happiness an enduring prevalence of positive emotions

> feel-good, do-good phenomenon our tendency to be helpful when in a good mood.

> **positive psychology** the scientific study of human flourishing, with the goals of discovering and promoting strengths and virtues that help individuals and communities

subjective well-being self-perceived satisfaction with life. Used along with measures of objective well-being (for example, physical and economic indicators) to judge our quality of life.

Martin E. P. Seligman "The main purpose of a positive psychology is to measure, understand, and then build the human strengths and the civic virtues



## **Happiness and Well-Being**

LOQ 38-3 What is happiness? Why does happiness matter?

The Greek philosopher Aristotle (350 B.C.E.) believed that "happiness is the meaning and the purpose of life, the whole aim and end of human existence." The psychologist William James (1902) called happiness "the secret for all [we] do." The Dalai Lama (2009) agreed: "The very purpose of our life is to seek happiness."

Happiness (our having more positive than negative feelings) matters in our daily lives. Our happiness or unhappiness colors our thoughts and our actions. Happy people perceive the world as safer (Cunningham & Kirkland, 2014). They also smile more, and act more playfully (Gardiner et al., 2022). Their eyes are drawn toward emotionally positive images (Raila et al., 2015). Positive feelings enhance our memory of positive facts and pleasant times (Bower, 1981; Isen et al., 1978). Happy feelings also "broaden and build" our thinking, allowing us to relax, become more creative, and connect more easily with others (Fredrickson, 2013; Shiota et al., 2017).

Happiness also promotes a flourishing life. Happy babies tend to become successful adults, and happier adults experience more career success (Coffey, 2020; Walsh et al., 2018). Happier adults also live healthier and more satisfied lives (Boehm et al., 2015; Kushlev et al., 2020; Willroth et al., 2020). When researchers surveyed thousands of U.S. college students in 1976 and restudied them 2 decades later, happy students had gone on to earn significantly more money than their less-happy-than-average peers (Diener et al., 2002). When we are happy, our relationships, self-image, and hopes for the future also seem more promising.

Happiness benefits society, too. Happy people not only feel good, they also do good. This **feel-good**, **do-good phenomenon** is one of psychology's most consistent findings (Salovey, 1990). Happier people are more helpful and kind to others (Kushlev et al., 2022). A mood-boosting experience (finding money, succeeding on a challenging task, recalling a happy event) has made people more likely to give money, pick up someone's dropped papers, and volunteer time (Isen & Levin, 1972).

The reverse is also true: Doing good also promotes good feeling. Spending money on others, rather than on ourselves, increases happiness (Aknin et al., 2020). Young children also show more positive emotion when they give, rather than receive, gifts (Aknin et al., 2015). In a Spanish corporate workplace, employees who helped their co-workers experienced greater well-being, and those they helped also became happier and more helpful (Chancellor et al., 2018). Even donating a kidney, despite the pain, leaves donors feeling good (Brethel-Haurwitz & Marsh, 2014). The benefits of helping are not limited to exceptional altruists. People with a history of criminal behavior also feel good when they do good (Hanniball et al., 2019). The bottom line: Helping others helps us all feel happy.

Why does doing good feel so good? One reason is that it strengthens our social relationships (Aknin & Human, 2015; Yamaguchi et al., 2015). Some happiness coaches assign people to perform a daily "random act of kindness" and to record the results.

### Positive Psychology

Psychologist William James was writing about the importance of happiness ("the secret motive for all [we] do") as early as 1902. By the 1960s, the humanistic psychologists were interested in advancing human fulfillment. In the twenty-first century, under the leadership of American Psychological Association past-president Martin Seligman, positive psychology is using scientific methods to study human flourishing. This rapidly growing subfield includes studies of subjective well-being. One ongoing longitudinal study is following 240,000 people in 24 countries to understand the key elements in human experience that help us thrive and feel a greater sense of purpose and meaning (VanderWeele, 2021).

Taken together, satisfaction with the past, happiness with the present, and optimism about the future define the positive psychology movement's first pillar: positive

Positive psychology is about building not just a pleasant life, says Seligman, but also a good life that engages one's skills, and a meaningful life that points beyond oneself.

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#### MODULE 38 EXPERIENCING EMOTION



Thus, the second pillar, positive traits, focuses on exploring and enhancing creativity, courage, compassion, integrity, self-control, leadership, wisdom, and spirituality. Happiness is a by-product of a pleasant, engaged, and meaningful life.

