

Preface

In the first international seminar on **Gross National Happiness(GNH)**, my paper focussed on the development of macro model of GNH which started from in-country capital formation (positive side of foreign direct investment has been taken as the trigger) leading to Gross National Product as the starting point for achieving Balanced Equitable Development, Cultural and Heritage Promotion and Preservation, Good Governance, and Environment Conservation. Thus the approach was more from the macro side and a top down approach was followed.

In this paper, which is written for presentation in the Second International Seminar on GNH in Halifax, Canada,I would like to approach the sustainable development concept of GNH from micro level using a bottom-up approach. For this purpose, the paper would draw upon the Capability Approach as propagated by Nobel laureate Professor Amartya Sen and related liberal theory of justice philosophy of Martha C. Nussbaum and a host of works by other authors in this topic of interest. The paper will also establish the linkage between social capital and capability approach for arriving at GNH. With a survey on the scope and choices available to Bhutanese people and capability achieved by them vis-à-vis United kingdom, a developed state.

Acknowledgement

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Introduction :

“The concept of 'gross national happiness' gets to the core issue without getting lost in the semantics of economics and statistics and therein lay its beauty.”

– *Professor Abdul Kalam, President of India* [25th January 2005]

The neo-classical economics' indices of development – namely Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or Gross National Product (GNP) have failed to reflect the depth of development of a country. This is mainly due to the fact that these are aggregation of the monetary value of resources of a country at the macro level based upon the traditional economic approach of utility, production and consumption. These indices do not reflect the inequality of resource distribution, imbalanced human development and environmental degradation. Thus, these well-practiced development indices only account for economic utilisation of resources from the point of capital productivity and not from the point of accrual of benefits to each and every components of the state. The Gross National Happiness (GNH) Concept tries to redress these shortcomings of the traditional resource centric economic approach by introducing “four pillar” objective approach at macro level bringing in a people centric and socio-centric approach to a welfare state. The four pillars of GNH are: **Balanced Equitable Development, Environment Conservation, Preservation and Promotion of Culture and Heritage, and Good Governance.** This is perhaps the only concept propagated by a Majesty, in the last century, for the well-being of the people of his country – His Majesty of Royal Kingdom of Bhutan, Jigme Singye Wangchuk, the Druk Gyalpo. This philosophy has become the cherished goal of public policy and development policy of Bhutan. It is also mentioned as the ‘principle of the state policy’ in the Article 9 of the draft constitution of Bhutan, which is circulated in the year 2004 among all citizens of Bhutan for comments. However, until recently the concept of GNH remains more so as a goal close to the hearts of the policy makers and the people of Bhutan rather than becoming laid down structures and procedures to be followed.

And as we started with the quote of a renowned scientist turned President, GNH also runs the risk of being too simple in its approach and at the same time so pervasive in its tenor, structure and objective, that its operationalisation is quite complex. The objective as defined will remain

elusive unless at micro level, the social choice and social capital are available to the components of the welfare state. Otherwise, the GNH concept will also suffer from the overall welfare goal it purports to achieve. It is observed that even with the practice of GNH in Bhutan for a considerable time, the inequality gap between “have” and “have-nots” are widening. This will continue to happen in spite of novel approach of GNH if it does not start at the component level. In the least developed countries, and Bhutan is no exception, due to exploitative power dynamics prevalent in the society structure, the ability of local individuals to participate in totality in a social discussion of values gets limited. For communities to conceive and effect holistic, and self-sustaining development in the long run, the constant help of “outsiders”(donors) has to be substituted by their own social capability development.

Thus, the true GNH or a human side approach for sustainable development requires each constituent of the national economy and society - rural and urban population, women and men – gender groups, institutions and individuals, age-groups and income groups, religious groups and political groups, cultural groups and environment groups - should be ‘develop’ enabled. The composite positive effect (development) of all these constituents will create the excitement from grass root levels to community levels to institutional levels up to State level for enabling GNH.

In the process of study of the micro level development approach to GNH, this paper will try to relate Capability Approach as conceived by Nobel laureate Professor Amartya Sen, related liberal theory of justice philosophy of Martha C. Nussbaum and the social capital studies.

“It should be clear that we have tended to judge development by the expansion of substantive human freedoms – not just by economic growth (for example, of the gross national product), or technical progress, or social modernization. This is not to deny, in any way, that advances in the latter fields can be very important, depending on circumstances, as ‘instruments’ for the enhancement of human freedom. But they have to be appraised precisely in that light – in terms of their actual effectiveness in enriching the lives and liberties of people – rather than taking them to be valuable in themselves.” (Drèze J and A Sen 2002: Page 3 India: Development and Participation)

In this regard, the relevance of Gross National Happiness and Capability Approach are very interesting. Both the approaches have originated near about the same time in 1970s, in view of the growing criticism of utilitarian, libertarian, communitarian and Rawlsian economics. While the Gross National Happiness is a welfare economics concept at the macro level with a top-down approach, the Capability Approach is addressing the same goal of achieving happiness for all constituents at the micro level using bottom-up approach. The approach is more pluralistic and open ended and thus similar to GNH. The approaches took time to gain acceptance among the economists, but once found not “operational” by critics, are now widely used by researchers to study a large set of human development issues. The momentum behind both the approaches are gaining significance with International Seminars being held periodically.

Happiness is a very simple term and easily understood by one and all but it is quite difficult to define it in words. The word “National” shades it with greater complexity as it refers to common happiness and in a reduction process tries to converge diverse degree of individual happiness to commonness. The word “Gross” completes the reduction process to sum up the national happiness in terms of four broad common objectives which reflect the degree of well-fare state at macro level and construed as state of Happiness or well-being. This is the paradox of a macro level approach, which reduces the complexity embedded in varieties, and generalises the concept in order to bring about the novelty in the idea. Thus, the practical implementation of such novel ideas often bit the dust of reality, as after the great height of pedestal there is a straight fall in the absence of stair cases of micro dynamics. Happiness or well-being of individual units of a welfare state have to be analysed as to their environment and various dynamics relating to the choices and opportunities available to them. Such micro level understanding of happiness will create the structure for GNH.

Capability Approach (CA) and its relevance to the micro level constituents of a welfare state:

Professor Amartya Sen has over a period of twenty-five years developed Capability Approach (CA) - a philosophical and economic discourse for the human development literature, welfare economics, and social policy studies. The Capability approach is a broad normative framework for the evaluation

and assessment of individual well-being and quality of life, social arrangements and design of policies and social change in a society. CA considers that the individual opportunities (capacities) are the deciding factors for conducting a better life as per own choices and terms. These opportunities are reflected in the **Capability Set** that is formed through a process in which resources and income are converted by personal, social and environmental factors (functions of utilisation) into potential human functionings (social, economic and political freedoms), known as “entitlements”. Firstly, **personal conversion factors** (e.g. metabolism, physical condition, sex, reading skills, intelligence) influence how a person can convert the characteristics of the commodity into a functioning. An illiterate farmer suffering from malnutrition in Bhutan cannot make use of the agricultural inputs even if these are provided to him. Secondly, **social conversion factors** (e.g. public policies, social norms, discriminating practises, gender roles, societal hierarchies, power relations) influence the conversion characteristics of the commodity into a functioning. A land which is classified as agricultural land in Bhutan even if it is barren or not worthy of cultivation cannot be used for other productive purposes even if that leads the owner to starvation. Thirdly **environmental conversion factors** (e.g. climate, geographical location) play a role in the conversion of resources to the individual functioning. Given the topography of Bhutan, even if a poor farmer has a piece of land, the agricultural output may not be sufficient to cover the cost of inputs. Hence, access to or possession of the resources is not sufficient to know which potential functioning a person can achieve, therefore we need to know much more about the person and the circumstances in which he or she is living.

Thus the core feature of CA is its focus on what people are effectively able to do and on their capabilities. Sen argues that a person’s freedom to live the way one would like has intrinsic value and therefore it is constitutive of a person’s well being. According to him the public policy should address – what are the social and economic opportunities available to citizen in leading a life of their choice? What are the personal and social conditions that facilitate or hinder the individual’s ability to transform resources into different functionings? This underlines the importance of individuals’ capability of selection and discrimination along with achieved functionings. This also highlights the agency aspect of a person – where one acts in terms of one’s own values and objectives. According to Sen *“The people have to be seen in this perspective, as being actively involved – given the opportunity - in shaping their own destiny, and not just as passive recipients*

of the fruits of cunning developments” [1999, p53, Development as Freedom] For example, as per Ingrid Robeyns¹, every person should have the opportunity to be part of a community and to practice a religion, but if someone prefers to be hermit or an atheist, they should also have this option. In Bhutan if you do not practice Buddhism, you may not have the same privileges of a Buddhist follower, and hence the question remains whether the gross national happiness is only well-being of a Buddhist majority. Thus, CA is clearly a theory of philosophical liberalism, which focuses on human beings and brings about contradiction prevailing at the micro level of any state, in this case Bhutan.

