Positive psychology makes people happier. Happiness could be analyzed into 3 different elements that we choose for their own sakes: positive emotion, engagement, and meaning. Positive emotion is what we feel. Engagement is about flow—being one with the music, time stopping, and the loss of self-consciousness during an absorbing activity. But the pursuit of engagement and pleasure are often solitary, solipsistic endeavors. Human beings also want meaning and purpose in life. The topic of positive psychology is well-being, the gold standard for measuring well-being is flourishing, and the goal of positive psychology is to increase flourishing.

How much life satisfaction people report is itself determined by how good you feel at the moment the question is asked. The mood you are in determines more than 70% of how much life satisfaction you report; how well you judge your life to be going at that moment determines less than 30%. More than half of the world are introverts, who are much less cheery than extroverts. Life satisfaction essentially measures cheerful mood, so it is not entitled to a central place in any theory that aims to be more than a haplology. The inadequacy in authentic happiness theory is that positive emotion, engagement, and meaning do not exhaust the elements that people choose for their own sake.

Well-being theory denies that the topic of positive psychology is a real thing. Rather the topic is a construct which has several measurable elements, each a real thing, each contributing to well-being, but none defining well-being. In meteorology, “weather” is such a construct. Weather is not a real thing. Several elements, each operationalizable and thus each a real thing, contribute to the weather: temperature, humidity, wind speed, barometric pressure, and the like. Life satisfaction operationalizes happiness in authentic happiness theory just as temperature and wind speed define windchill.

The construct of well-being, not life satisfaction, is the focal topic of positive psychology. Each element of well-being must itself have 3 properties to count as an element: it contributes to well-being; people pursue it for its own sake; it is defined and measured independently of the other elements (exclusivity).

Positive emotion and engagement are the 2 categories in well-being theory where factors are measured only subjectively. While the subjective state for pleasure is in the present, the subjective state for engagement is only retrospective. Positive emotion and engagement easily meet the 3 criteria for being an element of well-being: They contribute to well-being. They are often pursued for their own sake and not necessarily to gain any of the other elements (I want this back rub even if it brings no meaning, no accomplishment, and no relationships). They are measured independently of the rest of the elements. (There is, in fact, a cottage industry of scientists that measures all the subjective well-being variables.)

Meaning (belonging to and serving something that you believe is bigger than the self) is the 3rd element of well-being and is not solely a subjective state. The dispassionate and more objective judgment of history, logic, and coherence can contradict a subjective judgment. Abraham Lincoln, a profound melancholic, may have, in his despair, judged his life to be meaningless, but we judge it pregnant with meaning. Meaning is defined and measured independently of positive emotion or engagement and independent of the other 2 elements—accomplishment and relationships.

Accomplishment (or achievement) is often pursued for its own sake, even when it brings no positive emotion, no meaning, and nothing in the way of positive relationships. Winning only for winning’s sake can be seen in the pursuit of wealth. Some tycoons pursue wealth and then give much of it away, in astonishing gestures of philanthropy. Rockefeller and Carnegie both spent the second half of their lives giving away to science and medicine, to culture and education much of the fortunes they had made in the first half of their lives. They created meaning later in their lives after early lives of winning only for winning’s sake. Well-being theory requires a 4th element: accomplishment in its momentary form, and the “achieving life,” a life dedicated to accomplishment for the sake of accomplishment, in its extended form. Very little that is positive is solitary. All of the high points of your life take place around other people. Doing a kindness produces the single most reliable momentary increase in well-being of any exercise we tested. The master strength is the capacity to be loved.

In authentic happiness theory, strengths and virtues—kindness, social intelligence, humor, courage, integrity, and the like (there are 24 of them)—are the supports for engagement. You go into flow when your highest strengths are deployed to meet the highest challenges that come your way. In well-being theory, these 24 strengths underpin all 5 elements, not just engagement: deploying your highest strengths leads to more positive emotion, to more meaning, to more accomplishment, and to better relationships. Authentic happiness theory is one-dimensional: it is about feeling good and claims that the way we choose our life course is to try to maximize how we feel. Well-being theory is about all 5 pillars, the underpinnings of the 5 elements are the strengths.

