Ten major reviews about positive psychology
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INTRODUCTION

Positive psychology has generated increasing interest year after year ever since Seligman adopted the label as a psychological approach in 1998. This fact may be seen in the publication of registered titles which include this key term in the PsycINFO database, maintained by the American Psychological Association (APA). Figure 1 shows the number of journal articles and book chapters containing the term *positive psychology* in the *keyword section,* over the last few years. Apart from the apparent decrease in the number of articles in the year 2009, due to the time lag in catalogue updating, the scientific community actually manifests a growing interest in this approach.

Similar to most advances in the science in our field, the publication of comprehensive handbooks in Spanish has been rather belated in comparison to that in English speaking countries.

In 2006, Vera carried out a bibliographical review showing this deficiency. Now, three years later, we can state that Spain has started to overcome the problem with the publication of monographic issues in the *Papeles del Psicólogo* (2006) and *Clínica y Salud* (2006) journals, which provide part of the bibliographic references for this paper; with the translation of handbooks, such as Carr's in 2007, and with the publication of national handbooks, such as
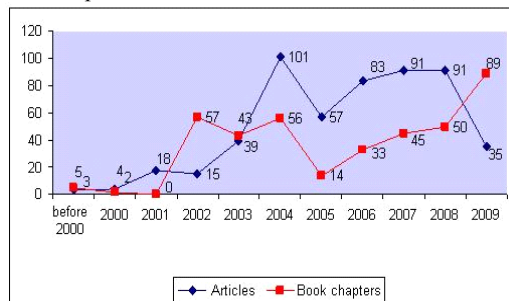

Figure 1. *Publications in PsycINFO regarding positive psychology as a keyword.*

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the one by Vázquez and Hervás (2008).

The *Anuario de Psicología Clínica y de la Salud* has itself also collected related contributions, such as the review carried out by Romero (2008) on *emotional intelligence,* and by Vázquez (2005) on *resilience* after the September 11 and May 11 terrorist attacks.

Even though the study of positive psychology was undertaken before the label was coined, its use as a term is relatively recent and, so it is still too early, by consensus, to establish an agreed definition. Nevertheless, the great proliferation of schools of thought which name themselves as such within the area of scientific psychology makes it obligatory to accurately establish what positive psychology is and what it is not. A proposal, added in 2003, can be found in the PsycINFO Thesaurus, which draws attention to the factor common to all the definitions likely to be found in the literature:

Positive Psychology: An approach to psychology that emphasises optimism and positive human functioning instead of focusing on psychopathology and disfunction.

So, positive psychology proposes a different approach to guide research with classical issues already addressed, for example, by Humanistic Psychology. The main national and international authors of the field, Seligman, Peterson, Csikszentmihalyi, Avia, Vázquez, or Hervás, some of whose works will be cited in this review, have pointed out that this epistemologic change is a crucial one. The change consists in giving prominence to positive emotions, strengths and prevention, versus the most traditional view of psychology as a science focusing on inadaptation, weakness and illness. In any case, the methodological requirements and rigour are identical to those from other approaches in psychological research, namely quantitative and qualitative empirical endeavour. This distinguishes positive psychology from any philosophical proposal (Avia, 2006). In spite of having adopted terms such as *happiness, optimism* or *good mood,* which may lead to confusion, as they are deeply rooted in philosophy and religion, positive psychology differs from them in the fact that, far from any dogmatism, it is founded on accurate research and is circumscribed to the professional and scientific world (Vera, 2006).

The topics encompassed by positive psychology are very diverse and its young age may make it difficult to list all the points of interest. A possible procedure to systematize them can be found in some studies by Seligman (2000, 2006), who classifies them in relation to the time when the cognition is carried out, namely past, present and future. Thus, we see concepts referring to acts carried out by people concerning past time experiences, such as gratitude, resistance, post traumatic growth, satisfaction, personal fulfilment and pride; to the present time, such as happiness, rapture or flow, and, finally, those focusing on future time, such as optimism and hope. In addition to this, by using another systematization axis on this pragmatic focus, it can be noticed that, even though most of the former constructs appeal to psychological experiences restricted to specific vital experiences (variables *of state*), positive psychology emphasizes a series of dispositional constructs (variables *of trait*) which are shared cross-culturally, such as character strengths and virtues.

