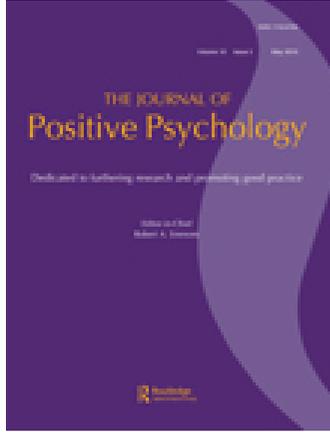


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Publisher: Routledge

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The Journal of Positive Psychology: Dedicated to furthering research and promoting good practice

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rpos20>

Orientations to happiness and the experience of everyday activities

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Published online: 28 Jul 2014.



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To cite this article: Carsten Grimm, Simon Kemp & Paul E. Jose (2015) Orientations to happiness and the experience of everyday activities, *The Journal of Positive Psychology: Dedicated to furthering research and promoting good practice*, 10:3, 207-218, DOI: [10.1080/17439760.2014.941382](https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2014.941382)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2014.941382>

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Orientations to happiness and the experience of everyday activities

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(Received 3 November 2013; accepted 27 June 2014)

The orientation to happiness framework proposes that individuals seek well-being through three behavioral orientations: Pleasure, meaning, and engagement. We investigated how orientations to happiness (OTH) influenced the pursuit and experience of daily activities using experience sampling methods. One hundred and seventy three people responded to three text messages per day for seven days asking how they felt about their current activity. Most participants did not report a dominant orientation to happiness, and the highest rated orientation receiving did not predict which daily activities participants engaged in most. However, trait orientation to happiness related to how activities were experienced. Individuals scoring highly on all three orientations rated their activities highly on momentary pleasure, meaning, engagement, and happiness. Overall, it appears more important for daily well-being to have a balanced and strong portfolio of the three OTH than to have any one particularly dominant orientation.

Keywords: well-being; orientations to happiness; experience sampling

Are there different pathways to happiness? This paper investigated how orientations to happiness (OTH) influence the enactment and experience of daily activities using an experience sampling methodology (ESM). The foundational concepts of hedonia and eudaimonia are initially reviewed before introducing the OTH framework as an integration of these two approaches to well-being. The three main research themes stemming from the introduction of the OTH scale are reviewed before discussing previous research relating to the idea that different people might have different foci for obtaining happiness. We adopted an ESM paradigm that used cellular phones as tools for collecting ecologically valid momentary data on the OTH dimensions in real time, rather than relying on methodologies that use recall or global cognitive assessments of behavior.

A brief overview of hedonia and eudaimonia

Recent scientific literature on what makes for a good life has predominantly developed out of two ‘grades’ of happiness rooted in the ancient Hellenic philosophical concepts of *hedonia* and *eudaimonia* (for a recent and comprehensive review see Henderson & Knight, 2012). Hedonia, ascribed to Aristippus, is typically defined as the pursuit of pleasure through maximizing positive emotions, while seeking to minimize negative emotions (Deci & Ryan, 2008; Ryan & Deci, 2001). Eudaimonia is an Aristotelian term meaning ‘living well’ in accordance with one’s values. Aristotle was opposed to the pursuit

of sensory pleasure irrespective of consequences, and rather advocated the eudaimonic concept of *arête*, translated as virtue or personal excellence (Kitto, 1951; Waterman, 2008). In modern psychology, eudaimonic happiness is most commonly related to psychological growth, flourishing, and meaning in life. (Henderson & Knight, 2012; Waterman, 1993).

The supporters and critics of the hedonic and eudaimonic schools have engaged in much discussion on the merits of taking each approach to understanding well-being (e.g. Kashdan, Biswas-Diener, & King, 2008; Waterman, 2008). The debate stems in part from the difficulties associated with translating philosophical ideas into psychological constructs (Biswas-Diener, Kashdan, & King, 2009). Recently, a general acknowledgement of the merits of combining both approaches toward an integrated understanding of well-being has arisen (Henderson & Knight, 2012). We turn now to the OTH scale which is an attempt to unite the hedonic and eudaimonic traditions.

Orientations to happiness

Seligman, Parks, and Steen (2004) offered a combined framework of hedonic and eudaimonic well-being which defined pleasure, meaning, and engagement as the three constituent parts to happiness (p. 1380). The OTH scale (Peterson, Park, & Seligman, 2005) that grew out of this approach proposes that people have a particular preference for achieving happiness via three discrete

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'orientations'. These orientations are thought to determine which activities different people pursue: 'we assume that given orientations shape conduct' (Peterson et al., 2005, p. 37).

The first route to seeking happiness is hedonic, namely via *pleasure*, and primarily includes the experience of positive emotion. The second route is eudaimonic, via *meaning*, and includes pursuing activities that provide a sense of purpose by contributing to and connecting oneself to something larger. The third orientation is called *engagement* and is the term given to conceptualize the psychological experience of flow states (e.g. Csikszentmihalyi, 1975). One reason for adding this third component is that flow does not necessarily involve any subjective experience of pleasure or meaning. It is therefore argued that engagement is neither entirely hedonic nor entirely eudaimonic in nature (Peterson et al., 2005; Waterman, 1993, p. 690). The OTH scale includes six-item subscales for each of the three OTH. During scale development, Peterson et al. (2005) found that principal components analysis supported the existence of three separate factors and that all three OTH domains separately predicted life satisfaction over and above demographic variables.

