



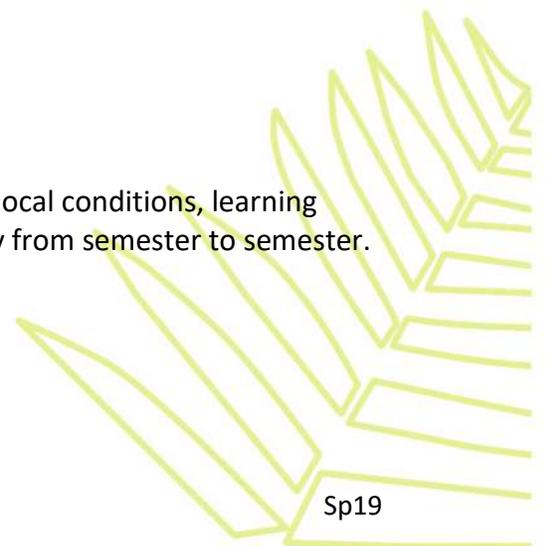
THE SCHOOL  
FOR FIELD STUDIES

# Political and Socioeconomic Dimensions of Environment SFS 3040

## Syllabus

Center for Himalayan Environment and Development Studies  
The School for Field Studies (SFS)  
UWICER and Bhutan Ecological Society  
Himalayan Environment and Society in Transition  
Paro, Bhutan

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 CONTENT SUBJECT TO CHANGE**

***Please note that this is a copy of a recent syllabus. A final syllabus will be provided to students on the first day of academic programming.***

SFS programs are different from other travel or study abroad programs. Each iteration of a program is unique and often cannot be implemented exactly as planned for a variety of reasons. There are factors which, although monitored closely, are beyond our control. For example:

- Changes in access to or expiration or change in terms of permits to the highly regulated and sensitive environments in which we work;
- Changes in social/political conditions or tenuous weather situations/natural disasters may require changes to sites or plans, often with little notice;
- Some aspects of programs depend on the current faculty team as well as the goodwill and generosity of individuals, communities, and institutions which lend support.

Please be advised that these or other variables may require changes before or during the program. Part of the SFS experience is adapting to changing conditions and overcoming the obstacles that they may present. In other words, the elephants are not always where we want them to be, so be flexible!

## Course Description

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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 land, water, and biodiversity, 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 ecosystems, and vice versa. By using Bhutan as an example, the course provides a conceptual framework for understanding how nature-society interactions, such as agriculture, water management, biodiversity conservation and utilization, 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

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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 impacts.
- 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

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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: Mapping Livelihoods	10
FEX: Life Cycle Assessment (LCA)	10
Midterm exam	15
FEX: 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) **Debates in Climate Change** (6)

**FEX. 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 3. Life Cycle Assessment (10%):** 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. 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 & Raptan 2004

## Grading Scheme

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A	95.00-100.00%	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	0.00-59.99%
		B-	80.00 – 82.99%	C-	70.00 – 72.99%		

## General Reminders

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**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

**L** lecture and discussion; **GL** guest lecture; **FL** field lecture; **FEX** field exercise; **FV** field visit; **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!

No	Title/Content	Type	Readings	Time (hrs)
1	<b>Course Overview</b>	L		1:15
	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		<b>*PSEDE Syllabus</b>	
2	<b>A Country in Transition</b>	GL	<b>Dr. Karma Phuntsho</b>	1:15
	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		<b>*Phuntsho 2013, pp. 565-599</b>	
3	<b>Textile Museum Visit</b>	FV, FL	<b>Royal Textile Museum</b>	1:15
	The objective of this visit is to learn about regional variations in Bhutanese textiles. What influences regional styles? How have development and modernisation changed the way Bhutanese produce and wear the <i>kira</i> and <i>gho</i> .			
4	FEX 1: Embodying Cultural Landscapes	FEX		4:00
	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		<b>Allison 2015, pp. 439-459</b> <b>Kuyakanon &amp; Gyeltshen 2017, pp. 8-25</b> <b><a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tango_Monastery">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tango_Monastery</a></b>	
5	<b>Terrain, Religion, and Sovereignty</b>	L		1:15
	Setting an historical foundation for understanding Bhutan, we will discover key people, events, concepts, and processes. How have governance structures and processes		<b>*Phuntsho 2013, pp. 365-395</b> <b>595-599</b>	

