Children's and Adolescents' Happiness Conceptualizations at School and their Link with Autonomy, Competence, and Relatedness

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Abstract

HAPPINESS AT SCHOOL

Abstract

Previous research on children's and adolescents' happiness either focused on their conceptualisations or the link between self-reported happiness with different outcomes. However, very few studies have connected both approaches to better understand children's and adolescents' happiness. To address this gap, we used a mixed-method approach, to investigate if the conceptualizations of happiness at school of 744 British children and adolescents could signal differences in autonomy, competence, and relatedness. An initial coding of the responses showed thirteen conceptualizations (i.e., positive feelings, harmony/balance, leisure, friends, getting good grades, non-violence, moral actions, purpose, autonomy, competence, teachers, emotional support, and learning). Log-linear models showed that some of the conceptualizations differed across both age groups and gender. Latent class analysis showed that happiness conceptualizations could be classified in five different groups. Interestingly, whereas for children there were no differences; for adolescents, there were differences between classes in their levels of autonomy and relatedness. The implications of these findings for promoting students' well-being at school are discussed.

Keywords: children; adolescents; happiness; school; self-determination theory.

HAPPINESS AT SCHOOL

Children's and Adolescents' Happiness Conceptualizations at School and its Link with Autonomy, Competence, and Relatedness

The scientific study of happiness has been approached from hedonic and eudaimonic theories. From the hedonic perspective, happiness is understood as the experience of positive affect, the absence of negative affect and high life satisfaction (e.g., Diener, Lucas, & Oishi, 2002). On the other hand, the eudaimonic theories understand happiness as comprising meaning, personal growth and self-actualization (e.g., Ryan & Deci, 2000). Some authors have proposed theories that reconcile both approaches (e.g., Seligman, 2011), which is the perspective adopted in the present study when approaching the concept of happiness. The study of children's and adolescents' happiness has been focused mainly in hedonic elements. In detail, many of the initial studies were focused on developmental changes in the understanding of the emotion of happiness or positive affect (Harter, 2012; Lewis & Michalson, 1983). Further studies focused on the experience of life satisfaction and its link with different demographic, cognitive, personality, and behavioural factors (e.g., Dew & Huebner, 1994; Huebner, Suldo, & Gilman, 2006; Suldo, Savage, & Mercere, 2014). These research programs were focused on general happiness, however as acknowledged by van de Wetering, van Exel, and Brouwer (2010) happiness is domain-specific and therefore what children and adolescents report in general may be different to how happy they feel at home or at school. Hence, it is important to conduct domain-specific studies to better understand children and adolescents' happiness.

Children and Adolescents' Happiness at School

School is one of the most important contexts for children and adolescents' development as it is where children and adolescents acquire most of their knowledge

and develop socio-emotional skills (Eccles & Roeser, 2011). Given its importance, there are multiple interventions aimed at promoting children's happiness or well-being at school (e.g., Boniwell, Osin, & Martinez, 2016; Suldo, 2016).

The study of happiness or well-being at school has been conducted from a quantitative approach focusing on the outcomes or the possible determinants of happiness. Concerning the outcomes, most studies have linked happiness with academic achievement, since schools put a big emphasis on students' performance (Mega, Ronconi, & De Beni, 2014). Although initial research did not find any link (Huebner, 1991; Huebner & Alderman, 1993), other studies found a significant positive relationship (Cheng & Furnham, 2002; McCullough, Huebner, & Laughlin, 2000), as well as reciprocal links between happiness and academic achievement (Quinn & Duckworth, 2007). More recent works have highlighted the mediating role of happiness on the link between school variables (e.g., students' perception of teachers or class climate) and school performance (López et al., 2017). Besides academic achievement, happiness is also reciprocally related to school belongingness (Tian, Zhang, Huebner, Zhen, & Liu, 2016), higher intrinsic motivation (Low, King, & Caleon, 2016), and academic self-regulation (Villavicencio & Bernardo, 2016).

When looking at the possible determinants of happiness most studies have emphasized the role that basic psychological needs can have in the experience of wellbeing (*Self-determination theory*, Deci & Ryan, 2000, 2008). These basic psychological needs are: autonomy (i.e., feeling one is mastering their life and can control their own behaviour), competence (i.e., sense of dealing effectively with the demands from the environment), and relatedness (i.e., having close and affectionate relationship with others; Ryan & Deci, 2000). The satisfaction of these needs does not only depend on the individual's competences but also on the affordances and demands of the environment (Guay, Ratelle, & Chanal, 2008). Therefore, children's happiness at school may not only depend on their own capacities but also on the contextual factors present in the school setting such as teachers' style (Reeve, 2009) or deadlines (Deci & Ryan, 2000), which may undermine students' intrinsic motivation (Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Ryan, 2011). Overall, different studies have shown that teaching practices that foster students' autonomy, competence, and relatedness help students satisfy these psychological needs while simultaneously increase their well-being (Deci & Ryan, 2002; Tsai, Kunter, Lüdtke, Trautwein, & Ryan, 2008; Wentzel & Wigfield, 2007). Importantly, the satisfaction of those needs is affected and has an effect (cross-lagged relationships) on self-reported happiness (Stiglbauer, Gnambs, Gmsjäger, & Batinic, 2013).

What do Children and Adolescents Understand by Happiness?

Although the previous studies have advanced our understanding of the possible causes and consequences of happiness, they have investigated the role of happiness strictly relying on quantitative data. However, other research has stressed the importance of studying happiness from a qualitative point of view (e.g., Freire, Zenhas, Tavares, & Iglésias, 2013) to obtain a more in depth understanding of what children and adolescents comprehend what being happy at school is for them (López-Pérez & Fernández-Castilla, 2018).

Investigating children's and adolescents' conceptualizations of happiness is important for different reasons. First, people's cognitions play a role in shaping their behavior (Ajzen, 2011). Hence, by looking at children's and adolescents' definitions of what being happy at school is, researchers and educators can better understand how students strive for happiness in that setting. Second, previous research with both adults (Delle Fave, Brdar, Freire, Vella-Brodrick, & Wissing, 2011) and children (López-Pérez & Fernández-Castilla, 2018) has found that quantitative measures of happiness did not correlate significantly with all the happiness conceptualizations mentioned by participants; therefore, a qualitative approach can add valuable information by capturing a richer perspective not predefined by the researcher. Finally, research in psychology and sociology has highlighted the importance of placing children and adolescents at the center of the study (Ben-Arieh et al., 2001), rather than assuming an adultcentric perspective (Fattore, Mason, & Watson, 2006), which may not enable us to truly understand what happiness means for them.

