



S F S THE SCHOOL
FOR FIELD STUDIES

Political and Socioeconomic Dimensions of Environment SFS 3040

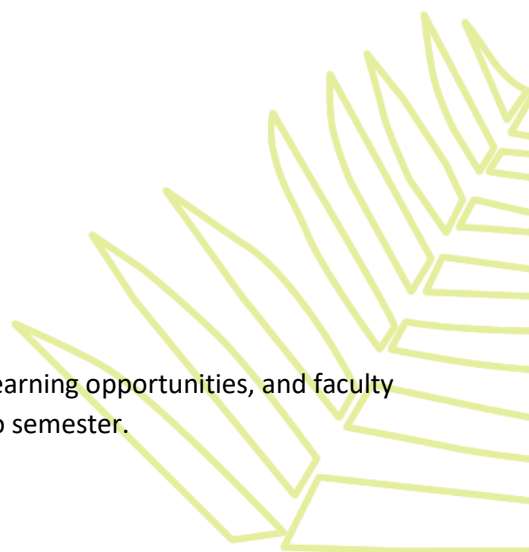
Syllabus
4 credits

The School for Field Studies (SFS)
Center for Climate and Sustainable Futures (CCSF)
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.

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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, this is a field program, and the field can change.

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 encompasses 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 Bhutanese identity as well as to the economy.

The majority of the population reside in rural areas, relying significantly on the natural resources surrounding them. As such, 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.

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 inclusive and just ways.

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
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Assessment

Assessment Item	Value (%)
Active Participation	10
Student Led Discussion (SLD)	15
Graded FEX 1: Embodying Sacred Landscapes	15
Graded FEX 2: Mapping Livelihoods	15
Graded FEX 3: Buddhism & the Environment	15
Final Exam	30
TOTAL	100

Participation (10%)

During this program we will travel through many eco-regions and rural communities. 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 Bhutanese cultural context, and responsible behavior as a group member who is involved in others' learning. There will be opportunities throughout the semester for constructive feedback.

Student Led Discussion (15%)

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 one): (1) Development Alternatives, (2) Reimagining Conservation/Alternatives, (3) Sustainability – Innovation, (4) Debates in Climate Change – Carbon Trade, (5) Anthropocene and AI

Graded Field Exercises (FEX) (45%, 15% each)

Embodying Sacred Landscapes (15%)

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 Pangri Zampa College of Astrology. You will learn about the intimate relationships between symbolism and physical 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?

Mapping Livelihoods (15%)

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 distance from Paro town. 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?

Buddhism and Environment (15%)

We will build our field data collection skills by conducting semi-structured interviews in small groups with monks at the Sangchhoechor Buddhist College or the Tara Monastery 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.

Final Exam (30%)

One final comprehensive final exam will be administered, at the end of the course. You will be examined on what you have been exposed to in class (lectures, discussions, etc.), the field, and readings. The exams will challenge students to draw on multiple concepts and experiences, and to synthesize information.

Grading Scheme

A 95.00 - 100.00%	B+ 86.00 - 89.99%	C+ 76.00 - 79.99%	D 60.00 - 69.99%
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

Honor Code/Plagiarism – SFS places high expectations on their students and we hold students accountable for their behaviors. SFS students are held to the honor code below. SFS has a zero-tolerance policy towards student cheating, plagiarism, data falsification, and any other form of dishonest academic and/or research practice or behavior. Using the ideas or material of others without giving due credit is cheating and will not be tolerated. Any SFS student found to have engaged in or facilitated academic and/or research dishonesty will receive no credit (0%) for that activity.

"I approach coursework, fieldwork, and research with integrity and commit to full participation. I do my own work with honesty and give credit where it's due. I use tools and technology responsibly and only as permitted. I speak up when something conflicts with our shared values. I respect the communities we learn from and commit to ethical, non-extractive research that keeps knowledge connected to the places and people who share it with us."

Deadlines – Deadlines for written and oral assignments are instated to promote equity among students and to allow faculty ample time to review and return assignments before others are due. As such, deadlines are firm; extensions will only be considered under extreme circumstances. Late assignments will incur a penalty of 10% of your grade for each day you are late. After two days past the deadline, assignments will no longer be accepted. Assignments will be handed back to students after a one-week grading period. Grade corrections for any assessment item should be requested in writing at least 24 hours after assignments are returned. No corrections will be considered afterwards.

