

DEVELOPMENT AND RURAL HAPPINESS

—Issues, Challenges and Strategies

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Outline

Happiness is an ultimate goal of human life. Every human being aspires to lead a happy life through his activities at work as well as family life. Happiness at work is reflected in the way of work/job satisfaction and at life is reflected through life satisfaction. Various studies (Keon & McDonald 1982, Chacko 1983, Rain, *et al.*, 1991, Judge, *et al.*, 1998 etc) have been conducted to look into the relationship between work/job satisfaction and life satisfaction. Irrespective of the location, rural or urban, the ultimate goal of human life remains same viz., happiness. Migration from rural areas to urban areas is visible all over the world in search of so called better pastures of life. Further such migration is also witnessed amongst the people residing in so called poor, backward or underdeveloped geographic locations towards so called rich and/or developed geographic locations.

The states are busy drafting development plans and programs for rural areas to control migration and to provide better quality-of-life to the residents. This is happening in many parts of the world. Unfortunately these development plans have not reached to the people in its true spirit, more so in India. There seems to be a gap between planning and implementation. It has become an interesting area of academic research to study and to bring out whether such plans and programs have resulted in improving health, education, infrastructure, standard of living, and many such indicators. The role

of non-government organizations and community participation at various levels is playing a very vital role in the development process. The dependence on the government has to be reduced. We cannot depend on state or government for coming to our rescue always. This should be one of the important agenda for public policy.

The public policy targets development. Development at all levels, more where it is required more. Since rural areas are relatively less developed, it has major focus in the planning instruments as well as allocation of funds. After all why rural population should be denied of its dues. Everybody irrespective of rural or urban affiliation wants to lead a happy life. The pursuit of happiness needs to be understood by the planners at all levels. Rural happiness needs to be the concern of state policy instead of just concentrating on the economic growth or improvement in the visible indicators. Apart from economic development, human development, cultural development, social development is also important. It is argued many times that economic growth makes the citizens satisfied or happy but that is not practically sustainable in all the cases and then there is challenge of meeting the aspirations as per the economic growth requirements. The sustainability of economic development can be maintained through giving emphasis on human, cultural, social and spiritual development.

This paper tries to establish relationship between development and happiness and concentrates further to pursue rural happiness. The strategies to be followed to sustain rural happiness have been traced from the literature available and proposed in a capsule form towards the end of the paper. The paper is divided in FIVE broader heads as: Development and Happiness – relationship, Rural Happiness – goal as challenge, Sustaining Rural Happiness – need, How can we do it – Strategies, and Tomorrow of hope – future ahead.

Development and Happiness – The Relationship

In ideal situation, development should satisfy the people for whom it is meant. People should have better life satisfaction which is an important indicator for measuring happiness. Other socio-economic indicators like, GDP, literacy rate, health coverage etc. which is taken as indicators for measuring happiness should also accelerate with the pace of development. Physical quality-of-life of residents should also improve. The philosophy of development has to be studied in consonance with the philosophy of happiness. 'Welfare' is taken as a comprehensive term of which happiness and well-being are the constituents. Wright (1976) has termed happiness

and well-being as 'aspects', 'components' or 'parts' of Welfare. He suggests that there is a broad sense of 'happiness' and of 'well-being' to mean more or less same as 'Welfare' and happiness is the consummation or crown or flower of welfare. Development should lead to public good or welfare of society. Physical quality-of-life contributes to one's life satisfaction which in turn results into making the residents happy. Hence welfare, public-good, development and happiness are some such terms which occupy agenda in the minds of thinkers, planners and practitioners.

Gandhiji said, "True democracy is what promotes welfare of the people."¹ This statement shows the role of political system for the welfare of the people. The state should take the responsibility to look for the welfare of its citizens through its planning measures. *'...development is not well measured by indicators such as GNP which focus solely on economic growth. Instead, attention should be given to issues such as redistributive justice and egalitarian ethics, human resource development, protection of the environment and species survival, and the diverse interests and desires of marginalized and disadvantaged groups.'* (Brohman, 1996, p. 335) It shows that mere concentration on economic growth does not contribute to the development of a nation rather for overall development; non measurable variables also need a place in the priorities for planning. The primary focus, if shifted to economic development, can lead to a situation where the well-being of people takes a backseat while capital investment and infrastructural development merely spearhead economic growth with little concern for welfare. For long-term planning it is disastrous.

