

NOTES

Foreword

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Chapter 1: Is It Possible to Become Happier?

1. Diener, E. (2000). Subjective well-being: The science of happiness and a proposal for a national index. *American Psychologist*, 55: 34–43. Diener, E., Suh, E. K., Smith, H., and Shao, L. (1995). National differences in reported well-being: Why do they occur? *Social Indicators Research*, 34: 7–32.
2. Keyes, C. L. M. (2005). Mental illness and/or mental health?: Investigating axioms of the complete state model of health. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 73: 539–48.
3. This study was conducted by Martin Seligman, professor of psychology at the University of Pennsylvania, and Jeff Levy. Seligman, M. E. P. (2002). *Authentic Happiness*. New York: Free Press.
4. Wilson, T. D., and Gilbert, D. T. (2005). Affective forecasting: Knowing what to want. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 14: 131–34. Gilbert, T. D. (2006). *Stumbling on Happiness*. New York: Knopf.
5. This quote is from Harvard University social psychologist Dan Gilbert. Goldberg, C. (2006, February 6). Too much of a good thing. *Boston Globe*, F1.
6. The stories of Neil, in this chapter, and Judith, in Chapter 2 (not their real names), are presented in the television documentary *In Pursuit of Happiness* (www.happycanadians.com), made by Canadian Television, with Sarah Spinks as producer, Jon Dore as host, and me as expert. It first aired on CTV on June 17, 2006.
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 13. Three recent studies that examined how people’s happiness levels change as they grow older found remarkably similar estimates for this percentage, ranging from 33 to 42 percent: Lucas, R. E., and Donnellan, M. B. (2007). How stable is happiness: Using the STARTS model to estimate the stability of life satisfaction. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 41: 1091–98. Ehrhardt, J. J., Saris, W. E., and Veenhoven, R. (2000). Stability of life-satisfaction over time: Analysis of change in ranks in a national population. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 1: 177–205.
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 15. Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, et al. (2005), op. cit. (see above, note 7). Tkach, C. (2005). *Unlocking the treasury of human kindness: Enduring improvements in mood, happiness, and self-evaluations*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Psychology, University of California, Riverside. Lyubomirsky, S., Sousa, L., and Dickerhoof, R. (2006). The costs and benefits of writing, talking, and thinking about life’s triumphs and defeats. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90: 692–708. Sheldon, K. M., and Lyubomirsky, S. (2006a). How to increase and sustain positive emotion: The effects of expressing gratitude and visualizing best possible selves. *Journal of Positive Psychology*, 1: 73–82. Lyubomirsky, S., Dickerhoof, R., Boehm, J. K., and Sheldon, K. M. (2008). How and why do positive activities work to boost well-being? An experimental longitudinal investigation of regularly practicing optimism and gratitude. Manuscript under review. For interventions from other laboratories, see also Seligman, M. E., Steen, T. A., Park, N., and Peterson, C. (2005). Positive psychology progress: Empirical validation of interventions. *American Psychologist*, 60: 410–21. Fordyce, M. W. (1977). Development of a program to increase happiness. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 24: 511–21. Fordyce, M. W. (1983). A program to increase happiness: Further studies. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 30: 483–98.
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Chapter 2: How Happy Are You and Why?

