



Human Resource Gaps Against Approved Staffing Strength Across Ministries, Agencies and Local Governments

**A report submitted by Special Committee on Human
Resource Gaps, National Assembly of Bhutan**

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Human Resource Gaps Against Approved Staffing Strength Across Ministries, Agencies and Local Governments

1. Background and Rationale

Human resource (HR) gaps in Bhutan's public sector have become a critical challenge, affecting effective delivery of services which could disrupt successful implementation of the 13th Five-Year Plan (FYP). These staffing shortages, particularly in essential sectors such as healthcare, education, and infrastructure, are hindering the government's ability to meet its developmental goals. If these gaps remain unaddressed, they could lead to delays and inefficiencies in executing key projects and programs that are crucial for the country's socio-economic growth. In response to these issues, the National Assembly of Bhutan established a Special Committee in October 2024 to examine and recommend how staffing shortages can be managed in the short and long-term.

The committee's primary objective is to: identify the specific HR shortfalls by agencies, dzongkhags, sectors and by position category; assess their impact, and recommend interventions to expedite the filling of vacancies, thereby improving public service deliveries. The urgency of resolving these gaps is underscored by the need to align staffing with the developmental priorities outlined in the five-year plan.

2. Data collection

The primary data from ministries, agencies, and local governments were gathered using the standard format consisting of following variables: Approved

human resources; existing human resources; human resources gap by number and positions. The data were gathered through the Human Resource Officers of respective agencies.

3. Findings and Discussions

Table 1. represents the overall human resource (HR) gaps across various Ministries, Dzongkhags, and Agencies vis a vis the total RCSC approved HR strength of 26,070 . It shows 22,122 positions are currently filled, leaving a substantial gap of 3,948 accounting to 15.14 percent of the total staff strength which will have to be addressed across all the organizations and institutions.

The Ministry of Health (MOH), including National Medical Services (NMS) have the highest human resource gap of 1,253 employees, constituting 20.48% of their approved human resource strength. The most significant shortage is observed in the staff nursing category, with a gap of 284 positions out of 1,554 approved allocations. This is followed by a substantial gap in clinical nurses, with a shortage of 225 nurses out of 585 approved strengths (Annexure Table 2).

These acute shortages of human resources could pose a significant challenge in achieving the health-related objectives of the 13th Five-Year Plan (FYP), particularly in ensuring timely delivery of health services and in attaining universal health coverage.

¹ The total excludes ESP, GSP under all sectors and SSC categories under the Education sector; and staff of HM secretariat, Office of 4th Druk Gyalpo, Royal Privy Council and The Pema Secretariat. 2

Besides the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock– two critical agencies in facilitating development and service delivery– are also faced with substantial shortage of human resources with 337 and 234 employees respectively (Annexure Table 3 & Table 4). The gap is likely to impede delivery of financial services and hinder in attaining the national food security goals of the 13th FYP.

In terms of percentage, Government Technology (GovTech) has the highest human resource gap, with 167 unfilled positions, accounting for 39.95% of its approved workforce followed by the Royal Audit Authority with 30.60% (Table 1). This acute shortage raises concerns about GovTech’s capacity to effectively utilize the Nu. 10 billion allocated in the 13th FYP for digital transformation and e-governance initiatives. Addressing this gap will be essential to ensuring the successful implementation of key projects under GovTech’s mandate.

The Dzongkhag and Gewog administration across the 20 Dzongkhags, similarly, has a collective shortage of 1,173 employees, constituting 10.28% of the approved human resource strength of 11,419 employees (Annexure Table 5.) While this suggests moderate gaps, it may, however, impact the implementation of local level projects and rural development priorities outlined in the 13th Five-Year Plan. The concern is more alarming, noting the human resource gap by sector in the Dzongkhag. The education sector has the highest shortage with 683 teachers followed by the engineering sector with 199 employees. Furthermore, the livestock sector has a shortage of 67 employees; and similarly, the agriculture sector faces a shortage of 44

employees (Annexure figure1). Even by position, the HR gap is similarly highest for teachers followed by Juniors engineers, technicians and extension staff of agriculture and livestock (Annexure Table 6).

