

GNH:

From Philosophy to Praxis

Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on
Gross National Happiness, 4-6 November 2015, Paro, Bhutan

Edited by DASHO KARMA URA & DORJI PENJORE



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Centre for Bhutan Studies & GNH

GNH: From Philosophy to Praxis - Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Gross National Happiness, 4-6 November 2015, Paro, Bhutan

Edited by Dasho Karma Ura and Dorji Penjore

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Introduction

Papers published in this book are the selection from papers presented at the 6th international conference on Gross National Happiness held from 1 to 6 July 2016 in Paro, Bhutan, or more precisely, those revised papers submitted by the participants.

Bhutan celebrated the year 2015 as the 60th Anniversary of the Fourth Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, and the 5th GNH conference was organised as a part of series of national events and activities to celebrate the architect of GNH. After reigning for 34 years the Fourth Majesty abdicated the throne in 2006 and left a legacy of Gross National Happiness and the institution of democracy respectively as development and governance structures for Bhutan. For the Centre for Bhutan Studies & Gross National Happiness (CBS & GNH), a social research institute that has been assigned the task of studying and measuring GNH in December 2005, it was a great honour to organize this conference. The interests from both home and abroad are overwhelming: 330 foreign participants from 48 countries took part in the conference.

His Excellency Lyonchhen Tshering Tobgay, the Hon'ble Prime Minister of Bhutan, opened the conference with a keynote address over a reception dinner organized to welcome the participants. The conference began with addresses from Tsuglag Lopen Rinpoche, one of the highest-ranking lamas of Bhutan's Central Monastic Body. A total 116 experts from academia, politics, business and civil society from 48 countries shared their insights and experiences and engaged in discussions with the audience. The speakers are innovative leaders in their own rights of creative, determined, and thoughtful interventions to advance GNH in their own contexts. The Conference closed with a

closing presentation by Robert F Kennedy Jr, entitled ‘A contract with our future’.

To allow the participants to experience GNH, alongside intellectual interchange, the conference was held in specially designed tents on the lawn of Ugyen Pelri Palace with backdrops of the striking palace architecture and the Paro valley. The participants were made to savour Bhutan’s native red rice with organic vegetables prepared by local hands. Traditional dances, including a very sacred masked dance, and the screening of Khyentse Norbu’s film *Travellers and Magicians* added to their Bhutan experience. Besides allowing the participants to discover intellectual community and to exercise and strengthen commonality of purpose the conference provided an opportunity for policy representatives, policy makers, practitioners and academicians to share experiences on translating wellbeing and happiness frameworks into practice. This interchange had enriched their own endeavours, which have sympathetic resonance with His Majesty’s original vision of GNH, and extend GNH across many contexts within and outside Bhutan

The Centre for Bhutan Studies & Gross National Happiness would like to thank the Hon’ble Prime Minister of Bhutan His Excellency Dasho Tshering Tobgay for unstinted support extended to the conference. We owe our thank for all the participants who had participated in the conference.

**Keynote Address by His Excellency Lyonchhen Dasho
Tshering Tobgay, the Hon'ble Prime Minister of
Bhutan***

It is a great pleasure to be present with you here at the International conference on Gross National Happiness. This year, we are celebrating the 60th Birth Anniversary of our beloved Fourth King, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck who gave us the legacy of Gross National Happiness. This conference is a fitting tribute to the great leader who devoted 34 years of his life in the service of his people and the country. On behalf of the government and people of Bhutan, I would like to warmly welcome you all to this conference, which gathers participants from a record number of forty-eight countries.

* His Excellency Lyonchhen Dasho Tshering Tobgay is the Prime Minister of Bhutan and the leader of the People's Democratic Party (PDP). He was the Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly from March 2008 to April 2013. He attended secondary schooling at Dr. Graham's Homes School in Kalimpong, India, and received his bachelor of science in mechanical engineering from the University of Pittsburgh's Swanson School of Engineering in 1990. He completed his master's degree in public administration from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University in 2004. His Excellency was a civil servant before joining politics, starting his career with the Technical and Vocational Education Section (TVES) of the Education Division in Bhutan in 1991. After working with the TVES from 1991 to 1999, His Excellency established and led the National Technical Training Authority (NTTA) from 1999 to 2003. His Excellency also served from 2003 to 2007 in the Ministry of Labour and Human Resources as the director of the Human Resources department.

Background

Let me begin by looking back. Throughout modern history, societal progress has been measured in terms of GDP. The higher the GDP, the more developed a country, so goes the general belief. There is, thus a mad rush for increasing GDP. Hence, over time, GDP came to be seen as a surrogate for societal wellbeing – something it was never designed to be. We are, as a country and as a planet, facing a number of urgent challenges. The threats of climate change, environmental pollution, social disruption, cultural disintegration, corruption, and political instability are no longer problems of the future.

GNH Concept

We need to draw on our values to develop a vision to define the hallmarks of success, and the benchmarks, a society have to reach.

We need to understand that the notion of progress goes well beyond lack of income or consumption to include non-monetary aspects such as weak social connections, the psychological costs of alienation and isolation, the exposure to risks and the experience of vulnerability.

We need a clear, coherent and compelling complement to the dominance of GDP. We need a new and transformational approach to defining and measuring wellbeing.

Recently the international development community felt towards this need in articulating the Sustainable Development Goals in New York, which resonate deeply with ‘development with values’. Yet even this ambitious list of goals lacks a coherent and compelling account of wellbeing, and it leaves out our culture, relationships, and even details like balanced work life.

The solution clearly lies in changing the very purpose and goal of development. If the basic purpose of development were changed from the pursuit of profit to the pursuit of higher wellbeing in all its dimensions, the true level of happiness on the planet would certainly go

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up. The Stiglitz Sen Fitoussi Commission stated this. The Beyond GDP initiative in Europe recognizes it. The array of new wellbeing initiatives in measurement and action testify to it.

This conference aims to provide an opportunity to learn about alternative developmental approaches wherein the final goal is happiness and wellbeing of people.

It will provide a unique opportunity for political representatives, policy makers, practitioners, faith leaders and academicians to exchange experiences on strategies of translating wellbeing frameworks into practice.

It will help bring about a re-appraisal of what matters. And in time, quietly but surely, it will shift social progress and wellbeing considerations from government departments and academia into mainstream consciousness.

For Bhutan, the drive to glimpse the true nature of development began early under the wise leadership of our kings. We aspired to be a country where progress was holistic, inclusive, equitable and sustainable. Where political and spiritual matters were in balance.

This aspiration was crystallized in the visionary statement, “Gross National Happiness is more important than Gross Domestic Product”; first enunciated by His Majesty the Fourth King of Bhutan in the 1970s.

His Majesty believed that the final goal was the contentment of the people, and that development should enable human beings to unfold their potential of becoming better human beings socially, economically and morally.

Our fifth King has continued this august commitment. On his first state visit to India, His Majesty the 5th King said “I have been inspired in the way I look at things by Bhutan’s development philosophy of GNH and its pioneer, my father His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck. GNH has

come to mean so many things to so many people. But to me, it signifies simply, ‘Development with values’.

GNH – what we call Gross National Happiness - therefore, is what defines us as a nation and still guides us as we move forward as a society.

GNH Policies

Over forty years since its introduction, Bhutan has ensured that GNH has been the unifying force behind all policy formulation, and has shaped the country’s five-year planning cycle.

Some of the greatest milestones Bhutan achieved so far are in culture and in environment.

From a GNH perspective, it is understood that a decline in traditional heritage and cultural wisdom will lead to a general weakening of society. If you look around, many countries have lost much of their culture with the dynamic changing times. Bhutan, despite her lack of military might or economic power, maintains a distinct authority and a special identity of her own.

Likewise, unlike many countries in which the environment has been a low priority for public investment and policy formation, Bhutan maintains a strong commitment towards environmental conservation. Bhutan has 72.5% forest coverage; with more than half of its total land area designated as protected areas.

And so, a very positive state of the natural environment has directed Bhutan to pursue a green economy.

For instance, in 2014, we introduced electric cars.

The fundamental motivation for embarking on this journey was to achieve zero emission in the transport sector. This imperative is driven by our need to depend on renewable clean and cheaper sources of

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electricity while reducing our reliance on imported oil, with its ever-rising prices.

It is also driven by our need to address the global climate change crisis with its disastrous economic, environmental, human health and social impacts. And to adopt innovative technologies to grow new green sectors in the economy as a foundation for the creation of new and decent jobs in the economy.

With the increase in urbanization and a growing middle class in Bhutan, I hope that the demand for modern transportation to support its urban lifestyles can be met by the carbon neutral electric car option.

The green economy also requires us to sustain good practices for example in agriculture. Bhutan's food production has always been primarily organic. Yet unless we consciously recognize and affirm its value to our environment and economy, it may decline. We already see some potatoes being grown with fertilizer. Within the next five years, Bhutan will move to consolidate our sustainable and organic agricultural practices as even more reinforced policy.

And how can our young democracy more deeply internalize, and more creatively promote GNH policies? For what is most pressing varies. Our 9th five-year plan began to decentralize planning, and our 10th began fiscal decentralization. I would like to announce that the next five-year plan process will involve the local levels of government – that we call gewogs – even more deeply. They can develop plans and programmes to advance all GNH domains in their context. I believe this will bring a double benefit: our locally elected leaders will become more conscious of GNH and more confident in building model gewogs where sustainability practices are renewed.

GNH Business

Until this point, almost all the efforts of both implementing policies for GNH and providing better GNH measures in Bhutan have been

confined to the governmental and academic circles, while the business sector has been overlooked.

The current business model, with its over emphasis on profit maximization, on increasing shareholder value at almost any cost to environment and to the community, is unsustainable.

From a GNH standpoint, businesses – whether domestic or foreign – too are a central and vital pillar of our society that share equal responsibilities for improving people's lives and contributing to their wellbeing and happiness.

Businesses must explore fostering happiness and wellbeing as an alternative business purpose. Such a focus requires a paradigm shift in how leaders think about the purpose of business. Only then will business regain its rightful place as one of the important pillars on which we can build personal and societal success.

A recent example of our own efforts to shift the business paradigm is our Economic Stimulus Plan. The Economic Stimulus Plan began with the twin purposes of empowering people and ensuring balanced equitable socio-economic development. It established a Business Opportunity and Information Centre aimed at fostering the growth of cottage and small manufacturing industries in a sustainable manner.

Bhutan will look inwards towards developing and empowering our small businesses, creating a climate that supports small business growth and encouraging citizens and young graduates to create businesses rather than seek employment.

By investing in the growth and development of small businesses across the country, the massive result to be realized from this effort can facilitate economic self-reliance for Bhutan and build GNH business culture from the ground up.

Subjective Happiness

Roughly a decade ago, Bhutan started talking about developing GNH Index to report on our progress. We made a firm commitment then, that whatever we came up with, it would have to be rooted in Bhutanese experience and grounded in the values of GNH. The idea was based on the very astute observation that indicators are powerful. What we count matters. What we count ultimately influences the policy agendas and decisions of governments.

But before I share with you results about Gross National Happiness, let me start with findings on subjective happiness and explain why the GNH indicator is not a subjective happiness indicator.

On subjective happiness, people were asked, ‘taking all things together, how happy would you say that you are’ and also shared their satisfaction levels across domains of life. Overall, in Bhutan, there was a significant increase in the subjective happiness in 2015 as compared to 2010.

Why, you may ask, do we not simply use subjective happiness?

The reason is that happiness indicators measure only a part of GNH. For example, if we look at the people whose subjective happiness was 7 or higher, we might be surprised to find that only half of these people are happy in terms of the GNH Index! Was it a mistake? Looking closer at those who are deeply happy by each indicator, we find that less than one-quarter of them are the same people.

Additionally, the district ranking was also different for overall subjective happiness ratings compared to GNH. For example, Dagana is the happiest district of all according to subjective happiness, but ranked low on GNH, so the two indices clearly measure different things.

Subjective happiness has fascinated many researchers because it adds new quantitative data. But it does not capture altruism or responsibility. It does not reflect care for the environment either – the happiest

countries worldwide include those that are polluting our planet most. So it is not appropriate as a standalone goal for society.

Could people's satisfaction in each of the domains be used instead of the GNH indicators? Well, if we look at people's satisfaction with their health, it decreased – but their objective health improved. Turning to immediate family relationships, satisfaction with these improved but the GNH indicators worsened by a small amount but it is statistically significant. And subjective satisfaction with living conditions went down, while objective levels of income, housing and work each improved.

So there is much still to understand, but what is clear is that subjective data do not proxy objective states, which our policies seek to improve.

GNH values positive subjective states and Buddhist psychology has studied these for centuries. So the GNH index measures psychological wellbeing, using four indicators: evaluative life satisfaction, positive and negative emotions, and spirituality. And it includes psychological wellbeing among the domains of GNH. Subjective happiness is important, but other things are profoundly important as well.

GNH Measures

The GNH Index is guided by a domain-based conceptual framework that shifts the focus solely from the economy alone, or from subjective happiness alone, to include other critical domains of people's lives that lead to enhanced wellbeing.

The nine domains of GNH are, (1) psychological wellbeing, (2) health, (3) education, (4) time use, (5) cultural diversity and resilience, (6) good governance, (7) community vitality, (8) ecological diversity and resilience, and lastly (9) living standards.

When we look one by one at how citizens in Bhutan are faring on these nine domains, we catch a glimpse of their wellbeing. Looking at individual portraits for thousands of Bhutanese provides a snapshot of how our quality of life is, and how it is changing, for better or worse. Its

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simplicity makes it a highly effective communication and evaluation tool.

We had our first national level GNH Index in 2010. This year we have our second.

Allow me to share with you some findings:

Overall, 91.2% of Bhutanese enjoy sufficiency in at least half of the domains. Furthermore, 43.4% are moderately or deeply happy because they have sufficient achievements in two-thirds of the domains.

Among groups; men are happier than women and urban residents are happier than rural ones. All domains contributed in a balanced way to GNH overall.

Looking back at 2010 for comparisons, we find that there has been a significant increase in GNH between 2010 and 2015 from 0.743 to 0.756. Is this fast or slow? We do not yet know. It is our first time to update so we have nothing to compare it to. We are still learning what is a 'good' growth rate of GNH Index!

Also, if we focus on the people who are unhappy or only narrowly happy according to GNH, we find that their achievements also increased by a small amount but it is statistically significant, so they are closer to reaching GNH too.

I am very pleased that our GNH growth pattern is commendable because it has been equalizing. It favoured the less happy groups. Women's GNH Index increased faster than that of men from 2010 to 2015, reducing gender inequality. Happiness among those lacking formal schooling increased faster, reducing inequality. GNH increased more for older persons, 2010-2015, so an equalizing trend.

So, how did GNH rise? We saw some modest gains in areas such as living standards, health and time use. But in other areas such as

community vitality and psychological wellbeing indicators, we actually seem to lose ground.

To be more specific, significant increases in some indicators drove the change:

A massive 20% of Bhutanese saw increases in their access to services: electricity, clean water, hygienic waste disposal, and health care.

Bhutanese have reported that they enjoy a higher number of healthy days in a month, and stay home ill less than before.

Looking into how we spend our time, which is a good way to take the pulse of our values, we see that people spent more time on cultural activities, and 7% more Bhutanese slept enough in 2015 than in 2010 - so we do not have a rise in workaholics!

Other drivers of change were improved housing conditions, which improved for 12% of Bhutanese – plus increases in income per capita and in assets and improvements in environmental issues.

Another positive change for Bhutan regards the serious problem of wildlife like deer, boar, and elephant damaging our crops. Wildlife destruction is less of a complaint now than five years ago.

It is heartening to see the positive changes across so many of the dimensions of our lives. Yet the GNH Index is an honest 360-degree control room, not a fair weather tool. It also holds up a mirror and shows us where we are becoming weaker, which may give a little cause for soul-searching.

In Bhutan, addressing the spiritual dimension of a person's life has been a traditional way of bringing the person's wellbeing to the forefront. Yet in the past 5 years, people's spirituality level has decreased slightly. People are reporting higher prevalence of negative emotions such as anger, frustration and jealousy. I am committed to implementing strategies to protect and promote the emotional, psychological and

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spiritual skills that underpin happiness. We have the wisdom in our Monastic Body to work with the Ministry of Education to renew our values education, so children learn spiritual skills and emotional intelligence early on. We need to establish spiritual centres and request our highly-accomplished lamas and practitioners to help us develop inner peace and wisdom, both in traditional ways and using modern media and English. If others do likewise in our corporations, and businesses, our spirituality will be sustained!

Bhutanese also perceived changes in our culture – 17% more Bhutanese in 2015 felt that our traditional etiquette that we call Driglam Namzha had declined or was not strong enough. To address this, I will revisit dzongkhag and history curriculum for schools and colleges, and require graduates and trainees to take an intensive module on the national language, philosophy, and culture (as done by lawyers at RIM), so that our future leaders of institutions and businesses revisit these topics as they reach adulthood. These and other policies can remind us of our heritage, yet in the end our values have to be renewed with authenticity and from within, in our homes and communities.

In the domain of community, volunteerism and donations isn't growing and most significantly, we find weaker levels of social relationship with family, friends and neighbours. A sense of belongingness to the community declined by 19%. This is a plaintive cry for attention to fight social isolation both among our elders being left behind in rural areas and new urban migrants facing loneliness, and I am committed to raising this point strongly with our local leaders.

The single indicator that had the biggest decline observed in the subjective perception of government performance in employment, equality, education, health, anti-corruption, environment and culture. It is suspected that this came about because of the divisive electoral politics had on people. The people were largely divided into two opposing electoral camps and the voters of opposing party naturally rated the performance of ruling party low.

Additionally, a sharp increase was witnessed with government's actual delivery of services and so it can be said that government performance indicator has been rated independent of service delivery.

This result gives me the chance to open an important discussion. Bhutan has learnt a great deal from older democracies. Yet we may also have learnt some of their less positive habits. We have an opportunity to quickly drop these obstructive behaviours before they become embedded and impossible to change. I will open a discussion of what it would mean to carry out our debates and democratic exchanges, and even our electoral campaigns, with compassion, and wisdom.

From the GNH Indicators I can see clearly that Bhutanese care about how government performs, that they are troubled, and they are keeping track. I hope that in the next GNH index our government improves in their eyes.

The final troubling trend is that the improvement in GNH was strongest in our urban areas and small towns, but not in our fields and valleys and hamlets high up in the mist. We will use our agricultural policies and fast-expanding connectivity to energize GNH in rural areas, so young people build their careers and families in our beautiful villages as mature modern men and women, and don't only yearn for the city lights.

So that is a bit, a taste of our current journey to improve GNH, and a window onto our progress and our challenges in 2015.

As you can imagine, the GNH Index will open the door to a substantive national dialogue where broad based progress and wellbeing considerations will be just as significant and tangible as financial considerations in decision-making. It will confront us with challenges and decisions we should make to optimize wellbeing.

We hope this dialogue will also unleash the imagination, the creativity and the wisdom of Bhutanese women, men and youth in all sectors of

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society. So the growth in GNH will be the work of many hands and hearts and minds.

GNH International

I turn now to this conference, recognizing that for some participants, your focus is outside of Bhutan. GNH has gained momentum in other countries too. At present, there is a groundswell of work addressing this needed change in how we measure progress, from the ‘Beyond GDP’ initiative in Europe, to OECD’s ongoing work on how to ‘Measure what we treasure’, to a plethora of national and subnational initiatives.

Major programs are underway in the United States, United Kingdom, India, Australia, Canada, and Brazil among others. It has varying prominence and political space in those countries. But the combined global effort of official and grass root actions creates a platform from which citizens can pressure decision makers to create policies that honour these values and fulfil the needs of the communities they serve.

In 2012, the United Nations declared March 20th the ‘International Day of Happiness’. Gross National Happiness has also been embraced within the United Nations.

The draft Sustainable Development Goal Indicators agreed last week in Bangkok do not require every country to produce a GNH Index. Which is right – happiness cannot be imposed. But they leave the door open for national governments to experiment and advance along this path, and we have among us some who are doing just that.

The movement for change, the move into the mainstream, the shift of paradigm is underway. But it needs to be carefully nurtured.

Conclusion

This conference is one of the many ways of cultivating GNH activities. And the fact that so many of you are here today also reflects a mutual recognition that this is the moment to create change.

GNH From Philosophy to Praxis

In the 1970s, our fourth King's observation that GNH is more important than GDP crystallized his insight about the balance of priorities that we as a nation should seek to advance. The GNH index now monitors and invites us to reflect deeply upon, to stake our claim on, valuable aspects of life that are under threat. It invites us to nurture them, even as we continue to grow and evolve in other ways. There are plenty of challenges for us here in Bhutan, just as there are for you in your own societies, yet we must each face into the challenges with determination.

Together, we must work to build societies that are sustainable in every way and offer a better quality of life for everyone. We must lead by example. And we must cheer one another when we are tired or discouraged. I am confident that this conference will enable people to find new ways of engaging with each other, having meaningful conversations, asking the right questions and seeking and finding ways to inspire change.

Let me wish you a successful conference that bears much fruit in your lives and the lives of all.

The Politics of Gross National Happiness: Values, Power and Policy Implementation

*Kent Schroeder**

Introduction

There is a growing global consensus that development needs to be conceptualized as a multidimensional phenomenon. The former dominance of the economic growth paradigm is now paralleled by multidimensional approaches to development that place people, not economic growth, as the ultimate end of development. Accompanying this emerging global consensus is a recognition that effective governance is the foundation upon which to foster such development. The concept of *governance* moves beyond the notion of *government*. The nature of government is restricted to state actors. Governance, on the other hand, involves the exercise of power through interactions among public, private and civil society actors and the norms, institutions and values

* Kent Schroeder coordinates and teaches in the undergraduate program in International Development Studies at Humber College in Toronto. Kent has maintained an on-going interest in gross national happiness and its implementation since 2006. He worked on two small training initiatives in Bhutan with the Royal Institute of Management and the Department of Information and Media. He also undertook 7 months of field research throughout Bhutan and has published several articles on GNH and its implementation. Kent has a PhD in political science/international development studies from the University of Guelph.

that shape these interactions. The expansion to state and non-state actors that is characteristic of governance requires an opening of the public policy process – formulation, implementation and evaluation – to effectively engage this broadened set of actors.

Despite the recognition of a vital link between effective governance and operationalizing multidimensional development approaches, much scholarly attention focuses primarily on the formulation of multidimensional development policies or the evaluation of their outcomes. Analysis of the role of people’s agency in achieving multidimensional outcomes, particularly through policy implementation, tends to remain simplistic or default to insufficient notions of collective rationality that do not adequately take power relations into account (Gasper 2002; Johnson 2009: 119; Stewart & Deneulin 2002: 70). This ignores the reality of multiple state and non-state governance actors with potentially conflicting political interests. Such conflicting interests may compete to influence the policy implementation process in a manner that generates development outcomes that may not reflect the original multidimensional intentions of policy formulation.

This is a critical issue for Bhutan. The country has implemented a multidimensional development strategy known as Gross National Happiness (GNH) since the 1970s. GNH was initially constructed as four integrated pillars including sustainable and equitable socio-economic development, cultural preservation and promotion, environmental conservation and good governance. More recently it has been expanded into nine domains. The domains broaden the original four pillars to include psychological wellbeing, health, time use, education, cultural diversity and resilience, good governance, community vitality, ecological diversity and resilience, and living standard. Since the inauguration of this multidimensional development strategy in the 1970s, governance in Bhutan has evolved considerably. Deepening decentralization and democratization have broadened the number and kind of actors, both state and non-state, now involved in

the implementation of GNH policies. Multiple interests, and potentially competing interests, are a part of the process of putting GNH into action on the ground.

A GNH governance framework, including a set of GNH-specific policy tools, has emerged as a means to shape and harmonize potentially competing interests so they are consistent with the multidimensional character of GNH. Exploring how, or whether, this governance framework is successful in harmonizing competing policy implementation interests is necessary to gain a better understanding of how GNH can be best operationalized at the policy level. Do state and non-state governance actors pursue competing interests when implementing GNH policy? If so, does Bhutan's governance framework with its policy tools successfully shape their actions in a manner that is consistent with GNH? Or do competing priorities in the policy implementation process subvert the achievement of intended GNH outcomes? This study explores these questions. It argues that the GNH-specific policy tools are not primarily responsible for successfully harmonizing competing power interests. Rather, a common commitment among competing governance actors to a set of Buddhist-inspired cultural values plays a key role in shaping policy implementation in a manner consistent with GNH.

Research Methods

Exploring how GNH policies are implemented on the ground requires an analysis that draws upon multiple and diverse policy contexts. Doing so allows stronger inferences to be made about the nature of the implementation of GNH policies and the political dynamics that surround the process. As such, this study comparatively analyses the implementation of four GNH-related policies: media, tourism, farm roads and the human/wildlife conflict strategy. The four policies were selected using three criteria: i) a clear integration of several GNH pillars or domains within the policy field, ii) multiple state and non-state actors involved in the actual implementation of the policy, and iii) a history of

policy outcomes that can be assessed for whether they reflect the initial GNH intentions of the policy. In addition, the four policies collectively represent a mix of both centralized and decentralized cases of policy implementation. Again, this diversity among the four policies allows for stronger inferences to be made about the nature of implementing GNH.

Semi-structured interviews and focus groups were undertaken with 157 respondents representing three levels of government (national, district and village block), the private sector, civil society organizations (CSOs) and international donors involved in implementing the four policies. Purposive sampling was used to ensure representation from the main geographic regions of Bhutan as well as areas of high, medium and low levels of poverty incidence. The semi-structured and focus group interviews were complemented by site visits, participant observation and document analysis.

For each of the four policy fields, the research explored three questions:

- i) What are the initial GNH intentions of the selected policy?
- ii) How does Bhutan's governance framework shape the potentially competing interests and actions of state, non-state and donor actors involved in the implementation of the policy?
- iii) What are the resulting policy outcomes and how do they compare with initial GNH policy intentions?

The following sections turn to an analysis of these questions.

Gross National Happiness and its Governance Framework

Bhutan is at the forefront of implementing a development approach conceptualized in multidimensional terms. Since the early 1970s Bhutan has pursued Gross National Happiness as its national development strategy. GNH articulates an understanding of development that incorporates multiple and interrelated dimensions. It is an attempt to construct development in a holistic manner that

addresses the multiple and interdependent dimensions of being human. The initial four pillars and recently expanded nine domains of GNH are explicitly rooted in a foundation of Buddhist cultural values (Lokamitra 2004; Planning Commission 1999: 19; Tashi 2004; Tideman 2011). Balance, harmony, sustainability, the sanctity of all life, moderation, responsiveness and the interdependence of all sentient beings form the value foundation upon which the pillars and domains of GNH rest. Respondents in this study referred to these values as Buddhist values, Buddhist-Hindu values or, most frequently, Bhutanese values. The values intimately connect Gross National Happiness to its national cultural context.

The official construction of GNH as a national strategy rooted to its cultural context has led to the Bhutanese state itself being defined as a “GNH state”, or, more often, a state aspiring to become a GNH state (Dessallien 2005; Tashi 2004: 485; Ura 2003: 1; Zangmo in McDonald 2010: 119-120). Gross National Happiness is often portrayed as a normative statist goal, a legitimization of state policy or a self-representation of the state itself (Ura 2007: 41). Examples are numerous. Article 9.2 of the constitution outlines the state’s role as the enabler of GNH. Gross National Happiness is also embedded in the mission statements of many central government ministries and agencies. Legislation on the role of local governments explicitly links them to fostering GNH. Upon his ascension to the throne in 2006, the fifth King announced that the pursuit of Gross National Happiness will be a key aspect of his reign (in Kinga 2009: 298). GNH is deeply engrained in the very character of the Bhutanese state.

The Bhutanese state may officially play the lead role in the national pursuit of GNH but non-state actors have a role as well. The state is not intended to be the sole source of power. It needs to engage with a broadened range of domestic development partners including civil society organizations and the private sector (Planning Commission 1999: 52; GNH Commission 2009a: 51; RGoB 2005a: 3). International donors are also key development partners in the implementation of

GNH policies (Planning Commission 1999: 21-22). This governance framework of broadened actors has further evolved since 2008 to incorporate the unique set of GNH-specific policy tools. The tools are an attempt to ensure the policy process is infused with GNH in a manner that constrains the potentially competing interests of expanded governance actors so they remain consistent with GNH policy intentions. The tools have been designed for each stage of the policy process including policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. Further, the tools are, to varying degrees, participatory in nature. They directly engage governance actors in a collective process where the multiple dimensions of GNH are taken into account at all stages of the policy cycle. A more interdependent and holistic policy process is the intended result.

The GNH tools include a policy screening tool to be used in the process of policy formulation; a draft project screening tool, GNH committees and a GNH check to be used in planning and policy implementation; and a GNH Index for measuring and evaluating policy outcomes. The policy and project screening tools require governance actors to collectively rank draft policies and projects against a set of screening questions based on the GNH domains (Centre for Bhutan Studies n.d.). The tools ensure that regardless of the policy or project, the GNH domains will be taken into account and balanced. GNH Committees are structures meant to exist within each ministry and agency in the central government as well as within sub-national governments. The committees are to act as links to the GNH Commission, the main body responsible for operationalizing GNH, and to ensure that GNH is mainstreamed into policy implementation at all levels of government (GNH Commission n.d.). The GNH check is intended to enable communities to prioritize and plan local development activities in accordance with GNH criteria (Tshering & Chuki 2009).¹ Lastly, the

¹ In 2014, after the data collection for this study was completed, the GNH Check was incorporated into a set of three new community planning tools. The three new tools include: i) Critical Reflection and Challenging Our Assumptions, ii) Situation Assessment through Gender, Environment, Climate

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GNH Index is a tool that measures policy outcomes using the nine domains (Ura et al. 2012). The domains are further expanded into 33 variables with over 120 indicators. The multidimensional nature of the GNH Index ensures that policy outcomes are measured in a way that reflects the integration of the nine domains. The measurements can then feed back into the policy formulation and implementation processes.

In addition to these GNH specific tools, Bhutan's Five Year Plans (FYPs), which have been used since the early 1960s, have been explicitly designed as GNH tools since the 10th plan began in 2008. Results-based management, or RBM, is the management strategy used to guide the FYPs towards the achievement of GNH policy outcomes. Taken in total, the various GNH structures and tools represent a unique set of policy instruments that put the multiple dimensions of GNH at the heart of the governance and policy process in Bhutan. They require governance actors, at least in theory, to take the multiple GNH dimensions into account regardless of actors' own individual interests. The next section explores what actually happen in practice. It analyses the common themes that emerge from the experience of implementing the policy fields of tourism, media, farm roads and human/wildlife conflict.

The Politics of GNH in Policy Implementation

Each of the four policy fields explicitly intends to integrate some combination of pillars or domains of GNH. This is clear from government documents and interviews with government officials. Tourism policy strives to maximize equitable economic growth while minimizing the negative cultural and environmental impacts of this growth (DoT 2005: 67-71; NEC 1998: 51; Planning Commission 1999: 20, 35-36; DoT 2001: 18; RGoB 2011: 3). Media policy intends to

Change, Disaster and Poverty (GECDP) Lens and iii) Situation Assessment through Gross National Happiness (GNH) Lens. For more details see Tshering & Chuki 2014.

foster a free and responsible media that contributes to good governance within Bhutan's emerging democracy while preserving Bhutanese culture as a dynamic force within a free and globalized media landscape (BICMA 2010: 5; DoIM 2010: viii, xi; 2012; Pek 2003: 7). Farm road policy promotes a greater role in decision-making for local communities in the construction of environmentally friendly farm roads that contribute to rural economic growth and improve access to social services (DoA 2009: 5, 28; GNH Commission 2009a: 45, 95, 139; 2009b: 30; MoA 2009: 84; RGoB 2005b: 109-110). The human/wildlife conflict strategy, which addresses the problem of wildlife destroying crops and livestock, intends to better integrate rural economic activity within conservation practice by enhancing conflict mitigation strategies and fostering sustainable economic alternatives through decentralized decision-making (GNH Commission 2009b: 328-330; NCD 2008). These are the GNH intentions of the four policies. Their actual implementation illustrates four interrelated themes that complicate these intentions. The first three themes represent a threat to the successful implementation of GNH: unpredictable applications of power by governance actors in different contexts; missing or misunderstood GNH policy tools; and contested understandings of GNH itself. The fourth theme, however, mitigates the threat represented by the previous three. Governance actors maintain a common commitment to a set of cultural values – the same values that underlie GNH – that shape and constrain their policy implementation actions in a manner consistent with GNH. The resulting policy outcomes are therefore a general reflection of the initial GNH policy intentions. The following explores each of these themes in turn.

Unpredictable Applications of Power in Different Contexts

There is not one consistently dominant governance actor in the process of GNH policy implementation. Bhutan is often viewed as being dominated by a strong centralized state but the implementation of the four policies shows that different kinds of state and non-state actors are able to exert power in different contexts. Significantly, the context in

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which a certain kind of governance actor is dominant is frequently unpredictable. The same actors' influence often changes in different policy fields, geographic locations or configurations of governance actors. The result is an unpredictable policy implementation process where different actors with often competing interests engage in conflict, shifting alliances and emergent policy priorities.

Evidence of divergent and often unpredictable influence is stark across the four policy fields. In the implementation of media policy, the central ministry's interests often dominated when engaging with the private sector and CSOs. At the same time, conflict occasionally arose between the ministry and other central government agencies that checked the dominance of any one of them. In contrast, central government ministries were often isolated and ineffective in farm road policy. They had inconsistent influence – sometimes powerful, sometimes not – within different configurations of governance actors or different geographic regions in tourism and human/wildlife conflict policies. Sub-national governments at the *dzongkhag* (district) level and *gewog* (village block) level demonstrated similarly diverse patterns of power. Gewog governments consistently had significant influence on the nature of farm road construction. Yet this influence was driven by community pressure, sometimes at the expense of the gewogs' own interests. Both gewog and dzongkhag officials had strikingly inconsistent influence in different geographic regions in tourism policy and were often confused about their roles in implementing the human/wildlife conflict strategy. In the latter case this led to inconsistent implementation of the strategy in different geographic regions.

Non-state actors also demonstrated diverse and often unpredictable applications of power and influence. Civil society organizations involved in media and tourism policy wielded limited influence in partnership with the central government while, in the case of tourism, were sometimes effective in pursuing their priorities when confronting the central government. Private sector influence in tourism and media policy, on the other hand, was almost entirely unpredictable. Private

sector actors were sometimes successful in influencing policy implementation when allied with CSOs and government agencies while at other times similar alliances were not successful at all. Similarly, they were both successful and unsuccessful on different occasions when acting individually. In the case of media policy in particular, private sector actors often subverted their own collective interests due to mutual mistrust. Lastly, international donor voices were often silent, effectively integrated into the Bhutanese government's formal GNH development priorities within the policy fields. An exception is evident with tourism policy, however, where one international partner was able to carve out its own specific interests in partnership with a state agency while another was not effective in a similar partnership with a different state agency. Overall, the application of power and influence in GNH policy implementation, and the subsequent interests that dominate, is a complex cocktail that is often unpredictable.

GNH Policy Implementation Tools: Missing in Action

The diverse and unpredictable applications of power complicate the GNH policy implementation process. Multiple priorities and interests emerge but when and where they will be influential is often hard to determine. Given this unpredictable policy context, the GNH-specific policy tools were created to ensure diverse and unpredictable policy interests are harmonized in a manner consistent with the multiple dimensions of GNH. Nonetheless, a clear theme emerging across all four policy fields is the general absence of the specific tools intended to shape the policy implementation process. In some cases, this was due to a lack of knowledge of the existence of these tools. This was particularly the case with the draft GNH project selection tool and the GNH check which, while occasionally known, do not appear to be used at all. In other cases, GNH tools were well known but not used as they were seen a redundant given existing structures or policy instruments. This was particularly the case with GNH Committees. Many respondents within government spoke of the multiple committees that already exist and the lack of clarity around why another committee is necessary. They were

disinterested in forming active GNH committees as a result. When GNH tools were used, they were often misunderstood or misapplied. The Five-Year Plans are particularly influential yet many respondents did not understand their connection to GNH since this link was made with the 10th plan. Others did understand the connection but did not understand the role of results-based management in operationalizing the plans.

Overall, this general absence or misunderstanding of the GNH tools in the policy implementation process represents a lost opportunity. They could play a critical role in shaping the diverse and unpredictable applications of power that occur among governance actors in different contexts. They could play a role in promoting intended GNH outcomes. In contrast, the policy screening tool, which is used in the process of policy formulation rather than policy implementation, has been used extensively. It brings together policy stakeholders to bridge potential policy differences by requiring them to formulate policy structured by the GNH domains. The policy screening tool represents a significant step towards harmonizing competing interests in the process of policy formulation. Unfortunately, this experience does not extend to the politicized and unpredictable process of policy implementation.

GNH as a Contested National Development Strategy

A more fundamental challenge arises beyond the lack of use of GNH tools. GNH itself is often contested by policy implementation actors despite it being Bhutan's national development strategy. The reason it is contested resides in different understandings of the very nature of GNH. Gross National Happiness is frequently understood only superficially, not understood at all, viewed in isolation from any links to policy, assumed to be a component of only one political party's electoral platform or viewed as too complicated. For some respondents, the GNH tools themselves, and particularly the GNH Index with its expansion of the four pillars to nine domains, have complicated GNH and obscured its understanding. For others, GNH has become the

domain of Bhutanese elites and international academics, removing its relevance from everyday Bhutanese life. For many Bhutanese governance actors engaged in the implementation of the four policy fields, the country's national development strategy is merely a buzzword drained of consistent meaning. One of the things intended to define the Bhutanese state is misunderstood or contested by the very people tasked with implementing it.

Common values: Filling the void

The previous three themes represent a significant challenge. Unpredictable applications of power largely unconstrained by the GNH policy tools or a common understanding of GNH itself offer a clear recipe for undermining the successful implementation of GNH policies. The themes suggest a situation ripe for policy outcomes that do not look anything like GNH policy intentions. The unpredictable political dynamics of the GNH policy implementation process hold significant potential to thwart intended GNH policy outcomes. Yet the actual policy outcomes achieved across the four policy fields tell a rather different story. The outcomes generated by the policies generally tend to mirror the original GNH policy intentions. This is not always the case but it is a very common result despite the complex process of policy implementation. The reason for this lies in the role of cultural values. Both state and non-state governance actors demonstrated a common commitment to a common set of cultural values: balance, harmony, sustainability, moderation, responsiveness, respect for the sanctity of life and the interdependence of all sentient beings. Significantly, these Buddhist-inspired values are the same as those that are the foundation of the official construction of GNH, whether governance actors realized this or not. The values shape both the interests and actions of state and non-state governance actors in the policy implementation process. In this sense, the values do not prevent conflict but constrain it. When different governance actors demonstrated competing interests, they were limited to differences over operational issues rather than over the policy intention itself or the need to balance economic, social, cultural,

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ecological and governance concerns. Conflict is a matter of degree rather than kind.

Within tourism policy this manifested in disagreements among governance actors over the desired operational balance between economic growth and cultural and environmental preservation. Media policy was characterized by differences over how the media should specifically promote good governance and what a dynamic Bhutanese culture should look like in a globalized world. The nature of accountability across levels of government was a key contested issue in the implementation of farm road policy. Implementing the human/wildlife conflict strategy experienced disagreements over the degree to which successful conservation or expanded rural livelihoods was the key driver of the problem. In all cases, governance actors did not dispute the intention of each policy to incorporate or balance GNH pillars or domains. Their actions and disagreements over how the operational balance of GNH dimensions should be achieved were constrained by a collective commitment to the values of harmony, balance and interdependence. In some cases, respondents understood that these values were GNH values. Several government officials even suggested that the values make the GNH-specific policy tools unnecessary as Bhutanese will naturally act in ways consistent with GNH. At the same time, other respondents did not recognize the values as GNH values despite their role in shaping actions in ways that are consistent with GNH. These governance actors are pursuing GNH priorities without realizing it based on their value system.

There were a few cases, however, where an apparent shift in values has led to policy outcomes that are less consistent with Gross National Happiness. This was particularly the case within farm road policy where a decentralized process is leading to the construction of farm roads that improve rural livelihoods and access to social services but are doing so in a way that is often not environmentally sustainable in the long term. Part of the challenge is insufficient capacity and funding to build roads in a manner consistent with the environmental aspirations

of GNH. But a shift in values also seems to play a role. Democratic decentralization appears to be driving a value change among many local government officials to prioritize responsiveness to community demands over the other dimensions of GNH in ways that threaten the environmental sustainability of farm roads. A value shift may also be occurring within human/wildlife conflict policy as a few government officials questioned the value of respecting the sanctity of all life given the extent of crop and livestock destruction by wildlife. These officials sometimes ignored the illegal killing of problem wildlife as a result. Lastly, the outcomes of media policy suggest that recent access to global media may be driving a value shift within Bhutan towards a greater consumer culture that is at odds with GNH.

Despite some emerging evidence of possible value shifts, the findings overall suggest that the Buddhist-inspired cultural values that underlie GNH have often played the key role in shaping how governance actors act in policy implementation. Moreover, this has generated policy outcomes generally consistent with GNH policy intentions. This has occurred despite the unpredictable applications of power, lack of use of the GNH policy tools and inconsistent knowledge of GNH itself.

Conclusion

Gross National Happiness represents a serious attempt to put a multidimensional development strategy into practice. It represents a well-thought-out model that moves beyond a sole focus on economic growth as development. This study has shown, however, that such a multidimensional model is subject to the complications of multiple and potentially competing political interests in the process of policy implementation. The experience of implementing four GNH-related policies demonstrates that power is applied in diverse and often unpredictable ways by different kinds of state and non-state governance actors with their own interests. In addition, power is applied in a context where the GNH-specific policy tools play a very limited role in shaping governance actions so they account for the multiple dimensions

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of GNH. Most seriously, governance actors themselves do not share a common understanding of Gross National Happiness as the country's national development strategy. Nonetheless, Bhutan's experience with implementing GNH suggests that cultural values fill this governance void. A common commitment to shared GNH values, whether these are understood as GNH values or not, shapes and constrains policy implementation actions and disagreements in ways that are generally consistent with the goals of GNH.

Overall, the role of cultural values in driving GNH governance bodes well for the continued success of Gross National Happiness. Yet this study found that a caution is in order. Cultural values are not static. While it may take considerable time, values change as circumstances change. Continuing to rely on common values as the key to successful GNH policy implementation runs the risk of being confronted by future value change that may be inconsistent with GNH. Indeed, this study found that some value shifts with challenging connections to GNH appear to already be occurring. Two key questions therefore emerge for Bhutan. First, how might GNH successfully adapt to future value changes that may have tenuous connections to GNH? Second, how might GNH itself shape the nature of future value change in Bhutan? Answering these questions will be critical as Bhutan continues to operationalize Gross National Happiness.

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Alternative Enterprise and Gross National Happiness: An Agenda for Sustainable Prosperity

Fergus Lyon & Tim Jackson⁺*

Introduction

Prosperity consists in the capabilities that people must flourish as human beings, within the ecological and resource constraints of a finite planet (Nussbaum & Sen 1993; Jackson 2009, Cassiers 2014). There are a range of alternative models of development that aspires to socio-economic development while conserving the environment and cultural values. Bhutan has been pioneering the Gross National Happiness (GNH) approach with much attention to measurement at the national level (CBS, 2015) but less attention to the forms of business that can increase wellbeing and prosperity. This paper argues that new ‘alternative’ forms of enterprise are essential to achieving a ‘sustainable prosperity’ and fostering practical actions that allow people to flourish within the constraints of finite resources. In future, business must be

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able to tackle the multiple challenges of poverty, climate change, biodiversity loss and instability, and still manage to survive in an uncertain financial climate.

This paper will outline a range of alternatives to ‘business as usual’ corporate structure, ranging from environmentally and socially responsible activities of the private sector to more innovative alternatives such as social enterprise. These are businesses that are trading for a social or environmental purpose and have a range of ownership structures beyond the traditional forms of corporate business for shareholders’ private profit (Vickers & Lyon, 2014). Built explicitly around core social and environmental objectives, social and ecological enterprises combine financial reporting with social and environmental accounting, in what can be called the ‘triple bottom line’. Case studies illustrate the benefits that such alternatives provide to their customers, their employees, and to the communities they serve. The paper argues that these alternatives provide the basis for a new economics, firmly anchored in principles of social justice, ecological constraints and sustainable prosperity.

