The Signaling Value of Leisure

by

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ABSTRACT

Individuals regularly share information about the leisure activities in which they participate, and often do so in a public manner (e.g., personal biographies, social media). Little research has examined the potential consequences of sharing such information. Across five lab experiments and one quasi-experiment utilizing Twitter data, I demonstrate that when people share information about participating in multiple leisure activities, others perceive them as having greater eudaimonic (e.g., meaning, fulfillment) and hedonic (e.g., happiness, satisfaction) well-being. These perceptions of well-being, and particularly eudaimonic well-being, have important positive implications, even in domains where leisure activities might be expected to serve as a negative signal. Specifically, individuals perceived as having higher eudaimonic well-being are viewed as more appealing in professional contexts. This effect is attenuated if the activities themselves are associated with lower well-being. The present research reveals the ironic effect that highlighting how one spends time outside work can increase one's professional standing. I further demonstrate that well-being is not simply a positive outcome for individuals but can be a diagnostic tool utilized in interpersonal relationships, including professional relationships.

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandmothers, Freda Daniels and Viola “Terry” Blog. I would not have the opportunities that I have today were it not for your strength and sacrifices.

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CHAPTER 1

THE SIGNALING VALUE OF LEISURE

INTRODUCTION

"Voracious reader. Avid traveler. Active Blogger." In addition to listing his professional roles (Co-chair of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Microsoft co-founder), Bill Gates' LinkedIn profile summary also includes select personal information about his leisure activities and interests. Such inclusions are not limited to the professionally elite, whom one might view as so successful that they do not have to hide their life outside of work. In fact, in a recent article about their "Profile Summary" feature, LinkedIn, a popular professional networking website, highlights the biographies of several individuals who happen to share their varied leisure activities and interests on the platform. The types of activities mentioned ranged from improving old recipes and watching reruns of *The Office* to cycling and serving as a self-appointed "flavor ambassador" for a local ice cream shop (Reilly, 2016). These disclosures are not exclusive to LinkedIn—people regularly share information about the activities on which they spend their time outside of work in personal biographies and freelance services sites, on social media, or in conversations with colleagues. However, the literature has not examined how this information may be used as a signaling tool in professional contexts, what effect it has, or how different types of activities might result in differential outcomes.

We define these types of activities as "leisure activities" because they are outside the scope of one's professional responsibilities and generally take place outside working hours (see Brown et al., 2015). While the literature shows that participating in leisure

activities can positively affect one's own well-being (Aaker et al., 2011; Csikszentmihalyi & Hunter, 2003; Huta & Ryan, 2010; Kuykendall et al., 2015; Lloyd & Auld, 2002; van Praag et al., 2003), less is known about how leisure activities—and in particular, the number of leisure activities one participates in—affect how others perceive and behave towards them. My research begins to fill this gap by examining the implications of one's leisure activities for professional domains.

While information about leisure activities like attending a fitness class, learning Spanish, or meeting up with friends is seemingly irrelevant to one's professional life, it is well documented that people make swift judgments of others based on little information (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2007; Rosenberg et al., 1968). Further, attributions resulting from a behavior in one domain can regularly influence perceptions of an individual across multiple domains, as behaviors are often attributed to one's disposition, rather than their current situation (Jones & Davis, 1965; Pettigrew, 1979; Robins et al., 1996). Within professional settings, research has shown that traits and actions ostensibly unrelated to one's job performance can have substantial effects on judgments of one's professional capabilities. For example, attractive individuals are seen as more intelligent and sociable (Dion et al., 1972; Eagly et al., 1991), and people who use humor to accompany self-disclosures in interview settings (e.g., when discussing one's greatest weakness) are seen as higher in warmth and competence than those who do not (Bitterly & Schweitzer, 2019). Further, paralinguistic cues, such as changes in cadence, tone of voice, volume, and pitch, increase perceptions of intellect and confidence (Schroeder & Epley, 2015; Van Zant & Berger, 2020), in turn making job candidates more appealing and speakers more persuasive. Relatedly, conspicuous consumption of luxury goods leads

service providers to be perceived as more competent and higher in status (Scott et al., 2013). However, research has yet to examine whether information about one's leisure activities might also affect judgments and decisions about one's professional life. In a world where information about one's personal life and hobbies is increasingly accessible, understanding observers' reactions to such information is critical.

It is quite possible that individuals who participate in a high level of leisure activities would not be viewed favorably by others with respect to their professional life. Time is a scarce resource, and people are often required to make tradeoffs between spending time on leisure or work; if someone is spending substantial time on leisure activities, others might infer that this individual is not working enough. Previous research has demonstrated that the benefits of working long hours on one's professional life are considerable. Sharing information about working longer hours increases perceptions of status (Bellezza et al., 2017), being in the office at unexpected hours increases perceptions of dedication to one's work (Elsbach et al., 2010), and individuals who work more hours are assumed to be more passionate about their jobs by observers (Kim et al., 2020). In this sense, participating in multiple leisure activities might in fact be perceived negatively by those who intend to interact with an individual on a professional basis (e.g., a potential homebuyer looking to hire a real estate agent). In other words, both choosing to participate in leisure activities and sharing such information may come at a professional cost.

However, working long hours also comes at a personal cost, as a host of research associates working longer hours with lower well-being (Kahneman et al., 1999; Mogilner, 2010). While this research implies that people must make a tradeoff between

work and leisure, I propose that such a compromise may not always be necessary. I demonstrate that when people share information about participating in multiple leisure activities, others perceive them as having higher well-being (e.g., happiness, meaningfulness, and fulfillment; Kahneman et al., 1999; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Waterman, 1990, 1993). These perceptions of well-being, in turn, have a substantial influence on subsequent judgments observers make regarding people's professional abilities as well as their decisions and choices to engage with the individual.

In the following sections, I present the key elements of my framework. First, I discuss the impact of leisure activities on perceptions of both eudaimonic and hedonic well-being. Next, I elaborate upon the signaling value of well-being by describing how well-being, and particularly eudaimonic well-being, leads to positive judgments in professional contexts. Finally, I provide further support for the proposed relationship between leisure activities and professional judgments by demonstrating that participating in activities that do not increase perceptions of well-being will not result in more positive professional judgments.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Leisure Activities and Inferences of Well-Being

The present work focuses on the relationship between leisure activities, and two types of well-being: eudaimonic and hedonic. Prior to developing each of these conceptual links, it is important to clarify the distinctions between hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. Hedonic well-being is defined as the presence of pleasure and happiness and the absence of unpleasantness (Kahneman et al., 1999). Subjective well-being measures such as happiness and satisfaction (e.g., Diener, 1984; Diener & Lucas,

1999; Lyubomirsky, 2001) are largely classified as measures of hedonic well-being, although there is some debate regarding this categorization (Diener, 2012a, 2012b; Ryan & Deci, 2001).

Defining eudaimonic well-being, however, presents a greater challenge. Several theories of well-being fall under the umbrella of eudaimonia, including personal expressiveness (Waterman, 1990, 1993), self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000), and psychological well-being (Ryff, 1989; Ryff & Keyes, 1995), among others. Nevertheless, these varying theories of eudaimonic well-being overwhelmingly focus on meaningfulness and fulfillment, rather than pleasure or happiness alone (e.g., McGregor & Little, 1998; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Waterman, 1993). While eudaimonic and hedonic well-being are often highly correlated, they represent distinct facets of well-being, and one can occur with or without the other (Baumeister et al., 2013; Compton et al., 1996; Vohs et al., 2019; Waterman, 1993).

The theoretical rationale for my proposed relationship between leisure activities and perceptions of eudaimonic and hedonic well-being is based on research in the domains of person perception and attribution theory (Heider, 1982; Jones & Davis, 1965; Kelley, 1967; Weiner, 1972). A robust line of literature shows that individuals have a natural tendency to quickly make social judgments about others (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2007; Pizarro & Tannenbaum, 2011; Rosenberg et al., 1968). These judgments are often the result of observers making spontaneous attributions regarding the reasoning behind an actor's choices (i.e., asking "why"; Wong & Weiner, 1981) and are especially likely to occur when the information is unexpected in a given context (Berlyne, 1960; Wong & Weiner, 1981). Based on this research, I expect leisure activities to be

particularly diagnostic when disclosed in professional settings, where highlighting leisure activities is not necessarily the norm. Specifically, I expect that information about one's leisure activities will lead observers to make inferences about the individual's level of well-being.

As my conceptual model makes clear, I hypothesize that leisure activities have a significant impact on perceptions of well-being. Focusing first on the relationship between leisure activities and eudaimonic well-being, leisure activities offer ample opportunities to develop a wider breadth of skills and overcome new challenges. Personal development is inherently tied to living a meaningful and fulfilled life (Baumeister et al., 2013; Keyes & Annas, 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff, 1989; Waterman, 1993; Waterman et al., 2008). Further, the activities in which one chooses to participate serve as a form of self-expression and are often motivated by an intrinsic interest in the activity (McGregor & Little, 1998; Ryan & Deci, 2000, 2001; Waterman, 1993; Waterman et al., 2008). If observers recognize this internal motivation—and the literature suggests they do, since most actions are attributed to internal dispositions (Nisbett et al., 1973; Robins et al., 1996; Taylor & Fiske, 1975; Watson, 1982)—it follows that they would attribute the activities as meaningful and fulfilling for the individual. Additionally, leisure activities should also elicit more happiness and satisfaction. Such activities signal that an individual is more stimulated. Individuals have an inherent need for stimulation (Berlyne, 1960), and participating in different activities can fulfill this need, resulting in enjoyment (Etkin & Mogilner, 2016; Sheldon et al., 2013). Accordingly, leisure activities are regularly ranked as enjoyable, and I would expect observers attribute these activities similarly (Csikszentmihalyi & Hunter, 2003).

Leisure Activities and Professional Judgments

Importantly, although I expect leisure activities to positively impact perceptions of both eudaimonic and hedonic well-being, I predict that they do not have equal influences on perceptions of professional judgments. To my knowledge, neither eudaimonic nor hedonic well-being has been studied as tools utilized in impression-formation, yet broader research in the person-perception literature sheds light on the potential consequences of each. First considering hedonic well-being, literature in organizational psychology focuses on how individuals react to others who overtly express happiness. Staw and colleagues (1994) found that when an employee expressed positive emotions at work, they were more attractive in interpersonal settings and viewed more favorably. Based on this research, I expect that individuals perceived as higher in hedonic well-being will be evaluated more favorably in professional contexts. However, I argue that, while still important, hedonic well-being typically offers less signaling value than eudaimonic well-being when forming professional judgments.

We expect eudaimonic well-being to be a stronger predictor of professional judgments because many traits that are foundational to achieving a meaningful and fulfilling life are also closely associated with competence (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Ryff, 1989; Waterman, 1993). For example, a consistent focus on personal development and motivation requires several traits also indicative of competence, such as determination, persistence, and the development of one's skills (Fiske et al., 2007; Rosenberg et al., 1968). These traits are not only highly valued at an interpersonal level (Wild et al., 1997), but also in professional contexts both by employers (Butler & Cantrell, 1984; Wojciszke & Abele, 2008) and consumers (Kirmani et al., 2017; Scott et al., 2013). Both supervisors

and subordinates rate competence as more important than loyalty, openness, and warmth in many contexts (Butler & Cantrell, 1984; Wojciszke & Abele, 2008), and people even value competence over morality when choosing service providers (Kirmani et al., 2017; Sah et al., 2018; Scott et al., 2013). Because the personal characteristics that result in eudaimonic well-being often drive the characteristics that result in perceptions of competence, I expect that perceptions of eudaimonic well-being provide valuable professional signals.

When Leisure Activities are Not Diagnostic

As outlined above, based on my conceptualization, I predict that the proposed relationship between leisure activities and professional judgments will only occur when leisure activities can be reasonably construed by the observer as increasing one's well-being. While I expect individuals to view most leisure activities favorably, some activities are negatively associated with eudaimonic well-being. For instance, consider activities like browsing social media, watching television, and reading celebrity news. These types of activities have been shown to be negatively associated with well-being (Brooks, 2015; Csikszentmihalyi & Hunter, 2003). As a result, individuals participating in such leisure activities, even when they participate in multiple of these activities, should not be judged more favorably in professional contexts. By establishing the types of activities for which my framework holds, and their subsequent moderating role, I offer converging support for my conceptual model.