This combined eudaimonic and hedonic framework has encouraged a flurry of research, and three important findings, or ideas, have emerged from this approach: That meaning and engagement are stronger predictors of life satisfaction than pleasure; that those high on all three orientations have higher life satisfaction (termed 'the full life'); and that individuals have a preferred orientation to happiness that guides their behavior. Henderson, Knight, and Richardson (2014) recently reviewed a number of studies that provide a range of empirical support for the hypothesized full life and they also noted a weak relationship between pleasure and life satisfaction (Chan, 2009; Chen, Tsai, & Chen, 2009; Park, Peterson, & Ruch, 2009; Ruch, Harzer, Proyer, Park, & Peterson, 2010; Schueller & Seligman, 2010; Vella-Brodrick, Park, & Peterson, 2009). While the validity of the pleasure scale and its relationship to life satisfaction has recently been questioned (Henderson et al., 2014), many lines of investigation support the idea of the full life. For example, Huta and Ryan (2010) examined people's motivations for behavior and defined the full life as one in which both eudaimonia and hedonia exist at high levels. The authors found that those participants living the full life, so defined, tended to report higher overall well-being than those seeking happiness predominantly through either hedonia or eudaimonia. Despite mounting evidence supporting the construct of the full life, to our knowledge no study has investigated how the full life influences the experience of actual specific behaviors in daily lived experiences.

Dominant OTH

The concept of dominant OTH, which is examined in the present study, is yet to receive a thorough treatment in the literature. However, the idea is that different people might pursue different types of life, and that these different pursuits might reflect differing OTH. Different individuals could have one of the three types of happiness as a dominant guiding principle in their lives (e.g. 'pursuing a life of engagement'; Ruch et al., 2010, p. 228; 'the pleasant life'; Seligman, 2002).

Methods used to date to examine dominant OTH have not allowed for a clear understanding of the influence that OTH dominance might have. For example, Giannopoulos and Vella-Brodrick (2011) conducted a study that investigated whether dominant OTH influenced the success of a positive psychology writing intervention. Tertile splits were used to identify high, medium, and low scorers on the three OTH domains. However, this procedure provides only a relative standing of OTH scores within the sample and says nothing of the relative dominance of one domain over the other two within an individual. Thus, we believe the theoretical thinking about magnitude and balance among the various OTH domains is muddled, as is the empirical assessment of these ideas. While there has been some research around the effect of having higher relative endorsement of domains, to our knowledge there has been no investigation of the effect of having a large difference in OTH scores versus having little difference in OTH scores. One of the aims of the present study was therefore to make clearer what a dominant OTH looks like within individual participants.

OTH and experienced behavior

Despite the many research efforts concerning the OTH scale and its relationship to well-being, few studies have looked at self-reports during or just after actual behavior. As noted by several authors (Giannopoulos & Vella-Brodrick, 2011; Henderson & Knight, 2012) the OTH questionnaire obtains self-perceptions of behaviors, not observations of what people actually do. Ruch et al. (2010) attempted to demonstrate the predictive validity of the OTH scale by using imaginary scenarios and asking participants to assess the amount of time they would participate in them. However, Henderson et al. (2014) pointed out that this approach does not clarify whether an OTH influences the pursuit of *actual* behavior.

For the most part, previous research into OTH has concentrated on global measures of well-being, but Henderson et al. (2014) used the day reconstruction method to investigate OTH. The researchers asked their participants to keep an online diary in which they reconstructed the activities they had experienced for each of

four days and each activity was rated for its hedonic and eudaimonic experience. All orientations predicted higher life satisfaction, but although meaning predicted eudaimonic behavior as expected, a hedonic orientation did not predict engagement in hedonic behavior well. In contrast with earlier studies, the present study sought to obtain participants' thoughts and feelings about events and situations at, or very close to, the time they were in them.

The current study

The focus of the present study was on recently experienced rather than remembered behavior. Remembered experience has been shown in some instances to be a particularly poor correlate of actual experience (e.g. see the cold hand experiment of Kahneman, Fredrickson, Schreiber, & Redelmeier, 1993). In recent years, ESM has been considerably refined and involves participants reporting on their momentary experience when prompted, often via an electronic beeper or cellular phone. This technique is often credited to Csikszentmihalyi and has the advantage of providing for immediate responses in the real world – characteristics that contribute to high ecological validity (Atz, 2013; Csikszentmihalyi, Larson, & Prescott, 1977; Scollon, Kim-Prieto, & Scollon, 2003). Compared with the earliest experiments using ESM, people are now much more used to carrying around electronic devices (such as cellular phones) and it has in recent times become much easier for researchers to use cellular phones as platforms for ESM research (Atz, 2013; Conner & Reid, 2011).

This study investigated the extent to which OTH predicted everyday behavior. We were particularly interested in what evidence there was for OTH dominance influencing the pursuit and experience of everyday behaviors. The methodology we adopted employed text messaging to signal participants that we wanted to know what behavior they were engaging in, and how they viewed that behavior. In this way, we investigated how well-being was associated with everyday behaviors based on the OTH framework. Participants were asked to report on their experience at three moments over each of seven days and were asked how happy they were at the time they received the text message and how pleasurable, meaningful, and engaging the experience was. We sought to answer five specific questions:

- (1) How pleasurable, meaningful, and engaging were everyday lived experiences, and what happiness levels accompanied these experiences?
- (2) Do most people generally display a strong tendency toward one particular orientation, that is, display a dominant OTH?

