

Well-being, Happiness, and Public Policy



There is no joy like the joy of unleashing the human spirit. There is no laughter like the laughter of those who are happy with others. There is no purpose more noble than to build communities for all. This is our glory. -- Eunice Kennedy Shriver.

Virtue is bold, and goodness never fearful. -- William Shakespeare.

Let yourself be silently drawn by the stronger pull of what you really love. -- Rumi.

We in our life are never more than the crescent moon behind the fullness of ourself. ...
Destiny doesn't mean doing this that or the other. It means touching and savouring the fullness of your being and living more and more clearly and continuously from within it
-- Cynthia Bourgeault.

The right to search for truth implies also a duty; One must not conceal any part of what one has recognized to be true. -- Albert Einstein.

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At-A-Glance: Humanity, in our day is restless. But what is the yearning for? This document outlines the concept of well-being, flourishing, and happiness for all which forms the objective of a new development paradigm.

Purpose. As a background paper to the International Expert Working Group on a New Development Paradigm, this document seeks to synthesise for busy readers how the IEWG might explain and defend well-being and happiness, and also what value-added this work has in policy terms in compared with the many other aligned and very necessary movements and policy advocacy for a.

What is Well-being Drawing upon innumerable consultations as well as Amartya Sen’s capability approach, Bhutan Gross National Happiness index, and others, the concept of well-being here framed is multidimensional and has space for people and communities to always discuss, ponder, shape and re-shape their own objectives.

What is a ‘Domain’ of Well-being The paper also then upon philosophical traditions to propose how the GNH concept of having nine domains of well-being can be shared in an international context, in which theories and views about the human good will be quite diverse, and yet in which full-bodied discussion of human progress – which we see everywhere – can be constructive.

Nine domains Each of the nine domains of the Gross National Happiness paradigm in Bhutan (which itself is corroborated by many international studies) are presented and their potential value discussed in an intuitive way.

Policies we affirm Each of the nine domains already are the subject of numerous policy proposals. Where these are well-developed, this document suggests that the commission affirm others’ work.

Transformative Policy Cameos Some profound aspects of happiness and well-being are simply not widely considered. Most domains provide cameos examples of cost-effective policies whose implementation would distinguish a fully developed paradigm on authentic happiness and well-being. The cameos draw on the Appendix, and IPR conditions for these are the same as in that document.

Well-being, Happiness, and Public Policy

Sabina Alkire, January 2013

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“The old model is broken. We need to create a new one.... we must unite around a shared vision for the future – a vision for equitable human development, a healthy planet, an enduring economic dynamism.”

Ban ki Moon, the Secretary General of the United Nations

“Our nation’s Vision can only be fulfilled if the scope of our dreams and aspirations are matched by the reality of our commitment to nurturing our future citizens.”

His Majesty Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck, the 5th King of Bhutan

Humanity, in our age, is restless. Thanks to technology and economic interchange humanity has never been richer; progress has become ordinary, and each new year, the shy hopes of many burn bright. And yet our economic system seems inadequate to poor and rich alike: to the poor, for too often overlooking them; to the middle class and rich, for its instability and unpredictability; to all, for draining and dirtying the earth; and, because its success does not finally satisfy. While we can, and millions do, learn to be deeply compassionate, creative, and radiantly happy, doing so often requires great innovation and exertion – like swimming upstream. Many are applying their minds to bring system-wide change, so that our economies sweep us towards, rather than away, from what really matters to flourish as a human being. These include leaders in the new technologies and business communities – including Google and friends² – alongside thought entrepreneurs in village communities who are troubled by wisdom discarded. They include public servants who seek to promote human well-being,³ ‘*buen vivir*’,⁴ and gross national happiness,⁵ alongside NGOs and citizens and managers who create verdant gardens of balanced and joyous humanity in a billion domains. Academics, journalists, spiritual leaders, network coordinators, artists and entertainers, teachers, and elders engage deeply – to criticise, to organise and to suggest.

In this time of creative ferment, there are many very wise and important reports and convocations and statements on well-being, many on happiness, many calling for sustainable development, many for ongoing poverty reduction, for social movements, for better measurement, for strengthened governance, for a new economics. Most of these initiatives arise from an authentic and legitimate concern over the current economic paradigm (as well as recognition of its positive aspects). And most have critically important insights – from scientific or empirical findings; political analysis, historical observation, systems theory, or from a consensus among a great number of people. The groundswell of reports, movements, and initiatives is a symptom both that the problem is real, and that many are rising to the challenge and seriously seeking ways to address it, personally and collectively.

Given such a radiant field of human endeavour, what is *distinctive* about this paper? We humbly seek to add a new voice to this orchestra of ideas by highlighting radical policies whose pursuit distinguishes the well-being and happiness paradigm from social and sustainable development. We do so in three sections. First, drawing on Bhutan’s own experience as well as on the long literature on

¹ sabina.alkire@geh.ox.ac.uk This is a background paper for the International Expert Working Group on Well-being and Happiness within the Prime Minister of Bhutan’s Commission for a New Development Paradigm. The term ‘we’ is occasionally used to suggest perspectives which the IEWG might draw upon, discard, improve, or use as it sees fit. I am grateful for the input of the case study team upon whose work I draw liberally for the cameos (Ann Barham, Liz Fouksman, Nimi Hoffmann, Julia Kim, Divya Nambiar, Kim Samuel, Diego Zavaleta), as well as to Putu Natih for checking references, and to Ann Barham and John Hammock for comments. The biggest gratitude is to Dasho Karma Ura who has instigated this study. All errors remain my own.

² See <http://www.wisdom2summit.com/> on an annual conference hosted by Google on wisdom and the new technologies

³ Many government-led well-being projects are underway – in the United Kingdom, Japan, Canada, Netherlands, Australia, and elsewhere. Their definitions of well-being vary as do the nature of their policies. Wikiprogress provides many links to these.

⁴ Latin American governments, particularly Bolivia and Ecuador, are pioneering an integrated policies to support *buen vivir*.

⁵ www.grossnationalhappiness.com and contains the Gross National Happiness Index documents and other resources.

this topic, we articulate a multi-dimensional concept of happiness and well-being, recognising it must be specific enough to frame a new paradigm and spur collective action, and wide enough to encompass diverse insights. Second, taking a number of domains in turn, we show how certain aspects of these domains are already being considered in ongoing discussions. We then look beyond these and draw attention to more radical policies and overlooked aspects of each domain, that are visionary yet efficient. Taken together, these policies illustrate the implications of focusing squarely on human flourishing as our fundamental objective, rather than social development or climate change or any other single objective of development such as higher GDP per capita. In each section, we convey concrete possibilities, by mentioning feasible and high impact policies which are cost-effective or cost-saving. Such policies are the kinds needed to reframe and reorient our institutions towards well-being and happiness, and their consideration will spark other examples or possibilities in readers' minds. The third and final section draws attention to the behaviour changes needed to undergird this new paradigm, and draws a realistic hope for the future.

Our aim: Success, not Utopia

In framing a new economic paradigm, we aim pragmatically at success, not utopia – at an organic deepening, not a transcendental leap.⁶ The salient difference between utopia and success is this: **Utopia** provides an ideal scenario of peace and prosperity, sharing and caring. It is perfection. The problem is that Utopia is inhabited by human beings who agree on some basic principles, who are in sound physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional health, and are reasonable and upstanding. Not all of us fit this assumed (though fictitious) state. **Success**, on the other hand, occurs within a system that is created, run, and inhabited by human beings as we are, with all of our negative and positive potentials, our crooked pasts, our weaknesses, foibles, genius, diversity and mixed desires. Yet that successful system nonetheless maximises the capability each person has to flourish, to fulfill her or his potential, to enjoy valuable and constructive 'beings' and 'doings', to be happy.⁷

Success: when an economic system maximises the capability each person has to "be" and "do" what they value and have reason to value, which may include some combination of material, environmental, social, community, cultural, spiritual, and political activities as well as times of silence and rest.

Our fundamental commitment to realism draws on Bhutan's national objective of maximising Gross National Happiness or GNH: "Gross National Happiness (GNH) measures the quality of a country in more holistic way and believes that the beneficial development of human society takes place when material and spiritual development occurs side by side to complement and reinforce each other." The objective is to be 'more holistic' than GDP accounts, and to complement material development with development in community, culture, relationship, spirituality, psychological well-being, and harmony with the environment. This is not to say that all Bhutanese are happy, nor that families are not facing momentous challenges as their ancient cultures come crashing into the forces of facebook and entertainment saturation, and resources are drained by fast-growing industrialised corruption. Yet this national objective to maximise GNH is both resolutely and self-critically held, and consciously shapes programmes and policies as well as the GNH Index and the very definition of national success. At the same time, Bhutan has also achieved strong economic growth; alone within South Asia it is on track to attain the millennium development goals; and its forests remain attentively protected. Thus the pursuit of GNH, with its wisdom and with its flaws, has not come at the cost of salutary progress in economic, social, and environmental sectors. Building on Bhutan's and others' examples of courageous pragmatism, our aim is to sketch a new paradigm which can be successfully implemented in this breathtaking yet broken world.

⁶ This argument draws upon Sen's *Idea of Justice*, which proposes that those advancing justice should focus on comparative gains in this second-best world, and not be distracted by the quest for perfection.

⁷ The definition of capability and of 'beings and doings' draws on the profound 'capability approach' of Amartya Sen, and through him on Aristotle, Kant, Smith, Marx, and Mill, among others. Sen has long argued that welfare economics should replace its focus on utility with a focus on people's capability sets (in their many aspects); its assumption of self-interest with an assumption that humans have a complex of motivations including altruism and commitment; and its focus on the aggregate sum of utility (or GDP) with a concern for the many dimensions of well-being and their distribution, and particularly for the poor.

Motivation: Well-being and its distinct domains

Now anxiety is the mark of spiritual insecurity. It is the fruit of unanswered questions. But questions cannot go unanswered unless they first be asked. And there is a far worse anxiety, a far worse insecurity, which comes from being afraid to ask the right questions—because they might turn out to have no answer. One of the moral diseases we communicate to one another in society comes from huddling together in the pale light of an insufficient answer to a question we are afraid to ask. — Thomas Merton *No Man is an Island*.

While we are postponing, life speeds by. — Seneca 3BC - 65AD

First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win.
— Mahatma Gandhi 1869-1948

Words ought to be a little wild, for they are the assault of thoughts upon the unthinking
— John Maynard Keynes



1: Liberian farmer

Part I. Well-being has multiple domains

Happiness and the well-being of all living creatures in the Bhutanese perspective is a multidimensional concept, which encompasses economic, social, political, and spiritual domains, and which fosters solidarity and regard for the other as well as for oneself.

The need for policy makers to consider human well-being prior to framing policy has precedents in many cultures, polities, and philosophical streams. For example, Aristotle's approach to political arrangements begins with an enquiry into human well-being:

A person who is going to make a fitting inquiry into the best political arrangement must first get clear about what the most choiceworthy life is – for if this is unclear, the best political arrangement must remain unclear also (*Politics* 1323a14-17)⁸.

In recent times, philosophical approaches to happiness and well-being have divided, largely, between those who define happiness in terms of one dimension, and those who define human well-being to be multidimensional. Of course, each group has internal diversity. For example, among those taking a unidimensional approach to happiness, some hold this should focus on self-reported happiness or on evaluative life satisfaction or mood or domain satisfaction or positive affect, or meaning.⁹

On these issues, we do take a stand, and do so unapologetically, with deep respect for and appreciation of others' views and contributions. Happiness includes psychological well-being, widely defined to include domain satisfaction, positive and negative emotions, and spirituality and mind-training. Happiness also is constituted by achievements across a number of other domains, each of which may be in some sense co-equal with psychological well-being. There is no magic number nor terminology for these domains. But in this report we refer to them as: good health, education, living standards, environmental diversity and resilience, good governance, time use, community vitality, and cultural diversity and resilience.¹⁰

It is time to bring together the wider approaches of human development, quality of life studies, and progress with the literature on happiness and subjective well-being. It is time to affirm and understand human well-being to include the momentous achievement of psychological well-being, alongside momentous achievements in other aspects of life. The past decade has seen the brilliant rise of studies on happiness and subjective well-being. In warranted enthusiasm, the thought leaders have less fortunately asserted that the phenomenally interesting topic of subjective well-being *alone* is the objective of society, supplanting or encompassing all other aims. They also have asserted empirically that measures of happiness provide a single intrinsically valuable endpoint to which all other attainments are but instrumental means or 'correlates'. May the next decade be one in which the different domains of the flourishing human being are held in balance, in which policies are integrated to support the whole person, and become inextricably flexible and multidimensional.

We refer to the multi-domain objective as 'happiness' or well-being. The term well-being is often regarded to be multidimensional (and usually to include subjective and objective elements although definitions vary). However the use of the word 'happiness' may startle or confuse, so an explanation is in order. It would be possible to confine the term 'happiness' to one domain, and deploy a

⁸ Aristotle did not himself establish a plural set of irreducible dimensions of well-being: rather he identified a hierarchy, at the pinnacle of which lay contemplation. His own particular approach also did not ascribe equal dignity to all human beings. However his writings have given rise to a rich vein of philosophy which has gone precisely in these directions. See for example Sachs 2012; Sen (1992); Finnis (1980, 1998).

⁹ for various perspectives see Argyle (1991), Cummins (2000), Diener et al (2009), Helliwell and Wang (2012), Layard (2004), Kahnemann (2011), Ricard (2007), Seligman (2011) among others.

¹⁰ These nine domains of GNH were developed by Dasho Karma Ura to specify the four pillars of GNH articulated in Bhutan's 10th plan. They were used in the initial pilot of the GNH index, fielded in 2006, in the first national pilot GNH Index in 2008 and in the 2010 GNH Index. For a list of domains that have been used in previous philosophical and social indicators work, which emerged from participatory consultations, and psychological studies, see Alkire (2002a, 2008).

different term for the joint achievements in a human life – a term such as well-being or flourishing. Yet we observe that most of the happiest societies by current subjective well-being measures are those which harm the ecosystems most profoundly [ranking taken from (Helliwell and Wang 2012)]. So we wonder whether this is indeed true happiness? Or is one single domain an incomplete guide even to happiness itself? We take the latter view, in which happiness and fullness of life are supported by all of the domains, not just one. We use the term psychological well-being to refer to the magnificent set of accomplishments related to reflective life satisfaction, positive affect, spirituality and mind-training.

What is a dimension (domain) of well-being?

It may be useful to clarify what we mean, when we identify dimensions of happiness or well-being, which have also been called domains in Bhutan's GNH index and related policy frameworks.¹¹ An increasing number of national and international studies are enquiring as to what these domains might be. For example, in the UK the Office of National statistics undertook nation-wide consultations to arrive at their twelve domains of well-being; other such consultations are going on in places from El Salvador to Italy. But what *is* a dimension of well-being? Here we propose an account of these. While there is no 'magic number' of dimensions, the account presented here is used to justify the nine dimensions put forward in this report.¹²

First of all, we suggest that each dimension has intrinsic value. Perhaps the most succinct method of elaborating this suggestion is to share an excerpt from John Finnis' dense yet masterful treatment, in which he explains with some precision how a domain – in this example knowledge (akin to education) has intrinsic value.¹³

(i) To think of knowledge [or any other domain] as a value is not to think that every true proposition is equally worth knowing, that every form of learning is equally valuable, that every subject-matter is equally worth investigating... (ii) To think of knowledge as a basic form of good is not to think that knowledge ... would be equally valuable for every person. (iii) Nor is it to think that ... any particular item of knowledge, has any priority of value even for the reader or writer at the moment; perhaps the reader would be better off busying himself [or herself] with something else, even for the rest of his life ... (iv) Just as 'knowledge is good' does not mean that knowledge is to be pursued by everybody, at all times, in all circumstances, so too it does not mean that knowledge is the only general form of good or the supreme form of good. (v) To think of knowledge as a value is not, as such, to think of it as a 'moral value'; 'truth is a good' is not, here, to be understood as a moral proposition, and 'knowledge is to be pursued' is not to be understood, here, as stating a moral obligation, requirement, prescription ... In our reflective analysis of practical reasonableness, morality comes later. (vi) At the same time, finally, it is to be recalled that the knowledge we here have in mind as a value is the knowledge that one can call an intrinsic good, i.e. that is considered to be desirable for its own sake and not merely as something sought after under some such description as 'what will enable me to impress my audience' or 'what will confirm my instinctive beliefs' or 'what will contribute to my survival'. In sum (vii) to say that such knowledge is a value is simply to say that reference to the pursuit of knowledge makes intelligible (though not necessarily reasonable-all-things-considered [nor moral]) any particular instance of human activity and commitment involved in such pursuit (1980:61).

