

Political and Socioeconomic Dimensions of Environment SFS 3040

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This syllabus may develop or change over time based on local conditions, learning opportunities, and faculty expertise.
Course content may vary from semester to semester.



Course Overview

Bhutan is internationally known for its development concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH). GNH is the guiding principle of development in Bhutan and is understood to have four pillars: sustainable and equitable socioeconomic development, environmental conservation, cultural promotion and preservation, and good governance. The Buddhist principle of The Middle Path, integrating people and nature as well as traditional knowledge and modern science, is at the core of the country's development approach and practices. Sustainable management of natural resources, including soil, water, biodiversity and minerals, is critical for Bhutan, as these resources are fundamental to the national identity as well as the economy.

In 2008, Bhutan's government shifted from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional democratic monarchy, part of a longer trend of devolution of authority from an absolute monarch to the people and communities. Since the majority of the population reside in rural areas, sustainable management of natural resources is critical for achieving the dual goals of rural development and biodiversity conservation. In this course, we examine the socio-cultural, political, and economic dimensions of Bhutan's approach to development, with a focus on environment. We will use the interdisciplinary lens of political ecology to frame lines of inquiry and define research questions on the nature-society nexus.

In this course, we focus on human interactions with and impacts on local natural systems, and vice versa. By using Bhutan as an example, the course provides a conceptual framework for understanding how nature-society interactions, such as agriculture, natural resource management, biodiversity conservation, and rural development shape both the natural landscape and the social and economic conditions in rural and urban areas. Because these interactions can be simultaneously social, cultural, economic, and ecological, holistic critical thinking is essential to understand these systems to enable us to propose solutions that make sense. The course provides the conceptual and practical skills and tools to critically examine and assess the human-environment nexus in the field. We also consider the theories and ethics of sustainable and unsustainable development and the need to view these issues in ways that are inclusive and just.

Learning Objectives

The objective of this course is to provide students with a learning experience in which they can gain deep understanding of a set of locally relevant topics and their wider resonance through the application of field observations and development of analytical skills. Classroom and field lectures will provide core concepts and tools for inquiry, while field exercises will reinforce concepts and present students with opportunities to apply their knowledge and tools to real problems.

In this course, students should be able to:

1. Describe key actors and events in Bhutan's history and environmental policy development.
2. Understand and apply multi-disciplinary concepts related to rural development, conservation, and national development to Bhutan.
3. Identify challenges and opportunities in The Middle Path approach to development.
4. Connect culture to society and both to the natural landscape. Understand and critically evaluate the role of economics, politics and culture in environmental issues including climate change.
5. Clearly communicate what they have learned through analyses and explication.
6. Employ an array of social science research methods for field research and data handling.

Assessment

Our goal is to conduct ongoing assessment of student learning throughout the course, and provide timely and constructive feedback. Some assignments encourage students to work together, to share ideas, and knowledge. This allows students to take advantage of the range of backgrounds within the group. Assessment will be conducted on an individual basis, unless otherwise stated. The final course grade will be based on the following assessment items.

Assessment Item	Value (%)
Active participation	15
Discussion section lead	20
FEX 2: Religion and Environment	10
FEX 3: Mapping Livelihoods	10
Midterm exam	15
FEX 4: Scaling Environmental Governance	10
Final exam	20
TOTAL	100

In addition to the above, there will be several Field Exercises that are not individually assessed, but engagement will contribute toward active participation assessment.

Active participation (15%): During this program we will travel through many rural communities and eco-regions. We expect that you will be an *active observer*, constantly observing the landscape, livelihoods, and culture and *participating in discussions* regarding these observations. Active participation includes constructive engagement with the full range of course activities, respectful awareness of our cultural context, and responsible behavior as a group member who is involved in others' learning.

Discussion Section Lead / Student Led Discussion (SLD) (20%): This course has a strong emphasis on critical thinking and discussion of different theories and concepts. Many modules will end in a discussion section, led by a small group of students. You will be asked to provide two short readings for the class based on that thematic topic, make a short presentation on a related topic, moderate the discussion section and deliver a short peer-reviewed essay. The objective is for students to sharpen their presentation abilities, powers of observation, critical thinking, and to connect concepts to realities. Students will be assessed for their ability to clearly articulate concepts and their thoughts in writing, to notice discrepancies between claims and realities, and to stimulate critical discussion.