- (3) Does a high score on a particular orientation predict the frequency of performing different behaviors? For example, do people with an orientation to meaning study more?
- (4) Does a high score on a particular orientation predict the experience of behavior? For example, if you are a person who generally scores high on engagement, do you find behaviors generally more engaging, regardless of their type? We expected that each trait orientation would influence its corresponding momentary rating (e.g. orientation to meaning would influence the experience of momentary meaning).
- (5) Is there evidence for the 'full life' hypothesis at the daily experiential level using ESM? Does endorsement of more orientations (regardless of type) accompany higher ratings of everyday activities? Stated differently, are momentary experience ratings generally more positive for those people who endorse more orientations?

Method

Data were collected via three phases. Initially, a link to an online questionnaire was sent to participants. Completion of this task was followed by an experience sampling period over seven consecutive days. Finally, participants completed the same online questionnaire again. All data were gathered over May to September 2012 in the Southern Hemisphere.

Participants

Participants ($N=173$) were a mix of undergraduate Psychology students who completed the study for partial course credit, students recruited on campus via flyer advertising, and participants recruited domestically within New Zealand via a Facebook page advertising the study (www.facebook.com/whatyoudoingstudy). The age range was 17–58 ($M=23.0$, $SD=7.5$) and included 132 (76.3%) female and 41 (23.7%) male participants. One hundred and fifty-four participants were located in Christchurch, 10 in Wellington, 2 in Auckland, and 7 in other locations around New Zealand. Of the 173 original participants, 8 did not complete the second questionnaire, but all answered text messages.

Procedure

All communication with participants occurred online via email or using cellphone text messaging; participants were not required to come into a laboratory at any stage. The stated aim was to investigate how people used their time during the day. Participants other than those

completing the study for course credit were remunerated by entering a draw to win NZD \$250 (USD \$205 in October 2012).

After making contact with the study email address (whatyoudoingstudy@gmail.com), participants were sent introductory information explaining the text messaging procedure and definitions of each of the key momentary dependent variables (pleasure, meaning, engagement, and happiness). A link was also included with instructions to complete the initial questionnaire, which was delivered via the online surveying application Qualtrics.

Following completion of the online survey, participants proceeded to the texting phase by sending a short text message to the researcher. A test text message was then sent from the data collection text messaging software in the standard study format in order to confirm compatibility between the participant's phone and the software (around 1–2% of cellphone users had difficulty sending or receiving messages from online messaging software) and to confirm participant proficiency with the texting procedure. All messages sent to participants during the study were identical. Upon a successful initial reply, participants were entered into the online messaging database and their 21 messages scheduled. A message was sent back to the participant advising that the study would begin in the next few days, with different participants commencing the study on different days of the week to minimize the influence of weekly cycles on the results (Moskowitz, Brown, Côté, & Moskowitz, 1997).

Experience sampling text messages

The text message format for data collection was identical for all messaging. 'Hi. What are you doing right now? Who are you with? How PLEASURABLE, MEANINGFUL, ENGAGING? How happy are you? 1 = not at all; 5 = moderately; 9 = extremely'. Participants were instructed they were only required to submit numerical ratings for the categories and to reply in the same order each time. An example reply was: 'Writing my thesis. By myself. 5987.'

Participants were told to reply with as much detail as they felt necessary to accurately describe what they were doing and who they were with. Example activities given during the procedure explanation included 'watching TV at home', 'walking to work', 'in a work meeting', and 'jogging around the park'. Participants were asked to reply as soon as possible; if it was not safe to reply immediately (e.g. while driving a vehicle), they were asked to reply as soon as possible when it did become safe. Participants were instructed not to mention anyone directly by name.

For each rating category, the following definitions were used:

Pleasurable means how much you are experiencing enjoyment or positive emotion; *Meaningful* means how much you feel the activity is rewarding, helping you to advance your goals, or is worthwhile; and *Engaging* means how much you feel the activity has you focused, challenged, or in the zone.

Additionally, participants were asked to 'rate your current feeling of happiness'. The rating scale was the same for each variable.

A random within-intervals schedule was used where one text message was sent randomly during the morning, afternoon, and evening (on the start of the determined hour within these periods). Each time period corresponded to and included: 9 am–12 pm, 1 pm–5 pm, and 6 pm–10 pm. Following the experience sampling phase (21 texts, 3 per day for 7 days), a message was sent to advise the participant that he or she had completed the texting study. A final email was then sent which included debriefing information and a link to the repeat online questionnaire.

Well-being measures obtained at pretest and posttest

The following scales were used to measure well-being in both online questionnaires.

Satisfaction with life scale

The satisfaction with life scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) consists of five items scored on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 ('strongly disagree') to 7 ('strongly agree'). Participants rate statements that assess their global cognitive judgements of life satisfaction, for example, 'In most ways my life is close to my ideal'. Scores on the five items are added (or averaged) to produce an overall total life satisfaction score. Stability and reliability during the initial scale development were 0.82 and 0.87, respectively (Diener et al., 1985) and were similar to results obtained by Pavot and Diener (stability over 2 weeks–1 month ≥ 0.83 ; reliability ≥ 0.85 ; 1993).