The identification of discrete domains of intrinsic value is a starting point, but it leaves many questions unaddressed. In particular, specification of which particular aspects of each domain are of particular priority in different contexts, and how to protect freedom for personal diversity, will

¹¹ These matters are discussed further in Alkire (2002b), on which this section draws extensively.

¹² Because the nine domains were already established, this paper articulates their intrinsic value(s); it does not further claim that they are the smallest possible set of distinct 'basic goods' in the sense Finnis describes.

¹³ Taken from *ibid.*, which extensively discuss how parts of Finnis' thought – in particular basic goods and principles of practical reasonableness – can provide a useful foundation to a multidimensional approach to well-being such as Sen's capability approach. See also Alkire and Black (1997).

require separate treatment. That specification is largely beyond the scope of this paper. We have elsewhere suggested, drawing on others' work, that further specification entails the use of plural principles – such as equity, efficiency, sustainability, fairness, respect for human rights, and participation. The principles are unlikely to identify a single 'best' option, but are likely to be tremendously powerful in ruling out *suboptimal* alternatives. The choice between a set of non-suboptimal alternatives is a value judgement – a classic 'free choice' between morally defensible options – which will shape the culture and identity of a person or society in the future. We leave all such discussions to the side in this document, and proceed to elaborate further our specific focus, which is to explain what we mean by domains of well-being and happiness.

Beyond intrinsic value, we claim that the domains are both pertinent to individual's well-being and can also be used to frame the societal goals of well-being. While this point may seem rather obvious, Finnis points out that it must be stated in order to correct for a significant error in economic theories, because these envisage a chasm between individual and societal well-being. For example, at the individual level we may value altruism, sympathy, self-interest and collaboration, but at the societal level traditional economic theory assumes, and provide incentives for, self-interest alone.

Who says that the domains are of value? Anyone can. We do not establish the nine domains based on any single philosophy, religion, or theory of human good. Rather, their value rests, epistemologically, on practical reason, which means it can be corroborated by anyone who is observant of their own and other's experiences of fulfilment through direct experience, literature, film, or conversation, and does not have a prior ideological or theoretical framework but is open to experience. Others including Finnis and Sen likewise adopt this view. For example Sen writes that no value, to be considered universal, "must...have the consent of everyone" – because not even motherhood is so universally regarded. "Rather, the claim of a universal value is that people anywhere may have reason to see it as valuable... any claim that something is a universal value involves some counterfactual analysis—in particular, whether people might see some value in a claim that they have not yet considered adequately. All claims to universal value ... have this implicit presumption." For this reason, in explaining the intrinsic value of each domain, we often illustrate this 'counterfactual' analysis by explaining the absence of that good.

Other characteristics of these domains are that they are incommensurable, in the sense that all of the appealing qualities of one domain is not fully present in another, and to that extent, they are irreducible (because shortening the list would mean leaving out something of value).

Also, as domains of human well-being, they cannot be 'achieved' once-and-for-all. Therefore it is more appropriate to speak of 'pursuing' well-being, or 'realising' some aspect of a domain, than 'achieving' it.

Another key characteristic of the domains is that they are non-hierarchical. This means that at one time any of these domains could be judged to be "most important" by a person or group, and others domains may be legitimately sidelined. This being said, the domains cannot be arranged in any *permanent* hierarchy either for an individual or for a community or nation.

The domains do have in common the feature that positive achievements within each, or the actualization of human potentialities in domains, could contribute in its own unique way to the well-being or flourishing of a human life.

Finally, while psychological well-being can be understood to be a separate dimension,¹⁴ happiness is not a domain. Rather happiness is achieved by some participation across domains in a balance that is appropriate to that person or society. Finnis writes,

By participating in [the dimensions] in the way one chooses to, one hopes not only for the pleasure of successfully consummated physical performance and the satisfaction of successfully completed projects, but also for ‘happiness’ in the deeper, less usual sense of that word in which it signifies, roughly, a fullness of life, a certain development as a person, a meaningfulness of one’s existence.

Thus we come full circle from the concern regarding unidimensional conceptions of happiness, to arguing for a multidimensional approach, to tentatively tracing out what a domain of well-being is, to anticipation that the balanced pursuit of these domains will bring forth the happiness that was sought at the start. Furthermore, the account set forth here can easily be used to undergird a new development paradigm. But how? The next section presents Amartya Sen’s criticisms of economic frameworks based on wealth, on unidimensional approaches to happiness, and on consumer demand. In place, he proposes that welfare economics and development assess their success in the space of human well-being and freedom, which he describes in terms of functionings, capabilities, and agency.

Wealth, Unidimensional Happiness, and Consumer Demand

Amartya Sen has helpfully categorized the accounts of human well-being that shaped the current economic system: opulence (wealth) and utility (happiness) and revealed preference (market demand), and articulated why a multi-faceted and more direct account of human well-being is necessary to guide economic development. This account can be drawn upon to differentiate approaches in Bhutan and elsewhere that view “happiness as being absolutely multi-dimensional” (Ura 2009).

Opulence approaches evaluate well-being on the bases of the resources that a person has, such as income, or wealth. Yet, Sen argues, wealth in the form of money or resources is not an accurate measure of well-being. One reason is that people have widely varying abilities to convert money (or food, or other goods) into actualized well-being. A physically impaired person may require significantly greater resources to achieve mobility; a pregnant woman will require additional food in order to be well-nourished. If Miriam, Adam, and Karma each have the same amount of money, but Miriam is pregnant, Adam is an amputee, and Karma is happy go lucky, then the lives they actually could lead might not be equally flourishing, at least in materially-based domains. Resource-based measures such as individual income levels, are blind to these differences.

Utility usually refers to a psychological state of happiness that could be defined (with different implications) in terms of life satisfaction, desire fulfilment, emotional balance, mindfulness or mood. Sen notes that, “We could err either through not being fair to the importance of happiness, or through overestimating its importance in judging the well-being of people, or being blind to the limitations of making happiness the main – or only – basis of assessment of social justice or social welfare” (2009:270). But is utility an apt measure for the destitute? Sen has observed that the chronically deprived often become reconciled with their suffering and appreciative of small mercies,

¹⁴ Finnis, Boyle and Grisez (1987) identify two domains that are roughly similar to the satisfaction and emotional questions in the GNH Psychological Well-being index, and that of spirituality. The first is self-integration; the second, spirituality.

Self-Integration: [F]eelings can conflict among themselves and be at odds with one’s judgements and choices. The harmony opposed to such inner disturbance is inner peace’

Harmony with a greater-than-human source of meaning and value ‘most persons experience tension with the wider reaches of reality. Attempts to gain or improve harmony with some more-than-human source of meaning and value take many forms, depending on people’s world views. Thus, another category...is peace with God, or the gods, or some nontheistic but more-than-human source of meaning and value.’

thus a utilitarian reading of their psychological state may be inflated.¹⁵ Further, a society which gives intrinsic value *only* to life satisfaction (the most powerful definition of utility at present), and values other aspects of human life (health, wisdom, political voice, the environment) only insofar as these prove to be efficient correlates of happiness, could be exceedingly cruel and heartless. For example, human rights advances, or expansions in freedom, might be justified as public policy goals only if they impact life satisfaction. One could imagine a situation in which this would lead to the progressive policy neglect of those with greater mind training (because their happiness does not depend upon external circumstance). Yet seeing this neglect would create stout disincentives for others to embark upon mind training. Further, if life satisfaction scores become supremely powerful as indicators, this could occasionally politicise the response to life satisfaction questions, with those in opposition, or those whose stricken circumstances were not actually correlated with unhappiness, providing very low responses in the hopes of gaining policy attention. Finally, as mentioned above, it is troubling to note that the ‘happiest’ countries are rarely those which are kindest to one another and to the earth – or indeed even living remotely sustainable lives upon it. In sort, Sen concludes, “The central issue is not the significance of happiness, but the alleged insignificance of everything else, on which many advocates of the happiness perspective seem to insist” (2009:273).

In the *revealed preference* approach, regnant in market economies, preference is inferred from an observed choice such as aggregate consumer demand or market demand. While choice behaviour conveys important information, Sen jests that the ascription of ‘preference’ here is ‘an elaborate pun’ (Sen 1971), because it reveals nothing about peoples true values or reflective preferences. In contrast to economists’ assumptions, people do not always choose what furthers their own well-being; they may choose on the basis of commitment (what furthers their partners’ well-being), or may be indifferent between options but choose anyway (racing to fetch milk for unexpected guests – any brand of milk will do nicely); or may choose something (coal fire) reluctantly because their desired option (clean energy) is not available or affordable. Further, people’s preferences can be manipulated by advertising, misinformation, or peer pressure. Yet in all cases an economist will interpret their actual choices as ‘revealing’ what they value.

Sen has argued since 1979 that instead of relying on measures of wealth, utility, or revealed preferences we should seek to define and pursue well-being directly. He proposes that the objective of economic activities be formulated in the space of capabilities. Capabilities are directly tethered to people’s lives and to value judgements.¹⁶ ‘The need for identification and valuation of the important functionings¹⁷ cannot be avoided by looking at something else, such as happiness, desire fulfillment, opulence, or command over primary goods’ (Sen 1985: 200). The approach advanced here is compatible with Sen’s capability approach, as it identifies well-being and happiness in the space of functionings and capabilities. It may be that Sen’s and Finnis’ emphasis on freedom – which is less explicitly verbalized to date in Bhutan’s work on happiness – might enrich the GNH approach as it seeks to find a shape appropriate for many cultures and contexts.

Sen’s capability approach is by no means the only multi-dimensional account of well-being, although it remains one of the most prominent and widely-cited. One advantage of drawing upon it is that, by articulating at length the connections and distinctions between traditional economic approaches and a comprehensive and multidimensional approach to welfare economics in the real world, Sen has articulated a potential way forward which is in line with that the GNH approach. Another reason is

¹⁵ See also Graham (2010).

¹⁶ Capabilities are the real freedoms people enjoy to promote or achieve valuable functionings. Capability extends the concept of functionings by introducing the concept of opportunity freedom. ‘It represents the various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that the person can achieve.’ (Sen, 1992, p. 40).

¹⁷ Functionings are beings and doings that people actually value, and also that they have reason to value. They can include quite elementary achievements, such as being well-nourished and literate, or quite complex achievements, such as earning a world-class reputation in ice hockey. Sen leaves the judgement of ‘what people have reason to value’ as an open question, which needs to be asked and answered again and again thoughtfully and clearly, in different contexts.

that the profound implications of his writings for a new development paradigm have been largely overlooked, yet remain particularly pertinent to the work of this Commission, and potentially transformational to the structure of economic thought.¹⁸

Map of Document:

The first sections of this paper set out the overall concept of well-being and happiness. They articulated what we mean by a 'dimension' or 'domain' of well-being. They further clarified a well-being approach from one focused on opulence, utility, or revealed preference. Drawing on Sen's capability approach, they proposed that the domains of well-being be framed in the space of functionings and capabilities.

The remaining sections cover, one by one, a proposed set of nine domains of well-being and happiness, which have been used in Bhutan since the mid-2000s. The aim is to both define and communicate the intrinsic and instrumental value of each of these domains, and at the same time to draw attention to the features which require distinctive, even radical, yet affordable public policies.

The nine domains are:

- Education
- Living standards
- Good health
- Environmental diversity and resilience
- Good governance
- Time use
- Community vitality
- Cultural diversity and resilience
- Psychological well-being

In focusing upon each dimension in turn, we do not wish to over-emphasise their distinctions, miss the inter-play between them, or overlook cross-cutting features. We can see no way around a dimension-by-dimension presentation, yet wish to accentuate from the very start the need for an integrated, holistic policy response. As Dasho Karma Ura wrote,

In reality, what is most important is the inter-relationship between these domains rather than the domains themselves. The inter-relationship is absolutely non-linear.... [and points] to the profound interdependencies between various aspects of our life - and the lives of others ... The structuring of values according to domains should be viewed merely as a heuristic device: it should not isolate domains into mutually exclusive spheres in practice (Ura 2009).

The need for a joined-up policy approach was present in the 'integrated development' approaches in the 1970s; it has been consistently advanced by the UNDP's *Human Development Reports* and related initiatives; it underlay the 'comprehensive development frameworks' the World Bank enacted under James Wolfensohn; it is enacted by Bhutan's Gross National Happiness commission and in Ecuador's *Buen Vivir* programmes, and implemented in many local and subnational activities from China's Village Development Programmes to Brazil's Travessia programme to a myriad of NGO initiatives.

Yet to motivate such an integrated policy response, it can be useful to consider each dimension carefully and singly. In order to do so, each section of in Part II follows the same structure. It contains a brief definition of the domain, and then addresses the following topics:

¹⁸ An apt explication of this might be in Atkinson (2012)

- **Intrinsic value of the domain:** In each section, we begin by asking in what sense is the domain an ‘end-in-itself’: how does it contribute directly to well-being? For example, it is of intrinsic value to be in a state of health rather than pain, illness, or lack of energy. People value health, not *only* ‘because it makes me happy’ (I can be unhappy and in good health) or ‘means I can go to work’, but for its own sake.
- **Instrumental value of the domain:** Advances in one domain are useful for the sake of another. For example, being healthy also means greater productivity as people are not absent from work; being healthy means children can learn in school; being healthy means people have the time and energy to volunteer in their communities, and so on. Similarly, in an active community if someone falls ill others will look after them; if they lose their job others will take care of them. If violence enters, the community will seek to confront and resolve the problem by working together.
- **Affirming Calls for Policy Change:** While there is no single ‘traditional’ public policy in this section, we acknowledge that many groups working on social development, post-2015 MDGs, sustainable development, have identified many constructive areas for policy intervention and are already advocating these. We acknowledge and genuinely, enthusiastically, indeed in some cases urgently affirm their calls. We do not repeat them here. We do regard the emphatic reduction of the many terrible deprivations of poor people in nutrition, preventable health burdens, education, work, living standards, and equity to be particularly paramount to justice, well-being, and happiness.
- **High-impact Policies: Cameos and suggestions:** In a final section, we share concrete policy cameos for this well-being paradigm that cover areas overlooked by many policy advocacy circles. While contexts vary drastically in what is addressed and overlooked, as well as what would be appropriate (or even possible), to concretize our observations, we offer certain cost effective and high-impact policy examples, always considering their opportunity cost (resources invested here are resources not invested in another sector). We demonstrate certain high impact, feasible actions that are ‘low hanging fruit’ and have made a startlingly big difference in people’s lives.
- **Appendix: A Map and An Atlas: 65 Case studies and Innovations:** The appendix lists a great deal more case studies, which can be seen as glints of hope, showing how groups have successfully enacted innovative policies of the kinds we commend, as well as some more traditional policies that yet are examples of good practice. Some case studies are shared with enough texture that readers could think through how to implement them in their own context. Where evaluations have been conducted, their findings are conveyed as well. We begin with the domain of education, starting, here as in each domain, with visuals and quotes to spark the imaginative engagement with the topic.

Education

The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.

--Steve Biko, Cape Town, 1971.

