure to danger. Correlates of behavior in the face of life-threatening danger during the war were also identified. Overall the level of postwar psychological distress was not higher than prewar levels, which may be explained by the Ss’ feelings of shared fate, belonging and sense of cohesion, which characterize the general Israeli population during war time.

**Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. Psychological Review. 98, 224-253.**

This seminal paper noted that Western views of self have emphasized autonomy and separateness, whereas Eastern cultures have understood the self as fundamentally interconnected and interdependent with others. Markus and Kitayama illustrated the difference by quoting contrasting proverbs. In America, “the squeaky wheel gets the grease” is repeated to indicate the value of asserting oneself individually, whereas Japanese say “the nail that stands out gets pounded down” to emphasize the desirability of blending in with the group. Markus and Kitayama show how these different views of the self have important implications for such fundamental processes as social cognition, emotion, and motivation. For example, Japanese culture emphasizes harmony and social interdependence. In one study with Japanese participants, the authors found that ego-focused emotions (which are associated with good outcomes in Wester cultures) were significantly associated with ambivalent and negative emotions. These differences suggest that in Eastern cultures, ego-focused emotions are felt to undermine social relationships and trigger a need to restore harmony. This paper sparked worldwide interest in understanding the implications of such cultural differences for the experience of emotions, the construction of the self-concept, and social relations within and across cultures. Also of interest: **Lu, L., & Shih, J. B. (1997). Sources of happiness: A qualitative approach. Journal of Social Psychology, 137, pp. 181-188.**

**Russell, J. A. (1991). Culture and the categorization of emotions**. **Psychological Bulletin. 110, 426-450.**

Russell argues from an ethnographic perspective that culture influences the categorization of emotions. He raises several challenges to the idea the emotions (or words for emotion) are universal. However, Russell also identifies some dimensions of emotion that seem more universal, such as pleasure, arousal, and dominance. His overall conclusion is that, while emotional categories are more similar than different across cultures, emotional concepts are embedded in and defined by cultural beliefs. He also states that new methods based on these theories of emotion and language are necessary for drawing empirical conclusions about emotions across cultures.

**Sommers, S., & Kosmitzki, Corinne (1988). Emotion and social context: An American-German comparison. British Journal of Social Psychology, 27, Special Issue: The social context of emotion. 35-49.**

Sommers and Kosmitzki argue that psychologists often focus on the individual and physical level when studying emotion and ignore the social context. They discuss theories concerning the social function of specific emotions. They present data on the answers to six questions about emotions from a German and an American sample ranging from 18 to 50 years old. The questions concerned frequency, pleasantness, hiding, usefulness, and danger of different emotion particular emotion states. The authors report many significant differences depending on nationality, gender, and age. For example German men were much more likely to express gratitude and described it as more pleasant than American men did. German women reported more negative emotions and this pattern decreased with age, whereas age related differences did not appear for American women. The authors conclude that specific emotions may not have the same connotations for individuals in different cultural groups, and that it is important to investigate the way emotions are perceived, experienced, understood, and evaluated within these cultures.

**Suh, E., Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Triandis, H. C. (1998). The shifting basis of life satisfaction judgments across cultures: Emotions versus norms. Journal of Personality & Social Psychology 74(2), 482-493.**

Two large-scale studies examined cultural differences in the determinants of life satisfactin, in particular the relative importance of subjective experience and one’s degree of fit to social norms as determinants of life-satisfaction. Social norms were defined as the behavioral expectations of others in the culture (i.e,. subordinating one’s wishes for the sake of the group). In the first study the authors used data from an international survey of 55,666 participants from 41 nations. They found that inner emotions played a more important role in judgments of overall life satisfaction in individualistic nations (North America) than in collectivist nations (Indonesia). In the second study, based on the responses of 6,780 college students from 40 countries, the authors replicated the first study and also found that emotional feelings were associated more closely with life satisfaction then were norms in the individualistic nations. In collectivist nations, the contribution of emotions and following social norms to life satisfaction were approximately equal. The authors conclude that individualists and collectivists use different sorts of information to form life satisfaction judgments, and that culture plays an important role in the construction of life satisfaction.

**II. The Positive Person and the Positive Life**

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This bibliography was assembled to help in the creation of a positive psychology research node on “The Positive Persona/The Positive Life.” The defining concerns are with strengths of character and with the "good life:" It includes the study of purpose, growth, community involvement, productivity, self‑determination, genius, legacy building, sacrifice, creativity, future‑mindedness, parenting, courage, empathy, wisdom, and philanthropy.

**A. DEFINING THE GOOD LIFE**

**Allport, G. (1961). Pattern and growth in personality. New York: HoHoHolt, Rinehart, & Winston.**

Allport expressed enormous dissatisfaction with the negative portrayal of humanity presented by psychoanalytic and behaviorist traditions. In addition, he distrusted the tendency of depth psychology to explain human life via unconscious processes. In his emphasis on uniqueness and the importance of the individual, Allport painted a very different portrait—perhaps less grand (and grandly tragic) than the psychoanalytic hero—the everyday person living and enjoying a good life. Allport identified the characteristics of a “healthy mature person” in terms that the healthy mature person might use to identify him or herself. These characteristics include the capacity for self extension (i.e., involvement in the community, enjoyment and investment in a variety of activities that implicate more than his or her own immediate needs and duties; this self-extension also includes extending the self into the future—planning, goal setting, etc.); the capacity to relate warmly to others; self acceptance and emotional security; realistic views of self and world (including humor and insight); common sense; and, finally, a unifying philosophy of life (often but not always provided by religion).

**Aristotle (1962). Nichomachean ethics. (Martin Oswald, Trans.) Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill. (Original work published 4th Cent. B.C.).**

A meditation on “the good”, defined as “that at which all things aim.” Vulgar people identify the good with “pleasure,” but Aristotle says our aim is eudaimonia (well-being, broader than modern “happiness”). The development and cultivation of the virtues is essential for eudaimonia. Presents the argument that virtue is the median between too much and too little of a quality, e.g., courage is the median on fearlessness, where too much is the vice of recklessness, and too little is the vice of cowardice. Applies this analysis to many virtues and vices. Aristotle then goes on to search for the good in a great many topics of interest to modern discussions of the good person: justice and fairness, intellectual excellence, truth, art, science, practical wisdom, friendship, pleasure and pain.

**Becker, L. (1992). Good lives: Prolegomena. Social Philosophy and Policy, 9, 15-**

**37.**

Becker has compiled a comprehensive review of the characteristics philosophers have associated with the good life. This review brings to the fore some issues that have plagued psychological approaches to the good life—i.e., the tendency to equate a good life with happiness. Becker highlights the fact that good lives are led in the context of other good lives in progress. Given that philosophers have acknowledged multiple approaches to the good life, we might concern ourselves with the more contextualized and idiosyncratically defined question, “what is the best life, given particular circumstances?” There are a multitude of best lives. This comprehensive list also set the groundwork for Ryff & Singer’s Psychological Inquiry paper on the contours of positive mental functioning.

**Coan, R. W. (1977). Hero, artist, sage or saint? New York: Columbia University Press.**

Sociologist Richard W. Coan outlines the development of concepts of the “optimal personality” or “ideal person.” Coan describes how history and culture have shaped ideas of the good life. He notes that Western approaches to the ideal condition emphasize the capacity and power of the individual, whereas Eastern approaches recognize the impact of the collective on the ideal life. The author highlights relevant religious, philosophical, and psychological perspectives. Excellent summaries of several influential religious (ranging from Christianity to Hinduism), philosophical (e.g., Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Kant, Sartre), and psychological treatments (e.g., psychoanalysis, humanism, behaviorism) are provided. Coan also raises the question of whether it is the experience of the individual or the individual’s action that is central to optimal living. He describes four types of ideal personalities: The Artist whose emphasis is on awareness, understanding, and creativity; The Hero whose emphasis is on deeds of strength, cunning, boldness, and power; The Saint whose personality is based on his or her relationship to the divine and to others; and The Natural Person who seeks to overcome social barriers to free experience and expression. Finally, the author suggests five basic modes of human fulfillment that underlie our notions of the ideal human condition. These are efficiency, creativity, inner harmony, relatedness, and transcendence.

**Cottingham, J. (1998). Philosophy and the Good Life. Cambridge: Cambridge University Presss.**

Cottingham argues that philosophy, by nature, is a discipline aimed at understanding the universe and in particular human beings’ place in it—consequently, the questions that philosophers seek to answer may also be fruitful in generating a recipe for the good life. In this book he outlines the history of Western philosophical approaches to conceptualizing the good life. His in-depth analysis spans the works of Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, Descartes, and modern psychoanalytic theory.

**Fromm, E. (1947). Man for himself: An inquiry into the psychology of ethics. New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc.**

In this classic text on humanistic ethics, Fromm provides excellent support for an approach towards understanding human nature through examination of moral values. The author integrates ideas from both psychology and ethics—two principles of thought believed to serve the same end. He describes “contemporary human crisis” as resulting from failure to define norms and values to guide our lives. He claims that post-modernity has eliminated standards of goodness and morality, leaving the goods in life to be defined according to relativism. However, the author suggests that certain goods in life are to be valued by any rational being—these virtues include realizing one’s full potentials through productive and creative work. Fromm uses philosophical and psychological theories as a foundation for the assertion that the greatest pleasure of human life is achieved through productive activity.

**Jahoda, M. (1958). Current Concepts of Positive Mental Health. New York: Basic Books, Inc.**

This classic book pioneered the field of positive psychology by making one of the first attempts to define mental health. Jahoda describes the existing and wide-ranging criteria for mental health and refutes traditional claims that absence of mental illness defines a healthy person. She attempts to define mental health in a way that is useful to both research and application. Based on the author’s extensive review of the empirical and theoretical literature in the fields of psychology, sociology, and public heath, six major approaches to mental health are discussed: 1) attitudes towards oneself; 2) realization and growth of one’s potentialities through action; 3) a unifying theme in the individual’s life; 4) autonomy; 5) the ability to perceive reality; and 6) environmental mastery or the ability to “take life as it comes and master it” (p. xi). Prior to this landmark analysis, considerable priority was given to the study of mental illness as opposed to mental health. Jahoda presents a compelling case for understanding health and illness from a broader perspective—one that regards the examination of positive functioning as equally important as the prevention or treatment of mental illness.

**King, L. A., & Napa, C. K. (1998). What makes a life good? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75, 156-165.**

Two studies examined folk concepts of the good life. Samples of college students (N = 104) and community adults (N = 264) were shown a career survey ostensibly completed by a person rating his or her occupation. After reading the survey, participants judged the desirability and moral goodness of the respondent’s life, as a function of the amount of happiness, meaning in life, and wealth experienced. Results revealed significant effects of happiness and meaning on ratings of desirability and moral goodness. In the college sample, individuals high on all three independent variables were judged as likely to go to heaven. In the adult sample wealth was also related to higher desirability. Results suggest a general perceptions that meaning in life and happiness are essential to the folk concept of the good life, while money is relatively unimportant.

**Spinoza, B. (1910). Ethic. Translated by W. Hale White. London: Oxford University Press. [original work c. 1665].**

This book is a classic among philosophers but also would be of interest to psychologists and those others who might take a scientific and rational approach to defining the human condition. Unlike other philosophers who utilize a contemplative approach, Spinoza applies logical and mathematical reasoning in order to explore the major questions concerning metaphysics—these include the nature of god, the human mind, free will, and thoughts and feelings in relation to the external world. Spinoza argues that an understanding of the good life must begin with a systematic understanding of the nature of the universe and its truths. Part II of this work advances three main axioms by which Spinoza believed to be associated with living a good life—these are 1) a reverence for God, 2) respect for fellow human beings, and 3) a disregard for what is beyond our control. These three tenets are largely based on Spinoza’s proofs of the existence of God, and furthermore his belief that the natural world is unconcerned with human beings’ desires and feelings.

**Telfer, E. (1980). Happiness. New York: St. Martin’s Press.**

Contemporary moral philosopher Elizabeth Telfer explores the various philosophical concepts of happiness. In particular, she distinguishes between hedonistic and eudaimonistic happiness. Hedonistic happiness is defined as the state of being pleased with one’s life, whereas eudaimonistic happiness is defined as having a life that is “worth living and worth having” (p. 37). Telfer examines the beliefs of Aristotle, Kant, Mill and others with regards to our moral obligations to pursue the different types of happiness.

**Waterman, A. S. (1993). Two conceptions of happiness: Contrasts of personal expressiveness (eudaimonia) and hedonic enjoyment. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64, 678-691; Waterman, A. S. (1990). The relevance of Aristotle’s conception of eudaimonia for the psychological study of happiness. Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology, 10, 39-44; Waterman, A. S. (1990). Personal expressiveness: Philosophical and psychological foundations. Journal of Mind and Behavior, 11, 47-74.**

Waterman incorporates ideas from Aristotle’s concept of eudaimonia with contemporary psychological theories of well-being. The basic tenet of eudaimonism is that true happiness is derived from activity which expresses the best within us, or excellence. According to Aristotle, eudaimonia is the greatest good in human life. Waterman distinguishes eudaimonia from hedonism or happiness which is only associated with affective pleasures. In his own theory of “personal expressiveness,” Waterman makes a few departures from Aristotle’s defintion in order to better align the concept of eudaimonia with psychological theories—however, personal expressiveness remains conceptually similar to eudaimonia. Waterman highlights the relationship of eudaimonia (personal expressiveness) to other theories of positive psychological functioning such as flow, intrinsic motivation, and self-actualization. The author empirically examines the relationship between eudaimonia, hedonism and measures of subjective well-being. Eudaimonia and hedonism were found to be related but distinguishable constructs with eudaimonia being more strongly related to feeling challenged, investing high levels of effort and concentration, having clear goals, and feeling competent.

**B. SATISFACTION WITH LIFE/HAPPINESS**

**Kraut, R. (1979). Two conceptions of happiness. The Philosophical Review, 2, 167-197.**

Kraut presents a thorough review of Aristotle’s definition of eudaimonia in relation to contemporary conceptions of happiness. Specifically, the author provides support for the argument that eudaimonia has erroneously been equated with happiness—and as far as concepts of the good life have included happiness and/or eudaimonia, this mistranslation has distorted some of Aristotle’s original claims and have place confusion on our ability to evaluate what is happiness. The author presents several conditions under which the traditional translation fails, for instance the claim that everything is sought for the sake of happiness. Kraut clarifies several points of divergence between happiness and eudaimonia. For instance, happiness is considered a subjective state, whereas the experience of eudaimonia presupposes that the individual meet certain objective standards in addition to the subjective standards required for happiness. Furthermore, Kraut examines the necessary conditions for happiness. By applying the principles of extreme subjectivism and objectivism, he aims to answer the following questions: Does happiness require knowledge that one is getting the important things that one values in life? Is the deceived, disillusioned, or ignorant individual genuinely happy? And if a person is getting the things he or she values in life, is there some objective standard by which we can judge these goods to be truly valuable? And if some objective standard does exist, can we appropriately judge people’s happiness by it? Accessible to any reader, this article proves to be an excellent account of the philosophical theories regarding how to define happiness.

**Myers, D. G., & Diener, E. (1995). Who is happy? Psychological Science, 6, 10-19.**

Myers and Diener dispel the myths of happiness by presenting research which demonstrates that sex, race, age, and income are all unrelated to reports of happiness. The authors discuss some of the traits of happy people—self-esteem, a sense of personal control, optimism, and extraversion. Furthermore, close relationships, religious faith, and having a sense of purpose seem to play an important role in life satisfaction. Authors conclude by suggesting that the advancement of well-being begins with an examination of who is happy and why.

**Myers, D. G. (1992). The pursuit of happiness. New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc.**

This book presents the empirical research on well-being in a way that is accessible to the general reader. Myers addresses the various definitions of well-being, problems with measurement, and correlates of well-being. Demographic variables such as income, age, sex, and race have been shown to be unrelated to happiness while traits such as optimism, extraversion, and meaning in life are related to happiness. The book is rich with literary, historical, and everyday examples of the good life—including ways to improve well-being.

**Parducci, A. (1995). Happiness, Pleasure, and Judgment: The contextual theory and its applications. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.**

Parducci examines happiness from the viewpoint of a contextual theorist. According to contextual theory, the degree of happiness experienced as a result of any outcome is a function of past successes and social comparison. Parducci’s ideas have been incorporated into a computer simulation game in which players construct their own happiness by selecting goals for the outcomes they will experience. The game simulates the consequences of everyday-life choices by placing players in charge of the life of a fictional salesperson. The object of the game is to maximize cumulative happiness, and players set goals for how much the salesperson wants to sell. Players are warned that higher goals often lead to extremely positive mood when the goals are met, but also lead to greater negative mood when the goals are not met. Parducci shows that the game is very difficult to master. In trying to maximize daily happiness, players inadvertently decrease overall happiness. Furthermore, intensely positive experiences often devalue moderately positive experiences and intensify negative experiences. Implications for daily living are discussed.

**Russell, B. (1930/1960). The Conquest of Happiness. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.**

This classic book can be considered a precursor to contemporary psychological theories of human motivation. Modern research programs concerning intrinsic motivation, flow, and self-actualization among others can be traced to Russell’s ideas regarding boredom, engagement, and meaningfulness. The author takes a commonsensical approach to understanding what it means to be happy. At the time this book was first published, it was a popular assumption that intelligence and rationality were incompatible with happiness. Especially among scholars, it was widely believed that realistic perceptions of the world (i.e., wisdom) naturally led to discontent and cynicism—in other words, happiness was regarded as symptom of ignorance or lack of sophistication. However, through the use of powerfully logical examples from literature and philosophy, Russell argues that “reason lays no embargo on happiness” (p. 27) and that the state of unhappiness or pessimism should not be considered superior to happiness. Russell claims that the root of unhappiness lies in mistaken views of the world, misleading value systems, and pursuit of goals that are not personally fulfilling. In identifying the causes of happiness, he recognizes the importance of retaining a zest for life or appreciation of the world and one’s surroundings, the capacity to love and enjoy others, the importance of family, and the value of challenging work. Written in jargon-free language, this frequently cited book is highly recommended for anyone who is interested in the nature of human enjoyment.

**Waterman, A. S. (1984). The Psychology of Individualism. New York: Praeger Publishers.**

Waterman presents the positive side of philosophical individualism mainly by advocating concepts from Aristotle (eudaimonism), Emerson (self-reliance), Mill (liberty), and Kant (the categorical imperative). He begins by responding to the criticisms of individualism as being self-centered and at odds with the advancement of collective interests. The main themes of philosophical individualism (self-realization, self-respect and respect for others, responsibility, creativity, and rationality), Waterman argues, are essential to optimal functioning. Furthermore, the optimal condition is achieved through the individual’s realization of his or her fullest potentials—and this, in turn, leads not only to personal fulfillment but also to societal benefits as well. In fact, the author demonstrates that the principles of ethical individualism are not in conflict with collective goals. For example, Kant’s Respect Principle demands that individuals respect the autonomy of others by acting in non-manipulative, non-exploitative ways. In Part I, the author reviews the history of ethical individualism which can be traced to the ancient Greek philosophers, and he notes how these traditional philosophical views have evolved into contemporary psychological theories (e.g., Maslow, Rogers, Erikson). The question of whether or not the principles of ethical individualism are related to positive psychological functioning is clearly an empirical one; thus, in Part II, Waterman discusses the psychological research surrounding this issue. Well-written and accessible, this book represents that place where philosophy and psychology intersect.

**C. MEANING AND PURPOSE**

**Antonovsky, A. (1988). Unraveling the mystery of health. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.**

In this book, the late Aaron Antonovksy presented his “salutogenic model” of coping--which focuses on why people remain healthy despite stress. Antonovsky has examined a number of individuals who have experienced a vibrant sense of well-being despite early experiences of trauma or hardship. It is proposed that what is common to all resistance resources is that they help make sense out of the stressors with which individuals are constantly bombarded. The core concept in the model is the “sense of coherence.” The sense of coherence refers to the extent to which one possesses a durable, pervasive though dynamic sense that life is comprehensible, manageable, and meaningful. For instance, among survivors of the Holocaust, he saw those who had been forever negatively changed, but he also saw some who apparently not only survived but thrived—individuals who showed enormous resilience after having experienced the worst cruelty that humans can perpetrate on each other. The Sense of Coherence Scale measures three components: manageabilty (“There is always a solution to the painful things in life”), comprehensibility (“When things have happened you generally found that you estimated their importance correctly‑‑you saw things in the right proportion”), and meaning (“Your life has very clear goals and purpose”). Sense of coherence has been shown to relate to adaptation after a variety of negative life experiences.