Scale of positive and negative experience

The scale of positive and negative experience (Diener et al., 2010) is a 12-item questionnaire that uses six questions each to assess the frequency with which positive and negative emotions are experienced. Three positive and three negative items enquire about general emotional experience (e.g. 'pleasant' or 'unpleasant'). Three positive and three negative items enquire about more specific emotions (e.g. 'happy' or 'sad'). Items are scored using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 ('very rarely or never') to 5 ('very often or always').

Items within each positive or negative sub-scale are added to produce an overall score of positive affect (PA) and negative affect (NA). An affect balance of positive minus negative scores can also be produced. Reliability during the initial scale development was 0.87 for PA and 0.81 for NA. Stability over one month was 0.62 for PA and 0.63 for NA (Diener et al., 2010).

OTH questionnaire

The OTH questionnaire (Peterson et al., 2005) contains 18 items scored on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 ('not like me at all') to 5 ('very much like me'). There are six items for each of the three separate OTH domains: pleasure, meaning, and engagement. Participants rate their agreement with descriptions of each OTH domain. The average score on each of the three sub-scales indicates the degree to which each OTH domain is endorsed, with higher scores indicating higher endorsement of that OTH.

The orientation to pleasure domain uses items such as 'Life is too short to postpone the pleasures it can provide'. The orientation to meaning domain uses items such as 'I have a responsibility to make the world a better place'. The orientation to engagement domain uses items such as 'I seek out situations that challenge my skills and abilities'. The reliability of each OTH domain during scale development was 0.82 for pleasure, 0.72 for meaning, and 0.82 for engagement (Peterson et al., 2005).

Results

Descriptive statistics and coding

Descriptive statistics, reliability, and stability for all trait measures are shown in Table 1. The 3633 text message replies were independently coded twice and Cohen's kappa for inter-rater reliability calculated. The lead researcher coded the entire data-set independently and a team of research assistant raters provided the comparison

coding check, with each assistant coding between 250 and 1000 different behaviors.

Thirty categories of daily activities were used to code all text message replies. Four previous studies using categorized daily activities informed the behavior coding in this research (Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone, 2004; MacKerron & Mourato, 2011; Robinson & Godbey, 1997; White & Dolan, 2009). Where there was agreement between two or more studies on one behavior category, it was initially used as a coding category. Following a pilot study, several activity groups were split into more specific categories to suit the present sample, e.g. the category 'working/studying' used by MacKerron and Mourato (2011) was split into 'paid work' and 'studying/working on education'. Initial behavior coding agreed for 90.1% overall. Cohen's kappa between raters for behavior coding ranged between 0.85 and 0.93. Disagreements between raters were resolved by the lead researcher.

On average, participants replied to 96.9% of text messages (SD = 5.7%, range 71–100% [15–21 messages]), excluding duplicates and messages clearly sent to replace earlier replies. For example, one message reply read 'Eating breakfast, 7338', followed one minute later by 'Eating breakfast, Alone, 7338'. The first message was deleted from analyses. Sixty-nine percent of the 173 participants replied to all 21 text messages. The median text message reply latency was 5 min 14 s; range was less than 1 min to 22 h. Where text messages were clearly attempts to make up for earlier missed information they were included in the analyses despite some large delays in reply, e.g. 'Yesterday evening: Driving to Taylor's Mistake, with partner and friend, 8788'.

Qualities of everyday experiences

The first research question was: How were the daily activities rated on the OTH domains of pleasure, meaning, engagement, and happiness? Behavior categories and their associated averaged ratings are shown in

Table 1. Descriptive statistics, scale reliability, and stability for well-being measures at pretest.

Scale		Mean (SD)	Cronbach's alpha	Stability
Satisfaction with life scale		25.13 (5.22)	0.81	0.81
Scale of positive and negative emotions	Positive affect	22.64 (3.46)	0.82	0.79
	Negative affect	14.50 (3.87)	0.77	0.72
Orientation to happiness	Pleasure	3.22 (0.77)	0.77	0.84
	Meaning	3.14 (0.83)	0.76	0.84
	Engagement	2.77 (0.60)	0.58	0.72

Notes: All stability test-retest correlations are significant, $p < 0.001$. Means, standard deviations, and Cronbach's alphas are presented for the initial test. Psychometric values at posttest were similar but generally better. Average time between completion of time 1 and time 2 measures was 13 days.

Table 2. Average ratings of behaviors on pleasure, meaning, engagement, and happiness.