Initial research on children's and adolescents' conceptualizations of happiness at school conducted with Spanish children and adolescents found that seven conceptualizations emerged in both age groups (i.e., being with friends, being praised, getting good grades, learning, leisure, enjoyment, and helping). The conceptualization of happiness as 'being with friends' was mostly reported by children, whereas 'helping' was mentioned mostly by adolescents. Furthermore, whereas for adolescents some of the conceptualizations (e.g., leisure, being praised, and helping) were linked to their quantitative self-reports of happiness, this was not true for children.

Findings from this study as well as initial research on general happiness conceptualizations in children and adolescents identified clear age differences and mixed results in regards to gender (Fattore et al., 2006; Freire et al., 2013; López-Pérez, Sanchez, & Gummerum, 2016). Potential developmental differences in the happiness conceptualizations may be due to the different cognitive, emotional, and social changes that occur in the transition from childhood to adolescence. At a cognitive level, whereas children use concrete terms to define abstract concepts (Maio, 2010), adolescents can reason at a more abstract level compared to children (Kruger, 2005; Marini & Case, 1994); it is not surprising then that in the studies focused on general happiness and at school, adolescents have mentioned more abstract categories related to eudaimonic conceptualizations (e.g., ultimate purpose in life or prosocial behaviour) (López-Pérez et al., 2016; López-Pérez & Fernández-Castilla, 2018).

At an emotional level, children and adolescents experience changes in their emotion expression, understanding and regulation (Izard et al., 2011; Yurgelun-Todd, 2007). In detail, although adolescents exhibit more advanced emotion understanding they also present more difficulties to regulate their own emotions (Zeman, Cassano, Perry-Parrish, Carisa, & Stegall, 2006). These emotional changes could potentially have an effect in how children and adolescents appraise happiness (Coffey, 2019) and ultimately explain the previous age differences found in conceptualizations.

At a social level, identity becomes more prevalent for adolescents, as they think more frequently than children who they want to be (Lerner & Steinberg, 2009). This is also congruent with the findings on general conceptualizations on happiness, as adolescents mentioned more categories related to autonomy and experience of freedom, which may correspond to a eudaimonic approach.

Concerning gender, previous research provided mixed results concerning possible differences in the conceptualizations of happiness between boys and girls (Freire et al. 2013; Giacomoni et al. 2014; López-Pérez & Fernández-Castilla, 2018). Hence, further studies are needed to better understand if there are differences in the way boys and girls conceptualize happiness.

The Present Research

Previous research on children and adolescents' happiness has either focused on the link of autonomy, competence, and relatedness with children's well-being at school (Stiglbauer et al., 2013; Taylor et al., 2014; Tsai et al., 2008; Wentzel & Wigfield, 2007) or on the description of happiness conceptualizations frequencies (e.g., Giacomoni et al. 2014). However, as acknowledged by Delle Fave et al (2011) there is a scarcity of studies that have connected the two and that have taken a mixed method approach in its study, which can help to better understand the link between conceptualizations of happiness and key variables for happiness such as autonomy, competence, and relatedness(Freire et al., 2013).

Based on previous research, we explored whether children and preadolescents from the United Kingdom (UK) mentioned categories of happiness similar to the ones identified previously in Spain (López-Pérez & Fernández-Castilla, 2018). However, given that the UK constitutes a different cultural context to Spain in terms of individualism (i.e., orientation towards individual goals rather than group goals; Goodwin & Plaza, 2000; Gouveia, Clemente, & Espinosa, 2003; Minkov et al., 2017), we did not exclude that different conceptualizations or themes may emerge from coding students' qualitative answers as different categories emerged when comparing adults in different countries that differed in their levels of individualism-collectivism (e.g., Delle Fave, Brdar, Freire, Vella-Brodrick, & Wissing, 2011; Lu & Gilmore, 2004).

Furthermore, based on previous studies, we expected that regardless of the number of themes identified, children may mention more hedonic conceptualizations, as their reasoning is more concrete and less abstract (e.g., Berndt & Savin-Williams, 1993). In fact, previous research (Giacomoni, Souza, & Hutz, 2014) looking at children's conceptualizations found that younger children defined happiness as leisure (hedonic) whereas older children mentioned both hedonic (e.g., positive feelings) and eudaimonic (e.g., positive relationships with friends) elements in their definitions. On the other hand, we expected preadolescents to mention more eudaimonic conceptualizations (e.g., related to autonomy; López-Pérez et al., 2016) than children, as they can reason at a more abstract level (Adams & Berzonsky, 2013). However, we also expected preadolescents to mention hedonic conceptualizations in their definitions, as this was found in previous research with adolescents (Freire et al., 2013; Keyes, 2006). Since previous research found mixed results concerning possible gender differences (Freire et al. 2013; Giacomoni et al. 2014; López-Pérez & Fernández-Castilla, 2018), we also explored it.

Second, concerning quantitative self-reports of autonomy, competence, and relatedness, we expected children to score significantly higher than preadolescents, as previous research comparing primary and secondary schools has found that (1) children reported significantly higher happiness than adolescents (Natvig, Albrektsen, & Qvarnstrøm, 2003) and (2) secondary schools tend to promote educational practices based on competition (Demetriou , Goalen, & Rudduck, 2000) and achievement (Brenner & Graham, 2009), which may undermine their autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Niemic & Ryan, 2009).

Finally, we did explore if children and preadolescents could be grouped in latent classes (LCA) depending on their happiness conceptualizations and tested whether these possible classes did differ in their levels of autonomy, competence, and autonomy, which can help us to gain not only a better understanding of the development of happiness conceptualizations but also a comprehension as to what extent they may reflect differences in distinct well-being domains, which is a gap that needs to be

addressed (Bojanowska & Zalewska, 2016; Delle Fave et al., 2001).Given that no previous research had taken a similar stance, we conducted these analyses from an exploratory approach without having *a priori* hypotheses.

Method

Participants

Seven-hundred and forty-four children and preadolescents from eight different public schools (i.e., six primary and two secondary schools) in a medium-sized urban city of England participated in this study. Children were 9 to 11 years of age (n= 421; $M_{age} = 10.75$; SD = 0.52; 53% girls) and preadolescents were 12 to 14 years of age (n= 323; $M_{age} = 13.37$; SD = 0.94; 48% girls). All participants were from schools located in middle-class areas. In regard to the ethnicity, most children and adolescents were Caucasian (98%), and very few Asian or African (2%).

