COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY, HAPPINESS
AND THE THIRD INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

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This contribution offers a theoretical and socio-political reflection of the meaning of happiness in times of crisis and explores the role of Community Psychology as a key and proactive approach to understanding human relationships and planning suitable transformations. We will explore the main social inequalities emerging nowadays in Europe, such as the suffering welfare state, beginning with the heated debate emerging over the last decade among epidemiologists, sociologist and economists. We imagine possible ways out following Rifkin and his theory about the third industrial revolution, which moves towards the empathy economy, requiring high levels of participation, involvement of all social actors, and new attitudes in decision makers and citizens. Proximity plays a relevant importance: cooperation with neighbours becomes a strategic asset for better living conditions such as, being both producers and users of social services. This paper proposes three areas of action: the social capital; the enterprise as a social factor, not only economical – resource producer (and we refer to Olivetti, an Italian entrepreneur famous for his anticipatory vision and relationship between local and global, and his building, not only of an innovative enterprise but also of a new community setting); and the local government and the role of policy makers. These areas may be explored to generate strategies of intervention thanks to Community Psychology, which enables the provision a sound theoretical and methodological framework so as to move towards collective well-being and happiness.

***Keywords**: community psychology, social capital, proximity, well-being, participation, happiness*

> De la crise morale de notre temps, on parle quelquefois en termes de "perte des repères", ou de "perte de sens"; des formulations dans lesquelles je ne me reconnais pas, parce qu'elles laissent entendre qu'il faudrait "retrouver" les repères perdus, les solidarités oubliées et les légitimités démonétisées; de mon point de vue, il ne s'agit pas de "retrouver" mais d'inventer. Ce ne pas en prônant un retour illusoire aux comportements d'autrefois que l'on pourra faire face aux défis de l'ère nouvelle. Le commencement de la sagesse c'est de constater l'incomparabilité de notre époque, la spécificité des relations entre les personnes comme entre les sociétés humaines, la spécificité des moyens qui sont à notre disposition ainsi que des défis auxquels nous devrons faire face.
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1. A Community Psychology Approach to Happiness in Contemporary Times

Happiness aroused increasing interest over the past years. Arcidiacono (2013, p. 14) emphasised the role of critical Community Psychology to identify those aspects influencing both social and individual well-being, often separated in traditional psychological approaches.

In particular, the ecological model at the base of Community Psychology aims to analyse the ways in which different factors act in determining well-being and quality of life.

Wilkinson and Pickett (2009), have shown through epidemiological and public health studies that happiness, as well as mainly subjective and individual aspects, resides primarily in equity relationships, and that a society cannot be called "happy" when affected by deep inequalities. Social equity has a significant impact on the present welfare system in different countries.

Further contributions from Wilkinson (1996) and Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) showed the how inequalities affect quality and quantity of interpersonal relationships. These studies gave rise to a heated debate about individual and collective well-being, in particular within psychological sciences (De Piccoli, 2014; Fryer, 2011; Maciocco & Santomauro, 2014; Orford, 2008). Nevertheless, as Delhey and Dragolov stated (2013, p. 1) "*while for the leftist camp the Spirit Level Theory represents a new credo, the liberal and conservative camp is sceptical (Saunders, 2010; Snowdon, 2010)*". With no pretence of considering it an "all-encompassing" theory, and also being aware of some methodological limitations, there is no doubt that shifting the focus from low income towards inequalities allows a more in-depth psychological approach introducing further variables – as we will see later on – useful to analyse conflicts among groups.

Focusing on Western countries, Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) demonstrated that countries that have disinvested in the welfare system (i.e. the USA and the UK) struggle more to ensure well-being, reduction of marginalization, and deviance compared with those that provide some forms of social protection (i.e. Scandinavian and Continental European countries).

In a changing society[1], it is impossible to simply reduce welfare opportunities. On the contrary, it is necessary to propose a welfare radical transformation, through measures able to cope at least with basic societal needs (i.e. education, health promotion, early childhood and aging assistance etc.) while still using fewer financial resources. We can mention innovative experiences referring to local communities' involvement in identifying problems and in imagining creative solutions, for instance in caring for people during their life cycle weaknesses (Cook & Kilmer, 2012; Coleman, Whitelaw, & Schreiber, 2014; Paraponaris, Davin, & Verger, 2012; Martini, & Botazzoli, 2012).

