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INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LADAKH STUDIES

# LADAKH STUDIES

## 29

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For the last four decades, Ladakh (made up of Leh and Kargil districts) has been readily accessible for academic study. It has become the focus of scholarship in many disciplines including the fields of anthropology, sociology, art history, Buddhist studies, history, geography, environmental studies, ecology, medicine, agricultural studies, development studies, and so forth. After the first international colloquium was organised at Konstanz in 1981, there have been biannual colloquia in many European countries and in Ladakh. In 1987, the International Association for Ladakh Studies (IALS) was formed to establish contact and disseminate information and research findings among those interested in the study of Ladakh. Membership is open to all, by writing to the membership secretary or using Paypal through the IALS website.

**Please go to:** <http://www.ladakhstudies.org/membership.html>

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NR. 29 February 2013

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## From the Editor

It gives me great pleasure to introduce this issue of *Ladakh Studies*, which may be my last issue as editor, unless we find time for one more issue before the IALS conference in April. I have served as the editor of *Ladakh Studies* since 2006, when I took over from Martijn van Beek who succeeded Henry Osmaston as editor. Both were dear friends and mentors. My efforts to transform *Ladakh Studies* into a peer-reviewed journal aimed to continue their legacy in bringing the study of Ladakh to a wider audience. All of us in the IALS are indebted to those who have helped knit together a far-flung but thriving group of individuals dedicated to the study and advancement of Ladakh. We are equally indebted to those who will carry on the work we cherish. I am especially grateful to the assistance of Sunetro Ghosal and Gareth Wall, who have worked tirelessly for many years and served as co-editors on this issue. As copy-editor and printer, Sunetro has helped make our journal more professional, while Gareth has been a valuable treasurer & membership secretary who has standardised membership protocols and sought new members across the globe. I hope that both Sunetro and Gareth will continue to bring their expertise to the IALS. As editor, I would like to thank many others for their assistance including John Bray, Janet Rizvi, Seb Mankelov, Martijn Van Beek, Juliane Dame, among many others. I hope *Ladakh Studies* continues to flourish.

This issue of *Ladakh Studies* contains a fascinating essay by Vladimiro Pellicciardi on tourism in Ladakh in which we learn that of the more than 181,000 tourists who visited Ladakh in 2011, roughly 80 percent were domestic or Indian tourists. It is an open question whether Ladakh can comfortably sustain additional tourists or further expansions of its tourist industry without long term damage to its fragile eco-system and environment. Tsering Yangzom's essay on the agricultural workforce in rural Ladakh offers insight into the breakdown of the rural workforce in casual labor, public works, self-employed, or regular salaried occupations. I found the gender breakdown of the rural workforce fascinating. Not only are women more likely to be employed at home than as permanent salaried employment, but they also comprise roughly 40 percent of all casual workers—no surprise as this is lower wage and less regular employment. It is notable that there were no women who managed household enterprises as employers, even as women make up a large portion of "helpers" in household enterprises. This data portrays a sharply sexist labour market for women in Ladakh that will need to change if the economy is to harness the full power of its youthful and increasingly better-educated female population. Finally, Vernier and Bruneau's piece on one of the most important sites of prehistoric rock art in Zangskar offers insight into the difficulties of preserving rock art that we know from elsewhere in Ladakh, especially at Alchi. They report that a site that had been preserved for over four thousand years has been partly destroyed in recent years with the assistance of French NGOs who helped build a community center dedicated to the preservation of traditional culture. Their narrative points to the lack of responsibility on the part of both locals and well-meaning but misinformed foreign agencies.

There are other items in the issue that will be of interest to our members including a short piece by John Bray and news of our upcoming IALS conference in Heidelberg Germany from April 17 – 20, 2013. We have over 90 abstracts so far and it looks like it will be a fascinating conference.

Happy New Year and Happy Losar to all.

**Kim Gutschow**  
**Williamstown, MA, February 2013**

## **From the Secretary**

First of all I would like to wish all IALS members a very happy Losar, Merry Christmas and a peaceful New Year 2013. I am sure, at this time, everyone's focus is on the upcoming IALS conference in Heidelberg, Germany in April 2013. Thanks to the initiative taken by Juliane Dame as the conference convener, everything is set for a successful 16<sup>th</sup> IALS conference. More than 90 abstracts on different research topics have been received, including several by Ladakhi research students from different universities. It is encouraging and a positive sign that more researchers, especially Ladakhi youth are taking interest in IALS. It is also the result of Ladakh-based smaller workshops events initiatives by IALS, scheduled between the existing biennial conferences.

In 2012, IALS in collaboration with HCHF, organised workshops by IALS members at Lonpo House for youth interested in undertaking research in Ladakh. The aim of the workshop was to introduce potential students to various research methods as well projects currently underway in Ladakh, and also discuss how IALS can assist young Ladakhi researchers by supporting and publicising their works. Doctoral fellows and anthropologists Elizabeth Lane Williams-Oerberg (Aarhus University, Denmark), Andrea Butcher (University of Aberdeen, Scotland) and Prof. Fernanda Pirie (University of Oxford, UK) presented their research projects and discussed their experiences in preparing for research in Ladakh.

As several executive and advisory members are stepping down during the Heidelberg conference, I appeal to members to take the responsibility to find people with skills, experience, enthusiasm and commitment to the IALS. At the Heidelberg conference, three members of the Executive Committee will be stepping down. These are: John Bray who has been President for six years; Kim Gutschow who has served as Editor for six years; and Gareth Wall who has been Treasurer/Membership Secretary for four years. We are grateful to all three of them for their hard work and their many contributions to the Association.

In accordance with the constitution (see [www.ladakhstudies.org/constitution.html](http://www.ladakhstudies.org/constitution.html)), four of the twelve posts on the Advisory Committee will likewise come up for election or re-election at the General Meeting. I would like to invite all IALS members to nominate colleagues or—better still—stand for one of these posts themselves.

We are looking for people with skills, experience and enthusiasm. In practice, the main requirements include commitment to the IALS, willingness to work as part of a team, and—of course—an e-mail address. As explained in the constitution, election is open to people who have been IALS members for at least two years in the case of the Treasurer and the Editor, and five years in the case of the President.

Please send nominations to me in my capacity as Secretary before 18 March 2013. Each nomination should include the assent of the proposed candidate. My e-mail address is [secretaryials@gmail.com](mailto:secretaryials@gmail.com)

I look forward to the forthcoming conference in Heidelberg and hope for a good turnout of international members, and many Ladakhi members, to have a fruitful and pleasant conference.

**Sonam Wangchok Kharzong**

## **From the Convener**

**16th IALS Conference, Heidelberg, Germany, 17-20 April 2013**

Preparations for the 16th IALS conference in Heidelberg are progressing and we look forward to welcoming as many of you as possible in Heidelberg this spring. The conference will take place under the overarching topic "*Society and Environment in Ladakh: Historical Perspectives and Recent Dynamics*" from 17th to 20th April 2013.

We are happy to announce that more than 90 abstracts have entered the review process. Proposals for oral presentations have been handed in from Ladakh and neighbouring regions, other parts of India, Europe and North America. We are happy to have received contributions from advanced as well as young scholars, from scientists as well as practitioners. As in the past, abstract quality was the prime review criteria, including originality of the paper and research findings and academic standards. We hope that we can thus meet our set standards at the conference. Partial grants will be made available to Ladakhi participants based on the quality of the submitted abstracts. In addition, IALS encourages individual applications for grants from outside funders and in appropriate cases will gladly provide letters of reference endorsing such applications.

In the tradition of previous IALS conferences, the list of subtopics covers a great diversity. Specific sessions will include a thematic range from art history and conservation to political change, from climate change and water management to urban development. The programme also includes a half-day field trip in Heidelberg, which will give us room for a little sightseeing and further discussion outside the official sessions over a glass of beer. In addition, the biennial IALS general assembly meeting will take place at the conference and we look forward to your inputs and nominations for association officers, please see the note from the IALS secretary for details.

Registration for the 16<sup>th</sup> IALS conference open once the notifications on the abstracts submitted have been sent out to all applicants. Everyone planning to attend the conference needs to register and pay in full before the conference. Registration fees range between 140 Euro (for regular participants), 120 Euro (for South Asian participants and non-South Asian students) and 100 Euro (for South Asian students). These costs also include lunch, coffee breaks and the conference dinner. We have made hotel arrangements in the city centre of Heidelberg for our conference participants and the additional costs for accommodation can also be paid during the registration process. Further information on travel arrangements has been added to the conference homepage (please check: [www.sai.uni-heidelberg.de/geo/ials](http://www.sai.uni-heidelberg.de/geo/ials) or follow the link from [www.ladakhstudies.org](http://www.ladakhstudies.org)). Non-EU participants should keep in mind that it may be necessary to apply for a visa before travelling to Germany and make visa arrangements well ahead in time.

Please check the website regularly for updates on the upcoming conference. If you have any further questions, do not hesitate to contact us at [ials2013@sai.uni-heidelberg.de](mailto:ials2013@sai.uni-heidelberg.de)  
We look forward to seeing many of you in Heidelberg and to all of us having an inspiring and fruitful event.

**Juliane Dame  
Heidelberg**

## **From the Membership Secretary and Treasurer**

This is a short note to explain how the IALS is standardising membership. All membership is now for two-year periods, being the interim between two biennial conferences. Any renewal or new membership paid during any interim period is for the whole period and the member should receive all copies of *Ladakh Studies* produced in that period. All memberships will then be due for renewal from the start of the next conference.

To apply to present a paper at the biennial IALS conference, your membership must be up to date and, along with all members, renewal will be due at the start of the conference and must be paid before attending any of the sessions.

We hope this will simplify the system for everyone including future membership secretaries.

I'll also take this opportunity to thank everyone for their kind support over the last four years as acting and then actual membership treasurer and secretary, and I wish all the best to the IALS, and will be happy to give support to my successor in this important and fulfilling role. It's been great to meet so many of you either in person in Leh or electronically, and I hope after concentrating on my own PhD research for the next couple of years, I'll be able to get the opportunity to get involved with the association once again. Particularly warm thanks to John, Seb, Francesca, Janet, Sonam, Kim and Sunetro who welcomed and supported me throughout.

Finally, I would urge all members to ensure they keep in email communication with the Association, as we have started sending out biannual electronic newsletters keeping the membership up-to-date on Ladakh news, progress towards the next conference and details of any other events that may be of interest to our membership. You can also view, and post your own, news and updates via the Ladakh Studies blog on the website at [www.ladakhstudies.org/news.html](http://www.ladakhstudies.org/news.html) and for those that are active on social media, the IALS now has its own facebook page [www.facebook.com/ladakhstudies](http://www.facebook.com/ladakhstudies)

For all queries regarding membership, please contact me on [treasurer@ladakhstudies.org](mailto:treasurer@ladakhstudies.org)

**Gareth Wall**  
**Birmingham, February 2013**

## Estimating Total receipts for 2011 from Tourism in Leh District

—Vladimiro Pellicciardi<sup>1</sup>

According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO 2012), India received 4.4 million international visitors in 2006, an increase of 13.5% over 2005, and 2.7% of total tourist arrivals in Asia. They spent USD 8.9 billion, 5.8% of Asia's international tourism receipts, significantly more per capita than visitors to other Asia Pacific destinations. Indian tourism earned INR 172 billion in 2003, out of which the majority was domestic tourism (Chatterjee *et al.* 2005: 18). According to Santek (2002: 162), in Jammu and Kashmir State tourism is the major industry and plays an important role in the monetary economy (though in Kashmir the current situation is problematic for political reasons) estimating total expenditures from the domestic and international tourists of just under INR 13.5 billion in 2002.