The third pillar, positive groups, communities, and cultures, seeks to foster a positive social world. This includes healthy families, supportive neighborhoods, effective schools, socially responsible media, and civil dialogue.

"Positive psychology," Seligman and colleagues have said (2005), "is an umbrella term for the study of positive emotions, positive character traits, and enabling institutions." Its focus differs from psychology's traditional interests in understanding and alleviating negative states—abuse and anxiety, depression and disease, prejudice and poverty. (Psychology articles published since 1887 mentioning "depression" still outnumber those mentioning "happiness" by about 16 to 1.) The positive psychology movement has gained strength, with supporters in more than 100 countries (IPPA, 2022). Worldwide, centers such as the Greater Good Science Center in Berkeley, California, support the science of thriving and happiness.

**adaptation-level phenomenon** our tendency to form judgments (of sounds, of lights, of income) relative to a neutral level defined by our prior experience.



### When Are We Happiest?

**100 38-4** How do time, wealth, adaptation, and comparison affect our happiness levels?

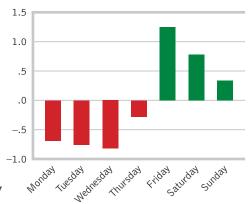
So, happiness matters. But what factors influence when people are happiest? For example, are some days of the week happier than others?

One social psychologist (Kramer, 2010) did a naturalistic observation of emotion words in billions (!) of Facebook posts. He tracked the frequency of people's positive and negative emotion words by day of the week. The days with the most positive moods? Friday and Saturday (FIGURE 38.3). Similar analyses of questionnaire responses and 59 million Twitter messages found Friday, Saturday, and Sunday to be the week's happiest days (Golder & Macy, 2011; Helliwell & Wang, 2015; Young & Lim, 2014). For you, too?

Positive emotions also tend to rise in the early to middle part of most days, and they tend to decline later in the day (Kahneman et al., 2004; Watson, 2000). So, too, with day-to-day moods. A stressor—an argument, a bad test grade, a car problem—triggers a bad mood. No surprise there. But by the next day, the gloom nearly always lifts (Affleck et al., 1994; Bolger et al., 1989; Stone & Neale, 1984). Our overall judgments of our lives often show lingering effects of good or bad events, but our daily moods typically rebound (Luhmann et al., 2012). If anything, people tend to bounce back from a bad day to a better-than-usual good mood the following day. Sadness helps us appreciate happiness. The surprising reality: We overestimate the duration of our emotions and underestimate our resiliency and capacity to adapt. (As one who inherited hearing loss with a trajectory toward that of my mother, who spent the last 13 years of her life completely deaf, I [DM] take heart from these findings.)

Our current happiness is also shaped by our recent experience. Psychologist Harry Helson (1898–1977) identified this **adaptation-level phenomenon**: We judge new events by comparing them with our past experiences. Our past experiences define neutral levels—sounds that seem neither loud nor soft, temperatures that seem neither hot nor cold, events that seem neither pleasant nor unpleasant. We then notice and react to variations up or down from these levels. Have you noticed how a chilly fall day, after summer, feels colder than the same temperature in late winter?

People who have experienced a recent windfall—from the lottery, an inheritance, or a surging economy—typically feel joy and satisfaction (Diener & Oishi, 2000; Gardner & Oswald, 2007; Lindqvist et al., 2020). You would, too, if you woke up tomorrow with all your wishes granted—perhaps a world with no bills, no ills, and perfect grades? But eventually, you would adapt to this new normal. Before long, you would again sometimes feel joy and satisfaction (when events exceed your expectations), sometimes feel let down (when they fall below), and sometimes feel neither up nor down. The point to remember: Feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, success and failure are based partly on expectations formed by our recent experience (Rutledge et al., 2014).



#### **1** FIGURE 38.3

**Happiness** 

**Emotion notification** A pattern emerged in tracked positive and negative emotion words in many "billions" (the exact number is proprietary information) of status updates of U.S. Facebook users over a 3-year period (Kramer, 2010).



### **What Predicts Happiness?**

100 38-5 What predicts happiness, and how can we be happier?

Happy people share many characteristics (TABLE 38.1). But what makes one person filled with joy, day after day, while others seem dark or aloof? Here, as in so many other areas, the answer is found in the interplay between nature and nurture.