Turning our focus to Europe, we will attempt to outline the characteristics of the contemporary crisis. Europeans tend to perceive the on-going redistribution of wealth on a global level as a crisis factor. As a consequence, the global reorganisation of the labour market has taken place mainly in richest areas, while draining resources from the South, which has suffered a setback. On the other hand, some marginal areas underwent rapidly social and environmental change – even with enormous contradictions – acquiring a level of wealth not known in the past centuries.

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[1] By this definition we refer to a society marked by radical changes in terms of economy, migration, aging etc.

A further element of change lies in the amplitude of migration, which has augmented in recent years due to the increasing influx of war refugees, due to the destabilization of the Middle East, which began with the Gulf War.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, many other pillars collapsed. The gap separating the rich from the poor and the South from the North became more jagged. The difference of prosperity among European countries and regions today is much more significant than that of the Northern and Southern shores of the Mediterranean. Beyond these transnational elements, the ageing of the population in each European country has a greater impact on the welfare systems designed for a world of stable economy, with a high birth rate and relatively sustainable migration flow.

In the last century, welfare needs were concentrated on specific stages of the life cycle. A large working population, with fewer requests of support, sustained the welfare expenses while nowadays fragility can arise in all stages of the life cycle. New needs are emerging, requiring unforeseen responses. Let us take, for instance, new social antinomies arising in work and leisure domain, new concept of 'near' and 'far', private and public, retirement and working age, study and production; all these bring new contradictions even stronger than those connected to wealth and poverty.

In particular, knowledge-workers find it more and more difficult to mark a boundary between free time and work time, a separation that has marked our civilization since the time of the 8-hours battle (8 for work, 8 for sleep, 8 for culture and leisure), 40 hours per week and paid holidays (Candeloro, 1996; Mair, 2006). Study, work, retire, the rhythm of the life cycle that built the industrial civilization is more and more complicated. Periods of study and work alternate in many stages of life. If only one generation ago a long course of study represented an effective social elevator, today the long duration of study subtracts creative energies to the production system, with a depressive effect on the young population as a whole.

Certain categories, such as the ratio between near and far, real and virtual, have been swept away by the digital telecommunications' pervasiveness that promotes new forms of neighbourhoods, strong and intense like the tangible relationships.

The deterioration of the income distribution radicalizes the distance between the rich and the poor; it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between wealth and poverty in the middle classes who pay the highest price in terms of social mobility, purchasing power and social protection. And it is even more difficult to define (new) social protection needs, namely in critical life milestones (adolescence, parenting, divorce, ageing).

In this framework, it seems inappropriate and ineffective to propose old solutions. It is possible, however, to seek and implement new tools in response to new needs. Rifkin (2009) states that we are facing a new industrial revolution, characterised not only by the progressive overcoming of fossil fuels in favour of renewable and decentralised energy, but also by the availability of a new form of an intangible energy: Empathy. A concept, however, that needs to be defined, by clarifying the specific historical and social context, and what approach would be appropriate to analyse it. The empathy we are talking about is not just a kind of relationship between individuals, but rather a way to manage and negotiate partnerships, coalitions and conflicts, avoiding superficial or "pacifying" agreements.

In this paper, we hope to illustrate the role of Community Psychology as a driving discipline in reshaping and orienting a new way to reconsider empathy and well-being and their relations with the welfare system. Facing issues such as happiness and well-being, Community Psychology marks a difference from other psychological branches because it emphasises the focus on collective experiences (and not on individual features or personality variables).

As we stated above, Community Psychology - even more than other psychological approaches - takes into account the socio-economic and political context in which it operates (thanks to the ecological model to which we referred at the beginning), transforming the existing constraints in resources, and mobilizing new ones, even when they are apparently latent or not available.

Since it takes the opposite direction to any "victim blaming" approach, with a more proactive than reactive strategy, Community Psychology promotes and experiments bottom-up and peer-to-peer systems more flexible and capable of providing answers to real and specific problems, where other conceptual frameworks over-determined and top-down would face more difficulties or would be less effective.

Community Psychology and other psychological approaches (such as Social Psychology, Positive Psychology, Health Psychology or Developmental Psychology) face these problems in different ways, even if with some common features. We may recall the construct of learned helplessness (Maier & Seligman, 1976), the focus on prevention (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000), and the proactive approach towards obtaining well-being.