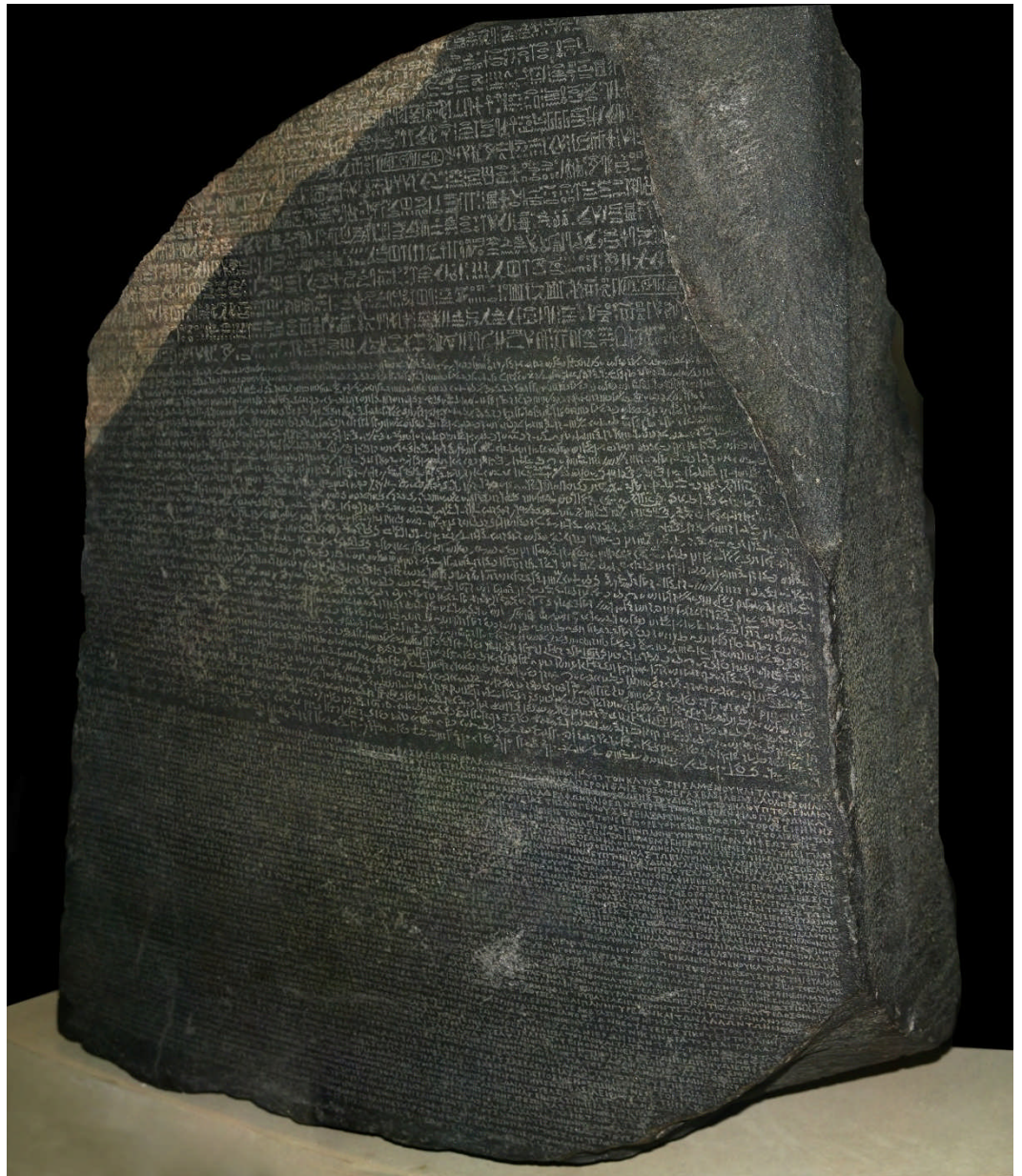
A people without memory are in danger of losing their souls. -- Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o¹⁹

Education is life, not books. - African (Swahili) proverb²⁰

I am a small boy but I am a gentleman of the future; I am the goodness of my land and I will do my best. Teach me that my mind may accept learning. Learning is power. Learning is best. - Dinka of South Sudan song for motivating children to attend school.

Education is not the filling of a pail, but the lighting of a fire. -- William Butler Yeats.

Kings govern men, and learned men govern kings. -- Arabian Proverb²¹



¹⁹ *Consciousness and African Renaissance: South Africa in the Black Imagination*. Fourth Steve Biko Memorial Lecture

²⁰ Mieder (1986)

²¹ Wortabet (1916)

Wisdom is
 knowledge plus:
 knowledge – and
 the knowledge of
 its own limits.
 – Viktor E.
 Frankl

Buy the truth,
 and sell it not --
 Jewish Proverb²²



Education is a domain of GNH. But what kind of education? Education is not merely schooling, for schools may be ghastly or unsafe; textbooks may inflame prejudice; poor children may be mocked whilst bullies reign; tender emotions may be stifled; and geniuses may merely annoy tired teachers.

Education in the context of well-being is full development of each student's personality and of their abilities to serve the greater good. This approach to education is already enshrined in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (see Box 1). Similarly, Bhutan's constitution states that the country '...shall endeavour to provide education for the purpose of improving and increasing knowledge, values and skills of the entire population with education being directed towards the full development of the human personality.' But what kind of education might conduce toward this full development? Bhutan's Gross National Happiness index contained four indicators. Two relate to traditional schooling; two others cover practical knowledge (including political, health, cultural and historical aspects), as well as pro-social values like truth-telling.²³

Learning is a life-long process, as a person's curiosity delves into different aspects of life in turn. Furthermore, among children and adults alike, education is accomplished with families and communities and independently, as well as in school or formal courses. Yet the education of children and youth is a stage that all domains of well-being play upon in microcosm, hence we focus on it.²⁴

A holistic approach to education, is not a luxury; rather it ensues from a sustained and systematic consideration of the definitions of education from a variety of sources including educational theory, educational policy and the perspectives of educators, voices of the poor, and children themselves. In a masterful synthesis of these many approaches to education, Melanie Walker concludes that education entails the cultivation of the following capabilities:

- *Autonomy, Creativity*, being able to solve problems, to plan and make choices, to innovate
- *Knowledge*, of topics which are intrinsically interesting and/or will be instrumentally useful
- *Social relations*, of friendship, collaboration, cooperation, empathy, etc.

²² Kent (1895)

²³ Ura et al. (2012)

²⁴ Ura (2009) goes through each of the nine domains individually, showing the implications of values education for each one.

- *Respect and recognition*, of the worth of others and of oneself, compassion, generosity, lack of prejudice, listening to others' views, diversity in language, beliefs, etc.
- *Aspiration*, motivation to flourish, to contribute to human well-being, to be happy.
- *Voice*, to be able to speak, write, sing, etc and in so doing to articulate one's insights
- *Bodily integrity and bodily health*, to develop physically, to be safe and protected from harsh conditions, to experience exercise and games.
- *Emotional integrity and emotions*, being able to recognise, understand, and cultivate positive emotions without fear, and healthy self-understanding and self-management of negative emotions.²⁵

Walker draws on the capability approach to frame her study of education because it “offers a compelling and assertive counterweight to dominant neoliberal human capital interpretations of education as only for economic productivity and employment and asks instead about what education enables us to do and to be.” (p164). In fact, this approach to education may itself be more productive economically, as we shall see presently.

How does such an education link to a society which advances the well-being and happiness of humanity and of all life forms? First of all, as one component of well-being, education may have intrinsic value.²⁶ Educated women and men can enjoy poetry and literature; they can move around with more confidence in society than someone who cannot read train schedules or bills or street signs. They can communicate in writing, and can learn new skills or satisfy their curiosity by reading. The social skills of children in school are more developed than children who do not attend school. Mindfulness and the refinement of positive emotion brings its own reward in terms of inner tranquillity and an ability to weather life's storms gracefully, and bears fruit for the community in kindness and willing service.

Education is also instrumental to a number of useful ends. Education usually supports economic growth and productivity, and individually leads to better employment opportunities, or a more productive use of land or other assets for women and men. So expanding the reach of education improves economic prospects for individuals, for communities, for nations. Education is fundamental for health practices like hygiene and good nutrition. People, particularly girls, who are informed about good practices in sanitation, immunisation, nutrition, family planning, HIV/AIDS prevention and oral rehydration therapy tend to use this knowledge within their families and communities, with significant and well-known impacts. Women's education and women's employment are two signal influences in reducing fertility rates. Similarly, schools may teach other socially valuable practices, ranging from care of the land to recycling to voting to paying taxes. Educated people also have greater capacity to promote their well-being and that of others —through knowledge, public expression, conflict resolution and democratic debate. Conversely a lack of knowledge or an inability to speak out, can further muffle the political voice of the disadvantaged. Ideally, education fosters values such as tolerance, innovation, and appreciation of culture and traditions. In contrast, an incendiary curriculum, which demeans favourite 'enemy' groups, can inculcate prejudice and prolong political instability. Unchecked negative behaviours by teachers or students may reinforce traditional gender, race or class stereotypes, encourage passivity rather than problem-solving or harm rather than nurture students – physically intellectually or emotionally.

Happily, many aspects of education already have powerful policy advocates, extensive studies, and wide awareness among teachers and educational administrators as well as political leaders. To start with schooling itself, from which millions of children have been regularly excluded, the Millennium Development Goals advanced the goals of universal primary school attendance and gender parity in

²⁵ Walker (2006). The descriptions of Walker's capabilities are shortened and adapted to this context; in particular, creativity is added to the autonomy field.

²⁶ This section draws on Sen (1999) as well as on Dreze Sen (2002).

schooling. Post-2015 conversations articulate the need to consider the quality and safety of that education. Investments in quality education seems productive. For example, many such as Heyneman argue that the link between education and economic growth only unfolds with power when the education delivered is high quality.²⁷

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26.

- (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
- (2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
- (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Millennium Development Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education

Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.

Millennium Development Goal 3: Promote Gender Equality & Empower Women

Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and in all levels of education no later than 2015

We affirm, alongside many others, the need for universal basic schooling across genders and social groups; for safety at school and on the way to school, particularly for girls; for a quality education which fosters high learning achievements according to students' abilities and interests; for the development of key transferable skills and problem-solving strategies; for sport and athletic endeavours; and for the cultivation of pro-social behaviours and attitudes. These policies are not further mentioned in this section.

Building upon these, educational policies may also include attention to emotions, to the practical cultivation of values, to knowledge of culture and traditions; to creativity and pro-active problem-solving, and to mindfulness. We use the term 'values education' as an umbrella concept for these terms. As Dasho Karma Ura wrote, "The simplest idea of value education is about creating the emergence of a set of beliefs and attitudes as a person's character and personality unfold, so that their beliefs will influence their behaviour and actions in a positive manner and direction." Values education also makes a more universal compassion an instinctive habit. "What is necessary in value education is a process of expansion of our boundaries of consideration and the caring consciousness of others, beyond us, our friends and relatives" (Ura 2009, both quotes).

The case studies provide examples of successful cost-effective programmes and policies which delivered innovative aspects of education to young people, and which might spark other proposals.

Learning Relevant Skills, Local Knowledge, Languages

A common barrier to meaningful education is a lack of affordable textbooks in local languages which reflect the local culture, and beyond that, convey constructive local knowledge and skills, whether these relate to harmony in human relationships, or to knowledge of local plants and ecosystems, to crafts and livelihoods, or to culture, traditions and values (Ura 2009). Siyavula (Open Textbook), running in South Africa since 2008, is a project that allows textbooks to be produced, managed, and distributed collectively, and free of charge, under a Creative Commons copyright license. In 2012, 2.4 million books were printed and distributed – at a cost savings to the Department of Basic Education of 79% or \$33 million in comparison with former textbooks. The textbooks are also freely available online and via mobile phones.

²⁷ Heyneman (2004); see also Behrman and Birdsall (1983), Keep et al. (2006)

Well-told Story: Supporting Positive Behaviours

A Well Told Story uses stories to “spur positive social changes that can be proved and measured.”²⁸ It engages Kenyan youth (more than half of Kenyans are under 18, and nearly three quarters are under 30) via a monthly comic, a Facebook page, downloads for mobile phones, and a daily syndicated radio show. These share practical ideas young people can use, ranging from seed soaking, to helping street children, to confronting hate speech. The comic is distributed nationwide inside the *Daily Nation* newspaper and via thousands of kiosks and a mobile phone network, to obtain an estimated 5 million reads a month. The Facebook page has 50, 000 views per month and 650,000 conversations. Well Told Story operates as a socially oriented business. Around 40% of costs are met by commercial partners; the remainder comes from likeminded organisations. Evaluations amongst youth who regularly read the comic have found a statistically relevant spike in their efficacy.

Cultivating Creativity, Empathy and Leadership among youth

Asian countries such as Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, have efficient effective education systems. Education has formed a cornerstone of Asia’s economic strength over the last few decades. Yet a growing movement is asking whether traditional approaches to education might stifle creative thinking and empathy – which are meaningful, as well as vital for economic excellence. For example, in Singapore, Thought Collective seeks to influence traditional education and support the development of socially aware, creative and innovative youth. It offers tuition and mentoring, alternative curriculum, a magazine, an apprenticeship programme, and even a restaurant.²⁹ Similar examples can be found in South Korea, Hong Kong, and elsewhere. For example, Educate! in Uganda, advocates the need to “re-imagine the purpose of education” in order to develop a “new generations of leaders and entrepreneurs to solve poverty, disease, violence, and environmental degradation.”³⁰ Their guiding mandate is to “be the most cost-effective way to create a changemaker” and their curriculum has been adopted in schools serving 25,000 students. While these profiled innovations have not arisen within the education sector, each aims to catalyse system-wide change in pedagogical approaches.

Mindfulness in Schools

A few years ago after a thorough review of what would be needed to advance values education nationally across Bhutan, Dasho Karma Ura observed the absence of training in mindfulness and meditation (Ura 2009). Drawing on and learning from Mindfulness and meditation in schools internationally, Bhutan has embarked upon developing teacher training programmes and classes in meditation and mindfulness. Already in 2003 the central monk body with Bhutan’s Ministry of Education had introduced Dharma discourse in all middle and higher secondary schools and two colleges of education, and from 2006 this was being extended to all schools due to its success and at the request of the National Assembly. In August 2009, the central monastic body, The Ministry of Education, and the Royal University of Bhutan launched a “Mind and Mindfulness Education association” based in the college of education in Paro to sustain, support and enhance the program. This is now being extended in partnership with the Gross National Happiness Centre. Mindfulness has been taught and its impacts and cost-effectiveness rigorously yet positively evaluated in the United States,³¹ UK,³² and elsewhere.

These case studies by no means exhaust the innovative, cost-effective and high-impact interventions in values education that are underway across our schools. But they do provide the sense that outstanding interventions in values-education can be mainstreamed; that these can be affordable, and that they make a fundamental difference.

²⁸ <http://www.comminit.com/global/taxonomy/term/36%2C57%2C216%2C74>; Rob Burnet, Director, Well Told Story, Interviewed February 2012; <http://wts.co.ke/>

²⁹ <http://www.school-of-thought.com/sot/subpage.php?p=aboutus>

³⁰ <http://www.experienceeducate.org/about/>

³¹ <http://www.mindfulschools.org/about-mindfulness/research/#research>

³² <http://mindfulnessinschools.org/press>

Community Vitality

Honour your tribe, for they are
the wing with which you fly. –
*Arabian Proverb*³³

The noblest man is he whose
friendship may be easily
obtained, and whose enmity can
be incurred only with difficulty.
– *Arabian Proverb*³⁴



We regard our living together not as an unfortunate mishap warranting endless competition among us but as a deliberate ... community of brothers and sisters jointly involved in the quest for a composite answer to the varied problems of life.
– Steve Biko, “Some African Cultural Concepts.”

Rain does not fall on one roof alone. *African Proverb.*³⁵

It's the mother who knows how to carry her one-legged child. – *Mandinka proverb*³⁶

Pearls are found in old shells. – *Vietnamese proverb*³⁷

Where the cattle stand together, the lion lies down hungry. *African Proverb.*³⁸

One may also observe in one's travels to distant countries the feelings of recognition and affiliation that link every human being to every other human being.
– Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*.

³³ Wortabet (1916)

³⁴ Wortabet (1916)

³⁵ Manser (2007)

³⁶ Schipper (2006)

³⁷ Schipper (2006)

³⁸ Manser (2007)

Relationships to others, whether within families, with colleagues, or in more distant and transitory social interactions, can be points of strength, fulfilment, and mutual enjoyment – or the reverse. The domain of Community Vitality affirms the need for constant attention to, and cultivation of, vital communities characterised by relationships of peace, harmony, trust, respect, belonging, and solidarity.

The intellectual roots of community vitality are as wide as the nations that commend it. For example Aristotle and those building on that strand of thought in secular and Christian ethical writings give a prominence to community, to the common good, and to social life. Yet many others do as well. Here we draw upon a philosophical approach of Ubuntu from South Africa.³⁹ The term “ubuntu” is a contraction of the maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* which means roughly, “a person is a person through others,” or “I am because we are.” The maxim signifies that a person’s essential humanity is not in-born, but must be striven for and perfected through the care and love for others. Hence relationships carry moral force: our relationships with others – including our responsibility towards them – motivate us to act.⁴⁰

Archbishop Desmond Tutu described a person with Ubuntu as someone who is “open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, based from a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed.”⁴¹

The indicators in Bhutan’s GNH index cover four aspects of community vitality: 1) social support which depicts the civic contributions made by community members 2) community relationship, which refers to trust and a sense of community 3) family relationships, and 4) safety from crime and violence.

As these indicators suggest, this is a broad category. Good relationships are important within families, where intimacy is greatest; they are key for personal friendships, which enrich life. But they are also important in geographical communities: the local shops and post offices and temples; in work communities – relationships with the colleagues with whom one spends a good deal of time as well; and in communities of interest, such as savings groups, collective marketing associations, athletic associations, and so on.

The different aspects of community vitality are of intrinsic value: it is simply valuable to live without a high likelihood of crime and violence, to have family relationships of love, acceptance, intimacy and vulnerability, to live in a community in which one has a (legitimate) sense of trust and fellow-feeling and belonging, and to have a fundamental sense that people care.