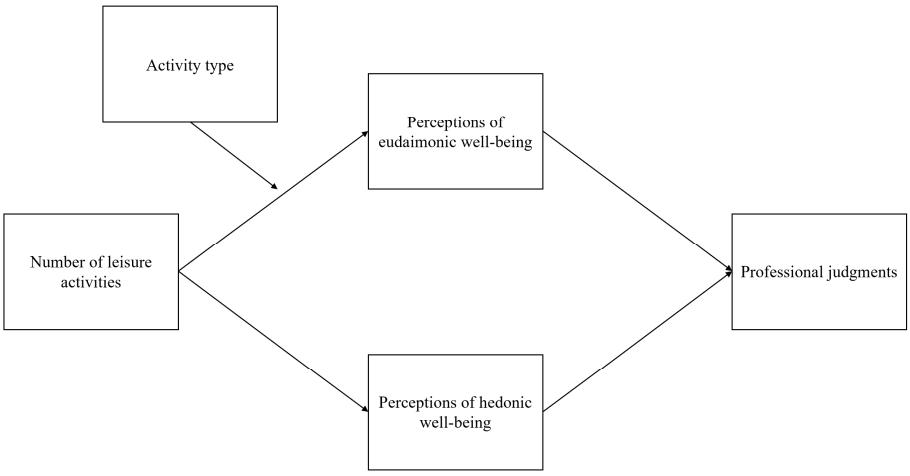

Figure 1: Figure one displays the full conceptual model.

To summarize, based on my conceptual model, I expect that when someone participates in multiple leisure activities, they will be perceived as having higher eudaimonic and hedonic well-being. These perceptions of well-being lead to more favorable judgments in unrelated professional contexts. I test my conceptual model across six studies. In Studies 1A, 1B, and 2, I provide evidence for my basic assertion that signaling involvement in a greater number of leisure activities leads to more favorable professional judgments and that these judgments are driven by higher perceptions of eudaimonic well-being. I establish this effect in both service (Studies 1A, 1B) and more general professional (Study 2) contexts. Additionally, I show that this effect holds both in within- (Study 2) and between-subjects designs (Studies 1A, 1B, 3-4). In Study 3, I distinguish leisure activity from work activity and delineate the role of well-being from status in determining professional judgments. In Study 4, I show that individuals are more willing to rely on others if they are perceived as having higher eudaimonic well-being. Additionally, Study 4 identifies the boundary of activity type by showing that leisure activities that do not elicit higher perceptions of well-being are not effective at

creating more positive professional judgments. Finally, in Study 5, I provide additional evidence that the type of activities matter. In a quasi-experiment using secondary Twitter data, I find that leisure activities associated with higher (vs. lower) well-being result in a higher followers count, further indicating that activity type serves as a meaningful boundary condition of my effect.

Study 1A

In my first two studies, I test my prediction that participating in a greater number of leisure activities increases perceptions of an individual's well-being, and consequently, leads observers to make more positive professional judgments of the individual. In Study 1A, I provide evidence for my conceptual framework utilizing a service provider context. Additionally, I highlight the importance of sharing multiple activities (vs. a single activity) in increasing perceptions of a eudaimonic well-being by using a 3-level design comparing a condition with no information about leisure activities to conditions that include either one or three leisure activities. This design allows us to explore my focal comparisons (3 activities vs. 0 or 1 activity) while also examining the relationship between zero and one activity.

Participants and Procedure

This study was preregistered with OSF (https://bit.ly/3jpPrmY). For this and all remaining studies, all stimuli and measures can be found in the supplemental material. Three hundred seventy-five Prolific participants (M_{age} = 34.9, 48.5% male, with two participants choosing not to report their gender) participated in a three-cell (Leisure activities (between-subjects): zero, one, three) study for payment. Participants were asked to imagine that they were planning to purchase a new home and had decided to work with

a realtor. On the following page, participants were provided information about Brian Williams, a local realtor. All participants viewed a biography from Brian's website that included a headshot, his agency, and information about his qualifications. In the zero-activity condition, participants were not provided with any further information. In the three-activity condition, participants read that Brian enjoyed cooking, hiking, and listening to live music. In the single activity condition, one activity was randomly selected from the aforementioned three activities to ensure that any differences between conditions were not the result of associations with a specific activity. I assessed professional judgments using three measures evaluating participants' interest in working with Brian ("How interested would you be in hiring Brian as your realtor?", "How interested do you think others would be in hiring Brian as their realtor?", and "How likely are you to reach out to Brian for more information?", 1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very*, $\alpha = .85$). Participants then responded to three questions assessing their perceptions of Brian's eudaimonic well-being ("To what extent is Brian living a meaningful life?", "To what extent do you think Brian feels fulfilled?", and "To what extent do you think Brian is living his life to the fullest?", 1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much so*; $\alpha = .92$) and two questions assessing their perceptions of his hedonic well-being ("How happy is Brian?", "How satisfied is Brian?", 1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very*, $\alpha = .89$; adapted from Etkin & Mogilner, 2016 and Lyubomirsky, 2001). As an exploratory measure, I was interested in whether perceptions of well-being also predict how sociable Brian would be perceived to be (Lakin & Chartrand, 2003; Maner et al., 2007). To assess this additional outcome, I measured Brian's sociability by asking participants to rate how likable and friendly Brian

was (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much so*, α = .87; adapted from Lakin & Chartrand, 2003; Maner et al., 2007).

We also examined two possible alternative processes through which leisure activities might affect professional judgments. First, I examined the potential role of cultural capital or the social assets (e.g., education, intellect) that help individuals move up in society (Bourdieu, 1977). Cultural capital largely results from the leisure activities one consumes, as they provide opportunities for an individual to become more cultured and better understand what society values. Individuals with higher cultural capital are often well-educated and respected and receive more affection from their peers (Bourdieu, 1977; DiMaggio, 1982; Smith, 2010). Given these relationships, cultural capital may also contribute to the relationship between leisure activities and professional judgments. Participants rated Brian's cultural capital by responding to five items adapted from previous literature (e.g., "How likely is Brian to enjoy reading literature?"; α = .84; Bourdieu, 1977; DiMaggio, 1982). I also sought to examine the role of extraversion, as extroverts tend to engage in more social activities (Argyle & Lu, 1990) and prefer competitive activities (Briggs & Cheek, 1986; Wolfe & Kasmer, 1988), so it is possible that extraversion, rather than well-being may be responsible for the impact of leisure activities on professional judgments. As such, I measured eight traits assessing extraversion (e.g., energetic, extroverted, 1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much so*, α = .88; Saucier, 1994). Finally, participants also completed a manipulation check by rating how many non-work-related activities Brian participated in (1 = *Very few*, 7 = *A great deal*).

Results

Across all of my focal dependent variables, I expected that perceptions of Brian (the realtor) would be higher when he participated in three activities compared with a single activity or zero activities. In each of these comparisons, I expected that perceptions of Brian's well-being would be higher when he participates in three activities and that heightened professional judgments would follow. However, theoretically, the relationship between the zero and one activity conditions is somewhat less clear. A single activity is objectively greater than zero activities, and thus could increase perceptions of well-being, but recall that eudaimonic well-being focuses on broadening one's skills and conveying personally expressive information (Waterman, 1990, 1993). It is also possible that a single activity could in fact engender impressions of a narrower skillset since one sole activity is delineated, even when compared to the absence of information about leisure activities. Given the potential for both outcomes, when the study was conducted, I did not make a formal a priori prediction related to the contrast between the zero and one activity conditions. In retrospect, my conceptualization more strongly supports the latter proposition that a single activity does not provide enough information to increase perceptions of eudaimonic well-being.

Manipulation Check

A one-way ANOVA of activity level on the number of non-work-related activities that Brian participated in revealed a significant main effect ($F(2, 372) = 38.49$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$). As predicted, participants perceived Brian to participate in more non-work-related activities in the three activity condition ($M = 4.53$, $SD = 1.16$) compared to when he participated in zero ($M = 4.06$, $SD = 1.06$; $F(1, 372) = 7.25$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$) or one

activities (M = 3.13, SD = 1.57; $F(1, 372) = 73.95$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$). Supporting the notion that revealing only a single activity can actually result in more narrow perceptions of an individual's leisure activity schedule, participants rated Brian as participating in more non-work-related activities when they were not provided information about his leisure activities compared to when they were provided information about a single activity ($F(1, 372) = 33.19$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$).

Perceptions of Eudaimonic Well-being

A one-way ANOVA of activity level on perceptions of Brian's eudaimonic well-being revealed a significant main effect of activity level on perceptions of eudaimonic well-being ($F(2, 372) = 6.77$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$). This effect appears to be driven by perceptions of eudaimonic well-being that are significantly higher in the three activity condition (M = 5.45, SD = 1.04) compared to the zero (M = 5.02, SD = 1.13; $F(1, 372) = 9.51$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$) or one activity conditions (M = 4.99, SD = 1.13; $F(1, 372) = 10.87$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$), which did not differ from one another ($p = .83$).

Perceptions of Hedonic Well-being

A similar pattern occurred for perceptions of Brian's hedonic well-being. A one-way ANOVA of activity level on perceptions of Brian's hedonic well-being indicated a significant main effect of activity level on perceptions of hedonic well-being ($F(2, 372) = 8.32$, $p = .0002$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$). Perceptions of Brian's hedonic well-being are significantly higher in the three activity condition (M = 5.74, SD = .91) compared to the zero (M = 5.30, SD = 1.04; $F(1, 372) = 12.74$, $p = .0004$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$) or one activity conditions (M =

5.30, *SD* = .96; *F*(1, 372) = 13.16, *p* = .0003, η_p^2 = .03), which did not differ from one another (*p* = .96).

Professional Judgments

Similarly, analysis revealed a main effect of leisure activities on professional judgments (*F*(2, 372) = 3.39, *p* = .035, η_p^2 = .02). As with the previous dependent variables, professional judgments of Brian were higher in the three-activity condition (*M* = 5.35, *SD* = .95) compared with the zero-activity condition (*M* = 5.01, *SD* = 1.13; *F*(1, 372) = 6.37, *p* = .012, η_p^2 = .02). Although the difference between the three- and one-activity condition is only marginal (*M* = 5.10, *SD* = 1.03; *F*(1, 372) = 3.36, *p* = .067, η_p^2 = .01), the pattern remains consistent. Finally, the one- and zero- activity conditions did not differ from one another (*p* = .48).

General Sociability

Lastly, participants' perceptions of Brian's sociability followed a similar pattern. Results indicated a main effect of leisure activities (*F*(2, 372) = 4.60, *p* = .011, η_p^2 = .02). Participants perceived Brian as more sociable when he participated in three leisure activities (*M* = 5.68, *SD* = .80) compared to when he participated in zero (*M* = 5.41, *SD* = 1.09; *F*(1, 372) = 5.13, *p* = .024, η_p^2 = .01) or one activity (*M* = 5.33, *SD* = .91; *F*(1, 372) = 8.35, *p* = .004, η_p^2 = .02); however, these conditions did not differ from one another (*p* = .53).

Mediation

Following my conceptual framework, I conducted a multicategorical parallel mediation analysis using 10,000 bootstrapped samples (Model 4, Hayes, 2017), which

allows us to test the pathways of activity level to professional judgments through eudaimonic well-being and hedonic well-being concurrently. Based on my pattern of results, I utilized a Helmert coding structure to compare the average effect of the zero- and one-activity-level conditions against the three-level condition (Hayes, 2017). As expected, only the pathway through eudaimonic well-being was significant (B = -.15, 95% CI [-.27, -.06]), while the pathway through hedonic well-being was not (B = -.07, 95% CI [-.17, .003]). Figure 2 shows complete information regarding individual pathways.

Notably, a secondary analysis replacing professional judgments with perceptions of Brian's sociability revealed that the pathways through both hedonic (B = -.16, 95% CI [-.27, -.07]) and eudaimonic (B = -.12, 95% CI [-.20, -.05]) well-being predicted participants' perceptions of Brian's sociability. This result seems to indicate that while either type of well-being might shape how friendly and likable Brian is perceived to be, eudaimonic well-being appears to more exclusively predict professional judgments. Of note, across my studies, I consistently find that hedonic well-being follows a nearly identical pattern as eudaimonic well-being. However, with the exception of Study 3, hedonic well-being does not mediate when placed in parallel with eudaimonic well-being. As a result, for brevity, I report all non-mediation analyses related to hedonic well-being in the supplemental material, focusing the remainder of the manuscript on the role of eudaimonic well-being. I do note that hedonic well-being is always included as a parallel mediator in my reported mediation results to ensure that I am capturing the role of eudaimonic well-being more specifically.