**Baumeister, R. (1991). Meanings of life. New York: Guilford Press.**

Drawing on the fields of history, psychology, anthropology, and sociology, Baumeister examines the evidence pertinent to the age-old question, “What is the meaning of life?” Baumeister argues that our notions about fulfillment and meaning are based on the erroneous proposition that these concepts are static—that there really will be a “happily ever after” when life stops being a process and becomes a state of permanent satisfaction, fulfillment, love, the pursuit of happiness. In considering the historical evolution of a variety of sources of meaning in life—work, love, family—Baumeister argues that the value of each of these rests on the recent invention of the self and that without their attachments to enhancing the self these sources of meaning would no longer be justifiable. Baumeister concludes with the notion that transient fulfillment and momentary experiences of meaning of the sort that might be most salient prior to death, may be the purest form of meaning humans can experience. Also notable is Baumeister’s consideration of the paradox of parenting. Though parenting is certainly considered to be an important component of The Good Life, having children is often found to be a negative predictor of subjective well-being—in other words, having children reduces happiness. These results might be taken as highlighting the difference between a happy life and a meaningful life.

**Descartes, R. (1649/1972).**  **The Passions of the Soul. In E. S. Hladane, & G. Ross (Trans.), The philosophical works of DesCartes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.**

In this classic work, DesCartes proposed that passions were strong emotions that took the person—that demanded activity. Descartes saw passions as the push underlying several behaviors. A passion captures us—we are impelled to act in its grip. Note that “passion” derives from the Latin passio—“suffering”. The role of this sort of dedication and enthusiasm for a behavior or a mission is clear in many of humanities greatest accomplishments. Yet, the role of passion in human life has been much neglected by psychologists. Recently, Robert Vallerand and his colleagues have begun a series of empirical investigations into two kinds of passion. These passions are termed Harmonious (passions that derive from intrinsically rewarding activity) and Obsessive (passions that derive from internal pressure). Harmonious passion refers to behaviors that are pleasurable per se, while obsessive passion refers to activities that conflict with other activities and that may dominate a person’s life. Interestingly, though obsessive passion is not related to enhanced feelings of happiness, this construct does create a way to study individuals who sacrifice other life domains in order to pursue an overarching life mission.

**Related citation: Vallerand, R.J., Blanchard, C. M., Koestner, R., & Gagne, M. (1997, October). Les Passions de l’Ame: One Harmonious and Obsessive Passions. Paper presented at the annual conference of the SESP.**

**Frankl, V. (1959). Man's search for meaning. Boston: Beacon Press.**

This is psychotherapist Viktor Frankl's account of the way humans need to find meaning in their existence and the way that suffering can be made bearable if one can find meaning in one's life. This is a very moving book that draws on Frankl's own experience as a Nazi concentration camp survivor as well as his experiences as a therapist. In the second part of the book, Frankl describes some of the principles for his "logotherapy," which "focus on the meaning of human existence as well as on man's search for such a meaning" (p. 99).

**Maslow, A. (1970). Motivation and personality. New York: Harper & Row.**

Although its significance is perhaps more historical than substantial, this work bears consideration because it represents a bold and intriguing meditation on the problem—why do we do anything? Motivational psychologies based on needs and tension reduction flail in the face of the modern person: unfettered by unmet biological needs, feeling relatively safe and secure, perhaps even loved, what does one do and why? To paraphrase Maslow, what do people do when their bellies are chronically full? That the behavior of satisfied human beings represented a problem for psychology only demonstrates the bias that Maslow recognized and sought to remedy. Maslow set a precedent by looking to the best of humanity (rather than the ill and infirm) to understand human strengths. He also recognized the human capacities to create beauty, seek truth, serve others, create goodness as endeavors not derivative of baser needs.

**Pervin, L. A. (Ed.) (1989). Goal Concepts in Personality and Social Psychology. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.**

The 1980’s saw an explosion of goal approaches to personality and social psychology. These approaches share key features: they typically used idiographic measures of goals (simply asking people to list their everyday goals); they focused on the relations of these self-generated goals to daily mood and well-being; and they assumed that goals were available to awareness and hierarchically organized. These “mid-level units” of personality have enlivened the area of motivation with an emphasis on the self-as-agent in everyday life. These approaches demonstrate the role of trivial pursuits and grand obsessions in the quotidian experience of purpose and meaning.

Contents: L. A. Pervin, Goal Concepts in Personality and Social Psychology: A Historical Perspective; A. Bandura, Self-Regulation of Motivation and Action Through Internal Standards and Goal Systems; R. A. Emmons, The Personal Striving Approach to Personality; N. Cantor and C. A. Langston, Ups and Downs of Life Tasks in a Life Transition; R. A. Wright and J. W. Brehm, Energization and Goal Attractiveness; H. Markus and A. Ruvolo, Possible Selves: Personalized Representations of Goals; B. R. Schlenker and M. F. Weigold, Goals and the Self-Identification Process: Constructing Desired Identities; T. W. Lee, E. A. Locke, and G. P. Latham, Goal Setting Theory and Job Performance; D. R. Peterson, Interpersonal Goal Conflict; J. Trzebinski, The Role of Goal Categories in the Representation of Social Knowledge; S. J. Read and L. C. Miller, Inter-Personalism: Toward a Goal-Based Theory of Persons in Relationships; L. A. Pervin, Goal Concepts: Themes, Issues, and Questions. **Related work: McGregor, I., & Little B. R. (1998). Personal projects, happiness, and meaning: On doing well and being yourself. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74, 494-512.**

**Rabin, A. I., Zucker, R. A., Emmons, R. A., & Frank, S (Eds.). (1990). Studying persons and lives. New York: Springer Publishing Co., Inc. also Zucker, R. A., Rabin, A. I., Aronoff, J., & Frank, S. (Eds.) (1992). Personality Structure in the Life Course: Essays on Personology in the Murray Tradition. Springer Publishing Co.**

In 1978, The Psychology Department at Michigan State University instituted a lecture series in celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the publication of Henry Murray’s Explorations in Personality. That series has led to several published volumes, some of which are currently out of print. The Murray Lectures have been dedicated to evaluating developments in the field of personology—the study of the whole person in his or her depth and complexity. Selections from these volumes represent a broad range of approaches—from the nearly literary (McAdams, Gilligan), to the psychometric (Millon). These essays include the promise of understanding great lives via psychobiography (Runyon) and the historical truth of resilience through harsh historical periods (Elder).

Some notable samples: From Studying persons and lives. W. M. Runyon, “Individual Lives and the Structure of Personality Psychology;” C. Gilligan, L. Brown, & A. Rogers, “Psyche Embedded: A Place for Body, Relationships, and Culture in Personality Theory;” D. P. McAdams “Unity and Purpose in Human Lives: The Emergence of Identity as a Life Story;” G. H. Elder & A. Caspi “Studying Lives in a Changing Society: Sociological and Personological Explorations” From Personality Structure in the Life Course: D. C. McCelland, “Is Personality Consistent?” S. S. Tomkins, “Script Theory.”

**Reker, G. T., Peacock, E. J., & Wong, P. T. P. (1987). Meaning and purpose in life and well-being: A lifespan perspective. Journal of Gerontology, 42, 44-49.**

Life purpose was shown to relate to self-reported psychological and physical well-being for men and women from age 16 to 75+. Life control was most important to well-being for older participants. Goal striving was negatively related to feelings of well-being in early years—perhaps suggesting that having a sense of “work to be done” may decrease happiness but increase meaning.

**D. PRODUCTIVITY/SELF CONTROL**

**Block, J. H., & Block, J. (1980). Ego control and ego resiliency in the organization of behavior. In W. A. Collins (Ed.), Minnesota Symposia on on Child Psychology (Vol. 13 pp. 39-101). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.; Funder, D. C., & Block, J. (1989). The role of ego-control and ego-resiliency and IQ in delay of gratification. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57, 1041-1050.**

Along with ego-resiliency, Block developed the concept of ego-control. While resilience emphasizes the discriminativeness of behavior, ego-control is presented as a general motivational orientation. With regard to the issue of delay of gratification, Block’s view of ego-control contrasts somewhat with Mischel’s. Blocks view ego-control as a general tendency to control (regardless of the specific situational context). That is, for Block, an over-controlled individual will delay or forego gratification regardless of the cost at which gratification would come (even if there is no cost). Mischel’s view focuses on the discriminativeness of delay behavior—in a sense viewing resiliency and intelligence as the key to delay behavior. Thus, most of the research by Mischel and colleagues has set up delay as the de facto “right answer” to control-relevant situations (c.f., Logue’s book on this issue). Empirical evidence indicates that the particular control context is of enormous importance to predicting delay of gratification. Funder and Block argue that the delay situations employed by Mischel and colleagues are “too easy”—that most of the participants delay as long as possible. The finding that these individuals later demonstrate resilience compared to nondelayers may tell us more about the latter group than the former. In addition, when delay is the “right answer,” resilience ought to be related to delay. When delay is more ambiguous, ego-control ought to predict delay. Earlier studies on ego control have demonstrated that drug use, precocious sexual activity, and alcohol consumption are predicted by ego-under control.

**Brim, G. (1992). Ambition. New York: Basic Books.**

Brim is a sociologist by training, and he is currently the chair of the MacArthur Network on Successful Midlife Development. But before he took that job he wrote this extraordinarily wise book, a meditation on the elusiveness of human happiness and fulfillment. He begins with the well-known findings that wealth and success do not bring happiness. He then offers a view of human nature in which we are challenge-seeking creatures, who quickly adjust to any success by ratcheting up our expectations. He suggests that people are most fulfilled when they can arrange their lives so that they are working at the level of “just manageable difficulty.” We need a life that continually challenges us, with brief periods of work at peak capacity and occasional rests at low capacity.

**Dweck, C. S. (1996). Capturing the dynamic nature of personality. Journal of Research in Personality, 30, 348-362; Dweck, C. S. Chiu, C. Hong, Y. (1995). Implicit theories and their role in judgments and reactions: A world from two perspectives. Psychological Inquiry, 6, 267-285; and Elliott, E. S., & Dweck, C. S. (1988). Goals: An approach to motivation and achievement. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54, 5-12.**

Dweck and her colleagues have argued that the most important task confronting the field of personality is the task of capturing the dynamic, process-oriented nature of personality. Their research has focused on motivation as it is measured in individual’s goals which are seen as emerging out of naïve theories of ability. For example, Dweck and colleagues have shown that people have different theories of intelligence—incremental theories and entity theories. An incremental theory implies that intelligence can be changed and intellectual ability can be developed. An entity theory implies that intelligence cannot be changed. These theories are related to the types of goals that individuals adopt when performing a task. A mastery orientation refers to adopting learning goals that stress acquiring new skills or increasing competence. From such an orientation, hard work is perceived as a valuable way to attain mastery. In contrast, a performance or ego orientation refers to adopting goals that seek to gain favorable evaluations of performance. From such an outcome focused orientation, hard work is perceived as diagnostic of low ability. Mastery orientation has been shown to relate to persistence, interest taking on challenging tasks, and redoubling efforts in response to failure. Performance orientation is associated with giving up, avoiding challenging tasks, and denigrating the task in response to failure. These differing orientations are associated with a broader range of variables including attitudes about others. For instance, entity theories are associated withan emphasis on retribution while incremental theories are associated with emphasis on education or rehabilitation for transgressions.

**Eisenberger, R. (1992). Learned industriousness. Psychological Review,99, 248-267; Eisenberger, R. (1996). Detrimental effects of reward: Reality or myth?**

**American Psychologist, 51, 1153-1166; and Eisenberger, R. (1997). Can salient reward increase creative performance without reducing intrinsic creative interest? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72, 652-663.**

Research on creativity and performance has shown that external reward for creative behavior reduces creativity, intrinsic motivation, and task interest. Based on the robust empirical evidence of the decremental effects of reward on intrinsic task interest and creativity, the use of reward to alter human behavior has been challenged in literature reviews, textbooks, and the popular media. These results have led some to question the usefulness of reward for increasing creative behavior. Eisenberger has shown in literature reviews and empirical investigations that detrimental effects of reward occur under highly restricted, easily avoidable conditions. Extensive research with animals and humans indicates that rewarded effort contributes to durable individual differences in industriousness. It is proposed that reinforcement for increased physical or cognitive performance conditions the sensation of high effort and thereby reduces effort's aversiveness. The conditioning of secondary reward value to the sensation of effort provides a dynamic mechanism by which reinforced high performance generalizes across behaviors. See Eisenberger’s AP paper for discussion of applications to self-control, moral development, and education.

**Logue, A. W. (1995). Self-Control. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.**

While everyday life is full of examples of how good things come to those who wait, often it is the waiting that is most difficult. From an evolutionary perspective, learning theorist Alexandra W. Logue explains the nature of our difficulty in pursuing courses of actions that, in the long run, will result in valuable consequences. Logue defines a “self-control choice” as one in which the individual chooses a more delayed, yet larger outcome over a less delayed, smaller outcome. She argues that evolutionary artifacts have caused us to discount the value of delayed rewards, making it difficult for us to wait or work for the desired and valuable goods in life. The author’s logical approach suggests that self-control is not inherently good, nor is impulsiveness inherently bad. In fact, she notes that at times, impulsiveness is the best and sometimes only strategy available. Empirical research is applied to several examples self-control problems such as eating (dieting), drug use, sex, health-related behaviors, education, money management, depression, and aggression.

**Mischel, W., Shoda, Y., & Rodriguez, M. (1989, May 20). Delay of gratification in children. Science, 244, 933-938**.

This article briefly summarizes an impressive program of research on children's future-mindedness and self-regulation. Children who were able to delay gratification in a laboratory situation at age 4 had improved outcomes in a follow-up more than a decade later. Children who were effective in their self-control were seen, years later, as more academically and socially competent, had a higher tolerance for frustration, and had higher SAT scores. In a sample of children at risk in a residential treatment facility, high self-control scores in the delay situation were also predictive of lower aggression. The article further describes the strategies that children can successfully use to delay gratification. Such strategies include distraction as well as abstraction (or thinking about "cool" abstract representations of the reward rather than "hot" concrete representations of the reward).

**Weber, M. (1930/1976). The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. London: Allen & Unwin.**

In this classic work, Weber analyzes the origins of the Protestant work ethic—why are hard work and economic success valued in a religious tradition that seems in its Biblical origins to reject materialism? Jesus warned his disciples that, “It is as easy for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle as it is for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God” (Matthew 19:23). Yet, the “Protestant Work Ethic” clearly involves working hard and accumulating wealth—how can money be one of the “goods” of life? In his landmark analysis, Weber suggested that earthly economic success might be taken as a comforting cue that God looked upon one favorably. In a belief system that focuses on grace rather than good works as a means to find heavenly reward, the individual struggles to find some sign that one is in God’s good graces—for surely God wouldn’t allow anyone but his favored people to turn a profit. In addition, career success may be viewed as an indicator of ethical goodness, in the sense that one is successful at one’s “calling” and therefore following “God’s will.”

**E. CREATIVITY, TALENT, GENIUS**

**Amabile, T. (1983). The social psychology of creativity. New York: Springer-Verlag.**

Amabile's book develops a social psychology of creativity, the "cornerstone" of which is the intrinsic motivation principle. In brief, "intrinsic motivation is conducive to creativity but extrinsic motivation is detrimental. It appears that when people are primarily motivated to do some creative activity by their own interest in and enjoyment of that activity, they may be more creative than they are when primarily motivated by some goal imposed on them by others" (p. 15). The book deals with both methodological issues as well as empirical support for Amabile's thesis.

**Arnold, K. D. (1995). Lives of promise. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.**

Based on the findings from the Illinois Valedictorian Project, a 14-year longitudinal study of high school valedictorians, this book follows the lives of 81 students identified by their high schools as the highest achievers in their class. Beginning with the valedictorians’ commencement speeches, researchers document their academic and non-academic experiences—including college, finding a job, changing careers, graduate school, marriage, children, and even divorce. This provocative study probes the ubiquitous question of “What is success?” The valedictorian sample is particularly fascinating because it represents a group that is skilled in translating hard work into achievement—but not surprisingly, the ways in which these individuals view success in relation to life satisfaction changes throughout the course of their lives. The impact of societal expectations, mentors or lack of mentors, self-discovery, personal set-backs, and the search for meaning are explored in relation to the students’ life choices. Furthermore, the valedictorian sample is highly diverse, providing additional insight into the post-high school experience of minorities. This book is a unique contribution to the literature on higher education and would be of interest to a wide range of readers including educators, sociologists, psychologists, school administrators, academic advisors, and parents.

**Bronowski, J. (1979). The visionary eye: Essays in the arts, literature, and science. Cambridge: MIT Press.**

This book is a collection of essays by the distinguished mathematician,

philosopher, scientist, and writer Jacob Bronowski. It concerns the work of the "imaginative mind" in art, science, music, and architecture. This deeply humanistic book is a tribute to art as a place "where the statistics leave off, exactly where three times the standard deviation peters out" and to the integrity of individuals as whole, complete people (p. 135).

**Ghiselin, B. (1955). The creative process. New York: Mentor.**

This book brings together autobiographical accounts of the creative process in action by individuals who made exceptional contributions in art, the humanities, and science. Excerpts come from Einstein, Mozart, van Gogh, Wordsworth, Yeats, Wolfe, Nietzsche, Jung, and others. In many instances, it seems that while the creative breakthrough was "spontaneous," there were also "two important stages [that] are predominantly conscious and critical...It is the use of preliminary labor, or sometimes less burdensome preparation, without which there can be no creative activity, and in the work of verification, correction, or revision that ordinarily follows the more radical inventive activity and completes or refines its product" (p. 28).

**Glynn, M. (1996). Innovative genius: A framework for relating individual and organizational intelligences to innovation. Academy of Management Review, 21, 1081-1111.**

This article examines the dynamics of organizational structure and how they relate to the facilitation of innovative ideas. Organizations can be said to have an intelligence that is separate from an individual's intelligence and that represents a quality that is embedded within the entity as a whole. Organizations exhibit intelligence in ways that are similar to individuals. Thus, the construct of intelligence at the microlevel (i.e., intelligence as "purposeful, adaptive information processing," p. 1104) can be expanded to describe intelligence at the macrolevel. Glynn reviews the different theoretical models regarding how to approach organizational intelligence—the aggregation model which assumes that the intelligence of the group structure is the sum of the intelligences of its members; the cross-level model which assumes that organizational intelligence is a function of social dynamics and the transfer of information; the distributed model which assumes that intelligence is embedded in the organization's systems, routines, and procedures. Furthermore, she explores how individual creativity contributes to the process of problem solving and the generation of new ideas.

**Griessman, B. E. (1987). The Achievement Factors. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.**

From the mid 1970’s to the late 1980’s, journalist Gene Griessman interviewed several people who were considered high achievers of their time—among them, scientists, writers, politicians, entrepreneurs, producers, composers, performers, and sports figures. Based on scores of candid interviews and accounts from biographies and autobiographies, Griessman has identified nine factors of achievement: 1) Discovery of meaningful work; 2) Developing competence; 3) Making good use of one’s time; 4) Persistence; 5) Setting goals; 6) Being focused; 7) Luck; 8) Recognizing opportunities when they arise; 9) Seizing opportunities. Presented in an interesting and accessible fashion, this book is about the advice successful people have to offer.

**Sternberg, R. (Ed.) (1988). The nature of creativity: Contemporary psychological perspectives. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.**

This edited volume brings together the work of leading creativity researchers. Chapters here include essays on environmental influences on creativity, cognitive approaches to creativity, and findings from studies of creative lives.

**Simonton, D. K. (1994). Greatness: Who makes history and why. New York: Guilford.**

Simonton explores past and present examples of genius from several perspectives including the biological, learning, and personality theories. Additionally, the author recognizes multiple definitions of greatness besides intelligence—for instance, creativity and leadership. Simonton addresses the relationship between age and achievement, the impact of education and family, the motives for greatness, and the relationship between madness and genius among a host of other fascinating aspects of lives well-known. Several examples from political history, music, science, and literature are described.

**Subotnik, R. F., & Arnold, K. D. (Eds.) (1994). Beyond Terman: Contemporary Longitudinal Studies of Giftedness and Talent. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.**

Longitudinal data provide rich insight into the lives of high achievers. What childhood factors predict successful adult development? Do high achieving children become high achieving adults? These studies follow in the footsteps of Lewis Terman who conducted one of the first large-scale longitudinal studies of giftedness.

