

**The Interface between Tourism and Religion in Ladakh: A Study
of Lamayuru Village**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
for the award of the degree of*

Doctor of Philosophy

TASHI LUNDUP



CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI-110067

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-----*Dedicated*

To my loving parents: Amalay Tashi, Abalay Rinchen, and Family Members

And

To the monks and the people of Lamayuru-----



जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067

Centre for the Study of Social Systems
School of Social Sciences

Tel.: 26704408

Date: 13th July 2017

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work reported in this thesis titled '**The Interface between Tourism and Religion in Ladakh: A Study of Lamayuru Village**' submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy**, is entirely original and has been carried out by me in the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, under the supervision of **Prof. Susan Visvanathan**. I further declare that the work has not been submitted elsewhere for the awards of any degree or diploma, in any university or institution.

TASHI LUNDUP

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

PROF. NILIKA MEHROTRA

(Chairperson)

 Chairperson
CSSS/SSS
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067

PROF. SUSAN VISVANATHAN

(Supervisor)

Professor
Centre for the Study of Social Systems
School of Social Sciences,
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067

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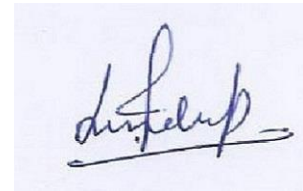
I owe my warm and sincere thanks to my family members without whom my work would have not been possible who has always been with me through the ups and down of my life. It is their constant love, support and encouragement which motivated me cover my Ph.D. journey. Thanks for being there for me, my parents; Amalay Tashi and Abalay Rinchen, my brother, Konchok and sisters, Yangzom, Palzes, and wangmo. It is to them I dedicated this work of mine. Likewise, I like to thank my relatives such as, Ajang Tashi, Ajang Chopo, all my cousins especially Dr. Konchok, Tsaphel, Acho Chos, Acho Rigzin who has been a supportive throughout this project.

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I owe complete responsible for all the shortcomings and errors which might have occurred.

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A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in black ink. The signature is written in a cursive style and appears to read 'Tashi Lundup'.

TASHI LUNDUP

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Abbreviations of Acts, Institutions, and Organization used in the Study

1. **AFS:** Air Force Station.
2. **AIR:** All India Radio.
3. **ALSAJ:** All Ladakh Student Association Jammu.
4. **ALTOA:** All Ladakh Tour and Travel Operator Association.
5. **ASI:** Archeological Survey of India.
6. **BJP:** Bhartiya Janata Party
7. **BRO:** Border Road Organization.
8. **BSNL:** Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited.
9. **CAGR:** Compound Annual Growth Rate.
10. **CBT:** Community Based Tourism.
11. **CEC:** Chief Executive Councillor.
12. **CIBS:** Central Institute of Buddhist Studies.
13. **CRS:** Centralised Residential School.
14. **DC:** District Commissioner.
15. **DGHC:** Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council
16. **DKL:** Drikung Kargyud Lineage.
17. **DKI:** Drikung Kagyud Institute.
18. **DRDO:** Defence Research and Development Organsation.
19. **EC:** Executive Councillor.
20. **IASET:** International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism.
21. **IMI:** Indian Mountain Initiative.
22. **INC:** Indian National Congress.
23. **IT:** Information Technology.
24. **FGD:** Focus Group Discussion.
25. **GERES:** Renewable Energy and Environment Group India.
26. **GHG:** Green House Gases.
27. **GRES:** General Reserve Engineer Force.

28. **HM:** Hill Mission.
29. **IALS:** International Association for Ladakh Studies.
30. **IPCC:** Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.
31. **J&K:** Jammu and Kashmir.
32. **JKSRTC:** Jammu and Kashmir State Road Transport Corporation.
33. **JKTA:** Jammu and Kashmir Tourism Authority.
34. **JKTD:** Jammu and Kashmir Tourism Department.
35. **LAHDC:** Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council.
36. **LBA:** Ladakh Buddhist Association.
37. **LEAF:** Ladakh Student Environmental Action Forum.
38. **LEDeG:** Ladakh Ecological Development Group.
39. **LEHO:** Ladakh Environment and Health Organosation.
40. **LGA:** Ladakh Gonpa Association.
41. **LMA:** Ladakh Muslim Association.
42. **LNP:** Leh Nutrition Project.
43. **LREDA:** Ladakh Renewable Energy Development Agency.
44. **LSWAD:** Ladakh Student Welfare Association Delhi.
45. **LSAC:** Ladakh Student Association Chandigarh.
46. **LWA:** Ladakh Women Alliance.
47. **MDG:** Millennium Development Goals.
48. **MLA:** Member of Legislative Assembly.
49. **MP:** Member of Parliament.
50. **NCEC:** Non Conventional Energy cell.
51. **NDMA:** National Disaster Management Authority.
52. **NLM:** New Ladakh Movement.
53. **NGO:** Non Governmental Organization.
54. **PDS:** Public Distribution System.
55. **PHE:** Public Health Engineering.
56. **RMC:** Roman Catholic Mission.
57. **SASE:** Snow and Avalanche Study Establishment.
58. **SEBOL:** Socially Engaged Buddhism Of Ladakh.

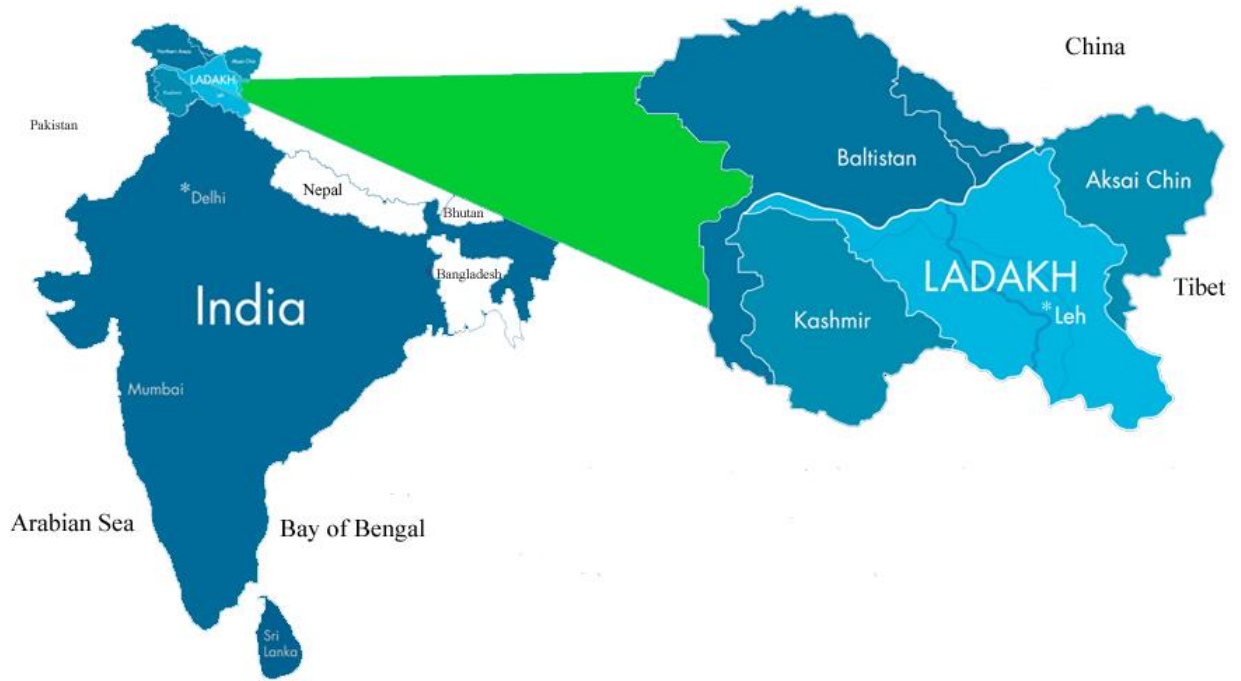
59. **SECMOL:** Student Educational and Cultural Movement of Ladakh.
60. **SHG:** Self Help Group.
61. **SMDS:** Sustainable Mountain Development Summit.
62. **SNM:** Sonam Norbo Memorial.
63. **UK:** United Kingdom.
64. **UNTWO:** United Nations World Tourism Organisation.
65. **USP:** Unique Selling Proposition.
66. **UNESCO:** United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
67. **UTD:** Unique Travel Destination.
68. **UT:** Union Territory.
69. **WAL:** Women's Alliance of Ladakh.
70. **WFTGA:** World Federation of Tourist Guide Association.
71. **WMF:** World Mountain Forum.

Glossary

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Banlok:</i> | Disrobed. |
| 2. <i>Bhakston:</i> | Marriage ceremony. |
| 3. <i>Bo:</i> | Traditional unit of Measurement. |
| 4. <i>Brog-youl:</i> | Aryan valley in Ladakh. |
| 5. <i>Chad-pa:</i> | Fine or Penalty. |
| 6. <i>Cham:</i> | Mask dance. |
| 7. <i>Chan-tsa:</i> | Kitchen combined with living room. |
| 8. <i>Chang:</i> | Local barley beer. |
| 9. <i>Chu and Charpa:</i> | Water and rain. |
| 10. <i>Chumik:</i> | Spring. |
| 11. <i>Chinlabs:</i> | Sacred energy or empowerment. |
| 12. <i>Chisgyal pa:</i> | Foreigners or westerners. |
| 13. <i>Chodkhang:</i> | Shrine room/ temple inside households. |
| 14. <i>Chutso:</i> | An extended neighbourhood. |
| 15. <i>Churpon:</i> | Water man. |
| 16. <i>Chusdhay-mesdhay:</i> | Social boycott. |
| 17. <i>Dabsang:</i> | Guide. |
| 18. <i>Drib/Tsetu:</i> | Spiritual pollution/contamination/defilement. |
| 19. <i>Drong-pa or Khang-pa:</i> | Households or home. |
| 20. <i>Dzenat:</i> | Leprosy. |
| 21. <i>Goba:</i> | Nominated head of a village. |
| 22. <i>Goncha:</i> | Traditional Ladakhi dress. |
| 23. <i>Gonpa:</i> | Monastery. |
| 24. <i>Gygagar-pa:</i> | Indian or Outsiders. |
| 25. <i>Gytsul:</i> | Young monk. |
| 26. <i>Jalme:</i> | Pilgrims. |
| 27. <i>Jung-lu:</i> | Folk song. |
| 28. <i>Khangchen:</i> | Full sized house. |
| 29. <i>Khang-Phet:</i> | Half-house. |
| 30. <i>Kanggro and Lagdon:</i> | The taxable household unit. |
| 31. <i>Khatags:</i> | Traditional ceremonial scarf. |
| 32. <i>Lhato:</i> | A kind of Totem. |
| 33. <i>Lha-Lhu:</i> | The sacred spirit that inhabits the land. |

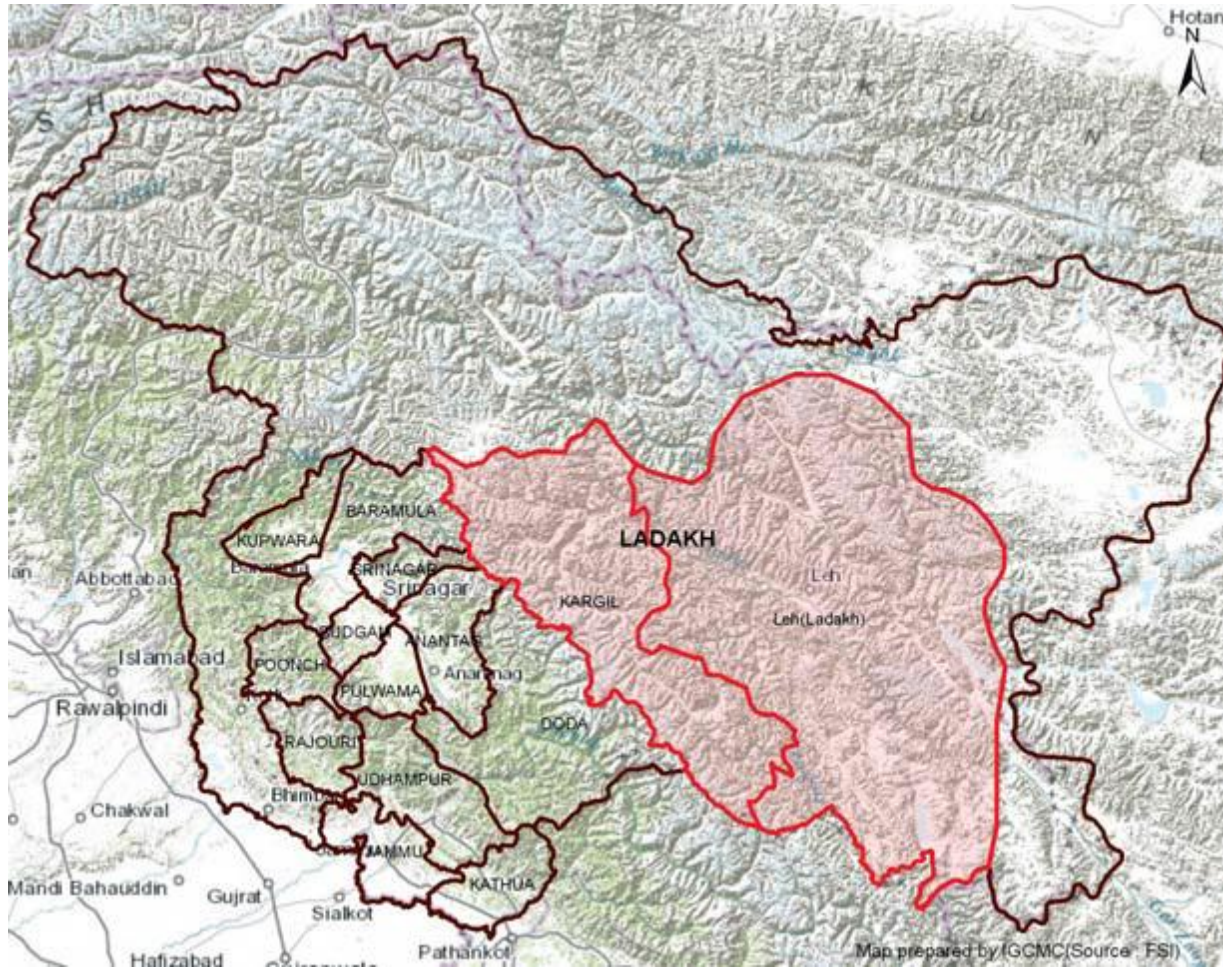
34. <i>Langde:</i>	System of shared and collective work during agricultural season.
35. <i>Lokpa:</i>	Goat's skin worn on back.
36. <i>Losar:</i>	Ladakhi New Year.
37. <i>Ma-rjing:</i>	Main agricultural land.
38. <i>Nangdik:</i>	Mutual agreement.
39. <i>Onpo:</i>	Astrologer.
40. <i>Phaspun:</i>	Group of households with communal rights and obligations.
41. <i>Phey:</i>	Barley flour.
42. <i>Phet-dhi-phet:</i>	Quarter house.
43. <i>Rinpoche:</i>	Reincarnated one or highly venerated monk.
44. <i>Rtendel:</i>	Dependence or Conditionality.
45. <i>Rtgs:</i>	Signs or symbols.
46. <i>Sangyas:</i>	Buddha or enlightened one.
47. <i>Shaks-Trims:</i>	Village meetings to solve dispute or conflict.
48. <i>Skora:</i>	Circumambulation.
49. <i>Skoryangs-pa:</i>	Tourists.
50. <i>Sonam-pa/Jingbad-pa:</i>	A peasant or farmer.
51. <i>Szem:</i>	A wooden container.
52. <i>Tashak:</i>	Residential quarters of monks.
53. <i>Thab:</i>	Traditional wood fare stove.
54. <i>Tsa:</i>	Salt.
55. <i>Tsas:</i>	Vegetable garden.
56. <i>Tseway-Nangsems:</i>	Bosom of gracious.
57. <i>Tsong-pa:</i>	Traders/ merchants.
58. <i>Tarchok:</i>	Prayer flags.
59. <i>Togpo:</i>	Stream or river.
60. <i>Tral-Trims:</i>	Village responsibility and customs.
61. <i>Trhel-ba:</i>	Insult.
62. <i>Yul:</i>	Village.
63. <i>Yul-pa:</i>	Villagers.
64. <i>Yura:</i>	Irrigational Channel.
65. <i>Zing:</i>	Pond.

Map-1: Map of India Locating Ladakh



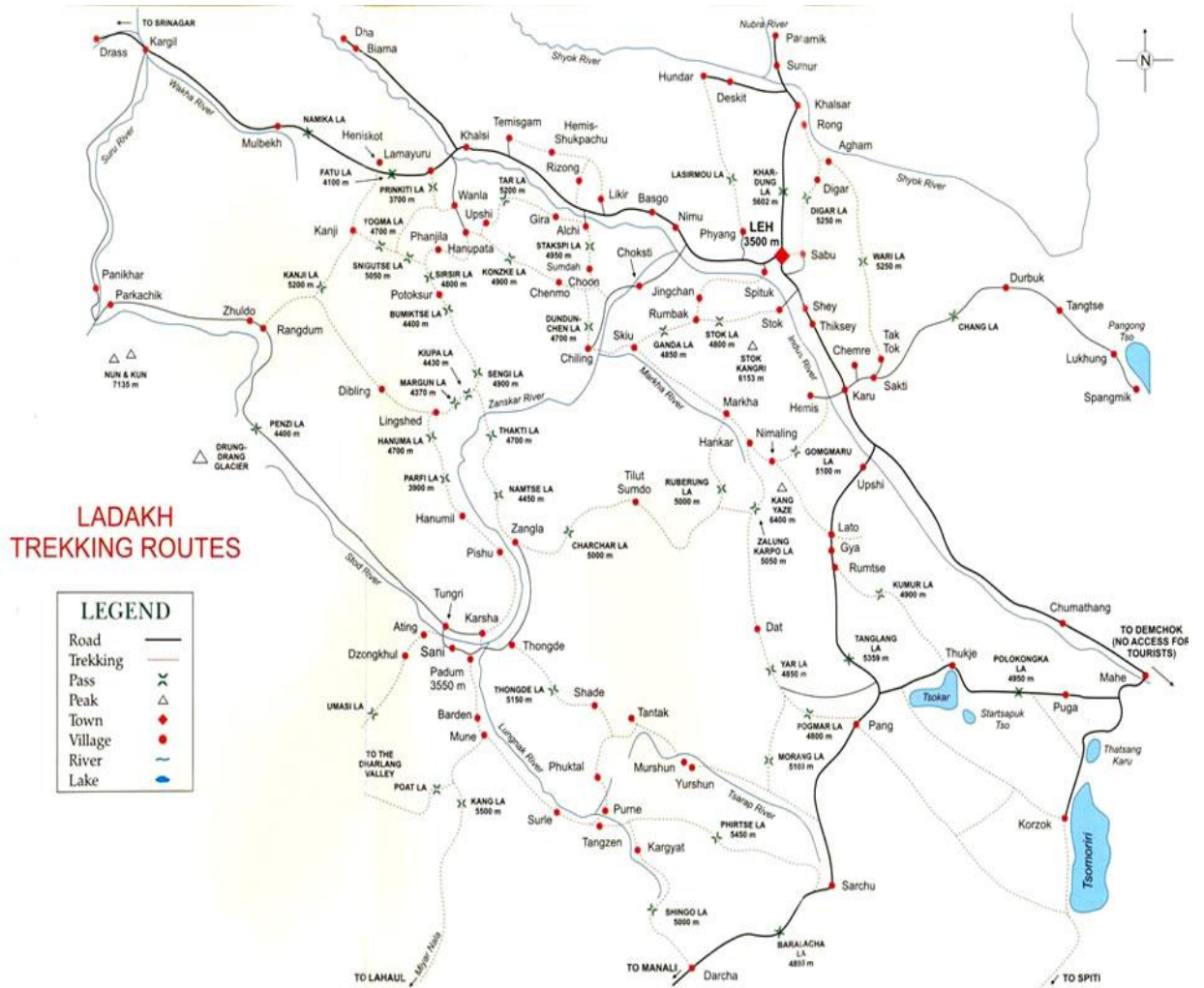
Source: <https://map.india.ladakh>

Map-2: Location of Ladakh in Jammu and Kashmir



Source: IGCMC, WWF-India

Map-3: Tourism Map of Ladakh



Source: <http://www.ladakhheritage.com/ladakh/map-of-ladakh>

INTRODUCTION

This thesis looks at the interface between tourism and religion in Ladakh, with special reference to Lamayuru village. In order to understand the interface between tourism and religion, Lamayuru village was chosen, since the village has been incorporated into the map of tourism much earlier than many other villages in Ladakh, and in due course of time, it has become one of the most popular tourists' destinations in Ladakh (situated 125 km west of Leh). Therefore, an attempt has been made to explore the relationship between tourism, religion and native culture, and in doing so it has captured the transition phase of the village, because of the active interplay of the local government on the one hand and the tourism industry on the other.

My study illustrates how local 'village culture' is reconstructed for tourists' consumption and analyses the socio-economic effects of tourism in Lamayuru. It engages with the nuances of social spaces shaped by the influx of tourism industry and anticipates addressing the question of how tourism is diluting the cultural meaning or it provides a new framework for the village. Furthermore, it seeks to explain how host society has negotiated village's sacred space and the ways in which tourism developers are marketing the region as '*Moon-Land*,' '*Land of Lamas*', '*Little Tibet*', and '*Roof of the World*' for tourist consumption. Furthermore, it recounts interaction between the tourists and villagers through constructing a corpus of discourses among the travellers and the villagers. It goes on to explain the changing perception of monks and villagers due to the inflow of tourism industry into the village.

Thus, before going into any further details it becomes important to locate a brief historical background of Ladakh and Buddhism. Scholarly research on Ladakh is diverse and multidisciplinary in nature. It is, therefore, difficult to understand its cosmopolitan nature and complex socio-political and religious background without taking its adjoining areas into consideration. As noted by John Bray in his introduction to *Ladakh Histories* (2005: 2), the history of Ladakh cannot be studied in isolation. It has to be comprehended at several different levels. It is indeed difficult to unambiguously define Ladakh, whether it be in historical, political or cultural terms. The complexity and diversity of processes, elements, and forces that constitute any society or community require scholarship drawn from more

than a single discipline. It is necessary even for a rudimentary understanding of any specific aspect of society and culture. Nevertheless, all contemporary research benefits from the foundation laid by the major 20th century historians of Ladakh, notably, Alexander Cunningham (1970), Abdul Wahid Radhu (1981), Ghulam Rassul Galwan (1924), A.H. Francke (1907, 1914), Luciano Petech (1939, 1977), Hashmatullah Khan (1939), Joseph Gergan (1976), Tashi Rabgias (1984), Janet Rizvi (1996), Helena Norberg-Hodge (1991).

Ladakh: Historical and Religious Background

Where exactly is Ladakh¹, and how does it fit into the wider history of the Himalayan and Karakoram region? Presently, Ladakh comes under the state of Jammu & Kashmir, India. Though, politically and geographically Ladakh comes under India but ecologically and culturally it is closer to Tibet. It is bounded by the two gigantic ranges of the Himalaya and the Karakoram. The physical landscape of Ladakh consisting of myriad mountain ranges, plains, and sparse green patches are testimony to human inhabitant. This human occupied portion of the territory is at the elevation of 2900-4600 meters above the sea-level, coupled with various mountain peaks ascending to as high as 7500 meters (Michaud 1996). Altitude differences entail enormous ecological diversities, and these, in turn, affect the way people adapt to their environment. Yet, at the same time, there are integrating factors, of which the single most obvious one is the common history shared by all the regions of Ladakh.

Most of the rulers upheld almost the same area as today. Matrimonial alliances between the neighbouring states played an essential role in securing its borders and maintaining peace to promote trade relations with each other. A series of marriage alliances between Ladakh and adjoining regions kept them bound together, as a result region was a testimony to a prosperous trade and tourism. It was during the 9th century A.D., owing to its strategic

¹“The etymological essence of the word Ladakh has been taken from the Tibetan word- La-dvags, ‘The mountain-Land’ or ‘The Land of Passes’. Ladakh was known in the past by different names. It is popularly known as land of Lamas (monks) and monasteries. It is also called as Cold desert. Apart from that, various travellers and historians like Cosmo-de-Kores and Huan-Tsang in 1640 referred to Ladakh as Ma-lo-pho or Mar-yul, mar means red and youl means land, so that means the Red Land”(Ahmad 203: 113). Furthermore, “Fa-Hian account in 400 A.D. called the kingdom of Ladakh as Kie-chha or Kha-chan-pa means Snow Land” (Francke 1907, Jina 1995: 139). However, still doubt remains regarding the actual essence of the word Ladakh. Presently, it is important to point out here that the term ‘Ladakh’ applies to both Leh and Kargil. Tourists’ accounts of it and academicians as well as non-academicians tend to refer to Leh as Ladakh and Kargil as somehow separate from it, a tendency that the people of Kargil, rightly, often objected to.

geographical location, Ladakh had witnessed the considerable presence of caravanners plying the trans-Himalayan trade routes. Since then, Ladakh gained the status of a commercial hub, as an access point into South Asian and Central Asian countries. Ladakh helped maintain the commercial transaction for centuries and it also opened up economic avenues for common people and local traders (Michaud 1996). Besides, Ladakh has maintained a strong trade, cultural, political, and religious link with its neighbouring regions such as Tibet, Kashmir, Jammu, and Punjab. The borders of the independent kingdom that Ladakh was for some nine centuries, expanded and shrank according to the relative power of its rulers and those of neighbouring countries (Rizvi 1996). In due course of time, Ladakh established several trade routes connecting Ladakh with other regions such as Tibet and Gilgit-Baltistan.² There was also a systemic and vibrant intra-trade network of local traders in subsistence goods carried on partly by occasional trading expedition undertaken by the villagers themselves and partly by the exertions of a semi-professional class of traders known as *tsongpa* (meaning traders/merchants) in Ladakhi, belonging particularly from the lower part of Ladakh known as Shamma. Language is an important element in trade relation, and it also acts as a unifying force among different regions of Ladakh. For instance, dialects of Changpas from the east are markedly different from the dialects of Shammans or Purik in Kargil and Zaskaris, but they are all mutually comprehensible. Atop of that, there is indeed a single basic culture, of which religion is the bedrock (Rizvi 1996). Buddhism, in particular, is the most influential religion, encompassing almost half of the population of Ladakh, while other communities such as Muslims and a small minority of Christian in Leh, also appear to be influenced by the basic Buddhist principle of non-violence and compassion. Furthermore, the degree of 'belongingness/Ladakhiness' or kinship among all the people of Ladakh has retained even today, regardless of its division into two districts as Leh and Kargil. However, of late, classification of its people has been made under the scheme of 'Schedule Tribes'.

² Economically, there has been a long and regular trade relation between Ladakh, Gilgit-Baltistan and Tibet. Trade along with agriculture was the sustained livelihoods of the people in all these regions. There are several historical trade routes that connect Ladakh with Gilgit-Baltistan. These routes were Kargil-Skardo, Leh-Skardo via Chorbat-la and Nubra-Khapulo. Through these routes, trade and commerce continued for centuries without any interruptions, which helped not only in development of a close trade relations but also cultural relations between Ladakh and Gilgit-Baltistan. Many local traders both from Ladakh and Gilgit-Baltistan were involved in this trade, taking their produced crossing these mountain routes.

Various Stages of History and Recent Developments

Various scholars have propounded many theories through different narrative devices in chronologically structured histories that lay emphasis on various issues and debates. Based on these sources, history of Ladakh can be divided into four major periods. A scholar like Michaud (1991) further subdivided the later period into two different phases. First marked as 1947, when India overthrew colonial rule and emerged as independent nation. Second period, he referred to the introduction of Ladakh to international tourism in 1974.

However, the chronological arrangement of history is not the truth of how things occurred, but one particular arrangement of knowledge about the past.

- A Part of the Tibetan Kingdom.
- An Independent Kingdom.
- The Dogra Regime.
- A part of Independent India.

A Part of the Tibetan Kingdom: Tibet was among one of the most powerful nations in Asia. Ladakh in its neighbourhood could not escape from its influence. Indeed, by 635 A.D. Ladakh was an integral part of Tibetan administration and used to have Tibetan representative to govern Ladakh. From the late 7th century till 10th century A.D., Ladakh was an integral part of the Tibetan empire. There are limited records and narratives of the period, Luciano Petech, Alexander Cunningham, and A.H. Francke are among those having contributed to the historical account of this period. Ladakh, like many other regions, was ruled by the Tibetan Empire and it founded the western part of the Tibetan monarch kingdom. The quest for the establishment of the independent kingdom began with the assassination of Lang-dar-ma, the last Tibetan king in 834 A.D. and the collapse of the Tibetan Empire around mid 10th century A.D. A number of small independent regional kingdoms rose to power in the adjoining regions, following the fall of the central authority. These regional kingdoms were ruled by aristocrats and descendants of the Tibetan royal family.

An Independent Kingdom: The period in between 10th century to 1834, Ladakh uphold the state of an independent Kingdom ruled by Buddhist kings, although at times it witnessed

domination by outside invaders. Lachen and Namgyal are the two dynasties which ruled Ladakh after its independence from Tibet, till the Dogras took over Ladakh. Following the assassination of the last Tibetan king, a Lang-dar-ma in 842 A.D. the state base royal monarchies disintegrated.(Bray 2005). The “Ladakhi kings claimed direct descent from the ancient Tibetan kings, and their most important duty was to serve as protectors of the Buddhist dharma”(Schwieger 1997; 1998:88-99). Lang-dar-ma had a son by the name of Odsung (843-905). One of Odsung’s grandson, Skyilde-Nyimagon migrated to western Tibet and married a daughter of the Dro family.³ He established his authority over the wider Western Tibetan region of mNga-ris-skor-gsum⁴ with his main central power in Purang (Shakspo 2010). After his death in 950, his possessions and the kingdom was divided among his three sons; the eldest son inherited Mar-yul (upper Ladakh), the second one ruled Guge and Purang, and the third one ruled Zanskar and Spiti. (Francke 1962: 94-95, Petech 1977: 17). However, the chronology of this time is not clear by any means. However, it is certain that first dynasty of Ladakh begins with Lachen Splakigon, as its first ruler, followed by a number of kings successively till 1435-1460 when Lodrochogden was deposed by his grand nephew Lachen Baghan. Lachen Baghan (1460-1885) founded the second dynasty of Ladakh, which ruled Ladakh until 1840; the last king was Tsepel Namgyal (1802-1840).

When Ladakh was ruled by Lhachen Utpala (C. 1080-1110), it had gained political control over western Tibet and Baltistan. By the time of the early 15th century, Islamisation of Kashmir had started and the holy war (Jihad) against infidels continued. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470) invaded Ladakh and subsequently, Ladakh was annexed to Kashmiri suzerainty, which ended with the death of the sultan in 1470 (Bray 2005, Paljor 1987)⁵. Nevertheless, there are different opinions among historians regarding Sultan Zain-ul Abidin’s invasion of Ladakh, but it became clear that his intention was not a permanent conquest. It was merely one of the customary raids aimed at collecting loot and extorting tribute (Petech 1977: 23-24). Ladakh’s independence did not last long as the Mongols under the sultan of

³ One of the Tibet’s highest noble households.

⁴ In its original sense mNga-ris-skor-gsum included Ladakh as well as Guge and Purang. Today mNga’-ris typically means western Tibet, but not Ladakh.

⁵ Sultan Zain ul-Abidin led personally an expedition against Tibet “plundered the country and massacred the people”; on this occasion Ladakh was also invaded. (Petech 1977: 23). Sultan Zain-ul Abidin invasion of Ladakh was first brought to scholarly attention by Pandit D.R. Sahni and A.H. Francke in 1908 on the basis of a passage in a Kashmiri source, Jonaraja’s Rajatarangini.

Kasgar and his commander, Mirza Haider, invaded the kingdom in 1532.⁶ Ladakh around this time seems to be divided as there were said to be two rulers, Ladakh Jughdan and Tashigon (Paljor 1987: 63).

Mirza Haider was a cousin of the Mughal Emperor Babur; he left a memoir, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* which discusses both his military activities and his impressions of the region's economy and religion.

Eventually, Kashmir rule came to an end. The expansionist policies under the king Tsewang Namgyal (1575-1595) had extended his kingdom to areas in Western Tibet like Guge, Mustang (now in Nepal), and Purang, Jumla and Kulu areas in the south, and Baltistan in the West. But, this was for a short period of time, for it fell apart when the king died, many outlying areas gained independence from Ladakh. His successor king Jamyang Namgyal (1595-1616) also tried to reclaim these areas into his kingdom. But, it provoked the Balti ruler Ali Mir Khan and consequently, he raided Ladakh and destroyed many monasteries which came in the way. He ruined precious religious texts by either burning them or throwing them into the rivers. Peace was restored by the matrimonial alliance, as Khan's daughter Gyal Khatun married to King Jamyang Namgyal. Followed by his son, Singey Namgyal (1616-1642), during which the kingdom has touched its zenith of expansion. Even during his son, Deldan Namgyal's rule (1642-1694) Ladakh had retained significant power over both its upper and lower areas, western Tibet and the southern areas of Lahaul, Spiti, Upper Kinnaur and Zaskar (Paljor 1987).

However, in the late 17th century there was a major shift in the Kingdom due to the invasion of Tibet. It was in 1681, that Tibet invaded Ladakh on the issue of sectarian prejudice and oppression of Gelupa sect in Ladakh. At the same time, Ladakh also sided with Bhutan, its fellow Red Hat sect Drukpa Kagyud because yellow Hat sect Gelupa of Tibetan state was their common enemy. As a result, 5th Dalai Lama appointed a learned Lama of Tashilumbu monastery, as the commander in chief of the expedition to Ladakh. They advanced through

⁶ After spending the winter in Kashmir, Mirza Haider returned to Ladakh in the summer of 1533 and proceeded to invade Tibet. He reached as far as 8 days march from Lhasa, but the harsh environment and ill health among his men forced him to return to Ladakh. He stayed there until he left for Badakhshan in 1536. After invading Kashmir once more and consolidating his power there, Mirza Haider re-invaded Ladakh. By 1548 he ruled over both Baltistan and Ladakh, after his death in 1551, Ladakh regained her independence. Kashmir raid continued, once in 1553 and another 1562, but they were not significant.

the northern part of Ladakh and arrived at Leh. Ladakhi king fled and stayed at Basgo fortress until Mughals handed their help to push the Tibetan back. When the war ended and peace was restored through 'Tigmosgang Treaty' in 1684, Ladakh lost all its territories in Western Tibet, including those previously gained by Singey Namgyal. However, the involvement of Mughals in the form of support had completely changed the fate of Ladakh; they took Ladakh under their control. This particular phase brought significant changes in terms of Ladakh's impact factor in the region of Himalaya. In this regard, Petech remarks "Ladakh's role as a Himalayan power of some importance was finished once and for all. Later history offers merely local interest". (1977: 80). When Dogra invaded Ladakh in the early 1830's during the reign of the last king, Tsepel Namgyal, the kingdom was already in a state of disintegration.

During these nine centuries, the political history of Ladakh witnessed a changing and vanishing of the Ladakhi kingdom because of the invasion policy followed by the rulers of the Ladakh and neighbouring states on each other, for political and territorial gain. Finally, the ruler of Ladakh was defeated and the Dogras took over Ladakh in 1843 and Ladakh became an integral part of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Dogra Regime: It was in 1834 that Maharaja of Jammu attacked Ladakh, led by General Zorawar Singh. Zorawar's and Tsepel Namgyal's armies fought pitched battles at places like Kantse, Sanku, Sot, and Pashkam. Later on, the invaders moved towards the capital Leh after their victory. King Tsepel Namgyal was made to pay a sum of Rs 20,000 as an annual tribute besides, acknowledging the suzerainty of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The people of Ladakh soon rose to revolt which was suppressed by Zorawar Singh. From 1834, he undertook a series of expeditions to Ladakh, which finally lost its independence in 1842. The royal family was forced out and economic administration was placed in the hands of managers from outside. The political power of the Ladakhi elite, however, was weakened" (Kaplanian, 1981:174). However, according to Singh, "the Buddhist clergy survived the Dogra reform without any major changes in their status, their capacity for survival, or their economic power" (Singh 1977 cited in Michaud 1996: 290). The significance of Dogra regime for Ladakh lies in the fact that whole state in turn became a part of the independent India in 1947.