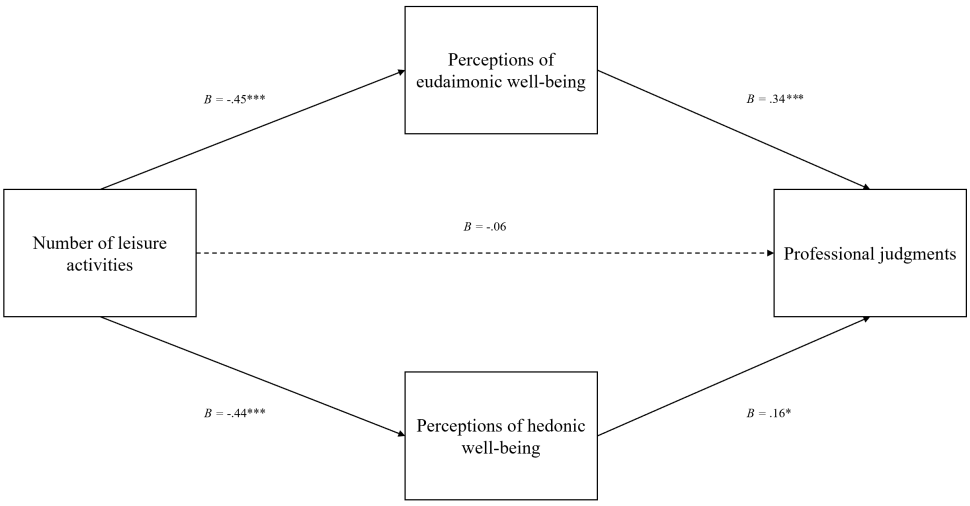

Figure 2. Mediation model depicting the effect of number of leisure activities on professional judgments through perceptions of eudaimonic and hedonic well-being from Study 1A. Note that while both the 'a' and 'b' pathways are significant for both eudaimonic and hedonic well-being, the 'ab' path is only significant through perceptions of eudaimonic well-being. * = $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$.

Alternative Explanations

We tested two alternative explanations: extraversion and cultural capital. Although there was a main effect of leisure activities on both extraversion ($F(2, 372) = 4.55$, $p = .011$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$) and cultural capital ($F(2, 372) = 23.82$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$), the pattern of results differed. I provide full details of these analyses in the supplemental material; however, given the different patterns of results for both extroversion and cultural capital, it is unlikely that either explains my effect of leisure activities on professional judgments. Because of its close relationship to my construct, I measure cultural capital again in Study 3.

Discussion

In Study 1A, I provide initial evidence for my focal effect of multiple leisure activities on perceptions of professional judgments. Furthermore, consistent with my conceptual model, for leisure activities to effectively increase professional judgments,

they must first be viewed as increasing perceptions of eudaimonic well-being. The fact that no differences were identified between the zero- and one-leisure-activity conditions indicates that disclosing a single leisure activity does not increase perceptions of eudaimonic well-being. Additionally, Study 1A showed that both extraversion and cultural capital followed a different pattern of results compared with professional judgments. While these results represent an interesting future research avenue, it is unlikely that they account for the role of eudaimonic well-being in determining professional judgments. Finally, perceived eudaimonic well-being appears to be a more powerful predictor of professional judgments than perceived hedonic well-being in this context. Notably, I discuss contexts in which hedonic well-being might play a larger role in the General Discussion. In Study 1B, I aim to replicate my findings utilizing a new service context directly relevant to my participants.

STUDY 1B

Study 1B followed a similar set-up to Study 1A, but I changed the context to reflect an academic setting and position. I asked undergraduate students to read a description of a graduate student, Jamie, who was being considered for a position to develop and instruct a writing workshop. Participants read information about Jamie's academic background as well as either one or three leisure activities in which she participated. They then provided their assessment of how interested both they and other students would be in attending a workshop hosted by Jamie, as well as their perceptions of Jamie's well-being.

Participants and Procedure

This study was preregistered with OSF (https://bit.ly/2QFbtWp). Two hundred six undergraduate students from a large North American university (M_{age} = 21.4, 52.0% male, with two participants failing to report their age and four participants failing to report their gender) participated in a 2-cell (Leisure activities (between-subjects): one vs. three) study for extra credit in a course. Participants were informed that the university had recently learned from industry partners that many job candidates lack the writing skills necessary to succeed in top positions. To help address the issue, the school was considering putting together a team of graduate students to lead several virtual workshops on technical and business writing. Students were then told that the school was interested in receiving student feedback on potential candidates to lead these sessions as well as how interested students would be in attending the sessions. Next, participants were asked to look over a biography of a graduate student named Jamie. The format of the biography was identical to actual biography pages that the university provides for students, faculty, and staff. Across all conditions, the biography page included an image of Jamie, as well as information related to her academic background. Participants in the three leisure activities condition then read, "*In her spare time, Jamie enjoys hiking, cooking, and listening to live music."* For participants in the one-activity condition, this sentence included only a single activity which, as in Study 1A, was randomly selected from the three listed above.

After reading Jamie's biography, participants responded to four questions assessing their interest in attending a virtual writing workshop hosted by Jamie ("How interested would you be in attending a virtual business writing workshop hosted by

Jamie?", "How interested do you think other students would be in attending a virtual business writing workshop hosted by Jamie?", "How helpful would attending a virtual business writing workshop hosted by Jamie be?", and "How likely are you to attend a virtual writing workshop at some point in the future?", all 1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very*, α = .84). Next, participants responded to the same eudaimonic (α = .91) measures and manipulation check as Study 1A.

Results

Manipulation check.

As expected, participants rated Jamie as participating in significantly more non-work-related activities in the three activity condition ($M = 4.75$, $SD = 1.23$) compared to the one activity condition ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.74$; $F(1, 204) = 17.65$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$).

Eudaimonic Well-being

Participants perceived Jamie to have significantly higher eudaimonic well-being when she participated in three leisure activities ($M = 5.50$, $SD = .97$) compared to one activity ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.08$; $F(1, 204) = 10.66$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$).

Professional Judgments

As predicted, participants who read that Jamie participated in three activities ($M = 4.89$, $SD = 1.22$) expressed significantly more interest in attending her workshop compared to students who only read about one activity ($M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.25$; $F(1, 204) = 5.05$, $p = .026$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$).

Mediation Results

We expected perceptions of Jamie's eudaimonic well-being to mediate the relationship between her leisure activity level (dummy coded, one activity = 0, three = 1) and interest in participating in her virtual workshop (Model 4, Hayes 2013/2017). As expected, the relationship between Jamie's activity level and participants' interest in attending her virtual workshop was fully mediated by their perceptions of her eudaimonic well-being (*B* = .14, 95% CI [.01, .33]). The pathway through hedonic well-being was not significant (*B* = .10 95% CI [-.004, .27]).

Discussion

The results of Study 1B provide additional support for my proposed framework that leisure activities are valuable in professional contexts because they positively impact perceptions of an individual's well-being. This study also utilized a realistic and relevant context for undergraduate students as participants believed that they were evaluating an individual who might develop a service aimed at them and their peers. While Studies 1A and 1B served as strong causal tests of my conceptual framework, I acknowledge that decisions in professional contexts rarely occur in a vacuum, and often individuals are placed in direct comparison with one another. As such, in Study 2 I examine my effect in a within-subjects design.

STUDY 2

Study 2 was designed to test the prediction that individuals who participate in a higher level of leisure activities are perceived as having higher well-being and are judged more positively in more general professional contexts. Additionally, I wanted to ensure my effect held when directly comparing one individual to another. To test this premise in a realistic setting, I manipulated LinkedIn profiles. LinkedIn is a popular social media platform used by professionals to network and engage with colleagues, employers, and recruiters. Individuals can include information about their interests and hobbies on LinkedIn.

Participants and Procedure

One hundred fifty-three Turk Prime participants (M_{Age} = 34.9; 58.2% male, one participant did not report their age) completed a 2 (leisure activities: one, three; within) x 2 (order: high activity level first, low activity level first; between) x 2 (high activity profile: Chris, Garrett; replicate) study. Note that I am primarily interested in the first factor but include the subsequent two factors to control for possible alternative explanations stemming from other differences between the two profiles. All participants viewed LinkedIn profiles for two individuals who were professional consultants: Chris and Garrett. Both profiles included the individual's headshot, company name, location, job title, and "About" section, all of which are commonly utilized on LinkedIn. To manipulate leisure activity level, in addition to discussing their professional experience and skills, each target briefly mentioned how they spent their time outside work. In the three-activity condition, the target stated, "When I'm not working, I spend a great deal of

time on other activities like learning Spanish, weight training, and playing softball." In the single activity condition, he stated, "Outside of work I dabble in activities like learning guitar." Importantly, I counterbalanced which manipulation appeared on Chris or Garrett's profile, as well as the order in which the profiles were viewed. To be clear, all participants viewed two profiles—one for Chris and one for Garrett—and everyone saw both a high and a low activity profile, but the order in which they viewed each profile and the person who had the three (vs. one) activity profile was randomly assigned.

After viewing both profiles, I asked participants to make a series of evaluations of Chris and Garrett in the order in which the profiles were presented. That is, participants completed all measures for Chris, followed by all measures for Garrett (or vice-versa, if Garrett was presented first). Participants first rated Chris and Garrett's hedonic (α_{Chris} = .82, $\alpha_{Garrett}$ = .81) and eudaimonic (α_{Chris} = .90, $\alpha_{Garrett}$ = .84) well-being using the measures described in Study 1A. Participants then responded to three measures assessing professional judgments of Chris/Garrett ("How successful will Chris/Garrett be in the future?" 1 = *Very unsuccessful*, 7 = *Very successful*; "How valuable is Chris/Garrett to his workplace?" 1 = *Not at all valuable*, 7 = *Very valuable*; and "How well do you think Chris/Garrett performs at his job?" 1 = *Very poorly*, 7 = *Very well*; α_{Chris} = .89, $\alpha_{Garrett}$ = .86). Next, participants were asked to imagine that they were a manager, and both Chris and Garrett had applied for a position on their team. Participants indicated which individual they were more interested in hiring (Binary Choice: Chris or Garrett). Finally, participants responded to a manipulation check about Chris/Garrett's activity level to ensure that the target in the three-activity condition was perceived as having a higher

activity level than the target in the one-activity condition ("How busy is Chris/Garrett?" 1 = *Not at all busy*, 7 = *Very busy*; Bellezza et al., 2017).

Due to the mixed design, the person engaging in more (vs. fewer) leisure activities differed across participants. For half of the participants, Chris engaged in more activities; for the other half, Garrett engaged in more. To interpret the results, I created two variables for each outcome measure such that individuals rated the three-activity and one-activity individual on well-being and professional judgments. Aside from an idiosyncratic marginal manipulation check result, discussed below, the specific individual (Chris or Garrett) participating in more leisure activities and the profile order did not affect my dependent measures (i.e., interactions were *ns*), so I report only the effect of the focal repeated measures.

Results

Manipulation Check

We conducted a 2 (leisure activities: one, three; within) x 2 (order: high activity level first, low activity level first; between) x 2 (High activity profile: Chris, Garrett; replicate) mixed-model ANOVA on ratings of perceived busyness. As expected, I found a significant main effect of leisure activities ($F(1, 148) = 37.20$, $p < .0001$, $\omega_p^2 = .19$). Participants rated the individual in the three-activity condition ($M = 5.74$, $SD = 1.17$) as significantly busier than the individual in the one-activity condition ($M = 5.01$, $SD = 1.24$). Additionally, I found a marginal three-way interaction between person, order, and leisure activity level ($F(1, 148) = 3.11$, $p = .080$). Upon probing this interaction, it appears to be driven by a single contrast where the effect of leisure activity level is

somewhat weaker although directionally consistent (p = .146). Given the large, predicted, main effect, I believe this analysis supports an effective manipulation. I do not find a similar interaction on any of my remaining dependent variables. Full ANOVA tables for all variables across all studies are available in the supplemental material.

Eudaimonic Well-being

A mixed-model ANOVA on eudaimonic well-being revealed a significant main effect of leisure activity level ($F(1, 148) = 27.31$, $p < .0001$, $\omega_p^2 = .15$). The individual in the three-activities condition (M = 5.55, SD = .98) was perceived as having greater eudaimonic well-being than the individual in the one-activity condition (M = 5.04, SD = 1.12).