Behavior	Occurrences	Pleasure	Meaning	Engagement	Happiness
Sex/making love	11 (0.3%)	8.55 (1st)	7.64 (1st)	8.09 (1st)	8.55 (1st)
Drinking alcohol/partying	49 (1.4%)	7.49 (2nd)	5.86 (10th)	7.16 (5th)	7.76 (2nd)
Care-giving/volunteering	11 (0.3%)	6.55 (9th)	7.09 (3rd)	7.00 (6th)	7.55 (3rd)
Meditating/religious activities	19 (0.5%)	6.58 (8th)	7.47 (2nd)	6.79 (7th)	7.53 (4th)
Childcare/playing with children	17 (0.5%)	6.53 (10th)	6.76 (4th)	6.41 (11th)	7.41 (5th)
Listening to music/podcast	16 (0.5%)	7.38 (3rd)	5.19 (17th)	6.25 (13th)	7.38 (6th)
Socializing/talking/chatting	203 (5.8%)	6.95 (5th)	5.84 (11th)	6.50 (10th)	7.27 (7th)
Hobbies/arts/crafts	57 (1.6%)	7.05 (4th)	6.51 (5th)	7.23 (4th)	7.19 (8th)
Shopping/errands	76 (2.2%)	6.16 (15th)	5.21 (16th)	5.75 (16th)	7.11 (9th)
Gaming/video games	71 (2.0%)	6.82 (6th)	4.48 (24th)	6.72 (9th)	7.07 (10th)
Gardening/outdoor housework	3 (0.1%)	6.67 (7th)	6.00 (9th)	8.00 (2nd)	7.00 (11th)
Exercising/sports	101 (2.9%)	6.48 (11th)	6.33 (6th)	6.78 (8th)	6.98 (12th)
Eating/snacking/drinking tea/coffee	267 (7.6%)	6.37 (13th)	5.00 (20th)	5.26 (22nd)	6.73 (13th)
Cooking/preparing food	94 (2.7%)	5.85 (17th)	5.01 (19th)	5.61 (20th)	6.65 (14th)
Watching tv/movies	452 (12.9%)	6.31 (14th)	4.43 (26th)	5.64 (19th)	6.65 (15th)
Pet care/playing with animals	13 (0.4%)	5.54 (19th)	5.77 (12th)	4.92 (24th)	6.62 (16th)
Reading (for pleasure, not studying)	59 (1.7%)	6.41 (12th)	5.25 (14th)	6.27 (12th)	6.37 (17th)
Sleeping/resting/relaxing	256 (7.3%)	6.12 (16th)	4.48 (22nd)	4.49 (26th)	6.22 (18th)
Other	7 (0.2%)	5.57 (18th)	5.71 (13th)	7.57 (3rd)	6.14 (19th)
Admin/organizing/finances	92 (2.6%)	4.87 (25th)	4.90 (21st)	5.04 (23rd)	6.11 (20th)
Washing/dressing/grooming	69 (2.0%)	5.04 (22nd)	3.78 (29th)	4.07 (30th)	6.01 (21st)
Internet/on computer (non-specific)	85 (2.4%)	5.48 (20th)	4.22 (28th)	5.32 (21st)	5.95 (22nd)
Commuting/travelling	334 (9.5%)	4.72 (27th)	4.48 (23rd)	4.43 (29th)	5.88 (23rd)
Paid work	254 (7.2%)	4.82 (26th)	5.21 (15th)	5.72 (17th)	5.81 (24th)
Lectures/class/lab	285 (8.1%)	4.97 (23rd)	6.05 (8th)	5.79 (15th)	5.80 (25th)
Texting/emailing	29 (0.8%)	5.34 (21st)	5.03 (18th)	5.66 (18th)	5.76 (26th)
Studying/working on education	453 (12.9%)	4.62 (28th)	6.20 (7th)	5.84 (14th)	5.61 (27th)
Housework/chores/DIY	68 (1.9%)	4.03 (29th)	4.24 (27th)	4.47 (27th)	5.54 (28th)
Facebook	44 (1.3%)	4.91 (24th)	3.30 (30th)	4.45 (28th)	5.40 (29th)
Sick/healthcare	22 (0.6%)	3.59 (30th)	4.45 (25th)	4.68 (25th)	3.82 (30th)

Note: Behaviors are rank-ordered on average happiness rating for ease of reading.

Table 2. Several interesting patterns should be noted. First, behaviors were clearly experienced as a blend of pleasure, meaning, and engagement. Second, some behavioral categories displayed notably asymmetrical ratings. For example, while studying/working on one's education rated as one of the least pleasurable activities at 28th out of 30 categories, it rated relatively high on meaning at 7th overall. The reciprocal pattern was also present; while gaming/playing video-games rated as 6th overall on pleasure, it scored near the bottom on meaning at 24th out of 30 categories.

Dominant OTH

We defined a dominant OTH for each individual as simply that domain which received the highest rating. Nine participants (5.2%) exhibited an OTH that was equally strong for at least two of the three domains. Eighty-nine participants (51.4%) scored highest on orientation to pleasure, 59 (34.1%) demonstrated a dominant orientation to meaning, and 16 (9.2%) manifested a dominant orientation to engagement. But how dominant were these dominant orientations? To examine this, domain ratings were converted to z-scores using each participant's mean

and standard deviation to control for individual variance in scoring on the 18 items of the OTH scale. Differences in z-scores were then calculated between each participant's highest scored OTH domain and their next highest (middle) OTH domain. The distribution of z-score differences across the sample is shown in Figure 1. Half of all z-score differences were smaller than 0.37 of a standard

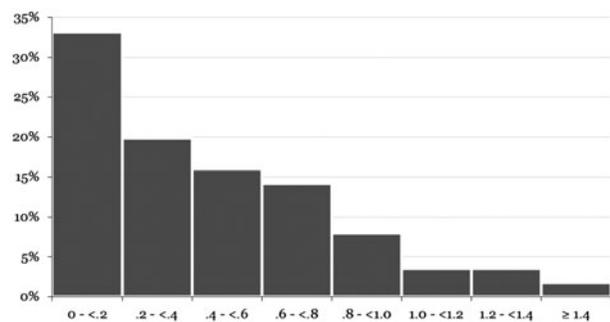


Figure 1. Distribution of within-person z-score differences between highest and next highest (middle) OTH domains. Note: Percentage of the sample falling within each z-score range is shown.

deviation. The top two OTH domains were found to differ by less than 0.20 of a standard deviation in over 33% of cases. In terms of points on the OTH Likert scale, the difference between the top two orientations was not large: averaged across all participants and the six items of each OTH domain, we found only half a rating difference in scoring on each item between the highest and next highest domain (e.g. 4.5 for dominant scorers vs. 4.0 for nondominant scorers for the orientation of meaning). To summarize, very few individuals had a clearly dominant OTH.