The feeling and thinking of happiness tend to arise only when basic needs are fulfilled. People living below poverty line and living under miseries do not usually think of happiness. For them happiness could be from anything which they get to fulfil their basic requirements. *"...poverty is not just a matter of being relatively poorer than others in the society but of not having some basic opportunities of material well-being – the failure to have certain minimum 'capabilities'.* (Sen, 1985). Dealing with poverty becomes most important priority before the planners. The efforts to improve the status of people, more particularly of the rural population, should satisfy their basic needs, which is the initial stage of developing a sense of happiness. Thinking of happiness has a very important and interesting dimension in the transformational economic society. As society transforms the conditions of the people living in miseries

and under poverty starts improving or ideally should improve, they tend to start thinking of the activities, objects and events which make them happy. The proximity with the goal of an individual also determines the level of feeling of happiness.

Hence what is important at first is to tackle the issue of providing and fulfilling basic needs of the people. Indian planning is based on this premise which concentrates on combating poverty. Amartya Sen's capability approach also deals with the issue of improving human well-being. The spectrum of well-being is very wide which covers the areas like subjective well-being, objective well-being, spiritual well-being, cultural well-being, economic well-being, and so on and so forth.

The teachings of positive psychology are more important than pure economics. It deals with the issue of having positive attitude towards activities, objects and environment. However, there is no limit to ones aspirations especially when the concentration is on economic gains and achievements rather than on maintaining the value system. The concept of objective well-being (economic well-being) and subjective well-being have been discussed a lot while studying literature on happiness. Objective well-being is targeting towards economic or material/physical development which is quantifiable whereas subjective well-being is related to non-quantifiable variables. While comparing rural population with that of urban, this can be hypothesized that rural folk would have better subjective well-being whereas in the urban areas objective well-being would be better. This is where positive psychology helps to be better in the non visible, non quantifiable variables. Psychological well-being of poor African Americans was found to be higher than urban areas (Amato, 1992) which might be the case in other rural geographic locations as well.

The sum total of the elements like, Moments of pleasure and enjoyment, Positive feelings and thoughts, Absence of negative feelings and thoughts, Fully healthy and functioning, Positive relationships, Positive expectations of the future, Positive actions, Success and achievement, Positive self-concept, Positive assessment of one's life, Virtues and strengths, True love and good sex, Humor and laughter, and Meaning and purpose have widely been accepted as a perfect picture of happiness.² Bracho (2004) considers happiness as the *greatest human wealth*. It is supposed to be an intrinsic target of development. Happiness is not identical to utility, but it well reflects people's satisfaction with life.³ *Happiness*

needs to be considered as an objective for development planning where endogenous and exogenous resources needs to be tapped to assure and improve satisfaction level of people. (Shrotryia 2006).

As mentioned earlier in this paper, happiness is attained when the needs are satisfied. This notion tries to relate the sense of happiness with that of satisfaction but this relationship does not seem as close as the one between unhappiness and dissatisfaction (Wright, 1976). So happiness is related to needs and needs need to be satisfied. The needs for human beings and that of an organization are different. Human needs (Maslow, 1954) are fulfilled by the institutions be it a family, market, work place, etc. Happiness is attained when the needs are satisfied. Worcester (2004) identifies seven fundamental needs of human beings as – food, water, shelter, health, clothes, education, happiness and love. (p 125) It is considered that happiness and love as a human need but one attains happiness when other needs are fulfilled. Satisfaction depends on one's aspirations so once the aspirations are not met it results in dissatisfaction and ultimately into unhappiness. However if the aspirations are met one feels satisfied which may not really result in attaining happiness rather interestingly it tries to put the aspirations at higher level. And this process of step-by-step meeting aspirations develops a momentary sense of satisfaction however increases wants and aspirations. If the aspirations are set modestly and the wants well crafted, a degree of happiness could be attained which does not make the individual dissatisfied as the chances of frustration gets reduced. Wright (1976) calls it 'the ascetic ideal of life'. Happiness as a subjective well being of people is not just an instant emotional response but it is a stable as well as sustainable feeling which is more inclined towards a broader time frame.

