

Gratitude in Adolescence: An Understudied Virtue

Jeffrey J. Froh, Hofstra University

Giacomo Bono, Whittier College

Synonyms: thanks; thankfulness; thanksgiving; appreciation.

Key words: gratitude; adolescence; positive psychology; emotion; character; virtue.

Overview

Gratitude is experienced when people receive something beneficial; it is the appreciation they feel when somebody does something kind or helpful for them. It has been defined as “a sense of thankfulness and joy in response to receiving a gift, whether the gift be a tangible benefit from a specific other or a moment of peaceful bliss evoked by natural beauty” (Emmons, 2004, p. 554). While gratitude has been largely ignored throughout psychology’s history, it has recently attracted considerable interest from the scientific community (see Emmons & McCullough, 2004, for a review). But most of this interest has been with adults, the major researchers being Sara Algoe, David DeSteno, Robert Emmons, Todd Kashdan, Neal Krause, Sonja Lyubomirsky, Michael McCullough, Jo-Ann Tsang, Philip Watkins, and Alex Wood. Indeed, a PsycINFO search with the terms “gratitude” and “adolescence” yielded only eight papers and “gratitude” and “adolescents” yielded only 17 papers. Gratitude research with adolescents is critically needed to understand and promote the full spectrum of youth development—namely, flourishing into happy, productive and contributing members of society. The primary aim of this essay is to shed light on what is known about gratitude in adolescence. The discussion begins with the main findings from current research on gratitude in adolescence and then proceeds to what is known so far

about the development of gratitude and its promotion. Some measurement issues are then described followed by a discussion of the gaps in knowledge and directions for future gratitude research.

Current Research

There are five known published studies examining gratitude in adolescence. Three of the studies use cross-sectional designs (Baumgarten-Tramer, 1938; Froh, Yurkewicz, & Kashdan, 2009b; Gleason & Weintraub, 1976), and the remaining two use experimental designs (Froh, Kashdan, Ozimkowski, & Miller, 2009a; Froh, Sefick, & Emmons, 2008). The first published study on gratitude in adolescence investigated its development (Baumgarten-Tramer, 1938). Students ($N = 1,059$, ages 7-15) from the city of Berne, Switzerland were asked two questions: (1) What is your greatest wish? (2) What would you do for the person who granted you this wish? After coding the responses, four types of gratitude emerged. *Verbal gratefulness* (e.g., "I should thank him") occurred in 30%-48% of the total replies. It was mainly expressed in 15-year-olds (72%).

Concrete gratefulness occurs when the child wants to give the benefactor something in return for the gift (e.g., "I should give him a book, a bow, a pocket knife"). There are two kinds of concrete gratefulness: exchange and material. Exchange gratitude occurs when the beneficiary gives the benefactor an object in return for an object (e.g., a hat in return for a DVD). (Data were not provided on the percentage of youth demonstrating exchange gratitude.) Material gratitude occurs when the beneficiary shares with the benefactor some benefits of the gift (e.g., giving the

benefactor a ride to a party in a car). This type of gratitude was most frequent with 8-year-olds (51%) and least frequent with children between 12 and 15 years of age (6%).

Connective gratitude is an attempt by the beneficiary to create a spiritual relationship with the benefactor. “I would help him in case of need” characterizes this type of gratitude. Connective gratitude was reported by children as young as 7 years of age but became more frequent at the age of 11 and occurred in 60% of 12 year olds (Baumgarten-Tramer, 1938). Here, youth seem to lose some of their egocentrism and become more other-centered and capable of abstract thought, exhibiting the gains in social-emotional competence that emerge during early adolescence (Saarni, 1999).

Last, *finalistic gratefulness* is exemplified by the adolescent who, for example, wishes to make the soccer team and expresses gratitude by always being punctual to practice and obeying the coach’s instructions. Though data are not provided, it is suggested that finalistic gratefulness is most common in 13-15 year olds due to gratitude taking a higher form in later developmental stages. Empirical data do not exist regarding Baumgarten-Tramer’s hypotheses. Aside from one study examining politeness routines in youth (Gleason & Weintraub, 1976)—where they found that children before the age of 6 thanked an adult for giving them candy considerably less often (21%) than 10 (83%) and 11-16 year-olds (88%)—and another study exclusively examining some of gratitude’s benefits to early adolescent development (Froh et al., 2009b), this remains the only known attempt at scientifically elucidating the developmental trajectory and manifestation of gratitude in youth.

