A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF HAPPINESS AND WELL-BEING. WHERE WE STAND NOW, WHERE WE NEED TO GO

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This paper aims to critically analyse happiness and well-being to find novel ways for theorizing and promoting better life conditions for individuals and societies. The necessity to shift from a subjective view of individual well-being to a more social and contextual version of these constructs is the common thread running throughout the whole work. To this end, the first part introduces the reader into the complexity of the happiness and well-being scholarship by outlining some of the most relevant approaches developed by the psychological and economic literature. After highlighting the limitations of both disciplines, the second part of the paper presents some alternative models, namely the Feminist Economics, the Capabilities Approach, and the model of Four Qualities of Life. In addition to these, we will draw attention, in the last section, to the Critical Community Psychology approach to happiness and well-being. Our main argument is that this emerging discipline bears the potential to frame the pursuit of the good life in a whole new fashion that takes into account a) contextual features, in particular the recourses that a given environment offers and the opportunity to access them, b) the role of power, justice, and liberation, and c) the value of participation, reciprocity, and ethics of care. Current limitations of CCP are also discussed and future directions outlined.

Keywords: *social happiness, social well-being, economics of happiness, critical community psychology, capabilities approach, social justice*

1.   Introduction

In recent decades happiness and well-being have experienced a crescendo of interest in many fields, among which psychology (Diener, Scollon, & Lucas, 2009; Seligman, 2002a, 2011; Argyle, 2001), philosophy (Haybron, 2008), policy making (Bok, 2010; McGillivray & Clarke

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2006), anthropology (Thin, 2012; Mathews & Izquierdo, 2009) economics (Frey & Stutzer, 2010; Layard, 2005), and public health (Powers & Faden, 2006) figure prominently.

The great variety of resources and the interdisciplinarity that all these disciplines offer is undoubtedly an advantage for the study and promotion of the good life. However, interdisciplinarity can also be fraught with challenges, especially if our intention is to shed light on people's quality of life from a critical perspective (Zevnik, 2014). The literature on happiness and well-being, among others, encompasses a great variety of fields of study, and it would go beyond the scope of this introduction to address them all.

Therefore, in this introductory work we will narrow down our focus to two main fields: psychology and economics. There are at least two points in support of this choice: a) these two disciplines have been, in recent years, largely committed to studying, disseminating, and actively promoting happiness and well-being worldwide, and b) they are also engaging in a fruitful dialogue and an attempt to pool together their resources, which is casting an interesting sidelight on the comprehension of these phenomena (see Frey & Stutzer, 2010; Dolan, Peasgood, & White, 2008).

Furthermore, the compendium of theories and approaches described over the next pages sets out to clarify for the reader at least three aspects. The first shows the great variety of perspectives pertaining to people's wellness, the second the advantages as well as shortcomings of each, and the third an understanding of where we stand at the moment and to where we wish to head in regards to the promotion of better life conditions for everybody.

Following from this last point, the second part of the paper will be dedicated to a critical analysis of happiness and well-being. The aims of this section is to introduce an alternative vision of the good life, which besides being the result of individual efforts, takes into account a) contextual features, - in particular the resources that a given environment offers and the opportunity to access them – b) the role of power, justice, and liberation, and c) the value of participation, reciprocity and ethics in determining the good life.

One last note, before we begin to address the issues at stake in more detail. Happiness and well-being are two highly debated concepts, with overlapping meanings and theorisations. We are mindful that, given the large number of definitions, models, and views described in the following pages, the reader might be in need of some sort of map. Therefore we have provided a series of summary tables (see Appendix 1), which showcase the key points of each of the main models of happiness and well-being that will be addressed in the this work (Di Martino, Arcidiacono, & Eiroa-Orosa, 2017).

We believe that this tool will be of great use for better understanding the high complexity of mainstream approaches to happiness and well-being (where we stand now) and those which strive to propose a new vision of the quality of life (where we need to go).

2.   Happiness and Well-being in Psychology

The study of positive human functioning has a long-lasting tradition in Psychology and Social Science (see Allport, 1937, Maslow, 1954). However, the scientific investigation of the positive aspects of quality of life started to gain proper recognition only towards the 1950's and throughout all the 1960's. A prime example of this paradigm shift is Marie Jahoda's seminal work '*Current Concepts of Positive Mental Health*' (1958) in which the author proposed a novel

approach to mental health, considered no longer as mere absence of illness, but also as presence of at least six positive aspects, to wit: attitudes towards the self, development of self-actualization, integration of psychological functions, autonomy, accurate perception of reality, and environmental mastery.

Following the 1970's to the present days, the interest of the scientific community in positive and optimal functioning and hence happiness and well-being as desirable states of the human condition increased exponentially (see Veenhoven, 2009). The following pages will outline some of the most well-know approaches that have conceptualized these concepts in detail.

2.1 Psychological Approaches and Theories of Happiness and Well-being

According to Ed Diener, 'Subjective well-being' is an umbrella term used to describe how people evaluate their lives in terms of emotional responses, domain satisfactions, and global judgment of life satisfaction (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999). Each of these domains can be analysed both separately and in conjunction. In fact, although they are all correlated to one another, they also provide unique information about the subjective quality of one's life (Diener, Scollon, & Lucas, 2009, p. 71). Figure 1 below shows the structure of SWB's dimensions in a graphical format.
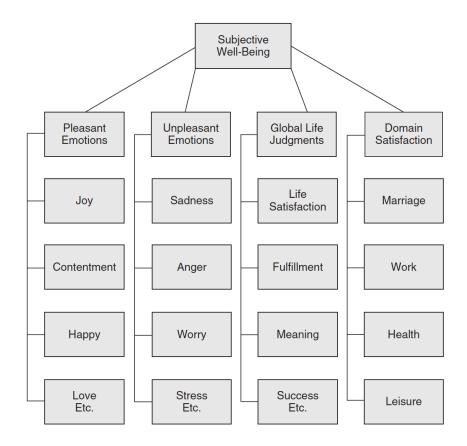

Fig.1 Hierarchical model of Subjective Well-being. Source: (Diener, Scollon, & Lucas, 2009, p. 71).

The theory of SWB is avowedly interested in the internal and external factors which influence people's life (Diener, 2009, p. 3). However, the main focus of analysis is always the individual and its subjectivity. In Diener's language, elements such as "*health, comfort, virtue, or wealth… are seen as potential influences on SWB, they are not seen as an inherent and necessary part of it*" (Diener, 2009, p. 13). By the same token, personality, material resources, and social relationships are considered critical determinants of SWB and so the importance of living in cooperative and trust-based societies is stressed (Tov & Diener, 2009). Yet, their values are assessed based only on the positive impact they have on people's quality of life, not as an end in itself. In other words, Diener's theory of SWB does not go beyond the benefits that a good society has on the individual level.

