



# *Journal of Arts & Humanities*

## It's a Dog's Life: International Tourists' Perceptions of the Stray Dog Population of Bhutan.

**Paul C Strickland<sup>1</sup>**

### **ABSTRACT**

This study investigates the international tourists' perception of the stray dog population of Bhutan as little or no mention of the increasing stray dog population and their impact on tourism has been documented. After personally visiting the Kingdom on many occasions, it is evident that the stray dog population is increasing in dog numbers in major cities. The problems arising are negative comments by tourists relating to the stray dog population that are starting to appear in social media that may impact the visitor experience and the perception of Bhutan's tourism industry. Veterinary science is aware of both increasing dog populations and the control of diseases such as Rabies however the author can find no evidence regarding challenges for the tourism industry. The problem is aided by no local veterinary clinics, no laws regarding dog governance, little funding for sterilization programs and being predominately a Buddhist country that cannot 'cull' animals. Using qualitative analysis from international tourist focus groups who were visiting Bhutan, this study highlights the perceptions of tourists regarding the stray dog population and how it may impact on visitor expectations. The paper suggests options that local government, Bhutanese nationals and visitors can do to assist the issue based on visitor feedback. Future research may include comparisons with other cities or countries to examine if it is a global issue or unique to Bhutan.

**Keywords:** Kingdom of Bhutan, stray dogs, barking, tourist perceptions.

Available Online: 7<sup>th</sup> December 2015.

This is an open access article under Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 License, 2015.

---

<sup>1</sup> Department of Management and Marketing, La Trobe Business School, La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia. Email: p.strickland@latrobe.edu.au.

## 1.0 Introduction

### 1.01 Bhutan's tourism sector

Known as the Kingdom of Bhutan in the Eastern Himalayas, the country is mountainous and totally landlocked with India and China surrounding its borders (Rahul, 1997; Odier 2004; Ritchie, 2008). With a population estimates varying from 810,000 to 1.3 million, the Bhutanese people have managed to keep a unique cultural and religious heritage that had not been greatly influenced until five decades ago when the third ruler, King Jigmi Dorji Wangchuck initiated the process of modernizing the country (Worden, 1993). This process has continued with each King's succession now on the 5th King. Tourism is second only to hydroelectricity as the largest contributor to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and therefore an area that Bhutan is keen to expand. In the last two decades, tourism has rapidly increased bringing in greater wealth for the country (Worden, 1993; Bauer, Brunet, De Lacy & Tshering, c1999). To control the growth of tourism, careful planning is involved including limiting the number of tourists visiting the country and controlling the construction of hotels and tourist attractions (Karan, 1990). The Royal Government of Bhutan (RGoB) has decreed that its tourism pursuit will be low volume, high value tourism that prides themselves of sustainability, cultural and heritage protection and the principles of Gross National Happiness (GNH) (Mayhew, Brown & Mahapatra, 2011). The government will only allow tourists to stay in government sanctioned hotels (Bauer et al., c1999) but in the last decade, many more hotels have been built and tourists are able to travel more freely.

Bhutan has also sanctioned further investment in tourism and has granted an increase in visas issued to international visitors from 25,000 per year to 100,000 annually (Dorji, 2011). Actual visitor arrivals have dramatically increased from 6,393 in 2001, to 23, 480 in 2009, and exponentially risen to 64, 028 in 2011 due to the increase in visas and tourism experiences being offered (Dorji, 2011, p.17). One hundred thousand tourist visas are to be expected to be issued annually by 2015. Bhutan is also unique in that international visitors (excluding tourists from India) have a tariff system applied to their visa conditions. This means that the majority of international visitors will have to pay US\$250.00 each day to be in Bhutan which includes the government visa, all entrance fees, a driver, hotel accommodation (minimum internationally recognized 3 stars rating) and three meals per day (Dorji, 2011). This is to attract high yield tourists with minimum impact and to assist in job creation (Ritchie, 2008).

To assist in bridging the gap between tourist expectations and trained staff, the Royal Insitute of Tourism and Hospitality has been established in Thimpu that initially relied on visiting academics and teachers to deliver tourism and hospitably programs for middle management in which I was part of. Annual visits over a period of five years, have attributed to personally witnessing the stray dog population increase in cities which gives a background as to how and why this paper was first conceived.