From the above human resources scenario of critical sectors, it is obvious that the implementation capacities of Dzongkhags and Gewogs will be severely affected. The existing trends of budget underutilization could be one of the indicators of low implementation capacity driven by HR shortages.

While all Dzongkhags reveal a shortage of human resources; however, shortages in some Dzongkhags are massive. For instance, Samtse has the maximum shortage with 141 employees. Likewise, Mongar and Chukha have a shortage of 113 and 104 employees respectively (Annexure Table 5). The human resource gap has penetrated even to the gewog level with the total shortage of 55 employees from livestock, agriculture and gewog administration sector (Annexure figure 2).

Unlike the Local governments and Ministries, few agencies such as: Cabinet Secretariat, Center for Bhutan and GNH Studies (CBS), and Dratshang Lhentshog have excess staffing against the approved strength. Dratshang Lhentshog has the highest surplus staff with 46 employees followed by CBS with 26 and cabinet secretariat with the surplus of 18 employees.

Table 1. Approved Human Resources, Existing Human Resources and Human Resources Gap Agency wise

Ministry/Agency/ Dzongkhag	Approved Human Resources	Existing Human Resources	Human Resource Gaps
Ministry of Health & NMS	6118	4865	1253
Dzongkhags (20)	11419	10246	1173
Ministry of Finance	1139	802	337
Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock	895	663	232
Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources	1730	1537	193
GovTech	418 ²	251	167
Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport	1145	1005	140
Ministry of Home Affairs	647	551	96
Royal Audit Authority	268	186	82
Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Employment	455	384	77
Ministry of Education and Skill Development ³	219	162	57
Thromdes (4)	379	329	50
National Land Commission Secretariat	220	172	48
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Trade	118	87	31
National Center for Hydrology&Meteorology	214	192	22
National Stastics Bureau	63	45	18
National Assembly	82	67	15
Office of Attorney General	46	32	14
Anti-Corruption Commission	157	145	12

National Council	63	52	11
Royal Institute of Management	69	60	9
Royal Civil Service Commission	80	77	3
Civil Society Organization Authority	8	6	2
Cabinet Secretariat	45	63	-18
Center for Bhutan& GNH Studies	33	59	-26
Dratshang Lhentshog	41	87	-46
Total	26070	22122	3948

Of the three critical factors for development – land, labor and finance – the data gathered so far reveals the critical state of human resources (Labor); therefore, human resources gap will have to be addressed with priority by formulating policies, strategies, plans and enabling legislative tools as a response to the evolving changes at varying temporal and spatial scale.

Efforts to enhance performance efficiency by leveraging on information technologies and artificial intelligence are recognized as positive initiatives; however, fundamental issues like: limited coverage of high-speed networks; high cost of information services; poor integration of online services and its unreliability of services stagnates the progress of interventions. Moreover, our system generally succumbs to the pressure of rapid changes, thus compelling us to adopt and adapt the system of advanced countries without even carrying out proper assessment of our evolving system and its readiness to change. Worst of all, the constant pressure usually renders a shock to a system that is founded on local context and needs.

² Staff strength under Govtech includes IT personnel from other agencies

³ Staff strength of teachers under MOESD is included under Local Government

Having witnessed several setbacks and faced with unintended consequences of significant rise in attrition rates in recent years, which has hindered the delivery of adequate public services and raised concerns about the stability of the government workforce, it has become imperative for RCSC to carry out holistic and careful reorientation of civil and public services to align with global changes and to realize His Majesty's Vision of building an "Enlightened Entrepreneurial Bureaucracy".

4. Committee's Recommendations

To tackle the human resource (HR) shortages and ensure effective execution of the 13th Five-Year Plan (FYP), and to ensure realization of His Majesty's Vision of "Enlightened Entrepreneurial Bureaucracy" the committee proposes the following recommendations.