Ethics Statement

The study received ethical clearance by the ethics committee of [name of the university deleted for revision] with code S 23-11-2016 FREC 001. Parents of participating children received a consent form to sign. Only children who got consent from their parents took part in the study. Furthermore, children did assent before taking part.

Measures

Students' Basic Psychological Needs at School (SBPNS). To measure students' needs at school we used the SPBNS (Tian, Han, & Huebner, 2014). This 15-item questionnaire evaluates students' psychological needs satisfaction at school in a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). The questionnaire has two reverse-scored items that were recoded before computing the three different scales:

autonomy (i.e., the experience of support and self-volition at school; e.g., I can decide for myself how to do things at school; $\alpha = .75$), relatedness (i.e., sense of school belonging with positive relationships with teachers and classmates; e.g., I get along well with my teachers and classmates at school; $\alpha = .73$), and competence (i.e., to be able to interact effectively at school and have opportunities to develop; e.g., I am capable of learning new knowledge at school; $\alpha = .75$).

Conceptualizations of happiness at school. Participants were asked to answer the following question: "Please define in your own words what it means to you to be happy in the school". This procedure has been successfully used before to investigate children's and preadolescents' beliefs about general happiness (e.g., Freire et al., 2013; Giacomoni et al., 2014; López-Pérez et al., 2015) and happiness in the school context (López-Pérez & Fernández-Castilla, 2018). There was no maximum word limit and children/adolescents had ten minutes to complete this part.

Procedure

Permission was obtained from the school principals and teachers. Only children who consented and obtained their parents' consent were included (98%). Testing was conducted at the schools. After being briefed about the aim of the project (i.e., knowing more about children's and adolescents' happiness at school), participants completed some demographic questions. After that, participants completed in randomized order the measures described. Once participants finished they were debriefed. In detail, participating children and preadolescents were explained we wanted to understand better what happiness at school meant for them and whether this was linked to how they felt at school. They were also provided with an information sheet to take home for their parents.

Coding

Qualitative thematic analysis of children's and preadolescents' conceptualizations of happiness at school was conducted by six researchers (one of the main investigators and five research assistants). Thematic analysis (TA) allows identifying patterns of meaning or themes across large datasets (Braun & Clarke, 2006). TA is useful to examine similarities and differences between participants and capture unanticipated topics (King, 2004). Importantly, it is a very structured process that helps to handle large datasets (as the one of this study) in a very rigorous way (Nowell, Norris, White, & Moules, 2017). Following the TA procedure, responses were coded using an iterative process in which themes were generated and then refined based on multiple revisions of transcripts. The first step consisted in open coding wherein one of the main investigators and two research assistants proposed an initial set of possible themes based on their independent review of 40 responses, taken as a random sample. In the second step, the main investigator and another research assistant reviewed the initial themes to test their fit with the data and to decide whether additional themes were needed. A preliminary coding manual (see Appendix A) was then created with definitions and examples of the thirteen conceptualizations mentioned by children and preadolescents in this study. After that, three research assistants, blinds to the aims of the research, coded the 744 responses based on the coding manual. As part of their training, coders coded twenty randomly selected answers and then met to discuss to reach consensus. Inter-rater agreement for the different categories identified was on average above 80%, ranging from 76% to 98%, with Kappas of Cohen above .82.

Data Analysis

Once the themes were identified, we aimed to explore whether participants' conceptualizations of happiness at school were different depending on age and/or

gender. Hence, we computed a set of log-linear analyses as we wanted to test the interaction of three categorical variables (see Wickens, 1989). First, the automatic model search of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS 24.0) saturated hierarchical log-linear (hi-log-linear) procedure was run to find the most parsimonious final model in which main effects and all interactions (3-way and 2-way interactions) were considered at the same time in the model. A final model having a non-significant probability value is considered to be the best fitting, as this indicates there are no differences between the observed and the expected frequencies (Wickens, 1989). The model fit (χ^2) of the hi-log-linear procedure is presented in the text. To estimate single parameters (*z* values), a log-linear model was computed to better understand where the difference underlies.

To evaluate different profiles in children's and adolescents' happiness conceptualizations, we conducted a LCA in *Mplus* 7.4 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012) considering the different conceptualizations emerged from the coding of the qualitative responses. LCA is based on a person-centered approach, which allows the identification of differences across individuals by grouping them in a finite number of mutually exclusive and exhaustive classes (Bergman & Magnusson, 1997; Ruscio & Ruscio, 2008). Hence, we thought this method would be the most appropriate in order to identify possible subgroups based on their happiness conceptualizations, as it has been extensively used before in developmental research (Lanza & Cooper, 2016). To identify the best solution of profiles of happiness conceptualizations, we ran several models (ranging from 2 to 6 classes). The best model was chosen considering the smallest Akaike and Bayesian information criteria (AIC and BIC, respectively), and the highest possible entropy index (Nyuland, Asparouhov, & Muthén, 2007). Finally, the resulting

classes were compared in their different frequencies of happiness conceptualizations via Chi-square analyses; and in their mean levels of autonomy, competence, and relatedness via ANOVAs.

Results

Age and Gender Differences in Children's and Preadolescents' Conceptualizations of Happiness at School

Most children and adolescents mentioned one to four different conceptualizations (n = 581; 78%) and only few mentioned five to nine conceptualizations (n = 96; 13%). Furthermore, sixty-seven children did not mention any conceptualization in their definitions, as their text was completely unrelated to happiness (9%). Interestingly, we found that preadolescents (M = 3.13, SD = 1.71, range = 9) mentioned more conceptualizations than children (M = 2.29, SD = 1.41, range = 7), t(742) = 7.31, p < .001, d = 0.54. We also found that girls (M = 2.92, SD = 1.60, range = 8) mentioned more conceptualizations than boys (M = 2.41, SD = 1.54, range = 9), t(742) = 4.37, p < .001, d = 0.32. Importantly the length of the text of children (M =55.25 words, SD = 8.10) was not significantly different from the one written by adolescents (M = 56.10 words, SD = 6.15; t (742) = 1.57, p = .11, d = .12), Table 1 displays the frequency of the thirteen happiness conceptualizations at school by age and gender.

Regarding the conceptualizations of competence, positive relationship with teachers, and emotional support, the hi-log-linear analyses produced the final models of the interaction between the main category and gender and the main category and age (competence × gender and competence × age, $\chi^2 = 3.15$, df = 2, p = .21; positive relationship with teachers × gender and positive relationship with teachers × age, $\chi^2 = 3.15$, df = 2, p = .21; positive

4.49, df = 2, p = .11; and emotional support × age and emotional support × gender, ($\chi^2 = 1.74$, df = 2, p = .42). However, considering the Bonferroni correction, only the last two can be considered significant. Hence, the log-linear analyses showed that preadolescents mentioned the e conceptualization of positive relationship with the teachers significantly more than children. Furthermore, girls mentioned the conceptualization of emotional support more than boys (Tables 1, 2).

