

Positive Emotions and Upward Spirals in Organizations

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Positive organizational scholarship seeks to understand the dynamics within organizations that produce extraordinary outcomes both for organizations and for their individual members. This chapter describes how individual organizational members' experiences of positive emotions—like joy, interest, pride, contentment, gratitude, and love—can be transformational and fuel upward spirals toward optimal individual and organizational functioning. My broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions (1998, 2001) provides the foundation for this analysis. The broaden-and-build theory suggests that positive emotions broaden people's modes of thinking and action, which over time builds their enduring personal and social resources. These resources, in turn, function as reserves that can be drawn on later to help people to survive and thrive. The chapter includes a brief review of the empirical support for this new theory. Because an individual's experiences of positive emotions can reverberate through other organizational members and across interpersonal transactions with customers, positive emotions may also fuel optimal organizational functioning, helping organizations to thrive as well. The chapter concludes by encouraging organizational members to explore ways to cultivate meaningful positive emotions within their organizational settings.

Positive organizational scholarship represents a new approach to understanding human dynamics within organizations. Its aim and energy come from envisioning how organizations and the individuals within them function at their very best. It asks: How can organizations best foster the development of human strengths and virtues, like resilience, integrity, and compassion? How, in turn, can the enactment of these and other strengths and virtues change the nature of organizations for the better? My own approach to positive organizational scholarship begins with a focus on positive emotions, individuals' transient inner states of joy, interest, pride, contentment, and the like.

What good are positive emotions within organizations? At first blush, it might seem that positive emotions simply mark the well-being or satisfaction of individual employees. Certainly employees who are experiencing positive emotions are not, at that moment, plagued by negative emotions—like anxiety, anger, or despair. Consistent with this intuition, the overall balance of people's positive and negative emotions has been shown to reflect to their subjective well-being (Diener, Sandvik, & Pavot, 1991). In this sense, positive emotions *signal* optimal individual functioning. But this is far from their whole story. I have argued elsewhere (Fredrickson, 1998, 2000, 2002) that positive emotions also *produce* optimal individual functioning, not just within the present, pleasant moment, but over the long-term as well. In this chapter I extend this argument to suggest that positive emotions may contribute to optimal *organizational* functioning as well. The bottom-line message is that organizational members should consider cultivating positive emotions in themselves and others, not just as end-states in themselves, but also as a means to achieving individual and organizational transformation and optimal functioning over time.

CURRENT PERSPECTIVES ON EMOTIONS

A brief review of current perspectives on emotions provides an important backdrop. Working definitions of emotions vary somewhat across researchers. Even so, consensus is emerging that emotions are best conceptualized as multicomponent response tendencies that unfold over relatively short time spans. Typically, an emotion process begins with an individual's assessment of the personal meaning of some antecedent event—what Lazarus (1991) called the person-environment relationship, or adaptational encounter. This appraisal process may be either conscious or unconscious, and it triggers a cascade of response tendencies that manifest across loosely coupled component systems, such as subjective experience, facial expression, and physiological changes. Although related, emotions differ from moods in that they are *about* some personally meaningful circumstance

(i.e., they have an object), whereas moods are often free-floating or object-less (Oatley & Jenkins, 1996). Emotions also differ from affective traits, such as hostility, neuroticism, or optimism: enduring affective traits predispose individuals toward experiencing certain emotions, and so affective traits and emotional states represent different levels of analysis (Rosenberg, 1998).

Current models of emotions typically aim to describe the form and function of emotions in general. Despite this aim, most models are formulated around prototypic and negative emotions like fear and anger. For instance, key to many theorists' models of emotions is the idea that emotions are, by definition, associated with *specific action tendencies* (Frijda, 1986; Frijda, Kuipers, & Schure, 1989; Lazarus, 1991; Levenson, 1994; Oatley & Jenkins, 1996; Tooby & Cosmides, 1990). Fear, for example, is linked with the urge to escape, anger with the urge to attack, disgust with the urge to expel, and so on. No theorist argues that people invariably act out these urges when feeling particular emotions. But rather, people's ideas about possible courses of action narrow to a specific set of behavioral options. A key idea in these models is that specific action tendencies are what made emotions evolutionarily adaptive: these are among the actions that worked best in getting our ancestors out of life-or-death situations. Another key idea is that specific action tendencies and physiological changes go hand-in-hand. So, for example, when you have an urge to escape when feeling fear, your body reacts by mobilizing appropriate autonomic support for the possibility of running.

