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Happiness and Development – Public Policy Initiatives in the Kingdom of Bhutan

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If we do not learn from history, we shall be compelled to relive it. True. But if we do not change the future, we shall be compelled to endure it. And that could be worse.

Toffler 1972

Introduction

The primary focus of national planning in a country surrounds the fulfillment of bigger or smaller needs for its citizens. Ideally, the policies undertaken will improve the well-being of the people. 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.

Happiness is to many the ultimate goal of human life. Bracho (2004) considers happiness as the *greatest human wealth*. It is supposed to be an intrinsic target of development. Ironically, however, visible development sometimes compromises with the happiness of the people. The state primarily takes up the responsibility to patronize development by initiating policies in this direction. The policies are formulated, documents are drafted, and subsequently implementation takes place with a target of achieving higher economic growth. Unfortunately, economic growth is sometimes achieved without making the people of the state happy. Happiness should be the single ultimate criterion for evaluating the development process. This however is typically not the case. The parameters of human development come closer to the study of quality of life, life satisfaction or happiness as compared to just economic development.

Bhutan is unusual in that respect as it puts emphasis on happiness rather than on economic development. A famous statement from its leader says – “*Gross National Happiness (GNH) is more important than Gross Domestic Product.*”¹ A sustainable growth rate has helped this small sovereign nation to keep its environment and culture intact. Moreover, once the happiness-driven policies are implemented and followed through, they appear to take care of economic development on their own. Even though one may not observe fast development and surging economic indicators in this small Buddhist nation, it has made giant steps forward in terms of human development indicators and has kept the people happy and contented. In the subsequent paragraphs, first happiness and development has been discussed in brief and then the initiatives of Royal Government of Bhutan (RGOB) have been highlighted and their impact is studied.

Happiness and development

Veenhoven (1991) terms happiness as *the degree to which an individual judges the overall quality of life favorably*. One’s happiness often depends on the environment. And at times a positive attitude could provide a feeling of happiness even while in utmost poverty. *Haves and Have-nots* are determined by the forces of economies like market, environment, consumption, and competition and alike, and comparison often makes people unhappy, as one perceives one’s relative position being overtaken by others. “*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.*”² (Easterlin 2001; also see Layard 2003).

Thinley (1999) is of the opinion that beyond a level, an increase in material consumption is not accompanied by a concomitant rise in happiness.³ Happiness is not identical to utility, but it well reflects people’s satisfaction with life.⁴ Generally, happiness is taken as a momentary emotional reaction to an event which makes one happy. It is also considered as a momentary response and need not necessarily be a stable and sustainable feeling. 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. The policy framework acts as a guideline to create an environment where the individuals develop confidence and further their efforts to achieve their targeted goals both objectively as well as subjectively.

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."*⁵ 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 basic areas of public-good or happiness towards improving disclosure practices and concentrating on economic indicators?⁶

There are evidences from the developing and developed nations on their transformations in their happiness level.⁷ 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.

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 the developing nations as compared to their counterparts in the developed world and therefore accordingly priorities are established. But still somewhere down the line I feel in the rat race of becoming a developed nation, the third world is making a lot of compromises and sacrifices which would be realized later. 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?"*⁸ 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 Hahnel⁹ 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.*"¹⁰

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. In the next few paragraphs such evidence is traced from the Royal Kingdom of Bhutan.