Historical circumstances reversed Ladakh's fortunes. It first lost its political identity after its annexation to Dogra rulers of Jammu in 1842. With the accession of Dogra-ruled state (Jammu and Kashmir) to India, Ladakh also became a part of India in 1947. Along with its political identity, Ladakh gradually lost its economic identity too. From being an entre-pot and a crossroad in Asia, it was relegated to a marginal land on the frontiers of Indian sub-continent, due to the rigidity of boundaries of the nation-state of the modern world.

A part of Independent India: Ladakh became a part of Independent India⁷ in 1947, following the signing of "Instrument of Accession" by Maharaja Hari Singh on 26th of October, 1947, whereby, the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India. When the first prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru visited the region, the local political leaders sought what they called 'Tseway-Nangsems' (Bosom of gracious) for the betterment of the region and its people. Coming out of 100 years of autocratic Dogra rule, it was easy for the people of Ladakh to fine tune their political fortune with democratic India (Chosjor 2006: 3).

Another landmark in the geo-political history of Ladakh was the establishment of *Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council* (LAHDC) Government in 1995, modelled on the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Development Council (DGHC). It was granted to Ladakh after a prolonged struggle by the Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA) Leh, as an alternative to their demand for union territory (UT)⁸. However, Kargil District, on the other hand, accepted the same in 2002⁹, after realising that the LAHDC mechanism was working well for the development of the people in Leh District.

⁷Four years from 1842, Ladakh has been an integral part of the Jammu and Kashmir state, shows a British colonial paramountacy under the control of India. It was actually in 1947 that Jammu and Kashmir in turn merged into union of India. Hence, Ladakh became a part of Independent India. However, the political status of Ladakh still remains contested within the India. Buddhist leaders wanted to be separated from Jammu and Kashmir and demand a status of Union Territory under direct rule from New Delhi. On the other hand, Kargil do not support UT demand, they envisage the idea of greater Ladakhand inclusion of Gilgit and Skardo (presently in Pakistan's possession) in it. [<http://www.reachladakh.com/the-politics-of-ladakh-need-for-practical-and-inclusive-demands/3761.html>]

⁸Union Territory (UT) is a name more or less synonymous with the modern political discourse in Ladakh. The demand for separate administration for Ladakh, however, is not new at all. [<http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/lehladakh-people-demand-union-territory-status-submit-memorandum-to-pm-narendra-modi>].

⁹The Muslims of Ladakh, particularly those of Kargil reject UT movement. Therefore, whenever the Buddhist leadership raises the UT demand, the Muslim leadership loses no opportunity in rejecting and criticizing the

Past Economy

In spite of being largely barren and unproductive landscape as well as being among the highest inhabited places in the world, such remoteness never isolated the people and place nor created barriers between the numerous culture and religious influences from India (Namgyal 2007). It was in fact, in between 1949 to 1974, that Ladakh was geographically and politically kept in isolation from the rest of the world. Prior to that Ladakh had good trade links with China, Central Asia, and Tibet because it was a very important and strategic part of the old Silk Route,¹⁰ the well-known trade of ancient Chinese civilization. The trade used to be operated all the way from Ladakh through Karakoram passes to Yarkhand and Kasghar in China. Likewise, the same route was connected to Kashmir through which famous *pashmina* shawl from Changthang carried to Kashmir (Chosjor 2007). One of the most vital components of Ladakh's participation in the Silk Route was its geographic location.¹¹ In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Leh consolidated its status as an entrepot on the Central Asian trade route between Punjab, Kashmir and Turkestan/Xinjiang. Bray's account drawn from the personal interview as well as the archives of the Khan family in Leh, Jacqueline Fewkes and Abdul Nasir Khan (2005: 19), discussed the kinship and socio-economic networks that helped the trade run smoothly. Many Ladakhi families themselves established properties in many places like Khotan, Lhasa, Lahore, and beyond. Fewkes and Khan argue that these traders played an important role in the early manifestation of globalization by introducing international trade goods such as dyes in the Ladakhi market. In the 16th century, King Singey Namgyal expanded trade to Tibet. Many scholars referred to that particular era as the golden age of Ladakh (Fewkes 2009: 54). Since it marked the midway on the route, it developed a cosmopolitan atmosphere¹². But, Silk Route which connects Ladakh with several central Asian countries comes to an end in 1949. Ladakh's pride of being cosmopolitan space and an economic base tradition was finally lost (Rizvi

same. This however, does not mean that all is well in Kargil. Even in Kargil, the social and political discourses have been more or less overtly controlled by some fanatic Mullahs and Shikhs (Sikand 2006). Nevertheless, when they saw council is working well in Leh, they also adopted the same in 2002.

¹⁰“German geographer Ferdinand Von Richthofen” (1833-1905) has propounded the word “Silk Road” to describe the network of travel routes stretching between China and East Europe, with branches that extended in north and south directions.

¹¹Ladakh's strategic location on this route was in fact one of the reasons behind British interference in the internal affairs of Ladakh.

¹²Ladakh History. Jktourism.org. Retrieved on 13/11/2013.

1996). Hence, the people who were engaged in ‘Silk Road’ trade have now changed their occupations. More interestingly most of them are now engaged in tourism related activities. Their experiences of dealing with the foreign traders in the past historical trading network helped them to enter into the present-day hospitality industry.¹³

There are similar characteristics between the earlier phase of trade and present tourism in terms of interaction. But, not all the interactions with tourists are characterized by Ladakhis in similar ways. Historical trade interactions are generally remembered as having opened Ladakh to extra-regional markets, while tourism is often discussed as having trapped Ladakhi in the same.

Much of the initial tourist industry in Ladakh in the 1970s, however, was related directly to the trading history of the region. Some of the earlier hotels such as *Kanglachen* catering to the visiting merchants had represented Ladakh as a market after the closure of trading routes. Many of the former Sarai¹⁴ areas have now been converted into tourists’ facilities, either as hotels or shopping Plazas (Fewkes 2009). Most significantly, the enduring social legacy of Ladakh’s historical trade network is expressed in the participation of many of the traders’ descendants in the contemporary tourist's industry. When the international tourists market was opened, many with linguistic skills and intercultural communication experience were the descendants of the middlemen of the historical trading countries.

¹³ The families which were then engaged in the Silk route trade today turn up in tourism related business. For instance, today Ladakh is the only place where you can see the double hump camel in India, which is actually the leftover species of that historic trade now became the symbolic source for attracting tourists.

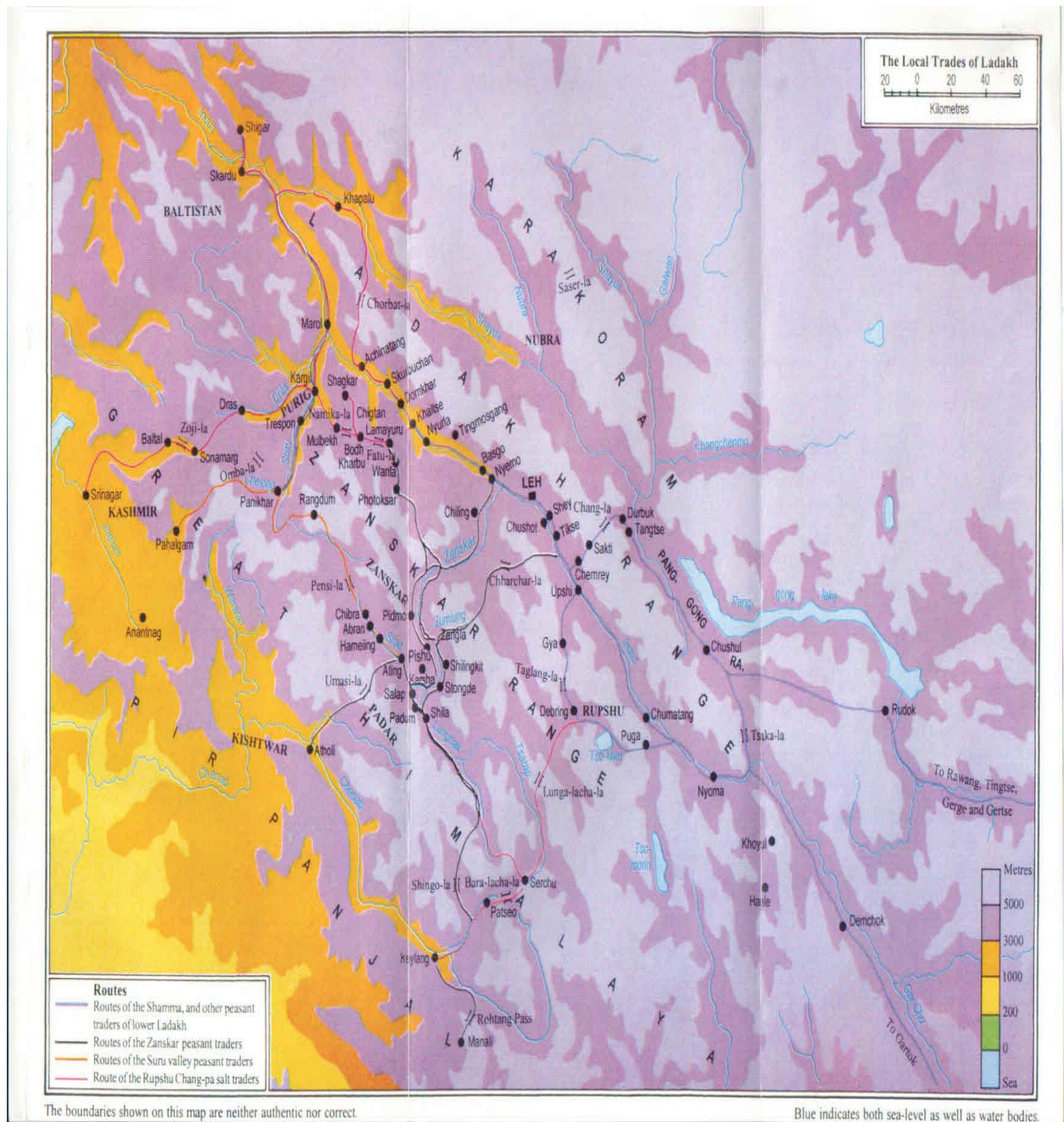
¹⁴ The Sarai, an inn and storage place for goods, was the economic and social centre of trader in North India and Central Asia trading towns. In early twentieth century there were three Sarai in Leh (Fewkes 2009: 88).

Map-4: South and South Central Asia showing Ladakh's Place in the international commercial Network.



Source: Rizvi, Janet (1983)

Map-5: The Local Traders of Ladakh



Source: Rizvi, Janet (1983)

Agriculture, Tourism, and Army are three main sources of income for Ladakh. Agriculture in Ladakh is labour intensive and less fertile soil due to its location at high elevation and climatic conditions. Glacier-fed streams are the only source of water for irrigation that gain requires

hard-labour for maintenance.¹⁵ However, the soil condition varies from region to region. For instance, Leh and Nubra¹⁶ region are relatively more fertile than the Changthang¹⁷ region because of its acute weather conditions which is not favourable for agricultural practice. In contrast, Sham area has a double cropping system. Besides, variety of vegetables and fruits such as apples, apricots, grapes, pears, walnuts, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, onions, turnips, carrots, cabbages, and radish, are grown in the lower parts of Ladakh.

The Army is one of the main sources for the local economy. Particularly, after Indo-China war in 1962, things have gradually begun to change in Ladakh. Government of India (GOI) has realised that border areas should be given proper connectivity to secure its strategic locations. As a result, huge numbers of military camps are now stationed in Ladakh. It provides employment and economic avenues to local residents. Eventually, army has become an essential part of local economy, followed by tourism industry which further accelerates region's growth.¹⁸

Land and Taxation System

Though the Ladakhi state levied taxes on transportation and commercial activity, I confine the discussion to the system of land tenure, labour appropriation, and taxation. All lands of the country, traditionally belonged to the king. Like their predecessors, the kings of Tibet, they were sacred figures. The kings were known as *chos-gyalchenpo*, or "Great king ruling

¹⁵ "The villages which are close to the river and the glacier-fed water channels are quite better off than the others. The climate is also not conducive for high yielding crops and consequently the fields are also not large. Most of the Ladakhis possess at least a small piece of land on which farming is done and its produce is stored for their personal consumption around the year" (Ahmad 2013: 117).

¹⁶ Nubra Valley about 150 kms from Leh (North East of Leh) is where the Shayok River meets the Siachen River. Nubra valley is known for its peculiar landscape different from rest of the region in Ladakh and the Khardung la, the highest motor able road in the world makes this region even more exciting place for tourists.

¹⁷ "Changthang, simply means Northern Plateau in Tibetan, is a high altitude plateau in western and northern Tibet extending into South Eastern Ladakh" for further details www.visitladakh.net/Changthang.aspx.

¹⁸ Tourism industry has emerged as another viable avenue for both skilled and un-skilled labours. Though, there are issues concerning its distribution which is predominantly concentrated in Leh town. However, service industry in Ladakh is still in its nascent stage which shows the pattern of potential highest income generator in future for the region. Similarly army also plays a big role on economic front by employing more than 10,000 Ladakhi youths as Indian Army, and avail various other earning opportunities to far-flung villages in Ladakh.

according to the law". They represented the unity of the four elements of *chab si*, political authority, *nga-thang*, majesty, and *ou-mo*, magical power. (Petech 1955: 199-200)¹⁹

According to Cunningham, three kinds of land ownership can be concluded. The first were lands that belonged to the public domain of the king, or state. Secondly, "there were lands attached to the various monasteries, and finally, land that belonged personally to the king, the queen, and the royal family" (Cunningham 1854: 264). The tax system for peasants, according to Cunningham's statement that taxes were "levied on dwellings and not on lands" needs clarification. It is inconceivable, in a primarily landed economy, for land not to be the basis of taxation. What he was probably trying to say was that the household was the unit of taxation, and that, of course, depends on how much land was held. There were said to be three household sizes for taxation. The "full-sized" (*khangchen*), the "half-house" (*khang-phet*), and the "quarter-house" (*phet-dhi-phet*). (Ibid..268)²⁰ These peasant households were attached to the three types of land holders and had to provide surplus labour on these estates.

There were 18,000 households under the state. The monasteries had 4000 households, and the royal family estates 2000 households. Taxes were used to be paid in both kind and money. Cunningham states that the poor peasants who could not pay in kind or money had to pay through labour. He calls this labour, "*Kanggro*" and "*Lagdon*" (ibid.269)²¹ On the basis of the Tibetan data, this, however, is a misinterpretation.

Lakdon refers to payments in kind and cash, and *kangdro* refers to corvee labour; the provision either of *woo-la* (human labour), *ta-woo* (riding animals), and *khey-ma* (beasts of burden).²² So both *lakdon* and *kangdro* are paid by the taxable household unit. In fact, only the wealthier peasants could provide animals for riding or carrying packs.

¹⁹ See Petech, kingdom of Ladakh, pp. 153-4 and especially pages 199-200 of duiseppe "the sacral character of the kings of Ancient Tibet. East and West", 6, 1955, 197-205.

²⁰ In Ladakh people call the main house *khangchen*. If parents or younger brothers move to a smaller house, that house is known as *khangbu*.

²¹ *Kanggro* is Cunningham's transliteration. It is pronounced *kangro*.

²² See Goldstein, Taxation and the structure of a Tibetan village and Surkhang, tax measurement and the *lag'don* Tax.

Language and Ethnic Diversity

The present day population of Ladakh is a mixed race, the majority of which are the Tibetan (Mongoloid) and the Dardic (Indo-Iranian) (Petech 1977). To most, Ladakh gives the idea of small Buddhist community living with peace for the whole of its history. But the fact, that Ladakh is neither purely a Buddhist place nor its history counts for the peaceful co-existence. It consists of many religions such as Muslim, Buddhist, and a small minority of Christian, Sikh, and Hindu (See Census 2011). The influence of Tibet on Ladakhi society and language is substantial. With the downfall of the Tibetan monarch in 842, an interesting situation emerged. Ironically, even though Ladakh has gained political freedom, yet it appeared to be more Tibetanized as the region falls under the descendants or Tibetan royalty, who migrated towards Ladakh (Paljor 1987: 62). “The principal language of the Ladakh region (both Leh & Kargil districts) is Ladakhi, more generally called Western Archaic Tibetan” (Konchok 2014: 232). Though, the dialect of an indigenous Ladakhi language known as *Bothi* is different from that of the Tibetan language.²³ It is a “mixture of Ladakhi and Tibetan vocabulary spoken with Ladakhi accent” (Ahmad 2013: 113). However, Urdu being the state language most of the people can easily understand and communicates when needed. Besides, Hindi and English are also commonly spoken among the educated youths in Ladakh.

Ladakhi communities are highly diverse as they belong to different ethnic groups. The Buddhist element of the population comprises different ethnic groups. Dards are believed to be the earliest settlers to have moved from Dardistan (Kaul 1998). The Mons belonging to Kullu (Himachal) side, are conjectured to have come after the Dards. *Dard*²⁴ was an original

²³According to 2001 Census, “Ladakhi has approximately 104,618 speakers, which is less than the ground reality. Ladakhi is one of the non-scheduled languages of India. The Jammu & Kashmir state has recognised Ladakhi as one of the state languages. Ladakhi is taught in schools upto the twelfth class. Ladakhi is different enough from Tibetan. Ladakhis and Tibetans often speak Hindi or English when they need to communicate. Educated Ladakhis usually know Hindi/Urdu and often English. Within Ladakh, there is a range of dialects. The language of the Chang-pa people may differ markedly from that of the Purig-pa in Kargil, or the Zangskaris, but they are all mutually intelligible. Due to its position on important trade routes, the racial composition as well as the language of Leh is enriched with foreign influences. Traditionally, Ladakhi had no written form distinct from classical Tibetan, but recently a number of Ladakhi writers have started using the Tibetan script to write the colloquial tongue” (Konchok 2014: 233).

²⁴ “Herodotus mentions twice a people called Dadikai, first (III, 91) along with the Gandarioi in the list of Persian Provinces, and again (VII, 66) in the catalogue of King Xerxes’s army invading Greece, where they are brigaded once more with the Gandarioi under the same command. We may have here the first mention of the Dards, at least of those dwelling to the north and north-west of Gandhara; but this is anything but certain” (Petech 1977: 5)

inhabitant of the place; descendants of whose are still found in *Dha* and *Hanu* village in Ladakh known as *Brog-youl*. Likewise, Francke argues that the real tale goes back to the “gold digging ants” which he refers to as the land of the present Dard, situated on the upper reaches of the Indus (1907: 12). The “last wave of immigrants rolled into the land from the Tibetan side and thus provided predominant Mongolian strand to the racial mosaic of the land. The aristocratic families of Skardu in Pakistan occupied Kashmir claim descent from the Greek soldier Alexander the Great whose army they claim marched through their land into the Indian plains” (Kaul 1998: 49-50). Furthermore, the present population of Ladakh is the result of a long process of assimilation of at least three distinct peoples, two of which are of Aryan stock, whilst one, which is numerically superior to other two, is of Mongolian origin. The Aryan communities are the Dards of Gilgit and the Mons of North India (perhaps from Kashmir). The Mongolian is the Tibetan race. Nonetheless, the existence of Dards prior to the Mongoloid race remains obscure,²⁵ and the stages of the process of Tibetanization are still uncertain. Petech argues that despite region’s earlier incorporation into the Tibetan empire, the process of Tibetan settlement did not begin until the 10th century. (Petech 1977: 13). But, this view has been again challenged by most recent researches on Ladakh.

Ladakh was a cosmopolitan placelies on the crossroad of various ancient trade routes which leads to the adding up of various racial elements to the population. For instance, several Chinese Turkistan families have settled in Ladakh. Likewise, several Kashmiri families who were identified as ‘*Argon*’ were permanently settled in Ladakh, especially in the towns, who had come to Ladakh for business purpose. In due course, through marriage they merged with the prior settled population (Franke 1999). Hence, the population composition of Ladakh consisted of diverse racial elements which can be broadly categorised as, the *Garas*, the *Mons*, the *Purigpa*, the *changpas*, the *Brokpa*, the *Argon*, the *Bedas* and the *Balti*.

²⁵ On the historiography of the ‘Dards’ see Clark (1977). “Kharosthi inscription around Khalatse indicate that the lower regions of Ladakh formed a part of the Khushana Empire in the first and second century. The country was inhabited by Indo-Iranian race, known as the Dards” (Plajor 1987: 81)

Cultural Geography: A Landscape of Buddhism²⁶

It is important to understand the cultural geography of Buddhism and its impacts on societies where it has resided. Moreover, religion in general, has been an imperative element of culture as it evolved. That is why, today, we are fully acquainted with the development and spread of world's major religious traditions than we do of our languages²⁷. The philosophy and history of Buddhism, for instance, has been documented and its basic values of 'peace, compassion and love' are spread far and wide across the globe. Today, it has become one of the most acceptable religions to the contemporary world. Richard Gombrich viewed that "the Buddha was one of the most brilliant and original thinkers all the time" (2009: vii), whose "ideas should form part of the education of every child, the world over which would make the world a more civilized place, both gentler and more intelligent" (Gombrich 2009: 1). Buddhism in numerical sense can be described as "the greatest movement in the entire history of human ideas" (Gombrich 2009: 194). So, in order to comprehend how Buddhism as a religion merged with different cultural geographies a sketch of its cultural landscape of Buddhism is needed. Landscape is not necessarily meant for physical geography. Seeland writes,

Wherever they live, human beings take possession of nature in cultural terms, that is, they shape landscape while they develop their own culture. There are no landscapes without people and, strictly speaking, there is no such thing as 'natural landscapes', for even the world's most remote corner has been somehow shaped directly or otherwise by human action. Landscapes are always to be understood as cultural structures exposed to economic dynamics and socio-cultural structure activity, shaping prime matter which serves as the foundation for any landscape, each with its particular design and, therefore, its unique culture (Seeland 2008: 424)

The geographical landscape of Buddhism means an area where Buddhism has flourished and influenced their culture. In fact, religion is one of the most important constituents of culture to evolve. In the wake of globalization, cultural segregation counts as a thing of the past and

²⁶"The English term 'Buddhism' correctly indicates that the religion is characterized by a devotion to 'the Buddha', 'Buddhas or Buddha-hood'. 'Buddha' is not a proper name, but descriptive title meaning 'Awakened one' or 'enlightened one'. This implies that most people are seen, in a spiritual sense, as being asleep unaware of how things really are. As Buddha is a title, it should be used as a name, as in, for example, 'Buddha' taught that in many contexts, 'the Buddha' is specific enough, meaning the Buddha known to history, Gotama". (Harvey 2013: i)

²⁷[Online: web] Accessed on date, 22/11/2016. URL:
http://www.coursenotes.org/subject/social_science/human_geography

religion is an effective globalizer as a part of culture. (Robertson 1985).²⁸ Therefore, it is paramount to recount the origin of Buddhism as a religion and the ways in which it has impacted on host cultures. This particular section draws the geographical distribution of Buddhism, just to get a rough sketch of geo-cultural landscape of Buddhism and to locate the pilgrimage sites which significantly contribute to the development of the tourism industry.

Geographical Landscape of Buddhism

Buddhism is spread out across the globe in the forms of diverse sects and sub-sects which represent the geographical landscape of Buddhism. The substantial impact of Buddhism on human geography is found in those places or countries where Buddhism thrives in various forms. The history of Buddhism goes back to almost 2,500 years from its origin in India with Siddhattha Gotama (Pali, Skt Siddharta Gautama), through its spread to most parts of Asia, and in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, to the West. (Harvey 2013).

Buddhism emerged essentially against the socio-economic and cultural situation which was highly stratified through their caste lines and forms of injustice. The caste system was instrumental in retaining the power of so-called high caste and kept millions mired in poverty. Buddhism under the lordship of Siddhattha Gotama stands against the undesirable features of Hinduism such as its strict social hierarchical structure. He was perhaps the first prominent Indian religious leader to speak out against the Hindu caste system. As a result, the faith grew rather slowly following the Buddha's death until the middle of the third century B.C. when Ashoka embraced Buddhism. At that point of time, considerable adherents of Buddhism have risen in India almost equal to that of Hinduism. But Buddhism did not last for long, in the following centuries, it eventually disappeared from its birthplace, India.²⁹ It would not be wrong to say that practically Buddhism became extinct in India.

²⁸ Robertson who had been credited with first analysing globalization from a sociological perspective is of the view that "the universalistic religions of Christianity and Islam, both derivatives of the Abrahamic faith, became universalizing religions and most effective globalizers because of their claims that the world was created by a single god and that humanity was a common force of existence in relation to that god. It led to the argument that disvalued geographical localities and political territories, that there was a single value reference for every person in the world and that this god proposed a single set of legal and moral laws" (Robertson 1998: 2-3)

²⁹ Two significant causes to wipe out of Buddhism from India, internal and external. First, internal reason such as laxity of monastic rules, internal conflicts and so on. Secondly, external causes are Islamic invasion and Hindu's propaganda against Buddhism.

But, it thrives in many other countries of South and East Asian countries such as in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, China, Thailand, Nepal, Tibet, Korea, and in Japan.

Table-1: The Buddhist Population in the World

S.No.	Name	Population
1	Southern Buddhism	150 Million
2	Northern Buddhism	18.2 Million
3	Eastern Buddhism	360 Million
4	Outside Asia	7 Million
5.	World population	6,852 million

Source: Harvey, 2013

Buddhism is currently found within three main areas of cultural landscape. These are those of, 'Southern Buddhism', where the Theravada school is found, along with some elements incorporated from Mahayana; 'Eastern Buddhism' where Chinese transmission of Mahayana Buddhism is found; and the area of Tibetan culture, 'Northern Buddhism' which is the heir of late Indian Buddhism, where the Mantranaya/Vajrayana version of the Mahayana is the dominant form. One can see these as like the three main branches of the 'tree' of Buddhism, though as all parts of a tree are genetically identical, this underplays the differences that have developed within Buddhism over time. (Harvey 2013: 1).

As we mention above that Buddhism has been wiped out from India due to many reasons. However, during the early 20th century, some serious sort of momentum has gained in pursuit of the resurgence of Buddhism in India. This momentum was basically stimulated by a European antiquarian and philosophical interest coupled with vigorous activities by some zealous Indian disciples. 1891 saw the rise of more organised movements in the form of Mahabodhi society, which essentially emerged against some of the Hindu managers who had dominated Buddhist sacred sites or temples at Bodhgaya (Bihar). This contestation for space created a discourse which spurred the popularization and significance of Buddhism as a

religion and its philosophy in India. This followed by another historic event occurred in 1956, when the chief leader of an underprivileged section of Hindu society or untouchable Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar declared that he decided to change his religion from Hinduism to Buddhism, as a way to liberate from the callous discrimination of Hindu caste structure. Along with the leader 400,000 people belonging to the lower section of Hindu caste popularly known as what Mahatma Gandhi called as 'Harijan' embraced Buddhism. These people were mostly from the state of Maharashtra and its neighbouring states. This marked as the highest ever mass conversion of religion in the recorded history of India (Sangharakshita 1986). By early, 1990 Buddhism has numerically increased in India out of which 79 percent of their populations were recent converts from lower castes. This was followed by the arrival of Tibetan refugees, who escaped from Tibet along with their leader the 14th Dalai Lama due to Chinese incursion in 1950 and thereafter. By 1991 Buddhism in India rose up to 6.4 million. As a result, presently, there are around 40 million Buddhist populations which placed Buddhism as 5th largest religious group in India. This steady rise in number has contributed to the revival of ancient Buddhist sacred pilgrimage sites in India. For instance, the places like Bodhgaya (Bihar) and Lumbini (Nepal) are the important sacred Buddhist sites now receiving scores of tourists and pilgrimages from across the globe.

Buddhism in Tibet and Ladakh

The first appearance of Buddhism in Tibet can be traced back to the reign of Totori Nyentsen, the 23rd monarch of the Yarlung dynasty with the arrival of a text. According to Tibetan legends, the day on which Buddhist scripture and artifact sanctified to Avalokitesvara³⁰ mysteriously appeared atop of the palace. Though, a Tibetan account mentions that the articles were brought from India. No one in the king's court could read or codify the scriptures, nor did anyone understand the significance of the relics as they were all scripted in Sanskrit. The king kept origin of these articles a secret, on the basis of a dream that a king would come after four generations who will be able to read and understand the scriptures. Thus it remained an isolated event. Nevertheless, it has been documented that the first appearance of Buddhism in Tibet witnessed with the arrival of these articles in 233 C.E.

³⁰ Avalokitesvara word derived from Sanskrit word meaning "lord who looks down in Tibetan 'Chenrezik' is a bodhisattva who embodies the compassion of all Buddhas. This bodhisattva is invariably depicted and described and is portrayed in different cultures as either female or male". [Web: online] Assessed on date 27-11-2016, URL: <http://www.tamqui.com/buddhaworld/Avalokitesvara>.

(Powers 1995). The unambiguous establishment and dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet can be categorised into two different parts. The first part began with the reign of Songsten Gampo, the first of the three *Chosgyals*, meaning the religious kings. Tri-Songdetsen and Relbachen were the other two *Chosgyals*. Songsten Gampo is said to be a reincarnation of the Buddha of compassion (Avalokitesvara), who choose to reborn as a king to spread the message of Buddha and Dharma. He succeeded in unifying Tibet under his kingship which had long being divided among various warring regional kingdoms. During his time the empire was one of the strongest powers in the central Asia, he expanded his kingdom into China and as far as Ottoman Empire (Turkey). It was during this time when his kingdom started spreading afar and came in contact with Buddhism, then prevalent in China and Central Asia. He built the famous Potala Palace in Lhasa, then known as Rasa.³¹ It was him who shifted the “capital from Yarlung to Lhasa” (Power 1995: 143). To seek political supremacy and to consolidate his power and territory, Songsten Gampo adopted matrimonial alliance within and outside to forge a relationship with opponent neighbouring empires. Various literature suggested that he married to Bhrkuti (Nepalese princess), Wencheng (Chinese princess), and three Tibetan women from prominent aristocratic families. It is believed that both Bhrkuti and Wencheng were devotees of Buddha and brought with them the image of Aksobhya Buddha and Sakyamuni Buddha (Jowo Rinpoche) respectively. The statue of the Buddha Sakyamuni was mounted in Jokhang, earlier known as Trulnang. Jokhang is the holiest shrine in Tibet today and Jowo Sakyamuni’s statue, the most sacred image.

Tibet, prior to 6th or 7th century, had no literary script or a common grammar. On realizing the importance of having a standard Tibetan script and grammar, Songsten Gampo, in the latter periods of (617-647 AD) sent “Tonmi Sambhota and some students to India” (Power 1995: 147) to develop the same. He stayed and worked with Sanskrit scholars in Kashmir, then a great centre of learning Buddhism. Later, on Tonmi Sambhota’s return to Tibet, the king declared the (grammar/script) system developed by him as the standard Tibetan script and grammar.

³¹ Lhasa was before known as “Rasa meaning that the area was originally a hunting preserve with a royal residence on top of the Marpori Hill. A palace was built on the hill, which is now the site of the Potala, residence of the Dalai Lamas prior to the Chinese takeover in 1959”. (Power 1995: 144)

After Songsten Gampo, his successor Tri Songdetsen, a devout Buddhist started propagating dharma to higher levels. He invited Santaraksita, from Nalanda University. His arrival in Tibet coincided with series of natural disasters and his opponents left no stone unturned in propagating that those mishaps occurred because of his presence in Tibet. The opposition was so strong that eventually, he had to leave Tibet. While leaving Tibet he appealed the king to invite Guru Padmasambhava, also of Nalanda, who was then teaching in Kashmir (Behl 2008). When Padmasambhava entered Tibet, the demonic forces sent snowstorm to halt his advancement towards central Tibet and he is said to have defeated them by meditating in a cave. Both the demons and the local spirits of the country marched against him, but he subdued all of them through his great tantric powers. When peace was restored Guru Padmasambhava advised the king to invite Santaraksita. Eventually, in the 8th century, Samye monastery³² was founded by Santaraksita under the patronage of the king to celebrate the first successful establishment of Buddhism in Tibet. This marked the introduction of a monastic system to Tibet. It was Padmasambhava who also introduced the monastic Cham (the spiritual dance of Vajrayana Buddhist) in Tibet.

The latter rulers also carried out the legacy of the spreading dharma. King Relbachen, the third Chosgyal, spent lavishly on infrastructure such as building monasteries and sponsored scholars to and from India. He financed many translation projects, supervised by highly learned lotsawas (translators), such as Yeshede. The first phase of dissemination came to an end after the persecution of Buddhism by Lang Darma.

In the second phase of dissemination, King Tsenpo Khore, a ruler of Guge (western Tibet), renounced the throne to become a Buddhist monk. He was the one who sent twenty-one scholars to Kashmir to learn Buddhist philosophy in pursuit of reviving Buddhism. Out of the twenty-one only two (Rinchen Zangpo and Lekbe Sherap) had managed to return to Tibet alive. They returned back accompanied by few Indian scholars in 978 A.D. which led to the second major phase of the diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet. Later on, many Indian scholars were invited to Tibet, including the famous Nalanda scholar Atisa. This tradition of inviting

³² “Samye, based upon the architectural model of the Odantpuri Mahavihara in Bihar and laid the foundations of a monastic order there” <http://samatha.in/2009/01/03/buddhism-great-diffusion/>

Indian scholars has continued until Buddhism was persecuted in India. By the time Buddhism was wiped out from India, it had already flourished in Tibet.

There is no doubt that Buddhism had reached Tibet from India. The two phases of the dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet provides enough reference to how Buddhism would have spread in Ladakh. Ladakh which lies in between Kashmir and Tibet played an important role particularly during the second phase of spreading Buddhism in Tibet. Although, many conflicting views are there concerning the emergence of Buddhism in the region, yet all seem to agree that the first introduction of Buddhism in Ladakh occurred during the time of king Ashoka (the great ruler of the Maurya dynasty in India). His reign marked as the golden period of spreading Buddhism that reached Ladakh through his successive penetration into the Himalayan regions. It was around 273 B.C, when his empire was so strong, and Kashmir also became a vibrant space for learning Tantric Buddhism which attracted many students from abroad including Tibet (Shakspo 2010:4-5). This was probably the period that Kashmir was a melting-pot of Buddhism from where it has been disseminated to various other places such as Tibet, Ladakh, Mongolia and to the extent of Southern Siberia (Rizvi 1983). The first Buddhist temple believed to be constructed in Ladakh was during the reign of Ashoka in Suru valley.³³ Besides this, he erected numerous stupas, remnants of which can be seen even to this date in villages like Sumda and Tiri in upper Ladakh.

Similarly, the king Kanishka (the most powerful emperor of the Kushan period), who had extended his kingdom up to Ladakh and Baltistan, played an important role in spreading Buddhism in Ladakh (Cunnigham 1998). Many scholars opined that the most famous stupa in Zaskar valley known, as Kanika, was built by him. Moreover, most of the rock carved images of Buddhas, Avalokitesvara, Maitreya Buddha at Mulbek and various other places, all along the way from Kashmir to Tibet was engraved during his period (Shakspo 2010: 10).

Around the 10th century, when Buddhism declined in Tibet, the king of Guge, Yeshe' Od ascended the throne. Ladakh, Lahaul-Spiti, Kinnaur and Western Tibet also came under Guge. He ventured to revive Buddhism in the area of Guge and sent many Tibetan monks to

³³The Suru popularly known as Zaskar, is a valley in the Kargil District of Ladakh region, this river is one the tributary of Indus River.

India specifically to bring an authentic teaching of Buddhism. Various texts had been translated by the scholars led by Rinchen Zangpo. Rinchen Zangpo had become so famous across Himalaya, known as Lotsawa (the great translator) and even now continues to be revered. Art historian Benoy K. Behl who has explored Rinchen Zangpo's work in his documentary film opined that "in the minds of people, he has been transformed from a historical figure into a divine being with magical powers" (Behl 2008)³⁴. It is believed that a chain of 108 monasteries were built across Guge during the reign of Yeshe'od. This phase constituted as the second most important dissemination of Dharma in the Himalaya, In Ladakh monasteries such as Alchi, Sumda, Mangyu, Lamayuru (SinggeySgang) had been built. In fact, these monasteries served as significant centre for Buddhist art and culture in Ladakh. However, the centre of religious authority eventually shifted Eastwards, and by the thirteen century A.D., the Ladakh religious establishment, along with those of the other countries on Tibet's borders, has been relegated to a position of subordination to the great monasteries of Tibet. The details of religious observance and iconography as laid down by the incarnations who headed the various monastic schools became the norm of this entire region (Rizvi 1983). However, things have changed with Tibet's losing its independence in 1959. His Holiness, the Dalia Lama along with other lineage heads, fled from Tibet and became exiled in India. All the sects established their own parallel centers in India, and Ladakh gained the status of the last bastion to preserve the pristine form of Tibetan Buddhism. Hence, it would not be wrong to argue that Dalia Lama as the supreme spiritual leader of Buddhism also helped in consolidating Buddhism in Ladakh.