Leh district was opened to tourism in 1974 and has so far hosted approximately 930,000 visitors: 530,000 foreigners and 400,000 Indians. In 2011, about 182,000 visitors (144,775 domestic and 36,662 international)<sup>2</sup>, officially classified "tourists" by the Tourism Department in Leh, have arrived in Leh district which has a population of only 147,104 (Gov. of India Census 2011). Data organised in government offices relies heavily on these two categories, "domestic and international tourist", in order to describe the demography of "arrivals" in Ladakh (see Table 1), therefore migrant workers<sup>3</sup> are not included in these records.

**Table 1:** Tourist arrival in Leh district, January to December, 2011 (Tourism Department, Leh)

Month	Number of domestic tourist	Number of International tourist	Total number of tourists
January	78	235	313
February	24	96	120
March	50	287	337
April	2,131	870	3001
May	25,194	1,116	26,310
June	31,369	2,539	33,908
July	35,165	11,678	46,843
August	24,721	13,035	37,756
September	16,578	4,255	20,833
October	8,621	1,946	10,567
November	785	470	1,255
December	59	135	194
<b>Total</b>	<b>144,775</b>	<b>36,662</b>	<b>181,437</b>

<sup>1</sup> Vladimiro recently completed his PhD and his thesis can be accessed at: [hdl.handle.net/10805/1738](http://hdl.handle.net/10805/1738)

<sup>2</sup> Tourist arrival statement to Leh district from January, 2011 to December, 2011, source: Tourism Department in Leh, data received by email (26/06/2012); see also the official website of Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council: <http://leh.nic.in/depts/tour/def.html>, accessed 20/06/2012: "Tourist arrival has been recorded 178,042 (ending October, 2011)".

<sup>3</sup> Bodhi (2010: 43) wrote: "As in any census data, the number of the moving migrant population [in Leh district] is not available. To construct such data, various records available with the government was collected and tabulated." In 2008, those that sought permission from the Asst. Labour Commissioner's (Leh town) were 3,000 and for the Himank Project 1,200; data from Police station and Army are declared "Not available".



According to Pellicciardi (2010: 15), the analysis of the visitors in Leh district the last 25 years (time series 1985-2009) reveals different trends in tourist arrivals. From 1985 to 2002, total tourist inflow varied by an average of 17,000 a year and since 2003 there has been substantial growth in total arrivals, led by domestic visitors (32% and 48% in 2006 and 2007, respectively). Since 2008 the number of domestic visitors has consistently been higher than that of international visitors with the international/domestic ratio declined from 7.7 in 1991 to 0.6 in 2009, and the percentage of domestic visitors increased from 6% to 61% of total arrivals. In 2011 domestic tourism was 79.8% of total tourist visitors (see Table 1).

In the last 10 years, tourism has been the largest driving force of economic growth in the district, roughly estimated at about half the district GDP (Chatterjee *et al.* 2005: 5). Year after year, it has generated revenue and created opportunities and jobs in related sectors such as hotels, guest houses, restaurants, catering services, tourist agencies, tour operators, taxi transport, guides, mule porters, shops, retailers and handicrafts. To keep the huge flow of money in the district, most aspects are managed predominantly by Ladakhis or as joint ventures with people from J&K State. In 2010, accommodation totalled around 8,000 beds, divided among 122 hotels and 274 guest houses, mostly concentrated in Leh town (6,400 beds in 250 hotels and guest houses). About 170 tourist agencies are registered as members of ALTOA (All Ladakh Tour Operators Association). The workforce directly employed in the tourism sector is estimated at about 5,750 people: 1,500 in hotels, 350 in guest houses, 650 in retail, shops, restaurants, tea stalls, entertainment and internet points, 600 in tourist agencies, 800 as guides, cooks and animal porters, 1,600 as taxi drivers, 50 in the Tourism Department and 200 in rural villages (Tourism Department Official, Leh, May 2010, pers. comm.).

At the same time, mass tourism puts pressures on infrastructure and on the environment. According to Norberg-Hodge (1991), tourism has contributed, in addition to other socio-economic factors, to the loss of traditional values and the distinctiveness of the Ladakhi way of life. *“Currently changes taking place in Leh-Ladakh are stimulated both by external and internal factors. There are external pressures related to much hyped tourist in - flow, the massive presence of the Indian Army, coupled with increased market interests to enter Leh, which bring with it an in-flow of migrant workers”* (Bodhi 2010: 12). People have become more materialistic and the cooperative basis of the district community has gradually been lost (LAHDC-L 2005). In several areas, environmental impact has also been reported (Geneletti & Dawa 2009).

However, in the last 20 years tourism industry has become one of the main contributions to the District economy (Jina 1994; LAHDC-L 2005; Chatterjee *et al.* 2005). In absence of up to date studies on the tourism total receipts in Leh district, this paper presents a “rough estimation” (order of magnitude) for the year 2011.

### Methodology

To estimate the total receipts, the following formula was used:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{number of} \\ \text{domestic} \\ \text{tourists} \end{array} \right] \times \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{normalised per} \\ \text{capita expenditure} \\ \text{of domestic tourist} \\ \text{during one visit} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{number of} \\ \text{international} \\ \text{tourists} \end{array} \right] \times \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{normalised per capita} \\ \text{expenditure of} \\ \text{international tourist} \\ \text{during one visit} \end{array} \right]$$

Number of tourists, in Leh District in 2011, has been recorded by Tourism Department (144,775 domestic and 36,662 international). The ‘normalised’ per capita expenditure of a (domestic/international) tourist during one visit in Leh District is calculated multiplying the average length of stay by the average per capita expenditure per day.

### *Data collection*

Data and background information for this study were collected during surveys in Leh district carried out in May-June of 2010, including interviews with government and people working in the tourism industry. Secondary sources are used for the literature review as well as for describing the situation in Ladakh. Moreover, to complement these data, the author has remained in contact by email and telephone with several stakeholders living in Leh District.

In order to classify the demography of tourists visiting Leh District, the local Tourist Department records domestic and international arrivals by year, month and mode of transport, as well as international tourists by nationality (LAHDC-L 2009; Pellicciardi 2010). The Tourism Department and others professional associations, like hotels, travel agents and the taxi union, do not systematically collect information on numbers in different categories and classes of accommodation or preferred activities (e.g. conventional, eco, adventure, cultural, sightseeing tourism) and visitor profiles (e.g. class, origin, gender, occupation, education). Nor is information collected on the average length of stay and on the average per capita expenditure in the District referred to different typologies of tourist (e.g. domestic/international, groups (package tour)/individuals. Such data can provide valuable feedback to estimate total receipts from tourism sector. To estimate the necessary data (average stay and per capita expenditure) the following investigations were implemented:

### *Literature review*

Ten years after Ladakh was opened to visitors in 1974, Pitsch (1985: 63) made a first estimation of the average length of stay (7.4 days) and the total expenditure per tourist (almost all internationals) per visit (INR 1,746) for the year 1983. The total receipts from tourism for all of Ladakh in 1983 were calculated at INR 22,581,018 (12,933 tourist arrivals x INR 1,746/tourist) equal to USD 2,235,744<sup>4</sup>. In an endeavour to sketch a 'tourist profile' for Ladakhi visitors, Santek (2002) interviewed 95 tourists, 78 international and 17 domestic. Answers were reported in percentages by length of stay ranges and by spending ranges in Indian rupees. According to this author (Santek 2002: 161), the average stay for domestic tourists in Ladakh is 2-3 days and for international tourists is 10 days; the average expenditure per capita per day, but referred to all Jammu and Kashmir State, is of INR 300 for domestic and INR 2,800 for international tourist. Chatterjee *et al.* (2005: 5) report a total tourist expenditure of around INR 420,000,000 in 2003; in the Annexure 6 (Chatterjee *et al.* 2005: III) the tourist expenditure for domestic is specified in INR 144,700,000, and INR 279,200,000 for international. Dividing this amount in proportion to tourist arrivals in 2003 (13,031 domestic and 15,362 international) gave a total expenditure (during one visit) of about INR 11,100 per domestic and INR 18,180 per international visitor.

### *On-line research*

Major travel agencies and tour operators in Leh district propose 'package tours' of different types on their websites<sup>5</sup> (e.g. trekking, mountaineering, rafting, cultural and jeep safari, wildlife, motorbike, mountain biking, and small group tours). In general package tour costs include: assistance on arrival with traditional welcome at hotel; accommodation on twin sharing basis; "A" class hotel and all meals (tea, breakfast, hot/pack lunch, evening tea and dinner; return to airport and round trip transfer along with sightseeing tours by jeep; permits to restricted/protected areas; wildlife fee; monument and museum entrance fee for sights mentioned in itinerary.

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<sup>4</sup> Exchange rate 10.1 INR/USD in 2011, <http://fx.sauder.ubc.ca/etc/USDpages.pdf>, accessed 18/08/2008.

<sup>5</sup> [www.reachladakh.com/tour\\_operators.htm](http://www.reachladakh.com/tour_operators.htm), [www.overlandescape.com/tour](http://www.overlandescape.com/tour), and [www.gemofnet.com/portfolio/windhorseindia.com/faqs.htm](http://www.gemofnet.com/portfolio/windhorseindia.com/faqs.htm), accessed 06/08/2010.

The package cost does not include: airfares to and from Leh; any kind of personal expenses or optional/extra tour; anything not specifically mentioned under the heading 'price included'; tips, insurance, laundry and phone calls; services of vehicles outside the itinerary; any kind of drinks (alcohol, mineral, aerated); guide fee, camera fee, medical travel insurance. The duration of tours is 4 to 13 days (mean 8.5). Preference for short and costly tours (4-6 days) is expressed by Indian visitors and longer tours by international tourists (All Ladakh Tour Operators Association official, pers. comm., May 2010). The full cost of tours of six and nine days are around INR 9,000 and INR 14,000, giving an expenditure of INR 1,500 per capita per day, with a minimum of presence of four-six people.

### *Responsible tourism*

Tours organised by an Italian responsible tourism association show an average of 11 days and of INR 1,400 spent exclusively in the district (referred to eight package tours between 2003-2010, groups composed of 9-14 tourists); in 2010, a small group of five people has spent 14 days and INR 1,750 (due to a longer trek and group size) (RAM<sup>6</sup> Association official, pers. comm., September 2010).

### *Interviews of stakeholders*

In May 2010, several stakeholders<sup>7</sup> involved in local tourism were asked to estimate the average stays in the district and spending per capita per day. In general, respondents have referred to group tourist in package tour and for the expenditures they have included boarding and lodging, sightseeing excursions, small shopping (travel to/from Ladakh is not included). Responses were: for length of stay between 10-15 days (mean 12.5) and INR 800-2,000 (mean 1,400) for international tourists, for expenditure per capita per day and between 4-7 days (mean 5.5) and INR 2,000-3,000 (mean 2,500) per capita per day for domestic tourists.

### *Personal observations*

During my stay in Ladakh (1996, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2009, and 2010, for a total of seven months), I observed a large presence of young (mostly non-Indians) travellers which self-organise their trips, sleeping in budget guesthouses, eating in local restaurants, using public transport instead of taxis, and so on. Their willingness/spending capacity were lower than that of those who are travelling with package tour but in return stay longer. These young travellers interviewed said they spend around INR 450-800 a day.

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<sup>6</sup> RAM is a cultural, non profit organisation which seeks cooperation with democratic and "grassroots" groups all over the world. Since 1993 RAM has been the Italian member of TEN (Tourism European Network), and cofounder of the Italian Association for Responsible Tourism (AITR), a coalition of organisations monitoring the impact of international tourism on culture, environment, economies and societies. [www.associazioneram.it](http://www.associazioneram.it).

<sup>7</sup> Including officials and representatives of: the Tourist Department Leh; ALGHA; ALTOA; LAHDC Leh; Maitreya Tours; Explore Himalayas; Silver Cloud G.H. and Samsara Expeditions.