However, accurate classification of the contributions to positive psychology may be rather complicated. Firstly, we find texts which cover the above characteristics but do not add the corresponding label. As is to be expected, the pioneers of the approach, such as Goleman (1995) or Csikszentmihalyi (1990) started to work from this perspective before it had been named as such. Secondly, these signs of identity may appear implicitly in some handbooks and guides centred on professional practice, but without any conceptual introduction that clearly states their part in this form of work. Thus, we can find Spanish contributions such as those by Moreno in the field of infertility (2009), which integrated optimism and happiness in her outline for supervision and intervention.

This paper describes ten reviews which have been selected for their relevance and which may be of interest in a first approach to the field of knowledge encompassed under the umbrella term of positive psychology. A first group has two texts that may be used as a general introduction, namely the handbook recently published in Spanish by Vázquez and Hervás (2008) and the introductory article that Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi contributed to in the monographic issue published by the *American Psychologist* in 2000. A second group brings together four monographic texts dealing with some of the main issues of positive psychology, namely happiness, flow, optimism, hope and resilience. To conclude, four papers on assessment and intervention in positive psychology are reviewed: one article about the creation of the currently most often used assessment instrument, *Virtues in Action or VIA-IS*, by Seligman, Park and Peterson (2004); a cross-cultural study in which more than 100,000 subjects participated; a case of positive psychotherapy in the depressive spectrum, and a community preventive intervention manual. Even though we are aware that this panorama might not be exhaustive enough, we hope that this selection will provide a reasonable overview of the current state of positive psychology..

Group 1. Introductory studies to positive psychology

Vázquez, C. & Hervás, G. (Eds.) (2008). *Psicología positiva aplicada.* **Bilbao: DDB.**

Summarizing the contributions of this handbook far surpasses the size of this paper. However, we would like to draw attention to the fact that this work is an indicator that publications on positive psychology in Spanish have overcome the drawbacks pointed out by Vera (2006).

Given the fact that most of the book is devoted to intervention, it is worth noticing that it starts out by exploring the theories put forward to account for the changes and limits that the study had, by updating a previous text (Vázquez, Hervás & Ho, 2006). In coherence with the aim of giving maximum scientific rigour to research in Clinical Psychology, the authors discuss two empirical studies.

Their first review makes reference to the concept of *hedonic adaptation* proposed by Diener, Lucas and Scollon (2006). These authors carried out a follow-up study and compiled information on the participants' degree of vital well-being several years, before and after, going through some given positive events, such as marriage or negative ones, such as widowhood. Their main finding it that, with the passage of time, people return to a degree of well-being similar to their initial ones. This study supports the idea that, at least partially, the degree of well-being is stable in time, possibly due to biological questions. This base level is called the *set point.* The second research plays down the weight that this set point has by providing a wide review of evidence on its stability or change. They argue that well-being is affected 50% by the set point, 10% by life circumstances, and 40% by voluntary, and therefore modifiable, activities (Lyubomirsky, King & Diener, 2005). In this way, the authors conclude that even though the improvement of well-being is limited by biological factors, it is possible and, in fact, is well documented.

The remaining chapters are organised around the possibilities of intervention from positive psychology (clinical, community and education), and about specific contexts, namely (with elderly people and organizations), something which makes the study a guide for intervention, especially attractive for those professionals looking for a first contact with the area.

Seligman, M. E. P. & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2000). Positive Psychology: An introduction. *American Psychologist,* **55, 5–14.**

This text is an introduction from Number 1 of Volume 55 of the *American Psychologist* journal, which monographically addresses the approach of positive psychology in fifteen articles. The study shows positive psychology as a renewed emphasis around an object of study largely dealt with in the past, in order to shift the focus of attention from the psychopathological issues framed in the deficit model towards the study of the strengths and virtues of the human being, as well as on those factors that promote personal fulfilment and prosperity in the community.

The text organizes the subsequent articles into three thematic axes. In the first section, a evolutional perspective points to the influence of *genes* (phylogenetic determinants) and *memes* (social

and cultural determinants) on people's ontogenetic development as a substratum that allows living positive experiences. In the second section four positive personal traits are described, namely *subjective well-being,* coming from cognitive and affective self-assessment of existence; *optimism,* a dispositional construct including cognitive, affective and motivational issues which is also affected by issues in the social and cultural context; *happiness,* in which the author proposes three promotional factors, as are religious faith, a certain income level and good interpersonal relationships; and *self-determination,* a construct in which personal needs for competence, autonomy and belonging merge. In the final group of articles people's characteristics of excellence are discussed, such as *wisdom, exceptional intellectual abilities* in childhood, *creativity* and *talent.*

Finally, a series of challenges that positive psychology needs to tackle in future research is emphasised, namely adopting an evolutional perspective to study all of these positive characteristics; going deeper into the neuro-scientific and community aspects of this approach, and distinguishing the mechanisms by means of which people's positive resources cushion and prevent the development of psychological problems.