Other religions in Ladakh

The demographic landscape of Ladakh represents a multi-religious society. The composition is dominated by Buddhists, Muslims, Christians, Hindus and Sikhs, in this descending order. However Buddhists and Muslims outnumber members of the other faiths of this region. Islam in Ladakh manifests itself in the forms of Sunni, Shia and Nurbakshi sects, practiced through the 111 mosques spread throughout the region. The largest mosque in the region is the Jama Masjid, Leh, built in 1666-67. This mosque is the reminder of the historical agreement

³⁴ [Online: web] Accessed date on, 11/03/2017 URL:
<http://www.frontline.in/static/html/fl2526/stories/20090102252606400.htm>

between the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir and the then Ladakhi King Deldan Namgyal. The Mughals would ensure the territorial integrity of Ladakh in exchange for an annual tribute. Kargil district of Ladakh region is dominated by Muslims, followed by Buddhists and others in that order. Hence the landscape of Kargil is dotted with big and small mosques. Padum, hub of Zaskar, a Buddhist majority region, within Kargil district also has a Jama Masjid for their Friday congregational prayers with two other smaller mosques catering to the 100 families here (Aabedi 2009: 13).

Christian missionaries like the Moravian mission, the Roman Catholic mission (RCM) and the Hill Mission (HM) tried to blend Christianity into the region. The Moravian mission has only been relatively successful in Ladakh in this endeavour. The Moravian mission was established in 1855 in Leh and in 1899 at Khaltse. Though managing to convert very few to the faith, they introduced the first school in Ladakh, the Moravian Mission School, based on western education in 1887. Further they also set up the Moravian church and hospital in 1885. Hence apart from Christianity, these missions revealed unfamiliar avenues and introduced new ideas into Ladakh in the form of Western Education. Hence the impact of these missions, specifically Moravian Mission has been far reaching.

Thus Ladakh, despite interventions seemingly intolerable in the contemporary space, presented a harmonious culture. However, post-1947 era, Ladakh is marked by the emergence of communal clashes. Over the period, numerous communal clashes ensued leading to destruction of life and property in this region.³⁵

Tourism: An overview

Tourism is not a new phenomenon, it existed long before it was actually identified. Humans have been fascinated by the idea of travelling from a very early historical period. Travelling has been always a part of human pursuit, and human civilizations have witnessed the constant flow of human beings from one place to the other. Humans are nomadic by nature and travel from one place to the other to meet their needs for survival. Human beings were motivated by various reasons to travel, for instance, for trade, pilgrimage to holy places, the quest for learning, missions of various kinds-cultural, health, related and religious reasons are

³⁵ Chosjor, Sonam (2009.) Beyond Kashmir: *Understanding Ladakh and its politics* [Web: online] Assessed on date 26-12-2013, URL: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/22645212/Epilogue-Aug2009>

some of the reasons which provided the impetus for travelling (Kunal 1995).³⁶ Though travel is not the same as tourism, but it forms a part of it.

In the European context, the history of tourism can be traced back to antiquity. A people belonging to the upper class of the society undertook educational journeys to Egypt or other places of interests. They also had residences in the countryside in the mountain or by the sea, which were destinations of occasional retreat. These activities involving occasional travel can be seen as a nascent form of tourism. However, in the historical literature on tourism, the medieval pilgrimages are considered as the precursor of modern tourism (MacCannell 1999, cited in Kaelber 2006). The pilgrim is “portrayed as a person who ostensibly sought out a place of sacredness for reasons of personal piety and conceived of his journey there and back in term of penitence, expiation, salvation, and liminality”(Ibid: 49-63). This was followed by a range of other forms of travelling which gradually gave shape to modern tourism. It was the period between 1600 A.D. to the beginning of the French revolution which pushed these developments. During this period wealthy young British noblemen embarked on grand tours to France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherland, which would last anywhere between several months to several years (Stausberg 2011: 4).

Defining Tourism

Various definitions have been put forth and most of them differ in some respect. Despite the relevance of people almost everywhere, Anthropologists and Sociologists have had a very hard time defining tourism (Amanda 2001: 261-283). There is no universally accepted definition of tourism. The United Nation World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) has provided the following definition of tourism—“it comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited” (quoted in Stausberg 2011: 6). According to this definition, which has gained something of official status, tourism is displacement fulfilling three criteria:

- Tourism activities take place “outside the usual environment” of the tourists.

³⁶Kunal, C. (1995). *Economic Impact of Tourism Development: An Indian Experience..* Kanishka Publishers distributors. Page 38.

- Another criteria, that this definition seems to imply is that of the number of days that tourists stay at the destinations is not more than one year.
- Finally, the purpose of stay can be anything as leisure, business or any other purpose. But the remuneration does not stem from the place of visit.

The word travel is not the same as tourism, though it forms a part of it. Even though the term tourism is defined by different scholars in various ways, yet definitional problems still persist due its ambiguous meaning of the word which denotes a diversity of concepts. The involvement of many concepts generated different definitions. Some of the definitions propounded by various scholars have been discussed below. William F. Theobald explained

Etymologically, the word tour is derived from the Latin, ‘ternare’ and the Greek ‘tornos’. Meaning “a lathe or circle; movement around a central point or axis”. This meaning has changed in modern English to represent “one’s turn”. The suffix-ism is defined as “an action or process: typical behaviour or quality”, while the suffix,-ist denotes ‘one who performs a given action’. When the word tour and the suffixes –ism and –ist are combined, they suggest the action of moving in a circle. Describing a circle implies returning to one’s starting point, so as a tour is a round-trip journey, i.e. the act of leaving and ultimately returning to the original starting point. Therefore, one who takes such a journey can be called a tourist. (Theobald, 1994, 1998).³⁷

The first set of definitions, engages with the concept of ‘tourist’, giving an idea of tourism in general. Among these, Cohen emphasizes the importance of the voluntary and the temporary nature of travel while defining the tourist—“a voluntary, temporary traveller, travelling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced in a relatively long and non-recurrent round trip” (Cohen 2004: 387). Smith also highlights the same criterion of voluntary and temporary nature of the travel undertaken for the purpose of leisure, while defining tourist—“a tourist is a temporarily leisured person who voluntary visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change” (Smith 1989: 1).

Similarly, there are other sets of definitions, which involve engagement with the concept of tourism. Hunziker and Krapt (1941) define tourism as “the sum of the phenomena and the relationship arising from the travel and stay of non-residents in so far as they do not lead to

³⁷ [Online: web] Retrieved on date 16/09/2016, URL: <http://recreation-tourism.blogspot.in/2011/04/normal-0-false-false-false.html>

permanent residence and are not connected to any earning activity”.³⁸ Their definition has three elements. Firstly, it is the sum of the range of relationships and phenomena involved in the process. Secondly, it involves the movement of people and their stay at different places, which do not lead to permanent residence. Finally, the whole activity does not lead to any kind of earning for the traveller. This definition is also adopted by the International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism (IASSET).

The absence of profit motive or absence of any lucrative aspect is central to the definition propounded by Hunziker—“tourism is an entirety of relations and the facts constituted by the travel and sojourn of persons out of their normal place of domicile, as far as this sojourn and travel are not motivated by lucrative activity whatever” (cited in, Ramaker 1954: 8).

So the range of definitions, which I have discussed above, highlights several characteristics of tourism. These involve the temporary nature of the travel, the voluntary nature of the travel, the purpose of leisure etc, as the motivation behind the travel and, finally the complete absence of any earning intention as the motivation of travel.

These definitions best capture the economic aspect of the phenomenon. They, however, do not engage with the sociological aspect of travel. A sociologist or a sociological engagement will be interested in wider aspects other than that of the economy. A sociologist will be more concerned with where we travel, and how a tourist stays at the destination and what kind of cultural interaction emerges out of his or her travel. A sociological engagement considers tourism as a social phenomenon involving a wide array of socio-cultural aspects and implications. As a phenomenon with educational, recreational and cultural aspects linked to it, tourism often impacts the policies of the state. This involves issues of controlling and governing tourism both as a sector and as a phenomenon.

Emergence of Modern Mass Tourism

The notion of mass tourism has emerged in its present form only after the Second World War. Tourism Industry, as it is understood today, is an industry that caters to organizing prescheduled tours for a group of people who would travel together with similar motives.

³⁸ [Online: web] Retrieved on date 22/2/2012, URL: <http://www.windrosenetwork.com/Links-Travel-and-Tourism.html>

Such rapid rise in the number of tourists and the emergence of tourism as the world's largest industry was the outcome of many factors such as increased leisure, a higher standard of living, improved education, developments in the means of transport and communication etc. Much development of the phenomena or industry alludes to the emergence of the middle class. Hence, Tourism, hitherto a privilege of the few, has expanded its reach to the working class too. With enhanced leisure days and higher disposable income, the working class has revolutionized the industry.

Emerging from the European Nations, tourism has played an important part in human history, and while it has its nascent roots in England, yet, it has transformed itself in the contemporary world. There is a strong relation between modern mass tourism and religious travel pattern. Ancient religious travel gradually evolved into modern mass tourism. Each fostered the other. The relation has been symbiotic and complementary. It is however observed that, over time, modern mass tourism has secularized religious travel. Prior to modern mass tourism, religious travel was restricted to religious activities only, but with its proliferation, the purview is extended to more secular pursuits. Earlier, tourists' destinations were within the nations of the developed world. But, now with the changing motivation of tourists, gradually explored new destinations and proportion of tourists visiting the third world is increasing (Sood 1990: 17). The third world countries are in need of foreign exchange and governments, are, therefore, also encouraging tourists industries to open new avenues for a tourist destination. Consequently, a Himalayan region which offers an excellent environment and ideal condition for rest, relaxation and recreation captured the attention of tourists. Adventure tourism has a special attraction for mountainous areas. These regions being less influenced by the onslaught of man's so-called developmental activities are more accessible to tourists as they offer some very wild, pristine, noncommercialised and the ambience of enthralling legends, lore, ways of life, and mountain mores. Although, travelling was not a new phenomenon in the Himalaya, yet the earlier motivation of travelling was primarily for religious purposes. Religious travel was especially important in the Himalayan region, where innumerable novice monks visited Tibet to learn Buddhist Philosophy. Thus, the Himalaya has a long tradition of religious travel. The region dotted with numerous monasteries had been sites of Buddhist pilgrimage.

Western interest in the Himalayas is a relatively recent phenomenon. The Oriental notion of mysticism was a propelling factor. The East is somewhat a fillip to the alleged spiritual emptiness of the West. However, along with the spiritual aspects, western 'pilgrims' sought to explore more. The mountain terrain of the Himalayas provides range of avenues for tourist to explore adventurous activities. This is probably the reason that tourism industry has thrived in Himalayan regions.

Ladakh, in the Himalayas, provides such innumerable opportunities for adventurous tourism. Situated in the midst of trans-Himalayan zone, Ladakh comparatively preserves the pristine and unspoiled Tibetan Buddhist culture. Furthermore, Ladakh has an experience of dealing with the presence of outsiders. It has never been an isolated place in terms of trade and travel, as the region was an important meeting point between South Asia and the historical British, Russia and Chinese empires. With political borders defined in due course, Ladakh's historical trade connections went for a toss. However, the regional trade networks were adapted to suit the prevalent geo-political lines.

At present Ladakh region has fascinated many tourists from all over the world. It is the representation of Himalayan village within the global map of tourism, has acquired status of must visit tourist destination. The region officially re-opened for both domestic and foreign tourist in 1974.

Opening the Region for International Tourism since 1974

Western travellers as mentioned earlier, have always been fascinated with the Himalayan peaks. As such, time and again, Ladakh has been defined geographically, in relation to its surroundings (Fewkes 2009: 17). Existing between the Karakoram and the Himalayan ranges, it became a gateway for traders moving across the Himalayas. Large Caravans of Yaks, Camels and mules once passed through Ladakh carrying salt, spices and bricks of tea across the Himalayas to the world.

However this flourishing trade virtually disappeared after 1951. The Tibet Uprising of 1951, led to the end of trade and closure of trade routes. Ladakh from a gateway now became a border region and assumed a strategic definition for India against its neighbour, China. Further the India-China war of 1962, enabled and justified a sizeable military presence in an

already fragile ecology. This geographical and political isolation of Ladakh suited the military and security perspective of the government. The impenetrable borders and isolated Ladakh, enabled the military manoeuvres of India along both border with China and Pakistan to be kept a secret, a perspective still invoked to justify the military control over the Srinagar-Kargil-Leh route and the road from Leh to Himachal Pradesh.

Furthermore it was also the lack of inhabitants which had resulted in the loss of a strategically important territory to the Chinese in 1962 (Michaud, 1996). Thus, the 1962 war became the principal incentive for a change in policy, to promote internal migration, aimed at augmenting the civilian population in the sparsely populated areas. The main vision of the central government was to keep young people of Ladakh at home and also try to provide the spark for permanent migration from the populated regions in Ladakh.

This new policy had multifaceted implications. On one hand, it was perceived as a great opportunity by the tourism industry of Kashmir due to the inexperience of the people of Ladakh in this sector as a profession, but on the other hand it also suggested division of tourists between the two places, hence lesser tourist footfall in the valley. Faced with competing with the experienced and great entrepreneurial families in Srinagar, locals in Ladakh had no choice but to migrate. Further, young people left Ladakh to study or take up salaried posts elsewhere in India, thus moving towards a disconnected future. There is no evidence indicating that the local population was consulted in this decision making process, however it is likely that the Buddhist clergy was kept informed by the religious representative in the political apparatus, and it can be assumed that they were fairly in favour of the plans to open Ladakh. Rooted in the traditions of the land, the elders were desperately seeking a solution to strengthen the local economy, rendered precarious by the loss of the caravan trade. "The fear of seeing new-comers disturb the political, culture and social order could not outweigh the prospect of new profits to compensate the losses incurred since the end of caravan trade" (Michaud 1996: 293).

For a region, administered from a politically and culturally distinct capital of the state Srinagar, this new policy also helped to boost the development of Ladakh, which otherwise helped functioned under the apathy of successive state governments. Even departments like,

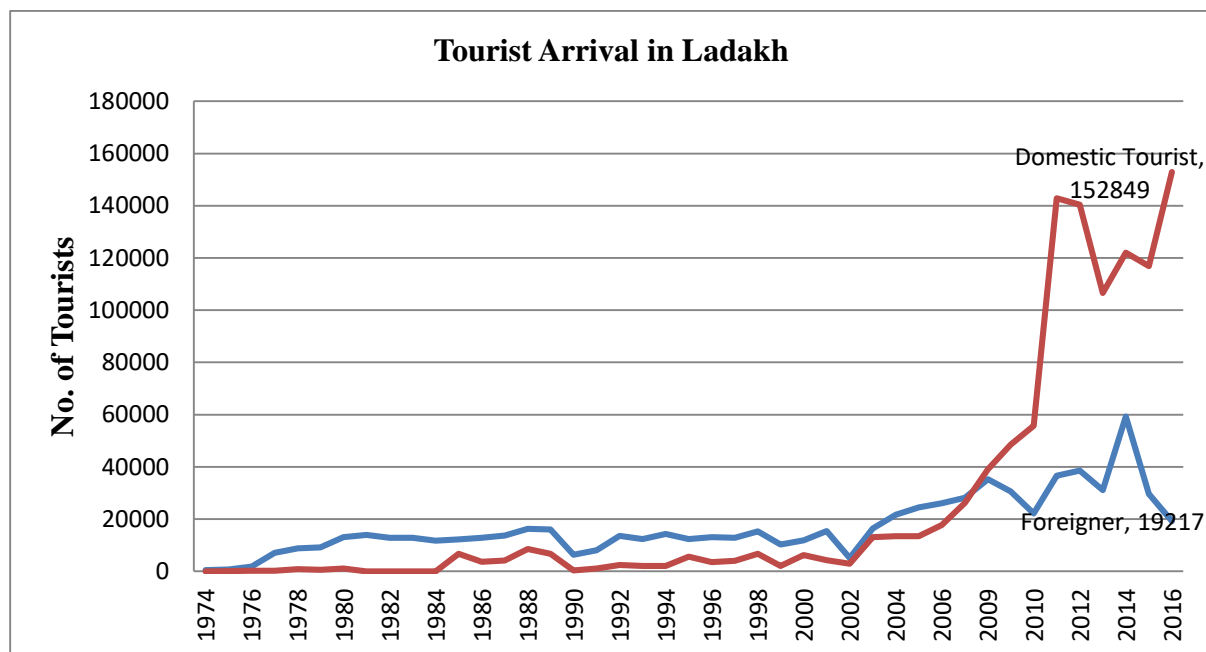
the Jammu and Kashmir Authority (JKTA), with its services for entrepreneurs and visitors, the Public Works Authority and the Jammu and Kashmir State Road Transport Corporation (JKSRTC) and others were all Srinagar based. Pulled along by what Rizvi calls, “the extension of India’s ambitious programme of economic development” (Rizvi 1983: 70), the influx of visitors stimulated state participation in implanting services in Ladakh, which would probably have been delayed without the impetus of demands of Tourism industry.

It was finally in 1974, that the Government of India (GOI) resolute to open Ladakh for international tourism market. The rich cultural heritage, exotic land and Tibetan form of Lamaistic Buddhism started attracting tourists in a big way (Singh 1993). The flourishing industry in the region also attracts a large number of traders from outside who run antique shops, restaurants, and other tourism oriented business and boost their income in the short span of the tourist season. Many of the tourists come to Ladakh in response to descriptions in tourists advertisements such as the following,

See towering mountain reach up to clear blue sky. Hear the rhythmic chant of Buddhist monks in an ancient monastery where time stands still. See the rushing waters of an icy river surge down from a glacial height. Ladakh the Land of passes and the roof of the world awaits you.(Indiavisit.com Pvt. Ltd. 2006)

Although shallow, this view of Ladakh offers a key to a more complex and holistic view of the region. Contrary to the claim that “Time stands still” here, designations such as “the roof of the world” are notions of Ladakh that have been constructed over time in response to political, social and economic trends in the region. Ladakh, regardless of how it is defined, has been identified as one of the major destinations of international tourism. Ever since, tourism has grown manifold. This led to a massive inflow of western tourists. Figures show that there had been a nearly 300-fold increase in the flow of tourists from 1974 to 2016. Given the economic benefits of the industry its stakeholders have increased substantially from governmental to nongovernmental organisation and from communities to individuals. But it is also not free from loopholes as a number of poor and marginalised sections of the society are kept out of the economic benefits of the industry, even though they do reap the negative impacts of the same, like, pollution, solid waste generation, resource depletion, and so on.

Figure-1: Year-wise tourist arrival in Ladakh (1974 -July 2016)³⁹



Ladakh has catered to tourism for almost half a century now, and it has gained much experience in the same field. Once tourism was an emerging economic sector of the region, but it has now placed all other sectors behind it, and now it is at the top, with nearly half of the population depending upon the sector, either directly or indirectly. It came to light that Ladakh currently follows a ‘mass tourism’ model which is mostly unregulated and focusses mainly on numbers. Tourist categories range from high-end to low-cost, from international to domestic tourism. The graph in the Figure 1 shows the trends that tourism followed between the initial and recent years. Domestic tourism is a new phenomenon for the region, which has increased massively in recent years. There are many factors contributing to this increasing numbers of domestic tourists in Ladakh. The region provides a range of activities for the tourist, including cultural, adventure and nature-based tourism. Over the years, this tourism-related activities have developed into established circuits that cover different regions and activities, with Leh town serving as its heart. This heavy inflow of tourists year by year has no doubt boosted the economy of the region, provided alternative employment and livelihood options to the locals as well as to outsiders. However, this intensive influx of tourists in the

³⁹ Jammu and Kashmir Tourism Department (JKTD) Leh office.

short summer months has increased pressure on the limited natural resources of the region, especially through excessive consumption and waste generation.

Cultural Politics of Tourism in Ladakh

Tourism, as a formal industry started from Europe, continues to explore new pristine and unexplored places in the world. The unexplored Himalayan terrain and people dwell along the foothills with distinctive ways of life offered what the tourism industry longs for. Ladakh lies amidst the Karakoram and Himalayan ranges, providing innumerable such opportunities which includes, cultural, adventure and nature based tourism, as has been enveloped within the modern map of global tourism. A number of reasons can be cited why tourism flourished in Ladakh despite its harsh climatic conditions and limited infrastructure. Many scholars provided reasons by arguing that a vacuum has been created with the halt of an ancient trade route leading to a thriving modern hospitality tourism industry in Ladakh (Ibrahim 2008, Rizvi 1983, Fewkes 1999). As a result, the trade connection between Tibet and Ladakh has stopped, as this was the direct consequence of the Chinese occupation of Tibet in the 1950s. The persecution of Buddhist culture in Tibet by Chinese led to a worldwide movement condemning and agitating for the rights of Tibetans to self-determination. This global cry to the 'free Tibet' movement has created an aura of curiosity for the West to see Buddhist culture and its people. Buddhist tourists are particularly more concerned with and fascinated by Tibet. However, subsequent circumstances in Tibet were not conducive for tourism. As a consequence, tourist entry has been restricted.

Since Ladakh was an integral part of Tibet and its influence on both materials as well as non-materials culture is so deep-rooted that many tend to project Ladakh as 'Mini-Tibet' or 'Little Tibet' and so on. It was almost as a natural consequence, that Ladakh was imagined in the West as an alternate destination for Tibet. Indeed, it is proving to be so, as many of the tourists whom I interviewed revealed the same (see chapter 4). Much awaited Westerners showed up in Ladakh soon after it was opened to international tourists to experience supposedly 'authentic' Buddhist culture. By this time, Ladakh was already much glorified and romanticized in the Western imagination, this was further intensified through the narratives of those who visited Ladakh and published their experiences in various forms. Owing to the incursion of Chinese in Tibet and the exile of the Tibetan Buddhist spiritual

leader, His Holiness 14th Dalai Lama, Ladakh became the fulcrum of Tibetan Buddhism as the repository of most preserved Tibetan Buddhist culture in the world. However, visible changes have been observed over a period of time which will be discussed in the following chapters.

On the other end, Srinagar, the most beautiful tourist destination remained as the most contentious region in India, yet it attracts tourists massively. However, over time, the state of violence has further intensified as a consequence of Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) which has been imposed in the valley “on July 5, 1990”. (India-today: Ganai 2015).⁴⁰ The tourism industry was badly affected whereby stakeholders in Srinagar had no option than to divert tourists into Ladakh. By that time, Ladakh was newly reopened for tourism. It would not be wrong to argue that tourism industry in Ladakh has been governed directly or indirectly by entrepreneurs from Srinagar. Most of the commercial spaces are occupied by Kashmiri merchants in Leh.

Today, the tourism industry has become one of the key determining factors to Ladakh’s cash economy. It opened up employment avenues to cater to the needs of the tourism industry. Different infrastructures have come up in Leh town and nearby villages in the form of hotels, guesthouses, restaurants, transport, shops, retailers, handicrafts, communication and so on. It provides jobs to guides, porters, helpers, drivers, travel agents, etc, thereby contributing to the local economy. All Ladakh Tour Operator Association, Leh (ALTOA), reported that more than three thousand students engage in tourism-related jobs during the months of summer vacation. Nevertheless, the benefits from tourism industry are disproportionately distributed, concentrating mainly around Leh city. Furthermore, there is a parallel rising of pollution of various kinds, and increasing pressure on the already scarce natural resources.

Governance and Existing Policy Framework

India adopted the National Tourism Policy in 2002 to give direction and regulate this sector. However, Jammu and Kashmir is yet to accept this policy or develop an alternative policy of its own. As a result, tourism-related activities in the state are governed indirectly by different policies and laws, which are meant to address specific issues. For instance, the Jammu and

⁴⁰ [Online: web] Retrieved on date 05/06/2017 URL: <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/afspa-disagreement-jammu-and-kashmir-armed-militancy-cmp-bjp-pdp/1/450142.html>

Kashmir Wildlife Protection Act, 1978 (amended in 2002) is geared towards conservation of biodiversity. It influences tourism-related activities by regulating entry to, and the management of, protected areas, by enforcing restrictions on activities in protected areas and by extending species-level protection outside protected areas. Similarly, the Environment Protection Act, 1986 addresses the issue of environmental pollution including waste management. Laws like the Water Prevention and Control of Pollution Act, 1974 and the Air Prevention and Control of Pollution Act, 1981 specifically deal with water and air pollution respectively. The Ministry of Home Affairs regulates access to restricted areas (such as those close to the Line of Actual Control with China and Pakistan) through various orders and laws. These laws impact tourism by restricting activities, monitoring individual access to specific areas and by exercising a generalised check on human impact on the environment. For instance, the laws related to pollution do not differentiate between a local resident and a visiting tourist. Also, these laws are very general and remain vague on individual actions required to check the human impact on the environment. While there have been some discussions on the need for a policy to help develop laws and rules to manage and regulate tourism in the state, it has so far not resulted in any concrete policies or laws. If and when it does, this policy would apply to the entire state, which is very diverse in terms of culture, religion, ecology and social practices. While such a state-level policy would be a step in the right direction, it would not address the specific challenges of tourism in Ladakh. There is thus an urgent need to develop a coherent tourism policy for Ladakh, along with relevant rules and regulations, to address the vulnerabilities and challenges inherent in the socio-ecological systems of the region. Such a policy must be integrated within existing laws and rules, which focus on issues as diverse as biodiversity conservation, waste management, and local governance. This tourism policy must not focus on regulation per se but provide a framework to facilitate ecologically and culturally sensitive tourism through decentralised processes that maximise and redistribute its benefits and minimise its negative impacts. At a local level, Ladakh Eco-tourism policy⁴¹ has been designed to address those challenges and it

⁴¹ Researcher was also a part of drafting committee formally appointed by the Executive Councillor-Tourism of LAHDC, Leh.

was adopted by the councillors of the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council at the general council meeting held on 17 and 18 December 2014, in Leh.

Who Benefits?

Ladakh currently follows a ‘mass tourism’ model which appears to focus mainly on private investment, macroeconomic growth, and foreign exchange earnings, without involving the community on stake. Since from its inception, tourism business has been established among the rich merchants of Srinagar and local elites or entrepreneurs who were engaged in ‘Silk Route’ trade. It was easy for them to enter hospitality industry as they already have trading skills and knowledge. As the industry grew up, the numbers of stakeholders also expanded, it involves agencies such as Ministry of Tourism (GOI), Tourism Department of State Government who formulate tourism-related policies, local businessmen, tour operators, hoteliers and so on (see chapter 2nd). Therefore, initially, the economic benefit of tourism (witnessed high-end tourism) was appropriated by outsiders along with few Ladakhi elites. Today, stakeholders have expanded, yet benefit is not fairly distributed among all the stakeholders, a handful of local as well as outsiders who own large hotels, travel agents, guest houses and so on take the benefit disproportionately. Apart from Leh town, a very small economic advantage has been able to reach out to the villages where ninety percent of population inhabits. There are some villages which are found along various trekking routes outside Leh who benefit somewhat from trekkers participating in a prearranged tour groups (Pitsch 1985).

Type of Tourist Visiting Ladakh

Looking at the figure in the graph above, it suggests that the inflow of tourists and its trend has notably increased over the years. There are various factors which have contributed to the developing tourism industry in Ladakh. A mixture of tourists arrives in the region. Broadly, we can classify it into following categories such as adventure tourists, pilgrimage and spiritual tourists, cultural tourists, nature-based tourists, and winter sports tourists.

Table-2: the major attraction in Ladakh

Nature	Wildlife	Adventure	Cultural
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hemis National Park. 2. Plains of Changthang 3. Zaskar valley 4. Pangong lake 5. Tsomoriri 6. Nubra 7. Khardong La 8. Changla 9. Taglang-la 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Snow leopard 2. Tibetan sheep 3. Wild yak. 4. Marmot 5. Blue Sheep 6. Lynx, wolf 7. Wild Ass 8. Back neck crane and much more. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Trekking 2. Mountaineering 3. Rafting 4. Motorcycle tour 5. Mountain biking 6. Stok Kangri and Kangyatse 7. The Indus and Zaskar river Rafting 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A multitude of ethnic and religious groups inhabits Leh-Buddhist, Tibetan, and Muslim. 2. Major religious attractions include Shey, Thiksey, Hemis, Liker, Spituk, Lamayuru, Sankar Gumpa and so on. 3. Palaces, Museums, And Mosques. 4. Major festivals: Ladakh festivals and monastic festivals etc.

Modernisation: Role of Military and Tourism

The process of modernization has started quite earlier when Ladakh came into contact with Christian missionaries. With the establishment of the headquarters of the Moravian missionary Church in 1885, things have begun to change in Ladakh in a modest way. Besides the new religion, the missionaries introduced useful skills such as knitting, baking, and also the cultivation of vegetables like potatoes, spinach, cauliflower, radish, and tomatoes. The system of storing root vegetables in semi-underground chambers, so that they are available for the greater part of the winter, is also credited to missionaries (Rizvi 1996: 89, cited in Lundup 2013). Subsequently, the missionaries were asked to take over the small western-style dispensary maintained by the Maharaja's Government at Leh. They upgraded it into a hospital with in-

patient and out-patient facilities and travelled widely bringing medical aid to the poor and remote villages⁴².

A number of forces, such as government policies, education, army, tourism, and NGOs have all played an important role in shaping Ladakh to its current stature. But here, I am dealing with the role of army and tourism in modernising the region. Post independence modernisation in Ladakh begins with the construction of a road for defense purpose which connected Ladakh with rest of India in the 1960s, following a series of wars with China and Pakistan. India soon realised the fact that strong military presence was required to fix and consolidate Ladakh on the Indian map and to secure one of its important frontiers from the incursion from neighbouring nations like China and Pakistan. As a result, Ladakh soon became a military base and a strong presence of army can be seen even today. Khaki coloured vehicles of the army and muddy green military buildings became a common sight. Eventually, electricity and telecommunication lines were placed in the region. Construction of an airport at Leh Air Force Station (AFS) was yet another contribution by the Indian army in modernising Ladakh. The airport was later renamed as Kushok Bakula Airport in 2005, after Bakula Rinpoche, a statesman, an international diplomat and a highly venerated Lama. The army offered an array of employment opportunities, a number of youth went on to join Indian army, while many earned their livelihood by serving the army in different capacities like cook, dishwasher, porter, sweeper, and so on. Interaction with the army brought new and varied appliances into the lives of the rural community who had never encountered such things, radio, stove, petromax, pressure cooker, etc. are few examples. It also helped the local economy by sourcing fruits and vegetables from the local farmers. In many ways the presence of the army provided livelihood and raised the income of the people, thereby increasing their purchasing power too. Hence, the considerable presence of army has changed the socio-economic landscape of the region (Norbery-Hodge 1991).

This was followed by the presence of tourism, for until 1974, Ladakh was deprived of tourism industry due to the obvious reason of border security. However, Government of India (GOI) has changed its strategy by opening up the region for tourism to augment its possession on the

⁴²The fame of the missionaries' medical work was such that it is said that a patient with cataract made a seven-week journey from Tibet for treatment; he returned home with his sight restored (Janet Rizvi 1983).

region, as well as to enhance the local economy. The government realised the potential for tourism in Ladakh as it offers a range of opportunities for adventure and cultural tourism. The region opened for tourism bit by bit, starting with Leh, and adding increasingly remote regions as time went on (Harrer 1978). Now, the region is connected to the world by road and air. Government prediction has proven to be correct that the influx of tourists in Leh went up. Started with 500 tourists in 1974, the figure reached more than 400 fold by the end of September 2016. The initial two decades, 70% of tourists were from Western Europe (Singh 1997) and out of which 90% of them witnessed Ladakh in the months from June to September due to its weather (Gillespie 2006). As the tourist inflow increases, demand also increases for creating infrastructure such as hotels, guesthouses, travel agencies, restaurants, bakeries, banks, antique shops and jewelry markets. In doing so, the tourism industry has provided a viable cash economy option for those people who are involved in tourism activities (Norberg-Hodge: 1991).

Let me elaborate the idiosyncrasy of the case of tourism in bringing modernisation in Ladakh. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the beginning of tourism is the best thing that had happened to Ladakh. One may find it like a paradox but in order to understand this, we need to comprehend the period before tourism in Ladakh. It was indeed quite different and peculiar for Ladakh. Many of my elderly informants recount in their narratives during the field work which will be discussed in the following chapters. It was the period probably between 1948-1974 that Ladakh was opened for the rest of India, not for rest of the world. At this time Ladakh was exposed only to the mainland Indian media and influential people. Unfortunately, India was newly independent and hence, still reeling under colonial time, or what many scholars referred to it as the hangover of colonialism. This meant that India saw everything through the perspective of development and initiative of the west. Interestingly, anything other than modern western ways was primitive, backward, and therefore, Ladakh was seen as a very backward, primitive and uncivilized place. Every Ladakhi was made to feel that way, it was infused through cadres of the hierarchy of officials and more dangerously through the education system. Families would encourage their children to speak in Urdu, not Ladakhi (Wangchuk 2015). This was the phase wherein Ladakhi was lowest at self-esteem. Gillespie rightly opined that Ladakhi went through an enormous inferiority complex at the initial years of its opening to the outsider (Gillespie 2006). Such inferences can be drawn from the folk songs of those years, as it goes '*gyab la logpa gon teyjikjikrik macho, rkang la phingba gon tey dokdokrik macho*' meaning 'do not be scary wearing sheep's skin on your back,

do not be frightening with your old woolen shoes'. Such were the songs written by Ladakhi songwriters and scholars. The words modernised, civilised, were the words reflecting in Ladakhi songs for the first time. However, interesting thing is that the same scholars and songwriters after ten years began celebrating Ladakhi dress, food, and culture (Wangchuk 2015). So, the question is what happened in that ten years? During that period of time, it was thought that an unchallenged single influence of the west was the best. But at the same time, the west was itself going through the realisation of what industrialisation was doing to them. Many problems were surfacing in a big way such as environmental problems, as well as, the social breakdown of traditional values which were posing serious challenges to them. India was still oblivious to it and celebrating industrialisation and that was the impact coming to Ladakh. However, when Ladakh was thrown open to tourism in 1974, it sort of short-circuited the whole thing and Ladakh suddenly encountered this realisation of the reality of industrialisation. Ladakh was very difficult place to reach in those days. There is a Tibetan proverb which says '*the valley is reached by high and difficult passes only the best of friends and the worst of enemies are its visitors*' and so, because it was difficult to reach Ladakh, we had the best of thinkers from around the world who came to Ladakh and brought us the first-hand experience of what industrialisation and so-called modernisation was doing to the west. Therefore, Ladakh saved a lot of time in understanding the ecological disaster that modernisation brought with it. Therefore, I called the best thing that had ever happened to Ladakh is early tourism. Nevertheless, it does not mean that all is well today, as the massive influx of tourists, due to the mass model of tourism, does result in ecological devastation (see chapter 2). In short, the early phase of tourism witnessed intellectual and cultural tourism which enlighten Ladakh from an ambiguous influenced of mainland India. Then the latter phase mass tourism started from the year 2000, with the inauguration of '*Sindhu Darshan*'.⁴³ This was followed by film tourism which has completely changed the demography of tourism industry. Restricted areas such as Nubra, Pangong, Dha-hanu were opened for tourism at the same time. Now, if we look at the figures roughly two lakh tourists visit Ladakh, in just five to six months, plus army population together exceeds the local population. As a result, many problems concerning

⁴³ The introduction of "Sindhu Darshan" Festival in the year 2000, by the then Prime Minister of India, Atal Bihari Vajpayee. From then the famous "*Singey Khababs*" the pride of Ladakh was safforinised in the name of 'Sindhu Darshan Festival' which is now famous as a sacred Hindu festival and the agents of Sangh were successful in giving it a religious color, the color of saffron, which they have been and are propagating directly or indirectly from the very time of its inception.

ecology and its carrying capacities are surfacing in big ways (see the detail discussion in chapter 2).

Tourism as an Anthropological Enquiry

The origin of tourism as a subject of anthropological and sociological investigation can be found in the scholarship of early 1970s (Dann, Nash, Pearce 1988: 1-28). It is an established fact that the phenomenon of tourism in academia is a recent one. Having said that, ever since social scientists including anthropologists and sociologists turned their attention to the phenomenon of tourism, the subject is still in the process of explorations with many ambiguous and complexity of concepts and issues embedded. Here, I would not go into the details of disciplinary boundaries between Anthropology and Sociology; they have their own overlapping histories. Indeed, two American sociologists Parson and Barber mentioned “at the present time, social anthropology and sociology are conceptualized disciplines, so close together as to be almost fused” (Parson and Barber 1948: 46). The nature of this ‘fusion’ has been reflected in their approaches to the subject of tourism.