For the conceptualizations positive feelings, harmony/balance, learning, and good grades the hi-log-linear analyses produced the final model of the interaction between the main category and age (positive feelings × age, $\chi^2 = 3.436$, df = 4, p = .77; harmony/balance × age , $\chi^2 = 4.57$, df = 4, p = .77; good grades × age, $\chi^2 = 1.57$, df = 4, p = .82; and learning × age, $\chi^2 = 5.11$, df = 4, p = .28). Considering again, the Bonferroni correction only the first three were significant. The log-linear analyses showed that preadolescents mentioned the conceptualizations of positive feelings, harmony, and good grades significantly more than children (Table 1). There was not a significant interaction with gender (Table 2).

Concerning the conceptualizations friends and autonomy, the hi-log-linear analyses produced the final models of friends × gender, $\chi^2 = 4.80$, df = 3, p = .19 and autonomy × gender, $\chi^2 = 4.72$, df = 3, p = .19, respectively. When applying the Bonferroni correction, these are no longer significant. Furthermore, there was not a significant interaction of the conceptualizations with age (Table 2).

For the conceptualizations leisure, non-violence, moral actions, and purpose, the hi-log-linear analyses did not produce a significant model for any interaction, only the main effect of the category was significant (leisure, $\chi^2 = 1.63$, df = 5, p = .90; non-

violence, $\chi^2 = 3.18$, df = 5, p = .67; Moral actions, $\chi^2 = 5.71$, df = 5, p = .34; and purpose, $\chi^2 = 3.08$, df = 5, p = .69). Therefore, there were no age or gender differences in these conceptualizations (Tables 1, 2).

Can Children and Preadolescents Be Grouped in Different Classes Depending on their Happiness Conceptualizations?

In order to explore whether we could group children and preadolescents' in different classes based on their happiness conceptualizations, we ran a LCA. We computed different models (i.e., 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 classes) to evaluate which one had the best fit. To that aim, we considered (1) the information criterion indices such as Akaike Information Criterion (AIC, Akaike, 1973) and the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC; Schwartz, 1978), with lower values indicating a better model fit; (2) a value of entropy (i.e., appropriate separation between the classes) higher than .06 to be considered acceptable (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2013); (3) the percentage of each profile to be at least 5% (Speece, 1994); and (4) the interpretability of each profile (Wang & Wang, 2012).

As reported in Table 3, considering the aforementioned criteria, the best model was found to be the 5-class model. In order to understand the differences between classes, we conducted a number of Chi-square analyses to evaluate how the different classes may differ in their conceptualizations. As it can be seen in Table 4, identified classes differed for all the conceptualizations, except for the conceptualization of purpose, as this was hardly mentioned by any children and adolescents. Looking at the differences between the different classes (Figure 1), the first class (n = 276, 37% of the sample) comprises children and preadolescents whose conceptualizations are concerned with experiencing autonomy, competence, and having positive relationships. The

second class (n = 149, 20%) includes children and preadolescents whose conceptualizations are focused on the experience of positive feelings and harmony. The third class (n = 68, 9%) encompasses children and preadolescents whose conceptualizations are centered on the satisfaction of emotional needs. The fourth class (n = 124; 16%) includes children and preadolescents whose conceptualizations are concerned on learning and engaging in extracurricular activities. Finally, the fifth class (n = 126, 17%) comprises children and preadolescents who mentioned less conceptualizations linked to the satisfaction of psychological needs at school, as well as learning and positive affect as compared to the other latent classes.

Do the Classes Differ in their Levels of Autonomy, Competence and Relatedness?

To test whether we could differentiate the five classes based on students' level of Autonomy, Competence, and Relatedness, we ran three ANOVAs in which students' classes (1, 2, 3, 4, and 5), age group (children versus adolescents), and gender (boys versus girls) were included as between-subject factors. A Bonferroni correction was applied to all pairwise comparisons. The descriptive of the different psychological needs by age group and gender can be found in Table 5. For the sake of facilitating the understanding of the following analyses, we labeled the classes as follows: class 1, selfdetermination; class 2, positive feelings; class 3, emotional needs; class 4, learning; and class 5, disengagement.

Autonomy. The effects of gender ($F(1, 713) = 0.2, p = .87, \eta^2_p = .001$), class ($F(1, 713) = 2.19, p = .07, \eta^2_p = .012$) and gender × class interaction, ($F(4, 713) = 1.47, p = .21, \eta^2_p = .008$) were not significant. We found a main effect of age group, ($F(1, 713) = 27.54, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .04$) and pairwise comparisons showed that children did report significantly higher autonomy than preadolescents did (d = .45, SE = .09, p = .001). Yet,

the interaction age group × class was significant ($F(4, 713) = 2.62, p = .03, \eta^2_p = .02$). When looking at the different classes, pairwise comparisons showed that for children there were no differences between classes in the levels of autonomy (ps > .90). However, for preadolescents, those in class 5 (disengagement) did report lower levels of autonomy as compared to those in class 1 (self-determination; d = -.75, SE = .21, p =.003). There were no significant differences between the other classes (ps > .16).

Competence. The effects of gender ($F(1, 713) = 0.78, p = .38, \eta^2_p = .001$), and age group × class ($F(4, 713) = 1.52, p = .19, \eta^2_p = .009$) and gender × class interactions ($F(4, 713) = 0.65, p = .63, \eta^2_p = .004$) were not significant. There was a main effect of class ($F(4, 713) = 4.75, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .03$) with pairwise comparisons showing that children and preadolescents in class 5 (disengagement) reported the lowest levels of competence as compared to those in class 1 (self-determination; d = -.45, SE = .11, p = .001). There was also a significant effect of age group ($F(1, 713) = 59.46, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .03$) with children reporting higher levels of competence as compared to adolescents (d = .61, SE = .08, p = .001).