Contents: R. F. Subotnik and K. D. Arnold, Longitudinal Studies of Giftedness and Talent; K. D. Arnold, The Illinois Valedictorian Project: Early Adult Careers of Academically Talented Male High School Students; R. F. Subotnik and C. L. Steiner, Adult Manifestations of Adolescent Talent in Science: A Longitudinal Study of 1983 Westinghouse Science Talent Search Winners; C. Perleth and K. A. Heller, The Munich Longitudinal Study of Giftedness; E. A. Hany, The Development of Basic Cognitive Components of Technical Creativity: A Longitudinal Comparison of Children and Youth with High and Average Intelligence; L. Davidson and L. Scripp, Conditions of Giftedness: Musical Development in the PreSchool and Early Elementary Years; L. Scripp and L. Davidson, Giftedness and Professional Training: The Impact of Music Reading Skills on Musical Development of Conservatory Students; R. M. Milgram and E. Hong, Creative Thinking and Creative Performance in Adolescents as Predictors of Creative Attainments in Adults: A Follow-up Study After 18 Years; B. Cramond, The Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking: From Design Through Establishment of Predictive Validity; D. Lubinski and C. Persson Benbow, The Study of Mathematically Precocious Youth: The First Three Decades of a Planned 50-Year Study of Intellectual Talent; R. S. Albert, The Achievement of Eminence: A Longitudinal Study of Exceptionally Gifted Boys and Their Families; E. S. Fleming and C. L. Hollinger, Project Choice: A Longitudinal Study of the Career Development of Gifted and Talented Young Women; R. A. Rudnitski, A Generation of Leaders in Gifted Education, S. M. Moon and J. F. Feldhusen, The Program for Academic and Creative Enrichment (PACE): A Follow-up Study Ten Years Later; M. Delcourt, Characteristics of High-Level Creative Productivity: A Longitudinal Study of Students Identified by Renzulli’s Three-Ring Conception of Giftedness; K. D. Arnold and R. F. Subotnik, Lessons from Contemporary Longitudinal Studies.

**Tomlinson-Keasey, C., & Little, T. D. (1990). Predicting educational attainment, intellectual skill, and personal adjustment among gifted men and women. Journal of Educational Psychology, 82, 442-455.**

Over sixty years ago, Lewis Terman embarked on an unprecedented longitudinal study of gifted children. This impressive data set which includes over a thousand participants has provided enormous insight into the correlates of exceptional achievement. The present article is one of the most recent to follow-ups Terman's original sample. Authors investigated a variety of childhood factors such as personality traits, parental education, and early home life to predict educational and occupational achievement, intellectual skill, and psychological adjustment in adulthood. Path analyses revealed that the harmony that existed in the family of origin predicted personal adjustment. Parental education and intellectual determination predicted intellectual skill and parental education and social responsibility predicted educational attainment—and both intellectual skill and educational attainment predicted occupational achievement. Results suggest that both biological and sociological influences contribute the development of giftedness.

**F. SELF DETERMINATION/INTRINSIC MOTIVATION/AUTONOMY**

**Bandura, A. (1986). Social Foundations of Thought and Action. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.; Bandura, A. (1997). Self-Efficacy: The Exercise of Control. New York: W. H. Freeman and Co.**

Bandura approaches psychosocial functioning from a social cognitive perspective, and in doing so, he recognizes the complex and dynamic structures that govern our lives—environmental factors, personality factors, and the interaction of the two. Bandura’s theory is highly optimistic and positive with regards to how people can exercise control over their destinies—undoubtedly, his ideas reflect his belief that human thought is a powerful instrument. Most influential is his theory regarding “self-efficacy” or the belief that one can achieve the things one sets out to do. His research demonstrates that in general, persons high in self-efficacy are healthier, more effective, and more successful than those who are low in self-efficacy. Social Foundations gives a clear overview of Bandura’s social cognitive theories, including chapters on enactive learning, innovation, motivation, self-regulation, and self-efficacy. For a more detailed review of his work on self-efficacy, see Self-Efficacy: The Exercise of Control.

**Condry, J., & Lepper, M. R. (Eds.) (1992). Motivation and Emotion Special Issue: Perspectives on Intrinsic Motivation, Vol. 16 (3).**

This special issue of Motivation and Emotion includes articles written by researchers who have been instrumental in shaping the field of motivational psychology. Current debates surrounding the concept of intrinsic motivation are addressed from a variety of perspectives but with an emphasis on how to improve education. Specifically, authors aim to answer the following questions: Are intrinsic and extrinsic motivation dichotomous in nature? What makes learning fun? Can intrinsic motivation be considered a trait? What is the relationship between goals, motivation, and school performance?

Contents: C. S. Rigby, E. L. Deci, B. C. Patrick, and R. M. Ryan, Beyond the Intrinsic-Extrinsic Dichotomy; M. R. Lepper and D. I. Cordova, A Desire to Be Taught: Instructional Consequences of Intrinsic Motivation; S. Harter and B. K. Jackson, Trait vs. Nontrait Conceptualizations of Intrinsic/Extrinsic Motivational Orientation; G. D. Heyman and C. S. Dweck, Achievement Goals and Intrinsic Motivation: Their Relation and Their Role in Adaptive Motivation; C. Sansone and C. Morgan, Intrinsic Motivation and Education: Competence in Context; A. K. Boggiano, A. Shields, M. Barrett, T. Kellam, E. Thompson, J. Simons, and P. Katz, Helplessness Deficits in Students: The Role of Motivational Orientation.

**Connell, J. P., & Wellborn, J. G. (1991). Competence, autonomy, and relatedness: A motivational analysis of self-system processes. In M. R. Gunnar & L. A. Sroufe (Eds.), Self processes and development: The Minnesota symposium on child development (pp. 44-77). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.**

Presents Connell’s model of “self-system processes”, in which people have three fundamental psychological needs: competence, autonomy, and relatedness. Summarizes research and intervention studies done in schools that have raised grades and test scores. Connell and Wellborn are part of the Rochester motivation group, which included Deci, Ryan, and Skinner. Their work complements that of Robert White, Gilbert Brim, and other theorists who argue that the key to human thriving is to get people into environments that engage them with challenges and connect them with others.

**Deci, E. L. (1975). Intrinsic motivation. New York: Plenum Press; Deci, E. L. (1995). Why we do what we do: The dynamics of personal autonomy. New York: Putnam;**

**Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior. New York: Plenum Press.**

Self determination theory emphasizes the role of intrinsic motivation in human behavior. We are most satisfied, most likely to experience flow, and most likely to grow as individuals when we engage in intrinsically motivated behavior—behavior that serves the central intrinsic values of relatedness, competence, and autonomy.

**Kernis, M. H., (Ed.) (1995). Efficacy, Agency, and Self-Esteem. New York: Plenum Press.**

This volume, part of the Plenum Series in Social/Clinical Psychology, contains a number of perspectives on the three constructs in the title. All of these have been used and perhaps abused in the well-being literature. The chapters included in this volume are of value in two ways. First, many of these chapters present important constructs in clear and concise ways—e.g., Leary’s contribution on the sociometer, Deci and Ryan’s chapter on Self Determination and “true self esteem,” Greenberg et al.’s chapter on terror management; Dweck’s implicit theories chapter. These chapters are extremely readable coverages of these areas. In addition, other chapters (e.g., Epstein & Morling) take quite established theories and apply them to the important issue of personal agency.

Contents: S. Epstein and B. Morling, Is The Self Motivated To Do More Than Enhance and/or Verify Itself?; E. L. Deci and R. M. Ryan, Human Autonomy: The Basis for True Self-Esteem; K. D. Greenier, M. H. Kernis, and S. B. Waschull, Not All High (Or Low) Self-Esteem People Are the Same: Theory and Research on Stability of Self-Esteem; J. Greenberg, T. Pyszcynski, and S. Solomon, Toward a Dual-Motive Depth Psychology of Self and Social Behavior; C. Showers, The Evaluative Organization of Self-Knowledge: Origins, Process, and Implications For Self-Esteem; M. R. Leary and D. L. Downs, Interpersonal Functions of the Self-Esteem Motive: The Self-Esteem System as a Sociometer; S. R. H. Beach and A. Tesser, Self-Esteem and the Extended Self-Evaluation Maintenance Model: The Self in Social Context; R. E. Harlow and N. Cantor, Overcoming a Lack of Self-Assurance in an Achievement Domain: Creating Agency in Daily Life; Y. Hong, C. Chiu, and C. S. Dweck, Implicit Theories of Intelligence: Reconsidering the Role of Confidence in Achievement Motivation; J. M. Burger, Need for Control and Self-Esteem: Two Routes to a High Desire for Control; M. H. Kernis, Efficacy, Agency, and Self-Esteem: Emerging Themes and Future Directions.

**Rodin, J., & Langer, E. (1977). Long-term effects of a control-relevant intervention with the institutionalized aged. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 35, 897-902.**

This classic experiment gave control over small details of life to residents of one floor of a nursing home, while residents of another floor got the same good outcomes without any direct control. The beneficial effects on health and mood were measurable immediately, and at this one year follow-up they included greater vigor and even lower mortality.

**Rodin, J. (1986). Aging and health: Effects of the sense of control. Science, 233, 1271-1276.**

Discusses how the relation between health and a sense of control may grow stronger in old age. This could occur through 3 types of processes: Experiences particularly relevant to control may increase markedly in old age; the association between control and some aspect of health may be altered by age; and age may influence the association between control and health-related behaviors or the seeking of medical care. It is noted that there are detrimental effects on the health of older people when their control of their activities is restricted and that interventions that enhance options for control by nursing home patients promote health. With increasing age, however, greater control over activities, circumstances, or health sometimes has negative consequences, including stress, worry, and self-blame. For additional reviews on experimental and correlational studies demonstrating the importance of control in health and well-being throughout the life span: **Rodin, J. (1987). Personal control through the life course. In R. Abeles (Eds.), Implications of the life span perspective for social psychology (pp. 103-119). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates; Rodin, J. (1990). Control by any other name: Definitions, concepts, and processes. In J. Rodin, C. Schooler, & K. W. Schaie, (Eds.), Self-directedness: Cause and effects throughout the life course (pp 1-17). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum; Baltes, M. M., & Baltes, P. B. (1986). The psychology of control and aging. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum**.

**Rowe, J. W., & Kahn, R. L. (1987). Human aging: Usual and successful. Science, 237, 143-149.**

Jack Rowe, Robert Kahn, and the other members of the MacArthur network on successful aging created what can be called a “positive gerontology.” Rather than focusing on decline and illness, they want to focus on what people do right, and on the conditions that lead to a long, productive, and happy life beyond the age of 70. They find important roles for: a sense of control and autonomy, physical activity, and social support.

**Skinner, E. (1995). Perceived control, motivation, and coping. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.**

As a member of the Rochester Human Motivation Research Group, Skinner developed a motivational theory in which all people have an inborn desire to interact effectively with the environment. She focuses on the role of people’s perceptions, or control beliefs, which can be divided into three types: Control beliefs (about the relations between agents and ends), capacity beliefs (about the relations between agents and means), and strategy beliefs (about the relations between means and ends). She presents an optimistic view which says that “if social contexts can manage to set up opportunities, people will actively strive to become more competent."

**White, R. B. (1959). Motivation reconsidered: The concept of competence. Psychological Review, 66, 297-333.**

This classic article is one of the foundations of all modern work on control, efficacy, and the human need for competence. White reviews evidence showing that behaviorist and psychoanalytic explanations of human behavior can’t explain many phenomena, and that the most parsimonious explanation is that people have an important motivation, labeled “effectance,” which is defined as a striving for competence. Effectance motivation is why all young mammals play, and why adult humans spend so much time with hobbies, games, and sports. The good life must be a life that satisfies people’s effectance motivation.

**G. RESILIENCE/COPING**

**Block, J., & Kremen, A. M. (1996). IQ and Ego-resiliency: Conceptual and empirical connections and separateness. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70, 349-361.**

Ego-resiliency refers to the effectiveness of an individuals adaptation. Ego-resilient individuals are typically described as competent, effectively intelligent, resourceful and adaptive under stress. These individuals are also described as flexible in their perceptual, cognitive and behavioral strategies according to contextual demands. The term resiliency was first introduced into the psychology literature by Jack Block in his dissertation in 1950. This concept clearly has relevance to that of intelligence and has been shown to relate to IQ. In this paper, Block and Kremen demonstrate that ego resiliency and IQ are separate constructs. Block and Kremen perform a simple statistical procedure--residualizing IQ from resilience and residualizing resilience from IQ. The resultant “pure” IQ and resilience scores were then correlated with observer judgments of the individuals. Interestingly, “pure” IQ was associated with positive outcomes in specific domains—work, intellectual pursuits, verbal ability, but not in areas of social poise, gregariousness, advising others. Thus, individuals with high IQs tended to do well in “clear world of structured work” but were judged as more uneasy in emotional situations. “Pure” resilience was associated with enhanced performance in the “fuzzier” interpersonal world. These individuals were judged more positively on items such as warmth, capacity for relationships, talkativeness, cheerfulness, social poise, and generosity.

**Elder, G. H. (1974). Children of the great depression. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.**

A longitudinal study of the generation born in the 1910's and 1920's, which went on to face the great depression and the second world war. Most of them went through adversity and came out well. One of the key findings is that early exposure to adversity produced strength and resilience. Those who were sheltered from serious adversity until adulthood, however, were more psychologically brittle, and were often unable to cope with adversity. This book is an important reminder that setbacks and suffering may be an important part of the good life. **For additional reading see Furstenberg, F. F. J., Cook, T., Eccles, J., Elder, G., & Sameroff, A. (in press). Managing to make it: Urban families and adolescent success. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.**

**Kobasa, S. C., Maddi, S. R., & Kahn, S. (1982). Hardiness and health: A prospective study. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 42, 168-177.**

Applied existential theory to physical health during stressful times. Though the construct of hardiness has been the subject of criticism, the underlying features of hardiness--control, commitment, and challenge—all seem to be a part of any theory of the good life.

**Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). Stress, appraisal, and coping. New York: Springer.**

Expanding on coping theory, this study shows that distress arises only when imposed demands are perceived to exceed ability to cope.

**Park, C. L., Cohen, L. H., & Murch, R. L. (1996). Assessment and prediction of stress-related growth. Journal of Personality, 64, 71-105.**

Recently, a number of researchers have focused on the potential benefits of negative life events. For instance, individuals who have experienced trauma may find that they have grown, become stronger or benefited in some other way from the event. Within this tradition, Park, Cohen and Murch present the construct of stress-related growth (SRG). SRG refers to the extent to which individuals say they have personally benefited from an event. In this paper, evidence is presented supporting the idea that self-reported SRG is related to other changes in individuals’ personality characteristics such as heightened optimism. Also, interestingly, individuals were likely nominate positive life experiences as growth experiences.

**Rosenbaum, M. (Ed.) (1990), Learned resourcefulness: On coping skills, self-control, and adaptive behavior Springer series on behavior therapy and**

**behavioral medicine, Vol 24. New York, NY: Springer.**

Instead of focusing on what makes people sick, this volume focuses on what keeps people healthy in an inevitably stressor-rich environment. Instead of seeking specific risk factors, the contributors suggest various personality variables that could explain why most people do not succumb to an illness-producing environment. What makes people resourceful rather than helpless? This book presents three major personality variables that describe positive adaptation to stressful events: learned resourcefulness, sense of coherence, and hardiness. Rosenbaum asserts, “For those who are in clinical practice, this book is intended to encourage them to uncover the ‘strong’ rather than the ‘weak’ qualities of their clients.”

**Rosenbaum, M. (1988). Learned resourcefulness, stress and self-regulation. In S. Fisher & J. Reasons (Eds.), Handbook of life stress, cognition and health (pp. 483-496). Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons.**

Michael Rosenbaum is interested in self-regulation and places this important process in the context of positive rather than negative approaches to the person. Thus, self-regulation is seen as a function of the variety of repertoires available to the person, including resources such as personal strengths, social support, etc.

**Steele, C. M. (1988). The psychology of self-affirmation: Sustaining the integrity of the self. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), Advances in experimental social psychology (Vol. 21) (pp. 261- 302). New York: Academic Press.**

Based on his program of experimental research on the relationship between beliefs about the self and good and bad behaviors, Steele’s self-affirmation theory asserts that people are motivated to restore good beliefs about themselves, and that they will often behave in prosocial and constructive ways to do so, when given the opportunity. The theory also asserts that the induction of favorable beliefs about the self (termed an affirmation or self-worth or self-integrity) will lead people to think more objectively about negative information, because such boosts to the self will reduce the need to process such information defensively. For supporting evidence and related views, see Reed, M.B., & Aspinwall, L.G. (1998). Self-affirmation reduces biased processing of health-risk information. Motivation and Emotion, 22, 99-132, and Tesser, A., & Cornell, D.P. (1991). On the confluence of self-processes. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 27, 501-526.

**Taylor, S.E. (1983). Adjustment to threatening events: A theory of cognitive adaptation. American Psychologist, 38, 1163-1173.**

In this enormously impactful article, Taylor presents a theory of coping that focuses on adjustment and they ways individuals maintain positive mental functioning during difficult times.

The theory of cognitive adaptation to threatening asserts that the adjustment process centers around 3 themes: A search for meaning in the experience, an attempt to regain mastery over the event in particular and over life more generally, and an effort to restore self-esteem through self-enhancing evaluations. Vivid examples are given of these themes from work with cancer patients From Taylor’s perspective, successful adjustment depends on the ability to sustain and modify illusions that buffer against present threats and future setbacks.

**Tennen, H., Affleck, G., & Mendola, R. (1991). Coping with smell and taste disorders. In T. Gechell, R. Doty, L. Bartoshuk, & J. Snow, Smell and taste in health and disease (pp. 787-801). New York: Raven; Tennen, H., Affleck, G., & Mendola, R. (1991). Causal explanations for infertility: Their relation to control appraisals and psychological adjustment. In A. Stanton & C. Dunkel Shetter, (Eds.), Infertility: Perspectives from stress and coping research (pp. 109-132). New York: Plenum; Affleck., G., & Tennen, H. (1996). Construing benefits from adversity: Adaptational significance and dispositional underpinnings. Journal of Personality: Special Issue on Personality and Coping, 64, 899-922.**

Tennen and colleagues have shown that finding benefits in one’s negative life events (ranging from losing one’s sense of taste and smell to infertility; e.g., Tennen, Affleck & Mendola, 1991a, 1991b) is related, prospectively, to heightened psychological adjustment. This research on “benefit-finding” is particularly remarkable for its scope (a wide range of negative events have been explored) and its empirical rigor (particularly the use of prospective studies).

**H. MORAL GOODNESS/ALTRUISM AND EMPATHY**

**Batson, C. D. (1987). Prosocial motivation: Is it ever truly altruistic? In L. Berkowitz (Ed.) Advances in experimental social psychology (Vol. 20, pp. 65‑122). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.**

Daniel Batson, an expert on altruism and prosocial motivation, explores the circumstances under which seemingly altruistic acts take place. The question of whether true altruism exists is an old one, and most current theorizing, Batson argues, assumes all prosocial behavior is ultimately directed to the goal of increasing one's own welfare. Batson, however, argues that under certain conditions empathy may be aroused and true altruism can take place.

**Batson, C. D. (1998). Altruism and prosocial behavior. In D. Gilbert, S. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.) Handbook of Social Psychology Volume 2 (pp. 282-316). New York: McGraw Hill.**

One of the leading empathy and altruism researchers surveys work in this area for the handbook chapter. The topics covered include social learning theories, norms, attribution and altruism, moral reasoning, evolutionary perspectives, and empathy.

**Cialdini, R., Schaller, M., Houlihan, D., Arps, K., Fultz, J., & Beaman, A. (1987). Empathy based helping: Is it selflessly or selfishly motivated? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 52, 749-758.**

Proposes an egoistic alternative to Batson's model of selfless empathy. Claims that people act to relieve their own sadness, not the suffering of the other. When subjects’ sadness was canceled (by praise or money) or when they were led to believe that their sad mood was unalterable (by a placebo), helping was reduced (subjects didn’t volunteer to take shocks in the Batson design). Reported sadness was a better predictor of helping than reported empathy. There is a long-running debate between Batson and Cialdini over the nature of altruistic helping behavior.

**Cleckley, H. (1955). The mask of sanity. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby.**

This is a classic work on psychopaths (also known as sociopaths). In a series of gripping clinical studies Cleckley helps us to understand one of the most incomprehensible of clinical syndromes. The psychopath’s principle deficit appears to be the moral emotions. Psychopaths feel no shame, guilt, sympathy, or love; they seem to live in a world in which people are hardly more important than pieces of furniture. Since they seem to lack all social emotions, they lack all social goals as well, and they seem to drift about in life, looking for something to entertain them for the next few minutes. These chilling portraits show us the exact opposite of what we might mean by “the good life,” and they are a reminder that the pursuits that we hold so dear (fame, fortune, the respect of our peers, the happiness of our friends) are based not in rational calculation but in a set of built-in emotional concerns.

**de St. Aubin, E. (in press). Personal ideology: The intersection of personality and religious beliefs. Journal of Personality; and de St. Aubin, E. (1996). Personal ideology polarity: Its emotional foundation and its manifestation in individual value systems, religiosity, political orientation, and assumptions concerning human nature. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71, 152-165**

Personal ideology is an individual's value laden philosophy of how life should be lived and of what forces influence human living. It is a system of belief regarding what is good and evil, one’s political, religious, moral, and philosophical world view—one’s *weltenschauung*. Personal ideology subsumes religious beliefs. In the empirical study cited above, analyses revealed that humanism and normativism are related in meaningful ways to value systems, assumptions concerning human nature, religiosity, and political orientation. Participants who scored high in humanism ideology related autobiographical memories containing the emotion cluster of joy, distress, fear, and shame, whereas the memories of participants with normative ideologies contained relatively more anger.