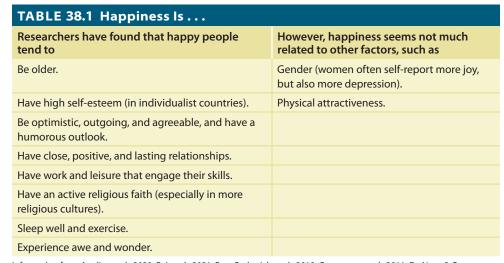
Genes matter. In one analysis of over 55,000 identical and fraternal twins, 36 percent of the differences among people's happiness ratings was heritable—attributable to genes (Bartels, 2015). Even identical twins raised apart have similar happiness levels. The challenging quest for specific genes that influence happiness confirms a familiar lesson: Human traits are influenced by many genes having small effects (Røysamb & Nes, 2019).

But our personal history and our culture matter, too. Values vary; one group's recipe for happiness might differ from another group's. Self-esteem matters more in Western cultures, which value individualism. Social acceptance and harmony matter more in communal cultures, such as Japan, that stress family and community (Diener et al., 2003; Fulmer et al., 2010; Uchida & Kitayama, 2009). In East Asia, most people prefer a "calm" to an "exciting" life (Crabtree & Lai, 2021).

Depending on our genes, outlook, and recent experiences, our happiness seems to fluctuate around a "happiness set point," which disposes some people to be more upbeat and others, more negative. Even so, our satisfaction with life can change (Sheldon & Lyubomirsky, 2021). Happiness rises and falls, and we can control some of what makes us more or less happy on a given day or in a given situation.

Your happiness, like your cholesterol level, is partially shaped by genetics. Yet as cholesterol is also influenced by diet and exercise, some of your happiness is under your personal control (Nes, 2010; Sin & Lyubomirsky, 2009). See TABLE 38.2 for some research-based suggestions to build your personal strengths and increase your happiness and well-being.

If we can enhance our happiness on an *individual* level, could we use happiness research to refocus our *collective* priorities? Psychologists believe we could. Thanks to information resources such as the Gallup World Poll, researchers can track human happiness and misery over time (2021 was the unhappiest year of the past two decades). Many political leaders are also making use of such research: 43 nations have begun measuring their citizens' well-being, and many have undertaken interventions to boost national well-being (Diener et al., 2015, 2019). Britain's Annual Population Survey, for example, asks its citizens how satisfied they are with their lives, how worthwhile they judge their lives, and how happy and how anxious they felt yesterday (ONS, 2018).



Information from Anglim et al., 2020; Bai et al., 2021; Batz-Barbarich et al., 2018; Carstensen et al., 2011; De Neve & Cooper, 1998; Diener et al., 2003, 2011; Headey et al., 2010; Lucas et al., 2004; Lyubomirsky, 2013; Myers, 1993, 2000; Myers & Diener, 1995, 1996; Newport, 2022; Steel et al., 2008. Veenhoven, 2014, 2015 offers a database of 13,000+ correlates of happiness at WorldDatabaseofHappiness.eur.nl



"Have you ever tried buying lots of stuff?"