The criterion of “capabilities” as a public policy mover is to address two interrelated aspects: a) enhancements of capacities or entitlements of people as human beings ranging from fundamental ones (nutrition, health, education etc) to complex ones (social, cultural, environmental and political), and b) the opportunities available to the people for exercising their capacities. According to Sen, income and wealth cannot be a straight forward indication of Quality of life, they are just means for attainment of functionings. Further, peoples’ capacities could indeed be enhanced or curtailed based on the opportunities or obstacles they face in their family or society. As for example, a female child growing up in a Monpa² Community in rural Bhutan (like a girl in dalit² family in rural) India is likely to face fewer opportunities for education, employment and social life than most of her counterparts or a citizen of some of the European countries gets more support from the state social security system than someone in the United States.

In an economic analysis of famines in developing countries, Sen challenged the conventional Malthusian wisdom that declining food supply is the most important cause of famine and pointed out that it is rather due to malfunctioning of social and political arrangements – and is matter of “capabilities” and “entitlements”. His study shows that it is only certain class of individuals (rural poor, landless labourers, seasonal workers etc.) more than others who are easy victims of famines mainly due to their “entitlement” failures. Sen summarised this phenomenon: *“Famines survive by divide and rule. For example, a group of peasants may suffer entitlement losses when food output in their territory declines, perhaps due to local*

¹ Ingrid Robeyns, “The capability Approach : a theoretical survey” The Journal of Human Development, March 2005

² Monpas in Bhutan and Dalit in India are most backward communities

drought, even when there is no general dearth of food in the country. The victims would not have means to buy food from elsewhere since they would not have anything much to sell to earn an income, given their own production loss. Others with more secure earnings may be able to get by well enough by purchasing food from elsewhere.” [1990: Fourth Annual Arturo Memorial Lecture, London]. This study is the base of CA to address poverty, inequality and development and fixes the focus on the need of devising public policies and action programmes that take note of the interdependence of economic, social and political factors that cause them. In his understanding of freedom and justice, Sen pointed out that the public policies should pay more attention to a number of basic capabilities that no society and world community can afford to ignore : nutrition, health, literacy, self respect, and political participation. According to Anantha Duraiappah, Director of Economic Policy at the Institute of Sustainable Development, Canada *“the capability approach provides an ideal philosophical foundation for sustainable development because it acknowledges the non-self interest behaviour of individuals and provides the option whereby individuals will conserve and preserve ecosystem services even if it implies a loss in utility for them at individual level.”* [International Conference on Sustainable Development Pavia, 2003]

The Capability approach is a political philosophy, which is in sharp contrast to major philosophical trends - Utilitarianism and Liberalism inspired by American Philosopher John Rawls. The main aim of utilitarianism is to maximise the overall value of utility in society in terms of pleasure, happiness or desire-fulfilment. It exerts a considerable influence on public policy decisions in many countries of the world in a crude way: *“greatest happiness of greatest number”*. For instance building huge dams by displacing a large number of people and contributing to ecological disasters in the name of benefit of masses. However, as per Sen and Rawls this is against basic sense of justice: why are some people in the society would be required to sacrifice their well-being or happiness more than others, for the sake of common goods? Another danger of this kind of macro level philosophical thought is the subjectivity and unreliable tenet of such metrics. People living continuously in deprived conditions for want of immediate exit options learn to put up with such conditions. Sen pointed out that even though these deprived people (mainly battered housewives, bonded labourers, street children, exploited migrant workers, oppressed minorities) may objectively lack opportunities - such as adequate nourishment, decent clothing, minimal education, basic health care services, their hope and desire

has been blighted over generations in a manner that they do not anymore recognise or have the guts to articulate these as important components of life. They not only have reconciled with their deprived condition but also try too hard to adapt to and to cut down their desires. In the developing and under-developed part of the world (like SAARC countries) this practicality prevails among the majority of masses. In such a situation, people’s current level of desire and perception cannot be considered as the true basis of public policy. For example, still today in Bhutan most of the villages are not having proper road connections and people used to work for days to come to the nearest asphalt road for transportation and for such a deprived section of people who has already taken that as granted in their lives, any asphalt road with public transport connection even if it is available within a day’s walk, can make them a most happy lot, in the absence of adequate nutritious food, even availability of home made Ara³ and Doma³ can help people forget and feel happy, in the situation of lack of basic health care services, the rituals performed by monks in the homes can still make people feeling cured and better, etc.

In his Theory of Justice, Rawls departed from utilitarian point of view and based his philosophy on Individual rights: *“each person posses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override”* and extended it to human dignity. According to Rawls, people should be judged on the basis of a set of objective factors including basic liberties and opportunities, income and wealth, and self-respect. Sen acknowledged his debt to the Rawlsian contribution but pointed out its limitation in terms of addressing the human diversity leading to blatant inequality prevailing in the society. As Sen puts it (1992: page 3, Inequality Re-examined), *“The pervasive diversity of human beings intensifies the need to address the diversity of focus in the assessment of equality”*. There are many sources of diversity but Sen identified five most important sources, as captured by Flavio Comim⁴: **1) personal heterogeneities 2) environmental diversities 3) variations in social climate 4) differences in relational perspectives and 5) distribution within the family**. These different elements of diversity crucially affect the processes in which resources (income and wealth) are converted into relevant capabilities. Thus, capabilities of individuals cannot be assessed uniquely in terms of resources available with them but in terms of what they are capable of doing with the

³ Ara is a home made Bhutanese Liquor speciality and Doma is a special kind of fermented beetle nut

⁴ Flavio Commim, Van Hugel Institute, University of Cambridge, Operationalizing Sen’s capability Approach, 1st International Conference on Capability Approach, Cambridge, June 2001

given resources. For example, improvement in literacy level of girls in Bhutan would require much more than the material resources, namely, among other things, changing the mindset of parents and so called social customs.

The critics like G A Cohen pointed out that the emphasis on freedoms as the hallmark of the capability approach can be misleading. In explaining the meaning of capabilities, Sen emphasizes that he is concerned not with what persons have or are, with their achievements or functioning, but rather with what they can have or be. Capabilities are options to achieve valuable functioning. In the context of this dispute with Resourcists and Rawlsians, the distinctive feature of the capability approach is its focus, what in Sen’s words, “*on the state of the person, distinguishing it both from the commodities that help generate that state, and from the utilities generated by the state.*” Sen continues: “*We must look, for example, at her nutrition level, and not just, as Rawlsians do, at her food supply, or, as welfarists do, at the utility she gets out of eating food.*” (Amartya Sen: “Capability and Well-Being” in Nussbaum and Sen: *The Quality of Life*, p 43)

The basic premise of the CA is i) its commitment to link theory and practice and ii) its concern with distribution and equity at a micro level as an essential ingredient of human development. The approach enables us to understand that happiness (well-being) or inequalities (such as income, gender, health, and education inequalities), being the root cause of unhappiness, are more than just the adequacy or inadequacy of income or resources. In sharp contrast to the mainstream economics’ basic idea of human beings as uncompromising selfish, Sen’s approach contends that human beings are not “rational fools” to be motivated only by self-interest in their economic activities of production and exchange, they could be moved equally by other regarded values of justice, fairness, trust, honouring of contracts, civic duty, religions, and cultural heritages. According to the critics of CA, like Sugden(1993), Ysander(1993), Srinivasan(1994) , Roemar (1996), Ronald Dworkins (1981, 2000), Thomas Pogge(2002), prima facie the approach is not usable without the great empirical significance and at times it is misunderstood as foundations for a theory of equality and social justice. In the words of Ingrid Robeyns, the capability approach is not a theory that can explain poverty, inequality or well-being; instead, it rather provides a tool and a framework within which to conceptualise and evaluate these phenomena. Applying the capability approach to issues of policy and social change will therefore require the

imagination and application of the users. As Sen remarks that “*The capability approach, can thus be used at various level of sophistication. How far we can go depend on the practical considerations regarding what data can we get and what we cannot. Ideally, the capability approach should take note of the full extent to choose between different functioning bundles, but limits of practicality may often force the analysis to be confined to examining the achieved functioning bundle only*” (1992, page 53, *Inequality Reexamined*). Thus, in this section it may be concluded that the capability approach is the only framework which can be taken as guidance by the public policy makers for its relevance to the micro level constituents of a welfare state in order to create the sustainable framework of well-being at the level of individuals to the level of groups so that overall concept of Gross National Happiness can be achieved.

Liberal theory of justice and its importance in the micro level capability development: Martha Nussbaum is influenced by John Rawls’ philosophy *Mature Theory of Social Justice*. According to Rawls “social justice” is a commitment by citizens to recognise each other as free and equal persons within the framework of a social order conceived on the model of nation-states. Nussbaum elaborated that the social justice theory and her liberal approach is based on two notions: a) all human should be of equal dignity and worth, b) power of moral choice among people. Her views hold that “*the core of rational and moral personhood is something all human beings share, shaped though it may be in different ways by their differing social circumstances. And it does give this core a special salience in political thought ... to gender and rank and class and religion.*” (*Sex and Social Justice*, 1999, page 70 abbreviated as SSJ) Her theory at core has drawn reference to Amartya Sen’s concept of substantial freedom or Capabilities. The concept rejects the Preference Utilitarianism, an influential approach among planners these days, on the ground that preference standards are only proposed standards for what is socially valuable and cannot address all the society components and also it can become distorted depending upon various power groups in the society and Government. For instance, a slave or an abused woman may eventually become convinced that a moderately comfortable enslavement or oppression is the best she can do and not “prefer” greater freedom.