The Role of Enterprise in Gross National Happiness and Sustainable Prosperity

All businesses face the challenges of surviving and thriving in an uncertain climate. If success is to be measured in terms of Gross National Happiness, enterprise also must play a role in supporting sustainable development and increasing wellbeing. There has been much attention to the role of business in attempting to make a difference and tackle some of the complex social and environmental issues facing countries around the world. This includes tackling poverty, climate change, and biodiversity loss. There are alternative business models for corporations, and larger businesses that focus on natural and social capital as well as economic capital (Shaltegger et al, 2015) such as Corporate Social Responsibility and operations like recycle or reuse models of the circular economy (Bocken et al, 2014).

In this paper, we explore the alternatives to ‘business as usual’ by looking at those enterprises that have a primary focus on environmentally and socially responsible activities. There are ethical practices found across the private sector, but these are often a secondary objective behind profit. In contrast, there are a range of innovative social enterprise alternatives. These are businesses that are trading for a social or environmental purpose, and coming in a range of ownership structures that include cooperative, community enterprises, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and some private enterprises that have a core social/environmental objective.

All businesses have to account for what they are doing to owners and others involved. There has been a focus on accounting for the financial aspects of the business. Businesses, and other not for profit organisations, can have a range of social and environmental benefits. The challenge is therefore to find ways of recording impacts and demonstrating these contributions to Gross National Happiness as well. It is not just the financial ‘bottom line’ in accounts, but there are also the environmental and social impacts – together they make up the triple bottom line. This demonstrates the impacts and benefits to their customers, their employees, the communities they serve, and the environment.

Types of Social Enterprise

There is a diversity of social enterprise forms ranging from those that are close to NGOs, to those that are closer to the private sector legal forms. Community enterprises are businesses that are owned by the community and are set up to make a local contribution. For example, Hill Holt wood in the UK was set up to conserve a woodland area, but conservation is done by generating revenue from running events like weddings and being paid by the local government to maintain woodland and pathways. They also found a niche business of using the woodland to provide training for children excluded from schools. They can create a wonderful environment, while meeting social objectives of

education and crime reduction. They are financially self-sustaining, and they are all funded through their commercial activities (Blundel and Lyon, 2015).

Other social enterprises emerge from NGOs. For example, Afrikids was set up in Ghana to provide health and education services in some of the poorest areas of the country. They have a strategy of moving away from reliance on donor grants and donations from people in the UK, and to seek self-reliance through having income from a hospital providing services to all people in the locality, as well as setting up an ecolodge and planting orchards. They have made a dramatic gesture by stating on their UK website that they will be closing their UK fundraising office. Social enterprises can come out of other NGOs and faith based organisations. In Bhutan for example, Lama Sonam Gyatsho, a monk from Beyul Langdrak Monastery, set up an enterprise making incense sticks to fund a monastery and provide local employment in an area where there was a considerable poverty.

Social enterprises can also be private businesses that have a core environmental or social objective that is considered more important than a commercial objective. These enterprises can be in a wide range of forms. In Bhutan there are several such enterprises. For example, Bhutan Media and Communications Institute (BMCI) has the social objective of providing training in media and journalism with a focus on local development. It can generate income from having contracts from government and NGOs to run courses and from the fees that trainees are willing to pay. Cooperatives are another form of social enterprise. They share a principal of having ownership by members who might be employees or members of the community.

New Forms and New Challenges

These new forms bring a range of new challenges. Firstly, there is a need to encourage the social entrepreneurs that are developing these ecological and social enterprises. Not only is this about creating a culture of entrepreneurship. It is also about showing that combining

social, environment and commercial objectives is possible. This combination of objectives is challenging to entrepreneurs and those working in social enterprises need to build the skills and capabilities required to balance these objectives and manage the tensions between objectives (Doherty et al, 2014). A key capability for sustainable prosperity, therefore, lies with entrepreneurs and others working in the sector, and finding ways to navigate through these tensions (Jay, 2013). For example, Afrikids should keep a focus on its social mission of children's wellbeing while also finding new markets and consumers that demand ethical and environmental products and services. These social entrepreneurs also should find ways of creating the working conditions to maximise wellbeing of their staff.

Finally, there is a need to find new forms of financial investment for these organisations. While there may be start up funding from grants and philanthropic sources, sustainable prosperity requires an increase in the volume of finance for the green economy and innovations in supporting the business forms that have the most beneficial impacts. Much attention has been given to corporations and listed companies which play a crucial role alongside institutional investors, sovereign wealth funds, and insurance companies. There is also a need to focus on innovative social and ethical investment for social and ecological enterprises as well as other small and medium enterprises. This can come from private investment, philanthropic sources and the public sector.

While most small organisations tend to rely on their own funds, there is a growing industry of ethical and social investors (Nicholls, 2010). Some of these forms are similar to conventional investment models, but others are radically different and include ideas such as community shares and other forms of innovative equity models. Alongside the private sector and philanthropic sources, the public sector can also play a role in creating these hybrid sources of investment. Examples would include loan facilities, export credit and investment guarantees, and co-funds to support equity or venture capital. These aims to be a catalyst, co-sharer

of risk, supporting innovations and encourage the leverage of greater private investment through de-risking. These funds combine the logics of commerce as well as the logic of environmental/social/public value, requiring investment managers to have different cultural practices and incentive structures. Such hybrid forms are aiming to operate where there is a market failure or a gap in provision of finance from the private sector. However, without careful attention to additionality they can displace existing private investment.

Implications for Policies of Gross National Happiness and Sustainable Prosperity

There is a plethora of different approaches found around the world that have sought alternatives to the ‘business as usual’ approach to maximising GDP growth. These can be related to policies focusing on conservation, education systems, business innovation and development more generally. This paper explores what these alternative approaches, including the Gross National Happiness (GNH) approach pioneered in Bhutan, mean for the development of enterprise. The Bhutanese experience of GNH is most evident through its alternative measures of development focusing on nine domains (Psychological wellbeing, health, time use, education, cultural diversity and resilience, good governance, community vitality, ecological diversity and resilience, and living standards). While measuring changes in such indicators is important, it has slightly overshadowed the innovations in policy processes and business activity that have attempted to bring a GNH philosophy into decision making.

Sustainable prosperity, defined as the capabilities that people should flourish within the resource constraints of a finite planet, shares much in common with the concept of Gross National Happiness. To maximise GNH, there is a need for alternative businesses and a new economics, anchored in principles of wellbeing and social justice, ecological constraints, long term investment and stability, and changing consumption patterns that go beyond materialism.

In Bhutan, development interventions should be checked against nine domains of GNH. While the use of these regulatory processes has varied in practice, the effects of GNH approaches in Bhutan may be more evident in what it has stopped happening, rather than in specific concrete policies or initiatives. The lack of visible impact of these policies focusing on sustainability and wellbeing is a challenge for a country seeking to address poverty and youth unemployment, problems that are also found around the world. Alternative models of enterprise can be a way of making practical and observable changes to people's lives.

There is therefore an agenda for research and action that considers the role of enterprise in improving living standards, health, wellbeing, cultural and community activity and the environment. A greater understanding of the role of alternative enterprise forms requires the examination of alternative models in different cultural contexts; approaches to supporting entrepreneurship in these alternatives; the different ways of managing these organisations with multiple objectives; and the alternative forms of finance and investment.

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Gross National Happiness for Children: Embedding GNH Values in Education

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Abstract

Children's wellbeing is of increasing concern globally, as seen by the development and implementation of the UN convention on the rights of the child. Increasingly, children are being diagnosed with problems associated with lack of physical fitness and obesity, or mental health problems including depression. Schools and educational establishments play a key role in supporting children's intellectual, physical and emotional development. Educational models are now more aware of the importance of a holistic approach to children's education, focussing not only on academic knowledge, but also physical and mental health and wellbeing, especially personal, social and emotional development. Reconnecting children with nature, through learning in the natural environment, is seen as a way forward in many countries. The cultural value of the natural environment is clearly identified in ecosystem services frameworks, and in national ecosystem assessments. This paper reviews the role of learning in the natural environment in supporting children's education and wellbeing, drawing on the author's empirical research on farm education, forest school and outdoor science learning. It concludes with a discussion of the challenges of identifying suitable indicators for such a holistic model of education.

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Introduction

This paper considers the importance of considering children's wellbeing within educational systems. It argues that educational systems have a role to play in ensuring that children develop holistically, developing not only knowledge and skills, but also learning broader life skills and coping strategies. Central to this is a child-centred approach which considers children's personal, social and emotional development. The paper reviews the potential benefits of time outdoors in nature for children's wellbeing. It then considers the potential of common outdoor learning practices in the UK to contribute to children's development. The paper relates these to the GNH principles and values embedded in the educational system in Bhutan, and suggests that adopting more outdoor learning in schools in Bhutan could contribute towards teaching these GNH values in the Bhutanese educational system. It concludes by considering how such an intervention might be evaluated.

Children's Wellbeing

Children's wellbeing is of growing concern nationally and internationally. Children's wellbeing requires that their fundamental needs of food, water, sanitation are met, and health and education services can support their development as they grow. However, there has been a move from concern about survival towards consideration of wellbeing, and from traditional indicators towards more child-centred indicators (Ben-Arieh, 2008). The UN's convention on the rights of the child sets out 42 areas of concern for children's wellbeing. These include the right of the child to a good education, appropriate health care, the right to play and rest, and the right to express themselves in terms of language, culture and religion. In addition, there are specific areas of concern regarding challenging circumstances such as those living with disabilities, experiencing child labour, or separated from their parents. The Good Childhood Report (Children's Society, 2013) distinguishes between subjective (hedonic) wellbeing comprising affective (positive and negative feelings) and cognitive assessments (e.g.,

life satisfaction), and psychological (eudaimonic) wellbeing which relates to self-acceptance, environmental mastery, positive relationships, autonomy, purpose in life and personal growth.

International assessments of children's wellbeing (e.g., World Happiness Report, 2015 (Helliwell et al, 2015)) attempt to measure and compare populations across different economic and cultural settings, using objective indicators such as human development index (HDI), quality of life, and more subjective indicators such as people's self-assessment of life satisfaction and positive or negative emotions. Priorities for achieving wellbeing for children vary across nations according to level of development, provision of services such as education and healthcare, cultural values and social and political circumstances. Cultural and religious values shape and define goals for wellbeing. In many western countries challenges for children's wellbeing include maintaining levels of physical fitness and avoiding the obesity pandemic; growing concerns about children' mental health, particularly depression, fatigue and antisocial behaviours; and the rise in diagnosed learning disabilities such as dyslexia, autism and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD).

Valuing Biodiversity: Societal Benefits from Environmental Capital

Biodiversity has traditionally been valued in many ways (Harris, 2012) from clearly economic uses (timber, fuel, crops, medicinal plants), to biological uses (genetic diversity, elements for biological control) through to its role as a recreational environment. These uses can be direct or indirect (e.g., watershed protection, regulating global ecosystems). The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005) has highlighted the societal or cultural value of biodiversity, its role in providing space for recreation; its religious and spiritual value; its aesthetic value.

The enjoyment of natural spaces for recreational purposes is common, and there is a long history of societies which promote rest and relaxation in nature (e.g., Sierra club in USA). Increasingly, people are

recognising that it is not just recreation but a deeper sense of personal wellbeing which can be found in nature and the potential role of outdoor activities to stimulate health, well-being and learning. Nature has been used to promote healing, engender a sense of well-being, restore calm, and deal with modern society's ills of anxiety, stress and aggression, leading to the assumption that the natural environment can provide an arena for personal, social and emotional development to combat modern societal problems (Frumkin, 2001; van den Berg, 2005; Health council for the Netherlands and Dutch Council for research on spatial planning, 2004; Pretty et al., 2003).

Fish and Church (2014) summarise the cultural goods derived from environmental spaces and activities undertaken within the natural environment. Their work recognises that there are benefits arising from people being in the natural environment, and also through people engaging in activities with the natural environment. They identify how biodiversity provides environmental spaces such as gardens, parks, farmland, woodland and waterways in which people can interact with nature, alongside a range of activities and cultural practices people engage in while in the natural environment, which lead to their connection to those places and the natural world. Such activities may result in a sense of place or belonging, of rootedness, which impacts on a sense of identity. The experiences can contribute to tranquillity and inspiration. Through these activities, Fish and Church argue, people develop capabilities relevant to wellbeing, such as increased knowledge, improved health, greater dexterity and improved judgement.

The value of (re)connecting with nature is also gaining recognition, sparked by theories of people's innate connection with nature (Kellert and Wilson, 1995, Kaplan, 1995; Louv, 2005) and the role of natural settings in creating a restorative environment (Hartig, et al., 2003; Berto, 2005). Together these ideas have generated a 'back to nature' movement which encourages children to enjoy more time outdoors, and more free and unstructured play activities. In the US there is the Children and Nature Network, in Canada the Children and Nature

Alliance, and in the UK several initiatives including Project Wild Thing, the National Trust's '50 things to do before you are 11 ¾', and more recently the Countryside Classroom initiative, which supports schools to take children outdoors.

The Role of Education

Children spend a large part of their wakeful hours in schools; hence schools and teachers play a significant role in shaping children's ideas, habits, and development. Schools and educational establishments play a key role in supporting children's intellectual, physical, social and emotional development.

International league tables are often used to compare national education systems. The OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) involves more than 70 nations in standardised tests of student ability to assess performance. Asian countries are often at the top of the league table, although China and India are not included in the participating nations. Singapore tops the league table, and Finland, at number 6, is the highest scoring western country. Such league tables encourage comparison of teaching methods and educational systems.

There are a range of educational models which aim to produce children ready for the challenges of the 21st century. Discipline, perseverance, rote learning, and memorisation may result in higher knowledge and test scores; however education is about more than facts. Debates around education are influenced by a growing awareness that in a rapidly changing, modernising, and globalising economy, we can never be sure what the future will hold both in terms of political and economic uncertainties but also uncertainties about global climate change and the impact this may have on the environment. Students need to learn how to cope in, and respond to, rapidly changing economic, ecological and social environments to which they will apply the knowledge they have. Key buzzwords in education centre on concepts such as resilience, adaptability and creativity.

However not all children learn in the same way, so that educational systems are challenged to respond to the variety of children and their needs rather than try to get all children processed through a single 'system'. Child-centred models of teaching such as the child-initiated learning of Montessori and Steiner are notable examples of educational systems focusing on the development of the whole child. A more holistic view also takes into consideration the personal and social development of the child - their fundamental wellbeing.

Wider trends, described by Vosniadou (2003) include a move from teacher to student centred learning, campaigns to connect learning to real life situations, and encouragement to foster the development of understanding and thinking rather than memorization. Traditional models of education are being challenged by a new emphasis which promotes a change in focus from delivery of topics within a curriculum towards learning which equips children to cope with whatever the future may bring (Posch, 1994). Claxton's "Building learning power" (Claxton, 2002) promotes building resilience, resourcefulness, reflection, and relationships (including teamwork), rather than the traditional 3 R's (**R**eading, **wR**iting and **aR**ithmetic). Claxton's new 4 R's are characteristics which endow the learner with skills for lifelong learning and the ability to adapt and change according the changing needs and circumstances through life. Vygotski argued that learning opportunities should be presented using styles of learning which suit the child (Mooney, 2000). Children may also benefit from the more hands on and exploratory learning style offered in outdoor learning environments (Ballantyne and Packer, 2009), which provide a level of stimulus combined with immersion in the practical task, which is more conducive to flow learning (Csikszentmihályi, 2008). The model of education in Singapore which tops the PISA tables focusses on the development of the individual's character, while also leading to educational attainment. A critical part of this model includes outdoor learning and team building (Ho, 2005).

Outdoor Learning

Outdoor education is seen to offer a broad potential in education: contributing to cognitive learning as well as social development and the development of physical skills. Outdoor learning can involve fieldtrips to learn from new environments (commonly, though not always, associated with geography science or history), or fieldtrips aimed at promoting physical activity and learning to overcome physical challenges (sport, outdoor pursuits such as climbing, abseiling, orienteering etc). Thus, outdoor education is similar to, but not always the same as, environmental education.

In the UK, the Learning outside the classroom manifesto (DfES 2006) called for greater diversity of learning sites, especially outdoor learning, and the Campaign for Real World Learning promoted hands on learning in the natural world, and there is now a Council for Learning Outside the Classroom. The Rose review of the primary curriculum (Rose, 2009) called for cross-curricular learning, and the Every Child Matters manifesto (DfES 2003) encouraged consideration of children's personal, social and emotional development. These educational policies operate alongside wider government campaigns to increase children's fitness and combat obesity in the under 11's (www.nhs.uk/change4life). Natural England's strategic objectives include "people are inspired to take action and conserve the natural environment (Hanna, 2008) as well as their efforts to get "one million children outdoors". The National ecosystem assessment (UK NEA 2011) and the Marmot review (Marmot, 2011) highlight the positive impact of nature on health, including referring to "nature's health service" (Marmot, 2011).

The natural environment provides a natural classroom in which to study topics such as biology, geography, and science. However it also provides opportunities to expand vocabulary, learn about local history or religious festivals, food and cultural practices. The experience can be used to stimulate writing, stories, photography, art, role play and drama

activities. In the UK, visits to farmland and countryside have been shown to stimulate learning across the curriculum (Figure 1).

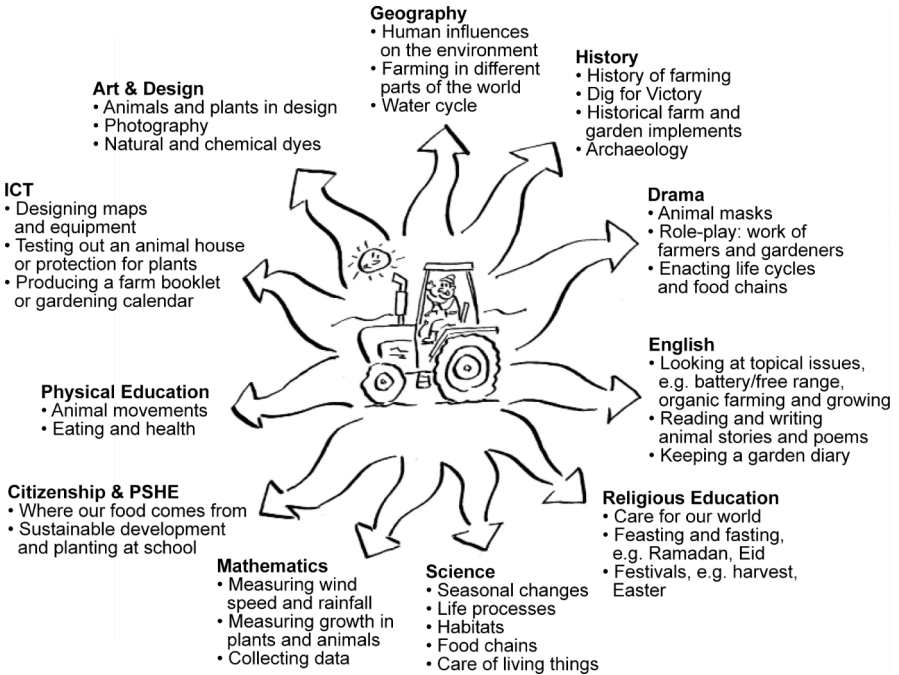


Figure 1: The potential of farm education to contribute to teaching and learning. Adapted from FACE (Farming and Countryside Education, Stoneleigh, UK).

In addition to these curriculum topics, outdoor learning also presents students with challenges, opportunities to work in new teams, to negotiate, and develop social and interpersonal skills. Research on outdoor learning claims many benefits arising from these activities. They range from making teaching more exciting, interesting and memorable (Dillon et al. 2006; Dierking and Falk, 1997; Nundy, 2001, National Research Council, 2009) though learning to face and cope with challenges, think creatively and develop problem solving skills (Cooper, 2003). Learning outdoors can enable teachers to teach abstract concepts in settings which make learning more relevant. Real

world learning can often embrace multiple subjects at one. While learning outdoors children are more active, so contributing to physical fitness, as well as being more conducive to children who find the rules of classroom behaviour difficult to follow (Fiskum and Jacobsen, 2013)

There is a cultural dimension to outdoor learning, based on the natural resources available and the characteristics of the local environment (Bentsen et al., 2009; Rea and Waite, 2009). Scandinavia and Germany are noted for their outdoor kindergartens, Sweden for “Friluftsliv” which has some parallels in Canada (Henderson and Vikander, 2007), and Denmark for “Udeskole” (Bentsen et al., 2009). Other countries have their particular interpretation of outdoor education (e.g., Turcova et al., 2003).

The value of free play in children’s development has long been recognised by educationalists such as Froebel, Issacs and Piaget, as well as the need to engage with natural materials, promoted by Froebel and Steiner. Learning through play enables children to learn experientially, through trial and error, and such experiential learning is associated with deeper level learning (Laevers, 2000). Connecting with nature and learning through play come together in many forms of outdoor learning. In some countries such as Scandinavia and Germany the philosophy is embedded in outdoor kindergartens, with children postponing more formal educational styles until aged 6-7. In the UK, policies have tried to ensure children have greater opportunities for outdoor play at pre-school and early years learning. Since 1995, some schools have participated in an educational movement called forest school, which draws on Scandinavian philosophies of outdoor learning.

Forest School

Forest school draws on Scandinavian practices of outdoor kindergarten (O’Brien, 2009, Knight, 2009). In the UK, forest school generally involves two hour sessions repeated weekly or biweekly for a length of time (possibly a half term (6 weeks) or term, sometimes throughout the school year). During these sessions, children are given a choice of

activities to do. Activities may be repeated in subsequent sessions, although the choice of activities often changes in response to environmental conditions (seasons, weather conditions etc.). Forest school sits at the nexus of many initiatives relating to children, nature and education (Figure 2). Those leading forest school sessions act as facilitators of learning, so that children pursue learning styles and a learning pace that suits them, using short achievable tasks to build their confidence.



Figure 1: Forest school and its relationship to educational initiatives.

While at first glance forest school may appear to focus on learning about nature, in fact, research with those leading forest school sessions has shown that social development is the key outcome of learning at forest school (Harris, 2015) while learning about nature, and engaging with nature, are also important outcomes. Table 1 shows areas of learning at forest school. The mixture of social skills, traditional survival skills (e.g., fire lighting, cooking and den building) and curriculum topics covered in forest school show that it can contribute to teaching across a range of areas of education.

Table 1: Learning at forest school (adapted from Harris, 2015).

What do children learn?	How do they learn?	Impact of being outdoors
Relationship with nature and with place	Kinaesthetic learning	Greater physical space,
Nature education	Improvisation/ resourcefulness	Accommodates a wider range of behaviours
Nature engagement	Discovery/ experimentation	More physical activity
Responsibility/ risk	Imagination	Development of fine and gross motor skills
Self-esteem and self-awareness	Sensory learning	Exuberance and joy in learning

Not only does forest school contribute to children’s learning in a range of ways, the move outdoors supports learning in several other ways (Table 1 and Harris, forthcoming). The greater physical space (as compared to being crowded inside a classroom) accommodates a wider range of behaviours. Children are able to move more, rather than sit still; they are allowed to be noisy and maybe shout; the more physically demanding tasks of outdoor learning allow them to burn off energy. The lack of boundaries and removal from the classroom creates a more relaxed and calm atmosphere. It is felt by those leading forest school sessions that this more relaxed environment makes the children more receptive to learning (Harris, forthcoming). For children who do not thrive within the norms and expectations of classroom learning, taking lessons outdoors into the local environment can result in learning appearing more relevant and fun, and so encourage children to become more engaged with school and enthusiastic to attend.

Education in Bhutan

Bhutan’s remote location and historical independence has enabled it to be fairly sheltered from modernisation and global influences on society. There is a high regard for traditional culture and practices, and a

determination to manage the introduction of the benefits of development while preserving culture and heritage.

The public educational system in Bhutan has been developed since the 1950's. Prior to this time, education was either in private schools or monastic education (Schuelka, 2013). Over 50-60 years there has been the development of schools, a ministry of education, and two teacher training colleges. A rapidly growing population, a high percentage of which are still of school age, has required rapid growth in the number of schools, and teachers, required to meet the needs of its population (Schuelka, 2013). Schools initially used a curriculum from India, which has gradually been replaced with a Bhutanese national curriculum. Successive reforms of the education system have sought to address key concerns regarding the curriculum and the quality of teaching. Most recently, in 2008, it was decided to embed GNH principles into the educational system. This was implemented in 2010, with training provided to head teachers and then rolled out to individual schools (Sherab et al, 2014).

Bhutan's philosophy of Gross National Happiness is based on 4 pillars

- Sustainable and equitable development
- Environmental conservation
- Preservation and promotion of culture
- Good governance

These pillars are the basis from which 9 foci for learning have been defined, which form a basic structure for the educational system (Ministry of Education, 2014). The 9 attributes define the scope (world knowledge) of the curriculum and the breadth (intellectual competence, physical wellbeing, spirituality and character) of education. Some of the attributes are more readily defined and tested (e.g., intellectual or communicative competence) compared to others (e.g., spirituality and character and world readiness).

GNH principles and values are to be embedded in the educational system and curriculum throughout all levels of education. According to Hayward and Colman (2010) the principles and values are

- Deep, critical and creative thinking
- Eco-literacy
- Practicing ancient wisdom and culture
- Contemplative learning,
- Holistic learning concerning the world
- Genuine care for nature and others
- Competency to deal with the modern world
- Preparation for right livelihoods
- Informed civic engagement

Forest school and educational visits to farms and the countryside are only two of many examples of outdoor learning. Each has its value in contributing to a more holistic view of education, enabling children to learn about their local world, gain knowledge and understanding as well as developing values and personal wellbeing. There is potential for outdoor learning to be incorporated in curricula to enhance values education. Bhutan's natural environment, where 60% of forest is conserved, provides many opportunities to embrace outdoor learning.

While Forest school cannot claim to encompass all GNH values, this outdoor learning activity goes some way towards teaching the values: particularly learning about and valuing nature; developing world-ready students who can cope with challenge and have resilience and independence; developing a sense of place and valuing that place; as well as physical fitness and joy in learning.

Conclusions

There is growing recognition of the importance of assessing and supporting children's wellbeing. There are many agents to support this, primarily parents and family members, but also medical and social workers. Schools offer significant opportunities to nurture the wellbeing, social and emotional development of children through activities and

discussions embedded with the timetable and curriculum, as well as through opportunities for informal and experiential learning from peers or from teachers acting as mentors. Outdoor learning provides a space in which children's development and wellbeing can be nurtured, while also supporting teaching and curriculum topics.

How would such an initiative be evaluated? How would success be measured? Objectively assessing the success of such initiatives is fraught with ethical and practical challenges (Harris et al, 2010). However, indicators might be found in the following areas:

- Increased knowledge of key subjects e.g., biology, geography, sciences
- Raising attainment, particularly of specific groups e.g., disengaged learners, those with learning disabilities
- Increased attendance and enthusiasm for school
- Higher levels of physical activity and improved physical health
- Improved mental health
- Increased time spent outdoors.

Environmental conservation is one of the 4 pillars of GNH, and development of a genuine care for nature is one of the core values of the educational system. Research shows that childhood is a formative period for development environmental knowledge and ethos and practice of care of the natural world (Pretty et al, 2009; Chawla, 1999 and 2009; Ward-Thompson et al, 2008). Increasing outdoor learning, where teachers model engagement and conservation of the natural environment, may result in increased sense of connection to nature as children, and potentially also impact on life choices and environmental behaviour when older.

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An Objective Method of Defining Spatial Accessibility Indicators for GNH Measurement System

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Abstract

The absence of any spatial-based indicators in the current Gross National Happiness (GNH) measurement system makes this holistic model incomplete for spatial planning purposes in Bhutan. Spatial indicators are generally related to geographic space where the location, distance or area of a spatial object is measured to capture the outcome of a spatial relationship or phenomenon. For instance, spatial indicators are essential in capturing the separation of human settlements from the nearest road point and in measuring the loss of forests cover due to human activities. This study presents an evidence-based approach to measuring road accessibility, remoteness accessibility and

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spatial accessibility to health, education and agriculture services in Bhutan, which can be potentially used as an indicator to facilitate proper planning of allocation of social service centres and road infrastructure in the country. This study indicates that about 75 % of the Bhutanese population are living within 1 kilometre from their nearest road access point and only about 6 % of the population are living farther than 5 kilometres from their nearest road point. About 52 % of the population lives in non-remote areas and only about 7 % of the population lives in very-remote areas. The sub-district's and district's spatial accessibility indices of the three different social service centres indicate a large disparity in the distribution of these service centres in the country where the distribution of service centres for the best-ranked sub-district is several times better than the worst-ranked sub-district. A large disparity in the spatial distribution of social service centres or road infrastructure within the country may potentially cause dissatisfaction of population living in the underserved regions. From a GNH perspective, it is essential to achieve equitable distribution of various social service centres and road infrastructure in the country to optimize the overall happiness of the Bhutanese people. One way of gauging the equity of spatial distribution of social service centres and road infrastructure is to use the proposed accessibility indicators.

Introduction

GNH is a holistic developmental model developed in Bhutan, which seeks happiness for all by balancing between the social, economic, environmental and cultural needs of the people. The four main pillars of GNH are sustainable and equitable socio-economic development, conservation of environment, preservation and promotion of culture and promotion of good governance (Ura et al., 2012). These pillars are further divided into nine domains, namely psychological well-being, health, time use, education, cultural diversity and resilience, good governance, community vitality, ecological diversity and resilience and living standard. Each domain is measured by some number of indicators which are in turn measured from several sub-indicators or variables. Each sub-indicator represents a specific survey question used for collecting data from the respondents. A total of 33 GNH indicators encompassing nine domains were proposed for calculating the GNH

index using Alkire-Foster methodology, a multidimensional approach for measuring poverty or wellbeing index (Alkire & Foster, 2011). The goal of the GNH measurement system is to use the GNH index for framing developmental policies, planning and allocation of resources, measuring happiness and well-being of people and gauging developmental progress of sub-districts, districts and nation as a whole (Ura et al., 2012).

According to one of the results of the 2008 GNH survey, twenty different sources of happiness for the Bhutanese people were identified, which are shown in Figure 1 (Centre for Bhutan Studies, 2008).

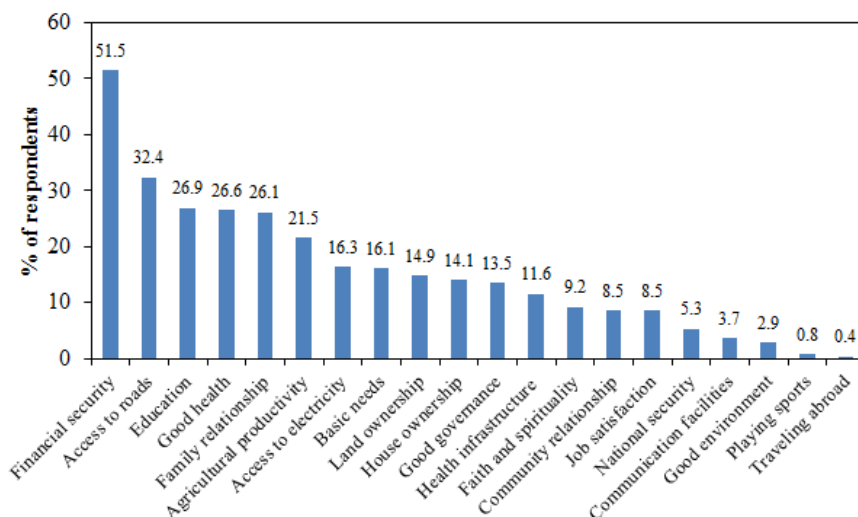


Figure 1: Sources of happiness for people of Bhutan

It indicates that access to roads, education, good health and agricultural productivity are within the top six sources of happiness for the Bhutanese people. Access to roads can be simply understood as the closeness of roads to a settlement such that people within that settlement can travel by a vehicle from one place to the other. It is possible to spatially quantify ‘access to roads’ by measuring the distance to the nearest road point from a particular dwelling location of the residents.

Nevertheless, there is no indicator included in the current GNH system to measure road accessibility despite it is being perceived as the second most important source of happiness by the people of Bhutan. On the other hand, education, health and agricultural productivity may very well depend on a number of factors. One important factor of these three variables could be spatial accessibility to the respective service centres.

Spatial accessibility measures the availability of service centres and accessibility to these centres based on the potential demand for services (Weibull, 1976). By measuring spatial accessibility to certain service centres, it is possible to identify spatial patterns of accessibility to various services and equity of distribution of service centres within a given region (Talen & Anselin, 1998). Spatial accessibility has been widely used for policy making purposes in the field of transport, urban, land use and infrastructural planning (Geurs & van Wee, 2004). Most notably, the importance of spatial accessibility to health services had been widely reported in literature (Aday & Anderson, 1981; Fortney et al., 2000; Joseph & Bantock, 1982; Khan & Bhardwaj, 1994; Luo & Qi, 2009; Luo & Wang, 2003; McGrail & Humphreys, 2014; Weibull, 1976). Other studies on accessibility include equity of distribution of public amenities (Jennifer et al., 2005; Smoyer-Tomic et al., 2004; Talen, 2002; Talen & Anselin, 1998), food stores (Dai & Wang, 2011) and transportation networks (Geurs & van Wee, 2004). Often accessibility measure can also be used as an economic indicator to assess the economic benefits of changes in land-use and transport planning and as a social indicator to evaluate access to various social and economic services for a disaggregated population (Geurs et al., 2015). There are a number of non-spatial indicators included in the GNH system to measure different aspects of education, health and agricultural services within the country, however, there is no indicator defined to measure the spatial distribution of these important social service centres within the country.

This study has three objectives. First, this study assesses equity of access to road transportation within the country by calculating a simple straight-line distance separation between the closest road point and the dwelling location of the residents. Second, the remoteness accessibility index of a population cluster was calculated based on the straight-line distance proximity of a population cluster to its nearest major and minor towns, health and educational centres, and road point. Third, this study examines spatial accessibility to education, health and agriculture service centres within the country using the modified floating catchment area (M2SFCA) model. In doing so, this paper presents an objective method of quantifying accessibility indicators using spatial and non-spatial data of the whole country. Hence, the proposed spatial indicators can potentially be included as the accessibility indicators within the GNH measurement system.

The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 2 and 3 present data sources and methodology for computing accessibility indices, respectively. The accessibility results are presented in Section 4. Section 5 and 6 present discussion and conclusion, respectively.

Data Sources

As Bhutan uses GNH indicators for measuring the developmental progress of a nation, this country has been chosen as the case study area. Being a small nation with a population of less than one million people, it is relatively easy to collect available data from various institutions. However, there is a lack of current and comprehensive infrastructure and village-level population data. The first ever nationwide population and housing census was conducted in 2005 and spatial data collection pertaining to a national health survey was conducted in 2011. Although road transportation is still not readily available in many far-flung rural areas, the road network data across the country was collected using GPS (Global Positioning System) receivers in or prior to 2012. All the data mentioned above were obtained from the National Statistical Bureau (NSB) in February 2013. Figure 2 shows

the distribution of health, education and agricultural service centres and road infrastructure network in Bhutan. Health facilities data include locations of hospitals, basic health units and outreach clinics which provide primary level health care services across the country. Educational data only include primary and secondary level educational facilities. Agricultural service centre comprises of renewable and natural resource (RNR) centres, which provide various agricultural-related services across the country. A total of 356 primary and secondary level educational facilities, 208 health facilities and 206 RNR facilities were recorded in the NSB database as of 2012. There are 20 districts and 205 sub-districts in Bhutan.

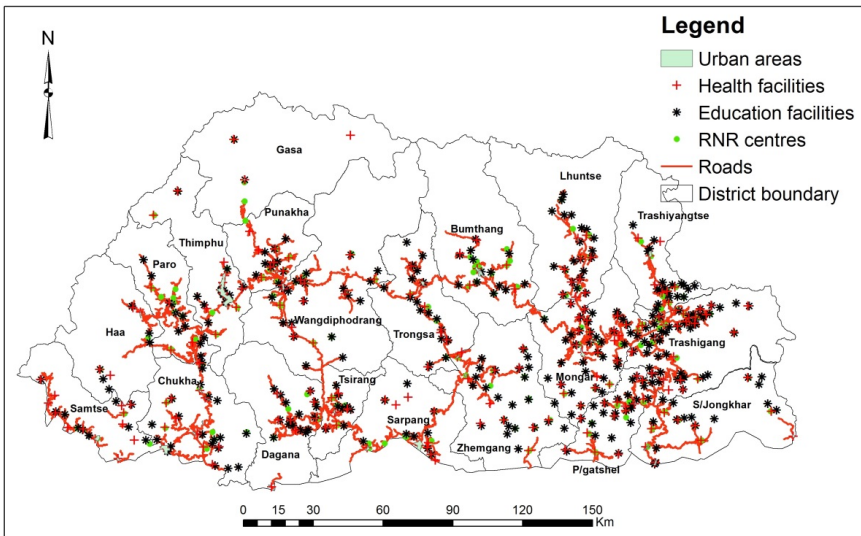


Figure 2: Data

One of the important data needed for this study is population clusters data at the village level. However, population data of Bhutan is only available at the sub-district level which is too highly aggregated to use for computing accessibility indices. Therefore, the aggregated population data was disaggregated using a population dasymetric mapping technique, whereby population data is distributed from source

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areal units to target units through areal interpolation mechanism aided by ancillary information. In the case of Bhutan, GPS housing data was used to aid the interpolation process by computing relative population distribution weights for each target units based on the density of the houses falling within these computational units. Then the distributed population data at the 100 metres cellular resolution was clustered at the village level by a proximity-based distance clustering method in which population point features were assigned to the nearest village point feature. Figure 3 shows the distribution of the modelled population clusters data. The population of Bhutan in 2012 and 2013 were about 720000 and 733000 respectively, which were predicted based on the actual population of 2005 (National Statistical Bureau, 2008). Figure 4 shows the population density map of Bhutan generated from the modelled population data.

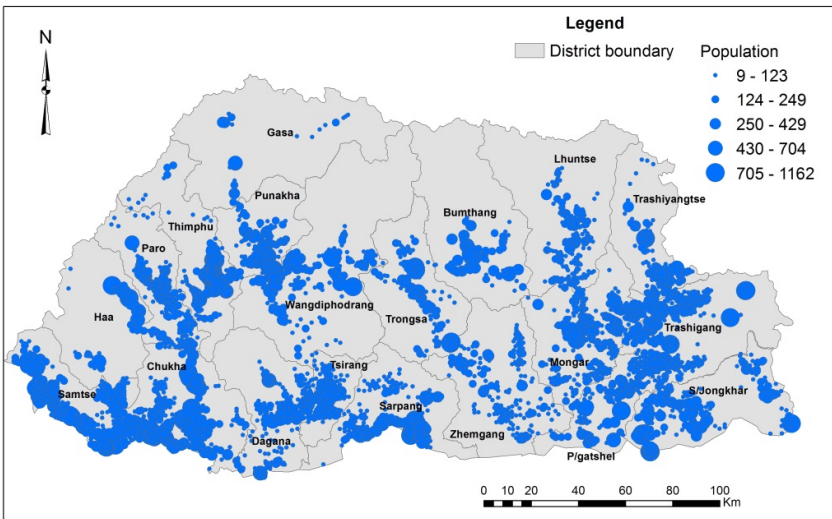


Figure 3: Village-level modelled population data for 2012

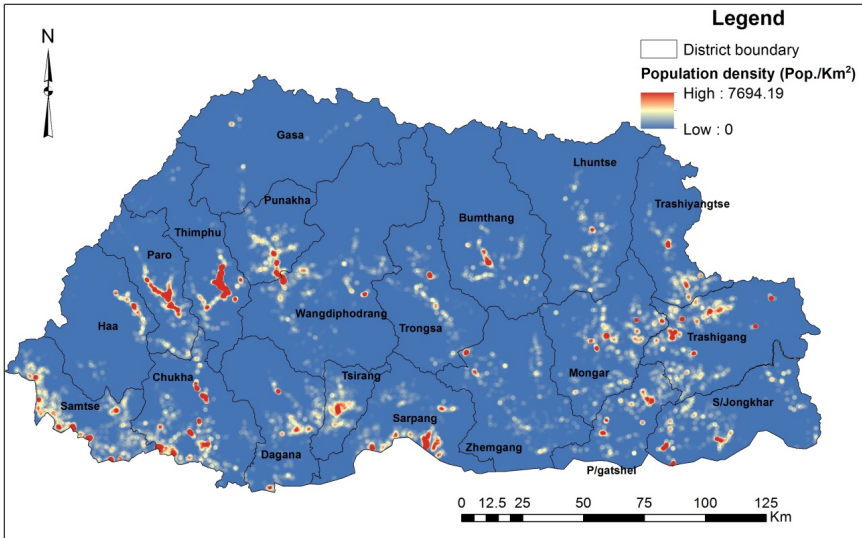


Figure 4: Population density map of Bhutan

Methodology

Accessibility, according to Hasen (1959), is the potential of interaction between population and the service centres using a specific mode of transportation. A simple ‘crow-fly’ or straight-line distance measure was used because of the lack of road accessibility in many parts of Bhutan. The road accessibility measure is simply computed as the straight-line distance between the population cluster and its nearest road point. The methodology for computing the remoteness and spatial accessibility indices are presented in the following sections.

Remoteness Accessibility Index

Faulkner and French (1983, p. 3) defined remote communities as “spatially defined communities which are distant from urban centres where supplies of goods and services, and opportunities for social interaction are concentrated”. They proposed a geographical approach of computing remoteness accessibility based on distances to a number of

different levels of urban hierarchy, which can be classified based on population size. Following a similar measurement approach of Faulkner and French (1983), Department of Health and Aged Care and National Key Centre for Social Applications of Geographic Information Systems (2001) developed a geographic measure of remoteness for the whole region of Australia, which is called the Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia (ARIA). The Remoteness Accessibility Index of Bhutan (RAIB) can also be computed by adopting the ARIA model with some modification in the usage of service centres. In the case of Bhutan, five different service centres were used for measuring remoteness indices, namely major towns (comprises of only Thimphu and Phuntsholing cities where major economic activities occurs in the country), minor towns (all other towns in Bhutan with relatively low economic activities), nearest road point, hospitals (districts and referral hospitals) and education centres (primary and secondary level schools). Towns were represented by a polygon feature, road by a line feature, and health and educational centres by a point feature.

The computation of accessibility indices is described as follows. The straight-line distance between each population cluster and its five nearest service centres were computed. In the case of towns, if a distance to the nearest minor town of a given population cluster is longer than the distance to the nearest major town of that cluster then the distance to the major town was used for both the towns because major town is at the higher level of hierarchical structure than the minor town, following the computational process of the ARIA model. The distances obtained for the other three service centres remained unchanged because of their exclusion from the hierarchical structure of towns. Then these distances were standardised by dividing each distance value by the mean value for the country for that service centre category. Each standardised value is curtailed to a maximum value of 4.0 to limit the effect of the extreme values on the computation of the overall remoteness index of a population cluster, which is equal to the sum of all the indices obtained from different service categories. The

maximum remoteness index is 20, which is equal to the sum of all possible maximum values in each service category.

Spatial Accessibility Index

The spatial accessibility is measured by integrating the attractiveness component of the service centre, population demand for services and distance separation between the locations of the population cluster and the service centre. The attractiveness component of the service centre is generally defined by unity for a given service centre or by the number of service providers available in that centre. Population demand for services is defined by forming a finite and overlapping population catchment area around each service centre. There are different ways of delineating population catchment areas depending on the use of distance or travel-time measure. Following Jamtsho et al. (2015), the population catchment areas are defined by associating population clusters to their first- and second-nearest service centres, where distance between the location of population cluster and service centre is measured by a straight-line or 'crow-fly' distance. The distance impedance variable is generally defined by a distance decay function.