Group 2. Platitudes of positive psychology

Seligman, M. E. P. (2006): La Auténtica Felicidad. (1st reprint). Barcelona: Vergara.

This work deals with the concept of happiness, one of the first objects of study for positive psychology. Seligman presents an overview of the topic by combining data coming from research studies and passages extracted from his personal experience, which is especially relevant given his role as a pioneer during his presidency of the *American Psychological Association.*

The book is divided into three parts. The first of them deals with different aspects of positive emotion from evolutionary and present-day points of view. Constructs such as *optimism, resilience* or *happiness,* among others, can play an important role in survival, as they modify the possibility of success in face of important challenges. In this way, they are characteristics perpetuated by natural selection. Nevertheless, as argued by Seligman, *eudemonia* or happiness can be understood as the result of a function which combines more stable inherited terms and questions affected by voluntary actions, and are, thus, modifiable. Hence, positive emotion can be studied from a personal time perspective, as it combines assessment of the past, current behaviour and future expectations, all of them improvable by means of cognitive changes.

Seligman reflects on the possible confusions that the term *happiness* may bring about. So, he separates pleasures, immediate and transient, from *gratifications,* which allow one to achieve *eudemonia* or authentic happiness. In spite of the label chosen, the real thing is that happiness does not so much depend on the enjoyment as on the commitment with the activity, on fascination or concentration. Thus, gratification is not always pleasing and an example of this is illustrated by the ending of a project on which a great amount of work has been invested. Part of this explanation is based on the term *flow,* developed by Csikszentmihalyi (1990), and which is analysed below.

The second part of the book offers a general view on its main strengths and summarizes the classification developed together with Peterson in 2004 (see the article by Seligman, Park & Peterson, 2004; in this text). The last third of the book is devoted to an analysis of strengths in everyday situations, such as the work context, living as a couple or bringing up children.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2008). *El flujo*. In E.G. Fernández (Coord.), *Emociones Positivas* (pp. 181-193). Madrid: Pirámide.

This recent publication on *positive emotions*, coordinated by Enrique Fernández Abascal, includes a chapter on *flow* written by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi. The text is an up-to-date summarized version of his best-seller *Flow: ThePsychology of Optimal Experience,* published in 1990.

Csikszentmihalyi uses the term *flow* to refer to a subjective experience that takes place when someone is involved in an activity to such an extent that is he or she is not aware of time, tiredness or what surrounds him or her. The activity itself is satisfactory and the individual is not worried about how little he or she is going to achieve from it. During the activity, a feeling of control is experienced over what is being done, all resources for attention are completely implicated in the task and negative feelings or thoughts are excluded.

In order for flow to take place, the activity needs to have a set of aims to guide the behaviour and give it a purpose, to provide immediate retroactive information about the correct progress of the task, and to establish a balance between the challenges and the abilities perceived and so avoid boredom or anxiety, among other feelings. The experience of flow appears as a result of the interaction between a *high skill* and a *high challenge.* In this state, concentration and self-esteem are enhanced.

The findings of studies on flow indicate that it is a powerful motivating force. During the experience of flow, intrinsic motivation takes place. This is a state in which people show interest in the activity they are performing just for the sake of doing it, without necessarily expecting an external reward in exchange, in such a way that the experience itself becomes both the means and the aim. In addition to this, emerging (or unpredictable *a priori)*, motivation is also involved. This manifests itself when, due to the interaction with the environment, new aims are found in a new activity, or in one which had previously been unattractive.

To conclude the chapter, Csikszentmihalyi speaks about culture and defends the role whereby flow develops in it and the importance of society providing flow experiences in productive activities. Otherwise, people will look for flow in activities which are disruptive, rather useless and, consequently, disturbing.

Bonanno, G.A. (2004). Loss, Trauma, & Human Resilience: Have We Underestimated the Human Capacity to Thrive After Extremely Aversive

Events? *American Psychologist, 59*, 20-28.