Hiring Choice

We were interested in what proportion of people selected the high-activity individual as an intended hire. As it was a choice, my hiring measure was not repeated within-subjects, so I conducted a 2 (high activity profile: Chris, Garrett; replicate) x 2 (order: three activities first, one activity first; between) logistic regression on participants' hiring choice. I was interested in whether the person whose profile included the high (vs) low manipulation was more likely to be chosen (which could be either Chris or Garrett). Results indicated only a significant main effect of the high activity profile ($\chi^2(1, N = 152) = 5.14$, p = .023, ϕ = .184). When participants viewed Chris as participating in three activities, they were more likely to choose Chris, whereas when they viewed Garrett as participating in three activities, they were more likely to choose Garrett. Collapsing across the specific individual, participants demonstrated a significant preference for hiring the high-activity individual. More specifically, 59.2% of participants indicated

they would be more interested in hiring the individual they viewed who participated in more activities.

Professional Judgments

Consistent with hiring choice, a mixed-model ANOVA on the professional judgments index indicated a significant effect of leisure activity level ($F(1, 149) = 21.71$, $p < .0001$, $\omega_p^2 = .12$). Participants made more positive professional judgments of the individual in the three-activities ($M = 5.84$, $SD = .88$) versus the one-activity ($M = 5.51$, $SD = .91$) condition. Furthermore, because participants completed professional judgments for both the high- and low- activity-level individuals, I performed a within-subjects mediation analysis to assess whether eudaimonic and hedonic well-being predicted more positive professional judgments. I entered eudaimonic and hedonic well-being as parallel mediators and professional judgments as the dependent variable into the MEMORE macro using 10,000 bootstrapped samples (Montoya & Hayes, 2017). I found that eudaimonic well-being predicted professional judgments ($B = .10$, 95% CI [.008, .21]) while hedonic well-being did not ($B = -.02$, 95% CI [-.09, .05]).

Discussion

Study 2 provides further support for my conceptual framework. Even in a more general professional signaling context with a comparative within-subjects design, subtle cues regarding the level of one's leisure activities can affect perceptions of an individual's well-being and professional judgments, including hirability. Further, I again find that while leisure activities have significant effects on perceptions of both eudaimonic and hedonic well-being, they have a larger effect on the former, and only eudaimonic well-being predicts professional judgments. Of note, a pre-registered

conceptual replication of this study with a student population can be found in the supplemental material. In Study 3 I turn towards reconciling differences between my theory and prior findings showing that leisure activities negatively impact perceptions of an individual's social status (Bellezza et al., 2017).

STUDY 3

Study 3 has several goals. The first is to replicate my effects of leisure activities on perceptions of well-being and professional judgments and bolster support for my conceptual framework. As before, I expect perceived eudaimonic and hedonic well-being to increase when one participates in a higher (vs. lower) level of leisure activities, which will increase professional judgments. The second goal is to demonstrate that my framework is specific to time spent on leisure and not time spent on work. With regards to time spent on work, I predict that information about higher (vs. lower) levels of work also affects professional judgments, but that it does so through a separate process. Work is negatively related to well-being (Aaker et al., 2011; Kahneman et al., 2004; Mogilner, 2010), so it is unlikely that working longer hours would increase perceptions of well-being. However, prior research indicates that working longer hours increases perceptions of status (Bellezza et al., 2017), which often leads to favorable professional perceptions and outcomes (e.g., Jachimowicz et al., 2019; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Thus, I predict that when someone participates in a higher level of work-related activities, they will be judged as higher in social status, replicating prior work.

Stated another way, I predict an interaction between activity level and activity type on perceived well-being such that high levels of leisure (yet not work) activities should increase perceived well-being, which should increase professional judgments. I

further predict an interaction between activity level and activity type on perceived status such that high levels of work (yet not leisure) activities should increase perceived status, which should also increase professional judgments. In sum, although both increased perceptions of well-being and increased perceptions of status should result in more positive professional judgments, the process through which these judgments are impacted will differ: in the leisure conditions, I expect perceived well-being to mediate, and in the work conditions, perceived status should mediate.

We also aim to address an additional alternative explanation. It is possible that more positive professional judgments stemming from leisure activity levels are driven by inferences of self-control rather than well-being. Self-control is widely regarded as a positive trait and has been linked with future success (Baumeister et al., 2007; Duckworth & Carlson, 2005; Duckworth & Gross, 2014). While many leisure activities certainly require self-control, a common inference is that self-control reflects restraint from indulgence and pleasure (Baumeister et al., 2007), which falls counter to engaging in high levels of leisure activities. As such, it is unclear whether self-control could act as an alternative driver. Study 3 addresses this alternative explanation explicitly by measuring self-control. Finally, as in Study 1A, I also measure cultural capital to test its role in a new context.

Participants and Procedure

Four hundred seven Turk Prime workers (M_{Age} = 37.1; 58.9% male, 6 people did not report age, 7 did not report gender) participated in a 2 (activity level: high, low) x 2 (activity type: work, leisure) between-subjects study. Participants read a gender-matched scenario about an individual named Chris or Christine, depending on whether the

participant identified as male or female, respectively. For simplicity, I will refer to Christine through the remainder of this study. Participants were told that Christine was a 25-year old account manager who enjoys her job and living in her city. Participants in the leisure conditions were then informed that most weeks, Christine works 40 hours per week and then spends 1-3 hours each week participating in other non-work activities like weight training (low activity level), or that she then spends 15-20 hours each week participating in non-work activities like Spanish class, playing on a softball team, and weight training (high activity level). Participants in the work conditions were informed that Christine works 40-43 hours per week (low activity level) or 55-60 hours per week (high activity level). Participants then rated the same eudaimonic (α = .89) and manipulation check measures as previous studies. However, because this study was conducted earlier in the research process, I only asked participants to rate "How successful will Christine be in the future?" and "How valuable is Christine to her workplace?" as my professional judgment measures (α = .80). Additionally, participants rated Christine's status using three measures adapted from Bellezza et al., (2017) (e.g., "How would you rank the social status of Christine?"; α = .81). Participants then rated Christine's cultural capital by responding to the same five items as in Study 1A (α = .83).

Results

Manipulation Check

A two-way ANOVA indicated a significant main effect of activity level ($F(1, 403) = 54.75$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$). As predicted, participants in the high activity level conditions ($M = 5.95$, $SD = 1.09$) perceived Christine to be busier than those in the low

activity level conditions (M = 5.13, SD = 1.15). Additionally, there was a marginal main effect of activity type (F(1, 403) = 3.61, p = .058, η_p^2 = .009) such that participants in the work conditions were perceived as marginally busier (M = 5.65, SD = 1.10) than those in the leisure conditions (M = 5.44, SD = 1.27). The interaction between activity level and type was not significant (p = .951).

Eudaimonic Well-being

A two-way ANOVA on eudaimonic well-being revealed a main effect of activity type (F(1, 403) = 33.82, p < .0001, η_p^2 = .08) and a marginal main effect of activity level (F(1, 403) = 2.95, p = .087, η_p^2 = .007). However, these effects are qualified by the predicted activity level by activity type interaction (F(1, 403) = 12.94, p = .0004, η_p^2 = .03). Participants in the leisure conditions perceived Christine as having greater eudaimonic well-being in the high (M = 5.53, SD = .94) versus low activity condition (M = 4.94, SD = 1.06; F(1, 403) = 14.23, p = .0002, η_p^2 = .03). Conversely, in the work conditions there were no such differences (M_{High} = 4.47, SD = 1.26, M_{Low} = 4.69, SD = 1.24; F(1, 403) = 1.75, p = .186).

Status

A two-way ANOVA indicated a main effect of activity level (F(1, 403) = 14.61, p = .0002, η_p^2 = .04) on status. However, this effect was qualified by the predicted activity level by type interaction (F(1, 403) = 3.98, p = .047, η_p^2 = .01). In the leisure conditions, there was no difference in Christine's perceived status, regardless of activity level (M_{High} = 4.66, SD = .82, M_{Low} = 4.50, SD = .93; F(1, 403) = 1.68, p = .195). However, replicating Bellezza et al. (2017), in the work conditions, participants perceived Christine

as higher status in the high (M = 4.79, SD = .86) versus low activity level condition (M = 4.26, SD = 1.08; $F(1, 403) = 16.80$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$). As predicted, this pattern of results is opposite to that of my well-being measures.

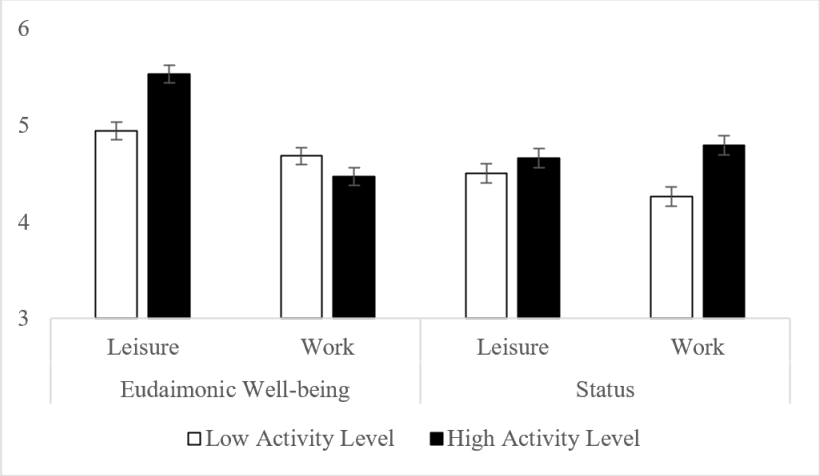

Figure 3. Perceptions of eudaimonic well-being and status as a function of activity type (leisure vs. work) and activity level (low vs. high) described in Study 3.

Professional Judgments

A two-way ANOVA showed only a significant main effect of activity level ($F(1, 403) = 12.56$, $p = .0004$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$). Participants made more positive professional judgments of Christine when she had a higher activity level, regardless of whether she was working longer hours or spending more time on leisure activities (M = 5.69, SD = .95) compared to the low activity level condition (M = 5.34, SD = 1.04). Of note, I expected both work and leisure activity levels to positively affect professional judgments; as such, a main effect is consistent with my predictions, rather than an interaction. Indeed, this implies that both leisure and work-related activities are equally effective in increasing professional judgments. I predicted that professional judgments would be

mediated by status in the work conditions, but in the leisure conditions, they would be mediated by eudaimonic and hedonic well-being.

A moderated mediation analysis supported the above prediction. I entered activity level as the independent variable, professional judgments as the dependent variable, activity type as the moderator, and hedonic well-being, eudaimonic well-being, and status as parallel mediators in Process Model 8 (Hayes, 2017). In the leisure conditions, the pathway from activity level to professional judgments through eudaimonic well-being was significant (B = .13, 95% CI [.05, .23]) but not in the work conditions (B = -.05, 95% CI [-.13, .03]). A similar result, albeit with a much smaller effect size, occurred for hedonic well-being (leisure activities: B = .07, 95% CI [.01, .14]; work activities: B = -.05, 95% CI [-.14, .01]). However, the opposite was true for status, which mediated the relationship between activity level and professional judgments in the work (B = .21, 95% CI [.09, .33]), but not leisure conditions (B = .06, 95% CI [-.03, .16]).

Alternative Explanations

We measured two additional alternative explanations: self-control and cultural capital. When entered into the model described above, both hedonic and eudaimonic well-being continue to mediate in the leisure conditions. Self-control mediates only in the work conditions, while cultural capital mediates in the leisure conditions, but to a much smaller degree than eudaimonic well-being. These analyses support that well-being plays a strong role in determining professional judgments, but these perceptions are almost certainly multiply determined. I include the full details of these analyses in the supplemental material.

Discussion

Study 3 provided additional evidence for my framework while also addressing several alternative explanations. Leisure activities positively affected professional judgments through perceptions of eudaimonic and hedonic well-being. I find that while both eudaimonic and hedonic well-being appear to have implications for professional judgments in this study, the effect through eudaimonic well-being is considerably larger. Further, Study 3 provides evidence that similarly positive professional judgments can be achieved through high levels of leisure activities as with working much longer hours, although these judgments are driven by perceptions of eudaimonic and hedonic well-being only for leisure activities. Finally, Study 3 rules out self-control as a potential alternative explanation and reexamines the role of cultural capital. However, an important question remains. In my framework, I theorize that if leisure activities are not effective at engendering perceptions of well-being, then professional judgments will not be increased. In Study 4, I test this assertion by manipulating the types of activities an individual participates in, and assess observers' willingness to work with the individual.