	evolved, and in what contexts? What big ideologies helped shape the larger Bhutanese belief systems?			
<b>Introduction to Mountain Development</b>				
<b>6</b>	<b>The Himalayan Dilemma and Political Ecology</b>	L		1:15
	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	
<b>7</b>	<b>Dev I: Promises and Realities</b>	L		1:15
	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	
<b>8</b>	<b>Dev II: Development Indicators: a brief introduction</b>	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)	
<b>9</b>	<b>FEX 2: Mapping Livelihoods</b>	FEX	Map	2:30
	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	
<b>The Environment in a Consumerist World</b>				
<b>10</b>	<b>Globalization, Production Chains, and Life Cycle Assessments (LCA)</b>	L,D		1:15
	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	
<b>11</b>	<b>FEX 3: Life Cycle Assessment</b>	FEX	Individual Reflection Paper	4:00

	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	
<b>12</b>	<b>Border Walk</b>	FV	<b>Phuentsholing Border</b>	1:15
	We will walk the short pathway along India-Bhutan border in Phuentsholing, one of Bhutan's gateways to India and the country's busiest border town, to experience the physical and the social dynamics of a border town.			
<b>13</b>	<b>FEX 4: Vegetable Market Visit</b>	FEX	<b>Phuentsholing Veg Market</b>	2:00
	What is sold and bought? Where do the farm produce/products come from? What is imported and what is domestically grown/produced? What is locally grown and what is regionally (nationally) sought? These are some of the questions that the students will ask in order to understand how dependent Phuentsholing residents are to food produced outside the country. Think also about larger themes of food security, geopolitics, subsistence vs. commercial agriculture, etc.			
<b>Political Economy of Conservation and Development</b>				
<b>14</b>	<b>Chhukha Hydropower Plant Visit</b>	FL	<b>CHPA</b>	4:00
	We will travel to Chhukha Hydropower Plant (CHP) and learn about its history and inner workings. Hydropower is believed to be the largest economic driver of the country. Often termed 'blue gold,' the rivers of Bhutan have been harnessed to produce electricity, both for domestic consumption and for export. This is a rare opportunity that allows students to observe and learn first hand how the production of this renewable energy is faring in Bhutan.			
<b>15</b>	<b>EIAs and Himalayan Hydropower</b>	L	<b>Mr. Kencho Tshering</b>	1:15
	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?		<b>*McCullough 2017</b> <b>*Hayden 2015</b>	
<b>16</b>	<b>Critiques of Development and Alternatives</b>	SLD	<b>Group Essay</b>	1:15
	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		<b>Peet &amp; Hartwick 2009 (197-239)</b>	

	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.			
<b>17</b>	<b>Tourism – Eco-tourism</b>	L		1:15
	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?		<b>RGOB 2012</b> <b>RSPN 2017</b>	
<b>18</b>	<b>FEX 5: Buddhism &amp; Conservation</b>	FEX	<b>Refined Questionnaire</b>	3:00
	The objective of this FEX is to understand 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 Sangchhoekhor Buddhist College and will be introduced to the semi-structured interview method of social science research.		<b>*Kuyakanon 2014, pp. 183-205</b> <b>Allison 2015, pp. 197-226</b> <b>Karmapa 2011</b>	
<b>19</b>	<b>Tourism – A double-edged sword?</b>	SLD	<b>Group Essay</b>	1:15
	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.			
<b>Gross National Happiness and Development</b>				
<b>20</b>	<b>The Middle Path and GNH</b>	L		1:15
	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? How does Bhutan's development compare to the rest of the world?		<b>Ura, Alkire, Zangmo, &amp; Wangdi 2012</b> <b>Boniwell 2017 (1-20)</b> <b>Short Film: Tshering Tobgay TED Talk</b>	
<b>21</b>	<b>Development Indicators: GNH Index</b>	L+EX		1:15
	Students will use parts of the latest GNH Survey Questionnaire in a classroom exercise. 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 to Bhutan.		<b>*NEC (1998), (2016)</b> <b>SNDP 2013</b>	
<b>22</b>	<b>GNH – A lived experience</b>	SLD	<b>Group Essay</b>	1:15