Like Aristotle she asks a basic question, “*What activities characteristically performed by human beings are so central that they seem definitive of a life that is truly human?*” This generates two more fundamental questions, (1)

“Which changes or transitions are compatible with the continued existence of a being as a member of the human kind and which are not?” (SSJ, page 39) and (2) “What kinds of activity must be there if we are going to acknowledge that a given life is human?” (SSJ, page 40)

In the process, a list of ten basic substantial values (Capabilities) are included by Nussbaum to develop a framework for capabilities. (SSJ, page 41-42)

1. **Life** : ability to live to the end of a human life of normal length;
2. **Bodily health** ability to live a sound health and to have access to basic health services for cure of ailment;
3. **Bodily integrity**: ability to move freely from place to place and to be secured against violent assault, including sexual assault;
4. **Senses, imagination, thought**: ability to use the senses, to imagine, to think, to reason, to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech and freedom of religious exercise, to have pleasurable experiences (Sex) and to avoid non-beneficial pain;
5. **Emotions**: ability to have attachments to things and persons outside ourselves, and to love those who love and care;
6. **Practical reason**: ability to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's own life.
7. **Affiliation**: ability to live for and in relation to others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction, to imagine the situation of another and to have compassion for that situation and to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others;
8. **Concern for Other species**: ability to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature;
9. **Play**: ability to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.
10. **Control over one's environment** : (i) **Political**: ability to participate effectively in political choices, free speech and freedom of association (ii) **Material**: ability to hold property (both land and movable goods) and to seek employment on an equal basis with others;

The basic values are required to develop two broad capabilities – **Internal Capabilities** and **Combined capabilities**. *Internal capabilities* are states of persons that are sufficient conditions for the exercise of the corresponding function. *Combined capabilities* are defined as internal capabilities plus the

external conditions that make the exercise of a function a live option. According to Dr Jan Gerrett⁵(,2004), the aim of public policy is the promotion of combined capabilities and this requires two kinds of efforts (1) the promotion of internal capabilities (say, by education or training) and (2) the making available of the external institutional and material conditions.

Thus, Nussbaum links the idea of capabilities with the idea of human rights. The idea of human rights may be interpreted as the capabilities of human beings that should not be permitted to fall below a certain minimum level. The definition of such minimum level can be developed by the nation-state and/ or the international community for everyone. The political (government) and public (social groups) action can modify or improve external conditions that influence combined capabilities.

Commenting on Nussbaum’s normative account of human functioning, Sen pointed out that there is no problem in listing out important capabilities, but endorsing a one pre-selected list of capabilities and taking a particular route is not the basic intent of capability approach. The deliberate incompleteness of the capability approach is created so as to permit others to take other routes by selection of capabilities as a democratic process depending upon different social, cultural and geographical settings. According to him public discussions and reasoning can lead to a better understanding of the value and role of specific capabilities. However, Nussbaum stressed that her list is a list of highly general capabilities that can be made more specific by the local people. However, I have discussed the list of capabilities of Nussbaum and the distinction she has made in categories of capabilities since the discussion certainly provide a useful guidance and direction to go about addressing the capability building at micro level for the individuals of a welfare state.

Social Capital formation is the main aspect of these theories. This I think is one of the most important requirements for creating capability at the micro level. Capability creation requires capital or economic resources and whether economic resources are converted into capability functioning would depend on social capital formation. Social Capital is viewed as productive asset derived from the social structure, facilitates the cooperation among people and takes into account the entirety of social interactions among all economic agents up to the level of state.

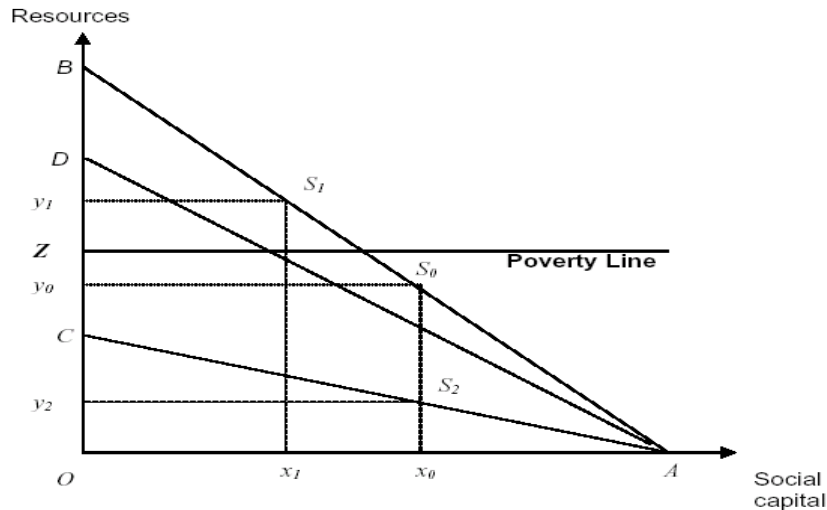
⁵ Dr Jan Garett, Havard University, ‘Martha Nussbaum on Capabilities and Human Rights’2004

The concept was first popularised by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, “*Social capital is the current or potential resources linked to the possession of a durable social network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual knowledge and mutual acknowledgement; or in other words the idea of belonging to a group*”. (Le Capital Social, 1980, page 2, as translated by Alexandre Bertin and Nicolas Servin⁶). Coleman (1988) proposed to introduce the concept of social capital in a more micro-socioeconomic framework, with the aim to rely on the hypothesis of rational individuals.

According to Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti (1993), Helliwell and Putnam (1995), involvement in social organizations and in the process sharing the same norms and values promote trust and facilitate cooperation and coordination for mutual profit. Thus, social capital explains why some countries or regions develop further than others. Subsequently, Fukuyama (1995) also underlines the trust factor as created by social capital as the key element to foster economic growth and development since the trust among people reduces the costs of contract building, editing and enforcement (Theory of transaction cost as propagated by D C North, 1990). The notion of social capital evolved to finally take into account the entirety of social interactions among all economic agents. These agents include the family, groups of friends, associations, and all social organizations up to the level of state. If social capital is viewed as private goods (in contrast to public goods), the increase in stock of social capital implies a corresponding increase in investment expenditure into the social network by people to accumulate rights. This is in sharp contrast to other forms of capital that can be obtained from the market (capital markets for financial capital, goods markets for physical capital, the labour market for human capital). The social capital is the only capital available within the network of an agent’s sustainable relationships and refers to the rights an agent has over the resources of his social network. These rights can be accumulated and transformed in other kind of resources by an agent as an ‘endowment’ in the event of need. In this perspective, Sen’s entitlement approach of poverty and famines as discussed earlier is especially relevant to social capital as a means to access resources from the social network. Sen has referred to “entitlement failure” during famine particularly to poor class due to social endowment failure. Thus, Social capital is seen as means to gain a bundle of goods at least equivalent as the value of all the assets owned by the agent

⁶ Alexander Bertin and Nicolas Servin, Center d’ Economie du Developpement – IFRede, Universite Montesquieu – Bordeaux IV, France

(Sen, Poverty and Famines, 1981). The theory of rights and obligations (Mahieu 1989) provides a special analysis of social capital as an ‘endowment’ people can transform in social resources via their community – the social network.



Graph 1 (Adaped from *Social Capita and Capibility Approach: A social economic theory* by Alexandre Bertin and Nicolas Sirven)

The transformation relation, as shown in the graph, between social capital and the amount of network resources is of the form $y = -p \cdot x$, where p is the transformation rate of social capital (x) into resources (y). This coefficient (p) can occupy three kinds of values:

- (i) if $p = 1$, (say at point S_0 on Line AB) that means social capital is not convertible because its value is the same as the resources gained by the social network,
- (ii) if $p > 1$, (say at point S_1 on Line AB) this means there is a positive disequilibria between rights and obligations, a gain in terms of rights higher than investment in social capital, so the agent better has to invest in his social network,
- (iii) if $p < 1$, (say at point S_2 on Line AC) the outcome in resources is lower than the investment in social capital. This situation could appear when the agent cannot recover all his investment in his social network because the others do not respect their obligations (e.g. in case of death or

unemployment). A social network can thus be analyzed as a specific social market where the price represents the equilibrium between rights and obligations. As Sen puts it, the resources an agent can obtain from one’s social network are part of his or her entitlement set.