### 1.02 Bhutan's stray Dog population

Bhutan is a predominantly a Buddhist country with small populations of other religions. This means the locals do not sacrifice or kill animals for survival even though they may consume animal products (Ritchie, 2008). This has led to large and expanding stray dog population in Bhutan and in particular the capital Thimpu and the smaller but older city known as Paro. It appears that without the ability to 'cull' stray dogs based mainly on religious and cultural concerns, the dog population has been allowed to multiply dramatically however estimates and lack of access to mountaneous regions makes it diffoicult to estimate numbers. As many of the stray dogs realistically have no owners, the majority are free to roam around the cities, towns and countryside at their leisure. In order to survive, the vast majority become scavengers looking for food scraps in all sorts of places including bins, dump sites and eating areas. Many dogs having no ownership and are free to breed at will which has exacerbated the problem adding to the number of stray dogs increasing. There are some programs to attempt to reduce the dogs breeding in large numbers in a sustainable and humane way (Vets Beyond Borders, 2008, para. 2). This includes refuse collection, pet dog registration, vaccinations, sterilization and community education through the support

of the RGoB, *Vets Beyond Borders* (VBB) and other non-government organisations (NGO's) however the problem is evident simply by visiting the main cities on a yearly basis.

Not only is the number of stray dogs in Bhutan a problem, the noise made at night by these dogs is also cause for alarm. It is well known for decades that in Bhutan, particularly in the fifty year old capital Thimpu, the stray dogs have become famous for barking at night and well into the morning (Mayhew, Brown & Mahapatra, 2011). It has been suggested that it is due to a lack of food, a mating call, barking at the moon or perhaps even to re-enforce territory. What-ever the reason, many tourists that have visited Bhutan have highlighted their distaste for the noise the stray dogs make at night disturbing their sleep when asked.

### 1.03 Importance of this research

Surprisingly little, if any, written documentation can be found highlighting the growing stray dog population and how their increasing numbers, 'pack' mentality and rising noise levels is affecting the overall tourist experience. Travel books such as the Lonely Planet only make one reference to the barking dogs and do not highlight this growing concern (Mayhew, Brown & Mahapatra, 2011). The only printed reference the author could uncover was a book titled 'Dawa: The Story of a Stray Dog in Bhutan' that undertakes a life journey of a dog who eventually becomes the legendary 'Leader of Howling' in Thimpu (Choden, 2006). Travel websites that allow tourist comments may have snippets of information such as Tremendopunto (2012, para 4) blogging "How cute they are during daytime [dogs]? - The worse they get at night... a complete night barking like crazy! So don't forget your earplugs." No other evidence except in medical and veterinary journals has reference to the stray dog populations of Bhutan (Owoyele, 1992; Rabies Prevention and Control Project for Bhutan, 2007; Government of Bhutan, 2000, 2008). The literature focuses on other medical concerns. For example until the early 1990s, rabies in dogs and other domestic animals was reported from most parts of Bhutan. A national rabies control programme – vaccination of dogs (both free-roaming and pet dogs) implemented in 1992 controlled rabies (Tenzin, Dhand, Dorjee & Ward, M., 2011). Other studies offer literature on nature-based tourism such as visiting national parks (Kuenzi & McNeely, 2008), zoos and animals in enclosures (Frost, 2010) or tourism generated from visiting wild animals such as safari's (Vurtin, 2005). The gap in the research is no studies are studying stray dogs as they are not an attraction in themselves nor mentioned in any tourism promotions.

After personally visiting the Kingdom five times in five years and witnessing first-hand the growing stray dog populations and increasing levels of noise and violence through dogs barking and fighting, the author decided to identify the tourists' perceptions of Bhutan's stray dog populations and the impact of their overall experience. The noticeable increase in the presence of stray dogs in Thimpu has also been commented by colleagues that also visit Bhutan often. This creates the hypothesis of 'what are the tourist perceptions'of the stray dog population of Bhutan' and 'how does this affect the tourist experience'? This paper may assist in the RGoB or other non for profit organizations to evaluate in more detail, the impact of stray dogs on the tourists' experience and the overall impact on Bhutan's growing tourism sector and perhaps make suggestions to tourists of what to expect prior to arrival in Bhutan. The paper continues presenting the method, results, recommendations by tourists and a conclusion.