In addition, vital communities and social connections are instrumentally powerful. People with a strong set of relationships report higher life satisfaction, better physical and mental health, a greater likelihood of being employed, of enjoying leisure, and of succeeding in their chosen activities. Furthermore, friends and associates often help in time of serious difficulties such as illness. Vital social networks also help people get ahead in other ways – through introductions, recommendations, sharing information, collective marketing and bargaining, solving common challenges, decreasing search and transaction costs, preventing or resolving conflicts constructively, and so on. Strong social relationships also create benefits in terms of lower costs for contract enforcement, lower policing and prison costs, lower coordination and communication costs, more care for the commons, and so on.

Care for the social fabric of society requires more mindful cultivation in a time of high mobility, family breakdown, in fragile situations of epidemic or conflict, or among people whose history of personal

³⁹ This section draws freely upon the 2012 *mimeo* of Nimi Hoffmann, “Ubuntu and capabilities”

⁴⁰ For more systematic treatments of Ubuntu see: Metz (2010), Nkondo (2007) and Ramose (1999).

⁴¹ Tutu (1999)

attachments and relationships has left them without healthy relational habits. In such a time, Ubuntu cannot be relied upon as an unconscious instinct: it must consciously nurtured or even reinstated. Untold families, neighbourhoods and villages already have vibrant relationships. But where these are waning or absent, interventions can foster community appropriately. The case studies here are just a small set of examples illustrating various entry points for creating conscious community.

Story Telling in Burundian Refugee Camps (Tanzania)

*I may not remember, I may never have been there, but it is still home.*⁴²

“In the international context of refugee camps, the intangible cultural heritage of populations who fled conflicts in their home country is put at risk. The individual and collective trauma of violence, feelings of insecurity, the experience of exile, the changes in the socioeconomic and political organization of communities and the fostering of a refugee /ethnic /national consciousness contribute to shifts and ruptures of knowledge and savoir-faire... It is all the more urgent to preserve and revive this traditional cultural knowledge as it greatly helps refugees maintain appropriate behaviors and social relations based on socially accepted cultural norms, values and savoir-faire.”⁴³

A good example of response is a UNESCO program involving Burundian refugees in Tanzania. The programme aimed “to incorporate traditional cultural knowledge as a vital dimension of humanitarian programs in refugee camps” by funding storytelling activities in the refugee camps. A group of selected elders told traditional tales once a week to teenagers, young adults and children at the Youth Center in the Kanembwa refugee camp, preceded by traditional drumming. The stories were recorded, transcribed, and broadcast on Kwizera, a radio station popular in both Burundi and Tanzania. At the end of each story, story-tellers explained the meaning of the stories, retracing their links to Burundian history and tradition, and interpreting its message in the current context of refugee camps. In doing so, it is helping to sustain and transmit a living culture to the next generations.⁴⁴ The program was positively evaluated using informal rather than academic methods based on high attendance to the story-telling sessions, a high level of commitment among elders to the program, and the popularity of the radio show.

Seongmisan: Creating a village within a city

Seongmisan is an urban community located within the City of Seoul, South Korea. This cooperative, location-based “village” model lives within an urban context, where faceless individualism and fierce sense of competition is prevalent.

Disillusioned by the heavily materialistic trend in Korea, and catalyzed by a joint childcare cooperative set up by young families, Seongmisan community sought to form a cooperative, mutually-beneficial society. The community emphasises ecological way of living and a genuine personal and face-to-face social relationships. Seongmisan grew organically, as people recognised shared needs, came together and collaborated to build cooperative childcare, schools, social care, co-housing models, carsharing model, collaborative models of consuming and producing food, community theatre, radio channels, festivals and art projects. In these innovations, the Seongmisan community revived and reinterpreted the “traditional/indigenous” knowledge in the urban and modern context of Seoul. For example, they revived *Dure*, a traditional form of collaboration and shared workload during labour-intensive agricultural seasons. They also emphasized place, utilizing public spaces (restaurants, cafes, open theatre, streets etc) to engage in community activities.

A horizontal democratic structure, and decision-making by unanimous consent has been the since the very first childcare project. The unanimous consent rule forces people to listen and empathise with other people’s thoughts. The continuous and consistent trust and relationship-building among residents has been key to creating an innovative and resilient community.

⁴² Lambo (2012).

⁴³ Fouéré (2007).

⁴⁴ Fouéré (2007).

Cure Violence (US)

Cure Violence's public health approach to gun violence has led to dramatic decreases in bloodshed. Piloted in 2000 in Chicago's West Garfield Park neighborhood, which at that time had one of the highest murder rates in the United States, Cure Violence's⁴⁵ model has since been replicated in 50 sites in 15 US cities as well as sites in Iraq, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, Kenya and the United Kingdom.⁴⁶ Cure Violence's founder, an experienced epidemiologist, was convinced that the trajectory of an infectious disease and of violence shared similar patterns. And that both could be contained by stopping transmission at the source and changing behavior patterns so fewer people became infected in the first place. "Cure Violence identifies those who have been most 'infected' by violence and treats this core group through a staff of 'violence interrupters' – former perpetrators employed to disrupt armed conflicts and educate the community about the consequences of violent behavior. Their work is complemented by coordinated community action to change people's mindsets."⁴⁷ Rigorous evaluations have found that Cure Violence led to a decline of 16 to 28 percent in the number of shootings in four of the seven sites studied in Chicago⁴⁸ and a 56% reduction in homicides and a 34% decline in nonfatal shootings in the Cherry Hill neighborhood.^{49 50}

Matchmaking: Grannies and orphans (China, Colombia, Moldova, South Africa)

Early child development is crucial for social connectedness. Children who do not have early attachments "experience lifelong difficulties with intimate relationships, have generally poor social skills, poor affect regulation, low impulse and tolerance control, difficulties with anger management and a lack of conscience."⁵¹ But what about orphan children? An NGO called Spence-Chapin, has implemented a Granny programme since 1998 in China, Colombia, Moldova and South Africa. Orphan children are paired with elder women from the community who spend one-on-one time with them for several years. The main objective is to provide physical and emotional contact, as "children growing up in institutions are often deprived of basic human interactions [...]"⁵² In the Othandweni Family Care Centre⁵³ in Soweto, South Africa, grannies are carefully screened, then matched with children under 7 with whom they spend four hours per day. They offer love, care, support, and stimulation to the children and ensure that they develop well mentally, physically and socially. Grannies also receive training, such as reading techniques, discipline and infant brain development, and discuss child needs with key staff. The program also provides social connection for the grannies, most of whom are widowers above 65. The grannies interact with other women in their situation, and report a high degree of purpose and job satisfaction.

While long-term effects are under evaluation; short-term programme results are positive: "Children who previously were unable to sit on their own are soon rolling over and crawling after being assigned a granny. Some who were emotionally withdrawn now raise their arms to be picked up after spotting their grannies."⁵⁴

Again these case studies – of storytelling in a refugee camp, of curing gun violence by turning the minds of the perpetrators, of creating a village-like community of care in an urban environs, and of matching grannies with orphans to create new and strong social bonds – do not exhaust the possible new policies. But they provide some waymarks, some suggestions that progress is possible, indeed quite inviting.

⁴⁵ Formerly Ceasefire

⁴⁶ Kotlowitz (2008)

⁴⁷ <http://usa.ashoka.org/fellow/gary-slutkin>

⁴⁸ <http://www.nij.gov/journals/264/ceasefire.htm> NIJ Journal No. 264, November 2009

⁴⁹ Johns Hopkins School of Public Health http://www.jhsph.edu/sebin/u/p/2012_01_11.SafeStreetsEval.pdf, p 3

⁵⁰ http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/statistics/Homicide/Globa_study_on_homicide_2011_web.pdf, p. 9

⁵¹ Interview with Lyn Perry, Director of Jo'burg Child Welfare (JCW).

⁵² http://www.spence-chapin.org/help-children/g1_granny_program.php

⁵³ <http://www.jhbchildwelfare.org.za>

⁵⁴ http://www.spence-chapin.org/help-children/g1_granny_program.php

Governance

Injustice anywhere
is a threat to
justice
everywhere.
-- Rev. Martin
Luther King, Jr.,
*Letter from
Birmingham Jail.*



Rabbi Chanina, an assistant of the high priest said: Pray for the welfare of the government, since but for fear of it men would swallow each other alive. -- *Pirkei Avot*, 3:2.

Democratic politics is a politics without enemies and without a mentality of hatred, a politics of consultation, discussion, and decision by vote based on mutual respect, mutual tolerance, and mutual accommodation. -- Liu Xiaobo, Winner of 2010 Nobel Peace Prize, June 2nd Hunger Strike Declaration 1989.

It is not power that corrupts but fear. Fear of losing power corrupts those who wield it and fear of the scourge of power corrupts those who are subject to it.
-- Aung San Suu Kyi, *Freedom from Fear.*

Our point of departure is to serve the people whole-heartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs of the Party.
-- Mao Tse-tung⁵⁵

Why should you take by force that from us which you can have by love? Powhatan⁵⁶

⁵⁵ "On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 315 quoted in *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (*Mao zhuxi yulu*, the 'Little Red Book', May 1964)

⁵⁶ Address to John Smith, ca. 1609, *Biography and History of the Indians of North America*, by Samuel G. Drake, 11th ed., Boston, 1841.) Powhatan (1547-1618)

“Good governance” refers to people’s ability to engage, influence, and hold accountable the public institutions that affect their lives, at whatever levels. People are able to demand their rights, to dissent and protest, and to resist corruption without fear. This may occur through many channels including regular elections, consultations, communication with political leaders, political debate including between opposition parties but also in tearooms and living rooms, by proposals for legal and judicial reforms, and by exercising basic freedom of speech and through a relatively free media.

In Bhutan’s Gross National Happiness Index, four measures were used for good governance. These include if people knew of their fundamental rights and felt they were protected, if they trusted public institutions, their assessment of the performance of the governmental institutions, for example in service delivery, and political participation – voting, participating in local government meetings, and so on.

In the context of discussions of well-being, some find the term ‘good governance’ to lack the intuitive and compelling force of the other domains. The reason is that ‘good governance’ sounds rather too large and amorphous to pertain to an individual person. Also, a pouting face with a thought bubble explaining, ‘I am unhappy because I am not able to exercise good governance’ is difficult to interpret. For in matters political, loyalties and suspicions run high, as readers’ own reaction to quotations from Liu Xiaobo and Mao Tse-Tung may suggest. Also, even legitimate losses may be fiercely contested and condemned. To add to the complexity, the modifier ‘good’ sounds like a warning or implicit criticism, leaving the reader to wonder who judges what ‘good’ is. In the UK Consultation on domains of well-being, in fact, participants suggested renaming this particular domain. The Sarkozy Commission referred to ‘political voice and governance’. Alternatively, the focus on political agency in particular could be broadened to include the exercise of agency and empowerment in social and market domains as well.⁵⁷

Yet at the level of each person, good governance (whatever it is called) arguably has intrinsic value of at least two kinds. First it embodies a type of freedom, as Sen writes, “Acting freely and being able to choose are, in this view, directly conducive to well-being, not just because more freedom makes more alternatives available.”⁵⁸ Governance refers to one specific form of agency – people’s freedom to engage political processes, express their views and, if consensus is reached, to act on them. As seems clear from movements across the world, from the democratic wave sweeping Latin America to the Arab Spring to Indian’s protests when democracy was temporarily quelled during the ‘Emergency’, this domain is widely valued.

The second intrinsic value is that by exercising ‘good governance’ people are able to contribute to the common good in a way that serves each other and brings meaning. Drèze and Sen (1995) point this out: “Indeed being able to do something not only for oneself but also for other members of the society is one of the elementary freedoms which people have reason to value. The popular appeal of many social movements in India confirms that this basic capability is highly valued even among people who lead very deprived lives in material terms.”⁵⁹

Good governance is also instrumental to many other aspects of well-being. First and foremost, it serves to communicate both information about situations and problems, and values. One reason that famines do not occur in functional democracies, Sen argues, is because in democracies, information regarding calamities is spread widely, enabling an appropriate response. Such accurate and timely information was not available, for example, in China’s tragic Great Famine, nor in Bengal’s. A second reason is that people’s concern or even outrage, expressed via the media, through public protest and

⁵⁷ An alternative might be to change this domain to refer to people’s wider ability to plan individually and collectively, and proactively engage and shape different structures that affect their lives, be these political institutions, the market, or social structures. Aristotle referred to this ability as ‘practical reason’; Amartya Sen as ‘agency’; often it is termed ‘empowerment’.

⁵⁸ Sen (1992a)

⁵⁹ Dreze and Sen (1995) see also (1989)

through communication with representatives, alerts them to the fact that people's values do not tolerate famine deaths. Even if political leaders are not moved by moral attentiveness itself, they are likely to be moved to respond to famines merely by self-interest in their own re-election.

Indeed governments can constructively harness citizen's expressions of good governance as a countervailing power, to prevent corruption for example, as we shall see in the case studies. Furthermore, democratic debate, the give and take of reasons and positions can be constructive in forging a consensus or at least a widespread understanding of why a particular course of action has been chosen, even if one continues to disagree with it. Sen also argues that "the practice of democracy gives citizens an opportunity to learn from one another, and helps society to form its values and priorities... In this sense, democracy has constructive importance." The public debates at the time of writing around the tragic killing of children may lead to a reform of gun laws in the US; similarly outrage at the death of a gang-raped victim in Delhi may change social norms, behaviors and laws on rape.

Among policy makers, the domain of 'good governance' already enjoys high stature, recognition, and support. This occurs in both developed and developing countries. In a survey of 34 national reports on the 'Millennium Development Goals' found that in all but 3 countries, the topic of 'governance' was stressed as an additional 'pillar', or a 'ninth MDG' or a government priority.⁶⁰ As in the other domains, we affirm the existing calls for better governance policies on many levels. Thus a very real question is what 'distinctive' policies might be advocated by a well-being and happiness based paradigm.

This is particularly the case as so many instances of 'good governance' actually mobilize citizens to prevent negative abuses of power, via corruption, a lack of implementation of policies, and so on. Indeed one can wonder whether some governance programmes are mainly seeking to recruit free labour from citizens to hold government to account, instead of undertaking fundamental reforms. But is the 'ideal' situation, then, one in which the freedom to exert good governance was present but rarely required, because institutions functioned fairly and well? Could it be said that the ideal 'exercise' of good governance was at a very low level? Perhaps when it comes to curbing excess, but this is not the only role of good governance.

In a harmonious and equitable society with low corruption, there are still many political decisions to make, and these decisions create culture, identity, and values. For example, as Finnis points out, there is no right answer as to 'which side of the road' cars should drive on in any given country. But it is vital that this be decided, and there may be some identities – for example with the Commonwealth – could be strengthened by this choice. Other choices are value judgements. The speed limit set (and enforced) in any region reflects the value of life versus the value of swift transit; where this decision is made will shape both risks and characteristics of a society. A society with a speed limit of 20 would have low deaths from traffic accidents; it would also be decentralized as few people would wish to commute long distances to work. The language (or languages) taught in public schools and used in government documents is another example: teaching only the national language or English might assist with international migration and certain employment sectors, but at the cost of marginalized communities' culture and inclusion. Other decisions might provide incentives for young people to remain in rural communities versus migration to urban areas. There is no precise 'right' answer to these judgments (although there may be some wrong ones), but decisions will need to be reviewed from time to time.

Similarly, as societies change, attentiveness to new needs and their constructive redress can often come from below. Thus good governance can play a role in coordinating action, information, or analyses.

⁶⁰ Alkire (2009)

The governance policies described here may fall within the kinds of policies that are already advocated by others. However we share them as innovative and clear examples of the kinds of governance that will **always** be required, in all societies. We begin with a disaster response mechanisms, which engages ‘many eyes’ – in this case, a crisis mapping approach which spread from Kenya to Haiti and beyond. Next come public sector information and right to food legislations, which among other economic and societal benefits, create incentives for public servants to focus on policy outcomes, and increase accountability and transparency. We follow this with a case study of restorative justice and prisoner-led peer support, and call for concern for well-being and happiness to spread to our treatment of all human populations, including prisoners. Finally, is a case of citizen science, in which the creativity and observation of many creates information that all can use, particularly the government.

Collaborative crisis mapping Ushahidi: “Ushahidi”, which means “testimony” in Swahili, is a website set up by a collaboration of Kenyan citizen journalists during a time of crisis in Kenya, after the post-election fall-out at the beginning of 2008, to map incidents of violence and peace efforts throughout the country based on reports submitted via the web and mobile phones. At its core, Ushahidi is geared at building tools for democratising information, increasing transparency and lowering barriers for individuals to share their stories. Juliana Rotich, Ushahidi’s Executive Director, observes that: “Ushahidi enables people to change how information flows. To enable regular people to be part of something, to be part of that narrative that is emerging. Things are in flux all the time, be it politically, be it socially, and technology allows [people] to participate and to connect with others.”⁶¹ Since its inception in 2008, the platform has grown to over 20,000 deployments globally, and has been used around the world to coordinate responses to a wide range of events – in Mexican elections to report problems at polling stations to the electoral commission, to gathering information about harassment in Egypt, to flooding in Australia and fires in Russia.