Now these entitlements are individual means people can use to achieve their own way of life. In other words, social capital can improve people’s capabilities. Following this scheme of logic, Sen’s capability approach provides a rigorous framework by bringing into question the direct link between the resources available to an agent and his level of welfare. However, According to Sen, at least two obstacles exist: Firstly, an agent’s standard of living does not depend solely on the total value of the resources (commodities), but also on one’s ability to transform the resources into baskets of goods that one is then free to make use of. Secondly, once an agent does have a stock of goods or resources available, the usage (doings and beings) one can make of them is conditional on a whole range of conversion factors as earlier mentioned. They determine an agent’s ability to use the available goods (capability) in order to be free to choose a way of life that suits him (functioning). In summary, these three elements – resources, entitlements and functions of utilisation – will determine the extent of choices open to an individual.

The main reference of social capital in the capability approach is to make a clear-cut distinction between the agents’ social environment and its effects on the social capital. More precisely, the social environment (made of norms and values) is different from social capital because the former plays the role of a function that transforms the latter into a vector of capabilities.

Thus social capital is one of the ingredients of capability development at micro level along with other capitals – physical, financial and human. The social capital formation complement the degree of Gross National Happiness by establishing reasons behind the fact that in spite of relatively lower level of economic development some countries are considered more happy than others.

A capability survey of Bhutanese Society has been conducted to understand the relationships among - individual capabilities, views about the distribution of capabilities, and individual achievements and how these capabilities and achievements translate into Happiness or well-being at micro level. The survey focussed on various constituent of the national

economy and society – rural, semi-urban and urban population, women and men, institutions and individuals, age groups and income groups, religious groups and political groups, cultural groups and environment groups. The survey is based on a Questionnaire (Appendix 1) adopted from a similar survey conducted by Anand Paul and Martin Van Hees in United Kingdom on a random sample of English voters (Capabilities and Achievements – A Survey, 2003). This is mainly to compare the result of my survey in Bhutan (a least developed country practising GNH) with that of the UK, a premiere developed country. The survey, as argued by Van Hees(2002), tries to make a distinction between individual ‘freedom’ and ‘value of that freedom’ and this is captured in the two contradictions – between the promotion of an individual’s agency goals and individual’s well-being; between achievement and freedom to achieve. According to Paul and Van Hees, the following formulation is the base of their Study, and so is mine:

As per Sen, **Capability vector** \mathbf{b}_i , describes the things (\mathbf{x}_i) that a person ‘manages to do or to be’, given the functions f_i and c , (A Sen, Commodities and Capabilities 1985, page 10), and the equation is :

$\mathbf{b}_i = \mathbf{f}_i(\mathbf{c}(\mathbf{x}_i))$ where ,

\mathbf{x}_i denotes the set of commodity vectors from which an individual i can choose one,

c is a function that converts each commodity vector into a vector of the characteristics of those commodities.

f_i denotes the set of possible ways, ‘utilization functions’, of using the particular characteristics of a commodity vector \mathbf{x}_i

The set of all possible vectors of functioning, or capabilities, \mathbf{b}_i that a person can achieve is called the ‘**capability set**’ of the person, is denoted by the \mathbf{Q}_i and is expressed in the form:

$$\mathbf{Q}_i(\mathbf{X}_i) = \{\mathbf{b}_i \mid \mathbf{b}_i = \mathbf{f}_i(\mathbf{c}(\mathbf{x}_i)), \text{ for some } f_i \in F_i \text{ and some } \mathbf{x}_i \in \mathbf{X}_i\}$$

A second function, h , defines **happiness** achieved by the i th individual, u_i , thus: $\mathbf{u}_i = \mathbf{h}_i(\mathbf{b}_i)$

In this preliminary survey, the questions are directly asked on \mathbf{b}_i , capabilities and not on f_i , c and \mathbf{x}_i , the determining parameters. Thus there can be differences between what people think ‘they can achieve’ and ‘what they actually achieve’. In the survey, $\mathbf{Q}_i(\mathbf{X}_i)$, the capability set has included

seven basic capabilities: **achieving things, health, intellectual stimulation, satisfying social relations, pleasant environments and the development of personal projects**. In this survey, **pursuit and achievement of happiness (h_i)** is considered as 7th dimension. It has been observed by Sen, within richer countries one can expect these basic functioning to vary less from person to person. (A Sen, *Commodities and Capabilities* 1985,p30). However, we will check this argument with the survey in Bhutan. The seven basic areas under the survey are mapped into Sen’s four-fold taxonomy of (well-being, agency) x (capabilities, achievement) as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1. Possible Relations between Capabilities/Achievements and Well-being Agency

	Well-being	Agency
Capabilities/ Achievements	Happiness (1) Health (3)	Sense of Achievement (2) Personal Projects (7)
	Intellectual Stimulation (4) Social Relations (5) Environment (6)	

Note : Figures in parentheses indicate the dimension number that applies to capabilities and achievements. (*Adapted from Anand Paul and Martin Van Hees, Capabilities and Achievements – A Survey, 2003*)

Depending upon the culture, society and governance structure, the socio of demographic questionnaire have been suitably modified together with the minor framing of questions and their groupings to take into account the nuances prevailing in this part of the world.

The sample size of the survey is 110. Given the population size of 2.1 million as per UN experts(not official) in Bhutan the sample size is fairly representative for this kind of study. The UK study was based on a sample size of 268 given the population of UK is around 59.6 million. The sample has been drawn in such a manner keeping into consideration the inherent features of Bhutanese Society. Since the sample questions are in English and involve a quite a informed answer, I have, by structure, eliminated the lower rung of the society who is in remote corners of Bhutan and not exposed to the development process. The sample covers people from 13 Dzongkhags out of 21 Dzonkhags in Bhutan. Consciously, two things have been factored in – number of surveyed people in the capital city was kept low with more representation from other areas to assess the actual reality; the number of higher income group people have been kept low to actually assess the view points of lower income group. The survey has been carried on the seven

main group variables – Work Status Group, Income Group, Gender or Sex Group, Age group, Family Status Group, Religious Group, and Political Awareness Group. The sample proportion of each of these Groups and sub Groups are given in Table 2.

Table 2 : Socio- Demographic Details of Sample

SAMPLE SIZE				110
GROUP	VARIABLE	VARIABLE CODE	VARIABLE RANGE	SAMPLE PROPORTION
Work Status	Employed	WE		0.6818
	Self Employed	WS		0.1091
	Look After the Home	WL		0.0364
	Unemployed	WU		0.0636
	Student	WT		0.0818
	Retired	WR		0.0091
	Retired but Working	WW		0.0182
INCOME	BELOW POVERTY LINE	BPL	0 -39999	0.3455
	POOR INCOME CLASS	PIG	40000-89999	0.2091
	LOWER MIDDLE	LMG	90000-179999	0.3636
	MIDDLE INCOME GROUP	MIG	180000-359999	0.0636
	HIGH MIDDLE INCOME	HMI	360000-599999	0.0000
HIGH INCOME GROUP	HIG	600000 +	0.0182	
GENDER	MALE	M		0.6364
	FEMALE	F		0.3636
AGE	FUTURE	FG	Under 18	0.045
	ACTIVE	AG	18 - 30	0.600
	WORKING GROUP	WG	31-50	0.300
	MATURED	MG	51 - 65	0.055
	EXPERIENCED GROUP	EG	65+	0.000
FAMILY STATUS	Married/Cohabiting(Believe in family)	FB		0.5545
	Single/Divorced (Problem in Family)	FP		0.2545
	Never Married (Family not started)	FN		0.1909
RELIGIOUSNESS	RELIGIOUS	RR	1,2	0.9182
	MODERATE	RP	3, 4	0.0727
	ATHEIST	RA	5	0.0091
POLITICAL AWARENESS	POLITICALLY AWARE	PA		0.2909
	POLITICAL THINKER	PT		0.0182
	APOLITICAL	PN		0.6909

Before I start the analysis of the sample survey, it needs to be mentioned that this is just a simple preliminary survey and it may suffer from many structural bottlenecks which have been considered to be constant or not at all considered. The effort is only to make a normative study of opportunities (scope), capability achievement, and resultant well-being or happiness. In case of work group the data is available for all sub group with skewness towards employed staff and this is very much reflective of Bhutanese society. Given the low population, employment is almost at full level,

however, salary level are low. Income group is mainly represented by BPL, PIG, and LMG. This shows the income distribution and gap between MIG and HIG due to the non-availability of data for HMI. This shows the unevenness of income distribution. The survey results also do not have any data on people above 65 years.

In all tables the following value grade has been applied on a five point scale:

Very Good	Good	Neutral	Bad	Very Bad
1	2	3	4	5

Thus if any result is more close to 1 then it reflects a very good condition and if it is moving closer towards 5 then that shows a negative result.