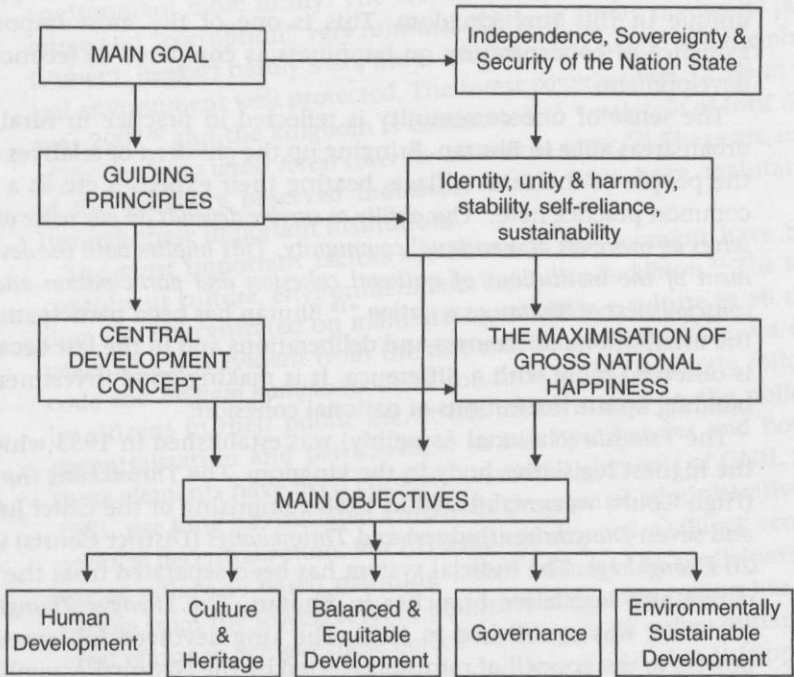
Public policy initiatives in Bhutan

Bhutan¹¹ is a unique sovereign Buddhist nation which followed a conscious policy of isolation. The third king of Bhutan, His Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuk had stated in 1952 that the goal of development should be to make the people prosperous and happy.¹² This basic thought has directed the priorities of RGOB to emphasize more on the social and cultural development apart from the economic development unlike most of the other nations. Bhutan has also been concerned about the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth which is evident from its Five Year Plans but it is driven by the fact that priorities be established keeping in mind its impact on the Quality of Life *vis-à-vis* GNH.

The concept of GNH has evolved from the basic constituent features of Bhutanese society in the beginning of the twentieth century when the social fabric was being woven. Buddhism, which surrounds feudal set of values, forms the basic constituent features of Bhutanese society. Mathou (2000) captures modernization and preservation of national heritage "under the catchphrase of GNH."¹³ The RGOB has been trying to provide better facilities and services to the people to ensure their welfare through its Five Year Plans and other planning instruments. "*The pursuit of growth in GNH rather than in GNP reflects Bhutan's anxiety to avoid some of the more glaring failures of the blind pursuit of economic growth.*"¹⁴

*There is much agreement that GNH is a good idea, for many it offers the glimmerings of refuge against the steadfast tide of scientific reductionism. For others it provides relief from the stale indicators of development that enjoys so much currency.*¹⁵ GNH is, undoubtedly, a unique paradigm of a chas-

Figure 9.1 Normative architecture for the Kingdom's future change and development



Source: RGOB 1999 (Bhutan 2020 document) p. 15.

tening possibility in which the main motivating force behind human effort is not economic gain, but the cultivation of a humane society, the ultimate goal being the happiness of all people (Powdyel¹⁶). Veenhoven (2004) defines GNH as "the degree to which citizens in a country enjoy the life they live, GNH is then an aggregate concept, like the concept of GNP that sums goods and services."¹⁷

Figure 9.1 shows how Bhutan considers GNH as its central development concept and what is its relationship with other priorities. Interestingly it is seen that the kingdom has two dimensions of goals viz. the guiding principles and independence, sovereignty & security of the nation state.

These two goals are the driving forces for the maximization of GNH but it has to ensure that there is no compromise made so far as its "identity, unity and harmony, stability, self reliance and sustainability" is

concerned which are shown as guiding principles. These guiding principles and central development concept *viz.* GNH, establish five main objectives as – human development, culture and heritage, balanced and equitable development, governance and environmentally sustainable development. These objectives make the process of development unique in this tiny kingdom. This is one of the most important evidence of concentrating on happiness as compared to (economic) development.

The sense of one community is reflected in practice in rural and urban areas alike in Bhutan. Bringing up the children of relatives or of the people of the same village, bearing their expenses etc. is a very common practice here. *"Our ability to survive depends on our sense of ourselves as members of a national community. This implies both the development of the institutions of national cohesion and participation and the consciousness of Bhutan as a nation."*¹⁸ Bhutan has been participating in the international discourses and deliberations and in the last decade it is observed more with a difference. It is making good investment in building up the institutions of national cohesion.