## Results

Tourists coming to Leh District have different behaviour and destinations, different peak seasons, lengths of stay, and patterns of spending. After much effort to obtain reliable, homogeneous, and consistent information to accurately evaluate the average length of stay and the daily expenses for the two categories of tourists, in this study the following assumption has been made: the average length of stay and the daily expenses taken as the base for the calculation of turnover are those indicated in the 'interviews of stakeholders' (12.5 and 5.5 days, INR 1,400 and INR 2,500, respectively for international and domestic tourists in 2010). Due to the fact that the expenditure per capita per day above indicated is more representative of the behaviour of the organised groups (package tour), to take into account the minor contribution from individual travellers those values must be reduced to don't overestimate the total receipts. According to Santek (2002: 89), around 37% of tourists interviewed were in the age group of <30 years, and 67% of international and 26% of domestic have a spending pattern of <INR 1000 (27% and 12% <INR 500, respectively for international and domestic). Due to the lack of other reference values, in this paper a reduction of 30% is assumed (author's best judgement after investigations and review of the literature) therefore, the basis for the calculation are: INR 1,750 (INR 2,500 x 0.7) for domestic tourists and INR 980 (INR 1,400 x 0.7) for international tourists in 2010.

Using these data as '*normalised*' values, the per capita expenditure during one visit in Leh district in 2011 (taking into account an annual inflation of 6.5%<sup>8</sup>) was calculated as INR 10,251 ( $5.5 \times 1,750 \times 1.065$ ) for domestic tourist, and as INR 13,046 ( $12.5 \times 980 \times 1.065$ ) for an international tourist.

With 144,775 domestic and 36,662 international tourists in 2011, the total expenditure can be estimated to be INR 1,962,380,977, equal to USD 42,048,018<sup>9</sup> [constituted by INR 1,484,088,525 from domestic ( $144,775 \times \text{INR } 10,251$ ), equal to USD 31,799,626 and INR 478,292,452 ( $36,662 \times \text{INR } 13,046$ ) from international, equal to USD 10,248,392].

## Discussion and Conclusion

Analysis of statistical data on tourist volumes shows that tourism in the Leh district is '*complex and non-linear*' (Pellicciardi 2010). The visitors inflow depend on several factors and issues (e.g. uprisings, conflict, economic slowdowns, global capital flows, tourist habits, new trend destinations, weather and climate changes and recent natural disasters) which are not under local control and can occur at unpredictable times, determining fluctuations in annual international tourist inflow. The current situation of exponential growth of domestic visitors makes Leh district similar to that in Sikkim, another Indian Himalayan resort state, which is considered a more resilient market due to its larger presence of domestic tourists [around 95%<sup>10</sup> in Sikkim in 2007 (331,263 domestic and 17,837 international), and 80% in Leh District in 2011 (144,775 domestic and 36,662 international)].

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<sup>8</sup> [www.dailyexcelsior.com/web1/12apr18/news1.htm](http://www.dailyexcelsior.com/web1/12apr18/news1.htm), accessed 20/10/2012.

<sup>9</sup> Exchange rate 46.67 INR/USD in 2011, <http://fx.sauder.ubc.ca/etc/USDpages.pdf>, accessed 20/01/2012.

<sup>10</sup> Sikkim Strategic Plan 2008, <http://scstsenvis.nic.in/Tourism-udhd.pdf>, accessed 04/03/2009.

Several reasons have contributed to this new trend. For instance, the choice of Ladakh as a destination for feature films has provided good publicity<sup>11</sup>. Road and air connections have improved significantly and the Government of India extended the "Leave Travel Concession" for travelling by air from Delhi to any destination in J&K for central government employees, to boost tourism in this region (Tourism Department official, Leh, pers. comm., November 2011). The exuberant Indian economy is also providing bigger travelling budgets to many Indian families. Although the per capita spending of international visitors is higher than that of domestic visitors, in 2011 the total expenditure from domestic visitors was higher due to greater volumes.

The large amount of money from tourism has multiplied the purchasing power of many families, allowing a higher standard of living and consumption, resulting in a large inflow of goods and industrial commodities from India, but criticisms have been expressed regarding the reliance on only one (main) external sector, that expose the local economy to fluctuations on a regional and international market (Michaud 1996). Thus, cautiously scaling up tourist numbers to contribute to the economic growth and social well-being of the people of this district is a big challenge, because dependence on one, albeit promising, sector can be problematical for the sustainability of the local development process (Dame and Nüsser 2008). It is interesting to report two different paradigmatic opinions expressed regarding the carrying capacity of Leh district, summarised in these following declarations: "*My task is to bring as many tourists as I can!*" Tourist Department official (interviewed on 11th May 2010), and: "*Due to present conditions [town water scarcity, waste, air pollution, traffic jams, and so forth] a total of 100,000 tourists in one year can be enough for Leh District!*" ALGHA official and hotel proprietor (interviewed on 20<sup>th</sup> May 2010).

Moreover, according to Michaud (1996), those vying to benefit from mass tourism are the local elite because most of the money earned in the district remains in Leh town in the hands of upper class hotel proprietors, fancy tour operators, and Kashmiri and Indian middlemen coming to do business. Thus, five-star hotel chains should generally be avoided in Ladakh to prevent the concentration of economic benefits in few hands, and because such hotels provide their guests with luxurious living conditions that weigh heavily on the fragile ecosystem of the region and do nothing to preserve Ladakh's pristine beauty; visitors, travel agencies and tour operators should adopt a responsible tourism code of conduct. Several NGOs agree that the huge volume of summer visitors must be spatially spread and promote community based tourism (CBT) services (also called home stay<sup>12</sup>) in certain pockets of the district. To minimise and level out current impacts on the infrastructure, it is necessary to expand the tourist season, today limited to July and August. Efforts have been made to dilute visitor traffic over a longer period than May-September. During the celebration of World Tourism Day in Leh, September 2010, the president of ALTOA (All Ladakh Tour Operators Association)<sup>13</sup>, emphasised the need to conserve Ladakh's biodiversity, which is a major attraction for tourists.

In conclusion, tourism industry in Leh District has a short season but a highly profitable business (around INR 1,96 billion, equal to around USD 42,05 million in 2011)<sup>14</sup> especially with domestic visitors increasing by the day.

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<sup>11</sup> The Hindi film *3 Idiots*, shot in Leh district in 2008 and released in 2009, acquainted the general Indian public with Ladakh. Since this movie a number of advertisements were filmed here, boosting the local economy.

<sup>12</sup> Source: [www.himalayan-homestays.com](http://www.himalayan-homestays.com), accessed 10/05/2008.

<sup>13</sup> Source: [www.ladakhalttoa.com/wto.html](http://www.ladakhalttoa.com/wto.html), accessed 20/10/2012.

<sup>14</sup> Given a certain degree of arbitrariness in the assumptions done in this study, this value should be interpreted carefully as "order of magnitude" of total receipts from tourism sector.

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## **Occupational Distribution of the Rural Workforce of Leh District—preliminary findings** —Tsering Yangzom (Punjab University, Chandigarh)

In the rural Indian economy, agriculture is the primary source of income and employment<sup>1</sup> even though livelihoods are derived from diverse sources. National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) survey data on employment shows that the size of non-farm employment almost tripled in rural India from 35.24 million in 1972-73 to 95.28 million in 2004-05 (NSSO cited in Bhaumik, 2007), whilst the rural population grew by only few percent in the same time period. It is useful to know more details about such non-farm sources of employment while shaping local policy frameworks. Most studies of rural employment trends are undertaken at the national or state level with little literature at the district level. Since the devolution of greater responsibilities to local authorities some 20 years ago through the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> amendments of the constitution, it is important that district specific information on employment trends are available.

This paper documents the results of a study carried out to estimate workforce distribution of agricultural and non-agricultural livelihoods in rural areas of Leh district. The specific objectives of the study are;

- (i) To document the size of the workforce in the rural areas of Leh district,
- (ii) To document the nature of the workforce, and
- (iii) To collate the educational profiles of the workforce.

The paper is organised into different sections starting with a brief introduction, followed by its conceptual framework and methodological approach. The next section examines the results in terms of the specific nature of rural workforce of Leh district in terms of its occupational and gender distribution and education levels before concluding with possible policy implications.

### *Conceptual framework and methodology:*

Three conceptual types of employment measurement are used in this study in terms of number of persons employed based on (i) Usual Principal Status (UPS), (ii) Current Weekly Status (CWS) and (iii) Current Daily status (CDS). The UPS relates to the activity status on which a person spent relatively longer time (major time criterion) during the 365 days preceding the date of survey is considered the usual principal status (UPS) of the person. The CWS of a person is the activity status obtaining for a person during a reference period of seven days preceding the date of survey. The CDS for a person is determined on the basis of his/her activity status on each day of reference week using a priority-cum-major time criterion (day to day labour time disposition). Each day of the reference week is looked upon as comprising of either two 'half days' or a 'full day' for assigning the activity status. These three measures taken NSSO Labour surveys definitions are recognised measures of the International labour Organisation (ILO) and alternative estimates are available for compatibility with various approaches in ILO framework<sup>2</sup>.

Primary data was collected from rural areas of all nine blocks<sup>3</sup> of Leh district in June 2012. One village was randomly selected in each block, in which ten households were sampled using random sampling method, giving the sample size 90 households. A household-level questionnaire was prepared to collect information regarding workforce and respondents completed this during a visit to their home.

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<sup>1</sup> Census / NSSO data on national rural employment.

<sup>2</sup> " Report of NSC committee on Periodic Labour Force Survey", MOSPI, GOI, Dec 2009

<sup>3</sup> Leh, Chushot, Kharu, Nyoma, Durbuk, Disket, Panamic, Khaltasi and Saspol

## Results

A total of 502 respondents (248 male, 254 female) were covered in the survey, including 34 individuals older than 65 years and 94 individuals younger than 12 years (though the sample did not record any instance of child labour<sup>4</sup>). The sizes of rural workforce in Leh district according to three measures have been shown in Table 1.

**Table 1:** Estimates of rural workforce in Leh district

CATEGORY <sup>5</sup>	UPS		CWS		CDS	
	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%
<b>Workforce ( All age)</b>	169	33.7	174	34.7	156	31.1
<b>Unemployed</b>	45	9.0	52	10.3	55	11.0
<b>Not in labour force</b>	288	57.4	276	55.0	291	58.0
<b>Total (Population)</b>	502	100	502	100	502	100

The workforce is highest with CWS i.e., 34.7 percent of the sampled population following by UPS with 33.7 percent and then CDS with 31.1 percent. These represent only 33.7 percent of the population engaged in some economic activity over the past year and 34.7 percent of the population engaged in economic activity more than one week. However, it is 31.1 percent according to CDS that is lowest among the three CDS, showing 31.1 percent of the population in active employment, is the best measure to capture open unemployment in the area. Also, the proportion of unemployed persons to the population is highest under CDS measure, 11.0 percent following by CWS measure, 10.4 percent and finally UPS with 9.0 percent.

**Table 2:** Distribution of rural workforce among different occupations in Leh district

OCCUPATIONS	UPS		CWS		CDS	
	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%
<b>Self employed in HH ent. (own a/c worker)</b>	38	22.5	35	20.1	33	21.2
<b>Self employed in HH ent. (employer)</b>	3	1.8	4	2.3	3	1.9
<b>Self employed in HH ent. (helper)</b>	22	13.0	32	18.4	20	13.1
<b>Regular salaried employee</b>	70	41.4	70	40.2	70	44.6
<b>Casual labour in public works</b>	14	8.3	13	7.5	13	8.6
<b>Casual labour in other types of work</b>	22	13.0	20	11.5	17	10.6
<b>TOTAL</b>	169	100	174	100	156	100

Key: HH (Household), ENT (Enterprises), A/C (Account)

According to NSSO, the occupations in the country are classified into six categories<sup>6</sup>. The estimates of these occupations in Leh district are shown in the Table 2. These estimates are calculated according to UPS, CWS and CDS.