Carol Ryff (2014; 1989), by shifting perspective from satisfaction with life to sense of meaning in life as well as the pursuit of one's ethical life values, grounds her theory of Psychological Well-being (PWB) in the ancient concept of 'eudaimonia' (Aristotle 384–322 BCE), which emphasizes the importance of being true to one's inner self (daemon).

In line with the ancient philosopher, who posited that the pursuit of the good life entails identifying one's virtues, cultivating them, and living in accordance with them, Ryff's theory focuses on human development and existential challenges of life (Ryff & Singer, 2008; Keyes, Shmotkin, & Ryff, 2002). In a slightly more social-orientated approach to Diener's, she also includes 'environmental mastery', among other dimensions of psychological well-being. Environmental mastery pertains to the individual's capacity to actively choose and change the context and also to make it more suitable to one's psychic and psychological make-up (Ryff, 1989). However, the author pays too much attention to the power of the subject to modify and intervene to transform the context, regardless of the objective features of the context itself and the resources in terms of possibilities that the latter may or may not offer.

Corey Keyes (1998), avowedly departing from a strictly individualistic approach, aims to ground his theory of well-being in a social perspective. According to the author, well-being is "*the appraisal of one's circumstances and functioning in society*" (Keyes, 1998, p. 122). Within this general definition, Keyes proposed five dimensions of what he defined 'social well-being', that is: social integration, social contribution, social coherence, social actualization, and social acceptance. The theory of social well-being was originally aimed at bridging the gap between the 'private' side with the 'public' one of human optimal functioning. However, despite its relative social nature, Keyes's model is still overly based on people's perception of their state of well-being as well as their capacity for adaptation and integration into society. Due to its limitations the theory of social well-being still fails to achieve its goal of defining the nature of well-being in social terms and overcome the individual level of analysis.

Following the same line of inquiry, Ryan and Deci (2008, 2002) proposed an integrative model of motivational determinants of happiness and self-realization, which is based on the theory of the basic psychological needs (i.e., autonomy, competence, and relatedness). The self-determination theory (SDT), posits that both the content of a goal one pursues and the reasons why it is pursued can influence one's well-being. Building on it, social and contextual conditions are responsible for either enhancing or hindering human growth through supporting autonomy, competence, and relatedness both for intrinsic and nonintrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000). However, it must be noted that the primary focus of the STD theory is always the well-being of individuals and therefore context is still seen only as an external agent of individual change.

The happiness and well-being psychologist likely to be the best known to the general public is Martin Seligman, one of the fathers of the movement named Positive Psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). His theory of happiness, originally included Positive Emotions, Engagement, and Meaning (Seligman, 2002a), which was further developed in a theory of well-being encompassing two more domains, that is Relationships and Achievements (Seligman, 2011) (see full model in Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Seligman's PERMA model of Well-being

There are some aspects of Seligman's work that deserve consideration. Among these, a) shifting of the psychological focus from the psychopathology approach to one based on preventing the causes of mental illness and further to this promoting better life conditions for everybody (Seligman, 2002b; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000); b) the investigation of the universal roots of human strengths, values and virtues (Peterson & Seligman, 2004), and c) the embedding of the study of happiness and well-being in a multilevel perspective, which includes: Positive experiences and enduring psychological traits at the individual level, Positive relationships at the meso-level, and Positive institutions at the organization and macro level (Seligman, 2002).

However, the last level of analysis has been largely overlooked (Glable & Haidt, 2005). Indeed, Seligman's approach – and that of Positive Psychology more in general – has been highly criticized for placing undue responsibility on the individuals to determine their life with a

narrow sense of the social as a consequence (Becker & Marecek, 2008), which led it to become the emblem of the individualistic vision of happiness (Arcidiacono, 2013).

3.   Happiness and Well-being in Economics

Similar to psychology, economics has a well-established tradition of inquiry into the field of happiness (see Bruni, 2006). This discipline, in overcoming the traditional GNP-based conceptions of well-being, is today paying increasing attention to a wider range of variables and indicators, in a way which is revaluing Adam Smith, the father of modern economics, who posited as early as 1754's the pursuit of happiness as intrinsically connected to justice, beneficence and prudence

An important contribution toward this paradigm shift comes from the discipline of Happiness Economics (or the Economics of Happiness), which has been gaining increasing recognition in recent years (MacKerron, 2012; Powdthavee, 2007; Graham, 2005a; Easterlin, 2004).

This new approach, which redefines the classical concept of utility in terms of happiness, has redressed a number of long-standing economic issues in a whole new fashion. Happiness economists have, in fact, drawn on subjective well-being findings to review the non-pecuniary effects of a high number of life domains, including unemployment (Clark & Oswald, 1994; Darity & Goldsmith, 1996), leisure (Eriksson, Rice, & Goodin, 2007) the relationship between happiness and economic growth (Kenny, 1999), the effects of political institution (Frey & Stutzer, 2002). In the next paragraphs, we shall explore some economics approach to happiness and well-being in detail.

3.1   *The Economic Approaches to Happiness and Well-being*

According to Frey and Stutzer (2010), happiness is not only a matter of individual pursuit, but is strongly determined by the kind of society one lives in. In their book 'Happiness & Economics' the authors draw an explicit link between concepts of utility and happiness and what kind of effect macro elements such as income, unemployment, and inflation have on life satisfaction.

Furthermore, the authors place relevance on the following three sets of sources for the promotion of the good life: a) personality and demographic factors (i.e. temperamental predisposition, traits and cognitive dispositions), b) micro- and macro-economic factors (i.e. per-capita income, unemployment, inflation), and c) the institutional (or constitutional) conditions in an economy and society (i.e. democracy, federalism).

In contrast to their vision, where happiness research is suggested to be used only to increase the strength of individual preferences (Frey & Stutzer, 2009), Richard Layard (2005) - follower of Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian approach (1748–1832) – sustains the principle according to which societies and good governments should maximize the highest level of happiness for the greatest number of citizens. To this end, Layard has proposed 'The Big7 model' which presents seven main indicators of happiness that are quite fairly distributed between both internal and external determinants, that is: Family relationships, Financial situation, Work, Community and friends, Health, Personal freedom, and Personal values (Layard, 2005). Drawing from Layard's

contribution, the website http://www.actionforhappiness.org/ has recently sponsored a list of 10 key points to promote happiness around the world (see Fig. 3):
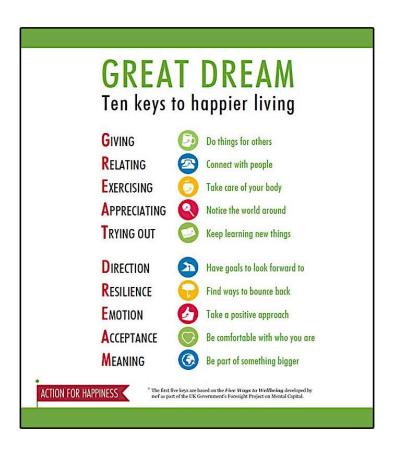

Fig.3. Action for Happiness' Indicators. Source: https://ceezl.wordpress.com/2013/02/07/action-for-happiness/.