Tourism by no mean is a new phenomenon. It has a history of enquiry and occupies a central place among marketing and economic scholars. Despite its extensive influence as it continues to expand across the world, yet, it occupies a very minimal space in anthropological research and writing. It is considered as an understudied phenomenon within the discipline of anthropology and sociology. Therefore, there is an ardent need for academic consideration to understand the impact of first ever growing largest industries with such a degree of complexity, and such complication assumes significant to existing world (Tisdell 2000). “Any human subject of such magnitude cries out for anthropological analysis” (Nash 1995:197). Nevertheless, the systematic study on tourism in these fields has been carried out only recently. The reason for its long history of research in other disciplines like commerce and marketing is due to the fact that their engagement with tourism exclusively based on economic activities, than its impacts on society and people.

Despite the huge movement of people and cross-cultural contact, one might wonder that why, anthropologists and sociologists kept themselves away from considering tourism as a subject of their enquiry. Nash (1981) pointed out a few probable reasons for their hesitation to

engage with the subject of tourism. Firstly, there was a predominant perception among anthropologists that tourism is a subject which is not worthy to be engaged by serious scholars. It is a subject which was deemed by an anthropologist to be a frivolous area of culture and not worthy of academic pursuit. Many people still believe the same.

The second probable reason why social anthropologists avoided the study of tourism was to prevent themselves from being resemblance to that of the travel writers. For instance, the resemblance between anthropologists and travel writers has been pointed out by Clifford (1990), followed by Redfoot (1984) who even went stepped ahead to put forward anthropologists in the category of tourist. It seems that anthropologist as fieldworker, and ethnographer, refuted those similarities. They think “themselves as intrepid field workers and so do not want to be identified with tourists in any way” (Nash 1981: 461-481). Indeed, it can pose an ethical question for anthropologists to be recognized as a tourist. If it happens then tourists themselves would posit themselves as anthropologists studying themselves, a “self-reflexive stance from which social anthropology traditionally shied away” (Burns 2004: 5-22).

The third reason for which tourism at least deserves sympathy, from anthropology, is to develop an understanding of the ways in which the social and cultural consciousness of tourism is fostered in the minds of the people. There is a prevailing perception among social anthropologists that the concept of tourism is merely about economics, market, and tourists, and rarely considered the local community or host society (which has long been social anthropology’s focus). Furthermore, there are widespread notions that tourism has been viewed as a Western phenomenon, and which emerged from industrialized world or modern big cities. Hence, anthropologist mainly engaged themselves with small scale societies, its people and their ways of life. This could be one possible reason for anthropologists to not consider tourism as their subject of enquiry. Nevertheless, there might be some anthropologists who touched upon the subject of tourism but it was purely considered as an incidental to the subject (Japanagka and Nathan 1983: 41 and Hilliard 1968). For instance, tourism could have been recognised as a separate entity for anthropological discourse, which materialized as a form of colonization that metamorphosed as rising avenues for business (Weiner 1976: 3). Finally, another possible reason of avoiding tourism as a subject for

investigation in anthropology, might be unawareness of anthropologists about the expansion of tourism industry, its causes and consequences.

Nevertheless, without any further hindrance, tourism is now indeed, seen as a legitimate subject for anthropology and sociology, because the scope of sociology and anthropology is also to study cultures and subcultures. Therefore, tourism provides avenues specifically for those anthropologists who are interested in undertaking study on acculturation. Way back in 1960s and 1970s, when anthropologists and sociologists were finding their ways into the subject of tourism, the theoretical and methodological imperatives were being challenged more and more. The question even rose about the basic nature of scientific inquiry. Tourism as a form of inquiry searching for a space in well-developed methodological tools and techniques was met with many challenges.

During that point of time, in order to incorporate tourism into the subject of sociology and anthropology, it became crucial for the sociologist and anthropologist to retrospectively view the theoretical and methodological imperatives. The study of the historical significance of tourism also turns out to be an important subject of inquiry among sociologists and anthropologists (Dennison 2007).⁴⁴ Naturally, there was more or less commitment to different schemes of social analysis and rigor in carrying them out in early tourism research by anthropologists and sociologists (Nunez 1963; Cohen 1984; Crick 1989; Dann and Cohen 1991; Dann, Nash and Pearce 1988; Nash and Smith 1991).

Therefore, the anthropologist and sociologist who analyzed tourism in their research have been questioned regarding the adaptation of theories and methodology. Many scholars have raised questions concerning with the engagement of concepts and techniques from their parent disciplines and apply them without modifying their enquiry to tourism problems.⁴⁵ As far as the subject of sociology is concerned, Cohen (1984) has given a shape to the earlier scattered engagement with tourism from sociologically related scholars. The first empirical

⁴⁴ Nash, Dennison (ed.) (2007), *The Study of Tourism: An Anthropological and Sociological Beginnings*. Tourism social science series, Oxford New York.

⁴⁵ Pearce, D. G. (1993). Introduction. In D. G. Pearce and R. W. Butler (Eds.), *Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges*, (pp. 1-8). London: Routledge.

work on the subject was done by Foster in 1964⁴⁶. On the other hand, Nunez (1963) was the first who laid the foundation of tourism in anthropology with his field work concerning Mexicans at the beach and Kottak (1966) on the development of second homes in a Brazilian fishing village. Overall, Cohen's view on the lack of earlier systematic development of tourism research in Sociology can be accepted for anthropology as well. He says, "The study of tourism as a sociological specialty rather than merely as an exotic, marginal topic emerged only in 1970" (Cohen 1984:374). His engagement was about how tourism can be an important and appropriate subject for sociology. His work has given impetus for anthropological discourses on tourism and its impacts on societies. There were only a few scholars who were working on tourism but those were the scholars who put forward their argument of not to be avoided the phenomenon of tourism in anthropology any longer, because it is a phenomenon which acquired importance both at global level as well as at local level. (Nash 1978, Pi-Sunyer 1977, Aspelin 1977, Cohen 1972, 1973, 1974, 1979a, 1979b, Smith 1976, 1977a, 1977b, 1978Graburn 1976, Greenwood 1976), Pizam 1978, Reiter 1977.). These were the bunch of scholars who endorsed an inclusive argument to consider tourism as suitable subject for anthropology. It is a subject which anthropology can be explored without any apprehension in losing its credibility. Consequently, there were inaugurations of "Journals such as *Annals of Tourism Research* (1973) and *Journal of Travel and Research*"(1970), exclusively devoted to tourism Research.

Comparative Literature on the Sociology of Tourism

Sociologists and anthropologists are now showing ardent interest in engaging with the subject of tourism. The conscious academicians to a great extent have assimilated tourism studies into the discipline of sociology and anthropology. Most of the literature which I came across is on the impact of tourism on host culture, and this seems to be one of the most explored areas within the sociology of tourism. Much of their study has been devoted the host society, and there is hardly any literature available which focus on the impact on tourist and their palace of origin(Cohen 1984). Some scholars are of the view that even if it is studied extensively, there is a need for further investigation in order to generate some new

⁴⁶ Foster, John (1964). The Sociological Consequences of Tourism. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 5, pp. 217-227.

hypotheses (King, Pizam and Milman 1993). Though, some scholars opined that we cannot generalise one theory out of a singular case study of the impact of tourism, because each study has its own distinct characteristics (Nash and Pearce 1988). Furthermore, current studies on impact are viewed as “quasi-intellectual findings pretending worldwide validity which in fact do not go beyond small talk at a social gathering”(Van Doorn 1989).

The most common generalizations of the impact of tourism on the host society are “the ways in which tourism contributed to the changes in value systems, individual behaviors, family relationships, collective lifestyles, moral conduct, creative expression, traditional ceremonies and community organisations” (Pizam and Milman 1984: 11). “Social impacts involve the more immediate changes in the social structure of the community and adjustments to the host economy and industry. The cultural impact focuses on long-term changes in a society’s norms and standards, which will gradually emerge in a community’s social relationship and artifacts”. (Murphy 1985: 117).

The majority of the scholars distinguish between the socio-economic and socio-cultural effects of tourism. However, the cultural impact of tourism cannot be separated from the economic, as all sorts of impacts are interconnected with each other in one way or other (Altman 1993). Various scholars tend to categorise the socio-economic and cultural outcome of tourism within a larger context. These are, for instance, foreign exchange, income, development, price, and the distributions of income, possession, and management, growth and progress, and state revenues (Noronha 1977).

Cohen described significant focus for study as “community involvement in wider frameworks, nature of interpersonal relations, bases of social organisation, the rhythm of social life, migration, a division of labour, stratification, distribution of power, deviance and customs and the arts” (Cohen 1984: 385). Figuerola classify six major types of “socio-cultural impacts: impact on population structure, the transformation of forms and type of occupations, the transformation of values, influence on traditional lifestyles, modification of consumption patterns, and benefits to tourists” (Figuerola 1989, quoted in Pearce 1989: 218). This is very close to the classification offered by Pizam and Altman (1984) which focusses on the change in demography, occupation, tradition, religion, languages, norms, values and environment.

Mathieson and Wall argued that “research should be directed more explicitly at determining the perceptions and attitudes of the host population towards the presence and behaviour of tourists; and unless local inhabitants are contacted, it may not be possible to identify the real significance of any change” (Mathieson and Wall 1982, quoted in Brunt and Courtney 1999: 494).

From the existing literature in this field, it comes to the fore that the latter half of 20th century witnessed the steady rise of tourism industry, and this is quite significant for couple of reasons. First, the influx of tourism in the host society, destination, or countries has led to the transformation of the basic structure in that society. Indeed, positive changes were welcomed, such as “improving income, education, employment opportunities and local infrastructure and services” (Lankford 1994, cited in Brunt and Courtney 1999: 495). There are a number of other things which might not be welcomed by the host society. Those are the negative impacts such as breakdown of social values, increasing income gap leading to emergence of new class in the society, and creation of lobbies to maximise profit from tourism. Secondly, due to the fact that “tourism is unique as an export industry in that customer themselves travel to collect the goods” (Crick 1989: 311). The world is coming closer to each other through different means and ways. Thus, tourism was one of the most important factors for bringing different societies and culture together.

Tourism is a phenomenon to be studied which describes new interactions between people around the world, seeing how this new interaction is modifying the social, economical, political and cultural areas. Some people do not view these interactions as positive, as it might destroy the traditional culture and societies. While for others, it is an opportunity to understand the greater knowledge of different cultures, society, and nation, and can turn out to be a platform for building peaceful relations among different regions. These kind of “social impacts can be described as those which might be a more immediate effect on both tourists and host communities in terms of their quality of life” (Sharpley 1994 cited in Brunt and Courtney 1999: 495). Mathieson and Wall argued that “these impacts can change in response to structural changes in the industry, and the extent and duration of the exposure of the host population to the tourist development” (Mathieson and Wall 1982, quoted in Brunt and Courtney 1999: 496).

However, to some, cultural impacts are always viewed more as a threat than any other impact. It is an impact which “leads to a long-term, gradual change in society’s value, beliefs, and cultural practices. This sort of cultural change is actually caused by tourists demand. For instance, host society is dependent on tourists’ consumption, and there will come a situation whereby host societies become culturally dependent on the tourists generating country” (Sharpley 1994: 161-171 cited in Lundup 2013: 4). Nevertheless, host society may not be aware, even though such changes are taking place at high pace. Thus, the socio-economic and cultural impacts may vary from one society to another for various reasons such as what kind of tourists are witnessing and how many, and the function of the tourism industry and its development.

Of late, substantial academic consideration has been given to this multifaceted concept of tourism, and the notion of authenticity and commodification of culture. MacCannell was the first one to have introduced these concepts to the discipline of sociology while engaging with the “study of tourist motivations and experiences” thirty years ago. (MacCannell 1973, 1976). Since then, the subject becomes the part of tourism studies. The consistent engagement with the concepts yields multiple perspectives in relation to toured objects, host communities, and even touristic experiences. Multiple conceptualizations of authentic may be ontologically problematic (Belhassen and Caton 2006).

Having said that, as the concept got a serious engagement in academics and its vagueness and limitations has been unfolded. “Notwithstanding its potential significance for consumption experiences, authenticity has been criticized as a problematic concept” (Costa and Bamossy, 2001: 398-402). It came to light from the existing academic literature that this concept is quite elusive, it differs from one scholar to another and does not hold a common meaning. Therefore, academic is yet to establish a definitive concept for the purpose of usage and marketing application. Bruner says, “The problem with the term authenticity, in the literature and in the fieldwork, is that one never knows except by analysis of the context which meaning is salient in any given instance” (Bruner 1994: 401). In fact, it is difficult to articulate tourist aspirations and experiences through conventional concept, therefore inquiry into its usefulness and validity become necessary.

MacCannell opined that “phenomena such as visiting friends and relatives, beach holidays, ocean cruising, nature tourism, visiting Disneyland and personal hobbies such as shopping, fishing or sports, have nothing to do with authenticity” (MacCannell 1973, 1976, Schudson 1979, Stephen 1990, Urry 1990. cited in Wang, 1999). According to Urry “search for ‘authenticity’ is too simple a foundation for explaining contemporary tourism” (Urry 1991: 51). Vallee argued “authenticity is a desired and actively pursued experience by tourists which is perceived to reflect or give access to the true and unadulterated or real thing” (Vallee 1987). Tourists attraction are “of little significance to the inward life of people, but wonderfully saleable as tourist commodity” (Boorstin, 1964: 103). For MacCannell, those are very important social symbols. Boorstin’s description indicates that tourist ‘destinations’ are inauthentic. He argued “tourist attractions serve their purpose best when they are ‘pseudo-events’ as illusions are said to be the fundamental motivation of modern tourists. Since modern man is alienated from one’s own inauthentic and shallow world, he seeks authenticity elsewhere in other times and spaces” (MacCannell, 1976: 3). Furthermore, he goes on to explain the context of host society by employing the concept of ‘Backstage’ which represent the outer setting in which tourist feel, see, observe, and encounter authentic experience. In order to prove his concept, MacCannell writes, ‘no one can participate in his own life, he can only participate in the lives of others’.

While reactions to MacCannell’s approach were less critical than to Boorstin, Pearce has added to the debate by arguing that “visitor satisfaction will depend not on the nature of the event (whether or not it is authentic) but on the visitor’s perception of whether or not authenticity exists and their need for authentic experiences”. (Pearce 1982) For example, one visitor who wants a festival to be an authentic expression of culture finds a highly commercialized tourist-oriented event, another sees only difference. “Authenticity can be considered as a part of the event product, because it is something that can motivate certain tourists, and it is a benefit that can at least partially be controlled by organisers”. (Getz 1997: 319). Kunwar has categorized authenticity into three types: Perceived Authenticity, Original Authenticity and Created Authenticity (R.R Kunwar 2002).

In perceived authenticity, tourists before their departure are subjected to a range of images of the destination. While many are market oriented, others are unbiased documentary accounts

of the region to be visited. The original authenticity is represented by the natural and man-made features, which attract visitors to the destination region. If the original authenticity has been changed due to development or environmental damage then it is replaced by created authenticity (Jackson, 1989: 104-105).

Literature in Context of Ladakh

The literature on History, Culture, and Trade:

There are many scholars who focus on Ladakh's history. It is a complex history, fraught with periods of instability mainly due to external factors. Interestingly, whosoever has written on Ladakh's history, culture, and trade, there is only one source that is *La-dvagsrgyal-rabs*⁴⁷, compiled probably in the 17th century, but continued later until the end of kingdom and beyond, is, and always will be the main source for Ladakhi history (Petech 1977: XIII). This is the source upon which A.H. Francke⁴⁸ based his pioneer work on Ladakhi history. At the same time, he used literary sources found from diverse forms such as rock inscriptions, paintings and architectures. His works were later critically examined by Luciano Petech in his book *the Kingdom of Ladakh* (1977), who stated that information on Ladakh before the birth of kingdom (10th century) is scarce. However, he presented solid evidence for the theory that *Dards*⁴⁹ were the original inhabitants of the place; descendants of which are still found in *Dha* and *Hanu* village in Ladakh known as *Brog-youl*.

However, the contemporary scholarship on Ladakh concerning socio-economic, cultural and religious history has its roots in the colonial exploration and missionary interests of the 19th and 20th century (Beek and Pirie 2008). It was during this period that Ladakh got much

⁴⁷ This royal chronicle is considered as the prime source for Ladakhi history. However, it is full of gaps and inconsistencies, particularly for the period before the 17th century. Supplementary evidence comes from the biographies (Nam-thar) of Buddhist religious leaders, monastic archives and the records of neighbouring kingdoms. (Bray 2005).

⁴⁸ "In 1909 August Hermann Francke embarked on an extended research expedition under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), travel from Simla to Kinnaur and then via Spiti to Ladakh. The first volume of the Antiquities, which was published in (1914), includes a description and a preliminary analysis of the paintings in Alchi in Ladakh. The second volume (1926) contains a critical edition of the *La-dvags rgyal rabs*, on his research expedition Francke was accompanied by a skilled photographer, Babu Pandi Lala. His photographs themselves constitute an important part of the historical records" (Blue and Bary 2014: 3).

⁴⁹ "Herodotus mentions twice a people called Dadikai, first (III, 91) along with the Gandarioi in the list of Persian Provinces, and again (VII, 66) in the catalogue of King Xerxes's army invading Greece, where they are brigaded once more with the Gandarioi under the same command. We may have here the first mention of the Dards, at least of those dwelling to the north and north-west of Gandhara; but this is anything but certain" (Petech 1977: 5)

attention from a range of serious Western scholars in different disciplines as agents of missionaries and colonial expansion. Their documentation of historical facts, figures, narratives, folk stories and songs, customs and tradition etc, largely contributed in constructing the history of Ladakh. Besides, there are a number of independent scholars who have been attracted to Ladakh mainly due to their interest in exploring the Tibetan form of Buddhism. This interest may be attributed to the relative accessibility of Ladakh, as compared to neighbouring Tibet, which has remained largely closed to Western scholars (Beek and Pirie 2008). Many researchers have travelled to most parts of Ladakh by 1974 by hiking across the Himalayan passes, either from Kashmir or Himachal, and via Manali, of late, are able to take motorable roads or airplane.

The Ladakhi society also falls in this whole process of modern state formation and colonial expansion in the Indian subcontinent. This process of development further intensified, arguably became more reflexive, in the following century. These were the pivotal phases of the background of historical developments which has been the subject of a substantial body of scholarship. As I have mentioned above, missionaries and colonial oriented scholars documented mainly for administrative and evangelist purposes. But, their scholarship on Ladakh is inevitably essential to understand Ladakhi history, culture, and society. For instance, even today, Moorcroft and Trebeck's (1837) lucid information about the life of Ladakhi society prior to Dogra regime are continuously quoted. Likewise, the works of those government administrators and employees like Alexander Cunningham (1854), F. Maisey (1878) and H. Ramsay (1890) equally contribute to the corpus of knowledge about Ladakh. The mapping and description of the society and culture of Ladakh were deemed necessary for the proper administration, exploitation, and development of the region. This followed by the writings of Christian missionaries, constituted the second most important source of knowledge about society and culture in Ladakh. A.H. Francke (1907, 1914, 1926, 1929), H.A. Jaschke (1881), A. and K. Heber (1976), S.H. Ribbach (1940), Walter Asboe (1932, 1947) and many others who wrote and published invaluable account on the socio-cultural aspect of Ladakhi society. There was thirdly, the works of early travellers and explorers, providing mainly ethnographic information, in particular Alexander Csoma de Koros (1834), Filippo de Filippi (1912, 1916, 1932), Marco Pallis (1939), Giotto Dainelli (1922), Garika

Govinda (1966) and Rahul Sankrityayana (1939, 1951), all of whom travelled to Ladakh and provided valuable accounts of the respective years of their travel.

First person who is known to carry an anthropological research in Ladakh was Giotto Dainelli. Anthropologists were attracted to Ladakh due to the prevalence of polyandry system in the region. Prince Peter of Greece, who was very keen to study polyandry system, was a student of Bronislaw Malinowski, one of the founding fathers of modern anthropology, at the London School of Economics. Prince produced an interesting account on the lives of nomads, monks, village farmers, and caravaners, which has been documented with notes, photographs, and video films during his journey from Manali via Korzok to Leh (Van Beek and Pirie 2008). His findings were published in the form of a book entitled *A Study of Polyandry* (1959). Moreover, the first scholarly article on Ladakh was published by Charles de Ujfalvy, who had carried out physical anthropological research published in the year 1883.

Meanwhile, with the opening up of Ladakh to both domestic and international tourists in 1974, another wave of researchers appeared on the scene and the study on Ladakh's society and culture gained momentum again. Notably, with the studies by the Cambridge undergraduate expedition (1977, 1979), Martin Brauen (1980), followed by two expeditions to Zangskar in 1980 and 1981 organised by John Crook, Henry Osmaston, and Robert Roaf. Likewise, Luciano Petech's work *The Kingdom of Ladakh* (1977) critically engaged with the history of Ladakh and falsified many facts presented in the earlier works of Francke with solid evidence, is presently the most cited source. At the same time, the "*Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* by David L Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski" (1977), presented a detail description about the cultural history of monasteries in Ladakh. Likewise, Helena Norberg-Hodge (1991), Janet Rizvi (1983), Ravinia Aggarwal (2004), John Bray (2005), Nawang Tsering Shakpo (2010), Harjit Singh (1976, 1995, 1998), Martijin Beek (1999) and many others have contributed to the body of knowledge about Ladakh. Among them, Janet Rizvi (1983, 1996), J.H. Fewkes (2009), has written substantially on the history of Ladakh's trade relations with neighbouring regions. They both argue that the region, however, enjoys a central position on a major route, from the 9th century onwards (Rizvi 1996).

Literature on Tourism

The literature on tourism, in general, is very vast. Work done on Ladakh is scanty and severely limited. Most of the earlier literature on Ladakh is in the form of travelogues, the travel accounts, especially, of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century which yield significant information on the physical, economic, social, political and religious aspect as observed by travellers. One of the rare and the most remarkable travel accounts available on Ladakh was written by a local Ladakhi entitled as '*Servant of Sahibs*' (1924). The author used to serve as a helper to many 19th century European travellers. He became a trusted assistant to Sir Francis Younghusband, who travelled to Ladakh and Tibet. While assessing European travellers he had learned many languages including English, with the help of which he has written the account, '*Servants of Sahibs*' (1924). The book contains his experience of dealing with his *Sahibs* (tourist) which reveal, intense excitement, curiosity, and laughter. Apart from travelogues, there are several admirable academic works on tourism produced by Western as well as Indian scholars on Ladakh. For instance, Helena Norberg-Hodge wrote her book "*Ancient Future: Learning from Ladakh*" (1991) with the desire to show her western audience that an alternative to 'industrial monoculture' was not only possible but already existed. The book, based on her prolonged annual summer stays in Ladakh since 1975 'counter development' work, as she herself calls it, has sold very well and has struck a powerful chord with non-Western peoples and has been translated into 28 languages. The works of Gillespie is equally informative. He published a book and many articles. The book entitled "*Becoming Other: From Social Interaction to Self Reflection*" (2006) can be considered as the main source for the study of the interaction between tourists and Ladakhi people. In this book, he has explored Ladakh as the empirical study of the theory propounded by George Herbert Mead. In doing so, it explained self-reflective dimension of Ladakhi by using the theory of social act. Furthermore, contextualizing Mead's theory he examines the interaction between tourists and Ladakhis whom he described as "two radically different groups has triggered mutual self-reflection, and the emergence of new situated identities". (Gillespie 2006: iv). The interaction between tourists and Ladakhi ranges from personal to psychological realm and from social relations to individual internal engagement and self reflection. He furnished his argument by examining Mead's hypothesis that "self-reflection is patterned by our institutional interactions" (Ibid: iv). One cannot ignore the work

of Ashild Kolas “*Tourism and Tibetan Culture in Transition: A place called Shangrila*” (2008). The book explores a range of issues regarding the relationship between tourism, culture and ethnic identities in Shangrila. It recounts the development of tourism industry in Tibet and their cultural responses to forces like tourism being captured in detail to understand the socio-cultural, economic and political dynamics and government imposed schemes in the region. She also engages with various unresolved discussions like “authenticity, cultural preservations, and negotiation of ethnic identities” (Kolas 2008: 1). On the whole, it provides a different perspective to understand various problems associated with tourists in relation to host culture. This was followed by Harjit Singh (1976, 1995, 1998), who spent nearly four decades working on Ladakh and has produced several articles in national and international journals covering a range of issues particularly focussed on tourism, ecology, monasteries from the perspective of a geographer. Their works further attracted a range of scholars particularly within the domain of social sciences and humanities. A subsequent flurry of doctoral theses, books and articles accompanied the formation of International Association for Ladakh Studies (IALS), and the organisation of its colloquia. Therefore, the scanty information on Ladakhi society and culture gradually expanded enormously.

Statement of Problem

Ladakh is located in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, sharing two international borders such as Chinese occupied Tibet, and Pakistan. Its geographical and cultural landscape has much in common with Tibet. Snow covered mountain peaks, archaic monasteries, beautiful lakes, high passes, and Buddhist culture are the main sources of tourist attraction in Ladakh. Both adventures as well as cultural tourists are fascinated with Ladakh because the region provides lots of avenues. However, “many choose to travel to Ladakh as a substitute for going to Tibet, which they say, is less accessible” (Gillespie 2006: 169).

In what ways does tourism bring change in the host society? This thesis is an account of the many influences of tourists and tourism, located within the larger framework of anthropological discourses on tourism and culture. The model that anthropology has constructed on culture, to “a greater or lesser degree, have attempted to theorize the world as if it were a mixture of differences, static, close and internally rational human system or

culture. Over time, the theoretical paradigm has shown ‘culture’ as a determining, cooperative and collective feature of people’s lives”(Cohen 1993). However, it is fixed, precisely packed, theoretical models of ‘culture’, which do not correspond with the “real life experiences. “Theoretical and lived culture correspond respectively with Foucault utopias ‘site with no real place which represents society in a perfected form’ and ‘Heterotopias’ counter sites enacted utopia all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, which are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted”(Passim1996, Aggarwal 1986:24).What I found interesting here is that the landscape for consumption, the configuration of space that at one time is mapped by the locals as a lived space but which in time turns out to be a spectacle for the tourist. My concern is how in such interaction, a negotiated meaning of space comes up.

“Culture is not, however, merely a contested space. It is one of the most complicated concepts in the English language, being applied to ‘several distinct’ and incompatible systems of thought”(William 1889: 87). It is impossible to comprehend the world in terms of homogeneous or one culture. It is well pointed out by relativists in anthropological discourse that one can understand the world through the lens of diverse ‘culture’ wherein each has its own meaning and comprise different belief systems and practices. However, even in anthropological terms, the meaning of culture differs from person to person in different time and space.

The village where this study was conducted has its own symbolic cultural resources and natural setting, which eventually got the attention of the tourist industry. As a result, traditional village economy was caught up in a competitive world economy. Apparently, significant cultural changes took place with the massive inflow of tourists in the village. This includes modes of consumption, agricultural practice, thinking patterns, food habits, behaviour, dressing, artifacts, architecture, norms, values and spiritual conduct. The cultural landscapes, as well as sacred spaces, are changing in the ‘making of place’ for tourists’ consumption. The role of the tourist is often seen as a crucial determinant, with the harshest critics describing the ‘host-guest’ relationship as a form of cultural imperialism (Turner and Ash 1975; Nash 1989). Much less attention has been given to the active role of host society in the process of marketing indigenous cultural resources (Butler and Hinch 1996; Hitchcock

and Teague 2000). The focus of the present study is the dialogue between the ‘villagers and the tourists’, with an emphasis on how the representation of the natives are mediated by cultural brokers. In Ladakh, tourism cultural brokers can be found in government offices as well as private agencies and can be travel agents, tour guides or entrepreneurs engaged in developing souvenirs and other products for tourist consumption.

All Ladakh Tourism Operators Association (ALTOA) and Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA) organises training program and trains guides every year to communicate with tourists. How are they being trained and what kind of cultural attributes are communicated to tourists? How does the tourism department help local guides in communicating with tourists? It is also creating its own anthropological discourse, between culture and tourism, rather than merely focusing on monuments and events. It can be well contextualized within the theory of Habermas’ communicative action and rationality, wherein tourists and local guides interact and coordinate their action based upon agreed interpretations of the situation. “Communicative action has the ability to reflect upon the language used to express propositional truth, normative value, or subjective self-expression”(Habermas 1984: 95).

The interaction between the tourist and local people is taken as one variable to comprehend the dynamics of the relationship between tourism and religion in the village. It provides a comprehensible account, concerning the problems embedded in the tourism industry and its implication on host society. In fact, this type of interaction can be considered as a unique form of cross-cultural interaction. Although, tourists stay for a very short period of time but it has a tendency to upset the village routines and pace of life. Generally, “tourists and host have different goals and expectations of an encounter. Tourists are mobile, relaxed, free-spending, utilizing excessive leisure time and trying to absorb the experience of being in a different environment; the host, on the other hand, is relatively stationary, and is often in a position of serving the tourists’ needs” (Sutton, 1967 quoted in Berno, 1995: 5). Such temporal nature of tourist tends to be affluent compared with the local people (Pearce 1982) and it creates a space wherein local people are always inclined to capture only the glimpse of the material disposition of tourist. Hence, develops the perception that tourists are inherently rich and living in their dreams. They hardly realise the other side of the tourists. Helena Norberg-Hodge rightly made a remark:

For millions of youths in rural areas of the world, modern Western culture appears far superior to their own, it is surprising since, looking as they do from outside, all they can see is the material side of the modern world -the side which Western culture excels. They cannot so readily see the social and psychological dimensions- the stress, the loneliness, the fear of growing old. Nor can they see environmental decay, inflation, or unemployment. (Norberg-Hodge, H. 1991: 97)

This one-dimensional observation of local people towards tourists and tourism tends to develop in them a feeling of inferiority complex. Gradually people began to lose interest in their own customs and traditions, while at the same time were willing to imitate the new one. They reject their own culture and values and rush after so-called modernity which they think tourists represent.

Development and globalization have created a social context in which tourists and host come into contact. Nettekoven (1979) proposed three main contexts in which interaction between tourists-host takes place first, there is the context in which we find the host providing services and materials for tourist. Secondly, an interaction in marketplace in which they find themselves side-by-side, such as, historical sites, monasteries or in the market. Finally, the context in which both comes face- to-face to exchange ideas or information. Furthermore, he mentioned that the first two types of interaction are quantitatively more in common. (Nettekoven, L. 1979: 135-145).

Furthermore, this cultural contact has several other characteristics. One of these features is that “the relationship is generally transitory and non-repetitive in nature”(Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Noronha, 1979; Sutton, 1967; United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), 1976). Because tourists’ stay in “host society is relatively brief, this temporary relationship formed between host and tourists is different for each of the two interacting groups. Tourists often consider the meeting to be interesting and unique because of the novelty of the host culture. By contrast, for the host, it is merely another superficial relationship with yet another tourist. Because of this brevity and superficiality, tourists-host relationships are also characterized by an orientation to immediate gratification on the part of both parties” (Nornha, 1979; Sutton, 1967 quoted in Berno 1995: 5). The lack of spontaneous interaction between the two is “directed towards commercial transactions, turning acts of hospitality into a series of cash-generating dealings” (deKadt, 1979; Mathieson & Wall,

1982; UNESCO, 1976). The natural and unprompted interactions between tourists-local seems to have been substituted by ones which are superficial and commercial. This seems to be asymmetrical both in terms of “economic power and knowledge”, in which tourists possess a greater amount of money and material goods, while the hosts are having more information about the local culture (Noronha, 1979; Mathieson & Wallt 1982; Suttont 1967).

Another important subject of the problem would be the ‘politics and poetic of sacred space’ (Kong 2001), focusing primarily on questions about what happens to sacredness, religious and sacred space, identity and community in modern Ladakh. I tried to deal with it by emphasizing and constructing conceptual categories on the interconnectedness between politics and poetics in the context of monastic sacred space. Chidester and Linenthal illustrated the “analogies between the politics and poetics of the sacred with the situational and substantial sacred. Citing Durkheim, they argue that the sacred is situational because it is at the nexus of human practices and social projects’. Hence, ‘nothing is inherently sacred”(1995: 6). Likewise, Levi-Strauss argues that the emptiness of the meaning of sacred made it vulnerable to attach any meaning whatsoever (Ibid 6). The sacred is thus tied up with and draws meaning from, social and political relationships. Furthermore, Grapard argues that “sacred space is the object of many competing interpretations and cannot be separated from social, economic and political conditions’; it cannot be ‘studied separately from the communities that constructed it, challenged it, destroyed it, and provided new formulations of it over time’ and is ‘better seen in relation to the conflicts these constructs generated, and in relation to the economy that these constructed, reflected, generated, or opposed” (1998: 247).

There is a tendency to attach sacred space to sites and locations, sacred can be well considered as religious. Graham and Murray (1997), elaborated the dichotomy between the ‘officials and nonofficial’ allocation of the pilgrimage routes in the context of Spain. The pilgrimage routes have been allocated by government with consideration of market and hence commodification occurs. Murray and Graham (1997) suggested “Santiago de Compostela’s dominant religious meaning as a pilgrimage destination is modified to a city of culture, where a place of prayer becomes a heritage attraction, a ritual becomes a special event of tourism, expiation is transformed to certificate of achievement, harsh pilgrim routes for

penance and self-renewal become off-road adventure trails and so forth” (Cited in Kong 2001: 215).

Same is the case with sacred spaces (Monasteries) in Ladakh, where enormous inflow of tourist into this sacred space leads to many consequences. The immediate question which strikes my mind is whether tourism as a culturally destructive force has contributed in diluting the essence of cultural meaning, or has it helped to augment concepts of the sacred. To what extent does tourism lead to ‘secularisation of sacred sites,’ and ‘sacralization or de-sacralisation’ of the sites (Kolas 2006). The study is an attempt to look into the dynamic relationship between tourism and religion in general and Buddhist monasteries and its relations with the village in particular. While I talk about the monastery and other sacred places, one must not merely limit one’s enquiry to the “place itself but the social practices of the communities which revere it and the identities generated by those activities” (Bowman, 1993: 432 cited in Kong 2001). It is similar to Bourdieu’s habitus, “which is neither a result of free will, nor determined by structure, but created by a kind of interplay between the two over the time. Dispositions are both shaped by past events and structures which shape current practices and structure. Importantly, those conditions are our very perceptions” (Bourdieu 1984: 170). Since the place is not merely about physicality it is also constructed; therefore, the practices are also structured practices, so I am concerned with how this structural practices within the domain of contestation are evolving due to tourism over the period of time in Lamayuru.

An understanding prevails that tourists arrive in flocks to see the geographic features of Ladakh and the serene milieu of the monastery, and their quest for exotic Ladakhi culture is thus completed. Monks, on the other hand, are engaged in showcasing the religious objects and elucidate Buddhist philosophies to tourists. The kind of situation that rises in Ladakh, as for how the region is being reinvented and negotiated through the force of tourism in making the place of Ladakh as sacred. In other words, how people become conceived as sacred or what is the role of tourism in making a place sacred? I found it interesting to look at the question when local sacred sites became tourist destinations and pilgrimage becomes touristic. Religious sites that function as tourism centres or attractions especially become significant where sights/attractions are more or less important ingredients of destinations.

There is an interesting overlapping and converging point between the respective perceptions of tourists and religious practitioners with regard to the sacred sites. The individual socio-cultural and historical background also plays a significant role in constructing the perception. Sites are not inherently sacred, so are perceptions not necessarily the function of received information. Tourists come and hear tales and saga of grandiose order, and weave their own too. These sites are sacred to religious adherents but aestheticised and commodified for the tourist (Visvanathan 2010).

Such a massive concentration of tourists in those monasteries hinted at the potential and actual havoc that tourism has wrecked in the region. Owing to the onslaught of tourism new constructions have been erected which in many ways have derided the cultural significance of traditional architecture. All major important sacred places get occupied by tourists during the summer season, and local people lose their peaceful environment in the monastery where they used to come for spiritual upliftment. Hence, the peaceful sacred and spiritual space is compromised with the touring crowd. Coupled with these negativities looming large, is the withering of religious bond among the monks lured away by the glamour of material world. A number of young monks often drop out, and there is reportedly shortage in the recruitment at the lower levels.

Lamayuru has been imagined, or 'made up' in very different senses over the past decades. It may well be described as the space of dream for tourists. It is a place where Ladakhi culture is fantasized, although simultaneously made up into a marketable commodity for tourists' consumption. "Tourism is not just a business where tourists use the commodified Ladakhi, but also a stage where locals can act out of their own vision of Ladakhi identity" (Lundup 2012: 69).