Discussion section topics: pick of five

(1) **Development**, (2) **Gross National Happiness and The Middle Path** (3) **Tourism**, (4) **Agriculture**, (5) **Anthropocene**

FEX 1. Embodying Cultural Landscapes (not graded): Here we are introduced to the significance of cultural landscapes and experiential ways of moving through them. Students will walk to and visit pilgrimage sites in Thimphu valley, including Tango Monastery and Pangrizampa College of Astrology. You will learn about the intimate relationships between symbolism, 'divine calculations,' and the physicality of bodily practices and reflect on experiences of immersion and non-textual ways of reading or mapping a landscape. We also ask what do maps conceal as they reveal?
*reading: *Allison (2015)*

FEX 2. Religion and Environment – Research Methods in Social Science (Semi-structured Interviews) (10%): We will build our field data collection skills by conducting semi-structured interviews in small groups with monks at the Sangchhoekhor Buddhist College in Paro. Students will

seek to understand the relationship between Buddhism and the natural environment. What are some of the philosophies/thinking behind their views? How strong are the beliefs/views and are they changing with time? Students will review the data collected and revise questions for future qualitative research.

*reading: *Karmapa (2011)*

FEX 3. Mapping Livelihoods (10%): We will geolocate ourselves, explore the local area, note development indicators and examine changes in the landscape and livelihood strategies based on proximity to town. In small groups, students will survey routes and create a rough map of land use and livelihood strategies and note the ways that these change in relation to proximity to Paro. Students will learn basic mapping skills and alternative ways to approach mapping as a geographical tool. What are some of the roles played by mapping in conservation and development initiatives?

*reading: *Paro Dzongkhag Profile, RGOB (2014)*

FEX 4. Scaling Environmental Governance (10%): Working in small groups, we will examine environmental governance structures within a chosen study context, tracing resource use through multiple usage and governance scales. Students will design an instrument for understanding the multi-scalar nature of environmental governance and carry out informal interviews/meetings to ground-truth parameters and gather data. This small group project requires planning, field work and data evaluation. Each student will write a short summary on an aspect of the assessment, and these will be compiled in a group report. Students will be assessed for their ability to work together as well as to describe the pathways and processes of governance and visually conceptualize the scalar nature of environmental governance.

*reading: *Penjore 2008, Penjore & Rapten 2004*

FEX 5. Life Cycle Assessment (not graded): We will visit an industrial estate in southern Bhutan to understand the processes involved in the production of a consumer product. Observe and record how and where the raw materials are sourced from, what goes into the production and processing of the product (input), and what happens to the product produced. The aim of the visit is to follow an everyday product from its inception to its end in order to appreciate its carbon footprint.

*reading: *Goleman (2009)*

FEX 6. Wildlife Documentary – discourse analysis – (screen BBC Tiger documentary) (not graded): The wildlife film industry is big business. What is the role of media in conservation? What are the cultural productions of nature evident in programming, and what are the politics of representation? We engage in a discourse analysis exercise to address these questions.

Grading Scheme

A	95.00+	B+	86.00 – 89.99%	C+	76.00 – 79.99%	D	60.00-69.00%
A-	90.00 – 94.99%	B	83.00 – 85.99%	C	73.00 – 75.99%	F	59.99 to 0.00
		B-	80.00 – 82.99%	C-	70.00 – 72.99%		

General Reminders

Readings: You are expected to have read all the assigned articles prior to each class, and can expect to be tested on required reading. All readings are available as PDFs. Readings may be updated or changed during the course of the semester.

Plagiarism: Using the ideas and material of others without giving due credit is cheating and will not be tolerated. A grade of zero will be assigned if anyone is caught cheating or aiding another person to cheat actively or passively (e.g., allowing someone to look at your exam). All assignments unless specifically stated must be individual pieces of work and follow academic conventions of citation and referencing.

Deadlines: Deadlines for written and oral assignments are instated for several reasons: They are a part of working life to which students need to become accustomed and promote equity among students. Deadlines allow faculty enough time to review and return assignments before others are due. Late assignments will incur a 10% penalty for each day that they are late. No assignment will be accepted after three days. Assignments will be handed back to students after a one-week grading period.

Participation: Since we offer a program that is likely more intensive than you might be used to at your home institution, missing even one lecture can have a proportionally greater effect on your final grade simply because there is little room to make up for lost time. Participation in all components of the program is mandatory because your actions can significantly affect the experience you and your classmates have while at SFS. Therefore, it is important that you are prompt for all activities, bring the necessary equipment for field exercises, and simply get involved.