Development and happiness are related to each other in a manner that it is difficult to say whether development leads to happiness or happiness leads to development. However there exists a relationship. How well development leads to the improvement of happiness level of people would depend on the fundamental issue of priority before development plan makers. This priority has to be established by following holistic development parameters which surrounds human, social, spiritual and cultural development apart from just economic development.

Rural Happiness – Challenge and The Goal

'India lives in villages' this was the call of Gandhi when the economy was agrarian. However, though we have seen a shift of GDP from

agriculture to industrial sector and/or services sector, still it is very true so far as our demography is concerned. Gandhi (1947) strongly felt that "...if the village perishes India will perish too. India will be no more India. Her own mission in the world will get lost." This thought of Gandhi is still very relevant and it is guiding national planning which is focused on rural development. This is also one important reason why we need to build and develop and economy an economic theory which targets rural happiness.

The relationship between income and happiness is studied by many scholars (Easterlin, 1974; Easterlin, 1995; Easterlin, 2001; Hagerty & Veenhoven, 2003; Layard, 2003, etc.) and as such in real terms there is hardly any disagreement. The disagreement is on the issue of consistent increase in happiness as income increases. Whatever, it could be believed that income is one of the most important determinants of happiness. Thinley (1999) is of the opinion that beyond a level, an increase in material consumption is not accompanied by a concomitant rise in happiness.⁴ "At a point in time, those with more income are, on average, happier than those with less. Over the life cycle, however, the average happiness of a cohort remains constant despite substantial income growth."⁵

So far as rural population is concerned, in general the incidence of poverty is more seen in villages than cities, therefore it is also one of the contentions that the income of rural population is relatively less than their counterparts in the urban areas. Income of rural population is another issue which plays an important role in building the premise of rural happiness. *"Inequalities in income and human capabilities often reflect inequalities in political power. Disadvantaged groups—poor people, women, rural populations, indigenous communities—are disadvantaged partly because they have a weak political voice, and they have a weak political voice because they are disadvantaged."* (UNDP 2005, pp. 53-53). Rural population in general has been termed as disadvantaged groups which I do not agree as far as the terminology is concerned. However so far as conditions are concerned it could be accepted. It is still an issue to be argued in the academia whether in real terms and practically they could be termed as disadvantaged class. It is worth mentioning here that the value system amongst the rural folk is so strong that it binds the people together and fosters community feeling amongst them.

Veenhoven (1991) terms happiness as – the degree to which an individual judges the overall quality of life favourably. The quality-

of-life is an area which if improves; improve happiness level of the people. Better health and education facilities, water availability, proper sanitation and hygiene, electricity, road connectivity are some of the important issues which dominates over the study of quality of life for rural population.

It has been studied and found that rural population is happier than urban population in Sweden. (Gerdtham & Johannesson 1997) Similarly another study (Shrotryia, 2001) conducted in Bhutan concluded that the happiness level of people residing in rural area was higher than town area. It is usually expressed that rural population tends to be happier than urban population because of ignorance. Hence once they come to know about other objects and things their expectation level also goes up. As mentioned elsewhere in the paper, happiness is an attitude. Therefore this attitude needs to be nurtured and maintained. Rural happiness is a phenomenon which needs to be explored and studied in depth.

Simon⁶ while writing on rural democracy mentions *'that small communities of landowning farmers constitute the soundest foundation for democracy'* and it is summed up through these three propositions: (1) Rural life favours an ideal of happiness and thereby discourages lust for power; (2) it gives citizens the best possible chance for training in self-government; (3) it favours community feelings. Rural folk is better organized from the perspective of community so if this characteristic is not allowed to fade away, it could do well for the people. The community feeling in rural areas is much stronger as compared to urban areas, hence the development could take shape in such a way that this basic fabric is not spoiled and the rural folk are able to enjoy the fruit of development positively.

Sustaining Rural Happiness – The Need

Generally, happiness is taken as a momentary emotional reaction to an event, object or individual which/who makes one happy. The stable characteristic of well-being, though sensitive to external events, does not become a controlling factor rather it operates on the principle of inclusion and accommodation. *I would put across my view on happiness as not merely an instant feeling but a sustainable positive response to the events and situation. Therefore happiness needs to be maintained and monitored so that it does not get affected by minor incidents.* (Shrotryia, 2005) '...we live in a world of many interactive institutions – the market, the government, the democratic process, the media, the NGOs, the

research institutions, public and private, and so on. Each of them can play a major, but complementary role in enhancing the well-being and freedom of the individuals in the society and in the world at large...' (Sen, 2000). All the efforts of the organizations, business or social, can easily be linked to the improvement in the quality of the population. Well-being of the people and population has been a major agenda for the development strategies across the nations.