<sup>4</sup> Child labour is defined as working between 5-14 years.

<sup>5</sup> *Workforce: Working or being engaged in economic activity (work), Unemployed: Being not engaged in economic activity (work) and either making tangible efforts to seek 'work' or being available for 'work' if it is available and 'Not in labour force': Being not engaged in any economic activity and also not available for 'work'.*

<sup>6</sup> (1) **Self employed in Household Enterprise as an Own Account Workers** are the self employed who operate their enterprises on their own account or with one or few partners and who during the reference period by and large, run their enterprise without hiring any labour. They may, however, have unpaid helpers to assist them in the activity of the enterprise. (2) **Self Employed in Household Enterprise as an Employers** are self employed persons who work on their own account or with one of few partners and by and large run their enterprise by hiring labour are the employers. (3) **Self Employed in Household Enterprise as a Helpers** are a category of self employed persons mostly family members who keep themselves engaged in their household enterprises, working full or part time and do not receive any regular salary or wages in return for the work performed. They do not run the



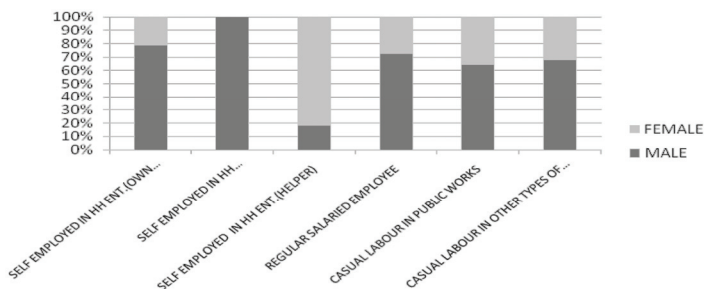
By occupation type regular salaried employee and self employment plays a major role when measured either as usual principal activity status (UPS) or current activity status (CWS and CDS). It is important to know the configuration of rural workforce further by collating the gender-based distribution in the total rural workforce (Table 3).

**Table 3:** Gender-based distribution of rural workforce among different occupations in Leh district

OCCUPATIONS	MALE			FEMALE		
	UPS			UPS		
	Persons	%	Rank	Persons	%	Rank
Self employed in HH ent.(own a/c worker)	30	26.8	2	8	14.0	3
Self employed in HH ent.(employer)	3	2.7	6	0	0.0	6
Self employed in HH ent.(helper)	4	3.6	5	18	31.6	2
Regular salaried employee	51	45.5	1	19	33.3	1
Casual labour in public works	9	8.0	4	5	8.8	5
Casual labour in other types of work	15	13.4	3	7	12.3	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>100</b>		<b>57</b>	<b>100</b>	

Though self employment plays a major role in the total workforce, categories within it have different roles. For instance, it is more likely that females assist in household enterprises rather than as an account worker, while males are more likely to hold the position of own account worker within a household enterprise.

**Figure 1:** Percentage Share of Gender in Different Employment Category



household enterprise on their own but assist the related person living in the same household in running the household enterprise. (4) **Regular Salaried/Wage Employee** are person working in others farm or non-farm enterprises (both household and non household) and getting in return salary or wages on a regular basis (and not on the basis of daily or periodic renewal of work contract) are the regular salaried/wage employees. The category not only includes persons getting time wage but also persons receiving piece wage of salary and paid apprentices, both full time and part time. (5) **Casual Wage Labour**: a person casually employed in others farm or non-farm enterprises (both household and non-household) and getting in return wage according to the terms of the daily and periodic work contract is a casual wage labour. Usually, in the rural areas, a type of casual labourers can be seen who normally engage themselves in 'public works' activities. (6) **Public works** are those activities which are sponsored by Government of local bodies for construction of roads, bunds, digging of ponds, etc. As test relief measures (like flood relief, drought relief, farming relief, etc.) and also employment generation scheme under poverty alleviation programmes (NREP, RLEGP, etc.)

Figure 1 is based on UPS and we can see that female workforce has no share in self-employment with employer type. In other words, male workforce has full representation in self-employment with employer type occupation. It is significant that female workforce has 81.8 percent share in self-employment with helper type and male has only 18.2 percent. This is the only employment type where percentage share is higher for females. Therefore, in all remaining employment categories female workforce has lesser share than their counterparts. It is 21.1 percent, 27.1 percent, 35.7 percent and 31.8 percent share in self employer, account worker, regular salaried employment, casual labour in public works and casual labour in other type of works respectively. Thus, it is clear that females are more likely to be assisting in household enterprises and less likely to fulfil the role of employer in household enterprises. The opposite seems to hold true for males.

**SAMPLED HOUSEHOLDS:**

Table 4 examines the share of Household types among sample. As per NSSO, rural households are categorised into five household types<sup>7</sup>.

**Table 4:** Distribution of sampled households among different Household types

HOUSEHOLD TYPES	NUMBERS HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE HOUSEHOLDS
<b>Self employed in non agriculture</b>	24	26.7
<b>Agriculture labour</b>	3	3.3
<b>Self employed in agriculture</b>	10	11.1
<b>Other labour</b>	8	8.9
<b>Others</b>	45	50
<b>All</b>	90	100

However, while conducting survey in Leh, many shops in villages (almost 60.0 percent) reported that they are availing cash credit loans from Jammu and Kashmir Bank. Thus, this signifies that non-rural farm sector (NRFS)<sup>8</sup> is playing big role in rural areas of Leh district also. This is mainly because of the involvement of financial institutions such as banks in their development.

<sup>7</sup> The household type code based on the means of livelihood of a household will be decided on the basis of the sources of the household's income during the 365 days preceding the date of survey. For this purpose, only the household's income from economic activities will be considered; the incomes of servants and paying guests will not be taken into account. For the Rural areas, household will be assigned the appropriate type {**Self Employed in non Agriculture (1)**, **Agricultural Labour(2)**, **Other Labour(3)**, **Self Employed in Agriculture(4)** and **Others(5)**}. For a household, if a single source (among the five sources of income listed in preceding paragraph) contributes 50 % or more of the household's income from economic activities during the last 365 days, it will be assigned the type (1,2,3,4 &5) corresponding to that source. For household to be classified as 'agricultural labour' or 'self employed in agriculture' (2 or 4) its income from that source must be 50 % or more of its total income. If there is no such source yielding 50 % or more of the household's total income, it will be given 1,3 or 5 type according to the following procedure. To be classified as self-employed in non-agriculture (1), the household's income from that source must be greater than its income from rural labour (all wage-paid manual labour) as well as that from all other economic activities put together (a three way division is to be considered here). A household not getting 1,2 or 4 type will be classified as other labour (3) if its income from rural labour (all wage-paid manual labour) is greater than that from self-employment as well as that from other economic activities (again a three way division). All other households will get type 5.

<sup>8</sup>Chadha (2005); RNFS includes a wide range of activities whose composition may vary from country to country employment generated on account of workers engaged in economic activities both in production and service sector in areas other than agriculture is termed as non-farm employment.

The quality of workforce in an economy essentially depends upon the educational and training systems pursued by it (Chadha, 2003). The educational background of the rural workforce gender wise in Leh district is given in Table 5.

**Table 5:** Educational background of rural workforce in Leh district

EDUCATION LEVEL	MALE		FEMALE		PERSONS(M+F)	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
NOT LITERATE	24	21.4	16	28.1	40	23.7
UNDER METRIC	47	42.0	13	22.8	60	35.5
METRIC	31	27.7	24	42.1	55	32.5
GRADUATE	6	5.4	4	7.0	10	5.9
POST GRADUATE	1	0.9	0	0	1	0.6
Mphil/ PhD	1	0.9	0	0	1	0.6
OTHERS	2	1.8	0	0	2	1.2
<b>ALL</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>100</b>

Estimates are based on UPS calculations

### *Preliminary Conclusions*

Occupation in Indian villages reflects the base of the socio-economic culture prevalent in rural areas of the country. According to UPS measure, the main occupation among rural workforce of Leh is regular salaried employment (41.2 percent), following by self-employment (37.0 percent) and then at third place casual labour (36.0 percent). The picture is quite same under other measures (CWS and CDS).

By gender, 45.5 percent of total male workforce and 33.3 percent of total female workforce in rural Leh are engaged in regular salaried employment. However, male workers (26.8 percent of total male workforce) are more likely to be self employed in household enterprises act as an own account worker while female workers (31.6 percent of total female workforce) are more likely to be self-employed in household enterprises as a helper. Both genders are almost equally engaged to casual labour. The percentage share of male workforce in all occupations is larger than female workforce except in self-employed in household enterprises as a helper. Moreover, among sampled households the other household types (50.0 percent of sampled households) is the largest and most prominent of rural non-farm employment (RNFE) in Leh district. It is more important for the growth of economic development, especially for developing country where large segments of people depend on agriculture for their livelihoods. In Leh, more than half of the total population depends on agriculture. Thus, the role of RNFS in rural development in Leh is a particularly important area to study. The quality of workforce is quite challenging. The majority (68.0 percent) of rural workforce is literate up to metric level and almost a quarter (23.7 percent) is not literate.

The paper suggests that there is tremendous scope in improving the livelihoods of the Leh people. Since agriculture and its allied activities are still the main employment generating area and it will remain in the future too. Therefore, efficient use of available resources and sustaining its productivity is the prime concern for the policy makers. However, non-rural farm employment is also important thus urgent need to improve the scope of non-agricultural employment in the rural areas.

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## **IALS NOTES & NEWS**

## Photo-essay: An Indian Official in Ladakh in the early 1900s

—John Bray

This photograph comes from the Moravian Church House Library and Archives in London and was taken in Leh in the early 1900s. A handwritten caption on the back identifies it as a portrait of Wajid Ali, presumably the man on the left, who is described as a ‘Settlement Babu’.

Wajid Ali is wearing mixture of what looks like Indian and European dress, including a smart pair of leather Western-style shoes, a watch chain and a stick as a mark of status. A silk handkerchief is displayed rather raffishly in his jacket pocket. His companion, who is wearing a Ladakhi *goncha* and shoes, is presumably his servant: I’m not entirely sure of the significance of the turban. The child is wearing smart leather shoes, a colourful jacket and a Ladakhi hat. He too carries a stick.

I think that the term ‘Settlement Babu’ means that Wajid Ali was working on the official survey—colloquially known as the *Bandobast*—which measured and recorded land titles and tax obligations in every village across Ladakh. Chaudhuri Khushi Mohammad, the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* or governor of Ladakh, was responsible for the *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement*, published in 1908, and a follow-up report entitled *Ladakh Tahsil* the following year. The Jammu and Kashmir government employed officials who had been trained in settlement work in Punjab for this work, and I wonder whether Wajid Ali was one of them.

We will post the picture on the Ladakh Studies blog—<http://ladakhstudies.blogspot.com>—because it may be easier to see some of the details on screen rather than in this print version. I would welcome further suggestions and comments.