Richard Layard, the advisor to both prime ministers Tony Blair and Gordon Brown on unemployment, is a card-carrying economist, and his view is remarkable. It sensibly departs from the typical economist’s view of wealth: that the purpose of wealth is to produce more wealth. For Richard, the only rationale for increasing wealth is to increase happiness, so he promotes happiness, not only as the criterion by which we choose what to do as individuals, but as the single outcome that should be measured by government in order to decide what policies to pursue. Government policy should be measured not by increases in gross domestic product but by increases in global well-being. Science makes it into public policy when the evidence is sufficient and the political will is present.
It is well established that couples with children have on average lower happiness and life satisfaction than childless couples. So clearly either humans are massively deluded about how much life satisfaction children will bring or else we use some additional metric for choosing to reproduce. When we broaden our view of well-being to include meaning and relationships, it becomes obvious why we choose to have children and why we choose to care for our aging parents. The goal of positive psychology in authentic happiness theory is, like Richard Layard’s goal, to increase the amount of happiness in your own life and on the planet. The goal of positive psychology in well-being theory is plural and importantly different: it is to increase the amount of flourishing in your own life and on the planet.

As our ability to measure positive emotion, engagement, meaning, accomplishment, and positive relations improves, we can ask with rigor how many people in a nation, in a city, or in a corporation are flourishing. We can ask with rigor when in her lifetime an individual is flourishing. We can ask with rigor if a charity is increasing the flourishing of its beneficiaries. We can ask with rigor if our school systems are helping our children flourish. Public policy follows only from what we measure— and until recently, we measured only money, GDP. The goal of positive psychology in well-being theory is to measure and build human flourishing. Achieving this goal starts by asking what really makes us happy.

Gratitude can make your life happier and more satisfying. When we feel gratitude, we benefit from the pleasant memory of a positive event in our life. Also, when we express our gratitude to others, we strengthen our relationship with them. Contrary to our carefree optimism, it turns out that many aspects of human behavior do not change lastingly and [we are poor predictors of what will make us happy]. If well-being could not be lasting increased, then the aim of positive psychology would have to be abandoned.

There is a gold standard for testing therapies— random-assignment, placebo-controlled studies. Starting in 2001, the Positive Psychology Center at the University of Pennsylvania (which I direct; visit the website at www.ppc.sas.upenn.edu/) began to ask what actually makes us happier.

Many aspects of human behavior do not change lastingly. Your waistline is a prime example. Every night for the next week, set aside 10 minutes before you go to sleep. Write down 3 things that went well today and why. Next to each positive event, answer the question “Why did this happen?” Stick with it for one week. It will get easier. The odds are that you will be less depressed, happier, and addicted to this exercise 6 months from now. Gratitude is enduring thankfulness.

Therapists reported to me that getting their patients in touch with their strengths, rather than just trying to correct their weaknesses, was particularly beneficial. “Satisficers” (“This is good enough”) have better well-being than “maximizers” (“I must find the perfect wife, dishwasher, or vacation spot”). Savoring is introduced as a technique to increase the intensity and duration of positive emotion. Positive psychotherapy relieved depressive symptoms on all outcome measures better than treatment as usual and better than drugs.

Depression is the costliest disease in the world. Imagine a treatment— giving positive psychology exercises on the web— that is dirt cheap, massively disseminated, and at least as effective as therapy and drugs. However, 2 industries— the drug companies and the Psychotherapy Guild— have a hammerlock over the treatment of mood disorders, including depression. Biological psychiatry and clinical psychology have both given up the notion of cure. Cure takes too long if it can be done at all, and only brief treatment is reimbursed by insurance companies. So, therapy and drugs are now entirely about short-term crisis management and dispensing cosmetic treatments. Antibiotics is a curative drug. Quinine is a cosmetic drug— a palliative— and all medications can be classified either as curative or cosmetic in intention. Every single drug on the shelf of the psychopharmacopoeia is cosmetic. In half the studies on which the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) based its official approval of antidepressant drugs, there was no difference between placebo and drug. For mild depression, the effects were nonexistent. Every drug has exactly the same property: once you stop taking it, you are back to square one, and recurrence and relapse are the rule. By contrast, try this positive psychology— exercise. It is fun and self-maintaining once you catch on.

In any relationship, how you celebrate is more predictive of strong relations than how you fight. Active and constructive response to events is self-maintaining. Once you start doing it, other people like you better, spend more time with you, and share more of the intimate details of their lives.