Table 3 : Work Group : Scope, Choice and Achievement

	WE	WL	WS	WT	WU	WR	Overall	
Sample Proportion	0.6818	0.0364	0.1091	0.0818	0.0636	0.0091	1.0000	
SCOPE	Happiness	1.84	2.00	1.75	1.78	2.43	2.00	1.97
	Achievement	2.09	2.75	2.33	2.11	2.43	3.00	2.45
	Health	1.56	1.75	1.75	1.56	1.86	1.67	1.69
	Intellectual Stimulation	1.97	2.50	2.33	2.33	2.29	1.67	2.18
	Social Relations	1.69	1.50	1.42	1.67	1.86	1.33	1.58
	Environment	2.03	2.00	1.58	1.67	2.43	1.33	1.84
	Integrity	1.68	1.75	1.75	1.56	2.29	1.67	1.78
	Total Scope	1.84	2.04	1.85	1.81	2.22	1.81	1.93
CHOICE	Happiness	2.76	2.75	3.17	3.11	3.43	1.67	2.81
	Achievement	2.87	2.00	2.92	3.00	3.86	2.00	2.77
	Health	2.76	1.75	3.08	2.67	3.29	1.67	2.54
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.99	3.75	3.33	3.00	3.43	2.00	3.08
	Social Relations	2.84	2.25	3.33	3.11	3.43	1.33	2.72
	Environment	2.69	2.50	2.67	2.67	2.43	1.67	2.44
	Integrity	3.16	2.00	2.75	3.22	2.86	2.33	2.72
	Total Choice	2.87	2.43	3.04	2.97	3.24	1.81	2.73
ACHIEVEMENT	Happiness	2.08	2.50	1.92	2.22	2.43	2.00	2.19
	Achievement	2.23	2.25	2.08	2.33	2.71	2.67	2.38
	Health	1.91	2.25	1.83	2.11	2.29	1.67	2.01
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.44	3.50	2.42	2.33	3.14	2.33	2.69
	Social Relations	2.08	2.25	1.92	2.11	2.14	1.67	2.03
	Environment	2.01	2.50	2.00	1.89	2.57	1.33	2.05
	Integrity	2.11	2.50	1.92	1.89	2.71	2.33	2.24
	Total Achievement	2.12	2.54	2.01	2.13	2.57	2.00	2.23

Among the **work groups**, student group and the retired group have the best total scope score while unemployed group does not find the overall opportunities that good. Employed Group feels quite good scope for health, Self employed group and house wives feel more scope for social relations; student group feels more scope for health and integrity, and retired group thinks very good scope for pleasant environment. Interestingly all work groups feel less scope for sense of achievement and intellectual stimulation. In terms of achievement, retired persons appear to be more fulfilled followed by Self- employed group. The Unemployed group and Housewives are having lower overall achievement score. Self-employed group has achieved the highest happiness. However overall achievement score across work group is worse off than the opportunity available meaning there by lower conversion factor at play.

Table 4 : Income Group : Scope, Choice and Achievement

		BPL	PIG	LMG	MIG	HIG	Overall
Sample Proportion		0.3455	0.2091	0.3636	0.0636	0.0182	1.0000
SCOPE	Happiness	1.87	1.91	1.90	1.57	2.00	1.85
	Achievement	2.18	2.00	2.30	2.43	1.50	2.08
	Health	1.58	1.48	1.70	1.71	1.50	1.59
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.05	2.00	2.05	2.57	2.00	2.13
	Social Relations	1.61	1.74	1.70	1.57	1.00	1.52
	Environment	1.84	2.00	2.03	2.00	2.00	1.97
	Integrity	1.58	1.78	1.83	1.57	2.00	1.75
	Total Scope	1.82	1.84	1.93	1.92	1.71	1.84
CHOICE	Happiness	2.89	3.09	2.63	2.86	3.50	2.99
	Achievement	2.97	2.96	2.78	3.00	2.50	2.84
	Health	2.89	2.83	2.50	2.86	4.00	3.02
	Intellectual Stimulation	3.11	2.70	3.18	3.43	2.50	2.98
	Social Relations	3.05	2.83	2.80	2.86	2.50	2.81
	Environment	2.76	2.61	2.53	2.43	3.50	2.77
	Integrity	2.92	3.61	2.95	2.43	2.50	2.88
	Total Choice	2.94	2.94	2.76	2.84	3.00	2.90
ACHIEVEMENT	Happiness	2.11	2.22	2.08	2.00	2.00	2.08
	Achievement	2.24	2.52	2.23	2.14	1.00	2.03
	Health	1.95	1.83	2.10	1.71	1.00	1.72
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.50	2.48	2.58	2.43	2.00	2.40
	Social Relations	2.11	2.04	2.08	2.00	1.50	1.94
	Environment	2.03	2.04	2.10	2.00	1.00	1.83
	Integrity	2.05	2.13	2.20	1.86	2.00	2.05
	Total Achievement	2.14	2.18	2.19	2.02	1.50	2.01

In the study of **Income groups**, ‘below poverty line’ (BPL) income group refers to lower than US \$ 2.5 a day earner, which is the minimum wage rate of Bhutan. Among the income groups, high-income group (HIG) and the BPL group have the best total scope score while lower middle-income group (LMG) finds the overall opportunities little less. BPL Group and Poor Income Group (PIG) feel like having more scope for health and integrity, Middle Income group feels more scope for happiness, social relations and integrity; in contrast High Income group feels very good scope for social relations, health and sense of achievement but lower scope for integrity, happiness, and pleasant environment. Interestingly all work groups except HIG feel less scope for sense of achievement and intellectual stimulation. In terms of achievement, HIG is the only group who has improved on the achievement score over the scope they command due to their capability of converting scope into opportunities further than any other income group. The next best achievement factor is for MIG. Thus, income plays a crucial part in the capability functioning in Bhutan. Another noteworthy factor is that all the income groups have lower capability achievement than the work group. Although income earners feel better scope of opportunities prevail in the society but they have failed to leverage the same into functioning.

The next analysis is of **gender group** in the society. Incidentally, Male and Female - both groups feel that same level of opportunities do exist in the society. I basic values are considered, Male group feels that there are more options for health and social relations while Female group feels more scope for integrity and health and both groups think the same about scope for happiness. In terms of achievement, female group has improved on the achievement score better than her male counterpart. Women has best achievement factor in case of integrity while men have improved on health. The overall scope is there for the gender group as a whole but their capabilities of converting scope into capabilities are lower. Thus the Bhutanese society reflects equal opportunity for men and women but higher capability for women. 97.5% of the women in the sample survey believe in family planning while the figure is 94.2% for men. In the context of Bhutan up to 3 children is considered as good family planning, given the low population density. In this survey around 77% of the female are in the active group (18 to 30 years) and 18% in Working Group (31 to 50 years) – the figures are 50% and 37% in case of men respectively. Another factor is that 70% of the female are employed while only 67% of the men are in the job. Further men have higher percentage in the case of self-employment over women.

Table 5 Gender Group: Scope, Choice and Achievement

		Male	Female	Overall
	Sample Proportion	0.6364	0.3636	1.0000
SCOPE	Happiness	1.89	1.88	1.88
	Achievement	2.23	2.16	2.19
	Health	1.56	1.73	1.64
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.06	2.14	2.10
	Social Relations	1.61	1.76	1.69
	Environment	1.96	1.99	1.97
	Integrity	1.76	1.69	1.72
	Total Scope	1.87	1.87	1.87
CHOICE	Happiness	2.84	2.90	2.87
	Achievement	3.01	2.73	2.87
	Health	2.69	2.93	2.81
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.87	3.44	3.15
	Social Relations	2.84	3.04	2.94
	Environment	2.54	2.87	2.70
	Integrity	3.04	3.09	3.07
	Total Choice	2.83	2.94	2.89
ACHIEVEMENT	Happiness	2.10	2.20	2.15
	Achievement	2.33	2.23	2.28
	Health	1.91	2.08	2.00
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.51	2.59	2.55
	Social Relations	2.06	2.16	2.11
	Environment	2.06	2.09	2.07
	Integrity	2.20	2.04	2.12
	Total Achievement	2.17	2.11	2.14

In case of **Age Group** analysis, the sample size is divided into four categories – Future Group (FG), Active Group (AG), Working Group (WG) and Matured Group (MG). However the main focus is on AG and WG between the age range of 18 years to 50 years since they are in a better position to evaluate their scope, choices, capabilities to convert the scope into functioning (achievement). Matured Group (51-65 years) finds that there are very good options for pleasant environment, social relations, integrity and happiness. Future Group (Under 18) thinks that there are good scope for integrity and health. Both of these groups feel the same about scope for happiness. AG and WG both think that total opportunities are quite good with AG sees more favourable scope in Health and WG in social

relations. However, like other groups, this group also point outs to the lower opportunities when it comes to sense of achievement and intellectual stimulation. In terms of achievement, Matured group has achieved more with highest capability in terms of health, pleasant environment and integrity. This is a significant outcome since this age group has already practiced the philosophy of TSAWA-SUM⁷ through out their lives and think that they have achieved happiness. Working Group has achieved good total achievement and it shows their capability strength. While Active Group could not fully take the benefit of opportunities available to them by converting these into their achievement.