	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.		<b>*Phuntsho 2013, pp. 595-599</b> <b>Ask for reading leads if necessary</b>	
<b>Environmental Governance in Context</b>				
<b>23</b>	<b>Environmental Governance in Bhutan</b>	L	<b>Mr. Thinley Namgyal</b>	1:15
	We learn about issues involved in natural resources / protected areas governance in Bhutan. How to balance conservation and development? What are the trade-offs?		<b>*NEC 2016, pp. 1-29, 49-57</b>	
<b>24</b>	<b>Role of institutions in Environmental Governance</b>	L	<b>Dr. Nawang Norbu</b>	1:15
	What comprises global environmental governance, and what are some of the roles played by the international community, NGOs, development partnerships and civil society?		TBC	
<b>25</b>	<b>Scaling Environmental Governance</b>	L, D		1:15
	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?		<b>Robbins 2012, pp. 49-81</b> <b>Neumann 2009, pp. 398-406</b>	
<b>26</b>	<b>FEX 6: Scaling the Environmental Governance</b>	FEX	<b>Group Report</b>	1:15
	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.		<b>Penjore 2008, pp. 66-87</b>	
<b>27</b>	<b>Mid-Term Exam</b>		<b>15% of Total Grade</b>	1:00
<b>28</b>	<b>Development Histories of Local Landscapes</b>	GL	<b>Mr. Fritz Maurer</b>	1:15
	A lecture from a local resident and entrepreneur for an understanding of local development and livelihood histories		<b>*Helvetas (2015) 40 Years On film.</b>	
<b>29</b>	<b>Debates in Climate Change Discourse</b>	SLD	<b>Group Essay</b>	1:15
	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.			
<b>30</b>	<b>Ecology in Spiritual Writing</b>	L		1:15
	We will read a translation of a 14 <sup>th</sup> 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		<b>Ura 2016, pp. 35-64</b>	
<b>Economics of Sustainable Development</b>				
<b>31</b>	<b>Caterpillar Fungus and Sustainable Development</b>	L		1:15
	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 its marketisation, and how are they being addressed? How do national-level policies play out on the ground?		<b>Wangchuk &amp; Wangdi 2015</b>	
<b>33</b>	<b>Sustainable Development and its Costs</b>	FL		1:15
	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)	
<b>34</b>	<b>Sustainable Development Trade-Offs?: Mechanisation and Technologies in Agriculture</b>	FL + GL		2:00
	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.		<b>*White, Jr. 1967</b>	
<b>35</b>	<b>Mechanisation in Mountain Agriculture</b>	SLD	<b>Group Essay</b>	4:00
	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.			
<b>Deconstructing - and Reconstructing Nature</b>				
<b>36</b>	<b>Cultural Productions of Nature</b>	L		1:15
	We deconstruct a few dominant cultural narratives about the environment. We expand upon how knowledge is		<b>*Williams 1976</b>	

	constituted, legitimated, and reshaped. Case studies may include traditional knowledge systems, indigenous histories, and religion & environment.		"Culture", "Nature" *Kuyakanon 2014, pp. 183-205	
<b>37</b>	<b>Gendered Natures and Sustainable Development</b>	L		1:15
	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	
<b>38</b>	<b>Environmentality: The Environmental Citizen?</b>	D		1:15
	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	
<b>39</b>	<b>The Anthropocene - and Our Place in It?</b>	SLD	<b>Group Essay</b>	1:15
	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	
<b>Seeds for the Future</b>				
40	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)	
41	Exam Review	Q&A		1:00
42	Exam			2:00
			<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>

## Reading List

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\* **Indicates Required**; others are supplemental readings.

\***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.

Aris, Michael (1994). *The Raven Crown: The Origins of Buddhist Monarchy in Bhutan*. London: Serindia.

Ballet, Jérôme, Nicolas Sirven, and Mélanie Requier-Desjardins (2007). "Social capital and natural resource management." *The Journal of Environment and Development* 16:355-374.

Boniwell, I. 2017. 'Introduction', *Happiness: Transforming the Development Landscape*. Thimphu: Centre for Bhutan Studies and GNH Research pp. 1-20.

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.

Cowan, M. and Shenton, R. 1995. *'The Invention of Development', Power of Development*, Crush, J. (editor), London and New York: Routledge, pp. 27-43.

Creswell, J. (2008). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. London: SAGE.

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

Faxon, Hilary O. (2014). Waking the Watchdog: Needs, Opportunities, and Challenges of Environmental Advocacy in Modern Bhutan. *Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, 33(1), 10.

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](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=40&v=0gM3LW8XMOE), accessed August 28, 2017.

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