

THE ART OF HAPPINESS AT WORK by the Dalai Lama and Dr. Howard C. Cutler 1

p. 6 “But after knowing you for so many years, I think you’re well qualified to discuss many other fields. I know you’re a firm believer in the importance of ethical values, basic human values. And many times I’ve heard you speak passionately about applying these ethical values to every field of human endeavor—business, politics, economics, and so on. But over the years, I’ve seen you meet not only with religious figures from every major tradition, but also with leaders in every field—the world political leaders, top scientists, business leaders—and engage in dialogues and conferences with them” He nodded his head in agreement as I spoke. “In essence, you’ve gained a great practical education by intensive discussion with experts in many fields, and you’ve thought a great deal about incorporating these religious ideals . . .”

“More from the side of secular ethics,” he corrected.

p. 9 The last volume of the series will add the final piece to our quest for happiness, showing how our unhappiness is ultimately caused by the gap between appearance and reality, the gap between how we perceive things and how things really are. We will trace the roots of our destructive emotions, the states of mind that create our suffering and obstruct our happiness, to distortions in thinking, our habitual misperceptions of ourselves, others, and the world around us. Thus, in our last volume we will return the focus to our

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inner world, as the Dalai Lama will weave together the concepts presented in the earlier works and present a practical structured program for inner development.

p. 15 “Well,” he laughed, “in that case, I would probably say, ‘I just look after myself, just take care of myself.’” Perhaps sensing my frustration with this glib response, he smiled and continued, “I think maybe this answer isn’t entirely serious. But actually, if you think about it, that’s true. All six billion human beings in the world are just ‘taking care of number one.’ Isn’t it? So whether one is a professional, or whatever line of work one is in, each of us from birth to death is just working to take care of ourselves. That’s our main task.”

pp. 19-20 “If there is injustice, then I think inaction is the wrong response. The Buddhist texts mention what is called ‘misplaced tolerance,’ or ‘misplaced forbearance.’ So, for example, in the case of Tibetans, in the face of Chinese injustice generally, misplaced patience or forbearance refers to the sense of endurance that some individuals have when they are subject to a very destructive, negative activity. That is a misplaced forbearance and endurance. Similarly, in the work environment, if there is a lot of injustice and exploitation, then to passively tolerate it is the wrong response. The appropriate response really is to actively resist it, to try to change this environment rather than accept it. One should take some action.”

"What kind of action?" I asked.

"Of course it again depends on the situation," the Dalai Lama said reasonably. "But perhaps one could speak with the boss, with the management, and try to change these things."

"And if that doesn't work?"

"Then, revolt! Rebel!" He laughed. "This is what I generally say. One needs to actively resist exploitation. And in some cases, one may simply need to quit and to look for other work."

p. 23 "But I think in these kinds of situations, the employer has a responsibility to judge how much a person can reasonably be expected to do. Too much overload is simply a lack of concern, lack of respect. Even overloading an animal is disrespectful to that life—so, that's exploitation, it's unfair," he said with a resolute tone.

"I'm glad that you mentioned the issue of unfairness," I replied, "because that is another of the sources of workplace dissatisfaction. In fact, I think we're touching upon some of the most common sources of dissatisfaction at the workplace."

pp. 23-24 "In today's workplace environment, there's often a focus solely on production, productivity—produce, produce, produce. Now, this may be changing slowly with more

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companies paying attention to creating a more humane environment, but in many cases the organization doesn't care about the personal welfare of the employees, or the inner state or satisfaction of the workers—all it cares about is the bottom line, making a bigger profit, keeping the share prices high. And this type of environment creates the conditions for all kinds of inequities, unfairness, stress for the employees, and so on. In view of that, how can we maintain a feeling of calmness and inner satisfaction in an environment that is focused only on production and profit?"

p. 24 "Millions of people are subjected to various forms of unfairness, isn't it? We need to fight against injustice outwardly, but at the same time we have to find ways to cope inwardly, ways to train our minds to remain calm and not develop frustration, hatred, or despair. That's the only solution. We may find help from our belief systems, whether we believe in karma or in God, but we can also use our human intelligence to analyze the situation and to see it from a different perspective. That will help," he said with conviction.

p. 27 "So, you continue to think about the reality, thinking, *Oh, yes that's my bad luck, I deserve that better job*, but since that didn't happen, instead of looking only at the lack of the better job, you could cultivate a wider perspective and see it from the other direction where you can think, *Well, yes, this may pay less and is not the best work, but since with this*

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work I earn enough, a sufficient amount for my family and for my survival, I'm happy. It's O.K. So, thinking along these lines, we can build contentment with our job even when things don't go our way."

p. 27 The Dalai Lama paused and sipped some tea. "So," he continued, "I think through our own efforts, through cultivating a wider perspective, I think it is possible to become more content with our work."