1. Names, identifying information, and details about interviews have been changed for some of the examples offered in this book.
2. Ed Diener, the most distinguished and most widely published researcher in the field of subjective well-being, told me once that he coined the term subjective well-being because he didn't think he would be promoted with tenure if his research were perceived as focusing on something so fuzzy and soft as "happiness." The label caught on.
3. However, it's worth noting that "well-being" is a broader, more holistic construct than "happiness," encompassing people's physical and mental health, in addition to their emotional well-being.
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5. Ibid.
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- Seligman, M. E. P. (1990). Why is there so much depression today?: The waxing of the individual and the waning of the commons. In Ingram, R. (ed.), *Contemporary Psychological Approaches to Depression: Theory, Research, and Treatment* (pp. 1–9). New York: Plenum.
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16. Weber, R. (1991, June 3). "I can't wait to grow up and be happy." *New Yorker*.
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19. Paul Bellew, executive director for market and industry analysis at General Motors, quoted in Scott, J., and Leonhardt, D. (2005, May 15). *Class in America: Shadowy lines that still divide*. *New York Times*.
20. Goodwin, D. K. (1994). *No Ordinary Time*. New York: Touchstone, pp. 42–43.
21. Lane, R. E. (2000). *The loss of happiness in market democracies*. New Haven: Yale University Press. See Figure 1.1, p.5.
22. Ibid.
23. It's worth noting that people whose basic needs aren't being met—needs for such requisites as safety, food, and shelter—report being very unhappy. For this group, more money (for medical care, nutrition, toys for their children, etc.) does indeed make a substantial difference to their well-being and quality of life. So the small correlation between happiness and wealth holds only for individuals above the "basic needs," or poverty, threshold. For example, see Biswas-Diener, R., and Diener, E. (2001). Making the best of a bad situation: Satisfaction in the slums of Calcutta. *Social Indicators Research*, 55: 329–52.
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35. The quote is attributed to Warren Buffett. O'Brien, T. L. (2006, September 17). *Fortune's fools: Why the rich go broke*. *New York Times*.
36. American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery. (2004). *Cosmetic surgery. Quick facts: 2004 ASAPS statistics*. Retrieved November 16, 2005, from the World Wide Web: <http://www.surgery.org/press/statistics-2004.php>.
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- Quality of American Life. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Lyubomirsky, S., and Tucker, K. L. (1998). Implications of individual differences in self-reported happiness for perceiving, thinking about, and recalling life events. *Motivation and Emotion*, 22, 155–86.
41. Frederick, S., and Loewenstein, G. (1999). Hedonic adaptation. In Kahneman et al. (1999), *op. cit.*, 302–29. See chapter 1, note 14.
 42. Lyubomirsky, King, et al. (2005), *op. cit.* See foreword, note 1.
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 46. Schneider, C. E. (1998). *The Practice of Autonomy*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 71.
 47. Lykken, D., and Tellegen, A. (1996). Happiness is a stochastic phenomenon. *Psychological Science*, 7: 186–89.
 48. To protect confidentiality, names and identifying information about participants of research studies have been changed here and throughout the book.
 49. Thomas Bouchard compiled and analyzed this fascinating sample.
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 54. Sternberg, R. J., Grigorenko, E. L., and Kidd, K. K. (2005). Intelligence, race, and genetics. *American Psychologist*, 60: 46–59.
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 56. For every single gene, each person has two alleles, one from the mother and one from the father. The short allele of the 5-HTTLPR gene decreases the brain supply of the neurotransmitter serotonin, a brain chemical that is needed to mitigate depression. Indeed, drugs like Prozac are called selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs) because they increase levels of serotonin and thereby lift depressive symptoms.
 57. Taylor, S. E., Way, B. M., Welch, W. T., Hilmert, C. J., Lehman, B. J., and Eisenberger, N. I. (2006) Early family environment, current adversity, the serotonin transporter promoter polymorphism, and depressive symptomatology. *Biological Psychiatry*, 60: 671–76.
 58. A typical participant in Davidson's experiments is outfitted with electrodes—metal conductors about the size of a dime—that envelop his head, looking like a great big shower cap. The electrodes are attached to wire leads and electric current runs through those leads from the

participant's scalp to Davidson's measuring instruments. The current comes from biological electrical signals, called biopotentials.

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60. This remark was made by Nobel Prize winner and Princeton University professor Daniel Kahneman.
61. Mroczek, D. K., and Spiro, A., III. (2005). Change in life satisfaction during adulthood: Findings from the Veterans Affairs Normative Aging Study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88: 189–202.
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63. This quote is from English statesman Benjamin Disraeli. Disraeli, B. (2000). *Lothair*. Cambridge, UK: Chadwyck-Healey, vol. 3, p. 206.