## 2.0 Method

Twenty-One focus groups were used to obtain in-depth information of the perceptions of international tourists regarding the stray dog populations of Bhutan. The focus groups were conducted in 3 stars or above rated hotels. This is due to the fact that the RGoB has sanctioned that international visitors (excluding Indians as they are on a different visa) must stay at a minimum 3 stars or above rated hotels. The hotel locations were in Paro, Thimpu and Punakha plus the international airport located in Paro as the majority of international tourists must exit on one of only eight flights operating daily. Using a focus group methodology was deemed acceptable as it can be very effective in exploring issues and enhancing discussion to form grounded hypothesis (Morgan, 1988; Milman, 1993; Agar & McDonald, 1995). Focus

groups have been used successfully to explore personal views about particular issues for a long time (Vyakarnam, Bailey, Myers and Burnett, 1997; Berry & Ladkin, 1997) and considered an appropriate method of data collection.

### 2.01 Focus group participation

With permission, the focus groups were all given writing equipment to note their initial responses on paper. This was necessary as the recording equipment plugs were not compatible with the local electrical sockets and quite often power is unavailable to large areas including the capital city. Participants were asked to write demographic details of their age, gender, nationality and towns/cities being visited in Bhutan.

Participants were also asked to:

1. Write ten (10) words to describe the stray dogs of Bhutan;
2. Write five (5) sentences to describe the stray dogs of Bhutan;
3. The responses were collected and the facilitator (chief investigator) then asked open-ended questions to generate discussion on the topic and recorded the main themes of the discussion on paper. The informal discussions were to try and tease out any further themes that may not have been apparent in individual responses but have an opinion once prompted.

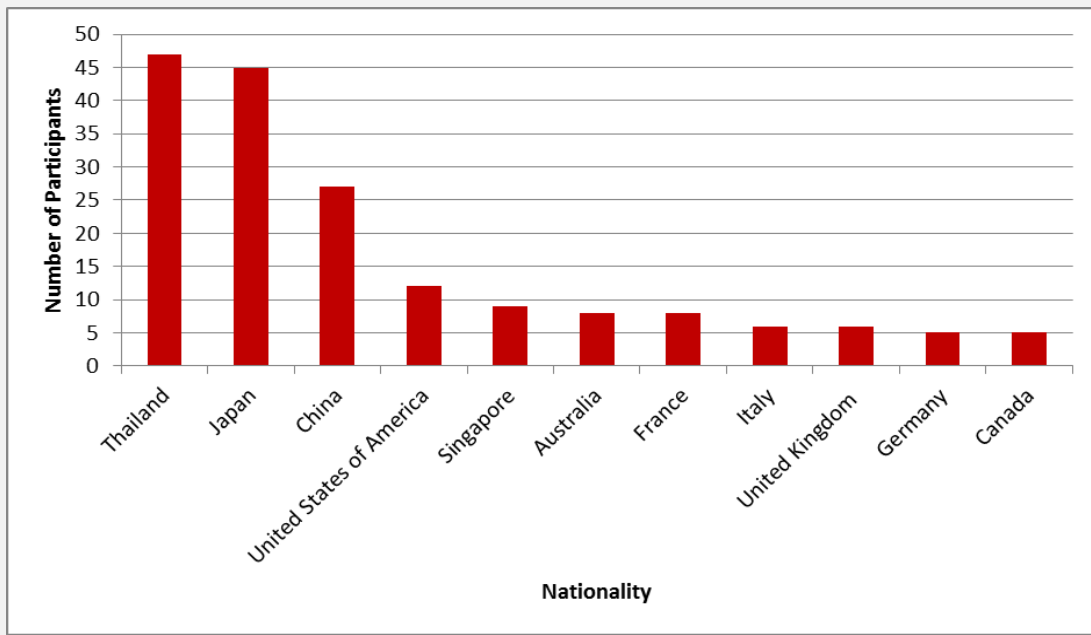
Returning to Australia, the responses and facilitator notes were then coded and entered into Nvivo for analysis. This assisted in generating the themes of the participants based on their responses.

## 3.0 Results

The focus groups provided a large volume of qualitative and quantifiable data which generated five main themes. From the 21 separate focus groups, 178 useable responses were obtained. It is worth mentioning that all potential participants approached consented to be involved. The author attributes this to no other entertainment being offered in the majority of hotels and tourists usually return to their rooms after dining. As one participant mentioned “partaking in this [focus group] gives me something to do”. Another stated “we were just discussing the dogs earlier... what a co-incidence”. Participants were just as keen to assist at the airport whilst waiting for their flights.