The preceding result calls into question whether the concept of a dominant orientation to happiness has very much value. Another way to consider whether dominant OTH is a valid concept is to ask whether the orientation that was rated highest by individuals predicted engagement in different behaviors. Behavior categories with greater than 100 occurrences were selected for this analysis: Studying/working on education; watching TV/movies; commuting/travelling; lectures/class/lab; eating/snacking/tea/coffee; sleeping/resting/relaxing; paid work; socializing/talking/chatting; and exercising/sports. Chi-square tests for independence were then performed for each of the behavior categories (there were no violations of assumptions; minimum cell size criteria were met in all cases. Nine participants who scored equally on two or more of the OTH domains were excluded, leaving $N=164$). No statistically significant differences were found in frequency of behaviors when comparing by the OTH group on which individuals scored highest for any of the nine categories. This result reinforces the previous finding that dominant OTHs were rarely pronounced for individuals and indicates that dominant OTH may not be a well-validated concept.

Does orientation influence the experience of behavior?

Our fourth set of analyses looked at whether different OTH scores might influence how individuals experience the different activities: Although people might perform

the same everyday activities, they may nevertheless experience those activities in different ways. Note that this analysis does not presume a dominant OTH. The possibility was tested with multi-level modeling.

Nezlek (2001, 2003, 2007) has discussed at length how multi-level random coefficient modeling (called multi-level modeling in this study) provides the most accurate analysis of multi-level nested data. The influence of trait measures (level 2) on momentary responding (level 1) was therefore analysed using hierarchical linear modeling software (HLM ver. 7; Raudenbush, Bryk, Cheong, Congdon, & du Toit, 2011). Results for all traits are displayed in Table 3. Results are reported across all behavior categories. Coefficients (b) show the influence an increase in one unit of each level 2 trait variable had on each level 1 momentary rating. Robust standard errors (SE) are reported in brackets.

Each of the three OTH domains at level 2 evidenced relationships with momentary ratings of pleasure, meaning, and engagement at level 1 (with the exception that engagement did not significantly influence momentary pleasure). For example, an increase in one unit on an orientation to pleasure score at level 2 was associated with higher momentary ratings of pleasure at level 1 ($b=0.16$, $p<0.05$), meaning ($b=0.36$, $p<0.001$), and engagement ($b=0.25$, $p<0.01$). Interestingly, no OTH domain significantly predicted momentary happiness (pleasure, $p=0.10$; meaning, $p=0.14$; engagement, $p=0.54$), thus one can conclude that no one particular trait-level orientation was predictive of greater momentary happiness compared to another orientation. The associations of the three trait OTH domains with momentary ratings of pleasure, meaning, and engagement were generally strong. However, the influence of each OTH trait on its matching momentary dimension was not consistently large, as one might expect. Each OTH domain not only influenced its own momentary experience domain, but it also shared a relationship with other nonmatching momentary domains as well. For example, orientation to meaning significantly predicted

Table 3. Influence of well-being measures on momentary ratings.

Well-being measures	Momentary ratings			
	Pleasure	Meaning	Engagement	Happiness
SWLS	0.04 (0.01)***	0.03 (0.02)*	0.02 (0.02)	0.05 (0.01)***
PA	0.07 (0.02)***	0.08 (0.02)***	0.07 (0.02)***	0.13 (0.02)***
NA	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.02)**
OTH(P)	0.16 (0.08)*	0.36 (0.09)***	0.25 (0.09)**	0.14 (0.08)
OTH(M)	0.22 (0.08)**	0.30 (0.10)**	0.21 (0.08)*	0.11 (0.07)
OTH(E)	0.14 (0.09)	0.33 (0.13)*	0.29 (0.11)*	0.07 (0.11)

Notes: Coefficients are shown with robust SE in brackets. OTH(P); orientation to pleasure. OTH(M); orientation to meaning. OTH(E); orientation to engagement.

* $p<0.05$; ** $p\leq 0.01$; *** $p\leq 0.001$.

not only momentary meaning ($b=0.30$), but also momentary pleasure ($b=0.22$) and momentary engagement ($b=0.21$).

In summary, as predicted, OTH was found to influence the *experience* of everyday activities. This influence, contrary to expectations, did not conform to a direct one-to-one relationship of like-trait to like-momentary rating. When collapsed across all behavior categories, each OTH trait was found to influence nearly all of the momentary ratings of pleasure, meaning, and engagement.

The Full Life

This study also sought evidence of the hypothesized full life at the level of daily experience. High and low scorers on each OTH dimension were identified using

median splits, similar to the methodologies previously adopted by Giannopoulos and Vella-Brodrick (2011) and by Huta and Ryan (2010). This procedure produced four OTH categories: 35 participants (20.2%) scored below the median on all three OTH; 57 (32.9%) scored above the median on one OTH; 49 (28.3%) scored above the median on two OTH; and 32 (18.5%) scored above the median on all three OTH.