In these theoretical points of view, the individuals are active participants, and awareness and action, defined as agency by Sean (1992), are outlined, with a particular focus on resources and on strengths and virtues (Peterson & Seligman, 2004).

Nevertheless, Community Psychology has its specificities: a social analysis of the topic, and then, focusing on social and collective variables, a proactive approach. Its crucial constructions are Empowerment (Rappaport, 1977) and Collective efficacy (Salanova, Rodríguez-Sánchez, Schaufeli, & Cifre, 2014) which we can find not only in "classical" theories and research, but also in multidisciplinary studies evaluating experiences from around the world (Adjei-Bosompem, 2013; Kabeer, 2012; Sanyal, 2009). Finally, Happiness is not an «objective» criterion, but it is rather related to collective well-being. In most cases, we may talk about well-being and resilience, more than happiness. And, above all, Community Psychology distinguishes itself for being mainly oriented to change.

Community Psychology is based on lessons learned from Lewin (1951). Its starting points are the contribution of elaborating the Community Mental Health Act in 1963 (Francescato, 1977) so as to be able to analyse mental diseases in a defined social background. Ideas and contributions come not only from USA but also from Latin America, Africa and other regions. Attention is paid to the "person-in-context" and situating research, with particular emphasis on power/powers and conflict, without avoiding differences for fear of disagreements, but rather assuming them as richness and as a way to achieve better relations. In this field another important construct, related to the complex relation among well-being, transformative action and power, is conscientisation (Freire, 1970; Montero, 2009). Participatory Action Research is one of the most appropriate methods of addressing these issues.

Based on the assumptions of critical Community Psychology (Kagan et al., 2011), it is possible to analyse when inequalities are the focus of the research (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009) and when the inequalities may be outcomes produced by the same research (Fryer, 2011). Kagan's purpose is to induce a critical disruption of obvious and conformist science frameworks in order to elaborate a more complex thought (Kagan et. al., 2011).

We may mention the theoretical contribution coming from Prilleltensky that explains the role of power in promoting human welfare and preventing suffering, "combining psychological and political power" (Prilleltensky, 2008, p. 116) for the purpose of social change.

The transformations that occurred during the second half of the twentieth century, with a sharp acceleration in the last decade resemble that which Watzlavick calls a paradigm shift, a

second level change (Watzlawick, Weakland, & Fish, 1974). Watzlawick underlines that the attempt to resort to previously adopted solutions, changing only a single element of the system is a *first level change* that may even exacerbate the problem.

Welfare policies sometimes lead to a waste of resources without meeting the needs, and indeed - just like in first level change – to a worse situation, because the ideological points of view which support the attempted solutions diverge: the waste of resources strengthens the position of new-liberal welfare state reduction, causing a symmetrical action that defends what exists, unworkable for the exponential request growth. The risk therefore is that provided facilities become, paradoxically, new forms of perceived privileges.

The second level change, on the contrary, requires a re-definition of the whole system, based on circular causality (Watzlawick, Weakland, & Fish, 1974) that leads to a new redistribution of roles and powers among the social actors, producing a new vision of the problem and a larger cluster of possible solution strategies.

Community Psychology can provide an added value as its viewpoint is based on second level change, its ability to experiment actively involving participants – that are seen as the main experts of the problem – and the development of decentralised systems that can meet challenges and mobilise local resources to cope with them.

2.   How to Assess Proximity Capital and Well-being

Rethinking social inequalities and community resources imposes the task of drawing up a set of indicators capable of assessing well-being, happiness and equity, so as to provide and maintain suitable policies, reconsidering the concepts of poverty and wealth that have guided us throughout the nineteenth century and the choices of social support systems.

A mention of well-being and its evaluation.

Literature shows three lines of research about well-being: the first refers to "hedonic" or Subjective Well-Being (Diener, 1984; Kahneman, Diener, & Schwarz, 1999; Strack, Argyle, & Schwarz, 1991) associated with cognitive and affective evaluation of one's own life; the second refers to "eudemonic" or Psychological Well-Being (Ryff, 1989; Ryff, & Keyes, 1995), which relates to a subjective optimal level of functioning; the third is the Psycho-Social Well-Being (Keyes, 1998), referring to the perceived relationship between individuals and their social environment. However, when analysing well-being we cannot avoid the point of view of the different social actors involved (Cicognani, 2012, p. 204). The exclusion of the social context as a crucial element of well-being runs the risk, in fact, of proposing again an individualistic and "victim-blame" perspective, which makes people (particularly marginalized ones) responsible for not reaching a suitable wealth. And this is inconsistent with Community Psychology values, inclusion and respect for diversities.