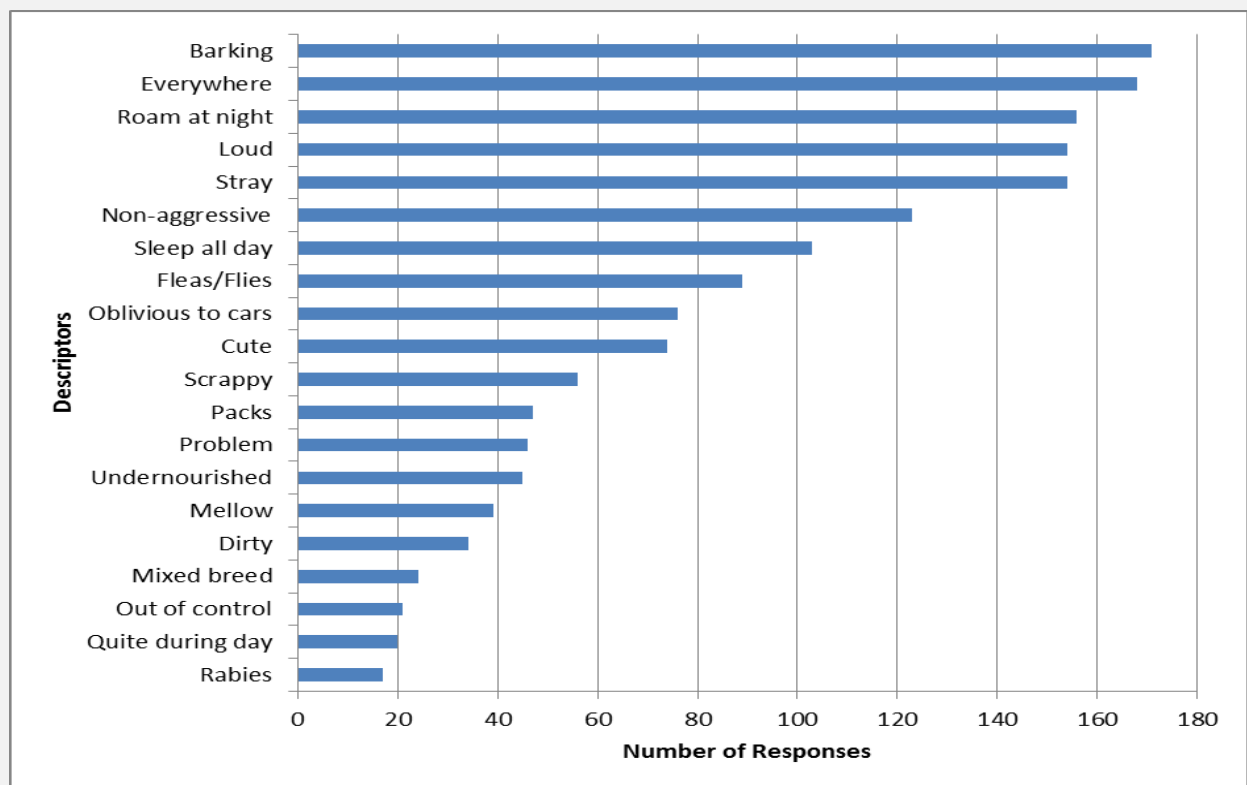
Ninety three males and eighty five females offered responses in the month of July 2012, which is Bhutan’s monsoon summer period and traditionally low tourist season due to no festivals, perceived bad weather and inaccessible road conditions. However, the results indicate a very similar percentage pattern by nationality and season of visitation indicating a representative sample of Bhutan’s typical source markets for the June- August period (Dorji, 2011, p.29). Participants’ ages ranged from 19-67 years of age with almost 75% falling in into the 51-71 age brackets.

**Figure 01: Participants by Nationality.**



Part One of the focus group’s responses requested that participants articulate ten words in English to describe the stray dog population of Bhutan based on personal observations. No further instructions were given. If English was not the first language of a participant, they could ask their guide to translate as all focus groups had a guide able to translate in their language as per RGoB requirement at meal times. Only English was spoken at the airport. All education is taught in English in Bhutan although the twenty four known dialects of Dzongkha is common throughout the Kingdom. Figure Two indicates the most common words used.