Course Content

Key: L-lecture and discussion, GL-guest lecture, FL-field lecture, FEX-field exercise, D-discussion, DR-directed research.

Readings in ***bold** (with asterisks) are required; others are optional supplementary reading.

Note that syllabus may be subject to changes, do remain adaptive and flexible.

Introduction - Sense of Place		
Title and Description	Type	Readings
Course Overview	L	
What are some approaches to understanding environment, society and development in Bhutan? Here, we review the syllabus, course topics, learning objectives, and assignments. Students fill up a short questionnaire		*PSEDE Syllabus
A Country in Transition	GL	Dr. Karma Phuntsho
We begin our course with a lecture from one of Bhutan's foremost historians on why and how Bhutan is a country in transition. The place of tradition in contemporary Bhutan, how developed Bhutan considers itself and what the road ahead looks like for the country will all be explored		*Phuntsho 2013, pp. 565-599
FEX 1: Embodying Cultural Landscapes	FEX	
Here, we are introduced to the significance of cultural landscapes and experiential ways of moving through them. Students will walk to and visit pilgrimage sites in Thimphu valley, including Tango Monastery and Pangrizampa College of Astrology		Allison 2015, pp. 197-226 Kuyakanon & Gyeltshen 2017, pp. 8-25 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tango_Monastery
Terrain, Religion, and Sovereignty	L	
Setting an historical foundation for understanding Bhutan today, we will discover key people, events, concepts, and processes. How have governance structures and processes evolved, and in what contexts?		*Phuntsho 2013, pp. 365-395 595-599
Ecology in Spiritual Writing	L	

We will read a translation of a 14 th century poem about Bumthang, a district in central Bhutan, by the Tibetan Buddhist master, Gyalwa Kuenkhen Longchen Rabjam. How physical landscapes/environment aid the development of spirituality will be explored as we appreciate the role of poems as repositories of ancient landscape information		Ura 2016, pp. 35-64
FEX 2: Buddhism & Conservation	FEX	Refined Questionnaire
The objective of this FEX is to ascertain how Buddhists regard their place in the world vis-à-vis nature. What are some philosophical arguments supporting their beliefs. Students will interact with the monks of Sangchhokhor Buddhist College and will be gently introduced to the semi-structured interview method of social science research.		*Kuyakanon 2014, pp. 183-205 Allison 2015, pp. 197-226
Introduction to Mountain Development		
The Himalayan Dilemma and Political Ecology	L	
What is the Himalayan Dilemma? What is THED and why do narratives matter? Here the subdivision of political ecology and its relevance to understanding environmental problems is introduced.		*Robbins 2012, pp. 11-24 Orlove 2016, pp. 227-242
Dev I: Promises and Realities	L	
We examine just what is (and was) meant by (international) Development, its history, and trajectories.		*Mancall 2004, pp. 1-50 *Rist 1997, pp. 1-24 Cowan & Shenton 1995, pp. 27-43 Peet & Hartwick 2009, pp. 1-19
Dev II: Development Indicators: a brief introduction	L	
What is the history of development indicators, and how have they come to matter so much? Using key critical concepts, we will attempt to deconstruct development indicators as a social construct with dramatic implications		Gupta 2010 (13-16) Crewe & Axelby 2013 (88-106)
FEX 3: Mapping Livelihoods	FEX	Map
We will explore local areas, note development indicators, and examine changes in the landscape and livelihood strategies based on proximity to town. In small groups, students will survey routes and create a rough map of land use and livelihood strategies and note the ways that these change in relation to their proximity to Paro town.		*Paro Dzongkhag Profile, RGOB
Critiques of Development and Alternatives	SLD	Group Essay
What are some of the problems with 'development?' You are to look at alternative definitions and readings of development. You will be asked to provide two short readings for the class on the theme Alternative Development. Make a short presentation on a related topic, moderate the discussion section and deliver a short peer-reviewed essay. The objective is to sharpen your presentation abilities, powers of observation, critical thinking, and to connect concepts to realities.		Peet & Hartwick 2009 (197-239)
Gross National Happiness and Development		
Development Indicators: GNH Index	L	