"Of course, there's still so much widespread dissatisfaction with one's work," I mused. "I'm wondering if you have anything else to add here, any other ways we can look at things to . . ."

"Oh, definitely," he quickly replied. "Another way to build contentment, for example, is simply to reflect on how fortunate one is to have the work, how there are many people unable to get any kind of work. You can think, *There are other good things in my life, and I still have it better compared to many.* This is always the reality."

pp. 28-29 "Yes, Howard, but you shouldn't confuse contentment with complacency. You shouldn't mistake being content with one's job with just sort of not caring, not wanting to grow, not wanting to learn, just staying where one is even if one's situation is bad and not even making the effort to advance and to learn and to achieve something better. If we have

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a poor job, perhaps some unskilled labor, but we have the skills and qualifications for better work, by all means we should exert our best effort for the better work, make a good attempt. But if that fails, then instead of frustration, or becoming angry focusing only on the thought, *I tried but I wasn't able to make it*—then thing, O.K., I'll carry on with this work. Be content with the work you have. So if you fail, that is where one's attitude and the practice of contentment can make the difference between anger, resentment and frustration, and a calmer and happier attitude. That's where training of the mind comes in. These kinds of things, lines of reasoning, can diffuse your frustration and disturbance of mind. So contentment, I think, contentment—that's the key thing."

p. 34 So, he reminds us that if we can change some of the external conditions at the workplace that contribute to our dissatisfaction, we certainly should. If not, although it is always easy or quick, it is still possible to be happy at work through reshaping our attitudes and outlook, through inner training.

pp. 41-42 At this supermarket, there are two checkout clerks who have been working here for some years. I've ended up in each of their lines countless times. Jane is a woman in her mid-thirties. She goes about her job efficiently and quickly, yet rarely says a word other than calling out for a price check. No matter when I've shopped there, she always seems to

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have a slightly sullen expression, almost on the verge of a scowl. Dorothy, on the other hand, a jolly lady in her late fifties, couldn't be more different. She always engages in friendly banter with the customers, is always smiling and helpful. She asks them about their lives and remembers what they say—she even remembers what they bought last time. It is a delight to listen to her. You can wait in her aisle, standing in line while the person in front of you unloads 137 items, pulls out a two-inch stack of coupons, and wants to pay with a third-party check, yet you don't seem to mind. Well, at least you mind less. Dorothy has a sincere interest in food as well as the customers, and often engages in a running commentary about the person's food choices, swapping recipes as she rings up purchases, "Oh, I haven't tried that brand of frozen pizza. Is it good?" "I see you bought Twinkies again—let me give you a tip—buy some of the Betty Crocker yellow cake mix, the kind with pudding in the mix, and slice up the pieces thin, then layer it with fresh whipped cream—it's like a homemade Twinkie, at least if your home happens to be in heaven." (She was right!) She has always struck me as one who genuinely enjoys her work.

p. 42 the difference between Dorothy and Jane not only illustrates the impact of attitude on job satisfaction, but also how one person can make a difference on those around her. Recently I was restocking a lot of food items at home, so my purchases filled two shopping carts. The bagboy offered to help push one of the carts out to my car, and we spoke as I was

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loading the groceries into my car. I've always noticed how Dorothy treats her baggers with respect, and some of the younger high-school students relate to her as a mother. As we were loading the groceries, the bagboy was telling me about how much more he enjoys his work on the days that Dorothy works, adding, "...and it's not just me. When Dorothy is working, everybody seems to be in a better mood, even the manager. I'm not sure why, but things just seem to go better on the days that she's working."

pp. 43-44 "But generally speaking, one could start by recognizing that we are all interdependent; we all depend on one another for our livelihood. That is the place we could start. The deeper our appreciation of that fact, that reality, the greater our willingness to work cooperatively with others will be. Sometimes we have a sort of feeling that we are separate from others, independent, the kind of feeling that *I earn my own money, I support myself, so who needs others?*" Especially when we are young and healthy, there's that tendency to think I can manage alone, I do not need to care about others. But no matter what kind of job we have, there are many other co-workers who contribute in their own way to the running of the company that we depend on for our livelihood. Without them, the company simply would not exist, and we would not be able to earn our living, not to mention our customers, or suppliers, or many others who make it possible for us to earn our money."