Most personality traits are highly heritable. Abraham Lincoln and Winston Churchill were severe depressives. But both learned to function extremely well even then they were massively depressed. If we want to flourish and have well-being, we must indeed minimize our misery; but we must also have positive emotion, meaning, accomplishment, and positive relationships. The skills and exercises that build these are different from those skills that minimize our suffering. Skills of flourishing— of having positive emotion, meaning, good work, and positive relationships— are beyond the skills of minimizing suffering. We need to learn the specific skills of positive psychology: how to have more positive emotion, more engagement, more meaning, more accomplishment, and better human relations. Unlike the skills of minimizing misery, these skills are self-sustaining.

Physics was preceded by an ancient science of engineering, which actually solved problems before it grafted on abstract, basic research. Psychology, in contrast, had no engineering— nothing that was proven to work in the real world— no underpinning that would guide and constrain what its basic research should be about. Good science requires the interplay of analysis and synthesis. It was with this tension between application and science in mind that in 2005 I happily consented to direct the Positive Psychology Center at the Univer-
sity of Pennsylvania and to create a new degree—the master of applied positive psychology (MAPP)—that would combine cutting-edge scholarship with the application to the real world as its mission.

I want a revolution in world education. We can now teach the skills of well-being—of how to have more positive emotion, more meaning, better relationships, and more positive accomplishment. The ingredients of MAPP are “magic.” These magical components include: First, the content is challenging, informative, and uplifting. Second, positive psychology is personally and professionally transformative. The third ingredient is that positive psychology is a calling. Positive emotion does much more than just feel pleasant; it is a neon sign that growth is underway.

We code each sentence for positive or negative words, and take a simple ratio of positive to negative statements: the Losada Ratio. Companies with better than a 2.9:1 ratio for positive to negative statements are flourishing. John Gottman computed the same statistic by listening to couples’ conversations for entire weekends. A 2.9:1 means you are headed for a divorce. You need a 5:1 ratio to predict a strong and loving marriage.

A negative Losada ratio might make an effective lawyer, but may have a huge personal cost. Law is the profession with the highest depression, suicide, and divorce rates. I saw that I had been a grouch for 50 years, that child rearing for me had been all about correcting weaknesses rather than building strengths, and that the profession of psychology had been almost exclusively about removing the disabling conditions rather than creating the enabling conditions for people to flourish. The content of positive psychology itself is challenging intellectually, but unlike most subjects, it is personally informative, even transformative, and fun.

I can’t say enough now for frequent energy breaks in the classroom itself. It’s not just kindergarten kids who need them: the older we get, the more they help us to learn and to teach. There are now more than 50,000 professionals in America making their living as coaches. The right to call oneself a coach is unregulated and why scientific and theoretical backbones are urgent. Practicing these endeavors will bring order out of chaos by defining scope of practice and distinguishing it from allied professions such as clinical psychology, psychiatry, social work, and marriage and family counseling. Also, the science—positive psychology—is rooted in scientific evidence that it works. We change when we discover what is best about ourselves and see specific ways to use our strengths more.

A “positive 360” puts us in touch with what we do well and underpins readiness to change. We have entered an economy of life satisfaction—over and above money—and that for a business to thrive, it must cultivate relationships and create meaning. By creating a better Losada ratio, using gratitude and active-constructive, we build around the idea that we have entered an economy of life satisfaction—over and above money—and that for a business to thrive, it must cultivate relationships and create meaning. By using active-constructive responding, making opportunities for flow, hope and goal-setting, and transforming jobs into callings. Learning positive psychology is professionally transforming.

Marriage allows us 3 kinds of love: where we are cared for, where we care for someone else, and romantic love. Nothing brings out positive emotions like preparing [or eating] a home-cooked meal made with love. Part of the positive psychology we practice together as often as we can is dinner at home.

Sociologists distinguish among a job, a career, and a calling. You do a job for the money, and when the money stops, you stop working. You pursue a career for the promotions, and when the promotions stop, you quit or become a time-serving husk. A calling, in contrast, is done for its own sake. The ingredients of MAPP in summary: Intellectual content: challenging, personally applicable, and fun; Transformative: both personally and professionally; Calling: students and faculty are called.

Well-being is our topmost priority for our children. But schools teach how to succeed in the workplace. They could, without compromising either, teach the skills of both well-being and achievement.

Depression is about 10x more common now than 50 years ago. The Amish of Lancaster County have only 1/10th of Philadelphia’s rate of depression, though only 30 miles apart. Greater well-being enhances learning, the traditional goal of education. Positive mood produces broader attention, more creative thinking, and more holistic thinking. This contrasts to negative mood, which produces narrowed attention, more critical and analytic thinking. Often schools emphasize critical thinking and following orders rather than creative thinking and learning new stuff. The result is that children rank the appeal of going to school just slightly above going to the dentist.