Relatedness. The effects of gender ($F(1, 713) = 1.60, p = .21, \eta^2_p = .002$) and gender × class interaction ($F(4, 713) = 1.65, p = .16, \eta^2_p = .009$) were not significant. There was a main effect of class ($F(4, 713) = 3.07, p = .02, \eta^2_p = .017$), with class 1 (self-determination) reporting higher relatedness than class 5 (disengagement; d = .33, SE = .11, p = .04). There were no differences between the other classes (ps > .32). There was also a main effect of age group ($F(1, 713) = 132.34, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .16$) with children reporting higher relatedness than preadolescents (d = .84, SE = .07, p = .001). Finally, there was a significant age group × class interaction (F(4, 713) = 2.34, p = .04, $\eta^2_p = .013$) such that whereas for children there were no differences between the different classes (ps > .90), for preadolescents those in class 5 (disengagement) did report significantly lower relatedness than those in class 1 (self-determination; d = -.62, SE = .18, p = .007). There were no significant differences between the other classes for adolescents (ps > .58).

Discussion

Previous research on children's and adolescents' conceptualizations of happiness was either focused on general happiness (Freire et al., 2013; Giacomoni et al., 2014) or did not consider the link between psychological needs and conceptualizations of happiness at school (López-Pérez & Fernández-Castilla, 2018). Hence, the present research aimed to address this gap by extending previous studies on children's and preadolescents' happiness conceptualizations at school and evaluating whether different profiles could be identified and be characterized by different scores in autonomy, competence, and relatedness. Importantly, this study extends previous research by looking at a different country (the UK) and evaluating if the conceptualizations are different from prior research in Spain.

Children's and Preadolescents' Happiness at School

Concerning their conceptualizations of happiness at school, the topics that emerged were similar to the ones obtained in previous research (López-Pérez & Fernández-Castilla, 2018) but other new categories emerged in the analysis (e.g., nonviolence, emotional support, moral actions, autonomy, etc.). We anticipated other categories could be mentioned as previous evidence was captured in different cultural contexts (i.e., more collectivistic cultures) and previous research already noted

differences in the conceptualizations across cultures was found in previous research with adults (e.g., Delle Fave et al., 2011; Joshanloo et al., 2016).

Age Differences. Regarding age differences, our findings showed that preadolescents not only mentioned more conceptualizations than children but they also specifically reported the categories 'positive feelings', and 'getting good grades' (for similar findings in Spanish preadolescents and adolescents, see López-Pérez & Fernández-Castilla, 2018). Furthermore, preadolescents in this study also mentioned more than children the categories 'competence', 'harmony' and 'positive relationships with teachers'. Most of these conceptualizations include elements of a eudaimonic approach to well-being as they refer to basic psychological needs (i.e., competence and relatedness; Deci & Ryan, 2001) as well as the experience of balance which has been linked to eudaimonia (Fowers, 2016). However, as previously found with Spanish adolescents, UK preadolescents did also mention more 'positive feelings'. This might be potentially explained by adolescents being more prone to increased reward-seeking behaviour (Steinberg, 2010). As in previous research, the conceptualization 'getting good grades' was significantly more mentioned by adolescents. Secondary schools put a higher emphasis on the evaluation process, since this may determine adolescents' performance in different certificates and their likelihood to get to university. Hence, intrinsic motivation could be undermined during this school period (Gillet, Vallerand, & Lafrenière, 2012).

Gender Differences. In regards to gender differences, girls mentioned significantly more the conceptualizations of 'emotional support'. These results are different from previous research where gender differences emerged, as they found that girls did mention more conceptualizations related to feelings whereas boys more related to leisure (Giacomoni et al., 2015). However, it is important to note that this study was only conducted with children from Brazil and our data included both children and adolescents from the UK, which may explain the obtained differences. The fact that girls did mention more the conceptualization of 'emotional support' could be due to the fact that girls put a higher emphasis on intimacy in relationships and therefore friends may be more salient in their conceptualizations (Williams, Connolly, & Segal, 2001).

Happiness Conceptualizations and its Link with Psychological Needs

Children reported experiencing higher autonomy, competence, and relatedness at school. These findings are in line with previous literature showing that secondary school students are under higher pressure (Chapman & Harris, 2004). For instance, in the United Kingdom, adolescents between 14 to 16 years of age have to take their General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) exams, which can alter teaching practices and learning experience (Gu & Day, 2007) and well-being of adolescents (Denscombe, 2000). Therefore, it is not surprising that preadolescents in our sample reported lower satisfaction of their psychological needs at school.

Results from the LCA identified five different profiles depending on the conceptualizations children and adolescents did mention. For autonomy and relatedness, results showed that for children there were no differences in the scores between the classes. The fact that the different classes did not make a difference for children's scores on autonomy, competence and relatedness is in line with previous research on happiness conceptualizations as they were not linked to children's self-reported happiness or academic achievement (López-Pérez & Fernández-Castilla, 2018). This may be due to the fact that children have been described as exhibiting a positive bias in which they see their life in very positive light due to their cognitive limitations to compare between real

and ideal situations (Harter, 2012). However, for preadolescents those in class 5 (disengagement) were significantly different from the ones in class 1 (selfdetermination). Class 5 was characterized as mentioning less topics related to the fulfillment of psychological needs, learning, and experiencing positive affect. Therefore, this group could be described as disengaged with the school experience and it is not surprising that their scores in autonomy and relatedness were lower as compared to the class more concerned with the satisfaction of basic psychological needs.

These findings suggest that happiness conceptualizations can reflect whether some of the psychological needs are satisfied for that concept. Hence, this provides further support to the need of looking at well-being not only from a quantitative approach but also from a qualitative perspective, putting children and preadolescents in the center of the assessment process (Ben-Arieh et al., 2001). Furthermore, this highlights the importance of considering measures of happiness beyond objective indicators when evaluating subjective well-being as this provides additional valuable information (Oishi & Diener, 2014). In addition, the obtained results can inform not only future research on children's and adolescents' happiness at school but also the evaluation of school climate and the improvement plans in the school setting (Cleveland & Sink, 2018). Finally, our results also suggest that adolescents who feel their basic psychological needs are met are more likely to have "eudaimonic" conceptions of happiness.

Although we cannot know what comes first (conceptualizations or satisfaction of psychological needs), it is worth considering both in the evaluation of happiness as it can help to better understand how it is promoted at the school and potentially guiding

future education policies (Dror, 1989). Given that those preadolescents with "eudaimonic" conceptualizations indicated higher satisfaction of psychological needs, schools (especially secondary) may consider engaging in practices that foster those needs (Rathunde, 2014) given the alarming rates of low subjective wellbeing and increase of self-harming in the school context (The Children's Society, 2018). For instance, schools may want to emphasise eudaimonic elements of well-being such as helping students to find meaning in attending school and participating in the different school activities or by promoting students' feelings of autonomy and competence and fostering positive social relationships. As highlighted by Suldo, Bateman, and Gelley (2014), children and adolescents' school satisfaction and performance is highly linked to their happiness, hence, its promotion is vital in this context.