4.1. Short-term recommendations

4.1.1. Allow encashment of annual leave

The 21 days annual leave entitled for civil servants is enabled to be carried forward but is not permitted to be encashed when the annual leave is not availed. As a result, civil servants avail leave irrespective of the HR situation. To resolve the human resource shortage, as an immediate measure, it is recommended that the government, in consultation with RCSC, provide leave encashment to encourage and motivate civil servants to stay back and prevent exacerbating the HR shortage situation.

4.1.2. Introduce paid internships re-engagement programs

Noting the HR gap under various categories of job, some gaps could be reduced by employing fresh graduates under paid internship; it is thus recommended to pursue internship by the government in consultation with RCSC paying due attention to the professional depth of knowledge and skill requirement. The government and RCSC can also reach out to former civil servants with offers for short-terms contracts with adequate remuneration.

4.1.3. Introduce retention incentives

In order to retain civil servants in critical sectors, it is recommended that the government and RCSC introduce retention incentives such as performance bonuses, housing benefits, loyalty packages including fast track promotions, training and attractive pension schemes.

4.1.4. Incentives for remote job placement and transfer

To motivate civil servants to serve in remote areas, RCSC could explore non monetary incentives to encourage civil servants to comply with new recruitment and transfer orders. The Local governments, especially those in far flung districts are severely affected by shortages of civil servants as evident in annexure table 5. Often the new recruits refuse placement in remote areas and similarly seasoned civil servants refuse transfer to remote dzongkhags and gewogs.

4.1.5. Rationalization of civil service staffing

To address the shortage of human resources, excess staff observed in few agencies could be reassigned; and superannuated professionals could be retained on contract especially in critical sectors.

4.2. Long-term recommendations

In keeping with the aspiration of His Majesty, the government and the RCSC could adopt and implement the following recommendation to convert civil service into ‘an Enlightened Entrepreneurial Bureaucracy.’

4.2.1. Review the current staff strength and authenticate the staff requirement

Assessing the current socio-economic, financial and technical advancement scenario, the current HR planning and recruitment strategies adhered by RCSC appears outdated and obsolete. It is, therefore, recommended that the government and the RCSC, review the HR recruitment system, possibly adopting the all-year-round recruitment instead of the existing annual recruitment system. Further, RCSC should review the HR requirement for the entire sectors and accordingly draft a proper HR master plan ensuring right-sizing and proper aligning with national priorities.

4.2.2. Civil Service Branding

In order to attract and retain quality individuals in civil service, the government and the RCSC have to promote civil service as a prestigious and rewarding career. The government and the RCSC should therefore, not only make it more attractive by introducing competitive pay packages and providing conducive work atmosphere but also advocate for the same.

4.2.3. Transformation of governance structure to corporate mode

RCSC in consultation with Ministries should gradually adopt the changes in governance structure to promote corporate culture, wherein the performance is assessed using financial and service delivery output indicators as KPI.

For wider promotion and adoption of corporate culture, it is vital to assess potentials for outsourcing of services and programs to private and corporate entities. This could enhance performance efficiency, increase employability and reduce the financial burden on the public sector. Moreover, the public sector could focus more on research and innovation, quality control and on regulatory aspects of development and service delivery.

While the classical bureaucratic model emphasizes achieving economic efficiency within an organization with a clear line of hierarchy; but on the contrary, it is notoriously known for “red tape” with layers of rules and formalities that prevent things from getting done efficiently, and eventually resulting in added financial or compliance cost. If the civil service has to behave like an enlightened entrepreneurial bureaucracy, the organization will have to be made flatter by delayering levels of hierarchy with the focus on results, and not the processes.