Can children be taught the distinction between obligatory gratitude and genuine gratitude? Social etiquette such as saying “thank you” when someone holds the door for

them helps children successfully navigate the social world (Gleason & Weintraub, 1976). But such social scripts do not require the child to respond with gratitude. Feeling grateful occurs mainly when someone believes the benefactor gave a gift intentionally (McCullough Kilpatrick, Emmons, & Larson, 2001). The person held the door intentionally—they did not have to. Not expressing gratitude can lead to social problems (Apte, 1974), but expressing gratitude can help individuals become socially effective communicators and proactive in securing positive social interactions as well as supportive and satisfying relationships (Hess, 1970). It therefore seems fruitful to teach children and adolescents the intricacies behind the experience and expression of gratitude. Doing so may foster its development, which in turn may promote youth psychological and social functioning. But before turning to strategies for teaching gratitude and encouraging its practice among adolescents, it makes sense to first consider gratitude's links to psychological and social well-being.

Social belonging is among the most essential human needs (Deci & Ryan, 2000), and caring ties can buffer people from adversity and pathology as well as enhance their health and well-being throughout life (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; House, Landis, & Umberson, 1988). Research with adults overwhelmingly indicates that gratitude is strongly related to healthy psychological and social functioning because it focuses people on self-improvement and helps them maintain and build strong, supportive social ties (Emmons & McCullough, 2004). Evidence consistent with these effects, but among youth populations, has only recently started to emerge, and most of it rests on research using correlational methods administered at single points in time. For instance, among early adolescents (ages 11-13), gratitude was found to be negatively related with

physical symptoms and positively related with positive affect, perceptions of peer and familial social support, optimism, providing emotional support, and satisfaction with school, family, community, friends, and self (Froh et al., 2009b). Among late adolescents, gratitude was positively related with life satisfaction, social integration, absorption, and academic achievement and negatively related with envy, depression, and materialism (Froh, Emmons, Card, Bono, & Wilson, 2009). Other research with youth indicates that strong social ties and a sense of engagement with others are significant predictors of achievement (Appleton, Christenson, & Furlong, 2008; Froh et al., 2009d) and of immediate and sustainable personal well-being (Froh et al., 2009d; Lyubomirsky, 2008; Seligman, 2002). Thus, gratitude seems to be related to various indicators of psychological and social functioning with youth as it is with adults. But, as has been found with adults, can gratitude interventions help adolescents increase their well-being?

The most convincing evidence that gratitude can improve youth well-being comes from two gratitude intervention studies. In the first study (Froh et al., 2008) 11 classrooms were randomly assigned to one of three conditions—gratitude, hassles, or a no treatment control—and early adolescents (ages 11-14) completed measures daily for 2-weeks and then again at a 3-week follow-up. Those in the gratitude condition were instructed to count up to five things they were grateful for, and those in the hassles condition were asked to focus on irritants. Gratitude journal entries included benefits such as: “My coach helped me out at baseball practice,” “My grandma is in good health, my family is still together, my family still loves each other, my brothers are healthy, and

we have fun everyday,” and “I am grateful that my mom didn’t go crazy when I accidentally broke a patio table.”

Counting blessings, compared with hassles, was related to more gratitude, optimism, life satisfaction, and less negative affect. Students who claimed feeling grateful for receiving help from others reported more positive affect. In fact, the relation between feeling grateful for help from others and positive affect became stronger during the 2-week intervention and was strongest 3 weeks after the intervention ended. Gratitude in response to aid also explained *why* students instructed to count blessings reported more general gratitude. Recognizing the gift of aid—yet another blessing to be counted—seemed to engender more gratitude.

The most significant finding seems to be the relation between counting blessings and satisfaction with school. Students instructed to count blessings, compared with either students in the hassles or control conditions, reported more satisfaction with their school experience (i.e., find school interesting, feel good at school, think they are learning a lot, and are eager to go to school; Huebner, Drane, & Valois, 2000) both immediately following the 2 week intervention and 3 weeks after completing the intervention. Expressions of school satisfaction included: “I am thankful for school,” “I am thankful for my education,” and “I am thankful that my school has a track team and that I got accepted into honor society.” School satisfaction is positively related to academic and social success (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). Many early and late adolescents, however, indicate significant amounts of dissatisfaction with their school experience (Huebner, Valois, Paxton, & Drane, 2005). Therefore, inducing gratitude in students via counting blessings may be a viable intervention for mitigating negative

academic appraisals and simultaneously promoting a positive attitude about school. Holding such a view predisposes students to improving both their academic and social competence and may help motivate them to get the most out of school.