The utilitarian political approach championed by Layard, which prompts governments to utilize happiness as the main goal of national policies has met resistance from a number of scholars (Duncan, 2010; Frey & Stutzer, 2009). Among them, Amartya Sen (1999, 2009) has called into question Layard's utilitarian vision of happiness maximization on a number of occasions. The core of Sen's critique lies in the inability of utilitarianism advocates like Layard to focus on many other important aspects of societal well-being, and in particular on people's freedom to determine their life.

As the author points out in one of his recent writings, 'The Idea of Justice':

"*It is hard to deny that happiness is extremely important and we have very good reason to try to advance people's happiness, including our own... It is the claim that nothing else ultimately matters – liberty, equality, fraternity or whatever – that may not resonate so easily with the way*

people have thought and continue to think about what looks self-evidently good" (Sen, 2009, p. 273-274).

However, both Layard's and Sen's approach, despite their open differences, agree on the necessity for economics to detach itself from a GDP-based model of national growth as well as the need to shift our focus on the improvement of people's quality of life, rather than only increase in financial resources.

A relevant example of this can be found in the 'Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress' drawn through the joint efforts of Nobel prize laureates Joseph Stiglitz, Amartya Sen, and Jean-Paul Fitoussi (2009). The report's aim is to promote more efficient economic measures able to substitute the more obsolete GDP indicator. To this end, the report taps into a multidimensional definition of well-being, which include:

1. Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth)
2. Health
3. Education
4. Personal activities including work
5. Political voice and governance
6. Social connections and relationships
7. Environment (present and future conditions)
8. Insecurity, of an economic as well as a physical nature.

However, as clearly stated: "*The report is about measurement rather than policies, thus it does not discuss how best our societies could advance through collective actions in the pursuit of various goals*" (Stiglitz, Sen, & Fitoussi, 2009, p. 9).

Some contributions in economics are working towards this direction. In particular, new lines of enquires are taking into account a) the role of psychological variables (Kahneman, 2011, 2003; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974), b) the importance of social relationships (Bruni, 2010; Bartolini & Bilancini, 2010; Becchetti, Pelloni, & Rossetti, 2008), c) reciprocity (Sacco & Vanin, 2006; Zamagni, 2004), and d) trust and collaboration (Layard, 2005).

However, all these approaches still lack of a comprehensive theoretical and methodological framework capable of linking the micro individual level with the macro level of policies and institutions. Therefore, if we are to address the question of how to promote better life conditions in society, we need to first explore the best approach to achieve such a goal.

4.   A Glimpse into Some Alternative Visions

Based on the above arguments, we will now present three further areas of inquiry, one of which is specifically part of the economic discipline (Feminist Economics), a further lies on the boundary between political philosophy and economics (The Capabilities Approach), and the last one is draws on the sociological scholarship (The Four Qualities of Life Model).

4.1 *Feminist Economics*

As early as the end of 1980's a group of economic feminists started to propose a more radical critique of neo-classical economics (Waring, 1988). The core of the feminist economics discourse was to re-centre the focus of economics by detaching it from an unduly reliance on the 'economic man', as a model to interpret reality (Ferber & Nelson, 2003). This operation was aimed at including in the economic discipline what Power (2004) defined 'social provisioning' that is: a) the incorporation of caring and unpaid labour as fundamental economic activities b) the use of well-being as a measure of economic success c) the analysis of economic, political, and social processes and power relations d) the inclusion of ethical goals and values as an intrinsic part of the analysis, and e) the interrogation of differences of class, race-ethnicity, and other factors.

In particular, Paula England (2003) argues that some of the basic assumptions in neoclassical economic models are grounded in a generally tendency in Western thought to posit and valorise what she defines 'separative self'. The self is considered separative whenever humans are seen as autonomous, impermeable to social influences, and lacking enough emotional connection to each other to feel empathy (England, 2003, p.34).

Based on these premises, Schneider and Shackelford (1998) developed a list of ten key points for feminist economics, which has recently been turned into a memorandum "*for feminist and heterodox economics educators when dealing with prescribed lists and Standards*" (Schneider & Shackelford, 2014, p. 80):

1. There can be no such thing as a definitive list of the principles of feminist economics
2. Values enter into economic analysis at many different levels
3. The Household is a locus of economic activity
4. Non-market activities are important to the economy
5. Power relationships are important in an economy
6. A gendered perspective is central to the study of economics
7. Human beings are complex, and they are influenced by more than just material factors
8. People compete, cooperate and care
9. Government action can improve market outcomes, and
10. The scope of economics must be interdisciplinary.

The vision of feminist economics has been promoter of new and alternative indexes and reports of economic and human development. A prime example is the gender-related additions to the 'Human Development Index', which has included over the years first 'The Gender-related Development Index', and more recently, the 'Gender Inequality Index', which taps into three dimensions of worldwide gender equality, that is: reproductive health, empowerment, and labour market participation (UNDP, 2010).

4.2 *The Capabilities Approach*

Amartya Sen's and Martha Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach represents a further contribution to an alternative understanding of happiness and well-being. The former author holds that "*life consists in a whole of functioning, characterized by states of being and states of*

doing". The relevant functioning can vary from the very elementary - such as not being deprived of food, being healthy, preventing morbidity and premature death - to more complex states such as being happy or being integrated into the social community (Sen, 2009; 1999; Nussbaum, 2003; 2011; Nussbaum & Sen, 1993).

This vision has led to the development of the Human Development Index, which sets out to gauge the level of human and country development by measuring three main dimensions, that is: Health, Education, and Living Standards. The index has been developed in the context of Governmental good practices aimed at promoting capability building hence human freedom. A graphical representation of the Index is shown below in Figure 4.
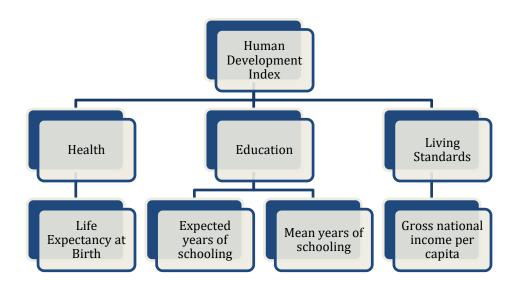
Fig. 4. Human Development Index Components

Martha Nussbaum's version of the Capabilities Approach is less strictly economical (Nussbaum 2003). One of the aspects that Nussbaum developed in contrast to Sen's approach is a list of 10 central capabilities (see Fig. 5). This list, which does not purport to cover the full range of capabilities in existence, includes aspects such as Life, Bodily Health, Body Integrity, Senses, Imagination, and Thought, Emotions, Practical Reason, Affiliation, Other Species, Play, and Control over one's Environment (Nussbaum, 2011).