Chapter 3: How to Find Happiness Activities That Fit Your Interests, Your Values, and Your Needs

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2. With the exception of the “natural” item, the measure of self-determined motivation presented here was based on a methodology developed by Ken Sheldon and his colleagues. The four reasons to engage in a happiness activity tap four kinds of motivation: (1) intrinsic motivation (assessed by the item “enjoy,” though the item “natural” is closely related), defined as doing something because it is inherently interesting and enjoyable; (2) identified motivation (“value”), defined as doing something in order to express important values and beliefs; (3) introjected motivation (“guilty”), defined as acting to avoid guilt or anxiety; and (4) external motivation (“situation”), defined as doing something for a reward or to please others. According to Ed Deci and Rich Ryan, these four motivations lie along a continuum, from internal (or autonomous) to external (or controlled by others). Hence an aggregate self-determined motivation score is

- computed by averaging the identified and intrinsic ratings and subtracting the external and - introjected ratings. This score assesses the extent to which a person's behavior is inspired by his or her lifelong interests and deeply held values. The greater the self-determined motivation for a particular goal (whether that goal is to become thinner, more productive, or more optimistic), the healthier, happier, and more successful is the person in attaining it. Relevant reading: Deci, E. L., and Ryan, R. M. (2000). The "what" and "why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry*, 4: 227–68. Sheldon, K. M., and Elliot, A. J. (1999). Goal striving, need-satisfaction, and longitudinal wellbeing: The Self-Concordance Model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76: 482–97. Sheldon, K. M., and Kasser, T. (1995). Coherence and congruence: Two aspects of personality integration. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68: 531–43.
3. Sheldon, K. M., and Houser-Marko, L. (2001). Self-concordance, goal-attainment, and the pursuit of happiness: Can there be an upward spiral? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80: 152–65. Sheldon and Kasser (1998), op. cit. See chapter 2, note 28. Sheldon and Lyubomirsky (2006a), op. cit. See chapter 1, note 15.
 4. Lyubomirsky et al. (2008), op. cit. See chapter 1, note 15.
 5. For corroborating results with respect to the importance of fit in increasing well-being, see Fordyce (1977, 1983), op. cit. See chapter 1, note 15. Sheldon and Lyubomirsky (2006a), op. cit. See chapter 1, note 15.
 6. Klem, M. L., Wing, R. R., McGuire, M. T., Seagle, H. M., and Hill, J. O. (1997). A descriptive study of individuals successful at long-term maintenance of substantial weight loss. *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 66: 239–46.
 7. Lyubomirsky et al. (2008), op. cit. See chapter 1, note 15.

Foreword to Part II: Before You Begin

1. The Oxford Happiness Questionnaire taps into several components of well-being, including self-esteem, sense of purpose, social interest, and humor, and has been successfully used in individuals of all ages. Reference: Hills, P., and Argyle, M. (2002). The Oxford Happiness Questionnaire: A compact scale for the measurement of psychological well-being. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 33, 1073–1082.
2. Note that I have slightly altered the wording of a few items to enhance clarity.

Chapter 4: Practicing Gratitude and Positive Thinking

1. Emmons, R. A., and Shelton, C. M. (2002). Gratitude and the science of positive psychology. In Snyder, C. R., and Lopez, S. J. (eds.). *Handbook of Positive Psychology* (pp. 459–71). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2. McCullough, M. E., Emmons, R. A., and Tsang, J. (2002). The grateful disposition: A conceptual and empirical topography. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82: 112–27. McCullough, M. E., Tsang, J., and Emmons, R. A. (2004). Gratitude in intermediate affective terrain: Links of grateful moods to individual differences and daily emotional experience. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 86: 295–309. Algoe, S., and Haidt, J. (2006). Witnessing excellence in action: The "other-praising" emotions of elevation, gratitude, and