It seems that tourism has changed everyday life in the villages, nonetheless, local cultural identity forms a symbolic system comprising of "customary practice and of the beliefs, values, sanctions, rules, motives" considered as a source of social solidarity, which are there from time immemorial, and are less subject to change (Jensen et al, 2011: 26). Looking at the present scenario in Ladakh many things have changed in the villages. The speedy development of infrastructures has fascinated tourists in an unprecedented way, which has a tendency to upset the peaceful life of villagers. It poses serious challenges to identity

construction. The question here is how is tourism affecting identity formation? Can a place which is constructed for tourists' consumption, yet provide the 'host society' with a sense of identity?

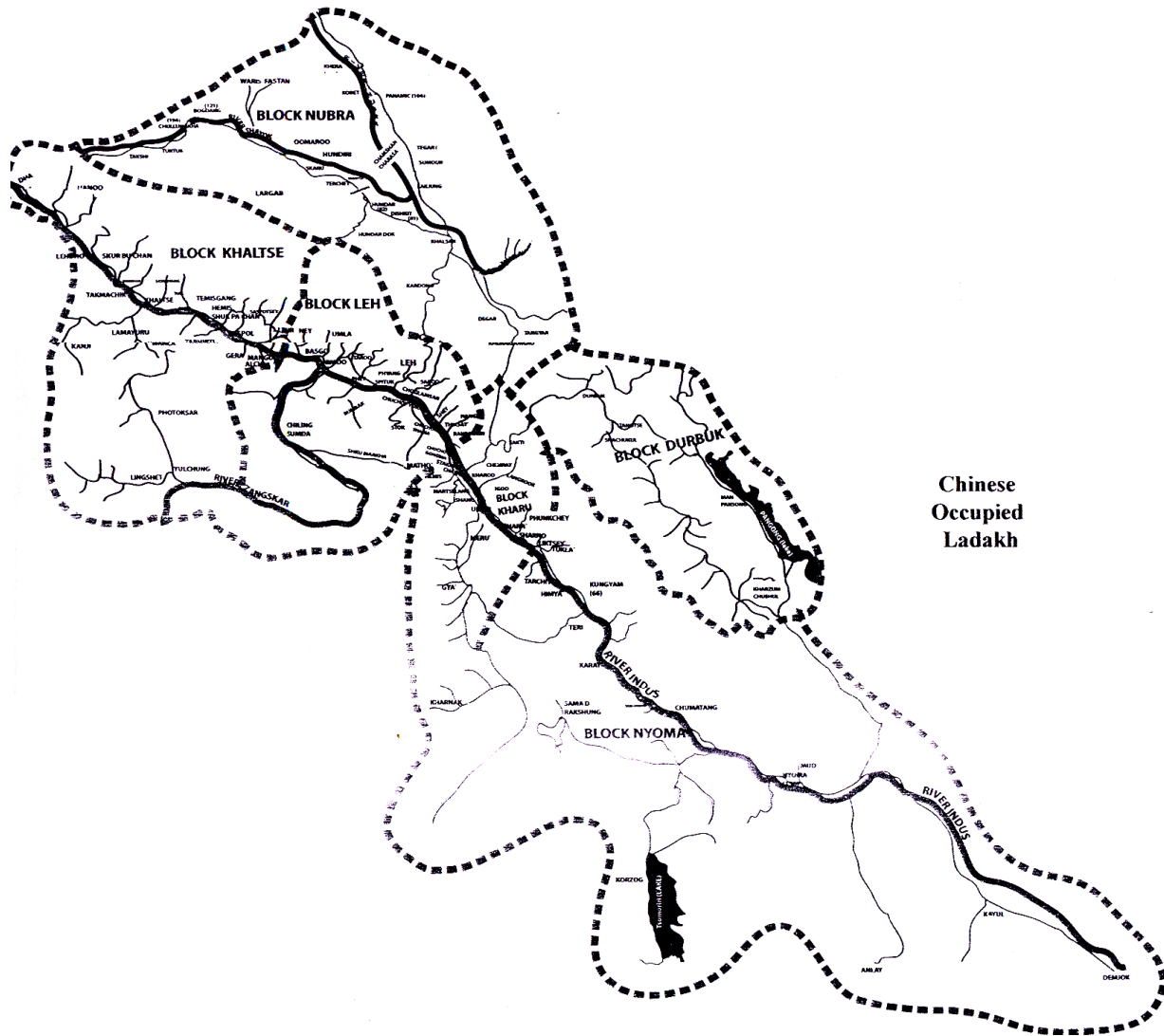
Therefore, I wish to look at how the place is constructed and contested. The anthropological perspective on tourism and its impact on Lamayuru village, in particular, have been barely touched upon in scholarly research. My thesis will engage with the question of how local villagers and monks have negotiated the pious sacred spaces, and how stakeholders in tourism industry promote the village, Lamayuru, as 'moon-land' for tourist attraction. What does that superficial relationship between tourist and local people bring to the larger social structure of the village? Overall, this research is a detailed description of manifold relation between tourism, culture, religion and identity.

District Profile

The study was conducted in Leh District of Ladakh region in Jammu And Kashmir State. The District with the creation of 7 new blocks in 2014 now consists of 16 blocks and 8 Tehsils. Leh is the district headquarter and the only township in the district. There are 93 panchayats in the district. The whole district has been declared as a tribal district. The administration is headed by Deputy Commissioner (DC) who is also the supervisor to the other three sub divisions.

Regarding the political profile of the district, it is governed by the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, Leh, having a strength of 30 Councillors (26 elected and 04 nominated) which is headed by the Chairman/Chief Executive Councilor (CEC- rank of State Cabinet Minister), assisted by four Executive Councillors (EC), working within the framework of the constitution of India/Jammu and Kashmir since 1995. There is one Member of Parliament (MP) for the whole Ladakh, which is comprised of Leh and Kargil districts. Leh district has two seats (Leh and Nubra) in the state assembly.

Map-6: Leh District



Source: Block Wise Village Amenity Directory (LAHDC-Leh)

Field Profile

I have chosen Lamayuru village because it has a peculiar landscape which is known for its piousness and for the uniqueness of the monastery which massively attracts tourists, thus being a suitable site to study and observe religion and tourism at one place. Furthermore, I wanted to explore some of the problems which emerge from the encounter between a tourist and local people.

Lamayuru monastery has a mystic setting because of its spectacular location on a high rocky outcrop, which overlooks a valley and the village. Lamayuru village situated 126 Km west of Leh is one of the most famous tourist destinations in Ladakh. The monastery also called the *Yungdrung* or *Swastika* monastery and its stunning location makes it a compulsory visit on a tour to Ladakh. For those tourists who travel to Ladakh from Srinagar by road, Lamayuru is the first on the way, an awe-inspiring symbol of the religion, culture, and landscape of the Land. There is a mythical story that the place of Lamayuru village was once under a great lake and this may well be true. The Moon-Land depression close by, geologists believe, was certainly once filled with water. The great Arhat Nymagung, the story goes, made a prophesy saying “may a monastery be found in this place” and then offered a votive water offering (Chu-gstor) to all the Naga Serpent spirits who were the guardians of that place. He threw a handful of corn grain into the lake which was carried by the waves to different places along the cliff side, by the edge of the lake and when it mixed with the soil it sprouted forth and ripened in the shape of a swastika. That is why the Lamayuru monastery was previously known as Yung-drung (Swastika).

Way back in the 11th century, Mahasiddha Naropa, (a great Kashmiri monk) came to this place and meditated in the cave which can be seen even today. Lamayuru is also one among the temples built by the great translator Rinchen Zangpo and the teaching of the Kadampa School flourished in Lamayuru. Thereafter, for many years, the monastery was administered by *Zhwa-mar-pa* (Red Hats), which the Dharmaraja Jamyang Namgyal offered to ChosjeDanma, whom he had invited to Ladakh. The ritual observances of the Drikung Kagyud, the present school was introduced and monastery received the name of Yung-drungTharpaling. The monastery today has 150 to 200 monks, with a school for training young monks (gytsul). The successive reincarnation of Skyabsje Togdan Rinpoche is the

incumbent head of the monastery. The monastery festival is celebrated on every 17th and 18th of the 5th Tibetan month (According to Modern Calendar, in 2014, the equivalent date was on June, 24-25, known as Yung-drungKabgyad).

Lamayuru village and its fields lie below the monastery, sprawling across the slopes in the valley that enclose the area and through which a stream flows. Lamayuru has a population around 800 people including monks but according to the electoral list, it shows only 403 which has to be verified. The occupations of the people are mostly agriculture, tourism, army, and government employment. However, many houses have been converted to guest house and are earning well. There are five hotels and many guesthouses and homestays in the village. Most of the younger generation people are involved in tourism-related business and many households own horses and donkeys for carrying tourists luggages as Lamayuru forms the base for many other trekking routes in lower Leh. This provides a lot of employment avenues, yet older generation is not happy with it. What they believe is that they are losing their indigenous culture and the current trend is delinking younger generation from their traditional system of knowledge.

Map-7: Map of Lamayuru



Source: manually done by researcher but the boundaries shown in this map are neither authentic nor correct.

Methods and Techniques of Research

The present study has adopted an ethnographic approach to understanding the complex interaction between tourist and local people. In this regard, I have used the standard anthropological methods such as participant observation, within a single village. The village was purposively selected given its suitability to understand tourism and religion. The research emphasis on indigenous experience and includes cross-cultural comparisons. It employs the methods of socio-cultural anthropology, detailing the lives of the local population and their interactions with tourists. The aim of the research is to capture and portray the everyday experiences of villagers, monks, and the tourists. The methodology associated with this emerged from the field of anthropology, primarily from the classical tradition forged by Bronislaw Malinowski (1922), Robert Park (1912) and Franz Boas (1911).⁵⁰ The rationale for using this method is due to its ability to obtain a holistic picture of the subject matter of study within its natural environment.

So far as I know there is no research on Lamayuru village, with a focus on host community and their perception in relation to tourism and changing cultural landscape of the village. Since my study is projected to map out the basic contour of the relationship between tourists and local people, I chose a qualitative methodology that goes in-depth in search of understanding the personal and social world of the village as well as individual perspectives on research phenomenon. In order to obtain data from tourists, I used ‘corpus construction method’ by conducting series of group discussions at different junctures and places. This approach is suitable to use under such circumstances when one needs to produce data through an interactive process. An attempt has been made to collect as much information as it needs to construct a body of discourses. Accordingly, I approached different tourist groups and local people in relatively natural settings and discussed with them various topics, ranging from their aspiration to visit Lamayuru to the dynamics of Ladakhi culture. Each discussion followed a pattern which helped to prolong the discussion further. Every discussion was compared to previous discussions and I continued to collect information until I ceased finding new topics and perspectives. It was challenging for me to approach tourists as I was

⁵⁰ [Web: online], Retrieved on date. 24/06/2017. URL:
http://soar.wichita.edu:8080/bitstream/handle/10057/1880/LAJ_31_p42-51..pdf?sequence=1

an outsider for them. At first, I tried to approach them as an outsider and randomly selected them for conversation in hotels, restaurants, and monasteries. It was difficult to familiarise with them and obtain data in a short period of time. Later I decided to take over as a professional tourist guide, and this enabled me to create a conducive environment to engage with them. My changed identity from researcher to tourist guide helped me to participate and interact freely and to observe things in its natural settings. Likewise, another methodological challenge I was grappling with on the field was to de-familiarise myself with the partially known community, although Lamayuru is 50Kms away from my own village and very different. However, being a Ladakhi qualifies me to furnish an insider's perspective on the subject of study.

The ethnographic method includes observation as well as structured and unstructured interviews. I made use of both primary and secondary sources. The primary source included the official writings like government reports, census data, gazetteers and archival material, ethnographic and academic monographs written by Christian missionaries, colonial bureaucrats, and travellers. The secondary sources were the available books, journals, periodical, district handbook, videos, photographs, newspapers, articles, pamphlets, and researched works of historians, cultural geographers, sociologists and anthropologists, and an account of local scholars. The secondary data are very important sources to provide the additional knowledge and information which may not be obtained from the primary sources. The electronic sources were also used as additional information sources. Reports, unpublished materials, and government records were also referred. It also used the comparative methods to draw parallel issues with the writing on the other Himalayan villages in Nepal, Bhutan, and Tibet.

The data relating to the household database, demographic structure, land use pattern, agricultural practices, value additions and other livelihood practices, etc, has been obtained through household survey method with the help of structure and semi-structure interview schedules along with observation method. Likewise, information regarding local knowledge and their experience with the tourism industry is collected through sets of open ended and close ended questions, social histories, timelines, case studies, folklores, songs, poetry, and

theatre reveals a great deal about the people life's value. These are often handed down from generation to generation.

In-depth interviews were conducted with purposively selected informants. In order to get an in-depth insight, I have chosen informants from different age groups and individual representatives' such as the head of the village, councillor of the village, head of the monastery, women head of self-help group (SHG), and head of women association etc. Group discussion was also held among villagers as well as among tourists. Focussed group discussions (FGD) with selected groups on the basis of purposeful sampling were conducted to obtain maximum information. The act of participant observation was another important tool to closely capture the changing scenario of the village.

Table 2:Details of the Survey Conducted

Name of village	Household population	No. of respondents for household survey	No. of Tourist respondent	No. of Monks Respondent	No.of non-local worker respondent in Hotel/Restaurant
Lamayuru	117	55	100	50	20

The oral history of the village and various myths are another sources of information about the people and their ways and life practices. Personal interview with the people who are associated with tourism related business such as those who run hotel, guest house, home-stays, and travel agents was selected through random sampling technique for an extensive interview in order to construct their life-histories.

Outline of the Study

The study comprises of five main chapters besides an introductory and a concluding chapter. The introduction contains a brief history of Ladakh and its relation with neighbouring nations, emergence of Buddhism, tourism, methodology, and theoretical arguments of the study and statement of the problem of the study.

The first chapter demonstrates how ecological settings have shaped the socio-religious and economic conditions of the people of Ladakh region. The livelihood strategies and cultural

institutions in Ladakh are conditioned by environmental and ecological factors. Glacier water, in fact, is the major feeder of rivers in the region and the same has been the major source for irrigation, drinking, and livestock. The chapter begins by exploring how climate change and global warming pose a grave threat to environment and ecology. It discusses the genesis of climate change and mitigating global warming and its impact particularly from the perspective of ecotheology. In doing so it explored three main points as under;

- The ecological perspective found in Buddhist teachings and philosophy.
- How Buddhist teachings have brought and do bring about an ecological lifestyle.
- A case study of contemporary Buddhist monastic responses to the environmental crisis in Ladakh.
-

The second chapter is divided into two parts. The first part deals with a socio-cultural profile of Lamayuru village. It begins with outlining the basic underlying principle of social structure and architectural landscape of the village. The chapter discusses at length about the various forms of village's rules and customs, agricultural practices and its corresponding rituals, the source of water and irrigation system in the village. The second part of the chapter explores the question of how Lamayuru village became a famous tourist site. The village is presently marked as one of the famous tourist destinations in Ladakh. Therefore, an attempt has been made to understand the course of Lamayuru's contestation in a global tourism marketplace.

The third chapter explores the broader perspective of the tourist-local interaction and rely on the conceptual ideas of the "empty meeting grounds" (MacCannell (1992), "touristic border zones" (Bruner, 2005) and "utopic spaces" (Causey, 2003) to make sense of the meeting place or space where encounters occur, and to understand the new cultural forms that emerge from the interactions. In order to understand these new forms of culture, an attempt has been made to construct a corpus of discourses through series of discussions and narratives. Furthermore, it goes on to investigate tourists' quest for authentic Ladakhi culture and their perception towards local people. Further, I examined the question of what do villagers and monastic community think about themselves and the tourists. What perspective do they have and how do they look at the inflow of tourists into the village? This is followed by an attempt

to place on record some of the memories of older generations who have experienced the colonial period (Dogra regime) as well as the initial intrusion of the tourism industry. The chapter further engages with the role of different stakeholders like hoteliers, guest house owners, home-stay owners and local guides and how they negotiate with village's sacred geography.

The fourth chapter tries to understand the dynamic relation between tourists and monks within the space of the monastery. Ideally, monasteries are situated at a secluded place with isolated and static characteristics. However, the massive inflow of tourists brings such isolated 'sacred spaces' in contact with the external world. The impact of tourism on monasteries and monks are thoroughly discussed in this chapter. Monasteries are the prime tourists' attraction, and the tourism industry is aggressively capitalizing them. Interestingly, monasteries have responded to this capitalization amicably and mutually. Some of them have even shifted their festivals to summer months to cater the tourists. How are local people and monks responding to such transition? Furthermore, Tourism is perceived more as a secular force in monastic communities, the free mingling of female tourists and a male monk guide and consequently, changing the perception of monks towards the material world are some of the indication of changes in the religious social structure of a monastery. In order to set the argument in motion, a brief background of the origin of monastic culture in Buddhism is indispensable. Hence, the chapter begins with a short introduction to the history of Buddhism, in its monastic form, and Lamayuru monastery. It goes on to explain how globalization in the form of tourism is posing challenges to monastic space and indigenous knowledge system. Lamayuru gains an essential place to understand how the monks and villagers are responding to such challenges, which is dealt within the chapter.

The fifth chapter may be understood as the central chapter of the study. It explores the key concern which is deeply associated with the interplay between tourism and religion. An attempt has been made to illustrate the relationship between religion and tourism, as for how these two systems meet and interact. In doing so, the chapter explains the question of how Lamayuru reinvented and reconstructed their culture for tourist consumption. Furthermore, it goes on to investigate how villagers are engaged in exoticising and aestheticizing village

cultural landscape and how tourism industry is affecting the course of rituals within the households and in the village. The key question asked in the study is whether tourism brings in culturally destructive forces or rather it acts as a means to survive cultural meaning and consolidate and reinforces cultural values. How people's perceptions are changing over the years and how they have been coping with the changing trends of society are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter-I

Buddhism and Ecology

The insufferable arrogance of human beings to think that Nature was made solely for their benefit as if it was conceivable that the sun has been set afire merely to ripen men's apples and head their cabbages.

~Savinien de Cyrano de Bergerac, *États et empires de la lune*, 1656.

Earth is the only planet in human knowledge that sustains life and is ecologically rich. The earth supports different life forms, ranging from minute bacteria, algae to gigantic whales, elephants and large trees. There exists a fine balance between the organic and inorganic component of our ecosystem, thus maintaining the equilibrium of the environment where we live in. But of late there has been an unprecedented violation of environmental condition resulting in ecological imbalances and natural disaster. Today, most of the people do admit that human interference radically changing variousecological and environmental processes, thus endangering the lives on the blue planet. People tend to view these issues according to where they live. Most of the industrialized and developed nations attribute serious environmental problems to global warming, ozone depletion, and high population growth rates elsewhere. However, in the developing nations, the perceived environmental degradation is associated with biodiversity loss, loss of forest cover, river contamination, and resource depletion. According to “Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the years have become warmer over the last few decades. As per UK Meteorological Office, global average temperature has been rising by 0.15° C every decade”.⁵¹ Geological evidencehas proved that earth’s climate is a complex system which has changed from the day of its inception till date. There are various geological periods and time scale to relate and explain the changes that took place. By late 20th century, a number of studies and researches revealed that the rate at which the changes are taking place has increased and global warming has become more pronounced. The research community attributed this increased change to an “unprecedented increase in the concentration of greenhousegases (GHGs), such as carbon

⁵¹ [Online: web] Retrieved on date 27/12/ 2016. URL: <http://www.reachladakh.com/impact-of-climate-change-on-agriculture-in-ladakh/2292.html>

dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄), water vapour and nitrous oxide (N₂O)".⁵² The heat which is normally radiated back to space is trapped by the greenhouse gases which in turn, increase the amount of heat from the sun withheld in the earth's atmosphere. The increase in heat leads to the greenhouse effect, resulting in global warming. The extreme alternations in the occurrence of weather events and changes in precipitation constitute the main characteristics of climate change. They held that anthropogenic activities, such as the burning of fossil fuels, deforestation, desertification and land use led to increased amount of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.

Environmentalists, climatologists, and other scientists have been long studying global warming, ozone depletion and their implication on the ecosystem of different life forms. The unprecedented variation in global climate has conceded the fact that the phenomenon of climate change and global warming is real. Various scholars work such as Rachel Carson, "*Silent Spring*" (1962), Jonathan Schell's "*The Fate of the Earth*" (1982) and Bill McKibben's "*The End of Nature*" (1989) have dealt with three essential components of worldwide environmental problems; lethal degradation of the food chain, the global expansion of nuclear weapons, and the consequences of global warming. Their scholarship stimulated widespread public concern over the danger of improper use of natural resources and the need for alternative ways to combat environmental problems. These pertinent issues have received considerable attention in national and international policies. As a result, there has been the prohibition of the excessive use of dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) as a pesticide, the negotiation that takes place between the United States and the Soviet Union on agreement of nuclear arms reduction, and the important agreements to reduce carbon dioxide emission in Kyoto (1997), followed by recent decrees of United Nations Climate Change conference which was held in Paris (2015). Likewise, several other important conferences were held to tackle global warming. The goal of a recent conference in "Paris was to reach, for the first time in over 20 years of UN negotiations, a binding universal agreement on climate, from all the nations of the world"⁵³. Almost all the negotiators have reached the consensus that there is an urgent need for a global solution to overcome this unprecedented

⁵²[Online: web] Retrieved on date 27/12/ 2016. URL: <http://www.reachladakh.com/impact-of-climate-change-on-agriculture-in-ladakh/2292.html>

⁵³ [Online: web] Retrieved on date 17/12/2016. URL: <http://www.theindependentbd.com/printversion/details/29980>.

fluctuation in global climate. Nature has already shown its edgy side in the form of uneven rainfall, droughts, earthquakes, floods, increasing sea level, fast melting of glaciers etc, all of which are clear indications of climate change. That means, our planet is suffering from the greed of one species by creating a hostile condition for others species. Aggravating population explosion, industrial growth and technological manipulation have resulted in the alarming imbalance in the fragile ecosystem. In this perilous circumstance, the fate of the world remains in the hands of our world leaders and their political will. In the recent Kigali deal,⁵⁴ negotiators from over 170 countries reached a legally binding accord to counter climate change, a resolve to cut worldwide use of planet-warming chemicals used in air-conditioners and refrigerators. A marked achievement of this deal is that it includes specific targets and timetables to replace HFCs with more planet friendly alternatives and an agreement by rich countries to help finance this transition of the poor countries to the costlier replacement products. These commitments are enforced and aided by trade sanctions to punish scofflaws.⁵⁵

Such kinds of comprehensive and holistic solution are the needs of the hour. Joshi and Khattrie argue that climate change diplomacy should not become an agency for establishing global hegemony as is being attempted by some countries (Joshi and Khattrie2015). A similar attempt was made by Michael Thompson (2003) and Ney Steven (2000), who have tried to apply cultural theory to understand the climate change negotiations. They provided three broad categories of cultural narratives to generate multidimensional perspectives to comprehend the phenomenon of climate change. These three cultural narratives are – egalitarian, hierarchical and individualistic. The interplay between these three narratives leads to an argumentative situation from where no solution seems to emerge. Thompson describes this situation of conflicting worldviews as under,

⁵⁴[Online: web] Retrieved on date 11/06/2017. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/15/world/africa/kigali-deal-hfc-air-conditioners.html>.

⁵⁵ New York Times retrieved on 10/11/2016. <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/15/world/africa/kigali-deal-hfc-air-conditioners.html>.

Conflict is policy making process is endemic inevitable and desirable, rather than pathological, curable or deviant. Any policy process that does not take this into account does so at the risk of losing political legitimacy. We have seen that each story tells a plausible but selective story. Any policy response modelled solely in terms of just one or two of these tales will be, at best, partial and at worst irrelevant. (Thompson 2003: 5111)

More inclusive dialogue and discussion are needed across differing worldviews to stimulate human consciousness about the danger of the repercussion of climate change. Now, the collective consciousness of world community have reached to a point that each negotiator carry akin perspective that all forms of life are interconnected or, as the 1975 National Academy of Sciences Report mentioned, this world is a whole “in which any action influencing a single system can be expected to have an effect on all others parts of the system.”⁵⁶ Likewise, it becomes paramount to count world’s religious community and their worldview on ecology and climate change. Religion is one of the important contributor inshaping human culture and their way of life. Thus, climate change has a direct correlation to human habitation and their culture.

In order to study religion and ecology, it is necessary to understand the term ecology first. Ecology, the study of interrelationships of organisms with their physical and biotic environment is termed as ecology or environmental biology. The term “ecology is derived from two Greek words, Oikos meaning ‘house’ or ‘place to live’ and logos meaning ‘a discussion or study’”⁵⁷. Reiter introduced the term ‘ecology’ in 1868, but German biologist Ernest Haeckel (1869) defined and extensively used this term in his writings. He is, therefore, usually falsely credited for the coinage of the term ecology (See C.B. Knight 1965: 8). He defined ecology as “the total relation of the animal to both its organic and its inorganic environment”. Literally, “ecology is the study of organisms at home in their native environment”⁵⁸. Yet, there is no universally accepted definition of the term ecology. Some scholars like W.T. Taylor (1936), defined ecology as “the science of the relations of all organisms to all their environments”. Charles Elton (1947) defined ecology as “scientific natural history” in his pioneer book *Animal Ecology*. M.A.Woodbury (1955) describes it as

⁵⁶ [Online: web] Retrieved on date, 11/10/2016. URL: <http://fore.yale.edu/religion/buddhism/>

⁵⁷ [Online: web] Accessed on date, 13/03/2017, URL: http://presbyterian.org.nz/sites/default/files/publications/candour/F_6204_PRC_Candour_July_2013.pdf

⁵⁸[Online: web]Accessed on date, 13/03/2017, URL: http://presbyterian.org.nz/sites/default/files/publications/candour/F_6204_PRC_Candour_July_2013.pdf

“ecology is the science which investigates organism in relation to their environment a philosophy in which the world of life is interpreted in terms of natural processes” (cited in Naik 2005: 156). In short, most of the definitions tend to highlight two things, place where an organism lives and its surroundings. So, the organism’s place of living is its environment, which is why some scholar has conferred the subject as ‘environmental biology’ (Nai 2005). In other words, the terms ecology can be considered as the study of the inter-connectedness of the living beings.

Himalaya and Ecology

The mighty Himalayan ranges are resultant of the collision between the Indian Plate and Eurasian Plate. The process has begun about fifty million years ago and continues even today (Molar and Topponier, 1977). These ranges are marked as an ultimate exhibition of tectonic power which erupted in its thickest forms, highest plateaus and vast forms. Gigantic mountain ranges are found in this area such as the Hindu Kush, the Karakoram and the highest of all, the mighty Himalayas. Major and minor valleys parallel to the ranges extend East and West. Some of the powerful, as well as sacred and famous rivers, run here cutting across those high mountains and plateaus. Hundreds of other small streams from the glacial meltwater are active in serving the diverse ecology of Himalaya. These glaciers form the lifeline for both drinking and irrigating purposes.

The high Himalaya, largely Precambrian basement formations of the ‘Tibetan slab’, rise behind the mid-mountain area to elevations greater than 8000 meters and yield in their turn to the valleys of the inner Himalaya. These share Tibet’s cold, arid high altitude environment, and are occupied by people of the Tibetan cultural tradition (Brown 2003 cited in Stanzin, 2016). The Himalaya and its sister ranges are climate markers. These highest of all mountains stand as a barrier between South and Central Asia, deflecting the moisture-bearing winds of the summer monsoon, intercepting any return flow of the wind-latitude and sub-tropical jets. Air forced to rise into the mountains precipitates some moisture as now above about 6000 meters in summer; the high reflectivity of the permanent mountain snow cover serves to further modify the regional climate (Mani, 1981 cited in Stanzin, 2016).

The countries placed alongside Himalayan foothills and plateaus are Bhutan, Nepal, India, Pakistan and the Tibet autonomous region. These areas may be distinct in terms of their physical characteristics but it has its own rhythm of incredible ecological diversity. This diversity is the reflection of their physical variations in terms of altitude, slope, and other complexity of geological formations. This variation in glaciology and hydrology, as well as the climate and the micro-climates, are determining factors for human habitation and their evaluation of culture. As a result, ecological diversity of the region determines cultural practices of human communities, which paved the way to evolved array of belief systems, values and practices and have been adapted to pursue complex livelihood approaches (Galvin 2015)⁵⁹.

Ecotheology

“Ecotheology is a form of constructive theology that focuses on the interrelationships of religion and nature, particularly in the light of environmental concerns. Ecotheology generally starts from the premise that a relationship exists between human religious/spiritual worldviews and the degradation of nature. It explores the interaction between ecological values, such as sustainability, and the human domination of nature. The movement has produced numerous religious-environmental projects around the world”.⁶⁰ Religion provides a moral framework that all the followers must abide by. Since many human activities are responsible for environmental problems, it follows that religion might hold some solution to it. By the end of the twentieth century, a substantial body of literature was available to study and analyze how various religious institutions across the world esteemed nature and contributed to ecological conservation. Subsequently, Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Grim of Yale University organised a series of ten conferences between 1996-1998, on Religion and Ecology at Harvard University, the Centre for the Study of World religion. The conference was attended by various international scholars, environmentalists, and religious leaders. The papers from the conferences were compiled in a series of ten books, titled “Religions of the

⁵⁹Galvin, S. Shaila (2015). ‘Ecology of the Himalaya,’ Oxford Bibliographies. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁶⁰ [Online: Web] Retrieved on date 19/11/2016. URL/<http://www.unitingearthweb.org.au/about-us/1-what-is-ecotheology.html>

world and Ecology”, one for each of the world's major religious traditions. Hence, religion is one the most important element to be considered within the discourse of ecology and climate change. In fact, the “religions of the world and ecology project provides the classical and modern resources of the world’s religions into critical engagement with the global environmental crisis”⁶¹.

Gardner has suggested five capacities in which religion can help meet this challenge.

- Engage members of faith-based groups.
- Moral authority offers ethical guidelines, religious leadership.
- Provide meaning by shaping worldviews consider new paradigms of well-being.
- Share physical resources i.e. retreat centers, temple grounds, schools.
- Build community to support sustainability practices

(Gardner 2006 Cited in Kaza 2012: 11)⁶²

Each religion in the world has their distinctive philosophy and worldviews to comprehend human mind, behaviour, ecology, environment and their interactions. It seeks to broaden and deepen the symbolic, conceptual dimensions of their distinctive holistic worldviews for an understanding of the relationship between the human community and the natural environment. In due course of history, with the change of time and space, religions are also adapting new methods and techniques to combat the environmental crisis faced by humanity. This chapter explores three main things.

- The ecological perspective found in Buddhist teachings and philosophy.
- How Buddhist teachings have brought and do bring about an ecological lifestyle.
- A case study of contemporary Buddhist monastic responses to the environmental crisis and role of tourism in Ladakh.

⁶¹ [Online: web] Retrieved on date 04/05/2017. URL: <http://fore.yale.edu/religion/buddhism/>

⁶² [Online: Web] Retrieved on date, 17/06/2017 URL: <http://www.greenfaith.org/files/buddhist-environmental-slides-stephanie-kaza>

Buddhist's Philosophy on Environment and Ecology

Human greed for leisure and extravagance of the modern world has ruined earth's environment in such a way that it jeopardises the sustainability of nature itself. Humans have exploited nature without any moral restraint which caused innumerable such problems. The precious jewels of nature such as air, soil, and water, have not been respected and are polluted with unimaginable repercussions. In due course of time, human community has realised their error and have begun to search for solutions to overcome environmental problems, caused by climate change, because our own existence is also alarmingly threatened. The way that the world community is reacting to these problems seems to have reached some consensus point where we have to act with a serious sense of responsibility towards natural world order, to our fellow human beings and to future generations. For that reason, the world community is working on to find possible environmental ethics. Hence, research of any kind related to environmental problems acquired relevance and significance. Moreover, the negligence of religious knowledge in comprehending environment needs to be explored.

World religious traditions hold differences as well as similarities in their attitude to fight and mitigate different environmental issues of the millennium, such as resource depletion, biodiversity loss, various pollution, population explosion, technological manipulation and military proliferation. "Buddhism is a full-fledged philosophy of life reflecting all aspects of experience; it is possible to find enough material in the Pali"⁶³ Canon to delineate the Buddhist attitude towards nature. Dharma for Buddhist means "sacred law, morality and the teachings of the Buddha. It is all things in nature. By definition, it encompasses all sentient beings who are all Dharmas. So at its very essence, Buddhism can be described as an ecological religion or a religious ecology". (Batchelor and Brown 1994: 37).

It is often supposed that Buddhist teachings and practices are in line with the concerns of present day environmental thinkers. In short, it is distinctively a green or eco-friendly religion. Buddhism lays high degree of emphasis on well-being of all the living beings,

⁶³[Online: web] Retrieved on date, 17/05/2017. URL: <http://bps.lk/olib/wh/wh346-p.html>.

The Buddhist scripture as they were first recorded in the first century CE in Sri Lanka. They were written down in the language now known as Pali, which was dialect of Magadh Kingdom of India.

especially the sentient beings and professes compassion for all. The following paragraphs explore the relationship between Buddhism and ecology and Buddhist philosophy on ecology. Buddhism idealizes and emphasizes the concept of interconnectedness. It stresses that all the things, including humans, exist in cooperation with nature. Nagarjuna's philosophy of emptiness or shunyata also reflects the same. So when we talk about nature, it does not mean that nothing in the world exists, but rather the emptiness of true or independent existence, which means that things exist by dependence upon other and therefore nothing can exist on its own. The fact that five basic elements; earth/soil, the wind, water, fire, and space/vacuum form the basis of inter-relatedness of every being with nature. So whether it is the environment that is inhabited or the inhabitants, both of them are composed of these five basic elements.

Jose Kalapura said:

The Buddha taught that respect for life and the natural world is essential. By living simply one can be in harmony with other creatures and learn to appreciate the interconnectedness of all lives. The simplicity of life involves developing openness to our environment and relating to the world with awareness and responsive perception. It also enables us to enjoy without possessing, and mutually benefit each other without manipulation (White 1995: 47-74).

Buddhist holistic worldview in relation to ecology and environment seems pertinent to understand how Buddhism is engaging in, and contributing to the global green movement against climate change and environmental degradation. Regardless of the considerable differences that have occurred in various Buddhist sects since its inception, that is, it's 2500 years of journey all the way through Asia and beyond. David L Gosling summarised Theravada and Mahayana view on environment and ecology,

The Theravada built upon early scriptural parallels between the Buddha and the king, which received tangible expression in Ashoka's understanding of himself as chakravartin, turner of the wheel of dharma, and as one through whom all dharma flows. Responsibility for all life, including wildlife and forests, therefore becomes the duty of the king. These notions were exported to Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, where they provided an ecumenical framework from within which social and environmental issues could be addressed. The Mahayana took root in northern India and in the Himalayan region, where it acquired a strong naturalistic emphasis because of such notions as the bodhisattva, who refuses to

enter nirvana until all sentient beings can do the same and Tibetan naturalism. Ladakh and Bhutan are considered as regions where this stream of Buddhist tradition has been transformed into a potent vehicle for ecological improvement(Gosling: 2001: 12).

Traditions vary in emphasis on different texts, teachers, rituals, meditations, and chants; but, the basic underlying principle cited below is same for all and is followed by Buddhist adherents across the world.

- Central law of interdependence and causation.
- Belief in liberation from suffering through insight.
- Moral guidelines based on non-harming.
- Practices that strengthen intention and compassion.

Lack of humanitarian values has threatened the peace and survival of the earth. It is greed, ignorance, and the lack of respect for living things which results in the destruction of nature and its resources. Therefore, Buddhist masters and saints have constantly preached non-violence and living in harmony with nature, respecting all life forms. It promotes cultivating modesty, compassion, and loving kindness for all sentient beings and causing no harm to any creature. Humankind alone has not woven the web of life, they are entwined with natural systems, and we are one thread within it. If we cut out a knot in the web by destroying a part of the environment, the balance of the whole earth will be disturbed.