Limitations and Future Research

Despite a number of strengths (e.g., a large sample, a mixed method approach that combines both qualitative and quantitative data, etc.), we acknowledge some limitations. First, our design was correlational and, therefore, prevented us to establish causal links between students' happiness conceptualizations and the satisfaction of their basic needs at school. Second, we also recognize that our cross-sectional design partly limited the interpretation of age-related differences in the conceptualization of happiness as true developmental changes. Hence, future longitudinal studies are needed to evaluate possible changes in the developmental trajectories of the different happiness conceptualizations to study how they may change and how they may relate to other measures of happiness (e.g., self-reports). Third, although the themes were indicative of both hedonic and eudaimonic components of students' happiness, our open-ended question was only designed to capture what was the meaning of "being at happy at

school". Hence, future studies should adopt specific ad-hoc questions to better evaluate the dualistic nature of happiness. Last, we only relied on students' reports. Given that teachers are key in shaping students' happiness at school, future research may benefit from the inclusion of teachers' reports to understand what they think is important for students' happiness at school. Namely, future studies could evaluate whether possible discrepancies between teachers' and students' conceptualizations of happiness may account for low levels of well-being within the school setting. Furthermore, other measures in key variables for well-being such as children and preadolescents' emotional experience or internalising and externalising symptoms should be evaluated in future research to determine if differences can be found between the different classes identified. Finally, our LCA results were exploratory in nature and therefore caution must be taken before generalizing them. To this aim, future studies would also benefit from collecting data among students from different socio-economic areas.

Conclusions

Overall our findings highlight the differences in how children and adolescents understand of what being happy at school is and how these conceptualizations can inform about children's psychological needs in that context. From a theoretical point of view, our findings inform on the importance of considering both quantitative and qualitative methods in the study of happiness, addressing a need highlighted in the study of happiness. Furthermore, they also signal important developmental differences in the link between happiness conceptualizations and the satisfaction of basic psychological needs that deserves further investigation. Finally, our results expand previous research on the satisfaction of basic psychological needs by pointing at possible differences in the conceptualizations of happiness depending on whether these needs are met. From a practical perspective, our findings concerning developmental differences may inform the design of developmentally appropriate school-based intervention programs to promote students' emotional wellbeing aimed at fostering students' basic psychological needs and the promotion not only of hedonic elements of happiness (e.g., experience of positive feelings in the school context) but also eudaimonic aspects (e.g., finding meaning in attending school). Finally, this can enhance the evaluations conducted currently at schools to assess their climate (e.g., Long, Huebner, Wedell, & Hills, 2012) and their improvement plans (Cleveland & Sink, 2018) in order to get a wider picture of children's and preadolescents' wellbeing in this context in order to improve their education practices.

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Table 1

Frequency of Conceptualizations of Happiness at School by Age and Gender

	С	hildren n = 42	21	Prea	dolescents n	= 328
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Positive Feelings	73 (9%)	92 (12%)	165 (22%)	86 (11%)	94 (13%)	183 (24%)
Harmony/Balance	4 (0.5%)	5 (0.6%)	9 (1.2%)	8 (1%)	16 (2%)	24 (3.2%)
Leisure	39 (5.2%)	45 (6%)	84 (11%)	30 (4%)	32 (4.2%)	63 (8.4%)
Friends	108 (14%)	134 (18%)	242 (32%)	93 (12%)	108 (14%)	204 (27%)
Good Grades	9 (1.2%)	9 (1.2%)	18 (2.4%)	31 (4.1%)	31 (4.1%)	62 (8%)
Non-Violence	18 (2.4%)	27 (3.6%)	45 (6%)	16 (2%)	20 (2.6%)	36 (4.8%)
Moral Actions	16 (2%)	24 (3.2%)	40 (5.3%)	8 (1%)	12 (1.6%)	20 (2.6%)
Purpose	2 (0.3%)	4 (0.5%)	6 (0.8%)	1 (0.1%)	3 (0.4%)	4 (0.5%)
Autonomy	8 (1%)	13 (1.7%)	21 (2.8%)	7 (0.9%)	18 (2.4%)	25 (3.3%)
Competence	11 (1.5%)	27 (3.6%)	38 (5%)	30 (4%)	37 (4.9%)	67 (8.9%)
Teachers	32 (4%)	64 (8.5%)	96 (13%)	60 (8%)	67 (9%)	127 (17%)
Emotional Support	23 (3%)	41 (5.5%)	64 (8.5%)	24 (3.2%)	44 (5.8%)	68 (9%)
Learning	56 (7.4%)	81 (10.8%)	137 (18%)	66 (8.8%)	59 (7.8%)	126 (17%)

Table 2

Results of the Log-linear Analyses for each Happiness Conceptualization

Interactions by Gender	df	Partial	р	Z value
		χ^2		Girls(r)
				Boys
Positive Feelings × Gender	1	1.25	.26	1.21
Harmony/Balance × Gender	1	2.43	.12	1.33
Leisure × Gender	1	.09	.75	.39
$Friends \times Gender$	1	4.46	.04	2.10
Good grades \times Gender	1	.007	.93	38
Non-violence \times Gender	1	1.41	.24	1.28
Moral Actions × Gender	1	1.75	.19	1.45
Purpose × Gender	1	1.41	.24	1.17
Autonomy \times Gender	1	5.30	.02	2.21
Competence \times Gender	1	5.19	.023	2.07
Teachers × Gender	1	7.83	.005	2.50
Emotional Support × Gender	1	11.33	.001	3.29
Learning × Gender	1	.68	.41	.58

Interactions by Age	df	Partial	р	Z value
		χ^2		Adolescents(r)
				Children
Positive Feelings × Age	1	24.30	.001	4.84
Harmony/Balance × Age	1	13.14	.001	3.27
Leisure × Age	1	.004	.95	09
$Friends \times Age$	1	3.48	.07	1.78
Good grades \times Age	1	45.01	<.001	6.10
Non-violence \times Age	1	.02	.89	.29
Moral Actions × Age	1	2.28	.13	-1.57
Purpose × Age	1	.02	.89	22
Autonomy × Age	1	2.94	.09	1.50
Competence × Age	1	22.9	<.001	4.57
Teachers × Age	1	27.54	.001	5.14
Emotional Support ×	1	5.62	.02	2.11
Age				
Learning \times Age	1	4.24	.04	2.08

Note. (*r*) denotes reference group; n.s. = non-significant. Statistical significant p values are highlighted in bold in the table. According to the Bonferroni correction, only p-values below .002 (α -level .05 divided by 26 tests = .0019, which we rounded to .002) were considered as statistically significant.