Penn Resiliency Program (PRP) studies (applying MAPP) halved the rate of moderate to severe depressive symptoms through 2 years of follow-up. In a medical setting, PRP prevented depression and anxiety disorders among adolescents with high levels of depressive symptoms at the outset. The PRP reliably prevents depression, anxiety, and conduct problems in young people. Resilience is one aspect of positive psychology—the emotional aspect. We designed a more comprehensive curriculum among adolescents with high levels of depressive symptoms at the outset. that builds character strengths, relationships, and meaning, as well as raises positive emotion and reduces negative emotion.

Students take the Values in Action Signature Strengths test (www.authentichappiness.org) and use their highest strength in a new way at school in the next week. The positive psychology program improved the strengths of curiosity, love of learning, and creativity. The program also increased students’ enjoyment and engagement in school. The backbone of the course was discovering and using their own signature strengths. Students learn the ABC model: how be-
relationships, and a life full of meaning—is now quantifiable. GDP was, during the industrial revolution, a decent first approximation to how well a nation was doing. General well-being—positive emotion, engagement at work, positive relationships, and a life full of meaning—is now quantifiable and complements GDP. Parents want for their children more well-being than they had.

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Gossip is a legitimate form of moral sanction at a less punitive level than legal sanction. To help chronically low-performing but intelligent students, educators and parents must first recognize that character is at least as important as intellect. [The 20th century provided an alternative explanation of bad character to civil unrest.] “Social science” would demonstrate that environment, rather than character or heredity, is a better explanation of what people do. Almost the entire history of 20th-century psychology and her sister disciplines of sociology, anthropology, and political science have acted out this premise.

Note the cascade of changes that follow from giving up character as an explanation of human misbehavior in favor of the environment. Individuals are no longer responsible for their actions, since the causes lie not in the person but in the situation. Using money to correct social problems becomes the primary intervention. And so basic as to be almost invisible, the ‘situation view’ propounds the premise that we are driven by the past rather than drawn by the future. The psychology of victims, negative emotions, alienation, pathology, and tragedy—is the stepchild of this view.

Often people are responsible for their actions and their untoward choices stem from their character. Responsibility and free will are necessary processes within positive psychology. If the circumstances are to be blamed, the individual’s responsibility and will are minimized, if not eliminated. If, in contrast, the action emanates from character and choice, individual responsibility and free will are, at least in part, causes. This has direct implications for how to intervene: in positive psychology, the world can be bettered not only by undoing malignant circumstances (I do not remotely advocate giving up on reform) but also by identifying and then shaping character. Reward and punishment shape character, not just behavior. We are more often drawn by the future than driven by the past, and so a science that measures and builds expectations, planning, and conscious choice will be more potent than a science of habits, drives, and circumstances.

Speed [of thinking] attracts and repels in academic life. Speed and IQ have a surprisingly strong relationship. The more components of a task on automatic, the more time you have left over to do the heavy lifting. What distinguishes a great bridge player or a great surgeon or a great pilot from the rest of us mortals is how much they have on automatic. When the bulk of what an expert does is on automatic, people say she has “great intuitions.” Achievement = skill × effort. The returns on additional effort are greater for highly skilled individuals.

However, speed and anxiety go together. Impulsive children have long been known to do worse as they age. The failure of children to control their fast emotional and cognitive impulses is the seed crystal around which the cascade of school failure begins. The increase in how much of a given task can be put onto automatic over time and experience, we call the “rate of learning”.

If you want to become world class at anything, you must spend 60 hours a week on it for 10 years. Self-discipline is the character trait that engenders deliberate practice. Self-discipline outpredicts IQ for academic success by a factor of 2. This also solves one of the perennial riddles about the gap in school achievement between girls and boys. Women’s superior self-control does not wane with maturity, but after college, many are swamped by cultural factors that dampen the female self-discipline edge. Self-discipline does the same thing for weight gain that it does for grades. It is the queen of all virtues, the strength that enables the rest of the strengths.