Two multivariate analyses of variance were performed to test for differences between the four resulting groups. One analysis used as dependent variables the trait variables of life satisfaction, PA, and NA scores from the questionnaires, while the other analysis used momentary pleasure, meaning, engagement, and happiness scores obtained from the text messages.

The analyses yielded a significant main effect for group for both the text messages ($F(12, 9274) = 8.00$,

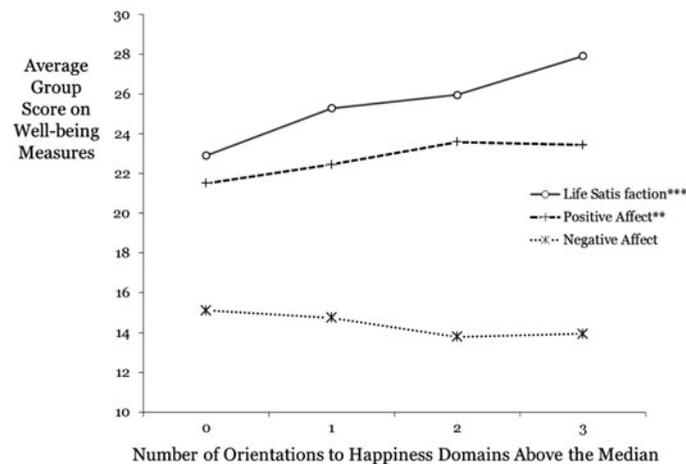


Figure 2. Orientation to happiness median-split group scores on average life satisfaction, PA, and NA.

Notes: Those participants with more OTH domains above the median had higher life satisfaction and reports of PA (NA linear trend was *ns*, $p=0.097$; PA $**p \leq 0.01$; life satisfaction $***p \leq 0.001$).

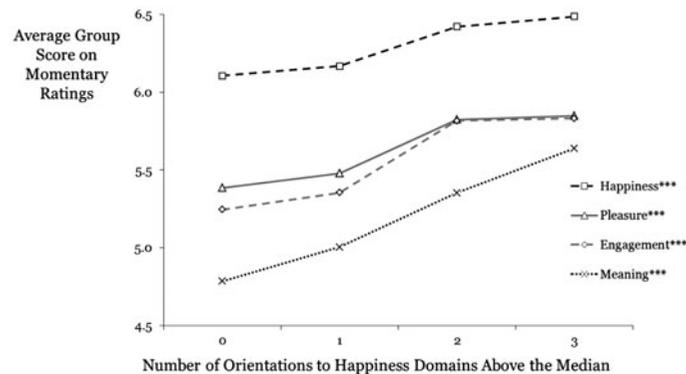


Figure 3. Orientation to happiness median-split group scores on average momentary pleasure, meaning, engagement, and happiness. Those participants with more OTH domains above the median had higher average momentary ratings of daily activities. All linear trends; $***p \leq 0.001$.

$p < 0.001$; Wilk's $\lambda = 0.973$; partial $\eta^2 = 0.009$; a small effect size) and the questionnaire results ($F(9, 407) = 2.65$, $p = 0.005$; Wilk's $\lambda = 0.870$; partial $\eta^2 = 0.045$; a medium effect size). Univariate test results for each of the seven separate dependent variables were all significant ($ps < 0.05$), with the one exception of NA ($F(3, 169) = 1.32$, $p = 0.27$).

Scoring above the median on more OTH domains was associated with higher well-being across nearly all dimensions. Linear trend analyses revealed significant linear trends across all well-being variables, with only NA failing to reach significance. Trends remained significant when age was included as a covariate. The results are depicted in Figures 2 and 3. Overall, these results support the full life hypothesis, not only at the level of SWB, but also at the level of momentary everyday experience.

Discussion

The present study examined Peterson et al.'s (2005) OTH framework using an ESM. This method enabled us to see how different OTH were expressed or not in actual behavior and in people's experiences of those behaviors. Few people appear to manifest a truly dominant OTH – most people exhibited blends – and the OTH which individuals rated highest did not predict the behaviors they engaged in. Relationships between trait OTH and how people experienced different activities they engaged in were found, but the relationships were not simple. Scoring highly on more than one OTH was associated not only with higher well-being overall but also with a more pleasurable, meaningful, and engaged experience of everyday activities.

The study obtained momentary ratings of daily activities on pleasure, meaning, engagement, and happiness. Most daily activities produced a blend of pleasure, meaning, and engagement, rather than slotting exclusively into one of the three orientation categories, although some behaviors resulted in very different levels of orientations and happiness. Obtained ratings of behaviors in this study were similar to those obtained in previous studies. For example, sex/making love was the highest rated behavior on all dimensions in this data-set, consistent with several other daily activity studies (Kahneman et al., 2004; Killingsworth & Gilbert, 2010; Robinson & Godbey, 1997). Being sick/healthcare was rated lowest in the current study and second lowest by Robinson and Godbey.