STUDY 4

The primary goal of Study 4 is to offer a more complete test of my proposed mechanisms by identifying that there are certain types of activities for which my effect will not hold. Specifically, if individual activities are, on their own, not conducive to well-being, it is unlikely that participating in multiple of such activities would be an effective strategy at inducing heightened perceptions of eudaimonic well-being, and thus are not effective tools to bolster professional judgments. To assess more consequential decision making, Study 5 utilizes an actual choice scenario in which participants can

either choose to work on their own or with a partner after being presented with a description of their potential partner.

Participants and Procedure

Nine hundred twenty-seven Turk Prime workers (M_{Age} = 36.94; 46.8% male, 27 and 34 participants did not report their age or gender, respectively) participated in a 2 (Activity level: one activity, three activities) x 2 (Activity type: positively vs. negatively associated with well-being) between-subjects study for payment. Participants were told they were going to participate in an anagram-solving task in which they could win a bonus payment, and that they could choose to either work alone or with a randomly assigned partner. If they chose to work alone, they had to solve 10 anagrams. If they did so, they would be entered into a drawing for a $20 bonus payment. If they chose to work with a partner, they would have to solve a combined total of 15 anagrams with their partner, but they would only be entered into a lottery for a $10 bonus. In other words, working with a partner meant that the participant would have a higher chance of success, as they would likely have to solve fewer anagrams, yet this would come at the cost of a reduced potential payout. Rationally, participants should only choose to work with a partner if they expected working with the partner would make it more likely that they would be entered into a lottery.

Prior to making participants decide if they wanted to work alone or with a partner, I provided all participants with a brief description of their potential partner. All participants were told that their partner was a 24-year old female. Additionally, they were told that when she was not working, she enjoyed one or three activities pretested to be either positively related to perceptions of eudaimonic well-being (weight training,

photography, and listening to live music) or negatively associated with such perceptions (reading celebrity gossip, scrolling through social media, and watching reality tv). I purposefully chose activities that were not associated with verbal skills to ensure that the activities themselves were not signaling a higher ability to perform on the anagram task. Importantly, these activities were identified through a pretest of 19 leisure activities, in which I asked a separate group of participants to rate the extent to which participating in each activity was either positively or negatively associated with eudaimonic well-being. [1] The average rating of eudaimonic well-being across all activities was 4.56. The three activities in the high condition were all significantly higher in perceptions of well-being (means ranged from 5.09 – 5.20) compared to the average well-being score for all pretested activities (all $p < .002$), while the three activities in the low eudaimonic well-being condition (means ranged from 3.57 – 3.88) were all rated significantly lower than the mean (all $ps < .0006$). Recall that I expect activities that are not effective at communicating a wider breadth of skills or interests (i.e., activities that do not signal eudaimonic well-being) will not lead to higher perceptions of eudaimonic well-being, even when multiple activities are disclosed.

After reading about their partner, participants selected whether they would be interested in working with them. Participants then proceeded to the anagram task in which they had 60 seconds to solve 10 anagrams. Prior to showing participants their

[1] *Pretest.* Prior to data collection, we pretested a list of 19 leisure activities (e.g., watching Netflix, playing video games, hiking, cooking, for a full list please see supplemental material) to assess how observers rated the well-being of individuals who participated in each activity. Eighty participants from Prolific Academic completed the pretest. Participants rated the eudaimonic well-being of individuals who spend their free time participating in each of the activities utilizing the respective indices from prior studies. For each activity, we created an index of eudaimonic well-being (all $\alpha > .77$). The ratings of eudaimonic well-being across all activities ranged from 3.57 – 5.41, with an overall mean of 4.56.

score on the task, I asked them to provide additional ratings of the person they chose to partner with (or chose not to partner with). Participants rated their perceptions of their partner's eudaimonic (α = .93) and hedonic (α = .92) well-being using the same measures as previous studies. Lastly, as a manipulation check, participants rated how many activities their partner engaged in (1 = *Very few*, 7 = *Very many*).

Results

Manipulation Check

A two-way ANOVA on the number of activities the partner engaged in revealed the predicted main effect of activity level (M_{One} = 2.78, *SD* = 1.65, M_{Three} = 3.81, *SD* = 1.31; $F(1, 899) = 113.24$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$). Additionally, I found a main effect of activity type whereby activities positively associated with eudaimonic well-being elicited perceptions of a higher number of activities (M_{Pos} = 3.62, *SD* = 1.62, M_{Neg} = 2.97, *SD* = 1.46; $F(1, 899) = 45.56$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$). I also found an activity level by type interaction ($F(1, 899) = 4.35$, $p = .037$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$), driven by a greater difference in perceived activity number among individuals engaging in activities positively associated with well-being. Critically, the contrasts comparing the one vs. three activity individual within both the positive activity conditions (M_{One} = 3.01, *SD* = 1.73, M_{Three} = 4.24, *SD* = 1.22; $F(1, 899) = 81.26$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$) and negative activity conditions (M_{One} = 2.56, *SD* = 1.54, M_{Three} = 3.38, *SD* = 1.25; $F(1, 899) = 36.48$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$) confirm that the three-activity individual was perceived as engaging in more activities than the one-activity individual across conditions.

Eudaimonic Well-being

A two-way ANOVA on eudaimonic well-being revealed a main effect of activity type ($F(1, 900) = 229.32$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .20$) which was qualified by the predicted activity level by type interaction ($F(1, 900) = 9.22$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$). For activities positively associated with eudaimonic well-being, participants perceived their partner as having greater eudaimonic well-being in the three- ($M = 5.56$, $SD = .99$) versus one-activities condition ($M = 5.24$, $SD = 1.07$; $F(1, 900) = 8.05$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$). However, for activities negatively associated with eudaimonic well-being, there were no differences in how participants perceived their partner, and in fact the means indicate an opposite pattern of results ($M_{One} = 4.28$, $SD = 1.25$, $M_{Three} = 4.12$, $SD = 1.42$; $F(1, 900) = 2.12$, $p = .145$).

Partner Choice

We conducted a logistic regression of leisure activity type and level, as well as their interaction on partner choice. Results indicated only a main effect of activity type (χ^2 (N=927)[2] = 11.17, $p = .0008$). Specifically, when the activities were positively associated with well-being, regardless of activity number, 47.2% of participants chose to work with a partner, while in the negative activities conditions, only 36.3% of participants chose to work with a partner. Looking only at the positively-associated

[2] Following my data exclusion decision outlined in Study 1A, we did not remove participants who completed at least one focal dependent variable. We believe attrition was higher in this study than in previous studies given the difficulty of the anagram task. Partner choice was assessed prior to completing the anagram task, while perceptions of the partner were assessed after the task. To ensure attrition did not vary based on condition, we conducted a logistic regression on a binary variable indicating whether or not a participant completed the study. We did not find a significant effect of activity level, type, or their interaction on participant completion (all *ps* > .46). Additionally, none of my results change in direction or significance if we exclude participants who did not complete the survey.

conditions to test replication of my prior effect, the pattern was not significant, but was consistent with my other dependent variables: 50.2% of participants chose to work with the partner who engaged in three activities that are positively associated with well-being, while only 44.21% chose to work with the partner who participated in a single activity positively associated with well-being (p = .20).

Although I expected activity type and level to interact, results did not reveal such an interaction on partner choice. It is possible that the payment-conscious Turk Prime population was particularly sensitive to the drop in potential bonus payout when choosing to work with a partner (from $20 to $10) (Litman et al. 2015). Based on my theorizing, I probed my result using a moderated mediation analysis, as recommended in the absence of direct effects (O'Rourke & MacKinnon, 2015; Shrout & Bolger, 2002; Zhao et al., 2010). I conducted a moderated mediation analysis using 10,000 bootstrapped samples (Model 8, Hayes, 2017) with activity level as the independent variable, partner choice as the dependent variable, perceptions of eudaimonic and hedonic well-being as parallel mediators, and activity type as a moderator between activity level and perceptions of eudaimonic well-being. This analysis offered support for my conceptual model. When the partner participated in activities positively associated with well-being, the difference in partner choice based on activity number was mediated by perceptions of eudaimonic well-being (B = -.09, 95% CI [-.18, -.02]). However, when the activities were negatively associated with well-being, this pathway was not significant (B = -.05, 95% CI [-.02, .14]). Importantly, the index of moderated mediation was significant (B = -.14, 95% CI [-.29, -.03]). However, hedonic well-being did not mediate, regardless of whether activities were positively associated with well-being (B = -.01, 95% CI [-.06, .03]) or negatively

associated with well-being (B = -.004, 95% CI [-.04, .02]). For coefficients and significance levels of all pathways, please see Figure 4. These results indicate that so long as leisure activities are effective at increasing perceptions of eudaimonic well-being, behavioral choices can be altered.

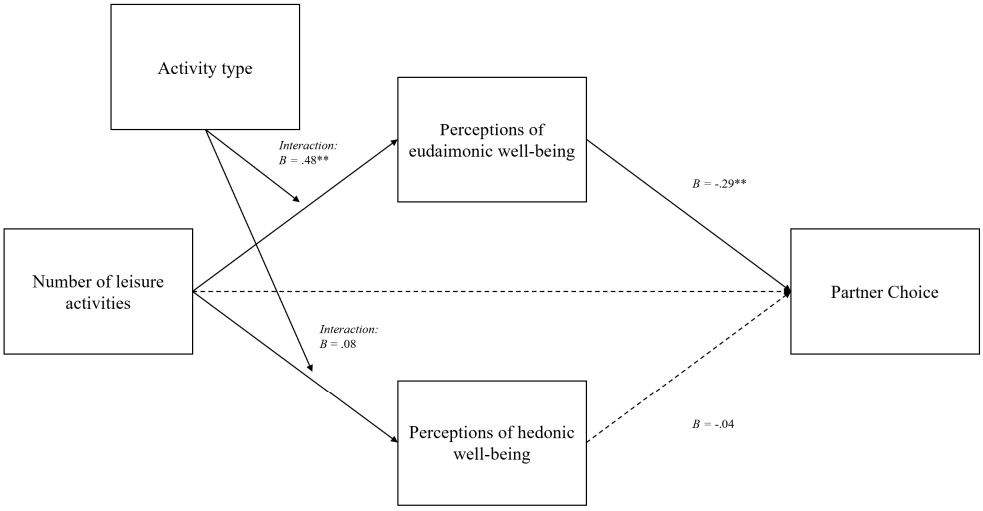

Figure 4. Moderated mediation model (Model 8) depicting the effect of number of leisure activities to partner choice through perceptions of eudaimonic well-being and hedonic well-being as a function of activity type from Study 4. ** $p < .01$.

Discussion

While my previous studies suggest that the specific activities are not the primary driver of my proposed effect, Study 4 identifies that there are nevertheless certain types of leisure activities that do not result in positive outcomes. Consistent with my theorizing, Study 4 shows that when activities are negatively associated with well-being, the predicted effect does not emerge. Although I did not find the hypothesized significant interaction between activity type and level on partner choice, tests of the indirect effect offer support for my full conceptual model. In my final study, I probe this moderation further by examining how individuals respond to others who are publicly discussing activities pretested to be high vs. low in eudaimonic well-being.

STUDY 5

In the previous five studies, I provided evidence that participating in multiple leisure activities increases perceptions of eudaimonic well-being above participating in only a single activity, or not disclosing any leisure activities. I further identified that the extent to which activities are perceived as promoting eudaimonic well-being is also critical. In my final study, a quasi-experiment utilizing secondary data, I wanted to examine how publicly sharing information about leisure activities that are perceived as resulting in high or low eudaimonic well-being relates to others' reactions to an individual in a real-world online setting. To accomplish this goal, I collected instances of individuals discussing information about activities associated with either high or low eudaimonic well-being and assessed whether these discussions were related to Twitter users' follower counts.