4.2.4. Initiate legislative reforms to support entrepreneurial bureaucracy

RCSC should collaborate closely with the parliament to formulate legislative reforms that would promote corporate norms and culture such as decentralization of HR management authority and accountability to implementing agencies. Moreover, harmonizing legislative provisions of the institutions of higher learning and RCSC could enable enhancing skills and knowledge that aligns well with the demand of the emerging job markets, and consequently increasing the employability. RCSC could explore retaining the outstanding civil servants after the retirement on contract through reform of relevant laws.

To ensure dignified living for civil servants both during active and post service period, legislation should be reformed to support in: providing adequate remuneration and allowances; providing protection and immunity of civil servants from undue harassment and allegation from regulatory agencies; and ensuring social security and pension scheme to lead a dignified retired life.

At present, RCSC appears to be functioning more on regulatory aspects despite being mandated to provide facilitation support on HR matters. Hence, legislative reform must be carried out to promote entrepreneurial bureaucracy as envisioned by His Majesty the King.

5. Conclusion

Addressing Bhutan's human resource (HR) gaps is a critical step toward ensuring the successful implementation of the 13th Five-Year Plan (FYP) and achieving the country's socio-economic development objectives. The report highlights significant staffing shortages across ministries, agencies, dzongkhags, and local governments, which have impacted public service delivery and project execution. The report underscores the need for restaffing of human resources in all sectors aligning 13th FYP's objectives, capacity-building initiatives, and collaboration with academic institutions to align the workforce with developmental priorities.

These strategies are vital for achieving the plan's goals efficiently and on time. Continuous evaluation and adaptive measures are crucial to sustaining a capable workforce. Additionally, the relevant agencies should engage with the Royal Civil Service Commission and gather input to better understand and resolve grassroots-level challenges, ensuring smooth execution of the plan.

Annexure

Table 2. Approved and existing human resources and human resource gap in Clinical Staff under Health Sector position wise

Position	Approved Human Resources	Existing Human Resources	Human Resource Gap
Staff Nurse	1554	1270	284
Clinical Nurse	585	360	225
Menpa	284	157	127
Laboratory Asst./Technician	376	298	78
Pharmacy Technician	273	212	61
Specialist	244	190	54
OT Technologist/Technician	103	58	45
Laboratory Officer	87	49	38
Radio Techn. (X-ray, USG, MRI, CT)	178	141	37
Health Asistant	663	630	33
Drungtsho	84	62	22
Physiotherapy Technician	102	83	19
Ortho Technologist/Technician	49	31	18
Dental Hygienist	102	88	14
EMRO/EMR	115	101	14
Optometrist/ Ophthalmic Technician	94	81	13
Dental Technician	67	56	11
Dietician/Nutritionist	34	24	10
Clinical Counselor	28	18	10
Dental Surgeon	68	61	7
Pharmacist	56	50	6
Audiologist/Speech Therapist/ENT Technician	50	44	6
Physiotherapist/Occupational Therapist	44	40	4
Dental Specialist	15	12	3

Medical Officer	276	275	1
Radio Technologist	15	15	0
Total	5546	4406	1140

Table 3. Approved and existing human resources and human resource gap under Finance Sector Position Wise

Position Title	Approved Human Resource	Existing Human Resource	Human Resource Gap
Asst. Tax Officer	145	76	69
Customs Inspector	200	147	53
Asst.Internal Officer	49	15	34
Asst. Customs Officer	70	37	33
Asst. Planning Officer	32	10	22
Asst. Program Officer	27	11	16
Accountants Asst.V	105	90	15
Tax Inspector II	105	90	15
Asst.Finance Officer	30	17	13
Asst. Revenue Officer	39	26	13
Revenue Inspector II	53	43	10
ICT Technical Associate II	17	8	9
Asst.ICT Officer	10	4	6
Admin.Asst.III	28	23	5
Chief Finance Officer	9	5	4
Asst.Procurement Officer	9	5	4
Engineer	10	6	4
Asst. Research Officer	4	0	4
Jr.Engineer	6	3	3
Basic Operator V	14	11	3
Asst. Admin. Officer	5	2	3
Personal Assistant III	7	5	2
Store Assit.	7	5	2