- admiration. Manuscript under review. Bartlett, M. Y., and DeSteno, D. (2006). Gratitude: - Helping when it really costs you. *Psychological Science*, 17: 319–25. For an accessible review, see Robert Emmons’s recent book: Emmons, R. A. (2007). *THANKS! How the New Science of Gratitude Can Make You Happier*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
3. Emmons, R. A., and McCullough, M. E. (2003). Counting blessings versus burdens: An experimental investigation of gratitude and subjective well-being in daily life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84: 377–89.
 4. Emmons (2007), op. cit. See above, note 2.
 5. Fredrickson, B. L., Tugade, M. M., Waugh, C. E., and Larkin, G. R. (2003). What good are positive emotions in crises?: A prospective study of resilience and emotions following the terrorist attacks on the United States in September 11, 2001. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84: 365–76.
 6. Watkins, P. C., Grimm, D. L., and Kolts, R. (2004). Counting your blessings: Positive memories among grateful persons. *Current Psychology: Developmental, Learning, Personality, Social*, 23: 52–67.
 7. Fredrickson et al. (2003), op. cit. See above, note 5.
 8. Malin, A. (2003, September). Maximum joy: 14 ways to feel lucky you’re alive. *Prevention*, p. 119.
 9. Casey, M. J. (2006, October 20). A survivor’s optimism. *New York Times*.
 10. Bartlett, M. Y., and DeSteno, D. (2006). Gratitude and prosocial behavior: Helping when it costs you. *Psychological Science*, 17: 319–25.
 11. McCullough et al. (2002), op. cit. See above, note 2. Emmons and McCullough (2003), op. cit. See above, note 3.
 12. Algoe, S. B., Haidt, J., Gable, S. L., and Strachman, A. (2007). Beyond reciprocity: Gratitude and relationships in everyday life. Manuscript under review.
 13. Lyubomirsky, King, et al. (2005), op. cit. See foreword, note 1.
 14. McCullough et al. (2002), op. cit. See above, note 2.
 15. Quote from psychiatrist Roger Walsh.
 16. See the “What I Know to Be True” exercise in MacDonald, L. (2004). *Learn to Be an Optimist*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 51.
 17. Miller, T. (1995). *How to Want What You Have*. New York: Avon.
 18. Tkach (2005), op. cit. See chapter 1, note 15.
 19. Seligman et al. (2005), op. cit. See chapter 1, note 15.
 20. Lyubomirsky et al. (2008), op. cit. See chapter 1, note 15.
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33. Scheier and Carver (1993), op. cit. See above, note 23.
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35. This general suggestion about how to develop hope and analysis of “barrier hopes” has been made by the late psychologist C. R. Snyder.
36. See the “Look for the Silver Lining” exercise in MacDonald (2004), op. cit. See above, note 16.
37. Gillham, J. E., and Reivich, K. J. (1999). Prevention of depressive symptoms in school children: A research update. *Psychological Science*, 10: 461–62.
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41. For reviews, see Lyubomirsky, S., and Tkach, C. (2003). The consequences of dysphoric rumination. In Papageorgiou, C., and Wells, A. (eds.). *Rumination: Nature, Theory, and Treatment of Negative Thinking in Depression* (pp. 21–41). Chichester, UK: John Wiley. Nolen-Hoeksema, S. (2003). *Women Who Think Too Much*. New York: Henry Holt.

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Chapter 5: Investing in Social Connections

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2. Lyubomirsky, King, et al. (2005), *op. cit.* See foreword, note 1.
3. For review, see *ibid.*
4. This study is described in Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, et al. (2005), *op. cit.* See chapter 1, note 7.
5. Tkach (2005), *op. cit.* See chapter 1, note 15.
6. All the studies conducted in my laboratory (and described in this book) include at least one control group. The control group in this particular study consisted of participants who didn't perform any extra acts of kindness but were instructed simply to list various events that happened to them weekly.
7. Williamson, G. M., and Clark, M. S. (1989). Providing help and desired relationship type as determinants of changes in moods and self-evaluations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56: 722–34.
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12. Unfortunately, five participants are too few a number (“too small a sample size,” in scientific terms) to allow researchers to generalize their findings to the community at large. In all the studies that I have done with my students and collaborators—indeed, in almost all the research cited in this book—the sample sizes have been large enough to permit such generalization and large enough to permit comparisons across groups (e.g., to answer such questions as: Is the kindness group happier than the control group?) and across time (e.g., Is the kindness group happier in May than it was in January?).
13. Here’s a sampling: Pay the toll of the car behind you or put change into an expired parking meter; pick up litter in your neighborhood, beach, or park; paint a neighbor’s home; volunteer at a food pantry, homeless shelter, or church/temple/mosque; teach an illiterate adult to read; cook a special meal for a busy family member, neighbor, or friend; spend time with an elderly relative or neighbor, or visit a nursing home; give up your seat on the bus or train; do a household chore even when it’s not your turn; rescue an animal; open the door for someone or let somebody ahead of you in line; help someone carry a bag or package; donate to a charity your money, your time, or your blood; call, write, or travel to see a friend in need; tutor or be a mentor to a younger person; and leave a thank-you note for your mail carrier, trash collector, or any other individual who simplifies your life.
14. Some of these suggestions are borrowed from Carlson (1997), *op. cit.* See chapter 4, note 49.
15. Algoe and Haidt (2006), *op. cit.* See chapter 4, note 2.
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20. For review, see Lyubomirsky, King, et al. (2005), *op. cit.* (see foreword, note 1). See also Myers (2000), *op. cit.* See chapter 1, note 14.
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 29. Ibid.
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 35. Keil, C. P. (1998). Loneliness, stress, and human-animal attachment among older adults. In Wilson, C. C., and Turner, D. C., (eds.). *Companion Animals in Human Health* (pp. 123–34). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
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 37. A number of these suggestions are from McGinnis, A. L. (1979). *The Friendship Factor*. Minneapolis: Augsburg. The magic number of “three” was suggested by Stanford University professor Laura Carstensen.