Although specific action tendencies have been invoked to describe the form and function of positive emotions as well, the action tendencies identified for positive emotions are notably vague and underspecified (Fredrickson & Levenson, 1998). Joy, for instance, is linked with aimless activation, interest with attending, and contentment with inactivity (Frijda, 1986). These tendencies, I have argued (1998), are far too general to be called specific. This strategy of squeezing positive emotions into the same theoretical mold as negative emotions has not produced much understanding or appreciation of positive emotions.

THE BROADEN-AND-BUILD THEORY OF POSITIVE EMOTIONS

Noting that traditional models based on specific action tendencies did not do justice to positive emotions, I developed an alternative model for the positive emotions that better captures their unique effects. I call this the broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions, because positive emotions

appear to *broaden* people's momentary thought-action repertoires and *build* their enduring personal resources.

I contrast this new model to traditional models based on specific action tendencies. Specific action tendencies, in my view, work well to describe the form and function of negative emotions, and should be retained for models of this subset of emotions. Without loss of theoretical nuance, a specific action tendency can be redescribed as the outcome of a psychological process that narrows a person's momentary thought-action repertoire by calling to mind an urge to act in a particular way (e.g., escape, attack, expel). In a life-threatening situation, a narrowed thought-action repertoire promotes quick and decisive action that carries direct and immediate benefit. Specific action tendencies called forth by negative emotions represent the sort of actions that worked best to save our ancestors' lives and limbs in similar and recurrent situations.

Yet positive emotions seldom occur in life-threatening situations. Most often, they are experienced when people feel safe and satiated (Fredrickson, 1998). As such, a psychological process that narrows a person's momentary thought-action repertoire to promote quick and decisive action may not be needed. Instead, I have argued (1998) that positive emotions have a complementary effect: they broaden people's momentary thought-action repertoires, widening the array of the thoughts and actions that come to mind. Joy, for instance, creates the urge to play, push the limits, and be creative, urges evident not only in social and physical behavior, but also in intellectual and artistic behavior. Interest, a phenomenologically distinct positive emotion, creates the urge to explore, take in new information and experiences, and expand the self in the process. Pride, a distinct positive emotion that follows personal achievements, creates urges to share news of the achievement with others, as well as to envision even greater achievements in the future. Contentment, a fourth distinct positive emotion, creates the urge to take time to savor current life circumstances, and integrate these circumstances into new views of self and of the world. These various thought-action tendencies—to play, to explore, to envision future achievements, and to savor and integrate—each represent ways that positive emotions broaden habitual modes of thinking or acting. In general terms, then, positive emotions appear to “enlarge” the cognitive context (Isen, 1987), an effect recently linked to increases in brain dopamine levels (Ashby, Isen, & Turken, 1999; Isen, 2002).

Whereas the narrowed mindsets of negative emotions carry direct and immediate adaptive benefits in situations that threaten survival, the broadened mindsets of positive emotions, which occur when people feel safe and satiated, are beneficial in other ways. Specifically, I have argued (1998)

that these broadened mindsets carry indirect and long-term adaptive benefits because broadening *builds* enduring personal resources.

Take play as an example. Animal research has found that specific forms of chasing play evident in juveniles of a species—like running into a flexible sapling or branch and catapulting oneself in an unexpected direction—are reenacted in adults of that species exclusively during predator avoidance (Dolhinow, 1987). Such correspondences between juvenile play maneuvers and adult survival maneuvers suggest that juvenile play builds enduring physical resources (Boulton & Smith, 1992; Caro, 1988). Social play, with its shared amusement, excitement, and smiles, builds lasting social bonds and attachments (Aron et al., 2000; Lee, 1983; Simons, McCluskey-Fawcett, & Papini, 1986), which can become the locus of subsequent social support. Childhood play also builds enduring intellectual resources, by increasing levels of creativity (Sherrod & Singer, 1989), creating theory of mind (Leslie, 1987), and fueling brain development (Panksepp, 1998). Each of these links between play and resource building suggest that play may be essential to child development. Indeed, Panksepp has argued that “youth may have evolved to give complex organisms time to play” (1998: 96).