There could be convincing arguments to justify that there are more problems in the areas of education, health and hygiene, social security, poverty etc. in rural areas as compared to the urban areas. But still somewhere down the line I feel in the rat race of following urban trends, rural population is making lot of compromises and sacrifices. Instead they could concentrate on getting good education and preserving their value system. However, it is a very difficult proposition. The aspirations are so varied and far reaching that rural folk is willing for the compromises. The glamour of urban life is luring them. The situation is very similar to the one where the aspirations of urban population living in a developing nation are in line with that of their counterparts staying in developed nations. As urbanites of developing countries are lured by the type of life developed countries are leading. Similarly, rural folk in a developing nation looks towards their counterparts in the urban centers. Hunt (1980) looks quite concerned about the irony of welfare in the developing (growing) economies when he says, "What maximizes welfare in a growing economy is not clear. Is it maximizing the rate of growth, maximizing profit, maximizing consumption, maximizing consumption per head?"⁷ Most economists believe in the theory of "the more you consume the happier you are." The consumption here is of material commodities and it is related to the commodity/work space so the kind of work one does and the number of hours one puts for it also corroborates to the consumption quality. So the consumption of material commodities as well as of time is important for making a person happy. But so far as its practicability for the general human being is concerned, it may not be possible as Albert and Hahnel⁸ puts it "this is most unlikely for human beings." Further inflation has a relation with welfare vis-à-vis happiness (see Frey & Stutzer 2002a, 2002b, 2002c) and it is observed that "since people's happiness is directly related to the quantity of the consumption good, welfare is unambiguously lowered when the inflation rate goes up."⁹

Making rural folk happy is much easier task than keeping them

happy. The question is of sustaining happiness. In the times when the farmers get less than Rs 100 as drought compensation¹⁰ it is very difficult to say how rural happiness can be sustained. Short term relief operations might make rural folk happy for a day or two but it can not keep them happy which needs to be taken seriously. Shultz (1980) mentions that “Governments tend to introduce distortions that discriminate against agriculture because internal politics generally favor urban at the expense of rural people, despite the much greater size of the rural population.” It shows the biased view of the state towards sustaining rural happiness. Political promises might successfully make rural folk happy but it does not keep them happy. The interventions at the public level can play an important role in this regard.

How Can it be Done – The Strategies

There could be many ways to make sure that happiness prevails amongst rural population even when they are away from economic prosperity. For a welfare state, Wagner (2004) suggests three strategies (Fig. 10.1) to consolidate social citizenship viz., Decentralisation strategy, New public management and Private-public partnership.

Paradigm	Agreement between citizen and state is based on:	Division of labour between government and third sector in delivery of social services
Decentralisation	Government empowering citizens at local level	Complementarity; principle of subsidiarity
New public management	Bureaucracy taking into account individual preferences of customers	Contracts with third-party government; ultimate responsibility remaining with public authority
Private-public partnership	Government engaging citizens as partners in decision-making expecting them to participate as volunteers and donors	Partnership with or partial substitution for government; third-sector organizations as co-producers rather than agents of welfare delivery

Fig. 10.1: Social Citizenship

Source: Wagner (2004) p. 282.

The Big-Push theory as propounded by Rosenstein Rodan (1943) and the Balanced Growth Theory by Hirschman (1958) provide models to be followed for improving economic growth and subsequently developing a nation. But to poor countries, the main concerns are always identified as health and hygiene, education, social security, poverty alleviation, gender related issues, people participation and empowerment etc. “The Millennium Development Goals are the world’s time-bound and quantified targets for addressing extreme poverty in its many dimensions – income poverty,

hunger, disease, lack of adequate shelter, and exclusion – while promoting gender equality, education, and environmental sustainability. They are also basic human rights – the rights of each person on the planet to health, education, shelter, and security as pledged in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Millennium Declaration."¹¹ In one or the other ways all these issues are happiness driven. Ironically these areas have been substituted by infrastructure development, industrialization, advancement of technology and innovation etc. among the nations which fall in the so called "developed" bracket or the First World Nations (see Easterlin 1981). Does one derive a conclusion that the first world has shifted the focus from happiness towards improving disclosure practices and concentrating on economic indicators?¹² There are evidences from the developing and developed nations on their transformations in their happiness level.¹³ The partnership of developed and developing world can create an environment which would provide mutual happiness. This needs to be addressed more convincingly through the policy initiatives at the government level as well as through public-private partnership.