Grit is the combination of very high persistence and high passion for an objective. Genius follows from multiplying the underlying causes of genius. The more GRIT you have, the more time you spend on the task, and all those hours don’t just add to whatever innate skill you have; they multiply your progress to the goal. Older people have more GRIT than younger people. GRIT predicted which new arrivals at West Point completed the grueling summer training (which used to be called “beast barracks”) and which ones dropped out more accurately than all the other tests combined. GRIT predicted retention in the US Special Forces as well as sales in real estate. Even if your child is not innately gifted, deliberate practice will help enormously by building his knowledge base. Time on task acts in 2 ways to increase achievement: it multiplies existing skill and knowledge and it also directly increases skill and knowledge.

No sane enemy would confront the United States in the air, on the sea, or with missiles. We are 5 for 5 in that kind of warfare. Unfortunately, all the wars that we have fought recently are human wars, and we are 0 for 7 in these. Vietnam and Iraq are paradigm examples. So, it is time for the army to get serious about the human sciences. Civilian medicine is perversely incentivized. If we want health, we should concentrate on building resilience—psychologically and physically, particularly among young people. We began the military program by recruiting people to create the Global Assessment Tool (GAT), a self-report questionnaire designed to measure the psychosocial well-being of soldiers of all ranks in 4 domains: emotional fitness, social fitness, family fitness, and spiritual fitness.

Psychology showed great growth spurts after both world wars. Assessment during World War I focused on general ability, and assessment during World War II focused on...
attitudes and specific ability. GAT proves useful in settings where doing well—as opposed to the sheer elimination or remediation of doing poorly—is recognized, celebrated, and encouraged. The GAT introduces a common vocabulary for describing what is right about soldiers. There is only one salient difference between genders: women score lower on issues of trust than men.

Building a robust Losada ratio (more positive thoughts than negative) by having positive emotions more frequently builds psychological and social capital. It is through cultivating the positive that we are able to learn, grow, and flourish. The key to taking advantage of positive emotions is to regard them as “resource builders.” Your admiration of others alerts you to the chance to rapidly learn a culturally valued skill. Your joy alerts you to opportunities for new experiences. In appropriate doses, pride alerts you to your own skills and talents, allows you to take credit for them, and sets you up for future successes. Gratitude marks opportunities to solidify relationships with people who seem to care. You have the power within you to figure out what inspires you, what makes you laugh, or what gives you hope, and to cultivate those emotions. This can help you optimize your life by setting up moments of genuine positivity for yourself.

The majority of suicides by our soldiers in Iraq involved a failed relationship with a spouse or partner. Trust and betrayal are common issues soldiers and partners fight about. Happiness is even more contagious than loneliness or depression and works across time. Optimistic NBA teams did better than expected after a defeat; pessimistic teams did worse. The coaches’ optimism (as measure in public statements) predicted resilience just as well as the optimism of the whole team. The contagion of happiness and the powerful role of the leader make selecting for positivity and nurturing the well-being of those in command of an army unit especially crucial.

There is considerable evidence that a higher level of spirituality goes hand in hand with greater well-being, less mental illness, less substance abuse, and more stable marriages, not to mention better military performance—an advantage that is particularly salient when people face major adversity such as combat. This supports and encourages soldiers to search for truth, self-knowledge, right action, and purpose in life: living by a code that is rooted in belonging to and serving something the soldier believes is larger than the self. A new army leadership module focuses on the soldier’s “spiritual core,” consisting of self-awareness, sense of agency, self-regulation, self-motivation, and social awareness.

Self-awareness involves reflection and introspection to gain insights into life’s pressing questions. Sense of agency refers to the individual’s assumption of responsibility for the continuous journey to develop one’s spirit. Self-regulation involves the ability to understand and control one’s emotions, thoughts, and behavior. Self-motivation regarding the human spirit entails the expectancy that the individual’s path will lead to the realization of one’s deepest aspirations. Social aware-

ness refers to the realization that relationships play an important role in the development of the human spirit.

The PTSD diagnosis was a staple of the U.S. Medical Corps throughout the present Iraq and Afghanistan wars, with as many as 20% of soldiers said to be afflicted. There is a bell-shaped distribution of the human response to high adversity. At the extremely vulnerable end, the result is pathology. Knowing that bursting into tears is not a symptom of PTSD but a symptom of normal grief and mourning, usually followed by resilience, helps to put the brakes on the downward spiral. The people who are in bad shape to begin with are at much greater risk for PTSD than more psychologically fit people.