Like the play prompted by joy, the exploration prompted by the positive emotion of interest creates knowledge and intellectual complexity. Similarly, envisioning future achievements during experiences of pride fuels self-esteem and achievement motivation. And the savoring and integrating prompted by contentment produce self-insight and alter worldviews. Each of these phenomenologically distinct positive emotions shares the feature of augmenting individuals’ personal resources, ranging from physical and social resources to intellectual and psychological resources (for more detailed reviews, see Fredrickson, 1998, 2000, 2002; Fredrickson & Branigan, 2001). Importantly, the personal resources accrued during states of positive emotions are durable. They outlast the transient emotional states that lead to their acquisition. By consequence, then, the often incidental effect of experiencing a positive emotion is an increase in one’s personal resources. These resources can be drawn on in subsequent moments and in different emotional states.

In sum, the broaden-and-build theory describes the form of positive emotions in terms of broadened thought-action repertoires, and describes their function in terms of building enduring personal resources. In doing so, the theory provides a new perspective on the evolved adaptive significance of positive emotions. Those of our ancestors who succumbed to the urges sparked by positive emotions—to play, explore, and so on—would have by consequence accrued more personal resources. When these same ancestors

later faced inevitable threats to life and limb, their greater personal resources would have translated into greater odds of survival, and in turn, greater odds of living long enough to reproduce. To the extent, then, that the capacity to experience positive emotions is genetically encoded, this capacity, through the process of natural selection, would have become part of our universal human nature.

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE BROADENING AND BUILDING EFFECTS OF POSITIVE EMOTIONS

The hypothesis, drawn from the broaden-and-build theory, that positive emotions broaden thinking and action repertoires is supported by two decades of research by Isen and colleagues. These researchers have shown that, relative to neutral states, induced positive emotions produce patterns of thought that are notably unusual (Isen, Johnson, Mertz, & Robinson, 1985), flexible (Isen & Daubman, 1984), creative (Isen, Daubman, & Nowicki, 1987), integrative (Isen, Rosenzweig, & Young, 1991), open to information (Estrada, Isen, & Young, 1997), and efficient (Isen & Means, 1983; Isen, Rosenzweig, & Young, 1991). They have also shown that induced positive emotions increase people's preferences for variety and broaden their arrays of acceptable behavioral options (Kahn & Isen, 1993).

More recently, I and colleagues have shown that, relative to neutral states and negative emotions, positive emotions broaden the scope of people's visual attention, as well as their momentary thought-action repertoires (Fredrickson & Branigan, 2002; Fredrickson, Johnson, & Waugh, 2002; see also Gasper & Clore, 2002). We have also shown that positive emotions, again relative to neutral states and negative emotions, broaden people's self-conceptions to include close others to a greater degree (Waugh & Fredrickson, 2002). Importantly, the broadening effects of positive emotions have been shown both for high-activation pleasant states like joy/amusement as well as for low-activation pleasant states like contentment/serenity (Fredrickson & Branigan, 2002).

Possibly intertwined with their effects on cognitive broadening, positive emotions also have a unique capacity to down-regulate negative emotional arousal. Negative emotions like anger, fear, anxiety—even sadness and crying—arouse people's autonomic nervous systems, producing increases in heart rate, vasoconstriction, and blood pressure, among other changes (Fredrickson, Mancuso, Branigan, & Tugade, 2000; Gross, Fredrickson, & Levenson, 1994; Levenson, Ekman & Friesen, 1990; Ohman, 2000). Laboratory experiments have shown that experiences of positive emotions can quell or “undo” these lingering cardiovascular effects of negative emotions. That is, compared to neutral distractions and sadness, positive emotions

produce faster returns to baseline levels of cardiovascular activation following negative emotional arousal (Fredrickson & Levenson, 1998; Fredrickson, Mancuso, Branigan, & Tugade, 2000). Notably, this undoing effect of positive emotions has also been demonstrated for high-activation positive emotions like joy/amusement, as well as for low-activation positive emotions like contentment/serenity.