Content Statement – Every student comes to SFS with unique life experiences, which contribute to the way various information is processed. Some of the content in this course may be intellectually or emotionally challenging but has been intentionally selected to achieve certain learning goals and/or

showcase the complexity of many modern issues. If you anticipate a challenge engaging with a certain topic or find that you are struggling with certain discussions, we encourage you to talk about it with faculty, friends, family, the HWM, or access available mental health resources.

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 course is mandatory, it is important that you are prompt for all activities, bring the necessary equipment for field exercises and class activities, and simply get involved.

AI Usage for Assignments – SFS acknowledges the growing role of artificial intelligence (AI) tools in education and professional settings. While AI can be a valuable resource for learning and productivity, its use must align with the learning goals and integrity of each assignment. For this reason, students are encouraged to discuss the acceptable uses of AI for each assignment with the instructor. If you wish to use AI for any part of an assignment, consult with the instructor beforehand to ensure that its use adheres to the academic expectations of the course. Let's work together to navigate this evolving landscape responsibly!

Course Content

Type- L: Lecture, **FL:** Field Lecture, **GL:** Guest Lecture, **FEX:** Field Exercise, **FV:** Field Visit, **SLD:** Student-Led Discussion

***Required readings are in bold**

No	Topics Covered	Hours	Type	Required Readings
Introduction – Sense of Place				
1	Course Overview What are some approaches to understanding environment, society, and development in Bhutan? Here, we review the syllabus, course topics, learning objectives, and assignments.	1.0	L	
2	Terrain, Religion, and Sovereignty I Setting an historical foundation for understanding Bhutan, we will discover key people, events, concepts, and processes. How have governance structures and processes evolved, and in what contexts? What big ideologies helped shape the larger Bhutanese belief systems?	1.0	L	Phuntsho (2013).
3	Terrain, Religion, and Sovereignty II Setting an historical foundation for understanding Bhutan, we will discover key people, events, concepts, and processes. How have governance structures and processes evolved, and in what contexts? What big ideologies helped shape the larger Bhutanese belief systems?	1.0	L	Phuntsho (2013).

No	Topics Covered	Hours	Type	Required Readings
4	Textile Museum Visit – A Country in Transition Learn about regional variations in Bhutanese textiles. What influences regional styles? How have development and modernization changed the way Bhutanese produce and wear the kira and gho.	2.0	FV; FL	
5	FEX 1: Embodying Sacred Landscapes 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 Pangri Zampa College of Astrology.	4.0	FEX	Allison (2015). Kuyakanon (2014).
6	A Country in Transition 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.	2.0	GL	Phuntsho (2013).
Introduction to Mountain Development				
7	Dev. I: Promises and Realities We examine just what is (and was) meant by (international) Development, its history, and trajectories.	1.0	L	Rist (1997). Cowan and Shenton (1995). Peet and Hartwick (2009).
8	Dev. II: Development Indicators – A Brief Introduction 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.	1.0	L	Gupta (2010). Crewe and Axelby (2013).
9	Doughnut Economics Kate Raworth explains what a sustainable, universally beneficial economy would look like. How do we create regenerative, distributive economies that would work within the planet's ecological limits.	1.0	L	Raworth Ted Talk (2018). Raworth (2012).
10	The Middle Path and GNH 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?	1.0	L	Ura, et al. (2012). Boniwell (2017).

No	Topics Covered	Hours	Type	Required Readings
11	The Himalayan Dilemma and Political Ecology 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.	1.0	L	Robbins (2012). <i>Optional:</i> <i>Orlove (2016).</i>
12	FEX 2: Mapping Livelihoods 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.	3.0	FEX	Paro Dzongkhag Profile, RGOB (2026).
13	Development and Alternatives 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.	1.0	SLD	Peet and Hartwick (2009).
The Environment in a Consumerist World				
14	Globalization, Production Chains, and Life Cycle Assessments (LCA) 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?	1.0	L; D	Kopnina (2017).
15	EIAs and Himalayan Hydropower We'll learn about the EIA process and discuss why it is important in the 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?	1.0	L	Rinzin (2020). McCullough (2017). Hayden (2015).
16	Chhukha Hydropower Plant Visit 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.	3.0	FV; FL	