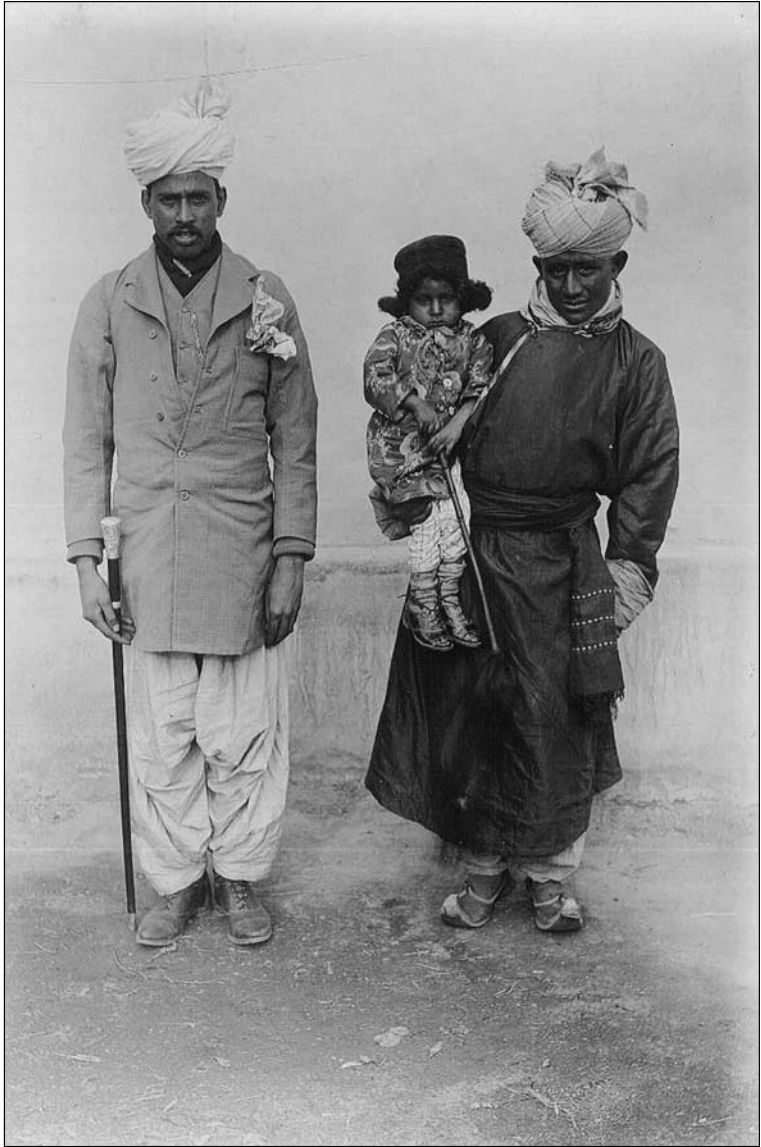
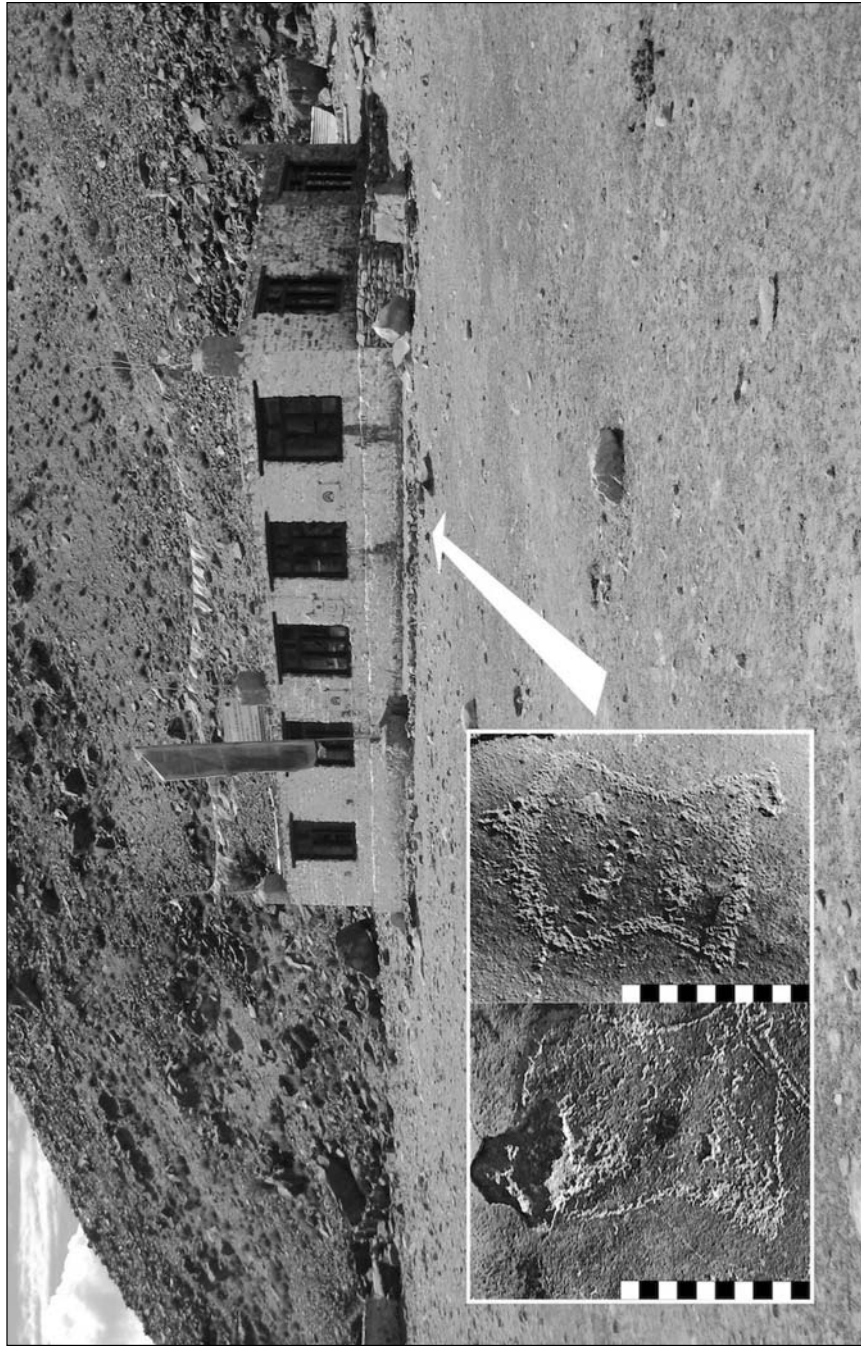


Photo courtesy: The Moravian Church House Library and Archives, London



Group photo of the participants of the 15th IALS Colloquium, Leh. Photo by Jigmat Lundup Kharzong.  
(Full report on page 27)





The rock art site in Zamthang in 2011 and engravings (inset) in 2007. Photo by Martin Vernier

## **The Rock-art site of Zamthang: When Money and Good will turn into Disaster**

—Martin Vernier and Laurianne Bruneau

The rock art site of Zamthang is located in Zangskar (Kargil district, Ladakh, J&K), in the Lungnag valley, three days walk south of Padum, the capital of this ancient Himalayan kingdom.

The rock carvings are situated on a terrace overlooking the river, opposite Char village that can be reached thanks to a bridge down below the site. The site is mainly composed of a dark reddish slab standing out and blocking the landscape, it bears numerous hunting and chasing scenes as well as animals, humans and signs.

The site was first published in 1982 under the name “Char”.<sup>1</sup> In 1990 it was again referred to in a paper dedicated to the Protohistoric carvings of Ladakh/Zangskar<sup>2</sup>. In fact, some hunting scenes, animals and representations of masks are similar to engraved images found in Central Asia and dated from the Bronze and Iron Ages (2500-300 BC). The same year a Tibetan inscription from the site was published. This peculiar inscription is one of the most ancient testimonies to the presence of Tibetan army officers originating from Khotan (Xinjiang, China) in Ladakh in the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD<sup>3</sup>. In 2010 the present authors published carvings from Zamthang in an article dedicated to Iron Age petroglyphs of Ladakh.<sup>4</sup> The historical importance of Zamthang site is therefore well acknowledged by rock art experts.

One of the authors, Martin Vernier, carried out a systematic documentation of the site in 1999. A numbering of the carvings were done and a photograph of each one taken: 825 images were documented out of which 285 located on the main slab. There are 38 different motifs on the site (yak, ibex, bird, hunter, etc). A second photographic record was carried out by Vernier in 2004 and copies on transparent plastic sheet of the most significant images were made. With its total of 825 engravings, the rock art site of Zamthang is the largest of Zangskar and counts among the top ten sites in Ladakh. Over the years Mr. Norbu, the head of the one and only family leaving near the site, encountered the various rock art experts passing by. He thus became well aware of the historical importance of the carvings and tries to act for their protection. His fear to see the site damaged by the road under construction in the valley was calmed down by the decision of the authorities to have it built on the opposite bank.

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<sup>1</sup> Klodzinski, D. and Y. Gouazé. 1982. Des gravures rupestres en Himalaya (Zanskar, province du Ladakh). *Bulletin de la Société des études littéraires, scientifiques et artistiques du Lot (Cahors)* 103, 2:129-134.

<sup>2</sup> Francfort, H.-P. ; D., Klodzinski and G., Mascle. 1990. Pétroglyphes archaïques du Ladakh et du Zanskar. *Arts Asiatiques (Paris)* 45:5-27. An English version of this paper was published in 1992. Archaic Petroglyphs of Ladakh and Zanskar. In *Rock Art in the Old World: papers presented in Symposium A of the AURA Congress, Darwin (Australia), 1988*, Lorblanchet, M. (Ed): 147-192. INGCA, New Delhi.

<sup>3</sup> Denwood, P. and N.F., Howard. 1990. Inscriptions at Balukhar and Char Zampa and Archaeological Observations on the Fort of Balukhar and its Environs. In *Indo-Tibetan Studies: papers in honour and appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's contribution to Indo-Tibetan studies*, Skorupski, T. (Ed) : 81-88. Institute of Buddhist Studies, Buddhica Britannica, Tring.

<sup>4</sup> Bruneau, L. and M., Vernier. 2010 Animal style of the steppes in Ladakh: a presentation of newly discovered petroglyphs. In *Pictures in Transformation: Rock art Researches between Central Asia and the Subcontinent*, Olivieri, M.L.; L. Bruneau and M., Ferrandi (Ed): 27-36. BAR International Series 2167ArchaeoPress, Oxford.

Unfortunately the site was partly destroyed by a project of the local community, supported by western NGOs. When Martin Vernier passed again through the site in Summer 2011 he saw for himself the destruction caused (See photo on page 24). A large building to be used as learning centre was built on the site by the «Himalayan astro-medicines and ecological development society» thanks to the financial help of two French associations (Lions international, Val de Roselle and Santé Zanskar Himalaya am-ci).

Apart from the fact that any construction on such a historical site should be banned, the use of the stones bearing carvings as building material is outrageous. Ironically invaluable protohistoric and historic records vanished into the walls of a building dedicated to the preservation and transmission of traditional culture! Mr Norbu, appointed protector of the rock art site by the hazard of history, tried his best to raise the awareness of this building project and the importance of the rock art site, but local community forces and capital inflow trumped his will to preserve the carvings.

The fate of the site of Zamthang raises two issues. First we see the ignorance of the local population of the historical importance of rock sites. Zamthang is not an isolated case; the destruction of carvings has happened across Ladakh without much consciousness of the loss of this irreplaceable patrimony. In this regard, Mr Norbu pointed out the lack of material and information at his disposal that could have helped the protection of the Zamthang site. Secondly, the role played by western NGOs into local affairs should be questioned. There are, for the time being, no regulations in Ladakh in the field of cultural heritage. Anyone bringing cash can come and operate as they wish with little local support on historical sites. In Zangskar in 2009, a Buddhist monument made of stone and mud bricks which had mural paintings dated to the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries was reconstructed in cement and the murals thereby defaced by an Italian association (Stupa Onlus).<sup>5</sup>

The leaflets dedicated to the rock art of Ladakh recently written by the present authors and supported by INTACH and also the proposal for a 'Heritage Authority' to the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Council signed by major actors acting for the protection of cultural heritage will hopefully avoid to encounter in the future another Zamthang.

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<sup>5</sup> The authors recently published a note concerning this issue: Vernier, M. and L., Bruneau. 2011. Archaeological heritage at stake, *Ladakh Studies (Journal of the International Association for Ladakh Studies)* 27 (May 2011): 13-14.