**de Waal, F. B. M. (1996). Good Natured: The origins of right and wrong in humans and other animals. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.**

This is one of the most important books written in the 1990's for the understanding of human nature and human morality. De Waal, a leading primatologist, reviews evidence that there is a strong continuity between primate social life and human morality in three areas: 1) sympathy: chimps notice suffering, and sometimes care for the wounded and disabled; 2) Rank and order: most primates have a strong sense of social hierarchy, and they know the proper behaviors for individuals in different roles; 3) Reciprocity: Chimps, like many other social animals, keep track of their interactions with others, cooperating with those who cooperate with them, and not cooperating or even retaliating against those who don’t cooperate. This book is a powerful antidote to the many schools of moral philosophy and psychology that have conceptualized morality as a uniquely human invention, created ex nihilo by human rationality. De Waal takes the contrasting view that evolution has been designing social behaviors and social emotions for a long time, and that human morality has simply elaborated and built upon a very old foundation.

**Eisenberg, N., Reykowski, J., & Staub, E. (Eds.) (1989). Social and moral values. Individual and societal perspectives. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.**

This volume brings together a collection of 18 different essays. Particularly relevant here are the chapters on "Empathy and prosocial activism" by Martin Hoffman, "The development of prosocial values" by Nancy Eisenberg, and "Information integration in moral reasoning" by Martin Kaplan.

**Fiske, A. P. (1991). Structures of social life. New York: Free Press**.

A grand, unifying theory of the social sciences, based on Fiske’s research showing that there are 4 fundamental models of social relationship: communal sharing, authority ranking, equality matching, and market pricing. These models guide and motivate social life, in all cultures; cultures differ primarily in 1) which model they happen to use for a particular relationship (e.g., marriage) and 2) the implementation rules for each model, e.g., how exactly one shows respect for a superior. Fiske makes a powerful case that people are deeply social and deeply moral, and that Western social science has often misrepresented human nature by studying contexts in which market pricing is the dominant model. (Interestingly, market pricing is the least prevalent model in most non-Western cultures, and it is the only one that cannot be found in de Waal’s descriptions of chimpanzees). This work will be useful for understanding cultural variation in morality, and for seeing that varied social interactions, involving multiple models, is a pre-requisite for the good life.

**Frank, R. (1988). Passions within reason. New York: Norton.**

Economist Robert Frank draws on evolutionary theory to explain why natural selection has given an advantage to those who do not simply pursue their own narrow self-interests. Our concerns with justice, fairness, and love make us excellent, trustworthy coalition partners. These seemingly irrational emotions (from a strict economic point of view) actually serve us well in the long run as we progress throughout our lives.

**Gibbard, A. (1990). Wise choices, apt feelings. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.**

A major cross disciplinary work by a philosopher, building on research in evolutionary psychology. Gibbard’s basic empirical claims are that humans have evolved to care about norms, that there are adaptive advantages to those who can coordinate their actions with those around them, and that the moral emotions (especially anger, guilt, and shame) are adaptive "syndromes" that make us care about norms. Building on this empirical foundation he constructs a psychologically realistic normative account of morality and rationality, which he calls "norm expressivistic." In this account, morality is grounded in the shared and complementary emotional reactions of a moral community. “Morality... looks to the kinds of acts for which a person can be to blame. A person is to blame for an act if it makes sense for others to be angry at him -- from a standpoint of full, impartial engagement, I added -- and if it makes sense for the person himself to feel guilty for what he has done."

**Gilligan, C., & Wiggins, G. (1987). The origins of morality in early childhood relationships. In J. K. a. S. Lamb (Eds.), The emergence of morality in young children Chicago: University of Chicago Press.**

Gilligan gives a much-needed refinement of the debate she started in 1981 (In a Different Voice) about the differences between men’s and women’s morality. Here she says that the care and justice orientations are two moral perspectives that can be taken by anyone, male or female. She makes the analogy to reversible figures in perceptual psychology (e.g., the rabbit-duck reversible figure) to say that care and justice are two ways of organizing any social situation. Analyzes the crises and moral changes of puberty, when adolescents become adept at switching perspectives.

**Hunt, L. H. (1997). Character and Culture. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.**

This book is a philosophical analysis of the traits of character. Hunt defines virtues as meritorious traits of character and vices the opposite. The author argues that virtues and vices are not simply habits or dispositions as Aristotle and Aquinas suggested, nor are they propensities to act in a certain way as Kant suggested, but rather traits require thought and reason on the part of the agent to act in accordance with his or her principles. Furthermore, a good life, at least in the moral sense, is constituted by the virtuous principles which drive the person’s behavior. Hunt approaches the understanding of the good person not only by examining virtues, but also by examining vices. Specific sections are devoted to an investigation of courage, temperance, self-respect, and generosity. Additionally, the author addresses the limits of goodness and the relationship between character and the social world. Chapters VI through XI examine the environmental influences on character. The author suggests that social, political, and economic systems offer incentives for certain behaviors—thereby shaping what we judge to be honest, loyal, generous, and so forth.

**Kagan, J. (1984). The nature of the child. New York: Basic Books.**

An influential set of essays by one of the leading developmental psychologists. Contains an important chapter on “Establishing a morality” which argues that purely cognitive accounts of moral development (e.g., Kohlberg), have left out the affective bases of morality, including the child’s emotional reactions to violations of standards, visible in the 2nd year of life. Also contains a useful chapter on “the role of the family,” analyzing how American ideas and ideals of family life developed historically, and why they are wrong in many ways, particularly in placing so much importance on parental behavior in the first few years of life. (Kagan continues to develop these ideas in his recent book: Three Seductive Ideas).

**Kohlberg, L. (1971). From is to ought: How to commit the naturalistic fallacy and get away with it in the study of moral development. In T. Mischel (Ed.), Psychology and Genetic Epistemology. New York: Academic Press.**

This is a more interesting and philosophical essay than the more widely referenced 1969 monograph. Psychologists have long looked to philosophers for conceptual clarification, but in this essay Kohlberg turns the tables and argues that philosophers searching for moral truth should look to empirical psychological findings on moral development. In other words, he advocates committing the “naturalistic fallacy”, deriving “ought” statements from “is” statements. The basic argument is that, since people all around the world follow the same progression through his 6 stages, their moral reasoning gets more “adequate”, in much the same way that people all around the world get more “adequate” at solving physical problems like Piaget’s conservation tasks. The empirically discovered endpoint of moral development (Kohlberg’s stage 6) is therefore a good guide to what is normatively correct. The essay also contains a powerful rebuttal to the moral relativism arguments that were prevalent on college campuses in the 1960's and 1970's.

**Kekes, J. (1995). Moral Wisdom and Good Lives. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.**

This book presents a philosophical approach to the good life from a eudaimonistic perspective. Although the points Kekes makes are undoubtedly profound, his book is written in an accessible manner that would appeal to any reader regardless of philosophical expertise. The ideas presented are based on the assumption that moral wisdom is essential to leading a good life. Kekes defines moral wisdom as “a human psychological capacity to judge soundly what we should do in matters seriously affecting the goodness of our life” (p. 14). Accordingly, this judgment is driven by beliefs about what actions are thought to lead to a good life and also on the individual’s concept of what makes a life good. Chapter one reviews the theory of eudaimonism in relation to conceptions of the good life. Although eudaimonism allows for a variety of ways in which to achieve the good life, Kekes notes that “in some ways, set by human nature, good lives are uniform” (p. 30). Chapter two attempts to reconcile the problem of evaluating the goodness of a life—in terms satisfaction vs. moral worth. Chapter three recognizes that many situations are morally complex. Here the author addresses the problems inherent in the human condition, namely conflicting values, desires, and the problem of evil. In chapter four, Kekes argues that increasing control over our lives leads to greater moral wisdom and greater ability to face the adversities of life presented in the previous chapter. In chapters five through eight, the author suggests that through moral imagination, self-awareness and reflection, individuals are able to gain greater control and improved judgment. He argues that cultivation of moral depth is a conscious process that requires introspection. Chapter nine deals with the question of “what is justice?” Finally, the author concludes by identifying the morally wise person as one who is “living according to a reasonable conception of the good life, and knowing and coping with permanent adversities” (p. 222) while at the same time retaining a “reflective innocence” or hopeful attitude towards life.

**Kohlberg, L. (1981, 1984). The philosophy of moral development: Essays on moral development and The psychology of moral development: Essays on moral development. San Francisco: Harper & Row. And Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development. Cambridge: Harvard University Press**.

Kohlberg argued that humans go through different stages of moral development. They start at the preconventional level (following self-interest), progress to the conventional level (following laws or rules), and may develop moral reasoning at the post conventional level (following abstract principles of what is right). Gilligan argued, however, that Kohlberg's scheme was gender biased. She argued that for women abstract principles matter less than relationships and caring for others. She argued that an "ethic of care" is slighted in Kohlberg's scheme.

**Latane, B., & Darley, J. M. (1970). The unresponsive bystander. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.**

This book reports a series of classic experiments in social psychology in which subjects are placed in a variety of situations in which someone else needs help. Motivated by the Kitty Genovese murder (which dozens of New Yorkers watched without calling the police), these studies show that helping behavior is governed primarily by situational factors (such as ambiguity and diffusion of responsibility), not by personality traits such as helpfulness and callousness. The book is a reminder of the basic social psychology perspective: in thinking about “the good person” we should always be thinking about “situations that make people good.”

**Oliner, S. & Oliner, P. (1988). The altruistic personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe. New York: Free Press.**

This book reveals findings from the Oliners' study of over 400 Europeans who helped Jews avoid the Nazis during World War II. The book discusses the motives of the rescuers, and it finds that, among other things, rescuers tended to be very close to parental role models who taught them high moral standards. Similar findings about the importance of close identification with a moral parent were found in London (1970) ("The rescuers: Motivational hypotheses about Christians who saved Jews from the Nazis." In J. R. Macaulay & L. Berkowitz (Eds.) Altruism and helping behavior (pp. 241-250). New York: Academic Press) and Rosenhan's (1970) work on civil rights activists ("The natural socialization of altruistic autonomy" in the Macaulay & Berkowitz book).

**Peristiany, J. G. (Ed.) (1965). Honour and shame: The values of Mediterranean society. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.**

This book is an exploration of one of the major animating values in many societies across the world. As anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers explains, "honour is the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society. It is his estimation of his own worth, his claim to pride, but it is also the acknowledgement of that claim, his excellence recognized by society, his right to pride" (p. 21). The book contains six essays by anthropologists about the concept of honor in various regions of the Mediterranean. Particularly good is the Pitt-Rivers chapter on "Honour and social status." For a shorter treatment by Pitt-Rivers, see Pitt-Rivers (1968) ("Honor." In D. Sills (Ed.) International encyclopedia of the social sciences (pp. 503-511).

New York: Macmillan).

**Piliavin, J. A., & Callero, P. L. (1991). Giving blood: The development of an altruistic identity. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.**

The authors interviewed blood donors to find out their motivations for helping. Blood donors often initially decide to help because they know of a family member or friend who donated and served as a positive role model.

**Ridley, M. (1996). Origins of virtue. New York: Viking.**

This book takes an evolutionary perspective on the development of human virtue, arguing that natural selection has made us prosocial. In this very accessible book, Ridley argues that our genes may be "selfish," but we "come into the world equipped with predispositions to learn how to cooperate, to discriminate the trustworthy from the treacherous, to commit [ourselves] to be trustworthy, to earn good reputations, to exchange goods and information, and to divide labor" (p. 249).

**Sears, D. O. (1991). Socio-economics: Challenge to the neoclassical economic paradigm. Psychological Science, 2, 12-15.**

Laments that the neo-classical economic paradigm of “homo-economicus” has come to play too big a role in the social sciences. The neo-classical economic paradigm ignores the communitarian nature of human life, and the moral dimension of human motivation. Describes the foundation of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (SASE), headed by Amitai Etzione. States the "minimum platform" and core assumptions of the new paradigm, including that "Individual choices are shaped by values, emotions, and knowledge. There is no prior assumption that people act rationally, or that they pursue only/largely self-interest.” Socio-economics is clearly a sister movement to positive psychology, trying to re-shape the research agenda of a discipline by re-shaping its view of human nature.

**Smith, A. (1976). The theory of moral sentiments (Edited by D. Raphael and A. Macfie). Oxford: Clarendon Press.**

This is one of the classic books of moral philosophy. The bedrock of Smith's theory of moral sentiments is sympathy, or "fellow-feeling" (p. 10). Smith starts by noting that "how selfish so ever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing for it except the pleasure of seeing it" (p. 9). Beginning with sympathy, Smith goes on to discuss various virtues including those related to propriety, merit, justice, duty, and self-discipline.

**Walker, L. J., & Pitts, R. C. (1998). Naturalistic conceptions of moral maturity. Developmental Psychology, 34, 403-419.**

An innovative and enlightening study of what people take to be moral, religious, and spiritual exemplars. Study 1 had people list descriptors for "a highly moral [or religious, or spiritual] person." Study 2 obtained prototypicality ratings from diverse samples on each descriptor given in study 1. Study 3 gave the real payoff: they reduced each set to the 50 most prototypical descriptors, then had a new sample do similarity sortings. This gave dissimilarity matrices, which were analyzed both with multidimensional scaling and with hierarchical cluster analysis. The most important clusters for a moral exemplar (based on prototypicality-ratings from study 2) were: 1-principled-idealistic, 2-dependable-loyal, 3-has integrity. The discussion summarizes the emergent folk conception of moral excellence: "a central component is that the highly moral person has a range of strongly held values and principles and maintains high standards and ideals, ones reflecting both external moral guidelines and internal workings of conscience. This acute and evident sense of morality is joined by a strong sense of self and personal agency that may contribute to the integrity that people regard as essential to moral excellence -- that the highly moral person is committed to action based on these values and ideals and has the personal fortitude to do so."

**Wilson, J. (1993). The moral sense. New York: Free Press.**

Political scientist James Q. Wilson surveys the social science literature and argues that human beings have an innate moral sense. He argues that "we want the approval of others, but...we also want to deserve that approval. And insofar as we want to deserve it from others, we also want to deserve it from ourselves" (p. 34). The basis of our moral sense are sentiments of sympathy, fairness, self-control, and duty.

**I. RELIGION**

**Pargament, K. I. (1997). The Psychology of Religion and Coping: Theory, Research, and Practice. New York: Guilford Press.**

Psychologist Kenneth Pargament examines the role of religion in coping behavior from a logical and scientific standpoint. Based on the author’s belief that “both science and religion are built upon a desire to expand our understanding of the vast but largely unrecognized order of the universe” (p. 13), this book is an attempt to integrate the seemingly opposing and clearly different perspectives and approaches to human beings’ search for meaning. In investigating how religion functions in people’s lives, the author recognizes that especially in times of stress or difficulty, religion can be comforting because it allows people to make sense of events, and it allows people to feel as if they are part of something larger than themselves. Central to all religions is the idea that each individual’s experience is part of a larger universal framework. The author explores the definitions of religion and the various ways in which they relate to coping. Particularly important is Chapter 10 in which the author takes an empirical and pragmatic approach to examining the question of “How helpful or harmful is religion?” Here, he provides an extensive review of the empirical literature addressing this question. Since religion plays an important role in many people’s lives, an understanding of the function of religion may prove fruitful in the advancement of human welfare.

**Pargament, K. I., Maton, K. I., Hess, R. E., (Eds.) (1992). Religion and Prevention in Mental Health: Research, Vision, and Action.**

The role of religion in The Good Life presents a dilemma to the intellectual. Certainly over the last few decades, the viability of religion as a source of meaning has been questioned and rejected by the intellectual elite. This rejection of religion in many academic circles may lead to the perception that religion is dead or dying. However, data from large scale studies demonstrate again and again that religion remains a powerful force in the lives of many. Religious belief appears to remain strong even as religious service attendance and membership in established religions decline. Surveys have shown that over 80% of Americans believe in God and in heavenly reward and only about 6% reject the notion of God’s existence and only 8% questioned the existence of an afterlife. There appears to be a disconnect between academic views of the role of religion in The Good Life and the way The Good Life is lived. This volume contains a variety of contributions that review research on the role of religion in various aspects of life—physical health, psychological well-being, and social change.

Contents: K. I. Maton and K. I. Pargament, Religion as a Resource for Preventive Action: An Introduction; B. Spilka and R. A. Bridges, Religious Perspectives on Prevention: The Role of Theology; K. A. Roberts, A Sociological Overview: Mental Health Implications of Religio-Cultural Megatrends in the United States; I. R. Payne, A. E. Bergin, K. A. Bielema, and P. H. Jenkins, Review of Religion and Mental Health: Prevention and the Enhancement of Psychosocial Functioning; J. S. Levin and H. Y. Vanderpool, Religious Factors in Physical Health and the Prevention of Illness; W. L. Hathaway and K. I. Pargament, The Religious Dimensions of Coping: Implications for Prevention and Promotion; D. Klass, Religious Aspects of the Resolution of Parental Grief: Solace and Social Support; R. A. Jenkins, Toward a Psychosocial Conceptualization of Religion as a Resource in Cancer Care and Prevention; R. W. Anderson, Jr., K. I. Maton, and B. E. Ensor, Prevention Theory and Action from the Religious Perspective; J. Rappaport and R. Simkins, Healing and Empowering Through Community Narrative; T. Moore, The African-American Church: A Source of Empowerment, Mutual Help, and Social Change; B. Roberts and H. Thorsheim, Reciprocal Ministry: A Transforming Vision of Help and Leadership; H. N. Malony, Congregational Consultation; E. Eng and J. W. Hatch, Networking Between Agencies and Black Churches: The Lay Health Advisor Model; E. Cohen, C. T. Mowbray, V. Gillette, and E. Thompson, Preventing Homelessness: Religious Organizations and Housing Development.

**Wuthnow, Robert, Hodgkinson, Virginia A., & Assoc.(1990). Faith and Philanthropy in America, Jossey-Bass Inc.: San Fransisco and Oxford.**

This book is a compilation of writings and research on the relationship between religion and giving. Contributors span a variety of disciplines from sociology, psychology, philosophy, history, and theology to statistics, political science, and non-profit organizations.

Contents: R. Wuthnow, Religion and the Voluntary Spirit in the United States: Mapping the Terrain; M. L. Stackhouse, Religion and the Social Space for Voluntary Institutions; P. Dobkin Hall, The History of Religious Philanthropy in America; P. G. Schervish, Wealth and the Spiritual Secret of Money; V. A. Hodgkinson, M. S. Weitzman, and A. D. Kirsch, From Commitment to Action: How Religious Involvement Affects Giving and Volunteering; W. E. McManus, Stewardship and Almsgiving in the Roman Catholic Tradition; M. Rimor and G. A. Tobin, Jewish Giving Patterns to Jewish and Non-Jewish Philanthropy; J. R. Wood, Liberal Protestant Social Action in a Period of Decline; T. T. Clydesdale, Soul-Wining and Social Work: Giving and Caring in the Evangelical Tradition; D. L. May, The Philanthropy Dilemma: The Moremon Church Experience; E. D. Carson, Patterns of Giving in Black Churches; J. R. Wood, Alternatives to Religion in the Promotion of Philanthropy; R. Wuthnow, Improving Our Understanding of Religion and Giving: Key Issues for Research; V. A. Hodgkinson, The Future of Individual Giving and Volunteering: The Inseparable Link Between Religious Community and Individual Generosity.

**J. COURAGE**

**Fogelman, E. (1994). Conscience and courage: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust. New York: Doubleday.**

In this book, one of a number of works by the author on Holocaust survivors, Fogelman focuses on the heroic efforts of people who, at great risk to themselves and their families, helped Jews escape the Nazis. Essentially, Fogelman suggests that parenting that predisposed individuals to altruism, combined with opportunity and motivation led individuals to become rescuers. Rescuers were motivated to help for a variety of reasons—religious reason, ideological differences with the Nazi regime, horror at the inhumanity of the Third Reich, and moral outrage. Using interview material, Fogelman examines how these individuals were able to take their altruistic feelings and put them into action.

**Kasich, J. (1998). Courage is contagious. New York: Doubleday.**

Written by Ohio’s Twelfth District Congressional Representative, this book provides case studies of voluntarism in America. Congressman Kasich, describes in great detail the lives of seventeen ordinary people and their remarkable and continuous acts of courage. The individuals which Kasich features are not well-known outside of their communities, but their efforts have had tremendous impact because each recognized a need in his or her community and sought to remedy that need through innovative ideas and hard work. Examples include the story of a 15-year old girl and her mother who mobilize a team of young volunteers to help feed homeless people in Maryland each weekend, a professional clown who organized a troupe of performers who bring joy to thousands of sick and dying children, and a retired doctor who founded a free clinic for the uninsured run entirely by retired health professionals. The author illustrates that the rewards of service work are reaped not only by the community but also by the volunteer. These powerful stories reflect humanitarianism that is truly inspiring to the reader.