No	Topics Covered	Hours	Type	Required Readings
17	Life Cycle Assessment (LCA) 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, and what happens to the product once produced.	2.0	FV; FL	Goleman (2009).
18	FEX 4: Discourse Analysis (Wildlife Documentary) 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?	2.0	FEX	
Gender, Environmental Governance & Conservation				
19	Gendered Natures 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.	1.0	L	Torres and McElwee (2017). Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter and Wangari (2006).
20	Cultural Productions of Nature 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.	1.0	L	Williams (1976). Kuyakanon (2014).
21	Role of Institutions in Environmental Governance What comprises global environmental governance? What are the roles played by the international community, NGOs, development partnerships and civil society?	1.0	GL	
22	FEX 3: Buddhism & Conservation 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 a Buddhist College in Paro. Students will be introduced to the semi-structured interview method of social science research.	3.0	FEX	Kuyakanon (2014). Karmapa (2011). Optional: Allison (2015).
23	Reimagining Conservation You will be asked to provide two short readings for the class on the theme, Reimagining Conservation. Make a short presentation on a related topic, moderate the discussion section, and deliver a short peer-reviewed essay.	1.0	SLD	

No	Topics Covered	Hours	Type	Required Readings
Climate Change and Its Impacts				
24	Climate Governance and Financing The need for effective global climate governance and financing mechanisms has become paramount as the urgency of addressing climate change intensifies. This class examines key aspects of global climate governance and the critical role of financing in enabling climate mitigation and adaption measures.	1.0	L	
25	Climate Justice We explore the concept of climate justice, which recognizes the unequal distribution of climate impacts and the disproportionate vulnerability of marginalized communities.	1.0	GL	Sultana (2022). Vanderheiden (2021). Puaschunder (2020). Sengupta (2023).
26	Food Security and Climate Change Rising temperatures, erratic rainfall patterns, and changing precipitation trends are altering the agricultural landscape of Bhutan. How do we strengthen climate resilience in our food systems? And ensure food security?	1.0	GL	World Bank (2017) (CSA Country Profile). Raj, et al. (2022).
Sustainable Development: Opportunities and Challenges				
27	Ecology in Spiritual Writing We will read a translation of a 14th century poem about Bumthang, a district in central Bhutan, by the Tibetan Buddhist master Gyalwa Kuenkhen Longchen Rabjam. How physical landscapes/environment aid in the development of spirituality will be explored as we appreciate the role of poems as repositories of ancient landscape information.	1.0	L	Ura (2016).
28	Development Histories of Local Landscapes A lecture from a local resident and entrepreneur on local development and livelihood histories.	1.0	GL	Helvetas (2015) 40 Years On (film).
29	Caterpillar Fungus and Sustainable Development 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 marketization, and how are they being addressed?	1.0	L	Wangchuk and Wangdi (2015).
30	Tourism – Eco-tourism What are the challenges and opportunities offered by the tourism sector to various stakeholders? What is eco-	1.0	L; GL	RGOB (2012). Optional: RSPN (2017).

No	Topics Covered	Hours	Type	Required Readings
	tourism in the Bhutanese context? What is the role of culture and the natural environment in tourism?			
31	Sustainability and Innovation You will be asked to provide two short readings for the class on the theme, Sustainability. Make a short presentation on the topic of your choice under the larger theme, moderate the discussions and deliver a short peer-reviewed essay.	1.0	SLD	
32	Sustainable Development Trade-Offs: Mechanization and Technologies in Agriculture What does the mechanization of labor 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.	3.0	GL	White (1967).
33	Anthropocene You will be asked to provide two short readings for the class on the theme of Anthropocene. Make a short presentation on the topic of your choice under the larger theme, moderate the discussions and deliver a short peer-reviewed essay.	1.0	SLD	
Seeds for the Future				
34	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?	1.0	L	Robbins (2012).
35	Exam Review	1.0	L	
	Total	50		
	UMN Instructional Hours*	60		

**UMN defines an instructional hour as a 50-minute block. SFS syllabi are written in full 60-minute hours for programming purposes. Therefore 50 full hours = 60 UMN instructional hours (for four credit courses) and 25 full hours = 30 UMN instructional hours (for two credit courses).*