The broadening and undoing effects of positive emotion raise the possibility that positive emotions also expand and improve the ways people cope with adversity. Supportive evidence comes from laboratory experiments that have shown that induced positive emotions facilitate attention to and processing of important, self-relevant information (Reed & Aspinwall, 1998; Trope & Pommerantz, 1998; for reviews, see Aspinwall, 1998, 2001). Relatedly, longitudinal studies of bereaved caregivers have found that those who experienced positive emotions in the midst of their bereavement were also more likely to find positive meaning in their experiences, a measure of posttraumatic growth (Moskowitz, 2001). Similarly, those who experienced more positive emotions in bereavement were more likely to develop long-term plans and goals. Together with positive emotions, plans and goals predicted greater well-being twelve months after bereavement (Stein, Folkman, Trabasso, & Richards, 1997; see also Bonanno & Keltner, 1997; Keltner & Bonanno, 1997).

These findings lay the groundwork for the hypothesis that positive emotions generate "upward spirals" toward optimal functioning and enhanced emotional well-being (Fredrickson, 2002; Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002). Positive emotions trigger upward spirals by broadening individuals' habitual modes of thinking and action and building lasting resources that promote future experiences of positive emotions. As this cycle continues, positive emotions transform individuals into more resilient, socially integrated, and capable versions of themselves. So, positive emotions not only make people feel good in the present, but they also increase the likelihood that people will function well and feel good in the future. By broadening people's modes of thinking and action, positive emotions improve coping and build resilience, improvements that in turn predict future experiences of positive emotions.

The cognitive literature on depression had already documented a downward spiral in which depressed mood and the narrowed, pessimistic thinking it engenders influence one another reciprocally, leading to ever worsening functioning and moods, and even clinical levels of depression (Peterson & Seligman, 1984). In contrast, the broaden-and-build theory predicts a comparable upward spiral in which positive emotions and the broadened thinking they engender also influence one another reciprocally, leading to appreciable increases in functioning and well-being.

Thomas Joiner and I conducted a prospective study to demonstrate that positive emotions do indeed trigger such upward spirals (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002). We assessed positive and negative emotions, as well as a concept we call broad-minded coping, at two time points, five weeks apart in 138 participants. Our aim was to predict changes in positive emotions and broad-minded coping over time. First, we found that, controlling for initial levels of broad-minded coping, initial levels of positive emotion predicted improvements in broad-minded coping from Time 1 to Time 2. These improvements in broad-minded coping in turn predicted subsequent increases in positive emotions. Next, we found evidence for the reciprocal relations. Controlling for initial levels of positive emotion, initial levels of broad-minded coping predicted improvements in positive emotions from Time 1 to Time 2. These improvements in positive emotions in turn predicted subsequent increases in broad-minded coping. These findings suggest that, over time, positive emotions and broad-minded coping mutually build on one another, leading to improved coping skills and triggering an upward spiral toward enhanced emotional well-being.

Recent work by myself and colleagues provides an additional link between positive emotions and growth of personal resources. Shortly after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, we recontacted a group of participants studied earlier in 2001, for whom levels of trait resilience were known. We tested the hypothesis that positive emotions are active ingredients that fuel trait resilience. Mediation analyses showed that, even in the context of the intense negative emotions experienced in the wake of the attacks, positive emotions—like gratitude, interest, and love—fully accounted for the relations between (1) precrisis resilience and postcrisis development of depressive symptoms, and (2) precrisis resilience and postcrisis growth in psychological resources such as optimism, tranquillity, and life satisfaction (Fredrickson, Tugade, Waugh, & Larkin, 2003). These findings suggest that positive emotions in the aftermath of crises buffer against depression, build enduring resources, and fuel thriving.

Each of these studies suggests that positive emotions do more than simply allowing one to feel good in the moment. Rather, by (a) broadening people's thinking, (b) undoing negative emotional arousal, (c) improving coping strategies, (d) buffering against depression, and (e) building enduring psychological resources, positive emotions also increase the odds that people will feel good in the future. Moreover, as predicted by the broaden-and-build theory (and as shown in the study by myself and Joiner, discussed above), such upward spirals toward improved emotional well-being are linked to the broadened thinking that accompanies positive emotions. Individuals who regularly experience positive emotions, then, will not be stag-

nant. Instead, they grow toward optimal functioning through dynamic processes fueled by positive emotions.