Despite their differences. both Sen's and Nussbaum's approaches promote an idea of development that should remove those obstacles standing in the way of human thriving and, at the same time, promote positive circumstances that enable people to do what they are able to do and to be what they are able to be.

However, it must be noted that even the Capabilities approach has been under critiques for its person-centred evaluative nature (Gore, 1997). Despite being less individualistic than other approaches, the capabilities approach still relies on the individual judgment of personal achievements as well as freedom of choice. In Gore's words "*the goodness or badness of social arrangements or states of affairs is evaluated on the basis of what is good or bad for individual*

well-being and freedom and is also reduced to the good of those individuals" (Gore, 1997, p. 242).
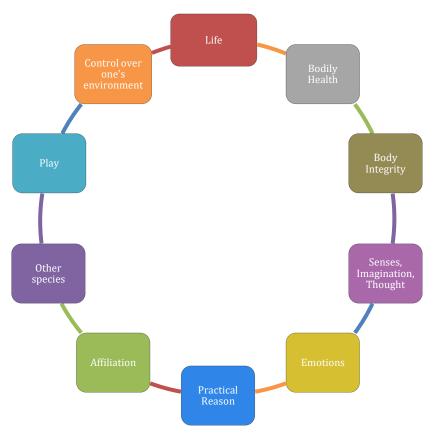

Fig. 5. Martha Nussbaum's 10 Central Capabilities

4.3   Social Livability and the Four Qualities of Life Model

Within the sociological domain, Ruut Veenhoven's Four Qualities of Life Model represents a fortunate example of what it means to link good living conditions to the opportunities provided by the environment. In his model, Veenhoven defines the former livability, that is the degree to which provisions and requirements fit with the needs and capacities of its citizens, whereas the latter are defined 'life-ability', that is the inner capacities with which each individual is endowed, or "*how well we are equipped to cope with the problems of life*" (Veenhoven, 2013, p. 200).

Livability and life-ability can be combined in a four-by-four matrix. If we look at Fig. 6, the left top quadrant shows *Life-ability of the person***.** The right top quadrant denotes inner life-chances, that is: how well we are equipped to cope with the problems of life. The left bottom quadrant represents *objective-utility of Life*, or in other words the notion that a good life must be good for something more than itself and this presumes some higher values such as being a good citizen, a sense of morality, etc. Finally, the bottom right quadrant represents *Subjective appreciation of Life,* (i.e. the inner outcomes of life), that is the quality of life in the eye of the beholder. As we deal with conscious humans this quality boils down to subjective appreciation

of life. This is commonly referred to by terms such as 'subjective well-being', 'life-satisfaction' and 'happiness' in a limited sense of the word (see full model in Fig. 6).

Some sub-meaning within quality-quadrants

	Outer qualities	*Inner qualities*

Life chances	**Livability of environment**
	· Ecological
	  e.g. moderate climate, clean air, spacious housing,
	· Social
	  e.g.. freedom, equality and brotherhood
	· Economical
	  e.g. wealthy nation, generous social security, smooth economic development
	· Cultural
	  e.g. flourishing of arts and sciences, mass education
	· Etc…
		Life-ability of the person
		· Physical health
		  negative: free of disease
		  positive: energetic, resilient
		• Mental health
		  negative: free of mental defects
		  positive: autonomous, creative
		• Knowledge
		  e.g. literacy, schooling
		• Skills
		  e.g. intelligence, manners
		• Art of living
		  e.g. varied lifestyle, differentiated taste
		• Etc….

Life results	**Objective utility of life**
	· External utility
	  e.g. For intimates: rearing children, care for friends
	  e.g. For society: being a good citizen
	  e.g. for mankind: leaving an invention
	· Moral perfection
	  e.g. authenticity, compassion, originality
	• Etc…
		Subjective appreciation of life
		· appraisal of life-aspects
		  e.g. Satisfaction with job
		  e.g. satisfaction with variety
		· Prevailing moods
		  e.g. Depression, ennui
		  e.g. zest
		· Overall appraisals
		  Affective: general mood-level
		  Cognitive: contentment with life

Fig. 6. The Four Qualities of Life. Source: (Veenhoven, 2013, p. 204)

Of all the theories and models of happiness and well-being we have shown so far, Veenhoven's Four Qualities of Life model is to a certain extent the most comprehensive model that keeps together the subjectivity of individuals with the feature of contexts. Yet, this model does not enter into detail on how to promote the different qualities of life, or to be more precise, what the strategies are that would best equip individuals and society at large to achieve the best results. We shall try to give an answer to this query in the next paragraphs by introducing the emerging approach of Critical Community Psychology, which in our view bears the potential to promote happiness and well-being in a whole new fashion.

5. Critical Community Psychology: A New Vision of Happiness and Well-being

Following on from the contributions outlined above, we shall next explore, in great detail, the contributions of Critical Community Psychology (CCP) to happiness and well-being. We will place a great emphasis on this emerging psychological approach since we believe that CCP has more to offer to the promotion of good life that many other mainstream visions. First and foremost, CCP is highly committed to studying and promoting better life conditions from an ecological, value-based, and justice-oriented perspective (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010). Further to this, CCP shows a constant attention to linking the psychological features of individuals to those of the contexts that surrounds them. In fact, as Burton, Boyle, Harris, and Kagan (2007) have remarkably pointed out:

"*It is community psychology because it emphasizes a level of analysis and intervention other than the individual and their immediate interpersonal context. It is community psychology because it is nevertheless concerned with how people feel, think, experience, and act as they work together, resisting oppression and struggling to create a better world*" (p. 219).

Based on these premises, we will show the extent to which CCP bears the potential to redefine our current social, economic, and political system as well as to build new ways of living for both individuals and society at large (Natale, Di Martino, Procentese, & Arcidiacono, 2016). In particular, Critical Community Psychology is committed to the study and application of novel strategies of promotion of well-being based on:

- The value of social relationships, community life, and reciprocity;
- Sharing and participating as instruments for individual and social well-being;
- The ethics of care and the pursuit of justice as well as the overcoming of inequalities;
- Rethinking and redefining the relation between technology and environment, and;
- The achievement of new juridical principles for the construction and transaction of goods and resources

In the next pages, we will present some of the key features of the CCP praxis, which being in line with Kagan and Burton's vision (2001), include: a contextual perspective, and understanding of how justice, oppression, and liberation shape people's life, and the value of social interaction including participation, reciprocity, and care.