It seems quite simple. First, it is important to realise that we are a part of nature. Ultimately, nature will always be more powerful than human beings, even with all their nuclear weapons, scientific equipment, and knowledge. If the sun disappears or the earth's temperature changes by a few degrees, then we are really in trouble. At a deeper level, we should recognize that although we are a part of nature, we can control and change things, to some extent, due to our intelligence. Among the thousands of species of animals on earth, we, the humans have the greatest capacity to alter nature. As such, we have a twofold responsibility. Morally, as beings of higher intelligence, we must care for this world. The other inhabitants of the planet - insects and so on - do not have the means to save or protect this world. Our other responsibility is to undo the serious environmental degradation that is the result of incorrect human behavior. We have recklessly polluted the world with chemicals and nuclear waste, selfishly consuming many of its resources. Humanity must take the initiative to repair and protect the world. Of course, when we say, "humanity" or

"society", it's obvious the initiative must come from individuals. It is wrong to expect our governments, or even God, to give us any guidance on these matters.⁶⁴

Thus, Dalai Lama indirectly addresses some aspects of Buddhist philosophy and thought that further represent the religion's inherent environmentalism.

Buddhism views the modern industrial world as lopsided, because economic and social aspects of life precede environmental aspects. No doubt, the standard of living is rising for most but the physical condition of our planet continues to deteriorate and environmental problems such as deforestation, pollution, resources and biodiversity depletion are escalating. Therefore, a balanced harmonious relationship between man and nature is the need of the hour, which in turn, can be realised by healing the environmental injuries of the past and adopting means of sustainable development. Buddhism seeks to offer lasting solutions to restore and revive the broken relationship between humanity and nature. Buddhism believes that it is the collective responsibility of the human race to fight these problems and together find corrective measures, for we are the ones responsible for the earth. H.H. The 14th Dalai Lama summarised this interdependency as follows:

In today's highly interdependent world, individuals and nations can no longer resolve many of their problems by themselves. We need one another. We must therefore develop a sense of universal responsibility. It is our collective and individual responsibility to protect and nurture the global family, to support its weaker members, and to preserve and tend to the environment in which we all live.

The Buddhist approach to solving the global ecological crisis according to Kalapura includes:

- Compassion is the basis for a balanced view of the whole world and of the environment.
- The use of the "*save and not waste*" approach means that nothing in nature is spoiled or wasted. Wanton destruction upsets the vital balance of life.

⁶⁴ [Online: web] Accessed on date, 23/11/2016. URL: www.dalailama.com/page.94.htm HH the Dalai Lama.

- Ecology is rebuilt through the philosophy of Sarvodaya (uplift of all), which is based on loving kindness, compassionate action, and altruistic joy. (Kalapura 2006 Cited in Tomek 2003:)

Buddhist Symbolism, Ecology, and Ladakhi Culture

In the study of the Ladakhi People's thoughts on religion particularly Buddhist community, we can categorize it into two aspects of religion in order to construct a method that is suitable for the study of the Ladakhi people's philosophy of religion. First, the experience of the relationship between individual and sacred is called a religious experience. Such experiences lead people to believe or to agree, and this we call faith. The second aspect of religion is symbols. In every religious tradition, symbols are used for expressing religious experiences. Human beings encounter numerous experiences, familiar ones being, the experience of joy in the family when a new baby is born or the experience of sorrow when one's beloved departs; further, we know the experiences of the feeling of being in love, as well as the experience of being hurt when the love is not returned. All these human experiences are the experience of being mystified in a specific culture, by the *theory of Karma*, of being grateful for surviving a dreadful disease like cancer, and experience of being engaged in practicing love, compassion, and understanding Buddha's teachings. Such experiences symbolize a religious encounter, an encounter with the Divine. The religious experiences are expressed through various kind of rituals, myths, traditions and other symbolisms⁶⁵.

Hence, the usage of symbols in every religious tradition is to express the religious experience. No religion in the world exists without having symbols. Therefore, symbols are one of essential elements of religion, and it is also an important language to comprehend one's religious tradition. It comes as no surprise that the people of Ladakh have various symbols of Tibetan Buddhist traditions because of the prevalence of a *Tantric* form of religion. The Trans-Himalayan region is covered under the umbrella of Tibetan Buddhism, and their culture has been shaped by the indispensable existence of Buddhist symbols, values and ethics. In Ladakh, these symbols are a part of everyday life and significant among these

⁶⁵ Allen, Cacho. 2007. "Symbolism in Religion: Ricoerian Hermeneutics and Filipino philosophy of religion", *Kirtike Volume 1*, No. 2. 122-131

are the veneration of *Rinpoche* or an incarnated Lama and the use of religious articles and various other symbolisms including devotional prayers. In order to distinguish the Ladakhi's understanding of religious thoughts, we need to comprehend the symbols that enfold Ladakhi religiosity. Therefore, in this essay, an attempt has been made to explore the three main religious symbols prevalent in Ladakh and the usage and meaning associated with these symbols.

Symbolisms in Buddhism

Buddhist symbolism is some kind of a complex artistic representation, an outward gesture used as a sort of key to express various hidden meaning of religious concepts, thoughts, and philosophy. The symbols represent the visual, auditory, and kinetic representations of religious ideas and events. It can actually transform the abstract concepts, thoughts, ideas and belief into tangible things that we can touch, see, hear, taste smell and understand. Symbolism brings more power to the abstractness of the religious philosophy which symbolizes through different objects.

Buddhism is very rich in terms of using symbols which in fact was developed even more by the additional symbols which it derived from the common Indian heritage. Buddhism has given a new interpretation to symbols suiting its principles. There are various commonly used symbols which were related to the life of the Buddha, like the pillars which are inscribed with the Buddha's teachings, Stupas, and sculptures representing Buddha's life. Others symbols include the Lotus, footprints of the Buddha, the Bodhi tree, lions, mudras and the deer etc. Amongst all, the Dhamma-cakka, (Sanskrit) the wheel of Law, is the most significant symbol of the Buddhist life which represents the emblem of Buddhism as a religion. The very meaning of the wheel symbolises Buddha's turning the wheel of ultimate truth as well as his first sermon at Sarnath and is commonly known as 'turning the wheel of Dharma'. The wheel also stands for the endless cycle of Samsara, or rebirth as well as the representation of Buddhist teaching or Dharma. The wheel often consisted of eight spokes which signifies the "eight Noble path" taught by the Buddha.

The use of symbolism in Tibetan form of Buddhism is even more prevalent. The best-known art forms and symbols in Tibetan Buddhism include Thangka paintings, butter sculpture for ritual purposes, printed and sand Mandalas, Masks, prayer wheels, metal and woodcraft work, sculpture, poetry which have immense artistic value. As artists have very limited space to innovate in the traditional sphere, one has to keep in mind to meet the idea behind the symbols which signify a lot more than mere art.

Symbolism in Ladakhi Culture and Ecology

It was in the seventh century that Tibet came into contact with Buddha's teachings from India. In Ladakh, Buddhism spread from two sides both from Tibet as well as from India and it got infused with the indigenous Bon (archaic) religion and its Shamanic practices.⁶⁶ However, later, Tibet became the epicentre of Buddhism which spread all over the Himalaya. Owing to the geographical location and historical background, the Tibetan arts, symbols, and iconography reflect the cultural infusion of China, Bonpos, Nepalese, Mongols, and Indians.⁶⁷ The symbolism in Ladakh is commonly known as *rtags* (sign, omen) and *Rtendrel*, the latter one embrace plethora of possible meanings and association. These words are very auspicious and sacred in Ladakh. The word *rtendrel* constitutes two words *rten-drel*, the former means to support and latter mean dependence, conditionality. The very notion of Buddhist philosophical understanding of interdependency is expressed in this word. As all phenomena are interlinked with each other and dependent on each other in its cause and effect, nothing exists on its own, by its own power. From this very word we can understand that how much Buddhist symbols influenced Ladakhi culture and ecology. The understanding of the notion of the emptiness of inheritance/existence is an important feature of Buddhist teachings. The concept of the word *rtendrel* is not merely employed as a technical term in theoretical and intellectual discourses, but also used in everyday conversation by common people. It generally means a "fortunate chain of circumstances, a sign of good fortune to come, a good omen. The expression is also used with reference to particular symbols, objects, actions, pictures, or forms of expression which are more likely than other designate conditions related

⁶⁶Moacanin, R., *The Essence of Jung's Psychology and Tibetan Buddhism: Western and Eastern Paths to the Heart*, pub: Wisdom, Boston.

⁶⁷Dorjai, M., *Buddhist Symbolism: its impact on Trans-Himalayan Art, Culture and Society*, pub: An Association for Asian Art, Culture and Heritage, Sri Lanka, 2013.

to desirable positive results”.(Dagyab 2015: XVII).For instance ‘six symbols of longevity’ elaborates the concept of interdependence concerning ecology.

Figure 2: Six Symbols of Longevity –(Tsering Nam Tuk)



Painting of Six Symbols of Longevity; a Tibetan Traditional Motif in Painting

Buddhist perspective of ecology mediated through symbols and objects have been the guiding principles for the people of Ladakh. This perspective can be elucidated through the ‘Six symbols of Longevity’. These sacred symbols illustrate how and why people ought to maintain a harmonious relationship with eco-system as a core value of Buddhist doctrine. The ‘six symbols of longevity’ with profound philosophical connotations is found in the form of frescoes on the wall of entrance door at every monastery in Ladakh, is a reminder of the ‘concept of interdependence’ to the followers of Tibetan Buddhism. Such Traditions reveal of the knowledge and awareness of the predecessors about the fragility of ecology, the need to follow a balanced relationship between ecology and belief system.

To elaborate further the ‘Six Symbols of Longevity’ are represented as 1) Longevous Cliff 2) Longevous Old Man 3) Longevous Tree 4) Longevous Water 5) Longevous Crane and 6) Longevous Deer, all mutually connected and interdependent. The LongevousCliff represents the land, human beings and mountains which signify solidarity and eternity. The Earth Prays for the longevity of physical land and summits, advocatingtheir interdependence and that conserving their serenity is indispensable.The Longevous water reiterates the necessity of water for all forms of life. Water is thus the vital origin of all flesh. The Longevous tree represents the vegetation in the land. The trees form the skin of the earth and it is only by protecting the skin that all the life can be guarded.The nourishing forces of the Longevous water ensures the flourishing of theLongevous Tree. The Longevous crane refers to the birds that are living on the homestead of mankind. The old man, according to the saga, is the contemplative sage who represents the qualities of Amitayus –Vajrayana Buddhism’s deity of longevity. He holds a crystal rosary symbolizing continuity and purity. The Old Man takes care of the Longevous Crane, which conveys the message that human beings should live in harmony with each other. The LongevousDeer in the painting represents all flora and fauna on the earth and that human beings need and should live in harmony with all other beings and at the same time it needs to be protected by humanity.

Hence based on this approach of Buddhist philosophy on interdependence, the life of people of Ladakh is regulated by its religious beliefs to cherish all life on earth and sustain it in a harmonious state by maintaining ecological balance using various methods.

Ladakh and its Ecological Setting

Ladakh known by many distorted names such as ‘Snow-land’, ‘Moon-land’, ‘Little Tibet’, and so on, is a remote mountainous desert found on the western edge of the Tibetan plateau. It lies in between 32° 15’N and 75° 15’-80° 15’ E, between an elevation of 2600 metres to 7670 metres above the sea level. Geographically confined to India, it comes under the Trans-Himalayan zone, having its own unique physiographic features; consisting of high frozen and rugged mountains, fertile plains along the river side (mainly the Indus and its tributaries). Besides, the land is endowed with a number of beautiful lakes, rivers, streams, and sacred valleys untouched by the chaos of the modern world. Rivers like Indus, Shayok, and lakes like Pangong Tso, Tsomo-Riri and Tso-Kar are world famous, attracting tourists worldwide.

Physiographically the entire region may be classified in five major valleys; Indus, Nubra, Zaskar and Suru River (Chaurasia, Nisa, Shashi, 2008). Ladakh, with an area of about 80,000 square kilometres is the largest parliamentary constituency in India in terms of area and the coldest region of the country, which has a sparsely distributed population. Thus, Leh and Kargil (together constituting Ladakh) are among the districts with low population density. According to 2011 census, Leh has a population of 133487 against 117232 of 2001, while Kargil has a population of 140802 against 119307 of the previous census, with an area of 45110 square kilometres and 14036 square kilometres respectively. The population density remained unchanged for Leh at 3 persons per square kilometre, where as for Kargil, it rose from 9 persons per square kilometre (2001) to 10 persons per square kilometre (2011). During the summer months, the temperature goes up to 20 °C to 27 °C, while in winter it goes down to as low as -20°C to -27 °C and in areas like Zaskar temperature drop to below -40°C, making the lives of people almost sedentary with little or no activities being carried out with the outside world. Despite these extreme climatic conditions, human life does not merely exist but also prosper in tune with the natural environment. With this intense variation in climate such as scorching heat in the summer months and freezing cold in the winter, one gets an impression that the region is incapable of sustaining human life. However, Ladakh has positively shown the human capacity to adapt to the extremes of nature by evolving different sets of value systems and practices to cope with the harsh natural environment. One such extracted example of the positive attitude goes by this saying that “a person who has his head in a sun and his feet in a shade will endure both sun stroke and frost bite at the same time” (Jorgyes 2010: 198).

Himalayan ecology, especially Ladakh area has been explored and intervened from various disciplinary perspectives which are linked by a common concern with human-environment relations. Many historians, ecologists, and anthropologists, insider as well as outsiders tend to assume that this extraordinary ecology of the Trans-Himalayan plateau plays an essential role for Ladakhi society and culture. Many of them have appropriated in multiple ways and concluded that it is the natural environment which completely determines the life in Ladakh. Appadurai has suggested this dilemma more commonly within the domain of anthropology by saying,

There is a tendency for places to become showcases for specific issues over time. The discussion of the theoretical issues tends to surreptitiously take on a restrictive local cast, while on the other hand, the study of other issues in the place in question is retarded, and thus the overall nature of the anthropological interpretation of the particular society runs the risk of serious distortion. A few simple theoretical handles become metonyms and surrogates for the society as a whole. (1986: 358)

Nature is one of the most decisive factors for Ladakhi society and culture. But, sometimes people over generalise Ladakhi way of life with nature. Nonetheless, we cannot avoid nature's intervention over human existence in Ladakh. This region has relished a pleasant ecology for centuries through optimum use of natural resources. It was possible mainly because of its subsistence agricultural practices by nurturing calculated socio-economic and cultural structure. This sparsely scattered population in different valleys has adopted different livelihood strategies. For instance, Changthang region popularly known for pastoral nomads represents the western extension of Tibetan plateau, an important highland grazing system. Their economy has been dependent on three main sources namely, animal husbandry, agriculture, and trade. Likewise, Nubra valley famously known for silk route trade followed subsistence agriculture and finally, Sham region which constitutes the lower part of Ladakh adapted to subsistence agricultural economy mainly growing barley, wheat, vegetables, apricot, walnuts, apple, etc. Rearing livestock like yaks, sheep, and goats are common among all the regions but substantial numbers are found in the areas of Changthang and Zaskar region. At the lower elevations, cultivation of crops, fruits, and vegetables are the main economic activities. A semi-nomadic agricultural pattern is common in all regions. In spite of the difficult terrain and resource constraint the region is generally self-sufficient with the agricultural production high enough to support the entire population during the winter and early spring when the region remains cut-off from the outside world, given the heavy snowfall at Zojila and Taklangla passes which connects Ladakh with the rest of the India. Airways are then the only option left. This is possible only because of the constant refinement of traditional tools and techniques to cope up with the local environment with construction of strong social systems to support agriculture.

The traditional systems have maintained its rhythm with natural environment and ecology. Some of the best traditional techniques are as under;

- **Traditional Yura system:** Water being a scarce resource has always been an issue, so the people adopted the most sustainable and affordable technique of *Yura* system, (irrigation) without harming nature. They diverted water from the *Togpo* (main streams) through *Yura* which is erected collectively and maintained by highly evolved social system (discussed in subsequent chapter) at the level of village to ensure equal water distribution to all.
- **Compostpit toilet system:** Sustainable and environment-friendly compost-pit toilet system which does not require the use of water. It does not only save water, a scarce resource but in turn helps in generation of a new resource, i.e., organic manure which is shifted to agricultural fields as fertilizers when completely decomposed, which in turn enhances the yield in an environment and health friendly way. People have evolved this technique of recycling keeping the resource limitation and well-being of their surroundings.
- **Langde system:** It is a system in which people would work collectively for each other especially on fields during the agricultural season so that there is no need to hire labourers from outside.
- **Ra-res system:** it is a system in which each household in the village is supposed to herd the entire sheep and goats in the village on a rotational basis.
- **The system of Polygamy:** Although monogamy is the most prevalent form of marriage, polygamy in the form of both polygyny and polyandry are practiced across the region. This system is one of the most important social practices to avoid further fragmentation of the already scarce cultivable land and other properties. In addition, population control in the region is essentially attributed to the tradition of polygamy. But with the advancement in society, there has been a decline in the traditional practice of polygamy giving way to monogamy as a norm.

These are some examples from the traditional system, which helped in sustaining Ladakhi society over the past hundreds of years. In fact, it would get romanticized if we do not reveal the hardship that people face to sustain their life. But, from the ecological perspective, it would not be an exaggeration to argue that traditional livelihood system was in harmony with

the natural environment. That is why nature has been reflected in their collective imagination, art, and craft, architecture, folklore and folk songs, belief and practice. People shared an intimate relation with their flora and fauna and make use of it so meticulously without giving way to extinct rare species. Some scholars such as Norberg-Hodge even go on to argue that it is difficult to make a distinction between nature and culture in Ladakh (Norberg-Hodge, 1992). When the wild vegetation begin to sprout, during early summer season, nature starts to feed people and it is the task of children to collect those wild vegetables. Their parents would always advise them not to cut off the roots so that plant can sustain for the future. Therefore, the traditional Ladakhi culture was one of the most ecologically sustainable systems that have ever existed under such an extreme climatic condition.

The most celebrated sustainable traditional systems by ecologists are no longer persisting as it was swiftly delinked under the pressure of outside economic forces, except in few villages where so far conventional developmental forces have not reached. Three main factors can be attributed to these changes such as tourism, army, and modern technological development. Ever since Ladakhi economy became dependent on these three sources a wide range of nature-based conflict came to fore. It was in the year 1974 that Ladakh was open for both international as well as domestic tourists, since then the numbers have increased manifold. This ever increasing tourist influx, is accompanied by many other problems like migration of people from remote villages to Leh (hub of economic activities), followed by seasonal migration of labourers (particularly from Nepal, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh) has put more pressure on the already scarce essential resources such as “water, space and energy” (Jorgyes 2010: 197). Moreover, in order to cater to the needs of the tourism industry, massive infrastructures have been created in the form of hotels, restaurants, guesthouses, resorts, curio shops, and so on, which has doubled the pressure on already scarce natural resources like water and other important natural resources. There were no hotels and guesthouses in Ladakh prior to 1974 (Singh 2007). However, presently there are more than 300 hotels and guesthouses registered in the department of Jammu and Kashmir tourism office Leh. Many new hotels have come up in last few years, some of the newly built top hotels are equipped with luxurious swimming pool on the face of water scarcity.

The traditional water sources in Ladakh were only glacier-fed streams from where they feed their agricultural fields through different methods of irrigation. Owing to the development of tourism industry and a massive inflow of seasonal labourers from other parts of India and Nepal has transformed the water usage pattern in Leh. Public Health Engineering (P.H.E) department has reported that water consumption level has gone up exponentially in last ten years. The demand for domestic usage purposes has also increased. Most of the relatively rich houses in Leh have “hot and cold showers” and “flush toilet facility” which has consequently become an important status symbol for being rich. (Jorgyes 2010: 196). Furthermore, all the hotels, guesthouses and homestays are well equipped with modern western showers and flush toilet system to attract customers. Such facilities are not possible without having their personal water source. Therefore, most of the affluent households, guesthouses, and hotels are having their own ‘Bore-wells’. Nonetheless, the irony is that even the government agency like P.H.E is involved in this business of digging ‘Bore-wells’ without giving a proper thought to the consequences of groundwater levels and recharge solutions. All these commercial activities and newly adopted lifestyle are contributing to harness the ground water level and contaminates water body due to the improper drainage system. But, the major concern is that natural glaciers and snowfall patterns are undergoing unprecedented changes because of local and global climate change mainly due to excessive emission of greenhouse gases. Many glaciologists who have been working on glaciers in Ladakh have predicted that if the current pace of glaciers melting continues then within a span of thirty years most of the major glaciers in Ladakh will vanish⁶⁸.

Jonathan Mingle in his recently published book “Fire and Ice” brought an intriguing twist to the unfolding issue of glacier melt in Ladakh, citing new causes for melting of glaciers in the region.

High in the Himalayan valley of Zaskar in northwest India sits a village as isolated as the legendary Shangri-La. Long fed by runoff from glaciers and lofty snowfields, Kumik—a settlement of thirty-nine mud brick homes—has survived and thrived in one of the world's most challenging settings for a thousand years. But now its people confront an existential

⁶⁸This information is extracted from Sonam Wangchuk’s (SECMOL) recorded conversation with All India Radio Leh, on date: 11-12-2016.

threat: chronic, crippling drought, which leaves the village canal dry and threatens to end their ancient culture of farming and animal husbandry. Fire and Ice weave together the story of Kumik's inspiring response to this calamity with the story of black carbon. Black carbon from inefficient fires - the particulate residue that makes soot-dark - is the second largest contributor to global warming after carbon dioxide. It's also a key ingredient of the air pollution that public health experts regard as humanity's greatest environmental health risk worldwide: soot-laden smoke from household hearth fires and outdoor sources combine to kill over seven million people around the world every year. (Mingle 2015: 4-5)

Based on his fieldwork in Zanskar, Kumik village (Ladakh) he clearly argues that the problem of fast melting glaciers in the Himalaya is much to do with black carbon produced locally from the households cooking fires such as Bukhari, as well as the diesel vehicles in the region. Hence, it is more of a local phenomenon than a global. Black carbon, the small particles accumulated from hundreds of cooking fires and from thousands of running vehicles and motorbikes that ingest heat from the sun, resulting in fast receding of glaciers in the Himalaya which feeds millions of human population in Asia.

The reasons may be local or global, the most visible impact of what is broadly known as “climate change is the fast melting of natural glaciers all over Ladakh and erratic weather pattern”. (Jorgyes 2010: 198). Precipitation has been affected at a large scale both in terms of seasons as well as in volume, it is not uncommon to witness snowfall at an unusual time; besides this, the amount and intensity of rainfall are also not static. Therefore, in order to put the things into perspective, it needs to be recorded, that thinning of glaciers has now become an established fact described by both scientific community and local people's experiences. Villagers' apparent observations about those glaciers which were at one time in proximity to their villages, have now receded far up. Once massive, they have become smaller and smaller and the shrinking continues. As a result, water situation has become even more erratic. Floods and droughts are now seen as a normal experience in Ladakh. There is acute water supply shortage in Leh city as well as in some villages, increase in garbage and solid wastes are also posing a serious threat to public health condition.

Glaciers which are the lifeline for community existence are disappearing and therefore, there is a need for the people to adapt to this changing climate pattern, and more importantly to find solutions to the problem by innovating new ways and means to deal with these hardships. In fact, people have started their adaptive strategies in their agricultural practices due to seasonal variations. It is reported that due to climate change, seasonal variations in agriculture and changing cropping pattern have been observed. Furthermore, the sowing time, has now advanced, due to early availability of water, for agricultural activities through the use of local technologies, methods, and self-regulation. Indeed, this suggests new adaptive strategies for the livelihood of the people of Ladakh. A range of questions, of traditional, modern and appropriate technology and of the socio-ecological costs and benefits of development options are probably more pertinent to current intellectual and political agenda of the region. This section intends to systematically address these issues from a Buddhist perspective and explore how social transformations exacerbate the climate change in the Ladakh region. It specially evaluates how monasteries and local stakeholders are engaged in finding solutions to the problems posed by climate change and other environmental problems in the region.

Humanities across the world have experienced global warming and there are many alarming signs of the changing climate pattern, including increased instances of tsunamis, flash floods, avalanches, hurricanes, cloud bursts, etc. There are certain cases of natural disasters where we can attribute the cause to climate change induced by global warming either directly or indirectly. No doubt that human are responsible for what is famously known as climate change, besides many other environment-related issues including that of ozone depletion, pollution of different kinds, deforestation, desertification, and so on are also attributed to mankind. Various anthropogenic activities over the past centuries have released large amount of CO₂ and various other greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, which over the period of time became a global issue and a challenge for the whole global community. Various studies have shown that certain geographical areas, due to its fragile ecosystem are more susceptible to the negative effects of climate change. These are the areas where the inhabitants completely rely on the scarce natural resource.

Table 4: “Vulnerability of key sectors to the impacts of climate change by sub-regions in Asia”⁶⁹

Sub-Regions	Food and Fibre	Biodiversity	Water resource	Coastal Ecosystem	Human health	Settlements	Land degradation
North Asia	+1/ H	-2/H	+1/M	-1/M	-1/M	-1/M	-1/M
Central Asia and West Asia	-2/H	-1/M	-2/VH	-1/L	-2/M	-1/M	-2/H
Tibetan Plateau	+1/L	-2/H	-1/M	N/A	N/A	N/A	-1/L
East Asia	-2/VH	-2/H	-2/H	-2/H	-1/H	-1/H	-2/H
South Asia	-2/H	-2/H	-2/H	-2/H	-2/M	-1/M	-2/H
South East Asia	-2/H	-2/H	-1/H	-2/H	-2/H	-1/M	-2/H

Vulnerability:

1. -2 – Highly vulnerable
2. 0 – Slightly or not vulnerable
3. +2 – Most resilient
4. -1 – Moderately vulnerable
5. +1 – Moderately resilient

The level of confidence:

1. VH - Very high
2. M – Medium
3. VL - Very low
4. H – High
5. L – Low

⁶⁹[Online: Web] Retrieved 22 November, 2016:
URL/tps://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/ar4/wg2/en/ch10s10-8-2.html.

The Himalayan region, such as Ladakh is one such example and it has shown various signs of ecological imbalances due to global warming, including a change in climatic patterns and this region are more likely to face many environment related changes on the forefront in time to come. All the parts of the Ladakh, be it Leh, Sham, Changthang, Nubra, Zaskar, or Kargil, have experienced major and minor signs of climate change to some extent, including pest intrusion, floods, cloud burst etc. that I will discuss in detail in the following sections.

Signs of Global Warming and Climate Change in Ladakh

2010 Cloudburst - A cloudburst on the night of 5th and early morning of 6th August 2010 resulted in flash floods across the region. It was the first of its kind in the memory of Ladakhi people, causing irreparable loss of life and property. There were only a few villages in the entire region which escaped nature's curse that day, while all other villages suffered nature's wrath to some extent. A large number of bridges and roads were either washed away at many places, while at others roads were blocked with the corpse of boulders and debris of flood due to incessant rain and cloud burst rendering many villages to remain cut off from Leh. The main government hospital/Sonam Norbo Memorial hospital (SNM), telephone exchange/Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL) office, All India Radio (AIR) Leh office, main bus stand were also affected by the disaster. Nevertheless, Leh airport (Kushok Bakula Airport) escaped the disaster with minimum damage. Destruction of the telephone exchange and radio station further hampered the already hit communication system. The death toll touched nearly 400, while over hundreds went missing, while innumerable number of domesticated and other animals died on that night. As already mentioned the main hospital in Leh was also flooded, the admitted patients were shifted to the new SNM hospital building which was under construction at the time of disaster. As a result, the people injured during the incident were shifted to army hospital or the general hospital (GH hospital) Leh and those with multiple and serious injuries were airlifted to Chandigarh and Jammu. It was reported that more than thousands of houses collapsed. Furthermore, the places which people earlier thought safe were also affected. Men, women, and children were buried alive under the debris.

Soon after the search and rescue operation, relief and rehabilitation were carried out in all the affected villages by the District Administration in coordination with different government department, army, paramilitary forces, various Non-Governmental Organisation and volunteers across the region. Hundreds of tourists got stuck on different trekking routes of the region as many trekking routes and roads leading there, were either blocked or washed away during the disaster. It was recorded that 24 foreign national tourists and 76 manual workers/domestic tourists were washed away by the flood in some areas.⁷⁰ However, the irony was that there was an unprecedented increase in airfare from Leh to Delhi which forced some tourists to stay back in Ladakh with intense fear. While, some tourist voluntarily stayed back to help the people of Ladakh and participated in search and rescue works. Indeed, most of the volunteers who were helping and assisting army and other rescuers were foreign tourists who came to see Ladakh. Ladakh being an emerging tourist destination got attention from all over the world. Both centre and state government kept their eyes and ears opened for Ladakh and sent 6000 security personnel for the rescue operation.⁷¹ Dr. Manmohan Singh, then the Prime Minister of India expressed his anguish and declared compensation of Rs. 1 Lakh, as each, as extra-gratia payment to the next of kin of the deceased and relief of Rs. 50,000, each to the seriously injured. Likewise, the chief minister of the State also announced an amount of Rs. 1 Lakh each as extra-gratia to the next kin of the deceased, and relief to the injured from the chief ministerial fund. Furthermore, 1 Lakh was also paid out of CRF guidelines to each victim. Lastly, the Prime Minister announced a package of Rs. 125 Crores for rehabilitation and reconstruction purpose. Accordingly, a compensation of Rs. 2 Lakh was guaranteed to the completely damaged houses while the partially damaged houses were guaranteed Rs. 1 Lakh each. These payments of extra-gratia and relief amounts were required to be directly transferred to the beneficiary's bank account (World Focus, Joldan 2016)⁷². Besides that, many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) both local as well as outsider, Religious organisations, like, Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA), Ladakh Muslim Association (LMA), Ladakh Gompa Association (LGA), Student associations, Women

⁷⁰[Online: web] Retrieved on date, 27/12/2016.

URL: <http://re.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/file/flash%20floods%20Leh%20Ladakh.pdf>

⁷¹ [Online: web] Retrieved on date, 21/12/2016. URL: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Flash-floods-in-Leh-leave-103-dead-370-injured/articleshow/6264165.cms>

⁷²Pasricha, Anjana (6 August 2010). 'Flash Flood in India's Remote Himalayan Region Kills More Than 60'. Voice of America. Archived from the original on 6 August 2010. Retrieved on date-16/12/2016.

Alliance, and many more participated actively in search, relief, and rescue operations. Major political and religious heads such as His Holiness Dalai Lama, Gyalwang Drukpa (head of the Druk-pa sect), Prime Minister of India, and many other distinguished persons visited Ladakh to assess the extent of damage and to console the people of the region, especially, those who lost their families and relatives in that disaster.

Ladakh Student Associations outside Ladakh such as All Ladakh Student Association Jammu (ALSAJ), Ladakh Student Welfare Association Delhi (LSWAD), Ladakh Student Association Chandigarh (LSAC), raised relief fund through different means and sent considerable relief materials to Ladakh. Likewise, those tourists who have visited Ladakh earlier also contributed to relief operations. Many of them even travelled to Ladakh, especially to help the people of Ladakh during the time of need.

Figure 3: Choglamsar village-2010



Source: Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council Leh.

2013- Like 2010, when flash floods due to cloudburst claimed hundreds of lives and the year 2013 was a never forgetting year for Ladakh especially, the Changthang region. An unprecedented snowstorm resulted in sedentarisation of the nomadic community of Changthang, Nyoma Block in particular. The heavy snowfall followed by chilling cold resulted in mass death of livestock, especially, sheep and goats. Further, the grasslands remained covered with snow for more than a month threatening the survival of those who escaped the previous disaster, as the herds of sheep and goats are reared on these grasslands.

The snow on the grasslands melts within a week either by sun's rays or by wind making the grassland available to the livestock again. The overall outcome of this incident was the disruption of the cyclic rhythm of their migration pattern. The year 2013 was unprecedented and something which was never witnessed in the history of the nomadic people which in turn shook the cyclic rhythm of their migration which forms the very basis of the nomadic culture. As per the official records, the death toll was 24,604, (Department of animal husbandry report, 2013) it is important to note that this figure is that of the domesticated animals and there is no data available for the loss of wild animals which also perished in that catastrophic incident. Many local people reported that they have encountered corpse of wild animals at different places.

Furthermore, many agricultural lands were washed away due to incessant floods over the last few years. In addition, livestock is also vulnerable to the impact of climate change in the region. In Changthang region, nomadic community, acutely feel climate change.

Figure 4: Corpse of Livestock in Changthang



Source: Tsewang Rigzin

Phugtal River Blockade- Another disastrous incidence related to climate change in Ladakh was the Phugtal river blockade. Phugtal River, a tributary of Zaskar River was blocked resulting in the formation of an artificial lake which was as long as 14 kilometres between Shaday-Sumdo and Marshun posing threat to all the villages along the riverside. As the water continued to pour in the artificial lake accumulated more than 30 million meters of water, which was engorged to a length of 14 kilometers.⁷³ Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) Zaskar told The Indian Express team that the situation is horrific and this artificial lake was becoming a threat to more than 4000 people living in more than five villages (6th Feb. 2015). Likewise, Kargil Deputy Commissioner told the Tribune that the water level was increasing with every passing hour and the administration had asked the people living along the river to move to higher and safer places (7th May 2015). This became a grave concern for the entire state, and Governor N. N. Vohra suggested National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) to form a multi-disciplinary expert committee to execute a proper action plan to handle the situation. Consequently, a committee was formed and visited

⁷³ [Online: web] Retrieved on date 11/12/2016. URL: <https://www.nrsc.gov.in/node?q=phutkal>

the site.⁷⁴ However, NDMA failed to come up with a concrete possible solution to tackle the alarming situation causing panic among the already feared locals. Congress Leader and former minister Nawang Rigzin Jora, criticized the NDMA for doing ‘shoddy work’ at the site, he further added, “there is a huge impending disaster awaiting Ladakh this summer”⁷⁵. Various high-level meetings were held at both centre and state level agencies considering even aerial bombing of the artificial lake. Local people especially Sonam Wangchuk was voicing against⁷⁶ bombing and breaching, and suggested using of water jets instead of explosives and had warned that a breach in the loose debris would cause runaway erosion leading to a flash flood. Sonam Wangchuk⁷⁷ (An Engineer turned education reformer and one of the founders of SECMOL) proposed a simple solution to the problem. He even went on to write letters to concerned government departments and high officials including the Governor but somehow he failed to get their attention. His solution was simple and reliable, which was later successfully applied in Sikkim, and provided below,

Finding Solution to Phugtal River Crisis

Today we have tested the Erosion techniques at the Ice Stupa site using Jain Irrigation Rain Gun Twin 95. It was the interesting result as you will see in this four-minute video. Mind you I used a very small jet of water roughly 40 times smaller than what is possible in real exercise I have some experience in excavating earth without using heavy earth-movers. Some years ago I used this technique to dig passage/gorge from a plateau without a JCB excavator. The idea is to use water itself to solve the problem of water. Strong jets of water from few fairly powerful pumps (like those of the Fire Brigade) can be used like water cannons to erode the loose soil that is blocking the river. As we know water is a powerful cause of soil erosion anywhere. Well, for a change, that destructive aspect of water could be used for a constructive purpose. So what I propose is that a helicopter should airlift several powerful portable agricultural pump sets, many rolls of canvas pipes (fire brigade type) and some tough workers. With the jets of water, the mound of loose soil and even rocks can be washed down/eroded towards both the sides until the mound reaches 10 meters of the water level of the lake. At this point, when suction works (within atmospheric pressure range), you don’t even need pumps as the natural siphoning system can work and several big pipes can suck water out of the lake and continue the erosion process. However, for the siphon to

⁷⁴ [Online: web] Retrieved on date. 17/12/2016. URL: <http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/jammu-kashmir/community/ndma-to-submit-report-on-phuktal-river-blockage-soon/41373.html>.

⁷⁵ [Online: web] Retrieved on date. 17/12/2016. URL: <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/disaster-management-experts-to-arrive-in-leh-to-tackle-phuktal-river-crisis/>

⁷⁶ [Online: web] Retrieved on date. 21/11/2016. URL: https://wn.com/runaway_erosion__phugtal_river_crisis

⁷⁷ [Online: web] Retrieved on date. 21/11/2016. URL: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sonam_Wangchuk_\(engineer\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sonam_Wangchuk_(engineer))

work we would need non-collapsible pipes. Once the water in the lake comes down to a non-dangerous level you can actually erode the rim of the lake itself to let the water out and let it erode its own banks and flow out till the bottom. I have been preparing a similar technique for defusing the many dangerous high altitude glacial melt lakes that have formed all over the Himalayas and could burst causing flash floods as happened in Gya village this year. But it would be good if this could be used for an even more urgent need on the Phugtal River. So those of you who are in contact with people exploring solutions to this problem may forward this message or ask them to get in touch with me. I see more than 50% chances that this solution can succeed. But one thing is clear, sooner the better.