Table 3

Fit Indices for the different LCAs

				N within each	% within eac
Number of classes	AIC	BIC	Entropy	Class	Class
2	7075 40	0014.17	52	320	43%
2	7975.42	8014.17	.52	423	57%
				310	42%
3	7939.71	7998.56	.53	203	27%
				230	31%
				134	18%
Λ	7936.25 8015.19	9015 10	5.19 .65	92	12%
4		8015.19		304	41%
				213	29%
				276	37%
	7934.01 8		.71	149	20%
5		8033.05		68	9%
				124	17%
				126	17%
				14	1%
				35	5%
6	7935.01	8054.15	.67	262	35%
U	1755.01	0054.15	.07	213	29%
				209	29%
				10	1%

Table 4

Frequencies of Conceptualizations Mentioned for the Different Classes

Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Chi-square
145 (53%)	149 (100%)	40 (59%)	13 (11%)	0 (0%)	$\chi^2 = 353.59$, df = 4, $p = .001$
16 (6%)	13 (9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (3%)	$\chi^2 = 17.04$, df = 4, $p = .002$
48 (17%)	12 (8%)	2 (3%)	73 (10%)	12 (10%)	$\chi^2 = 153.80$, df = 4, $p = .001$
268 (97%)	61 (41%)	0 (0%)	84 (68%)	32 (25%)	$\chi^2 = 348.50, df = 4, p = .001$
75 (27%)	2 (1.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (2.4%)	$\chi^2 = 123.49$, df = 4, $p = .001$
43 (16%)	0 (0%)	30 (44%)	7 (5.6%)	0 (0%)	$\chi^2 = 121.94$, df = 4, $p = .001$
32 (12%)	4 (2.7%)	13 (19%)	7 (5.6%)	3 (2.4%)	$\chi^2 = 28.51$, df = 4, $p = .001$
5 (1.8%)	2 (1.3%)	0 (0%)	3 (2.4%)	0 (0%)	$\chi^2 = 4.17$, df = 4, $p = .38$
	145 (53%) 16 (6%) 48 (17%) 268 (97%) 75 (27%) 43 (16%) 32 (12%)	145 (53%) $149 (100%)$ $16 (6%)$ $13 (9%)$ $48 (17%)$ $12 (8%)$ $268 (97%)$ $61 (41%)$ $75 (27%)$ $2 (1.3%)$ $43 (16%)$ $0 (0%)$ $32 (12%)$ $4 (2.7%)$	145 (53%) $149 (100%)$ $40 (59%)$ $16 (6%)$ $13 (9%)$ $0 (0%)$ $48 (17%)$ $12 (8%)$ $2 (3%)$ $268 (97%)$ $61 (41%)$ $0 (0%)$ $75 (27%)$ $2 (1.3%)$ $0 (0%)$ $43 (16%)$ $0 (0%)$ $30 (44%)$ $32 (12%)$ $4 (2.7%)$ $13 (19%)$	145 (53%) $149 (100%)$ $40 (59%)$ $13 (11%)$ $16 (6%)$ $13 (9%)$ $0 (0%)$ $0 (0%)$ $48 (17%)$ $12 (8%)$ $2 (3%)$ $73 (10%)$ $268 (97%)$ $61 (41%)$ $0 (0%)$ $84 (68%)$ $75 (27%)$ $2 (1.3%)$ $0 (0%)$ $0 (0%)$ $43 (16%)$ $0 (0%)$ $30 (44%)$ $7 (5.6%)$ $32 (12%)$ $4 (2.7%)$ $13 (19%)$ $7 (5.6%)$	145 (53%) $149 (100%)$ $40 (59%)$ $13 (11%)$ $0 (0%)$ $16 (6%)$ $13 (9%)$ $0 (0%)$ $0 (0%)$ $4 (3%)$ $48 (17%)$ $12 (8%)$ $2 (3%)$ $73 (10%)$ $12 (10%)$ $268 (97%)$ $61 (41%)$ $0 (0%)$ $84 (68%)$ $32 (25%)$ $75 (27%)$ $2 (1.3%)$ $0 (0%)$ $0 (0%)$ $3 (2.4%)$ $43 (16%)$ $0 (0%)$ $30 (44%)$ $7 (5.6%)$ $0 (0%)$ $32 (12%)$ $4 (2.7%)$ $13 (19%)$ $7 (5.6%)$ $3 (2.4%)$

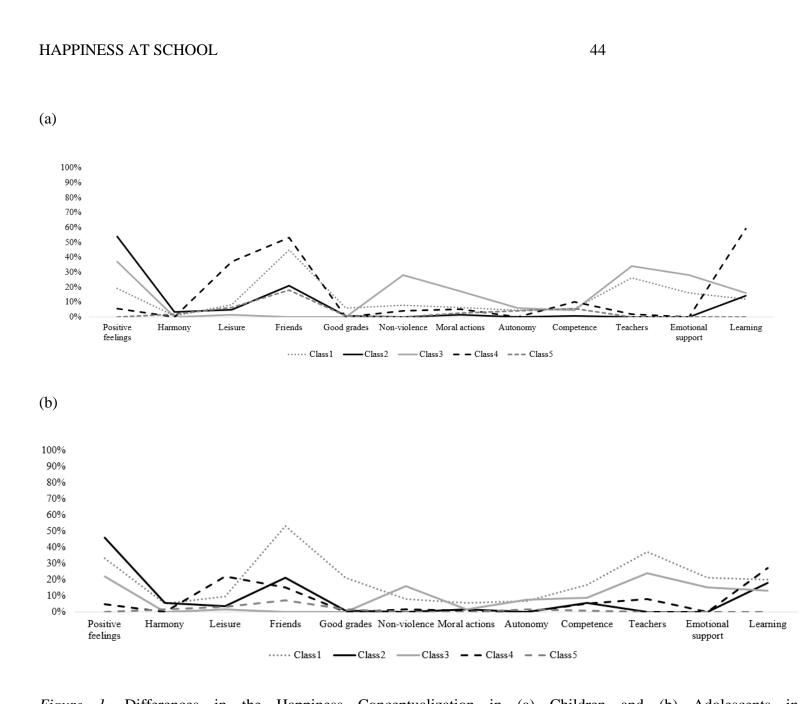
HAPPINESS AT SCHOOL

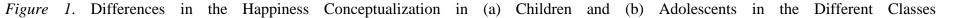
Autonomy	30 (11%)	0 (0%)	9(13.2%)	0 (0%)	7 (5.6%)	$\chi^2 = 34.32$, df = 4, $p = .38$
Competence	61 (22%)	9 (6%)	9(13.2%)	18(14.5%)	8 (6.3%)	$\chi^2 = 28.84$, df = 4, $p = .001$
Teachers	174 (63%)	0 (0%)	39 (58%)	12 (9.7%)	0 (0%)	$\chi^2 = 308.29, \mathrm{df} = 4, p = .001$
Emotional support	103 (37%)	0 (0%)	29 (43%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	$\chi^2 = 187.24$, df = 4, $p = .001$
Learning	87 (32%)	49 (33%)	20 (29%)	107 (86%)	0 (0%)	$\chi^2 = 212.78$, df = 4, p = .002