In the second study (Froh et al., 2009a), children and adolescents from a parochial school were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: a gratitude intervention or a control condition. Students in the gratitude condition were asked to write a letter to a benefactor whom they have never properly thanked, to read the letter to the benefactor in person, and to then share their experience with other students in the same condition. To illustrate, one 17-year old female wrote and read the following letter to her mother:

I would like to take this time to thank you for all that you do on a daily basis and have been doing my whole life.... I am so thankful that I get to drive in with you [to school] everyday and that you listen and care about the things going on in our lives. I also want to thank you for all the work you do for our church. Every week you work to provide a great lineup of worship that allows everyone to enter in and glorify God every Sunday.... I thank you for being there whenever I need you. I thank you that when the world is against me that you stand up for me and you are my voice when I can't speak for myself. I thank you for caring about my life and wanting to be involved. I thank you for the words of encouragement and hugs of love that get me through every storm. I thank you for sitting through countless games in the cold and rain and still having the energy to make dinner and all the things you do. I thank you for raising me in a Christian home where I have learned who God was and how to

serve him.... I am so blessed to have you as my mommy and I have no idea what I would have done without you. I love you a million hugs and kisses.

Students in the control condition were asked to record and think about daily events. Findings indicated that youth low in positive affect in the gratitude condition, compared with youth in the control condition, reported greater gratitude and positive affect at post-treatment and greater positive affect at the 2-month follow-up. Thus, although 44% of the published studies found support for gratitude interventions (when making contrasts with techniques that induce negative affect; e.g., record your daily hassles) (Froh et al., 2009a), this study suggests that there may be specific individuals—such as those low in positive affect—who may benefit the most.

The aforementioned studies advanced our understanding of gratitude in adolescence. It is now known that grateful adolescents are happy adolescents, and the effects of gratitude interventions with adolescents mirror those with adults. As wonderful as this may be, psychologists must tread cautiously because the scales used were created for adults—not youth. Thus, to further build a science of gratitude in adolescence, psychologists must address measurement issues so that gratitude, as it is experienced by youth, can be measured as such by psychological scales.

Measurement Issues and Measures

As mentioned previously, individuals feel grateful on occasions when they notice and appreciate the good things that happen to them, and this emotional state usually leads them to express thanks to those people who are responsible (Emmons, 2004). Gratitude is a typical emotional response when a person receives a personal gift or benefit that was not earned, deserved, or expected, but instead due to the good

intentions of another person (Emmons & McCullough, 2003). There are a variety of experiences in individuals' social lives that can elicit grateful feelings—material (e.g., a gift), mundane (e.g., a favor), interpersonal (e.g., support from a friend), or collective (e.g., recognition by one's community, school, or club). As a moral emotion, the experience and expression of gratitude promotes beneficial exchanges and relationships between people and the welfare of society at large (Haidt, 2003)—a view that has long been shared by religions and cultures across the globe (Emmons & Crumpler, 2000). Considered an important virtue for psychological and social functioning, gratitude is an emotion that instills a sense of meaning and connection to other people, communities, nature, or God (Emmons, 2004).

Beyond emotion, gratitude can also represent a broader attitude toward life—the tendency to see all of life as a gift. People could experience appreciative states that involve thoughts, beliefs, or attitudes that are transpersonal (e.g., appreciation for an awe-evoking landscape, for the creativity of a work of art, or for experiences of spiritual connectedness). An attitude of gratitude may help sensitize young people to the things they find most meaningful in their lives and to the positive investments many adults in schools and communities regularly make on their behalf.

Individuals can also differ from each other in their general tendency or disposition to be grateful. Four qualities that distinguish highly grateful people from less grateful people is that they experience gratitude more intensely for a positive event, more frequently throughout the day, with greater density for any given benefit (i.e., grateful to more people), and at any given time they may have a wider span of benefits in their lives for which they are grateful (e.g., family, friends, teachers, being included in a

special event, having been defended by someone) (McCullough, Emmons, & Tsang, 2002). Thus, gratitude can be conceptualized at several levels of analysis ranging from momentary affect to long-term dispositions (McCullough et al, 2002).