Among Community Psychology scholars, Prilleltensky (2008; 2012) is a relevant author, who – by means of his critical approach – associates community intervention strategies aimed at improving the condition of individuals with actions aimed at social change, namely transformative interventions, overcoming structural and social conditions of inequity, combining therefore individual and collective well-being, and - more generally - well-being and social justice.

Well-being is not the same for all citizens. There are – first of all – differences in income: low income, which may be different if it is a recent situation (with shame for new poverty, due to economic and financial crisis) or a steady low income (people who use public aid). There are differences in environment: opportunities, public services and the levels which are required to reach them, information, and language (i.e. for migrants). Differences emerge also in the power, related both the educational level and income, which create a constant imbalance in *social power* that induces increasing marginalisation.

Over the previous decades a growing interest for well-being and happiness has arisen. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) turned its focus from economic progress to more careful measures of well-being and an initiative to develop beyond the Gross Domestic Product towards an evaluation of aspects that may improve people's living conditions or General Well-Being, as in the Project *"Better life Initiative"*, creating an Index (*Your Better Life Index*) to asses in different countries dimensions describing satisfaction and happiness (Capecchi & Piccolo, 2013). Nevertheless, while Subjective Well-Being has been defined by a great number of studies (DeNeve & Cooper, 1998; Diener, 1994; Diener, Lucas, & Oishi, 2002; Kahneman, & Krueger, 2006), happiness is sometimes difficult to be operationalised, due to its relations both with poverty (Nunziata, 2013) and life satisfaction.

Drawing on Sen's theory (2014; Sen, 2002; Sen & Piatti, 2005), an approach to poverty has to include aspects related to individual well-being as the capability of primary needs, satisfaction and the possibility of resource control, where both (needs and resources) have to be defined not only as material objects but with implications in terms of value, emotion and ethics, without separating objective-economic and subjective-psychological instruments. It is because of its complexity that the concept of poverty is difficult to be understood and evaluated.

Despite extensive studies, happiness is often measured by a few items without an in-depth exploration. However this theory is still considered a proper gauge of social progress, as well as a goal for public policies. A rapidly increasing number of local and national governments are using happiness data and research results in their policies which could enable people to live better lives. Governments are measuring subjective well-being, and using well-being research as a guide to the design of public spaces and the delivery of public services. We talk nowadays about the inadequacy of Gross Domestic Product for assessing the well-being of a country, introducing different kinds of indicators such as General Well-Being, or Equitable and Sustainable Well-being (Giovannini & Rondinella, 2012). Nevertheless the new vision is still grounded on quantitative measures, sometimes inadequate for the psychosocial understanding of this issue.

To carry out effective evaluation research we should therefore have methods and tools that are able not only to assess individual variables of happiness and well-being, but also develop models that take into account community capability in improving social capital, empowering relationships and equity, verifying outcomes with quantitative and qualitative approaches and discussing them with participatory activities involving all the social actors.

We think that complex attitudes and behaviours related to well-being, life satisfaction and – finally – what is called happiness may be explored and appreciated only with different and pluralistic methods in order to avoid a restricted and individualistic vision and to include personal traits in the community background (De Piccoli, 2014).

The qualitative methods, which explore the situations, describe connections and the points at which a system can offer the space for change (Foster-Fishmann, Nowell, & Young, 2007), are

not aimed at having "numerical" results, but, especially in critical situations, may be the most appropriate approaches to identifying effective strategies (Meringolo, 2011).

The qualitative method may enable the move from the "ethical" point of view, based on theoretical and formal categories of the researcher-observer, to the "emic" approach, based on the subjective meanings shared by a specific social groups and their own culture (Pike, 1954).

Problems concerning methods and measurements are relevant in times of crisis, when policies have to pay particular attention to providing a better quality of life. Besides values orienting collective actions, having available (and reliable) instruments for planning and then evaluating outcomes of decisions becomes more and more useful.