The *Tshogdu* (National Assembly) was established in 1953 which is the highest legislative body in the kingdom. The *Thrimkhang Gongma* (High Court) was established in 1968 comprising of the Chief Justice and seven *Dungthrims* (Judges) and *Thrimkhangs* (District Courts) in all 20 *Dzongkhags*. The judicial system has been separated from the executive and legislative branches in Bhutan. The *Lhengye Zhungtshog* (Cabinet) was established in 1968. The king devolved full executive powers to the council of ministers elected by the National Assembly in 1998. The *Lhengye Zhungtshog* is the highest executive body in the country which consists of the council of ministers and the members of the *Lodey Tshogdey* (Royal Advisory Council) which was established in 1965 consisting of six elected representatives of the public, two elected representative of the clergy and one nominated by the government who functions as Chairman of the council. It advises the king on matters of national importance, acts as a bridge between the government and the people and ensures that the laws and decisions of the national assembly are implemented. The members of the *Lhengye Zhungtshog* are collectively responsible to the king and the national assembly. Under the personal initiative of the king with *"the objective of strengthening traditional local institutions and enhancing their role in development policies and activities"*¹⁹ *Dzongkhag Yargye Tshogchungs* (DYT – District Development Committee) and *Gewog Yargye Tshogchungs* (GYT – Block Development Committee) were established in 1981 and 1991 respectively. In the dual system prevailing in the kingdom, the

Dratshang (Monastic Body) plays an important role in the spiritual and cultural life of people apart from participating in the decision making institutions like the *Tshogdu* and the *Lodey Tshogdey*.

The dynamism which is evident from the establishment of these important institutions in the kingdom, has allowed it to deal with its environment more firmly. The law and order condition is excellent, crime and "corruption" very minimal (Rutland 1999), no capital punishment, beggars hardly seen, life is relatively less hectic and the physical environment well protected. The forest coverage was 72.5% in the year 2004²⁰ and the kingdom is committed to "*maintain at least 60% of the land area under forest cover for all time to come.*"²¹ These are some of the generally observed indicators which have been maintained through these important institutions.

The most important factors for Bhutan's development have been continuous culture, environment and *Vajrayana Buddhism*.²² The kingdom has concentrated on maintaining its unique culture in all these years which is evident from the fact that as a nation there is a dress code and *driglam namjha* (code of conduct) which is strictly followed by citizens in their public life. It has concentrated on the policy of decentralization and participation in last two decades and both of these elements have been chosen as essential elements of GNH. Since 1981, the King has initiated a vigorous program of administrative and political decentralization. 9th FYP emphasizes on *Geog* (Block <consisting of villages>) based planning which ensures the participation of people from the lowest level of administration. The nation has made great efforts to achieve these objectives through its policy initiatives in all the sectors of development. Bhutan has shown that it is open for change happening around the world even when it comes to look at its culture as its foreign minister expresses this to Schell (2002) "*Some people tend to look at culture as static, but actually culture is always evolving. It is a tool, and when a tool becomes obsolete, you have to change it.*"

The impact of GNH as a national objective is also visible from the cultural policy in Bhutan which is noted for its concern for mutuality, accommodation and compassion. The government is aware of the challenges to get this culture divulged as it is finding it difficult to determine the shape of the institutions in the changing scenario. Still the priorities are well defined and the citizens well informed about the government initiatives. As mentioned earlier, the institutions of importance have been quite dynamic in nature. Individuals heading such institutions are well oriented and briefed about the international developments in all the fields of importance like economics, society, politics, culture, spiritualism etc.