This article is a very complete and obligatory reference point for the study of resilience in face of loss and other potentially traumatic events. It starts by setting out the difference between *recovery* and *resilience. Recovery* refers to the process by which the normal performance of a person turns temporarily into a threshold or subthreshold psychopathology, six months after which it gradually returns to the pre-event level. By contrast, *resilience* reflects the ability to keep a steadily healthy level of mental and physical performance after a stressful or traumatic event has taken place. This is an interesting distinction, as many trauma theoreticians think that those people who do not show *distress* in face of losses or traumatic events react in a pathological way, when the fact is that they may have overcome such trauma by setting up an adaptive, healthy and positive adjustment process.

For some time, all those individuals who went through a traumatic situation under this premise were submitted to psychological intervention. In this way *debriefing* was created as a therapeutic intervention, in other words, as a brief and early preventive strategy that was used after a traumatic event with the aim of facilitating, evoking and discussing this event. The application of this intervention method has been very much criticized, as it may pathologize normal reactions to adversity and damage natural resilience processes. In order to avoid this, a selection of a group of individuals with risk factors for post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) was proposed, as they would benefit the most from this type of intervention.

At the end of the article some traits or dispositional aspects are presented which are related to the ability to display resilience. They are the following: *strength* or *hardiness,* defined as a personality trait that helps to soften the exposure to extreme stress; *self-enhancement,* which refers to excessively positive or realistic bias in favour of oneself; *repression coping*, understood as a defence mechanism which, as well as emotional dissociation, avoids unpleasant thoughts, emotions and memories; and, finally, *positive emotions* and laughter.

Carr, A. (2007). Esperanza y optimismo. In A. Carr, *Psicología Positiva: la ciencia de la felicidad* (pp. 109-144). Barcelona: Paidós.

This is a chapter from the book by Alan Carr published in 2004 and translated into Spanish in 2007. The book is very complete and recommendable as an introduction to the field of positive psychology. This chapter addresses some of the traditional studies on how and why people adopt a positive view of the world.

Optimism is presented from two perspectives. The first one defines it as a personality trait characterized by personal expectations with a positive balance. The second focus conceptualizes it as an attributional style. Thus, whereas optimistic people tend to attribute negative experiences to external, temporary and specific factors, the pessimists attribute them to internal characteristics, both stable and general. For its part, hope is made up of two basic components, namely planning ways to reach desired objectives in spite of difficulties, and

motivation to follow these ways.

Another interesting contribution is the concept of *expectationism,* which derives from the hypothesis of risk homeostasis by Wilde, which is also described in the same chapter. Expectationism makes reference to the preventive damage and prejudicial strategies that people implement in function to the value that they give to their future. These strategies have a bearing on their life styles and, hence, modify the probability to have accidents, suffer from diseases or assume risk-taking behaviours.

One of the factors that promote the putting into effect of these strategies is the anticipation of *incentives* in face of the merely immediate reward, since the coming gratification contributes to increasing the subjective value of the future and so can modify the risk threshold assumed by the person. This idea is especially interesting to prevent risks or accidents, for example, at work.

In conclusion, it is argued that optimistic and hopeful people live longer, enjoy better mental and physical states, recover more quickly after illnesses or operations, persevere in face of challenges and are more competent at work and sport.

Group 3. Assessment and intervention in positive psychology

Seligman. M. E. P., Park, N. & Peterson, C. (2004). The Values in Action (VIA) classification of character strengths. *Ricerche di Psicologia, 27*, 63-78.

In this article the authors discuss two topics: firstly, the rules by which virtues and strengths can be classified; and, secondly, the instrument developed for its assessment.

The authors describe the differences between *virtues* and *strengths.* The former are general personal characteristics which have been appreciated in a number of cultures throughout history, namely *wisdom, courage, humanity, justice, temperance* and *transcendence.* On the other hand, strengths are the psychological processes that allow the development of these virtues. So, while virtues are located at an abstract philosophical level, strengths are much more specific, likely to be modified and assessed, in other words, more *operational.* Other characteristics of strengths are the facts that they are valued for themselves, and not in relation to the outcomes that they permit to be reached; that they are promoted by the cultural environment by means of rituals and habits, and that they do not damage other people, and so permit living in community in a positive way.