5.1   *From the Individual to the Social and Contextual Perspective of Well-being*

In opening their seminal volume 'Community Psychology, Linking Individual and Communities' Kloos and colleagues (2012) point out that:

"*Like a fish swimming in water, we take the contexts of our lives for granted… we tend to minimize ecological levels of analysis. Community psychologists try to understand the importance of contexts for people's lives and work to change the environments to be more supportive*" (p. 5).

In line with this vision, CCP considers happiness as neither the result of personal achievements, nor the outcome of national policies aimed increasing GDP or improving the welfare system;

rather, it is a constant relationship between the resources and the opportunities provided by context – together with the community to which people belong –, and the best use they decide to make of them. In that regard, as Orford (2008) reminds us "*At the very heart of the subject is the need to see people – their feelings, thoughts, and actions – within a social context. It exhorts us, when thinking of people's health, happiness and well-being, or when thinking about people's distress and disorder, to 'think context'*" (p. XI).

Therefore, in referring to context, and the role it plays in shaping people's life, we consider it in a very broad sense. In our view, context is comprised of set of opportunities and resources, networks of relationships, and both material and intangible features that make it the bedrock upon which people try to build a well-lived existence. It follows that context, as we intend it, is not the backdrop, but part and parcel of the very theatrical play in which social actors are to perform their lives.

In fact, CCP studies the interactions between individual and contexts, specifically taking into account relational, organizational, cultural, economic and political domains, both taken independently and in their reciprocal interactions (Prilleltensky & Arcidiacono, 2010).

Following on from the last points, Kagan & Kilroy (2007) provided a tool to understand how different community well-being indicators map onto qualitative and quantitative data, while tapping into material, social, economic, political, cultural and personal aspects of living (p. 96) (Figure 7).
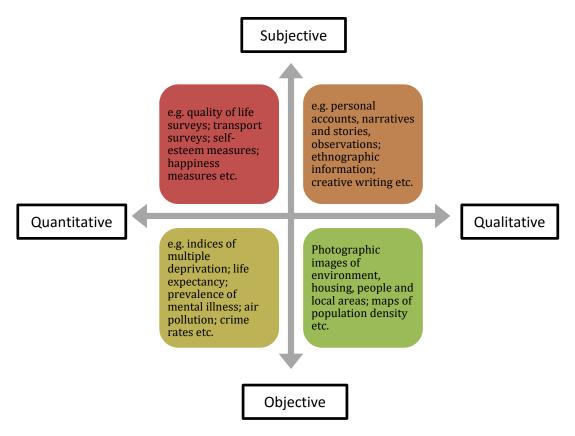

Fig. 7. Dimensions of well-being and of the community indicators. Source: (Kagan & Kilroy, 2007, p. 100).

Along the same line of thought, Isaac Prilleltensky's ecological model strives to understand well-being through a multilevel and multidimensional lenses through both objective and subjective measures of well-being (Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2007). In that regard, the very definition that Prilleltensky give us of well-being deserves to be quoted in full: "*Well-being is a positive state of affairs, brought about by the simultaneous and balanced satisfaction of diverse objective and subjective needs of individuals, relationships, organizations, and communities*" (Prilleltensky, 2011, p. 4).

As already mentioned, Prilleltensky's ecological model offers a number of contexts of analysis (which the authors names 'sites' - of well-being), which are as follows: personal, interpersonal, organizational and communal. Furthermore, for each of them, the model provides physical, psychological, occupational, economic, community and interpersonal indicators, both subjective and objective. In addition to the 'sites', Prilleltensky's 5Ss model of well-being encompasses Signs, Sources, Strategies, and Synergy (Prilleltensky, 2005).

The author has expressed the advantages of his model in these terms:

"*We can integrate sites, signs, sources and strategies in the following formulation: The well-being of a site is reflected in a particular sign, which derives from a particular source and is promoted by a certain strategy… By using this simple formulation, we can integrate a vast amount of research in operational and actionable terms*" (Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2007, p. 75).

Recently Prilleltensky and colleagues (2016) have also developed a multidimensional model of well-being, namely the ICOPPE model. This novel tool considers well-being as a multifaceted construct composed of seven domains, that is: Overall Well-being, Interpersonal Well-being, Community Well-being, Organizational Well-being, Physical Well-being, Psychological Well-being, and Economic Well-being (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8. The I COPPE model of well-being. Source: (Prilleltensky, 2016).

The ICOPPE model is also embedded in the contextual vision proper to CCP, according to which each well-being domain is placed on multi-level units of analysis, that is again: personal, interpersonal, organizational and communal (Prilleltensky, 2012).

To conclude, Kagan's and Kilroy's model as well as the ICOPPE model proposed by Prilleltensky and colleagues offer a new opportunity for CCP practitioners and other scholars to delve deeper into the complex nature of well-being from a contextual perspective.

5.2   The role of Power, Liberation, and Social Justice

5.2.1   Power and Liberation

As we have shown in the previous pages, according to CCP the pursuit of well-being can be understood only with an ecological compass (Kelly, 1966). Once we assume that context is central to the understanding of human well-being, we can move on to embed more context-related contents such as social justice, inequality, power, and liberation, which are proper to Community Psychology in a very critical stance (Kloos et al., 2012; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010; Orford, 2008).

Power, for instance might be used to generate oppression through a) control of resources, b) creation of barriers to participation, and c) agenda setting and shaping of conceptions through the creation of ideologies that perpetuate the status quo (Culley & Hughey, 2008). All of the above – and many other mechanisms used to uphold forms of oppression – are responsible of reducing people's life opportunities and their chances to enjoy a satisfactory life (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010; Montero & Sonn, 2009; Moane, 2003).

Oppression is intrinsically linked to Liberation, which is the process by means of which individuals and groups can break the chains of servitude to the hegemonic power (Martín-Baró, 1994). Various elements characterize Liberation Psychology, among which: consciousness, critical realism, de-ideologisation, a social orientation, the preferential option for the oppressed majorities, and methodological eclecticism (Burton & Kagan, 2005). However, analysing them all would go beyond the scopes of this introduction.

What we would like to point out here is a circular relationship existing between power, liberation, freedom, and happiness. Indeed, promoting and safeguarding people's freedom can be deemed to be a good ground for fostering happiness, and the pursuit of happiness is in turn a due step for making the most of freedom (Veenhoven, 2000; 2010). In this light, we argue that the principles of liberation and social justice can come to their fullness insofar as these are not limited only to the liberation from oppression (physical and psychological alike), but they extend their power to the active promotion of people's well-being and life satisfaction (Arcidiacono & Di Martino, 2012).