**Figure 02: Number of Descriptors**



These results clearly indicate that the stray dogs are loud through barking, appear to be strays observed everywhere, roam freely at night in packs, however the majority consider them as non-aggressive. This may be due to being perceived as sleeping all day, oblivious to cars, cute, mellow and quite during the day. Other results suggest negative connotations such as attracting flies and fleas, dirty looking or having diseases such as rabies. Some respondents felt as though the stray dogs are a problem being mixed breeds, out of control and undernourished resulting in becoming more aggressive and 'scrappy' towards each other and potentially humans. Although these words assist in giving a generalist view of the stray dog population, it was necessary for the respondents to elaborate using sentences either written or stated as parts two and three of focus group required.

Five main themes emerged regarding the stray dog population of Bhutan that appear to be based on observations in the main cities of Thimpu and Paro. Although it was generally acknowledged that stray dogs can be found everywhere in Bhutan, the dog population sizes were much larger in cities and towns compared to smaller villages and more likely that the tourist will be walking amongst them. The themes that emerged were the dogs' appearance, either threatening or non-threatening, perceptions during the day, perceptions at night and implications for tourism.

### 3.01 Dogs appearance

The overall appearance of the stray dogs was contradictory based on the participants' responses. Approximately half the respondents indicated that the stray dogs appear 'un-kept' (Thailand) or 'dirty' (Japan). 'That's why they have fleas' (China) or another indicating the dogs 'attracting a lot of flies' (USA). Some 'look like they have been fighting' (Japan), many others thought the same 'because they are hungry' (Germany). That's why many 'eat rubbish' (Canada) and 'probably mix breeds' (Australia). Although not flattering responses, other focus group members seemed to indicate that even if some of the 'dogs are scrappy ... many have healthy coats and are friendly' (Italy). A female from France stated that 'I don't know what you are all talking about, I think they are cute...well most anyway'. What was clear is that if the dog had a collar, it was not considered a stray dog. It was generally accepted that a dog with a collar has an owner, is fed daily, less likely to be aggressive as it is deemed not hungry even though it may be allowed to wonder the streets. 'Dogs with a collar belong to someone and they look like they are taken care of' (Singapore).

### 3.02 Threatening or non-threatening

The majority indicated that they were not threatened by the stray dogs even though they are often 'walk in packs' (Australia) and often 'fight each other' (China). A man from the United Kingdom suggested that 'the dogs are not really aggressive unless they want something. For example, if they are hungry and see another dog has food, then they may attack each other. But if they are fed, why would they be angry'? A young male from Canada stated that 'I had a dog growl at me when I walked past but it had a collar on' deposing that notion that only stray dogs have aggressive tendencies. Another two participants stated that 'I have patted two stray dogs in Bhutan' (Australia) and contrary was this statement 'I am not afraid [of the dogs] but I wouldn't touch them' (United Kingdom). Opinions were also divided depending on the time of day. It became clear that the stray dog's behaviour during the day differs and/or may change during at night giving rise to two more perception themes.

### 3.03 Perceptions of stray dogs during the day

Evaluating the words identified in part one generally supports more detailed responses from the participants. The consensus determined that the stray dogs are everywhere, believed to be actual stray dogs (displaying no collar), 'found inside shops and walkways' (Thailand) and 'once you notice one, you

know others will be around' (Canada). It was also acknowledged that dogs are found all over the Kingdom 'including the tops of mountains... but there are more in the towns' (China).

Another explanation offered for the varying locations the stray dogs of Bhutan can be found are they seem to be 'oblivious to cars' (USA). 'Dogs roam around and do not move... the cars have to move for them' (Thailand). 'The dogs use the roads to get around' stated a young female from China when they 'are not sleeping' (France). A common observation is that the dogs constantly sleep during the day and do not appear to be in packs at this time. 'During the daytime, the dogs sleep everywhere... under trees, cars, shops, anywhere. They [are] not aggressive because they always sleeping. I [am] not afraid of a sleeping dog'. (Japan). The dogs also do not make much noise during the day the majority suggested. Again, this perception was justified by an older male from Italy that commented 'how can the dogs make noise when they sleep... it makes sense'?