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“That’s, of course, unless we work alone in our basement, having a job as a counterfeiter, printing up our own money,” I joked.

p. 45 But often if someone is more wealthy than you are, or famous, or enjoying some fortunate circumstances, we feel that they are not appropriate objects for our compassion. Our compassion dries up, and we may feel jealousy instead. But if you look deeper, no matter how rich or famous someone is, they are still a human being just like you, subject to the changes of life, of old age, illness, loss, and so on. Even if it is not apparent on the surface, sooner or later they are subject to suffering. They are worthy of compassion on that basis, on the basis of being a fellow human being. So, this relates specifically to the workplace, where people are often in conflict with their supervisors, bosses, but one is more likely to feel envy, fear, or hostility rather than to think of them merely as another human being, as worthy of your compassion as anyone else.

p. 49 We met again the following afternoon, picking up where we had left off in our discussion about some of the most common sources of dissatisfaction at work. As we had discussed the previous day, there was no doubt that a poor social climate, one full of conflict and jealousy, can make work a nightmare. Yet according to a Gallup survey, Americans generally tend to be more satisfied with the social aspects of their job than they are with

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matters of recognition, how much they feel valued at work. And for many people one’s salary or pay is viewed as an objective measure of how much they are valued by their employer. But in today’s society, one’s pay level often represents much more than that. It not only reflects how much one is valued by the employer, but how much money a person makes can be intimately connected with how one values himself or herself. It can be linked with our own sense of self-worth.

pp. 50-51 For most of us, the link between how much money we make and our self-esteem isn’t as dramatic as it was for this broker. But it illustrates an important principle. If we choose an external marker as the measure of our inner worth, whether it is the amount of money we make, or others’ opinion of us, or the success of some project we’re involved in, sooner or later we’re bound to be battered by life’s inevitable changes. After all, money comes and goes, and thus is an unstable source of self-esteem, an unreliable foundation upon which to build our identity.

p. 52 “The trouble with pursuing money just for the sake of money is that this makes us a victim of greed, never-ending greed. Then we are never satisfied. We become slaves of money. I have some friends, I think I have told you about some of them in the past, who run here and there, travel all over the world in quest of more and more money, so sometimes I

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tease them, calling them slaves of money. But they never stop to think about why they are doing this, other than to make more money. Now, if such a pursuit did succeed in giving them the happiness and sense of fulfillment they seek in life, then I suppose there would be some justification for this. This, however, is not the case. In fact, the real problem is that they are never content with anything. Unless you become one of the few richest people in the world, which, in any case, is extremely unlikely, there is always going to be someone who has much more money than you. And when you obtain something, then you want something else. If you make a million, you want ten million, and when you have ten, you want a hundred million. So unless we learn to say 'that's enough for me,' we can never be truly contented. This is like a game where the goalpost is constantly being shifted so that you never have a chance to win."

p. 53 "Mahatma Gandhi had true power, for example, but it was not based on how much money he had. Power based on one's wealth is artificial, only on the surface, and is not lasting. They are respecting your money, not you, so if you lose your money, the power and respect vanishes. It's like the power based on someone holding a gun—as soon as they put down the gun, there is no respect or power given to the person."

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p. 54 For example, it is important to protect the environment, but if someone is hungry, someone may cut down trees or do slate mining so that they can eat. They have to think about the immediate needs of the stomach before environmental concerns.

p. 56 For example, just last year *The New York Times* reported that real income has risen over sixteen percent during the past thirty years in America, but the percentage of Americans who describe themselves as 'very happy' has actually fallen from thirty-six percent to twenty-nine percent during the same time period.