On the basis of the above four qualities of gratitude (i.e., intensity, frequency, span, and density), McCullough et al. (2002) developed the Gratitude Questionnaire-6 (GQ-6), a six-item self-report scale for measuring a grateful disposition in adult populations. Sample items include, “I have so much to be thankful for,” “If I had to list everything that I felt grateful for, it would be a very long list,” and “I am grateful to a wide variety of people.” They found that a grateful disposition was associated positively with positive affect, well-being, prosocial behaviors/traits, and religiousness/spirituality and that it was associated negatively with envy and materialistic attitudes—findings that converged with observer ratings as well. A second self-report scale—the Gratitude, Resentment, Appreciation Test, 16-item short version (GRAT; Thomas & Watkins, 2003)—measures adults’ sense of abundance in life and appreciation of others. Sample items include: “I couldn’t have gotten where I am today without the help of many people” and “I think it’s important to appreciate each day that you are alive.” Preliminary evidence suggests that these two dispositional measures may also be suitable for children and adolescents (Froh et al., 2010), but further research is needed.

A third self-report scale, the Gratitude Adjective Checklist (GAC; McCullough et al., 2002)—which is the sum of the adjectives of grateful, thankful, and appreciative—was used to measure gratitude in youth as a disposition (Froh et al., 2009a, 2010) and as a mood (Froh et al., 2009b). Students were asked to rate the degree to which they experienced each emotion “in general” in the former study (trait) and “since yesterday”

in the latter studies (mood). This research suggests the GAC may be a valid and reliable measure of both a grateful disposition and a grateful mood among early and late adolescents.

A major obstacle to gratitude research with adolescents, however, is that no scale currently exists that was specifically designed to measure a grateful disposition that is still forming in development. Although reliability and validity data of the adult scales seem reasonable, they do not consider adolescent development and its intricacies (Froh, Miller, & Snyder, 2007). Also needed are corresponding parent and teacher scales. Such scales are needed before psychologists can fill in the gaps in knowledge by examining the development of gratitude and seriously conducting gratitude interventions with youth.

Gaps in knowledge and Promising Directions for Future Research

The development of gratitude has only been examined indirectly by way of applying theories of children's social and cognitive development (McAdams & Bauer, 2004). The early sources of gratitude or factors that promote its development, factors that inhibit its development, and the unique benefits of gratitude to human development remain largely uncharted (Bono & Froh, 2009; Froh & Bono, 2008). These represent three main areas where empirical knowledge is lacking. Next, each of these areas is considered by focusing on likely developmental mechanisms and promising directions for future research.

Although empirically little is known about the development of gratitude, many social and cognitive factors likely play a role in its development. First, because gratitude is an acquired virtue that focuses on the conditions of benefit-exchanges (Emmons &

Shelton, 2005), children could benefit from linguistic prompts that not only encourage politeness but also elaborate on the social cognitive appraisals that elicit gratitude (i.e., the personal value a benefit has for them, the intentions of a benefactor, or the costs incurred by the benefactor). For instance, adults or older peers could emphasize how much another person went out of his way to provide help whenever they are privy to such incidences in a young person's life. If adults regularly modeled appreciative responses in interactions with other adults and with youth themselves, this would undoubtedly help provide young people with structure and guidance for experiencing and expressing gratitude.

Second, empathy is needed for a beneficiary to be able to appreciate the conditions of benefit-giving situations and to respond appropriately (McCullough et al., 2001). Thus, future research should examine how empathy and other social-emotional competencies as well as the presence of social models enable a young person to reliably make the social cognitive appraisals mentioned above. Third, engagement in mutually beneficial interactions with adults (e.g., coordinated activities at school, service learning in the community, or joint play at home), and encouragement to do the same with peers (e.g., through creative learning projects or during extracurricular activities in which youth can collaborate on personally meaningful tasks) may also facilitate the development of gratitude by providing fertile social experiences in which benefits are likely to be exchanged. Such hypotheses would be fruitfully investigated through longitudinal research exploring the early developmental sources of gratitude.