5.2.2   Social Justice

One of the core principles of CCP has always been the promotion of social justice and social changes value-based praxes for the betterment of quality of life for both individuals and communities (Rappaport, 1984, 1977). In recent years this has taken a particular focus on the

impact of social justice on well-being (García-Ramírez, M., Balcázar, & De Freitas, 2014; Campbell & Murray, 2004; Prilleltensky, 2001).

In fact, the fundamental role played by social justice allows us to go beyond the previous conception of well-being and happiness, according to which the individual is the only maker of his/her own life, to take up a new vision in which a well-lived life is the outcome of personal efforts that are interlinked with the opportunities provided by the environment (Prilleltensky, 2013, 2011).

At the same time, we must be mindful that social justice is still related to people's personal experience. Likewise, the extent to which we perceive what is fair and what is not is influenced by our surrounding social and cultural climates (Lucas, Zhdanova, & Alexander, 2012; Tyler, Boeckmann, Smith, & Huo, 1997). From a CCP perspective, this confirms once more the importance of constantly linking the individual experience to the surrounding context (Burton, Boyle, & Kagan, 2006). Therefore, the way CCP must explain the influence of social justice on well-being must take into account both the objective nature of fairness and its psychological-individual impact in terms of well-being.

Prilleltensky (2012), in his seminal paper 'Wellness as Fairness' has attempted to achieve such a goal by describing the relation between justice and well-being as a continuum that goes from 'persisting conditions of injustice', which generate 'suffering' to 'optimal conditions of justice', which conversely promote 'thriving'. From an ecological perspective, these psychosocial processes operate within and across personal, interpersonal, organizational and community contexts.

5.2.3   Reciprocity, Ethics of Care, and Responsible Togetherness

In one of his latest works on social status and inequality, Marmot (2004) pointed out the importance of autonomy and control over one's life and the opportunities for full social engagement and participation in determining health, well-being and longevity. However, Marmot's main point, in which we are particularly interested in this paragraph, is that "*as individuals we are concerned with what we can do for our own health. But we are also members of society… Cooperation, reciprocity and trust are also fundamental features of society*" (Marmot, 2004, p. 170).

Sociologists have often highlighted the recent increasing spread of unhappiness due to alienation and individualism of human beings in modern society (Bauman, 2008; Lane, 2000; Putnam, 2000). Yet, this shift in perspective also contributed to shed light on the value of social networks, as well as the set of rules and trust-based action that underpin them. These, in fact, hold the power to recreate a communal way of living and increase our life satisfaction and well-being as a consequence (Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003).

The importance of reciprocity in ethical research is slowly making its way among people and governmental practices (Maiter, Simich, Jacobson, & Wise 2008), especially since these have been faced with all the discomforts generated from living in global and 'liquid' societies that a) force people to deal with systemic contradictions on an individual/personal level and b) shape the pursuit of happiness as acquiring material goods rather than constructing and maintain social bonds (Bauman, 2008; Kasser, 2002).

Within the field of civil economics, Luigino Bruni (2008) has proposed unconditional (or *gratuitous*) reciprocity, as opposed to 'conditionality', as "*an act (or strategy, in a repeated*

game) that is not conditioned to the reciprocating response of others at the level of the choice, but conditioned to the response of others at the level of the outcomes" (p. 50).

In that sense, unconditional reciprocity is not simply 'altruism', which is an act of giving whereby he who performs it does not expect anything in return. On the contrary, although being always moved by self-interest, reciprocity is still affected by the other's response. In Bruni's words "*we say that those who adopt a strategy of unconditional reciprocity… will always cooperate, but their payoffs will depend on the strategies adopted by the other players with whom they are interacting*" (p. 51).

Other movements which are at issue with the principles of neo-classical economics, like the emerging movements of de-growth, are also paying particular attention to the value of living in societies based on reciprocity and conviviality for human well-being (Andreoni & Galmarini, 2014). Trainer clearly explains this transition to a new society when claiming that in a de-growth society *"we would share, give away surpluses, cooperate and volunteer. The commons would be part of the extensive communal wealth all would have access to… There would be far more community than there is now"* (Trainer, 2012, p. 590). In this regard CCP is an approach that is well equipped – in terms of vision, tools, and good practices – to promoting the principles that de-growth has theorized (Natale et al., 2016).

Indeed, one of the objectives of Community Psychology has always been shifting from individualist to more trust-based, cooperative, and collectivistic societies (Orford, 2008; Uchelen, 1999) in order to improve people's health and well-being (Campbell & Murray, 2004). In fact, as the literature has demonstrated, the presence of trust and collaboration in highly connected networks has a positive impact on the individual, organizational, and societal level (Tov & Diener, 2009).

For this to be attained, CCP suggests at least three collectivist good practices such as a) field control, the capacity to share control and power with the collective rather than basing them on an independent view of the self, and b) synergic community, a state in which a community becomes highly cohesive and members freely contribute psychological resources to the collective (Katz & Seth, 1987; Katz, 1984), and promotion of sense of community (Davidson & Cotter, 1991).

In this regard, CCP ethos is also very much attuned to the principles championed by the ethics of care. The ethics of care is a philosophical and political movement proposed by feminist scholars as early as the 70's with the aim of promoting the value of caring social interactions as well as morally acting in accordance to the principles of both justice and care (Di Martino, 2013; Held, 2006; Noddings. 1984). This commitment, which stems from placing the Self inside a complex environment of social exchanges, should be in fact closely linked to the capacity of being responsible and caring for the *Other*, which encompasses other human beings, animals, and more in general, nature and the earth (Noddings, 2005, 2003; Tronto, 1993).

In the perspective of CCP, reciprocity and care call for what Procentese, Scotto di Luzio, and Natale (2011) call 'Responsible togetherness'. As we stated elsewhere:

"*responsible togetherness implies an active involvement of individuals and social groups in local community life, in which members are expected to promote responsible actions as well as take part in a variety of social and community enterprises such as cultural, political, and sporting events*" (Natale et al., 2016).

Responsible togetherness implies that CCP has the potential to create those conditions in a society which fosters caring and reciprocal behaviours, in particular through the promotion of

social trust, a shared social agenda, community building, and social actions directed towards the care and maintenance of social contexts (Procentese et al., 2011).

6.   Final Remarks

The complexity of social changes, globalization, and the marginalization and exclusion this is causing, together with increasing inequality in accessing resources and opportunities offer a new arena for debate and intervention for all those scholars, practitioners, and activists committed to promoting better life conditions for individuals and societies.

However, if we are to reach a full comprehension of social happiness, given the current state of affairs in the field, we should be careful not to become entrapped in the two opposing perspectives. As we have shown, on one side Psychology, as a science of subjective well-being, tends to see happiness as the result of personal efforts and achievements. It does so by gauging indicators such as: self-esteem, auto efficacy, life satisfaction, and flourishing. All of them share the limitation of being overly dependant on internal resources, potentials, and individual characteristics.