pp. 60-61 Our break came to an end, and the Dalai Lama continued his line of thought. "So, in the final analysis, even in the case of someone who pursues money just for the sake of more money, there is still somewhere in the depth of his or her mind the belief that this is somehow going to make him or her happier. The ultimate motivation still is to promote one's greater happiness. If this is so, then allowing oneself to become a slave of money and greed is self-destructive, it is defeating their very purpose. Instead of promoting greater happiness, it brings misery, the suffering of never-ending wants. In contrast, those who never lose sight of the purpose of money and have the ability to relate to money with a healthy perspective, even though such people may actually possess less money, will enjoy a greater sense of well-being with regard to wealth and money. So, ironically, they may be

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poorer in terms of actual material wealth but they are in reality richer, for they are able to understand the true worth of money, and are freed from the unrealistic expectations about what wealth will provide.

p. 69 "In my own case, my overall attitude to life and work and my basic frame of mind perhaps exert a great influence. For example, every morning I reflect deeply upon a verse from the very great seventh-century Indian Buddhist master Shantideva. It begins, 'For as long as space remains . . . ' do you know that verse?"

"Yes." I nodded.

He continued reciting,

*For as long as space remains,
For as long as sentient beings remain,
May I too remain
And dispel the miseries of the world.*

p. 87 Tantra refers to a system of meditation practices that involves channeling highly refined states of mind and subtle bodily energies. It is said that when the practitioner

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becomes adept at these techniques and attains high states of realization as a result of these practices, they also experience profound levels of spiritual bliss.

p. 95 This is why, as the Dalai Lama reminds us, we need a balanced life. No matter how satisfying our work is, it is a mistake to rely on work as our only source of satisfaction. Just as humans need a varied diet to supply a variety of needed vitamins and minerals to maintain health, so we need a varied diet of activities that can supply a sense of enjoyment and satisfaction. Recognizing that the principle of adaptation is normal, we can anticipate and prepare for it by intentionally cultivating a full menu of activities that we enjoy. Some experts suggest that one can start by making an inventory—taking a weekend to make a list of the things you enjoy doing, your talents and interests, even new things that you think you might enjoy if you tried them. It may be gardening, cooking, a sport, learning a new language, or volunteer work—any activity through which one can develop and exercise skills. So, if we go through a slow period at work, we can turn to our family, our friends, our hobbies, and other interests as our primary source of satisfaction. And if we shift our interest and attention to other activities for a while, eventually the cycle will swing again, and we can return to our work with renewed interest and enthusiasm.

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pp. 98-99 Arguably the best research on attitude and general orientation toward work was a 1997 study conducted by Dr. Amy Wrzesniewski (pronounced *rez-NES-kee*), an organizational psychologist and professor of business at New York University, and her colleagues, which showed that workers are generally divided into three distinct categories.

The first group views work as just a job. For them, the primary focus is on the financial rewards that the work brings. The nature of the work itself may hold little interest, pleasure, or fulfillment for them. Since their prime concern is the wage, if there is a decrease in pay or if a higher-paying job opens up, they are quick to drop the job and move on.

p. 99 The final category is those who view their work as a calling. These individuals do the work for the sake of the work itself. There is less separation between their job and the other aspects of their life. People in this category tend to love their work, and if they could afford to, they would continue doing the work even if they didn't get paid. They see their work as meaningful, having a higher purpose, making a contribution to society or the world.

pp. 103-104 The Dalai Lama nodded his assent.

"In terms of identifying attitudes toward work, there was a research study showing that generally speaking, in the West, people view their work in one of three categories: some

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people view their work simply as a job to earn money, where the wage is the primary interest and motivation; others view their work as a career, and the key point there is focus on career development, advancement, promotions, and going to higher levels in whatever their field is; and then the third category is people who view their work as a calling. The characteristics of a calling would be that they see their work as contributing to some greater good, associated with a sense of meaning. So, the concept of calling primarily has to do with the idea of a higher purpose of their work, maybe even the social good or welfare of others."

p. 107 The Dalai Lama thought awhile. "I'm not sure. But for example, let us imagine a farmer: when he does his work, how could he see it as a calling? Perhaps he could try to see the higher purpose to his work and then reflect on it. Maybe think about his taking care of nature, cultivating life. Or, in the case of a factory worker, he or she could think about the ultimate benefit of the particular machine they are making. I don't know. I think for some it might be difficult, but they can try to look for purpose."

p. 109 "I think probably that could also be categorized as 'calling,'" the Dalai Lama replied, but with a tentative inflection in his voice. "Now, generally speaking, personally I think it is best if the higher purpose or meaning in one's work involves being of some help to other

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people. But there are many different kinds of people, differing viewpoints, interests, and dispositions. So, I think it is definitely possible that for some people, the higher purpose may simply be striving for excellence in their work, and doing that with a sense of creativity. Here, the focus may be on the creative process, and the higher quality of the work itself. And I think that could transform the view from a mere job or a career to a calling. But again, here one has to have the proper motivation—not carrying on one's work out of strong competition or a sense of jealousy. That's important."

p. 118 "Can you explain in greater depth, then, specifically how this self-understanding might apply to our work?"