Interestingly, Facebook – an activity with over 845 million users that captures an inordinate amount of attention during the day (Wilson, Gosling, & Graham, 2012) – was rated lowest overall on meaning, second lowest on happiness, and near the bottom of all other categories. Recent research by Kross et al. (2013), also using ESM and a college-age sample, showed that Facebook usage

predicted declines in life satisfaction over time. Whether this is because Facebook is unrewarding or because people tend to use it when they have nothing more meaningful, engaging, or pleasurable to occupy them is unclear and deserves future research attention.

Huta and Ryan (2010) found in within-persons analyses at a given time that hedonic and eudaimonic motivations were negatively correlated, suggesting that the two motives may be somewhat competing. We found that many behaviors were quite able to be experienced simultaneously as high on both eudaimonia and hedonia and overall the results align with the *blended activities* concept of daily behaviors (Steger, Kashdan, & Oishi, 2008, p. 39).

The hypothesis that a person's dominant OTH would predict differential engagement in different activities was not supported. This result is generally similar to a finding obtained by Henderson et al. (2014) for hedonic behavior and orientation, although the differences in methods make detailed comparison difficult. The present study also indicates that the hypothesis itself may not be empirically well founded: our results show that it is not easy to identify a clearly dominant OTH in most people.

The expectation that trait OTH would influence how different behaviors were experienced was partially supported. The trait measures were found to relate to orientation ratings of daily behaviors for all behavior categories. On the other hand, the pattern of associations found between the orientation measures and the momentary ratings was not simple congruent relationships. For example, an orientation towards meaning is not strongly and exclusively linked to an inclination to derive meaning from a given behavior. These results are generally consistent with those obtained by White and Dolan (2009), who used a day reconstruction method rather than momentary ratings. These results and those that investigated a dominant OTH indicate that most individuals seem to value all three orientations and their values are reflected in the broad range of mundane, necessary, and universal activities that people pursue, i.e. work, study, eating, sleeping, exercise, socializing, etc.

The idea that individuals who endorse 'the full life', i.e. those people who strongly endorsed multiple orientations, would experience more well-being was supported, and as previously discussed, this finding is consistent with a growing body of empirical work (see Henderson & Knight, 2012). The addition this current research makes is that it shows the full life was evidenced for both global well-being measures (except for NA) and momentary behavior ratings. As Table 3 makes clear, those individuals embracing a higher orientation, for example, to pleasure are likely to find not only more pleasure in their activities, but also more meaning and engagement.

Taken together one implication of our results is that in order to maximize happiness people might do well to

pursue activities that *balance their well-being portfolio*. We agree with the caution voiced by Henderson and Knight (2012) that one pathway to happiness should not be viewed as superior to another. Our research supports the idea that it is the combined pursuit of all three orientations that leads to the full life and the greatest experience of happiness. Therefore, we suggest that those interested in maximising their happiness should ensure that enough attention is given to cultivating all three orientations. Consequently, helping professionals might recommend that sufficient attention is paid to pursuing a combination of pleasurable activities, meaningful activities, and highly engaging activities. For clinicians, counsellors, and coaches, one way to help people achieve a fuller life is by identifying the OTH domain clients and patients are weakest at pursuing, and then supporting its development. This is consistent with the findings of Giannopoulos and Vella-Brodrick (2011), where well-being improved most for those participants who were assigned to write about an orientation that was not their dominant orientation. Positive psychology interventions could be used to strengthen the orientation of relative weakness, for example, by practicing savouring (e.g. Jose, Lim, & Bryant, 2012) or encouraging people to experience more flow states (e.g. Bryant, Smart, & King, 2005).

Both the results, and the conclusions that might be drawn from them, are subject to a number of limitations. The sample was dominated by young, female university students, and it is not clear that similar results would be obtained, say, from an elderly, retired group or a group of male managers. Different behavioral categories are likely to be relevant for different samples. Also, our choice of 21 time points spread over seven days represented something of a compromise. More frequent time points or a longer time period might generate somewhat different findings, and replications and extensions will be useful to determine the degree of variability introduced by these factors. Another significant limitation of this study is that, despite our strong desire to not solely rely on global measures of behavior, the data gathered were nevertheless self-reports (Baumeister, Vohs, & Funder, 2007), albeit reports relatively uncontaminated by recall bias.

One area of the current study that deserves highlighting and also points to further avenues for novel research is the apparent richness in everyday activities. Some text messages spoke to the highs of life for some people, for example, 'Performing burlesque on stage, with 300 others :-) 9, 9, 9, 9'. By contrast, some messages also spoke to the lows of life, such as 'At home finding out details on how my aunt will die in two weeks, with sister and mum, 1771'. Thus, data collected via ESM using text messages often can contain rich information which could benefit from qualitative analysis in future research

designs (Haig, 2006, p. 150). Perhaps, evidence that people with differing OTH scores engage with the world in different ways might be found by adopting qualitative research methods that allow for an investigation into differences that are 'not a matter of degree but of kind' (Funder, 2010, p. 253).

In conclusion, the present research sampled people's momentary experiences to investigate the influence OTH had on everyday activities. Daily activities were experienced as a blend of pleasure, meaning, and engagement. The results provided no evidence that different orientations predict engaging in different behavior. Some evidence was found that OTH influence how different behaviors are experienced. Considerable evidence was found that having a stronger portfolio of all of the OTH enhanced both overall SWB and the experience of daily life.

Acknowledgment

Thanks go to Dr Tamlin Conner of the University of Otago for helpful comments and feedback throughout this research project.

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