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39. Argyle, M., and Henderson, M. (1984). The rules of friendships. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 1: 211–37.
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Chapter 6: Managing Stress, Hardship, and Trauma

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7. Lynn’s story was profiled by the Los Angeles Times: Foreman, J. (2006, January 16). “The mystery that is mourning.” *Los Angeles Times*, F4.
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9. Nolen-Hoeksema, S., and Davis, C. G. (2002). Positive responses to loss: Perceiving benefits and growth. In Snyder and Lopez, op. cit., 598–606. See chapter 4, note 1.
10. Taylor, S. E., Lichtman, R. R., and Wood, J. V. (1984). Attributions, beliefs about control, and adjustment to breast cancer. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46: 489–502. See also Collins, R. L., Taylor, S. E., and Skokan, L. A. (1990). A better world or a shattered vision?: Changes in life perspectives following victimization. *Social Cognition*, 8: 263–85.
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15. Nolen-Hoeksema and Davis (2002), op. cit., 602. See above, note 9.
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30. Quotes are from Davis et al. (1998), op. cit. See above, note 12.
31. Ibid.

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32. A wonderfully readable summary of this work is in Pennebaker, J. W. (1997). *Opening Up: The Healing Power of Expressing Emotions*. New York: Guilford.
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34. Pennebaker, J. W., Mayne, T. J., and Francis, M. E. (1997). Linguistic predictors of adaptive bereavement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72: 863–71.
35. Pennebaker, J. W., and Seagal, J. D. (1999). Forming a story: The health benefits of narrative. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 55: 1243–54. Quote appears on p. 1244.
36. Seligman (1990), op. cit. See chapter 4, note 38.
37. McCullough, M. E., and Witvliet, C. V. (2002). The psychology of forgiveness. In Snyder and Lopez, op. cit., 446–58. See chapter 4, note 1.
38. McCullough, M. E., Pargament, K. I., and Thoresen, C. T. (eds.). (2000). *Forgiveness: Theory, Research, and Practice*. New York: Guilford.
39. McCullough, M. E., Rachal, K. C., Sandage, S. J., Worthington, E. L., Jr., Brown, S. W., and Hight, T. L. (1998). Interpersonal forgiving in close relationships. II. Theoretical elaboration and measurement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75: 1586–1603.
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44. This exercise is adapted from one developed by Martin Seligman and Tracy Steen.
45. Witvliet, C. V., Ludwig, T. E., and Vander Laan, K. L. (2001). Granting forgiveness or harboring grudges: Implications for emotion, physiology, and health. *Psychological Science*, 12: 117–23.
46. See <http://www.forgivenessday.org/hero.htm> for examples of such “heroes of forgiveness,” including both famous individuals and extraordinary ordinary people.
47. McCullough, M. E., Worthington, E. L., and Rachal, K. C. (1997). Interpersonal forgiving in close relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73: 321–36.
48. Shapiro, D. L. (1991). The effects of explanations on negative reactions to deceit. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 36: 614–30.