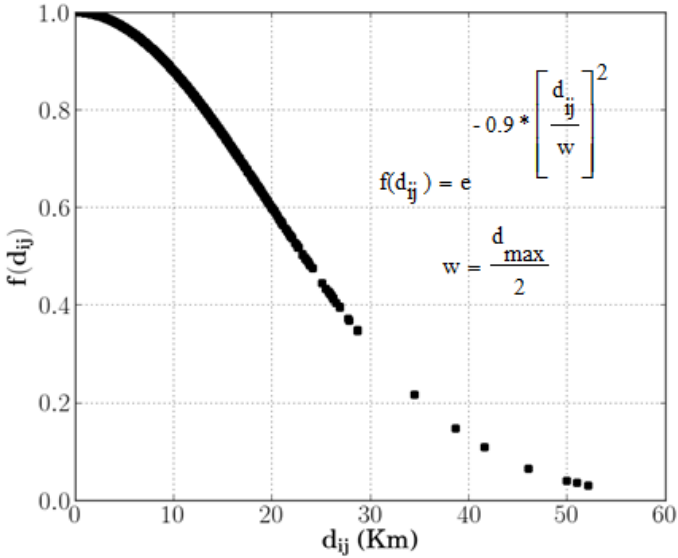


Figure 5: Exponential distance decay function

Figure 5 shows the exponential decay function used for computing spatial accessibility to various social service centres.

The three parameters of spatial accessibility mentioned above can be integrated within the modified two-step floating catchment area (M2SFCA) model (Delamater, 2013), which is given by

$$A_i = \sum_{j=1}^n \frac{S_j f(d_{ij}) f(d_{ij})}{\sum_{h=1}^m P_h f(d_{hj})}, \quad (1)$$

where A_i is the spatial accessibility index at location i , n is the total number of service provider locations associated with population cluster i , S_j represents a unitary service centre at location j , $f(d_{ij})$ and $f(d_{hj})$ are distance weights computed using an exponential decay function, m is the total number of population clusters associated to the service centre j , and P_h is the population at location h . The spatial accessibility measure for sub-district or district, G_k , is simply computed as the average of the

accessibility values of all the individual population clusters located within the given sub-district or district region.

Results and analysis

Three different accessibility indices are presented and analysed in this section, namely road accessibility index, remoteness accessibility index and spatial accessibility index.

Road Accessibility Indices

In urban areas where multiple access roads are available this distance is very small whereas the distance to the nearest road point in rural areas may range up to several kilometres. Figure 6 shows the distance to the nearest road point from individual population clusters in the whole country. Table 1 shows the summary of population falling in different distance ranges. About 40 % of the population lives within 100 metres from the nearest road point, 42 % of the population lives within 100 metres to 1 kilometre from the nearest road point, 11 % of the population lives within 1 to 5 kilometres from the nearest road point and 7 % of the population lives farther than 5 kilometres from the nearest road point. The longest distance to the nearest road point is about 53 kilometres recorded for one of the population cluster in Lunana sub-district of the Gasa district.

The longest mean distance to the nearest road points from resident locations is about 45 kilometres recorded for Lunana sub-district of Gasa district followed by Laya sub-district of Gasa district and Lingzhi sub-district of Thimphu district with a mean distance of 26 kilometres. Gasetsho Wom sub-district of Wangdiphodrang district and Taklai sub-district of Sarpang district have the least mean distance to the nearest road points from their population clusters measuring at about 70 metres. At the district level, Paro district has the least mean distance to the nearest road points of about 400 metres with a maximum distance of 2.5 kilometres for Tsento sub-district and minimum distance of about

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80 metres for Dopshari sub-district. Gasa district has the longest mean distances to the nearest road points of about 19 kilometres.

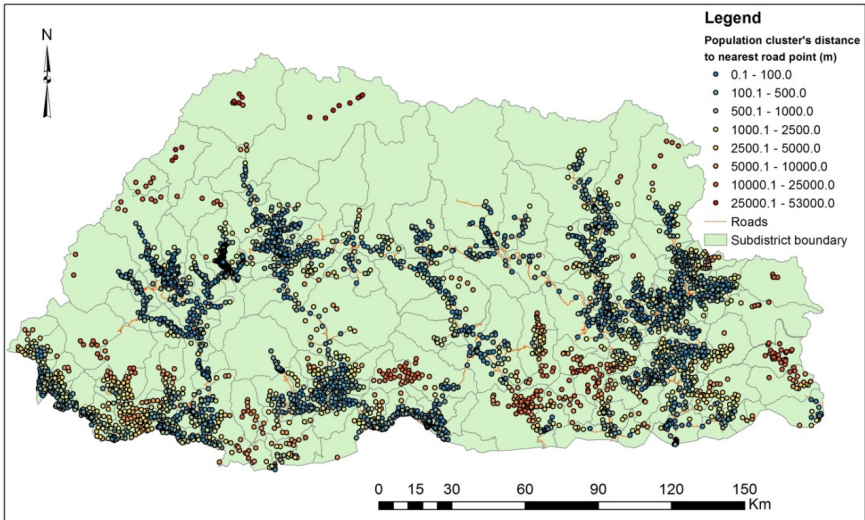


Figure 6: Distances between population clusters and nearest road points.

Table 1: Summary of distances between population clusters and nearest road points

Distance to nearest road point	Population (2013)	%
< 100 m	292952	39.96
100 to 500 m	263660	35.97
500 to 1000 m	48395	6.60
1 to 2.5 Km	47952	6.54
2.5 to 5 Km	35357	4.82
5 to 10 Km	24901	3.40
10 to 25 km	17438	2.38
25 to 53 Km	2377	0.32
Total	733032	100

Remoteness Accessibility Indices

The remoteness accessibility indices were calculated only at the location of population clusters. Therefore, the remoteness accessibility values of all regions across Bhutan were spatially interpolated using inverse-distance weighting method at 500 metres cell resolution using 6 nearest neighbours. These remoteness indices were arbitrarily classified into six different groups. Figure 7 shows the remoteness accessibility indices map of Bhutan. Table 2 shows the distribution of population between different remoteness groups. About 52 % of the population lives in non-remote areas, 41 % in remote areas and only 7 % in very-remote areas.

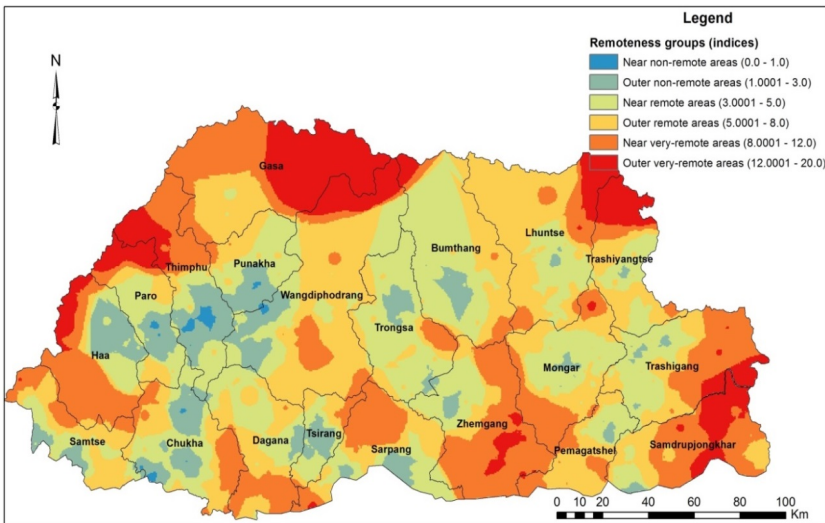


Figure 7: Remoteness accessibility indices map of Bhutan

Table 2: Population distribution between different remoteness groups

Groups	Population (2012)	%
Near non-remote areas	122729	17.03
Outer non-remote areas	250649	34.78
Near remote areas	195950	27.19
Outer remote areas	97507	13.53
Near very-remote areas	47420	6.58
Outer very-remote areas	6414	0.89
Total	720669	100

Spatial Accessibility Indices

Figure 8 shows the individual and mean spatial accessibility indices of sub-districts for the health, educational and agricultural service centres. Owing to space constraints, the sub-district names have been replaced by serial identification numbers. In 2012, the spatial accessibility to educational services was better than the accessibility to health and agricultural services because there were more educational facilities than other service centres in the country.

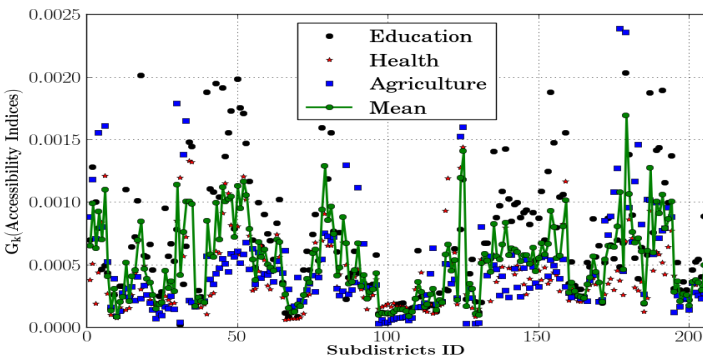


Figure 8: Spatial accessibility indices of sub-districts for education, health and agricultural services

Table 3: Maximum and minimum accessibility indices of sub-districts for different services

	Max	Min	Max	Min
Education	0.002218	0.000022	Chimung (Pemagatshel)	Lunana (Gasa)
Health	0.001442	0.00006	Lingzhi (Thimphu)	Doteng (Paro)
Agriculture	0.000239	0.00003	Gangtey (Wangdiphodrang)	Dagala (Thimphu)
Mean	0.001693	0.00009	Athang (Wangdiphodrang)	Sampheling (Chukha)

Table 3 shows the minimum and maximum accessibility indices of sub-districts for education, health and agricultural services. For educational services, Chimung sub-district of Pemagatshel had the highest accessibility index and Lunana sub-district of Gasa district had the lowest accessibility index with the highest ranking sub-district having hundred times better accessibility to educational services than the lowest ranking sub-district. Lingzhi sub-district of Thimphu district and Doteng sub-district of Paro district were the highest and lowest ranked sub-districts for spatial accessibility to healthcare services with the highest ranked sub-district having about twenty-four times better accessibility than the lowest ranked sub-district. Gangtey sub-district of Wangdi Phodrang district and Dagala sub-district of Thimphu district were the highest and lowest ranked sub-districts for spatial accessibility to agricultural services with the highest ranked sub-district having only about eight times better accessibility than the lowest ranked sub-district. The mean accessibility indices indicate that Athang sub-district of Wangdi Phodrang district and Sampheling sub-district of Chukha district as the highest and lowest ranked sub-districts for spatial accessibility to the combined services of the three centres with the highest ranked sub-district having about nineteen times better accessibility than the lowest ranked sub-district.

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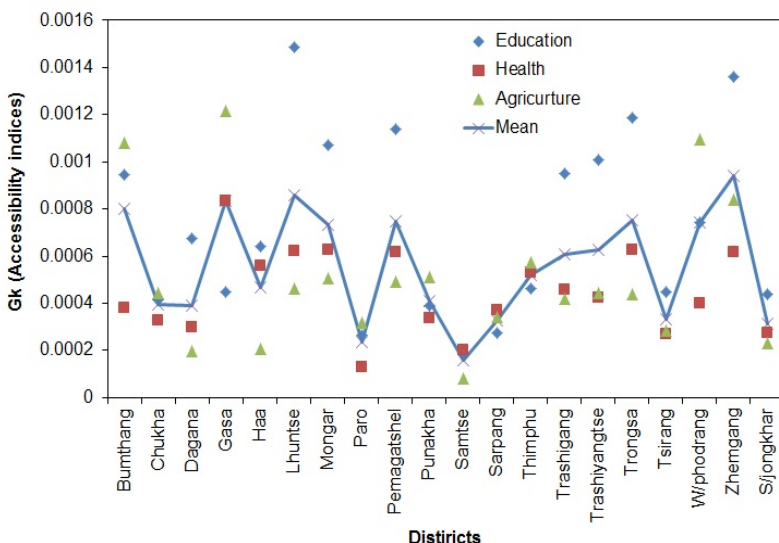


Figure 9: Spatial accessibility indices of districts for education, health and agricultural services

Figure 9 shows the accessibility indices of districts for education, health and agriculture service centres along with their mean accessibility indices. Lhuntse and Samtse districts had the highest and lowest accessibility indices, respectively, with the former district having about eight times better accessibility to educational services than the later district. Gasa district and Paro districts were having the highest and lowest accessibility to healthcare services, respectively, with the highest-ranked district having about six times better accessibility than the lowest-ranked district. Gasa district was also ranked highest for spatial accessibility to agricultural services while Samtse district was ranked lowest for this service with the former district having about fifteen times better accessibility than the later district. The mean accessibility values of the combined services of education, health and agriculture indicates Zhemgang as the highest ranked district and Samtse the lowest ranked district with the highest-ranked district having about six times better accessibility than the lowest-ranked district.

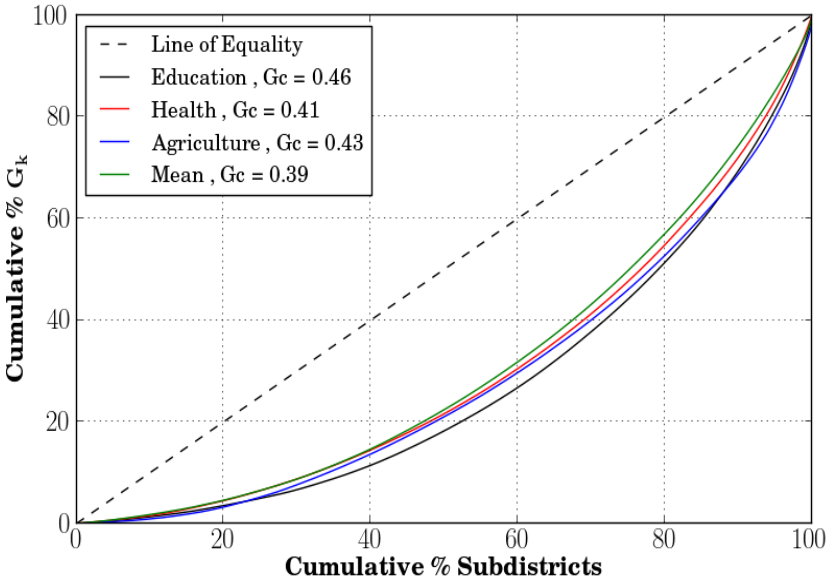
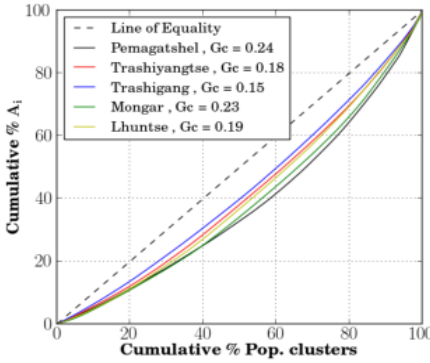


Figure 10: Lorenz curves and Gini coefficients of the mean spatial accessibility indices of sub-districts

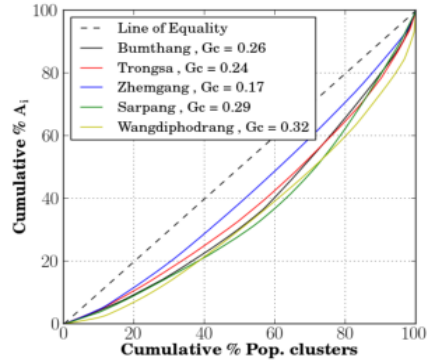
Figure 10 shows the Lorenz curves and Gini coefficients (G_c) of the mean spatial accessibility to education, health and agriculture services computed using the sub-districts accessibility indices. A Lorenz curve is obtained by plotting the cumulative percentage of spatial units (population clusters or sub-districts) against the cumulative percentage of spatial accessibility values of the corresponding spatial units. The Gini coefficient is defined as the ratio of the area between the Lorenz curve and the Line of Equality and the area under the Line of Equality. There are no significant differences in the equality of distribution of the three service centres within the country as their Gini coefficients vary only by a small value from 0.02 to 0.05. However, the evenness in the spatial distribution of these service centres within the country is far from uniform as their Gini values are above 0.4, which is a mid-range value. A Gini value closer to 0 represents a fairer distribution of service centres while a Gini value closer to 1 represents the worst distribution of service centres. Figures 11(a) to 11(d) show the Lorenz curves and Gini

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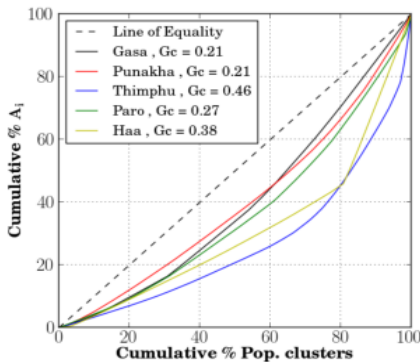
coefficients of districts for the combined services computed using the mean accessibility indices. Trashigang district with Gini coefficient value of 0.15 has the best equality of distribution of these three service centres across the country whereas Thimphu district with Gini coefficient value of 0.46 has the worst equality of distribution of these service centres.



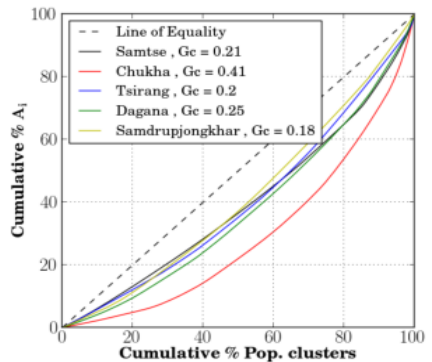
(a) Eastern Districts



(b) Central Districts



(c) Western Districts



(d) Southern Districts

Figure 11: Lorenz curves and Gini coefficients of the mean spatial accessibility indices of population clusters

As there was a lack of data for education and agriculture service centres for different years, it was not possible to assess the temporal changes in spatial accessibility to these services. Therefore, only health data from 2010 to 2014 were analysed to assess the temporal changes in spatial accessibility to primary health care services. In this case, the spatial accessibility indices are computed by using number of health care providers (doctors) available in each health centres as the attractiveness variable, S_j in Equation 1. Figure 12 shows the sub-districts' accessibility indices of the whole country from 2010 to 2014.

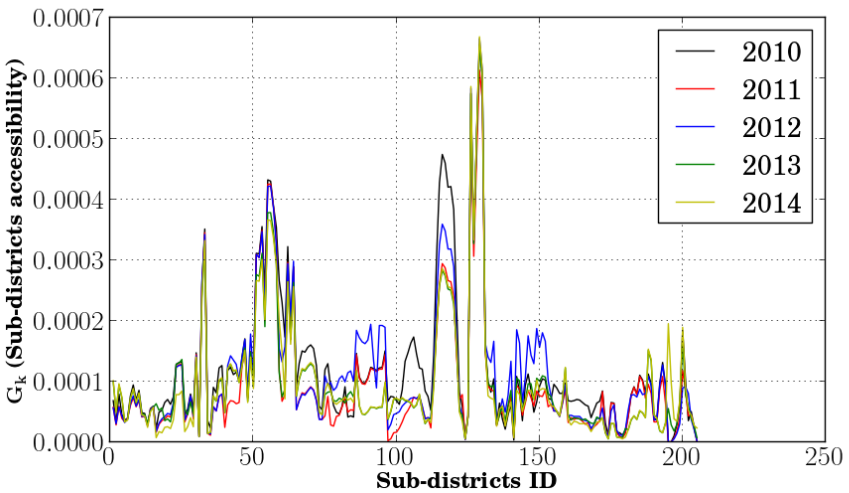


Figure 12: Spatial accessibility indices of sub-districts for health services from 2010 to 2014

In addition, the point-based accessibility indices are shown by a curve line to highlight the trend of the temporal changes in the spatial accessibility indices. The sub-district accessibility plot clearly indicates spatial and temporal changes in spatial accessibility to health care services between different sub-districts from 2010 to 2014. The trend of the temporal changes in spatial accessibility is not necessarily in positive direction towards the current years. Most of the regions have lower spatial accessibility for 2014 than the previous years, which indicates

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that the availability or distribution of health resources in those regions were not able to catch up with the growth in the population.

Figure 13 shows the district accessibility indices from 2010 to 2014.

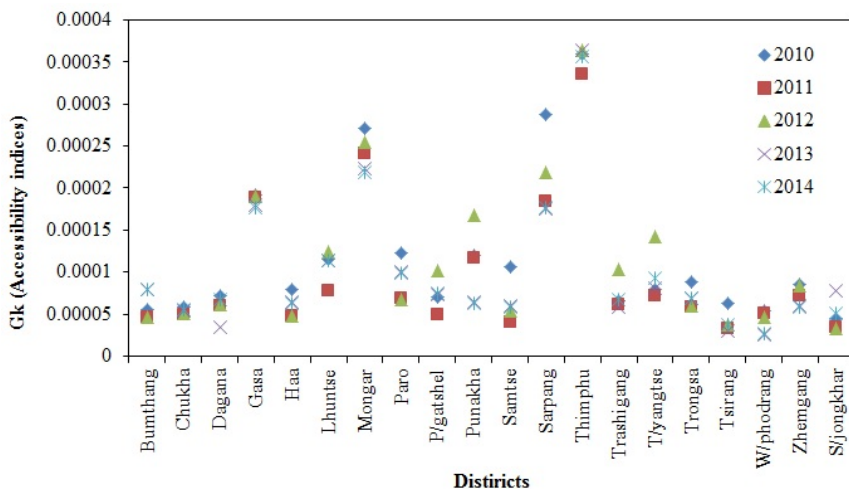


Figure 13: Spatial accessibility indices of districts for health services from 2010 to 2014

Thimphu district had the highest spatial accessibility to primary health care services in the country in 2012 followed by Mongar, Sarpang and Gasa districts. As the accessibility indices literally refers to opportunities per person, Thimphu district’s accessibility indices from 2010 to 2014 indicates that this district has one doctor for every 2785 to 2801 people, which is the highest in the country. On the other hand, Samdrup Jongkhar district with spatial accessibility of one doctor for 21891 people in 2010, 29112 in 2011 and 29735 in 2012 and Wangdi Phodrang district with spatial accessibility of one doctor for 38699 people in 2013 and 37488 in 2014 had the worst accessibility to primary health care services in those years. Bumthang district with spatial accessibility of one doctor for 17937 people in 2010 and 12691 people in 2014 indicates the best improvement in the healthcare services whereas Wangdi Phodrang district with spatial accessibility of one

doctor for every 18311 people in 2010 and 37488 people in 2014 indicates the worst deterioration in spatial accessibility to health care services in the country between 2010 and 2014. The deterioration of spatial accessibility to health care services in Wangdi Phodrang district is mainly attributed to having only one doctor in the district in 2014 compared to having two in 2010 and three in 2012, as the average distance between the locations of the population clusters and the health centre remained constant at about 19 kilometres between 2010 and 2014.

Discussion

GNH policies guided the development of the Tenth and Eleventh Five Year Plans of Bhutan (Gross National Happiness Commission, 2009, 2013). In doing so, the ministries and autonomous institutions around the country were required to formulate plans and activities and gauge those activities based on GNH indicators. Often there are no sensible indicators to gauge the progress of technically-related activities. For instance, the change in the coverage of forest area in the country can only be measured by calculating the acreage of the forest cover in certain time intervals. Similarly, the universal coverage of health care services can only be effectively determined by measuring the physical distances between the service centres and the dwelling locations of the populations. The current practice of measuring the progress of technical activities with the existing GNH indicators by indirect comparison is very much flawed because the relationship between the technical variables and the GNH variables cannot be ascertained. Therefore, there is a need to include specific technical variables, such as the accessibility indicators for measuring ‘access to roads’, within the GNH measurement framework to accurately gauge the progress of technical activities in various organizations.

It is also noteworthy to mention that the proposed accessibility indicators were computed objectively from administratively gathered data of the whole country. The use of objective data of the whole

country indicates a gross representation of the population, unlike the current GNH indices which are derived from survey questionnaire responses from a sampled population. To undertake a general survey of the whole population is very expensive so other viable methods need to be explored to define indicators. For instance, like in the computation of proposed road, remoteness and spatial accessibility indicators, there is no need to conduct a survey to find out the distance measurement between two locations rather the distance metric can be computed using locations of the modelled population clusters and the road network data of the whole country. In a nutshell, this study shows the possibility of evidence-based measurement of accessibility indicators using both spatial and non-spatial data of the whole country. Likewise, such evidence-based indicators can also be developed for the GNH system. However, there is a need to restructure the measurement system of the GNH system and re-aligned closely to methods used by other countries. One viable way of measuring indicators is to use a causal framework, such as the pressure-state-response (PSR) system, like the ones used for defining sustainability indicators by the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries (OECD, 1998, 2001, 2008). Only through integration of GNH's indicators with internationally adopted indicators would make the GNH measurement system a viable alternative for measuring the social, economic and environmental progress of a nation.

One of the drawbacks of the proposed accessibility measurement approach for the computation of remoteness and spatial accessibility indices is the use of a simple straight-line distance measure between two locations instead of computing actual travel-time or distance from road transportation network data. Most of the urban-based studies on accessibility in developed countries have been done using travel-time measure, which is computed from transportation network data as places within their study region are well connected by road network (Dai & Wang, 2011; Delamater, 2013; Geurs & van Wee, 2004; Luo & Qi, 2009; Luo & Wang, 2003). However, in developing countries like Bhutan, road connection in most part of the rural areas is very much

limited to a few places. Therefore, the computation of travel-time measure from road network data cannot be uniformly conducted throughout the country. Until road transportation is readily available in all the regions of Bhutan, the regional accessibility measurements can only be undertaken using a straight-line distance measure. If the simple straight-line distance measure is used uniformly across the study region then it would provide an unbiased basis for comparison between different regions.

Conclusion

The result of the first GNH survey conducted in 2008 indicates access to roads, education, good health and agricultural productivity as some of the important sources of happiness for the Bhutanese people. The ease of accessibility to road transportation, health services, educational and agricultural services can positively affect the outcome of the sources of happiness. Nonetheless, the existing pool of GNH indicators do not contain any spatial indicators, which are essential in quantifying spatial distribution of road network and social service infrastructure such as education, health and agricultural service centres. This study proposes simple straight-line distance-based accessibility indicator to quantify road accessibility, standardised distance-based remoteness accessibility to define degree of remoteness of a place within a country, and spatial accessibility indices to measure the equity of distribution of social service centres across the country.

Distance-based road accessibility indices of the whole country indicates about 40 % of the population lives within 100 metres from the nearest road point, 36 % of the population lives within 500 m to 1 kilometre from the nearest road point and 20 % of the population lives beyond 1 kilometre from the nearest road point. Only about 2.6 % of the population are living farther than 10 kilometres from the nearest road point. As per the remoteness accessibility classification, about 52 % of the Bhutanese population live in non-remote areas where accessibility to road transportation, towns, hospital and educational centres are better

than for the 48 % of the population who live in the remote areas. Based on the mean spatial accessibility indicator of health, education and agriculture services, Athang sub-district of Wangdi Phodrang district and Sampheling sub-district of Chukha district were the highest and lowest ranked sub-districts in 2012, respectively, with the former sub-district having about nineteen times better accessibility than the later sub-district. Trashigang district with a Gini coefficient value of 0.15 had the best equality of distribution of these three service centres across the country whereas Thimphu district with a Gini coefficient value of 0.46 had the worst equality of distribution of these service centres. The spatial accessibility to primary healthcare services in the country between 2010 and 2014 indicates that the Thimphu district had the highest spatial accessibility to primary health care services in the country, followed by Mongar, Sarpang and Gasa districts. Furthermore, Bumthang district portrayed the best improvement in the health care services whereas Wangdi Phodrang district portrayed worst deterioration in the healthcare services between 2010 and 2014.

This study has exclusively considered the computational aspects of accessibility indices. It has not undertaken analysis of spatial or non-spatial relationships between accessibility indices and other socio-economic variables underpinning the developmental aspects of a country. For policy and planning purposes, it is crucial to understand the variation in accessibility indices between different regions based on their socio-economic status. Therefore, one of the future tasks is to conduct exploratory studies between various accessibility indices and socio-economic variables.

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Deep Ecology and its relevance to Gross National Happiness and Bhutan

*Knut J. Ims**

Introduction— “Let the rivers live!”

When the Norwegian government started its modernization and rebuilding after the Second World War in the 1960s, Norway needed energy. Due to a unique combination of much rain, high mountains, and powerful waterfalls, there were excellent opportunities to generate electric power. However, high mountains may also be seen as majestic homes and habitats for eagles and snow tigers, sentient beings with dignity, and high waterfalls might be seen as spectacular masses of water that collapses into wild, beautiful rivers which is the life-giver of mother earth. Generating power by electricity needs domestication of the rivers and building of large-scale dams, which transforms the

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topography and threatens all life in the ecosystem. The Norwegian philosopher, Arne Næss, also enthusiastic mountain climber, together with a small group of environmentalists resisted the domestication of some of the most beautiful waterfalls and rivers, using the motto: “Let the rivers live!” In a non-violent way, the group held active demonstration against the domestication of the waterfalls. This was the beginning of a new green movement and philosophy named Deep Ecology.

In 2015 Deep Ecology is not a finished ready-made theory, but an outline, open to be filled out. According to Deep Ecology, every person has a responsibility to work out his own ecosophy, a reasoned process of ecocultural harmony. This kind of sophia or wisdom is openly normative, and contains both norms, value priorities, and hypothesis. Wisdom is policy wisdom, prescriptions, and hypothesis, not only scientific description and prediction.

How should we proceed to develop our own ecosophy, the wisdom to see ourselves as small actors in an amazing world where we have to choose between different roads? The road that “we have long been traveling is deceptively easy, a smooth superhighway on which we progress with great speed, but at its end lies disaster. The other fork of the road—the one “less traveled by” offers our last, our only chance to reach a destination that assures the preservation of our earth” (Carson, 1962, p. 277).

One might start criticizing the common and very popular instrument to measure and compare human welfare, the Gross National Product (GNP), which is a one-dimensional measure of economic growth, reflecting the size of the commercial market. Næss aptly writes that GNP is equivalent to Gross Domestic Pollution, emphasizing that GNP does not imply any progress along the course of self-realization, community vitality or environmental health.

Another positive road is to look to Bhutan: a country that proclaims to measure the well-being of its population in a direct and holistic way.

The intriguing question then is, how does Bhutan's government conceptualize human happiness and how do they ultimately measure it? Since 1972, Bhutan's government has attempted to expand the wellbeing and true happiness of its people and accordingly articulated the goal of Gross National Happiness (GNH). The Constitution of Bhutan (2008) directs the State 'to promote those conditions that will enable the pursuit of Gross National Happiness', (Ura et al. 2012, p. 6). Bhutan's concept of GNH merits sincere exploration since it is described as "holistic, balanced, collective, sustainable and equitable" (Ura et al. 2012 p. 7). Furthermore, they argue that it balances the material and spiritual development in such a way that they can complement and reinforce each other, making it very promising from Western point of view. Thus it attempts to meet the strong critics of the prevailing measure for development and welfare, the Gross Domestic Product.

Bhutan's measurement is timely since there is a growing interest to measure the subjective well-being of people. The international governmental organization, the OECD (2013) has developed OECD Guidelines on Measuring Subjective Well-being, and states that it has a particular interest in encouraging international comparability of such data. The OECD report defines subjective well-being to encompass three elements. i) Life evaluation—a reflective assessment on a person's life, ii) Affect—a person's feeling or emotional states, and iii) Eudemonia—a sense of meaning and purpose in life, or good psychological functioning.

It appears that both GNH and Deep Ecology are strong opponents of the use of GDP and the political and ideological context behind it. Deep Ecology (DE) claims to be an alternative way to a sustainable society where the flourishing of all life on earth is the final goal. Could Deep Ecology and Bhutan's GNH complement and enrich each other? Through their similarities and differences, I aim to explore whether these two approaches to sustainability and deep happiness can inspire and learn from each other.

First a short overview of Deep Ecology formulated by the Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss (1913 -2009), will be presented. Thereafter a view on some of the inspirational sources of Deep Ecology, the “Deep Ecological Tree”, and the core level – the eight points of the platform will be summed up (see Naess, 1989, 1995) and Ims (2011).

For each of the “eight points” some similarities and differences with the nine dimensions or domains used to measure happiness or well-being in Bhutan will be explored. GNH’s nine dimensions are i) Education, ii) Living standards, iii) Good health, iv) Environmental diversity and resilience, v) Good governance, vi) Time use, vii) Community vitality, viii) Cultural diversity and resilience, ix) Psychological well-being. Since my knowledge about Bhutan and GNH is limited, I will draw heavily on the research “Well-being, Happiness, and Public Policy” by Sabina Alkire (2015), and the two reports by Ura, Alkire, Zamgmo and Wangdi (2012 a, 2012b) to gain insight into the nine dimensions of GNH. Alkire’s research (op.cit) emphasizes human flourishing which also is key element in deep ecology. With notions like sufficiency, mindfulness, and the multidimensional way of approaching happiness, Bhutan’s way of thinking may bring new light and inspiration into the development and understanding of deep ecology.

One fundamental insight deep ecology and Bhutan’s GNH approach have in common is to view the environment as fundamental to the survival of humanity (Alkire pp 78-79, 2015). Alkire writes that “like each of the other domains, the study of human happiness adds something new. For harmony with nature has intrinsic value. ...Also of intrinsic value are relationships with non-human life forms” (p 79) ...Alkire stresses the need to change the underlying instrumental and materialistic mindset of humanity from maximization of living standards towards sufficiency. This view is in accordance with “live a rich life with simple means” which is a central motto of deep ecology.

Deep Ecology – roots and core concepts

When a “Long Range Deep” approach is what the Western societies really needed, environmental thinking in the Western countries was mainly concerned about short run measures. Arne Næss formulated this critic in the 1970s, making a distinction between the deep and the shallow approach to environmental problems. Shallow ecology represents a technocratic attitude to pollution and resource depletion, treating the symptoms through technological quick fixes, using brutal rules like making the polluter pay to reduce the ecological footprints. On the other hand, deep ecology assumes a relational, total field perspective that fits into a holistic, non-reductionistic, non-anthropocentric worldview by focusing on the underlying causes and represents a change in mindset. It means that to solve the environmental problems, the basic political, economic and ideological structure have to be changed. Ultimately, it means to change ourselves.

There are many reasons why the deep ecology thinking has obtained supporters in the last decades. The Living planet report for 2008 gives sophisticated evidences that the exploitation of resources and the level of consumption in all the Western countries have an overshoot of several hundred percent. The U.S. is on the top of this dubious ranking of ecological footprint, using 800 percent beyond a sustainable state.

Deep ecology represents inspiring insights as an alternative to the Western materialistic society. The essence of deep ecology is a fundamental respect to diversity, that all life on earth should flourish, and that the very notion of self as a subject should be redefined. The new self should be an eco-Self. The "unit of survival," is not organism alone, but "organism plus environment." In short, deep ecology is both a philosophical perspective and a campaigning platform.

The idea behind deep ecology is ancient. It is drawn from ideas from Hinduism, Confucius, and Buddha and, on the other hand it is drawing on Aristotle, Heidegger, and Spinoza. It is inspired by Gandhi's metaphysics, which is based upon the concept of oneness, and that

everything is interrelated. Such a holistic worldview leads logically to non-violence. And, in accordance with Aristotle, every plant has a telos, a goal—and is expected to realize itself—that is to be in a state of flourishing. Spinoza is an ontologist, and claims that we have the ability to identify with others and thereby come close to all kinds of life. Part of this claim is Spinoza’s ideas about the circle of friendship that continuously may grow and finally unite everyone.

Deep Ecology proceeds in two directions; it tries to create a change and it tries to develop an alternative philosophy called eco-philosophy. It is explained in four levels: the most basic level is the metaphysical level; the second is the platform level, and the third and fourth levels consist of the policy level and the level of political actions.

Level two, the platform, is the core and unites all kinds of radical ecocentrists like ecofeminists, direct action groups, as well as religious groups. Activities range from “ecotage” (sabotage to liberate exploited ecology) to support of politically oppressed people in countries under development.

Four Levels of Questioning and Articulation

Level I	Ultimate Premises	Taoism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, Ecosophy T, etc.
Level II	Platform Principles Movements	Peace Movement, Deep Ecology Movement, Social Justice Movement, etc.
Level III	Policies	A, B, C, etc.
Level IV	Practical Actions	W, X, Y, etc.

The above chart is a simplification of Naess's Apron Diagram. See Drengson, A., and Y. Inoue, (eds. 1995). *The Deep Ecology Movement: An Introductory Anthology*. Berkeley, North Atlantic Publishers, in particular pp. 10–12. (Drengson and Inoue’s book has been revised and translated for publication in Japanese.

The logic behind the framework is that there should be a continuous dialogue between the levels – to keep our philosophy and practice in harmony.

One core activity is to pose deep questions to explore ultimate premises and norms. When we have articulated position on the first level, we may move toward the lower levels.

The framework admits a great diversity at the level of “Ultimate Premises (philosophies). We do not have to subscribe to the same ultimate ecological philosophy to work cooperatively. According to Arne Næss, ‘the front is very long’ - and each person may contribute on his own premises.

It is illustrative to give some hints on the particular position of Arne Næss. His view starts with only one norm, Self-Realization! This norm means "Self-realization for all beings!" The Self to be realized for humans is not the ego self (self with small s), but the larger ecological Self (Self with capital S).

Arne Næss does not ‘difficultivate’ the concepts of the self. His focus is on the human ability to identify with a larger sense of Self. Humans naturally have this capacity. This can be observed cross-culturally.

The piece movement is also a part of Næss’s philosophy. But he argues that social justice cannot be enough. We have to produce and consume less – thread lighter and wiser on the earth. "Simple in means, and rich in ends," is his motto. It implies to put quality of life over and against standard of living, and celebrating the virtues of slowness and smallness contrary to our Western ideology of speed and scale.

To sum up, Næss holistic worldview negates the dominant metaphysics which sees humans as essentially different from the rest of nature. Næss claims that humanity is inseparable from nature: If we injure nature, we injure ourselves.

Even if Gandhi was one of Næss inspirational sources, there are certainly some differences between them. Metaphorically Gandhi used to look upon everybody as drops of water and writes: “This ocean is composed of drops of water; each drop is an entity and yet it is a part of the whole; the one and the many. In this ocean we are little drops...” Arne Næss on the other hand, states that for him it is more natural to look on himself as a little tree in a large forest.

The core level is level two: *the platform level*, which is usually summed up in eight points:

1. The well-being and flourishing of human and nonhuman Life on Earth have value in themselves - independent of the usefulness for human purposes.
2. Richness and diversity of life forms are also values in themselves.
3. Humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital human needs.
4. We need a substantial decrease of human population.
5. The present interference with the nonhuman world is excessive
6. Policies which affect basic economic, technological, and ideological structures, must be changed
7. The ideological change is mainly that of appreciating life quality (dwelling in situations of inherent value) rather than adhering to an increasingly higher standard of living. There will be a profound awareness of the difference between big and great.
8. Those who support these points have an obligation to directly or indirectly try to implement the necessary changes, in a non-violating way.

A Comparison of Deep Ecological Thinking and GNH

I will interpret the eight points of DE into the multidimensional measures of the quality of life and wellbeing as used in Bhutan but not dig into the technicalities of the advanced and complex measurement that forms the basis of GNH index. My approach will be to explore similarities and differences mainly on the conceptual level. The findings from the GNH index will be used when it is appropriate to support my arguments.

The three first points of DE will be presented in the same section, called “The diversity and wildlife category”, and the point four to point eight of DE will be subsumed under the category “Human oriented points”. The last point 8 will be treated separately. Point eight is about the responsibility to put one’s beliefs into political action.

The diversity and wildlife category.

Point one in Deep Ecology (DE) emphasizes the value of all life in general. This view may be a common denominator of DE and the Buddhist and Hindu traditions in Bhutan. However, there might be an important distinction in terms of an ecocentric perspective in DE and a moderate anthropocentric perspective that I interpret in the GNH measurement. Alkire (2015) writes that “For harmony with nature has intrinsic value.” She also adds that “...the natural processes of co-existence...a sense of harmony between people, the animals and the earth; the deep respect for the land, reverence for a specific sacred grove,... a feeling of affiliation with nearby cliffs. Also of intrinsic value are relationships with non-human life forms, various animals we live with or alongside. (p 79)

Point two in DE emphasizes that diversity has intrinsic values. Diversity, complexity, symbiosis and unity contribute to resilience. In the GNH index, domain eight, “Ecological diversity and resilience” is measured. GNH index have four indicators for this domain. One of them is wildlife. The GNH index measures this as “damage to crops” (p 166). It

is a growing concern in Bhutan, since “Wildlife damage can have catastrophic economic consequences for farmers, especially for vulnerable households; it also disrupts sleep patterns and may create anxiety and insecurity (p 166) “This is a farmer specific perspective, and it is based upon that only 21 % of the farmers were reporting ‘no’ wildlife damage in the past 12 months. GNH index states that it is not easy to ascertain the true cost of damage. On the other hand Bhutan is undergoing rapid urbanization, and urban respondents are asked on “inadequate green spaces”.

This way of measuring the wildlife as crop damage might be in line with Deep Ecological Thinking, since *DE's point three* accepts that vital human needs may justify the right to reduce the richness and diversity of life and wildlife. However, we see deep conflict between the farmers in Norway that have damage on crops, and where sheep are killed by bears and wolfs, and the Norwegian government that proclaims that bears and wolfs should be part of the Norwegian fauna, because they naturally belong to the Norwegian land. A test case has recently popped up in Norway since a wild boar has started to invade the southern areas of Eastern Norway. Due to the milder climate, the wild boar has established itself in the southern part of the neighbour country Sweden, where there are several hundred thousand. This is a “new” specie that challenge Norwegian hunters. The wild boar is very destructive to the crop because it comes in big groups and are very effective to dig up the crops during the nights. The Norwegian Government declares that this new animal does not historically belong to Norwegian fauna and that we therefore should not allow this new specie to enter Norway. At the same time, there is a new movement of “rewilding” the nature via accepting or even introducing species of wild animals that originally were living in the wild nature. We see this trend in different countries in Western Europe.

Human oriented points (four to seven) of DE

What does DE require concerning necessary change in mind-set in terms of ideology, political participation, technology, and life style?

Næss's own ecosohy T tries to balance the two main ecological concepts unity and diversity. To find the appropriate balance of those two concepts is a great challenge.

Point four in DE states the need for a substantial decrease of human population. It is a logical step since the most Western countries have an overshoot of many hundred percent of the carrying or bio capacity on earth. If we extrapolate this consumption pattern it is too much for a sustainable earth. We need to reduce our pattern of consumption, and the question of optimum population is relevant (1989 pp 140-141).

Næss emphasizes that the view of nature has evolved from looking at the land in terms 'empty' and 'desolate' when there was no human settlement to using terms like 'free nature' and 'untouched 'nature, where individuals now see the 'desolate' nature full of life. The evolution is due to the steadily shrinking areas of free nature, and that natural parks is slowly ruined through excess numbers of visitors. Næss writes that a negative reaction towards an increase of human population "is not to foster any animosity towards humans as such – on the contrary, human fulfilment seems to *demand* and *need* free nature. 'Homosentrism' and 'anthropocentrism'...should be qualified by an adjective, 'narrow homocentricm' (1989 p.141). The greatest challenge in the future will be to protect the planet and for its own sake.

Point five of DE declares that present interference with the nonhuman world is excessive, and had to stop. A new concept for this state of the world is the age of Anthropocene. The destructive pattern is clearly visible in many ways. One of the symptoms of a non-sustainable economy is human created garbage mountains found around many of the big cities today. We know about the level of pollution and the high degree of smog in many of the biggest cities in the world. Oslo and Bergen, the biggest cities in Norway, have been measured to be amongst the worst cities in Europe in terms of air quality during winter time. The main cause is dangerous emissions from cars, not the least diesel engines, and using of oil to warm up the water and houses. In the cities, there is an urgent need of renewable clean energy. In

Schumacher (1999) terms we need intermediate technology, which is appropriate to the context, simple and therefore understandable, suitable for maintenance and repair on the spot. This idea of intermediate technology opposes the enormous cost and complication of production methods for the sake of labour saving and job elimination, and favours small-scale establishments. (Schumacher pp. 148-158).