Procedure

We created my data set with the goal of comparing the followers count of individuals who tweet about activities positively associated with well-being to those who tweet about activities negatively associated with well-being. I chose followers count (and not "likes") for two reasons. First, it serves as a measure of value and public affiliation, which is a valuable interpersonal outcome. Second, the practical purpose of my framework is to offer guidance for professionals, and given that many service providers utilize social media, understanding factors that might impact their audience growth on social media is valuable. Based on the pretest from Study 4, I identified five activities negatively associated with well-being and five activities positively associated with well-being (see footnote 3 for more details). Using the R package rtweet (Kearney, 2019), I

scraped at least 100, and up to 5,000 tweets mentioning each activity, beginning with the lowest and highest rated activities from my pretest. If a specific activity did not result in at least 100 observations, I altered the phrasing of the activity slightly (e.g., changing 'watching reality tv' to 'watch reality tv') to broaden the possibility of including it in the data set. If even after this adjustment, I was unable to collect at least 100 observations, I excluded the activity, and moved to the next lowest or highest rated activity, respectively. I chose to exclude activities with under 100 activities in an attempt to reduce the difference in sample size between the two groups. The final dataset included the following activities representing higher eudaimonic well-being: hiking, photography, listening to live music, weight training, and cooking, and the following activities representing lower eudaimonic well-being: watch reality tv, watching Netflix, playing video games, play Fortnite, and scrolling through social media. Importantly, my pretest indicates that all activities representing high well-being were viewed as significantly more conducive to eudaimonic well-being compared to all activities representing low well-being (all $p < .001$).

Our initial dataset contains tweets created between 6/7/2020 – 6/16/2020 (UTC)[3] with 28,201 observations. However, the full dataset contained many duplicate users whose inclusion would violate the assumption of independence of observations. To address this, I deleted observations with duplicate usernames, resulting in a dataset of 25,172 observations. Finally, an examination of the data showed many outliers, such that some individuals had extreme numbers of followers. Consistent with recommendations for independent t-tests, I followed the interquartile range (IQR, i.e., the range between the

[3] Twitter's API only allows for the collection of tweets 6-9 days prior to the time of collection.

25th and 75th percentiles) rule to remove outliers. That is, I removed an observation if it fell outside of the interval [Q1 – 1.5 x IQR; Q3 + 1.5 X IQR] where IQR = Q3 – Q1 (Bakker & Wicherts, 2014; Borcard et al., 2011).[4] This method resulted in the removal of users with a followers count greater than 2,608. The lower limit based on the formula above is a negative integer, which is not a possible followers count, thus all exclusions occurred based on the upper limit of the interval. My final dataset contained 22,083 observations ($N_{\text{Higher Well-being}} = 12{,}669$, $N_{\text{Lower Well-being}} = 9{,}414$).

Results

To assess whether there was a relationship between followers count and tweeting about leisure activities high in perceptions of eudaimonic well-being, I conducted a Welch's t-test on follower count based on the assigned group of each tweet. As predicted, users who tweeted about leisure activities associated with higher eudaimonic well-being had significantly more followers ($M_{\text{High WB}} = 507.36$, $SD = 589.46$, $M_{\text{Low WB}} = 467.94$, $SD = 564.31$; $t(20{,}736) = 5.04$, $p < .0001$). These results remain consistent in both direction and significance when controlling for the number of users that the target account follows, the length of the tweet, the number of tweets that the account has "favorited," and the number of tweets the account has made in total.

Discussion

Study 5 provides additional evidence of the positive implications of discussing activities that are associated with higher eudaimonic well-being. Although I fully acknowledge that followers count is not a direct proxy for professional judgments, as

[4] An alternative method to address outliers would be to normalize the data by log transforming followers count and regressing followers count on well-being group. Results using this method are identical in both direction and significance.

described above, it does serve as a powerful interpersonal outcome since it captures public esteem and desire for affiliation. Furthermore, growing one's social media audience is a common goal among service providers. Although the current study is not able to identify a causal relationship between tweeting about leisure activities that promote eudaimonic well-being and followers account, the significant and positive relationship between the two is promising. Finally, the low eudaimonic activities utilized in this study are common activities that a wide variety of individuals would engage in (e.g., watching Netflix, scrolling through social media), which allows for a more conservative test of my framework. That is, people are likely not choosing to follow those tweeting about high eudaimonic activities because they are more common or relatable, but rather that such accounts offer greater value for their followers.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Across six studies, utilizing multiple samples and study designs, I provide robust evidence that information about one's leisure activities can influence professional judgments. I find that this effect holds both for individuals explicitly assessing service providers (Studies 1A and 1B) and for observers broadly assessing professional judgments in more general settings (Studies 2-4). I further identify that positive professional judgments result from perceptions of eudaimonic well-being (Studies 1A, 4, and 5). However, I reveal that when leisure activities are explicitly associated with lower eudaimonic well-being, this effect is attenuated (Studies 4 and 5).

Theoretical Contribution

By identifying leisure activities as an antecedent to perceptions of well-being and examining their impact on professional judgments, I make two important theoretical

contributions. First, to my knowledge, I am the first to comprehensively assess the signaling benefits of leisure activities in relation to professional judgments. Previous research asserts that leisure activities tend to serve as negative social signals and can come at the cost of positive associations with working longer hours (Bellezza et al., 2017). However, I show that dependent on the specific activities, leisure activities are effective tools to enhance one's professional standing. Research has also examined how leisure activities can affect an individual's experienced well-being (Aaker et al., 2011; Csikszentmihalyi & Hunter, 2003; Huta & Ryan, 2010; Tonietto & Malkoc, 2016), but to my knowledge, no research has focused on the inferences drawn from others' participation in leisure activities.

Second, I am the first to demonstrate that observers use inferences about others' well-being to make judgments in professional contexts. I show that cues about an individual's well-being alter the perceptions of observers in meaningful and consequential ways. Previous research has examined judgments resulting from direct expressions of emotion (Frijda, 2010; Levine & Wald, 2020; Pugh, 2001; Staw et al., 1994; Van Kleef, 2009; Weisbuch & Adams, 2012) but has not specifically focused on judgments stemming from perceived well-being. To date, well-being has primarily been examined as an outcome (vs. a predictive) variable in causal research (Aknin et al., 2020; Anderson et al., 2012; Bhattacharjee & Mogilner, 2014; Dunn et al., 2008; Etkin & Mogilner, 2016; Mogilner, 2010). The current work shows that perceptions of well-being can have substantial interpersonal consequences and are deserving of greater attention. Notably, I also distinguish between hedonic (e.g., happiness and pleasure; Diener, 1984; Kahneman et al., 1999) and eudaimonic well-being (e.g., meaningfulness and fulfillment;

Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff, 1989; Waterman, 1993) with respect to each's role in shaping professional judgments. While both hedonic and eudaimonic well-being seem to be associated with general affiliative intentions, eudaimonic well-being is a more robust predictor of professional judgments.

Our research offers a simple and effective strategy to enhance professional outcomes: sharing several of one's leisure activities in more visible milieus. Service providers, job seekers, and those simply interested in more effective networking can easily apply my findings. Currently, working heavy hours and refraining from leisure activities is often glorified. While this glorification is somewhat understandable given the positive perceptual outcomes of working long hours on status (Bellezza et al., 2017; Elsbach et al., 2010), it can come at a significant cost to mental and physical health (Aaker et al., 2011; Baumeister et al., 2013; Ganster & Rosen, 2013; Mogilner, 2010). While fully understanding that there are circumstances that necessitate working long hours, I hope my research offers some comfort to those who feel overwhelmed attempting to keep up with such expectations. My work highlights that engaging in leisure activities can in fact have substantial positive professional implications and can (or perhaps should) be disclosed.

Limitations and Future Research

My paper has some limitations that I hope will cultivate avenues for future research. First, I acknowledge that there is almost certainly a tipping point at which too many leisure activities, regardless of whether they are perceived as promoting well-being, negatively impact professional judgments. However, Study 3 utilized leisure levels of 20 hours per week, and I did not find evidence of a curvilinear relationship, implying that

this inflection point is relatively high. It is also possible that information about leisure activities is perceived negatively if it is coupled with unsatisfactory results. If someone participates in many leisure activities but performs poorly at their job, this underperformance may be attributed to the leisure activities, negating any positive signals.

The current research is also less able to address whether we respond to information about leisure activities differently among varying groups, though I believe that this is a promising and important area for future study. Some research suggests that I might harshly judge some individuals for participating in leisure activities. For example, low-income individuals are judged harshly for actions that are otherwise viewed positively, like making ethical product choices (Olson et al., 2016), working mothers make a tradeoff between perceptions of warmth and competence that working fathers do not (Cuddy et al., 2004), and BIPOC, and particularly Black individuals, have to overcome unfounded negative stereotypes about laziness or underperformance (Brewer & Collins, 1992; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Walton & Spencer, 2009). It is possible that discussions of leisure activities might exacerbate these negative perceptions and stereotypes for such individuals.

Notably, although I provided initial evidence that eudaimonic well-being plays a larger role in determining professional judgments compared to hedonic well-being, there are likely circumstances in which perceptions of hedonic well-being might be more predictive in professional settings. For example, when considering options for a position or service that is more short-term and hedonic in nature (e.g., choosing a temporary receptionist for a public-facing role, or a tour-guide for an off-roading adventure)

observers may place greater value on hedonic well-being. Alternatively, if there are signals of higher eudaimonic well-being outside of leisure activities, such as having a career associated with high levels of meaning and fulfillment, leisure activities may only impact perceptions of hedonic well-being.

Across all of my studies, although hedonic and eudaimonic well-being generally followed a similar pattern to one another, there are likely instances in which outcomes from each diverge. For example, eudaimonic well-being is largely concerned with reaching one's full potential, while hedonic well-being is focused on current happiness. Given its more long-term focus, could eudaimonic well-being have positive implications for outcomes regarding career advancement? Alternatively, if an individual high in hedonic well-being is more prone to make decisions that result in temporary pleasure, could these individuals be perceived as more likely to take shortcuts in the workplace or abuse work-sponsored amenities?

Furthermore, while the present research focuses on the positive outcomes stemming from higher well-being, it also implies that individuals with lower well-being may be judged more negatively. In many instances, individuals with lower well-being, or perceived lower well-being, are those most in need of support and compassion from others. Evidence of reduced compassion for individuals with lower well-being can be seen in the stigma surrounding individuals living with a mental illness compared to other health issues. For example, observers are more hostile and more likely to socially reject individuals in a depressed mood (Strack & Coyne, 1983). What interventions might help reduce the negative signal of lower well-being and induce compassion?

Finally, I believe an important area for future research is to examine additional outcomes of disclosing leisure activities. In the present research, I identified that disclosing leisure activities can increase professional judgments of service providers. However, there are several other important outcomes that are worthy of study within the domain of leisure activities. In particular, one outcome that I believe is particularly worthy of study is how consumers' honesty with their service providers might change depending on whether the service provider discloses their leisure activities. There are several service industries where consumers are hesitant to be fully honest with their service providers. For example, in the healthcare field, an honest relationship between a service provider and a consumer is incredibly important to ensure proper care. However, many patients are wary of being fully honest with their medical practitioners for fear of judgment (Levy et al. 2018). Unfortunately, this dishonesty can come at a steep cost when it pertains to an individual's health outcomes. I believe that encouraging healthcare providers to share their leisure activities with their patients might make patients feel more comfortable and trusting of their healthcare provider, and thus, more willing to be honest with them. Thus, consumer honesty as a result of leisure disclosures represents a promising area for future research.

In sum, I believe I have taken the first step in understanding the signaling value of leisure activities. Specifically, I have identified perceptions of both hedonic and eudaimonic well-being as unique diagnostic tools utilized when forming professional judgments. In so doing, I have also paved the way for several rich avenues of future research on this topic that is only becoming more prominent as the opportunities for people to share information about themselves continue to increase.

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APPENDIX A

STUDY STIMULI AND MEASURES

Study 1A

For the purpose of this study, we would like you to imagine that you are planning to purchase a new home. To help you find a home, you decide to work with a realtor.

On the following screen, you will read a biography for Brian Williams, a local realtor. Please read the biography carefully, as you will be asked to share your opinions of Brian on the following screen.

[PAGE BREAK]

Please look over the biography for Brian Williams, a local realtor.

No Activity Condition

Brian Williams
Realty ONE

About **Brian Williams**

Brian has been a realtor since 2009. Williams' resume boasts continued education to include Certified Residential Specialist (CRS), Accredited Buyer Representative (ABR) and Certified Home Marketing Specialist (CHMS). He will work to get you into the home of your dreams within your budget.

One Activity Condition*

Brian Williams
Realty ONE

About **Brian Williams**

Brian has been a realtor since 2009. Williams' resume boasts continued education to include Certified Residential Specialist (CRS), Accredited Buyer Representative (ABR) and Certified Home Marketing Specialist (CHMS). He will work to get you into the home of your dreams within your budget.