49. McCullough et al. (1997), op. cit. See above, note 47. McCullough et al. (1998), op. cit. See above, note 39.
50. McCullough, M. E., Bellah, C. G., Kilpatrick, S. D., and Johnson, J. L. (2001). Vengefulness: Relationships with forgiveness, rumination, well-being, and the Big Five. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27: 601–10.
51. Remnick, D. (2006, September 18). *The wanderer*. New Yorker.

Chapter 7: Living in the Present

1. Gregory, A. (2005, March 21). “(Man at work thinking about golf, golfing thinking about sex, having sex, thinking about work.)” *New Yorker*.
2. The best treatment of flow, in my opinion, is in Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience*. New York: Harper & Row.
3. Nakamura, J., and Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2002). The concept of flow. In Snyder, and Lopez, op. cit., 89–105. See chapter 4, note 1.
4. Csikszentmihalyi, M., Rathunde, K., and Whalen, S. (1993). *Talented Teenagers*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
5. Csikszentmihalyi (1990), op. cit., 10. See above, note 2.
6. LeFevre, J. (1988). Flow and the quality of experience during work and leisure. In Csikszentmihalyi, M., and Csikszentmihalyi, I. (eds.). *Optimal Experience* (pp. 307–18). New York: Cambridge University Press.
7. Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2000). *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. (Original work published in 1975.)
8. This exercise was developed by Marty Seligman and Tracy Steen.
9. Wrzesniewski, A., McCauley, C., Rozin, P., and Schwartz, B. (1997). Jobs, careers, and callings: People’s relations to their work. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 31: 21–33.
10. Wrzesniewski, A., and Dutton, J. E. (2001). Crafting a job: Revisioning employees as active crafters of their work. *Academy of Management Review*, 26: 179–201.
11. In addition, some people find flow in vandalism, physical violence, or exerting tyrannical control over a group, an organization, or a nation. Others experience flow while risk taking in reckless driving, gambling, shoplifting, or committing fraud. Therein lies another potential negative side of flow. Although these activities might make you feel joyful and self-possessed in the short term, the long-term costs are very high, and the happiness will not endure. Use good judgment.
12. David Lodge coined a wonderful term for this phenomenon: future nostalgia.
13. Fred Bryant and Joseph Veroff were the first to study and describe the phenomenon of savoring. For an updated and accessible overview, see Bryant, F. B., and Veroff, J. (2006). *Savoring: A New Model of Positive Experience*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum. Their work is also described in the following papers: Bryant, F. B. (1989). A four-factor model of perceived control: Avoiding, coping, obtaining, and savoring. *Journal of Personality*, 57: 773–97. Bryant, F. B. (2003). Savoring beliefs inventory (SBI): A scale for measuring beliefs about savoring. *Journal of Mental Health*, 12: 175–96.
14. Bryant (2003), *ibid*.
15. *Ibid*.

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Chapter 10: The Five Hows Behind Sustainable Happiness

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 12. Namely, cognitive theory and hopelessness theory.
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 14. Behavioral therapy, which aims at getting the depressed person to increase the number of pleasant experiences in his or her daily life, is a clear exception.
 15. Keyes (2005), *op. cit.* See chapter 1, note 2.
 16. Lyubomirsky, King, et al. (2005), *op. cit.* See foreword, note 1.
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 19. It's relevant here to consider the work of Leaf Van Boven at the University of Colorado, who has found that people are happier if they invest their money and resources in experiences (which of course include a wide variety of activities) rather than possessions. He posits three reasons for this: (1) Experiences, relative to material things, are more likely to improve with time; (2) people are less likely to compare unfavorably their experiences (as opposed to their possessions) with those of more fortunate others; and (3) experiences have more social value and are more likely to promote relationships. I would add a fourth benefit: Experiences (including activities) are relatively less prone to hedonic adaptation. For a review, see Van Boven, L. (2005). Experientialism, materialism, and the pursuit of happiness. *Review of General Psychology*, 9: 132–42.
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33. Seligman et al. (2005), op. cit. See chapter 1, note 15. Sheldon and Lyubomirsky (2006a), op. cit. See chapter 1, note 15.
34. Attributed to seventeenth-century scholar and mathematician Isaac Barrow: “Nothing of worth or weight can be achieved with half a mind, with a faint heart, and with a lame endeavor.”
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Postscript: If You Are Depressed

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