pursue leads to improved hedonic tone and satisfaction with life, it is easy to imagine how improved health and well-being might result. Similarly, insofar as perceiving the good things in one's life as the result of die intentional benevolence of another person or persons makes those benefits even more enjoyable, it is easy to imagine how one might be happier and healthier as a result.

Obviously, much of daily life occurs without conscious control and without a second thought. Nonetheless, some people may stop periodically to savor their lives, thereby (perhaps) extracting meaning and purpose from what they are doing or what is happening to them. This capacity for mindful attentiveness and the resulting ability to make positive meaning from goal pursuits, from the benefits we receive in life, and other life activities and events may be useful terrain to explore in future work not only on hope and gratitude, but also on other positive psychological traits and virtues as well.

Notes

I am grateful for the support I received in preparing this article from a grant by the John Templeton Foundation. Michael E. McCullough, Department of Psychology, University of Miami, P.O. Box 248185, Coral Gables, FL 75275-0442. <u>E-mail:</u> mikem@miami.edu

References

- McCullough, M. E., Emmons, R. A., & Tsang, J. (2002). The grateful disposition: A conceptual and 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.
- Peterson, C., & Seligman, M. E. P. (in press). Hope, optimism, and future-mindedness. In C. Peterson & M. E. P. Seligman (Eds.), *The classification of strengths and virtues: VIA (Values in Action) manual.* Cincinnatti, OH: Values in Action Institute.
- Roberts, R. C. (in press). The blessings of gratitude: Some conceptual remarks. In R. A. Emmons & M. E. McCullough (Eds.), *The psychology gratitude*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Simmel, G. (1950). The sociology of Georg Simmel. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Snyder, C. R., Harris, C. Anderson, J. R., Holleran, S. A., Irving, L. M., Sigmon, S. T., et al. (1991). The will and the ways: Development and validation of an individual-differences measures of hope. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60, 570-585.

Turning Hope Thoughts Into Goal-Directed Behavior

Gabriele Oettingen

Universität Hamburg/New York University

Peter M. Gollwitzer

Universität Konstanz/New York University

A large amount of research amply supports C. R. Snyder's (2000) hope theory. People who momentarily or chronically believe that they energetically pursue and attain their goals, who sec themselves as being pretty successful in general, and believe in a past that has prepared them well for the future, do well in their academic and interpersonal life as well as in achieving physical and mental health. This is particularly true for people who also believe that they have access to many ways to get out of a jam and around any kind of probtem, and who can think of many ways to reach their goals.

The theory refers to the first type of beliefs as agency-related hope thoughts, whereas the second type of beliefs are called pathways-related hope thoughts. High agency-related and pathways-related hope thoughts create emotional orientations (e.g., friendlyness, happiness, interest) that are conducive to goal attainment. Moreover, barriers and hindrances (i.e., stressors) are seen as challenges that need to be overcome or circumvented. People who entertain such beliefs chronically or in a given situation (i.e., highhope persons) thus differ in their goal pursuits from people who lack such beliefs (i.e., low-hope persons). Low-hope individuals experience negative emotions during goal setting and goal implementation, and they are burdened with self-critical rumination and off-task cognition. Impediments are experienced as stressors and not as challenges, and thus goal pursuit is quickly derailed.

There is no doubt that both agency-related and pathways-related hope thoughts affect goal attainment. The question remains, however, when and how hope thoughts unfold their influence on behavior. In our view, agency-related hope thoughts -play a prominent role in setting binding goals that facilitate determined goal pursuit and goal attainment, whereas pathwaysways-related hope thoughts affect the smooth implementation of set goals.

Agency-Related Hope Thoughts and the Setting of Binding Goals

Hope theory conceives of high agency-related hope thoughts as beliefs that one can effectively strive for and attain one's goals, and that, in general, one is pretty successful in life. Therefore, high agency-related hope thoughts should make people readily set themselves goals that guide determined goal pursuit. It seems, however, that certain prerequisites have to be met so that high agency-related hope thoughts are turned into binding goals. Oettingen (1999, 2000) pointed to mode of self-regulatory thought as one such prerequisite. T'hree modes of self-regulatory thought are differentiated: Mentally indulging in a desired future, dwelling on impeding reality, and mentally contrasting the desired future with impeding reality.