How does Bhutan's development compare to the rest of the world? We will take an in-depth examination of the GNH Index to explore how it evolved, what it has demonstrated thus far, and its importance in Bhutan.		Ura, Alkire, Zangmo, & Wangdi 2012 Boniwell 2017 (1-20) Short Film: Tshering Tobgay TED Talk
The Middle Path and GNH	L+EX	
What is meant by the Middle Path of Development and how does this relate to GNH? How developed does Bhutan consider herself within the GNH framework? Students will go use parts of the latest GNH Survey Questionnaire in a classroom exercise		*NEC (1998), (2016) SNDP 2013
Political Economy of Conservation and Development		
EIAs and Himalayan Hydropower	L	Mr. Kencho Tshering
We'll learn about the EIA process and discuss why it is important in context of Himalayan hydropower development. What are the political economic roles of regional actors in the development and function of Bhutan, and Bhutan's role in regional and global development?		*McCullough 2017 *Hayden 2015
Punatsangchhu Hydropower Plant Visit	FL	PHPA
We will travel to Punatsangchhu hydropower plant and learn about its history and inner workings		
Tourism – Eco-tourism	L	
What are the challenges and opportunities offered by tourism to various stakeholders? What is eco-tourism in the Bhutanese context? What is the place of culture and the natural environment in tourism?		RGOB 2012 RSPN 2017
GNH – A lived experience	SLD	Group Essay
You will be asked to provide two short readings for the class on the theme, GNH and Development. Make a short presentation on a related topic, moderate the discussion section, and deliver a short peer-reviewed essay. The objective is to sharpen your presentation abilities, powers of observation, critical thinking, and to connect concepts to realities.		*Phuntsho 2013, pp. 595-599 Ask for reading leads if necessary
Tourism – A double-edged sword?	SLD	Group Essay
You will be asked to provide two short readings for the class on the theme, Tourism. Make a short presentation on a related topic, moderate the discussion section, and deliver a short peer-reviewed essay. The objective is to sharpen your presentation abilities, powers of observation, critical thinking, and to connect concepts to realities.		
Environmental Governance in Context		
Environmental Governance in Bhutan	L	Mr. Thinley Namgyal
We learn about issues involved in natural resources / protected areas governance in Bhutan. How to balance conservation and development? What are the trade-offs?		*NEC 2016, pp. 1-29, 49-57
Role of international community in environmental governance	L	Dr. Nawang Norbu
What comprises global environmental governance, and what are some of the roles played by the international community, NGOs, development partnerships and civil society?		TBC
Scaling Environmental Governance	L,D	

How does the level at which you examine environmental perceptions and policies impact your perception of them? How does this impact our ability to tackle pressing issues?		Robbins 2012, pp. 49-81 Neumann 2009, pp. 398-406
FEX 4: Scaling the Environmental Governance	FEX	Group Report
Working in small groups, we will examine environmental governance structures within a chosen study context, tracing resource use through multiple usage and governance scales. Students will design an instrument for understanding the multi-scalar nature of environmental governance and carry out informal interviews/meetings to ground-truth parameters and gather data. This small group project requires planning, fieldwork and data evaluation.		Penjore 2008, pp. 66-87
Mid-Term Exam		15% of Total Grade
Development Histories of Local Landscapes	GL	<i>Mr. Fritz Maurer</i>
A lecture from a local resident and entrepreneur for an understanding of local development and livelihood histories		*Helvetas (2015) 40 Years On film.
Debates in Climate Change Discourse	SLD	Group Essay
You will be asked to provide two short readings for the class on the theme of Climate Change. Make a short presentation on the debates in Climate Change Discourse, moderate the discussion section and deliver a short peer-reviewed essay. The objective is to sharpen your presentation abilities, powers of observation, critical thinking, and to connect concepts to realities.		
Economics of Sustainable Development		
Caterpillar Fungus and Sustainable Development	L	
What is "summer grass, winter worm" and what has its role in Bhutan's regional economic development been? What are unanticipated environmental, political, and economic consequences of marketisation, and how are they being addressed? How do national-level policies play out on the ground?		Wangchuk & Wangdi 2015
Sustainable Development and its Costs	FL	
In this field lecture, we will visit three small enterprises and learn about development initiatives in the valley. How is Paro developing sustainably? What are the challenges?		Mr. Karma Penjore (mushrooms) Mr. Tashi (yoghurt) Mr. Dorji Gyeltshen (craft beer)
Sustainable Development Trade-Offs?: Mechanisation and Technologies in Agriculture	FL+GL	
What does the mechanisation of labour mean for sustainable development, and what are the resultant gains and losses to environment and human wellbeing? We embark on a field lecture in Paro to see technological transitions in progress.		*White, Jr. 1967
Mechanisation in Mountain Agriculture	SLD	Group Essay
You will be asked to provide two short readings for the class on the theme of Mechanisation in Agriculture. Make a short presentation on a related topic (e.g. food security, technology and farming, etc.), moderate the discussion section, and deliver a short peer-reviewed essay. The objective is to sharpen your presentation abilities, powers of observation,		