The Ushahidi Haiti Project (UHP),⁶² a volunteer effort to produce a crisis map after the 2012 earthquake in Haiti, represents an important proof of concept for the application of crisis mapping and crowdsourcing to large scale catastrophes. An independent evaluation⁶³ underscored the power of Ushahidi software in coordinating human aid, particularly in early response to emergencies. This found that the UHP addressed key information gaps in the very early period of responses before the UN and other large organisations were operational by providing situational awareness and critical early information with a relatively high level of geographical precision, and by helping mobilise smaller NGOs, private funders and citizen actors to engage and appropriately target needs. The relevance of the response was aided by directly engaging affected Haitians in articulating their own needs and organising local capacity.

Public sector information (Kenya), & Right to Information (India)

A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce, or a tragedy, or perhaps both. -James Madison

Information is one of the most important goods in our lives. And governments are the biggest single producer and owner of information. How do citizens use it? Kenya, among other countries, is at the forefront of ‘public sector information’ provision (PSI). Powerful governmental portals provide access to well-organised, digitized information (or information through radio, print, or television), which is licensed under (or based on the license of) a Creative Commons License. This means it is available under a free, perpetual licence without restrictions beyond attribution. Such data is called open data.

⁶¹Interview with Juliana Rotich, Executive Director, Ushahidi (February 2012)

⁶² <http://ushahidi.com/>

⁶³ Morrow, Mock, Papendieck & Kocmich (2011)

The data provided concern local and national government expenditure; public health and education data; parliamentary proceedings; weather information and detailed census statistics on topics such as population.

India's Right to Information Act is another stellar example of a courageous investment from government in facilitating accountability and transparency in public life. Under this Act citizens can request information and, within 30 days, public authorities are obliged to provide unrestricted access to most government documents or information. Despite predictable difficulties in implementing the act at first, the RTI has come to be actively enforced, which has generated widespread use of this right. It has been used by an engaged citizenry to detect corruption and diagnose bottlenecks. The first four years were rigorously and positively reviewed.⁶⁴

PSI and RTI both contribute to governance by enabling citizens to confront corruption or poor performance, so civil servants have new incentives. Nathaniel Heller characterises his experiences working in the US State Department as follows:

[In] everything I did, my success as a bureaucrat, my promotion, my pay raises, were tied almost entirely to how successful I was working within the bureaucracy. It was not at all tied to the public or to public policy outcomes and I think that's the challenge.⁶⁵

PSI and RTI initiatives can be implemented by the public sector, and create civil service incentives to generate public policy outcomes. Public sector information already exists; it has already been paid for; it is about the public. These approaches enable it to belong to the public.

Imagining a Future without Prisons: Restorative Justice (South Africa, global)

More than 10.75 million people are held in penal and detention institutions across the world, and both the number and proportion of prisoners is growing in the majority of countries. Yet prisons as a method of punishment are a relatively new phenomenon, arising largely from Benthamite principles in 19th century England. Prisons are expensive – the US prisons, housing 2.3 million citizens, cost \$75 billion per year - and their efficacy at crime prevention is questioned. Rather than prevent crime, prisons may indeed engender and institutionalise it.

Restorative justice seeks to restore dignity to the victims of crime and their families and to rehabilitate perpetrators. Such programmes courageously involve the victim, the offender and affected members of the community in responding to the crime and repairing the injuries it caused. The process of involving all parties – often in face-to-face meetings – is a powerful way of addressing not only the material and physical injuries caused by crime, but the social, psychological and relational injuries as well.

Restorative justice has roots in many cultures. For instance, it is a central feature of African ubuntu-ist moral theories. Ubuntu theories hold that people's humanity is made up of their love and care for others. Crimes dehumanise both victims and perpetrators, such that both parties are in need of healing.

The number of restorative justice (RJ) programmes is growing, and there are hundreds of examples across the world. The 2007 Sherman-Strang report reviewing randomised controlled trials on the impacts of restorative justice (RJ) across the world, found that in 36 direct comparisons to conventional criminal justice (CJL), RJ has, in at least two tests:

- substantially reduced repeat offending for most offenders;
- doubled (or more) the offences brought to justice;
- reduced crime victims' post-traumatic stress symptoms and related costs;
- reduced crime victims' desire for violent revenge against their offenders;
- provided both victims and offenders with more satisfaction with justice than CJ;

⁶⁴ Roberts (2010)

⁶⁵ Hogge (2010)

- reduced the costs of criminal justice, when used as diversion from CJ;
- reduced recidivism more than prison (adults) or as well as prison (youths).

Even in the absence of RJ programmes, other initiatives can flower. One low-cost, innovative attempt to focus more directly on rehabilitating the perpetrators so stems from prisoners themselves in Pollsmoor prison, South Africa.

Pollsmoor is possibly the most notoriously violent prison in the country. The Prison Broadcasting Network (PBN) was founded with a CD-walkman in August 1999. Truth Radio, as it became known, initially broadcast to 1,700 juveniles offenders through the internal intercom system. Over the next few years, broadcasts were extended to all 7,500 offenders in Pollsmoor. Radio programmes were produced for offenders by offenders, and grew, in 2008, into an internal Television Production Training division.

The tv programmes address issues such as how to deal with being an ex-convict and how to cope with prison life. Producers and presenters undergo life-skills training, and spiritual and psychological counselling. In addition to broadcast skills, the programme helps build their confidence, enhance their reading and writing skills, and gives them a platform to voice their reasoned beliefs and values.

Citizen Science and Monitoring (China, East and South Africa, United States)

Broadly, citizen science is public participation in scientific research or monitoring. By working collaboratively, non-professionals can aid researchers in critical environmental research. Their efforts can also allow citizens to challenge the accuracy and veracity of official environmental reports, encourage greater transparency on environmental issues, expose polluters, and document changes to the local ecology and their living environment. Citizen monitoring is informed by the idea that the rights of citizenship are coupled with responsibilities to care for public and common goods, and responsibilities to engage with the each other as a polity and the state to build a flourishing society. At the same time, it acknowledges and nurtures the role of public deliberation and the free flow of knowledge in deepening democracy.

Examples include citizens in China taking their own air pollution measurements and forcing the Chinese government to admit that the smog problem was much more severe than it had previously acknowledged and also to begin measuring the smaller, more dangerous particulates. FLOAT Beijing in particular example built on the Chinese tradition of kite-flying to send air pollution sensors aloft. There are dozens, if not hundreds of projects of various scales. Other citizen science projects include insect monitoring in South Africa and air and water sample collection near a Zambian copper mine and an oil and gas field in Kazakhstan.

Civic engagement in environmental decision-making in the USA was formalized by the passing of the 1969 National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) which promoted public inputs into environmental decision-making. The EPA encourages volunteer environmental monitoring as a way to complete basic monitoring tasks, to promote more active citizen participation in environmental protection, and to create greater awareness and knowledge about environmental processes.

Cultural Diversity and Resilience

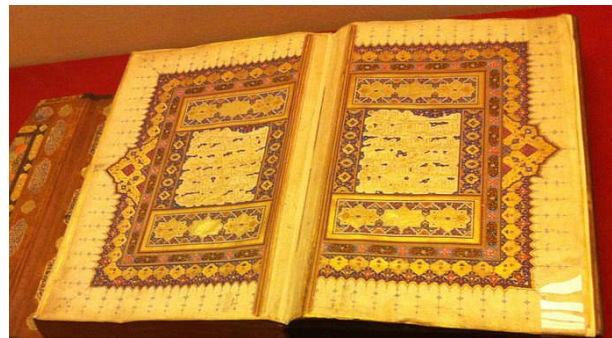
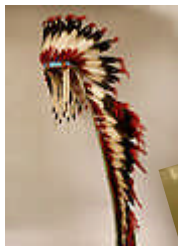
4: Krishna & Radha dancing the Rasalila, Jaipur



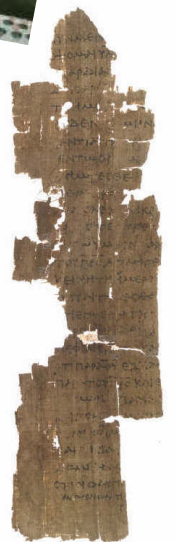
Perhaps that's what civilization means: knowing too much to be able to feel only one way. – L. Raab, *Probable World*.

Whole nations have melted away like balls of snow before the sun. *Dragging Canoe 1730-1792*⁶⁶

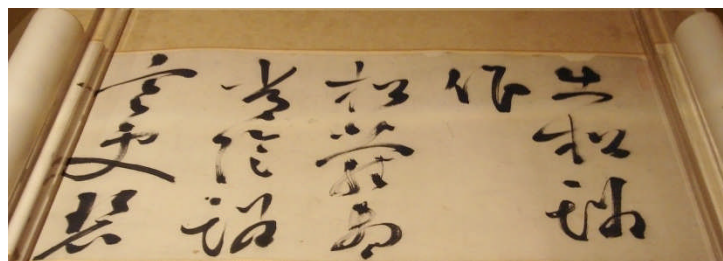
Take the best of the white man's road, pick it up and take it with you. That which is bad leave it alone, cast it away. Take the best of the old Indian ways—always keep them. They have been proven for thousands of years. Do not let them die. *Sitting Bull 1830-1894*⁶⁷



5 Holy Qur'an



6: Gospel of John, Fragment



⁶⁶ Address to the Cherokee council, 1775; *The Wilderness Road*, by Robert L. Kincaid, Bobbs-Merrill, 1947.

⁶⁷ Henrietta V. Whitemen in John R. Maestas (1976)

The domain of cultural diversity, however complex to understand internationally, clearly provides identity, artistic expression, a sense of history, and meaning to people. The preservation and promotion of culture has been accorded a high priority for many indigenous groups and in many traditional cultures. Culture is often manifest in language, traditional arts and crafts, cuisine, festivals, liturgies, drama, music, dress, customs, and shared values. Less tangibly, culture creates the character and way of living of communities. Culture – even traditional culture – is not static, as we and colleagues said elsewhere, “culture is also dynamic concept, constantly evolving and continuously challenged by external forces and by internal cultural and social change” (Ura et al. 2012).

To assess the strength of various aspects of culture, Bhutan’s GNH Index included four indicators: language, a set of 13 artistic and artisan skills, participation in festivals and cultural events, and *Driglam Namzha* (a form of etiquette broadly translatable as “the Way of Harmony”).

Like the other domains, we understand culture to have intrinsic value, simply as aesthetic expression or appreciation. As Sen wrote,

When Julius Caesar said of Cassius, “He hears no music: seldom he smiles,” this was not meant to be high praise for Cassius’s quality of life. To have a high GNP per head but little music, arts, literature, etc., would not amount to a major developmental success. In one form or another, culture engulfs our lives, our desires, our frustrations, our ambitions, and the freedoms that we seek. The freedom and opportunity for cultural activities are among the basic freedoms the enhancement of which can be seen to be constitutive of development. (Sen 2004a: 39).

Culture also has a number of important instrumental connections. First, to the extent that culture links us with a particular community, it can further strengthen and deepen our relationships. Singing and dancing together crafts a richer kind of intimacy than simply talking together – though you do need to know the same dance, or learn rather quickly. Relationships supported by shared culture may open out other benefits mentioned above in community vitality such as trust, mutual support, and solidarity, and so on. Cultural activities may also support living standards, through tourism, or cultural industries of art, music and craft. It may also support psychological well-being, by providing stable identity on the one hand, or providing support, training, and understanding of how to cultivate positive emotions, resolve conflicts, and build peace. Depending upon the culture, it may support good governance, by sharing traditions of public debate, generating consensus, recognizing legitimate leadership, and so on. It is likely to contribute to education – for example in history, the natural ecosystem, health, agriculture and herding and cooking skills. And culture practices, whether energy work, dietary patterns, traditional medicine, massage, and so on, may support health itself.⁶⁸

But what does culture mean for the daughter of a Burmese exile living in Thailand? for a child born of native American indian mother and a Polish father, living in rural Pennsylvania, USA? For a child raised in Accra Ghana, by parents educated in Germany, who attended the ‘international school’ and loves Bollywood music? For the child of a Mozambique construction worker who has been raised between her village and South Africa and is an elder in the local church? For a child raised by a leading family in the mafia, or in a criminal gang, or a drug cartel, or a harmful cult? For a child raised in Mexico city by parents who are from that city. Situations of dislocation, migration, conversion, mixed family, globalization, negative culture, and urbanization have created billions of people for whom a single culture will never provide a solid foundation for their identity. Do they require ‘culture’ to be happy – and if so much – of what kinds – is enough? On these questions, emphatic agreement across populations seems an unlikely prospect.

Alongside traditional and indigenous cultures, modernity has created plenty of cultural forms. Music, entertainment, and sport are arguably cultural choices, as are fast food and fashion, which billions of

⁶⁸ This section draws on two articles and the references therein: Alkire (2004) and Sen (2004a)

people enjoy and find to be meaningful and identity-creating across socio-economic groups. There are cultural conventions and expressions in the use of social media, internet pages and cell phone ringtones. Yet these new forms of mass culture have significant commercial interest and powers behind them, and hardly seem to require investment and cultivation in the same way as a dying language or traditional knowledge regarding medicinal properties of plants.

One option is to restrict the domain of culture to the discerning preservation of traditional wisdoms, and their adaptation and re-making in the modern context. And to acknowledge, at the same time, that billions of people can attain happiness without the enjoyment of an indigenous or ancient culture at all. It is like the spotted owl and other endangered species: our well-being may not reside not in enjoying them directly ourselves, but in being part of a society that respects and protects cultural diversity (Sen 2004b). The argument for doing so is not idle. In some sense, it may be that the wisest cultures – those who eschew violence, who are internally content and feel no need of political or economic conquest, who live in harmony with the ecosystem and within their means, who are spiritually mature, at peace with themselves and with death itself – are those most in danger of perishing. The writings from dying cultures, even screening out the rosy afterglow each has of simpler times long ago, seem to suggest this. And yet it is this kind of society precisely which the new economic paradigm is most seeking to strengthen.

A second option is to single out certain creative expressions of beauty and wisdom, whether these are traditional or not. For example, support for artists and for the arts is often offered by public sector or by charities, regardless of what form of art it is: similarly for music, dance, and so on. Alongside this support for fragile or vulnerable cultural forms, this domain would also cultivate tolerance and respect for cultural diversity.

These options remain open, and different polities and communities will doubtless choose these and other approaches, depending upon their contexts and values. In all cases what is-to-be-protected requires value judgements, and these may be contested when it comes to issues of taste (modern art and modern music), morality (treatment of women and internal minorities such as same-sex partners; justifications of violence), religion (protection of arguably harmful or false ideologies like the flat earth society or fascist groups), and economic ‘cost’ both to the funders and to the cultural group itself (supporting rare languages in schools, or economically inefficient modes of production).

Unlike domains of health, education, living standards, good governance, the environment, and even, increasingly, community, the domain of cultural diversity appears on the face of it, hardly mainstream. And yet most countries have, and fund, ministries of culture. Many countries offer public support for the arts, and have special programmes to protect minorities, first nations, and indigenous groups. Thus actually there is more institutional and financial infrastructure for public support of cultural diversity and resilience than may often be recognized.

This being said, mainstream policies vary exceedingly across countries, thus this is an area in which it is most difficult to know what the currently advocated policy options are. Hence in our ‘policy’ section, we have chosen to highlight policies which may or may not be new in each setting, but do somehow illustrate the principles we have mentioned. This include vital investments in threatened languages, and intergenerational fora for a transfer of skills and wisdom in urban settings.

Language Immersion Schools (New Zealand)

“Preservation [...] is what we do to berries in jam jars [...] Books and recordings can preserve languages, but only people and communities can keep them alive.” -- Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, Tlingit oral historians.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Lord (1996)

Every 14 days a language dies.⁷⁰ By the turn of the next century, more than half of world's approximately 7,000⁷¹ languages—many of them not yet recorded—may disappear.⁷² Treasure houses of cultural, historical, and environmental knowledge will be destroyed like burning of the Library of Alexandria a thousand times over.

Large-scale documentation efforts include Google's Endangered Languages, the Rosetta Project of the Long Now Foundation, and National Geographic's Enduring Voices. These record examples of threatened languages and create dictionaries while native speakers still exist. But they do not keep languages truly alive and vital or allow a people to retain a living heritage.