The resulting classification offers a total number of 24 strengths. They were analyzed in depth in a previous lengthy work *Character Strengths and Virtues* by Peterson and Seligman (2004), which offers a view complementary to those of manuals on diagnosis criteria such as CSM and CIE. The second part of the article describes the psychometric value of the *Values in Action Inventory of Character Strengths (VIA-IS),* which is a self-administered instrument with 240 items, ten for each strength, to be answered by choosing the degree of agreement with the statements given in a five level Likert type scale. The original version was tested by means of a sample

consisting of over 100,000 English speaking subjects. It measured an internal coherence alpha higher than 0.70 in all scales and, after four months, a test-retest reliability higher than 0.70.

The authors respond to criticism about the possible influence of social desirability in this self-administered report by administering in their studies, the instrument developed by Crowne and Marlow for this effect. Significant correlation was only found between desirability and two of the 24 strengths, which sets VIA-IS within the standards used for regarding an instrument adequate, according to the authors. VIA has been translated into Spanish and is available on the www.authentichappiness.com web site.

Park, N., Peterson, C. & Seligman, M. E. P. (2006). Character strengths in fifty-four nations and the fifty US states. *Journal of Positive Psychology, 1,* 118-129.

This study seeks to assess the prevalence of character strengths in the fifty federal states of the USA and in another fifty-four countries all over the world.

As for the study sample, 117,676 adult participants were included in the analysis of results who answered the VIA-IS self-report once, via the www.authentichappiness.com web site. Of them, 71% were from the USA, and the remaining 29% from other countries in which a minimum of 20 participants had been registered.

The findings of the research point out a high similarity of character strength hierarchies among the different states of the United States, with differences only in religiousness. Specifically, the most often self-described strengths are kindness, justice, honesty, thankfulness and judgment. The least often ones were care, humility and self- regulation, all of them described in this paper.

A profile similar to that of the rest of the participants was found too. These findings point to universal common characteristics shared by people and to the existence of some moral values which are minimally necessary for the viability of social functioning. In addition to this, the text discusses the generalization of these findings.

Seligman, M. E. P, Rashid, T. & Parks, A. C. (2006). Positive Psychotherapy. *American Psychologist, 61*, 774-788.

Opposed to the psychotherapeutic treatments exclusively centred on symptoms and associated discomfort, this study proposes Positive Psychotherapy, which is illustrated by two clinical interventions in the depressive spectrum in which positive emotions are enhanced, the engagement of patients in activities (such as work, leisure and intimate relations), and a meaningful life by means of involvement in supra-individual objectives (whether they be family, religious, political and/or community). All in all, it is intended to re-educate the cognitive and emotional bias centred on negative issues which are usually magnified in the spectrum of depression. In this sense, positive emotions extricate people from a negative complaining style, and the emphasis is on the use of their own strengths that involve them in projects of commitment and of a

sense of life.

The first study consisted of a sample population of young adult students with low or moderate symptoms of depression and a control group who did not receive any treatment. The therapeutic process, which was group oriented, prescribed the six following activities: identifying the five most important strengths in the participants and thinking of ways for better everyday application; writing out the three most positive things that had happened every day and thinking about why they had happened; briefly writing out how one would like to be remembered if dying after an utterly satisfactory life; reading a thank-you letter to someone to whom one has not yet shown how thankful one is; responding enthusiastically when other people communicate good news; calmly enjoying habits that are usually performed in a hurry, and writing out how these habits were later experienced in contrast to when they are hastily done. The group under treatment experienced a substantial reduction of symptoms up to normal mood levels, which lasted one year after the therapeutic intervention had taken place. This was accompanied by a significant increase in satisfaction with life.

As for the second study, the participants were patients diagnosed with a severe depressive disorder who had turned to psychological help. Three types of individual intervention were designed. One group was assigned a process of positive psychotherapy which also addressed psychopathological issues; a second group was exposed to usual therapy, and the third group underwent the usual therapy plus pharmacological treatment. The first group showed significant symptom reduction and higher levels of clinical remission and happiness in comparison with the two other groups.

Fernández, L. & Gómez, J. A. (2007). *La psicología preventiva en la intervención psicosocial.* **Madrid: Síntesis.**

This recent work contextualizes prevention within social and cultural contexts from a constructionist perspective. In the opinion of the authors, it does not make any sense to separate an individual from his or her community environment, as both necessarily coexist.