POSITIVE EMOTIONS IN ORGANIZATIONAL SETTINGS

Upward spirals in the workplace fueled by employee positive emotions have also been demonstrated. Staw, Sutton, and Pellod (1994) assessed positive emotions and various job outcomes for 272 employees in an eighteen-month prospective study. They found that positive emotions at Time 1 predicted improvements in supervisor evaluations at Time 2 as well as improvements in pay. Likewise, they found that positive emotions at Time 1 predicted improvements in social support from both supervisors and coworkers. So, those individuals who at initial assessment experienced and expressed the most positive emotions had, over time, transformed themselves into more effective and socially integrated employees. In subsequent longitudinal studies of 187 employees, Staw and colleagues replicated these findings, learning also that the energy level associated with emotional states was not predictive of employees' future productivity, whereas its pleasantness was (Wright & Staw, 1999). This implies that the link between positive emotions and improving work outcomes is not limited to high-arousal positive emotions like joy and excitement, but also extends to low-arousal positive emotions like contentment and serenity. Laboratory data suggest that these upward spirals stem from the improved cognitive and interpersonal functioning evident among workers experiencing positive emotions. Similar to findings that induced positive emotions improve the ways individuals process important, self-relevant information, Staw and Barsade (1993) tested MBA students in managerial simulations and found that MBAs who reported more positive emotions were more accurate and careful in a decisionmaking task. They also found them to be more interpersonally effective in a leaderless group discussion. Together with the broaden-and-build theory, the work of Staw and colleagues suggests that positive emotions transform individual employees and managers, making them more effective in the moment, and more successful in the long run.

Research by Staw and colleagues describes how positive emotions experienced within organizational settings, through the psychological mechanism of broadening, can transform individuals into more creative, effective, socially integrated—and perhaps even better-paid—workers. In short, positive emotions help people to survive and thrive. I shift now from individuals to organizations. The broaden-and-build theory also illuminates ways

that positive emotions might transform social groups and organizations, helping them to thrive as well.

First, it is notable that social groups and organizations provide recurring contexts in which individuals can experience positive emotions. Many positive emotions have distinctly social origins and people generally feel good when interacting with others (Watson, Clark, McIntyre, & Hamaker, 1992). Going to work, then, gives people reliable social contact that can trigger positive emotions. Additionally, going to work gives people challenges that, when matched with their skills, can trigger peak experiences of interest, or what Csikszentmihalyi (1990) calls flow. In these ways, the workplace can trigger positive emotions in individuals, with all the beneficial repercussions described earlier. But how might positive emotions experienced at work transform organizations?

Organizational transformation becomes possible because each person's positive emotions can reverberate through other organizational members. In part, this is because emotions are contagious (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1993). Experimental studies have shown that one person's expression of positive emotion, through processes of mimicry and facial feedback, can produce experiences of positive emotion in those with whom the person interacts (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1993; Lundqvist & Dimberg, 1995). Organizational leaders' positive emotions may be especially contagious (Quinn, 2000). Studies have shown, for instance, that a leader's positive emotions predict the performance of their entire group (George, 1995). Another way that positive emotions spread through organizations is by creating chains of events that carry positive meaning for others.

Take helpful, compassionate acts as an example. Social psychological experiments have shown that people induced to feel positive emotions become more helpful to others than those in neutral emotional states (for a review, see Isen, 1987). Building on this experimental work, organizational field studies have demonstrated that salespeople who experience more positive emotions at work are more helpful to their customers (George, 1991). This occurs because salespeople experiencing positive emotions are more flexible and creative, and more empathic and respectful (George, 1998). Importantly, being helpful not only springs from positive emotional states, but can produce positive emotions as well. The person who gives help, for instance, may afterward feel proud of his or her chosen actions. Experiences of pride, I have argued (Fredrickson & Branigan, 2001), not only create momentary boosts in self-esteem, but also prompt people to envision future and more significant achievements in similar domains. Thus, to the extent that helping others brings pride, it may fuel motivation to help again in the future.

In addition to the positive emotions experienced by the person who

gives help, the person who receives help is likely to feel the complementary positive emotion of gratitude. Gratitude not only feels good, but also produces a cascade of beneficial social outcomes (Fredrickson, in press; McCullough, Kilpatrick, Emmons, & Larson, 2000). I have argued that the momentary thought-action tendency triggered by gratitude is an urge to repay kindnesses, not in a tit-for-tat fashion, but creatively (Fredrickson, in press). Moreover, gratitude reflects, motivates, and reinforces moral social actions in both the giver and the receiver of help (McCullough, Kilpatrick, Emmons, & Larson, 2000). The feeling of gratitude reflects or identifies moral action because it surfaces when individuals acknowledge that another has been helpful to them. It motivates moral action because grateful people feel the urge to repay in some manner those who have helped them. Finally, gratitude reinforces moral behavior because giving thanks or acknowledgment rewards help-givers, making them feel appreciated and more likely to give help in the future.