Never to be forgotten, finally, is post-traumatic growth (PTG). A substantial number of people also show intense depression and anxiety after extreme adversity, often to the level of PTSD, but then they grow. In the long run, they arrive at a higher level of psychological functioning than before [the adversity]. “What does not kill me makes me stronger.” Those old soldiers who populate Veterans of Foreign Wars posts and tell war stories are not in denial—war was indeed the best time of their lives. To our surprise, individuals who’d experienced an awful event had more intense strengths (and therefore higher well-being) than individuals who had none. 61% of imprisoned airmen tortured for years by the North Vietnamese said that they had benefited psychologically.

Five elements contribute to post-traumatic growth. Understand the response to trauma itself: shattered beliefs about the self, others, and the future; anxiety reduction, which consists of techniques for controlling intrusive thoughts and images; constructive self-disclosure; creating a trauma narrative. The narrative is guided, with the trauma seen as a fork in the road that enhances the appreciation of paradox. Loss and gain both happen. Grief and gratitude both happen. Vulnerability and strength both happen. Finally, overarching life principles and stances that are more robust to challenge are articulated. By the end of this skill session, the sergeants can identify specific thoughts that drive particular emotions: for instance, thoughts about trespass drive anger; thoughts about loss drive sadness; thoughts about danger drive anxiety. They learned to focus on behaviors, as opposed to the soldier’s general worth. Optimism was a major contributor to growth. So, the theory suggests that building mental toughness should both move soldiers toward growth as well as prevent PTSD.

Throughout the program, the sergeants keep a gratitude journal (also called a 3-blessings journal). The purpose of “Hunt the Good Stuff” is to enhance positive emotions; our rationale is that people who habitually acknowledge and express gratitude see benefits in their health, sleep, and relationships and they perform better.

Praising details demonstrates to their soldier that the leader (a) was really watching, (b) took the time to see exactly what the soldier did, and (c) the praise is authentic, as opposed to a perfunctory “Good job.” Many sergeants tell us they
communicate too aggressively with spouses and too forcefully with their children because it is difficult to change from the fast-paced, command-oriented world of their job to the more democratic focus that works so much better at home.

We teach critical thinking: the thinking skills to distinguish between irrational worst-case scenarios that paralyze action and the more likely scenarios. Mental health is not just the absence of mental illness. Rather it is the presence of flourishing. This is directly contrary to the wisdom that Sigmund Freud handed down. Physical health has accepted the same “wisdom”: that physical health is merely the absence of physical illness.

In work with lab rats, unpredictable shock produced more fear than predictable shock because the rat never knew when it was safe. Learned helplessness is the passivity induced by uncontrollable shock. Animals later become passive and gave up in the face of adversity once they had first experienced noxious events that they could do nothing about. But animals that first had exactly the same physical shock—but the shock was escapable—did not become helpless later on. They were immunized against learned helplessness. We found that people who believe that that causes of setbacks in their lives are temporary, changeable, and local do not become helpless readily in the laboratory.

Pessimism and optimism, the great amplifiers of learned helplessness and mastery, respectively, influence illness. Optimism, 8 1/2 years earlier, predicted a 2nd heart attack: of the 16 most pessimistic men, 15 died. Of the 16 most optimistic men, only 5 died. This finding has been repeatedly confirmed in larger studies of cardiovascular disease, using varied measures of optimism. Greater optimism protected the men, whereas less optimism weakened them. In another study only 23% the rate of CVD deaths of the pessimists, and only 55% the overall death rate compared to the pessimists. People with high positive emotion before the rhinovirus develop few colds. Most common mental illness of the 19th century was physical illness.

These are stringent criteria for flourishing. Their 3 core elements are positive emotion, engagement, and meaning, with the addition of the other elements—most important, positive relationships—and accomplishment. Notice that such criteria are not merely subjective. We value justice, democracy, peace, and tolerance, to name a few other desiderata that might or might not correlate with well-being. When individuals flourish, health, productivity, and peace follow. Happiness turns out to be more contagious than depression.

Left and right are the politics of means—empowering the state versus empowering the individual. At the time of the industrial revolution, economic indicators were a very good approximation of how well a nation was doing. The more prosperous a society becomes, however, the worse an approximation wealth is to how well that society is doing. Life satisfaction in the US has been flat for 50 years even though GDP has tripled. Life satisfaction goes up mostly with income, whereas mood goes up mostly with increased tolerance in the nation. Policy itself follows from what is measured, and if all that is measured is money, all policy will be about getting more money. Government policy should be measured not by increases in gross domestic product but by increases in global well-being.

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