One factor that may inhibit the development of gratitude is materialism. Gratitude seems to drive intrinsic goal pursuit, prosocial motivations, and the fulfillment of higher-

order needs (e.g., self-expression and purpose), whereas materialism seems to drive extrinsic goal pursuit, individualistic motivations, and the fulfillment of lower-order needs (e.g., possessions of comfort and safety) (Kasser, 2002; Polak & McCullough, 2006). Evidence from research with adolescents indicates that gratitude is incompatible with the pursuit of materialistic or extrinsic goals and that it positively predicts academic achievement, mental health and well-being—outcomes that are negatively predicted by materialism (Froh et al., 2009c). Materialism is a rising problem for youth (Chaplin & John, 2007), and youth who overvalue materialism tend to be less invested in personal relationships and spend less time with their families too (Flouri, 2004). Further, adolescents who are more extrinsically motivated report more tobacco, alcohol, and marijuana use, and greater sexual intercourse than adolescents who are less extrinsically motivated (Williams, Cox, Hedberg, & Deci, 2000). Thus, if gratitude encourages personal growth, strong social ties, and reduces the focus on extrinsic aspirations, it may also reduce adolescents' vulnerability to health risks (Masten, 2001). Research should test whether and how these effects occur in youth as well as explore other factors that may inhibit the development of gratitude.

Finally, though the beneficial impact that gratitude may have on youth development has been insinuated throughout this essay, evidence available so far from research with adolescents indicates that the biggest benefit may be that gratitude is intimately linked to purpose (Froh et al., 2009d). Indeed, a sense of gratitude for being able to both participate in what the world has to offer and make a unique contribution characterized highly purposeful adolescents (Damon, 2008). That gratitude should help adolescents build purpose and thrive makes sense when considering the consistent

finding (in research with adults and youth) that gratitude helps hone both an inward focus on self-improvement and an outward focus on establishing a social support network that is consistent with such efforts.

References

- Appleton, J. J., Christenson, S. L., & Furlong, M. J. (2008). Student engagement with school: Critical conceptual and methodological issues of the construct. *Psychology in the Schools, 45*, 369-386.
- Apte, M. L. (1974). Thank you and South Asian languages. A comparative sociolinguistic study. *International Journal of the Society of Language, 3*, 67-89.
- Baumeister, R.F., & Leary, M.R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin, 117*, 497-529.
- Baumgarten-Tramer, F. (1938). "Gratefulness" in children and young people. *Journal of Genetic Psychology, 53*, 53-66.
- Bono, G., & Froh, J. J. (2009). Gratitude in school: Benefits to students and schools. In R. Gilman, E. S. Huebner, & M. Furlong (Eds.), *Handbook of positive psychology in schools* (pp. 77-88). New York: Routledge.
- Chaplin, L. N., & John, D. R. (2007). Growing up in a material world: Age differences in materialism in children and adolescents. *Journal of Consumer Research, 34*, 480-493.
- Damon, W. (2008). *The path to purpose: Helping our children find their calling in life*. New York: The Free Press.
- Deci, E, & Ryan, R. (2000). Self-Determination Theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist, 55*, 68-78.
- Emmons, R. A. (2004). Gratitude. In C. Peterson & M.E.P. Seligman (Eds.), *Character*

- strengths and virtues: A handbook and classification* (pp. 553-568). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Emmons, R. A., & Crumpler, C. A. (2000). Gratitude as a human strength: Appraising the evidence. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 19*, 56-69.
- Emmons, R. A., & McCullough, M. E. (2003). Counting blessings versus burdens: An empirical investigation of gratitude and subjective well-being in daily life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*, 377-389.
- Emmons, R. A., & McCullough, M. E. (Eds.) (2004). *The psychology of gratitude*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Emmons, R. A., & Shelton, C. M. (2005). Gratitude and the science of positive psychology. In C. R. Synder & S. J. Lopez (Eds.), *Handbook of positive psychology* (pp. 459-471). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Flouri, E. (2004). Exploring the relationship between mothers' and fathers' parenting practices and children's materialist values. *Journal of Economic Psychology, 25*, 743-752.
- Froh, J. J., & Bono, G. (2008). The gratitude of youth. In S. J. Lopez (Ed.), *Positive psychology: Exploring the best in people* (Vol. 2, pp. 55-78). Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Company.
- Froh, J. J., Emmons, R. A., Card, N. A., Bono, G., & Wilson, J. A. (2009c). *Materialism can put adolescents in psychological debt: But can gratitude help reduce the cost?* Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Froh, J. J., Fan, J. Watkins, P., Bono, G., Emmons, R. A., & Huebner, E. S. (2010).