Reading List

*Required readings are in bold

1. 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.
2. **Boniwell, I. (2017)**. 'Introduction', *Happiness: Transforming the Development Landscape*. Thimphu: Centre for Bhutan Studies and GNH Research pp. 1-20.
3. **Cowan, M. and Shenton, R. (1995)**. 'The Invention of Development', *Power of Development*, Crush, J. (editor), London and New York: Routledge, pp. 27-43.
4. **Crewe, E. and Axelby, R. (2013)**. *Anthropology and Development: Culture, Morality and Politics in a Globalised World*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
5. **Goleman, D. (2009)**. *Ecological Intelligence: How Knowing the Hidden Impacts of What We Buy Can Change Everything*. Crown Publishing Group, New York.
6. **Gupta, A. (2010)**. "The Construction of the Global Poor: An Anthropological Critique," *World Social Science Report*, Ch. 1. Paris: UNESCO, pp. 13-16.
7. **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.
8. **Helvetas Bhutan (2015)** 40 Years On.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=40&v=0gM3LW8XMOE, accessed August 28, 2017.
9. **Karmapa (2011)**.
10. **Kopnina, Helen (2017)**. Commodification of Natural Resources and Forest Ecosystem Services: Examining Implications for Forest Protection. *Environmental Conservation* 44(1): 24–33.
11. **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.
12. **McCullough, Aoife (2017)**. Environmental Impact Assessments in Developing Countries: We Need to Talk about Politics. *The Extractive Industries and Society*.
13. **Neumann, Roderick P. (2009)**. Political Ecology: Theorizing Scale. *Progress in Human Geography* 33(3): 398–406.
14. Orlove, B. (2016). Two days in the life of a river: Glacier floods in Bhutan, *Anthropologica*, 58(2), pp. 227-242.
15. **Paro Dzongkhag Profile, RGOB (2026)**.
16. **Peet, Richard and Elaine Hartwick (2009)**. *Theories of Development: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives*. Guilford Press. Second edition.
17. **Phuntsho, Karma (2013)**. *The History of Bhutan*. Noida, Uttar Pradesh: Random House India.
18. **Puaschunder, J. (2020)**. Mapping Climate Justice. *Governance and Climate Justice*.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-63281-0_4
19. **Raj, S., Roodbar, S., Brinkley, C. and Wolfe, D.W. (2022)**. Food Security and Climate Change: Differences in Impacts and Adaptation Strategies for Rural Communities in the Global South and North. *Frontiers in Sustainable Food Systems* 5:691191.
20. **Raworth, K. (2012)**. *A Safe and Just Space for Humanity*. Oxfam Discussion Paper, pp. 1-26.
21. **Raworth, K. (2018)**. TED Talk. [video]

22. **RGOB 2012.** Ecotourism Development in the Protected Areas Network of Bhutan
23. **Rinzin, C. (2020).** Sustainable Energy: Is Hydropower the Answer? The Druk Journal.
<http://drukjournal.bt/sustainable-energy-is-hydropower-the-answer/>
24. **Rist, G. 1997.** The History of Development: from Western Origins to Global Faith, London and New York: Zed Books.
25. **Robbins, Paul (2012).** Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction. Wiley-Blackwell, Malden MA. 2nd Edition.
26. **Rocheleau, Dianne, Barbara Thomas-Slayter and Esther Wangari (2006).** 'Gender and Environment: A Feminist Political Ecology Perspective', pp.14-40.
27. RSPN (2017). Carrying Capacity Assessment report for Haa and Phobjikha
28. **Sengupta, S. (2023).** Can Nations Be Sued for Weak Climate Action? We'll Soon Get an Answer. The New York Times.
29. **Sultana, F. (2022).** Critical climate justice. The Geographical Journal, 188, 118-124.
30. **Torres, Maria Luz Cruz- and Pamela McElwee (2017).** Gender, Livelihoods and Sustainability: Anthropological Research, pp.133-145.
31. **Ura, Karma (2016).** Longchen's Forests of Poetry and Rivers of Composition in Bhutan. Centre for Bhutan Studies, Thimphu.
32. **Ura, Karma, Sabina Alkire, Tshoki Zangmo, and Karma Wangdi (2012).** A Short Guide to Gross National Happiness Index. Centre for Bhutan Studies, Thimphu.
33. **Vanderheiden, S. (2021).** Justice and Climate Change. The Impacts of Climate Change. Elsevier Inc. Ch. 21, pp. 491-500.
34. **Wangchuk, K. and Wangdi, J. (2015).** Mountain pastoralism in transition: Consequences of legalizing Cordyceps collection on yak farming practices in Bhutan. Pastoralism, 5(1).
35. **White Jr., Lynn (1967).** The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis. Science 155(3767): 1203–1207.
36. **Williams, Raymond (2014 [1976])** Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society. Oxford University Press.
37. **World Bank / CIAT (2017).** Climate-Smart Agriculture in Bhutan. CSA Country Profiles for Asia Series. Washington, D.C.