Point six of the DE's platform states that policies, which affect basic economic, technological, and ideological structures, must be changed. Arne Næss gives concrete examples on what this might mean by deducing a set of fundamental and derived goals for economic policy. According to Næss, some of the basic norms in economic policy is (1989 p.108);

B1: Full employment!

B2 High consumption now! (i.e. within the present electoral term)

B3 High consumption in the future!

B4: Much leisure time now!

B5 Much leisure time in the future!

Derived norms:

D7 High national product now!

D8 High national product in the future! (rapid economic growth = high growth rate in GNP)

D9 High investment!

D12 Hold prices stable!

Within this ideological frame, we find that economics concerns itself only with means but not with goals. Næss emphasizes that “such

proposition is clearly untenable” (1989 p.109) because it is necessary to work with goals. Næss ends up writing that this way of thinking is anti-ecosophical and reveals the gigantic illusion that modern industrial society guarantees leisure time (op.cit. p.109). The cost of making economics a ‘science’ (in a narrow sense) is according to Næss a certain “barrenness from the point of view of norms, barrenness from a point of view of humanity, and extreme danger from the point of view of ecosophy (Næss 1989, p.110).

Næss criticizes the use of Gross National Product (GNP) and GNP growth, which is calculated by adding up the national accounts every year. GNP is the proxy of welfare and is used “as if it were a decisive ingredient of a successful economic policy” (1989 p. 111). GNP growth was relevant as a measure after the second world war in Europe where the big project was to rebuild ‘Europe after five years with a destructive war’, but after two decades it turns up that every activity, negative as well as positive, the number of prisons, the frequency of traffic jams, smog and traffic accidents and everything to repair the undesirable sides of the society was included. GNP is in one sense “a value-neutral quantity, a measure of activity, *not of activity of any kind of value*” (p. 112). GNP is not related to meaningfulness of that which is created. It does not imply any growth in access to intrinsic values and progress along the course of Self-realization” (p 112). The main conclusion is that GNP is not a measure of welfare and life-quality. On the contrary GNP growth favours hard and distant technologies, wants, not needs, discriminates against people working at home, support irresponsible and unsolidaric resource consumption and global pollution (Næss, 1989 p.113-114).

The Bhutan’s GNH index is one profound answer to this critic. Many of the domains behind the GNH measurement lead to a holistic perspective on happiness. Community vitality is one interesting domain. Through the related indicators we find answers that at face value gives high credibility. For example the probable general pattern of city life is confirmed; to live in cities leads to a high degree of autonomy, but at the same time to long for a community.

Another factor assessed in the GNH index is time use. To obtain a high score on this factor, a balance between work and leisure is necessary. On time use the notion of *sufficiency* is applied. The logic is to have ‘enough sleep’ as well as ‘enough work’ and ‘enough leisure’. Alkire (2015) writes; “This embeddedness of sufficiency norms is interesting, because it also conveys with brilliant clarity the need for concepts of sufficiency to incorporate human diversity” (p 85), since time use to different activities will depend upon an individual’s age, family and social and cultural patterns. For the destitute time poverty is often endemic. For the materially rich, ‘good time balance is partly self-made’. There may be many sociocultural pressures and needs to ‘accomplish’ or seem ‘busy’ for building self-esteem (Alkire 2015 p.86). Alkire’s is also stressing that we should balance the time in a way to be able to perform at our peak. Paternity leave for fathers in Sweden is mentioned. It involves greater freedom and emphasizes a stronger relationship between fathers and children. This has increased children’s wellbeing, and even a drop in male mortality (see Alkire p.89).

Concerning ideology Alkire (2015) writes; “a key pillar of the new paradigm is sufficiency”. This is in opposition to “many policies both public and corporate (that) seek to maximize wealth and profit, regardless of its opportunity costs on other domains of well-being or on wellbeing in future years” (p 74). This pillar emerges also in the GNH index that measure the domain called “Living standard”. The Living standard domain refers to the material wellbeing of the Bhutanese people, and “ensures the fulfilment of basic material needs for comfortable living. In 2007, 23.2 % of Bhutanese “Still live in income poverty; some lack assets such as land or adequate housing” (Ura et al 2012a p.168). They use household per capita income, assets and housing conditions. Assets include livestock, land and appliance, while housing conditions are measured by room ratio, roofing and sanitation.

Sufficiency means that GNH Index does not use the poverty line, because sufficiency threshold refers to higher conditions for wellbeing than poverty lines (Ura et al p.169). Furthermore “an absolute

sufficiency threshold was chosen, since the GNH values encourage people to achieve happiness through their accomplishments, and discourage a relative approach in which one is satisfied only if one has relatively more income...than one's peers" (Ura et al 2012a p.169.) In principle Living standards concerns meaningful and decent work and livelihoods, ii) housing that sufficiently shields from the elements: cold and heat, rain snow and sun. iii) some form of currency – money, assets or other tradeables. In accordance with Alkire, all those aspects have an intrinsic value (p 72). That money has an intrinsic value is contrary to the Aristotle's' view. For Aristotle money should be valued as a means because wealth is only useful for something else. As Alkire note, whether money has an intrinsic value depends to some extent upon context (p 73). As a general-purpose resource up to a certain threshold it gives freedom related to security, diversity, generosity and sufficiency. Alkire argues that we should re-evaluate money. The essence is to find a balance between spirituality and acquisitiveness. One ideological element is to explicitly acknowledge and respect unpaid work.

Another implication of point six of DE is strengthening local practices and local communities. The basic norm of Self-realization for all beings implies a capacity for self –determination. This means that ecological policies will favour decentralization. Centralization will tend to lower self-determination. In terms of DE self- determination does not mean ego-trop, but others are essential to the realization of Self with capital S. (Cf. Næss 1989 pp 141- 142). It also means self-reliance. Næss acknowledges that international trade has had positive effects on material standard of living. However, “Lifestyle and entertainment import has led to a dependence upon international economic fluctuations, leading to uniformity, passivity, more consumption, less creativity” (1989 p. 143).

This trend to decrease cultural diversity on a global scale undermines the independence of different cultures, and make it difficult for them to be self- reliant. And the ecosophical position of DE wants “the possibility of maximum self-*activity*: creating, rather than consuming.

Doing, not being done to. The basic ecosophical terms here would be activeness, inner and outer, in reaching goals.” (1989 p.143). Næss argues that “Self-realization is not against cultural communication, but it favors intrinsic values, material and spiritual”.

The realizations of local communities are important in DE. The German distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* is indicative. Locality and togetherness are key term in the DE movement. Nobody wishes to be absorbed into a society that is “big but not great”. Næss puts forward several points to describe essential characteristics of a desirable local community (pp 144- 146). One implication is that differences in income and wealth should be small. Those at the ‘bottom’ and those at the top should be “sufficiently near in ways of life so hat they can go together and work together”. (1989 p.144).

Point seven of DE might be the most difficult point to understand from a Western point of view. To see its relevance, it will be supported with insights and arguments from the Bhutan perspective. Literature on mindfulness (Langer 2010) might be a key, and special attention to the concepts of spirituality measured in the GNH Index, which is based on balancing material wants with spiritual needs, will be presented.

Ellen Langer (2009) defines what mindfulness is and is not: “It is a flexible state of mind – openness to novelty, a process of actively drawing novel distinctions. When we are mindful, we become sensitive to context and perspective; we are situated in the present. When we are mindless, we are trapped in rigid mind-sets, oblivious to context or perspective. When we are mindless, our behaviour is governed by rule and routine. In contrast, when we are mindful, our behaviour may be guided rather than governed by rules and routines. ...Mindlessness is not habit, although habit is mindless” (2009, p.279). Based upon research Langer writes that “an increase in mindfulness results in greater competence, health and longevity, positive affect, creativity, and charisma and reduced burnout,” (Langer, 2009 p.280). Mindfulness is a critical factor in determining individual performance and shaping

learning experiences. Mindfulness appears to be crucial in helping us deal with uncertainties in our lives and environments.

Spirituality in Bhutan “can encompass belief in spiritual values like compassion, peace, and a sense of purpose and connectedness’ and include ‘Acts of compassion, altruism and selflessness...” (Ura et al 2012a p.131). The GNH research group argues that Bhutan is a “spiritual nation and the influence of spirituality is highly visible in the everyday lives of the population, in spiritual gatherings, and in the numerous spiritual landmarks such as sacred temples and monasteries, prayer flags and prayer wheels. These provide a platform for people to develop spiritual maturity” (Ura et al 2012a p.132).

For GNH, spirituality is ‘intrinsic to development’ which means that no meaningful development can occur without “inner spiritual growth along with peaceful environment that allow spiritual nourishment. If material growth undermines the spiritual framework of society and its values of compassion and integrity, then development has not occurred” (Ura et al 2012a p.132).

The spirituality indicator is based on four questions. One finding was that meditation practice had a very low loading. It may be mentioned that the government in Bhutan has recently initiated a school-based meditation curriculum, because of its ability to “provide balance, positive emotions and mental clarity” (Ura et al 2012 a p.133). Mainly the monks and nun are practicing meditation in Bhutan. The GNH survey include 25 monks and nuns. This is not representative of monks and nuns who make up about 3% of the population of Bhutan. They live largely institutionalized lives in monasteries and ‘nunneries’, and are not easy to interview.

Mindfulness is an important practice that in the GNH Index context measures psychological wellbeing as three components; i) Spirituality – meditation or mindfulness practices, and the consideration of the consequences of one’s actions. ii) Emotional balance, which is the outcome of emotional intelligence, and the cultivation of positive

emotions such as generosity, empathy and compassion, and iii) Evaluative satisfaction with respect to different domains of GNH. (Alkire 2015 p.93). One example mentioned by Alkire (2015 is the results of meditation in prison in India (Tihar) and the United States. Program of meditation in prisons demonstrates that wellbeing is improved (Alkire op.cit p.97), and violence and racism are reduced. The Oxford Mindfulness Centre applies mindfulness techniques to patients with mental and physical problems. “There is great potential that widespread availability (of mindfulness tools) will have a beneficial effect on the general population, not just those who are diagnosed unwell.” Alkire 2015 (p 98).

Point eight; active participation in the value struggles in society

In Norway there is a representative democracy with several political parties and elections every fourth years. The Government implement the laws and important decisions based on majority rules in the Parliament (Stortinget). The Norwegian political system is supported by a strong technocratic tradition with several experts in different fields, and does not always work in an appropriate way to take the minorities interests into necessary consideration. As a result several civil disobedience actions have taken place to preserve the Norwegian wilderness. Arne Næss and other pro-ecologists were partly inspired by Gandhi’s example and methods,

Good governance is an important domain in the GNH index and four measures for good governance are used; i) whether people knew their fundamental rights and felt they were protected, ii) if they trust public institutions, 3) how people assess the performance of the governmental institutions, and iv) whether they vote in the national elections and participating in local government meetings. These questions are supported by Sen’s important contribution in his “*Development as Freedom* (1999). According to Sen, participation in making decisions that affect people’s life and the lives of others are fundamental to human wellbeing. Participation can also be regarded as having intrinsic value for the quality of life.

Deep ecology presupposes that every person takes a practical stand and act on it. In this value battle is science not enough, and ecology is not the ultimate science. Following Næss's example we should act in a non-violent way, and we should always argue for our position. Deep ecology draws heavily upon ecology as a science where the values of unity, symbiosis and diversity are central. However, we must avoid ecologism, the view that ecology is the final authority. This would mean that we over-generalize and universalize ecological concepts. But ecology cannot be a substitute of philosophical analysis. We must "fight against depoliticization". Ecological science, concerned only with facts and logic, cannot answer the essential ethical challenges we must face. How we should act as responsible deep ecologists and good citizens is partly a question about how we should live, and that is an ethical question.

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Final Remarks

Bhutan's GNH measuring is an attempt to develop a holistic measurement of human happiness. The Bhutanese research reports present several insights that have relevance for alternative ways of life and different lifestyles compared to the prevailing Western view. We should reflect deeply on these insights to learn and to pursue a sustainable life on our earth. Summing up the main findings from this exploration of deep ecology and GNH, both represents clear ethical

positions, knowledge and wisdom and can reinforce and enrich each other.

Deep ecology needs GNH, because GNH's concepts of sufficiency, mindfulness and spirituality contributes to an elaboration of DE. Deep ecology may inspire GNH researchers to continue to raise basic questions on how to contribute to human flourishing in Bhutan. The non- anthropocentric assumption in DE may challenges Bhutan's GNH measurement. Deep ecological thinking implies living a rich life with simple means and Self-Realization for all beings.

GNH is a milestone towards understanding and elaboration of the deep ecological narrative, often regarded as a distant ecotopy. However, GNH is real, it is implemented in practice, represents a role model for the global community, and directly benefits the people of Bhutan. The GNH approach is innovative as well as a humanistic way to pursue happiness in a deep sense, and is a hopeful project towards a sustainable practice and a good life.

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What Would Social Goods Provisioning Look Like Under the GNH Paradigm?

*James Chalmers**

Preamble

The GNH paradigm is rich on several fronts. One of them, on which I will write, is its suggestiveness about the kinds of changes because the GNH anticipates, and which need to be developed for the GNH to be operative or implementable within specific sectors. I am interested in the sectors that provide the core services – the social goods – needed to enjoy wellbeing. We can't say that the GNH is explicit on the sociology of organisations, or on questions of governance like incentivising frontline providers in our schools, healthcare clinics and social protection units. At the same time, GNH is highly suggestive about *how*

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we should approach challenges that lie ahead, to help ensure implement-ability on the ground.

Introduction

My first topic is the state's capacity to enact and adapt to the paradigm change that GNH envisages. What is the role of the *state* in this new paradigm? And, since the GNH paradigm opposes self-interested forms of motivation and behaviour associated with neoliberalism, I would like to consider what kind of *social ownership* of public goods is required. What kind of *social ownership* of public goods could produce the most comprehensive pre-conditions of freedom, as a way of opening the world up to a rights-based scenario of people living with one another through nature?

Since the GNH paradigm does not explicitly address the state's role in implementing GNH, I will make a creative appropriation of certain rights-based values and social practices that constitute the GNH paradigm. A key point I'll be making is that the role of the state should be to steer rather than command all components of provisioning social goods. These different components refer to policy-making, which includes regulatory mechanisms, and then there are the on-the-ground components like procurement and hiring. I will be arguing that this latter component, the execution bit, needs to be done by not-for-profit (community-based) organisations, not privatised as we typically see.

The second topic I want to cover is public spending on social goods, regarding a fair balance of payments between the state and the people who are entitled to these social goods (*viz.* education, healthcare, and social protection). The GNH system of values addresses this issue of fair sharing of responsibilities in terms of 'interconnectedness' and how individuals are interdependent with one another and with nature. We need to share the costs and the responsibilities for nurturing wellbeing but there needs to be distributive justice, unlike the current situation under neoliberalism where people pay a disproportionate share.

My third topic is how to properly incentivise people in the organisations that provide social goods: the policy-makers and frontline professionals like doctors, teachers, and social workers. I'll be suggesting that incentives need to be both monetary and non-monetary. Of course, an adequate salary is a vital part of the mix. But, it is insufficient on its own when the aim is, as it should be, to incentivise *collegiality*. This requires the kind of motivation that only social valuation or felt worthiness of the vocation can bring. Money doesn't do it on its own. The broader challenge of incentivising is to catalyse a strong feeling for the career or vocational work of delivering social goods, and especially, a felt sense that the occupation is socially worthy. The GNH paradigm is very suggestive on this question of incentives: monetary rewards on their own simply reward self-interest; and this means the spirit of mutuality is squashed, and worse, squandered as a vital aspect of wellbeing.

To summarise the topics I'll address, it will go beyond the sociology of organisations to investigate governance. This is not 'governance' in the guise of 'good governance' with its neoliberal undertones of small government/ austerity measures. I am interested in governance defined as *how it feels* to be governed. I'm interested in the experiences of people who engage with the organisations that deliver social goods— the schools, the healthcare facilities, and the social protection agencies. Their experiences are universally since all humans experience the effects of conditions of political economy (disproportionate power relations). At the same time, their experiences are contextualized by 'local' (ethnographic) dimensions. There needs to be clear recognition of this to assess people's judgements about justice, empowerment and domination, in the context of public policy.

First Topic. The Role of the State, and the Mix of Organisations Called for by a Society's Goal of Universal Wellbeing

The most interesting alternative model of governance associated with social goods provisioning is the Neo-Weberian State (NWS) model. The NWS approach presents a partly successful critique of the business model for provisioning social goods. It critiques the model that neoliberals call 'New Public Management', which is the practice of belief that all development issues boil down to management fixes. We're told that governance is about efficiency and the tweaks needed to efficiencize (and stop corruption). The NWS critique of this doesn't go far enough because it says the private sector will continue to be involved (in the new Weberian state model) albeit in a lesser role. Effectively this gives the state a stronger role. But while the NWS approach doesn't call for unequivocal public ownership of social goods provisioning, it partly understands that the real legitimacy of provisioning lies with the people and their communities. It recognises that people bring a lot of local knowledge to the equation because they are closest to the action: their kids in local schools, family and friends using local healthcare facilities, and so on.

That recognition is significant in the NWS model because it gives rise to regulatory mechanisms in that seek to enhance peoples' equality and protection, and at the same time, to develop greater accountability on the part of the state as well as the people. At the centre of these administrative laws there would be a distinct normative environment, one that is congruent with claim-rights. Significantly, this means there is recognition in the NWS model that people are *entitled* to social goods: they are not the 'clientele' of the organisations or the 'consumers' of social goods. It's an issue of human rights.

That part of the NWS model is good, and I see an easy accord with the GNH on the need to emphasise mutuality over self-interest, and the need to supplant reliance on market mechanisms that *reward* self-interest. On the other hand, the NWS model doesn't align with GNH

in important other ways. It doesn't call explicitly for a mix of public institutions which would devolve responsibility to local levels for providing social goods. Even though it advocates for a strong state role, it still relies on the private sector. So it doesn't identify or want to include a role for community organisations in the mix of actors that provide social goods.

As I understand the GNH, it expects the mix would be a blend of state and non-state services, where the non-state actors are community-based and foundationally not-for-profit. The private sector has no place in the provisioning social goods. The profits need to go back into the process and mechanisms that make provisioning work better. Community organisations are accustomed to this and sometimes do it well, like we see in India. Leave out the regulatory mechanisms, which the state needs to run directly along with other policy functions, and this leaves a picture where local ownership does the design of the implementation, and its delivery and tracking of provisioning. Indian readers are particularly familiar with this in a country where countless actors in the independent sector play instrumental roles in the delivery of social goods.

Another area where the NWS system does not align with GNH implications is where it fails to address the unjust share of what people are typically paying their entitlements. I'll return to this in the second topic. Moving on, there's no accord with GNH either on the question of incentivisation where there needs to be an aim to motivate mutuality. Instead, the NWS platform relies on the achievement of results. Results-based provisioning is never the complete answer, especially when market forces dominate. The problem with private sector results-based provisioning ideas is they assume (wrongly) that pay entitlements are singularly linked tightly with individual self-interest. If we view this inside the health or education organisations, we can see this sets individual against one another. And it catalyses unofficial incentives. A doctor does not want to neglect a patient's primary healthcare but it happens when money-based incentives stand-out as the motivating

force in practising one's profession. When the incentives are based on cash-on-delivery (of results), which is the current neoliberal experiment, what we see, predictably, is the over-emphasis on using sophisticated clinical services. In other words, if you make a policy decision to pay medical professionals for the number of CT scans they do, there is over-consumption of these scan devices – and neglect of holistic healthcare. Similarly, a teacher doesn't want a student to miss learning core topics in the classroom because the family can't afford out of school classes – where those core topics have already been already covered. But this is happening because teacher's choices are shaped by incentives that come unashamedly from the market rather than from concern for children's learning. I'll come back to this in the third track of my talk.

So, on the mix of organisations needed, it is not useful to specify this in a generic way, because education, healthcare, and social protection each suggests different and various ways of distributing institutional responsibility. But there is a clear starting point: the state has a strong role. It cannot shirk responsibility for making wellbeing possible by out-sourcing the provision of life chances. Instead of out-sourcing to the private sector the state needs to develop proper partnerships with households and their community organisations: volunteer or service associations. As for the proportionality of the responsibility, if the household was to get too much responsibility it would mean too little accountability for the state. So when the state and community organisations have roles proportionate to their capacity, this transfers a lower and fairer burden on households.

What should the functions be for the not-for-profit community-based organisations (CBOs)? I already mentioned the tactical role of planning implementation and its delivery and then tracking it. The CBOs should also do the procurement and hiring. Then they can own the performance and workplace culture aspects. Plus they should be given the role of setting fees for patients. It's important for responsibility-sharing but it makes sense because they know what cost burden the households in their districts can bear. Local knowledge is a key

ingredient in transforming disproportionate and unjust distribution of responsibilities, which neoliberalism transfers in its ‘user fees for benefits’ prescription.

We can get a glimpse of how this would look on the ground in a Rwanda example. Here, public expenditures went towards developing and engaging community-based organisations. They were awarded a vital function, not a perfunctory one. Their role combines procurements, contract negotiation, and budget allocations. What’s happening there, very usefully, is the recognition that the two components of healthcare service provisioning – policy-making and health providing – need to be kept distinct. They are discrete specialisations and should be kept this way. Too often they not. In Rwanda, the separation of roles is not experimental but follows the trend in global health reports, which is to advocate for what they call a ‘purchaser-provider split’.

The global health sector understands clearly that the functions of CBOs are an integral part of the provisioning mix. The reason is that their involvement makes it much more likely that motives and intent stay fixed on the social good. A locally-based organisation is more likely to have a natural sticking power or self-efficacy, which motivates people to act for the greater good. As for the state: its role stays strong, as it should: it guides the overall operations, does the policy-making, the regulatory mechanisms, and does the overseeing of CBOs.

Non-state not-for-profit systems are operating in many country contexts. In some instances, they are modest operations, but in India, for example, they are fully-fledged. They are an important democratic response to the challenges of providing affordable access to social goods. We can find non-Indian examples of this relationship between government and CBOs in countries like Argentina, Uruguay, and Viet Nam. Some, if not all these cases, emerged through a WHO initiative called the Bamako Initiative. Its aim was to create an approach for

funding health systems through both equitable sharing of costs as well as community participation.¹

Economic efficiencies (staff productivity, budgetary compliance) are important means of the realisation of wellbeing. But efficiencies are not the end goal despite what neoliberals tell us when they commercialise, out-source, and build a results-based regime based on ‘key performance indicators’. They have become the main game. But the provisioning of public goods is not a game. It’s about human flourishing and the social good, achieved through people’s ownership and participation. It’s about facilitating freedom from constraints that modern institutions and norms impose.

Some of the important pre-conditions of participatory engagement in service provisioning that come out of comparative studies are captured by something called a ‘rural-urban contract’. The aim of a rural-urban contract is fixed on reducing inequalities, and at the same time, steering efforts away from the ‘safety nets for the poor’ model. The ‘safety nets’ approach is a mainstay of neoliberal planning and it’s essentially a charity approach. It simply renews existing inequalities. This is because it assumes, disparagingly, that ‘they’ and ‘we’ have different levels of potential to contribute to the country’s development. The ‘safety nets’ or targeting approach has prevailed since the 1980s.

At that time of the 80s, and in the ideological context of neoliberalism, the canon of welfare provision shifted away from a good kind of universalism that was tailored to fit individual cases. The shift was intended to bring about a shrunken role for states. And in this retreat from responsibility, we heard that individuals must be responsible for their own wellbeing. This meant people were (and are) vulnerable to the market principle of user-fees-for-benefits. The ‘good governance’ of

¹ See Coheur, Alain, 2004. The state of development of private non-profit social protection organizations. Report of 28th ISSA General Assembly, Beijing. Technical Commission on Medical Care and Sickness Insurance and Technical Commission on Mutual Benefit Societies.

wellbeing – the neoliberal variety of governance – generated a normative environment of ‘spending on the poor’ and refused any discussion about people categorised anything other than ‘poor’.

That shift institutionalised poverty. By rationalising ‘our’ role as providers and ‘their’ role as needful recipients or clients, that approach has set up an endless chain of dependency – and is used to justify a two-layer system of services. In short, with that shift came increased inequality.

Rural people are particularly at risk under the regime of ‘spending on the poor’ because they’re a big part of the vulnerable population. The ‘rural-urban contract’ needs to be redefined to re-emphasise the importance of human capabilities in rural regions. The National Spatial Plan of Japan does something similar with its aim to build sustainability into the regions. It has reorganised service delivery units to make them more responsive to local needs – and have come up with distinct cost-savings, as it happens.

The myth of ‘high costs and low benefits’ in rural areas is a bad mantra. A good one would be rural service delivery units that reflect the rural context. Their organisation should not try to replicate urban models. The guiding image should be tailored approaches, where the ‘tailoring’ is based on local level information of multidimensional vulnerability, which is what the GNH produces. Dismiss the assumption that rural services are ‘too costly’, and its corollary that services can be modest because they’re ‘just for rural people’. In the same way that governments are constructing internet superhighways reaching into remote areas (because that’s in the national interest), it’s easy to envisage that the benefits from rural social service delivery would flow across provincial borders – from the bush to the city – to help make possible the GNH vision of interconnectedness and universal wellbeing in a society.

Second Topic. Sharing the Costs of Paying for Social Goods

This topic covers some of the ground surrounding the question of who pays for the costs of education and healthcare. And especially, ensuring that the sharing of costs is proportionate, fair, and bearable.

In the NWS model, market mechanisms continue to play a significant role. This denies the well-established finding that when cost-sharing is left to the market people pay more than their share – they carry the biggest burden of the costs of healthcare and education. In most country contexts, people’s responsibilities have increased over and against their ability to pay. The distributive logic of *fees-for-services* has become distorted and damaging, because of fundamentalist market forces and severely shrunken state involvement. People are asked to pay more than their share. Even when social insurance mediates the burden, it doesn’t compensate for the distributive injustice. This is clear when we look at out-of-pocket payments. In healthcare, they use the term out-of-pocket payments to refer to spending that households make when using healthcare services. Costs like buying medicines, paying for hospital and diagnostic services, and paying indirect charges levied by state or private facilities. The tipping point in out-of-pocket payments is when the healthcare bills exceed a household’s ability to pay. ‘Ability to pay’ is money left over after paying for food. The threshold is when the household’s health spending consumes 40 percent or more of total non-food household expenditures. At that point, out-of-pocket payments are termed ‘catastrophic’. This is because they trigger deprivation, risk, and disparities in access to healthcare services.

So, in implementing the GNH paradigm shift, a key challenge will be to ensure there is a fair sharing of costs. ‘Fair sharing’ reflects the GNH ideal that an individual enjoys wellbeing only when all others do too. As the GNH has understood, a society flourishes when everyone achieves wellbeing. This insists that the costs of paying for the provision of health and education opportunities are fair. Over and against this, under neoliberalism countless people can’t gain affordable access to the same good quality of social goods that a privileged group of others enjoy. This

is wrong: it violates human dignity and blocks peoples' entitlements – their rightful claims to affordable access to social goods. The GNH is very suggestive on the need to transform the neoliberal system of quid pro quo, because it over-extends people's ability to pay and shirks state responsibility, when it seeks reliance on market mechanisms.

Third Topic. Incentivising People in These Workplaces

The problem of incentivisation is the problem of transforming the normative environment within the organisations and units that deliver social goods. As I have indicated, this means a shift from self-interested behaviour to mutuality. This change is particularly challenging where health professionals and educators work in both public and private sectors, which often happens. Typically, a doctor or teacher takes into the public workplace the same self-interested actions that the private sector rewards. So, commonly, the normative environment is not an ethical one: it's more efficient than it is ethical. The challenge of implementing mutuality is how to make incentivisation match the integrity of the job. As we saw, the NWS model likes the idea of a professional culture of quality and service. But this is not a very useful suggestion, because, as I mentioned, the NWS incentives rely on office-bearers achieving results. That's a neoliberal standpoint. So there's no actual change in the NWS model, in this respect. Curiously, I think, it fails to address the process, which is about how people on the receiving end of such models experience the achievement of the expected results.

Consider instead what the GNH paradigm can be seen to say about incentivisation: the right kind of incentives are those that could transfer the kind of relationships in the organisation and service units where reciprocal actions feature strongly, rather than *self-interests*. We saw self-interested behaviour happening where doctors work across both private and public domains. They commonly use publicly-bought medical technology in their private practices. This is a fact that neoliberals see as a normative if unwanted formation of institutions. So they seek to remedy it, but it doesn't work because they simply reduce the problem

to one of ‘management inefficiencies’. This hides the reality that the problem is self-interest over and against the social good.

The next point on the track towards an appropriate GNH-type normative culture inside organisations is recognition that official expectations have to prevail over unofficial ones. When this happens, public officials would gain more from providing a public good than from pursuing their personal interests. But where unofficial incentives prevail, the normative situation is at odds with what’s right. Public office should never be an opportunity for private or sectional gain. Yet this is officially tolerated, in many instances.

To tackle the problem the first assumption we need to make is that it’s a supply-side issue. True, it’s reinforced by people’s compliance when they try to seek access to public goods. But it’s still a supply-side issue because the issue of unofficial incentives prevailing over official ones is reproduced within the organisational culture, and transferred by the normative environment. Transforming it means addressing relationships *inside* the organisations. It doesn’t help to impose regulation from *outside*. This will change little because traditions or ‘automatic behaviour’ in the workplace easily subvert any external changes introduced. They are subverted by behaviour like ‘gaming’ the externally- imposed regulations. That behaviour happens to transfer high levels of legitimacy because commonly it is officially tolerated.

One reason it’s tolerated is that it costs a lot to place a health professional in a remote district. Typically, then, when a doctor combines that public role with private practice, official eyes look away from bad uses of public resources like CT scanners in the private practice. The rationale is probably that it’s hard to get professionals to work in remote areas. But turning a blind eye to petty corruption increases the power and even the authority of perverse incentives. Neoliberals do respond to this. But they like to believe that supply-side issues (and the related phenomenon of ‘supply-induced demand’) are ultimately ‘market dynamisms’ or something like that. We’re meant to infer that commercialization of social services will correct them,

inherently. That's a pipe dream, because the commercialisation of services monetises all incentivisation initiatives. There's no room for correction towards the public good when incentivisation is preoccupied with motivating self-interest.

Transforming workplace behaviour so that it's in the public good means having a mix of incentives - beyond money. Decent pay and tax deductions are crucial. But the issue is how to blend this with incentives that enhance *accountability*. Pay entitlements on their own don't produce accountability.

One case where a mix of incentives has been trialled is in China. It seems to *partially* address the problem. The idea there is to blend salary increases and performance bonuses so that together they promote several things: better service delivery, ethical behaviour, good communications with people, getting to work on time, taking appropriate lunch breaks, not leaving too early, and so on. About 90 percent of employees received sizeable bonuses - which suggests they were motivated. The program has a further incentive in the form of an annual award ceremony for 'best nurse', 'best obstetrician', 'best time manager' and 'best behavioural performer'. Winners received a monetary prize and vacation travel. The trials are quite interesting, but they are overly-focused on monetized motivation. The emphasis missing is on instilling a sense of mission or vocation.

The theorising of ways to address an end goal of vocation /mission /collegiality is done, quite well, by the 'economy of self-efficacy' approach² and the 'economy of esteem' approach.³ The guiding idea in both models, as it needs to be, is to transfer crude self-interest to enlightened self-interest by nurturing accountability. What's theorised

² See for example Ryan, Richard and Edwards Deci, 2000. 'self-Determination Theory and the Facilitation of Intrinsic Motivation, Social Development and Wellbeing'. *American Psychologist*. Vol. 55, No. 1, 68-78

³ See Brennan, G. and P. Pettit, 2005. *The Economy of Esteem*, Oxford University Press.

as likely to catalyse this is the experience of belonging to a just work place, where the underlying culture is fairness and proportionality. Most people would be motivated by that kind of normative environment, where there is a clear dedication to fostering peoples' life chances. That sense of belonging motivates people because internal motivation systems are about expecting a reward that is commensurate with the organisation's mission. On the other hand, we have been asked to believe by neoliberalism that internal motivation comes from external competitive stimuli. What's important, they say, is the quest for superiority, and seeking approval from others.

But the motivation is inappropriate and damaging, largely because what's missing is belonging to a just organisation, one with a clear mission to serve the social good. It doesn't address accountability. This is the end goal, which applies too to the experiences of those who are entitled to the services. Their accountability would amount to taking on greater responsibility to make the most of the distributive justice on hand. There are examples where this evidently happens. In conditional cash transfer systems like Mexico's Progresa/ Oportunidades, and Brazil's Bolsa Escola/ Bolsa Familia, we can see a sense of justice as the end goal. The idea is mutual responsibility. The policies are tailored-to-fit incentives like 'putting more children in better schools', 'getting more people the health treatment they need', and 'more people with better social protection'. This is a very different kind of quid pro quo compared to the purely commercial 'fees for services' system that neoliberalism espouses. Research shows the Latin American examples of distributive justice seem to work: school and health outcomes have been on the up.⁴

⁴ E.g., see Barrientos, Armando. 2004. 'What can we learn from Non-Contributory Pension Programmes in Brazil and South Africa?' *Generations Review* 14(1), 10-14; also Sadoulet, Elisabeth, et.al. 2001. Cash transfer programs with income multipliers: Procampo in Mexico. FCND Discussion Paper No. 99. International Food Policy Research Institute. Pdf. Available at www.ifpri.org/divs/fcnd/dp/papers/fcndp99.pdf (accessed 06/06/2013).

At the very least, the Latin American initiatives are focused on the real problem, which is *why* someone entitled to a service chooses a certain course of action – or inaction, like not attending an ante-natal clinic, or taking a girl out of school because of out-of-pocket expenditures. Tackling motivation through results-based incentives doesn't wash. This is evident in the UK model of trying to motivate educators by ranking schools on exam results; or, trying to motivate healthcare providers by establishing mortality rate tables for hospitals or individual doctors. It's a one-dimensional output approach. It can't motivate accountability because it can't see that stimuli for accountability are inseparable from the providers' relationships with claim-holders.

There is an example from Mongolia that helps show why incentivisation through appeals to self-interest fails. What happened in Mongolia is that neoliberal analysis speculated based on fundamentalist economics that low quality healthcare is the problem of overstretched doctors. Their explanation was that 'congested demand for services' – which refers to inability to meet demand for services that causes long waiting lists – was caused by the state's role being too big. Predictably, they recommended incentivising doctors' self-interests to meet the demand. Well, it is true that 'congested demand' is partly about inadequate pay. Not enough pay means doctors are likely to solicit unofficial payments for faster or better treatment. But the bigger reality is this is not fixed by simply paying professionals more money. They probably need it and it's probably important to give it to them. But that won't necessarily fix the poor performance situation. The reason is the issue of perverse incentives. Perversely, the doctor won't be motivated to stay in the public system by higher pay. This is because pay increases must be shared with your bosses in Mongolia, and many other places. So congested demand will persist, because the professionals are likely be motivated to move into small private practices, rather than stay in the public system (with a pay rise they must share). In the private practice, the distribution of unofficial payments is less onerous; and so, as the perverse logic of corruption suggests, their costs reduce in the private practice.

Two things come out of the example: first, neoliberal appeals to the logic of individual self-interest inevitably discount the public good, and second, incentivisation is more than increasing pay, it's about tackling organisational culture.

Summing Up

I've tried to make the point that states have a responsibility to 'steer' the provisioning of social goods but this doesn't mean they need to implement the actual provisioning to achieve accountability. The primary aim in provisioning should be the optimisation of public decision-making towards the wellbeing of everyone. This entails the broadest possible participation of people and their representative organisations. Local people are best placed to provide the information that organisations need. In this 'mixed service provisioning' approach I am outlining, the household and their community representatives are full partners in the tactical side of implementation; whereas, states would direct the resources and services – and they would do this universally, rather than just to the poorest people.

Approaches of this kind would replace an approach that has increased inequalities by digging a sharp divide between the 'claimholders' and the 'producers' of social welfare resources. It would supplant an approach that has set up unhealthy competition and interactions between individuals marked by self-interested behaviour. It has isolated people from one another and from the natural environment through which we live. Alternative approaches of the kind I am suggesting could be expected to nurture self-motivation of the kind GNH advocates, which is filled with mutuality and reciprocity, as vital by-products of accountability and distributive justice.

The details are challenging. It means elaboration of the distribution of institutional responsibilities and arrangements. But the road-map for this has a clear destination, unlike neoliberal maps with their pipe-dream of ceaseless rapid growth. The end goal for alternative approaches to governance (of social goods) is to optimise state

commitment to distributive justice over and against state obligation to formidable market-based enticements. The means to this are focused on addressing the risks of social exclusion and building interdependency with households and their communities. Communities and their members have the strongest sense of – and legitimate entitlement to – what is needed to improve quality and access. The state’s responses, seen in how people experience the provisioning process, need to reflect people’s expectations and interest in enjoying wellbeing. This is done by putting people at the centre of public decision-making. It would bring crucial attention and insights into local realities, which could help make possible the end goal of people’s happiness.

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GNH Philosophy as Subset of Happism Theory

Mukund M. Moharir

Executive Summary

Weightage Factor (WF) Method to compute GNH Index is introduced in this paper. WF Method is particularly essential where the effects of Paradigm Shifts and/or Prime Movers of Happiness influence the Wellness Domains and their Indicators. For example, in case of scientific or modern society where Prime Movers of Happiness are Education and Standard of Living, WF Method will show realistic value of GNH Index which is higher than the methods which do not account for the Paradigm Shifts by ignoring Weightage Factors.

When we talk about GNH Philosophy, we should think in three steps as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: 3-steps of GNH philosophy

Step 1	Individual Happiness
Step 2	Happiness of Society
Step 3	Happiness of Nation

One may argue that happiness of an individual is added or included in the happiness of a society, and happiness of the society is added or included in the happiness of a nation. But to me this addition needs

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further modification. Consider two different batches of apples. Each batch has apples of different weights. If we count the total number of apples and multiply it by certain arbitrary weight of an apple then we come up with a wrong number of total weight of the apples we possess. By this comparison, I wish to say that we need some modification in our computation of GNH number.

In fact, this 3-step philosophy itself needs further modification since it may imply that the happiness of a nation is a stand-alone entity. As we know, the world is getting smaller and smaller and what happens in rest of the world may influence the happiness of a given nation under study. However, there are certain pockets of nations in the world which are not affected by the chaos going around in the surrounding world. Therefore, our calculations of GNH number should account for the both types: nations whose happiness is affected by the rest of the world and nation whose happiness is independent of the surrounding chaos.

This leads us to the Theory of Happism which aims at “Permanent and Sustainable Happiness on Planet Earth.” When we hear this term “Permanent and Sustainable Happiness on Planet Earth” we may think that this is some abstract or Utopian Theory. But it is not because it identifies the parameters or sources of happiness/unhappiness postulated in the 3-step philosophy of Table 1, also it gives us the System Oriented Solution (SOS) for any national and international problem of a nation, enhancing its GNH number. Thus, this theory of Happism deals with GNH Philosophy along with its praxis and policy.

This Happism theory is developed from the philosophy of individual happiness to the happiness of the society and then of the nation. This micro-approach development is done in a step-by-step-discourse on some of the sample topics given in Table 2.

Table 2: Sample discourse topics of Happism theory

Topic 1	Correlation Between Success and Happiness
Topic 2	Datum Level to Measure Success and Happiness
Topic 3	Wealth, Wisdom and Happiness
Topic 4	Self-Enlightenment and Eternal Bliss
Topic 5	Happiness and Line of Sight
Topic 6	God's Philosophy Based on Righteous Literature and Religious Mythology
Topic 7	Intensity and Duration of Circle of Happiness
Topic 8	Social Obligations toward "Forgotten" and "Down-trodden"
Topic 9	Happiness and Specific Case Studies (Old Civilizations, "Inclusive and Exclusive" Happiness)
Topic 10	Role of Environmentalists in National Happiness
Topic 11	Pockets of Happiness in Chaotic Surroundings
Topic 12	Thirty Principles for National Happiness and Problem Solving
Topic 13	Paradigm Shift in GNH Weightage Factors

All these philosophical topics of Happism Theory aim at identifying sources of happiness or unhappiness of an individual and for a society. Also, Happism suggests that overall happiness of a society includes the variable amount of happiness contributed by different sources. For a given area under study, the theory identifies the “Prime Movers of Happiness” (PMH) and emphasizes the importance of Paradigm Shifts in relative contributions of various Domains and their Indicators during the computation of the GNH Index of the area.

These 30 principals derived during the philosophy of Happism Theory envelop or account for the influence of politics, religion, environment, economics, scientific and technological progress, industry, social problems, etc., These factors will affect the GNH of different nations in different ways based on Population, Area, Scientific and Technical progress, Industry and Environment (PASIE) classification of the

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nation. In the Happism Theory world nations are classified as PASIE1, PASIE2, etc.,)

This firmly establishes that different happiness or wellness factors will have different Weightages based on the nature of the society or the nation in general. Different methods of GNH computations have different wellness or happiness factors to be surveyed. For example, the one given by Mr. Med Jones of National Institute of Management (NIM) are given in Table 3.

Table 3: Sample GNH survey factors

Number 1	Economics Wellness
Number 2	Environment Wellness
Number 3	Physical Wellness
Number 4	Mental Wellness
Number 5	Workplace Wellness
Number 6	Social Wellness
Number 7	Political Wellness

It is easy to conclude that these seven survey factors are covered in the philosophical discussion of Happism Theory. Also, the latter indicates that these seven factors are not independent variables as may be implied by some surveyors. Some of the variables are more dependent on the others. Such dependent factors should be justifiably given less weightage in the final computation of GNH number of a given area.

Now the question comes: How to implement in practice the fundamental principles of Happism Theory? For that purpose, the area under survey may be classified as: Village, township away from big city, suburb of big city, slum area of big city and remaining big city. Each area should have its own Weightage Factor (WF) for each survey or wellness factor. This WF should be decided by the surveyor based on the source of happiness/unhappiness with due considerations to the

fundamental principles of Happism Theory. For this reason, the surveyor should have a thorough knowledge of the area to be surveyed.

The GNH computations methods without WF and with WF are given in Tables 4 and 5 respectively while using NIM Domains or Factors.

Table 4: Current method to compute GNH

	Factor Name	Area A1: Survey Results	Area A2: Survey Results
Number 1	Economics Wellness	8.000	2.000
Number 2	Environment Wellness	2.000	8.000
Number 3	Physical Wellness	8.000	2.000
Number 4	Mental Wellness	6.000	2.000
Number 5	Workplace Wellness	6.000	2.000
Number 6	Social Wellness	2.000	8.000
Number 7	Political Wellness	8.000	1.000
Sum	-	40.000	25.000
Average	-	5.714	3.571

Table 5: Weightage Factor Method To Compute Gnh

	Factor Name	Area A1: WF1	Area A2: WF2	Area A1: Sur Res X WF1	Area A2: Sur Res X WF2
Number 1	Economics Wellness	0.1428	0.0100	1.1424	0.0200
Number 2	Environment Wellness	0.1428	0.4000	0.2856	3.2000
Number 3	Physical Wellness	0.1428	0.0300	1.1424	0.0400
Number 4	Mental Wellness	0.1428	0.0300	0.8568	0.0400
Number 5	Workplace Wellness	0.1428	0.0200	0.8568	0.0400

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Number 6	Social Wellness	0.1428	0.5000	0.2856	4.0000
Number 7	Political Wellness	0.1428	0.0100	1.1424	0.0100
Sum	-	1.0000	1.0000	5.7140	7.3300

NOTE: in each city/township if 20% people live in Area A1 and 80% live in Area A2 then the GNH of that city/township will be $(5.714 \times 0.2 + 7.330 \times 0.8) = 7.0068$.

Now let us use this WF Method of GNH computation on the EXISTING SURVEY DATA OF BHUTAN of REFERENCE 2. Bhutan reported GNH is 0.756 on page 28. The percentage contribution of page 30 is given in Table 6, column 3.