Asst. Budget Officer	15	13	2
Asst.Information & Media Officer	1	0	1
Asst.HR Officer	5	4	1
Telephone Operator II/Dispatcher III/ Receptionist III	14	13	1
Chief ICT Officer	1	0	1
Painting Instructor	1	0	1
Tailor	1	0	1
Chief Procurement Officer	2	1	1
Record Asst. III	2	1	1
Asst. Collector	1	0	1
Chief Program Officer	3	2	1
Secretary	1	1	0
Chief Planning Officer	5	5	0
Asst.Language Development Officer	1	1	0
Statistical Officer	2	2	0
Chief Internal Auditor	2	2	0
Chief HR Officer	1	1	0
Chief Legal Officer	6	6	0
Legal Asst III	1	1	0
Selyok	1	1	0
Director	4	4	0
Instructor	3	3	0
Painting Teacher	1	1	0
Artisan III	13	13	0
Asst. Record Officer	1	1	0
Budget Assistant V	5	5	0
Collector	6	6	0
Joint Collector	1	1	0
Regional Director	7	7	0
Legal Officer	5	5	0
Chief Engineer	1	1	0
Personal Secretary II	3	4	-1

Technician I	26	27	-1
Office Asst.	1	2	-1
Specialist	0	1	-1
Asst. Artisan	4	6	-2
Chayok IV	11	22	-11
Total	1139	802	337

Table 4. Approved and existing human resources and human resource gap under Agriculture and Livestock Sector Position Wise

Position title	Approved	Existing	Gap
Livestock Supervisor II	115	84	31
Agriculture Supervisor II	72	51	21
Agriculture Officer	65	45	20
Horticulture Supervisor II	27	10	17
Lab Asst	33	20	13
Livestock Production Officer	61	48	13
Horticulture Officer	37	25	12
Veterinary Officer	24	13	11
Accounts Asst. V	11	1	10
Accounts Asst. IV	17	9	8
Economic Development & Marketing Officer	22	15	7
Technician	35	29	6
Biodiversity Officer	16	11	5
laboratory officer	10	5	5
Plant Protection Officer	17	12	5
Post Production Officer	7	2	5
Feed and Fodder Officer	9	5	4
Admin Asst III	31	28	3
Asst. Procurement Officer	4	1	3
Soil Fertility & Plant Nutrition Officer	7	4	3
Horticulture Supervisor	9	6	3

Post Production Supervisor II	19	16	3
Lab Technician	24	22	2
Accounts Asst.	2	0	2
Store Asst.	17	15	2
Soil Fertility & Plant Nutrition Supervisor II	5	3	2
Communication Officer	1	0	1
GIS Technician	1	0	1
Pharmacy Technician	2	1	1
X-Ray Technician	1	0	1
Asst. Finance Officer	4	3	1
Legal Officer	2	1	1
Asst. Admin Officer	1	0	1
Procurement Officer	1	0	1
Chief Agriculture Officer	3	2	1
Land Management Officer	3	2	1
Asst. Program Officer	1	0	1
Agriculture Economist	1	0	1
Soil Survey and Land Evaluation Officer	3	2	1
Mushroom Officer	4	3	1
Mushroom Supervisor II	11	10	1
Engineer	9	8	1
Specialist/Principal/Vet. Officer	1	0	1
Dairy Supervisor II	1	0	1
Feed and Fodder Supervisor II	7	6	1
Personal Secretary II	1	1	0
Personal Asst III	4	4	0
Personal Assistant	1	1	0
Secretary	1	1	0
Chief Planning Officer	1	1	0
Asst. Planning Officer	3	3	0
Statistical Investigator V	1	1	0
Technician III	3	3	0