Sonam wangchuk, 24th Feb, 2015.⁷⁸

The Lake soon became a ticking bomb that was about to burst and cause huge destruction downstream. Unfortunately, mistakes were made in handling the situation and on 7th may 2015 the lake burst despite all claims by authorities that the disaster was averted and the lake defused. Luckily the disaster happened in the morning at around 8:10 am thereby giving people enough time to escape. 12 bridges and much land and property was damaged, even the Alchi Hydel project was in grave danger. The villagers such as those in Neyrags area remained completely cut off from the world. Their food supply was cut off and their livestock could not cross the highland pasture even in rising summer heat. No loss of life was reported because of flood due to the bursting of the artificial lake; however, a person was later drowned while crossing the river in the absence of a bridge.⁷⁹

Figure 5: A view of Phugtal River blocked site Zanskar valley in Ladakh.

⁷⁸This quotation is transcribed from the video that he had published on YouTube and many other online site; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sFMuwz0zhxM>

[Online: Web] Retrieved on 06/11/2016: URL:

1. <https://sandrp.wordpress.com/2015/02/01/landslide-dam-blocks-zanskar-river-tributary-threatens-valley/>
2. <https://sandrp.wordpress.com/2015/02/13/landslide-dam-blocks-phutkal-river-threatens-zanskar-valley-update/>

⁷⁹ [Online: web] Retrieved on date 16/12/2016. URL: <http://www.risingkashmir.in/news/artificial-lake-on-phuktal-river-in-kargil-bursts/>

[Online: web] Retrieved on date 16/12/2016. URL: <http://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/lake-made-by-landslide-debris-bursts-causes-flash-floods-in-kargil-49671>



Photo Source: Tribune



Source: Internet

Figure 6: Students from Zanskar protest in Jammu against the government for not delivering a concrete solution for Phugtal river blockage.



Source: Tashi Lundup

2015- Another ruinous flash flood in the year 2015 hit Beema and Dha-Hanu, popularly known as the “Aryan valley”, located deep in the lower part of Ladakh sharing border with Pakistan. In August 2015, a flash flood triggered by incessant rainfall and cloudburst led to the formation of a huge accumulation of rubble and boulders, thus blocking the flow of the famous Indus river forming another artificial and temporary lake like that of the Phugtal river.⁸⁰ Later on, the lake started overflowing, submerging many houses in the region and the main road connecting the valley to the Leh city was washed away thereby, halting all the means of transportation. As per the young generation, this was the worst of all natural disasters they have ever faced, neither the elderly people have any such memories from the past.⁸¹

⁸⁰ [Online: web] Accessed on date, 05/01/2017 URL: <http://www.reachladakh.com/operation-underway-for-removal-of-indus-blockage-at-beema/3101.html>.

⁸¹ [Online: web] Accessed on date, 03/01/2017 URL: <http://www.searchkashmir.org/2015/10/submerged-brokpa-village-of-bima.html>

Apart from this, there have been many minor incidences of floods in the year 2015, major destruction were caused at Khaltsar (Nubra), Skurbuchan, Achinathang, and few other villages where houses and fields were either washed away completely or were filled with large boulders and sands, rendering it unfit for further cultivation.

In villages of lower Ladakh, particularly in Skurbuchan and Achinathang occurrence of the flood was without much rainfall. The flood hit the village during the daytime, and so there was no loss of life. Nevertheless, it caused innumerable loss of possessions like fertile agricultural fields, apple and apricot orchards, trees etc. In some cases even houses were washed away, while at others the flood filled the open land with mud, sand, and boulders causing displacement of many households.

Figure 7:View of Indus River Blockage in Bema village.



Source: Tashi Lundup

Figure 8: The destruction caused by a flash flood at Bema and village submerges into sand dune after water level went down.



Source: Photo by Tashi Lundup

Another evident syndrome of this upheaval is the intrusion of certain pests and insects earlier not known to the region, which is also attributed to the rise in temperature and humidity. *Goba* (nominated head of the village) from Hanu⁸² village said;

This year pests and insects have destroyed our apricots and tomatoes. Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC) promised for compensation, but so far we have not received anything. This year (2015) we have witnessed flood which was much worse than the one in 2010. The debris from the flood was so huge that it stopped the flow of Indus and formed a huge lake; as a result, a number of houses and fields were drowned and washed away. The main road has been cut off, households were disconnected. We approached the army and they offered us help. Many political parties come forelection campaign and we have decided to cast our vote to that party who will promise to solve this problem. (Interview, 13th Sep, 2016).

Likewise, there are many villages in Ladakh witnessing floods on yearly basis. The pattern of rising annual global temperature due to climate change will not be uniform the world over.

⁸²Dha and Hanu are two villages of Brokpa of Leh District. They have an Indo-European appearance in contrast to predominant Tibeto-Mongol inhabitants of most of the Ladakh. They are famous for an apricot and tomato production in Ladakh.

Rather, it tends to indicate that highest average temperature rises are for high-mountain ecosystems (Boillat and Berkes: 2013). Glaciers are melting at an unprecedented pace in mountainous regions (Vville et al, 2008, Bolin, 2009). As in the case of Ladakh, glaciers are shrinking at an alarmingly rapid rate, International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD) predicts that 35% of glaciers in Ladakh will disappear in just two decades. While on the one hand, the impact of unregulated tourism is taking its toll on natural resources. For the people of Ladakh, these changes are coming on top of other cultural, political, and economic changes in recent decades. Especially, indigenous ecological systems which retain traditional wisdom for this fragile environment is now subjected to the 'double exposure of globalization and global environmental changes' (Leichenko and O'Brien: 2008).

It is not uncommon for people complaining how significantly the snowfall has come down in the last few years, putting agriculture at risk. Agriculture ensures food and livelihood for the people and is the economic backbone of the region. This rise in temperature and erratic weather patterns raises several concerns for the region, especially the agricultural sector. Farmers across the region have evolved the self-sustained farming system, owing to the scarcity of resources in an extremely challenging climatic condition. The fabric of sustainability has been greatly affected over the past few years because of change in weather and climate pattern, impacting the agricultural economy in different ways. Any change in the supply of glacial meltwater poses a serious threat to the agriculture, and therefore to the economy and food security. Nearly all the farmers in Ladakh depend on snow and glacial meltwater for irrigation since the glaciers are retreating continuously, thereby endangering agricultural productivity. However, farmers in villages such as Sabu, Shey, Thiksey, Choglamsar, Ghangless, located nearby Leh town, are more resilient. They perceived that current instability caused by climate change and their losses, personal and collective were part of the cyclic changes in which they understand the Buddhist fate (Visvanathan 2014).

The problem of climate change and global warming is one of the highly debated and discussed global issues concerning mankind across the globe. With the growing consent and acceptance by world scientific community that the phenomena of climate change is seemingly real, a great deal of research and related work is being carried out at a

different level by various governments and organisations of the world, besides the scientific community and environmentalists. Looking at the trend of climate change syndromes in Ladakh and apparent observation of farmers seems to have brought adverse impacts on the communities and its collective consciousness. Floods, landslides, unusual rain and snowfall have become common phenomenon for the people of the region. Furthermore, the effect of climate change is very much evident on the Siachen glacier, the world's highest battlefield. The snout of Siachen, the starting point of the glacier, at the Base Camp receded by a kilometre since 2005. A board stating this at the snout bears testimony to the accelerating pace of human-induced climate change. Climate change has also altered weather patterns causing unusual rain and snowfall, thereby, increasing the risk of avalanches. Nevertheless, no scientific data is available to support the degree of climate change in this region. The Snow and Avalanche Study Establishment (SASE), an institute under the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) has recently started 'Him-Parivarthan', a project to assess the degree of glacier melt in the region.⁸³ A Ladakh Scout Regiment's personnel revealed that besides less snowfall during winters, the presence of army is the primary factor responsible for receding of the Siachen glacier. (Information obtained through telephonic conversation with army personnel). One survey conducted by an NGO, Renewable Energy and Environment Group India (GERES), a France-based NGO documented the increasing trend in mean temperature by 1°C during the winters and 0.5°C during summer between 1973 and 2008.

However, it is interesting to note and report that all the people of the region do not hold the same view when it comes to change in weather and climate conditions. For the majority of the people, it is a worrisome situation, while a small number look at the shift as a blessing and take such changing climate pattern positively. The latter constitute certain farmers in Ladakh, as they can now grow a variety of new vegetables and fruits, earlier not known to the region because of the low temperature. Probably they do not realise the consequences that climate change can spell for the region in the long term.

⁸³ [Online: Web] Accessed on date, 20/11/2016, URL/<http://www.thehindu.com/sci-tech/energy-and-environment/climate-change-is-changing-landscape-of-ladakh-glacier-man-chewang-norphe/article7927780.ece>.

In the following paragraph, I will discuss how different people responded when asked about their views on changes in climate. Firstly, I will deal with those who responded in favour of the change in climate, while the latter ones are those who responded negatively.

We can grow and eat varieties of vegetables for a longer period than earlier times and we no longer rely on *gyagarpa* (Gyagar pa- literal meaning Indian, often used to designate outsider traders) for vegetables and fruits. A decade back people of Ladakh use to grow certain fruits and vegetables which were typical of the region, such as apricots, apples, and walnuts among the fruits, while potatoes, onions, cabbage, radish, peas, turnips and few green leafy are among the vegetables. But now we are capable of growing a varied number of new fruits and vegetables like pears, grapes, strawberries, watermelons, broccoli, bottle gourd, beans, cucumber, brinjal, garlic, many new green leafy vegetables and also a variety of pulses, which were earlier not grown in Ladakh as the environment was not conducive for their cultivation given the low temperature of region. (Achey Yangzom, August 2016).

Another elderly informant said,

Today's generation is very fortunate as they can eat and drink whatever they wish, they do not remain half fed as we did during our childhood as the production was low and the varieties were also limited". He further added, 'Younger generation can choose to wear traditional dresses to modern western jeans-shirt, something which we never had. (Phuntsog August 2016).

Likewise, when inquired about the winters in Leh, a woman responded,

Winters are no longer as cold as it was a decade back and also the snowfall has reduced compared to my childhood days, people must have accumulated merits in their previous lives that today we have warm winters and the roads connecting Ladakh to outside world remains open till December-January ensuring supply of essential commodities (Anay Dolma August, 2015).

Those who perceive climate change negatively are presented here,
Elderly women from Skara Leh said,

'tatusthamalebsteyinnok, char-chuutus lamababssaa. Chu mednayul med zerchen, inazugchenduknastingneyyulstongshessinok, meaning, that the dark times have come and snowfall/rainfall does not occur on time. Where there is no water, there is no village and if it continues to be like this then our villages will perish in times to come (Anay Spaldon, Septmeber 2016).

Another person from choglamsar village said,

It very unfortunate for every Ladakhi that snowfall has come down so drastically within a span of few years. Moreover, the reduction in snowfall is not accompanied by timely rainfall; in fact, unseasonal rain and snowfall have led to the loss of life and property at various instances (Ajang Rinchen, September 2016).

This was followed by another farmer from Sabu village who said,

The current trend of change in weather and the climatic pattern is a serious challenge for the people of the region. Fast melting of glaciers during the summer due to increase in temperature is posing threat to agriculture, as almost all the villages across Ladakh depend on glacial meltwater for irrigation purpose. (Anay Rigzin, August 2015)

Furthermore, Ladakhi society is strongly shaped by the belief system that people follow. Buddhist perspective of ecology mediated through religious places, objects and symbols have been the guiding principle for the locals. The concept of *Lha-Lhu* (the sacred spirit that inhabits the village landscape) is common across the region. For them whatever changes, either good or bad is a result of their action and if any of human activity pollutes *lha* or *lhu* then uncertain things are bound to happen as I will discuss in the third chapter.

Having said that, everything is not entirely gloomy as people are gearing themselves up and are also actively engaged in evolving new means of adaptive skills to mitigate changes in the surroundings. Attempts are made to develop various methods to deal with changing climate by using indigenous knowledge and religious values to adopt an eco-friendly lifestyle. Besides the governmental efforts to save and conserve the environment, local communities are contributing their share in the fight against environmental degradation, either individually or at the organisational level. Many stakeholders are actively involved in spreading awareness through different means such as encouraging collective plantation, endorsing traditional architecture, encouraging using solar-intensive energy, adapting eco-friendly lifestyle and so on to fight climate change.

The Ecological Crisis: Implementing a Buddhist Solution in Ladakh.

The ecological crisis is impending all over the world in diverse forms of natural disasters. Under such a gloomy situation, the world is looking for a solution to overcome problems caused by climate change. Many scholars have suggested that Buddhist worldviews are ecologically responsive and practical. Hence, there is no need for other assumptions coming from modern prophets about the looming ecological consequences. But, what they need is to get back to their own texts to be told that within the huge time-cycles of the universe, humanity is currently embarked on a vicious downswing (Batchelor, 1995). The problems that currently world is facing on various fronts such as climate change, increasing fatal diseases, growing insecurity caused by nuclear weapons have risen because of moral degeneration and delusion for the materialistic world. Therefore, Buddhist solutions become relevant for the contemporary crisis, because Buddhism sees that fading of Buddhist doctrine is but one symptom of a period of moral degeneration. Today's consumerist culture is neither sustainable, nor does it respect other forms of life, heading rapidly towards a degenerated society. Assuming that the world continues to live in a state of intense delusion without thinking much about the consequences. Then, what hope can there be of implementing a Buddhist solution on a scale which could hold back the disaster alarmingly moving towards us. Batchelor has suggested two Buddhist solutions to the problems:

- We cannot ignore these questions. If Buddhist analysis of the ecological crisis is correct, then we are clearly going to have to do more than just switching to recycled envelopes and ozone-friendly hairspray to prevent the potential environmental catastrophe that a growing number of responsible voices are predicting. Yet to be realistic, we also have to accept that selfishness and greed are not going to vanish overnight. It would appear that the first step of a Buddhist solution as 'skilful means'.⁸⁴ At least must be to explain how our present way of life is simply not in our own self-interest, let alone in the interest of millions of other beings and future generations.

⁸⁴ To be aware of our thoughts and to control them, so that they are clear, focused, and positive.

- The second step of Buddhist solution would be to challenge the social structures which sustain and promote values that blind us to the ecologically destructive results of our actions. Two structures of particular importance would be education and economics. In the secular democracies of West both, of these structures are based on belief in value-free knowledge, unlimited progress, and individual freedom. The combined effect of these beliefs in the rapid erosion of the moral values which still survive from our ancestral religions (compassion, generosity, self-control etc.). As a force of spiritual renewal, Buddhism would seek to inject into our social structures a fresh awareness of undisputed values but without these depending on belief in God. (Batchelor, 1994: 38-39).

Both, these solutions appear to be simple and understandable but it has to be initiated by an individual by way of practicing inner transformation. Self-reflection, meditation, and learning would actually help in eradicating those ill tendencies of our mind which are harmful to both individual and their environment. What we need is to inculcate such values which give way to simple living, compassion, and understanding. This is the way Buddhism envisages human beings to live in harmony with other sentient beings.

In Ladakh, Buddhism has evolved in tune with the ‘native genius’ of the people who embraced it. The Buddhist population of this region predominantly practices Tantric or Vajrayana⁸⁵ form of Buddhism, which comes under the umbrella of Mahayana tradition of Buddhism. It comprises of all major sects of Mahayana Buddhism and is well preserved in Ladakh. This form of Buddhism might prove even more relevant to the ecological crisis of the day for two reasons. First, Mahayana’s core belief is that true nature of every sentient being, is aglow with enlightenment, no matter how they are suffering from negativities in the form of desire, ignorance, moral degeneration, delusions and so on, for those are nothing but accidental to life. It is like the sun concealed by clouds, its true nature is obscured by the mist

⁸⁵ Tantric Buddhism, also known as Vajrayana. ‘Vehicle of the Diamond’, is the ‘Indestructible vehicle’ for crossing the ‘Ocean of suffering’ to enlightenment. Tantric practice is based on the principle of transforming the impurities that defile the inherently pure soul. The Tantric texts deal with the evocation of deities, the acquisition of magical power and the attainment of enlightenment through meditation, mantras (mystical chants), mudras (ritual movement/dance) and yoga. Tantra can only be received through the instruction of a guru. It is a form of Mahayana Buddhism.

of ignorance. This doctrine of optimistic hope helps us overcome the pessimistic challenges caused by karma or for that matter by nature. Unlike Zen Buddhism, wherein enlightenment is viewed as a distant goal for, it takes eons of life to attain salvation. The second reason, is that the doctrine of Tantric Buddhism envisages delusions as neither good nor bad, they treat it as something which can be transformed into energy patterns rather than to eliminate it. Hence, it is used as a mechanism to attain enlightenment through transforming energy patterns. Needless, to say that it is a very complex philosophy and rigorous discipline which includes an element of danger. Yet, it is often claimed by Tantric teachers that the present 'degenerated' age is particularly suited for the Vajrayana form of Buddhism. Of course, we can well relate it to the contemporary ecological and environmental crisis caused by the haphazard creation of infrastructure. It is nonetheless, delusional to Vajrayana Buddhism. The crisis demands that we act. It compels us to question ourselves in a way that constantly challenges us to transform our lives.

Here our best example is the role of monasteries in Ladakh across sects led by Rinpoches who are actively engaged in various environmental and ecological movements, which are still at their initial stage and seeking to actualize Buddhist traditional wisdom and compassion. (T. Norbu, 1973). These kinds of movements are broadly known as 'Engaged Buddhism'.⁸⁶ Engaged Buddhism seeks to participate in society and its problems. This may at first be viewed as a self-contradiction to the basic Buddhist's idea of trans-mundane aspiration of nirvana, or their solitary quest for enlightenment. Weber has presented Buddhism as in contrast to the social ethics of 'Engaged Buddhism', which give much emphasis to worldly requirements rather than withdrawal of material world.⁸⁷ The view followed by many engaged Buddhist is "that no enlightenment can be complete as long as other remain trapped in delusion" and that "genuine wisdom is manifested in compassionate action" (Kraft, 1985: 28). For instance, H.H. Jigme Pema Wangchen Rinpoche, the

⁸⁶Philip Russell Brown, "Socially Engaged Buddhism: A Buddhist Practice for West,". Retrieved on 23/12/2016. [www. buddhanetz. net/texte/brown/htm](http://www.buddhanetz.net/texte/brown/htm)

⁸⁷ Since Max Weber, there has been an implicit (and sometimes explicit) understanding that Buddhism shuns the worldly arena. See, Fred Eppsteimer (ed.), *The Path of Compassion: Writings on Socially Engaged Buddhism*, Berkeley, California: Parallax Press, (1985) rev. ed., 1988 p. IX.

12thGyalwang Drukpa, who is one of the most active environmentalists in Ladakh, has mentioned during his interaction with Ladakhi students in Delhi,

These days, unlike earlier days, religion has become more problematic for people than to expect peace and prosperity in society. Hence, it becomes essential to adjust our methods and techniques according to the time and situation. After all, our main goal is to restore peace and tranquillity in the world, and then only one can have opportunities to explore Buddha's teachings and enlightenment. Since climate change is looming on this earth, it becomes pertinent to engage with our environment and ecology to ensure sustainability and well-being of all the living beings, especially the sentient beings. (Drukchen Rinpoche, October, 2010)⁸⁸

A place like Ladakh is on the forefront to face climate change. Therefore, the community has to be resilient, quick and innovative enough to adapt to these changes. Of course, to explore adaptive strategies a range of projects have already been started by many stakeholders at different level such as, 'ice-stupa artificial glacier project', 'passive solar project', 'organic farming' and so on, to ensure a secure and sustainable future for the younger generation, not just to survive but also to thrive in these mountains. Furthermore, the nature of society is such, that religion plays an essential role in imparting ecological consciousness to the people. As we have mentioned above that, Gyalwang Drukchen Rinpoche who is the head of the Drukpa lineage has initiated many ecological projects and awareness campaigns in Ladakh. Likewise, Kyabgon Chetsang Rinpoche, head of the Drikung Lineage is also leading a mass environment campaign in the Ladakh, particularly in Durbuk block under the banner "Go Green Go Organic", which will be discussed in the following sections. Apart from that many NGOs like SECMOL⁸⁹ (Student's Education and Cultural Movement of Ladakh), LEDeG⁹⁰ (Ladakh Ecological Development

⁸⁸ This statement was collected from the event on the eve of Commonwealth Game in Delhi at Ashoka Hotel; right after Ladakh had witnessed flash flood on 6th October 2010, where researcher himself got a chance to participate. The interaction session was initiated by His holiness himself for the students of Ladakh in Delhi to console and to preach the how to inculcate resilient power during the tough time like the one Ladakh has faced.

⁸⁹ The Student's Educational and Cultural Movements of Ladakh (SECMOL) was founded in 1988 by a group of young Ladakhis to reform the educational system of Ladakh. Over the year their activities have been varied, and are now they offer various courses to Ladakhi youth to endow them with ecological awareness and innovate new adaptive skills. <http://www.secmol.org/>

⁹⁰LEDeG is a non-governmental organisation based at Leh. Since its formation, it has consistently worked towards serving the underprivileged people residing in structurally disadvantaged areas of Ladakh and has been

Group), SEBOL⁹¹ (Socially Engaged Buddhism of Ladakh), Women Alliance and so on, are directly or indirectly working on ecology and environment in Ladakh.

Ecological Movements in Ladakh

As the movements related to climate change and environmental degradation gained momentum across the world, Ladakh could not keep itself apart for a longer time. The reasons are obvious, it bore the brunt of global warming in the year 2010 when it was hit by amud-flood, due to cloud burst and incessant rainfall. Since then, there have been frequent reports of cloud burst, flood, and landslides caused by rainfall. Ladakh has witnessed a shift in weather as well as climate patterns too. The snow laden mountains glaciers and permanent snow fields are diminishing years by year, as the winters no longer witness the heavy snowfall once Ladakh was famous for, affecting runoff in rivers and streams. The allegory of climate change has now become a reality and people of Ladakh are experiencing it on a daily basis. Farmers are getting anxious as they are witnessing unprecedented floods every year and uncertain weather patterns. Many villages which got connected through link roads after ages of struggle got displaced. Farmer's perception and interpretation of their experiences reveal a deep sense of undercurrent crisis in agriculture. They often associate climate change with social and environmental changes, such as a change in value systems in the community, population growth, technology, migration, abandoning of agricultural land and so on. Most of the elderly people interpret climate change from a Buddhist point of view by saying that it is a part of the cycle, which includes a belief in Buddhist idea of the impermanence of everything, in which change is inevitable.

As we have mentioned above that Ladakh is a place where religion is the source of people's hope and placed it on top most priorities in their culture. It is almost impossible to comprehend its social and cultural landscape without considering the role of monasteries and its influences. The monastic system has been the most important attribute of Ladakhi culture

striving to address the environmental and cultural issues affecting the people in the region due to the current conventional developmental initiatives. <http://www.ledeg.org/>.

⁹¹SEBoL is an endeavor to come across isms, cults and ideologies in today's world and to follow the true path shown by Buddha and engaging oneself socially for all Sentient beings. SEBoL aim is to empower youth on socially engaged Buddhism. <http://www.reachladakh.com/sebol-organises-debate-on-understanding-buddhism/2872.html>.

and social organisation. But, it does not translate into a relationship where an idle priestly class exploits the layman, rather the relationship between village and monasteries is that of a mutual support and benefit. This is how it is worth observing as unique in itself, in contrast to the often evoked image of the exploitive system in another part of the world. It would not be wrong to say that, monasteries are the expression of society's faith and priorities, nearly all the resources and energies of the people without paying much attention of their basic necessities have devoted to creating such a repository of learning and wisdom. It is a culture in which high values of Buddhism are placed above all. (Norberg-Hodge, 1994).

Furthermore, with this, an altruistic attitude is inculcated among the people which enable them to envisage the welfare of the natural world. In fact, this concern for the natural world has been an essential element throughout the history of Buddhism. (Batchelor, 1994). Buddhism's core idea of interconnectedness and interdependent with their environment has given rise to an instinctive respect for nature. Having said that, Buddhism supposes that, unlike other species being, life in the form of a human being has unique qualities to attain illumination. But, they have never believed humanity is superior to the rest of the natural world. However, the current crisis in global climate has revealed that human being disregarded natural world.

We are the only species with the power to destroy the earth and also the capacity to protect it. H. H. The 14th Dalai Lama⁹²

This statement by the Dalai Lama directly addresses the role of human beings in relation to destruction and conservation of the planet earth. As I have mentioned above that Buddhists today are more keenly engaged in spreading environmental awareness the word over.

Many changes and natural disasters on account of climate change over the last one decade have propelled government, many individuals, and different organisations and monastic community to come forward to suggest measures and take action against the growing common concern. Being an ecologically and environmentally sensitive place, a number of ecological projects and environmental movements have gained momentum in different parts

⁹² [Online: web] Accessed date on 06/11/2016 URL: <https://www.dalailama.com/messages/environment/the-natural-world>

of Ladakh. These projects and movements were launched in view of the increasing instances of natural disasters during past few years causing great damage to lives and property across the region. Most of the environmental movements are aimed to provide a possible solution to the rising problem of the local communities as a result of climate change, showing alternative ways and new strategies to mitigate and respond to the impacts of climate change in the region. Ecological movements in Ladakh can be studied broadly under the following headings.

- Religious or Monastic Movement.
- Youth Movement.
- Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) Movement.
- Others

Irrespective of the organisation and their approach, the ultimate goal is same for all i.e., to preserve the fragile ecosystem of the region and to ensure sustainability. The movements and projects which are under process are engaged in finding newer eco-friendly means to meet the needs of people without causing any more harm to the already fragile ecosystem of the region. Every movement in one or other way is making effort to ensure sustainable development in the region. This will eventually translate into new adaptation strategies to deal with this changing climate in Ladakh.

1. *Religious or Monastic Movement:*

The monastic community of Ladakh from times immemorial have been serving the society on the forefront in various capacities. Before the issue of environment degradation and climate change came to fore, they were indulged in various other problems concerning people at that time, including political struggle rightly after independence. When Ladakh became a part of Independent India, the only educated people in Ladakh were a few monks, who went to Tibet and completed their education. Therefore, when the first democratic election was conducted in Ladakh in 1949, people elected Bakula Rinpoche⁹³ as their leader.

⁹³ 19th Kushok Bakula Rinpoche (May 21, 1917 – November 4, 2003) was a reincarnation of the Kushok Bakula Rinpoche. He was one of the best known lamas of Ladakh, a statesman and an

He served in various positions both at the centre as well as in the state, such as Member of Parliament, minister of state in Jammu and Kashmir government, and Indian ambassador to Mongolia. As I have mentioned above that monasteries headed by various Rinpoches have been active in serving people in various ways. The Buddhist notion of withdrawing from worldly life is reflected somewhat differently in Ladakh where Tibetan Vajrayana form of Buddhism prevails. Nevertheless, there are some retreat centres and monasteries which specifically focus on rigorous meditation. However with the passage of time, like any other responsible establishment, the monastic community led by Rinpoches turned their focus on contemporary issues of Ladakh such as environmental degradation, rapid glacier melting, pollution, and other related problems, suppressing the political and social issues which dominated the agenda of the community during yesteryears. Therefore, now a day the religious community is aimed to impart nature-friendly teachings to the people, emphasizing more on providing practical as well as moral guidelines for ecological conservation.

A Buddhist ecological movement has already started in Ladakh addressing various local and national problems and ecological destructions. This is only one aspect of growing environmentalism in Ladakh. Almost all the major sects in Ladakh are directly or indirectly involved in sensitizing and finding solutions to ecological imbalances triggered by human beings. Frequent floods, landslides, unseasonal and unusual rainfall/snowfall would definitely serve as a wake-up call for the people, failing to realise this will lead to disastrous consequences. It would be worth mentioning few lines from a speech by H.H. Drikung skyabgon Chetsang Rinpoche;

‘Some people may wonder, why is this Dharma teacher is doing all these earthly works, the reason is that nowadays when global warming and many other problems are arising and threatening the people and all other living beings, we cannot just stay at the monastery and relax. We should go into society and help the people with what is needed for this 21st century. From the ages between 29 and 69 I was in the monastery studying Dharma, and from now on I would like to engage in social work and social service for the remainder of my life’.

international diplomat of the Republic of India. He is known for his efforts in reviving Buddhism in Mongolia and Russia, linking them with the community of Tibetan exiles in India.

The monastic community in Ladakh is not leaving any stone unturned to work in this direction and a major part of environment conservation movement in Ladakh is carried out by different Rinpoches. These ‘ecology monks’⁹⁴ preach and promote ecologically sound practices among Ladakhi people, at a time when rapid economic development is taking place region-wide. The main goal of Buddhist teaching is to overcome human suffering, so to relieve these sufferings one should, first of all, reflect on the origin of suffering. Buddhism emphasises that all the problems faced by humanity and all the living beings at large is attributed to the root cause of desire, hatred, and ignorance of mankind causing great harm to themselves, to the environment, and to all other sentient beings as well. It is said that human needs are endless and whatever they possess is never enough. People and countries across the world keep on building massive infrastructure, advanced machines to reduce human labour, and newer technologies to cater different human needs, neither considering the extent of damage that these unusual developmental activities can lead to nor paying due attention to ecology. Hence, Buddhist monastic community headed by different Rinpoches see the destruction of the ecology as ultimately caused by people acting through these evils, motivated by economic gain and the material benefits of development, industrialisation, and consumerism. They believe that it is their duty to engage with these problems, and find possible solutions to ensure peace, prosperity, and sustainability in Ladakh. Let me highlight how monasteries under their lineage’s heads are engaged in ecological movements in Ladakh and beyond. These can be broadly categorised into three main headings which are as under;

- Go Green Go Organic
- Live to Love
- Eco-Pad Yatra

Go Green Go Organic (G3O)

‘Go Green Go Organic’ is a dream project envisaged by His Holiness the Drikung Skyabgon Chetsang Rinpoche, the 37th throne holder of the Drikung Kagyu Lineage of Tibetan Buddhism. The project aims at a clean and green earth, thereby, making it a better place to live. The inception of the project lies in the fact that certain geographical locations are

⁹⁴[Online: web] Accessed date on 13/11/1016. URL: <http://www.drikung.org/81-featured-articles/341-hh-attends-the-3rd-world-mountain-forum-uganda>

ecologically more sensitive and at a greater risk to succumb to various environmental crises challenging the human race in the twenty-first century. Therefore, it is important to come up with alternative possible means and management strategies to ensure sustenance in the mountainous region of Ladakh. Over the past two-three decades, unsustainable livelihoods have replaced the traditional sustainable and environment-friendly means of livelihood. His Holiness's main concern is this shift in the livelihood pattern, as these means are not reliable in the long term. The emergence of tourism, army, modernisation, and various developmental activities by the government can be cited as the reasons for the change. As a result, the new patterns of livelihood mainly due to army and tourism gave way to the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides to maximize the production, to cater their demands. This has not spared even the remotest villages in Ladakh, where the traditional manure and composted soil were preferred, thereby losing their traditional way of sustained organic farming. In most of the cases, people prefer to use chemical fertilizers over animal manure, this is of course because of the high yield that the chemical fertilizers bring. Since most of the local farmers are illiterate they have limited knowledge about the hazardous impact of these chemicals on human health and environment.

Go Green as a project and environmental drive was formally inaugurated on 28th April 2014, by H.H. Skyabgon Rinpoche and Rigzin Spalbar (the then CEC of Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council) in Shayok village of Durbuk Block. Other high lamas such as His Eminence Togdan Rinpoche (Head of Drikung Monasteries in Ladakh), Venerable Randol Nima Rinpoche (head of Lamayuru monastery), monks and nuns from various Drikung monasteries, councillors from Lalok and local residents also witnessed the inaugural ceremony of the G3O.

Go Green Go Organic was instigated for two primary purposes;

- **Mass Plantation:** Firstly, it aims to preserve the fragile and unique ecosystem of Ladakh through mass plantation of trees.
- **Organic Farming:** To support and encourage organic farming by means of traditional eco-friendly agricultural practices (Sonam-pa/Zing-bad pa), including animal herding/pastoralism (Drok-pa) to preserve the rich traditional knowledge of the land.

Plantation of more and more trees will, in turn, provide food and shelter to various other living beings, thus forming a micro eco-system within. This will again enhance the biodiversity of the region. It can also generate income for different households. While, organic farming will provide solutions to many health hazards as a result of excessive use of different chemicals in the form of fertilizers, insecticides, preservatives etc. Besides, it is sustainable in nature. 'Go Green Go Organic' promotes health and environment-friendly ways to produce and supply organic products at an affordable price, thereby encouraging consumption of organic food by bringing a health consciousness among the people. The implementation of this project seems to be very important for environmental conservation and also for the livelihood of the residents, especially for Changthang region. One of essential parts of the project is to encourage people to cultivate potato by distributing a variety of best seeds brought from various parts of the country.

This project comes at a time when things were absolutely going in wrong directions. Despite apparent syndromes of climate change and unregulated tourism activities, people are at least aware and concerned about these changes.

Natural calamities due to global warming and climate change, ecological imbalances, and resource degradation are the various problems that 'Go Green Go Organic' seeks to address and work for a greener and cleaner environment in Ladakh in particular and across the globe in general by promoting reliable and eco-friendly practices.

Furthermore, Food and Agricultural Organisation of the UN, on 6th May 2015 formally appointed H.H. Kyabgon Chetsang Rinpoche as United Nations Mountain Partnership Ambassador. The third World Mountain Forum (WMF) 2016 was held in Mbale, Uganda, from 18th – 20th October under the theme "Mountains for Our Future" and was attended by over 300 delegates from more than 10 countries. H.H. at the forum brought into light the importance of the mountainous region and the need for their conservation as under:

"Our future lies in the mountains. How we treat the mountains now will determine what our future will look like. Mountains are part of our home and they are the water towers of the world. Therefore they are important for humanity and we are all tied to their future. We need collaboration across race, ethnicity, religion, country, and culture to assure that our mountains remain healthy. Global warming and climate change are serious threats to all our mountain environment and communities. Everyone on this planet should take action in respecting the mountains, protecting the indigenous mountain people and cherishing the

culture of indigenous mountain communities. This is why we engage in and advocate for sustainable mountain development around the world. We hope that all of you will join in this international effort to save our mountains and our mountain people and culture." ⁹⁵

The ‘Go Green Go Organic’ project in Ladakh has been implemented effectively into following four phases which are as under.

Table 5: Four Phases of ‘Go Green Go Organic’ in Changthang.⁹⁶

First Phase		Second Phase		Third Phase		Fourth Phase	
Field	No. Plantation	Field	No. Plantation	Field	No. Plantation	Field	No. Plantation
Shayok Sea Buckthorn	40,000	Durbuk Family level	7,000	Phobrang	17,000	Tangtse	15,000
				Mann Merak	25,00		
		Tangtse/ Tharuk family Level	3000	Pangmik	3,000	Shayok	1,000
				Pholognley	2000		
				Sachukul family	4,800		

⁹⁵ [Online: web] retrieved date on 27/12/2016. URL: <http://www.drikung.org/81-featured-articles/341-hh-attends-the-3rd-world-mountain-forum-uganda>

⁹⁶ This data obtain from ‘Go Green Go Organic’ project director Mr. Durbuk Namgyal on 26th Sept 2015.

Seeds	80,000	Shachukul Gompa	3,000- 4,000	Kargyam	1,500	Sea buckthorn Seeds	35,000
				Chushul	3,000		
				Shachukul	10,000		
				Tharuk	12,000		
				Yareath	2,000		
				Chilam	4,600		
Total	120,000	14,000		61,800		16,000	Seeds excluded
Total Survival approx	60,000	10,000		45,000		13000	
				Grand Total Plantation		2,11,000	
				Grand Total Survival (approx.):		1,28,000	

- The first phase:** During the first phase of the project, 40,000 sea buckthorn saplings were planted in Shayok valley and 10,500 willows at Shayok School. Likewise, various institutions such as Centralized Residential School (CRS) and Shachukul Monastery have planted 10,000 and 5,000 trees respectively. G3O also inspired a number of households from nearby villages of Durbuk, Tangtse, Tharuk, Sachukul, Phulak, Chushul, and Maan wherein different households planted around 5,000 trees. Besides this, 60 bags of potato seeds were distributed among the farmers in the valley to boost potato cultivation in the region.

- **Second phase:** It was inaugurated by His Holiness on 13th August 2014 at Shachukul Monastery. In this phase, 14,000 trees were planted at Durbuk, Tangtse, and shachukulGompa. Out of which nearly 10,000 plants survived.
- **Third phase:** ‘Go Green Go Organic’ distributed 100 bags of potato seeds brought from Himachal Pradesh, among the households in Durbuk village. In this phase of plantation drive, about 61,800 saplings of different trees were planted, of which nearly 45,000 plants survived.
- **Fourth phase:** Mugleb Rong area, thousands of villagers and volunteers gathered at the site and planted around 15,000 willow and poplar trees at Tangtse village and 1,000 trees and Sea buckthorn in the course of the day.