Bhutan rural area is 0.6835 or 68.35% and the urban one is 0.3165 or 31.65% as calculated from pages 89 and 90. If we consider Education and Standard of Living Domains where Paradigm Shifts occur we construct the Table 6 for WF Method to compute GNH of Bhutan. Since we observe that the percentage contributions of the nine domains are fairly uniform, we do not expect much change in the GNH computation results with and without WF. However, Page 38 shows some difference in effects on GNH of rural and urban areas in case of Education and Std. of Living Domains. These effects are also accounted for in Table 6 calculations. Their summary results are given in Table 7.

Table 6: WF Method to compute GNH Index

(A)	(B)	(C) % contribution to overall GNH Index	Rural	Rural	Urban	Urban
	Domain name	[page30]/[%×0.765/100]	(D)=©×0.6835	(E)=(D)×XWF	(F)=©×0.3165	(G)=(F)×WF
1	Psychological Wellbeing	10.48/.0792	.0792×.6835=.0541	.0541×9/7=.0696	0	0
2	Good governance	10.18/.0770	0.0526	0.0676	0	0
3	Education	9.78/.0739	(a).0435	0	(b).02716	.02716×9/2=0.1222
4	Health	13.1/.0990	0.0683	0.0878	0	0
5	Ecological Diversity	12.41/.0938	0.0641	0.0824	0	0
6	Community Diversity	11.56/.0874	0.0597	0.0767	0	0
7	Cultural Diversity	11.01/.0832	0.0569	0.0731	0	0
8	Living Standard	10.91/.0825	(c).0485	0	(d).0303	.0303×9/2=0.1364
9	Time use	10.57/.0799	0.0546	0.0702	0	0
		SUM=100.00/.756		SUM=.5274		SUM=0.2586

Ref. 2, Page 38, Education Suff. of rural to urban=9.3/10.8=0.8611 and urban to rural=10.8/9.3=1.1613. (a) =.0739×.6835×.811=.0435

(b) =.0739×.3165×1.1613=.0272

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Ref. 2, Page 38, Std of Living Suff. of rural to urban = $10.4/12.1=.8595$ and urban to rural= $12.1/10.4 =1.1634$. $9(c) = .0825 \times .0635 \times .8595 = .0485$

$$(d) = .0825 \times .3165 \times 1.1634 = .0303$$

WF Method GNH Index Of Bhutan = $0.5274+0.2586=0.7860$

Reported GNH Index Of Bhutan (REF 2, PAGE 28)= 0.7860

WF Method Urban GNH = $0.2586/0.3165=0.8172$, Reported GNH (PAGE 38) = 0.811 ;

WF Method Rural GNH = $0.5274/.6835=0.7716$, Reported GNH (PAGE 38) = 0.731

NOTE:

In the above table, wherever 0.0 WF is used, theoretically small value can be used. But it will not alter the results significantly. Zero factor is used for clarification and ease in compilation.

Table 7: Summary of Table 6 Results: WF Method GNH Vs Reported GNH

Item no.	Item	Reported Value (WF Not Used)	WF Method GNH
1	GNH of Bhutan Nation	0.756	0.786
2	GNH of Bhutan Urban Area	0.811	0.817
3	GNH of Bhutan Rural Area	0.731	0.772

Table 9: Illustration of Paradigm Shift Effect on GNH Indices

Item no.	Item	GNH Without WF	WF Method GNH
1	GNH of Entire Area	0.510	0.585
2	GNH of Urban Area	0.510	0.720
3	GNH of Rural Area	0.510	0.450

To further understand WF Method of GNH Index computation, I have devised a simple data in which the Paradigm Shift is prominent for Education and Std. of Living domains as can happen in scientifically

advanced urban society. For simplicity, I assume the rural to urban population ratio to be one. The percentage GNH contributions are 15.686 for Education and Std. of Living and 9.804 for the remaining domains. This yields GNH contribution values of 0.08 for Education and Std. of Living and 0.05 for the remaining domains. The computations of Table 8 (which are similar to that of Table 6 for Bhutan existing data of Reference 2) yield the results which are summarized in Table 9 for WF and without WF methods.

Table 10: WF Method Computation

Easy Illustration to Understand Prime Movers of Happiness Effect on GNH Indices

(A)	(B)	(C)% contribution to overall GNH Index/(%×0.60/100)	PMH considered weightage factor WF	Domain contribution
SN	Domain name			(D) = ©×WF
1	Psychological Wellbeing	9/.054	0.5	0.027
2	Good governance	9/.054	0.5	0.027
3	Education	17/.102	2.0	0.204
4	Health	12/.072	2.0	0.144
5	Ecological Diversity	9/.054	0.5	0.027
6	Community Diversity	9/.054	0.5	0.027
7	Cultural Diversity	9/.054	0.5	0.027
8	Living Standard	17/.102	2.0	0.204
9	Time use	9/.054	0.5	0.027

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		SUM=100.00/.600	SUM= 9	SUM=0.714
Entire Area Urban, Reported GNH w/o WF=0.60, PMH: Education, Health & Standard of Living Domains 4 times WF				
WF computation: $X+X+4X+4X+X+X+X+4X+X=9$, $X=0.5$, $4X=2.0$				
Method GNH Index of entire area=0.714				
Reported GNH Index of entire area without wf=0.600				

Finally, in Table 10, I have given the sample calculations for an urban area where PMH are Health, Education and Standard of Living Domains. They are given the Weightage Factors of 4 (four). The resulting calculations of Table 10 show that WF Method GNH 0.714 is about 20 (twenty) percent greater than w/o WF method GNH value of 0.60.

These computations show that it is essential to identify the sources of happiness/unhappiness, Prime Movers of Happiness, also the Paradigm Shifts, if any, and accordingly be assigned Weightage Factors for each Domain to arrive at the realistic GNH Index of the area. This will establish GNH Index as a universal measure of happiness in every nation without any exception.

So far, we have discussed the GNH philosophy derived from Happism Theory and its implementation in GNH survey. Now let us see how to improve the GNH number of a given area. Manifesto of Happism Theory yields a System Oriented Solution (SOS) method to solve any national and international problem of a nation. This will improve the national GNH. Details of this SOS method are given in Reference 1. The format of SOS method is as follows:

Problem Definition: This section gives a summary narration of the history, and the current status of the problem.

SOS based on Happism Considerations: This section explains how to apply the seven Happism Manifesto Considerations to solve the

national or the international problem under study. In some special, nonobvious cases, proper numbers of Happism Principles are cited to support the rationale behind the proposed solution. The final SOS will include the contribution from each of the following seven considerations of the Happism Manifesto.

1	Population Consideration	WF1
2	Border Consideration	WF2
3	Border	WF3
4	Science and Technology Consideration	WF4
5	Production Consideration	WF5
6	Religious Consideration	WF6
7	Environmental Consideration	WF7

Discussion of Ideal Solution and Nonideal Eventualities

1. Nonideal Eventuality 1: Describe pros and cons of Nonideal solution.
2. Nonideal Eventuality 2: Describe pros and cons of Nonideal solution, etc.

This SOS method complies with the 30 principles derived from the 3-step philosophy of Table 1. During the discussion of Nonideal Eventualities, the cited principles will be re-evaluated for its applicability and reasoning. Any controversy leading to the Nonideal Solution will be addressed to the satisfaction of the party objecting to the Ideal Solution generated in Section B. As mentioned earlier, since SOS is unbiased; no one should have any objection to the result. But in case, rational discussion of the principle used for the objectionable part will help to die-down the controversy.

In summary, this paper covers the comprehensive philosophy behind GNH, WF method to compute GNH Index and SOS method to improve GNH of a nation.

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Aspects of Well-Being at Work

*John Nirenberg**

Are we confronted with a tragic, insolvable dilemma? Must we produce sick people to have a healthy economy, or can we use our material resources, our inventions, our computers to serve the ends of man? Must individuals be passive and dependent to have strong and well functioning organizations?¹

With only a third of U.S. employees engaged at work (32%), half (50.3%) are ‘not engaged’ and 16.8% are ‘actively disengaged.’² Worldwide, the figure for engaged employees drops to 13%.

Abstract

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¹ E. Fromm, *The revolution of hope: Toward a humanized technology* (Riverdale, New York: American Mental Health Foundation Books, (2010), p. 14

² A. Adkins, U.S. employee engagement reaches three-year high. (2015, March 9). www.gallup.com

Aspects of Wellbeing at Work

A comprehensive framework for assessing well-being should include how well-being inside organizations is established. Does one's experience in the workplace contribute to well-being? Does one have the ability to achieve inner satisfaction through work? It behoves advocates of GNH to identify and measure those aspects of life at work that contribute to the individual's well-being to have a more comprehensive picture of the full human experience. This paper addresses the structural issues that interfere with the creation of well-being at work and suggests some sources to consider to learn about more congruent ways of being at work.

Aspects of Well-Being at Work

From a public policy perspective, Bhutan's advocacy of GNH (Gross National Happiness) has had a phenomenal influence on how the world measures development and the well-being of its citizens. Measuring GNH is indicative of a new focus on quality of life and not just the increase in economic transactions. The growing popularity of GNH shows that it has raised the consciousness of millions of people regarding what really matters in terms of actionable public policy indicators of well-being. Clearly, the measureable economic artefacts alone cannot explain personal fulfilment, social cohesion, or the value of the collective experience of life, but GNH helps tune in to those and other dimensions of personal and collective satisfaction to get a reasonable facsimile of what is important to people and for policy makers to improve the lives of its citizens.

One of the four pillars of GNH, sustainable and equitable socio-economic development, recognizes that "A thriving GNH economy must value social and economic contributions of households and families, free time and leisure given the roles of these factors in Happiness" (GNH Centre Bhutan, n.d.). However, of all the 33 indicators used to measure each of the nine GNH domains, only one is relevant to work. To determine that factor, these questions were asked:

How satisfied are you with your standard of living?

How satisfied are you with your major occupation?

How satisfied are you with your work life balance?

Notably, the sufficiency threshold for work, according to the survey, is 480 minutes, or eight hours per day. Though employment is important, the nature of the workplace experience is even more important in determining one's happiness; yet, it remains beyond the surveys and instruments used to calculate GNH, well-being, and life satisfaction in the overwhelming majority of places currently measuring GNH.

Work absorbs at least half of our waking hours. After spending our youth preparing for work we willingly surrender our autonomy to an organization in a 24/7 world. That organization recruits us, owns our work, trains us, evaluates us, promotes us, provides much of our connection to a social life, and influences our overall quality of life as well as our lifestyle, determines where we live, the kind of education our children will receive; and, ultimately, our interests become almost completely subordinated to those of the organization. Of course, this is mostly a characterization of life in the West, especially in the US, and not necessarily of Bhutan.

Measuring Work and Well-being

When the UK measured the quality of life for the first time at the national level, it asked only one question regarding work and it was about job satisfaction (Office for National Statistics (UK), 2012). Interestingly, the most significant finding was about those whom didn't work. Teenagers and pensioners were happiest. Could one conclude that just being out of the labour force was a significant influence on happiness or could it be, perhaps, that being part of the labour force depresses one's ability to be happy? There are other interpretations as well, but the ambiguity of meaning here suggests that further research on the influence of work on happiness would be useful – especially given the significance of work in the lives of Westerners who spend most of their day in work-related activities and whose mental space is considerably occupied by concerns about work. Indeed, one question is simply insufficient to be used to determine the influence of the workplace on personal well-being.

Table 1. Factors contributing to a low and high quality of work life

Factors contributing to low quality of work life	Factors contributing to high quality of work life
Poor working environments	Fair Pay and Autonomy
Manager aggression	Job security
Workload, inability to deliver quality of work preferred	Reward systems
Balance of work and family	Training and career advancements
Shiftwork and constant e-connection	Opportunities
Lack of involvement in decision-making	Participation in decision making
Professional isolation	Interesting and satisfying work
Lack of recognition	Trust in senior management
Poor relationships with supervisor/peers	Recognition of efforts
Role conflict	Health and safety standards at work
Lack of opportunity to learn new skills	Balance between the time spent at work and the time spent with family and friends
	Amount of work to be done
	Level of stress experienced at work
	Occupational health and safety at work

For Gallup-Healthways,³ the four parts of well-being at work include: “job satisfaction; ability to use one’s strengths at work; supervisor’s treatment; and, supervisor creates an open and trusting work environment,” a good, but incomplete start to a more comprehensive understanding of the influence of work on well-being. After conducting a thorough review of the literature on quality of work life (QWL), Nanjundeswaraswamy and Swamy (2013) concluded that there is agreement on what creates a high quality of work life environment. The following Table 1 includes a synthesis of some of their findings:

Thus, the missing piece in measuring GNH is the lack of a more detailed understanding of our experience of our lives at work—something more explanatory. Perhaps we should pay more attention to the work itself, something deeper than simply whether one has a job and how much it pays. When others have tried to elaborate on the

³ <http://www.well-beingindex.com>, n.d.

workplace experience, the orientation has been on those factors among employees that serve management such as a feeling of loyalty, the extent of personal motivation, one's responsiveness to rewards; and not relationships with colleagues and supervisors, or the adequacy of opportunities for professional growth, for example. The attention of many of the surveys that are used to measure workers' satisfaction is to further the goal of increasing productivity, and job longevity.

Given the constant pressure for growth and profits, ultimately, work demands increase to a point that threatens to outstrip our capacity to succeed over a career. We hit a dangerous level of stress and a point at which our skills are no longer capable of meeting the demands of our workplace as it continually strives to reduce costs, eliminate waste, and decrease the time necessary to produce a unit of product or service at an ever-higher level of quality. Thus, our measures have missed some of the most significant factors contributing to happiness at work and a significant part of GNH.

Buckingham and Coffman (1999) suggested a way of measuring employee engagement that suggests a concern for everyone's well-being. They created a list of 12 questions that delve into two main issues: whether the social milieu is supportive and caring and the nature of job-related aspects that hint at the possibility that under some circumstances doing well for the organization can result in our heightened positive experience of the workplace. See Table 2 for their list of their questions:

Table 2: Buckingham and Coffman’s employee engagement questionnaire

1	Do I know what is expected of me at work?
2	Do I have the materials and equipment I need to do my work right?
3	At work, do I have the opportunity to do what I do best everyday?
4	In the last seven days, have I received recognition or praise for doing good work?
5	Does my supervisor, or someone at work, seem to care about me as a person?
6	Is there someone at work who encourages my development?
7	At work, do my opinions seem to count?
8	Does the mission/purpose of my company make me feel my job is important?
9	Are my co-workers committed to doing quality work?
10	Do I have a best friend at work?
11	In the last six months, has someone at work talked to me about my progress?
12	This last year, have I had opportunities at work to learn and grow?

In the Spirit of Eudaimonia: Humanistic Management or Eupsychian Management

There is a long tradition of what is called humanistic management characterized by sensitivity to relations among and between workers (employees and managers) and their role in the organization that developed immediately after the Hawthorne experiments (Mayo, 1933/2003). This tradition ran through the works of various authors and took various names such as participative management, democratic management, self-management, and eupsychian (psychologically healthy) management. The fundamental ideas of this school of thought included the belief that work should be, if it isn’t already, a pathway to self-actualization or personal growth to the point of becoming “fully human” (Maslow, 1967).

In this way of thinking, work becomes an expression of character and personal growth. It is a primary way in which one’s relationship to one’s community and the full economic and demographic spectrum of people is developed. Work is the vehicle for developing one’s economic standing and lifestyle. Work mandates our time use, limits activity, freedom of movement, freedom of expression; but, where the workplace

is managed in the spirit of community, work becomes a venue to express citizenship and one's personal efficacy in a supportive societal context.

Threats to Well-being in the Typical Large Workplace

In the quest for efficiency and productivity in an ever compressed time period, the obsession with performance moulds our behaviour, beliefs, values, self-esteem, sense of purpose that is ongoing and more demanding each year—all in service to ever growing stretch-targets of improvement toward organizationally determined goals. Along with the pressure to perform at ever-higher levels comes economic instability, increased powerlessness, a decline in human connection, alienation from a sense of purpose and yet an increased dependence on the organization for one's livelihood, healthcare, and other necessities. When people are viewed only as a factor of production, a cost, a burden, an instrument—our efforts result in developing technologies that threaten to first become our master and then successor.

Forming the New Organization

In the spirit of GNH, a new form of organization is emerging that is more human friendly and representative of the spirit of GNH and the humanistic management tradition. And it is happening outside the realm of the typical large organization. Prior strategies for humanizing large organizations focused on changing the organization, but the new strategy is to embrace a lifestyle change and to accept the fact that the typical large organization using the same bottom line principles oriented toward perpetual growth cannot be changed any more than a yak can be taught to fly. Ultimately, as new grassroots efforts succeed and attract more and more people to small and medium sized alternative models, many more people will, by their acting on their enlightened choice be contributing to the transformation of our collective consciousness. In the long run, that may in turn transform the typical large organization as well, but what is most important now to those making the choice is to find the congruence of living one's values

at home and at work resulting in a heightened sense of well-being and creating a purposeful life.

New Organizing Goals

As work becomes more aligned with one's values and a renewed sense of purpose is realized in attending to small and medium sized enterprises with like-minded people, something extraordinary happens—one begins to re-experience a loving, compassionate acceptance, with a shared vision of the community as a social as well as economic instrument. In an enterprise closer to human scale where one can know and develop natural relationships with others each person becomes conscious of the norms, implicit values, structures, behaviours expected of leaders, policies, fair and effective rewards, a just and accountable distribution of power and an efficacious role in assuring the organization operates according to the shared interests of its members. In this way, the organization will be a collective instrument of the well-being of all its members.

The Future is Emerging in Our Midst

It is all around us, but for those of us in traditional careers and workplaces, we can't see them or hesitate to trust them; they're too experimental, too risky; too unconventional. This is in part because our usual professional journals and the business press rarely if ever focuses attention on their successes though it is quick to point out the great experiments when they fail. These experiments simply challenge the conventional wisdom in a way that unsettles the traditionalists that don't want their practices undermined or questioned. They're too revolutionary. Yet, there are many organizations that have succeeded with a new set of values that are exciting their members and serve as great exemplars. Here are a few sources of further information:

Independent and networked ecovillages around the world (UK)
www.ecovillage.org

Mondragon, (Spain) a multi-national cooperative based enterprise that rivals a traditional MNC, but living cooperative values.
www.mondragon-corporation.com

BALLE; a network connected by Business Alliance for Local Living Economies (USA) www.bealocalist.org.

Organic Valley farmers' cooperative (USA)
www.organicvalley.coop/products/butter

NCEO; National Center for Employee Ownership (USA)
www.nceo.org/articles/employee-ownership-100

Intentional Communities (USA) www.ic.org

Sarvodaya (Sri Lanka) www.sarvodaya.org

These organizations are just a random selection of well known sources that address possibilities for new ways of organizing and living values in an organizational setting congruent with the personal values held by those who choose to work in these organizations. Perhaps they can help others see how to create congruence in their organizations and increase well-being at work for all.

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Happiness in a Tourism Context

Martin Lohmann & Jessica de Bloom[†]*

This paper introduces an empirical research project on tourists' happiness focusing on short-term emotions ("golden moments"). The aim is to understand the psychological effects of holiday travel. Some preliminary results are presented and discussed with respect to further research activities as well as to possible practical implications.

Why Happiness and Tourism?

Happiness is a basic concept and goal of the modern Bhutanese society, and tourism is an important source of foreign exchange for its government. Therefore, the search for the link between tourism and happiness is important for Bhutan.

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As the term Gross ‘National’ Happiness makes it clear, the happiness of the national population is the focus of the political and administrative activities striving to reach this desirable objective. But what about non-national people staying in Bhutan for some time to explore this beautiful country on their vacations? Can they expect to find happiness here? According to the tourism promotional material of Tourism Council of Bhutan, “Happiness is a place”. In addition, offering positive feelings to the guests seems to be in line with a Buddhist attitude.

In Western societies, people tend to find positive feelings mainly during their leisure time, including their holiday travel. Other areas like work, religion and family seem to be less important in this respect.

Happiness for tourists can be regarded as one of the customer values of holiday travel. Other customer values may be recreation, better health, learning a language, deeper affiliation in relationship, etc., These values are part of the holiday motivations and expectations, and, once fulfilled, turn into an outcome of the travel activity. It is this latter aspect, the psychological effects of holiday trips, which we plan examining more closely in this project.

Psychological Effects of Holiday Trips and the Multi-Faceted Concept of Happiness

Holiday trips are supposed to have beneficial effects for the travellers. These effects may be longer lasting like recreation, improved health, knowledge, or more short-term on a “here & now” basis like *thrill* or *fun*. Short-term benefits may lead to or facilitate longer lasting effects later.

Happiness is a broad construct referring to different levels, diverse mental states and different psychological concepts. Within GNH, empirically, happiness is assessed as an attitude, i.e., a cognitive-affective evaluation of an object (like–dislike). Here, the “object” is a detail of the perceived personal situation, which is measured like satisfaction, e.g., life satisfaction (“are you happy with....?”). In other studies, happiness is regarded as an indicator of overall subjective well-

being and refers to experiencing frequent joy and infrequent negative emotions (Csikszentmihalyi, 2013; Diener, 2000), thus a sort of average feeling over a period.

Regarding happiness as an enduring spiritual state (harmony, peace...) is a conceptual approach focusing more on personality states and traits, perhaps best described as contentment.

Here, we look at happiness as an emotion. As emotion happiness is rather short-term, an actual personal feeling. Cognitive components are, if at all present, only in the background. The feeling does not refer to an external object although it may be initially triggered by external objects or events. We refer to these emotions as “golden moments” during holidays.

Golden Moments during Holiday Trips – The Project

In our empirical research to understand the phenomenon of happiness as an emotion (“golden moments”) during holiday trips, we combine quantitative and qualitative approaches. The methodological approach is based on earlier works of the authors on psychological effects of recreational times from work breaks over leisure activities up to vacation trips (e.g., Lohmann, 1996; De Bloom et al., 2013).

The central research question in this quantitative study aims to know incidents and structure: “Do holiday tourists experience golden moments of happiness during their trips?”, and, if yes, how many tourists and associated with which travel characteristics or socio-demographic factors?

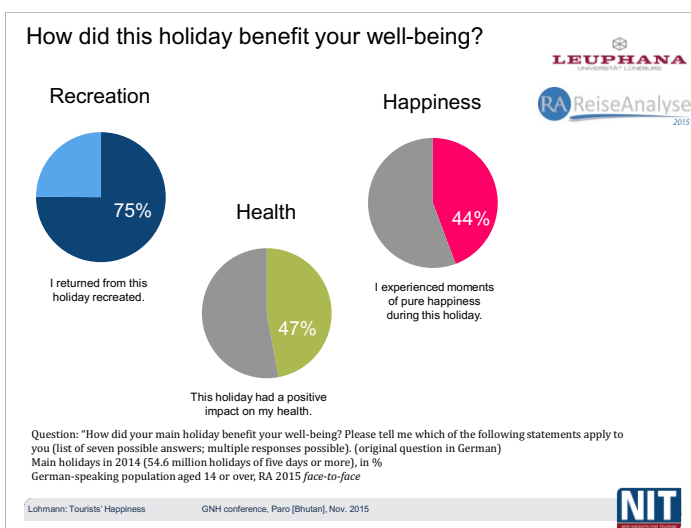
The quantitative survey was done in Germany as a source market study. Germany is one of the most important generating countries for international tourism with some 70 million holiday trips every year, in addition to some 80 million taking short breaks (FUR, 2015; Lohmann et al., 2014). During their holidays Germans travel to destinations all

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around the globe (domestic: 30%; Mediterranean: 36%; long-haul: 8%). What are the effects of these trips on personal factors of well-being?

In a survey in January 2015 [“Reiseanalyse 2015” (= travel analysis), yearly survey since 1970, random sample with $n = 7,500$ face-to-face interviews, more information on www.reiseanalyse.de] we have studied German tourists’ trips and the perceived effects of these trips in different dimensions, covering e.g., recreation, health, and happiness (cf. fig. 1).

Figure 1: Reported Psychological Effects of Holiday Travel



A considerable number of tourist reports experiencing happy golden moments. We find such happiness in all demographic groups and in all tourist behaviour segments. But not everybody experiences happy golden moments (“only” 44%). Preliminary results point out that the incidence of golden moments varies with personal factors (e.g., age) and trip characteristics (e.g., distance). When we look at destinations the share of tourists experiencing golden moments during their holidays is higher with long-haul travel, i.e. trips with destinations in Asia, Africa or the Americas and Australia/Oceania.

In general, the more activities a tourist is engaged in, the longer she/he travels, the higher the probability of golden moments. The probability seems to raise further with an inspiring travel companion.

Further analyses of the quantitative data will show in more detail personal factors (who is experiencing happiness during holidays?) and tourism product features (which kind of travel– timing, destination, companionship, spending patterns etc.) related to the experience of happiness.

In addition to the quantitative approach, we try to get deeper insights into the role of happiness (or other potential benefits) for holiday tourists with the help of small exploratory, qualitative studies (semi-structured interviews) in Germany and other European countries. The central research questions in these qualitative parts of the project aim at understanding golden moments: What is the nature of these golden moments experienced? In which moments/situations do tourists experience happiness? What is specific for this experience (what is happiness? What is the difference between someone being happy and another one not happy?). What are the drivers for such benefits? What do travellers really do to gain such benefits? What are the triggers in the social or natural environment? What happens before and after a golden moment? Results will offer ideas on what constitutes happy moments (phenomenology), the feelings associated, and the situations in which happiness occurs.

First insights from this approach show that - after some initial hesitation - in the in-depth interviews tourists can describe “golden moments” of happiness. The golden moments reported are different, in a way personal and subjective but as well depending on the features of the respective destination.

Preliminary categories of golden moments of happiness include emotions related to among others:

- Success (self-esteem based e.g., on an unusual activity [“Self-effectiveness”])

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- Remembering (including finding a new perspective based on the combination of memories and the actual situation, sort of reframing)
- New experiences (including spiritual experiences, but as well admiring nature)
- Freedom, ease (“Self-determination”)
- Togetherness (friends, family).

Golden moments often arise in rather specific situations, e.g., when admiring natural beauty (maybe a waterfall), but there is no fixed relationship (not everybody experiences happiness at the waterfall, and not every time). Thus, there must be additional factors. We assume that in addition to the trigger and its time and place the social environment and personal factors like readiness play an important role.

Discussion and Outlook

Apparently, the quantitative data needs additional and deeper analysis as well as the qualitative approach. We plan to continue both the empirical research (additional qualitative studies) and the analytical work together with a stronger relation to the state of knowledge in this field. The expected results will be helpful to better understand the psychological processes underlying happiness as well as relevant for planning better products and/or a more customer oriented communication in tourism.

Nevertheless, even now some evidence and insights may be derived from the present state of the project. We have evidence that

- Experiencing golden Moments is a personal thing, depending on stimulus, situation context factors (e.g., physical, social), and personal factors.
- Golden moments are a pleasant experience and of subjective value, even when not followed by a positive effect on another dimension.
- Golden moments may create a basis for longer lasting effects of holidays.

One may argue, however, that it is not the holiday or the holiday travel leading directly to emotions of happiness. But during holiday trips the

conditions for experiencing happiness are quite good. While on vacation, the probability of running into emotional triggers is higher and the traveller meets these triggers with a greater readiness and responsiveness (open-mindedness). Happiness trigger may be simple things like physical stimuli through e.g., sun, wind, or rain, activating our psycho-physiological system. Feeling embedded in positive social relations may be a condition and resource for happiness as are fresh air and physical exercise. All this applies to holiday tourists: They spend a lot of time outside and meet more different physical stimuli compared to everyday life. Social contacts are self-selected and more in-depth as during the daily routines at home.

Generally, the tourism industry and academics should pay more attention to the effects of holiday travel, as these effects determine the final customer value of the tourist product. For a holiday destination country like Bhutan a better understanding of customer values and expected effects of a holiday can help with product development and marketing communication in tourism. Like in other service industries, one may claim, at least to some extent, a responsibility of the supplier for the outcome of the service interaction: More happy tourists and/or happier tourists because of product design, segmentation, and communication. The means to generate happiness for tourists, probably different from those for residents, should be examined more closely.

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Inner Peace and Poverty¹

Pimpimon Kaewmanee & Nuttamon Teerakul[†]*

Abstract

Skevington's (2009) study of dimensions of quality of life in poverty suggests that "nothing is peaceful in poverty". However, there is no evidence from an empirical study to support this suggestion. This paper aims to explore whether inner peace can be conceived regardless of income level. This question was explored by using primary data on 464 individuals collected in 2012 in Thailand. Participants were asked to self-rate themselves on their inner peace level and other related information. Samples were subsequently separated into two groups with respect to the 2012 Thai poverty line. The ordered choices model was used to analyse the observational data. The marginal effects of both groups were computed to interpret the effects of each significant covariate.

Results indicate similar averages of inner peace between the poor and non-poor groups. This implies that inner peace is not determined by income but any other social

¹ The origination idea was presented at International Conference on Poverty & Sustainable Development 2014, 17th-18th June, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

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and personality factors instead. These results can fulfil the theoretical knowledge on quality of life and well-being.

Keywords: quality of life, Thailand, well-being, religiosity

Introduction

The empirical literature showed that spirituality is related to quality of life and poverty alleviation (Narayan et al., 2000; Deneulin & Rakodi, 2011; WHOQOL SRPB Group, 2006). It has been proven that spirituality should be used as a main dimension to measure people's well-being (Brady et al., 1999). Recently, the spirituality was accepted for use as a measure such as in GNH indicators of Bhutan (Ura, 2012), the Better Life Index of OECD (Index, 2012), World Health Organization's Quality of Life (WHOQOL) (WHOQoL Group, 1998), and so on.

Spirituality itself primarily has been based upon religion and belief. It captures the state of mind e.g., peacefulness, calmness and serenity (Lee et al, 2012). It is a present state of peace and harmony (Hungelmann et al., 1985) in which that harmony is greater-than-human source of meaning and value (Finnis, Boyle & Grisez, 1987 referred in Alkire, 2015). The concept of spiritual well-being was broadly defined in terms of a state of being reflecting positive feeling, behaviours, and cognitions of relationships with oneself, others, the transcendent and nature, which in turn provide the individual with a sense of identity, wholeness, satisfaction, joy, contentment, beauty, love, respect, positive attitudes, inner peace and harmony, and purpose and direction in life (Gomez and Fisher, 2003).

Thus, it could be implied that inner peace is related to poverty somehow. However, the evidence from Skevington's (2009) study on dimensions of quality of life in poverty states that "nothing is peaceful in poverty". It means those who are poor could not even have a chance to conceive peace of mind until they overcome poverty. This interpretation contrasts with the majority of previous studies about

spiritual well-being and quality of life. And if it is true how could the spiritual aspect of quality of life be improved. This question is the motivation of this study on how peace of mind contributes to the quality of life and also poverty reduction. To our knowledge, no study has analysed spiritual well-being focusing only on inner peace and other indicators of quality of life with respect to poverty reduction in case of Thailand. This study hypothesized whether inner peace could be conceived regardless of income level in the Buddhist country, Thailand. If so, how can inner peace be related to poverty?

What is inner peace?

There are many definitions of inner peace. However, this study employed the WHOQOL-SRPB¹ concept of inner peace.

The facet on inner peace, serenity and harmony is defined as.

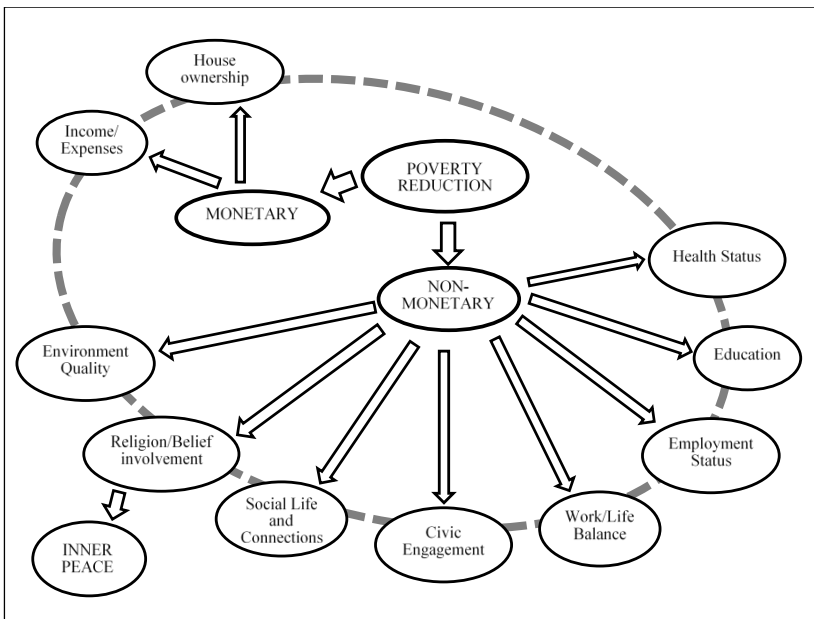
The extent to which people are at peace with themselves. The source of this peace comes from *within* the person and can be connected to a relationship the person will have with God, or it may be derived from their belief in a moral code or set of beliefs. The feeling is of serenity and calmness. Whenever things go wrong this inner peace helps you to cope. It is viewed as a highly desirable condition. (Fleck & Skevington, 2007).

There are four questions of inner peace/serenity/harmony facet of SRPB, which are: 1) To what extent do you feel peaceful within yourself? 2) To what extent do you have inner peace?, 3) How much are you able to feel peaceful when you need to?, and 4) To what extent do you feel a sense of harmony in your life?

¹ WHOQOL is the famous instrument for measuring quality of life initiated in 1991 by the World Health Organization. It is composed of six domains which are physical; psychological, independence, social, environmental and spirituality. The WHOQOL-SRPB is an expanded version which covering quality of life aspects related to spirituality, religiousness and personal beliefs. (WHO, 2012).

Poverty reduction, quality of life and inner peace relationship

Explicitly, better quality of life generally calls for less poverty (Mundial, 1991). This study applied quality of life domain from the OECD Better Life index which was the latest and covers both monetary and non-monetary aspects of poverty reduction. The relationship among inner peace and factors of poverty reduction is shown in Figure 1. This diagram proposed two aspects of poverty reduction which consists of ten dimensions of the independent variables.



Noted: - - - shown inter-relationships among factors; source: developed from OECD better life index.

Figure 1 Relationship between peace of mind (or inner peace) and others poverty reduction factors

The description of proposed variables both dependent and independent can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Proposed variables description

Dependent variable: Inner peace Independent Variables: <i>Material living condition</i> House ownership Annual income Yearly expenses Satisfaction in living standard Health status Satisfaction in overall health physical health status Mental health status <i>Education: years in schooling</i> <i>Employment status:</i> employed/unemployed Type of works: farmer, labourer, salaried, govt. <i>Work/life balance: work less than 50 hours a week</i> <i>Civic engagement: affecting from politic</i> <i>Religious/belief involvement</i> Time as religious prayer per week in minute(s) Reading sacred text/belief/doctrine time per week in minute(s) Annual money donated to religious institutions/beliefs <i>Satisfaction with life overall</i>	<i>Environment quality</i> Satisfaction in community Feeling own community is nice Satisfaction in facility providing at community Feeling as one with nature feeling that developing harmony with the environment reflects my personal experience most of the time. <i>Social life/ social connection</i> Degree of loneliness experiences Time caring for others per week Volunteering time per week Time spending for community as leader Time spending for community as member Annual charitable money for public or community <i>Socio-Demographics variables</i> age gender Marital status Number of children Rurality: urban, rural, semi-urban Number of household member
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1. Method

The survey was conducted in 2012 in two purposively selected provinces in Thailand to include urban and rural in diverse geographical regions. One is the capital city, Bangkok in the Central and the other is Chiang Mai in the North. Household units were randomly selected and respondents were purposively chosen by interviewers to be a representative of all household members. By using a face-to-face interview and a questionnaire, participants were asked to self-rate themselves on their inner peace level and other related information.

Inner Peace and Poverty

The total sample comprised 464 people. There were 162 males and 302 females. The participants' ages ranged from 18 to 80 years with a mean of 41.92 (SD 11.98). Average annual income was 5,183 USD. Additional characteristics of the sample can be found in Table 2.

Table 2 Characteristics of the respondents

Characteristics	Total	Characteristics	Total
respondents % (n)	100 (464)	Educational attainment %	
Gender %(n)		Not in school	1.1
male	34.9(162)	Primary school	34.3
female	65.1(302)	Secondary school	13.8
Age %(n)		High school	11.4
16-24	6.3 (29)	Diploma	5
25-59	85.3(396)	Bachelor	28.4
>60	8.4 (39)	Master	5.8
<i>Average age of respondents</i>	42.61	Average years in school	10.98
marital status %		Time-use	
single	34	Average working hours (per week)	47.47
married	59	working less than 50 hours/week (% of respondents)	69
Divorce/widowed/separated	7	Sleeping (hours/day)	7.85
Employment status		housework (mins/day)	72
<i>Unemployed</i>	3.9	leisure (hours/day)	3.61
retired	1.3	Commuting to work (mins/weekday)	42.54
housewife	2.4	Caring for others (mins/week)	90.65
<i>employed</i>	96.1	Volunteering (mins/week)	5.63
farmer	10.6	Community involvement as a leader (mins/week)	9.5

Unskilled labour	33	Community involvement as a member (mins/week)	21.12
Employee in private sector	19.2	<i>Exercises and sports</i>	
Civil service officer	12.1	As a spectator (mins/week)	39.93
self-employed	18.6	As a player in team (mins/week)	72.04
art and handicraft	1.1	Alone (mins/week)	42.83
Average household size (person)	3.4	<i>Religion activities</i>	
Average annual income (in Baht)	165,864	praying (mins/week)	51.18
Average of allcharity (in Baht)	2,711	Doing meditation (mins/week)	25.26
Mean score of life satisfaction	4.06	Reading sacred text (mins/week)	19.25
Mean score of inner peace	3.91		

Source: own survey (2012)

Samples were subsequently separated into two groups based on Thailand's 2012 poverty line which was about 880 USD per year (NESDB, 2012). There were 428 participants in non-poor group, who had the annual income higher than the poverty line, and 35 participants in poor group, who was the lower one.

Empirical Model of Inner Peace

The empirical model on determinants of inner peace (peace) of individual i could be constructed as the following.

Inner peace or peace,

$$peace = x'\beta + \varepsilon$$

where x represents the vectors of explanatory variables; $peace_i$ represents observed subjective well-being level. The β represents the coefficient vectors that we would like to estimate, whereas ε_i is an error term.

Further suppose that while we cannot observe $peace$, we instead can only observe the categories of response:

$$peace = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } 0 < peace \leq \mu_1, \\ 2 & \text{if } \mu_1 < peace \leq \mu_2, \\ \vdots & \\ N & \text{if } \mu_{N-1} < peace \end{cases}$$

Then the ordered logit technique used the observations on y , which are a form of censored data on peace, to fit the parameter vector β .

Estimation Results

By using ordered response model, the estimated coefficient provided only the direction of an effect but not the magnitude. All participants were included to estimate first, then followed by the separated ordered logited regression by two groups (poor and non-poor) reported as Table 3 and 4.

Table 3, the results showed inner peace in Thailand significantly depend upon age. For those who living in rural area has a positive effect on inner peace. Also, community satisfaction in a sense of living in the nice community is significant in positive way. Within spirituality, time spending on reading sacred text has a positive effect. This finding confirmed the inextricable linked between inner peace and religiosity. But, there is no statistically significant on the annual donation money to religion institution. It may imply that the amount of donation money cannot buy your peacefulness. In term of social participation, there are the positive effect on time spending for community with a statistically significant when people participate as member, but not as the leader. Finally, the result is in line with the earlier studies that the higher level of life satisfaction, the more inner peace.

Even no statistically significant for the following variables but their directions of the relationships are worth noting. Feeling the effects of government policy has a significantly negative effect. Good deed doer such like who spend time more on volunteer or caring for others tend to have more peace of mind.

Table 4 summarized the mean score of significant variables and the marginal effect estimations of poor and non-poor groups. The result showed the probability of having inner peace at level 4 for poor and non-poor (and all participants) are about 60% (varied from 62% to 64%) when given all predictors are set to their mean value.

Table 3 Estimates of parameters of inner peace using ordered logit model

peace	Coef.	Std.	Odds Ratio	z	P> z
age	0.0167*	0.01	1.0169	1.66	0.10
Marital status: single	0.0123	0.24	1.0124	0.05	0.96
rural	0.5593*	0.31	1.7495	1.80	0.07
Household member	-0.0902	0.06	0.9138	-1.46	0.14
Yearly expenses	0.0000	0.00	1.0000	1.01	0.31
Religious reading time	0.0027*	0.00	1.0028	1.87	0.06
Annual money donated to religious institution	0.0000	0.00	1.0000	0.66	0.51
Affecting of politic to life	-0.0571	0.04	0.9445	-1.50	0.13
Nice community	0.2085***	0.07	1.2318	2.92	0.00
Time as community leader	0.0046	0.00	1.0046	1.61	0.11
Time as community member	0.0032**	0.00	1.0032	2.35	0.02
Time caring others	0.0003	0.00	1.0003	1.27	0.20
Volunteering time	0.0024	0.00	1.0024	0.65	0.52
Life satisfaction	0.3150***	0.08	1.3702	4.01	0.00

Table 4 Mean score and marginal effect of inner peace using order logit model

Mean score/ Marginal Effect	All participants	Non-poor	Poor
income	174,301.7	187,513.4	122,63.65
age	42.42	41.77	50.38
Marital status: single	0.34	0.36	0.09
rural	0.23	0.21	0.5
Household member	3.41	3.36	4.06
Yearly expenses	100,455	103,454	63,679
Religious reading time	19.60	20.07	13.76
Annual money donated to religious institution	2,149	1,979	4,240
Affecting of politic to life	3.93	4.05	2.53
Nice community	7.81	7.80	7.88
Time as community leader	9.63	10.27	1.76
Time as community member	21.30	22.45	7.06
Time caring others	86.34	53.33	442.24
Volunteering time	5.60	6.06	0
Life satisfaction	7.70	7.74	7.21
Marginal effect			
Pr(peace=1)	0.003	0.003	-
Pr(peace=2)	0.022	0.023	-
Pr(peace=3)	0.178	0.169	0.207
Pr(peace=4)	0.621	0.635	0.643
Pr(peace=5)	0.175	0.171	0.15

Conclusion

This paper has argued that no matter rich or poor, people can find their inner peace which the results from this study affirm this statement is true. Taken together the above results, this study has shown that inner peace statistically depends upon life satisfaction, age, living in the rural area, religion involvements as reading sacred texts, community quality and social participation as a member. In contrast, monetary factors both income and expenses do not statistically significant on inner peace. These results provide insights for policy makers that it is not necessary to separate policy to enhance inner peace, in other words spiritual well-being, which is a part of people well-being and quality of life. The

evidence about donation money may be used as a reference to against the Buddhist commercial which grow up heavily in Thailand this time.

These findings have significant implications for the understanding of how inner peace relate to poverty reduction and quality of life. This research will serve as a base for future studies and it would be interesting to assess the affecting from area differences.

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Shifting Power to the Periphery: The Impact of Decentralization on the Wellbeing of Poor

*Durga Prasad Chhetri**

Abstract

The decentralisation process, through shifting of power from centre to the periphery, aims to enable the citizens, either directly or indirectly, to be more involved in the decision-making process in a wider number of areas such as education, health, rural planning, and local economic development. Underlying the rationale for decentralisation is the improvement of the governance system and well-being of the poor by involving citizens at the grass-roots level of society so they can be part of the governing authority and be involved in the social, economic, and political decisions that directly affect them, wherever they reside in the country. Since most of the poor in Sikkim live in the rural areas, decentralisation allows the poor to be closer to the institutions that make decisions to improve their worth and reduce their level of degradation resulting from poverty. The higher degrees of decentralisation are, therefore, associated with higher levels of subjective well-being among citizens. Furthermore, decentralisation is a key element to improve the lot of the people, particularly poor and the marginalised social groups but it needs to be accompanied by increased level of democracy and more effective governance structure through which the

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poor can hold providers and elected representatives accountable. It is in this backdrop that this paper investigates whether an institutional reform such as decentralisation has any impacts on the well-being of the poor and marginalised people. Besides looking at decentralisation as a contributor to the well-being, the paper also addresses how various degrees of decentralisation influence well-being of poor with specific reference to the hill state of Sikkim, India. The paper is divided into four sections. Section I presents a brief discussion on meaning and concept of decentralisation. The decentralisation-well being interface is presented and discussed in section II. In section III, decentralisation process and its impact on well-being regarding the state of Sikkim is discussed. A final section is conclusions.