## 15th IALS Conference. Report

—Janet Rizvi

The 15th Conference was held at the Sherab Tshogs-Khang Hall of Lamdon Model Senior Secondary School, Leh, from 19 to 21 August 2011.

For various reasons, this conference was on a more modest scale than some recent ones. The principal reason was the decision, not taken till the previous March, to hold the event in Leh rather than in Aberdeen, Scotland, as originally planned. This decision, in turn, was forced on us by the effects of the world-wide recession on the UK economy and the resulting limitations of available funding that would have made possible the participation of Ladakhi researchers. We thank Martin Mills, Aberdeen Conference Convener, for his efforts in trying to secure the necessary funding and hope that sometime in the near future we may be able to consider Aberdeen as a possible conference venue again. By March 2011 and the decision to move the conference to Leh, it was too late to apply for funding locally; in the event the expenses of the conference were met approximately 60 percent from conference participation fees and 40 percent by withdrawals from the IALS account.

In a short span of five months, and under a certain feeling of financial constraint, the Leh members under the able leadership of Sonam Wangchok, at that time Ladakh Liaison Officer on the Executive Committee, rose to the occasion magnificently. The arrangements they made could hardly have been bettered, and the Association owes them, particularly Sonam, a debt of gratitude. We are also extremely grateful to the principal and management of the Lamdon Model Senior Secondary School for putting their fine hall at our disposal, and providing free-of-cost the necessary PA and computer facilities.

Due to the change in venue, the conference was deprived of the participation of several international members who had tailored their programme for summer 2011 to attend in Aberdeen. On the other hand, others whose research commitments in Ladakh would have prevented their coming to Aberdeen were able to be present. You win some, you lose some. Other reasons for the relatively small numbers were a concurrent conference at the Central Institute for Buddhist Studies at Choglamsar, and the fact that the conference took place during Ramzan, which made it difficult for many of our Muslim members, especially those from Kargil, to attend. They were greatly missed. However, a total of 73 members, including a number of new ones, registered for the event, and at no session was the attendance less than about forty.



The inaugural session started with the observance of one minute's silence as a mark of respect to the memory of those who died in two recent tragedies in Ladakh: the floods of 6 August 2010 and the bus accident on the Leh–Manali road, barely a week before the conference. John Bray's welcome speech was followed by an inspirational address from the keynote speaker, Jigmet Takpa, Conservator of Forests and Wildlife, Ladakh region, and Director of the Ladakh Renewable Energy Development Agency. Despite the fact that Ladakh's wildlife includes representatives of a large proportion of the world's mountain mammal species, there is little or no history of people-animal conflict, since the Ladakhi conservation model recognises that man, domestic livestock and wildlife are all dependent on the same resources.

While Ladakh's dependence on glacier-melt for water makes it vulnerable to climate-change, it has enormous potential for renewable energy, and the ongoing initiative to develop this is sure to reduce the region's carbon footprint, and contribute to achieving the vision of making Ladakh a model society by 2025. Jigmet Takpa-le concluded his address with a power-point presentation illustrating the richness of Ladakh's wildlife, including mammals, insects, birds and plants.

The Chief Guest, Sonam Dorje, Executive Councillor for Agriculture in the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, Leh, expressed appreciation for the efforts of the IALS in encouraging research which could benefit the region, and pledged the Council's support for the Association.



The academic sessions suffered somewhat from an unusual number of no-shows—scholars whose papers had been accepted, and whose place in the programme had been reserved, but who simply failed to turn up without informing the organisers. This necessarily involved a certain rearrangement of the programme, but we were grateful to three scholars—Wolfgang Heusgen, Helmut Tauscher and Noé Dinnerstein—who volunteered to read papers at short notice to plug some of the gaps (see below for the list of papers actually presented).

Sessions 2 to 7 were devoted to the conference theme, 'Responding to Climate, Biodiversity and Resource Changes in Ladakh and elsewhere in the western Himalaya'. Session 2 focused on the catastrophe of 6 August 2010. In an attempt to put it in context, Janet Rizvi gave an overview of natural disasters recorded since the early 19th century. Harjit Singh suggested that, as temperatures rise on the Indian plains, the monsoon clouds are forced upwards, and enabled to cross the barrier of the Great Himalaya, resulting in the increase in summer precipitation that reached disastrous proportions that particular day. Both he and Ritesh Arya stressed that (in Ritesh's words) floods are a natural phenomenon, but the damage they do is man-made. When Ladakh's population was much less than it is now, and factors including modern education and the influx of outsiders had not yet eroded traditional knowledge, human settlement avoided flood-prone areas, so that floods and mudslides, while they might damage fields and standing crops, caused minimal loss of human life. Today we see houses built in dry *nala* beds, which inevitably become the target of floods; and even dwellings damaged or destroyed last year are being reconstructed in exactly the same positions as before. One of the most interesting suggestions was that Mani walls, which most people consider as having no more than religious significance, were actually designed by the Ladakhi forefathers as flood and mud-breaks. Among the suggestions the two speakers made for the avoidance of such a catastrophe in future were: construct only in geological safe areas; construct new 'Mani' walls above new habitations for their protection; and plant trees along the *nalas*. Tashi Morup gave us an account of the damage to fields, and the rehabilitation initiatives taken by the Leh Hill Council, which is drafting a disaster management policy; while Rinchen Dolma focussed on the human dimensions of the tragedy and its mental-health implications.

In the next session, Dorje Angchuk gave a fascinating account of traditional methods of weather forecasting practised in Ladakh; while Blaise Humbert-Droz admitted that all across-the-board planning to protect biodiversity in Changthang had fallen woefully short in its objective, and proposed a more modest and possibly achievable strategy of focussing on particular sites and affording them strict protection. Shafiq Matin's presentation on geo-spatial mapping of biodiversity was notable as being one of only two papers relating specifically to the Kargil district. Wild mushrooms in Ladakh? Unexpected but true, we were informed by young Ladakhi researcher Konchok Dorje; and the growing numbers in which they are found may well indicate an increasing humidity that is one aspect of climate change.

Coming to the built environment, Deldan Angmo gave a graphic description of the restoration of the Mangyu temple complex; and suggested that the Euro-centric guidelines for conservation at present in place need to be modified by the development of guidelines that take the specific conditions of Ladakh into account. Wolfgang Heusgen's presentation took us to the Wanla temple and the conservation work done there. Hubert Feiglstorfer showed us that when we talk of 'earthen architecture' we are referring not to a single obsolescent material fit only for the poor, but to a complex of many different styles, techniques, and even materials, each of which has huge contemporary potential and needs to be studied on its own merits. One of the most revealing aspects of Sharon Sonam's paper, on the haphazard supply and use of water in the Old Town of Leh, was her description of the social relationships that develop as heterogeneous groups of people gather round the public water-taps every morning.

Further social responses to change were explored by Jonathan Demenge in his illuminating description of how villagers, contractors and engineers negotiate the alignment of a road through a village, often using characteristic Ladakhi strategies of conflict-avoidance; and Salomé Deboos who showed how societal fault-lines opening in Zangskar are less between the Buddhist and Muslim communities than between the older and younger generations. Franz Fardin gave us a description of change in Chitkul, the last Indian village in Upper Kinnaur where the processes of Sankritisation have been under way since 1962. Rebecca Norman traced the ways in which the Ladakhi language is changing, as the Leh dialect more and more becomes the standard version at the expense of local variants; while at the same time she has noticed the infiltration of an increasing number of loan words from English and Urdu, often used instead of perfectly functional Ladakhi words. Although presented later in the programme, in the session on Islam, Radhika Gupta's paper on Kargil fitted perfectly into the 'social responses' theme. Her analysis described how the Shia community, especially its women, negotiate the conflicting pressures of modernity on the one hand and the imperative of being a good Muslim on the other. Equally pertinent was Abeer Gupta's photographic exploration of how, from Turtuk to Trespon, in mosques and imambaras the vernacular architecture tends to be replaced by international Islamic styles, though local detailing is often incorporated.

Aspects of Buddhist culture were highlighted by Nawang Tsering Shakspo's recounting of the life of Lama Tsultrim Nyima, best known as the founder of Ri-dzong Gompa, but a reformer in all sorts of other ways; and Professor Helmut Tauscher's comparison of manuscript Kanjurs found at Hemis and Basgo. Bettina Zeisler gave us a fascinating analysis of how the sacred 'swastika' concept of mountain and river seems to have shifted east from the Pamirs and the rivers of Central Asia to Kailash and the rivers of India and Tibet. Sacred Buddhist sites were described by Abbas Kazmi—the Buddha Rock at Skardu, Baltistan (paper read by Tashi IDawa); and by Thupstan Norboo—the Lotsawa temple at Alchi-Brog, 'a hidden treasure on the verge of extinction'. Noé Dinnerstein gave us a rivetting account of *zhunglu*, the nearest thing Ladakh has to a classical form of music, a corpus of songs in a sophisticated literary language and employing complex musical structures and rhythms, developed at the court of the Namgyal kings from the 17th to the 19th centuries.

In addition to the papers by Radhika Gupta and Abeer Gupta, the session on Islam included Abdul Ghani Sheikh's introduction to the new Central Asian Museum in Leh; and Zain-ul-Aabedin's history of the migration of the Balti community into the Leh district, especially Chushot. Unexpectedly, this connected with the conference theme, to the extent that the first migration seems to have occurred, in the mid 15th century, after the village and fields of Khapalu were destroyed by a devastating flood in the Shayok river.

The academic part of the conference ended with papers by John Bray and Roberto Vitali on the legendary Christian scholar, the Rev. Joseph Gergan, a key figure in the team that translated the Bible into Tibetan. He was also a historian of distinction, his historical work concentrating on Ladakh and western Tibet; but unfortunately the major book, *Bla dwags rgyal rabs 'chi med gter*, has not yet been translated into any Western language. We are grateful to all the presenters of papers for heeding our request to limit their presentations to 20 minutes, so as to allow time for discussion. Some of the interventions from the floor were as illuminating as the papers themselves, and the ensuing discussions were never less than lively.



As always, the Biennial General Meeting of the Association was held during the conference. A separate report is submitted with this one. The conference dinner was at the High-Life Restaurant, Fort Road, on the evening of 21 August, a convivial way of relaxing after our intellectual labours of the previous days. On 22 August twenty of the conference participants piled into a bus to Saspol. Just beyond the village a precarious road took them to the foot of the hillside where are situated a series of caves, whose painted walls indicate that at some stage they were used for Buddhist worship. The scramble up the hill was a challenge for the elderly among us, but with the support, where necessary, of stalwart young Ladakhi scholars-turned-mountaineers we all made it to the caves. Most of us continued up to the summit of the ridge, where the walls of a fort, abandoned these 500 years, stand mute testimony to the durability and strength that rammed-earth construction can exhibit. At the invitation of Sonam Wangchuk of SECMOL, we had lunch at his brother's resort a little further down the Indus at Uley Tokpo. A memorable outing, and a fitting way to end an intellectually challenging and enjoyable conference.

### **List of papers presented**

#### **Session 2. *The Catastrophe of August 2010***

**Janet Rizvi, independent scholar, Gurgaon, India.** Introduction: Unusual weather events in Ladakh, historical and anecdotal.

**Professor Harjit Singh, Centre for the Study of Regional Development, School of Social Sciences-1, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.** Leh Tragedy of August 2010—Some Lessons for Future Development and Probable Implications of Climate Change.

**Ritesh Arya, hydrogeologist and groundwater consultant, Panchkula, India.** 5Aug 2010, Flooding in Ladakh: A mega geological event of the century in the history of Himalayas.

**Tashi Morup, Project Director, LAMO (Ladakh Arts and Media Organisation), Leh.** Flash floods' debris over agricultural lands and challenges before LAHDC Leh to deal with the socio-economic consequences of this.