critical thinking, and to connect concepts to realities.		
The Environment in a Consumerist World		
Globalization, Production Chains, and Life Cycle Assessments (LCA)	L,D	
What is globalization, how does it influence the environment and economies, where are we positioned in the production chain, and what might our roles be as producers and consumers? How 'green' is green?		*Kopnina 2017, pp.24-33 Goleman 2009
FEX 5: Life Cycle Assessment	FEX	Individual Reflection Paper
We will visit an industrial estate in southern Bhutan to understand the processes involved in the production of a consumer product. Observe and record how and where the raw materials are sourced from, what goes into the production and processing of the product (input), and what happens to the product produced. The aim of the visit is to follow an everyday product from its inception to its end in order to appreciate its carbon footprint.		Goleman 2009
Deconstructing - and Reconstructing Nature		
Cultural Productions of Nature	L	
We deconstruct a few dominant cultural narratives about the environment. We expand upon how knowledge is constituted, legitimated, and reshaped. Case studies may include traditional knowledge systems, indigenous histories, and religion & environment.		*Williams 1976 "Culture", "Nature" *Kuyakanon 2014, pp. 183-205
Gendered Natures and Sustainable Development	L	
We will deconstruct ideas surrounding gender and environment through a feminist political ecology perspective. We will look at women's roles in environmental conservation and management.		Torres & McElwee 2017, pp. 133-145 Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter & Wangari 2006, pp. 14-40
Environmentality: The Environmental Citizen?	L	
We discuss what it means to be an environmental citizen and use historical, sociological, and anthropological lenses to analyse how environmental citizens are created.		*Robbins 2012, pp. 215-230 *Agrawal 2005
The Anthropocene - and Our Place in It?	SLD	Group Eassy
What is the importance of environmental education in the 21st century, and what should it include? What might it mean to be living in the Anthropocene? You will be asked to provide two short readings for the class on the theme of the anthropocene. Make a short presentation on a related topic, moderate the discussion section and deliver a short peer-reviewed essay. The objective is to sharpen your presentation abilities, powers of observation, critical thinking, and to connect concepts to realities.		*Gan, Tsing, Swanson, & Bubandt 2017 Castree 2014 Ogden, Heynen, Oslender, West, Kassam, & Robbins 2013, pp. 341-347
Seeds for the Future		
Capstone: the Hatchet and the Seed		
We review what we've covered in class, and explore the role of political ecology in various fora. How can we use this lens to influence change in knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions for socio-ecological sustainability?	L	TBC, *Robbins (2012: 98-100)

Exam Review	Q&A	
Exam		

Reading List

*Readings in **Bold** with an asterisk (*) are required.

***Agrawal, Arun (2005)**. Environmentalism: Community, Intimate Government, and the Making of Environmental Subjects in Kumaon, India. *Current Anthropology* 46(2): 161–190.

***Allison, Elizabeth (2015)**. "Religion Inscribed in the Landscape: Sacred Sites, Local Deities and Natural Resource Use in the Himalayas" in Stanley D. Brun, ed. *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices and Politics*. New York: Springer Publishing.

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Brassard, Caroline (2008). "Decentralization, Democratization and Development in Bhutan." Working Paper, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore.

Castree, Noel (2014). The Anthropocene and Geography I: The Back Story: The Anthropocene and Geography I. *Geography Compass* 8(7): 436–449.

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Crewe, E. and Axelby, R. 2013. *Anthropology and Development: Culture, Morality and Politics in a Globalised World*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

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Foucault, Michel, and Arnold I. Davidson (2009) *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977--1978*, 1 edition New York: Picador.

Gan, E., Tsing, A., Swanson, H. A., & Bubandt, N. O. (2017). *Haunted Landscapes of the Anthropocene*.

Goleman, D. 2009. *Ecological Intelligence: How Knowing the Hidden Impacts of What We Buy Can Change Everything*. Crown Publishing Group, New York.