Language immersion schools have breathed new life into a corpus of threatened languages and the communities that speak them. The Te Kohanga Reo (language nest) program in New Zealand, for example, is responsible for a resurgence in knowledge of the Māori language amongst younger Māori. A pre-school programme was begun in 1981 in which Māori elders teach the very young in their ancestral language. Instruction is based on a holistic culture-based curriculum that seeks to develop, among other things, a child's understanding of her own sacredness as well as a sense of humanity and humaneness. Parents and community activists then pushed for language immersion schools or Kura Kaupapa Māori. The first opened in 1985. There are now about 60,000 Kohanga Reo graduates and a large network of Māori immersion schools and bilingual programs at all levels.

Māori immersion schools and bilingual programs are funded and supported by New Zealand's Ministry of Education, but are also strongly community-driven. Results over the past 20 plus years have resulted in a regeneration.⁷³ "In 2001, about 17% of Māori children of school age were enrolled in some form of Māori-medium education." It has not dented educational prospects: "Research has demonstrated that ... learning to speak, read and write in Māori means that students are more likely to succeed academically in both Māori and English."⁷⁴ Sustaining the language across generations may require further policies such as Māori language media.⁷⁵

Imparting knowledge and skills in traditional arts and crafts (Thailand)

Aimed at imparting knowledge and skills in traditional arts and crafts, an unconventional school was established in Thailand, called Lanna Wisdom Institute. Local artisans and a non-governmental organisation have joined hands to establish an alternative learning forum which aims to pass on valuable folk wisdom and an eco-friendly lifestyle to the next generations. Students aged 6 to 66 attend for three hours daily on Saturdays and Sundays when the formal school are closed, and learn local music, dancing, singing, handicrafts, local language, and agriculture to forest management, etc. The teachers are volunteers who have sound knowledge and skills in arts and crafts. Many are among the elderly. The programme provides a meaningful exchange across the generations, and a way of passing down wisdom in urban settings where the previous channels of community have taken a new shape.

Classical dance

Classical dance is a "living heritage". It is simultaneously traditional and modern. Indian dancers inherit an ancient heritage from their Gurus or teachers and add to these traditions – using dance as a medium to describe ancient myths, poems, love stories and contemporary social issues. Through complex facial expressions, footwork and gestures, the dancer communicates ancient myths, stories,

⁷⁰ National Geographic Enduring Voices, a joint project with Swarthmore College's Living Tongues Institute. <http://travel.nationalgeographic.com/travel/enduring-voices/>

⁷¹ Lewis (ed.) (2009)

⁷² National Geographic Enduring Voices, a joint project with Swarthmore College's Living Tongues Institute. <http://travel.nationalgeographic.com/travel/enduring-voices/>

⁷³ Spolsky (2003)

⁷⁴ May, Hill and Tiakiwai (2006)

⁷⁵ Reedy (2000)

poems, hymns and memories – and makes them accessible to the general public. A classical dancer is simultaneously a musician, a story-teller, a communicator and a historian.

Supported by government of India, this project involves creating digital repositories of knowledge to preserve intangible cultural heritage. India's Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (IGNCA) in collaboration with the Ministry Communication and Information Technology (MCIT), initiated a programme called 'Kalasampada' (conceptualized in 2005) to create a digital archive of India's cultural heritage. 200,000 manuscripts, over 10,000 slides and thousands of rare books have been digitized. In addition, this initiative also documents India's diverse classical and folk dance forms from different states through 400 hours of video footage – collected from renowned experts. This is the first such large-scale attempt to create a digital archive of India's cultural heritage and plans are underway to add to this database. Thus, unlike in the past when an individual needed access to a Guru or expert to get an introduction to classical dance – he/ ICTs are a valuable tool to introduce young people into this medium. Though, it cannot replace a teacher – it helps researchers, students and connoisseurs of dance an opportunity to understand dance in a way that was never possible before.

Another example is 'Core of Culture', a non-profit that works with artists, practitioners of dance, scholars and government representatives to preserve material on dance forms from across the world. This initiative specifically focuses on documenting information on endangered dance forms in Asia and preserves and disseminates this information through videos, installations in museums and online databases.

For example, Core of Culture's *Bhutan Dance Project* uses diverse tools – such as audio and video recordings, journal entries and interviews – to collect and document information about these dance forms. The fieldwork generated a wealth of data, including 500 hours of video documentation, 11,000 photographs and 11 ethnographic journals. This information was organized and collated in a searchable, online database, which contains 200 separate dance entries and over 150 hours of high definition video documentation on Bhutan's dance forms. Information on this database is also regularly updated. An important feature of this archive is the fact that it contains rare footage and interviews with experts and material that has never been collected before, and thus is a valuable resource for practitioners of dance, researchers, scholars and members of the public.

Health

The wish for healing has always been half of health. — Lucius Annaeus Seneca

Healing is a matter of time, but it is sometimes also a matter of opportunity. — Hippocrates

Healthy citizens are the greatest asset any country can have. — Winston Churchill.

Although the world is full of suffering, it is also full of the overcoming of it. — Helen Keller



When life itself seems lunatic, who knows where madness lies? Perhaps to be too practical is madness. To surrender dreams—this may be madness. To seek treasure where there is only trash. Too much sanity may be madness. And maddest of all, to see life as it is and not as it should be. — Don Quixote, *The Man of La Mancha*

If there is a single definition of healing it is to enter with mercy and awareness those pains, mental and physical, from which we have withdrawn in judgment and dismay.

— Stephen Levine,
*A Year to Live:
How to Live This
Year as If It Were
Your Last*

7: Ancient human statues from Jordan



Health's intrinsic value is self-evident. It is clearly glimpsed in its absence. The value of being free from pain is known from times of pain; the value of being able to walk, run and manoeuvre from times one has lost these; the value of being able to see clearly is felt when one loses one's glasses or one's arms become too short; the value of having energy, from times of hunger, fatigue, and strain; the value of mental health, after depression or breakdown; the value of being free of illness or cancer or other disease, from undergoing these or being alongside those who do. Health is achieved insofar as physical bodies and minds can enjoy mobility, energy, sensual awareness, mental health, and freedom from morbidity or pain. Naturally, all persons have health limitations, from short-sightedness to intellectual and physical disabilities to temporary or chronic conditions. But insofar as health conditions are provided support, many can enjoy good health for much of their lives.

Health is also instrumental to nearly every other domain, as severe deprivations in health and nutrition cast a long shadow over most other domains. This being said, some with tremendous health challenges rise above them (food insecurity, pain, immobility, cancer, chronic disease, disabilities). Exceptions aside, health is ordinarily instrumental to work, as healthy people have fewer sick days, are able to concentrate better and achieve more at work. It is also instrumental to education and ongoing learning, because healthy and well-nourished people have better concentration.

Bhutan's indicators of health in the GNH index included the number of healthy days in a month, the presence of a chronic health condition, overall physical health status, and mental health.

Health policies are on the rise. In 1978 at Alma Ata was the first international declaration on the need for investments in primary health care and other policies to generate health for all, and this triggered a powerful response. A new wave of policies were advanced to deal with the tragic onset of HIV/AIDS epidemic and the need for prevention, diagnosis, the procurement of affordable drugs, and the administration of anti-retrovirals. The Millennium Development Goals further advanced health goals, for example related to malnutrition, child mortality, maternal mortality, tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS and malaria. Immunization campaigns have been increasing. Alongside this, there is renewed interest in, and advocacy for the provision of universal health care in many countries, OECD and developing countries, as well as in social determinants of health, human resources for health, health system reform, research in priority diseases in developing countries, and public health including awareness of good nutrition and the need for physical exercise. Health has become a high-profile policy area in countries across the globe, and attention to exercise and nutrition are a pro-active sphere of activity for many.

Given this prominence and significant advocacy, what is the 'value-added' of a well-being focused paradigm? First of all, it is to stand alongside and support the important health advocacy of so many others. We affirm the need for urgent attention to malnutrition, which throws a long shadow across future life prospects for millions of children and which has been shockingly neglected in comparison with its sister MDG in Goal 1, namely income poverty. We affirm the need for sufficient public expenditure in priority health care needs, or in sufficient affordable primary health care delivery by other means. We affirm the focus in developing countries in preventing infectious diseases, TB, malaria, HIV, and childhood diseases through public health interventions as well as diet and exercise. We affirm the need for access to family planning support for child spacing and to limit family size, and reproductive health care for women. Across all societies we affirm the need for universal access to health care, including mental health care. And we call for research into diseases most affecting the poor and marginalized. Finally, we affirm policies addressing health in a holistic fashion, including the social determinants of health, inequality, nutrition, social exclusion, and conflict.

Given the tremendous prominence and attention that the domain of health rightly enjoys at present, and the urgent need for these basic health needs to be addressed, what can we add? This is a

legitimate question, as all of the GNH Index indicators could, for example, be met using standard interventions.

Our policy case studies draw out aspects of health that yet are important and under-researched. The first of these focuses at end-of-life care, as the last few months of life cost the most in most health systems, and more holistic attention to this season of life could be intrinsically valuable. The second looks at the anomie in first nations that generated the highest suicide rate. The third looks at how health policies must be integrated into all aspects – in this example, through attention to design issues

Furthermore, the approach to health is holistic, and traditional medicine practices are not sidelined but cultivated alongside modern medicine, so that their wisdom is studied, and where appropriate used to enrich or replace other treatments.

End of life care

No matter how they live, whether their lives are full or deprived, it is a certainty that all seven billion people on this planet will eventually die. A good death is significant not just for those who pass but for those who remain behind. From 1998 to 2004 the Robert Wood Johnson (RWJ) Foundation's *Promoting Excellence in End-of-Life Care* funded 22 projects in a variety of settings, including cancer centers, nursing homes, dialysis clinics, in Alaskan native American settlements, inner-city public health centers, and prisons. They found, over and over again, that existing resources and services could be used to "expand access to palliative services and improve quality of care in ways that are financially feasible and acceptable to patients, families, clinicians, administrators, and payers."⁷⁶ The key to achieving this was individualizing patient and family assessments, which includes End-of-Life discussions. End-of-Life conversations are associated with a higher quality of life for the patient and better adjustment for the grieving.⁷⁷ Another key is that palliative services can and should be practiced concurrently with the treatment of the disease – not simply when all other medical options have been exhausted. When the RWJ Foundation's involvement concluded, 20 of the 22 of the organizations maintained or expanded their models. Caring for the end of life is primarily a moral and spiritual task. Yet it is also important for other reasons: in the US, 30% of Medicare expenditures are attributable to the 5% of beneficiaries who die each year; about one third of the expenditures in the last year of life is spent in the last month. Costs for aggressive and unnecessary interventions can be partly prevented by providing more holistic support to the patient and their family in the last seasons of life.

Addressing Youth Suicide Among First Nations Communities (Canada)

Indigenous people around the world have the highest suicide risk of any identifiable cultural (or ethnic) group. It is a youth epidemic. Various explanations have been put forward for the high rates of suicide and suicidal behaviour among indigenous youth. Among the proposed underlying causes are the enormous social and cultural turmoil created by the policies of colonialism and the difficulties faced ever since by indigenous peoples in adjusting and integrating into the modern-day societies.

In Manitoba, Canada, First Nations people themselves developed a First Nations suicide prevention strategy, using traditional insights from the Cree, Dakota, Dene, Ojibway and Oji-Cree peoples. The aim of the youth suicide prevention initiative was to reclaim and restore their identity, culture, language, history, relationships and spirit of self-determination. Elders were engaged to provide insights. But there was a very important twist: those who shared these teachings in order to prevent youth suicides – were youth.

⁷⁶ Byock, Twohig, Merriman, Collins (2006)

⁷⁷ Wright et al. (2008)

The youth worked on many levels simultaneously to build and implement the programme, engaging with key stakeholders, leadership and government agencies, listening to suicide-prone friends and advocating for what the youth wanted. An evaluation finds that it not only saw a fall in suicide rates, but also empowered youth and increased intersectoral collaboration. It provides a heartening demonstration that youth suicide prevention strategies are successful – when the youth are leading them. The program has been replicated in three other Provinces.

Healthy By Design (Australia)

Health is holistic, and well-planned neighbourhoods actually help our health. For example, trying to exercise in exhaust-polluted, sidewalk-less streets can be a health hazard as well as a heart benefit. Yet urban design often consider, health, safety and access issues separately, and do not have a clear view of the overall integrated outcome. The Heart Foundation in Victoria, Australia, developed Healthy by Design programme that provides planners with a toolbox of ‘Design Considerations’ to promote walking, cycling, and public transport use, as well as a practical design tool, and case studies. The ‘Design Considerations’ include well-planned networks of walking and cycling routes; streets with direct, safe, and convenient access; local destinations within walking distance of homes; accessible open spaces for recreation and leisure; conveniently located public transport stops; local neighbourhoods fostering community spirit. The ‘Healthy by Design’ matrix tool is a practical device that demonstrates the synergies between the different guidelines that influence built environment design, all of which contribute to positive health outcomes.

National Level Action to Tackle Workplace Stress (UK)

The Health and Safety Commission identified work stress as one of its main priorities under the Occupational Health Strategy for Britain 2000: Revitalising Health and Safety, which set out to achieve, by 2010, a 30% reduction in the incidence of working days lost through work-related illness and injury; a 20% reduction in the incidence of people suffering from work-related ill-health; and a 10% reduction in the rate of work-related fatal and major injuries.

In 2004, the United Kingdom Health and Safety Executive (HSE) introduced management standards for work-related stress. These standards cover six work stressors: demands, control, support, relationships, role, and change. A risk assessment tool was released at the same time as the management standards; this consists of 35 items on working conditions covering the six work stressors. The HSE management standards adopted a population-based approach to tackling workplace stress aimed at moving organizational stressors to more desirable levels rather than identifying individual employees with high levels of stress. Instead of setting reference values for acceptable levels of psychosocial working conditions that all employers should meet, the standards set aspirational targets that organizations can work towards. The management standards are not in themselves a new law but can help employers meet their legal duty under the Management of Health and Safety at Work Regulations 1999 to assess the risk of stress-related ill-health activities arising from work.

As part of a 3-year implementation programme, in 2006/07 the HSE actively rolled out management standards to 1000 workplaces by providing support for both conducting risk assessments and making changes based on results of risk assessments. So far, evaluations in workplaces adopting the management standards approach have mostly been qualitative and good practice case studies are being made available on the HSE website (www.hse.gov.uk/stress).

A national monitoring survey was conducted in 2004 before the introduction of the management standards, to provide a baseline for future monitoring of trends in psychosocial working conditions. Source: EMCONET, 2007

Living Standards

Work as if you were to live forever; pray as if you were to die tonight. – *Russian proverb*⁷⁸

You make a road by walking on it.
-- *South American Proverb*.⁷⁹

A small house may hold a thousand friends. --
*Lebanese proverb*⁸⁰

Money is sharper than a sword.
-- *African (Ashanti) proverbs*⁸¹

Money is sweet balm.
- *Egyptian proverb*⁸²

Better is a portion of herbs where love is, than a
stalled ox and hatred therewith. -- *Jewish Proverb*⁸³

The voice of the poor has no echo.
-- *Indian Proverb*⁸⁴



⁷⁸ Mieder (1986)

⁷⁹ Manser (2007)

⁸⁰ Mieder (1986)

⁸¹ Mieder (1986)

⁸² Mieder (1986)

⁸³ Kent (1895)

⁸⁴ Manser (2007)

The living standards domain contains distinct components. The first component is meaningful and decent work and livelihoods, including caring and household activities. The second aspect is housing that sufficiently shields from the elements: cold and heat, rain snow and sun. The third aspect is some form of currency – money, assets, or other tradeables. All three sub-categories of living standards, we value, have an intrinsic value. Decent work – work that is meaningful and safe and appropriate is, simply put, a way in which the person applies and uses their talents, fulfils their potential, creates and grows and expresses and gives. Note that work in this wider sense includes childrearing and caring for other dependents, activities of retired persons, and housework. The value of work may be epitomised in a mother who has chosen to remain fulltime with her child for awhile. Her fulfilment, joy, self-growth, and service simply sing out to onlookers. The value of work is clearly seen in a master sculptor who carves with exquisite attention and affection. But it can also be seen in the farmer, the cleaner, the social organiser, the priest, the shopkeeper, the health worker, the banker and the manager – in any who do their professions with excellence and experience what Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi calls ‘flow’.

Housing, too, has intrinsic value although it is often considered to be a resource. Like that of health, it is easiest to grasp the intrinsic value by imagining its absence: being rain-soaked with no prospect of drying out soon; being intolerably hot or cold, or exposed to animals, or unsure where one will sleep, having no place to store one’s possessions. The intrinsic value comprises both shelter from the elements and security of self and property.