**Rinchen Dolma, Editor, Reach Ladakh.** Flash Flood in Ladakh, 2010: A Lesson in Impermanence.

**Sessions 3 and 4 (combined due to dropouts).**

**Weather, Climate and Glaciers and Natural Resource Management in a Time of Change**

**Dorje Angchok, Scientist, DIHAR (Defence Institute of High Altitude Research), Leh.** Traditional Mathematical Theories Of Rainfall Prediction Through *Lotho*: As Practiced In Ladakh.

**Blaise Humbert-Droz, independent scholar, Switzerland.** Responding to tourism explosion, extreme weather events and biodiversity loss in Ladakh's Chang Thang: a proposed site-specific approach for conservation.

**V.S. Chitale, CORAL, Indian Institute of Technology Kharagpur, West Bengal, et al.** Geospatial approach for biodiversity conservation and planning in the part of Ladakh (presented by S. Matin).

**Konchok Dorje, PhD. Candidate, Department of Botany, University of Jammu, et al.** Some Wild Mushrooms of Cold Desert of Ladakh.

**Session 5. Social Responses to Change 1**

**Deldan Angmo, Senior Conservation Architect, INTACH, Delhi.** Changes in climate, rainfall and biodiversity have had a dramatic impact on human habitation, resource use and the prospects for cultural and economic development in the area and its environs.

**Hubert Feiglstorfer, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria.** Realizing traditions in earthen architecture. *Analyses of earthen building material of the Western Himalaya.*

**Sharon Sonam, Research Fellow and Projects Officer, LAMO (Ladakh Arts and Media Organisation), Leh.** Looking at Water in Old Town, Leh.

**Session 6. Social Responses to Change 2**

**Jonathan Demenge, PhD candidate, Institute of Development Studies University of Sussex, UK.** Villagers, engineers, contractors and the politics of road construction.

**Dr. Salomé Deboos, Institut of Ethnology, University of Münster, Germany.** Challenging changes but still One Community (Zanskar)?

**Franz Fardin, Laboratory of Social Dynamics and Spatial Recomposition (CNRS/UMR 7533), Geography Department, University of Paris.** Changes in natural and socio-cultural environments in Western Himalaya: the example of Chhitkul (3450 m, Kinnaur, H.P.).



**Sessions 7 and 8 (combined due to dropouts) Social Responses to Change 3 and Buddhist Monasticism**

**Wolfgang Heusgen, Professor, Graz University of Technology, Austria**  
. Conservation of Wanla Temple. (Professor Heusgen kindly presented his paper at short notice.)

**Rebecca Norman, independent scholar, Leh.** Language change observed while collecting data for a dictionary of Ladakhi.

**Nawang Tsering Shaksपो, independent scholar, Leh.** Lama Tsultrim Nyima (1796-1872): Legendary Scholar and Reformer.

**Professor Helmut Tauscher, University of Vienna.** The Kanjurs of Hemis and Basgo. (Professor Tauscher kindly presented his paper at short notice.)

**Session 9. Buddhist Culture and Art**

**Bettina Zeisler, University of Tuebingen, Germany.** The transferred sacral geography of Mt Meru (Kailash).

**Abbas Kazmi, independent scholar, Skardu, Pakistan.** Buddha Rock (Mandala Carving-Skardu). (Paper presented by Tashi IDawa.)

**Dr. Thupstan Norboo Research Associate, J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Leh.** Lotsava temple of Alchi-Brog, a hidden treasure at the verge of its extinction.

**Noé Dinnerstein, City University of New York.** *Zhunglu* of Ladakh. (Mr Dinnerstein kindly presented his paper at short notice.)

**Sessions 10 and 11 (combined due to dropouts). Islam in Ladakh and Baltipa and Purigpa**

**Abeer Gupta, independent scholar, Srinagar, India.** The culture of Islam in Ladakh.

**Abdul Ghani Sheikh, independent scholar, Leh, India.** Central Asian Museum, Leh.

**Radhika Gupta, D Phil (Oxon.).** Discourses and spaces of piety in Kargil.

**Zain-ul-Aabedin, Retired Principal, Govt Boys Higher Senior Secondary School Leh.** The Causes for Arrival of the Balti Muslims in Leh.

**Session 12. Joseph Gergan**

**John Bray, independent scholar, Kumamoto, Japan.** Joseph Gergan: Ladakh's Pioneering Pastor, Translator and Historian.

**Roberto Vitali, Amnye Machen Institute, McLeod Ganj, Dharamsala, India.** A treasure truly eternal: in praise of Joseph Gergan's *Bla dwags rgyal rabs 'chi med gter*

## Biennial General Meeting of the IALS, 20–21 August 2011 —Janet Rizvi

As usual the Biennial General Meeting of the IALS was held during the conference. At the start of the meeting, John Bray paid tribute to John Crook, one of the earliest members of the Association, and remembered particularly for having introduced Henry Osmaston to Ladakh, without whom there might have been no IALS. John Crook invited Henry to join his research expedition to Zangskar in 1980, and together they co-edited the expedition report, a monumental work of co-operative scholarship, *Himalayan Buddhist Villages* (1994), which remains a benchmark study. His other main work on Ladakh, along with James Low, was *Yogins of Ladakh*. But he was a man of many parts whose interests extended far beyond Ladakh. He died at his desk in July 2011. We also paid tribute to the memory of Rinchen Wangchuk, the director of the Snow Leopard Conservancy India Trust, who passed away in March 2011. Rinchen presented a paper at the 2003 IALS conference in Leh, and had pioneered a series of community-based snow leopard conservation initiatives.

After that, we honoured three happily still living senior members of the Association: Saleem Beg, Francesca Merritt, and Martijn van Beek. Saleem Beg, Convener of the J&K Chapter of INTACH (the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage), and formerly Secretary Tourism in the state government, has always maintained a close interest in the Association, and was instrumental in getting money from the J&K Tourism Department to support the conferences in Kargil in 2005 and Leh in 2009. Francesca Merritt, after years of invisible work as Henry Osmaston's chief helper in the early days of the Association, served as Treasurer and Membership Secretary from 1997 to 2009, maintaining the accounts and membership lists and unobtrusively keeping us all straight. Martijn van Beek was a member of the Advisory Committee from the Association's early days, and served as editor of *Ladakh Studies* from 1997 to 2007. Each of them was presented with a kathak and a calligraphed scroll, conferring Honorary Life Membership of the Association. Saleem Beg was there to receive his honour in person; Francesca and Martijn received theirs in absentia.

The regular agenda of the meeting consisted of the following:

### A. *Ordinary Items of Business*

1. Announcement of the result of the elections to the Executive and Advisory Committees. Since there were no nominations to any of the vacant positions from the wider membership, the Executive Committee proposed a panel of single candidates, as follows:
  - President: John Bray (under para 8(b) of the Constitution which provides for the immediate re-election of a sitting President after the statutory two terms, if the position would otherwise remain vacant) for a further two-year term.
  - Secretary: Sonam Wangchok.
  - Treasurer and Membership Secretary: Gareth Wall (who has been fulfilling the duties of the position on an interim basis as a co-opted member of the Executive Committee since 2009).
  - Ladakh Liaison Officer: Raza Abbassi.
  - Four members of the Advisory Committee: Juliane Dame, Bettina Zeisler, Mohammed Deen Darokhan and Thupstan Norboo.

The Meeting was invited to ratify the election of the above candidates by show of hands, which it duly did.

2. Gareth Wall, Treasurer and Membership Secretary, gave a broad statement of the Association's finances, and proposed to circulate a detailed statement in due course.

3. Instead of a discussion of membership charges, the meeting was referred to item 1 in the Extraordinary Items of Business below.
4. John Bray announced a proposal from Juliane Dame to hold the next conference in Heidelberg, Germany, and the meeting authorised the Executive Committee to pursue the proposal. As regards the date of the conference, Bettina Zeisler pointed out that a date between July and September would make it impossible for some researchers to attend the conference without compromising their fieldwork in Ladakh. At the same time it was admitted that the Conference Convener would have the last word, according to conditions in the host city.

John Bray put it to the meeting that it would be good to explore the possibility of holding a conference in Sikkim or Bhutan, either as part of the ongoing series of biennial conferences, or as a standalone event. This might take place jointly with an academic institution in the proposed region, and cover issues of mutual interest like conservation, biodiversity loss or Buddhist culture. The meeting authorised the President and Executive Committee to explore the possibilities.

The other issue discussed under this head was the possibility of holding inter-conference events. Very few such events have been held in Ladakh, and so far none abroad. The initiative for organising such events in Ladakh would lie partly with the local membership, but also with visiting scholars, who might offer to conduct workshops or seminars on their own particular subjects of interest. Gareth Wall offered to organise an event for members based in the United Kingdom, who might be disappointed by the cancellation of the conference in Aberdeen; and suggested that Germany-based members, of whom there are a fair number, might think along similar lines.

#### *B. Extraordinary items of Business.*

1. The Executive Committee proposed two amendments to the Constitution.
  - The first regularised the position of Webmaster, giving him/her a recognised position on the Executive Committee; and providing that, on account of the technical nature of the necessary skills, he/she should be appointed by the Executive Committee rather than elected.
  - The second streamlined the membership system, providing for a membership period of two years to run from conference to conference. Since renewals would become operative at the start of every conference, it would no longer make sense to have the General Meeting, held during the conference, decide the level of membership fees. Any revisions of these would now be decided by the Executive Committee and announced ahead of the conference, and the General Meeting be invited to ratify their decision.

The meeting was pleased to ratify these two amendments.

2. The Executive Committee had circulated a Discussion Note on the way forward for the IALS. The main issue was whether the Association should seek registration under the Indian Registration of Societies Act. Also put forward for discussion was the possibility of forging closer links with registered NGOs as an alternative to registration, so as to take advantage of some of the privileges of a registered society, such as permission to receive funds from abroad.

The sense of the meeting was clearly against registration in India, as it was felt that for the IALS the possible advantages were outweighed by the problems involved. Harjit Singh, a senior professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi, pointed out that, if you know how to access them, plenty of funds for conferences and other activities are available in India even for unregistered bodies.

Monisha Ahmed, who heads a registered organisation in Leh, was of the opinion that it would not be to the advantage of a registered association to forge closer links with an unregistered one like the IALS, though it was possible, indeed common practice, for temporary arrangements to be entered into, whereby the registered society could receive foreign funds on the unregistered society's behalf, taking a percentage for their pains.

Both Monisha and Harjit proposed that, rather than seeking linkages with local registered bodies, the Association should explore the possibilities of joint action with universities in north India, especially those with a large number of Ladakhi students. This might enable us to hold conferences or similar events in Delhi, Jammu, Srinagar or Chandigarh. This suggestion that the association explore such options was approved by the meeting.

3. The Executive Committee had circulated a discussion note on the Association's publications, which referred to in-depth discussions in recent issues of our journal, *Ladakh Studies*. Introducing the discussion, John Bray informed the meeting that Kim Gutschow had decided to step down as Editor in 2013, and that therefore the EC would be seeking candidates for a replacement after that date. In the meantime Kim has co-opted Gareth Wall and Sunetro Ghosal onto the Editorial Committee.

One of the main questions at issue was whether the proceedings of the conferences should be published as comprehensive volumes, or whether it made more sense to divide the papers of several conferences up into thematic volumes. Although Noé Dinnerstein volunteered to edit the proceedings of the present conference as a single volume, John Bray, who has from the start taken a lot of initiative in the matter of publishing the Association's material, expressed a definite preference for thematic volumes which, apart from any other considerations, were more likely to be accepted by publishers. Thematic volumes with papers from the 13th and 14th conferences, relating to conservation and the environment, and art and architecture are already on the anvil, and John suggested that it might be possible to incorporate some of the papers of the present conference into these. In addition he would talk to the authors of the papers, try to establish their preferences and act accordingly.