**Levenson, Michael R. (1990). Risk taking and personality. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58, 1073-1080.**

Are heroes no more than socially acceptable risk-takers? In this study, comparisons were made of the personality and social orientations of antisocial risk takers (residents in a long-term drug-treatment facility), rock climbers, and prosocial risk takers, or heroes (policemen and firemen decorated for bravery). Measures included substance abuse proclivity, emotional arousability, conformity, moral reasoning, empathy, psychopathy, and sensation seeking. Drug-unit residents had high scores on an Antisocial function, characterized by emotionality, depression, psychopathy, substance abuse proclivity, and lower scores on moral reasoning. Rock climbers had high scores on an Antistructural function, characterized by sensation seeking and moral reasoning, the latter reflecting the higher education level of the rock climbers. Neither of the discriminant functions identified characterized the heroes. Thus, drug-unit residents, rock climbers, and heroes appear to represent both different psychological types and different forms of risk taking.

**Nemeth, C. (1988). Modelling courage: The role of dissent in fostering independence. European Journal of Social Psychology, 18, 275-280.**

An alternative way to look at courage is as the opposite of cowardice. In the social psychological literature, conformity to group pressure is one way to think of cowardice. Cast in this light, the literature on minority influence in persuasion may be seen as relevant to courage. Nemeth tested the hypothesis that people can be influenced to be more independent and to resist conformity pressure by exposing them to dissent over time. Using a variation on Asch’s classic conformity study, Nemeth asked men to judge the color of a blue stimulus, either alone (control condition) or in the presence of another participant (the confederate) who (a) consistently judged the stimuli to be green, (b) inconsistently judged them to be green, or (c) expressed no dissent. Participants then judged a series of red slides and were exposed to a majority who repeatedly judged them as orange. Findings indicate that exposure to dissent, whether it was consistent or inconsistent, substantially reduced the level of conformity. Exposure to consistent dissent led to almost complete independence. This work is notable not only for its obvious implications with regard to minority influence but also for its implications for creativity and the role of models who “think different” in human life. (c.f., Nemeth (1986). Psychological Review article).

**Rachman, S. (1984). Fear and courage. Behavior Therapy, 15, 109-120.**

When an individual acts courageously, observers may be quick to ask, “weren’t you afraid?” Heroes tend to agree that they were afraid—but that fear was irrelevant. The performance of heroic acts by fearful people suggests that it is more proper to refer to courageous behavior rather than to courageous people. Rachman conducted research on over 200 military bomb-disposal operators in order to examine individuals who were forced to conquer their own fears and act courageously. In this work he found that under dangerous conditions, many operators experienced some subjective fear and associated physical reactions including sweating, pounding heart, etc. Their ability to persist and to perform competently, despite their fear, meets the definition of courage. Still there were a subset of participants who reported little or no fear. Rachman argues that these individuals seem to be particularly well-suited to tasks involving risk. Also **Rachman, S. J. (1990). Learned resourcefulness in the performance of hazardous tasks. In M. Rosenbaum (Ed.), Learned resourcefulness: On coping skills, self-control, and adaptive behavior Springer series on behavior therapy and behavioral medicine, Vol 24 (pp 165-181). New York, NY: Springer.**

**Suedfeld, P. (1997). The social psychology of "Invictus": Conceptual and methodological approaches to indomitability. In C. M McGarty & S. A. Haslam, Eds.), The message of social psychology: Perspectives on mind in society (pp. 328-341). Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishers, Inc.**

Suedfeld calls for a recognition of the individual as more than the cowardly, conforming pawn that is often portrayed in the social psychological literature. Suedfeld calls attention to the social psychology of "Invictus" ("unbeaten" or "unconquerable") which comes from the 19th  century British poet William E Henley. The poem celebrates human courage and self-determination in the face of adversity. This essay claims that research and theory in social psychology concentrate on the negative consequences of any identifiable adverse event. Such a one-sided emphasis leads to scientific inaccuracy, and may become a self-fulfilling prophecy—if we expect weakness and defeat in the face of adversity we may just get it.

**Szagun, G., & Schauble, M. (1997). Children's and adults' understanding of the feeling experience of courage. Cognition and Emotion, 11, 291-306.**

Children's and adults' feeling experiences of courage was investigated using an interview technique for younger children and an open-ended questionnaire method for adolescents and adults. Participants represented 4 age groups (mean ages 6, 9, 14, and 21 yrs). Six year olds described courage in terms of an internal state corresponding to behavior, whereas with increasing age courage was described as a multifaceted internal state experience, centering on fear and overcoming fear. Older participants believed that courage could be enhanced by concentrating on one's abilities. Children viewed courageous activity in terms of physical risk-taking, while adults focused on psychological risk-taking. Results are interpreted in terms of an increasingly mentalistic understanding of courage.

**K. GENERATIVITY AND WISDOM**

**Baltes, P. B., & Staudinger, U. M. (1993). The search for a psychology of wisdom. Psychological Science, 2, 75-80; Baltes, P. B., Staudinger, U. M., Maercker, A., & Smith, J. (1995). People nominated as wise: A comparative study of wisdom-related knowledge. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 10, 155-166.**

Baltes & Staudinger define wisdom as expert knowledge--“the fundamental pragmatics of life permitting exceptional insight, judgment, and advice involving complex and uncertain matters of the human condition” (Baltes & Staudinger, p. 76). Wise thinking is characterized by relativism, uncertainty, and contextualism. Importantly, wisdom is enhanced by life experiences that involve dealing with difficult and unstructured matters of life, or “wisdom facilitative experiences” (Baltes, Staudinger, Maercker, & Smith, 1995). This perspective indicates that life experience can propel personality development.

**Kotre, J. N. (1984). Outliving the Self: How we live on in future generations. WW. Norton.**

Kotre gathered together intensive, dramatic case studies--personal narratives to expand upon and refine Erik Erikson's concept of "generativity"--the variety of ways people find to be "fertile" in their lives—from having babies to engaging in the emotional work of nurturing and guiding children, to teaching practical skills, to transmitting values and enriching our surrounding culture. Kotre focused on 8 Ss as they describe the life lessons they’ve learned and talk about how they have managed to forge links with the next generation. This book was Kotre’s initial attempt to begin a conversation about generativity. His method is life-historical. This book, though appearing a few years after other works that included generativity as a concept (e.g., Vaillant, 1977), is recognized as an important first—a volume dedicated solely to the intensive study of the Eriksonian concept of generativity via life histories. Kotre suggests two major short comings of Erikson’s view of generativity. First, Erikson did not distinguish among different types of generativity and second, Erikson did not recognize the potential darkside of generativity. Kotre distinguished among 4 types of generativity: biological (having children); parental (childrearing); technical (teaching skills); and cultural (mentoring). It is notable that while most subsequent work on generativity (e.g., McAdams, Vaillant) has taken an essentially optimistic view of this important human capacity, Kotre’s treatment is somewhat more pessimistic in its tone. Kotre believed that generativity often indicated the multitudinous way that humans can go wrong—that we might well create a toxic legacy.

**McAdams, D. P. (1993). The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of the self. New York: Willam Morrow & Co. and McAdams, D. P. (1985). Power, Intimacy and the Life Story: Personological Inquiries into Identity. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press.**

McAdam’s views the psychosocial construction of the self as the fundamental mode of adult personality. The “generativity” script is the story one creates about one’s lasting contribution to the world. In his earlier work, McAdams built on Bakan’s conceptualization of two basic orthogonal dimensions of human life. Variously described as the masculine vs. the feminine, the task-oriented vs. the expressive, etc., these two dimensions are seen by McAdams as reflected in the motives of Power and Intimacy—or Agency and Communion. McAdams presents a theory of generativity as the combination of these two basic orientations.

**McAdams, D. P., & de St. Aubin, E. (Eds.), (1998). Generativity and adult development: How and why we care for the next generation. Washington, DC: American Psychological Assoc. and McAdams, D. P., & de St. Aubin, E. (1992). A theory of generativity and its assessment through self-report, behavioral acts, and narrative themes in autobiography. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 62, 1003-1015.**

Erik Erikson (1968) described the seminal realization of middle age as “I am what survives me” (p. 141). Generativity is the concern for leaving a legacy for future generations. It is a “concern for and commitment to promoting the next generation, through parenting, teaching, mentoring, and generating products and outcomes that aim to benefit youth and foster development and well-being of individuals and social systems that will outlive the self” (McAdams & de St. Aubin, p. *xx*). Generativity, for the individual, is an important challenge and a strong predictor of well-being. For the society, generativity is a “resource that may undergird social institutions” (p. *xx*). Generativity draws us out of our narrow self-focused worlds and engages us in the problems of our society (c.f., Allport’s concept of self-extension). The McAdams and de St. Aubin volume gathers together a variety of perspectives on the role of generativity in adult life. Studies reviewed in several chapters indicate that generativity is associated with heightened psychological well-being. In their chapter, Keyes and Ryff argue that generativity is fundamental to feeling good about oneself in adulthood and for evaluating one’s life as meaningful and worth living. Snarey and Clark report that fathers who are high in parental generativity also enhanced occupational mobility, and heightened marital satisfaction.

**Notable chapters in the McAdams and de St. Aubin volume include The Anatomy of Generativity (McAdams, Hart, & Maruna); The Course of Generativity (Stewart & Vandewater); Generativity in Adult Lives (Keyes & Ryff); Cares for the Rising Generation in American History 1607-1900 (Moran).**

**Snarey, J. (1993). How fathers care for the next generation: A four decade study. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.**

Snarey reports on the results of a 40-year longitudinal study begun by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, continued by George Vaillant. Good fathers are defined as generative fathers—those who “contribute to and renew the ongoing cycle of the generations through the care they provide… ” (p. 1). 240 men, members of the “silent generation” were followed from boyhood (ages 11-14) to midlife. Parental generativity was defined by the actual instances of child rearing participation the men demonstrated with regard to intellectual, social/emotional and physical development. Evidence is presented that supports the notion that generativity is a continual process—participation in child rearing during the offspring childhood was associated with experiencing heightened societal generativity later in life. In addition, fathers’ lives were decidedly not a “zero sum” game: Participation in child rearing had no negative impact on occupational success. Indeed, fathers who were actively involved in their children’s emotional and intellectual development showed enhanced occupational mobility. By alternating chapters between quantitative analyses and case descriptions from the sample, Snarey enlivens the concept of parental generativity with the experiences of real fathers and their children. Also, the concept of “generativity chill” is introduced. Generativity chill refers to the anxiety that one’s generativity is threatened—the realistic possibility that one’s children, creation or creativity may be lost.

**Vaillant, G. E. (1977). Adaptation to life. Boston: Little, Brown; and Vaillant, G. E. (1993). The wisdom of the ego. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.**

Vaillant’s works challenge the Freudian notion that the child is the father to the man—that childhood damage is inevitably replayed in adult personality. Vaillant’s focus is on deeply troubled young people who, somehow, become well-adjusted, productive adults. Drawing on the Study of Adult Development, based at Harvard University, Vaillant explores the lives of these individuals--thriving adults who experienced horrible childhoods. Vaillant’s focus is on the mind's remarkable defenses and the ways these defenses develop well into adulthood. In his treatment of generativity in the 1993 book, Vaillant writes with poetic elegance about adult development—making use of historical and literary figures as well as research subjects. Vaillant suggests that generativity is a two stage process. At first, it involves caring for one or a few younger persons in a direct way—such as mentorship. In the second phase of generativity, the individual expands this role and emerges as a “keeper of meaning”—playing a role in the larger community as a guide to cultural values and traditions.

**L. INTIMACY/LOVE**

**Aron, A., & Aron, E. N. (1997). Self-expansion motivation and including the other in the self. In S. Duck (Ed.), Handbook of Personal Relationships: Theory, research and interventions (2nd ed). (pp. 251-270). Chichester: Wiley; Aron, A., Paris, M., & Aron, E.N. (1995). Falling in love: Prospective studies of self-concept change. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69, 1102-1112; and Aron, A., & Aron, E. N. (1986). Love and the expansion of self : Understanding attraction and**

**satisfaction. Washington, DC: Harper & Row. Publishers, Inc;**

**Washington, DC, US**

The self-expansion model of motivation and cognition in close relationships holds that the primary motivator is to expand the self. Engaging in close relationships affords us an opportunity to incorporate the other into ourselves. Self expansion applies not only to romantic relationships but to friendship, sibling, and parent- child relationships as well. Falling in love has been recognized by artists, novelists, poets and songwriters as a transformational experience. Some psychologists have also recognized the role of falling in love as a valuable experience contributing to identity development and personality integration, while others have viewed falling in love as a patently neurotic activity. From the self-expansion model, falling in love is expected to impact on the contents of the self as well as feelings toward the self. Indeed, the empirical evidence demonstrates that after falling in love, participants in empirical studies reported a greater diversity of the self and heightened self-efficacy and self-esteem.

**Aron, A., & Aron, E. N. (1994). Love. In A. L. Weber & J. H. Harvey (Eds.),**

**Perspectives on close relationships (pp. 131-152). Boston MA: Allyn & Bacon, Inc.**

Reviews research on love: how people in general understand the meaning of love, how different people's understandings of love differ in terms of the aspects of love they emphasize, the actions and feelings that indicate love, how love is likely to develop over time, the relation of love and sex, the question of whether love can be really selfless, and the ideals our culture holds about love. An easily read thorough review.

**Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachment as a fundamental human motivation. Psychological Bulletin, 117, 497‑529.**

Baumeister and Leary argue that the desire to connect with other humans in enduring relationships is a basic, fundamental human motivation.

**Drigotas, S. M., Rusbult, C. E., Wieselquist, & Whitton, S. W. (in press). Close partner as sculptor of the ideal self: Behavioral affirmation and the Michelangelo Phenomenon. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.**

When Michelangelo looked at a piece of stone, he saw the beautiful figures waiting to be revealed from within. This poetic ideal is examined in four rigorous empirical studies that converge on the conclusion that our romantic partners shape our selves through their perceptions and behaviors. Self perceptions moved toward ideal as a function of partner’s affirmation. Strong associations are reported between perceived partner affirmation and movement toward the self ideal. Perceived partner behavioral affirmation was associated with quality of couple functioning and stability in ongoing relationships. Results demonstrate that “a hallmark of couple well-being is the ability and inclination of close partners to bring out the best in one another” (p. 55).

**Hartup, W. W. & Stevens, N. (1997). Friendships and adaptation in the life course. Psychological Bulletin, 121, 355-370.**

A recent call for more systematic research on this important component of the Good Life. Hartup and Stevens argue that to consider friendships and their significance through the life course requires, first, differentiation of deep structure (i.e., reciprocity) from surface structure (i.e., the social exchange) and, second, assessment within a multifaceted framework that simultaneously emphasizes having friends, the identity of one's friends, and relationship quality. Having friends is correlated with a sense of well being across the life span. But to understand the impact of friends on development requires a more fine grained approach to the identity of one's friends as well as the quality of one's relationships with them. Hartup and Stevens conclude that “greater attention needs to be given to the manner in which friendships differ from one another, continuities and changes across major developmental transitions, and differentiation of developmental pathways through which friendship experience contributes to individual outcome.” (p. 370)

**House, J.S., Landis, K.R., & Umberson, D. (1988). Social relationships and**

**health. Science, 241, 540-544.**

A classic paper demonstrating the central role of social relationships in health.

The authors demonstrate that prospective studies, controlling for baseline health status, consistently show increased risk of death among persons with a low quantity, and sometimes low quality, of social relationships. Experimental and quasi-experimental studies of humans and animals also suggest that social isolation is a major risk factor for mortality from widely varying causes. Indeed, the mortality risk of social isolation far outweigh those of cigarette smoking! The authors suggest that just as the importance of social relationships for health is realized, their prevalence and availability in the US may be declining.

**Israel, B. A., & Antonucci, T. C. (1987). Social network characteristics and psychological well‑being: A replication and extension. Health Education Quarterly, 14, 461‑481.**

The authors looked at various types of social networks and their relation to psychological well‑being among older adult populations. They found that the quality, but not quantity, of social networks made significant contributions to individuals' well‑being.

**McAdams, D. P. (1989). Intimacy: The need to be close. NY: Doubleday.**

This book draws on a wide range of scientific research into intimacy and love from academic journals and books. McAdams takes the best of this research and blends it with poetry, myth, biography, and personal experience to examine the powerful, central role of intimacy in human life. McAdams traces the development of the yearning for intimacy from the earliest infant-parent attachment, through the intense friendships of preadolescence, to the intimacy needs of adults. This book also contains an introduction to McAdams’ approach to measuring the intimacy motive—a construct developed to tap into the enduring concern for warm interpersonal relations, for their own sake. In contrast to treatments of need for Affiliation, which were based on a feeling of longing to make and keep friends, McAdams focuses on the deepening of interpersonal bonds that characterizes relationships as an end in themselves, rather than a means to an end.

**Taylor, S. E., Repetti, R. L., & Seeman, T. (1997). Health psychology: What is an unhealthy environment and how does it get under the skin? Annual Review of Psychology, 48, 411-47.**

This innovative paper blends research and theory from psychology, sociology, immunology, and other disciplines to set a research agenda for understanding how macro-level variables, such as community and environment, are translated into effects on individual people and their close relationships in ways that affect mental and physical health. It represents a paradigm shift away from lifestyle diseases to an increasing emphasis on environmental factors in illness (see Stokols, 1992, social ecology paper). Research on the health effects of different environments -- geographical, occupational, developmental, and social are reviewed in terms of their effects on human health, health behaviors, and use of health services. The concept of allostatic load -- the physiological cost of chronic exposure to heightened neuroendocrine responses from repeated environmental changes, such as crowding, exposure to violence, poor recreational facilities, pollution, poor transportation, and unstable family environment -- is discussed, as are offsetting or buffering factors. The relationship of these environmental problems to difficulties in the development and maintenance of social contacts and of constructive ways of coping with stress is examined. In sum, the authors outline a causal sequence whereby poverty leads to residence in a high-stress community, to a job with high demands and low opportunities for advancement and control, to disproportional exposure to violence, conflict, and abuse, and to decreased opportunities to develop supportive social ties, effective coping skills, and a sense of integration. The potential benefit of outlining this sequence is the ability to target not only individuals, but also families, schools, and communities for intervention.

**Van Lange, P. A. M., Rusbult, C. E., Drigotas, S. M., & Arriaga, X. (1997). Willingness to sacrifice in close relationships. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72,**

**1373-1395.**

The Good Life is unfortunately popularized as a prolonged, fun vacation. Yet, clearly, the Good Life includes hard work, effort, delay of gratification and sacrifice. Perhaps the central component of the Good Life is close interpersonal relationships. If the Good Life is popularized as an extended vacation, the ideal of romantic relationships is one long honeymoon. Yet, it is common knowledge that committed close relationships require sacrifice. In this innovative six-study empirical investigation of remarkable rigor (3 cross-sectional survey studies, 1 simulation experiment, 2 longitudinal studies), the authors use interdependence theory as a context to examine when and why individuals act unselfishly—make sacrifices in close relationships. Willingness to sacrifice was associated with strong commitment, high satisfaction, poor alternatives, and high investments; feelings of commitment mediated the associations of these variables with willingness to sacrifice. Importantly, willingness to sacrifice was associated with superior couple functioning.

**III. The Positive Community**

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This bibliography was assembled to help in the creation of a positive psychology research node on “The Positive Community,” to be headed by Kathleen Hall Jamieson. The selection of works was guided by the goal of the network, which is to understand the ways that groups and institutions promote human flourishing. The specific topics of interest include civility, tolerance of diversity, equality, cooperation, the provision of opportunity, leadership, individualism vs. communitarianism, and the factors and policies that make families, schools, and neighborhoods effective and healthy.

**A.**

**Visions of the Good Society**

**Bellah, R., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W. M., Swidler, A., & Tipton, S. (1985). Habits of the heart. New York: Harper and Row.**

A disturbing portrait of modern Americans in search of meaning. A five year study of several American communities finds people trapped in a language of individualism, free-choice, and self-actualization, starving for connection, community, and spiritual meaning. This book connects well with Durkheim, Schwartz, and other discussions of the anomic tendencies of modern materialist societies.

**Elazar, D. (1966). American federalism: A view from the states. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.**

Political scientist Daniel Elazar's seminal work describes three political cultures of the United States. These political cultures have different visions of "the good society" and the role of the citizenry in securing it. An individualistic political culture holds that "government is instituted for strictly utilitarian reasons...[and] need not have any direct concerns with questions of the good society' except insofar as it may be used to advance some common conception of the good society formulated outside the political arena" (p. 86). The traditionalistic political culture has a "paternalistic and elitist conception of the commonwealth...[it] accepts government as an actor with a positive role in the community, but it tries to limit that role to securing the continued maintenance of the existing social order" (p. 92‑93). The moralistic political culture of participatory egalitarianism conceives of politics as "a public activity centered on some notion of the public good" and uses communal, and if necessary government, power to promote a positive social order (p. 90). Elazar's book lays out the theory and describes some of the consequences for the public sector and civil society.