The issues like environment, unemployment, globalization, infrastructure development, media, communication, and information technology are into the official documents and one could see it being given importance practically. Bhutan has taken into account the cultural, social, economic and historical costs of not engaging in infrastructural development in its planning and policies. Another area of concern which has emerged in the last around one and half decade is urbanization. The nation believes in the philosophy of "*one nation – one people*". Bhutan realizes that in the times ahead it would have to face a greater challenge since a new Bhutanese culture is expected to emerge in the new urban centers. It has been the strategy in this kingdom to deal with poverty by strengthening food security through proper distribution and adequate relief measures as necessary. It is realized on a general note that large amount of investment is required to make the rural life more attractive so that rural-urban migration can be reduced. It could also increase the returns on farming *vis-à-vis* improving the quality of life of people in the rural areas. The RGOB has initiated macro level policies with its development partners to address poverty both in rural and urban areas. Political stability and unity has been addressed through transparency in governance. It does not want development which is not sustainable and this is visible from the academic discourses taking place in most of the ministries, departments, units and institutions. There is hardly an individual in the capacity of a decision maker who neither is nor oriented on the basic premise of sustainable development. International volunteers and NGOs are providing help to the government in the process of increasing GNH through following policies towards sustainable development.

The RGOB has very carefully drafted its plan documents after considering the alternatives and the road map is drawn keeping in mind the path of GNH. The five year plans are reviewed periodically to examine the shortcomings and prospects so that the focus is not lost at any time. The process of review has become more organized and planned during last three five-year plans. During the 8th plan period apart from the above mentioned issues the position of the private sector, the macro economy, as well as the status of governance has also come under scrutiny. It is important to mention here that the private sector was given more importance in the 6th FYP when the strategies were drafted to facilitate its development. The process of corporatization of government agencies and divestment of government equity to the private sector was started during the 6th FYP and since then the RGOB has been quite active in privatizing many of the profit making govern-

ment enterprises and the this trend of privatization is still being actively pursued today. It is aware that "globalization offers unprecedented opportunities for human advancement" although "it also poses new and increasingly complex challenges."²³ It realizes its vulnerability to the effects of globalization and this realization has provided an opportunity to concentrate on the GNH-driven development. This policy is not followed in isolation with economic development rather they go together. As a result traditional values and culture are not compromised at the cost of economic development. Efficiency, transparency and accountability are considered to be the main objectives of good governance in Bhutan and to achieve these objectives, larger ministries have been divided into smaller ones on the basis of their functional areas and new departments and units have been created wherever necessary.²⁴ Another important feature of good governance, which is visible through the documentation and practice, is developing trust among people towards the government and its established institutions.

In the process of development in isolation, Bhutan did not allow television viewing and internet till 1999. But studying the mindset of people and looking at the pros and cons of the impact of television and internet and the preparedness of the government to face this challenge, it opened its doors for the advent of the television and subsequently the internet. This step of the RGOB has changed people's life here. The government remains, however, more cautious of its bad effects than its good impact on the public.

Kuensel²⁵ writes in its editorial dated January 1, 2000 that "Bhutan has understood, perhaps better than most other countries, that there is nothing such as unlimited progress. Development comes with a cost, be it the deadly stain on our natural resources, that impact on the human soul through growth of material desires and spiritual superficiality, or the breakdown of society, the family and, therefore the individual. We learned that progress brings us many gifts but also enslaves us." This is not a sudden realization but it has its roots in the planning process of the country. However it is important that this kingdom has reasoned the sustainability of such progress.

Apart from the concern felt for satisfaction and happiness, Bhutan is aware of certain approaches to development which might lead to an increase in unhappiness and dissatisfaction. Therefore it minimizes such compulsive initiatives which might lead to unhappiness and dissatisfaction. The king has been conveying his opinion through various modes on the five year plans, stating that "if at the end of a plan period, our people are not happier than they were before, we should know that our plans have failed."²⁶

Schell (2002) observed that "*Bhutan has passed an important milestone in convergence with the outside world.*" The nation which was totally isolated from the outer world before 50 years has responded to the changes in a very remarkable way and given more importance to human and social development. It was possible for the nation to concentrate on economic development and attain faster economic growth by compromising on the people well-being, but it opted for a more sustainable approach and succeeded in maintaining peace and tranquility in the nation. The first written constitution²⁷ is now in the public domain for discussion and comments are invited from the public. The preamble of the constitution ensures to *enhance unity, happiness and well-being of people for all time to come*. The government has promised that it would distribute a copy of the constitution to every citizen of the nation which would be open for debates and discussion.