The meeting was also informed of the proposal of Stawa, the local publishing house started by our member Sunetro Ghosal which has for several years printed and distributed *Ladakh Studies*, to enter into a closer relationship with the IALS. The idea that Stawa might undertake all the Association's publishing work was rejected on the grounds that if a conference were held jointly with another institution, that institution would want a say in the publication of the proceedings. The meeting however authorised the Executive Committee to enter into negotiations with Stawa with a view to establishing a closer link, which among other things would enable the Association to take advantage of Stawa's distribution and marketing systems.

Janet Rizvi raised the related issue of the accessibility of foreign publications, whether published under the auspices of the Association or not, to researchers in Ladakh. Some such publications are exorbitantly expensive, far beyond the means of individual students; and though many of them are available in the various libraries in Leh, tracking them down can be difficult, as can working in libraries which keep government office hours and close at 4 p.m. Janet proposed a partial solution to the problem. In Leh, the libraries attached to the Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, the Eliezer Joldan Degree College, the Central Asian Museum, the Ladakh Arts and Media Organisation (LAMO), the Ladakh Ecological Development Group (LEDeG) and the Himalayan Cultural Heritage Foundation, together with the Municipal Library, might agree to digitise their catalogues and create a consolidated catalogue. This would at least make it possible for the Leh-based researcher to establish whether the text he wants is available, and if so where. The second step would be for all the libraries to work out the modalities of an inter-library loan scheme, to enable the researcher to consult the text in the library most convenient to her. The third step would be the creation of a central reading room, open till late evening—at least 8 or 9 p.m.—where the researcher could consult the consolidated catalogue, and requisition the texts she needs under the inter-library loan scheme. A similar programme could be followed in Kargil.

Prof. Harjit Singh assured the meeting that Government money would be available for, e.g., the creation of a consolidated digitised catalogue of books, as well as other steps, and undertook, if approached, to facilitate the obtaining of funds. Most probably such funds would be routed through the University Grants Commission; and for projects proposed by educational institutions, funding running into tens of crores could be made available. Accordingly the project might be best promoted by the Degree Colleges of the two towns. Since this is a scheme intended to benefit Ladakhi scholars in Ladakh, it is for them to initiate it and carry it forward.

## BOOK REVIEWS

■ ***World Crisis and Buddhist Humanism. End Games: Collapse or Renewal of Civilisation* by John H. Crook (foreword by Roshi John Daido Looi), 2009, New Age Books New Delhi, pp. 408**

—John Bray

John Crook, who passed away in July 2011, is well known to students of Ladakh for his book *Himalayan Buddhist Villages* (co-edited with Henry Osmaston, 1994) as well as *Yogins of Ladakh* (with James Lowe, 1996) and a series of seminal articles and chapters on Buddhism, indigenous psychiatry, polyandry and social change. In his work on Ladakh, he applied both his training as a scientist—he had been a Reader in the Department of Psychology at Bristol University—as well as the insights derived from decades of experience as a Zen practitioner. James Crowden's memoir of his friendship with John in *Ladakh Studies* 28 sums him up as “a great teacher and a rare individual who bridged the great gap between Western and Eastern thought”. This book provides the evidence.

*World Crisis and Buddhist Humanism* is in effect the synthesis of a lifetime's intellectual enquiry. It includes scattered references to Ladakh, notably in a section on Tantra, but this is not its prime focus. Rather, it challenges us all to see our own researches—whether defined by geography, discipline or a combination of both—in a much wider perspective.

The “world crisis” of the title refers to the concern that “we are ruining the planetary ecology upon which our style of life if not the very lives of our grandchildren depend”. John's central thesis is that our collective failure to resolve this crisis owes much to the dominance of a “schizoid” Western worldview where there is a split between an “anachronistic religious base” and a “humanist science-based culture created by inventive genius but lacking ethics apart from personal gain”. He argues that a ‘buddhistic’ perspective can help us find solutions.

The book is divided into four sections. In Part I, John introduces the work of Niko Tinbergen, a Dutch scientist who in 1973 shared a Nobel Prize for founding the scientific study of animal behaviour. Towards the end of his career, Tinbergen turned his attention to our own species. In the past, humanity has demonstrated an outstanding capacity for social flexibility based on exploratory learning. ‘Tinbergen's Doubt’—which John evidently shares—concerns the possibility that humanity has now reached the limits of its adaptability in the face of ever more complex problems.

In Part II, he presents a synthesis of the development of Global Buddhism and the transmission of Buddhist thought from its Indian origins to China, Tibet and eventually the West. He concludes with an overall assessment, arguing that “Buddhist propositions are truth claims in the sense that anyone interested in them is able and encouraged to confirm for themselves through personal assessment”. A Buddhist approach offers a “practical philosophy... which has relevance to the bewildering value-free world of the post-modern West”.

Part III, offers a series of “Tutorials for the Buddha”. John imagines that the Buddha has returned after 2,500 years, specifically to London, to re-examine his original ideas in the light of contemporary intellectual developments. The Buddha shares his enquiries with Jim, a 26-year old Anglo-Greek doctoral graduate who has found temporary work as a waiter in Islington. Later, they are joined by Eleanor, a Southampton psychotherapist. On an excursion to Paris, the Buddha meets Dominique, a French feminist philosopher. With their help, the Buddha learns of the latest developments in evolutionary psychology, economics, and “the divided mind of Western philosophy”.

In Part IV, John turns to “The Search for a Future” and presents his case for a “Buddhist Humanism”, arguing that Science and buddhistic enquiry form complementary poles of investigation. Intellectual enquiry into the causes of suffering needs to be combined with the disciplined practice of meditation. Above all, there is a need for “transformative education” to provide the resources and motivation needed to address the world’s problems.

*World Crisis and Buddhist Humanism* is ambitious in its scope: it demands—and rewards—hard work on the part of the reader. One of the most striking parts of the book is the section on evolutionary psychology, which of course draws on John’s own research, and its links with Buddhist thought. The Buddha’s dialogues in London are leavened by a touch of humour, and work as a pedagogical device, but nevertheless frequently appear a little wooden. The 111-page section on Global Buddhism is authoritative, and could easily be a book in itself. By contrast the economic analysis is much weaker, with an occasional touch of caricature in its description of the workings of international companies. In a book of this breadth a degree of unevenness may be inevitable but the overall message is clear: we need courage and mindful innovation to address global concerns that affect us all.

When a respected elder passes away, one often thinks with regret of the questions that one can no longer ask. John mentioned this book in a phone conversation about a year before he died, but I did not get round to buying a copy until after he had left us. As I read it now, I discern the skill of “a great teacher” (to return to James’s phrase) in expounding complex topics. Rather than simply transmitting knowledge, the greatest teachers prompt students to pose questions of their own, and to act on their findings. Through his final book John has left both a testament and a call to action.

■ ***Legacy of a Mountain People. Inventory of Cultural Resources of Ladakh.* (forewords by Raja Jigmed Wangchuk Namgyal and Gamini Wijesuriya), 2008, Namgyal Institute for Research on Ladakhi Art and Culture (NIRLAC), New Delhi, Vol. 1 (Khaltse): pp. 560, Vol. 2 (Leh-Kharu): pp. 771, Vol. 3 (Durbuk-Nyoma): pp. 447, Vol. 4 (Nubra): pp. 424, maps, illus. —John Bray**

The four volumes under review are the outcome of a major project by the Namgyal Institute for Research on Ladakhi Art and Culture (NIRLAC) with financial support from the Ford Foundation. They represent a major achievement in themselves while pointing to the need for further research and practical conservation initiatives. Two further volumes are planned for Kargil and Zangskar.

Starting in 2003, NIRLAC set out to prepare an inventory of Ladakh’s cultural resources, a term which it defines broadly to include both religious and secular constructions (monasteries, chortens, mosques, houses) as well as sacred features of the landscape such as lakes, rock formations and trees. The combined inventory lists new and restored buildings as well as older ones: it covers 400 villages in Leh and Kargil districts and records 4,250 sites. Even this extensive list is far from comprehensive. For example, it covers no more than a small selection of the hundreds of petroglyphs in the region.

The preface to the first volume rightly highlights the contemporary religious and social aspects of ‘cultural heritage’. In support of this view, it cites a distinguished lama who queried the purpose of restoring a ruined temple with exquisite wall paintings if there were no monks to carry out daily rituals there. The various components of Ladakh’s cultural heritage have little prospect for survival—except perhaps as museum pieces—unless they are valued and form part of the lives of the region’s contemporary inhabitants.

In keeping with this perspective, NIRLAC adopted a collaborative approach to the listing process. The project team consulted community leaders and owners of heritage properties when preparing the inventory, and the list therefore reflects their own views of what was most important. Each listing includes information on the site's name, location, function, description and state of preservation as well as sources of information.

The 'state of preservation' entries give frequent cause for concern. All too many of the chortens are listed as being in poor condition or even in "danger of disappearance", and in recent years many of the most important petroglyphs – for example a historic inscription near Khalatse— have been destroyed in road-building programmes. In rural Ladakh as in the Old Town of Leh, many of the more impressive secular buildings are no longer inhabited because their owners have chosen to move to newer, more comfortable modern constructions.

For the architectural historian, restoration may pose its own problems. For example, the inventory shows that mosques all over Ladakh have been rebuilt in the 'Turco-Iranian' style in the last twenty years, and there is no indication that the earlier buildings were properly documented before they were pulled down. In other cases insensitive restoration using concrete and other modern materials may have destroyed the aesthetic integrity of older buildings without solving major structural problems. As the NIRLAC survey makes clear, we need to make best use of both traditional skills and modern research to preserve what local communities themselves believe to be of greatest value.

The books are a pleasure to handle, presenting the opportunity for hours of armchair trekking in urban and rural Ladakh. Some of the historical details are open to challenge. For example, the dating of the Ladakhi kings' reigns in the 'Leh district historical timeline' appears to reflect the early 20<sup>th</sup> century publications of A.H. Francke rather than more recent scholarship. These are details that can be corrected. NIRLAC's project is not the last word but rather a further stage in the sustaining of Ladakh's living history.



## LADAKH BIBLIOGRAPHY SUPPLEMENT No 23

This supplement lists additions to updates in previous editions of *Ladakh Studies* and in my *Bibliography of Ladakh* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988). Please send new references and suggested annotations to John Bray: JNBray1957@yahoo.co.uk.

Abrol, B.K. & Chopra, I.C. 1962. "Some Vegetable Drug Resources of Ladakh (Little Tibet)." *Current Science* 31, No.8, pp. 324-326. ■ Reports on a botanical survey in the Indus valley and Nubra, listing species of potential medical value.

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Appel, Michaela. 2009. *Kashmir-Ladakh - Baltistan. 1911/12. Fotografien von Otto Honigmann*. Mit Beiträgen von Jürgen Wasim Frembgen und Bruno J. Richtsfeld. Munich: Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde. 94 pp. ■ Illustrated catalogue and accompanying text showing photographs taken by Honigmann during an extended visit to Ladakh in 1911/1912. Includes pictures of Leh bazaar, Hemis, Nubra and Baltistan.

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Kloos, Stephan. 2012. "Legends from Dha-Hanu. Oral Histories of the Buddhist Dards of Ladakh". *LS* 28 pp. 17-26. ■ Ranges from legends concerning the original settlement of the Dard villages to historical memories of Dogra rule in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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Urgyan Rigzin, Nyung Stod pa [Nyung stod pa o rgyan rig 'dzin]. 2010. *Nub rai' gans ba shad* [An Account of Sacred Landscape in Nubra] Leh: Himalayan Cultural Heritage Foundation. 150 pp. illus. ■ Discusses the history and sacred landscapes of Nubra, including a description of individual villages.

## NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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