**Fiske, A. P. (1992). The four elementary forms of sociality: Framework for a unified theory of social relations. Psychological Review, 99, 689‑723.**

An ambitious and influential paper, Fiske presents a metatheory to account for human social interaction. He argues that "people in all cultures use just four models to generate most kinds of social interaction, evaluation, and affect" (p.689). These four models are: communal sharing, authority ranking, equality matching, and market pricing. Cultures sample from these models differentially, and an understanding of which cultures use which models can help increase understanding and positive relations between groups.

**Fowers, B. J., & Richardson, F. C. (1996). Why is multiculturalism good? American Psychologist, 51, 609-621.**

Summarizes the modern multicultural movement, in psychology and society, and presents the ways that the movement has had positive effects in enhancing equality, rights, and dignity. However the authors point out a number of paradoxes and tensions in multiculturalism: 1)it does not acknowledge its debt to Western enlightenment ideals, 2)it sometimes encourages separation and factionalism among ethnic groups. This is a thoughtful piece for discussions how to promote and support diversity without divisiveness.

**Hunter, J. D. (1991). Culture wars: The struggle to define America. New York: Basic Books.**

Hunter popularized the term “culture wars.” In this book he analyzes the split in American society, reaching all the way back to its founding, between the “progressivists” and the “orthodox”. The orthodox believe that there is a single transcendent moral truth, which was revealed to us by God, and which we must follow whether we like it or not. The progressivists stress the importance of human agency in understanding and formulating moral precepts. Progressivists draw on the intellectual tradition of enlightenment subjectivism, believing that each person, or each generation, must work out its own rules and ways of living. Hunter argues that the old divisions between religions in America have disappeared, being replaced by splits within each religion (e.g., progressivist protestants such as unitarians vs. orthodox evangelical protestants). If he is right, then this ideological diversity may be a bigger obstacle to a harmonious pluralistic society than is racial and ethnic diversity.

**Martin, J., & Stent, G. S. (1990). I think; therefore I thank: A philosophy of etiquette. American Scholar, 59, 237-254.**

Generations of moral philosophers have tried to map the outlines of morality by contrasting it with the “silly rules” of etiquette. In this essay the advice columnist Judith Martin (“Miss Manners”) teams up with a moral philosopher to argue that manners and etiquette are a central part of morality. Analyzes the regulative, ritual, and symbolic aspects of etiquette. This essay will be relevant to the emerging national discussion of civility.

**Paloutzian, R., & Kirkpatrick, L. (1995) The Scope of Religious Influences on Personal and Societal Well-Being. Journal of Social Issues, 51, 1-11.**

Introductory essay for a special journal issue focusing on religious influences. Religious belief and behavior have far reaching influences on personal and social life, in both beneficial & deleterious ways. Religious influences on a variety of aspects of well‑being, broadly defined to include both personal & societal levels of analysis, are examined. Religion & well‑being are both multifaceted constructs, and the empirical relationships between them are highly complex. A diverse sampling of conceptualizations of well‑being (coping, mental health, physical health, and substance abuse and recovery), social issues and problems (religion‑related and ritualistic child abuse, prejudice and right‑wing authoritarianism) are presented.

**Plato (1991). The Republic. (Allan Bloom, Trans.) New York: Basic Books. (Original work published 4th Cent. BC).**

This is the most important attempt to design the good society in Western history. Begins with the questions “What is justice?” and “Why should I be moral, if I don’t feel like it?”. The rest of the book is a meditation on the form of the just society, frequently arguing by analogy to the just person. Covers the ideal forms of education, social structure, and government, all guided by the rule of reason. While Plato’s particular ideals are elitist and anti-democratic the work is still worth reading as a provocative meditation on the goals we should strive for.

**Stewart, A. & Healy, J. (1989). Linking individual development and social change. American Psychologist, 44, 30‑42.**

This article argues for the importance of understanding personality development in a social and historical context. It argues that social experiences are most likely to affect individuals' worldviews when experienced in childhood, their identities when experienced in late adolescence and early adulthood, and their behavior when experienced in mature adulthood. Specifically, Stewart and Healy discuss the consequences for women and their daughters of the women's movement and women's labor force participation during World War II.

**Triandis, H. (1994). Culture and social behavior. New York: McGraw Hill.**

Triandis presents a broad and very accessible account of culture's influence on social relationships, communication patterns, gender equality, health, and so on. The last chapter deals with intercultural training that can strengthen relationships between people across cultures.

**Triandis, H. (1995). Individualism and collectivism. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.**

One of the leading cross‑cultural psychologists, Harry Triandis, surveys work on two broad themes that organize social life and culture in different societies around the world. A cultural syndrome of individualism is a "social pattern...of loosely linked individuals who view themselves as independent of collectivities [and] are primarily motivated by their own preferences, needs, rights," whereas a cultural syndrome of collectivism is "a social pattern consisting of closely linked individuals who see themselves as parts of one or more collectives (family, co‑workers, tribe, nation) [and] are primarily motivated by the norms of, and duties imposed by, those collectives" (p. 2). Triandis's book covers the attributes, antecedents, and consequences of individualistic and collectivistic social syndromes, as well as practical implications for training individualists and collectivists to work together. H. Markus & S. Kitayama's seminal 1991 article "Culture and self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation" (Psychological Review, 98, 224‑253) develops related ideas about independent versus interdependent cultures.

**Will, G. (1983). Statecraft as soulcraft: What government does. New York: Simon and Schuster.**

Conservative political commentator George Will argues that politics and government are about cultivating virtue and character in the citizenry. This is a very accessible statement of this classic argument. (Will calls Aristotle "a founder of conservatism, properly understood" and argues that what is needed is a "real conservatism, characterized by a concern to cultivate the best persons and the best in persons. It should express renewed appreciation for the ennobling functions of government" (p. 24). He opposes these ideas to those of Locke, Jefferson, and Madison, who argued for less government involvement in the "inner life" of people (p. 21)). A new movement in law also resurrects this perspective, treating law as one of the forces that shape social norms and social meanings.

**Wilson, E. O. (1984). Biophilia. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.**

Wilson argues that there is a fundamental, genetically based human need and propensity to affiliate with other living organisms, and that we humans have been designed (by evolution) to feel safe and happy in the environments that were best for our savannah-dwelling ancestors. The prototype environment that we crave is a hill or prominence, near water, from which open parkland can be viewed (think about the otherwise puzzling attraction of golf). This book will be useful for explaining why nature preserves, parks, and ecological conservation must be a part of any good society.

**B. Fairness, Justice, Autonomy**

**Allport, G. W. (1954). The nature of prejudice. Garden City, NY: Doubleday**.

Gordon Allport's classic contact theory of prejudice reduction suggested that sustained close contact between outgroup members could reduce prejudice. A key to the theory was that the antagonistic groups must be of equal status. The theory has since been supported many times. Sherif and colleagues, Aronson, and Clore and colleagues successfully applied this approach.

**Aronson, E. & Patnoe, S. (1997). The jigsaw classroom: Building cooperation in the classroom (second edition). New York: Longman.**

This very accessible book describes Aronson and colleagues' work on the "jigsaw classroom." The jigsaw technique is a school intervention designed to promote cooperation in the classroom. The jigsaw technique makes each child essential to solving the group problem and makes the children interdependent with each other. In classrooms where this technique was used, racial and ethnic animosity was reduced, children liked each other and the school more, and they developed greater self‑esteem. Importantly, the liking of the children was not just limited to those in their own "jigsaw" group. "By the end of the study, the students liked both groupmates and other classmates better than when the study began" (p. 93). With respect to academic performance, "in integrated schools, Whites learned equally well in both jigsaw and competitive classes, but African‑Americans and Latinos learned much more in jigsaw than in competitive classes" (p. 98). There are close connections between the work on intragroup cooperation described here and the intergroup work of Sherif and Sherif.

**Axelrod, R. (1984). Evolution of cooperation. New York: Basic books.**

Political scientist Robert Axelrod's seminal book describes how cooperation can develop in social systems. Using computer simulations and a wide‑ranging set of examples from the biological and social world, Axelrod argues that an optimal strategy for actors in a social system is to follow a strategy of "tit for tat." That is, actors should begin by cooperating, and then reciprocate in kind with their fellow actors. Axelrod further shows that systems built on this "tit for tat" ethic are stable social systems where cooperation can predominate. There are close connections between this work and Coleman and Putnam.

**Clore, G. L., Bray, R., Itkin, S., & Murphy, P. (1978). Interracial attitudes and behavior at a summer camp. Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 36, 107‑116.**

Clore and colleagues studied interracial attitudes and behaviors of kids at a week‑long session of a racially integrated summer camp. The program involved prolonged, intimate contact between Black and White children of equal status. Each cabin had a Black & White counselor and equal numbers of Black & White children. The researchers measured verbal attitudes, interpersonal choices, and photographs taken by the children. All three measures showed significant and positive changes, but mainly for females (boys had higher pretest scores on anti‑prejudiced attitudes). This work draws heavily on Allport's contact hypothesis for decreasing prejudice. In an earlier study, Clore and colleagues showed that imitative behavior of children at the camps to racially diverse adult models increased over the week‑long camp, especially for high contact groups. See Eaton, W. O. & Clore, G. L. (1975). Interracial imitation at a summer camp. Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 32, 1099‑1105.

**Katz, I., & Hass, R. G. (1988). Racial ambivalence and American value conflict: Correlational and priming studies of dual cognitive structures. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 55, 893‑905.**

The authors argue that ambivalent racism can be stimulated by individualist values, but making egalitarian values salient can reduce prejudice.

**Kohn (1977). Class and conformity: A study in values. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.**

Kohn argues that the personal belief systems and values used in child rearing are a function of the social (and particularly the occupational) roles and opportunities that people are afforded. "Self‑direction ‑‑ acting on the basis of one's own judgment, attending to internal dynamics as well as to external consequences, being open minded, being trustful of others, holding personally responsible moral standards ‑‑ this is possible only if the actual conditions of life allow some freedom of action, some reason to feel in control of fate" (p. 189). Educational training and occupational experiences that allow self‑direction are crucial to the development of these values, and thus the social structure of a society helps foster certain values in its children and its citizens.

**Langer, E. & 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, 191‑198.**

This article describes Langer and Rodin's classic field experiment in a nursing home. Residents who had the freedom to make their own choices and were given responsibilities (ex. for choosing their own activities, caring for a plant, and so on), were happier, more active, more alert, and more sociable than their counterparts. There are theoretical connections here to Lewin, Lippitt, & White with respect to systems encouraging individual autonomy and responsibility.

**Lewin, K., Lippitt, R., & White, R. (1939). Patterns of aggressive behavior in experimentally created social climates. Journal of Social Psychology, 10, 271‑299.**

This classic experiment looked at the consequences when groups of 10‑year‑old boys were under the direction of autocratic, democratic, and laissez‑faire adult leaders. Compared to the autocratic group, the boys were much less hostile and aggressive under the democratic leader. Group unity was also higher under the democratic leader, and group productivity did not drop in the democratic group when the leader left the room (as it did under the authoritarian leader). There are theoretical connections here to Rodin & Langer and Langer & Rodin with respect to systems encouraging autonomy and responsibility.

**Naroll, R. (1983). The moral order. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.**

Anthropologist Raoul Naroll presents his theory of "moralnets," which he defines as "the largest primary group that serves as a person's normative reference group" (p. 34). Naroll's value premises are based on the idea of a good society as one with peace, humanism, progress, and "decency" (fellowship among people and health) (p. 48). He presents evidence that people with strong ties to their moralnets are more likely to behave in accord with social norms, and he surveys the consequences for health, mental health, social equality, and child rearing.

**Ostrom, E., Gardner, R., & Walker, J. (1994). Rules, games, and common‑pool resources. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.**

The authors use data from laboratory studies as well as studies in the field to examine the mechanisms that allow groups to cooperate and preserve (rather than overuse and destroy) their common‑pool resources (irrigation, inshore fisheries, forestry and groundwater). They conclude that "in many of these, but not all, individuals overcome the temptations present to overuse the CPR." This is achieved by participants communicating their desires so they can reach acceptable agreements, building self‑governing institutions, and establishing trust through reciprocity and using "measured reaction" instead of total retaliation for violations of the agreement (pp. 327‑328). There are connections here to Axelrod, Coleman, Lewin, Lippitt & White, and Putnam

**Putnam, R. (1993). Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.**

Political scientist Robert Putnam makes the case that a spirit of cooperativeness and egalitarianism is responsible for the modern‑day success of democracy and economic well being in the northern (vs. the southern) part of Italy. Putnam traces this to historical forces and norms for cooperativeness and interdependence that developed centuries earlier. His work draws heavily theoretically on Coleman and Axelrod and is a methodological tour‑de‑force. This book preceded Putnam's much talked about 1995 article "Bowling alone: America's declining social capital" (Journal of Democracy, 6, 65‑78) in which he applied similar ideas to the United States.

**Rawls, J. (1971). A theory of justice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.**

Like Plato, Rawls seeks to construct an ideal society on a foundation of justice. But as a modern writer Rawls takes the rights of the individual to be inviolable, and then asks what kind of just society would be consistent with those rights. In this he opposes the dominant utilitarian framework, in which the rights of individuals can be sacrificed for the good of the community. Rawls’ innovative solution is his famous “veil of ignorance” principle. He asks what principles of justice, government, and social organization a group of free and rational persons would choose if they had to do so from behind a “veil of ignorance”, where they would not know what roles they were destined to play in the society they were designing.

**Rodin, J. & Langer, E. (1977). Long‑term effects of a control relevant intervention with the institutionalized aged. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 35, 879‑902.**

This is a report of Rodin and Langer's follow‑up to the work reported in the Langer & Rodin (1976) paper described above. The effects of enhanced responsibility and choice had long term effects on the well‑being of the nursing home residents. Most strikingly, twice as many people in the responsibility and choice conditions were alive 18 months after the original intervention, as compared to those who were in the comparison group.

**Sherif, M. (1966). In common predicament: Social Psychology of intergroup conflict and cooperation. Boston: Houghton Milton.**

This contains an account of the Sherifs' classic Robbers Cave field experiment. Two groups of children at camp who had become enemies overcame their animosity through the pursuit of a superordinate goal. Engaged in situations where they had to cooperate with each other to succeed, the boys developed friendships across group lines and learned to cooperate spontaneously. There are close connections here to Aronson's work on the jigsaw classroom.

**Tyler, T. (1990). Why people obey the law. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.** Tyler shows that people's attitudes and behaviors toward the law are related to their sense of right and wrong. People tend to comply more with legal authorities they feel are legitimate. Rather than obeying because they fear punishment, Tyler demonstrates that people care more about the fairness, neutrality, and honesty of the legal authorities and being treated with dignity and respect.

**Tyler, T. & Smith, H. (1998). Social justice and social movements. In D. Gilbert, S. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), Handbook of Social Psychology Volume 2 (pp. 595‑629). New York: McGraw‑Hill.**

Tyler and Smith summarize work on social justice and social movements for this handbook chapter. There are sections on "the justice motive" and responses to injustice, as well as material describing issues related to distributive, procedural, and retributive justice.

**Vandello & Cohen (in press). Patterns of individualism and collectivism in the United States. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.**

The authors examine regional patterns of individualism and collectivism within the U.S. (see Triandis above). They examine the historical and social forces that gave rise to these two syndromes in different areas of the country, and they argue that this construct can explain at least some variation in health outcomes as well as levels of gender and racial equality and justice.

**Wilson, J. Q. (1993). The moral sense. New York: Basic books.**

Conservative political scientist James Wilson does an impressive survey of work in psychology, anthropology, and other social sciences as he argues that humans have an innate moral sense that includes sentiments of sympathy, fairness, self‑control, and duty. Wilson argues that the "most remarkable change in the moral history of mankind has been the rise ‑‑ and occasionally the application ‑‑ of the view that all people, and not just one's own kind, are entitled to fair treatment" (p. 191). Wilson argues that our natural sociability extends our moral sense usually to members of the small groups in which we operate. However, in his chapter on the "Universal Aspiration," he describes historically "the slow, uneven, but more or less steady expansion of the idea that the moral sense ought to govern a wide range ‑‑ perhaps, indeed, the whole range ‑‑ of human interactions" (p. 193).

**C. Cultural Achievements**

**Amabile, T. (1983). The social psychology of creativity. New York: Springer‑Verlag**.

Amabile's book develops a social psychology of creativity. The first part of the book deals with methodological issues, and the second part deals with social and environmental influences on creativity. Chapter 8 describes educational, work, family, and cultural environments conducive to creativity, and chapter 9 draws implications for enhancing creativity in child rearing as well as work and educational settings.

**Burns, J. (1978). Leadership. New York: Harper & Row.**

James McGregor Burn's book on leadership described three types of leaders: transactional leaders "approach followers with an eye to exchange one thing for another: jobs for votes, or subsidies for campaign contributions." The transformational leader goes beyond existing needs and "looks for potential motives in followers, seeks to satisfy higher needs, and engages the full person of the follower. The result of transforming leadership is a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents." In moral leadership, "leaders and lead have a relationship not only of power but of mutual needs, aspirations, and values...followers have adequate knowledge of alternative leaders and programs and the capacity to choose...and leaders take responsibility for commitments ‑‑ if they promise certain kinds of economic, social and political change, they assume leadership in bringing about that change" (p. 4). Particularly Burns' notion of transformational leadership has spurred work by organizational psychologists on the personal and social benefits of this type of leadership style. Recent examples include Transformational leadership: Industry, military, and educational impact (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum) by Bernard Bass (1998) and The Leadership Engine: How winning companies build leaders at every level (New York: Harper Collins) by Noel Tichy and Eli Cohen (1997)

**Cattell, R. (1949). The dimensions of culture patterns by factorization of national characters. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 44, 443‑469.**

Factor analyzing data from 69 nations, Cattell derived his six dimensions of culture. Three of these, cultural assertion, enlightened affluence, and thoughtful industriousness, included measures of creativity in science, philosophy, and music as well as a high frequency of Nobel Prize winners in science, literature, and peace. The other 3 dimensions were size, bourgeois philistinism, and cultural disintegration.

**McClelland, D. (1961). The achieving society. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, Co., Inc.**

Contents: 1) Explaining economic growth; 2) The achievement motive; 3) Achieving societies in the modern world; 4) Achieving societies in the past; 5) Other psychological factors in economic development; 6) Entrepreneurial behavior; 7) Characteristics of entrepreneurs; 8) The spirit of hermes; 9) Sources of *n* achievement; 10) Accelerating economic growth.

**Rosenthal, R. & Jacobson, L. (1968). Pygmalion in the classroom: Teacher expectation and pupils' intellectual development. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.**

This seminal work describes the benefits of positive expectations. In a famous study, the investigators led teachers to believe that certain students were about to "bloom" in the classroom. Though the children were in fact randomly selected, these "special" students did in fact do better in school 8 months later. In a later review of studies, Rosenthal (1985. "From unconscious experimenter bias to teacher expectancy effects." In J. Dusek, V. Hall, & W. Meyer (Eds.) Teacher expectancies (pp. 37‑65). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum) argued that teacher expectancies significantly affect student performance about 36 percent of the time. The research has also been productively applied to work situations, as in the case of Eden's (1990) study of Israeli Defense Forces ("Pygmalion without interpersonal contrast effects: Whole groups gain from raising manager expectations." Journal of Applied Psychology, 75, 394‑398.) The research has implications for raising performance in a number of settings by raising expectations for people.

**Simonton, D. (1997). Foreign influence and national achievement: The impact of open milieus on Japanese civilization. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72, 86‑94.**

Simonton documents how input from other cultures helps stimulate a country's own national achievements. In a generational time‑series analysis of over 1,000 years of Japanese civilization, Simonton shows that there is a positive relationship between influence from other cultures and the number of eminent individuals in a given culture. This influence usually occurs after a lag of one or two generations. This work may be useful for thinking about the value of diversity.

**D. Health and Mental Health**

**Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., & Rodgers, W. L. (1976). The quality of American life: Perceptions, evaluations, and satisfactions. New York: Russell Sage.**

In surveying Americans about their satisfaction with their communities, people's assessments about the quality of public schools and quality of the climate were the biggest predictors of satisfaction. When predicting satisfaction with people's neighborhoods, the assessment of one's neighbors was the strongest predictor. Work by Andrew and Withey similarly surveyed Americans about their happiness with their communities and neighborhoods. They found that people overall seemed to be satisfied with their communities. 84% were mostly satisfied, pleased, or delighted about their community as a place to live, and 81% were mostly satisfied, pleased, or delighted about their neighborhood as a place to live. Andrews, F. M., & Withey, S. B. (1976). Social indicators of well‑being: Americans perceptions of life quality. New York: Plenum Press.