### 3.04 Perceptions of stray dogs at night

The opinions changed when the focus group discussion moved to nightfall. Walking the streets the tourists perception dramatically changed from docile, sleepy, non-threatening to 'dogs forming packs and attacking' [other dogs] (Singapore). Their observations suggested that the dogs 'congregate around food scraps and restaurants in the alleys which is scary' (Australia). A gentleman from the United Kingdom that had commented earlier on their non-threatening behaviour during the day actively 'avoided them at night... because they can form packs'. Another agreed saying 'at night I've seen the dogs form packs which I find intimidating' (Thailand). Although the insecure feelings may have been there for many of the participants, most avoided certain areas where the dogs congregate or purposely walked across the other side of the street. It was also a consensus that although the threat of violence from stray dogs towards humans felt real, participants had not witnessed any dog attacks on adults. However, it was noted by three respondents that they witnessed Bhutanese children being bitten however could not elaborate on the circumstances surrounding the dog's provocation as it all happened too quickly. They also witnessed items such as stones being used as projectiles to intimidate and subdue the canines around children and restaurant doorways by the locals.

It was almost unanimous that the noise of the stray dogs barking was heard in the main cities of Paro and Thimphu because the numbers are greatest in these two locations. The dogs appear to be much more active at night. It was uncovered that the participants noticed that the dogs 'roam the streets a lot more' (Canada), are 'noisy from fighting or barking' (Italy) and 'it seemed to echo through the valley' at night (Australia). It was almost a fifty-per cent split between the noise of the dogs barking keeping guests awake or not affecting their sleep at all. For example, an older woman from Italy said "they bark loudly and I cannot sleep' whereas a young Canadian stated that 'I hear the dogs barking loudly before bed, but I don't have trouble sleeping'. The closer to the town's city centre, the greater likelihood of noise keeping the tourist awake perhaps due to sound echoing off buildings, mountains, more food scraps available from restaurants or rubbish bins causing territorial conflict between the animals or larger open spaces for dogs to gather.

### 3.05 Impact on tourism

It was expressly asked of the participants during the group discussions of any impact either positive or negative that the stray dog population of Bhutan have on the overall tourism experience. Once again, the participants were divided almost equally. On the positive side 'they [stray dogs] would not deter me from coming again' (Canada), 'they do not impact on my day at all' (China) and 'I think the situation is better than many south-east Asian countries' (Japan). It was also suggested by five per cent of respondents that 'the dogs give the town life' (USA) and 'the locals would miss them if they were removed' (United Kingdom).

Conversely, comments made included 'I would warn my friends about the dogs if they were coming to Bhutan' (France), 'simply too many' (Australia) and 'I do not know why they don't deal with them' (Canada). Furthermore, 'how can I get a good nights' sleep with all that barking' (USA) and 'the dogs are not mentioned in anything I have ever read on Bhutan' (China). A lady from Thailand was very vocal in stating 'the [hotel] staff should keep them away from the tourists and hotel entrances then we would feel safer'. The same Thai national also suggested that 'if they could shut them up at night I would feel better in the morning and more rested...I wouldn't feel tired during the day'.

It appears that the stray dog population does have an impact both positively and negatively of the tourists' perception of Bhutan to varying degrees. The open ended question "What would you suggest (if anything) should be done regarding the stray dog populations of Bhutan?" The following recommendations were offered:

### 3.06 Recommendations for Bhutanese nationals

- Do not throw rocks at the dogs as it may make them aggressive;
- Do not offer food or if you do, keep the dogs well fed;
- Remove all rubbish in the streets to discourage city inhabitancy;
- Improve and expand the dog sterilisation program;
- Ask for more international aid to support non-government organisations such as Vets Beyond Borders to continue to administer the sterilisation programs;
- Pay hotel staff to keep the dogs away from hotels;
- Clean up after the stray dogs so the streets are cleaner;
- Double glaze the glass in hotel rooms for better sound-proofing;
- Do not pass any costs on to tourist to deal with sterilisation programs such as surcharges or taxes as the country tourist tariff system is high;
- Allow the dogs to remain in the main cities but only in smaller numbers;
- Respect the culture and religion and do not kill them (if possible);
- Advise tourists in travel literature about the potential noise of dogs barking at night.

### 3.07 Recommendations for international tourists

- Do not pat the dogs;
- Do not feed the dogs;
- If concerned, walk around the dogs or cross the road;
- Understand cultural and religious reasons why the stray dog populations are increasing.
- Wear ear plugs.
- Explain the dog population prior to the tourists' arrival so they have the ability to be more prepared.

## 4.0 Conclusion

Clearly the stray dog population of Bhutan does leave an impression on tourists in either a positive (non-perplexed) or negative way. Reviewing the nationalities of the participants, it could be ascertained that some nations (predominantly south-east Asian) are more tolerant of roaming stray dogs as they may be common in their own country. Other western tourists perhaps have less experience with large numbers of dogs roaming freely in public areas therefore view them differently and perhaps more negatively.