Added to the positive emotions experienced by the givers and recipients of help, people who merely witness or hear about a helpful interchange may experience positive emotions as well. These onlookers, according to Haidt (2000, 2003), often experience the positive emotion of elevation. The momentary thought-action tendency sparked by elevation, according to Haidt, is a generalized desire to become a better person, and perform helpful acts oneself. This thought-action tendency is broadened, rather than narrowed, because it does not steer elevated individuals simply to mimic the helpful act they witnessed, but rather to creatively consider a wide range of helpful acts as paths toward becoming more moral people. Experiences of elevation, then, carry the potential to change people as well as groups, organizations, and communities. To the extent that people act on the urges sparked by elevation, they may reach their goal of becoming better, more moral persons. Also, when others in turn witness the helpful acts inspired by elevation, they too may experience elevation and its beneficial repercussions. As Haidt (2000: 4) puts it, "If elevation increases the likelihood that a witness to good deeds will soon become a doer of good deeds, then elevation sets up the possibility for the same sort of 'upward spiral' for a group that Fredrickson (2000) describes for the individual." As this cycle continues, organizations are transformed into more compassionate and harmonious places.

This analysis, though centered on helpfulness, illustrates how positive emotions might spread through organizations, or between organizational members and customers, and how their effects might accumulate and compound. Complementing this analysis, other research suggests that positive emotions in the workplace help to curb organizational conflict by promoting constructive interpersonal engagement (for a review, see Baron, 1993). Im-

portantly, positive emotions propagate within organizations not simply because smiles are contagious (i.e., through facial mimicry), but because positive emotions stem from—and create—meaningful interpersonal encounters. That is, the behavioral outcomes of one person's positive emotion (e.g., compassionate offers of help), become interpreted—or imbued with meaning—by others (e.g., when offers of help are recognized and appreciated as altruistic gifts). Accordingly, the broaden-and-build theory predicts that positive emotions in organizational settings not only produce individuals who function at higher levels, but may also produce organizations that function at higher levels.

To sum, the broaden-and-build theory identifies positive emotions, along with the psychological broadening they engender, as the possible missing links between the momentary experiences of individual organizational members and long-range indicators of optimal organizational functioning. Positive emotions can transform organizations because they broaden people's habitual modes of thinking, and in doing so, make organizational members more flexible, empathic, creative, and so on. To the extent that organizational outcomes depend on these individual-level attributes, positive emotions experienced within organizations may also enhance organizational functioning. Over time, such broadening is hypothesized to build stronger social connections, better organizational climates, and extraordinary organizational outcomes. The broaden-and-build theory predicts that a wide range of distinct positive emotions—ranging from pride and joy to contentment and gratitude—create and sustain these dynamic processes that keep individuals and organizations developing and thriving. In short, although originally developed to explain individual-level outcomes of positive emotions, the broaden-and-build theory can be also be drawn on to raise research questions that merit empirical testing at organizational levels.

TAKE-AWAY MESSAGE

The broaden-and-build theory provides the foundation for the present proposal that positive emotions may serve to optimize organizational functioning. If future research upholds this proposition, organizational members may wish to explore ways to cultivate positive emotions in themselves and among those with whom they interact. In undertaking this task, it is important to note that emotions cannot be instilled directly (Fredrickson, 2000). Typically, as mentioned earlier, emotions follow from appraisals of personal meaning. As such, the most fruitful avenues for cultivating positive emotions may be to help others find positive meaning in their daily work experiences. Positive meaning at work can be drawn from experiences of competence, achievement, involvement, significance, and social connec-

tion (Fredrickson, 2000; Folkman, 1997; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2000; Ryff & Singer, 1998). Organizational members might promote such experiences with careful consideration of their organization's practices, ranging from incentive and reward structures and group size, to methods of communication and opportunities for refueling and reflection. The broaden-and-build theory suggests that efforts to cultivate positive emotions may help organizations avoid stagnation and achieve harmony, energy, and perhaps even prosperity.