#### TABLE 38.2 Evidence-Based Suggestions for a Happier Life

- Take control of your time. Happy people feel in control of their lives and less time-stressed (Whillans, 2019). Too little time is stressful; too much is boring. So, set goals and divide them into manageable daily aims. We all tend to overestimate how much we will accomplish in any given day, but the good news is that we generally underestimate how much we can accomplish in a year, given just a little daily progress.
- Label your feelings. Research shows that people who chose a word that fit their feelings actually felt more positive and less negative (Vlasenko et al., 2021). So, label your feelings. We can often find our way into a happier state of mind by understanding what we are feeling.
- Seek work and leisure that engage your skills. Happy people often are in a zone called flow—absorbed in tasks that challenge but don't overwhelm them. Passive forms of leisure (streaming movies and television shows) often provide less flow experience than exercising, socializing, or expressing artistic interests.
- Seek experiences rather than things. For those who are not struggling financially, money buys more happiness when spent on experiences especially socially shared experiences that you look forward to, enjoy, remember, and talk about (Caprariello & Reis, 2013; Kumar & Gilovich, 2013, 2015; J. C. Lee et al., 2018). As pundit Art Buchwald said, "The best things in life aren't things."
- Join the "movement" movement. Aerobic exercise not only promotes health and energy, it also helps relieve mild depression (McIntyre et al., 2020; Willis et al., 2018). Researchers have found that certain kinds of body movement while exercising, such as reaching our arms up or bouncing to a beat, may be especially good at elevating feelings of joy (McGonigal, 2019; Shafir et al., 2013). Sound minds often reside in sound bodies.
- Give your body the sleep it wants. Happy people live active lives yet reserve time for renewing, refreshing sleep. Sleep debt results in fatigue, diminished alertness, poor physical health, and gloomy moods. If you sleep now, you'll smile later.
- *Give priority to close relationships.* Compared with unhappy people, happy people engage in more meaningful conversations (Milek et al., 2018). Resolve to nurture your closest relationships by *not* taking your loved ones for granted: Give them the sort of kindness and affirmation you give others. Relationships matter.
- Focus and find meaning beyond self. Reach out to those in need. Perform acts of kindness. Happiness increases helpfulness, but doing good for others also fills us with happiness, meaning, and purpose (Kumar & Epley, 2022). And meaning matters mightily: A meaningful life is often a long, active, and healthy life (Alimujiang et al., 2019; Hooker & Masters, 2018).
- Challenge your negative thinking. Remind yourself that a disappointment today may not seem like that big a deal in a month, or a year.
- Count your blessings and record your gratitude. Keeping a gratitude journal heightens well-being (Davis et al., 2016). Take time to savor positive experiences and achievements, and to appreciate why they occurred (Sheldon & Lyubomirsky, 2012). Share your gratitude with others and prepare for smiles all around (Dickens, 2017; Kumar & Epley, 2018).
- Nurture your spiritual self. Relaxation and meditation help us stay emotionally steady. And for many people, faith provides a support community, a reason to focus beyond self, and a sense of purpose and hope. That helps explain why, worldwide, people active in faith communities report greater-than-average happiness and often cope well with crises (Pew, 2019).
- Take an "awe walk." Experiencing a sense of awe or wonder can reduce stress and increase well-being (Bai et al., 2021; Sturm et al., 2020). Taking a 15-minute outdoor awe walk can help you appreciate the presence of something bigger than yourself.

Happy societies are not only prosperous, but also places where people trust one another, feel free, and enjoy close relationships (Helliwell et al., 2013; Oishi & Schimmack, 2010). This knowledge may guide nations toward policies that decrease stress, foster human flourishing, and promote "the pursuit of happiness." Debates about economic inequality, tax rates, divorce laws, parental leave, health care, and city planning can all consider people's psychological well-being.

### **Questioning Some Myths About Happiness**

People believe many myths about happiness. Let's review the most common and see what the science has to say.

**DOES MONEY BUY US HAPPINESS?** Would you be happier if you made more money? How important is "Being very well off financially"? "Very important" or "essential," say 84 percent of entering U.S. college students (Stolzenberg et al., 2019). But can money buy happiness?

Personal income predicts happiness—but the more you have, the more it takes to raise your happiness. Having enough money to eat, to feel control over your life, and to occasionally treat yourself to something special predicts greater happiness (Fischer & Boer, 2011; Ruberton et al., 2016). This is especially true for people during their midlife working years (Cheung & Lucas, 2015). But money's power to buy happiness also depends on your current income. Although nearly everyone welcomes more money, a \$3000 wage



Experiencing awe in nature improves well-being.

increase does much more for someone making \$30,000 per year than for someone making \$300,000 (Killingsworth, 2021).

Those living in countries where most people have a secure livelihood tend to be happier than those living in very low-income countries (Diener & Tay, 2015). Money may not buy happiness, but extreme poverty often means misery, which can be lessened by more fairly distributed economic growth (Roser, 2021). Once we have enough money for comfort and security, however, we reach an "income satiation" point beyond which piling up more and more matters less and less (Donnelly et al., 2018; Jebb et al., 2018).

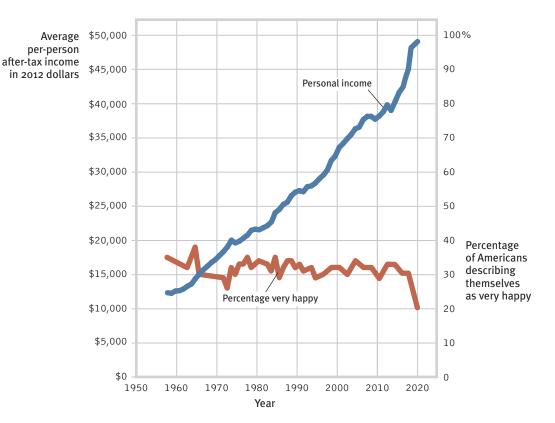
Economic growth in higher-income countries has provided no apparent boost to people's morale or social well-being. Since the late 1950s, the average U.S. citizen's buying power has almost tripled, and with it came new home entertainment systems, safer cars, fresh fruit in winter, and easy information access. Did it also buy more happiness? As FIGURE 38.4 shows, Americans have become no happier. In 1957, some 35 percent said they were "very happy," as did slightly fewer—31 percent—in 2018 (and 19 percent during the Covid pandemic in 2021). The same thing happened in China and India, where living standards have risen but happiness and life satisfaction have not (Easterlin & O'Connor, 2020). The good life is not the goods life.