Keywords: Decentralisation, governance, well-being, Sikkim, India

Introduction

Decentralisation has become an increasingly widespread and significant dimension of political and administrative reform in many developing countries since the late 1980s. It has a long history, and even before the 1980s the political thinkers like Montesquieu, Madison and others suggested that decentralised governance can contribute to democratic participation, better representation, accountability and policy and governmental effectiveness. It is a theme discussed in relation to a wide range of related subjects like public sector reform, democracy, political reform, participation, empowerment, rural development, fiscal and economic development, accountability, and capacity building (Smoke, 2003). Recently, decentralisation has been promoted in policy circles both as a means of improving service delivery as well as a tool for promoting well-being of poor people. Several developing countries, India, Brazil, China, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Bangladesh, among others, have undertaken significant steps towards shifting powers to sub-national tiers of government. The main arguments forwarded are that devolving power would result in an increase in the quality of services due to the local information base in response to local demands. Philips (1996) has argued that no matter how well regulated the democratic process may be, any concentration of power can lend itself to arbitrary and undemocratic behaviour. In many cases,

decentralisation has been through de-concentration of power by its transfer from the central to the local governments. Neoliberal thinkers have seen decentralisation as a means of moving power away from ineffective, over-bloated, and often corrupt central states who are responsible for market failures to sub-national governments where the transaction costs are lower and public service delivery can be better targeted (Manor, 1999; Bardhan, 2002).

Much of the impetus behind changing the nature of the state and decentralisation has been based on an understanding of the state, which locates the state at the centre and attempts to improve its efficiency and accountability by shifting some of its power to the periphery. The decentralisation process, through the shifting of power from the centre to the periphery, aims to enable the citizens, either directly or indirectly, to be more involved in the decision-making process in a wider number of areas such as education, health, rural planning, and local economic development. Underlying the rationale for decentralisation is the improvement of the governance system and well-being of the poor by involving citizens at the grass-roots level of society so they can be part of the governing authority and be involved in the social, economic, and political decisions that directly affect them, wherever they reside in the country. Since most of the poor in Sikkim live in the rural areas, decentralisation allows the poor to be closer to the institutions that make decisions to improve their worth and reduce their level of degradation resulting from poverty. The higher degrees of decentralisation are therefore associated with higher levels of subjective well-being among citizens. Besides, decentralisation is a key element to improve a lot of the people, particularly poor and the marginalised social groups but it needs to be accompanied by increased level of democracy and more effective governance structure through which the poor can hold providers and elected representatives accountable. It is in this backdrop that this paper investigates whether an institutional reform such as decentralisation has any impacts on the well-being of the poor and marginalised people. Besides looking at decentralisation as a contributor to the well-being, the paper also addresses how various

degrees of decentralisation influence well-being of poor with specific reference to the hill state of Sikkim, India.

The paper presents a brief discussion on meaning and concept of decentralisation. The decentralization-wellbeing interface is presented and discussed next followed decentralization process and its impact on well-being regarding the state of Sikkim is discussed. A final section is conclusions.

What is Decentralisation?

There is strong evidence in the literature that many different meanings have been assigned to the concept of 'decentralisation', and also that it is frequently left undefined (Sharma, 2006; Kim, 2008; Dubois and Fattore, 2009). Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that the concept is used by scholars from different disciplines - amongst others Public Administration, Political Science and Economics - and that there is 'too little interaction between their respective bodies of work' (Hutchcroft, cited in Pina-Sanchez, 2014). Therefore, there is no single universally accepted definition of decentralisation and different scholars have defined the term differently. Mawhood (1983) and Smith (1985) defines decentralisation as any act by which central government formally cedes powers to actors and institutions at lower levels in a political, administrative and territorial hierarchy. Decentralisation is usually referred to as the transfer of powers from central government to lower levels in a political-administrative and territorial hierarchy (Crook and Manor, 1998; Agrawal and Ribot, 1999). The definition by Rondinelli and Cheema (1984) is one of the best general definitions of decentralisation. According to them, decentralisation is the transfer of responsibility for planning, management and resource utilisation and allocation from the central government to (a) field units of central government ministries or agencies; (b) subordinate units or levels of government; (c) semi-autonomous public authorities or corporations; (d) area circle, regional or functional authorities, or (e) non-governmental private or voluntary organisations'. Decentralisation, to Hans Bjorn

Olsen (2007), is the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central government to intermediate and local governments or quasi-independent government organizations and/or the private sector. Decentralisation has also been defined as the assignment, transfer or delegation of political, administrative and fiscal responsibilities to lower levels of government.¹ From a good governance perspective, decentralisation refers to the restructuring or reorganisation of authority so that there is a system of co-responsibility between and among institutions of governance at central, regional and local levels according to the principle of subsidiarity² while increasing the authority and capacities of sub-national levels.³ Treisman (2002) defines decentralisation as a characteristic of compound government systems. Compound government structures are those that include overlapping territorial jurisdictions. To put it in layman's terms, decentralised systems have multiple levels of governments that are territorially defined. The first level is the national government, followed by state or provincial governments, and then local governments based on units like counties, districts, and cantons. Based on analysis of more than 40

¹ This definition is common in World Bank publications. For example, see Litvack, J., Ahmad, J. and Bird, R., 1998, *Rethinking Decentralisation in Developing Countries*, Sector Studies Series, The World Bank, Washington DC, p. 6. Where emphasis is placed on the transfer of administrative, fiscal and political power (instead of responsibilities), the term democratic decentralization is frequently used. Delegation, by contrast, implies the transfer of managerial and resource allocation authority from the centre to "field" offices and deconcentrated units. See M J Balogun, "The Scope for Popular Participation in Decentralization, Community Governance and Development: Towards a New Paradigm of Centre-Periphery Relations", *Regional Development Dialogue*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Spring 2000, pp. 154-158.

² Based on the principle of subsidiarity, functions are transferred to the lowest level that is capable or potentially capable of delivering the function.

³ This definition was put forward by the UNDP Management Development and Governance Division, Bureau for Development Policy, 1997, *Decentralised governance programme: Strengthening capacity for people-centred development*, p. 4. See also Balogun, *The Scope for Popular Participation in Decentralization, Community Governance and Development*, op. cit., pp. 159-163.

definitions of decentralisation in the literature, Dubois and Fattore (2009) conclude that the concept refers to both a structure and a process; that it focuses on questions of authority, responsibility, and power, as well as functions and resources; and that it draws attention to the transferring entity (central government) and the receiving entities (sub-national government).

Forms of Decentralisation

Theorists of decentralisation have put forward four forms of decentralisation: deconcentration, delegation, devolution, and privatisation.⁴

(i) Deconcentration refers the shifting of the management workload from centrally located official to offices outside the national capital or headquarters. This is the process of administrative decentralisation whereby the central government designs a structure that enables its agents to work close to the local people in field units/agencies of central government. The deconcentration of the administrative system thus involves setting up region or district offices of the central ministries and other state agencies followed by a delegation of work and authority from the centre to these local representations of central authorities. Deconcentration can take different forms (Siedentopf, 1985):

Mere shifting of the workload from a central government ministry to its offices outside the national capital. The local staffs do not possess the authority to make decisions on their own or to carry them out.

Transfer of some decision-making authority to a system of field administration, allowing it some latitude to plan, to make routine

⁴ The main source of these descriptions of forms is Rondinelli, 1984 and UNDP, 1997. p. 5-6. According to other commentators, “privatization” raises issues that are fundamentally different from those of decentralization. They therefore dismiss the former as a sub-set of the latter. See Balogun, *The scope for popular participation in decentralization, community governance and development*, op. cit., pp. 155 and 157.

decisions and adjust the implementation of central directives to local conditions, within guidelines set by the central ministry.

Establishment of subordinate levels of government to perform local functions but under the technical supervision and control of the central ministry. Delegation is a more extensive form of decentralisation and it is through delegation central governments transfer responsibility for decision-making and administration of public functions to semi-autonomous organisations not wholly controlled by the central government, but ultimately accountable to it.

(ii) The delegation, compared to deconcentration, provides greater opportunities to agencies and units to exercise delegated functions and responsibilities. In terms of dimension both deconcentration and delegation can be termed as administrative decentralisation with the central government retaining ultimate authority.

(iii) A devolution is a real form of decentralisation which involves the process of transferring decision-making and implementation powers, functions, responsibilities, and resources to legally constituted local governments. This system gives local authorities autonomy within clearly demarcated areas of decision-making through constitutional rights.

According to Rondinelli (1981), devolution has certain characteristics. First, it requires that local government be given autonomy and independence, and be clearly perceived as a separate level over which central authorities exercise little or no control. Second, local units must have clear and legally recognized geographical boundaries over which they exercise authority. Third, local government units must be given corporate status and power to raise sufficient resources to perform specified functions. Fourth, devolution implies that local governments are institutions which provide services that satisfy the needs of local citizens and allow their participation in local affairs. Finally, devolution establishes reciprocal, mutually beneficial, and coordinative relationships between central and local governments.

(iv) Privatisation a relatively new phenomenon refers to transfer of responsibility for public functions to voluntary organizations or private enterprises. The objective is to mobilise the capacity and initiatives of civil society organizations working for social and economic development. Of the four forms of decentralisation described above, the only devolution is considered as a genuine form of decentralisation. Devolution provides the largest scope for developing genuine local-level governance based on popular participation. The deconcentration amounts to the least amount of transfer of power to local people while the delegation also does not by itself transfer power to the locals, although the delegated agencies have the scope for involving local people in their decision-making process.

Conceptual arguments for the Relationship Between Decentralisation and Well-being

Decentralisation has changed the political and institutional context for promoting the full and equal rights of citizens in many societies around the world. Its current popularity, especially in the developing world, is unparalleled, with 80 percent of all developing and transition countries undertaking some form of decentralisation over the past two decades (ICHRP, 2005). By transferring functions, resources, and varying degrees of political, administrative, and fiscal autonomy to regional, local, or municipal governments, decentralisation can provide new opportunities for poor and marginalised social groups to participate and be represented on the matters that most closely affect their lives. Advocates of decentralisation argue that local governments would help democracy take root and be more effective at improving the well-being of their citizens. It promises a closer fit between the needs and aspirations of citizens and the services and support of government, and fosters opportunities for participatory democracy and local empowerment. The public services particularly relevant for the poor - health services, basic education - benefit or loose in terms of efficiency and quality from decentralisation, depending on institutional and managerial capacities at a local level, and local political power of the

poor. Local governments are better positioned than the national government to administer and deliver public services because of informational advantage regarding local preferences and costs. This apart, local government have a more institutionalised linkage with beneficiary communities, improved information, and the incentive to use this information; therefore, local governments are better placed to identify the poor, to respect local social identities, and to respond more efficiently to local variations in conditions, tastes, standards, affordability, location requirements and so on for services or infrastructure. The scholars like Bjárnskov et al (2008) note that arguments about whether local autonomy leads to greater satisfaction with public policies and political institutions are closely linked to arguments for and against decentralisation more broadly. In its favour is the “fiscal decentralisation theorem” (Tiebout, 1956; Klugman, 2004), which suggests that local governments have a greater potential to tailor their specific policies to the needs of citizens in ways that produce greater satisfaction levels.

The argument whether decentralisation yields satisfaction with government and public policies has been completely, however, overlooked by the literature. The studies dealing with these issues are very rare. Despite the recent boom in the literature on subjective well-being (SWB), only a limited number of papers have concentrated on the implications of decentralisation for happiness and well-being (e.g., Frey and Stutzer, 2000, 2002; Bjárnskov et al., 2008; Voigt and Blume, 2009). Findings from this study also explain the mixed results of decentralisation programmes across the globe. From Mexico to Uganda and India to Indonesia, the promise of greater accountability, efficacy, and citizen-wellbeing has brought different results in different places (Blair 2000; Oxhorn et al., 2004; Bardhan and Mookherjee, 2005). The handful of such studies devoted to these topics tend to agree that institutions matter for SWB and that happiness is strongly determined by the institutional context (Frey and Stutzer, 2002; Bjárnskov et al., 2010). Frey and Stutzer (2000) carried out a cross-regional analysis for Switzerland. Their analysis found a positive and highly statistically

significant effect of institutional factors, such as government initiatives and local autonomy, on self reported individuals' well-being. They have concluded that decentralisation led to a closer match between political outcomes and voters' preferences, thus raising SWB. Similarly, Bjárnskov et al. (2008) used the world values survey in 66 countries to estimate the impact of fiscal and political decentralisation on subjective well-being. Their results showed that local budgets and their size mattered for well-being. Voigt and Blume (2009) in their study also find a positive correlation between happiness and federalism in a cross-country assessment, which may compensate for higher budget deficits and lower government expenditure in federations. Similar types of studies have been conducted by scholars like Sepúlveda and Martínez-Vázquez (2010), Tselios et al. (2011), Morelli and Seaman (2007) and Mahal et al (2000). Sepúlveda, and Martínez-Vázquez (2010) have analysed how decentralisation affects levels of poverty and inequality in a cross-section of countries, while Tselios et al. (2011) have examined its implications for interpersonal inequality across European regions and Morelli and Seaman (2007) for regions of the UK. Mahal et al. (2000) tested the hypothesis that increased decentralisation/democratisation at local level positively influences enrolment rates and child mortality once the influence of socioeconomic circumstances, civil society organisations, the problem of the capture of local bodies by elite groups are controlled for. They find that indicators of democratisation and public participation, such as frequency of elections, presence of non-governmental organisations, parent-teacher associations and indicator variables for decentralised states generally have the expected positive effects.

In our attempts to disentangle the links between decentralisation and well-being, we shall pay special attention to the dimension of decentralisation and its impacts on well-being. The existence of some connection between decentralisation and well-being is well established. It would therefore seem intuitive that shifting of the power through decentralisation would improve well-being. Table 1 shows the key relationships between decentralisation and well-being.

Table 1: Key relationships between decentralisation and well-being

Political Decentralisation	Political decentralisation often benefits the poor, because involving civil society in planning, monitoring and evaluating public programmes and policies is crucial to ensure steady progress and that is facilitated in a decentralised system.
	Political decentralisation supports democratisation by allowing people or elected representatives to command more power in public policy decision-making. Such decentralised democratic decision-making ensures the welfare of all those who are likely to be affected by such decisions. This basic rationale is derived from the participative democratic imperative that all people whose well-being are affected by decisions ought to participate in such decision-making process.
	Elected local governments may generally be more accountable and responsive to poor people, and better at involving the poor in political processes. Decision-making at the local level gives more responsibility, ownership, and thus incentives, to local agents, and local information can often identify cheaper and more appropriate ways of providing public goods (Bardhan, 1997).
	Improved representation and organisation of formerly excluded groups through decentralised governance can enable the poor to have better access to safety nets and social security schemes, reducing their vulnerability and insecurity (Jutting et al, 2004).
	Citizens can interact better with governments and better scrutinize their actions, bringing governments and those governed closer to one another (Putnam 1993; Azfar et al. 2004), possibly enhancing the level of citizen satisfaction with political organizations 11 and public policies.
Administrative Decentralisation	Administrative decentralisation can empower the poor through the creation of institutions that promote greater voice and participation of the poor. Decentralisation can enable voice mechanisms for citizens to express their views to government bodies, potentially empowering the poor to make their needs known and making their voices heard in shaping policies that affect their lives.
	Administrative decentralisation creates opportunities for citizens to participate in the administration, budgeting and delivery of public services.
	The shift in the scale also engenders greater competition among local governments to deliver better goods and services (Hayek, 1939; Tiebout, 1956). The competition among sub-national governments can be a source of innovation, leading to improved quality and lower costs in the production of public goods and respond better to the demands of citizens and to

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	<p>improve the policy delivery, possibly leading to increased citizen satisfaction.</p> <p>Accountability relationships between local authorities, citizens, providers and the centre are strengthened, as decentralisation can bring greater citizens' voice, information, responsiveness and monitoring. Since residents can monitor local government better than the central government, they are more likely to hold local officials accountable for delivery of services at some acceptable quantity and quality</p> <p>Local governments, in their quest to be more responsive, are bound to be more creative and innovative in pursuing policies that satisfy the needs of their citizens (Oates, 1972). Successful innovations in one territory can then be transferred and adapted to the needs of local citizens in other locations (Donohue, 1997).</p>
Fiscal Decentralisation	<p>Decentralisation also has the principal advantage that local officials can be more easily monitored and controlled by the local communities than officials in the central government, if the rule of law exists on the local level.</p>
	<p>The fiscal decentralisation of expenditure responsibility and tax authority breaks uniformity and thus enriches the choice of bundles of public goods and taxes that can be offered. Through self-selection of individuals, their preferences can be matched with bundles that different governments offer.</p>
	<p>From the economic management perspective, decentralisation may help local government to improve the efficiency of public service delivery to the poor and targeting efficiency in transfer programmes.</p>
	<p>Decentralisation also reduces transaction costs and, provided well functioning institutions, it may also reduce the risk of elite capture of rents (Inman and Rubinfield 2000; Storper 2005).</p>
	<p>Decentralisation may generate opportunities for cost recovery as people are usually more willing to pay for services if such services respond to their priorities and if they have been involved in the decision-making process.</p>

Decentralising Experience in Sikkim and its Uniqueness

In 1965, the Government of Sikkim embarked on the implementation of a comprehensive policy to decentralise the system of government. The decentralisation programme had three main objectives:

To create opportunity for most Sikkimese who live in the rural areas - in villages - to participate in decisions that directly affect their lives and increase their access to political authority;

Promote local development through the involvement of the rural people as the way of improving ownership and commitment to enhance implementation leading to improvement in the living conditions of the local people and their social well-being; and

Bring government and decision-making nearer to the people as well as quicken the process of decision-making.

Decentralisation was effectively initiated by the Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1965 which is further strengthened by the Sikkim Panchayat Act 1993 and various Acts and legislative instruments. Through the 1965 Act, the government devolved more powers to local governments through the reduction of central government presence at the local level and provided resources to strengthen and enable the local governments to assume full responsibility for socio-economic development. The Act established a single-tier panchayat with Block Panchayat at the village level. As a sequel to this Act, 213 Block Panchayat were constituted all over the country. The East and West Sikkim has 68 and 60 Block Panchayat while North and South Sikkim has 19 and 66 Block Panchayat respectively. All the members of the Block Panchayat were elected directly by the people of the area. The Block Panchayat elects a president, vice president and secretary from amongst themselves. All the members of the Block Panchayat enjoy the terms of three years only. This reform provided a more limited but nevertheless significant degree of decentralised planning and implementation of rural development. As mentioned above, the emergence of decentralisation policies in the late 1960s is closely related to changes in Sikkim's overall development strategy that emphasised egalitarian and participatory rural development and the concomitant search for a suitable machinery and organisation for implementation. Thus, the Block Panchayat was set up to provide more resources for this new development effort but on a decentralised and broader basis. This system continues till the

enactment of Sikkim Panchayat Act 1982 which created a two-tier PR system with Gram Panchayat at the village level and Zilla Panchayats at the district level.

The Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act that came into effect from 24th April 1993 marks a new era in the federal democratic set-up of the country and provides constitutional status to the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). Gandhiji's dream for Poorna Swaraj through Gram Swaraj has been translated into reality with the introduction of three-tier PR system to ensure people's participation in the great tasks of rural reconstruction. The Act not only gives a constitutional mandate to the panchayats but also provides the uniformity and formal structures of institutions of self-governance in the country. Many states in India to incorporate and implement the major provisions of the Central Act amended their respective state Panchayat Act. In Sikkim, the Sikkim Panchayat Act was enacted in 1993 in conformity with the objectives, substance, and directives of the Central Act. The Act was, in fact, a landmark in strengthening the local bodies in the state.

The 1993 Decentralisation

Sikkim enacted new Panchayati Raj legislation, the Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1993 in conformity with the provision of the Constitution (Seventy-Third Amendment) Act, 1992. The Sikkim Panchayat Act 1993 has incorporated all the mandatory provisions of the 73rd Amendment Act and envisages to achieve the grass root democratic polity by making PRIs an instrument of local government. Provision of Gram Sabha, five year terms, reservation for SCs and STs, one-third reservation for women, the constitution of State Election Commission and State Finance Commission and other related mandatory provisions find place in the Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1993, The legislation, however, does not make any changes in the existing two-tier Panchayati raj structure and provide the same with Gram Sabha and Gram Panchayat and Zilla Panchayat at village and district levels respectively.

The Sikkim Panchayati Raj Act 1993 was enacted to give legal backing to the decentralisation process. The decentralisation process was to be total including political decentralisation, administrative decentralisation, and fiscal decentralisation.

Political Decentralisation: Political decentralisation was to include the establishment and empowerment of local government structures, demarcation of administrative boundaries, and the promotion of popular participation of the people at the various levels of decision-making. This form of decentralisation is synonymous with democratic decentralisation.

Administrative decentralisation: Administrative decentralisation refers to the devolution of government power, roles, functions, and responsibility from the state government to local and sub-local government institutions. Administrative decentralisation provides local government with specific responsibilities and bureaucratic resources for implementing the new functions.

Fiscal Decentralisation: Fiscal decentralisation relates to the division of fiscal responsibilities between state and local governments and the transfer of some well-defined financial resource mobilisation and disbursement responsibilities from the former to the latter. Fiscal decentralisation seeks to make adequate financial resources available to the local governments.

The decentralisation reforms in Sikkim are unique in several aspects. Firstly, the decentralisation process in several areas in Sikkim was started even before its merger to India in 1975. Secondly, service delivery was already highly decentralised. The panchayats and municipalities already had experience in providing a specific range of services with some degree of autonomy. The recent developments of the decentralisation process revealed the expansion of the role of these governments in areas such as healthcare, education, social assistance, urban planning, and infrastructure. Thirdly, the issues of social justice and inclusion have been one of the key goals of decentralisation in

Sikkim for the wellbeing of people. Apart from providing representation to the excluded groups, it is a key agency for local economic development through local planning. Fourthly, most decentralisation schemes are largely rural-based decentralisation rather than urban-based. Decentralisation schemes are often limited to villages within a country rather than embracing the country within its framework. Finally, as in any other country, decentralisation in Sikkim, particularly devolution, serves as a means of citizen education and democracy as well as the incorporation of citizen input into local level planning processes.

Decentralisation and its Impacts on Well-being

Decentralisation reforms have been pursued in Sikkim over the last 30 years with the aims of improving governance efficiency and making policy more responsive to the needs of local people, particularly the poor. There are several potential ways in which decentralisation may affect basic needs of the people through the provision of services in areas such as primary education, basic health, and other social services. These public services affect the quality of life for all people and, therefore, are an important ingredient for improved social well-being. Recently, increased attention is being paid to promoting opportunities, to human resource, enhancing security and rights, and facilitating empowerment. All these are closely related to local public goods and services and are directly linked to decentralisation. With the enactment of new legislation in Sikkim, the local governments assumed responsibility for the provision of services in education, health, water, sanitation, roads, and agricultural extension. In a decentralised system, monitoring and control of local agents by local communities is easier, in principle. It is further argued that the quality of service provision can also be enhanced by decentralisation since local governments will be more sensitive to variations in local requirements and open to feedback from users of services. The decentralisation has therefore positive impacts on intermediate variables affecting well-being such as a poverty

reduction, health care, empowerment, and service delivery. We discuss each of these in turn.

Poverty Reduction: Poverty remains overwhelmingly a rural phenomenon in Sikkim. Though there was a significant improvement in poverty decline and decrease in poverty level by itself is sufficient for attaining significant improvements in social well-being. About 8 percent of people in the rural areas are still lived below the poverty line in 2015. The closeness of intervention provided by decentralised structures and features enhances the effects of interventions on poverty reduction tremendously. The experience shows that local governments in Sikkim act as a major vehicle for specific poverty alleviation policies, such as the distribution of basic food to the poorest segments of the population or the implementation of growth-inducing policies, through the mobilisation of local resources and increased participation. Local information flows due to decentralisation has made the identification of more effective ways of providing services easier and increase government awareness of local needs and better targeting. In addition, local monitoring helps to ensure that officials perform diligently. Decentralisation has, therefore, contributed to the local development and poverty reduction through generating increased flows of goods, services, capital, ideas, and people. Furthermore, decentralisation had led to an increased flow of financial resources to local areas, with positive spin-offs for the local economy and local development in Sikkim. Various facets of the decentralisation process in Sikkim facilitate direct targeting of poverty reducing intervention to the rural folks at the district and sub-district level. First, the political decentralisation process in Sikkim led to the establishment of 176 Gram Panchayat Units and 4 Zilla Panchayats. These structures provide institutions for channelling poverty reduction resources closer to the rural communities where most of the poor reside. Second, administrative decentralisation process allows decisions about the local development to be taken by people at the local level thus reflecting the real needs of the local people including the poor. Thirdly, fiscal decentralisation allows the local government to

sanction the fund amounting Rs. 5 lakhs for local development and generate resources through user charges.

Health Care Services: Decentralisation has long been advocated as a desirable process to improve health systems, service quality and coverage. Access to health care and improvements in health status are often at the heart of concepts of ‘development’, as conceived as an improvement in an individual’s quality and standard of living. For example, life expectancy at birth is used as part of the UNDP’s Human Development Index, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) include several health-related targets.⁵ Amartya Sen (1999) also uses good health as a route to greater freedoms and therefore ‘development’. With good health individuals have greater ability to participate in work activities (both paid and unpaid) and education, so improving their life chances and choices. Decentralisation, although, should not be regarded as a panacea for improving health care services, can contribute to achieving greater equity, efficiency, and quality in health spending, including improved efficient resource management and accountability (Bossert 1998; Hearse and Blas 2001). The most important potential advantage of decentralisation for health service delivery is allowing a closer flow of information and interaction between health service providers and clients, leading to health services that are more differentiated and better targeted to varying local needs. When successful, decentralisation of health care can lead to more systematic involvement of citizens in decisions regarding health policy goals, design, and financing, and in monitoring service provision and holding health care providers accountable for the delivery of services. In Sikkim, the government has devolved the powers to the local government to look after the primary health sub-centres and dispensaries at the rural areas. Similarly, various health related programmes are carried out by the local government. CATCH (Comprehensive Annual Total Health

⁵ MDGs 4, 5 and 6 explicitly refer to health: MDG 4 ‘Reduce child mortality’; MDG 5 ‘Improve maternal health’; MDG 6 ‘Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases’. Other MDGs, most notably MDG 8 on global partnerships for development, also include health-related aspects.

Check-up) launched by the Sikkim Government in August 2010, is one such example of scheme where local government play an active role in organising health camp in their locality. This programme aimed at providing comprehensive (promotive, preventive, curative, and rehabilitative) care with a focus on health promotion and prevention by doing annual and periodical and total health check-up free of cost for all the citizens of Sikkim. CATCH is an extremely beneficial scheme for the well-being and has enable the people of all ages and all categories especially the Below Poverty Line families and senior citizens who are not able to travel long distances for treatment as doctors, technicians and staff from the health department carry out the health check-up in health camps which are set up within their locality. The collaboration with the local government has brought the improvement of the services as the panchayat representatives can mobilize the people for health education and other services which require public participation. The decentralisation of primary healthcare services to locally elected governments in Sikkim has increased access to affordable health services, which has in turn increased immunisation rates and reduced infant mortality. In Sikkim, IMR (infant mortality rate) per 1000 live births is 24 as compared to 40 for India. By bringing governance structures down to the local level, state health care is supposedly more responsive to community needs. Community involvement is often encouraged through the setting up of consultative processes, whereby community members can respond to local health initiatives or even contribute to their development and well-being.

Agriculture: Agriculture, in its broadest sense, constitutes a major opportunity for improving the well-being of the developing economies, where much of people still live in rural areas. In the context of agricultural development, the basic aim of decentralisation is to improve the level of efficiency by assuring that the extension services that are provided respond to local needs. Decentralisation potentially increases user ownership of extension programmes (many use participatory methods) and financial support for services (through user chargers, outsourcing, and private provision), thereby developing

constituencies for extension and ensuring greater accountability (World Bank, 2000). Indeed, decentralisation facilitates the use of local knowledge, local participation, and ownership by utilizing local resources. Furthermore, decentralisation has the potential to enhance transparency and accountability in the delivery of agricultural services, allowing local governments and community groups to more closely monitor service providers to reduce shirking by extension workers and to ensure that extension services are delivered. In Sikkim, some agriculture related activities and personnel of department have been transferred to local government. The Village Level Workers (VLW) who works under the direct supervision of panchayats distribute high-yielding varieties of seeds to the farmers, organise awareness camp and gives training in preparing organic manures (e.g., Vermicomposting training). In agriculture, there is also a case for decentralising extension services, or at least some components of such services, as context specificity and responsiveness to demand ought to be important features of services provided and direct contact with beneficiaries (mostly farmers living in rural areas) is required. Transfer of extension functions from state government to the local government, farmer associations and NGOs has become increasingly popular since the 1990s. Many NGOs have been playing a particular important role in Sikkim and they have become particularly effective in providing educational and other services to small and marginal farm households. Decentralisation of agricultural extension services has involved decentralisation of government responsibilities through structural reforms and increased participation of end users in extension programmes.

Democratisation: Democratic decentralisation usually entails the devolution of power to elected local authorities, which in turn widens the scope of political participation at the local level (Robinson 1998). The decentralisation supports democratisation by allowing people or elected representatives to command more power in public policy decision-making. According to Crook and Manor (1998), ‘decentralisation combined with democratisation (usually in its electoral representative form) might provide greater transparency, accountability,

responsiveness, probity, frugality, efficiency, equity and opportunities for mass participation'. Such decentralised democratic decision-making ensures the welfare of all those who are likely to be affected by such decisions. This basic rationale is derived from the participative democratic imperative that all people whose well-being is affected by decisions ought to participate in such decision-making process. When everybody participates, self-interest will guide him or her to arrive at decisions that are consistent with collective well-being. With the implementation of new Panchayat Act, the participation of people in politics and in the everyday tasks of influencing government has become much more widespread, and many more poor and marginalised social groups are engaging with democracy as never in Sikkim. The reservation of seats for women, scheduled castes and tribes in local bodies drastically altered the composition of the local bodies. By permitting the states to make a provision for reservation for backward communities, the Act opened a window of opportunity for the non-dominant backward castes to assert their voice in local government decision-making.

Empowerment: The decentralisation can empower the poor through the creation of institutions that promote greater voice and participation of the poor. Blair (1997) also opined that democratic decentralisation, by making participation easier, makes empowerment more feasible at the local level than it would be at the national level, especially for minorities and vulnerable groups. In Sikkim, the decentralisation reforms enable the voice mechanisms for citizens to express their views to government bodies, potentially empowering the poor to make their needs known and making their voices heard in shaping policies that affect their lives. In addition, decentralisation also opens a wider political space for weaker and vulnerable sections to act upon and paves the way for their empowerment. Decentralisation provides them newer and wider political space to act upon collectively towards their well-being.

Public Services Delivery: A classic argument for decentralisation is that decentralisation leads to better allocative efficiency by the matching of public services to the demands for these services. Local governments are conjectured to gain more access to information about the preferences of local citizens, greater political incentives to provide preferred services, and greater flexibility and imagination to do so than a central government (see Azfar 2006). Moreover, local governments are better positioned than the national or state government to administer and deliver public services because of informational advantage regarding local preferences and costs. Besides, local governments have a more institutionalised linkage with beneficiary communities, improved information, and the incentive to use this information. In Sikkim, the selection of beneficiaries for all public services is the important functions of panchayats. Beneficiaries are selected by calling the meeting of Gram Sabha. All the people above the age of 18 are the members of Gram Sabha. Gram Sabhas are better placed to identify the poor, to respect local social identities, and to respond more efficiently to local variations in conditions, tastes, standards, affordability, location requirements and so on for services or infrastructure. Community participation in Gram Sabha meeting improves the information flow leading to improved project performance and better targeting. In addition, decentralisation creates opportunities for citizens to participate in the administration, budgeting, and delivery of public services. Thus, the main aim of decentralisation is fundamentally to improve the delivery of public goods and services to individuals by the creation of more legitimate tiers of government, closer to the people and, therefore, more responsive to their needs and wants. Decentralisation is, thus, first and foremost about improving the delivery of public policies and, consequently, the level of satisfaction of the population with government.

Conclusions

The above impacts of decentralisation can make a difference at the various stages of government action aimed toward satisfaction of the

basic needs of the poor and attaining improvement in social well-being. Sikkim implemented one of the most rigorous decentralisation reforms with Panchayati Raj Act of 1993, devolving the full responsibility for education, health, public works, the environment, and natural resource management to local government. Through the implementation of decentralisation reforms, local governments in Sikkim gained increased political authority and decision-making power, providing them with better opportunities to influence the well-being of their constituents. So far, decentralisation had positive impacts on the well-being of poor in Sikkim. This establishes a relationship whereby citizens appear to be satisfied not only with the transfer of functions and resources but also with the ability to conduct policies at the local level - which is represented here by the shifting of powers to sub-national governments. The Sikkim Government has transfer all the functions mentioned in the Eleven Schedule of the Indian Constitution. The 29 functions devolved to the local governments has direct link to the empowerment and well-being of people. The implementation of poverty alleviation programmes, providing employment under National Rural Employment Scheme, agriculture extension, among others are directly look after by local government. Overall, the results reveal that decentralisation matters positively for the satisfaction of people with political institutions and with the specific delivery of some public goods and services. In Sikkim, after the implementation of decentralisation reforms, local government's poverty alleviation programmes were visible in the villages and the official poverty data also shows a drastic decline in poverty line after the decentralisation. The creation of the panchayats and municipalities improved the political participation and self-determination of the formerly marginalised population. Infrastructure and government services improved in many areas - main examples being the new government buildings and several new roads, as well as improvements in health and education services. Given these relationships, one can easily conclude that there is a causal relationship between policies from decentralised governments and well-being in Sikkim. Decentralisation reforms in Sikkim has fundamentally improve the delivery of public goods and services to people by the creation of

legitimate two-tiers of government, which are closer to the people and therefore, more responsive to their needs and well-being.

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Gender Differences in Gross National Happiness in Bhutan: Abridged Analysis of the GNH Surveys

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Abstract

At a moment when market-oriented, techno-centric and consumption-led approaches prevail in response to otherwise complex socio-cultural and political-economic realities, innovative concepts from Bhutan present an alternative bearing on equitable, sustainable and holistic development. Elaborated in 1972 by His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the 4th King of Bhutan, GNH is encoded in Bhutan's constitution, the driving philosophy its development process (Ura et al., in press; Thinley, 2005), and is gaining momentum as an alternative development approach

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Gender Differences in GNH in Bhutan

globally (SNDP, 2013). While GNH has been studied from several angles – social, cultural, economic, political, environmental, philosophical, spiritual, psychological, etc. – there has been little discussion regarding gender differences. Recognizing this as a critical gap, this study seeks to better understand gender differences in Bhutan. It does so through the disaggregation and analysis of the GNH nationwide survey data, domains and indicators by gender, triangulation of the findings with secondary data, and their contextualization within contemporary debates of gender and development. We believe that such an exercise is critical, given the disconnects that exist between perceptions of gender ‘neutrality’, ‘equality’ based on women’s relatively strong position in Bhutan, and the GNH data, which demonstrate striking differences and statistically significant findings between and among women and men. Such an analysis is also timely, given the Royal Government of Bhutan’s efforts to pro-actively address gender issues that crosscut the GNH domains and shape changing gender relations, culture and society. The findings highlight important innovations in the GNH approach that deepen and widen gender analyses, while also indicating gaps in gender research, policy-making and action required towards enhanced wellbeing.

Key words: GNH, Bhutan, development, wellbeing, gender, equality.

When we decompose the GNH index by gender we see that men are happier than women. 49% of men are happy, while only one third of women are happy, a result that is both striking and statistically significant (Ura et al., 2012a:58).

Introduction

At a moment when market-oriented, techno-centric and consumption-led approaches prevail in response to otherwise complex socio-cultural and political-economic realities, innovative concepts from Bhutan present an alternative bearing on equitable, sustainable and holistic development. Gross National Happiness (GNH) is an innovative philosophy and concept that counters the problematic dominance of gross domestic product (GDP) within development. A reflexive, deliberate, and middle-path approach to development, it has been the backbone of development research, policy and living practice of the Royal Government of Bhutan since the 1970s (Ura et al., 2015, 2012a, 2012b; Thinley 2012).

Elaborated in 1972 by His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the 4th King of Bhutan, GNH is encoded in Bhutan's constitution and the driving philosophy its development process (Ura et al., in press; Thinley, 2005). It is also gaining momentum as an alternative development approach globally (SNDP, 2013), especially considering critical debates that point to the numerous failures, negative unintended effects and disconnects of development (Mosse, 2005; Agrawal, 1996; Ferguson, 1994). Similarly, GNH provides a much-needed antidote to the narrow framing of the sustainable development goals (SDGs) which excludes culture but shapes much of dominant development efforts in the post-2015 development era (Verma, 2017b). Most notably, GNH is reinforced by growing and compelling evidence that people's wellbeing and happiness does not depend on income, consumption and growth at all costs (Stiglitz et al., 2009; Piketty, 2014). Hence, there is a fundamental disconnect between GDP and wellbeing (Brooks, 2013). GNH addresses this issue through its multi-dimensional nature, which distinguishes it from simplistic measures of subjective wellbeing, its holistic conceptualization of human development, and its usefulness to policy makers (ibid.). For GNH, economic growth is not an end but a means for holistic development, given that it balances economic needs with emotional, spiritual, cultural, ecological, political and social needs.

While GNH has been studied and operationalized from several angles – social, cultural, economic, political, environmental, philosophical, spiritual, psychological, etc. – there has been little discussion regarding gender differences. Recognizing this as a critical gap, this study seeks to better understand gender differences in Bhutan. It does so through the disaggregation and analysis of the first GNH nationwide survey data, domains and indicators by gender, triangulation of the findings with secondary data, and their contextualization within contemporary debates of gender and development. We believe that such an exercise is critical, given the disconnects that exist between perceptions of gender 'neutrality', 'equality' based on women's relatively strong position in Bhutan, and the GNH data, which demonstrate striking differences and statistically significant findings between and among women and men.

Such an analysis is also timely, given the Royal Government of Bhutan's efforts to pro-actively address gender issues that crosscut the GNH domains and shape changing gender relations, culture and society. The findings indicate important innovations in the GNH approach that deepen and widen gender analysis, while also highlighting gaps in gender research, policy-making and action required towards wellbeing.

This paper is a condensed version of a forthcoming CBS monograph that analyzes both the 2010 and 2015 GNH survey findings from a gender analytical perspective (Verma and Ura, forthcoming). The initial findings from the 2010 survey were first presented at the Bhutan+10 Gender and Sustainable Development Conference (Verma and Ura, 2012) followed by the International GNH Conference: From Philosophy to Praxis and Policy (Verma and Ura, 2015)¹ and the International Conference on Understanding Gender in South Asia (Verma and Ura, 2017). At the time of writing, the 2015 GNH findings were in the process of being comparatively analysed, hence this paper contains indicative analysis from the recent survey in 2015, but focuses primarily on the 2010 findings. The paper begins by elaborating GNH conceptually from the lens of gender, framing it within key dimensions of gender analysis. This is followed by the analysis of the overall GNH findings from the 2010 and 2015 GNH survey findings, as well as more specific analysis of gender differences in the GNH domains and indicators from the 2010 GNH survey. The paper concludes by reflecting on the findings and suggesting recommendations for action-oriented development, policy-making, gender analysis and future research beyond 2015.

Theoretical Framing: GNH and Gender Analysis

The theoretical framework for this study brings together the central tenets of GNH with key concepts from critical gender analysis, the

¹ The authors would like to thank Tshering Phuntsho and Françoise Pommaret for providing valuable feedback on earlier versions of this paper.

anthropology of development, and feminist political ecology. These are brought together to inform and shape the analysis of the data in terms of gender differences in GNH. We begin by reviewing the eight manifestations of GNH (Verma, 2017a; forthcoming), before comparing, contrasting and highlighting the convergence of GNH with key elements of gender analysis.

The Eight Manifestations of Gross National Happiness

GNH is many things at once. It is a moral concept, as well as guiding principles for holistic development, a development conceptual framework, an index of measurement, policy and project screening tools, individual practice, global influence and the secularization of Buddhist concepts (Verma, 2017, 2016, 2015, forthcoming). Given this multiplicity of meanings and practice, it is useful to briefly overview each in turn, before elaborating how it cross-cuts with gender analysis.

First, GNH is a moral concept that establishes the foundational influence for other manifestations. GNH strives for deeper, more meaningful and long-term attainment of happiness, rather than temporary states and fleeting ‘feel good’ moods associated with the term (Thinley, 2012; Verma, 2017a). It focuses on inner-contentment, peace and non-attachment, rather than material comfort and fleeting pleasures alone. Collective happiness, concern and service for others, and harmony with nature and all sentient beings, distinctly sets GNH apart from mainstream notions of development normally concerned with an individualistic and material sense of happiness and narrowly defined notions of progress. In Bhutan, the main goal of development is the collective happiness of people, whereby happiness reflects the creation, support and provision of enabling conditions by the State, wherein people can pursue wellbeing and attain happiness in sustainable and balanced ways (Ura et al., 2012a; Ura, 2009). While the State has an important role in providing such enabling conditions, individuals also have a responsibility towards the attainment of both

individual and collective happiness, as well as inner and outer conditions for happiness.

Second, GNH is a set of guiding principles for holistic development. GNH is founded on Bhutan's innovative thinking on development. It dates to the unification of the country in 1729, where the legal code by Zhabdrung Rimpoche declared "if the Government cannot create happiness (*dekid*) for its people, there is no purpose for the Government to exist" (Ura et al., 2012a). Defined in 1961 by the 3rd King of Bhutan, Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, it is upheld as a middle path between culture and modernization, and is meant to counter the strong homogenizing effects of globalization (Ura, 2005). In 1968, he further elaborated, "there would be no point in developing our country if our people are to suffer. After all the objective of development is to make the people prosperous and happy" (Priesner, 1999). Based on these important historical foundations, Gross National Happiness was meaningfully elaborated as a central guiding principle by the 4th King of Bhutan, Jigme Singye Wangchuck, in response to a growing concern over problematic GDP metrics commonly used to guide development. He declared Bhutan's policy to achieve economic self-reliance, prosperity and happiness for its people through GNH, which was understood as being more important than GDP and thus, economic and techno-centric growth. Following this legacy, the 5th King of Bhutan, Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck, declared that the essence of the philosophy of GNH centred on peace, security and happiness; without them "we have nothing" (RGoB, 2008). He further elaborated that GNH is development with values (Ura et al., in press).

Third, GNH as a development conceptual framework is based on the elaboration of four pillars that shapes development thinking and practice in Bhutan. The four pillars include i) the preservation of culture, ii) environmental conservation, iii) equitable and sustainable socio-economic development, and iv) good governance. Holistic development cannot be achieved by any of the pillars on their own, and therefore they are given equal weight and considered holistically together. Such an approach differs from sectoral approaches that

dominate development, which despite discourses that claim otherwise, focus on economic-centric principles of GDP and technical interventions. Most notably, the GNH conceptual framework is considerably more robust and progressive than other dominant conceptual frameworks in development, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) or the Human Development Index (HDI), all of which exclude culture (Verma, 2017b). The inclusion of culture not only sets GNH apart from other development conceptual frameworks, but also gives it equal weight with other domains. Thin et al. suggest, “this in itself is considered a good practice, in contrast to way culture is sometimes marginalized in numerous development frameworks, organizations and discourses” (2017:276). The current tendency in development is to advantage market-oriented, economic-centred and techno-centric discourses and practices, while disadvantaging, devaluing and rendering invisible cultural aspects of development, societies and life-as-lived (ibid.). GNH

is further elaborated in its conceptualization in a fourth area that is operationalized as an index of measurement. The GNH index periodically measures levels of happiness and wellbeing in Bhutan approximately every five years. The index is made up of nine domains, rooted in the four pillars, which are aggregated to assess happiness at the national level. The nine domains of GNH as elaborated in figure 1 include 33 indicators that inform the GNH questionnaire: i) health (4 indicators), ii) education (4 indicators), iii) living standards (3 indicators), iv) ecological diversity and resilience (4 indicators), v) good governance (4 indicators), vi) cultural diversity and resilience (4 indicators), vii) time use (2 indicators), viii) psychological wellbeing (4 indicators), and ix) community vitality (4 indicators). The 9 domains are equally weighted while the 33 clustered indicators are relatively equally weighted but with more weight allocated indicators considered more reliable (see Ura et al., 2016, 2012a, 2012b for a detailed discussion). Once aggregated, people are deemed to be happy if they achieve sufficiency in two-thirds of the indicators, and deeply happy if they achieve it in 77 %; whereas

those who are unhappy achieve sufficiency in fewer than half, and more than half but less than two-thirds respectively (Ura et al., 2016, 2012a).