The majority of respondents were not concerned with their safety regarding the dogs during the day. The dogs were viewed as non-threatening, alone, seemingly docile or sleepy. Although the appearance ranged from cute to scrappy and un-kept, generally the tourists were not worried even though the dogs appeared to be everywhere, have fleas or flies and considered a problem. There were few reports of



aggressive behaviour and the barking was minor. However tourists were more astute at night due to the dogs' apparent change in behaviour.

At night, the dogs tended to form packs, search for food and become more assertive in defending territory or food supplies that can easily be interpreted as aggressive or threatening behaviour.

The noise levels of dogs dramatically increased at night with barking as a defense against rival packs and perhaps mating rights were challenged adding to the overall dog population problem. This made the participants wearier and generally reflected negatively from a tourists' perspective will the feeling of being unsafe. This perception is also fuelled by some descriptor words such as dirty, rabies, undernourished, scrappy and out of control.

The participants highlighted that the stray dogs are an issue but if you stay out of their way, do not feed or pat them, respect that that will not be killed therefore will always be present, it should not deter future tourist visitation. However, it was strongly recommended that more information should be presented in tourists travel information so international tourists are aware of the situation and not to feel uncomfortable walking the cities at night. This may include having recommended tourist guidelines in approaching the stray dog population based on the recommendation by tourists previously highlighted. It is also strongly recommended that tourists bring ear plugs if the tourist is a light sleeper due to the increased barking and noise from dogs that tends to echo through the surrounding mountains.

Bhutanese hoteliers can also assist in negating the tourists' experience of the stray dog population in a few ways. Firstly, remove all food scraps and food offerings directly outside hotels and restaurants. Secondly, hotels could pay staff to 'patrol' around the hotels essentially moving the stray dogs to another area or at least away from the hotel to minimize the noise in close proximity. Thirdly, to double glaze all hotel windows that will reduce outside noise substantially. Although this will be a large investment, it may also assist in increasing tourist visitation in off-peak seasons such as winter by offering warmer hotel rooms though double glazing that is not currently a government requirement.

The RGoB may also play a major role in the sustainability of the stray dog population by encouraging and enforcing safe disposal of rubbish that may attract the stray dogs. This can be through education programs for nationals and tourists not to throw rubbish in the streets, providing bins and waste areas, implement recycling programs through the country and other sanitizing initiatives such as in the main food market in Thimpu being all retailers must raise the food being sold off the ground, remove all waste and hose the stalls at the end of each market. This reduced the rat population that also attracted stray dogs.

It was also suggested that sterilization programs continue to be carried out to reduce the stray dog population which has already been considered. In 2008 in consultation with the Bhutanese Department of Livestock, Vets Beyond Borders submitted a draft national stray dog management plan to address the impact on the environment (Douglas, 2008). The strategy has not yet been adopted as policy. Although the details and funding are not readily available, the main aim of the document is to manage to stray dog population levels so dogs will not be attacking native animals, livestock, Bhutanese people and tourists to obtain sustenance. Currently the only solution for tourists to assist is by contributing financially to VBB as there are currently no permanent veterinary clinics in Bhutan. This can occur in two ways. The first is to donate directly via the VBB website or the second is to take a fundraising trip to Bhutan and funds raised will contribute to VBB's work in Bhutan (Samsasa Journeys, 2012). This may be the most economical way of a sterilization program as these types of organizations are already catching stray dogs for vaccination against rabies. As it is expected that international tourist visitation will continue to increase, the RGoB may have to make quicker and more decisive decisions if the international tourists' perception of the stray dog population increasingly becomes more negative.

Although the author believes the sample size is justifiably relevant to this type of study, conducting the focus groups during peak season in Bhutan with greater access to international visitors may yield different results. Having a lack of electronic equipment also slowed the interview process as direct quotes had to be dictated. It is acknowledged that the results may only be typical of Bhutan being a

Buddhist nation therefore future studies should include a more diverse range of countries for comparison such as India, Vietnam and Romania that have documented large stray dog populations. Using the focus group method can easily be applied to other countries however future studies will have to identify how international tourists can be identified as accommodation requirements will not be as strictly controlled as The Kingdom of Bhutan.

This study adds to the knowledge bank of research as the stray dog population of Bhutan does genuinely affect tourists' perception of the country and needs to be managed otherwise it could potentially have a negative effect on future tourist visits. The implications of study indicate that stray local dog populations do have an impact on tourist experience and should be a consideration in future government policies as to manage the negative effects on visitors. It is also clear the dog populations will continue to increase if not managed effectively.