Discussion and conclusion

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. Such policy directions are prevalent in Bhutan and it could be one of the reasons for which it has been put in the category of fast track countries.²⁸ Further, Bhutan has topped²⁹ the list of best performers so far as the reduction in child mortality rate is concerned during 1990–2002. Bhutan has followed unique style of development which has helped this tiny nation to grow from strength to strength. *Bhutan has been one of the most successful countries in South Asia in its development and delivery of social welfare.*³⁰

The policies are monitored and evaluated against the single criterion of their impact on GNH. *Today, conditions in Bhutan are very different from what they were in the sixties. Over 90% of the population has access to primary health care and 65% of the rural population has access to safe drinking water. More than 90% of children are immunized. Iodine deficiency disorder has been virtually eliminated. Life expectancy at birth has gone up to 66 years. Adult literacy, however, remains low at 54% though the gross primary enrolment rate is estimated to be 72%.*³¹ The infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births) has gone down dramatically from 142.8 in 1984 to 70.7 in 1994 and to 60.5 in 2001.³² The overall access to safe drinking water³³ has gone up from 45% in 1994 to 77.8% in 2000.³⁴ The life expectancy at birth (years) has gone up from 47.5 in 1984 to 66.1 in

1994.³⁵ The population growth rate has been brought down from 3.1% in 1994 to 2.5% in 2000.³⁶

This path of development seems to be making sense. Researchers are busy finding out the ways to quantify GNH so that it is comparable. It is suspected whether the countries having higher per capita GDP would count higher on the scale of GNH also. "*While cynics may dismiss those words (GNH) as a catchy sound-bite, the fact is that the underlying philosophy has been a consistent guiding principle in the development of Bhutan and continues to be the fundamental consideration in the formulation of development policies for the future.*"³⁷ Bhutan can lead the breed of the GNH economists who can tell the world that even within lot of constraints and having been under pressure, it can sustain its developmental process. GNH is a phenomenon which has transpired the citizens of this kingdom to put forth their efforts to maintain peace, tranquility and sovereignty. It has been able to communicate the ultimate goal of humanity in a very convincing way to its planners and administrators for policy decisions as well as their implementation.

*If it is medicine, you should take it from an enemy.
But if it is poison, you should refuse it from a friend.*

[A Bhutanese saying]

Notes

- 1 This statement is given by the King Jigme Singye Wangchuk and can be found in many published documents of the kingdom. (e.g., BNHDR 2000, p. 1; RGOB 2002, p. 4; Thinley 1999, p. 12–13 etc.)
- 2 Easterlin 2001, p. 465; also see Thinley 1999, p. 20.
- 3 also see Frey & Stutzer 2002a, p. 8.
- 4 See Frey & Stutzer 2002a, p. 12.
- 5 UNMP 2005, p. 1.
- 6 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/Bhutan_TheAntsandtheCockroach_discussionpaper-andresponse.pdf) viewed on 4.04.05
- 7 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.
- 8 Hunt 1980, p. 243.

- 9 A Quiet Revolution in Welfare Economics by Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel (www.zmag.org/books/quiet.htm) Chapter 5. viewed on 4.04.05.
- 10 Haslag, 1997, p. 14.
- 11 A Brief Note on Bhutan:
 "It is believed that the name Bhutan is derived from the Sanskrit 'Bhotant', meaning 'the end of Tibet', or from 'Bhu-uttan', meaning 'high land'. Historically the Bhutanese have referred to their country as Druk Yul, 'land of the thunder dragon'. Bhutanese refer to themselves as Drukpa people." (<http://www.kingdomofbhutan.com/kingdom.html>)