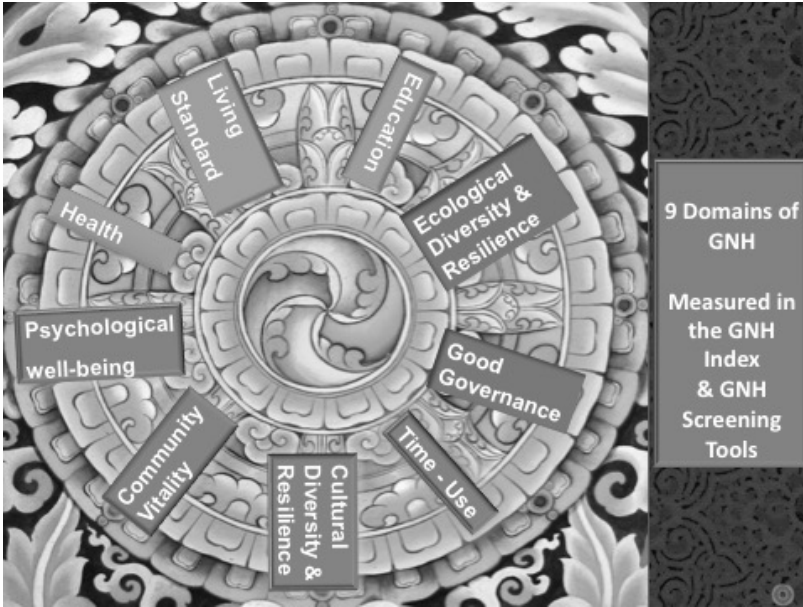


Figure 1: Nine Domains of GNH (source: CBS)

Fifth, GNH is translated into objectives that provide strategic direction to Bhutan’s long-term development (GNHC, 2011a). The four pillars give tangible expression to the central tenets of GNH, and “they also embody the guiding principles that have been identified as being of decisive importance in ensuring our future independence, sovereignty and security” (ibid.:12). The four pillars have been operationalized into policy and practice in the Royal Government of Bhutan’s 10th and 11th five-year plans. The GNH Index is attuned to policy-making as it reflects changes over time in response to public action and policy priorities, to reflect strengthening or deterioration in the social, cultural and environmental fabric (Ura et al., 2012a). The Index measures progress over time, by region and social groups, and is therefore relevant in assessing current as well as future happiness and wellbeing. GNH indicators are useful tools for accountability and good

governance, as they can enable citizens to evaluate and hold accountable their leaders, by assessing whether the targets shown in the indicators are being fulfilled (Ura et al., in press). They can also assist in building a common national vision as well as planning around them. For example, the GNH policy and project screening tools, based on the GNH indicators, contribute to policy coherence of government programs and projects with GNH principles. They are being used by government agencies such as the GNHC (Gross National Happiness Commission) to determine whether policies and projects are aligned with GNH. For instance, GNH policy screening tools were used to assess the National Youth Policy, the National Forest Policy and National Human Resource Development Policy, resulting in the evaluation that it was GNH-favorable and within the GNH screening tool threshold (GNHC, 2011b). They systematically assessed the possibility of Bhutan's accession to the World Trade Organization, resulting in the conclusion that the new policy was not GNH favorable (ibid.).

Given that wellbeing and happiness are both the responsibility of the state and the individual, a sixth area where GNH influences development is its translation into individual practice. While the State's central concern with happiness plays an important key role in ensuring enabling conditions for the realization of wellbeing, happiness and enlightenment, it is also important to note the responsibility of individual citizens as active participants in the process. Hence, the individual nonetheless plays an active role in their achievement. This role entails understanding the central tenets of GNH, as elaborated above, and putting into practice in everyday life the behaviours, attitudes and practices that are central to achieving happiness and wellbeing, both individually and collectively. In Bhutan, the central monastic body plays an important enabling role in this process. CBS's new library of mind, body and sound helps individuals in understanding and practicing GNH.

The seventh manifestation of GNH centres on its global influence. While most efforts to deepen and implement GNH are focused within Bhutan, there have also been notable efforts in contributing to and influencing international dialogues on wider concerns of development. GNH is considered one viable and living alternative to mainstream development, and hence, not only provides an alternative lens for conceptualizing development, but also important lessons for the implementation of an alternative vision (Verma, 2015). Over the years, CBS has been at the heart of several scholarly and research efforts share findings of GNH on the international stage, through its ambitious publications goals (including the Journal of Bhutan Studies, Conference Proceedings, Monographs, etc.) and holding regular international conferences on GNH. Most notably, major strides have been made by the Royal Government of Bhutan through a two-year project spear-headed by the Secretariat for the New Development Paradigm (SNDP). Set up in June 2012, the initiative proposed a new development paradigm based on the principles of Gross National Happiness. The Secretariat, supported by an International Expert Working Group (IEWG) and composed of distinguished scholars from around the world working on various aspects of happiness, wellbeing and development, worked on the translation of GNH into a secular development framework (“The New Development Paradigm”) (CBS, 2017). It also elaborated specific suggestions for policy objectives and strategies relevant beyond Bhutan. Major activities include the resolution 65/309 on *Happiness: Towards a Holistic Approach* submitted by the Royal Government of Bhutan and unanimously passed by the United Nations General Assembly on August 25, 2011 (UNGA, 2011), organization of a High Level Meeting on Wellbeing and Happiness at U.N. Headquarters in New York in April 2012, the meeting of the IEWG in January 2013, and the publication of key reports submitted to the United Nations on a New Development Paradigm (SNDP, 2013; RGoB, 2012). These efforts led to the establishment of World Happiness Day, celebrated annually across the globe on March 20th.

The eighth manifestation of GNH is the secularization of Buddhist concepts. The focus on happiness-centred development evolved organically from historical and socio-cultural features embedded in Buddhist and feudal values of a nation that was for many centuries isolated from the outside world (Verma, 2017; Priesner 1999). Contemporary Bhutan is predominantly a Vajrayana Buddhist nation that follows the Nyingma and Drukpa Kagyu schools of Buddhism (Kumagai 2015). Although GNH is a secular moral concept that has influenced and been adapted in different countries around the world, its holistic nature integrates core moral elements of Buddhism. It is implicitly anchored by socially engaged Buddhism and Buddhist moral and ethical engagement with happiness (Verma, forthcoming, 2017a; Givel, 2015; Wangmo and Valk, 2012; Tashi, 2004). Its middle-path approach reflects Buddhist principles of avoiding extremes and maintaining a balanced view (GNHC, 1999). GNH aims to balance economic needs with spiritual and emotional needs, maximize wellbeing with minimizing suffering, and nuance outer happiness with inner happiness and material wellbeing with non-material wellbeing. It emphasizes inter-dependence and inter-connectedness of all phenomena through its multi-dimensional nature and equal weighting of all its nine domains, which are themselves inspired by Buddhism (Wangmo and Valk, 2012). Buddhist engagement with happiness is at the core of GNH. Happiness, in this sense, is distinct from “fleeting, pleasurable and ‘feel good’ moods so often associated with the term [happiness]... we know that true abiding happiness cannot exist while others suffer, and comes only by serving others, living in harmony with nature, and realizing our innate wisdom and the true and brilliant nature of our own minds” (Thinley, 2012). In contrast to GDP-centric development that promotes economic growth to the exclusion of spiritual and mental development and subjective wellbeing (Thinley 2012), the holistic nature of GNH promotes the middle-path approach of maintaining a balance between the needs of the mind and the body (Verma, 2017a; GNHC 2010). Although the inter-relation between Buddhism and GNH is detailed elsewhere (Verma forthcoming), GNH

is the secularization of a Buddhist concept that places meaningful happiness and deeper values in life as its central purpose.

Convergences and Disconnects of Gender and GNH

The above discussion provides a brief overview of GNH through its eight manifestations. While the study and operationalization of GNH has yielded valuable insights on multiple dimensions of development, there has been limited analysis from a gender perspective. This paper hopes to address this urgent gap in the analysis of GNH. To enable a systematic gendered analysis of GNH, the central concern of this paper, we highlight the convergence of GNH and gender analysis, as well as areas of disconnect that require attention. Given that gender analysis often takes different forms depending on the types of tools or conceptual frameworks that are adopted,² it is useful to briefly overview the foundations and specific theoretical framing of gender analysis used for this paper.

Rather than being singular or static, gender analysis has evolved from simplistic approaches situated in the 1970s and 1980s³ that focused on women, to more complex approaches centred on gender power relations over time. Emanating from earlier approaches commonly referred to as “gender mainstreaming”, such efforts have yielded weak results, failures and important lessons (Cornwall et al., 2007). Nonetheless, problematic outdated approaches continue to be used in

² Several conceptual tools, have been conventionally used for the analysis of gender in development by various organizations, including the Harvard Analytical Framework, Moser Framework, Gender Analysis Matrix, Capacities and Vulnerabilities Analysis Framework, Women’s Empowerment Framework, etc.; this paper engages in what is termed the “social relations” framework (see March et al., 1999).

³ In general, conceptual frameworks have evolved from positivist, largely ineffective and weak approaches encapsulated in Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD) approaches from the 1970s to the 1980s (see Sweetnam, 2012; Leach, 2007; Rathgeber, 2005; Parpart and Marchand, 1995).

many development contexts, due to problematic conceptualization, resources, commitment, traction, championing and in many contexts, resistance to deeper and meaningful gender transformative change (Verma and Blaikie, 2014; Cornwall et al., 2007). In this context, the need for “business as *unusual*” approaches such as gender analysis that have the potential for action-oriented gender transformative change, as we elaborate below, has never been more pressing or important (Verma, 2013).

Gender analysis, broadly defined, is the systematic examination of power and social relations between and among women and men in varied socio-cultural contexts over time, focusing on differences in access to resources, multiple roles, workloads, representation, voice, agency and status (*ibid.*). The conceptual framework used in this paper is founded in feminist political ecology and is concerned with analysis within households, communities (Nightingale, 2003) and between individuals, including their roles in shaping gendered identities and differences. In such a post-structural framing, gender cross-cuts with multiple domains of difference such as class, marital status, age, life-cycle positioning, occupation, location, etc. (Nightingale 2006; Mackenzie 1995; Verma 2001). It problematizes the conceptualization of women and men as flat and closed homogenous categories, and instead emphasizes the lived experiences and the diversity and multiple identities of women and men that are fluid and change over time (Verma and Khadka, 2016).

Moving beyond from outdated gender “mainstreaming” approaches, gender transformative change goes further than identifying and exploring the symptoms of gender equality, and addresses deeper causes such as socially constructed norms, attitudes, and relations of power that underlie them (Verma, 2013). It is committed to rigorous gender analysis, organizational change, capacity and institutional strengthening, and ensuring gender positive impact through meaningful participation of women and men in leadership, policy and decision-making processes and institutions. (*ibid.*). Gender analysis, as elaborated

Gender Differences in GNH in Bhutan

within such a framework, considers several important mutually supportive elements. As outlined on the right-side of figure 2 below, these include gendered dimensions of access to development resources, access to development resources and services, land ownership, control over the proceeds of labour, division of labour, decision-making, room to manoeuvre, strength of social institutions, gender based violence, gendered identities, and representation and voice.

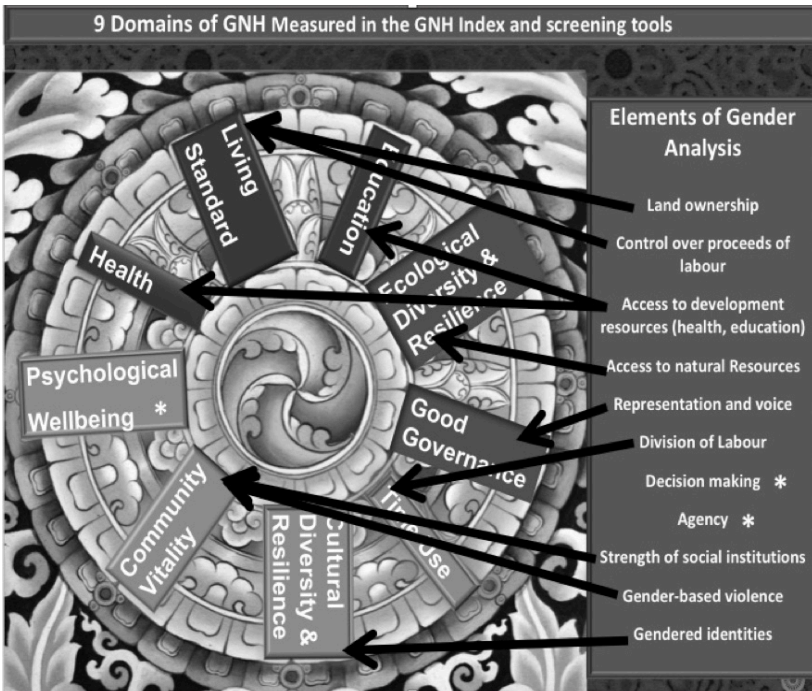


Figure 2: Juxtaposition of GNH Domains and Key Elements of Gender Analysis

The juxtaposition of GNH with gender analysis illustrates that GNH contains within it several key elements that are also important for gender analysis. To begin with, the conceptual framework of GNH includes a pillar that focuses explicitly on the equitable nature of sustainable socio-economic development. The focus on equity is well-

aligned with the central tenets of gender analysis. Gender analysis is congruent with many of the GNH domains. For instance, gender-disaggregated time use highlights the gender division of labour and women's uncounted, invisible and undervalued work in reproductive, productive, community and care spheres (Kabeer, 1994). This invisibility has been pointed out by many eminent feminists as a missing but important dimension in national systems of accounts (Waring and Steinem, 1989). Many gender indices around the world fail to take into account time use, including the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI), the OECD's Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI), and UNDP's Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Inequality Index (GII).⁴ Time use is one of the innovative domains of GNH, thereby demonstrating its progressive nature. Other congruencies include land ownership and control over the proceeds of labour with GNH's living standards domain; access to development resources with GNH's education and health domains; access to natural resources with GNH's ecological diversity and resilience; representation and voice with GNH's good governance domain; strength of social institutions and gender-based violence with GNH's community vitality; gendered identities with GNH's cultural diversity and resilience. Given that gender is a cross-cutting issue across all domains and indicators, GNH illustrates its in-built ability to measure gender inequalities through gender disaggregated data collected in the national surveys.

⁴ *GII* measures gender equality in three areas of human development including reproductive health, empowerment and economic status; *GDI* measures gender disparities three basic dimensions of human development including health, knowledge and living standards using the same component indicators as in the *HDI*; the *SIGI* index measures five dimensions of discriminatory social institutions that affect women's lives: discriminatory family code, restricted physical integrity, son bias, restricted resources and assets, and restricted civil liberties; and the *GGGI* measures gender gaps on economic, political, education and health criteria.

There are also exist some disconnects between the two conceptual frameworks. For example, GNH lacks elements such as decision-making and agency that are important to gender analysis in understanding intra-household dynamics. Conversely, the inclusion of psychological wellbeing in GNH is an element that is commonly missing from gender analysis, but needs to be considered as the discussion of key GNH findings below demonstrate. These issues also point to methodological gaps that can be attributed to the heavy reliance of surveys in the case of GNH. Gender analysis that focuses primarily on statistical data provides important data on the breadth of gender issues between women and men at the national level, but tends to lack rich depth of data that is the hallmark of gender analysis through qualitative and ethnographic methods. Such methods are often used in scholarly and academic work to understand gender power relations (sometimes in tandem with quantitative data, to ensure both breadth and depth of understanding), the richness of women's and men's everyday lived experiences, and gender struggles, negotiations and resistances at multiple levels and scales, from the individual to the household, community and nation.

Gender Differences in Overall GNH Findings

Overall findings refer to nationally aggregated levels of happiness, as captured by the GNH index. When we compare overall gender differences in the GNH index in 2010 and 2015, some important findings emerge. In 2010, the national GNH survey resulted in a GNH index of 0.743. In terms of gender, the GNH index was 0.704 for women compared to 0.783 for men, thereby demonstrating a difference of 0.079 (approximately an 11.2% difference). In 2015, the national GNH survey resulted in a GNH index of 0.756, a slight improvement from 2010. In terms of gender, the 2015 GNH index was 0.730 for women and 0.793 for men. The difference between women and men was 0.063 (approximately 8.6% difference). Hence, the gender gap closed by only 2.6%.

In 2010, 41% of people in Bhutan were happy and in 2015, 43.4% of people in Bhutan were happy (as stated earlier, people are deemed to be happy if they achieve sufficiency in two-thirds of the indicators).⁵ In comparing the decomposition of the GNH index by gender in 2010 and 2015, we note that men were happier than women in both survey years. In 2010, 49% of men were happy, while only 33% of women were happy, “a result that is both striking and statistically significant” (Ura et al., 2012a:58). In 2015, 51% of men were happy, compared to 39% of women. This is a significant gender gap. During this time, while men’s happiness increased by 2%, women’s happiness increased by 6%. Overall, women’s GNH increased faster than men’s 2010-2015, reducing the gap in gender differences in happiness somewhat during this period. However, men continue to be happier than women in both survey years, which points to persistent gender inequalities.

The existence of persistent gender inequalities in happiness over the five-year period is an important overall finding of the GNH surveys. It is significant because it challenges earlier discourses of gender “neutrality” (that no gender issues exist) or of gender “equality” in Bhutan (the existence equality between women and men in terms of their value, treatment, opportunities and benefits in society) (Verma and Ura, forthcoming; CEDAW, 2009a; Crins, 2008). While there have been debates whether what is required is a gender revolution, or a gender evolution, such as during the opening session of the Bhutan+10 Conference on gender and mountains in 2012, it is clear gender inequalities must be urgently addressed. In this regard, the shift from the earlier position articulated above, to one of growing recognition and action by the Royal Government of Bhutan through its various Ministries and Commissions as well as by civil society organizations, has been rapid. Policy shifts, gender responsive action and accelerated research on gender issues have made great strides in a short period of

⁵ When comparing happiness, the GNH survey considers different levels of happiness as follows: people who are deeply happy (77% to 100%), people who are extensively happy (66% to 76%), people who are narrowly happy (50% to 65%) and people who are unhappy (0% to 49%).

time. One important example is Cabinet of Bhutan's endorsement of six months of paid maternity leave along with six months of flexi-time for women in the civil service, who represent 34.4% of a total of 26,699 civil servants (Pokhrel, 2015). Another example is the parliament of Bhutan's passing of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act (Parliament of Bhutan, 2013), an important step in addressing the growing number of registered gender-based violence cases in Bhutan (Wangmo, 2013; RENEW, 2007). Many other examples exist and are coming into force as the Royal Government of Bhutan becomes increasingly aware and committed to addressing gender inequalities that have been highlighted through national and international research and dialogue over time (CEDAW, 2009a, 2009b). In this regard, the GNH survey plays an important role in providing statistically relevant and significant data towards this goal. In contributing towards this aim, the Centre for Bhutan Studies and GNH research included a panel at the 6th International Conference on GNH in November 2015 on gender issues, where this paper was also presented (CBS, 2015). Gender differences in GNH are further unpacked below through detailed analysis of the various GNH domains and indicators. It is important to note that while this paper stressed gender, some of the graphs presented below from the 2010 survey are articulated in terms of sex (i.e. biological differences) as signified by male and female differences. This is an issue we discuss further below.

Gender Differences by GNH Domains and Indicators

When the GNH data is further disaggregated by the nine domains elaborated earlier, more detailed information about gender differences emerges. In this paper, we focus our analysis of gender differences in the GNH domains and indicators in the 2010 survey (for a more comprehensive discussion that includes both the 2010 and the 2015 surveys, refer to Verma and Ura, forthcoming).⁶ As illustrated in figure

⁶ The forthcoming monograph by CBS will analyse findings of domains and indicators from both GNH surveys and provide comparative analysis over time.

3, gender differences are greater in certain domains: where men seem to be fair better are in domains such as education, psychological wellbeing and community vitality, the opposite is true for domains such as living standards and ecological diversity and resilience, where women seem to do better. At this level of aggregation, there are less significant differences in domains such as time use, health and good governance.

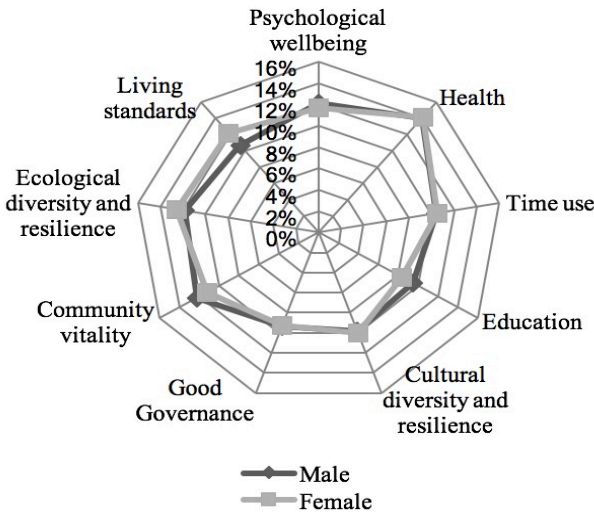


Figure 3: Gender differences in the GNH domains (Source: CBS Survey, 2010).

When the GNH data is further disaggregated by the 33 clustered indicators, as defined earlier, more fine-grained differences and detailed patterns by gender emerge. Figure 4 highlights these differences in each of the 33 indicators, demonstrating that men achieve greater happiness in 18 indicators, women achieve greater happiness in 13 indicators, and 2 indicators remain neutral. Some gender differences are significant (negative emotions, work time, sleep time, political participation, etc.), while others are less significant (family, assets, cultural participation, etc.).

Gender Differences in GNH in Bhutan

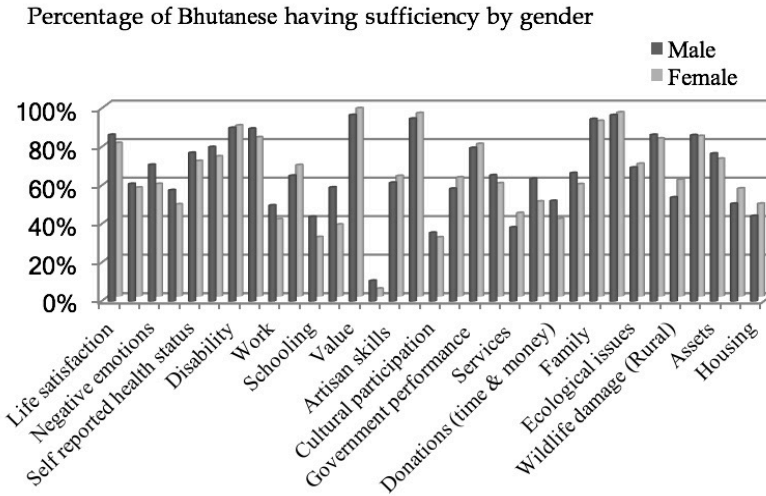


Figure 4: Gender Differences in the GNH Indicators (Source: CBS Survey, 2010)

In the following section, we present the analysis differentiated by the nine GNH domains, and focus on a sampling of selected indicators where gender differences are significant or raise challenging research and policy questions. We begin with the domains that are considered more conventional and appear in other international indices of gender and development (i.e. education, health, governance, living standards), before turning to innovative domains for the analysis of gender differences (i.e. ecological diversity and resilience, community vitality, time use, cultural diversity and resilience) and that expand the field in innovative ways (i.e. psychological wellbeing).

The domain of ***education*** encompasses four indicators including schooling, literacy, value and knowledge. Differences in literacy by gender in the GNH survey indicate 62.82% illiteracy for women and 40.19% for men. Studies by the National Statistics Bureau and the Royal Government of Bhutan further indicate that literacy is lower for women in all levels of education (i.e. overall, youth, adult) (NSB, 2010; CEDAW, 2009). The indicator of schooling or educational attainment

demonstrates that women have lower attainment than men across all levels of education from primary to post-graduate, as illustrated in figure 5. The one area where women outnumber men is no formal education, which indicates that more women lack access to education than men.

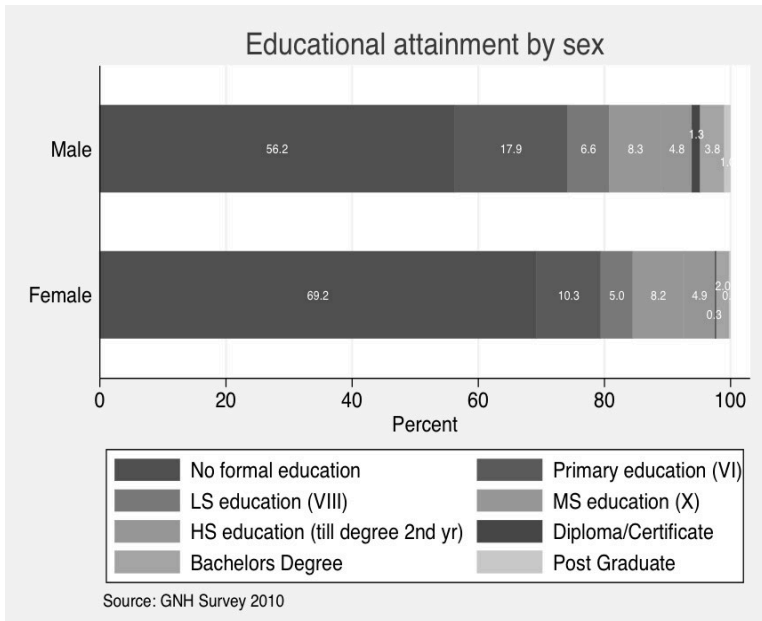


Figure 5: Educational Attainment by Gender

Gender Differences in GNH in Bhutan

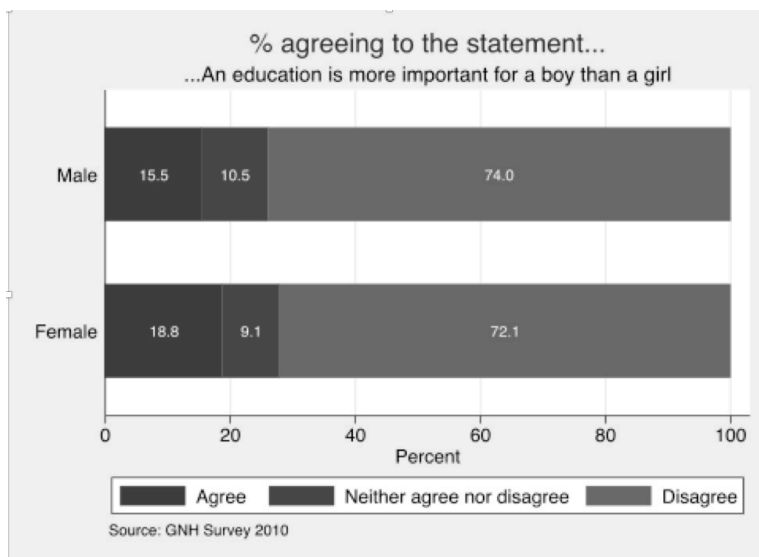


Figure 6: Gendered Attitudes Towards Education

Both sets of indicators highlight that women are disadvantaged when it comes to education across all levels. The differentials are greater, however, in the undergraduate and post-graduate levels. This points to greater gender differences at the tertiary level, with higher drop-out and lower retention rates for women, as supported by studies carried out by the GNHC and the Royal Government of Bhutan (GNHC, 2001; CEDAW, 2009a, 2003). It is useful to note that Bhutan has two different systems of education: formal education for laypeople, and monastic education (an area that the GNH survey does not include). Given that Buddhism, as guided by the central monastic body, influences Bhutan in many aspects of life, it is worth considering gender differences within this sector. Gender differences within monastic education are more significant, with 98.33% of boys and men versus 1.67% of girls and women enrolled in monastic educational institutions (MoE, 2010; GNHC, 2010). Such differences require more in-depth study in the future. Upcoming research might also consider gender differences in language skills, as non-formal education aims to achieve literacy in *dzongkha* of the entire population (RGoB, 2003). Another

important area for research is gender-biased attitudes and norms that affect education. In this regard, an important question in the 2010 survey focused on gender-based attitudes, illustrated in figure 6. The responses to the question “an education is important for a boy than a girl” indicates that gender biases that advantage boys clearly exist, where interestingly, women seem to uphold such biases slightly more than men (18.8% women versus 15.5% men agree to the statement that an education is important for a boy than a girl). Future research will need to qualify these biases, as well as focus on the various factors, experiences and reasons why women drop out of tertiary education, and the effect this has on other domains and indicators.

The second GNH domain of **health** considers four indicators that include mental health, self-supported health status, healthy days and long-term disability; these were investigated in the 2010 GNH Survey Questionnaire by 38 questions (CBS, 2010). We look closely at the first two, as well as an additional question regarding gender access to health facilities. Figure 7 illustrates differences in mental wellbeing by gender. While the overall levels of normal mental wellbeing are high (89.6% for men and 82.45% for women), the ratio of women to men in areas of some and severe mental distress indicate some worrying trends. Given that mental wellbeing is an area where overall levels have decreased from 2010 and 2015, further research in this area will be important. For instance, the women to men ratios for “some mental distress” and “severe mental distress” experienced are approximately 3:2 and 2:1 respectively. These indicate significant gender differences.

Gender Differences in GNH in Bhutan

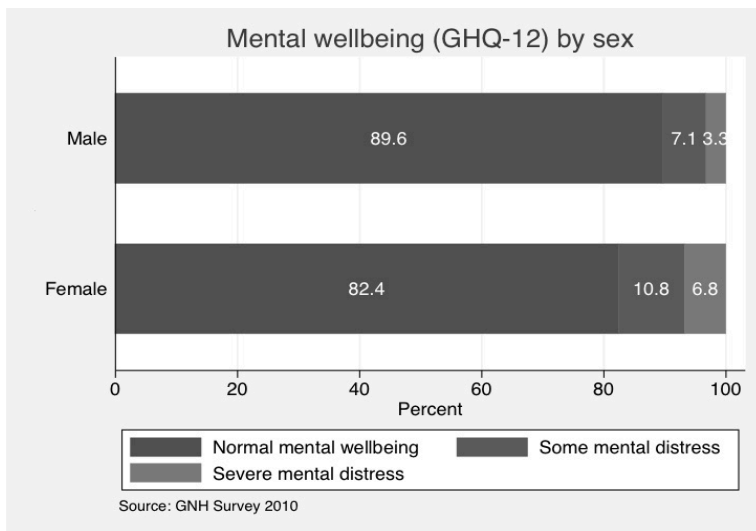


Figure 7: Mental Wellbeing by Gender

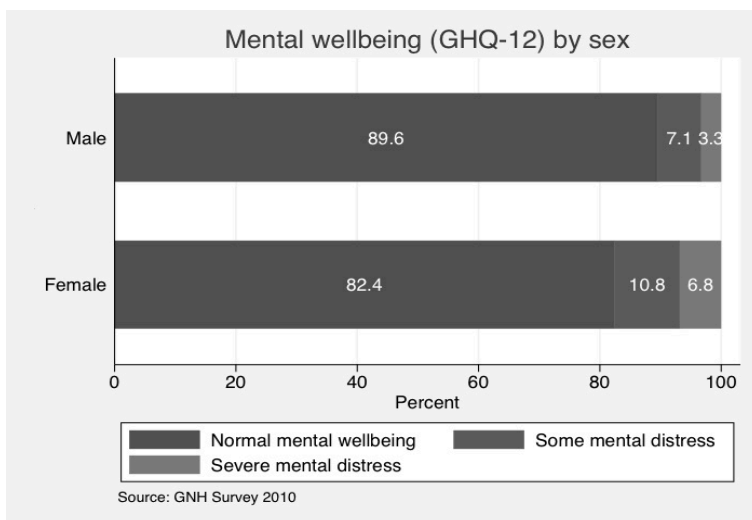


Figure 8: Mental Wellbeing by Marital Status.

When mental wellbeing is analysed by marital status (figure 8), another important area of gender analysis, we find that severe mental stress is suffered most by those who are separated or widowed, among categories that include those who have never been married, are married, divorced, separated or widowed. Overall, 11.8% of those who are separated, 17.4% of the widowed, 5% of the divorced, 4.3% of married and 2.9% of never married populations experienced severe mental distress. The tendency of those who are separated, widowed, and divorced to experience both severe and some mental distress raises concerns about these sectors of the population that need to be explored further. When we analyse self-reported stress levels by gender (figure 9), women experience very stressful and moderate stressful lives more than men (13.56% vs. 8.89% and 14.07% vs. 12.31% respectively).

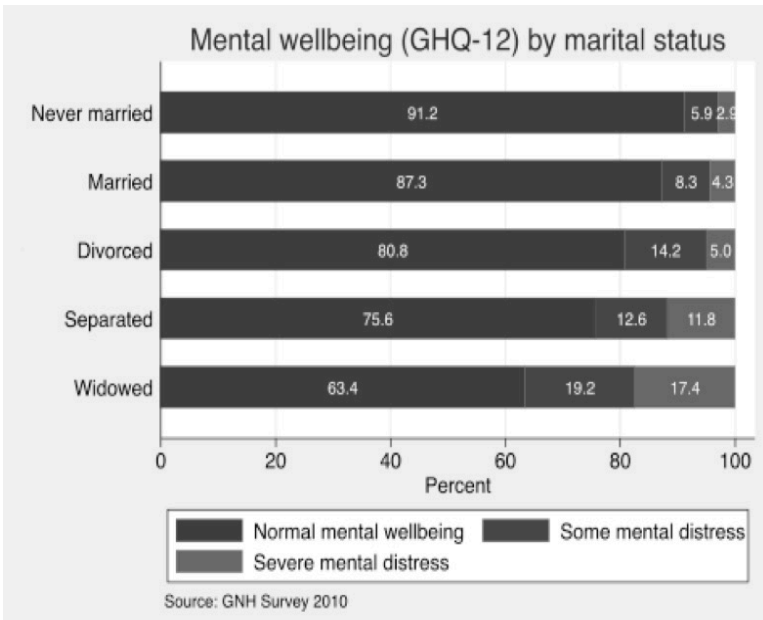


Figure 9: Self-Reported Stress by Gender

Gender Differences in GNH in Bhutan

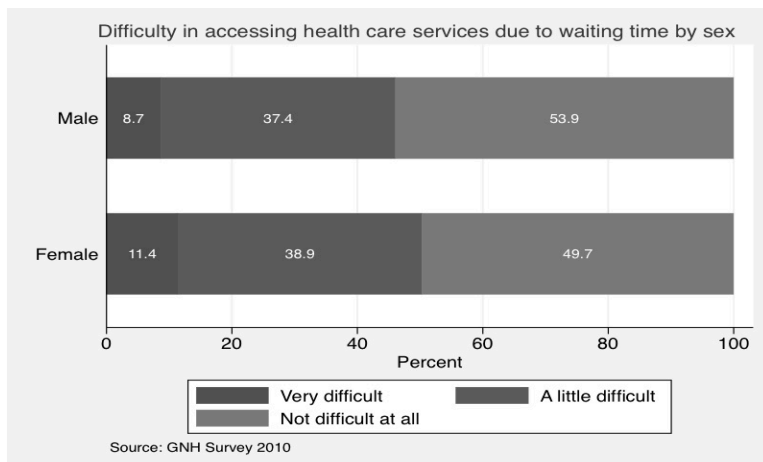


Figure 10: Difficulty in Accessing Health Care

Several factors can be attributed to higher levels of stress in women, including their disadvantaged position in terms of time-use, governance, psychological wellbeing, culture, as well as other issues related to health, such as alcohol abuse and gender-based violence, which are discussed below. Albeit the existence of universal health care in terms of modern and traditional medicine in Bhutan, gender differences are further compounded by access to health care services based on waiting time. As detailed in figure 10, women report 11.4% very difficult and 38.9% a little difficult, while men report 8.7% very difficult and 37.4% a little difficult in accessing health care. The category of high difficulty (very difficult) requires attention by health care officials in the future, including the need for gender-specific health services and infrastructure in the future, based on the lack of a mammogram facilities and early detection centres, adequate maternity wards, geriatric services and sanitation facilities for women, and adolescent girls attending school (Tarayana Foundation, 2009).

The domain of ***governance*** is measured using the indicators of political participation, political freedom, government performance and service delivery. When the indicator of political participation at the local level (attendance in *zomdue*, or community meetings) is analysed by

gender, the data indicates that women attend 52.9% whereas men attend 67.8% of the time. Other studies shed light to the types of meetings women and men participate in, and the quality of participation in terms of leadership roles. For instance, when women participate in local meetings, their participation is often associated with minor work, hearing public messages, collecting contributions for community festivals, etc. (Yangden, 2009). On the other hand, men's participation in such meetings is associated with the discussion and decision-making of more substantial issues (ibid.). Hence, there is a distinct power differential in terms of the quality of gendered participation at this level. This finding supports that of other studies indicating a high degree of under-representation of women in elected positions in local governance institutions. For instance, in 2010, low levels of representation and near invisibility of women's leadership is captured by data that indicates 4% of women in GYT (village level), 2.5% at DYT (district levels) and only one woman out 205 *gups* (village mayors) (Tshomo et al., 2010). To address these gaps in the future, both women's practical as well as strategic needs will require urgent attention. The robust debates on affirmative action in Bhutan - that are otherwise operationalized in neighbouring countries such as Nepal, India and Bangladesh - point to some degree of resistance and stigmas regarding women's leadership by both women and men to gender transformative change. The GNH data further provides important information about gendered stigmas through its question regarding agreement to the statement "on the whole, men make better leaders than women do", as illustrated in figure 11 (CBS, 2010). The 2010 survey results, indicating that 31.5% of women and 28.9% of men agree to this statement, highlights the existence of gender-biased socio-cultural attitudes which hinder women's participation in governance and leadership roles. Future research needs to deepen understanding of such attitudes and stigmas through in-depth qualitative research.

Gender Differences in GNH in Bhutan

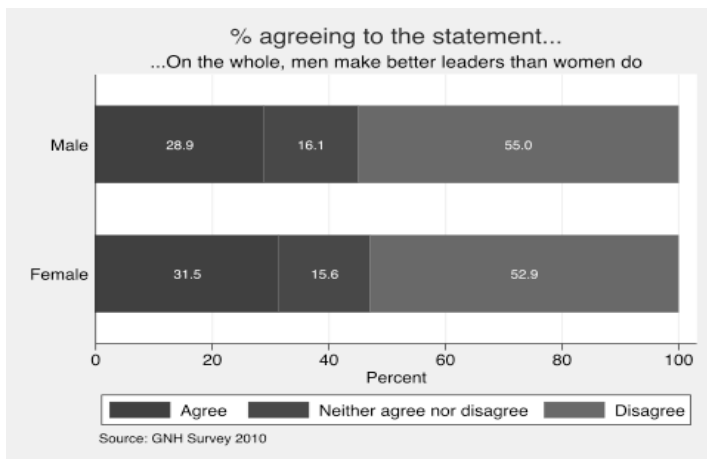


Figure 11: Gendered Attitudes Towards Leadership (Source: CBS Survey, 2010)

The GNH domain of *living standards* includes assets, housing and household income. We focus on the indicator, assets, and landownership as well as data from other studies regarding position level within the civil service. When gender differences in land ownership by registration are analysed, the GNH data indicates that both women and men have strong positions. The GNH survey indicates that 54.02% of men and 45.98% of women report land ownership registration. These findings are significant, indicating that women in Bhutan enjoy a very strong position in terms of land ownership. This position is stronger than other developing countries such as Chile, Ecuador and Panama, where women's land holdings are considered the highest (i.e. land holdings exceed 25 per cent) (FAO, 2011).⁷

This strong position of women in relation to men is associated with the fact that Bhutan is characterized by both matrilineal and patrilineal communities. Hence, ownership by gender also varies sub-regionally by *dzongkhags* (or districts), as highlighted by figure 12 below. Future

⁷ According to the FAO, women's share in agricultural land holdings in Southern and South-Eastern Asia is approximately 12 per cent (2011).

research will need to address gendered land ownership within a context of rapid cultural change, where matrilineal land inheritance sometimes disadvantages women in Bhutan (Pain and Pema, 2004), and whereby matrilineal relations may be weakening in the face of gender-biased globalization, media and development (Verma and Banda, 2011). It may also want to explore with more detail different elements of ownership in pastoralist areas where livestock, rather than land, plays an important role in defining gender relations.

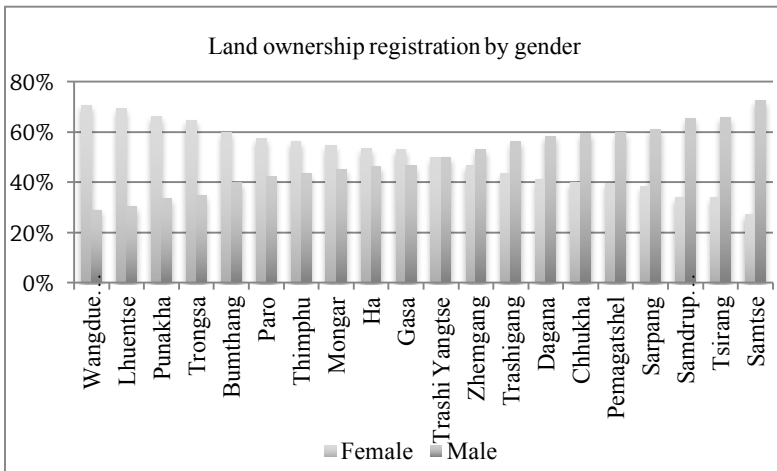


Figure 12: Land Ownership Registration by Gender and Dzongkhag (Source: CBS Survey, 2010)

In Bhutan, one of the most highly regarded sectors for formal employment is the Royal Civil Service, which currently provides both status and security to a workforce of 26,699 civil servants (Pokhrel, 2015). However, there exist significant gender differences when the sector is examined by position level, which are invariably linked to power and decision-making. Figure 13 illustrates graphically data from the GNH Commission, whereby women are poorly represented in “EX” and “ES” positions (executive and executive service respectively), normally regarded as well-remunerated and high-status positions with notable responsibilities and leadership (i.e. for every one EX1 women,

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there are 27 EX1 men). While there is greater parity in “P” and “S” positions (professional and service positions respectively) disparities exist in “O” positions (operations), normally typified by occupations such as drivers, cleaners, maintenance staff, etc. This suggests a “sandwich” effect, where men occupy most positions at the executive and operations levels. Of concern are gender differences in executive positions, which carry higher status, decision-making and remuneration in the civil service. This suggests the existence of a glass ceiling, an invisible barrier that restricts women from obtaining higher-level positions in institutions, may also exist in other sectors as well. This will require in-depth research in the future both in regards to the civil service, private sectors and other institutions, which can take the form of a gender audit (a participatory process identifying gender challenges and ways to overcome them within organizations), and/or qualitative research to deepen the GNH survey.