Scientific knowledge is therefore relevant for policy choices. Scientific support may have five tasks related to policy (Prewitt, Schwandt, & Straf, 2012, p. 4): 1) identify problems; 2) measure their magnitude and seriousness; 3) review alternative policy interventions; 4) systematically assess the likely consequences of particular policy actions – intended and unintended, desired and unwanted; and 5) evaluate what, in fact, results from policy.

3.   Social Inequalities and Empowering Community Resources

The whole system of social protection, based on the assumption of a moderate but steady growth in population and total wealth, is struggling to deal with the scaling of available resources and the spread of marginal situations and risk.

The gap between continuous growing life expectancy and rapidly declining life expectancy *in good health* (Health in the European Union, 2015**;** Lubitz, Cai, Kramarow, & Lentzner, 2003) widens, as well as volatility and concentration of wealth making it impossible to raise adequate resources to guarantee all coverage of social services which have characterised the continental Europe always.

The fields facing more conflict – which cannot be detailed in a theoretical reflection here – are the social protection for elderly, the active job policies and the services addressed to early childhood (Diamond & Lodge, 2013; Ferrera, Fargion, & Jessoula, 2012; Zanini, 2015). Taking child care as an example, we can see that (as in the support to the work-life balance and parenting) the application of traditional thinking which provides the priority for the most economically vulnerable citizens, in times of scarcity of resources means that the admission of the service is allowed only to extreme marginal families.

This firstly thwarts – paradoxically – the aim of the service, planned as an opportunity for socialisation addressed to all children and as facilitation for both parents' employment, and secondly gives rise to a perceived relative deprivation in just upper class citizens, exacerbating social tensions among groups. Relative deprivation (Gurr, 1970) refers to the discrepancy between what people think they deserve, and what they actually think they can get. The relative deprivation theory was taken up by Brown (1988) and other scholars in studies about intergroup relations, relating such theory with conflicts among different groups, particularly when a "new category" of poor became too close to the pre-existing low-income group. Sometimes the access to social services is thus perceived by those excluded as a tangible privilege generating some paradoxes and social conflicts.

There are several experimental low cost forms of childhood services, based on stronger citizens' involvement, as "house nursery schools", or nursery schools in the worksite or self-

organised by neighbours, which, however, still remain marginal. They often lack, both in the analysis of the whole problem and in the awareness that they may answer to the un-sustainability of the Public Model of Services, often surviving thanks to an increasing externalisation with over exploited employees. The same reasoning applies to many other institutions, which cannot be detailed here, such as facilities available to the elderly, which often provide a temporary solution without activation of self-development and integration.

We think it is necessary today to reflect on the opportunities provided by the welfare state, without simply turning to the traditional "positive discrimination" for particular individuals or groups, which, taking the place of a global system of rights, is likely to develop unmanageable conflicts and to produce a chronic vicious circle of poverty and marginalisation, offering only charitable facilities, instead of reliable and sustainable empowering strategies.

How to get out of this trap in times of financial hardship?

Among the most relevant areas in the welfare services redefinition, we have identified those that can be the "lever" able to produce a systemic change (Foster-Fishman et al., 2007) in the following: a) the proximity and social capital networks; b) enterprises, which must play an active role in community building; c) local authorities and policy makers who have an important role in understanding needs and facilitating solutions, involving the professionals of public services, for their possible positive impact in the evolution of the system.

3.1 Social Capital

The response at the local level is the ability to capitalise on the assets of proximity, empowering community resources and make them available for groups, families, networks and solidarity circles (Poortinga, 2012; Volpi, 2011).

We have to emphasize togetherness in the city, living together as a mature and responsible civic life, highlighting the skills to be developed among citizens and administrators namely those that touch aspects of integration of diversity, communication, cooperative solution of problems.

We have to deepen the theme of *proximity relations* (Fay & Maner, 2012), their articulation in times and lifestyles, the possibility that they represent an immeasurable capital to draw resources, to revive righteous, clean, responsible, in a word, more sustainable models and lifestyles.

Is not difficult to imagine the potential of solidarity and reciprocity that can be activated through networking. Shopping, accompanying children in afternoon activities, facilitating meetings between old friends, giving private lessons or teaching skills are only a short list of activities that the intergenerational exchange network can promote. Similar examples may come from Voluntary Associations and NGOs (Bartolini, 2010; Kumar, Calvo, Avendano, Sivaramakrishnan, & Berkman, 2012).