"Oh, yes. I think it can be very helpful if a person has better self-understanding. For example, if someone has very high qualifications and ends up with a bad job, then he has valid grounds to really complain and try to seek better employment. That's legitimate. He has the skills to advance, and he should advance. Whereas, you can have another person who also feels discontented with the employment he has, and wants a better job and more money, but that person's capacity and qualifications may not be very good. So here he has an inflated image of himself, he does not have accurate self-understanding. Instead of changing his attitude, becoming content with the work he has by realizing it corresponds to

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the level of his skills, he starts blaming others, demanding a better job, and his work becomes nothing but a source of dissatisfaction rather than a source of fulfillment."

pp. 118-120 Can you expand a bit on what you mean by self-awareness or self-understanding, more than just, 'Oh, I have the skills to do this job,' but in a broader sense—what would self-awareness and self-understanding include?"

The Dalai Lama elaborated, "Now, when we talk about self-awareness or self-understanding, there can be many levels. In Buddhist psychology, there is great emphasis placed on the importance of having a sense of self that is grounded in reality. This is because there is an intimate connection between how we see ourselves and how we tend to relate to others and the world. Needless to say, how we see ourselves also affects how we tend to react to a given situation. Now, on a very basic level, human beings have an innate sense of self, a sense of 'I,' that we perceive to be a kind of fixed, unchanging inner core, something that is independent, separate from others and the world. The question becomes, however, whether this sense of self, this 'I' that we cling to so strongly, truly exists in the way that we perceive it to exist. What is the true underlying nature of the self? What is the ultimate basis of the self? That becomes a critical issue in Buddhist thought, because we assert that this belief in a unitary, solid, unchanging 'I' is at the root of all of our mental and emotional afflictions, the destructive mental states that obstruct our happiness. Using

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reason, logic, and careful analysis, in searching for the ultimate nature of the self, we find that there is a gap between how we appear to exist and how we truly exist. A gap between appearance and reality. But this kind of investigation into the ultimate nature of the self, the nature of reality, is a matter of Buddhist theory and practice. It has to do with what is referred to in Buddhist language as *emptiness* or *no-self*. This is a separate issue from the kind of self-understanding that we are discussing here. Here, we are concerned primarily with self-understanding in the conventional sense. So we are not talking about arriving at the understanding of the ultimate nature of our self."

p. 120 "Now, if you are talking about one's work or job," the Dalai Lama suggested, "if people wish to have a greater understanding about the level of their knowledge or technical skills in their particular field or profession, then they may want to voluntarily take certain tests that may help them find that out. I think that would help increase one's understanding of what one's capabilities are, at least on the level of technical skills, proficiency, or the type of knowledge that can be objectively measured."

p. 120 "But if we are talking about increasing self-awareness and understanding on a deeper level, then the main thing is to have a view of self that is grounded in reality. Here, the goal

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is to have an undistorted view of oneself, an accurate appraisal of one's abilities and characteristics."

pp. 120-121 One researcher in particular, Martin Seligman, talks about increasing self-understanding by identifying what he calls one's 'signature strengths'—one's natural good qualities and characteristics, the unique set of virtuous traits that each one of us possesses. In fact, he and his colleagues developed a questionnaire or test that people can fill out to help them identify their signature strengths. He got quite sophisticated and detailed in compiling this questionnaire. He identified six main categories of human virtue, such as wisdom, courage, and love. He then subdivided these primary virtues into twenty-four 'signature strengths.' For example, Courage is subdivided into Valor, Perseverance, and Integrity. Anyway, this investigator maintains that one can become happier at work by identifying one's signature strengths and making a conscious effort to use these strengths on the job—every day if possible. He recommends choosing work where you can naturally use these strengths. But if you can't do that, then he suggests recrafting your present job to use these strengths as much as possible."