The Royal Kingdom of Bhutan is a tiny mountainous country situated between the two most populous nations of the world, India and China. It was in 747 AD when guru Padmasambhav visited Bhutan from India and introduced Buddhism. Bhutan has been practising Buddhism and it is a religious country. In 1907 the monarchy system was started in Bhutan by the first monarch Ugyen Wangchuk who was given knighthood by British Raj. Subsequently he attended Delhi Durbar in 1911. It was in 1926 when the eldest son of the first king, Jigme Wangchuk took over the reign from his father. His rule was one of the most important periods since it was during this period that there was social, economic and political instability internationally. Bhutan maintained its independent status through the policy of non-engagement. The third king, Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, became king in 1952. He introduced land reforms, reduced land taxes, established Royal Bhutan Army (RBA), National Assembly, Planning Commission, and Royal Advisory Council, launched Five Year Plans and abolished capital punishment. Bhutan became a member of United Nations Organization in 1971. Jigme Singye Wangchuk, the fourth in the line of the Wangchuk dynasty was coroneted in 1974. Bhutan became a member of the World Bank in 1981. The period between 1907 and 1998 is seen as a period of consolidation and development of instruments of power. The functioning of the government is streamlined and the priorities properly set. In 1998 the king devolved all the executive powers to the council of ministers elected by the national assembly. This can be seen as a beginning of a new political era in the History of Bhutan. "Bhutan is also well endowed with other natural resources with a rich forest cover of 72.5%, and various mineral resources that include limestone, dolomite, gypsum, coal, copper, talc, marble, quartzite, zinc and lead. Bhutan's pristine nature, bio-diversity and unique cultural heritage also make for an attractive and exotic tourist destination." (RGOB 2001, p. 4)

It is estimated that Bhutan had 0.65 million population in the year 2000 with around 80% rural population. Around 80% population is of Mongo origin (*drukpas*) and the remaining 20% Indo-Aryan (*Nepalese*). The country has 20 *Dzonkhags* comprising 201 *Gewogs*.

- 12 Gayleg 2004, p. 622.
- 13 Mathou 2000, p. 240.
- 14 BNHDR 2000, p. 20 – see RGOB 2000a
- 15 Hargens 2002, p. 32.
- 16 Powdyel, T.S. Gross National Happiness: A Tribute. (www.windhorsetours.com/ugen/bhutan.htm) viewed on 10.04.04.
- 17 Veenhoven 2004, p. 332.

- 18 RGOB 2000b, p. 18.
- 19 RGOB 2002, p. 3.
- 20 Statistical Year Book 2004 – see RGOB 2005.
- 21 RGOB 2002, p. 30.
- 22 As mentioned in RGOB 2000b, three factors (continuous culture, environment and Vajrayana Buddhism) have been of the greatest influence for Bhutan's development. It is of strength for Bhutan that it has never been colonized or conquered, so the culture has been maintained continuously in all the times. The prevalent Buddhist culture considers nature and man as mutual friends and there is a special symbolic relationship between the people and nature, since Bhutan follows Vajrayana Buddhism in its development policies.
- 23 RGOB 2000b, p. 63.
- 24 *ibid* p. 92 (it was proposed to increase the number of ministries and later it has been done)
- 25 Kuensel is Bhutan's only national weekly published from Thimphu, in English, Dzongkha and Lotshampa.
- 26 Quoted in Powdyel, 2004.
- 27 Available on web www.constitution.bt.
- 28 Bhutan has been identified as MDG fast-track countries on the basis of governance qualification. See UNMP Report 2005, p. 234.
- 29 As per the HDR 2004, in 1990 the child mortality rate in Bhutan was 166 per 1000 live births which reduced to 94 in 2002. Bhutan occupied the top position amongst the countries where child mortality had fallen during 1990–2002 period followed by Guinea (-71), Bangladesh (-67), Egypt (-63), Lao PDR (-63), Eritrea (-58). See HDR 2004, Table 3, p. 132 (for HDR 2004 – see UNDP 2004).
- 30 Rutland 1999, p. 289 (Rutland has compared some indicators such as life expectancy, mortality rate, no. of hospitals, students, teachers and telephones) (also see Frame 2005, p. 217).
- 31 BNHDR 2000, p. 7 – see RGOB 2000a.
- 32 Statistical Year Book 2004 (Table 1.5) – see RGOB 2005.
- 33 Safe drinking water is defined as piped water from protected spring source, available to the household within 50 meters vertical height and 100 meters horizontal distance. See RGOB 2002, 9th FYP Document, p. 76.
34. National Health Survey 1994 & 2000 – see RGOB 1994 & 2000c.
35. Statistical Year Book 2004 (Table 1.5) – see RGOB 2005.
- 36 RGOB 2002, p. 76.
- 37 Rutland 1999, p. 284.

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