On the other hand, economics tend to borrow the instruments developed by psychologists to study happiness and well-being at the national and international level (Graham, 2005b). Its aim is to inform public policies primarily of the inner risks associated to unemployment, taxation, inequality, and lack of freedom (Bok, 2010).

The extent to which both these approaches are limited should be clear by this point. In other words, both the *homo oeconomicus,* who aims for the maximization of utility and the *homo psychologicus,* who pursues personal growth and optimal functioning are two obsolete models for interpreting reality and promoting the good life (Di Martino, 2013). What we need is a better understanding of both individual and social phenomena and how these interact with each other. In other words we call for a further concept of happiness, a deeper understanding of how people's enjoyment of life is connected to the features of the environment, focusing not only on which one affects which, but also on their mutual interactions.

However, the economic and psychological disciplines tend to exchange their view only within the narrowness of their research fields with a lack of shared tools and practices (Di Martino, 2013; Peterson, Park, & Seligman, 2005). Therefore, there is still work to be done in that direction. This is the reason why the second part of this introduction has been dedicated to the emerging contributions of Critical Community Psychology. In our challenging times, we argue that CCP will be an awareness instrument for the de-ideologisation, deconstruction and decolonization of psychology, contributing to a more critical approach to human sciences.

However, the valuable contribution CCP can bring to the arena of happiness and well-being, should be considered within the framework of some limitations as well as critical future directions. First and foremost, although as we have stated many times the extent to which CCP is committed to promoting happiness and well-being beyond the individual level, Burton and Kagan (2015) remind us:

"*Community psychology, despite its emphasis on units of analysis that are greater than the individual and the immediate interpersonal context, has produced relatively little theory for the*

societal level, either in terms of the societal construction of the individual and the group, or in terms of action frameworks for systemic, macro, or societal level change" (p. 185).

In order to overcome what Burton (2015) defines as 'methodological individualism' we are called, as practitioners of happiness and well-being studies, to develop 'prefigurative action research' practices (Burton, Kagan, & Duckett, 2012). With this term, Kagan and Burton (2000) emphasize "*the relationship between action research and the creation of alternatives to the existing social order*" (p. 73).

Since prefigurative praxis is both critical and action-orientated – which means it is orientated toward social change – its effect can be "*released into the wider society, and into community psychological praxis in a variety of ways, including through the lived experiences of those that participated, were challenged, grew or benefited in some way*" (Burton & Kagan, 2015, p. 186).

On the same line of enquiry, Christens and Perkins (2008) have redefined Prilleltensky' ecological model by adding to it additional contexts of analysis (i.e. (physical, sociocultural, economic, political) as well as including new domains of well-being, including the notion of environmental wellness, which entails an understanding of macro-level environmental variables that affect human wellness. (p. 219).

Furthermore, despite the above-mentioned advancement in social justice, there is still a need for CCP to fully incorporate this concept within its theory and practice. Fondacaro and Weinberg (2002) pointed out that the field of CP is so imbued with the value of social justice as a normative concept that this has entailed a lack of commitment to "*rigorously reflect on the various ways in which the concept social justice is actually used both within and beyond the boundaries of scholarly discourse*" (p. 486). There is, in other words, a need for more theoretical and empirical studies on how to effectively promote social justice and exactly what kind of effect this has on people's well-being.

Likewise, as Sonn and Fisher (2001, 2003) pointed out, Critical Community psychologists need to be careful about how they conceptualize and tackle oppression. In particular, we need a better understanding of how context and culture enter into the analysis of power and liberation. The risks, otherwise, is to apply our liberatory principles in a universalistic fashion – with particular regard to the Western and North American worldview – that rules out the specific needs and cultural make-up of every context we work with (Fisher & Sonn, 2008).

Based on this critical account of CCP, what we need for the future is more empirical examples of how this approach intends to promote the values it advocates within a critical framework. In that regard, Fryer (2008) suggests a praxis according to which CCP should:

- strive to problematize ideologically reactionary aspects of mainstream 'knowledge and practice' (rather than collude with them),
- develop epistemologically sophisticated knowledgementing practices (rather than default to formulaic methodology),
- develop innovative socio-structural inter- and preventions (rather than default to traditional intra-psychic blame or change)
- collaborate with collectives (rather than work unilaterally on or for individuals),
- promote social change (rather than psychological adaptation)
- engage in emancipatory process and outcome through progressive redistribution of power (rather than collude with or contribute to oppressive (re) distribution of power)
- make processes of psychological oppression visible and contest them (rather than

camouflage, mystify and collude with them)
- provide new legitimated knowledge, demonstrate new ways of producing knowledge which are participatory and socially just, and offer new ways to people to engage with us in emancipatory social research.

While being conscious of the limitations of CCP as well as of the necessary improvements we still need to apply to this approach, we believe that its ethos holds the power to advance our comprehension of human wellness. Given that the best societies are the ones offering the largest array of life opportunities for people to thrive, we believe that CCP is well positioned to discover solutions to both old and new problems concerning contemporary society. In this introductory work we have attempted to provide some examples of CCP applications in the happiness and well-being domain, in the hope that others will make good use of them to build better societies based on the principles that CCP is advocating.

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Appendix: Table 1. Theories and Models of Happiness and Well-being (revised version from Di Martino, Arcidiacono, & Eiroa-Orosa, 2017).

Theory and/or Model	Definition(s)	Dimension(s)	Key principles and/or areas of inquiry	Context(s) of analysis	Justice and Equity
Subjective Well-being (SWB) (Diener, 2009; Diener, Scollon, & Lucas, 2009)	Subjective well-being refers to the global experience of positive reactions to one's life. Life satisfaction pertains to a conscious global judgment of one's life.	• Pleasant Emotions • Unpleasant Emotions • Global Life Judgement • Domain Satisfaction	• Health • Achievement • Social Relationships and Prosocial Behaviours • Wealth • Religion • Personality	SWB primary resides within the experience of the individual. However, this does not rule out cultural differences in SWB.	SWB by itself is insufficient for evaluating the success of a society. It also needs to account for human rights and societal equality.
Psychological Well-being (PWB) (Ryff, 2014, 1989)	Psychological well-being is understood in terms of optimal functioning. Happiness is understood as short-term affective well-being.	• Self-Acceptance • Environmental Mastery • Positive Relations • Purpose in Life • Personal Growth • Autonomy	• Leading a Life of Purpose • Quality Connections to Others • Self-esteem • Mastery • Life difficulties	Psychological well-being is explicitly concerned with the development and self-realization of the individual.	Impact of discrimination, status and social inequality, and belonging to ethnic minorities on Psychological well-being
Well-being theory and PERMA Model (Seligman, 2011, 2002)	Happiness includes Positive Emotions, Engagement, and Meaning. Well-being builds on these and adds to it Positive Relationships and Accomplishment	• Positive Emotions • Engagement • Positive Relationships • Meaning • Accomplishment	Strong emphasis on prevention and health promotion. Psychology should promote human flourishing, not just treating mental illness.	• Positive experiences • Enduring psychological traits • Positive relationships • Positive institutions	Well-being should not be the only influence on public policy. We should also value justice, democracy, peace, and tolerance.
Self Determination Theory (STD) (Ryan & Deci, 2008, 2002)	Well-being refers to optimal psychological functioning and experience. It is also a multi-dimensional phenomenon that draws on both hedonism and eudaimonia. Happiness is a form of hedonic well-being that pertains to pleasure and enjoyment of life.	• Competence • Relatedness • Autonomy	SDT's arena is the investigation of people's inherent growth tendencies and innate psychological needs that are the basis for their self-motivation and personality integration, as well as for the conditions that foster those positive processes.	Strong focus on the relationship between individual and context. SDT includes the interaction between an active, integrating human nature and social contexts that either nurture or impede the organism's active nature.	Emphasis on human autonomy. The positions that fail to recognize the importance of autonomy for well-being may be inadvertently condoning the denial of human freedom to a significant portion of the inhabitants of the globe.