p. 132 The benefits of accurate self-appraisal are clear. In a 2002 study led by Barry Goldman, PhD, JD, professor of management and policy at the University of Arizona,

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people with a strong sense of their own identity not only had greater work satisfaction, but also higher levels of personal well-being and overall life satisfaction. The study by Goldman and his colleagues defined personal identity as “a psychological state reflecting self-knowledge and a firm consistent sense of personal values and of one’s ability to sustain one’s conclusions in the face of opposition from others.” Thus, greater self-knowledge was associated with confidence in one’s own judgment, which suggests that one may be less affected by others’ unwarranted criticism and may rely less on others’ praise to supply a sense of self-worth. Further, researchers have found that in addition to having greater work and life satisfaction, those with a strong sense of identity may even enjoy other benefits, such as having fewer marital disputes.

p. 134 In one conversation that led to our first book, *The Art of Happiness: A Handbook for Living*, I once asked the Dalai Lama how individuals could tell if they were being arrogant or merely self-confident. He replied that those with self-confidence have a valid basis for their confidence, they have the skills and abilities to back it up; whereas arrogant people are not grounded in reality—they have no valid basis for their inflated opinion of themselves. I reminded the Dalai Lama that this would not be a helpful distinction for arrogant people, since they always feel they have a valid basis for their opinion of themselves. Acknowledging the difficulty in distinguishing between confidence and arrogance, the Dalai

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Lama finally shrugged his shoulders, laughed, and joked, “Maybe the person should go to the court to find out if it is a case of arrogance or confidence!” Moments later, however, he settled down and observed that sometimes one could determine this only in retrospect by looking at the results of one’s actions, whether they ultimately resulted in benefit or harm to oneself or others.

pp. 143-144 These misconceptions are often due to the fact that the notion of karma is based on the law of cause and effect, the theory that one’s current circumstances are the result of one’s past actions, either in this life or a previous life. But what many of these individuals fail to take into account is the active component of karma. In fact, the root of the Sanskrit word *karma* means “action.” And just as one’s past actions may have contributed to one’s current circumstances, one’s present actions can change one’s future. In addition, the Buddhist concept of karma is much more sophisticated than is commonly recognized in the West. For example, one’s current experiences are the result of a complex interplay of past physical, verbal, and mental “actions.” Through nonvirtuous deeds in the past, one may have laid the groundwork for negative consequences, planted the seed for future misfortune. However, though virtuous deeds and pure motivation, one may also ameliorate the manifestation of those consequences.

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pp. 148-149 But there is a difference between happiness and the mere absence of depression. And after a lifetime of investing his identity in his work, he was never able to let go and transfer his identity to the other potential sources of fulfillment in his life. At least not during the period that I saw him.

p. 177 "Anyway, from that perspective," I continued, "I think the general view of productive activity has to do with somehow making an impact in one's environment, producing something, or accomplishing something in the world. It seems to be more outer directed, accomplishing things that can be measured or quantified."

"So, in that case," the Dalai Lama laughed, "my few hours of meditation in the morning is unproductive, isn't it? And eating food, going to the toilet—unproductive."

p. 182 So, I don't know, conventionally speaking perhaps we can define productive work as an activity that entails production of something, either material or spiritual, that others can utilize and, through this, derive benefits from the activities that lead to its production. I don't know."

p. 187 As one might intuitively guess, many investigators have proposed a "bi-directional spillover" model of job/life satisfaction. In others words, satisfaction with one's work tends

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to make one happier overall, and those who are happy with their life tend to be happier at work. Of course, as in most fields of research there is some disagreement among researchers about the degree to which work influences overall happiness or to what degree a person's general happiness in life spills over into his or her job.

pp. 205-206 Scanning the long list of topics that we had not yet addressed, I said, "We don't have much time left, but there are still many things I wanted to ask you about. I think we covered a lot of the things that cause people to be unhappy at work, but there are still some things we haven't covered—for example, the whole issue of ethics at work, the dissatisfaction caused when a person's personal values or ethical principles do not correspond with the ethical values of the organization where they work, the issue of whistleblowers, the corporate scandals, and also I'd like to go into greater depth regarding interpersonal relationships at work and in business, both among co-workers and employer-employee relations, and—"