Technician II	2	2	0
Biodiversity Technician	3	3	0
Biomedical Technician	1	1	0
Chief Finance Officer	1	1	0
ICT Technical Associate II	1	1	0
Chief Human Resource Officer	1	1	0
Asst. HR Officer	4	4	0
Admin Asst.	6	6	0
Adm Asst I	1	1	0
Adm Asst II	1	1	0
Asst. Language Development Officer	1	1	0
Dy. Chief Agriculture Officer	1	1	0
Chief Livestock Production Officer	2	2	0
Dy. Chief LPO	1	1	0
Sr. Economic Development &Marketing Officer	1	1	0
Chief EDMO	3	3	0
M&E&KM Officer	1	1	0
Project Support Officer	2	2	0
Project Engineer	1	1	0
Coordination Officer	1	1	0
ARP Coordinator	1	1	0
Social Inclusion and Nutrition Officer	1	1	0
Programme Director	2	2	0
Component Manager	2	2	0
Knowledge Management & Gender Officer	1	1	0
Biodiversity Supervisor	11	11	0
Biodiversity Supervisor II	6	6	0
Director	3	3	0
Land Management Supervisor II	3	3	0
Asst Agriculture engineer	1	1	0
Agriculture Supervisor	2	2	0

Sr. Agriculture Supervisor I	1	1	0
Agriculture Supervisor I	1	1	0
Asst. Chemist	3	3	0
Soil Survey & Land Evaluation Supervisor II	5	5	0
Plant Protection Supervisor II	11	11	0
Jr/Asst.Engineer	11	11	0
Horticulture Supervisor I	3	3	0
Sr. Forest Ranger I	2	2	0
Sr. Extension Supervisor II	2	2	0
Sr. Forest Ranger III	2	2	0
Sr. Dispatcher I	1	1	0
Forest Ranger II	1	1	0
Sr. Forest Ranger II	2	2	0
Marketing Asst. V	3	3	0
Marketing Assistant	6	6	0
Chief Veterinary Officer	1	1	0
Veterinary Superintendent	1	1	0
Library Asst. III	1	1	0
Dairy Officer	1	1	0
Speacialist head	0	1	-1
Total	894	660	234

Table 5. Approved and existing human resource allocation and human resource gap by Dzongkhag.

Dzongkhag	Approved Human Resources	Existing Human Resources	Human Resources Gaps
Samtse	1036	895	141
Mongar	809	696	113
Chhukha	932	828	104
Dagana	551	462	89
S/jongkhar	542	466	76
Trongsa	334	268	66
Wangdue	679	614	65
Sarpang	627	565	62
Haa	344	288	56
Paro	802	750	52
Zhemgang	466	414	52
Tsirang	497	446	51
Thimphu	436	392	44
Trashigang	868	832	36
Bumthang	379	344	35
Lhuentse	369	336	33
Gasa	169	140	29
Pemagatshel	536	508	28
T/yangtse	438	415	23
Punakha	605	587	18
Total	11419	10246	1173

Table 6. Human resource gaps in Dzongkhag by positions.

Position Title	Approved Human Resources	Existing Human Resources	Human Resources Gap
Teachers	8665	7982	683
Jr. Engineer (Civil)	258	197	61
Technician I	334	277	57
Extension Supervisor II (Agri. & livestock)	401	358	43
Engineer(civil)	66	40	26
Livestock Health Supervisor II	34	17	17
Asst. Internal Auditor	16	0	16
Accounts Asst. V	213	199	14
Building Inspector II	36	22	14
Legal Officer	20	7	13
Geog Admin Officer II	205	193	12
Asst. Dzongkhag Education Officer	28	16	12
Dzongkhag Beautification Officer	20	8	12
Admin.Asst.III	52	41	11
ICT Technical Associate II	50	40	10
Chief Dzongkhag Livestock Officer	20	10	10
HR/Admin Asst. III	104	95	9
Chief Dzongkhag Engineer	21	12	9
Architect	22	13	9
LRA/Surveyor IV	19	10	9
Asst. ICT Officer	17	9	8
Dzongkhag Health Officer	20	12	8
Engineer (Electrical)	17	9	8
Development Regulatiry Officer	20	12	8
Land Record Asst. V	85	77	8
Asst. Lab. Technician II	18	11	7
Livestock Production Supervisor II	27	20	7