Shah (2004) through well-being manifesto, identifies three main influences viz., Parents, Circumstances & Outlook and activities. The manifesto further suggests eight areas where government could act to promote well-being: Measure what matters, Create a well-being economy, Reclaim our time, Create an education system that promotes flourishing, Refocus the health system to promote complete health, Invest in the very early years and parenting, Discourage materialism and promote authentic advertising, Strengthen civil society, social well-being and active citizenship. These concerns for the intervention of the state are research based and encourage the sense of togetherness and community feeling.

As mentioned elsewhere in this paper there is a relationship between happiness and income, hence, there is a need to concentrate on increasing income in the rural areas as well. It is required that the choices are made available to the people residing in the rural areas. Villagers do not need to be just considered as consumers or marketing objects rather they should be allowed to take interest in the market activities. The public-private partnership should be initiated at various levels.¹⁴ This is possible by certain planned steps taken up at the government as well as community level which could help the rural population to generate income from within the resources available. Empowerment is once such strong

tool which can help the rural population to stand on their own feet instead of depending on government subsidy and aid. This tool of empowerment has to be initiated by the government machinery at different levels of administrative control. Recently while speaking on women empowerment in rural areas, Kalam¹⁵ emphasized the need for three types of connectivities viz., Physical connectivity, Telecom Connectivity and Knowledge connectivity. This could empower the rural folk to take interest in the affairs of the village. Linda Moss¹⁶ also advocates that the key to rural happiness lies in telecom connectivity. Development of rural infrastructure also is in the top priority of government of India¹⁷ as the 10th five year plan clearly mentions that *number of recent studies have indicated that the rate of growth of rural incomes and reduction in rural poverty are strongly influenced by the provision of rural road connectivity. Other forms of rural infrastructure are also important, but the impact of rural roads has a dominant bearing on widening the opportunities and alternatives available to our people.*¹⁸ The role of NGOs is very crucial in this regard as they can create awareness amongst rural population about the initiatives of the government and the rights of the people. There are many programmes meant for rural people which have not reached to them. In such a situation awareness campaigns could be taken up by different agencies.

Education has a positive direct effect on happiness. (Gerdtham & Johannesson 1997). Education can play an important role for building better adaptive environment amongst rural population. There are many schemes and programs run by the government which promise to build better environment of learning amongst rural population. Adult education is another area which needs to be taken more seriously by the people as well as by the state. The education system has to improve to make the process of learning interesting and entertaining by use of updated technology and innovation. Creativity in teaching has to be initiated and encouraged specially in rural areas.

Core-competence model of strategic management could be followed to identify core-competence areas of the different villages on the basis of their crop pattern, fairs, cattle ownerships, folk culture, folk music and dance, local sports, local festivals etc. The local residents could be encouraged to concentrate on these core-competencies so that they can achieve better results. A sense of competition can also be developed amongst them by organizing competitions and recognizing their potential and talent. Their rich

culture could be portrayed through various exhibitions at different places. This would develop a sense of belonging amongst rural folk which in turn would help them to have a sense of direction in their endeavors. Their talent has to be recognized, maintained and nurtured to sustain happiness amongst them. The local authorities can encourage the farmers to have targets for the next crop year and to help them to concentrate to achieve that target. This would also inculcate the sense of competition amongst farmers which would improve the quality of crop as well as quality of life for them.

The farmers should be allowed to share their success stories at different important forums. The gap between research and practice has to be removed by improving relations between farmer, researcher, entrepreneur and the marketer. There should be co-ordinated effort amongst these four parties to produce better and appropriate quality and quantity of produce. Agricultural planning and rural management and marketing is another such area which needs attention. Public-private partnership in this regard can play an important role. It needs to be initiated and appreciated by the agencies involved. However the intentions of the private parties should be made transparent so that there is no hidden agenda.