Extreme inequality is socially toxic. Why has economic growth not made us happier? Economic growth has been accompanied by rising inequality, which, across time and place, predicts unhappiness (Cheung & Lucas, 2016; Graafland & Lous, 2019). In countries such as the United States, China, and India, the last half-century's rising economic tide has lifted the yachts faster than the rowboats (Hasell, 2018). In countries and states with greater inequality, people with lower incomes tend to experience more physical, emotional, and social problems than they do in places with less inequality (Payne, 2017; Sommet et al., 2018; Vyas et al., 2022). One study following over 40,000 Canadian children found that those experiencing poverty had greater odds of having asthma and a psychological disorder, and were less ready for school (Roos et al., 2019).

Thus, the more unequal a country's income, the more money predicts happiness (Macchia, 2020; Quispe-Torreblanca et al., 2021). Across the world, we seem to understand that extreme inequality is socially toxic. Regardless of their political party, most

# FIGURE 38.4 Money didn't buy happiness

(Happiness data from National Opinion Research Center surveys; income data from *Historical Statistics* of the United States and Economic Indicators.)



### MODULE 38 EXPERIENCING EMOTION



people say they would prefer smaller pay gaps between people with high incomes and people with low incomes (Arsenio, 2018; Kiatpongsan & Norton, 2014).

Ironically, in every culture, those who strive hardest for wealth have tended to live with lower well-being, especially when they seek money to prove themselves, gain power, or show off rather than support their families (Donnelly et al., 2016; Niemiec et al., 2009; Srivastava et al., 2001). Those who instead strive for intimacy, personal growth, and community contribution experience a higher quality of life (Kasser, 2018; Ward et al., 2020).

The bottom line: Money by itself does not buy happiness, but if you spend it on others in ways that promote kindness, it can *predict* happiness.

**IS OUR HAPPINESS INDEPENDENT OF OTHERS?** Are you happy? Many people, especially those from individualist cultures, believe our happiness is independent of others. "If you want to live a happy life, tie it to a goal, not to people," advised Albert Einstein.

Yet the reality is that we are social animals. We often compare ourselves to others—our looks, our achievements, and our happiness. Whether we feel good or bad depends on our perception of just how successful those others are (Lyubomirsky, 2001). Most new university students perceive their peers as more socially connected, which diminishes their well-being and makes it harder to form friendships (Whillans et al., 2017; Zell et al., 2018). Across many studies, people ranging from mall shoppers to online respondents have perceived others' social lives as more active than their own (Deri et al., 2017). Do such social comparisons—which social media may encourage—leave you, too, feeling like your life is a bit dull and unromantic compared to that of your friends? If so, you likely are experiencing **relative deprivation**.

When expectations soar above attainments, we feel disappointed. Worldwide, life satisfaction suffers when people with low incomes compare themselves to those with higher incomes (Macchia et al., 2020). One analysis of 2.4 million participants in 357 studies found that happiness depended less on actual financial success than on how participants *compared* themselves financially to their peers (Tan et al., 2020). As British philosopher Bertrand Russell (1930/1985) noted, "Napoleon envied Caesar, Caesar envied Alexander, and Alexander, I daresay, envied Hercules, who never existed. You cannot, therefore, get away from envy by means of success alone, for there will always be in history or legend some person even more successful than you are" (pp. 68–69).

Just as comparing ourselves with those who are better off creates envy, so counting our blessings as we compare ourselves with those worse off boosts our contentment. In one study, when mildly depressed people read about someone who was even more depressed, they felt somewhat better (Gibbons, 1986). "I cried because I had no shoes," states a Persian saying, "until I met a man who had no feet."

**MUST BAD EVENTS CAUSE LONG-TERM UNHAPPINESS?** Extremely stressful events—the loss of a spouse or a job—can drag us down for a long time (Infurna & Luthar, 2016). But eventually, most bad moods end. We may feel that our heart has broken during a romantic breakup, but in time the wound heals. In one study, faculty members up for tenure expected a negative decision would deflate their lives. Actually, 5 to 10 years later, their happiness level was about the same as for those who received tenure (Gilbert et al., 1998).