What could loosely be called ‘currency’ or general-purpose resources and is often used in the form of money, has a kind of value that could, carefully considered, be considered intrinsic. This will be thought an odd assertion, as following Aristotle, money is rightly valued as a means: ‘wealth is merely useful, and for the sake of something else’. Furthermore, the ‘intrinsic’ value depends to some extent upon context. Yet there is a peculiar and particular aspect of freedom that currency brings – a decentralized form of freedom within exchange economies. General purpose assets including money can be converted into alternative goods and services that a person cannot self-manufacture. Currency and trade have no intrinsic value, of course (the value of trade can relate to good relationships covered under community vitality). But there is a valid freedom of having abilities that are not self-manufactured – whether it is the ability to visit an aunt by a bus one neither owns nor drives, or to buy a smart phone one neither made nor understands, or to send your child to piano lessons although you do not play, or to buy bricks you did not fire, or rent a tiller or save up for the future. Without money or some form of local currency, tradeables or exchange economy, we would be limited, day by day, to subsistence agriculture and handouts from the state or others, and would be unable to save for the distant future. This would surely prove a severe curtailment of our freedom to enjoy goods and services we did not self-manufacture, and to be interdependent, to help provide for the future, is the intrinsic value of which general purpose resources such as money and assets are but imperfect proxies.

The instrumental value of these aspects of living standard in terms of advancing other domains of happiness and well-being are better known yet worth rehearsing. Some work is associated, naturally, with income, with learning and skills development, with psychological well-being as well as health. Housing too advances health and living standards; currency and general purpose means such as income and savings can be instrumental to all the other domains in some ways.

Policies to advancing living standards seem to dominate policies in almost any other domain. These range from policies to increase GDP growth or expand domestic and international trade, to policies to reduce unemployment improve workers skills and productivity. They include policies to promote technology and innovation, those that enforce contracts, that introduce roads and establish markets and other institutional structures necessary for ‘doing business’. They include policies to encourage firms and enterprises of different scales, to upgrade housing quality and safety. And naturally they

include poverty reduction policies, whether these focus on jobs for the working poor, or on pensions, transfers, or the free access to services so that the scant income of poor families can be applied to other aims.

We affirm some, but actually not all, of these policies. We do affirm those policies that address the absolute poor, those deprived in housing and without safe or decent work. We affirm acknowledgment and respect for non-remunerative work, whether child-rearing, volunteering, housework, or responsibilities of care. Yet a key pillar of the new economic paradigm is sufficiency, a principle which the current paradigm does not respect, particularly in this domain. Rather, many policies both public and corporate seek to maximize wealth and profit, regardless of its opportunity costs on other domains of well-being or on well-being in future years.

In the Appendix to this document, we provide eleven case studies and innovations – more than for any other domain. Yet in this overall document we wish to imagine other policies, that are at the moment less concrete and the least implemented. Many are almost thought experiments. So rather than providing concrete policy cameos, at this stage, we list what those policy cameos, we hope, would convey. Perhaps readers can then propose policy cameos for this section.

The first would be for the creation of **meaningful work** – for jobs that do not alienate or demean – not simply for productivity and remuneration – but which activate the talents and gifts and vocation of the worker, enabling intrinsic value and self-development and service along the career path.

Another is to create a comfortable, determined citizen-wide consensus and understanding that enough *is* enough: that the chosen goals of **sufficiency** (whatever these may be) are life-giving rather than life-suppressing.⁸⁵ The sufficiency economy has been actively advanced in Thailand, and others are actively exploring this topic; further investigation of their policy experience could enrich.

A third is a recognition of **unpaid work**, and ways of acknowledging, dignifying, and supporting, incentivising, and celebrating the huge contributions of good parenting, of the home-based caring work, and, yes, housecleaning, gardening and house repair.

A fourth looks at the **long-term** prospects of people's living standards: it entails transforming working poor people's lives so that they are unlikely to fall into poverty in the future. These are not *necessarily* radical investments, but land re-distribution, vocational skills training, the cultivation of savings habits, and safe temporary outmigration policies, may all contribute. Many cases in the Appendix sketch promising options.

A last is a **re-valuation of money**, to clearly recognise and affirm the intrinsic value that general-purpose resources such as money up to certain levels do have – the freedoms related to security, diversity, generosity, and sufficiency – and to allow these to prevail over approaches that value money itself, rather than the things it is truly good *for*.

Again, our aim in this domain is for success, not utopia. From the oldest of human texts we have seen writings on acquisitiveness and recognise it to be alongside humanity to stay. But we also can see, empirically, cultures in which this human drive has been brought into balance with others, and that balance is our aim here.

⁸⁵ See for example <http://simplicityinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/TheSufficiencyEconomy3.pdf> and http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/asiathepacific/thailand/name_3418,en.html

Environment

Where the
tree goes,
man will go
soon after.
-- Thomas
Sankara,
former
president of
Burkina
Faso.



Cave painting, Lascaux, France, 15,000 to 10,000 B.C.

In the course of history, there comes a time when humanity is called to shift to a new level of consciousness, to reach a higher moral ground. A time when we have to shed our fear and give hope to each other. That time is now.

-- Wangari Maathai of Kenya, 2004 Winner of Nobel Peace Prize.

We humans think we are smart, but an orchid... knows how to produce noble, symmetrical flowers, and a snail knows how to make a beautiful, well-proportioned shell. We should bow deeply before the orchid and the snail and join our palms reverently before the monarch butterfly and the magnolia tree.

- Thich Nhat Hanh, *The Sun My Heart*.

In the long course of rebirth there is not one among living beings with form who has not been mother, father, brother, sister, son, or daughter, or some other relative. Being connected with the process of taking birth, one is kin to all wild and domestic animals, birds, and beings born from the womb. -- Lankavatara Sutra.

The trees which are growing are tomorrow's forest. -- *African (Bemba) proverb.*⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Mieder (1986)

A wandering monk saw on his travels a gigantic old oak tree standing in front of the door of a monastery. Under it sat the chief monk. The traveller called out to him, 'This is a useless tree! If you wanted to make a ship, it would soon rot. If you wanted to make tools, they would soon break. You can't do anything useful with this tree, and that's why it has become so old.'

The chief monk replied, 'Keep your mouth shut! What do you know about it? You compare this tree to your cultivated trees; your orange, your pear and apple trees, and all others that bear fruit. Even before they can ripen their fruit, people attack and violate them. Their branches are broken, their wings are torn. Their own gifts bring harm to them, and they cannot live out their natural span. If this tree had been useful in any way, would it have ever reached this size? You useless mortal man, what do you know about useless trees?' -- Zen

The term 'environment' or the 'ecosystem' refers to a heterogeneous portfolio of items from animals to trees to ground water to minerals to atmospheric conditions, with many interconnections, and with elements that are at many levels from molecular to atmospheric. The environment is far larger than any being, and largely beyond human control. Yet it is fundamental to the survival of humanity to a degree that differs from other dimensions. As a result environmental diversity and resilience enter the new economic paradigm in distinctive ways from other domains; indeed an entire working group is focusing on related policies.

Yet like each of the other domains, the study of human happiness adds something new. For harmony with nature has intrinsic value. Natural beauty, and natural harmony are core causes of serenity, wonder, friendship and joy. The strength of these values varies, but they can be described. One regularly reported intrinsic value is aesthetic. This takes many possible forms, and appeals to different senses – the beauty of the mountains at sunrise, of vast beaches or snowy plains; the fragrance of jasmine and orange blossom; the view of blue hills and jagged land formations, of a clear starlit sky; the smell of the rain, the feel of rich soil or of a buffalo's back, the crash of waves or the late night birdsong. Another intrinsic value regards the natural processes of co-existence, or of growth and death – a sense of harmony between people, the animals and the earth; the deep respect for the land, reverence for a specific sacred grove; the joy of a baby goat's birth, or of nostalgia in autumn; thanksgiving for a harvest; a feeling of affiliation with nearby cliffs. Also of intrinsic value are relationships with non-human life forms, various animals we live with or alongside. Finally, the sense of closeness to oneself or to the sacred, the tranquility and lucidity of being, that sometimes seems more possible in solitary spaces or in nature than in rushed, noisy, dirty urban environs. One only needs to read poetry or novels or prayers (or to notice where people who can take vacations and retreats) to see that these are ways in which nature has been valued across continents and ages.

Contrasting with this, environmental degradation can introduce a set of intrinsic disvalues that directly dampen people's flourishing. These might include discomfort from, and regret for pollution and smog, erosion and salination and waterlogging, the bad smells of rubbish, and the drain of urban noise; and even poignant regret at the destruction of the earth by commercial farming or resource extraction or by manufacture without safeguards; grief at the destruction of a sacred space, or of the dying off of the harmony and connection of some traditional cultures. Thus like each other domain, the environment itself contributes directly to human happiness or clouds it.

Clearly there are a myriad of ways in which ecosystems and the environment are also instrumental to human flourishing and happiness. These are obvious and often-cited, so hardly need mention.

- Human life depends upon food, water, clean air, and an absence of many toxins
- The livelihoods of farmers, miners, fishers, herders, poultry farmers, loggers – depend on it.

- Humanly-useful produces depend upon others – clean air depends upon forests; fish depend upon a lack of pollution etc. Chains of interdependence extend backwards in many directions.
- Many goods that enable human flourishing are manufactured from the earth's resources.
- Sufficient goods are needed so that *all* members of the community can flourish.

Conversely environmental degradation poses instrumental threats to human flourishing through diverse mechanisms.

- Climate change will threaten survival of humanity and other living beings in different places.
- Human health is threatened by pollution, by poor farm factory conditions etc
- Human livelihoods are threatened by erosion and resource depletion; by pollution.
- Commodities that save time and enhance human flourishing may rely on scarce resources
- Shortages may generate human conflict that directly imperil human flourishing.

There are empirical interlinkages in many different directions, and tracing these, though incompletely, can uncover virtuous cycles which are appropriate for holistic and integrated policies in other domains as well.

Given the vast nature of this subject, and the enormous resources that are being poured into its study and into the development of new policies, institutional mechanisms, and the Sustainable Development goals after Rio +20, what can this Commission add?

We affirm the inspiring bevy of policies outlined in the Rio+20 document *The World We Want* (2012). These pertain to this domain and also to many other dimensions of well-being mentioned in this document. They give a rightful and vigorous priority to poverty eradication, and to promoting 'harmony with nature', to the insights of indigenous people, to the need for sustainable transport, and holistic planning of human communities including urban areas.

Yet we observe that *The World We Want* does not encompass the full range of policies for a happiness perspective. As regards this domain, it does not include the word beauty; it mentions in passing the conservation of natural heritage; it mentions the need for education in sustainability practices, it does not emphasize the need to change the underlying mindset and mentality of humanity towards material goods, to shift our deepest hopes away from one day becoming millionaires and billionaires and towards enjoying sustained and mature human happiness and well-being, with all of the self-giving that flowers in this condition. In short, it focuses mainly on the instrumental value of the environment, and only on the 'intrinsic' value when it is a particular characteristic of some minority; not a majority view.

For that reason, as in the case of living standards, we seek additional policies, which focus on the change of underlying mindset away from maximization and towards sufficiency. Further, as a support of human agency, we support policies that enable citizen groups to actively shape market forces, for example by creating a market for clean energy. We also share policies that preserve natural spaces for their beauty and not merely for instrumental reasons. And not knowing exactly what 'harmony with nature' means, we support policies that protect it, whether RSPCA, homes for stray animals, protection of cruelty to animals.

Policies: As this domain is the subject of a separate working group who are dedicated to this topic, we respectfully suggest that they might consider and propose radical policy cameos.

Time use

In the end there is
nowhere to live
but in our days;
the kingdom forged within us
is enough for praise.
Don MacLennan, "I'm not sure poetry"

*Time is the most valuable thing a man
can spend.* – Theophrastus.

Lost time is never found again. –
Benjamin Franklin, *Poor Richard's
Almanac*.

How we spend our days is, of course,
how we spend our lives. What do we
do with this hour, and that one, is what
we are doing. – Annie Dillard, *The
Writing Life*.

There is not rest for the poor man. –
*African (Hausa) proverb.*⁸⁷

OCCUPY THE PRESENT



DIG DEEP. POWER UP.



⁸⁷ Mieder (1986)

Time use

When people enjoy sufficient time, the values people enact and implement can be read off from two aspects of their lives: how they spend their money, and how they spend their time. Among the destitute, the oppression of circumstances is similarly visible to some extent in their time use.

Time poverty is evinced by those whose lives are controlled by paid and unpaid work, and those who cannot sleep enough. Poor time quality is present when people are constantly in too much of a hurry to taste the moments and enjoy those with whom they share them. It is also present in drudgery and uncreative work.

The ideal time use, is one in which a person is 'present' to all the activities of the day, in which even less-than-loved activities are completed with mindfulness and well-wishing, in which there is enough time for sleep, in which tasks are done efficiently yet entered into deeply, in which relationships are well-gended. In ideal time use, most activities are meaningful, intentional, and of intrinsic value, whether or not they are also of instrumental value. For example, work is intrinsically valued as a fulfilment of one's talents, a path of service, having some greater purpose. Naturally that same work may also be instrumental to earning an income.

Interestingly, in the domain of time use, the notion of 'sufficiency' is already well-established. One seeks 'enough' sleep - not too little or too much; as well as 'enough work' and 'enough' leisure. This embeddedness of sufficiency norms is interesting, because it also conveys with brilliant clarity the need for concepts of sufficiency to incorporate human diversity. What is 'enough' sleep for one may be four hours; for another, nine. One may wish 30 hours of work per week; another may with gusto, balance, and time for family and recreation, regularly work 50 hour weeks. The quantity and content of time devoted to different activities will differ for a young family from a middle-aged couple to those nearing retirement age. And, naturally, cultural and social patterns may also shape the ideal time balance across life seasons.

For the destitute, time poverty is often endemic, as much time spent in often inefficient, poorly paid, time-intensive activities simply to feed, clothe, and house the families. The *Voices of the Poor* (2000) study found that *"For every target group, to tackle the problems of unemployment, debts and rising cost of life, [poor people] unanimously agreed to work harder, regardless of the workload and time. Some worked until they were sick. — Kaoseng, Thailand"* A Vietnam *Voices of the Poor* report said of a 29-year-old woman supporting a chronically sick husband, a mother-in-law aged 70, and five children, *"My life is about managing time."*

For those who are not materially poor, good time balance, to at least as much or a greater extent than the other domains, is partly self-made. Habits of overstimulation may hamper it, as may socio-cultural pressures or needs to 'accomplish' or seem 'busy' for self-esteem. Inefficient work habits, stress and procrastination, and unfulfilling leisure or work patterns also contribute to greater-than-necessary time poverty or lack of quality. Sleep deprivation has many causes, among them stress and anxiety, noise, danger, and physical discomforts.

What is 'sufficient' time use, or time balance? We can hardly frame this in terms of working and sleeping ours, because this ideal varies dramatically across people and for the same person in different seasons of life. Some seek greater diversity in activities and others less. Some need more sleep; some love their work. Some wish to invest more in family; others in art. There is a lot we are learning at present about time use, which will give greater insights as to what kinds of sufficiency threshold(s) there may be. So how do we proceed?

First, we affirm the policies that others are articulating to limit time poverty. These include a limitation of working hours to 48 per week by the International Labour Organisation, as well as living

wages that remunerate workers properly. They include policies of flexibility in working hours and places of work, of holidays and personal leave days, of maternity and sick leave. They include attempts to limit the excesses of shift work, to provide protections for informal workers, and meaningful engagement for retired persons. We also affirm policies in other domains that enable more meaningful time use – such as time-efficient public transport systems, social safety nets, adequate housing, labour-saving devices such as washing machines, noise reduction policies, and social appreciation for unpaid work (cooking, shopping, house cleaning, house repair, washing, ironing, etc). We affirm adequate provision of care services for children, the disabled, and the elderly, as well as support for their carers. And we affirm policies that increase the meaning-content of, and decrease the ‘low-value’ programming of radio and television, of computer games and children’s entertainment, of social networking, and of advertising.

Our policies stretch beyond this, but in ways that we believe will be high impact.

- Peak performance and time management, Exercise at work,
- Meaningful time Theory U and learning at work
- Quality time with family
- Paternity leave
- Television/Games/Advertising.