We may mention several local communities that offer performances difficult to beat in terms of responsible citizenship (Condor, 2011). The presence of voluntary organisations, the extent of the phenomenon of social and sharing economy, the wealth of cohesion and capacity of reception and integration have ensured the success of all initiatives where the ethical element and participation are key resources.

As Community Psychologists, we have to give greater emphasis to the strategic importance of proximity capital. Learning not only how to live, but also how to cooperate with neighbours becomes a strategic asset for better quality of living based on the ability to be at the same time

producers and users of the services. This is possible due to studies and research that analyse the role of social ties (Orford, 2008), networking potential (Scott, 2012), opportunities provided by partnerships and coalitions in local community (Himmelman, 2001).

3.2   Enterprises

Large companies are increasingly called upon to respond to the needs of specific communities through social responsibility policies, which are becoming a central element of reputation, as those in production and sustainable consumption.

The "wise" company, able to exploit and conserve environmental, human, and knowledge resources, considers social responsibility a strategic function and not a communication tool.

Of course to do this, the company should take seriously, in its "core business", the relationship with the community, bringing social responsibility to the top, giving it more financial resources with the possibility of building projects with the core functions such as the management of human resources, logistics, and marketing. The open fronts on which the firm can commit to change starts from energy optimisation, off-setting emissions and land consumption, short chain, green procurement, welfare work and the work-life balance.

The idea is that sustainability and empathy previously perceived as luxury goods for families and enterprises today become core elements of business and strongly needed in social interactions.

The recent study by Bartolini and Saracino (2015) highlights how wealth grows at the expense of well-being, especially for the middle and lower classes. The study focuses on the dispersion of social capital that China faces during the rapid increase in income since the 90's. The study reveals how the emergence of materialistic values have led to a progressive monetisation of "services" previously managed through natural networks of exchange with a negative impact on the level of life with extraordinary emphasis in shifting from traditional medicine to the western one, creating exponential growth costs and raising the access threshold. The wealth generated by the natural networks and informal exchange appears seriously compromised by the rise in NGP.

Some European countries experienced rapid growth after the Second World War. In Italy over ten years the GDP increased at Asian speed and eight million people moved from the South to the North and from rural to metropolitan areas. The contradictions generated by the "*miracolo economico [Italian economic miracle]*" exploded in the late Seventies are still today affecting Italian society.

During the same period, other visions and strategies were developed and experimented. Somewhere somebody has tried to put together economic growth and community social capital. We refer to the case of Olivetti Corporate, founded in 1908 by the utopist socialist, Camillo Olivetti, which achieved – under the management of Adriano Olivetti in the 50's – world leadership in the production of typewriters and Hi-Tech Office Systems (Olivetti, 2014; Brennan, 2015).

In public debates, and in a recent TV drama, Adriano Olivetti has often been presented as an isolated brave and naive hero. There has always been a question about the effectiveness and replicability of his model. Was he a dreamer with no sense of reality who took the Company to the brink of debt, or rather a leader who gave concreteness to a vision of renewal of the industrial culture?

Certainly today Olivetti's values have become part of the most innovative business models. There are many examples of companies that have been able to combine business success and psychosocial well-being of workers and communities. It is not anymore a scandal to combine mass production and beauty, or cultivate talents that can bring divergent thinking and innovation. The same Michael Porter (Porter & Kramer, 2011) who has guided us for decades to focus on creating business values (for shareholders) now recognises the importance of shared values. Epochal shift from shareholders to stakeholders is perhaps producing a new paradigm.

There is one aspect of which Olivetti leaves a unique legacy of anticipatory vision, the relationship between local and global, between the community and the territory on which the company is born and develops, creating richness and humanity, promoting social sustainability, complementary to environmental sustainability.

The Olivetti model combined industrial production and a sense of aesthetics, innovative capacity, social cohesion and cultural heritage, so as to produce items for export. The pattern of internationalisation was designed putting down new roots without eradicating the historical ones, taking care of the community, which remains at the core of entrepreneurial action. His action was a way of building the community as a network of relationships and complementary functions, combining industry and agriculture, urban and rural, technical and humanistic culture, production and landscape. In this perspective Olivetti's social policy can be better understood, offered as a relevant investment for social services in the labour force and profit sharing with local communities.