Table 6 Age Group : Scope, Choice and Achievement

		FG	AG	WG	MG	Overall
Sample Proportion		0.0455	0.6000	0.3000	0.0545	1.0000
SCOPE	Happiness	1.60	1.99	1.76	1.17	1.63
	Achievement	2.00	2.15	2.24	2.33	2.18
	Health	1.40	1.58	1.70	1.67	1.59
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.40	2.01	2.18	2.00	2.15
	Social Relations	1.80	1.75	1.55	1.17	1.57
	Environment	2.00	2.01	2.00	1.00	1.75
	Integrity	1.40	1.80	1.70	1.17	1.52
	Total Scope	1.80	1.88	1.87	1.50	1.76
CHOICE	Happiness	3.20	2.91	2.79	2.17	2.77
	Achievement	2.80	3.08	2.61	2.33	2.70
	Health	3.00	2.82	2.79	1.83	2.61
	Intellectual Stimulation	3.00	3.13	3.03	2.67	2.96
	Social Relations	3.20	3.04	2.76	2.00	2.75
	Environment	2.40	2.77	2.48	2.33	2.50
	Integrity	3.40	3.22	2.79	2.17	2.89
	Total Choice	3.00	2.96	2.75	2.21	2.73
ACHIEVEMENT	Happiness	2.11	2.21	2.00	1.67	2.00
	Achievement	2.24	2.40	1.97	2.33	2.23
	Health	1.95	2.05	1.91	1.33	1.81
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.50	2.55	2.45	2.67	2.54
	Social Relations	2.11	2.20	1.85	1.67	1.96
	Environment	2.03	2.13	2.00	1.50	1.91
	Integrity	2.05	2.24	1.97	1.67	1.98
	Total Achievement	2.14	2.20	2.02	1.83	2.05

⁷ Tsawa-Sum means The King, the People and the Country in Dzongkh, the Bhutanese Official Language

The overall scope is quite good for all age groups taking together but their capabilities of converting scope into achievements are still falling behind.

Table 7 : Family Status Group : Scope, Choice and Achievement

		FB	FP	FN	Overall
Sample Proportion		0.5545	0.2545	0.1909	1.0000
SCOPE	Happiness	1.75	2.10	1.96	1.94
	Achievement	2.33	2.05	2.00	2.13
	Health	1.72	1.38	1.54	1.55
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.08	2.14	2.00	2.07
	Social Relations	1.54	1.81	1.79	1.71
	Environment	1.90	2.05	2.00	1.98
	Integrity	1.67	1.62	1.89	1.73
	Total Scope	1.86	1.88	1.88	1.87
CHOICE	Happiness	2.74	3.19	2.82	2.92
	Achievement	2.62	3.33	3.14	3.03
	Health	2.54	3.05	3.00	2.86
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.89	3.33	3.21	3.14
	Social Relations	2.62	3.24	3.21	3.03
	Environment	2.52	2.67	2.86	2.68
	Integrity	2.93	3.05	3.25	3.08
	Total Choice	2.70	3.12	3.07	2.96
ACHIEVEMENT	Happiness	2.05	1.95	2.36	2.12
	Achievement	2.16	2.29	2.46	2.30
	Health	1.85	2.00	2.11	1.99
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.43	2.76	2.50	2.56
	Social Relations	1.90	2.38	2.18	2.15
	Environment	1.97	2.10	2.14	2.07
	Integrity	2.08	2.33	2.00	2.14
	Total Achievement	2.06	2.26	2.25	2.19

In my analyses the fifth group is **Family Status Group** that would reflect the values in building a Family, which according to me contribute a lot in the overall well-being and happiness. There are three groups: Believer in Family (FB) who is actually married/co-habiting couples, ‘Problems in Family Life’ (FP), who is single or divorced, and ‘Family Not Started’ (FN) group who is yet to start their Family or never married. The survey shows that 55% of the sample size is believer in family, 26% have problems in Family building and the balance 19% yet to start. This indicates that sex life is quite active in Bhutan and that may be one source of their mental happiness. People quite

often change their life partners as in the developed world and there is less social stigma attached to the process of separation. Alumni laws are quite clear and simple, father has to bear 50% of the cost of the children and the mother has to be paid a one-time lump sum, which is also not quite high irrespective of the earning status of the mother. Of the ‘Family Not started’ Group around 36% is either student and unemployed and the balance 64% is never married category and it shows that quite a number of people prefer to spend their lives alone or in the religious activities (monks). The ‘believer in family’ group feels that their scope for social relations is highest followed by integrity and happiness. This is reflective, too, of the basic family values of Bhutanese society. The other groups think that the scope for health is quite good. As expected, the ‘Problem in family’ group feels that the scope for happiness is the lowest for them although they feel that they achieved happiness in life, may be, since they pursued their divorce. Interestingly, FB feels that options for sense of achievement is lowest for them, which in a way show limitation/bindings normally associated with family life. Again all the groups find that the scope for intellectual stimulation is not very good.

In terms of achievement, ‘Believer in Family’ group has highest overall capability with quite good achievements in terms of social relations, health, and pleasant environment. Interestingly, they feel that have failed to maintain the scope of integrity and compromised. Their perceived achievement in social relations also reflect that due to family life they are not able to utilise the full scope of social relations. Otherwise, other family groups think that their total achievement in life in not quite good. The overall scope is quite good for all family status groups as a whole but their capabilities of converting scope into achievements are still falling short.

The sixth group in my survey is the **Religious group**. This is to show whether religiousness helps in converting the opportunities into capabilities. In Bhutan, I conclude most people (about 92%) believe in religion and non-believer in God is less than 1%. Thus religiousness certainly has influenced this capability survey. However, non-believer in Religion feels more scope (very good scope for pleasant environment and social relations) than Religious group (for them scope is good for health, social relations, integrity and happiness). The moderate group thinks that the scope is not so good and they questioned the scope of integrity. This may be pointing to the fact if everything is not left to religion, the scope for integrity is negative. In terms of achievement, ‘Non-believer in religion’ group has highest overall

capability with complete happiness, complete sense of achievements and satisfying social relations.

Table 8 : Religious Group : Scope, Choice and Achievement

		Religious	Moderate	Atheist	Overall
Sample Proportion		0.9182	0.0727	0.0091	1.0000
SCOPE	Happiness	1.84	2.25	2.00	2.03
	Achievement	2.19	2.25	2.00	2.15
	Health	1.58	1.88	2.00	1.82
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.06	2.25	2.00	2.10
	Social Relations	1.63	2.00	1.00	1.54
	Environment	1.95	2.13	1.00	1.69
	Integrity	1.66	2.38	2.00	2.01
	Total Scope	1.85	2.16	1.71	1.91
CHOICE	Happiness	2.82	3.13	3.00	2.98
	Achievement	2.92	2.75	1.00	2.22
	Health	2.73	3.13	2.00	2.62
	Intellectual Stimulation	3.09	2.88	1.00	2.32
	Social Relations	2.89	2.75	4.00	3.21
	Environment	2.68	2.25	1.00	1.98
	Integrity	3.10	2.50	1.00	2.20
	Total Choice	2.89	2.77	1.86	2.51
ACHIEVEMENT	Happiness	2.10	2.38	1.00	1.82
	Achievement	2.26	2.50	1.00	1.92
	Health	1.90	2.50	2.00	2.13
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.47	3.00	3.00	2.82
	Social Relations	2.03	2.63	1.00	1.88
	Environment	1.97	2.75	3.00	2.57
	Integrity	2.08	2.50	2.00	2.19
	Total Achievement	2.11	2.61	1.86	2.19

The religious group show the same mid path position of lower overall achievement vis-à-vis their perceived scope. The moderate group whom I think as the more rational and practical minded put the overall capability towards negative side of the value scale with lower achievement for Intellectual stimulation, social relations, health, and even pleasant environment. The overall scope is quite good for Religious groups as a whole but their capabilities of converting scope into achievements suffer from proper utilisation.

Table 9 : Political Awareness Group : Scope, Choice and Achievement

		PA	PT	PN	Overall
	Sample Proportion	0.2909	0.0182	0.6909	1.0000
SCOPE	Happiness	2.16	2.00	1.76	1.97
	Achievement	2.47	3.00	2.07	2.51
	Health	1.88	1.50	1.52	1.63
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.16	2.50	2.04	2.23
	Social Relations	1.69	1.50	1.66	1.62
	Environment	2.31	1.50	1.84	1.88
	Integrity	1.81	1.50	1.71	1.67
	Total Scope	2.07	1.93	1.78	1.93
CHOICE	Happiness	2.66	1.50	2.99	2.38
	Achievement	2.81	1.50	2.99	2.43
	Health	2.47	1.50	2.94	2.30
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.88	3.50	3.15	3.18
	Social Relations	2.34	1.50	3.19	2.34
	Environment	2.22	2.00	2.86	2.36
	Integrity	2.88	3.50	3.13	3.17
	Total Choice	2.61	2.14	3.00	2.58
ACHIEVEMENT	Happiness	2.41	2.00	2.03	2.14
	Achievement	2.63	2.50	2.15	2.42
	Health	2.09	1.50	1.94	1.84
	Intellectual Stimulation	2.78	2.50	2.44	2.57
	Social Relations	2.09	2.00	2.10	2.06
	Environment	2.13	2.50	2.03	2.22
	Integrity	2.34	2.50	2.05	2.30
	Total Achievement	2.35	2.21	2.06	2.21

My seventh and Final group is **Political Awareness Group**, as for the conversion of scope to capability certain amount of notion about one’s rights is essential which comes out of political awareness. My study shows that only 29% of the sample size is politically aware and 2% is political thinker but most of them are apolitical. Thus in the capability survey of Bhutan, politics does not play a crucial role. It may be due to the political conditions prevailing in the neighbouring countries especially in Nepal and Bhutan. The Apolitical group feels that they have high degree of scope and they also have good overall capability. In contrast, the politically aware group thinks that they are short of good scope and their achievement is average. The political thinker group maintains a midway as they find good opportunities and scope but lower achievement possibility.