When he's not working, Brian enjoys cooking.

*The word "cooking" was randomly selected from the options of hiking, cooking, and listening to live music. The authors are happy to provide the remaining two options upon request, but do not include them here for brevity.

Three Activity Condition

Brian Williams
Realty ONE

About **Brian Williams**

Brian has been a realtor since 2009. Williams' resume boasts continued education to include Certified Residential Specialist (CRS), Accredited Buyer Representative (ABR) and Certified Home Marketing Specialist (CHMS). He will work to get you into the home of your dreams within your budget.

When he's not working, Brian enjoys cooking, hiking, and listening to live music.

[PAGE BREAK]

Please answer the following questions.

1. How interested would you be in hiring Brian as your realtor? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
2. How interested do you think others would be in hiring Brian as their realtor? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
3. How likely are you reach out to Brian for more information? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)

[PAGE BREAK]

We're now interested in your perceptions of Brian more generally.

4. How happy is Brian? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
5. How satisfied is Brian? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
6. To what extent is Brian living a meaningful life? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
7. To what extent do you think Brian feels fulfilled? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
8. To what extent do you think Brian is living his life to the fullest? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
9. How much variety is there in Brian's week? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
10. How many non-work-related activities does Brian participate in? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)

[PAGE BREAK]

11. Based on your impression of Brian, how likely is he to... (1 = Not at all likely, 7 = Very likely)
    a. Enjoy reading the literature
    b. Attend symphony concerts
    c. Enjoy the performing arts?
12. To what extent does Brian enjoy beautiful things? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
13. To what extent is Brian cultured? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
14. To what extent is Brian friendly? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
15. To what extent is Brian likable? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
16. To what extent is Brian... (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so, *Reverse coded)
    a. Talkative
    b. Extroverted

c. Bold
d. Energetic
e. Shy*
f. Quiet*
g. Bashful*
h. Withdrawn*

[PAGE BREAK]

You're almost done! We just have a few final questions.**

17. What is your age? (Open-ended)
18. What is your gender? (Male / Female / Other [text entry allowed])
19. What is your Prolific ID? (Open)

**Note: Because all demographic questions are conceptually similar and are not utilized aside from participant descriptions, we do not report them in remaining studies.

Study 1B

The Department of Marketing has recently received feedback from our industry partners that many job candidates lack the business writing skills needed to succeed in top positions. To help address this issue, the Department of Marketing is considering putting together a team of graduate students to lead several virtual workshops on business and technical writing.

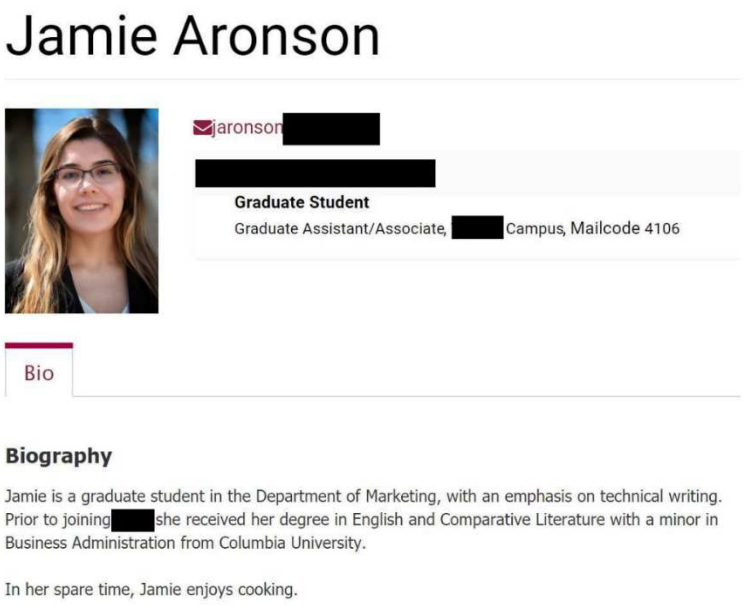
We are interested in getting student feedback on an individual who we believe is a good candidate to lead these sessions, as well as how interested students would be in attending these sessions more broadly.

[PAGE BREAK]

Please look over the biography for Jamie Aronson, a graduate student the department is considering asking to develop a virtual workshop.

One Activity Condition

*Note, for the purpose of blind review, we have redacted university-related information. Additionally, the word "cooking" was randomly selected from the options of hiking, cooking, and listening to live music. The authors are happy to provide the remaining two options upon request but do not include them here for brevity.



Three Activity Condition

Jamie Aronson

jaronsor[redacted]

[redacted]

Graduate Student

Graduate Assistant/Associate, [redacted] Campus, Mailcode 4106

Bio

Biography

Jamie is a graduate student in the Department of Marketing, with an emphasis on technical writing. Prior to joining [redacted] she received her degree in English and Comparative Literature with a minor in Business Administration from Columbia University.

In her spare time, Jamie enjoys hiking, cooking, and listening to live music.

[PAGE BREAK]

Please answer the following questions.

1. How interested would you be in attending a virtual business writing workshop hosted by Jamie? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
1. How interested do you think other students would be in attending a virtual business writing workshop hosted by Jamie? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
2. How helpful would attending a virtual business writing workshop hosted by Jamie be? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
3. How likely are you to attend a virtual writing workshop at some point in the future? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)

[PAGE BREAK]

We're now interested in your perceptions of Jamie more generally.

4. How happy is Jamie? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
5. How satisfied is Jamie? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
6. To what extent is Jamie living a meaningful life? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)

7. To what extent do you think Jamie feels fulfilled? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
8. To what extent do you think Jamie is living her life to the fullest? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
9. How many non-work-related activities does Jamie participate in? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)

[PAGE BREAK]

10. Overall, what is your impression of Jamie? Please write 1-2 sentences.

[PAGE BREAK]

You're almost done! We just have a few final questions.

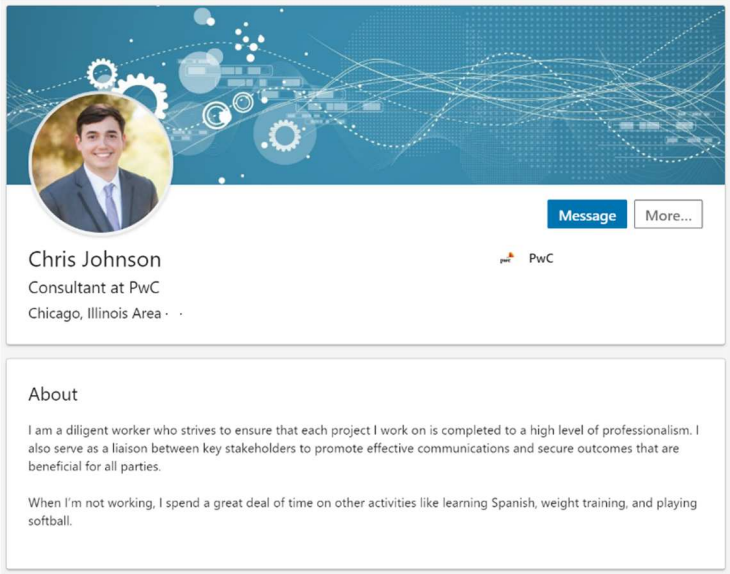
11. What is your age? _____
12. What is your gender? (Male/Female/Other)
13. Have you taken a similar study in the past? (Yes (Please briefly describe _____)/No)
14. What year are you at [UNIVERSITY]? (Freshman/Sophomore/Junior/Senior)
15. How confident are you in your business writing abilities?

Study 2

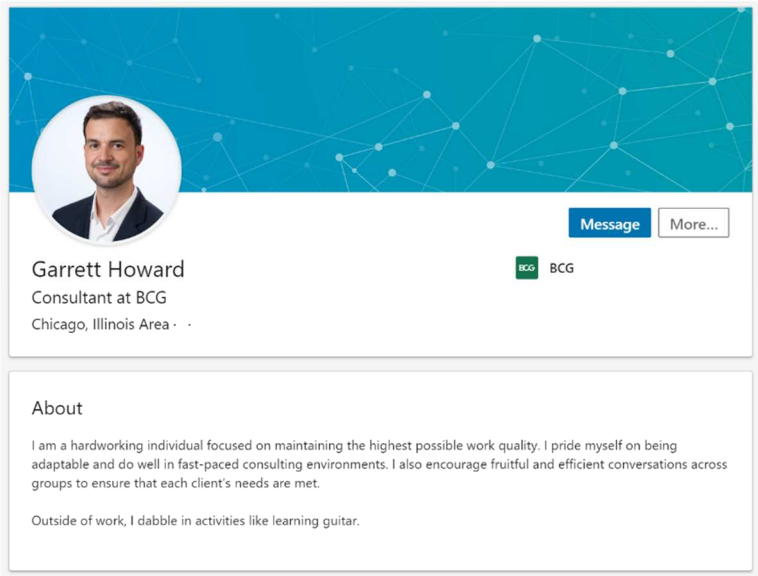
We are interested in your evaluations of two individuals. First, you will look at both individuals' LinkedIn pages. After viewing both pages, you will then respond to questions regarding both individuals.

[Page Break]

Chris:

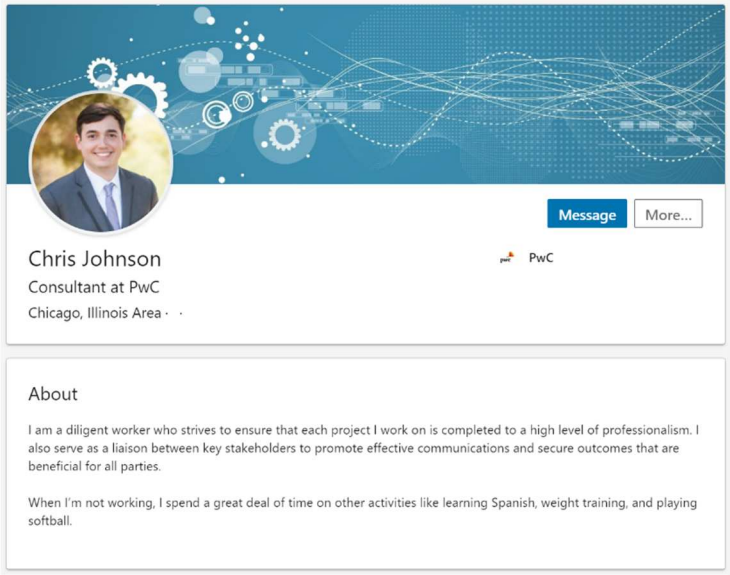


Garrett:



[PAGE BREAK]

Please answer the following questions based on your impression of Chris. We have pasted his Linkedin profile below for reference.



1. How successful will Chris be in the future? (1 = Very unsuccessful, 7 = Very successful)
2. How valuable is Chris to his workplace? (1 = Not at all valuable, 7 = Very valuable)
3. How well do you think Chris performs at his job? (1 = Very poorly, 7 = Very well)

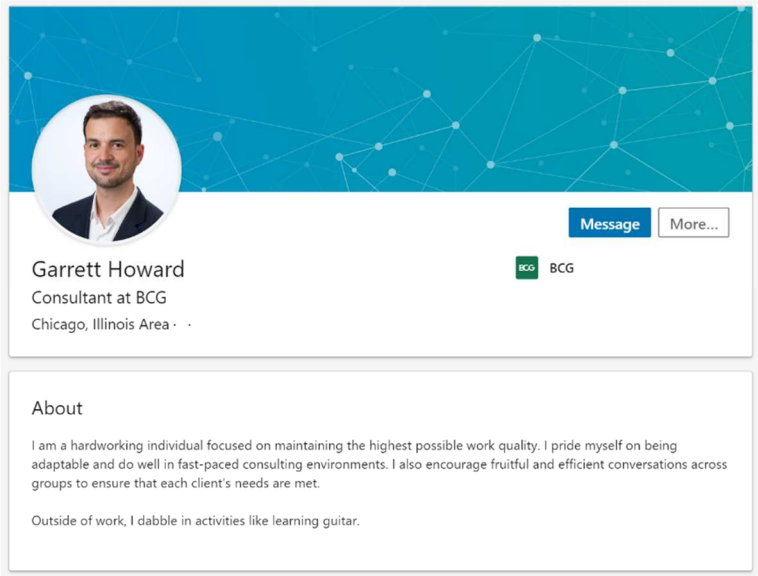
[PAGE BREAK]

We're now interested in your perceptions of Chris more generally.