Attention to the consistency between wealth creation and preservation of social capital and wellness is perhaps the most important aspect of inheritance of Adriano Olivetti. The factory opened, even architecturally, to the territory and the surrounding nature and searched for a balance between tradition and modernity, characterising the entire development of Olivetti in the 50's. "Bring the plant to the workers and not the workers to the factory", has been the principle that marked the production growth in both the direction of the city/country, hill/valley and allowed the workers to maintain agricultural activities and networking of relationships. In the years in which FIAT was dictating the development model based on the eradication of millions of Southern workers, Olivetti was building plants in hilltop villages, South Italy, Latin America and Africa. Development based on social capital and well-being made not only for benefit of the workers but aimed to establish empowered communities, in his strategic plan gone with his death, sharing the enterprise's profits with the formula "one third to entrepreneurs, one third to workers, and one third to the community".

3.3   Local Government and the Role of Policy Makers

The new industrial revolution based on empathy, as Rifkin argues (2009), will need leaders capable of listening rather than appearing, more able to integrate than persuade. Community Psychology approaches and tools become fundamental skills of this new leadership: starting from empowerment, both for its individual aspects promoting control, critical awareness and participation (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988), and for aspects related to the competent community development (Laverack, 2001), theoretical and methodological reflection provides a framework able to support the birth and the growth of social actors skilled in managing such cultural and political changes.

Over the past years Europe has been saved by the initiative and social responsibility of people, associations and businesses, as well as the community heritage that transformed even

natural disasters into development opportunities. Local governments can do a lot. Doing better with less seems to be the new challenge for policy makers and administrators. Participatory budgeting and redesigning part of the services require widespread plural governance that puts today's policy makers in a new position to deal with active participation. Exit the perverse circuit "more taxes for fewer services" means to develop a new ruling class able to promote, facilitate and reward rather than plan, manage and sanction.

This requires a wise governance to put Policy Makers in a new position able to deal with citizens' active participation, where the focus shifts from capturing consensus to negotiating the accountability and setting the rules. Breaking the deadlock (taxes increase for worse services) should give rise today to a fundamental rethink of all the services in terms of community participation. Of course this has consequences in terms of power (Christens, 2012; Kloos et al. 2012; Volpi, 2011).

4.   Conclusions

Happiness and well-being mean, for the most of citizens, to be part of a reference system, a world made by relations and values, and to have the possibility to be supported in their own weaknesses through a public network of educational, social and health services. The difficulties and the easiness in accessing such services play a relevant role in conditioning the balance between well-being needs and available resources.

In the last century, welfare was the most important achievement for being "safe" particularly in adverse situations. This system was able to meet the needs of marginalised people, because it was supported by the contribution of a large part of workers inside the society. As we have seen in the first part of this paper, now a global crisis negatively impacts on welfare models in European countries. We are used up to now to govern the scarcity of resources through a set of positive discriminations. Access to services is adjusted on the basis of lack of economic resources due essentially to the household income. But this way of supporting "weak" citizens demonstrates its limits.

Now we have to think about, and to develop, a range of opportunities "for all" which have to be community-based and able to provide "no frill" services, based on targeted offers and user's involvement. This could represent the new frontier for Community Psychology.

The quality of the social protection system must become a priority for policy makers, by promoting, supporting and rewarding all possible professional and volunteer resources, to retrieve dignity and the meaning to the activities that are the true pillars of every civilization such as elderly and child care, knowledge transfer, and education. Local authorities and also enterprises should engage in a clear support to welfare and employment plans to balance the opportunities in prominent sectors and benefit the community.

In this process the proximity heritage as well as the ability to integrate the diversity, are crucial. There are many skills to be developed, listening, mediation, measurement of relational capital and promoting empowerment.

As Community Psychologists' network we have a specific responsibility in this battle of civilizations. The direct involvement in politics of our colleagues during the Seventies brought beneficial effects in the long term. Italy now shows higher resilience due also to the choices made in the field of family law, mental health policies, integration of disabled children in

schools, and social diseases prevention. These political choices have seen Community Psychologists at the forefront in this struggle.

As indication for a future research agenda, we may mention the need to re-think concepts as well-being and community resilience, deal with conflicts, de-naturalize social variables, deepen conscientisation (Montero, 2009), and finally, social change (Foster-Fishman et al., 2007).

It is time to pull Community Psychology out of narrow scope of marginalisation and reformulate policies fostering happiness and well-being, to imagine and build together with the people a better future for the next generations.

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