Gupta, A. 2010. "The Construction of the Global Poor: An Anthropological Critique," *World Social Science Report, Ch. 1*. Paris: UNESCO, pp. 13-16.

***Hayden, Anders (2015)**. "Bhutan: Blazing a trail to a postgrowth future, or stepping on the treadmill of production" in *Journal of Economic Development* 24(2) 161-186.

- ***Helvetas Bhutan (2015)** 40 Years On.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=40&v=0gM3LW8XMOE, accessed August 28, 2017.
- Holmes, George, Thomas Aneurin Smith, and Caroline Ward (2017). Fantastic Beasts and Why to Conserve Them: Animals, Magic and Biodiversity Conservation. *Oryx*: 1–9.
- ***Kopnina, Helen (2017)**. Commodification of Natural Resources and Forest Ecosystem Services: Examining Implications for Forest Protection. *Environmental Conservation* 44(1): 24–33.
- ***Kuyakanon Knapp, R. S. (2014)**. Contemplations on a Bhutanese Buddhist Environmental Narrative. In S. Kumagai (Ed.), *Bhutanese Buddhism and Its Culture* (pp. 183–205). Kathmandu, Nepal: Vajra Publications.
- Kuyakanon Knapp, R.S., and Dorji Gyeltshen (2017). Propitiating the Tsen, Sealing the Mountain: Community Mountain-Closure Ritual and Practice in Eastern Bhutan. *Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies* 37(1).
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- Munro, Lauchlan T. (2016). Where Did Bhutan’s Gross National Happiness Come from? The Origins of an Invented Tradition. *Asian Affairs* 47(1): 71–92.
- * **Mancall, Mark (2004)**. Gross National Happiness and Development: An Essay. In K. Ura & K. Galay (Eds.), *Gross National Happiness and Development: Proceedings of the First International Seminar on Operationalization of Gross National Happiness* (pp. 1–50). Thimphu: The Centre for Bhutan Studies.
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- ***National Environmental Commission (1998)**. *The Middle Path: National Environment Strategy for Bhutan*. National Environment Commission, Royal Government of Bhutan.
- ***National Environmental Commission (2016)**. *Bhutan State of the Environment Report 2016*. Thimphu: National Environment Commission, Royal Government of Bhutan.
- Ogden, L., Heynen, N., Oslender, U., West, P., Kassam, K. A., & Robbins, P. (2013). *Global assemblages, resilience, and Earth Stewardship in the Anthropocene*, pp. 341-347.
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- *Penjore, Dorji, and Phuntsho Rapten (2004).** "Trends of Forestry Policy Concerning Local Participation in Bhutan." *Policy Trend Report 2004* Pp. 28–34.
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- RGOB 2012 (Ecotourism Development in the Protected Areas Network of Bhutan)
- *Robbins, Paul (2012).** *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction*. Wiley-Blackwell, Malden MA. 2nd Edition.
- *Rocheleau, Dianne, Barbara Thomas-Slayter and Esther Wangari (2006).** 'Gender and Environment: A Feminist Political Ecology Perspective', pp.14-40.
- RSPN 2017 Carrying Capacity Assessment report for Haa and Phobjikha
- SNDP 2013. *Happiness: Towards a New Development Paradigm: Report of the Kingdom of Bhutan*, Thimphu: Secretariat for a New Development Paradigm and the Royal Government of Bhutan.
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- Torres, Maria Luz Cruz- and Pamela McElwee (2017). *Gender, Livelihoods and Sustainability: Anthropological Research*, pp.133-145.
- Uddin, S, R Taplin, and X Yu (2007). "Energy, Environment and Development in Bhutan." *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* 11, no. 9: 2083–2103.
- Ura, Karma (2016). *Longchen's Forests of Poetry and Rivers of Composition in Bhutan*. Centre for Bhutan Studies, Thimphu.
- Ura, Karma, Sabina Alkire, Tshoki Zangmo, and Karma Wangdi (2012). *A Short Guide to Gross National Happiness Index*. Centre for Bhutan Studies, Thimphu.
- Vernes, Karl, Rajaratnam Rajanathan, and Sonam Wangchuk (2012). Tall Tales Misrepresent the Real Story behind Bhutan's High Altitude Tigers. The Conversation website. <http://theconversation.com/tall-tales-misrepresent-the-real-story-behind-bhutans-high-altitude-tigers-8963>
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