Tomorrow of Hope – The Future

India still lives in villages, the future is not going to be very different from this. Hence the initiatives to provide urban amenities and facilities to the rural population shall be the focus of development planning in India for the times to follow. Happiness should breed development. By initiating the policies to provide happiness to the general masses, development (human, social as well as economic) can be achieved. To assure this, policy would have to have a different direction for public spending and investment. (Shrotryia, 2006). The population living under poverty in India has come down to 22% which is a positive sign. The road, telecom, electricity connectivity is better than before. However there is a lot to be done. The planning instruments have still to reach to the masses. The mindset of rural population is under confused transformation. The compromises on the value system might bring happiness to the rural folk but it would not be able to keep them happy for long. This needs to be communicated to them very cautiously. Rural folk should dream of a better tomorrow only when they are willing to send their wards to schools. The literacy rate of rural population is of serious concern both for society as well as for the state. The physical infrastructure related to education sector has to be improved in future. The

concentration has to move from just improving literacy level. It has to be more on providing quality education. The holdings and acquisitions of people might make them happy so far as comforts of life are concerned but it might not be able to buy the intrinsic happiness which is sustainable in nature. The states are making huge investments to improve the standards of living of people in general and of rural population in particular. It should reap good fruit with high dividends. Yes development can sustain rural happiness provided it is holistic in nature, it is not merely economic development, rather it is human, social, spiritual and cultural development as well. Tomorrow is going to be better than today because today is better than yesterday. If we are able to develop this mindset amongst people, the future is going to be better. And there are various reasons for this hope.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. www.meaning.ca/articles/presidents_column/happiness_aug03.htm.
3. See Frey & Stutzer 2002a, p. 12.
4. Also see Frey & Stutzer, 2002a, p. 8.
5. Easterlin, 2001, p. 465; also see Thinley 1999, p. 20 & Layard, 2003.
6. Simon, Yves R., Chapter 5. "Democracy and Technology." In *Philosophy of Democratic Government*. (<http://www2.nd.edu/Departments//Maritain/etext/pdg.htm>) viewed on 25.10.06.
7. Hunt, 1980, p. 243.
8. Albert, Michael and Robin Hahnel, Chapter 5. "A Quiet Revolution in Welfare Economics." (www.zmag.org/books/quiet.htm) viewed on 4.04.05.
9. Haslag, 1997, p. 14.
10. Hundreds of farmers in Uttar Pradesh's Bundelkhand region, where farmer suicides are common, have received amounts of less than Rs. 100 as drought compensation. (UP farmers get cheques for Rs. 10 as drought compensation) <http://www.infochangeindia.org/Governance/top.jsp?section_idv=20#4718> (www.yahoo.com October 15, 2006) viewed on 28.10.06.
11. UNMP, 2005, p. 1.
12. A paper by Chris Whitehouse entitled "The Ants and the Cockroach

– A Challenge to the Use of Indicators' website ([http://hdr.undp.org/network/ attachments](http://hdr.undp.org/network/attachments)

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13. See Easterlin, 1974; Easterlin 1995; Oswald 1997; Veenhoven 1995, for the study of developed nations and Graham and Pettinato 2001; Graham & Pettinato 2002; Graham 2004; Lokshin & Ravallion 2002 on Russia, Peru and Latin American Countries; Ng 2002 for East-Asia; Diener & Oishi 2005 for comparison between Scandinavians and Asians. Also see Offer 2000; Easterbrook 2003 for American experience of happiness and the causes of unhappiness in the last 50 years.
14. See BOX 5.3 at p. 94 (UNDP 2004) under the heading Private companies and indigenous people can work together for development - where some experiences of public-private partnership have been traced from Pilbara region (Australia), Raglan Project (Canada) and Red Dog Mine (USA).
15. President's address on 20th Nov 2006 on Empowering the Powerless in New Delhi.
16. Linda Moss, 2005 ([http://www.multichannel.com/article/CA513275.html?display=Top+Stories&refe#DEMAND BEYOND CITIES](http://www.multichannel.com/article/CA513275.html?display=Top+Stories&refe#DEMAND%20BEYOND%20CITIES)) dtd 28.03.05 viewed on 28.10.06.
17. See 10th Five Year Plan Document, 2002-2007. Chapter 1, Perspective, Objectives & Strategy. Planning Commission, Government of India, p. 14.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 14-15.

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