Policies

Time Balance, and Peak Performance. We recommend that all students and adults have the opportunity to learn good time management and balance skills, and be able to perform at their peak. This knowledge includes yet goes beyond the original ‘time management’ skills of organisation. It also enables citizens to take advantage of new neurological findings, to ‘leapfrog’ through learning, habits of low-quality time, to analyse their own time use given their deeper values and priorities, within the confines of the human life, and use it in a way they will never regret. A good understanding of time – including habits like procrastination, workoholism, priority-setting, and so on – enables people’s effective time resources to increase: they have *more* time because the time they have, they spend more effectively. In order to do so, we propose:

- Activity-based learning in schools on time balance, time management, priority-setting, flow, and peak performance.
- Short courses available in adult learning centres, civil service, learning institutes in Universities, newspapers, and companies, in religious institutions and others. These might be parts of lifelong learning systems offered to professionals.
- Short courses also available for populations usually overlooked: retired persons, unemployed persons, stay at home mothers and carers, those in gardening and construction, in factories, those working two part-time jobs, working in restaurants, shops and other service industries, residents of hospitals, prisons, military placements, so on. These groups are rarely exposed to activities that improve time balance, yet they often have the lowest-quality leisure (television), and the largest opportunity for improvement.

Related to the above, work places may seek to adopt innovative policies that support high performance in their staff – such as a nap room, or an exercise facility, or a meditation space.

Paternity Leave (Sweden)

In 1974 Sweden transformed its maternity leave policies to include not simply mothers, but also fathers, legislating for parental rather than maternal leave. But opening parental leave to fathers wasn't enough – by 1991 only 6 percent took any share of parental leave because of disapproving male peers and a punitive work culture. Reforms then reserved two months exclusively for the father. Now 85 percent of Swedish men take advantage of some portion of paternity leave⁸⁸ and such leave has become a part of Swedish culture and expected by Swedish companies, not only in the cosmopolitan capital but also in the towns and rural areas of the north.

The other Nordic countries now have similar policies and⁸⁹ Continental Europe is also following suit. The policy's spread points to its benefits, not only for mothers, but also for fathers and children.⁹⁰ The stated goal of the original Swedish policy was to give *men* as well as women greater freedom and flexibility with time use.⁹¹ Paternity leave thus emphasizes a stronger relationship between fathers and children (itself linked to higher child wellbeing) and personal gains for the father as both an employee and an individual through supported leave.⁹² These include not only the expected drop in the employment gap between women and men, and a shift in the social expectations of fatherhood that enables fathers to take on a more caring and involved role, but has also been linked with a measurable increased children's wellbeing through long-term father involvement,⁹³ and even a drop in male mortality.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Bennhold (2010)

⁸⁹ Moss and Wall (2007)

⁹⁰ Moss (2010)

⁹¹ Nyberg (2004)

⁹² Rostgaard (2010)

⁹³ Marshall (2008)

⁹⁴ Månsdottera, Lindholma and Winkvistd (2007)

Figure 8: Emotion ~ the black box

Psychological Well-being

True happiness does not lie in the external world, it is not dependent on the acquisition of material comforts or other people. Your happiness lies within you. -- *Tibetan Proverb*

Generosity is to do a kindness before it is asked, and to pity and give a man who asks. -- *Arabian Proverb*⁹⁵

If you are patient in one moment of anger; you will escape a hundred days of sorrow. -- *Chinese Proverb*⁹⁶

Courtesy is compatible with bravery. -- *Mexican Proverb*⁹⁷



Compulsory prayers never reach heaven. -- *Slovakian Proverb*.⁹⁸

The more we receive in silent prayer, the more we can give in our active life. -- Mother Teresa of Calcutta.

Let the first act of every morning be to make the following resolve for the day:

I shall not fear anyone on earth.

I shall fear only God.

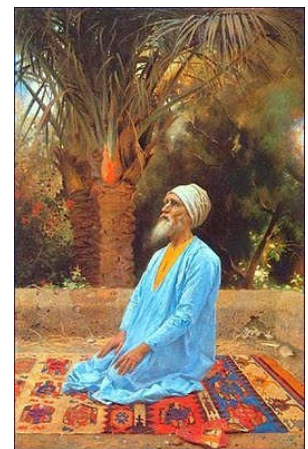
I shall not bear ill toward anyone.

I shall not submit to injustice from anyone.

I will conquer untruth by truth.

And in resisting untruth I shall put up with suffering.

-- Mahatma Gandhi.



⁹⁵ Wortabet (1916)

⁹⁶ Mieder (1986)

⁹⁷ Mieder (1986)

⁹⁸ Mieder (1986)

Psychological well-being:

The cultivation of awareness; the development of an genuine thought for others, so that even when taken by surprise one's instinctive response ushers from compassion; the non-judging sifting of emotions; the healing of memories that haunt or wound – are all characteristics of psychological well-being. When one is tormented by worry, anxiety, or excessive thinking; when one is fundamentally self-oriented; when emotions and desires bubble up and overpower in ways that are later deeply regretted or that badly harm others; when the inevitable wounds of childhood and later life remain raw years later; when one's actions are not integrated with one's emotions and deeply held values, there is space for greater psychological well-being. Naturally healthy psychological well-being is able to acknowledge deficiencies and struggle: harmful constraints of physical pain, poverty, discrimination, or cultural alienation can be acknowledged (and improvements warmly welcomed) even though they may not ruin one's life, and may co-exist with the deeper river of peace.

In the introduction to the *World Happiness Report*, Jeff Sachs wrote,

We increasingly understand that we need a very different model of humanity, one in which we are a complicated interplay of emotions and rational thought, unconscious and conscious decision-making, “fast” and “slow” thinking. Many of our decisions are led by emotions and instincts, and only later rationalized by conscious thought. Our decisions are easily “primed” by associations, imagery, social context, and advertising. We are inconsistent or “irrational” in sequential choices, failing to meet basic standards of rational consistency. And we are largely unaware of our own mental apparatus, so we easily fall into traps and mistakes. Addicts do not anticipate their future pain; we spend now and suffer the consequences of bankruptcy later; we break our diets now because we aren't thinking clearly about the consequences.

This domain is about enabling people to build up, from within, that different model of humanity. Our approach to psychological well-being frames it partly – even largely – as a skill that can be learned, not only as a dependent state that can be studied with reference to by correlates with other achievements. As a skill, it has a kind of independence and stability, and is not merely a function of external circumstances. Recall that education refers to children's (and adults') exposure to teaching on different subjects, that by education things can be learned and if learned they can be of both intrinsic and instrumental value. In this view, psychological well-being, too, comprises skills that can be learned, and if learned and used regularly, they can be of both intrinsic and instrumental value. Psychological well-being may also include the personal assessment of how satisfied a person is, all things considered, with respect to different domains of their own well-being.

In the GNH Index, psychological well-being has three components.⁹⁹ The first is spirituality – meditation or mindfulness practices, and the consideration of the consequences of one's actions. The second is emotional balance, which is the outcome of emotional intelligence, and the cultivation of positive emotions such as generosity, empathy, and compassion. The third is evaluative satisfaction with respect to different domains of GNH.

Rather unfortunately, it appears to be rather difficult to describe and present the intrinsic and instrumental values of happiness without making some proportion of happiness researchers unhappy. This is because, at a time of rapid development and great enthusiasm for the transformative potential of happiness research, and in the light of intense lived personal experiences of happiness, passions and conflicts between approaches to happiness are not inconsiderable, competition for the dominant understanding is in full swing, and with new research and studies underway in every continent, the field itself is changing rapidly and no single research group has a full overview of the current body of knowledge in all languages and disciplines.

⁹⁹ Our use of the term ‘psychological well-being’ for this dimension departs both from terminology others’ use, and also from other definitions of psychological well-being. For example, Ryan and Deci describe three elements of psychological well-being: competence, autonomy and relatedness.

We find this period of intellectual ferment to be a beautiful one in which to advocate the ongoing development of policies related to spirituality, mind-training, emotional intelligence, and so on, alongside approaches of compassion, tolerance, and deep appreciation for others. There is no need to crystallize one or another ideology of happiness into a 'best' option; there is a need to recognise and affirm that there are things to learn, and that authentic improvements can be supported by wise policies. These can bring meaningful incremental advances for most people, regardless of whether we seem at the moment to be imprisoned or free, harried or bored, loved or lonely.

Psychological well-being has intrinsic value. Persons who have learned emotional intelligence are able to understand their own emotions and shape them in positive ways; they can also understand others' emotional responses more accurately, which helps in all relationships, whether personal, professional or other. The negative emotions do not have a crippling hold, and the positive ones enrich more freely. Spiritual practices including prayer, mindfulness and meditation – which is interlinked with emotional balance – bring a core stability and silence, which neither wealth nor penury can rock. And it is of unquestionable intrinsic value to reflect across the domains of one's life and be satisfied with most of them.

Psychological well-being also has tremendous instrumental value, being associated with better health, higher immunity, more stable and satisfying relationships, better performance and upwards progression in work, and much more. Recent literature on this is particularly vast although particular associations depend naturally upon the particular measure(s) of happiness that are being used. Some useful findings are presented in Cummins (2000), Diener et al (2009), Helliwell and Wang (2012), Layard (2004), Kahnemann (2011), Ricard (2007), and Seligman (2011) among others.

The contexts for developing psychological well-being range from extended periods in monasteries or convents. These can vary greatly in length – from five years or more of spiritual formation to take life vows as a monk or nun or religious leader, to three-year retreats in Tibetan Buddhism or the Ignatian 40-day spiritual exercises in Christianity or 10-day courses in Vipassana meditation. Skills can be taught in courses – such as mindfulness training, or the Search Inside Yourself course, or courses in emotional healing – and can benefit from books and audio, visual or web resources, from religious practice, from highly developed teachers, from support groups, and so on. Mobile apps for telephones include mindfulness bells, daily quotes, an 'examination of consciousness' for the end of the day, and other things. A great range of resources may appear to be available, although these may require connectivity, or may be limited or censored in contexts that permit only a particular set of religious or ideological practices to be taught. However again and again it appears to that human interaction – of a teacher and of peers – can greatly accelerate and ease the development of psychological well-being. Our case studies for this domain, thus, showcase certain ways in which persons (including children) who may not seek out such resources, are invited to try them and out assess from their own experience their worth. The first focuses on instilling empathy and compassion in young children, given that this is fundamental to psychological well-being but also, as the title of Meng's book suggests, to world peace. The second focuses on the cultivation of mindfulness among the prison community, the third, among clinically depressed persons, and the fourth, among high-flyer leaders in the corporate sector. As in all the previous domains, in this last and final domain, the case studies do not encompass the range of possibilities – and more are found in the Appendix – but they do suggest that there are concrete avenues by which these practices can be extended in personally and socially constructive ways. Indeed, building on these policies may prove to be one of the most exciting distinctive policy areas of this Commission.

At the same time, it must be noted that public investments in psychological are likely to be controversial in many contexts, particularly if they are not viewed to be an area that is appropriate for

public sector activity, and/or if they come at the cost of other policies which primarily fall to the public sector, such as universal health care provision.

Roots of Empathy:

"We have managed to harness the power of the wind, the sun and the water, but have yet to appreciate the power of our children to effect social change... We cannot afford to underestimate the critical role of empathy in moral development and our motivation for justice." Mary Gordon, Ashoka Fellow¹⁰⁰

Founded in 1996, Roots of Empathy offer a streamlined, effective and scientifically-endorsed methodology to teach empathy in elementary schools. The program involves nine facilitated visits of the same parent and his or her baby in a classroom across one year, surrounded by discussions of child development and emotional literacy. "Children learn to understand the perspective of the baby and label the baby's feelings, and then are guided in extending this learning outwards so they have a better understanding of their own feelings and the feelings of others. This emotional literacy lays the foundation for ... children [who] are... more socially and emotionally competent and much more likely to challenge cruelty and injustice." The programme is implemented in schools throughout Canada, as well as the US, New Zealand, the Isle of Man, Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland. It has been lauded by the Dalai Lama, and Canada's First Nations stated that the program is "compatible with traditional First Nations teachings and worldviews." Research documents that children who participated in Roots of Empathy programs are kinder, more cooperative, and more inclusive of others, less aggressive and less likely to bully compared to children who did not participate. Effects were shown to last at least three years.

Meditation in Prison (India and elsewhere).

Meditation is not just for the elite, be they religious ascetics, those gifted with calm minds, or those with the financial and family possibility to take time off. Program of meditation in prisons has been shown to improve well-being and reduce violence and recidivism, for example in India (Tihar) and the United States but also other countries. In Tihar, much of the training is done through intensive Vipassana programmes run by teachers from The Art of Living Foundation; others have other approaches.

At the Tihar Jail, which was built in the 1950s for few thousand inmates and was overcrowded, anger and anguish were commonplace—particularly among the innocent who often had to wait months, even years for a court date or to make bail. "That's why it's so important to help them to overcome stress," says Akhilesh Chabra, of the Art of Living. "They are seething with negative emotions, very bitter yet helpless. Meditation improves their frame of mind." Meditation helps inmates to cope. It has changed the atmosphere, according to staff and the inmates interviewed; inmates are calmer and more co-operative, relations with the staff more harmonious.

A study that examined the psychological and behavioral effects an intensive ten-day Vipassana Meditation (VM) retreats in a maximum security prison found that "VM participants achieved enhanced levels of mindfulness and emotional intelligence and had decreased mood disturbance relative to a comparison group. Both groups' rates of behavioral infractions were reduced at one-year follow-up. Clinically, VM holds promise for addressing self-regulation and impulse control, among other barriers to prisoner adjustment and community reentry." Other groups – such as the Phoenix Prison Trust in the UK and Ireland, have been working since 1988 and a recent 2012 impact evaluation documents similar transformative effects.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Gordon (2009)

¹⁰¹ http://www.theppt.org.uk/information_for_prisons.php

"It's the only pillar that has helped me to withstand separation from my wife and son. Once I've done the exercises I feel stress leaving my body in a great surge. If something angers me I know how to control my reactions." -- Sunil Chinchine, Tihar Prison, India.

"Had I learned how to love, even as a 10-year-old boy, things would have been different," he said, not long ago. "I keep referring back to this love thing. It's just so important to the universe, you know. It expands more than just an emotion - it's a way of life. How we interact with each other and see each other ... it's amazing. I had to come to prison in order to be free, and it's stupid, I guess, but it happened." – Leon Kennedy, Donaldson Correctional Facility, Alabama, US.

Mindfulness to counter Depression

"The Oxford Mindfulness Centre, an international centre of excellence within Oxford University's Department of Psychiatry, applies mindfulness techniques to patients with mental and physical problems and monitors outcomes. Its main focus is on serious recurrent depression and its consequences. Patients are taught how to apply mindfulness to forestall, minimize or alleviate recurrent episodes of their illness. Practitioners from various disciplines (psychologists, teachers, physicians) are taught mindfulness so they can apply them to people for whom they have a duty of care. OMC works to spread knowledge of its findings to as wide an audience as possible and has published numerous articles on the subject of mindfulness and mental health in multiple scientific journals and books. It has also conducted randomized trials on the subjects of staying well after depression and mindfulness-based cognitive therapy for anxiety.

"The Centre's Eight-Week Cognitive Therapy course for the public is recommended by the UK's National Institute of Clinical Excellence and is as effective as drugs for preventing depression. There is great potential that widespread availability will have a beneficial effect on the general population, not just those who are diagnosed unwell. As part of this mission, the OMC partners with the Mindfulness in Schools Project. OMC is also developing mindfulness-based approaches to meet the needs of specific situations and cultures around the world. In this connection it has links with partners in Asia and Africa."

The OMC has also developed and supported the implementation of significant school programmes to teach mindfulness to children in schools.

Search Inside Yourself: Mindfulness at Work

Alongside stories of meditation in prison or mindfulness against severe depression are stories of training in mindfulness or attention, self-knowledge and self-mastery, and the creation of useful mental habits – for staff of Google Inc as well as others. One of Google's popular courses for staff ongoing development is called "Search Inside Yourself." The course, which runs for 7 weeks and has 30 students per class, was developed by a Google Employee, Chade Meng, who has subsequently published a widely acclaimed book with inputs from Goleman (author of *Emotional Intelligence*) and others called *Search Inside Yourself: The Unexpected Path to Achieving Success, Happiness (and World Peace)*. In addition to teaching grounding practices of mindfulness and emotional intelligence, it also teaches how to apply these to a fast-paced work environment – skills such as mindful emailing.¹⁰²

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This concludes the first draft of the background document for the IEWG. Suggestions, improvements, and corrections are warmly welcomed. Rather than offering a conclusion, I conclude with some quotations which may lead us hastening towards the work that lies ahead:

¹⁰² <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/29/technology/google-course-asks-employees-to-take-a-deep-breath.html?pagewanted=all>, and *Search Inside Yourself* (2012)



The Future

Twenty years hence will soon become tomorrow. – Yoruba (Nigerian) proverb

‘Hope is not the conviction that something will turn out well, but the certainty that something makes sense, regardless of how it turns out.’ Vaclav Havel, playwright and previous President of the Czech Republic

It's kind of fun to do the impossible.

- Walt Disney 1901-1966

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