I have not discussed the perception of these seven groups regarding their notion about the Choice not available to the majority of the people in the Bhutanese society. In the absence of available data this set of questionnaires has been designed (second part) across all seven basic capabilities so as to determine what our different groups feel about ‘least haves’ in terms of percentage of population. The result shows that all the groups believe that 25% to 39% of the population do not have access to few or many of these basic capabilities and achievements. However, this may not show a true picture of actual reality, the percentage of population under distress may be much higher. This, in fact, shows that Gross national Happiness Concept may be working well for higher echelon of the society but not reaching out to the people for which they are meant. Thus, capability approach in a way questions the creation of scope at the lower rung of the society and achievements at that level. If that happens the goal of Gross National Happiness will be simultaneously achieved.

Table 10: Comparison of Descriptive results -Capabilities and Achievements

Variable	Bhutan Survey				UK Survey#			
	Median	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Median	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error
	n	110			n	268		
Capabilities								
C1	2.0	1.87273	0.7053	0.0672	2.0	2.5919	1.4626	0.0887
C2	2.0	2.19091	0.8620	0.0822	3.0	2.8487	1.4817	0.0900
C3	2.0	1.60909	0.6649	0.0634	2.0	2.5331	1.5555	0.0943
C4	2.0	2.07273	0.7881	0.0751	2.0	2.6618	1.4386	0.0872
C5	2.0	1.65455	0.6965	0.0664	3.0	3.0515	1.6404	0.0995
C6	2.0	1.95455	0.7089	0.0676	2.0	2.4333	1.4988	0.0912
C7	2.0	1.71818	0.6891	0.0657	3.0	3.1292	1.5329	0.0931
Ctot	1.9	1.86753	0.4126	0.0393	2.0	2.6679	1.4683	0.0892
Achievements								
A1	2.0	2.1091	0.7462	0.0711	2.0	2.2989	1.3261	0.0806
A2	2.0	2.2636	0.9353	0.0892	3.0	2.8519	1.4985	0.0912
A3	2.0	1.9455	0.8221	0.0784	2.0	2.6015	1.5043	0.0914
A4	2.0	2.5091	0.7524	0.0717	2.0	2.6815	1.4462	0.0880
A5	2.0	2.0636	0.7203	0.0687	2.0	2.6790	1.4260	0.0866
A6	2.0	2.0364	0.7654	0.0730	2.0	2.4907	1.3621	0.0830
A7	2.0	2.1091	0.7165	0.0683	3.0	2.7704	1.3658	0.0831
Atot	2.1	2.1481	0.5257	0.0501	2.3	2.6248	1.4184	0.0863

Key : n = sample survey C = capability question A = Achievement tot = overall position
 1= Happiness 2= Sense of Achievement 3 = Health 4 = Intellectual stimulations 5 = Social relations
 6 = Environment 7= Integrity
 # Anand Paul and Martin Van Hees Capabilities and Achievements – A Survey, 2003

At this point I would like to introduce statistical tools for evaluations of opportunities and co-related achievements in the Bhutanese society and would compare the results with that of UK survey. It is observed in Table 10 from the mean value of capabilities as prevailing in Bhutanese society is far higher even in case of intellectual stimulation in comparison to the mean average of scope observed in UK. In Bhutanese society **scope for health** has the **highest** average rating followed by scope for social relations and personal integrity whilst **scope for sense of achievement** is the **lowest** preceded by Intellectual stimulation. In contrast **UK survey** shows that the highest mean rating for **pleasant environment** followed by Health and Happiness but the lowest rating for **personal integrity** preceded by sense of achievement. In case of Achievements, Bhutanese society has given highest mean rating to **Health** and the lowest to **Intellectual stimulation**. In contrast, **UK survey** attaches highest rating to Happiness and lowest rating to sense of achievement. The comparison of overall capability mean with the overall achievement mean shows that the lower conversion factor at play in least developed society whilst UK survey shows better function of utilisation of the overall mean to covert into higher overall achievements. The median data for Bhutan also shows occurrence of higher or same rating across all categories over UK. Another important observation is that standard deviation data of capabilities and achievement for Bhutan are showing lower variance from the mean in comparison to UK survey data, thus there is more homogeneity (commonness) in sample data of Bhutan over UK, which is good for achieving GNH. The lower standard error of mean for Bhutan data over UK Survey shows less sampling error in calculation of mean and more accurate estimation of Bhutan’s condition over UK.

In case of UK study, it is observed by Paul and Hees *“being in a relatively high income group depresses satisfaction with overall capabilities which runs in the opposite direction to what one would expect based on objective considerations. Other things being equal (and we control for some of the more measurable and obvious factors), one would expect income to expand a person’s capabilities, but this seems not to be the case... our finding is notable because it suggests that, at the phenomenological level, income improvements lead to a fall in the experienced value of capabilities.”* However, my finding is different in case of Bhutan, as it may be observed that the **High Income Group** has been able to utilise their scope too well to increase their capabilities. This is mainly due to the power structure prevalent in the society and access to resources, by **HIG**, both physical and intellectual in the least developed countries. This corroborates to the theory

that if this process continues the rich will become richer and poor will become poorer.

Now let me examine the link between the **perception of peoples about the distribution of opportunities among others** and their **own capabilities**. Generally, it was found that the people have less direct information about others and they base their perception on their own capabilities or experiences. For the purpose, the rank correlation between own scope and perception of others who has limited opportunities is carried out to find out the inherent relation.

Table 11: Rank Correlations: Own Capabilities and Perception of Others

Variable	Bhutan Survey			UK Survey#		
	Spearman Correlation	p (for 2-tailed significance test)	n	Spearman Correlation	p (for 2-tailed significance test)	n
C1, D 1	0.170	0.000	110	0.183	0.005	231
C2 , D2	-0.092	0.000	110	0.212	0.001	240
C3, D3	0.077	0.000	110	0.021	0.747	235
C4, D4	0.068	0.000	110	0.110	0.088	240
C5, D5	0.149	0.000	110	0.236	0.000	236
C6, D6	0.145	0.000	110	0.073	0.257	246
C7, D7	0.040	0.000	110	0.169	0.009	240

Key : n = sample survey C = capability question D = Perception on others question
 1= Happiness 2= Sense of Achievement 3 = Health 4 = Intellectual stimulations 5 = Social relations
 6 = Environment 7= Integrity
 # Anand Paul and Martin Van Hees Capabilities and Achievements – A Survey, 2003

As expected all the correlation coefficients(p) are positive except for sense of achievement. But in case of Uk all the ps are positive. Interestingly, it may be observed that test of significance shows all ps are significant at 99% confidence level i.e. less than the one in a thousand level. However, in case of UK two were not significant and these relate to health and pleasant environment. Thus this shows that impact of person’s own position will have lesser influence on perception about others. In case of Bhutan, it is mainly failure of the people to understand the meaning of sense of achievement for self and others.

Finally, I will investigate empirically the statistical significance of rank correlation between **capabilities** and corresponding **achievements** in order to establish the there exist a **direct relation** between the scope or opportunities available to a person and his achievement in terms of basic capabilities.

Table 12 : Rank Correlations : Own Capabilities and Achievements

Variable	Bhutan Survey			UK Survey#		
	Spearman Correlation	p (for 2-tailed significance test)	n	Spearman Correlation	p (for 2-tailed significance test)	n
C1, A1	0.393	0.017	110	0.567	0.000	270
C2, A2	0.369	0.549	110	0.608	0.000	268
C3, A3	0.313	0.001	110	0.749	0.000	270
C4, A4	0.333	0.000	110	0.695	0.000	269
C5, A5	0.392	0.000	110	0.762	0.000	270
C6, A6	0.291	0.412	110	0.715	0.000	267
C7, A7	0.266	0.000	110	0.664	0.000	268

Key : n = sample survey C = capability question A = Achievement Question
 1= Happiness 2= Sense of Achievement 3 = Health 4 = Intellectual stimulations 5 = Social relations
 6 = Environment 7= Integrity
 # Anand Paul and Martin Van Hees Capabilities and Achievements – A Survey, 2003

Table 12 shows that all the correlation coefficients are positive and this shows a direct link between capabilities and achievements both in case of Bhutan and UK. But in the test of significance, whether correlation coefficients are statistically different from zero (mean), two correlation coefficients are not significant – sense of achievement and pleasant environment. The third one, happiness is significant only at 1.7% level. Thus the UK data shows significant linkages between capabilities and achievements and a close approximation of the population than the Bhutanese data.