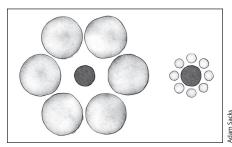
Grief over the loss of a loved one or anxiety after a severe trauma can linger. But tragedy and trauma are usually not permanently depressing. People who become blind or paralyzed may not completely recover their previous well-being, but many—especially those with an agreeable personality—eventually approach their prior levels of day-to-day happiness (Bonanno, 2004; Boyce & Wood, 2011; Hall et al., 1999). Although the 9/11 terrorist attacks and Covid-19 pandemic caused widespread immediate distress, a year later many people had returned to their baseline levels of happiness (Aknin et al., 2021). "Distress is a normal reaction to mass tragedy," said psychologist George Bonanno (2021), "but so is a relatively prompt climb back to good mental health." In the poetry of an ancient Psalm, "Weeping may linger for the night, but joy comes with the morning."

Bonanno (2021) told the story of Jed, who lost his leg when he was run over by a garbage truck. Despite this traumatic accident and the challenges he faced adapting to life with

**relative deprivation** the perception that we are worse off relative to those with whom we compare ourselves.



Students tend to have a higher academic self-concept if they attend a school where most other students are not exceptionally able (Marsh et al., 2020, 2021). If you were near the top of your graduating class, you might feel inferior or discouraged upon entering a college or university where all students were near the top of their class. As Theodore Roosevelt reportedly observed, "Comparison is the thief of joy."



"Two dark circles that are the same size. or Would I be happier if i had less successful friends?"

**Relative deprivation** Comparing ourselves with more successful others, we feel diminished; comparing ourselves with those who are worse off, we feel contented. How does the cartoon illustrate this *relative deprivation* principle?

Think back to some significant event that either elated or depressed you. How long did your extreme emotions last before returning to more typical levels?





resilience the personal strength that helps people cope with stress and recover from adversity and even trauma.

one less limb, Jed demonstrated **resilience**. After recovery, he returned to being a happy person whose endless optimism could light up a room. Overcoming serious setbacks, as Jed did, can even foster a deeper sense of life's purpose and meaning (Seery, 2011).

#### **ASK YOURSELF**

Were you surprised by any of the findings related to happiness? How might you increase your

#### RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

**RP-2** Which of the following factors does *not* predict self-reported happiness?

c. Sleep and exercise

b. Personality traits

d. Active religious faith

ANSWERS IN APPENDIX E

### 38 REVIEW Experiencing Emotion

#### **LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

Test Yourself Answer these repeated Learning Objective Questions on your own (before "showing" the answers here, or checking the answers in Appendix D) to improve your retention of the concepts (McDaniel et al., 2009, 2015).

- Log 38-1 What are some of the basic emotions?
- Log 38-2 What are the causes and consequences of anger?
- LOQ 38-3 What is happiness? Why does happiness matter?
- LOQ 38-4 How do time, wealth, adaptation, and comparison affect our happiness levels?
- LOQ 38-5 What predicts happiness, and how can we be happier?

#### **TERMS AND CONCEPTS TO REMEMBER**

**Test Yourself** Write down the definition in your own words, then check your answer.

happiness, p. 434 feel-good, do-good phenomenon, p. 434

positive psychology, p. 434 subjective well-being, p. 434 adaptation-level phenomenon, p. 435

relative deprivation, p. 439 resilience, p. 440

#### **MODULE TEST**

Test Yourself Answer the following questions on your own first, then "show" the answers here, or check your answers in Appendix E.

- 1. One of the most consistent findings of psychological research is that happy people are also
  - a. more likely to express anger.
  - b. generally luckier than others.
  - c. concentrated in the wealthier nations.
  - d. more likely to help others.
- psychology is a scientific field of study focused on how humans thrive and flourish.
- After moving to a new apartment, you find the street noise irritatingly loud, but after a while it no longer bothers you. This reaction illustrates the
  - a. relative deprivation principle.
  - b. adaptation-level phenomenon.
  - c. feel-good, do-good phenomenon.
  - d. catharsis principle.
- **4.** There will always be someone more successful, more accomplished, or more popular with whom to compare ourselves. In psychology, this phenomenon is referred to as the principle.

## Stress and Illness

"It's killing me inside. I'm kind of broken. I'm broken. And my colleagues are broken. And people say, 'It's not that big a deal.' And I want to take them by the collar and say you don't know what you're talking about. Come see my world." So explained Montana nurse Joey Traywick (2020), choking back tears while his hospital's intensive care unit was overwhelmed with Covid patients.