A person who mentally indulges in a positive, desired future (e.g., about successfully entering professional life) or dwells on negative aspects of impeding reality (e.g., about not yet having graduated) should fail to integrate his or her agency-related hope beliefs into goal setting. As a consequence, relevant goal commitment only reflects the implicit push of indulging in the positive future or the implicit pull of dwelling on the negative reality, respectively. If, however, people manage to mentally contrast the desired future with aspects of reality that stand in the way of realizing the desired future, agency-related hope beliefs become an issue for goal setting. This is because such mental contrasting, by linking the desired future to impeding reality, triggers a necessity to act that activates expectations of success (i.e., agency-related hope beliefs). If agencyrelated hope beliefs are high, a binding goal commitment to realize the desired future should emerge (e.g., a strong goal commitment to successfully enter professional life). In other words, mentally contrasting a desired future with impeding reality helps tutn high agency-related hope beliefs into binding goal commitments with subsequent determined goal pursuit.

Mental contrasting has been shown (Oettingen, 2000; Oettingen, Pak, & Schnetter, 2001) to effectively translate high expectations to realize the desired future (i.e., high agency-related hope beliefs) into strong goal commitments in the laboratory with college students (e.g., to get to know a fellow student, to combine work and family life, to study abroad, to stop smoking) as well as in various other institutional settings with samples of different age groups. For example, in school settings, mental contrasting facilitated strong goal commitment to excel in academic achievements (e.g., in learning a foreign language, Oettingen, Hönig, & Gollwitzer, 2000, Study 4; in mathematics, Oettingen et al., 2000, Study 1), and strong goal commitment to integrate students from foreign countries (Lorenz, 1999). In organizational settings, mental contrasting promoted strong goal commitment to participate in training programs providing further education (Janetzke, 1999). In hospital settings, mental contrasting furthered strong goal commitment to apply best practice guidelines in nurses, and it increased their efforts to better their relationships to patients' family members (Brinkmann, 2000, Studies 1 and 2). Finally, health care professionals at die middle management level profited from being trained in mental contrasting in terms of increased readiness to make decisions, effective time management, and delegating authority to others (Brinkmann, 2000, Study 3).

Mental contrasting strengthened goal commitment no matter whether it was measured by cognitive, affective, or behavioral aspects; in the short-term or the longterm (up to 6 months); and via self-report or by direct observations. More importantly, in all of these studies mental contrasting triggered goal setting by making people respect existing high expectations of success rather than by raising the level of expectations (i.e., agency-related hope beliefs). Mental contrasting turned out to be an easy-to-apply self-regulatory tool, as die described effects were obtained even if participants elaborated the future and the reality only very briefly (i.e., were asked to imagine one positive aspect of the desired future and then move on to imagining one impeding aspect of reality).

In summary, mental contrasting can be used as a powerful self-regulatory tool when it comes to turning high agency-related hope thoughts into strong goal commitments. As pointed out in hope theory, however, having committed oneself to a goal is just a first step on the often intricate and effortful way to its realization. Various aspects of the context (i.e., stressors) in which the critical goal is to be implemented may hinder attainment. It is here where hope theory suggests that pathways-related hope thoughts unfold their beneficial effects.

Pathways-Related Hope Thoughts and Goal Striving

Hope theory speaks of pathways-related hope thoughts in ternts of beliefs that one can get out of a jam, overcome barriers, and knows of many alternative ways to attain set goals. It might be theoretically profitable, however, to differentiate thoughts about pathways in terms of their content and structure, as some types of plans might be more effective than others. Gollwitzer (1993, 1999) focused on a certain type of plan called *implementation intention*. It is proposed that such plans that come in the form of "If I encounter critical situation y, then I will perfom goal-

directed behavior z!" increase the rate of attainment of a set goal, as (a) the critical situation becomes more readily attended to and more easily detected and recalled; and (b) the intended goal-directed behavior is initiated immediately, efficiently, and without the necessity of a conscious intent once the critical situation is encountered. The critical situation can be a temporary good opportunity to be seized immediately, may entail a distraction or temptation to be avoided, or a barrier that needs to be overcome.

Laboratory research has focused on analyzing how implementation intentions work. Findings suggest that the critical situations specified in implementation intentions become highly accessible (summarized in Gollwitzer,1999) and that action initiation in these critical situations carries features of automaticity as it occurs immediately, efficiently, and without the necessity of conscious intent (immediacy: Gollwitzer & Brandstaetter, 1997, Study 3; efficiency: Brandstaetter, Lengfelder, & Gollwitzer, 2001; no conscious intent required: Lengfelder & Gollwitzer, 2001).