Society is an active agent that largely affects about how we value our own experience. So it plays an important role in the sense of well-being. Nevertheless, they warn about the need to break away from the idea of social determinism, and remark that individuals can initiate changes and transform the shared system of beliefs on the basis of how the experience is interpreted.

The authors reflect on how the professionals cope with the challenge of prevention. Firstly, and in a similar way to the aforementioned authors, they start by pointing out the need to change the focus of attention from a reaction to adversity to the promotion of well-being. Secondly, contrary to the present-day view, in which risks are compartmentalized within different areas (Medicine, Psychology, or Educational Science), they propose a more interdisciplinary approach in which the different disciplines are coordinated in order to give

rise to a Science of Prevention with a coherent conceptual body.

Among the concepts related to *resistance* or *invulnerability* of social groups, the authors emphasise *empowerment* and social support. Resistance makes reference to individual and group tendency to learn to solve, in a positive manner, the challenges their environment presents them. Resistance can be studied as a process, in other words, as a mobilization of resources and effort to gain control over the situation itself, and as a result, influence over expectations of control. For its part, social support has a well documented relationship with health. To have a social network that offers safe relationships, a context in which to share experiences and that can offer emotional support in face of adversity are protective factors which benefit the general population's health and sets them apart from the so-called *risk groups*. This is the *direct effect hypothesis.*

The second half of the book deals with the description of a risk prevention programme and with teenage health promotion, namely *Construyendo Salud* (meaning *building up health*), in which the steps necessary to set out, implement and assess intervention are covered.

CONCLUSIONS

Positive psychology has progressed very clearly over the last decade, when very relevant contributions have been grouped under a common label which has allowed a more orderly development.

We find it necessary to highlight here some of the theoretical and empirical advantages offered by positive psychology. First of all, it puts emphasis on *strengths, virtues, solutions, growth or development,* and allows researchers and therapists to have an alternative approach, a new lens through which to assess and intervene in situations that the profession makes them deal with. Secondly, by adopting a dimensional perspective it allows for greater descriptive flexibility, contrary to the category focus which has historically been employed in the most often used diagnostic manuals (at present in DSM-IV-TR and CIE-10, versions). In this sense, positive psychology could serve to definitively encourage psychopathology to assume such a dimensional focus. By adopting this quantitative framework, psychopathological phenomena are expressed in a continuum which connects the general population with the one affected by mental disorders, in such a way as to reject differences among people in qualitative terms as if a person suffering from a psychopathological manifestation were greatly different from one who does not suffer from it (WHO, 2008). In addition to this, as this dimensional perspective offers a more flexible and dynamic clinical assessment, it abandons the static diagnostic categorization that casts a shadow over the strengths and positive resources that all individuals possess. Utterances such as *people suffering from schizophrenia,* or the most aberrant view of *the schizophrenic,* bring about implications in the construction of personal identity that these words suppose.

Apart from epistemological assumptions,

we have given specific examples of how positive psychology has made serious efforts to validate its proposal by means of research studies. Thus, the development of assessment instruments such as *Virtues in Action,* applied in about fifty countries, and putting into effect psychotherapeutic and community intervention programmes, evaluated with the same methodological requirements as other more traditional psychological approaches, are the clearest examples of the usefulness and rigour that positive psychology aspires to. Due to this very reason, however, we support the call for caution from Vázquez and Hervás (2008) being aware that it is not any panacea.

Positive psychology has made an extensive and solid proposal that counts on such important support as that of the manual developed by Peterson and Seligman in 2004, which offers a full and operative view of dispositional and trans-cultural concepts. However, the youthfulness of the proposal is manifested when verifying some of the definitions used for fundamental concepts, such as those referring to happiness or to resilience (in some of their variants). The appearance of concepts that limit very close issues in different ways makes it recommendable to start a meta-analysis study that gathers and compares the different perspectives that have arisen for each one of these topics.

All in all, positive psychology appears as a real alternative to other classical approaches in our discipline. The fact that the conceptual proposals are diverse and the difficulty in reaching definitions by consensus is, at the same time, a sign of health, as it is an indication to us that its usefulness is on the increase. Needless to say, a terminological debate supported by empirical efforts will be necessary to clarify these issues, but the authors working with this approach have made a great effort in building up a solid body of knowledge. This encourages us to think that, within the next few years, positive psychology can keep consolidating its recognition and popularity within the field of psychology.

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