4. How happy is Chris? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
5. How satisfied is Chris? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
6. To what extent is Chris living a meaningful life? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
7. To what extent do you think Chris feels fulfilled? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
8. To what extent do you think Chris is living his life to the fullest? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
9. How busy is Chris? (1 = Not at all busy, 7 = Very busy)

[PAGE BREAK]

Please answer the following questions based on your impression of Garrett. We have pasted his Linkedin profile below for reference.



10. How successful will Garrett be in the future? (1 = Very unsuccessful, 7 = Very successful)
11. How valuable is Garrett to his workplace? (1 = Not at all valuable, 7 = Very valuable)
12. How well do you think Chris performs at his job? (1 = Very poorly, 7 = Very well)

[PAGE BREAK]

We're now interested in your perceptions of Garrett more generally.

13. How happy is Garrett? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
14. How satisfied is Garrett? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
15. To what extent is Garrett living a meaningful life? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
16. To what extent do you think Garrett feels fulfilled? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
17. To what extent do you think Garrett is living his life to the fullest? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
18. How busy is Garrett? (1 = Not at all busy, 7 = Very busy)

[PAGE BREAK]

19. Imagine that you were a manager and had a position to fill on your team. If both Chris and Garrett applied for the position, who would you be more interested in hiring? (1 = Chris, 2 = Garrett)

Study 3

What is your gender? (Male/Female)

[PAGE BREAK]

On the following screen you will read a short vignette. Please read the vignette carefully and try to form an opinion of the person described in the vignette.

[PAGE BREAK]

Chris(tine) is a 25-year old account manager at a medium sized marketing firm. (S)he is originally from the Midwest but now lives in Austin, TX. (S)he enjoys his/her job and living in the city.

Non-work, low activity level

Most weeks, s/he works 40 hours per week and then spends about 1-3 hours each week doing other (non-work) activities like weight training.

Non-work, high activity level

Most weeks, s/he works 40 hours per week and then spends about 15-20 hours each week doing other (non-work) activities like attending Spanish classes, playing on a softball team, and weight training.

Work, low activity level

Most weeks, s/he works 40-43 hours per week.

Work, High activity level

Most weeks, s/he works 55-60 hours per week.

[PAGE BREAK]

Please answer the following questions based on your impression of Chris(tine).

1. How happy is Chris(tine)? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
2. To what extent is Chris(tine) living a meaningful life? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
3. To what extent do you think Chris(tine) feels fulfilled? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
4. How stressed is Chris(tine)? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)

5. To what extent do you think Chris(tine) is living his/her life to the fullest? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
6. How lonely is Chris(tine)? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
7. How many friends do you expect Chris(tine) has? (1 = Very few, 7 = A great deal)

[PAGE BREAK]

Continuing to think about Chris(tine) please answer the following questions.

8. How successful will Chris(tine) be in the future? (1 = Very unsuccessful, 7 = Very successful)
9. How well did Chris(tine) perform academically? (1 = Very poorly, 7 = Very well)
10. How valuable is Chris(tine) to his/her workplace? (1 = Not at all valuable, 7 = Very valuable)
11. How valuable is Chris(tine) to his/her community? (1 = Not at all valuable, 7 = Very valuable)
12. How likely is Chris(tine) to attend graduate school? (1 = Very unlikely, 7 = Very likely)
13. How prestigious is Chris(tine)'s job? (1 = Not at all prestigious, 7 = Very prestigious)

[PAGE BREAK]

14. How would you rank the social status of Chris(tine)? (1 = Low social status, 7 = High social status)
15. Do you think Chris(tine) is financially wealthy? (1 = Not wealthy, 7 = Extremely wealthy)
16. Chris(tine) has a high income level. (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree)

[PAGE BREAK]

17. How busy is Chris(tine)? (1 = Not busy at all, 7 = Very busy)
18. How much willpower does Chris(tine) have? (1 = Very little, 7 = A great deal)
19. How much self-control does Chris(tine) have? (1 = Very little, 7 = A great deal)
20. To what extent is Chris(tine) internally motivated? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
21. To what extent is Chris(tine) externally motivated? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)

[PAGE BREAK]

22. Based on Chris(tine)'s calendar, how likely is he/she to... (1 = Not likely at all, 7 = Very likely)
    a. Enjoy reading literature
    b. Attend symphony concerts
    c. Enjoy the performing arts
23. To what extent does Chris(tine) enjoy beautiful things? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
24. To what extent is Chris(tine) cultured? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)

[PAGE BREAK]

25. In your ideal world, how many <u>hours</u> of non-work related activities would you participate in each week? _____
26. In your ideal world, what <u>number</u> of different non-work related activities would you participate in each week? For example if you would like to attend a yoga twice a week, that would be considered 1 activity. _____
27. To what extent do you want to be more like Chris(tine)? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
28. To what extent would you want to be friends with Chris(tine)? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
29. To what extent do you wish your calendar contained a similar amount of activities? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
30. Approximately how many non work-related activities do you typically participate in each week? _____

[PAGE BREAK]

Please rate your agreement with the following statements.

31. Hard work brings success in the long run. (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree)
32. People are poor due to laziness, not injustice. (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree)
33. People have a chance to escape poverty. (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree)

Study 4

For this study, you will be participating in an anagram solving game. You will have one minute to solve 10 anagrams. You can either work on your own, or with a randomly assigned partner who completed their anagram task in an earlier session.

If you choose to work on your own, you will need to complete all 10 anagrams on your own within the allotted time. If you do so, you will be entered to win a $20 bonus payment.

If you choose to work with a partner, your score will be added to your partner's score. If the two of you have collectively completed 15 anagrams, then you will each be entered into a drawing for a $10 bonus payment.

Before making your decision, you will be able to read a short description about your potential partner on the following screen.

[PAGE BREAK]

PARTNER DESCRIPTION

Activities not conducive of well-being, one activity
Your potential partner is a 24-year-old female. When she isn't working, she enjoys reading celebrity gossip / scrolling through social media / watching reality TV. (Note: Only one activity, which was randomly selected from three lists, was shown to participants)

Activities not conducive of well-being, three activities
Your potential partner is a 24-year-old female. When she isn't working, she enjoys reading celebrity gossip, scrolling through social media, and watching reality TV.

Activities conducive of well-being, one activity
Your potential partner is a 24-year-old female. When she isn't working, she enjoys weight training / photography / listening to live music. (Note: Only one activity, which was randomly selected from the three listed, was shown to participants)

Activities not conducive of well-being, three activities
Your potential partner is a 24-year-old female. When she isn't working, she enjoys weight training, photography, and listening to live music.

1. Would you like to work with this partner for your game? (Yes/No)

[PAGE BREAK]

If participant chose to work with a partner:
You have chosen to work with a partner, so you need to solve 15 puzzles total to be entered into the drawing for a $10 gift card to Amazon.*

Please wait while we prepare your game. This may take up to 30 seconds.

If participant chose not to work with a partner:
You have chosen to work on your own, so you need to solve 10 puzzles to be entered into the drawing for a $20 gift card to Amazon.*

Please wait while we prepare your game. This may take up to 30 seconds.

[PAGE BREAK]

Your game will automatically begin in 5 seconds. You have ONE MINUTE to solve as many anagrams as possible.

[PAGE BREAK]

ANAGRAM 1:

LCRUE

Answer: _____

ANAGRAM 2:

EERAG

Answer: _____

ANAGRAM 3:

ENIGB

Answer: _____

ANAGRAM 4:

AVELE

Answer: _____

ANAGRAM 5:

TPALN

Answer: _____

ANAGRAM 6:

ROHST

Answer: _____

ANAGRAM 7:

ONTHR

Answer: _____

ANAGRAM 8:

REDRO

Answer: _____

ANAGRAM 9:

EOWMN

Answer: _____

ANAGRAM 10:

NDTAS

Answer: _____

[PAGE BREAK]

Prior to showing you your final score, we would like you to complete some ratings of your partner [person whom you chose not to partner with]. We have pasted their description below for you reference.

[PARTNER DESCRIPTIONS REPEATED, SEE ABOVE]

2. How happy is this individual? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
3. How satisfied is this individual? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very)
4. To what extent is this individual living a meaningful life? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
5. To what extent do you think this individual feels fulfilled? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
6. To what extent do you think this individual is living her life to the fullest? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
7. How much variety is there in this individual's week? (1 = Very little, 7 = A lot)

[PAGE BREAK]

8. To what extent did this individual's description suggest that she was committed to personal growth? (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very much so)
9. My partner engaged in the kinds of activities that give life meaning. (1 = Completely disagree, 7 = Completely agree)
10. How many activities did this individual engage in? (1 = Very few, 7 = Very many)

Participants were then informed whether they were eligible to be entered into the lottery for a $10 or $20 bonus, dependent on whether they worked with a partner and the number of anagrams they solved.

*We inadvertently referred to the potential bonus as an Amazon gift card in this section of the survey. We presume that participants construed the gift card as the bonus payment, and to our knowledge, no participants reached out to our lab manager questioning the form of the bonus payment. This error was consistent across conditions and occurred after participants selected whether they wanted to work with a partner, as such, we do not believe it impacted our results in any meaningful way. We sincerely apologize for this mistake.

APPENDIX B

ANALYSES OF HEDONIC WELL-BEING

Study 1A

Results revealed a significant main effect of activity level on perceptions of hedonic well-being ($F(2, 372) = 8.58$, $p = .0002$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$). This effect appears to be driven by perceptions of hedonic well-being that are significantly higher in the three activity condition ($M = 5.74$, $SD = .91$) compared to the zero ($M = 5.30$, $SD = 1.04$; $F(1, 372) = 12.74$, $p = .0004$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$) or one activity conditions ($M = 5.30$, $SD = .96$; $F(1, 372) = 13.16$, $p = .0003$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$), which did not differ from one another ($p = .96$).

Study 1B

Jamie was perceived as having higher hedonic well-being when she participated in three leisure activities ($M = 5.56$, $SD = .97$) compared to one activity ($M = 5.22$, $SD = .99$; $F(1, 204) = 6.41$, $p = .012$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$).

Study 2

Analyses indicated only a significant effect of leisure activity level on hedonic well-being ($F(1, 149) = 13.05$, $p = .0004$, $\omega_p^2 = .07$). Participants perceived the individual in the three activities condition ($M = 5.61$, $SD = .96$) as higher in hedonic well-being than the individual in the one activity condition ($M = 5.28$, $SD = 1.07$).

Study 3

A two-way ANOVA on hedonic well-being indicated a main effect of activity type ($F(1, 403) = 29.42$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$). However, this effect was qualified by the predicted activity level by activity type interaction ($F(1, 403) = 8.44$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$). Participants in the leisure conditions perceived Christine as having greater hedonic well-being in the high ($M = 5.67$, $SD = .93$) versus low activity level condition ($M = 5.32$, $SD = .95$; $F(1, 403) = 5.19$, $p = .023$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$). However, in the work conditions, Christine was perceived as having marginally lower hedonic well-being in the high ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.31$) versus low activity level condition ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.13$; $F(1, 403) = 3.36$, $p = .068$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$).

Study 5

A two-way ANOVA on hedonic well-being indicated main effects of both activity type ($F(1, 900) = 53.62$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, $M_{High\ WB} = 5.40$, $SD = 1.05$, $M_{Low\ WB} = 4.86$, $SD = 1.18$) and activity level ($F(1, 900) = 3.98$, $p = .046$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$, $M_{One} = 5.06$, $SD = 1.10$, $M_{Three} = 5.20$, $SD = 1.19$); however, the interaction between the two was not significant ($p = .573$).

APPENDIX C

IRB EXEMPTION

ASU Knowledge Enterprise Development

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Andrea Ketcham
Marketing
480/965-6122
acmorales@asu.edu

Dear Andrea Ketcham:

On 1/29/2018 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Consequences and Antecedents of Busyness
Investigator:	Andrea Ketcham
IRB ID:	STUDY00007613
Funding:	Name: Marketing
Grant Title:	
Grant ID:	
Documents Reviewed:	• Non-Marketing Student Recruitment.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Busyness Consent Form-Marketing Students.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Busy Consent Form-Outside Participant (In Lab).pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Sample Measures, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Busyness Consent Form-Mturk.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Protocol.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • Marketing Student Recruitment Script.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Busy Consent Form-Outside Participant (On location).pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Mturk Recruitment Documents.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 1/29/2018.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Michelle Daniels
Michelle Daniels