The full table of correlation coefficients as calculated by me shows three lowest coefficients – just below 0.1 and these are $r_{C4,A3}$ (0.0781), $r_{C2,A5}$ (0.0689) and $r_{C3,A5}$ (0.0333). Therefore the weakest links are between the scope for intellectual stimulation and the achievement of good health (this is

also true for UK), the scope to achieve things in life and the achievements of satisfying social relations, the scope to live a healthy life and the achievements of satisfying social relations (this is also true for UK). Thus there are lot of similarities in the relationship data in case of UK and Bhutan and this establishes the validity of such studies.

Thus, the study has been able to create distinction between different capabilities and the linkages and relationship between capability and functioning as an extension of opportunities available to a person. People's own capabilities are reflective of the capabilities other possesses in the society and an extrapolation is possible. The capability approach is a useful tool between objective list approach to well-being and policy analysis. And in the words of Paul and Hees, *“It appears plausible to distinguish between achievement (meaning outcome), and sense of achievement, which can be thought of as a particular dimension. Similarly, it appears that happiness might have two meanings, one relating to a dimension in the objective list, and a second referring to the subjective satisfaction rating of all capabilities and achievements. So you could, coherently in Sen's theory, be happy with the amount of happiness that you had achieved in your life. And you could be happy with your opportunities to achieve happiness - even if you turned out miserable.”*

Conclusion: The concept of Gross National Happiness through its four pillar lays the focal emphasis on human beings – the main constituent of the welfare state. The objectives of GNH encompass the immediate environments of the people – cultural, physical, social and religious. The capability approach and other related empirical studies start with total freedom of the people (socio-economic agent) of the welfare state as to their social choice. The approach establishes a direct relation between the resources available to an agent and his level of welfare (happiness). However the resources have to be “potential” – that is, the agent should be able to use it. And secondly it views the formation of social capital as an endowment – a mean to achieve a life that people value. The social planners and political policy makers need to evaluate the need of individuals for resources and their diverse abilities to convert resources into functioning. The framework combines bottom-up micro policies with macro democratic governance structures for enhancing human capabilities in the pursuit of multidimensional analyses, participatory strategies, emphasis on the agency and autonomy of individuals and distributional analyses of people's well-beings. In the process liberal rights of the people and social capital formation

at the lowest social network level are important for capability approach to function and achieve GNH at the level of welfare state. Thus the concept of capability approach and Gross National Happiness are complimentary in Nature and they supplement each other. It can be concluded that there certainly exist a bridge of possibility for linkages between the micro level development policies to the Gross National Happiness Concept and its objectives so that it addresses the complex nature of human diversity in relation to their generic endowments, external environments and social conditions they live in the world over. I would like to conclude with another quote of visionary person, Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of India, *“In a well-ordered society, the securing of one’s livelihood should be and is found to be the easiest thing in the world. Indeed the test of orderliness in country is not the number of millionaires it owns, but the absence of starvation among masses... material advancement does not mean moral progress”*. And both the capability approach and Gross National Happiness Concept can address these twin concerns of our world.

Survey Questionnaire

Appendix 1

FIRST SEGMENT: “HOW I FEEL THE SCOPE”

In the first segment, you are asked about your opinion on your personal feelings about the scope or opportunity you enjoy.

1.1 I feel the scope to seek happiness in my life is:

PLEASE RING ONE

Very Good	Good	Neutral	Bad	Very Bad
1	2	3	4	5

1.2. I feel the scope to achieve things in my life is:

Very Good	Good	Neutral	Inadequate	Very Inadequate
1	2	3	4	5

1.3 I feel the scope to live a healthy life (access to Medical systems, Hygienic Environment, Pure Water etc) is :

Very Good	Good	Neutral	Inadequate	Very Inadequate
1	2	3	4	5

1.4. I feel the scope for intellectual stimulation (through Education, access to information, sharing of thoughts/ideas, etc) in my life is:

Very Good	Good	Neutral	Inadequate	Very Inadequate
1	2	3	4	5

1.5 I feel the scope to form satisfying social relations(with Parents, Spouse, Friends, social circles etc) in my life is:

Very Good	Good	Neutral	Inadequate	Very Inadequate
1	2	3	4	5

1.6. I feel the scope of pleasant environments (at home, at Work Place, at Social Gatherings, at leisure etc) in my life is :

Very Good	Good	Neutral	Inadequate	Very Inadequate
1	2	3	4	5

1.7 I feel the scope to act with personal integrity(honesty, sincerity, feelings for animals, religiousness etc) in my life is:

Very Good	Good	Neutral	Inadequate	Very Inadequate
1	2	3	4	5

SECOND SEGMENT : “HOW I THINK ABOUT OTHERS”

In this segment you are asked for your views about THE OPTIONS OTHERS HAVE in Bhutan. Give your best opinion.

PLEASE TICK ONE of the CHOICES

2.1 The proportion of the total population who have severely *limited opportunities to lead life happily* is:

- 0-9%
- 10-24%
- 25-39%
- 40% and above
- Don't know

2.2 The proportion of the population who have severely *limited opportunities to achieve things* in their lives is:

- 0-9%
- 10-24%
- 25-39%
- 40% and above
- Don't know

2.3 The proportion of the population who have severely *limited opportunities to live healthy lives*

- 0-9%
- 10-24%
- 25-39%
- 40% and above
- Don't know

2.4 The proportion of the population who have severely *limited opportunities for intellectual stimulation* is:

- 0-9%
- 10-24%
- 25-39%
- 40% and above
- Don't know

2.5 The proportion of the population who have severely *limited opportunities to form relations* is:

- 0-9%
- 10-24%
- 25-39%
- 40% and above
- Don't know

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2.6 The proportion of the population who has severely *limited opportunities to enjoy pleasant environments* (home, work, leisure) is:

- 0-9%
- 10-24%
- 25-39%
- 40% and above
- Don't know

2.7 The proportion of the population who have severely *limited opportunities to maintain personal integrities in their lives* is:

- 0-9%
- 10-24%
- 25-39%
- 40% and above
- Don't know

THIRD SEGMENT : “HOW I HAVE ACHIEVED”

In this segment, you are asked about the outcomes in your life vis-à-vis your available options

PLFASE RING ONE

3.1 Generally, I am very happy in my life.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

3.2 I am very satisfied with what I am able to achieve in my life :

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

3.3. I have been able to maintain a very healthy life for my age.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

3.4 I am adequately intellectually stimulated in my life

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

3.5 I have satisfying social relations.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

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3.6 I live, work and undertake leisure activities in pleasant environments.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

3.7. I am able to behave in ways that do not compromise with my personal integrity in life.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

FOURTH SEGMENT: “WHO I AM?”

Finally, it would be very helpful if you could complete the following information:

4.1 My work status is: (PLEASE TICK ONE)

- Employed
- Self-employed
- Look After the Home
- Unemployed but Seeking Work
- Student
- Retired and/Or doing paid work less than 5 hours per week
- Retired but doing paid work more than 5 hours per week

4.2. My annual income is in the following category: (PLEASE TICK ONE)

- NU 0- NU 39,999
- NU 40,000 - 89,999
- NU 90,000 - 179,999
- NU 180,000 – 359,999
- Nu 360,000 – 599,999
- NU 600,000 +

4.3 I feel there should be the following political system in the country. (PLEASE TICK ONE)

- Present system of Governance by His majesty through Council of Ministers
- Two Party Systems as suggested in the Constitution
- Multi Party Systems as prevalent in major Democracy
- Other System _____ Please specify

4.4 My Sex is : Female Male

4.5 My Age is (PLEASE TICK ONE)

- Under 18 18-30 31- 50 51 – 65 65+

4.6 Number of Children: (PLEASE ENTER NUMBER)

4.7 My Marital Status : PLEASE TICK ONE

- Never Married
- Single/ Divorced/ Widow(er)ed and single
- Cohabiting/ Married/ Remarried

4.8. My belief in God and Religion

Strongly believe	Believe	Neutral	Do not Believe	Atheist
1	2	3	4	5

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Appendix 2

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In profession, he has been associated with banking and finance Industry for the last 10 years and has served in various capacities in the State Bank Group and many other private sector banks. Presently, he is the General Manager (Finance) of Bhutan National Bank.

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- 2. Strategic Repositioning of Mortgage Finance in the Post-reform era in Indian Housing Finance Sector.*
- 3. Mortgage Backed Securitisation – Can it be a value Multiplier for Banking Sector in Developing Countries*
- 4. How to use FDI in the economic development of a country like Bhutan*
- 5. Global Branding Strategy of Citigroup Inc. and Booz Allen Hamilton – a success and failure story*
- 6. Lending Process Reengineering in Banking Industry*
- 7. Daewoo Motors India Limited – A Global Entry strategy failure*

- 8. Entry Strategy to Bhutan*
- 9. Gross National Happiness and Foreign Direct Investment in Bhutan*