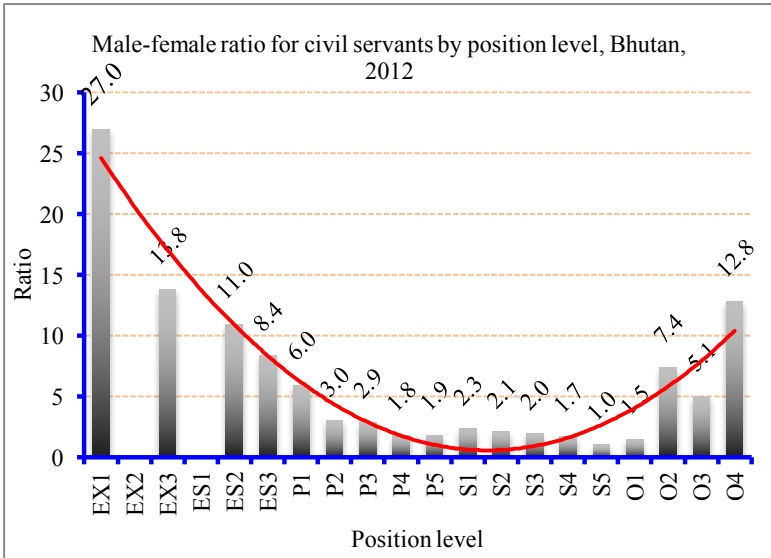


Figure 13: Gender Ratios by Position Level in the Royal Civil Service (Source: GNH Commission, 2012)

The domain of **ecological diversity and resilience** is composed of four indicators including ecological issues, responsibility towards the environment, wildlife damage in rural contexts and urbanization issues. When we examine gender differences in responsibility towards the environment and wildlife damage, some variations by gender emerge. The GNH survey indicates that 86.33% of men and 81.47% of women feel responsibility toward the environment, whereas 13.67% of men and 18.53% of women do not. This indicates approximately a 5% difference in both possibilities, whereby men feel a greater responsibility. This finding supports the findings of the time use domain further below, where men indicate greater time spent than women on agriculture, forestry and livestock activities, which normally requires substantial engagement with natural resources and local environments. However, women's engagement in household maintenance where they spend a disproportionate amount of time also requires management of natural resources and local environments, such as the collection of water, firewood, food, etc.

The survey further indicates that women have greater experience to wildlife damage than men, whereby 60.91% of women and 55.04% of men reported such experiences. This may be attributed to damage caused by wildlife to household gardens or water collection points where women may play a greater role, in addition to their roles in agriculture and/or pastoralism. In agricultural contexts, women take greater responsibility in transplanting rice, fodder collection, household water management, etc. (ADB, 2014). In pastoralist contexts, indigenous grazing rights for cattle and yak, elaborate management schemes for sharing and access to pastures, and rotating herds between different households exist which promote socio-cultural relations, cooperation, reciprocity and civic virtue in remote areas of Bhutan (Leaming, 2004). Within these contexts, women play a central role in terms of managing animal products such as milk, cheese, meat, yak hair, skin and wool, etc. and in trade with villages in the lowlands (Dey and Gyeltshen, 2010). However, limited information is available regarding the extent to which extension services are made available to women, which constitutes a gap in

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research in this domain, as well as knowledge in terms of education (ADB, 2014).

The indicator of **community vitality** is composed of four indicators, including social support, community relationships, family and victim of crime. When analysing the last indicator, we analyse the reporting of being a victim of crime in the past 12 months and safety from human harm (figure 14). While there are few respondents who reported being a victim of crime, with men reporting 3.4% and women reporting 4.4%, there are greater number of respondents who report being rarely safe, with women reporting 24.8% and men reporting 13.6%. Moreover, 21.1% of men compared to 29.2% reported being usually safe, and 65.3% of men and 46% of women reporting always being safe.

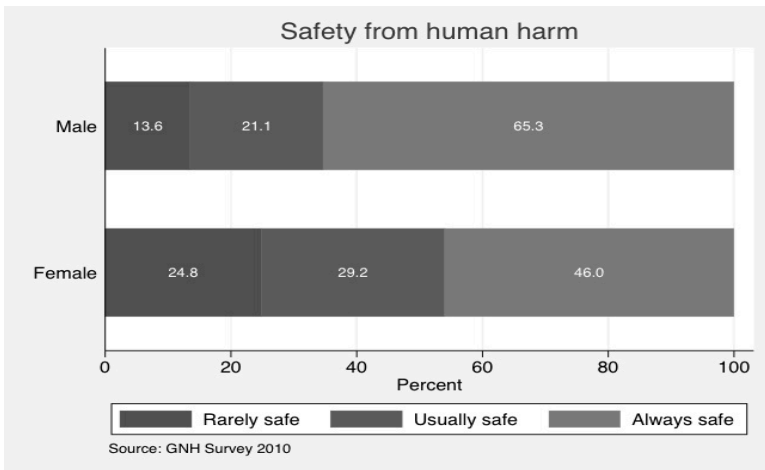


Figure 14: Safety from Human Harm by Gender

These results point to the fact that women are less safe, and to differences between what might be perceived as a “crime” and safety from human harm. The possibility that this dimension of the GNH survey may be under-reported may reflect wider beliefs that safety from human harm or domestic violence is identified with physical abuse, and not psychological or sexual abuse (RGoB, 2003). Another factor may be that such crimes are often considered “private issues” or “family

matters”, with many women not reporting violence due to societal norms that promote a culture of silence, or because they are not aware of their rights, or that it is a “crime” under law (NCWC, 2010; RENEW, 2007; RGoB, 2003). Other studies suggest that factors that contribute to crime and lack of safety may be associated to both forms of emotional and physical violence including alcohol abuse, extra-marital affairs, financial matters (i.e. money matters or a thrifty partner), disputes over children, jealousy, a high social life, and “missed mobile calls” from either known or unknown numbers perceived as a form of “ragging” (NCWC, 2010; RENEW, 2007; RGoB, 2003). For instance, the GNH survey looks at gender differences in alcohol consumption⁸ (figure 15), and indicates alcohol consumption levels of 49.7% for men and 32.8% for women, which are significant.

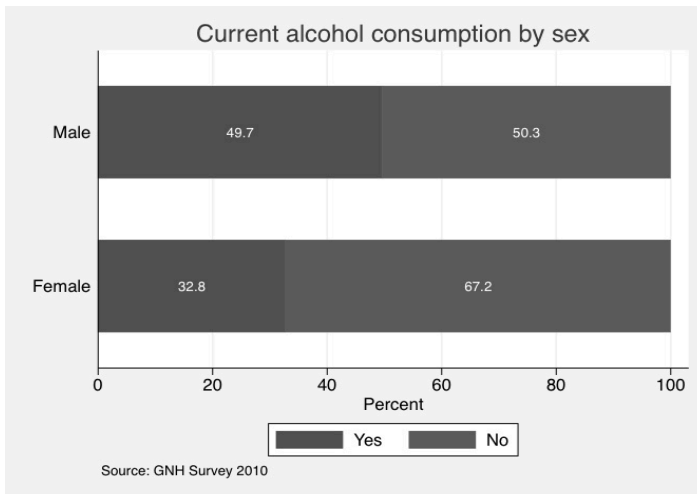


Figure 15: Current Alcohol Consumption by Gender. Source: GNH Survey 2010.

Other studies suggest that rates of alcohol consumption may be more pronounced with a direct relationship to gender-based violence. A

⁸ The indicator of alcohol consumption is investigated under the health domain in the GNH Survey and Index.

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survey undertaken by RENEW, for instance, indicates that 92% of both women and men reported that excessive drinking causes violence, and moreover, the problem might be more serious in rural areas, with approximately 45% of verbal conflicts resulting from alcohol abuse (2007). While the GNH survey looks at the links of alcohol consumption within the domain of health, future research will need to explore relations with community vitality and other domains. While much of the discussion here has been on the indicator of victim of crime, gender differences in social support, community relationships and family are important for an in-depth understanding of gender relations. This will require in-depth qualitative research in the future, given the sensitive nature of these issues.

The domain of **time use** investigates two indicators including of sleeping and working hours.

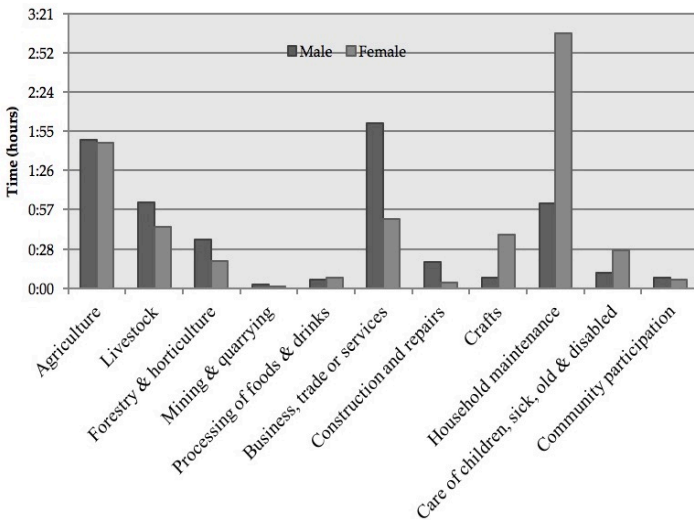


Figure 17: Gender Difference by Occupation and Sleep Type of Work. Source: GNH Survey 2010

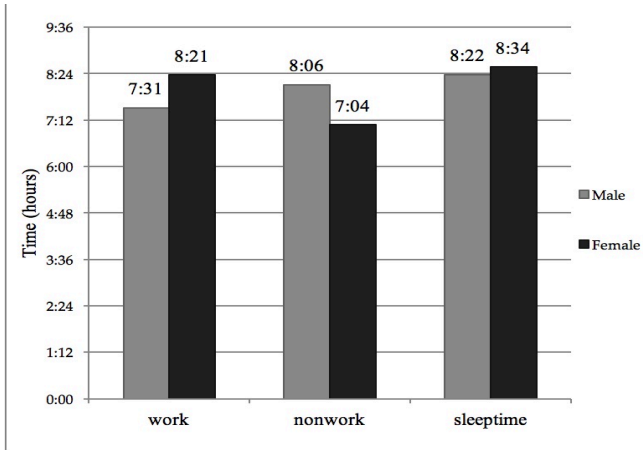


Figure 16: Gender Differences in Work, Non-Work and Sleep. Source: GNH Survey 2010

In the GNH survey, hours of work, non-work and sleep time were disaggregated by gender. The result, as illustrated in figure 16, indicates that regardless of location (i.e. urban or rural, towns or villages), women work longer than men, averaging 8 hours 21 minutes in a day whereas, men on average only work for 7 hours 31 minutes. In terms of non-work or leisure time, men enjoy approximately eight hours of leisure, as compared to women who only enjoy approximately seven hours. The overall allocation of work time is longer for women, where work includes household, productive, income generation and community work (Kabeer, 1994).

Similar findings emerge when time spent in different occupations and type of work is compared by gender, whereby women expend greater time and work, compared to men, regardless of occupation, with two exceptions discussed below (figure 17). The greatest gender differences occur in household maintenance work, care of family members and producing crafts where women spend disproportionate time. On the other hand, livestock rearing, forestry and business and trade are activities where men spend a disproportionate amount of time. While men also expend time in cooking, care of family members, their

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contributions are shorter in time expended; the reverse is true for women engaging in work related livestock, forestry/horticulture and business/trade.

Gender differences in time use significantly contributes in overall gender differences in GNH, as well as influence other domains. For instance, in terms of household work, girls take on more domestic work than boys, which influences to low access to formal education (GNHC, 2001). Pregnant women continue to carry out demanding physical work late into their pregnancies, resuming work almost immediately after delivery, which contributes to lower health levels as well as to the gender time-use imbalance (ibid.). Furthermore, women carry out a disproportionate amount of “voluntary” labour, such as community work to repair roads (ADB, 2014), which further adds to their multiple labour burdens. Gender differences in time use and working time have implications on the quality of jobs women can get, in addition to perceptions about gender roles and the way their triple occupations tend to discriminate against them (RGoB et al., 2013). Greater research is required under this domain, where very few systematic studies are available, except for studies that tend to focus on agriculture as the major economic and productive activity (GNHC, 2001). Future research is required to analyse pastoralist work and activities, as well as what is normally perceived as women’s “invisible” work of household, reproductive and community work. When women’s multiple occupations are taken into account, policy-making may also want to review whether paid maternity leave and day care are adequate, and ensure that new laws coming into effect (discussed earlier) must apply to all sectors, from civil service to private entities to support services in remote rural communities.

The domain of ***psychological wellbeing*** is composed of 3 indicators including life satisfaction, emotional balance (positive and negative emotions) and spirituality. When we analyse the second indicator by gender, we specifically focus on negative emotions, which include anger, fear, worry, selfishness and jealousy. As figure 18 demonstrates, when asked how often people felt angry in the past few weeks, 2.7% of men

reported that they felt angry often and 37.3% sometimes, when compared to 7.9% of women and 49.5% who felt angry often and sometimes respectively. Hence, the fact that women experienced anger often three times more than men is highly significant.

Although the question regarding mental wellbeing was discussed earlier under the domain for health, it is worth noting again that those who are widowed, separated and divorced experience greater levels of severe and some mental distress than those who are married or single. Conversely, those who experience normal wellbeing tend to be never married or married. Although requiring further research, possible reasons for the correlation between failed and curtailed marriages and severe to some mental distress are likely related to emotional upheaval, context-specific social stigmas, concerns and/or increased workloads and childcare, loss of land and property, etc., and they need to be investigated further in terms of gender. Furthermore, psychological wellbeing shapes happiness in several other domains. The GNH survey identifies links between anger and greater unhealthy days and less leisure time (and hence, less time for spiritual practices and meditation which can calm the mind and diminish anger). Other studies suggest gender linkages between anger and fear affecting health and overall wellbeing (Wangmo and Valk, 2012), and lower happiness levels in women and lower satisfaction with financial status (Zangmo, 2008). Of all the domains, psychological wellbeing is perhaps the least researched. Similarly, it is also under-researched from a gender perspective (Ura et al., in press), with limited secondary data available, and thus, will require research attention in the future, as well as dedicated action-oriented psychological and counselling services that pay attention to specific gendered needs.

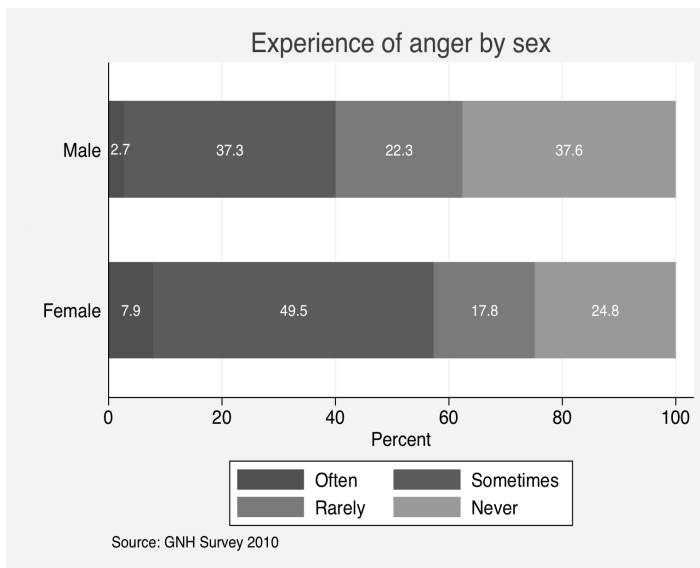


Figure 18: Experience of Anger by Gender.

The domain of ***cultural diversity and resilience*** encompasses four indicators of artisanal skills, proficiency in native language, cultural participation and *driglam namzha* (the way of harmony based on Buddhist principles of respect and compassion for all sentient beings, or Bhutanese norms in regards to socio-cultural conduct pertaining to etiquette, dress, behaviour, conventions in formal settings, etc.). When examining the last indicator, responses to four survey questions regarding core cultural values highlight different forms of gender cultural attitudes and biases. We have earlier discussed gender differences in attitudes towards education (i.e. the earlier question relating to whether education is more important for boys than girls), as well as gendered attitudes towards leadership (i.e. the earlier question as to whether men make better leaders than women). We now analyse the third question related to gender attitudes towards domestic/household work (figure 19), and the fourth question of gender attitudes towards the issue of whether women carry *drip* (impurities or pollution) (figure 20), where significant gender differences emerge.

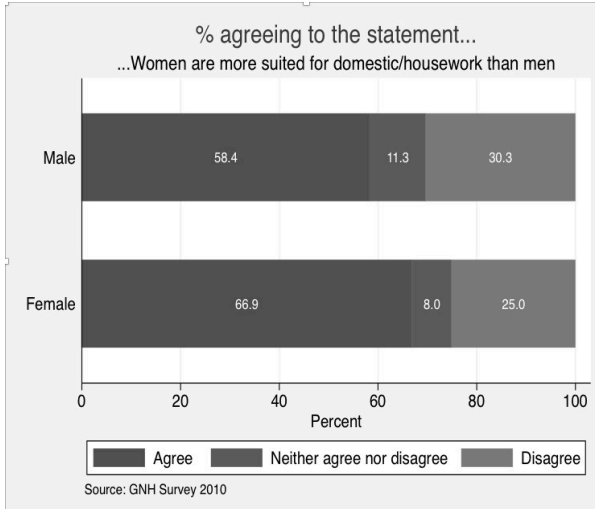
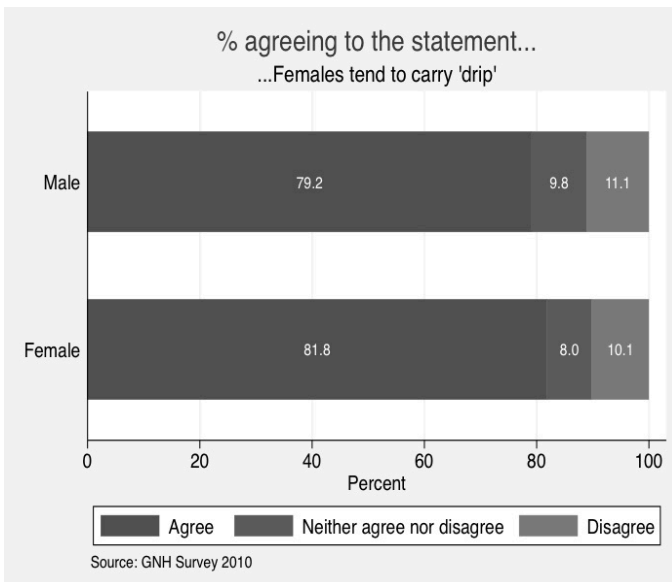


Figure 19: Gender Attitudes Towards Domestic/Housework



20: Gendered Attitudes Towards *Drip*.

Figure 19 illustrates that 58.4% of men and 66.9% of women agree to the statement “women are more suited for domestic/housework than men”, while the inverse is true in terms of 30.3% of men and 25.0% of women disagreeing to the same statement. Surprisingly, women indicate a greater bias in terms of upholding stereotypes regarding this gender division of labour. Other studies confirm that women are regarded and themselves perceive their roles as being tied to the household and care work, as well as being “physically weaker and sexually more vulnerable”, which negatively influences socio-cultural norms and their access to formal education, employment and other opportunities (Yangden, 2009:106; RGoB, 2003:5).

Although gender differences in the statement “women tend to carry ‘drip’” are not big (figure 20), the fact that overall 79.2% of men and 81.8% of women believe this to be true is revealing. These last two survey question results illustrate a great deal about the relation between cultural beliefs that underlie the gender division of labour relegating multiple occupations to women (household work, care work, income generation, and natural resource management especially in rural areas), and social stigmas that attribute women as being ‘polluted’ or ‘impure’. Commonly held cultural stigmas influence religious beliefs and practices such as *kerab gu* (the difference of nine rebirths between women and men) and restrictions on women from entering the *goenkhang* (the inner sanctum of a Buddhist temple). Although no Buddhist manuscripts and texts state the biological inferiority of women (Crins, 2008), cultural norms and stigmas influence the practice of Vajrayana Buddhism in Bhutan that uphold the belief in men’s superior status to women (NCWC, 2008). A recent survey further highlights these trends, whereby 65% of women pray to be reborn as men in their next life, 43% of respondents consider women inferior to men, and 35% of families considers women less capable than men (NCWC, 2008). Such cultural beliefs further influence gender biases that advantage men in terms of first being served food, seating order, cultural rites, public speaking, higher status in society (ibid.), as well as decision-making, political participation, and educational and employment opportunities.

When highly revered cultural norms of conduct, normally seen as “gender neutral”, regarding duty and obligation within social interactions and gender relations are seen to be violated, the repercussions for women are more severe and society is less forgiving towards women than men (NCWC, 2008). For instance, there are double-standards and greater societal expectations for women uphold the value of loyalty and fidelity than men (ibid.). What these findings indicate is the urgent need for further research in the domain of culture, but which also urgently requires ethnographic and qualitative research over longer periods of time to understand changes over time. While the GNH survey in 2010 included several questions on gender attitudes and stigmas, the 2015 survey does not. It is imperative that the next GNH survey re-introduces these omitted questions, as well as deepens and expands them to include questions regarding the inter-related gendered experiences of discrimination, mobility, decision-making, agency and room to manoeuvre.

Conclusion: Reflections and Recommendations

The greatest strength of the GNH survey is its holistic and multi-dimensional nature. As discussed earlier, it is more progressive than other development indicators around the world. Its focus on happiness and wellbeing sets it apart from narrow development indicators that either focus on economic-centric ‘progress’ or on a limited number of conventional domains. In GNH, all domains are held in equal weight and are recognized as being inter-connected, thereby enabling an analysis of the complexity of gender experiences. Through the disaggregation of its domains and indicators, the GNH survey illustrates the breadth of gender issues and differences in Bhutan. Furthermore, the statistical representation and significance of the surveys highlights the importance of the findings over time. The data speaks volumes about gender relations in Bhutan.

The GNH surveys demonstrate that gender gaps in happiness have closed somewhat between 2010 and 2015. As we analyse the 2015

findings in comparison to the 2010 findings in fine-grained detail, of importance will be the examination of significant gains and losses, and the exploration of factors that have contributed to them (Verma and Ura, forthcoming). Overall, men continue to be happier than women in Bhutan. This is of great concern. The most urgent work needed is the analysis of where gender differences have widened over time, and to investigate the reasons that contribute to this gender gap (ibid.). For instance, of the 2010 GNH survey findings we have elaborated, where gender differences are greatest is negative emotions, work, leisure time, schooling, literacy, political participation, safety from human harm and wildlife damage, to the disadvantage of women. Where there is greater equality is assets, and more specifically land tenure. In this regard, Bhutan demonstrates greater equality than other developing and developed countries (FAO, 2011). Although excluded from the 2015 survey questions, critical questions centring on gender-biased cultural attitudes and stigmas related to education, political leadership, household work, and whether women carry drip (*'impurities'*), reveal a great deal about cultural beliefs. These questions are central to understanding gender relations, and need to be included in the next survey, as well as expanded to include questions regarding gendered experiences of discrimination, agency, mobility, decision-making and room to manoeuvre.

The GNH survey also needs to be strengthened conceptually to consistently consider differences in gender, that is, between socio-cultural categories of women and men, rather than sex, which are considered biological differences between male and female (throughout this paper, differences in sex have been illustrated in the figures from CBS, but should in the future indicate differences in gender). Most importantly, while the GNH survey demonstrates the breadth of gender issues, there are gaps in understanding of the explanatory factors that result in those differences. In this regard, ethnographic and qualitative research is imperative in the future, to nuance and deepen the GNH findings. This is especially the case for indicators where more sensitive

issues are explored, such as negative emotions, safety from human harm, and political participation.

The GNH survey aggregates findings across the country and illustrates that socio-cultural perceptions that disadvantage women exist. This is important because women's status varies greatly according to cultural context within the country (RGoB, 2003). For instance, women in the northern and eastern regions of the country enjoy greater freedom and status compared to those in southern Bhutan where gender and caste plays a major role in determining status (*ibid.*). An important factor shaping gender relations is marriage, and in Bhutan, many forms of marriage exist, including polygamy, polyandry, as well as matrilineal, patrilineal, patrilocal, matrilineal and mixed contexts, which vary across and within regions in the country. Such differences play an important role in shaping marital and gender relations, as well as related issues such as the gender division of labour, ownership of land, etc. In Bhutan, relations of trust, reciprocity, knowledge, cooperation and (Lemming, 2004) are not only at the heart of social institutions but also gender relations characterized by negotiation, exchange, access to resources, identity, status and most importantly, contestation and resistance as the basis for change. Hence, future research will need to further explore these dimensions as important avenues for negotiating resources that meet women's and men's needs, support their livelihoods and create room for them to maneuver (Verma, 2001). Such investigations are best explored through ethnographic and qualitative research in relation and tandem to the GNH survey.

While the GNH survey provides important information about gender differences in each domain and indicator, gender is a complex issue, and most issues cross-cut across individual domains. For instance, recent research undertaken by the Tarayana Centre for Social Research and Development illustrate that gender issues in climate adaptation and water harvesting and storage (ecological resilience) are inter-related to issues of culture, community vitality, living standards, governance, time use, psychological wellbeing, education and health. The indicative findings suggest while women's knowledge about water, as well as their work, use

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and needs associated with it are greater than that of men - because of their multiple occupations as farmers, income generators, community volunteers, household engineers, among other issues - this does not translate into meaningful participation and leadership in decision-making at the local level. The findings highlight that women's lack of meaningful participation not only depends on tangible factors such as lack of transportation, rural-urban migration of men, women's higher workloads, etc., but also intangible elements such as socio-cultural norms that shape gendered perceptions about roles and skewed decision-making power, authority and status of women within the household and the community, among other issues covered in the GNH domains and indicators (Verma et al., in press). Hence, the complexity of gender issues means that future analysis must work to synthesize findings across individual domains and indicators, while investigating how they inter-relate, fuse together and are mutually constituted in producing gender power relations, identities and dynamics.

While gender differences in GNH continue to persist in Bhutan, great strides made recently include research undertaken by the Royal Government of Bhutan, NCWC, GNHC, NSB, MoE, NEC, RENEW, Tarayana Foundation, TSCRD, CEDAW, etc. Progress has been rapid and responsive, as Bhutan has recently adopted gender transformative measures such as the domestic violence bill, the expansion of maternity leave for women, and notions of equality in its statutory laws and the constitution. However, there is still the need for greater work as Bhutan works towards gender equality. For instance, the recent maternity leave bill needs to include the nation rather than the civil service alone, in terms of a law that applies to all working citizens across all sectors, including paternity leave for men. Affirmative action, as mentioned earlier, provokes heated debates and resistance in Bhutan, indicating that research on gendered cultural attitudes discussed above are a priority area in future. It will be important to strengthen gender transformative change that includes gender analysis research, actionable policies, gender positive impact, organizational change, and capacity and institutional strengthening. Hence, not only is gender

transformative research and changes in policies required, but also initiatives that strengthen women's leadership, confidence and self-esteem, professional capacities, scholarship opportunities, award recognition, and create positive role models for young girls and women. Here, the focus of gender work must prioritize women if gender power relations disadvantage them in terms of development and happiness.

As the expanding literature on gender issues in Bhutan indicates, there has been a tendency of research to focus on "women's issues", rather than gender or the power relations that underlie them. On the other hand, while much of broader gender analysis tends to focus on practical and/or strategic needs of women and men, few studies consider wellbeing and happiness or spiritual needs (Verma et al., in press; Verma and Ura, forthcoming). With some notable gaps between the two fields of study discussed earlier, conceptual framings that bring together the study of gender and development with happiness and wellbeing are scarce. In the context of Bhutan, they are both scarce as well as limited in scope and conceptualization (ibid.). In the conceptual framework of this study, we consider the way development, gender, happiness and wellbeing are mutually constituted (ibid.).

We also note the potential avenues, and critical need to expand gender analysis within the context of development. As discussed earlier, GNH expands gender analysis to include issues of wellbeing and happiness in innovative ways. In doing so, it expands gender analysis beyond the duality of practical and strategic needs and interests, to highly pertinent and important dimensions of life: wellbeing and spiritual-cultural needs. Such needs and interests take into account the importance of gender social relations and institutions for wellbeing and happiness. They also pay discerning attention to psychological wellbeing. The domains of community vitality, cultural diversity and resilience, time use (and more specifically, leisure time and work/life balance) and psychological wellbeing are the most under-studied dimensions of GNH (Ura et al., in press), and therefore, require greatest attention and resources in future research. For if happiness is not only based on material wealth and

individual pleasure, but also the inner state of the mind, as the GNH philosophy is predicated upon, then policy-making needs to focus attention to its holistic nature, including spiritual practices and development services that cultivate generosity, ethics, meditation, patience, wisdom (Wangmo and Valk, 2012), and ultimately, equanimity, compassion and loving-kindness in gender relations.

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List of Papers Presented in the 6th International Conference on Gross National Happiness, 4-6 November 2015, Paro, Bhutan

Inaugural Session

1. Welcome Address by Dasho Karma Ura, President, Centre for Bhutan Studies & GNH
2. Keynote Address by Lyonchen Tshering Tobgay, the Hon'ble Prime Minister of Bhutan

Opening Plenary

3. Opening Address by Most Venerable Professor Phra Brahmapandit, Rector of Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University and Chief Abbot.
4. Opening Address by Venerable Lama Lobzang, Secretary General, International Buddhist Confederation.
5. Opening Address by Khenchen Namdrol, Chief Abbot, Ngagyur Nyingma University, Namdroling, Mysore.
6. Remarks by Gautam Bambawale, Ambassador of India to Bhutan.
7. “Bon Vivier” by Ambassador Javier Zarate Rivas, CEO, Ministry of Foreign Relations.
8. “Sustainable development and GNH” by Naoko Ishii, CEO, Global Environmental Facility (GEF).
9. “French legislation in favor of new indicators of wealth” by Mme Eva Sas and Piere Beaumer, Hon'ble Member of French Parliament (Green Party), Vice President of the Finance Committee.
10. A presentation by Katsuo Matsumoto, Dy. Director General, South Asia Department, JICA.
11. “The concept of ‘public happiness’ during the enlightenment: An 18th century European manifestation of GNH?” by Romolo Gandolfo, Director for International Affairs, The Athens News.
12. “How alternative indicators of wealth and wellbeing link with good living through the concept of togetherness?” by Celina Whitaker, Leading member of FAIR network (national citizen network called “Forum for Other Indicators of “Wealth”).

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13. “Thoughts on the “digital era, what it means to be “a part of the world” in the digital era and technology design” by Tony Salvador, Member of Intel’s Central Corporate Strategy Office.
14. “Beyond GDP: True wellbeing for animals and people” by Allgood Beth, US Campaigns Director, International Fund for Animal Welfare.
15. “Business: a pathway to co-creating happiness” by Prida Tiasuwan, Chairman, Pranda Jewellery Group.
16. “Alternative enterprise and the GNH: An agenda for sustainable prosperity” by Fergus Lyon, Professor, Middlesex University.
17. “From GNH to GCH: Leadership for the 21st century” by Ruediger Fox, Gross Corporate Happiness-Institute.
18. “GNH in AJE, a global multinational company” by Jorge Lopez Doriga, Director of Communication, AJE.
19. “GNH as adequate measure of human development” by Marcos Arruda, Director, Políticas Alternativas Para o Cone Sul (PACS).
20. “What would social goods provisioning look like under the GNH paradigm?” by James Chalmers, Lecturer, Flinders University.
21. “The myth of development: Between euphoria and depression in a changing world: Thoughts, considerations and challenges for sustainable livelihood sovereignty and village wellbeing” by Friedhelm Goeltenboth, Nature Life International, Germany.
22. “GNH” by John Elliot, Former journalist, The Financial Times of London
23. “GNH in action: The Samdrup Jongkhar initiative” by Dasho Neten Zangmo, Executive Director, Samdrup Jongkhar Initiative.
24. “GNH in perspective” by Dasho Karma Ura, President, CBS & GNHR.
25. “GNH measurement” by Sabina Alkire, Director, Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative.
26. “GNH measurement” by Tshoki Zangmo, Research Officer, CBS & GNHR.
27. “GNH measurement” by Karma Wangdi, Research Officer, CBS & GNHR.
28. “The politics of GNH: Image and implementation of multidimensional development strategy” by Kent Schroeder, Professor, International Development Studies, Humber College.

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29. “What exactly are the challenges to realizing GNH?” by Johannes Hirata, Professor of economics, Hochschule Osnabrück.
30. “Education for Happiness: Future vision institute” by Susan Andrews, Founder, Future Vision Ecological Park, Brazil.
31. “An interactionist perspective on happiness: An iterative long term loop internal perceptions and external factors” by Jean Timsit, Project+ Research Group.
32. “A biological model of the mind suggests the key to happiness” by Bjorn Grinde, Chief scientist, Division of Mental Health, Norwegian Institute of Public Health in Oslo.
33. “Realizing contentment – An emotion of completeness, wellness, and interconnection” by Daniel Cordaro, Postdoctoral Research Associate, Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence.
34. “Mindful markets and “organic food for all” through social entrepreneurship” by Wallapa van Willenswaard, Managing Director, Suan Nguen Mee Ma.
35. “Deep ecology and the relevance for GNH and Bhutan” by Knut Ims, Professor, Business Ethics, Norwegian School of Economics.
36. “An applied case study of organic farming rain-forestation best practices” By sharing Indonesian rainforest foundation experiences” by John A. Quayle, Founder and Chairman -Indonesian Rainforest Foundation, SPERI delegation.
37. “Youth leaders’ action-research empowering community Vitality” by Bobo Lwin, Founder, Kalayana Mitta Foundation, (TOA delegation).
38. “Developing a public safety measure for the city of Johannesburg, South Africa: Opportunities for integrating measures of happiness and well-being” by Anesh Sukhai, Senior Scientist, Violence, Injury and Peace Research Unit, South African Medical Research Council.
39. “SMART village” by Noppawan Boontham, Maejo University.
40. “Happiness by neighbourhood design” by Tina Pujara, Assistant Professor, Department of Architecture and Planning, IIT.
41. “Emotional intelligence and wellbeing” by Lori Nathanson, Director of Research, Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence.
42. “Subjective wellbeing at Jalisco state government in Mexico” by Dr. Gómez-Álvarez, Secretary of Planning and Evaluation at the Government of the State of Jalisco.

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43. “A philosophical exploration of radical forgiveness” by William Joseph Long, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Georgia State University.
44. “Innovating your life: Applying insights from the history of innovation to leading a more successful, fulfilling life” by Robert C. Wolkott, Co-Founder & Executive Director of the Kellogg Innovation Network.

45. Parallel Sessions

46. “Happiness, ideal happiness, and reference point: Asian cases” by Yoshiaki Takahashi, Associate Professor, University of Tsukuba.
47. “To realize societies in harmony with nature: The approach of the Satoyama Initiative” By Yohsuke Amano, Programme associate, United Nations University Institute for the Advanced Study of Sustainability, (SPERI delegation).
48. “Benefits and challenges of applying Bhutanese GNH philosophy in a global context, and specifically in Europe” by Lilia Khoussoutdinova, Happy Czech Republic.
49. “A cross-cultural examination of wellbeing” by Nicole Naurath, Regional Director for Asia, Abu Dhabi Center, Gallup.
50. “Slovenian (un)happy people compared with Bhutanese” by Danica Hrovatič, Director of Research and Social Institute in Ljubljana.
51. “Collective happiness in Japan” By S. Fukushima, Y. Yuchida, and K Takemura.
52. “Can ICT impact sourcing contribute as well as grow within the context of GNH in Bhutan” by Chetan Sharma, Founder & CEO, Datamation Group of companies.
53. “GNH in Civil Service Reforms” by Dasho Karma Tshiteem, Chairperson, Royal Civil Service Commission.
54. “Towards a GNH Model in Mass Media – An ethical framework to advance contentment, community and compassion” by Dorji Wangchuk, Dean, External Relations, Royal Thimphu College.
55. “How SRHR challenges ‘development’ in Bangladesh: An advocacy of citizen’s journalism” by Rakibul Hasan, University of Dhaka.
56. “Shifting power to the periphery: The impact of decentralization on the wellbeing of poor” by Durga Prasad Chhetri, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science Sikkim University, Gangtok.
57. “Greening the GNH index: Re-emphasizing conservation and environment in GNH” by Matt Branch, School for Field Studies.

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58. “GNH: A development model for Germany?” by Wolfgang Kessler, Member of the German-Bhutan Himalaya Association.
59. “Advancing disability rights and awareness in Bhutan and Oman” by Emily Jane O'Dell, Assistant Professor, Sultan Qaboos University.
60. “In quest of happiness: Glimpses from Indian wisdom” by Sanjoy Mukherjee, Director of Research Center, Rajiv Gandhi Indian Institute of Management.
61. “Spirituality, psychological wellbeing and GNH: Bhutan and India” by Faisal Hassan and Katherine Dunn, Research Scholar, Aligar Muslim University.
62. “The need of legal aid for wellbeing and happiness – A study of India and Bhutan” by Irfan Ali Abbas, Research Scholar in Law and Project Fellow, Osmania University, Telangana.
63. “Social diversity and judiciary in India: A comparative study with Bhutan” by Vibbhudi Venkateshwarlu, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
64. “Role of Civil Society Organization” by Khamphoui Saythalat, Executive Director of Participatory Development Training Centre (PADETC).
65. “Gender and happiness in South Korea” by Robert Rudolf, Assistant Professor, Division of International Studies at Korea University.
66. “Dynamics of gender based violence in the paradigm of GNH in Bhutan” by Nawal K. Paswan, Dean, School of Social Sciences and Associate Professor, Sikkim University.
67. “Gender difference in GNH” by Ritu Verma, Royal Thimphu College.
68. “Economy for life from a gender perspective” by Angel Gamboa, Head, Colombian grassroot movement partner with CCFD.
69. “Climate change and Buddhist economic system-an ethical and scientific response” by Peter Daniels, Senior Lecturer, Griffith University.
70. “Buddhist sustainable happiness for sustainable development” by Sauwalak Kittiprapas, Director of Research Center in the Faculty of Economics of Rangsit University.
71. “Buddhism as a source of revitalization of sustainability management in the west: The case-study of E. F. Schumacher” by Hendrik Opdebeeck, Chairman of the Flemish cross-cultural SPES-Forum, University of Antwerp.
72. “Buddhist social entrepreneurship” by Andras Ocsai, PhD candidate, Business Ethics Center, Corvinus University of Budapest.

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73. “Open technologies for happiness” by Paola Di Maio, Multilingual Socio Technical System Engineering.
74. “What makes you (not) a Buddhist entrepreneur in Bhutan and elsewhere?” By Zoltan Valcsicsak, President, Hungarian Bhutan Friendship Society.
75. “Mahayana Buddhism and GNH” By Michael Givel, Oklahoma University.
76. “Subsistence and livelihood security versus mainstream agro-business” by Lanh Thi Tran, Honorary Research Associate in Anthropology at Waikato University, New Zealand.
77. “Livelihood sovereignty and village wellbeing” by A Chon, Key Farmer of the SPERI Key Farmer Network.
78. “Ecological farming and inter-generational wellbeing” by Loc Van Vin, Member, Secretariat of the Mekong region Young Farmers Network.
79. “Major findings: Green Public Procurement Bhutan” by Kezang, Project Director, Europe Aid SWITCH-Asia Green Public Procurement, Bhutan Project.
80. “Towards full organic agriculture in Bhutan by 2020: Constraints and opportunities” By Kezang Tshomo, Coordinator, National Organic Programme.
81. “Fighting for livelihood sovereignty and identity” by Chindanai Jovalu, SPERI.
82. “Happiness in Latin America” by M. A. Salas & H. J. Tillmann, SPERI.
83. “Buddhist values behind the care for handicapped and elderly people” by Johanna Vandeweerd, Familiezorg West-Vlaanderen.
84. “Spirituality: The gateway of happiness and wellbeing” by Anjana Bhattacharjee, Assistant Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Tripura.
85. “The “Bhutanese Dream” – Exploring the Buddhist roots and the actual challenges of GNH” by Priscila Camargo Ramalho, Columbia University.
86. “Buddhist psychology for happiness and wellbeing” by Seiji Kumagai, Associate Professor, Kokoro Research Center, Kyoto University.
87. “Interdependent happiness and wellbeing” by Yukiko Uchida, Associate Professor, Kokoro Research Center, Kyoto University
88. “Buddhism: A key to the fulfillment of basic human aspirations” by Lungtaen Gyatsho, Director, Institute for Language and Cultural Studies.
89. “The fist-class challenge of “food capacity” by Julie Chabaud, Departmental Council Gironde.

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90. “Upscaling of the small holder farming economy in the context of globalization: A Cambodian perspective” by Yang Saing KOMA, Founder, Center for Study and Development in Agriculture, CEDAC, Cambodia.
91. “How to make farming interesting to young people?” by Sonam Tashi, Senior Lecturer, College of Natural Resources.
92. “Are the nature and human satisfaction inseparable?” by M. G. Jurczak, Institute of Environmental Science.
93. “Happiness, the foundation of sustainable development” by Manisha Gupta, Founder & MD, LOGIHQ.
94. “Gross National Happiness for Children: Embedding GNH values in education” by Frances Harris, Lecturer, University of Hertfordshire.
95. “Culture, ethics and CSR” by Manas Chatterji, Professor of Management, Binghamton University, State University of New York at Binghamton.
96. “Public happiness and cultural values” by Luk Bouckaert, Emeritus professor of ethics at the Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium.
97. “Resilience and cultural literacy” by Rita Guesquiere, Emeritus professor of comparative literature at the Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium.
98. “Happiness through cultural integration” by Fan Ma, Board Management, NGO.
99. “A living GNH expressed through Bhutanese traditional boot-tshog lham” by Sangye Wangdi & Tshering Wangchen, Proprietor, Bhutan Professional Translation Service.
100. “Redesigning education for GNH” by Liza Ireland, Executive Director of Changing Climates Consulting.
101. “Wellbeing and academic achievement: A call for research action” by Alejandro Adler and Martin E.P. Seligman, PhD candidate in Positive Psychology, University of Pennsylvania.
102. “Nurturing wellbeing through agro-ecological education? Reflections on tertiary reform challenges amidst new sustainable development goals” by Wayne Nelles, Visiting Scholar, Chulalongkorn University School of Agricultural Resources.
103. “Spatial Accessibility Indicators for GNH Measurement System by Sonam Jamtsho, PhD candidate, Spatial Sciences, Curtin University in Perth.
104. “GNH philosophy as subset of “happism” theory” by Mukund M. Moharir, Retired Rocket Scientist.
105. “Tourists’ happiness” by Martin Lohmann, Leuphana University, Germany.

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106. Bhutanese sleeping pattern and its association with self-reported health and subjective wellbeing” by Gyambo Sithey, PhD Candidate, University of Sydney.
107. “Estimation of average time spent in different disjoint categories of daily activities in a time-use survey” by Debasis Bhattacharya, Professor of Statistics at Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan.
108. “Revisiting the link between happiness and work outcomes: A” by flourishing perspective” by Wenceslao Unanue, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez.
109. “Creating a happy environment through citizen participation and good governance” by Hyunsoo Kang, President, Chung-Nam Institute.
110. “Happiness and wellbeing: Probing through gender lens” by Polly Vauquiline, HoD, Associate Professor, Gauhati University.
111. “Socialist and capitalist in Poland - which structure is closer to GNH?” by Szymon Zylinski, University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn SPERI in the world of alternative development” by Keith Barber, Senior Lecture, Waikato University.
112. “The dawn of new economy” by Danny Teal, Developer crypto-currencies in Zurich, Switzerland.
113. “An empirical study on positive and negative effect of measuring the happiness of an individual” by Shiv Prasad & Shiv Dayal Singh, Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati University.

114. Closing Plenary

115. “Aspects of wellbeing at work” by John Nirenberg, Walden University.
116. “The impact of sound on individual and social wellbeing” by Felix de Rosen, Blessed Journey.
117. “The Buddhist nuns of Bhutan” by Tashi Zangmo, Bhutan Nuns Foundation.
118. “Conscious lifestyle and the UN SGDS in relation to the concept of GNH” by Marilyn Mehlmann, Vice-President of the Union of International Associations.
119. “Law for social happiness” by Yamouna David, Avocat Honoraire, Development manager, Observatoire International du Bonheur (OIB).
120. “A contract with our future” by Robert F Kennedy Jr, President, Water Keeper Alliance.