Table 5

Mean and (Standard deviation) in Autonomy, Competence, and Relatedness by Age and Gender

	Autonomy	Competence	Relatedness
Children	4.5 (0.98)	4.99 (0.91)	4.72 (0.88)
Adolescents	4.14 (0.95)	4.23 (0.80)	4.24 (0.92)
Boys	4.28 (0.92)	4.59 (0.90)	4.49 (0.90)
Girls	4.43 (1.03)	4.74 (0.96)	4.56 (0.93)





Appendix A

Coding Categories and Examples

	Definition	Example
Category		
Positive feelings	The experience of joy or contentment	a. "When I'm happy at school have lots more confidence and an excited for what comes next." (<i>Girl, 10 years old</i>)
		b. "To be happy at school I need to be relaxed but work hard all the same. I need to enjoy what I an learning, to be emotionally mentally and physically well" (<i>Boy, 13 years old</i>)
Harmony/Balance	Being tuned with the world, inner peace	a. "I feel happy at school when people around me ar welcoming, friendly, and humorous and have a nic attitude around me. When I'm happy, all my worries ar washed away in seconds." (<i>Bo</i> <i>10 years old</i>)
		b. "For me to be happy it mean that I know what to do in lesson I'm not worrying about anythin and I can complete school task to the best of my ability." (<i>Gir</i> <i>11 years old</i>)

Leisure	Taking part in fun activities such as sports, dancing or day trips.	a. "I think for me to be happy at school it means [], we have some of sports clubs or long breaks, and not having too much homework." (<i>Girl, 13 years old</i>)
		b. "To be happy there should be a mix of activities such as test-like and long studying lessons but there should also be a balance of fun extra-curricular activities which will offer a better social life." (<i>Boy, 12 years old</i>)
Friends	Making or being with friends	a. "I feel loved by my friends which makes my time at school amazing and cheerful." (<i>Boy</i> , 9 <i>years old</i>)
		b. "For me to be happy at school, I need my friends. They keep me safe and always make me laugh. They always help me when I have a problem and have all of the qualities I want to have and share myself which encourages me." (<i>Girl, 12 years old</i>)
Good grades	Achieving at school	a. "Been happy at school means that I can concentrate more and get high grades because of it" (<i>Girl, 13 years old</i>)
		b. "Being happy in school means doing well on classes and getting good grades. It is like I am proving to my family and myself that I deserve to be in this school and that I am trying really hard in classes." (<i>Girl 12 years old</i>)

1 2	Non-Violence			
3 4 5 6 7 8 9		The lack of quarrels/not being bullied/not being called names	a.	"Sometimes it is hard to fit in or being happy at school because there are a lot of people there that can hurt your feelings and body" (<i>Girl</i> , 9 years old)
10 11 12 13 14 15			b.	"To be happy for me means not being bullied by people in my class" (<i>Boy</i> , 9 years old)
16 17 18 19 20 21 22	Moral Actions	Social desirable actions such as helping or respecting others	a.	"I think you need to have a good work ethic but to be resilient when things aren't exactly perfect for you" (<i>Girl, 13 years</i> <i>old</i>)
23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30			b.	"I feel happy at school when people are kind to me and I can be kind to them." (<i>Boy, 9 years</i> <i>old</i>)
31 32 33 34 35	Purpose	Happiness as the supreme goal in life	a.	"Feeling that I had improved gives me purpose to try hard in school" (<i>Girl, 10 years old</i>)
36 37 38 39 40 41			b.	Being happy at school is [], feeling like you have a purpose and you are important" (<i>Boy</i> , 11 <i>years old</i>)
41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53	Autonomy	Freedom to be oneself	a.	"For me to be happy I believe that I should feel free, and unpressured in excess amounts. I would like to be comfortable in myself and in my surroundings. I would like to feel like an individual, not just a small spec that is part of an adult's job." (<i>Girl, 14 years old</i>)
53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65			b.	"To be happy at school you should make your own choices without somebody forcing you to make a decision that you don't believe in or don't want to" (<i>Girl, 12 years old</i>)

Competence	Sense of being capable to achieve what it is asked in the school	 a. "Happy in school is not wanting to hide before certain lessons, is being able to share and contrast opinions. It is the developing skills and it is leaving school knowing that you haven't wasted a day of your life." (Girl, <i>13 years old</i>) b. "For me being happy at school it means I feel like I am able to do all the work set at a good standard and that I am above the average. Classes would be fun and interactive mixed with hard work and concentration." (Girl 11 years old)
Teachers	Having a positive relationship with teacher/s, head teacher, and school staff	 a. "Being happy at school means that you treat people with respect and they do the same. If I am physically or emotionally hurt or lonely, there is always a member of staff or teacher who is there to help" (<i>Girl, 11 years old</i>) b. "I feel happy about school because all the teachers are nice and I see it as the most strict teachers want you to succeed the most" (<i>Girl, 9 years old</i>)
Emotional Support	Being supported and endorsed in the school	 a. "Happy at school means you have lots of friends and teachers who support you when you are feeling sad so you always have someone you can trust and rely on to comfort you." (Girl, 11 <i>years old</i>) b. "Everyone being nice, the teachers not being as mean toward individual students, no bullying and no one punt into a

characteristic." (Boy, 12 years old)

Learning Having a. "For me being happy at school is the opportunity to acquire very important because I know if new knowledge and I were to be unhappy, I would participating in new find it difficult to concentrate activities and learn." (Girl, 9 years old) b. "Being happy at school makes me focus so that I can learn everything I need to and I can live a good life later on. Being happy helps me achieving my standards and also exceed them." (Boy 12 years old)