Social Well-being (Keyes, 1998)	Happiness is defined in terms of life satisfaction. Social well-being is the appraisal of one's circumstance and functioning in society.	• Social Actualization • Social Acceptance • Social Integration • Social Contribution	Critique of multidimensional models that conceive of the self as primarily private. Emphasis on social nature of well-being.	Social well-being represents primarily a public phenomenon, since adults encounter social tasks in their social structures and communities.	Social structures contribute to either promote or hinder social well-being.
Frey & Stutzer's approach to happiness in economics (Frey & Stutzer, 2010; 2002)	Distinction between subjective and objective happiness, cognition and affect, and stocks and flows with regard to subjective well-being.	• Pleasant Affect • Unpleasant Affect • Life Satisfaction • Labour Market • Consumerism • Family and Companionship • Leisure • Health	Psychological Perspective: • Adaptation • Aspiration • Social Comparison • Copying Economic Perspective: • Income • Unemployment • Inflation	• Personality Socio-demographic factors • Micro and Macro economic factors • Contextual and situational factors • Institutional (or constitutional) conditions	Emphasis on procedural justice as right to participate to political decision-making and actual participation. Focus on the detrimental effect of inequality on happiness and the importance of freedom and democracy
The Four Qualities of Life Model and Happy-Life-Years Index (Veenhoven, 2013)	Happiness or 'Appreciation of life' combines 'Life results' and 'Inner qualities'. Well-being combines 'Life Chances' and 'Inner Qualities'	• Life chances • Life results • Inner qualities • Outer qualities	• Liveability of the environment • Life-ability of the individual • External utility of life • Inner appreciation of life	Analysis of conditions at the macro-level of society, the meso-level of organizations and the micro-level of individuals.	Cross-National application of the Happy-Life-Years Index shows high correlations with economic affluence, freedom, and justice.
Wellness theory and ICOPPE Model (Prilleltensky et al, 2016; Prilleltensky, 2012)	Life satisfaction is an indicator of the personal level of psychological well-being. Well-being is the satisfaction of objective and subjective needs of individuals, relationships, organizations, and communities.	• Interpersonal Well-being • Community Well-being • Occupational Well-being • Physical Well-being • Psychological Well-being • Economic Well-being	• Self-determination • Health • Personal growth • Social Justice • Support for enabling community structures • Respect for diversity • Collaboration and democratic participation	The promotion of Well-being runs along four interconnected levels: • Personal • Interpersonal • Organizational • Communal	Persisting, Vulnerable, Suboptimal, and Optimal conditions of Justice/Injustice are linked to Suffering, Confronting, Coping, and Thriving respectively.

The Big 7 Model (Layard, 2005) and Action for Happiness (http://www.actionforhappiness.org)	Happiness is a long-lasting experience that includes both fluctuating feelings and overall satisfaction with life.	• Family Relationships • Financial Situation • Work • Community and Friends • Health • Personal Freedom • Personal values	Supporter of the 'greatest happiness for the greatest number' principle. Happy societies are built on collaboration, trust, altruism, and good social relationships.	Happier societies strive to improve working conditions, family relationships, and local communities. Governmental policies should aim to maximise happiness for the greatest number of citizens.	Fairness is ultimately about how happiness is distributed. Government and citizens alike should focus on the equality with which happiness is distributed in society.
Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress (Stiglitz, Sen, Fitoussi, 2009)	Well-being has to do with both economic resources and with non-economic aspects of peoples' life. Happiness is understood in terms of both hedonic experience and life satisfaction.	• Material living standards. • Health • Education; • Personal activities including work • Political voice and governance; • Social connections and relationships; • Environment; • Insecurity, of an economic as well as a physical nature.	• Subjective well-being (cognitive evaluations, positive affects and negative affects) • Capabilities (functioning and freedom) • Fair allocations	QoL takes the individual as the fundamental unit of analysis. This does not imply neglecting communities and institutions, but requires evaluating them in virtue of what they bring to the QoL of the people participating in them.	Strong emphasis on social inequality (both in terms of distribution of economic resources and non-monetary dimensions of quality of life), environmental sustainability, as well as promotion of political voice, legislative guarantees, and the rule of law
Amartya Sen's Capabilities Approach (Sen, 2009, 1999) and the Human Development Index (UNDP, 2010)	Well-being is seen as one of the goals that individuals should have the freedom and agency to pursue. Happiness is one among the functioning relevant to a person's well-being.	The Human Development Index (HD)I reflects average achievements in three basic aspects of human development: leading a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable, and enjoying a decent standard of living.	• Political freedom • Economic facilities • Social opportunities • Transparency guarantees • Protective security	The capabilities approach is a means to assess the development of individuals and Countries around the world.	Justice and Equity are key to the development of freedom and capabilities. The achievement of social justice depends not only on institutional forms, but also on effective practice.
Martha Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2011, 2003)	Supporter of the Aristotelian idea of happiness as flourishing human living as well as the result of 'an active/virtuous life'. Well-being is understood in terms of development of a set of core capabilities.	• Life • Bodily health • Bodily integrity • Senses, imagination, thought • Emotions • Practical reason • Affiliation • Other species • Play • Control over one's environment	The crucial good societies should be promoting for their people a set of opportunities, or substantial freedoms. These entails the development of basic, internal, and combined capabilities.	The Capabilities Approach has typically been elaborated in the context of international development policy. It is, however, also a means to assess the achievement of individual capabilities.	Emphasis on Social injustice and inequality, especially capability failures that are the result of discrimination or marginalization. Government should improve the quality of life for all people, as defined by their capabilities.