Asst. Dzongkhag Civil Registration & Census Officer	22	15	7
Chief Dzongkhag Agriculture Officer	18	12	6
Surveyor IV	44	38	6
Asst. Planning Officer	20	15	5
Asst. Procurement Officer	20	15	5
Dispatcher III/Telephone OperatorII/ Receptionist III	35	30	5
Vet Officer	25	20	5
Asst. Dzongkhag Agriculture Officer III	21	16	5
Land Inspector IV	22	17	5
Asst. Economic Development Officer	21	16	5
Asst. Finance Officer	22	18	4
Asst. Dzongkhag Health Officer	18	14	4
Asst. Dzongkhag Land Registrar	20	16	4
Chadri Supervisor III	4	1	3
Personal Asst.III	20	18	2
Asst. DT Secretary	20	18	2
Drungpa	15	13	2
Store Asst.	20	18	2
Chief Dzongkhag Education Officer	21	19	2
Asst. Dzongkhag Livestock Officer III	19	17	2
Dzongdag	20	19	1
Dzongrab	20	19	1
Asst. Environment Officer	20	19	1
Statistical Investigator Asst. V	20	20	0
Asst. HR Officer	20	20	0
Livestock Production Officer	18	18	0
Asst. Cultural Officer	20	20	0

Dy. Chief Dz. Education Officer	1	2	-1
Dy. Chief Dz. Agriculture Officer	2	3	-1
Principal Dzongkhag Education Officer	6	8	-2
Deputy Chief Dzongkhag Livestock Officer	0	2	-2
Jr. Engineer (Electrical)	26	28	-2
Admin Asst. III/Census Asst	31	35	-4
Total	11419	10246	1173

Figure 1. Human resource gap by sectors in Dzongkhags

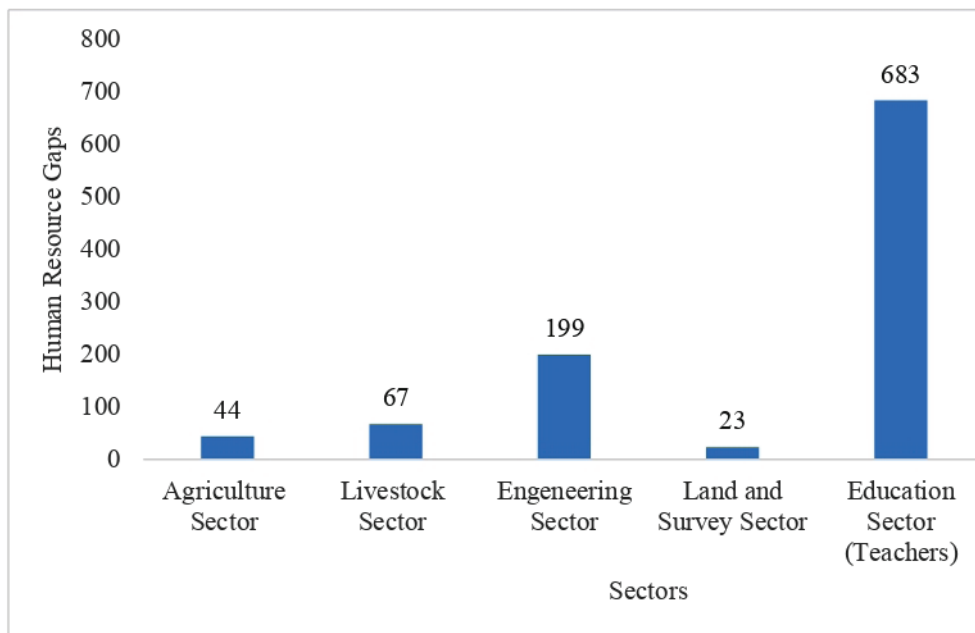


Figure 2. Human resource gap at gewogs by position title