Field experiments, on the other hand, have attempted to explore what kind of goals benefit from being furnished with implementation intentions. It is demonsirated that goal projects that need to be performed at inconvenient times benefit strongly from forming implementation intentions. For example, when people intend to write a report during holidays, goal completion rate raises from approximately 30% to 70% (Gollwitzer & Brandstaetter, 1997). Second, implementation intentions help completing unpleasant-to-perform goaLs. This was demonstrated in numerous studies examining different kinds of health promoting and disease preventing behaviors, such as regular breast self-exatnination (Orbell, Hodgkins, & Sheeran, 1997), cervical cancer screening (Sheeran & Orbell, 2000), and resumption of functional activity after joint replacement surgery (Orbell & Sheeran, 2000). Third, implementation intentions were found to facilitate the attainment of goals when it is easy to forget to perform the respective behaviors (e.g., the regular intake of vitamin pills, Sheeran & Orbell, 1999; the signing of worksheets with very old people, Chasten, Park, & Schwarz, 2001), and the performing of academic projects within deadlines and at certain points in time (Oettingen et al., 2000, Studies 2 and 3).

A meta-analysis of all the published studies on the effects of implementation intentions on the facilitation of goal attainment reveals that implementation intentions do not produce their effects via an increase in the strength of expectations of success or agency-related hope beliefs (Sheeran, 2001). This suggests that implementation intentions do not facilitate action toward the goal by recursively strengthening a person's confidence to reach the goal. Also, implementation intentions do not increase a person's commitment to the goal and thus facilitate goal attainment via strengthen ing goal commitment. Rather, the forming of implementation intentions is a conscious act of will that prepares a per-

son for effective goal striving. Once the critical situations are encountered, effortful reflections on how to effectively pursue one's goal are no longer needed, as goal-directed behavior is triggered automatically. This line of thought is supported by observations that individuals who have trouble with the conscious control of an ongoing goal pursuit (e.g., heroin addicts during withdrawal, schizophrenic patients) also benefit from forming implementation intentions (Brandstaetter et al., 2001, Studies 1 and 2), as do frontal lobe patients (Lengfelder & Gollwitzer, 200 1).

The latter fudings suggest that forming implementation intentions is not only a very effective self-regulatory tool, but also an easy-to-use technique. Finally, it does not matter whether implementation intentions are assigned or self-set, formed publicly or privately, written down or not, and whether people imagine themselves to act on their implementation intentions or not. What is important, however, is that people are committed to reaching their goal and that they commit themselves to their if (situation)-then (behavior) plans in the sense of strongly intending to perform the critical behavior once die specified situation is encountered.

Implications for Psychotherapy

Hope theory suggests that psychotherapeutic interventions to help people attain desired future outcomes should be geared at strengthening agency-related hope thoughts (Snyder et aL, 2000; Snyder & Taylor, 2000). No matter how the strengthening of hope thoughts is achieved (e.g., via persuasion or changing people's performance), there remains the issue of translating hope thoughts into setting binding goals with subsequent determined goal striving. Mental contrasting is an easy-to-apply self-regulatory strategy that facilitates die translation of hope thoughts into goal-directed behavior. Accordingly, therapeutic interventions geared at helping people to meet desired outcomes should not stop after having increased hopefulness, but should also instruct people in how to use die self-regulatory strategy of mental contrasting, so that the strengthened agency-related hope thoughts become relevant to behavior.

Therapeutic interventions based on hope theory also focus on creating pathways-related hope thoughts pertaining to circumventing barriers, getting out of jams, and reaching the goal in many ways. Such pathways-related hope thoughts should be particularly effective in facilitating the attainment of set goals, if they are translated into if-then plans. To achieve this, people should (in 'ädvance) mentally link a select goaldirected behavior to an anticipated critical situation or barrier. As a consequence, an effective goal-directed response is initiated in an automatic fashion once the critical situation is encountered, and does not have to be effortfully remembered and initiated in situ. Accordingly, therapies geared at helping people to meet set goals should not only create pathwaysrelated hope thoughts, but also instruct clients to use the self-regulatory tool of forming implementation intentions that]ink anticipated critical situations and effective goal-directed responses.