**Cohen, S., & Syme, S. L. (Eds.) (1985). Social support and health. Orlando: Academic Press, Inc.**

Contents: S. Cohen and S. L. Syme, Issues in the study and application of social support; A. Hall and B. Wellman, Social networks and social support; L. I. Pearlin, Social structure and processes of social support; T. A. Wills, Supportive functions of interpersonal relationships; J. S. House and R. L. Kahn, Measures and concepts of social suport; D. Dooley, Causal inference in the study of social support; R. Schulz and M. T. Rau, Social support through the life course; W. T. Boyce, Social support, family relations, and children; S. V. Kasl and J. A. Wells, Social support and health in the middle years: Work and the family; M. Minkler, Social support and health of the elderly; R. C. Kessler and J. D. McLeod, Social support and mental health in community samples; L. F. Berkman, The relationship of social networks and social support to morbidity and mortality; S. Gore, Social support and styles of coping with stress; C. B. Wortman and T. L. Conway, Thcial structure and processes of social support; T. A. Wills, Supportive functions of interpersonal relationships; J. S. House and R. L. Kahn, Measures and concepts of social suport; D. Dooley, Causal inference in the study of social support; R. Schulz and M. T. Rau, Social support through the life course; W. T. Boyce, Social support, family relations, and children; S. V. Kasl and J. A. Wells, Social support and health in the middle years: Work and the family; M. Minkler, Social support and health of the elderly; R. C. Kessler and J. D. McLeod, Social support and mental health in community samples; L. F. Berkman, The relationship of social networks and social support to morbidity and mortality; S. Gore, Social support and styles of coping with stress; C. B. Wortman and T. L. Conway, The role of social support in adaptation and recovery from physical illness; B. H. Gottlieb, Social support and community mental health; R. Fleming, A. Baum, and J. E. Singer, Social support and the physical environment; C. A. Kiesler, Policy implications of research on social support and health.

**Diener, E., Diener, M., & Diener, C. (1996). Factors predicting the subjective well‑being of nations. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69, 851‑864.**

The Dieners examine surveys of subjective well being (SWB) from 55 nations and examine the correlations of SWB with income, individualism, human rights, and social equality. They conclude that "only individualism persistently correlated with SWB when other predictors were controlled. Cultural homogeneity, income growth, and income comparison showed either low or inconsistent relations with SWB" (p. 851). Diener, E. & Diener, M. (1995, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68, 653‑663) also examined how overall life satisfaction was associated differently with factors such as financial satisfaction, friendship satisfaction, family satisfaction and self‑esteem in different societies.

**Heber, F. R. (1978). Sociocultural mental retardation: A longitudinal study. In D. Forgays (Ed.), Primary Prevention of Psychopathology 2. Environmental Influences (pp. 39-62). Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England.**

Heber discusses his work as director of the Milwaukee Project, a program designed to prevent learning difficulties of the kind that are the result of educationally impoverished early environments rather than a specific organic deficit. The project was directed at mothers with low IQs (75 or less) and included not only pre‑school education for the children but also job training, home management, and remedial education for the mothers. These measures resulted in large and statistically significant differences in IQ between participant and control children. These differences persisted throughout early childhood, until at age 9 there was still a difference of 20 IQ points between the groups. Even more striking, none of the children from the experimental group (compared with 60% of control children) had IQs below 85.

**Levine, R., Lynch, K., Miyake, K., & Lucia, M. (1989). The type A city: Coronary heart disease and the pace of life. Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 12, 509‑524.**

Levine et al. examine the pace of life in 36 U.S. cities as indicated by measurements of walking speed, talking speed, work speed, and the proportion of persons wearing watches (concern with time). The authors find that a slower pace of life is associated with less coronary heart disease. This result differs somewhat from that of an earlier cross‑cultural study (Levine & Bartlett, 1984, "Pace of life, punctuality and coronary heart disease in six countries." Journal of Cross‑cultural Psychology, 15, 233‑255) in which Japan had the fastest pace of life but the lowest rate of coronary heart disease. The authors speculate that the "group‑oriented culture of the Japanese that values speed and hard work but discourages competition, interpersonal aggression, and any public display of hostility or anger" provides an explanation for why a fast pace of life need not always have detrimental health consequences.

**E. Cooperation and Interpersonal Relationships**

**Cialdini, R. B., Reno, R. R., & Kallgren, C. A. (1990). A focus theory of normative conduct: Recycling the concept of norms to reduce littering in public places. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58, 1015‑1026.**

Cialdini and his colleagues present five field experiments conducted to demonstrate the power of descriptive and injuctive norms. Descriptive norms provide people with an idea of the way things typically are, while injunctive norms encourage people to behave in a certain way by providing an idea of the way things should be. For example, a clean parking garage suggests that people are not expected to litter, and indeed people were less likely to litter in a clean garage than a dirty one when given the opportunity. By sweeping the litter in a dirty garage into piles, an injunctive norm is introduced such that littering is perceived as contrary to expectation. Again, passersby littered less in the swept environment than they did in the clean environment. These findings suggest that social problems such as littering can be reduced through the induction of descriptive and injunctive norms.

**Coleman, J. (1990). Foundations of social theory. Cambridge: Harvard University Press**.

The sociologist James Coleman describes a framework for examining social capital (see especially chapter 12). Social capital is "the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organization" (p. 300). Social capital is distinguished from human capital (skills and knowledge acquired by and embodied in an individual) because it inheres in the relations between people for cooperation, trust, and responsibility sharing (p. 304). The processes by which social capital are created, maintained, and destroyed are described. There are close connections here to Axelrod and Putnam.

**Dawes, R. M, van de Kragt, A. J. C., & Orbell, J. M.. (1990). Cooperation for the benefit of us‑‑Not me, or my conscience. In J. Mansbridge et al. (Ed), Beyond self‑interest. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.**

Reviews work on social dilemmas, and the various solutions that have been offered, all of which suppose that people are basically selfish. But Dawes and his colleagues have conducted numerous studies showing that, when you let people talk about an issue face-to-face, people will cooperate at surprisingly high rates in single-shot high-payoff social dilemmas, where each person could easily defect and win substantial amounts of money. They do not dispute that selfish motives matter, but they argue that non-egoistic motives are powerful, and understudied.

**Durkheim, E. (1951). Suicide. New York: The Free Press.**

One of the foundational works of sociology. By analyzing suicide statistics in late 19th Century Europe, Durkheim concludes that people kill themselves when they are not tightly bound into society. Marriage, children, and a more communal religion (Catholicism, Judaism) reduce suicide, while unmarried, childless Protestants are at the highest risk. Contains a powerful lesson somewhat at odds with our modern ideology: complete freedom is bad for people. We need constraints, bonds, and structure, within which we can strive, connect, and thrive. In contrast to the “anomic” suicide that predominates in individualistic societies, traditional societies show “altruistic” suicide, in which people kill themselves to spare others from the shame of their actions.

**Etzioni, Amitai (Ed.) (1997) Rights and the Common Good: the Communitarian Perspective. New York: St. Martin's Press**.

The modern US communitarian movement began as an invitational convocation in 1990, & took form as a membership association, the Communitarian Network, in 1993. In essence, communitarians seek to rebuild community, to strengthen the bonds between people, & to revive moral voice, the balance of rights & responsibilities, civility, & the ideas of mutual consideration & respect. The essays herein explore the dimensions of communitarian thought & politics, & the implications of communitarian ideas for public & social policy. They discuss how communities can be strengthened, & examine the need for society to emerge from its bipolar, adversarial political paradigm, with its peculiar renditions in policy regarding such issues as free speech, censorship, acquired immune deficiency syndrome, school curricula, & public safety.

**Fukuyama, F. (1995). Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity. New York: Free Press.**

Fukuyama argues that Neoclassical economics ignores the role of social capital ("reciprocity, moral obligation, duty toward community, and trust") in facilitating the "stability and prosperity of postindustrial societies." He contrasts high-trust societies like Japan, Germany, and the U.S. with low-trust societies or "familistic" nations like China, France, and Italy. Fukuyama argues that the U.S. needs to overcome its "Crisis of Trust". Essentially, liberals need to pay more attention to maintaining social cohesion while conservatives need to develop alternative ways of caring for the weaker members of society before reducing the states role in the affairs of life.

**Hardin, G. (1968). The tragedy of the commons. Science, 162, 1243‑1248.**

This is Hardin's classic account of social dilemmas. He uses the metaphor of villagers sharing a common pasture area for grazing purposes to illustrate ways in which shared resources get depleted or conserved. This work has been highly influential in understanding conservation, shared public goods, natural resource depletion, and the like. This work has ties to Ostrom, Gardner, & Walker.

**Levine, R., Martinez, T., Brase, G., & Sorenson, K. (1994). Helping in 36 U.S. cities. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67, 69‑82.**

Levine and colleagues examined how helpful residents were in 36 cities of the U.S. as measured by indicators such as United Way contributions per capita and assistance offered to experimental confederates who dropped their pens, asked for change for a quarter, and pretended to be blind people needing help crossing the street. Results revealed that places in the South and North Central regions as well as places lower in population density tended to be the most helpful. In an article based on the same data ("Cities with heart," American Demographics (October, 1993), pp. 46‑54), Levine also notes that the city that his research found to be most helpful (Rochester, NY) also showed the highest level of "moral integration" in a study of cities done 40 years earlier (p. 54).

**Milgram, S. (1977). The individual in a social world. Reading, MA: Addison‑Wesley.**

Milgram reports numerous studies comparing small town residents to urban city dwellers. Townsfolk were almost invariably more helpful in assisting experimenters than were city dwellers. Milgram attributes this less helpful propensity in cities to anonymity, higher negative states, and attentional overload that accompanies city life. See also his earlier paper, Milgram, S. (1970). The experience of living in cities. Science, 13, 1461‑1468.

**Oliner, P. (1983). Putting "community" into citizenship education: The need for prosociality. Theory and Research In Social Education, 11, 65‑81.**

Current citizenship education consists largely of informing students about the history and functions of the government. While this is essential to insure an informed electorate, it does little to foster a sense of community among citizens. Oliner proposes that prosociality ‑ behavior that benefits another without any immediate benefit for the actor ‑ should be incorporated into the curriculum. National "heroes" could be evaluated in prosocial terms, and students could be encouraged to recognize that altruism and care are as much at the root of political behavior as greed and ambition. Civic virtue should be taught as principles of cooperation and interdependence in addition to the rights and responsibilities of formal citizenship.

**Patchen, M. (1987). Strategies for eliciting cooperation from an adversary: Laboratory and international findings. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 31, 164‑185.**

Patchen finds remarkable similarity in the findings on cooperation and competition obtained from laboratory experiments, computer simulations, and actual interaction between nations. Unconditional cooperation tends to elicit exploitation from an adversary, while consistent coerciveness results in continued fighting. The most effective strategy in reducing conflict appears to be initial firmness ‑ "including the threat or use of coercion" ‑ that then switches to conciliation and reciprocity. The occasional competitive initiative during a period of cooperation tends to be counterproductive, seriously damaging the chances for sustained cooperation.

**Schwartz, B. (1986). The battle for human nature: Science, morality and modern life. New York: Norton.**

Argues that modern social sciences (economics, evolutionary psychology, and behavioristic psychology) have all presented a false but enticingly parsimonious picture of human nature as governed by a single principle: selfishness. Schwartz shows the limitations of each theory, and then shows the damage that these theories have done to our society, since people have accepted their dark view of human nature. Once all domains of life are seen through the lense of economics, certain fundamental practices become undermined. When marriage and friendship are commodities, commitments no longer last through bad times. When doctors worry about lawsuits rather than medicine, health suffers and costs soar. When students study for qualifying exams rather than for life, education suffers. All of these practices have become corrupted in recent decades by the insidious creeping of selfishness and economic ideals.

**Slavin, R. E. (1985). Cooperative learning: Applying contact theory in desegregated schools. Journal of Social Issues, 41(3), 45‑62.**

Slavin provides a comprehensive review of Allport's contact theory of intergroup relations as it has been applied to schools. The results of these studies have found relatively consistent positive effects of cooperative integrated learning, both in improving intergroup relations and in increasing student achievement.

**Snyder, M., & Omoto, A. M. (1992). Who helps and why? The psychology of AIDS and volunteerism. In S. Spacapan & S. Oskamp (Eds.), Helping and being helped in the real world (pp. 213‑230). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.**

The authors studied people doing volunteer work related to AIDS and identified several types of motives for helping including personal values, greater understanding, community concern, personal development, and esteem enhancement. They argue that helpfulness might arise in part from "selfish" desires to feel good about oneself.

**Wuthnow, Robert (1994). Sharing the journey : support groups and America's new quest for community. New York: Free Press.**

**F. Physical Environment**

**Baum, A., & Valins, S. (1977). Architecture and social behavior: Psychological studies in social density. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.**

The authors examined college dormitory architecture to see how it might affect feelings of well‑being. They found that living on long, straight corridors minimizes the control over whom one comes into contact with. Suites of rooms provide more privacy and control. People who lived in suites reported more feelings of control, less helplessness, and were more friendly and sociable. These findings suggest that urban design, architecture, city planning and the like can greatly effect well‑being and mental health.

**Paulus, P., McCain, G., & Cox, V. (1978). Death rates, blood pressure, and institutional crowding. Environmental Psychology and Nonverbal Behavior, 3, 107‑116.**

In a study of archival prison records, the authors found that blood pressure and death rates among inmates were lower as institutional crowding decreased and spacial density per person increased.

**Stokols, D. (1992). Establishing and maintaining healthy environments: Toward a social ecology of health promotion. American Psychologist, 47, 6-22.**

This influential paper focuses on the potential for the development of health promotive environments. Instead of focusing on individuals and their health behavior, a focus on social ecology suggests that the interrelationships of organisms and their environment is a more productive way to focus on how individuals, groups, and organizations can shape health practices and policies to improve such outcomes as physical health, emotional well-being, and social cohesion. Provides a useful set of dimensions and criteria for health-promotive environments in the areas of physical health (injury-resistant design, nonpathogenic environments), psychological well-being (environmental controllability and predictability; presence of novelty and challenge, aesthetic qualities), and social cohesion (availability of social support networks, participatory design and management processes; organizational flexibility and responsiveness). For futher reading: **Van der Ryn, S., & Calthorpe, P. (Eds.) (1986) Sustainable Communities: A New Design Synthesis for Cities, Suburbs, and Towns. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books**

Appendix B: Mission Statement and Conclusions of Akumal 1

January 9, 1999

1. **Definition.** Positive Psychology is the scientific study of optimal human functioning. It aims to discover and promote the factors that allow individuals and communities to thrive.

2. **Goals.** To meet these objectives it is necessary to understand optimal functioning at multiple levels, including experiential, personal, relational, institutional, societal, and global. It is necessary to study:

1. The dynamic relations between processes at these levels
2. The human capacity to create order and meaning in response to inevitable adversity, and
3. The means by which "the good life", in all its possible manifestations, may emerge from these processes.

3. **Applications.** Potential applications of positive psychology include:

* Therapeutic approaches that emphasize the positive
* Educational and training curricula that build on intrinsic motivation and creativity
* Enhancement of family life (How can people make their relationships more rewarding?)
* Improving work satisfaction, job design, consulting
* Improving organizations (How can institutions better contribute to individual well-being and growth? e.g. urban planning, social and political policies)
* Promoting these goals throughout the world

4. **Implementation of Short-Term Goals.** In order to create the optimal conditions for the flourishing of positive psychology, we propose the following: a) The circle of researchers who call themselves positive psychologists should be broadened, funded, nurtured in their career development, and kept in close contact. b) We must produce deliverables, such as articles, books, and effective interventions. Specific strategies for bringing about these ends include:

a) The formation of “Positive Science” research networks. Each network would include members from several social sciences. One possible organization for these would be:

* Positive subjective states
* The good life/good person
* The good family, institution and community
* The good society
* There would be at least one paid staff person to support the activities of the networks, such as planning meetings. New and potentially interested scientists would be invited to join, or participate in specific activities. Networks would each have a concrete job to do, such as designing an intervention to foster moral development in late childhood. It is perhaps here in the networks that any “gee-whiz” demonstration projects could be undertaken.

b) Fostering contact among positive scientists:

* Holding at least one large meeting per year in a location likely to induce broadening and building, with costs subsidized
* Maintaining a current positive-psych listserv (need nominations)
* Supporting special topical meetings (in addition to those of the networks described above). It may be useful to schedule more than one subgroup meeting in the same time and place to facilitate cross-fertilization.

c) Facilitation of funding for positive psychology researchers. Senior members of the Akumal group will take the lead in identifying and contacting interested foundations.

d) Publications and public relations: High profile publications will be produced, including:

* A special section of the *American Psychologist* on positive psychology, January 2001.
* An edited volume of papers on positive psychology? On the positive emotions?
* A book series on subtopics within positive psychology

e) Fostering the careers of positive psychologists: As practitioners of positive psychology rise in prominence, so does the field. Positive psychologists should:

* Be willing to host graduate students from other universities in post-docs or short-term visits
* Invite positive psychologists to present colloquia at their universities

# **Appendix C: The Grand Cayman Meeting Minutes**

February, 1999

Participants: Don Clifton, Mike Csikzentmihalyi, Ed Diener, Kathleen Jamieson, Robert Nozick, Dan Robinson, Martin E.P. Seligman, George Vaillant; Derek Isaacowitz, Recording Secretary

### Summary

The goal of the Cayman meeting was the enumeration of potential components of a good life, which would form the basis of a research agenda on positive psychology and positive social science. After discussing concerns about the culture-specificity of such an endeavor and how this project would relate to classical notions of the good life, the group devised a list of 17 characteristics that may be related to a positive life, such as love/intimacy and satisfying work. The characteristics cluster in three categories: Connections Outward, Individual Qualities, and Life Regulation. Each of the characteristics can be empirically related to outcome measures of a positive life, including subjective fulfillment (such as life satisfaction), objective fulfillment (such as number of children) and civic/societal recognition (such as the evaluations of others). Certain enabling factors, including genetic and cultural capital, were hypothesized to affect many of the characteristics. The lists are considered local to our present time and culture, nonexclusive and non-exhaustive. The group attempted to devise preliminary questions to measure each of the 17 proposed characteristics, and agreed to call the endeavor “The Roots of a Positive Life.” The next step in the development of a positive psychology and a positive social science will be the measurement of the 17 characteristics and 3 categories of outcome measures, and the examination of their relationships to each other.

### History, Goals, and Concerns

The meeting started with Dr. Seligman providing a brief history of the endeavor to create a positive psychology and a positive social science. Last June, Dr. Clifton called Dr. Seligman and expressed both a personal and professional interest in the project. Together, they decided to assemble a group of distinguished people to ask, "what is the good life?" and how taxonomy of the good life might be created. This would be a precursor to attempts at measurement. Dr. Seligman then emphasized that this was a project that would be of personal interest to the members of the group, and that could provide a context for continued intellectual growth. Dr. Clifton added that he believes that there is a more productive and harmonious life that has not been found yet, and that it is time for the professions to start investigating strengths. Evidence from business suggests that focusing on the best member of a team helps the team more than focusing on the weakest member; this may be a useful model for the endeavor of positive psychology. Similar ambitions were expressed in introductions by other members of the group.

Dr. Diener then discussed several concerns he had about the attempt to create a taxonomy of positive psychology. His first point was that human strengths are context and culture specific. Second, human strengths may have different optimal and maximal levels. Finally, he argued that subjective measures of well-being should be included in the taxonomy. He also explained how complicated it would be to study great lives as models of the good life given these concerns, as they often were successful in only some aspects of their lives and had problematic experiences in other domains.

The group then discussed Dr. Robinson's concern that classical Hellenic perspectives on the good life, especially those of Aristotle, be included in the discussion. Specifically, the idea that there are specific virtues that must be present for a person to be considered to be a good person having a good life, and that there must be moderation, were suggested. The group then discussed its preference for a descriptive approach to the good life rather than a prescriptive one. Dr. Nozick suggested that the group develop a list of qualities thought to relate to a good life, in which none were thought to be necessary, but that it would be good to have some qualities on the list, and disadvantageous to have none. Dr. Robinson questioned whether the qualities on the list would be inclusive, with more qualities being better, or dominant, where certain qualities could trump others in leading to a good life. The group then discussed whether quality of internal experience or external judgments of the quality of life would be important in the taxonomy. Dr. Jamieson suggested the importance of agency and justice, and Dr. Seligman reminded the group that the task at hand was the enumeration of what makes life worth living. With such an enumeration, these qualities could be measured and potentially built in people.

**Enumeration of the Structure and Contents of the Taxonomy**

After deciding that this attempt at specifying qualities that may be related to the good life would be local to the present culture and context, the group started to specify a structure for a potential research agenda on the good life. This research approach was emphasized, such that the group was constructing hypotheses that would be evaluated through empirical study. Thus, the group avoided "legislating morality" in favor of suggesting avenues for research.