- Measuring gratitude in youth: Assessing the psychometric properties of adult gratitude scales in adolescents.* Manuscript in preparation.
- Froh, J. J., Kashdan, T. B., Ozimkowski, K. M., & Miller, N. (2009a). Who benefits the most from a gratitude intervention in children and adolescents? Examining positive affect as a moderator. *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 4*, 408-422.
- Froh, J. J., Kashdan, T. B., Yurkewicz, C., Fan, J., Allen, J., & Glowacki, J. (2009d). *The benefits of passion and absorption in activities: Engaged living in adolescents and its role in psychological well-being.* Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Froh, J. J., Miller, D. N., & Snyder, S. (2007). Gratitude in children and adolescents: Development, assessment, and school-based intervention. *School Psychology Forum, 2*, 1-13.
- Froh, J. J., Sefick, W. J., & Emmons, R. A. (2008). Counting blessings in early adolescents: An experimental study of gratitude and subjective well-being. *Journal of School Psychology, 46*, 213-233.
- Froh, J. J., Yurkewicz, C., & Kashdan, T. B. (2009b). Gratitude and subjective well-being in early adolescence: Examining gender differences. *Journal of Adolescence, 32*, 633-650.
- Gleason, J. B., & Weintraub, S. (1976). The acquisition of routines in child language. *Language in Society, 5*, 129-136.
- Haidt, J. (2003). The moral emotions. In R. J. Davidson, K. R. Scherer, & H. H. Goldsmith (Eds.), *Handbook of affective sciences* (pp. 852-870). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hess, R. (1970). Social class and ethnic influences on socialization. In P. Mussen (Ed.),

- Carmichael's manual of child psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 457-557). New York: Wiley.
- House, J. S., Landis, K. R., & Umberson, D. (1988). Social relationships and health. *Science*, *241*, 540-545.
- Huebner, E. S., Drane, W., & Valois, R. F. (2000). Levels and demographic correlates of adolescent life satisfaction reports. *School Psychology International*, *21*, 281-292.
- Huebner, E. S., Valois, R. F., Paxton, R. J., & Drane, J. W. (2005). Middle school students' perceptions of quality of life. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *6*, 15-24.
- Kasser, T. (2002). *The high price of materialism*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lyubomirsky, S. (2008). *The how of happiness: A scientific approach to getting the life you want*. New York: Penguin Press.
- Masten, A. S. (2001). Ordinary magic: Resilience processes in development. *American Psychologist*, *56*, 227-238.
- McAdams, D. P., & Bauer, J. J. (2004). Gratitude in modern life: Its manifestations and development. In R. A. Emmons & M. McCullough (Eds.), *The psychology of gratitude* (pp. 81-99). New York: Oxford University Press.
- McCullough, M. E., Emmons, R. A., & Tsang, J. (2002). The grateful disposition: A conceptual empirical topography. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 112-127.
- McCullough, M. E., Kilpatrick, S. D., Emmons, R. A., & Larson, D. B. (2001). Is gratitude a moral affect? *Psychological Bulletin*, *127*, 249-266.
- Polak, E. L., & McCullough, M. E. (2006). Is gratitude an alternative to materialism? *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *7*, 343-360.

- Saarni, C. (1999). *The development of emotional competence*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Seligman, M. E. P. (2002). *Authentic happiness: Using the new positive psychology to realize your potential for lasting fulfillment*. New York: Free Press.
- Thomas, M., & Watkins, P. (2003). *Measuring the grateful trait: Development of the revised GRAT*. Poster session presented to the Annual Convention of the Western Psychological Association, Vancouver, BC.
- Verkuyten, M., & Thijs, J. (2002). School satisfaction of elementary school children: The role of performance, peer relations, ethnicity, and gender. *Social Indicators Research, 59*, 203-228.
- Williams, G. C., Cox, E. M., Hedberg, V. A., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Extrinsic life goals and health-risk behaviors in adolescents. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 30*, 1756-1771.