Conclusion

We have described two self-regu[atory strategies that facilitate the translation of hope thoughts into hope behavior. First, mentally thinking a desired future with impeding rea]ity leads people to consider agency-related hope thoughts when it comes to setting binding goals and striving for them. Second, mentally linking an anticipated barrier with a relevant goal-directed response makes people act effectively on their pathwaysrelated hope thoughts. Therefore, the self-regulatory tool ofmental contrasting, by linking future and reality, makes people respect agency-related hope thoughts; whereas the self-regulatory tool of forming implementation intentions, by linking a goal-directed response to an anticipated barrier or hindrance, makes people respectpathways-related hope thoughts.

Note

Gabriele Oettingen or Peter M. Gollwitzer, New York University, Psycho]ogy Department, 6 Washington Place/7th Floor, New York, NY 10003. E-mail: gabriele.oettingen@nyu.edu or peter.gollwitzer@nyu.edu

References

- Brandstaetter, V., Lengfelder, A., & Gollwitzer, P. M. (2001). Imple mentation intentions and efficient action initiation. *Journal Of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 946-960.
- Brinkmann, B. (2000). Von der positiven Phantasie zum verbindlichen Ziel-Motivation und Lernen im Arbeitsalltag [From positive visions to setting binding goals-Motivation and learning in the work setting]. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Heidelberg, Germany.
- Chasteen, A. L., Park, D. C., & Schwarz, N. (2001). Implementation intentions and facilitation of prospective memory. Psychological Science, 12, 457-461.
- Gollwitzer, P. M. (1993). Goal achievement: The role of intentions. European Review of Social Psychology, 4, 141-185.

- Gollwitzer, P. M. (1999). Implementation intentions: Strong effects of simple plans. American Psychologist, 54,493-503.
- Gollwitzer, P. M., & Brandstaetter, V. (1997). Implementation intentions and effective goal pursuit. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73, 186-199.
- Janetzke, H. (1999). Das phantasierte Selbst und seine Verwirklichung [The envisioned self and its realization]. Unpublished master's thesis, Technical University Berlin, Gennany.
- Lengfelder, A., & Gollwitzer, P. M. (2001). Reflective and reflexive action control in frontal lobe patients. *Neuropsychology*, 15, 84-100.
- Lorenz, S. (1999). Zukunftsdenken und zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen [Envisioning the future and interpersonal relations]. Unpublished master's thesis, Free University of Berlin, Germany.
- Oettingen, G. (1999). Free fantasies about the future and the emergence of developmental goals. In 1. Brandtstädter & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), Action and self-development: Theory and research through the lfje span (pp. 315-342). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Oettingen, G. (2000). Expectancy effects on behavior depend on selfregulatory thought. *Social Cognition*, 18, 101-129.
- Oettingen, G., Hönig, G., & Gollwitzer, P. M. (2000). Effective selfregulation of goal attainment. *International Journal of Edu*cational Research, 33, 705-732.
- Oettingen, G., Pak, H., & Schnetter, K. (2001). Self-regulation ofgoal setting: Turning free fantasies about the future into binding goals. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 80, 736-753
- Orbell, S., Hodgkins, S., & Sheeran, P. (1997). Implementation intentions and the theory of planned behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23, 945-954.*
- Orbell, S., & Sheeran, P. (2000). Motivational and volitional processes in action initiation: A field study of the role of implementation intentions. Journal Of Applied Social Psychology, 30, 106-143.
- Sheeran, P. (2001, September). Implementation intentions and health behaviors: A meta-analysis. Paper presented at the Symposium "Planning processes in the implementation ofaction" at the I Sth Annual Conference of the European Health Psychology Society, St. Andrews, England.
- Sheeran, P., & Orbell, S. (1999). Implementation intentions and re peated behavior: Augmenting the predictive validity of the theory of planned behavior. European Journal of Social Psychology, 37, 231-250.
- Sheeran, P., & Orbell, S. (2000). Using implementation intentions to increase attendance for cervical cancer screening. *Health Psychology*, 19,283-289.
- Snyder, C. R. (Ed.). (2000). Handbook of hope: Theory, measures, and applications. San Diego, CA: Academic.
- Snyder, C. R., Ilardi, S. S., Cheavens, J., Michael, S. T., Yamhure, L., & Sympson, S. (2000). The role of hope in cognitive behavior therapies. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, 24, 747-762.
- Snyder, C. R., & Taylor, J. D. (2000). Hope as a common factor across psychotherapy approaches: A lesson from the Dodo's Verdict. In C. R. Snyder (Ed.), Handbook of hope: Theory, measures, and applications (pp. 89-108). San Diego, CA: Academic.