## References

- Agar, M. and McDonald, J. (1995). Focus Groups and Ethnography. *Human Organisation*, 54 (Spring): 78-86.
- Bauer, J., Brunet, S., De Lacy, T. & Tshering, K. (1999). Milk and Cheese Always: Proposal for the collaboration in education, training and research for conservation and sustainable tourism in Bhutan. CRC-Tourism.
- Berry, S. & Ladkin, A. (1997). Sustainable Tourism: a regional perspective. *Tourism Management* 18(7): 433-440.
- Choden, K. (2006). *Dawa: The Story of a stray Dog in Bhutan*. Thimphu: KMT Press.
- Dorji, P. (2007). *International Tourism Monitor Bhutan 2006*. Department of Tourism. Thimphu: Royal Government of Bhutan.
- Dorji, P. (2011). *International Tourism Monitor Bhutan 2011*. Department of Tourism. Thimphu: Royal Government of Bhutan.
- Douglas, I. (2008, May 4). Retrieved from Vets Beyond Borders website: <http://www.vetsbeyondborders.org/news/vbb-training-in-bhutan-an-all-round-success/>
- Government of Bhutan. (2000). *The Livestock Act of Bhutan 2000*. The Royal Government of Bhutan, Ministry of Agriculture: Bhutan.
- Government of Bhutan. (2008). *Annual Health Bulletin 2008*. Ministry of Health, Government of Bhutan: Thimphu.
- Karan, P. P. (1990). *Bhutan Environment, Culture and Development Strategy*. New Delhi: Intellectual Publishing House.
- Odier, P. (2004). *Some Last People. Vanishing Tribes of Bhutan, China, Mexico, Mongolia and Siberia*. Eagle Rock, USA: L'Image Odier.
- Owoyale, G. D. (1992). Rabies outbreak in Thimphu: Case Report. *Bhutan Journal of Animal Husbandry*, 13: pp.36-39.
- Mayhew, B., Brown, L. & Mahapatra, A. (2011). *Bhutan*. Lonely Planet. Singapore: Lonely Planet Publications.
- Milman, A. (1993). Maximising the Value of Focus Group Research: Qualitative Analysis of Consumer Destination Choice. *Journal of Travel Research*, 32(Winter): 29-34.
- Morgan, D.L. (1988). *Focus Groups as Quality Research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Rabies Prevention and Control Project for Bhutan. (2007). *Who Rabies Project*, Retrieved 19th July 2012 from <http://www.moa.gov.bt/ncah/project/projects.php?id=3&pname=WHO%20Rabies%20Project>
- Rahul, R. (1997). *Royal Bhutan. A political history*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Ritchie, M. (2008). *Tourism in the Kingdom of Bhutan: A Unique Approach*. In *Asian Tourism. Growth and Change*. J. Cochrane (ed). Oxford: Elsevier.
- Samsara Journeys (2012, April 26). Retrieved from Vets Beyond Borders website: <http://www.vetsbeyondborders.org/news/see-tibet-or-bhutan/>

- Tenzin, N.K., Dhand, J., Dorjee, J. & Ward, M.P. (2011). Re-emergence of rabies in dogs and other domestic animals in eastern Bhutan, 2005–2007. *Epidemiology and Infection*. Vol. 139: pp. 220-225.
- Tremendopunto. (2012, June 6). Retrieved from Virtual Tourist website: [http://www.virtualltourist.com/travel/Asia/Bhutan/Warnings\\_or\\_Dangers-Bhutan-TG-C-1.html](http://www.virtualltourist.com/travel/Asia/Bhutan/Warnings_or_Dangers-Bhutan-TG-C-1.html)
- Vets Beyond Borders (2008, March 28). Retrieved from Vet Beyond Borders website: <http://www.vetsbeyondborders.org/news/vets-beyond-borders-in-bhutan/>
- Vyakarnam, S., Bailey A., Myers, A. & Burnett, D. (1997). Towards an understanding of ethical behaviour of small firm. *Journal of Business Ethics*. 16: 1625-1636.
- Worden, R. L. (1993). *Bhutan. Nepal and Bhutan country studies*. A. M. Savada. Washington, Library of Congress.
- Anderson, C. A., Gentile, D. A., & Buckley, K. E. (2007).