First, potential dependent variables were discussed, which would serve as outcome measures which the hypothesized qualities could be related to empirically once they were enumerated. Three classes of dependent variables were suggested: subjective measures, such as affect and life satisfaction; objective measures, including income and number of children; and the evaluation of other people. The importance of looking at the relationship between the independent variables (characteristics) and dependent variables with specific life tasks and roles was then discussed. For example, for the role of scientist, certain characteristics and outcomes could be related on a two-dimensional plane, and people could decide what combination of characteristics and outcomes they preferred for that role. Later, the group decided that it would be better to focus on general characteristics that were thought to be useful across roles, and to add roles and tasks to the matrix later if needed.

The final issue discussed before conversation moved to enumerating the actual characteristics was whether certain qualities like intelligence, wealth, and qualities of the culture should be independent variables or in another category. It was suggested that these qualities, including social, cultural, genetic and personal capital, be put in the category of "enabling factors," as they would seem to affect several of the characteristics simultaneously.

**Characteristics Hypothesized to Relate to a Positive Life**

Despite some initial hesitation regarding the ability of the group to enumerate a list of independent variable characteristics, the group ultimately did develop such a list. Two factors contributed to this: first, Dr. Vaillant argued that the group should use the decathalon metaphor in this endeavor; namely, that just a few variables can capture most of the variance even in complex situations. Then, Dr. Nozick put a potential list of 13 characteristics on the flip-board for discussion. This first list was discussed and revised over the next two days. The final list follows. It is considered a list of hypotheses, to be subjected to empirical research to be connected to the final list of dependent variables, which will be described more fully later. These characteristics are also assumed to be non-exclusive and non-exhaustive, and to be local for our present time and place.

**Characteristics:**

I. **Connections Outward**

1. Love and Intimacy: meaningful relationships, including friendships; loving and being beloved.

2. Satisfying work/ Occupation: finding a vocation; being committed and valued.

3. Helping Others/Altruism: helping, and being helped/supported.

4. Being a good citizen: doing things which will have public benefit; participating and being respected.

5. Spirituality: connection to a deeper meaning or reality.

6. Leadership

7. \*Aesthetic appreciation/ Pleasures of the mind: sense of the beautiful; enjoyment; appreciation of virtuosity.

8. \*Knowledge and understanding of areas of life larger than one's self/ Depth and Breadth: having hobbies; being a Renaissance person; knowledge of social world, physical world, human history, etc;

\*Items 7 and 8 are part of both categories I and II.

II. **Individual Qualities**

9. Being a person with principles and integrity/ Ethics

10. Creativity/Originality

11. Play: Sense of fun and humor; playfulness.

12. Feeling of subjective well-being

13. Courage: being unafraid of death and able to overcome obstacles.

III. **Life Regulation**

14. Purposive Future-mindedness: pursuing personal ideals and goals of something valuable.

15. Individuality: expressiveness of integration of personality.

16. Self-regulation: guiding one's life by one's reasoned intelligence.

17. Wisdom: navigating life pragmatics.

### Enumerating Outcome Measures/Dependent Variables

Following a presentation by Dr. Diener on the measurement of subjective well-being, the group decided on the following spectrum of dependent variables. Dr. Csikzentmihalyi suggested that they be called "fulfillments":

I. Subjective Fulfillment: Subjective well-being; life satisfaction; affective measures; global evaluation of whether own life is a good life.

II. Objective Fulfillment: Measures such as income, number of children.

III. Societal/Civic Fulfillment/Recognition:

1. Appraisal/evaluation by others (friends and relatives; public in general)

2. Assessment of whether it is a good life according to some theory (e.g.,

Aristotle)

The group decided that the first task for a research agenda would be to form a correlation matrix of all the characteristics and outcome measures to see how they relate to each other simultaneously. Then, mechanisms and etiology could be evaluated more specifically.

### Potential Questions to Evaluate Characteristics

While the major task of measuring the characteristics is intended for participants in the Lincoln meeting in September, the group attempted to develop possible Gallup-type questions for several of the characteristics. A sample of the questions generated follows:

Characteristic 1 (Intimacy/Love): Is there someone with whom you can share secrets? Is there someone who will do what is best for you even though its not good for them?

Characteristic 2 (Work): Is your life work something you would choose again?

Do you have the opportunity to do what you do best every day? If you won the lottery, would you still keep your job? Is your work appreciated by others?

Characteristic 3 (Altruism): Do you go out of your way to directly help other people? Do you find yourself helping other people at a cost to yourself often/sometimes/never? Have you turned to others for help?

Characteristic 4 (Civic): Look at Pew Battery on Civic Participation

Characteristic 5 (Spirituality): Do you believe in a higher/deeper reality? To what extent do you live your life according to belief in a higher/deeper reality?

Characteristic 7 (Aesthetics): How often are you struck by the beauty of the way things look? Has anything happened that caused you to stop and reflect?

Characteristic 8 (Depth and Breadth): Are you excited by learning new things? Have you recently gone out of your way to learn something? Is there a domain that you want to learn everything about?

Characteristic 9 (Integrity): How important are principles of right and wrong to you? Would you violate your principles to help a friend? To save a life?

Can you associate with someone who has been dishonest to you?

### Looking Towards the Future

The next step in the development of a research agenda on the roots of a positive life is the development of measurement tools. The group generated a list of potential names of invitees for the Lincoln meeting on measurement. The group also discussed what this project should be called, settling on "The Roots of a Positive Life." The meeting ended with participants expressing their optimism that this empirical endeavor appears exciting and doable.

**THE ROOTS OF A POSITIVE LIFE**

I. **Enabling Factors**

\*Social Capital

\*Genetic Capital

\*Human Capital

\*Personal Capital

II. **Characteristics**

\*Love and Intimacy

\*Satisfying work/ Occupation

\*Helping Others/Altruism

\*Being a good citizen

\*Spirituality

\*Leadership

\*Aesthetic appreciation/ Pleasures of the mind

\*Knowledge and understanding of areas of life larger than one's self/ Depth and Breadth

\*Being a person with principles and integrity/ Ethics

\*Creativity/Originality

\*Play

\*Feeling of subjective well-being

\*Courage

\*Purposive Future-mindedness

\*Individuality

\*Self-regulation

\*Wisdom

III. **Outcome Measures - Fulfillment**

\*Subjective fulfillment

\*Objective fulfillment

\*Societal/Civic fulfillment and recognition

## Appendix D: Book Series Prospectus

Advances in Positive Psychology: Science and Practice (Working Title)

Our goal is to create a long-running, cutting-edge book series covering advances in positive psychology. Volumes will present advances in science and practice from a number of areas of psychology to provide an interdisciplinary perspective and comprehensive treatment of emerging issues. The series would have an Editor-in-Chief (Lisa G. Aspinwall, University of Maryland) and each volume would be co-edited by two visible,currently active contibutors to the particular topic. To further the development of the field and to provide a fresh perspective on it, efforts will be made to identify emerging scholars to serve as co-editors, perhaps in conjunction with a senior scholar who is a highly visible contributor tothat area.

The volumes -- and contributions to them -- are designed to be 1) scientifically rigorous -- to feature international leaders and emerging scholars for each topic; 2) integrative -- to pull together related lines of research (and for the volume to be more valuable than sum of its parts); 3) comprehensive -- to serve as references for the field; 4) generative and exciting -- to stimulate new research; and 5) interesting and readable.

Each volume would consist of 8-10 contributions of approx. 30 pages each, plus a substantive introduction by the volume editors (10-12 pages). Thus, the total number of pages per volume would range from 250 to 312.

**VOLUME 1: Psychological Resources** (development in progress)

Volume 1 will address the topic of psychological resources – what they are, how they work (especially as people manage stress and change, aging, and other developmental tasks), how they develop and are maintained, their relation to social processes, and interventions to promote them. A number of research programs has identified psychological resources that are linked prospectively to better coping and adaptational outcomes, yet relatively little work has examined how these resources "work" as people confront negative events and information and life tasks more generally.

These resources can take many forms (personality (optimism); cognitive resources (such as attention); social resources (social support), and other kinds of resources, such as wisdom, skills/knowledge, etc.).

One goal for Volume 1 is a systematic treatment of this topic across areas of psychology. Another potential issue involves the examination of which kinds of resources are fragile and momentary, and which are more enduring. Some approaches to the resource issue stress the fragility of such resources and how easily they may be undermined, while other, more positive approaches examine enduring, cumulative strengths and skills (wisdom, optimism, etc.). A focus on how enduring resources may be developed and promoted would add practical value to the volume in designing interventions.

Co-editors of Volume 1 will be Ursula M. Staudinger, Max Planck Institute for Human Development, Center for Lifespan Psychology, Berlin, Germany, and Lisa G. Aspinwall, Dept. of Psychology, University of Maryland.

Ursula and I are currently working on a list of topics and potential contributors to Volume 1, as well as a working title and more detailed description of its content and goals, so I would be able to provide additional information shortly.

### Subsequent Volumes

We are currently in the process of winnowing ideas for subsequent volumes from an inital list of 40 topics. Among those very likely to appear in a "short-list" of 10 or so are

1. Cross-cultural models of well-being

2. Relationship Health: Cultivating Positive Close Relationships

3. Learning from Adversity: Trauma, Change, and Growth

4. Psychological Adaptation and Health

5. Positive Aging (including plasticity in adult development, lifelong learning)

6. Wisdom

7. Effects of Positive States on Immune Function (hope, humor, positive mood)

8. Social Sources of Well-Being

9. Interest, Mobilization, and Challenge: The Psychology of Positive Task

Engagement

10. The Neuroscience of Positive Functioning

11. The Positive Emotions

12. Future-Oriented Behavior (time perspective, proactivity, planning, optimsim, goal-setting, self-improvement, delay of gratification)

Other topics, such as creativity, flexibility, and evolutionary accounts of human strengths, may also be appropriate. For each volume, I could provide an explanation of how the proposed "positive" approach would represent a distinct advance compared to current conceptualizations, as well as potential co-editors. Please let me know the level of detail that would be helpful to you.

### Other Issues

1. The desirability of an editorial board for the series (I am confident that major contributors to the development of positive psychology, such as Shelley Taylor, Alice Isen, Carol Ryff, and others, would be interested. I am sure Marty and Mike would have other good suggestions for the composition of the board, as would Ursula Staudinger.)

2. It would be highly desirable for first volume to have a publication date of 2000. This date would capitalize on the momentum that Marty and Mike have generated, and it would also link nicely to the special issue of the American Psychologist, planned for the Jan. 2,000 issue.

3. We are hoping to link each volume (or maybe just Volume 1 to start) to a conference that would facilitate exchange of ideas among the contributors.

Appendix E: Studying Truly Extraordinary People Meeting Minutes

Wynnewood, PA

March 27-28, 1999

Participants: Karen Anderson, Camilla Benbow, Mike Csikszentmihalyi, David

Feldman, Ray Fowler, Sandra Fowler, Howard Gardner, Jim Hovey, Donna

Mayerson, Neal Mayerson, Charlan Nemeth, Nancy Robinson, Martin Seligman,

Rena Subotnik.

Edward Royzman, Recording Secretary.

### Summary

The goal of the Truly Extraordinary People meeting was to lay the foundation for a better way of studying human excellence. After expressing their concerns about the limitations of the zero-sum model of artistic and scientific genius, the participants embraced a framework that departs radically from the achievement-oriented approach to giftedness. The framework outlines five kinds of excellence, only one of which maps directly onto the well-developed achievement domain. The four new elements include the domains of:

* Relationships
* Responsibility
* Spirituality
* Life as a Work of Art

The participants commended this broadening of the concept of giftedness as more inclusive and inspiring than solely achievement giftedness. They agreed that the next step should be a conceptual analysis of the four new domains, starting with relationship genius. Next the nomination and study of exemplars should be done, followed by the development of prospective measurement techniques.

### Three Phases of the Discussion

The Philadelphia meeting came out of the conference that took place nine months ago among Dr. Benbow, Dr. Robinson, and Dr. Seligman, at which they envisioned a meeting that would assemble leading researchers on genius in children and researchers on Extraordinary Accomplishment. In his opening comments to the group, Dr. Seligman expressed the view that both the Prodigy and the Extraordinary Lives traditions have been quite fruitful, but not entirely satisfying. The Prodigy tradition, with its longitudinal studies of prodigious children, has produced methodologically sophisticated prospective science, but by beginning the study in early childhood, has failed to identify much in the way of truly extraordinary accomplishments. The more idiographic Extraordinary Lives research, on the other hand, hits the mark by definition, but is anecdotal and retrospective.

Over the two days of the meeting, the thinking of the participants progressed through three distinct stages. During the first "Achievement" phase the participants suggested a number of new ways to improve studies of great accomplishment. This phase was followed by the "Transition from Achievement" phase, during which the participants began to express limitations of traditional achievement giftedness with its emphasis on competitive attainment. During this phase, there was a subtle shift to a broader, multiple intelligence conception of extraordinariness. This dissatisfaction ushered in the "New Domains of Excellence" phase, during which participants articulated a conceptual framework that marked a radical departure from the study of only achievement-oriented excellence and urged inquiry into such previously less tapped domains such as relationship genius, moral genius, spiritual genius, and "life-as-a-work-of-art" genius.

During each of these phases, all of the participants produced a wealth of new insights. Due to space limitations, only the most critical of these ideas is covered in the present version of the report.

### The Achievement Phase

During the first hours, participants voiced their opinions on how the prospective and retrospective approaches could be profitably married to generate a more predictive research enterprise. Dr. Subotnik ventured the idea of "proximal distance" longitudinal studies which would optimize the researchers' hit rate by beginning at a later stage of the developmental process. Dr. Seligman proposed an even more proximal "creativity on-line" project which would identify and study eight or so creative individuals on the verge of a creative breakthrough, under conditions of optimal physical, financial, and psychological support.

Dr. Subotnick, Dr. Benbow, Dr. Gardner, and Dr. Csikszentmihalyi stressed the importance of studies of the role of mentors and anti-mentors (dubbed "tor-mentors") in the formation and blocking of creative individuals. More specifically, they discussed a retrospective study which would compare protégés of Nobel Prize laureates who went on to win the Nobel Prize themselves with those who didn't. Resonating to this suggestion, Dr. Benbow pointed out that creative individuals could commonly think of contemporaries who were equally or more gifted at every "step of the way" or had the same opportunity, but never made it into the ranks of truly extraordinary achievers. Dr. Benbow wondered what the seminal quality or qualities were that distinguished the former group from the latter.

Dr. Gardner, Dr. Hovey and Dr. Nemeth emphasized the importance of TASTE in problem selection and analysis. They pointed out that creative geniuses need not only be exceptional at generating ideas but also at seizing opportunities for the advancement of these ideas (OPPORTUNISM). They must also possess adequate self-censorship to allow them weed out problems that are not worth pursuing, and CUT THEIR LOSSES early.

Dr. Fowler, Dr. Donna Mayerson and Dr. Robinson opined that creative genius may be too complex a phenomenon to be predicted on an individual basis. A more viable strategy, they suggested, would be to study crucial qualities of truly creative people and use these findings to build a more achievement-friendly ecology. This would raise the probability that creative individuals will emerge within any given generation.

### The “Transition from Achievement” Phase

Marking the onset of the transition phase of the meeting, Dr. Csikszentmihalyi pointed out that genius may be defined differently in different societies and historical periods, depending or which subset of domains and endeavors a given society chooses to reward, and which it chooses to downplay and ignore. Dr. Csikszentmihalyi went on to say that women and minorities have often been excluded from the ranks of extraordinary achievers both because a) they were denied opportunities for competing in sanctioned achievement domains, and because b) domains in which they were excellent were not socially recognized as legitimate.

Dr. Donna Mayerson and Dr. Neal Mayerson then raised the question of whether it was appropriate to think of talent in value-free terms, independent of its role in the development of a better human future. Dr. Nemeth observed that the folk concept of "genius" had a distinct spiritual dimension, implying both self-transcendence and connectedness with something greater than the self. This idea is absent in most modern paradigms of giftedness. One of the participants cited Jacques Barzun's comments on the historical evolution of the meaning of "genius:" from a genius as a person's appointed demon or a guardian spirit (in ancient times), to an uncanny power (during the Renaissance), to the modern use of genius as a conscious, secular person.

Dr. Neal Mayerson re-stated his earlier question by asking what was the point, if any, for studying creative genius in the first place. Following up Dr. Robinson suggested that society may, in fact, have a vested interest in regulating the trail-blazing variety of creative accomplishments lest it leads to oversupply and social disarray. Dr. Csikszentmihaly agreed that certain fields (e.g. mathematics) can handle only limited amounts of paradigm-breaking. He also stressed the inevitably competitive, zero-sum quality of achievement-oriented domains. It was in the wake of these concerns that the participants gradually relinquished the zero-sum view of human excellence in favor of what promised to be a more inclusive framework.

### The “New Domains” Phase

By the end of the first day's discussion, there was a consensus among the participants that extraordinariness need not be identified only with accomplishment. Consequently, the participants proposed a broader framework within which other kinds of extraordinariness would be legitimate. This pivotal shift set the tone for the rest of the meeting, which was devoted to the enumeration, exemplification, and analysis of less well-studied domains of human genius.

The five domains of extraordinariness identified by the participants (including the traditional achievement domain) were:

1. Achievement ego--ego

Achievement genius

2. Relationships ego--other egos

Relationship genius

3. Responsibility ego--society

Moral genius

4. Spirituality ego--cosmos

Spiritual genius

5. Life-as-a-work-of-art ego--ego-ideal

Aesthetic genius

The fifth element acknowledges that the value of a life may be determined by the aesthetic contours of its narrative structure. This idea is similar to Nietzsche's notion of "life as literature" (Alexander Nehamas, Nietzsche: Life as Literature). Dr. Seligman and other participants stressed the importance of life-trajectories and life-endings as key determinants of a life's aesthetic worth.

Dr. Csikszentmihalyi then expressed a concern about the fakeability of talents associated with the four non-achievement domains. He suggested that people could fake caring or spirituality in a way that they could not fake athletic or artistic skill. Dr. Gardner and others, however, pointed out that the fakeability issue, though a legitimate concern, may not arise if we think of objective outcomes rather than underlying motivations and mental states. Dr. Mayerson pointed out that fakeability would be detected if one used informed community opinion about an individual as a measure of his or her excellence in human affairs.

Dr. Gardner then proposed five questions about the new five-fold scheme:

1. Can the domains be thought of in value-free terms?

2. Are the new domains truly zero-sum? (Is a moral genius competing against other moral persons or only against herself?)

3. Do the domains apply cross-culturally?

4. Can the domains be thought of in purely secular terms?

5. Do the domains concern only individual happiness or well-being of the world?

The participants discussed some of the ways in which these questions point to differences among the five domains, with a particular emphasis on the zero-sum question. They also noted that while moral genius and spiritual genius could hardly be defined in value-free terms, this was not true, particularly of the domain of relationships. Psychopathic manipulators and con-artists were cited as two negative varieties of the relationship genius, and it was emphasized that any study of positives might also include negative extremes.

The group then went on to breaking out components of relationship genius:

1. Know and relate to MANY people.

2. Form strong, ENDURING relationships with a few people.

3. ORCHESTRATE relationships to yield highly successful organizations.

4. Empathy and CARING.

5. CATALYST’s knack for "making things happen"

6. Behind-the-scenes SUPPORTING CAST to others' creative endeavors (geniuses' mothers and presidents' wives were mentioned as exemplars).

7. CHARISMA.

8. Making others feel SPECIAL by one's mere presence.

The participants reviewed a variety of researchable contexts within which the relationship genius matters crucially, including team sports, the military, marriages, religious cults, business, and collaborative research.

Dr. Gardner called the group's attention to vast unanalyzed and potentially fertile idiographic materials "buried" in various data-banks around the country. He pointed out that conducting new research did not necessarily mean generating new data, and he suggested that the proper organization and analysis of the already existing archival materials could partly meet the group's goals for abstracting the key characteristics of extraordinary individuals. It was deemed useful to recruit retired psychologists to read through these archives looking for exemplars of the kinds of genius that the meeting finally emphasized. There will be an attempt to organize such a talented legion of readers.

It was then suggested that the first concrete project (led by Dr. Robinson and

Dr.Subotnik) could be the further classification of relationship genius. This would be followed by the nomination and interviewing of exemplars of relationship genius. Financial support would be sought to underwrite this, and the rest of the participants agreed to act as a Board of Advisors.

At the close of the meeting, the participants commended the five-fold scheme as a more inclusive, egalitarian and inspiring conception of human giftedness than achievement alone. Much of great achievement is likely genetic, but greatness in the other domains may be acquired. So the knowledge of how it is acquired may have lessons for all people. This framework is more in the tradition of “giving psychology away” than is the study of prodigious achievement.

#### Appendix F: Tentative Table of Contents for The American Psychologist, January 2000

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