

that seem to be important but are not as ubiquitous. One of the key takeaways is that there are many ways that schools can address each of these challenges. In some cases, the successful approaches look very similar to each other, as with schools' hiring and recruitment processes. In others, such as teacher teams, there seem to be a number of ways to make them an effective part of teachers' responsibilities.

While this book does not promise silver bullets, it is willing to take a clear stand on the fact that there do seem to be some clearly right and wrong answers to the difficult policy choices that have faced district administrators and principals in the past. Similarly, although policies pertaining to teachers are the primary focus of the book, it also shows that a common difference between successful and stagnating schools is the presence of a principal who is willing to provide direction and leadership while simultaneously allowing teachers to have an active and meaningful voice. Organizing schools for success requires both components—well-designed policies built on firm evidence and a professional and active workforce of teachers to implement and improve them.

THOMAS KELLEY-KEMPLE

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REDEFINING SUCCESS IN AMERICA: A NEW THEORY OF HAPPINESS AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

by Michael B. Kaufman

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Why would anyone want to get a degree from Harvard University? For many, the answer seems so obvious as to not need an explanation. In addition to its potential to launch a successful and lucrative career, a degree from such a prestigious institution means that you have successfully beaten the competition—and a good, happy life awaits. But is the prospect of economic security enough to guarantee a happy life?

In *Redefining Success in America: A New Theory of Happiness and Human Development*, Michael B. Kaufman challenges this mythical belief of a happily-ever-after. He argues that there is more than “objectively measured career success”—a commonly conceived notion combining “occupational prestige” and “household net worth” (p. 121)—to how happy people are. Critiquing the use of the cross-sectional, self-report survey method commonly used in happiness research, Kaufman uses in-depth, longitudinal interview data to explore the meaning of “happiness” and to develop a paradigm that is “holistic, specific,

and context-sensitive” (p. xiii). In the early 2000s, he started tracing the participants of the Harvard Student Study, a project that examined the experience and development of alumni of Harvard College, then an all-male institution, who were undergraduates in the 1960s. The study included survey responses from 400 students and in-depth interviews with a subsample of 50 students over the course of their undergraduate career. In addition to administering a follow-up survey with more than 200 alumni who took part in the initial survey study, Kaufman conducted in-depth clinical life-history interviews with 40 of the 50 original interview participants to examine whether those young men from the 1960s actually viewed themselves as having achieved happiness 40 years later.

Taking a grounded theoretical approach to examining the interview data from both the 1960s and the 2000s, Kaufman explores the participants’ “subjective experience” of their careers and other aspects of their lives (p. 22). He maps participants’ emotions and reactions toward their experiences onto a spectrum of overall affect that he calls the scale of “intrapyschic brightness and darkness” (p. 25). The scale incorporates not only the participants’ discrete experiences (e.g., with their careers, families, and friends) but also their life goals and whether they were met. In describing the unique contribution of this scale, Kaufman explains that unlike existing survey measures, this spectrum aims to draw a comprehensive and holistic picture of participants’ happiness by taking into account emotional reactions, cognitive interpretations of their experiences, and behavioral decisions over a lifetime. On the “bright,” happy end of the spectrum are individuals who are generally positive about their life and its purpose, who can adjust their life goals, and who can reflect positively on various aspects of their lives even if they have failed to meet certain life goals or social expectations. On the other end sit “dark,” unhappy individuals, those who tend not to engage fully with their roles or relationships and who experience a sense of powerlessness in meeting their life goals. Such individuals also tend to aim to “self-repair” (p. 73), or fix themselves, so that they meet the life goals or social standards they feel obliged, but fail, to reach. Those in the middle of the spectrum show a mix of these emotions and reactions to their experiences.

Taking advantage of the longitudinal data set of the graduates, Kaufman further explores whether the participants’ happiness as undergraduates in the 1960s predicted their happiness as middle-aged men in the 2000s. Kaufman concludes that there are two models of happiness over time: the Stability model and the Change model. Drawing a parallel to Bronfenbrenner’s (1994) ecological models, he emphasizes the role of the overarching worldview—what he calls the “identity story” (p. 89)—that develops early in life and influences how people, as unique individuals, experience and interpret subsequent events and situations. About two-thirds of the interviewees followed the Stability model, where their happiness as undergraduates was similar to their hap-

discussed in the book, “Happiness is the product of development” (p. 200), and we need to examine it as “part of an account of human development” (p. 209) more broadly.

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