Apart from this ‘Go Green Go Organic’ project organised many other activities such as one-day intensive workshop entitled as ‘Youth’s Perspective and Role of Go Green Go Organic’ especially for the students from Changthang area in collaboration with Ladakh Drayangs (Student organisation from Changthang) and All Ladakh Student Association Jammu (ALSAJ) in Jammu. Likewise, His Holiness Chetsang Rinpoche and the G3O team initiated an ‘Exchange Research Project’ in collaboration with Barbara and Oswin Soritz. Under this network, they sent two students to Austria to learn about animal husbandry and farming and apply the same in Ladakh. The aim of this network is to provide a practical opportunity for local stakeholders to learn from other parts of the world, and to improve and preserve local traditional knowledge. Presently, ‘Go Green Go Organic’ project organisation headed by Mr. Durbuk Namgyal, as the director is engaged in marketing and preparing organic products in cooperation with villagers in rural areas of Changthang.

Photo 9: villagers and monks during ‘Go green’ plantation drive day



Source: Namgyal Durbuk

Ice Stupa -Artificial Glacier Project

With the growing scarcity of water and shrinking of natural glaciers due to climate change poses a great deal of threat to Ladakhi farmers up to the extent of doubts of community survival. The mountains of Himalayas do not merely act as an ornamental symbol to placate tourists, but it is also the home for countless small and big glaciers that are the lifeline for the communities dwelling along the foothills of Himalayas. Over the past few decades, it has been observed that these glaciers are unprecedentedly receding and water scarcity is acutely felt by villagers during the early spring season. The spring season is crucial for the farmer for sowing seeds and this is the time when the farmer needs water most but streams run dry in many villages. In response to this crisis, some local innovators have tried to solve this problem by creating artificial glaciers. For instance, an engineer, now popularly known as the ‘Glacier Man of India’ or Aba Norphel have pondered upon this problem faced by farmers during this period and came up with an idea of creating horizontal north facing artificial glaciers. This model did have many shortcomings of its own. Yet, it helped many villages to a great extent; there are some villages where challenges were faced with this model. So, in an

effort to overcome these limitations, Sonam Wangchuk (one of the founders of SECMOL), who has mostly worked in education reforms while being trained as engineer, also known for his innovative solutions to region's education and environmental problems. He along with his team came up with an idea of creating vertical Artificial Glacier as a solution to this problem.

In January 2014, they first made a prototype of this artificial glacier at the lowest elevation in Phyang village, near Leh. It was intentionally built at the warmest possible conditions, so that if it succeeds here, then it can succeed anywhere. They had successfully erected two-storey pinnacle of artificial ice structure which could accumulate 1, 50,000 litres (approximately) of water from winter streams, which otherwise would have flowed uselessly into the Indus River. He instantly went on to name it as Ice-Stupa due to its similarity in appearance to traditional Buddhist Stupa. However, the tradition of storing water in the form of ice is not new to Ladakh. As Sonam Wangchuk has rightly mentioned in his statement:

The idea of making artificial glaciers is not new. I had heard stories of how people in Ladakh and Baltistan would go high up into the mountains above 14,000 feet and do what they called glacier grafting, to 'grow' new glaciers. Their methods were not very scientific, but in recent years a senior Ladakhi civil engineer Mr. Norphel worked on freezing the waste water in winter through diversion canals to make vast fields of ice at high altitudes. His work inspired me a lot, and he asked me to work on overcoming the limitations that he was facing in his technique. These artificial glaciers needed regular maintenance of the canals. Since they were possible only above the altitude of 13,000 feet (4,000 m), villagers were not inclined to do the hard work of climbing up and down those heights. Secondly, even at these heights, these glaciers had to be made at special spots shaded from the sun by a north facing steep mountains. These conditions are not easy to find in most villages (Wangchuk, 2015).⁹⁷

When His Holiness Skyabgon Chetsang Rinpoche (well known for his green activism in the Himalaya) visited SECMOL campus on 1st May, 2014, to bless the prototype of artificial glacier, got interested and took up this project to build a full-scale version of Ice-Stupa within his ambitious scheme of 'Go Green Go Organic' to green the vast desert at Phyang village. On 13th October 2014, Sh. NN Vohra, the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, along with His Holiness and Mr. Sonam Wangchuk officially launched the Ice-Stupa Artificial Glaciers project at an international conference on climate change and adaptation held at

⁹⁷[Online: web] Retrieved on date, 31/12/2016: URL: <http://icestupa.org/news/indias-ice-stupa-artificial-glacier-project-chosen-as-one-of-the-finalists-for-prestigious-rolex-award-for-enterprise-2016>.

Badharwa Campus of Jammu University, with the screening of a short film entitled as ‘The Monk, The Engineer and The Artificial Glacier’.⁹⁸

Figure 10: Governor, His Holiness, and Sonam Wangchuk during Ice-Stupa Launch



Photo source: Sonam Wangchuk.

They had gone for the digital crowd-funding⁹⁹ campaign (used IndieGoGo platform) received a handsome amount of cash and kind, with this the first pilot phase of Ice-Stupa was carried out in December 2014. They had successfully created Ice-Stupa of around 60 feet, which lasted until 6th July 2015, much beyond their expectation. Their vision is to build more than 20-30 Ice-Stupas and each of these artificial glaciers can green around 10 hectares of land, helping the villagers to sow their seeds when water is scarce. It has become a symbol of innovation and tradition, all at once. Therefore, the victory ceremony was celebrated

⁹⁸[Online: web] Retrieved on 31-12-2016. URL: <https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/ice-stupa-artificial-glaciers-of-ladakh#/> :

⁹⁹In the olden days Ladakhi people used to build stupas near the monasteries by a system of democratic labour contribution called *hala*. We thought it would be interesting today in the digital age, to build ice stupas using global contribution in the form of a digital *hala*. Besides, it only makes sense to invite global contribution to help solve the problems we are facing here in the mountains, since whether we like it or not, we receive more than our fair share of the impact of your other global (warming) contributions (Sonam Wangchuk: <https://www.indiegogo.com>)

on 5th March 2015, His Holiness Chetsang Rinpoche inaugurated the event in the presence of the then Chairman of Ladakh Hill Development Council, Sh. Rigzin Spalbar and Padmashri Tsewang Norphel (Glacier man of India), officers from armed Forces and villagers from Phyang and surrounding areas, monks from various monasteries. They performed a special prayer on the occasion followed by traditional cultural performances. Likewise, mass plantation drive was also carried out on the same day, wherein, around 5,300 saplings of willows and poplar trees were planted. It has been observed that 97% of these plants have survived and are thriving well.

This project has been fully of, by and for the local people of Phyang village. The villagers, monks, and Ladakh scout personnel have offered great support and took part in laying the pipeline, maintaining the Ice-Stupa and ensured the project is a success. The idea of Ice-Stupa is now not limited to Ladakh but it has been shared at the international level to counter fast melting glaciers. In fact, in October 2016, Sonam Wangchuk was invited by the tourism authority of Switzerland Government in the Engadine valley near the winter sports resort town of St. Moritz, to build an Ice-Stupa. Sonam Wangchuk along with Swiss volunteers successfully built and tested the first prototype. They are now looking forward to expanding the project to build more Ice-Stupas in the coming years, to counter the phenomenon of rapid glaciers melting in the upper reaches of the Swiss mountains¹⁰⁰In exchange of Ice-Stupa technology, Swiss Government agreed to share their expertise in sustainable tourism development with the people of Ladakh. (Sonam Wangchuk, July 2016). Furthermore, Ice-Stupa has been conferred with the prestigious Rolex Award 2016 for the enterprise. He has decided to donate this award of approximately one Crore rupees for the establishment of 'Himalayan Institute of Alternative University'¹⁰¹ in Ladakh which is his dream for the people of Ladakh.

¹⁰⁰[Online: web]. Retrieved on 02-01-2017. URL: <http://www.huffingtonpost.in/shailendra-yashwant-/sonam-wangchuks-ice-stupas-are-firing-up-interest-from-ladakh-t/>

¹⁰¹HIAL will engage youths from multiple Himalayan countries in Research & Development to tackle the issues faced by mountain people, especially in the domains of education, culture, and the environment. Like SECMOL, the university aims to break the rigid boxes of conventional thinking, be relevant to people's lives, and encourage learning via practical application of knowledge. Sonam Wangchuk; <https://milaap.org/fundraisers/hial>. Retrieved on 02-01-2016.

Figure 11: The first Ice-stupa at Phyang.



Source: photo by Sonam Wangchuk .

Figure 12: Prototype Ice -Stupa in Switzerland.



Source: Swiss Volunteer

Live to Love

Live to Love international was founded by His Holiness Jigme Pema Wangchan, famously known as ‘Gyalwang Drukpa’, the 12th throne holder of the Drukpa lineage of the Tibetan Buddhism. Gyalwang Drukpa is yet another religious leader engaged in the ecological movement to preserve and protect the fragile ecosystem of Ladakh and the Himalayan

sources of fresh water which feeds nearly half of the world's population. He is regarded as a champion of gender equality, compassion towards all and protection of our natural resources. Over the last two decades, H.H. has been enthusiastically engaged in addressing the current global ecological and environmental problems in the wake of climate change. Furthermore, under his guidance and supervision, there are several other organisations such as 'Young Drukpa Association', 'Live to Rescue' which actively deals with a range of environmental and social issues. 'Live to Rescue', established specifically for animal concern under which they have built 'Dog sanctuary' coupled with 'Stray Animal Care and Management Centre' in Nang village. An increased number of stray dogs have become a menace in the whole region, particularly in Leh. The locals are blaming the army, local restaurant, and hotel owners as the dogs feed on the leftover discarded by them at different sites. At various instances when food is not available these dogs attack the domesticated animals in villages and even humans. Of late there are news of humans being preyed by dogs and as of date, three people have lost their lives to dogs, not to count the number of cases related to dog bites. The year 2016 alone has reported 360 dog bite cases in the hospital.¹⁰²

People should learn to live in peace and harmony with nature. Keeping others happy is the only key to keeping oneself happy. Every religion teaches love, kindness for each other and not to hurt any being. By just praying we are not obeying the teachings of our religion. I started this rescue project under Live to Love just to make others understand how we should care for animals and the main motive was to build a Dog Sanctuary with well-equipped facilities, to promote and carry out Sterilization and Vaccination and to educate the public on the holistic approach to dog population management. (Thuksey Rinpoche, 2014)¹⁰³

Live to love and Himalayan Glacier Waterkeeper is the brainchild of Gyalwang Drukpa as an effort to solve contemporary problems which loom in Ladakh due to climate change. This organisation has been engaged in finding Buddhist way of solution and making communities aware of such changes throughout the Himalayan region. It broadly seeks to achieve the following objectives:

- Environmental Protection.

¹⁰²[Online: web] Accessed on date 28/12/ 2016 URL:
<http://www.newindianexpress.com/thesundaystandard/2016/oct/30/peaceful-land-ladakh-dogged-by-deadly-dogs-1533227.html>.

¹⁰³[Online: web] Accessed on date 28/12/ 2016 URL:
http://www.reachladakh.com/archive_details.php?pID=2584 Retrieved on 28-12-2016

- Gender equality.
- Education.
- Relief Aid.
- Medical Services.
- Heritage Preservation.

This organisation under the guidance of Gyalwang Drukpa has done substantial work in the above set goals. The ultimate vision they envisage is to promote harmony and inner peace by integrating the spiritual tenets of love and appreciation into daily life. It is governed by the basic Buddhist philosophy that all beings are interconnected and interdependent, hence it becomes pertinent to preserve our environment and educate the younger generation to respect nature. His liberal and secular attitude has given space for women empowerment within the monastery as well as outside, by encouraging thousands of Drukpa nuns (famously known as Dragon kung-fu -nuns) where he provides them with equal opportunity to participate in the monastic affairs. He also established liberal ‘Druk Amitabha nunnery’ in Kathmandu, Nepal. These nuns are not only well versed in religious texts but are also masters of Buddhist philosophy and martial arts. Likewise, in the education sphere, he has established award-winning Druk White Lotus School/Druk Padma Karpo School in Ladakh, which provides its students with modern education while preserving their local culture. He advocated that ‘this is a great time to marry modern technology with ancient wisdom to tackle today’s challenges’¹⁰⁴ Indeed, he has been recognized and appreciated for his works by different governments and organisations, at national and international level. In the year 2010, the United Nation honoured him with the Millennium Development Goals Award (MDG) for his efforts in promoting environmental education and gender equality, as well as his humanitarian works through various chapters of ‘Live to Love’ to ‘create compassion into action’. Subsequently, in December 2011, he received the ‘Green Hero’ Award from Smt. Pratibha Patil, the then president of India, in New Delhi.¹⁰⁵ In September 2013, during the UN week, he was named ‘The Guardian of the Himalayas’ by Waterkeeper Alliance,

¹⁰⁴[Online: web] Retrieved on date, 28/12/2016. URL: <http://www.livetolove.org/>.

¹⁰⁵[Online: web] Retrieved on 28/12/2016. URL: <http://www.nangchen.org/>.

founded in 1999 by environmental lawyer Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and several Waterkeeper organisations.¹⁰⁶

Another cornerstone work carried out by 'Live to Love' was the plantation drive in Ladakh after Ladakh witnessed an unprecedented flash flood in 2010. This drive was initiated by His Holiness Gyalwang Drukpa as a part of Nobel Peace Prize laureate Wangari Maathai's 'one million trees' campaign under Green Belt Movement. The plantation in Leh was carried out in two phases.

- The first phase was carried out in October 2010, around 9,313, Live to Love volunteers across Ladakh, and outside, irrespective of their region, and religion flocked into the site to participate in the plantation drive and planted nearly 100,000 willow tree saplings in 33 minutes and 25 seconds covering an area of 18 hectares. Representatives from the Guinness World Records have reported it as a new record in the history of collective plantation drive. This drive was the first of its kind in the region and came in response to the climate change syndrome in Ladakh particular and world in general.
- The second phase was carried out in 2012 with 9,814 volunteers. The trees planted were local willows, these plantation campaign aims to clean the polluted air and stabilise the soil.

¹⁰⁶[Online: web] Retrieved 23rd November 2016. URL: Vivien Shotwell. "*Buddhist News*". Lion's Roar.

Figure 13: Live to Love Mass Plantation Drive 2010



Photo source: <http://www.nangchen.org>

Figure 14: Gyalwang Drukpa and massive Plantation Drive in 2012

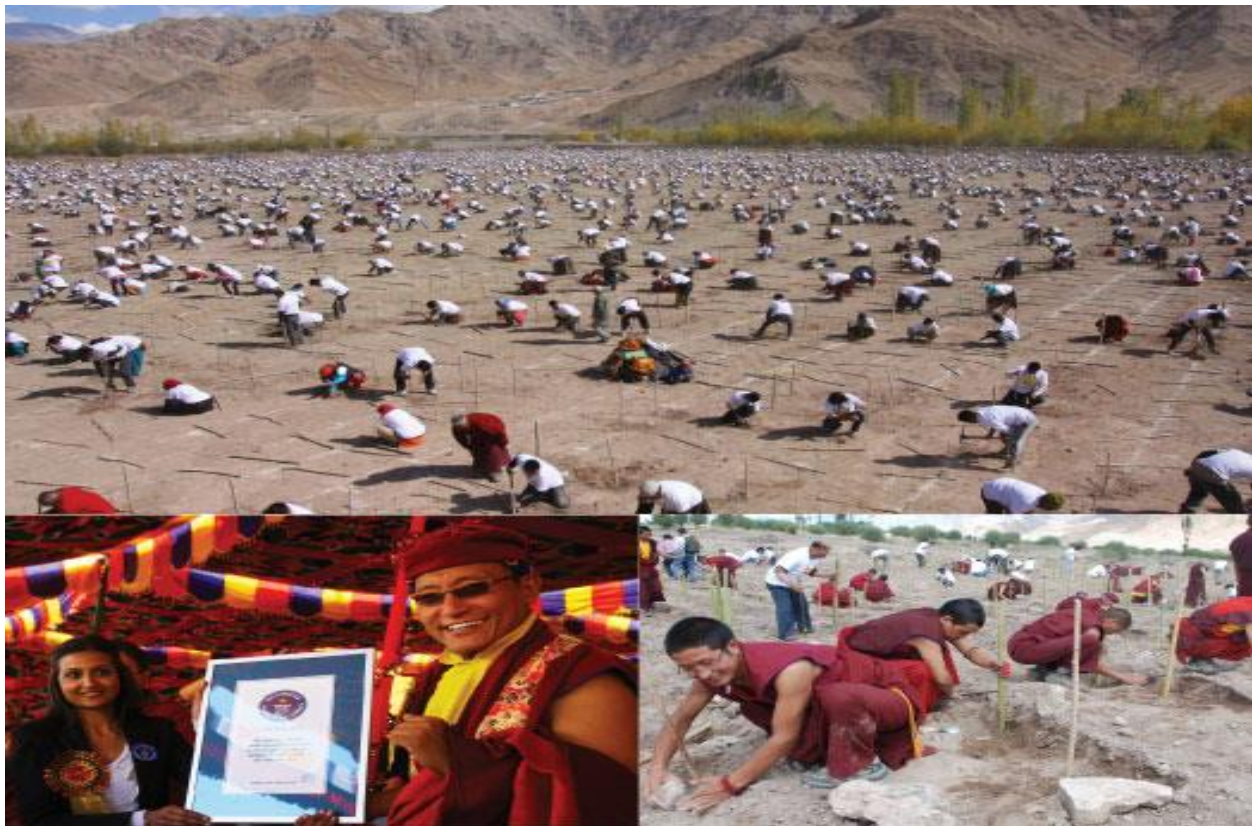


Photo Source: <http://www.nangchen.org>

Pad Yatra

Eco Pad Yatra is another ecological and environmental awareness programme initiated by H.H. Gyalwang Drukpa Rinpoche under Live to Love. He flagged off the first eco Pad Yatra in 2009 with a group of 200 monks and 400 nuns cutting across different Himalayan passes in around 42 days. Since then, Eco Pad Yatra is conducted every year in different parts of the Himalayas as a call to save the fragile ecosystem of the region and to promote better and sustainable ways to meet human needs. Buddhism from its inception has this tradition of path yatra, however, Eco Path Yatra of Live to Love is conducted especially for ecological and environmental awareness. Eco Pad Yatra (Eco meaning environment, Pad meaning ‘foot’ and Yatra meaning ‘journey’ or ‘procession’), that is, a journey taken on foot. In general, it refers to walking to sacred pilgrimage sites but here it is solely an ecological campaign. During these Yatras, hundreds of volunteers and followers take long journeys on foot while collecting non-biodegradable wastes especially plastic wastes and spreading awareness among people about the importance of saving our ecology and environment. By doing this they do not only aim to satisfy one’s spiritual need but also promote a healthy and friendly relation with nature. H. H. Drukpa Rinpoche describes Eco Pad Yatra as ‘a journey that connects and reconnects’ people with nature in today’s modern and convenient lifestyle, which have resulted not only in person to person estrangement but also in alienation and disconnection between people and nature. There is no doubt that modern means of transportation have reduced travel distance and time, but they have equally contributed to environmental hazards. The yatra, therefore, seeks to address environmental degradation in the Himalayas. In the year 2012, Pad Yatra producer and director Wendy J.N. Lee also participated and recorded the whole yatra in a documentary entitled as ‘Pad Yatra: A Green Odyssey’ where he described it as, ‘surviving harrowing injuries, illness, and starvation, they emerge with nearly half a ton of plastic litter strapped to their backs, triggering a historic green revolution across the rooftop of the world’¹⁰⁷

The year 2016 being the Monkey year in Tibetan calendar which comes once Drukpa Lineage or the Red-Hat Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism or ‘the dragon’ lineage, whose

¹⁰⁷ [Online: web] Retrieved on 29-12-2016. URL: <https://www.buddhistdoor.net/features/the-eco-pad-yatra-a-transformative-journey>.

successor and reincarnation is Gyalwang Drukpa Rinpoche. To celebrate Naropa festival, Gyalwang Drukpa Rinpoche along with 250 kung fu nuns undertook cycling yatra across north India to spread the dual message of environment consciousness and women's empowerment. He said that 'the idea is to show by example that if 250 women can cycle thousands of kilometres, all the way from Kathmandu, through tough terrains, then people living in the cities can walk a bit more and cycle a bit more' (Gyalwang Drukpa).¹⁰⁸ It is certain that Tibetan Buddhism mostly concentrated in the Himalayan region is solely engaged in protecting its fragile ecology and environment, through diverse means and ways. In a place like Ladakh high presence of tourists have further ushered the concern. Therefore, monasteries constitute the major agent in driving people towards a green lifestyle. This is probably, due to their apprehension that Himalaya is home to largest store of glaciers outside of the polar ice caps, providing fresh water to billions of people. These nuns who travelled by paddling from Nepal, Bhutan, India and reached Ladakh completing a 4000 km to raise awareness about glacier melting due to climate change and global warming.

'Of course, one bicycle yatra cannot change the world overnight but our message may inspire one person, one little girl, one mother. Sometimes one person can do wonders; we also hold meetings in village schools and towns telling people how to reduce pollution'

(Kung fu nun, October, 2016)

¹⁰⁸ [Online: web] Retrieved on 29-12-2016. URL: <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/blink/know/kung-fu-nuns-on-a-cyclothon/article8050765>.

Figure 15:Kung fu nuns collecting waste during 2012 Pad Yatra



Photo source: Drukpa website

Figure 16: Path Yatra in Progress



Photo source: Drukpa website.

Photo-17: Kung fu nuns are gearing up to start the day again.



Photo source: Drukpa website.

II. Youth's Engagement with Ecology

Owing to the rapid modernisation process and development, visible environmental and ecological problems have surfaced urgently into people's consciousness. Of late, the development of unregulated tourism industry has further intensified this apprehension. No doubt, the Himalayan ecological system is critical for India as a nation as well as the major contributor to livelihood option for the entire north Indian population. Ladakh is one of the most susceptible to environmental degradation and ecological imbalances triggered by tourism and developmental activities. However, there are various volunteer groups such as youth's movements which have been active in preservation and promotion of inherited tradition and ecology of Ladakh. Among the youths, students in particular, are leading on the forefront in spreading environmental awareness and ecological sensitivity in the region. Roughly, fifteen thousand students are studying outside Ladakh in places like Delhi, Jammu, Srinagar, and Chandigarh. Jammu under the leadership of 'All Ladakh Student Association

Jammu' constitutes the epicenter for student's movements. There are numerous other students' association in Ladakh and outside, representing different regions and purposes. Student community has shown utmost concern in securing cultural and environmental order of Ladakh through varied ways and means. They have initiated a series of workshops, seminars, and conferences in Jammu and many other places to discuss issues concerning Ladakh.

The genesis of contemporary students' movements can be traced back to 'Student's Educational and Cultural Movement of Ladakh' (SECMOL), founded by a group of students, especially Sonam Wangchuk and his friends, in 1988. Since then, SECMOL has been engaged in imparting environmental, social and cultural values, and traditional knowledge and skills to its students. Presently, SECMOL is well known as an alternative school in Ladakh which over the time grew into an eco-village where students, staffs, and volunteers live, work and learn together. Likewise, many other students' organisation has come forward for the educational and environmental causes. These are 'Ladakh Student's Environmental Action Forum (LEAF)', Ladakh Drayang (formed in 2006), and SAVE (formed in 2009). LEAF is a joint initiative by different student union and association of Ladakh students within and outside Ladakh. It was founded in 2012, at New Aruna Nagar Tibetan Colony (popularly known as Majnu ka Tila or MT), Delhi. Student representatives from various associations including Zaskar and Kargil participated in this initiative. The meeting was followed by a workshop, discussing various ecological and environmental issues challenging Ladakh at the forefront. Drayang and SAVE, are student groups from Changthang region, initiated in response to uneven development and ecological imbalances.

The youth's movements in Ladakh have the following objectives:

- To promote quality based education in Ladakh
- To bring environmental and ecological awareness among the native people of Ladakh.
- To give proper guidance and counselling to the students of the regions.
- To organise summer camps for the youth and public awareness campaign on various issues.
- To preserve and promote traditional culture of Ladakh.

- To inculcate the importance of secularism and to bring communal harmony among various communities of Ladakh.
- To organise study circles, seminars, workshops, conferences, symposium, and debates.
- To strive towards an inclusive and sustainable socio-economic development in the region.
- To create an atmosphere of fraternity and brotherhood.
- To raise funds for the achievement of the above objectives through donations, grants, collections, and charity shows.
- To preserve and promote Bhoti language of Ladakh.

In July 2015 LEAF along with other student communities of the respective regions successfully conducted a month-long cleanup campaign in different parts of Leh, including Changthang and Sham area. Likewise, in 2016, a mass awareness campaign was organised at Zhiwetsal, Choglamsar on the auspicious day of 6th July (Birth anniversary of H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama). The day was celebrated as ‘Environment day’. LEAF setup stalls exhibiting photos, environmental models by different schools, documentary screenings related to ecology and environment degradation, mascot awareness, free distribution of eco-friendly bags, and setting up of temporary dustbins and were also carried out. Immediately, after this event, they carried out an awareness rally from Chokkhang Vihara or Gompa Soma to Deputy Commissioner’s (DC) office Leh. Furthermore, LEAF represented Ladakh in various regional and national forums such as ‘Sustainable Mountain Development Summit’ (SMDS), held in Kohima Nagaland in 2013. SMDS is a platform of the Indian Mountain Initiative (IMI) for Indian states to come together to share experiences, discuss issues of development priority, as well as, to find ways to influence national and state policies.

Another interesting case in point is New Ladakh Movement (NLM), solely initiated by senior’ students, who invited Sonam Wangchuk to lead from the front, started as a movement which held its first informal meeting in Delhi on 21st December 2013. Hereafter, they conducted a series of conventions in Jammu, Delhi, Chandigarh, Varanasi, Srinagar, and Ladakh. They went through as a movement which aims to bring clean and competent governance in Ladakh and bring freshness into the social, economical, educational,

ecological and political scenario of the region. The vision of New Ladakh Movement on tourism and environment front may be summarised as follows,

Tourism:

- To promote the concept of Agro-tourism and village Home-stays in order to decentralize and redistribute tourism, thus providing rural households with new sources of income.
- This will also bring the market into the village itself, for their handicraft and agricultural produce.
- Young educated unemployed women will be trained to become business entrepreneurs to develop this new type of tourism with the help of investors from around the world.
- Ladakh will become an organic, clean and green tourist destination as envisioned in the vision document Ladakh 2025.
- Uncontrolled Tourism is damaging the Ladakhi environment in many ways. There will be every effort to promote high-quality tourism and check mass tourism especially on fragile routes such as chaddar trek, pristine lakes, and pastures in Changthang.

Environment:

- Clean up streams in Leh city and the Indus River to bring them to drinkable level as in the past.
- Solve Leh city's chronic toilet problem for once and for all by providing all weather international standard public toilets at different locations in Leh.
- All labourers/workers from outside will be given a mandatory orientation on caring for Ladakh's fragile environment, streams and streets.
- Public transport to be encouraged and brought back to reduce pollution and improve the health of the people, animals, and glaciers.
- Declare Leh an organic food region in order to maintain the health of our fields and to control the current epidemic of diseases like cancer.
- Promote climate change adaptation methods like artificial glaciers, drip irrigation, and large scale greenhouse agriculture in winters.
- In order to stop local pollution and fast melting of glaciers, efforts will be made to promote Solar/Electric Taxis in regional circuits like Leh, Nubra, Sham, and

Changthang. Regions could then be linked by clean-fuel luxury busses. This will provide employment to youth in each region.

III. Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) Movement:

The environmental conservation drive initiated and carried out by various NGOs in Ladakh are as under:

I. Leh Nutrition Project:

Leh Nutrition Project (LNP) established in 1979 is the first non-governmental organisation of Ladakh. It was founded as a supplementary nutrition project in Leh by 'Save The Children Fund', a UK based organisation. The organisation is committed to the socio-economic upliftment of women, children and other such weaker sections of the village community. It covers a range of developmental programmes like education, health, women's development, and rural development as an integrated approach to the needs of the rural folks. Programmes under LNP are oriented towards nature and its conservation includes:

- **Watershed Development Project-** Ladakh because of its aridity and desolate terrain has always been short of water. The limited source of water and high dependency on snow melt water led to conservation of water in every possible way. This project aims to improve and augment traditional water distributory channels in different villages preventing any leakage by making them stronger and wider.
- **Artificial Glacier Technology:** It is an innovative and cost-effective solution to the problems faced by the farming community in Ladakh in the wake of the current environmental crisis triggered by global warming. The technology of 'artificial glacier' seems to be one of the best answers to meet the challenges of the shortage of water in the rain shadow area of Ladakh.

II. Ladakh Ecological Development Group:

LEDeG founded in 1983 is a non-governmental organisation based at Leh. It has been working for the marginalized and unprivileged sections of the remote areas of Ladakh. Another area of focus is to address the environmental and cultural issues of people as a result

of conventional developmental initiatives of the recent past. It has its branches in Kargil and Zaskar besides the head office at Leh.

a. Installation of Improved Water Mills in Kargil-

The water mills (Locally called as ChueRanthak) installation was done in the year 2009. Components of the traditional mill were improved and augmented in various ways to achieve a more refined and energy efficient technology. Newer and more sophisticated metallic runner with cup shaped blades replaced the wooden runner of older times, increasing its operational efficiency. It is equipped with supplementary apparatus generation of electricity and hulling, which is an eco-friendly alternative to multipurpose tractors. In the past few years diesel based multipurpose tractors used for grinding and hulling grains have made way into different villages of Ladakh, disturbing the self-reliant village economy and polluting the surroundings as well. While LEDeG developed new and improved water mills can be used mechanically and for generation of electricity (3kVA to 5kVA) to meet power requirements on small scale in the villages.

b. Capacity Building of The Renewable energy Development Cooperative Society/Solar Power Plants for Village Electrification-

Electricity is still a distant dream for many of remote and border villages in Ladakh. The distant and remote location makes it economically inviable to connect these villages to the power grid, owing to high transmission cost. A more feasible and suitable way to rural electrification is the installation of solar power plants, which are easy to operate and maintain. Solar Power Plants in varying capacities 5kWp-10kWp (kilowatts peak) were installed at Shayok and Maanin Leh district and Tashi Strongday and Juldo in Kargil district during the year 2009-2010, supplying electricity to all the households in the respective villages.

Figure-18: Solar Power Plant at Changthang.



Source: LEDeG website

c. Passive Solar Housing Project in Western Himalaya

Though scarce in other natural resources Ladakh is blessed with abundant solar energy. So efforts have been made to harness this eco-friendly source of energy to meet power and various other needs of the local community. The passive solar architecture uses the solar radiation to heat up the interiors of the house during the winters. It was a four-year (2008-2012) project under LEDeG in partnership with GERES (France), Ecosphere, LNP, Ladakh Environmental and Health Organisation (LEHO), and Student Educational Cultural Movement of Ladakh (SECMOL) funded by the European Union, Fondation Ensemble and others. The project aimed to disseminate energy efficiency by setting up a sustainable network. Solar energy forms the main and the most abundant natural resources, hence, efforts have been made to harness the solar energy to its fullest. The project proposes to implement energy efficiency activities, combining passive solar architecture and thermal insulation with local materials, to improve access to reliable, sustainable and affordable energy. Thereby reducing global and local environmental pressure to a large extent.

Research works on different aspects such as Climate Change Impact Study, Environment Impact Assessment, Health Impact Study; thermal monitoring and fuelwood consumption in PSH and non-PSH houses were also carried out. In addition, 40 villages and 43 schools across Nubra, Changthang, Zaskar and Kargil participated in awareness programme on climate change. Grassroots level network formed at block headquarters of Durbuk, Kargil and Zaskar for political advocacy and sustainable dissemination and replication of the technology.

4. Others:

I. Ladakh Renewable Energy Development Agency:

Ladakh Renewable Energy Development Agency (LREDA) is the principal agent implementing all non-conventional energy programmes of the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy, Government of India. Founded in 1995 as an act of the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, it was then called ‘Non-Conventional Energy Cell’ (NCEC). The name NCEC was replaced by LREDA in 2000. One of the major programmes under LREDA is the installation of solar lighting systems across the villages in Ladakh.

II. Women’s Alliance of Ladakh (WAL):

Helena Norberg-Hodge, in 1991, founded the Women’s Alliance of Ladakh as a non-profit and non-political organisation in response to the impact of tourism, modernization and consumerist pressure on the Ladakhi culture. It has members across Leh, Sham, Changthang, Nubra and Zaskar in Ladakh. WAL, like many other NGOs, have contributed to the preservation of ecology of Ladakh along with preservation and promotion of local traditional knowledge, crafts, and practical skill. The group is also engaged in protecting indigenous knowledge and seeds and warns against the dangers of cash cropping, chemical fertilizers, pesticides and hybridised seeds. Promotion of development in harmony with ethical and spiritual values, benefiting the entire community without harming the nature of future generations, is yet another goal it seeks to achieve. One of the greatest achievements of WAL is the successful banning of the use of plastic bags in 1998. Highlighting the shortcomings of conventional development in different parts of the world, it encourages local communities to explore sustainable means of development using traditional knowledge and local resources.

The members organise regular clean-up campaigns, encouraging community responsibility for the environment.

III. Student Educational Cultural Movement of Ladakh (SECMOL)

It is a voluntary organisation founded in 1988 to bring about educational reforms in Ladakh. SECMOL aims to awaken people about the problems stemming from inappropriate and insensitive schooling leading to the destructive development of Ladakh in cultural and social and environmental spheres. It aims to preserve and strengthen the traditional wisdom, cultural heritage and the unique identity of this land and the people. It is about 20 kilometres from Leh. It is a residential school that can accommodate approximately 30 students, staffs and many volunteers. The campus is an organic farm with open learning space for the youths of Ladakh. The campus is fully nature friendly and all the efforts have been put to minimise the wastage of resources. The campus buildings are made of rammed earth bricks and is oriented t southwards, allowing it to make maximum use of the sunlight. This helps in temperature regulation within the rooms, thus during winters when the external temperature drops to -30°C , it would be $+10^{\circ}\text{C}$ inside the rooms. The campus has compost toilets. The waste decomposes into fertile compost within a year, which is then used as a green manure in the little farm that SECMOL cultivates for growing fruit and vegetable, for its own consumption.

Tourism Industry and Ecology

Tourism has been one of the fastest growing industries since it was formally recognized at the global level in the 18th Century (Mitra and Chattopadhyaya, 2003).UNWTO (2012), for instance, states that global tourism has increased at a Compound Annual Growth Rate (CARG) of 3.5 % from 2005-11, becoming one of the leading contributors to the global economy. Indeed, in an economic sense, tourism has its propensity to develop and empower the host society, if it is operates in a sustainable and equitable manner. By providing employment avenues, it could become a driver for poverty elevation and brings economic equality in society. However, instantaneous approach to the tourism industry, while undermining ecological settings and environment of an area is subject to harmful consequences. In fact, tourism does not operate in a space free from environmental cause and conditions. Therefore, it is important to understand the complexity of the relationship

between tourism and environment. Emerging trends suggest that several destinations are steering towards tourism that is designed to provide opportunities for local communities and acts as a source of income for the poor in the region while ensuring the conservation of nature. Such initiatives are critical, particularly in the Himalayan region that hosts several fragile ecosystems and face constant challenges of preserving the economy, ecology, and society.

Ladakh, in the Himalaya, is the case in point, wherein the phenomenon of mass tourism is a recent phenomenon. In the first two decades of tourism in Ladakh, the visitors were explorers with intellectual quest and cultural inquisitiveness. This was the phase of tourism with least negative impacts on ecology and environment. However, its exposure to mass tourism in recent years brought serious challenges to Ladakh's ecosystems and environment. It marked the beginning of a never-ending rapid invasion of the modern world, coupled with government's developmental programmes. The existing free flow model of tourism without considering its carrying capacity is proving a serious threat to its fragile environment. It began with few hundreds of tourist in the early years to several thousand in the following decades, and the figure reached beyond two Lakhs. The latter phase of tourism witnessed the "use and throw" style of tourism development in Ladakh. Furthermore, an ecologically sensitive place was thrown open that was earlier restricted to visitors without any preparation or without any study of what should be done to minimise the negative impacts and maximise the positive impacts. These were the areas such as Pangong and Tsomoriri which were earlier restricted for tourism is now open for all. As a consequence, some of the endangered wildlife animals are reportedly in a state of decline due to human intervention (Namgyal 2015).

Though the tourism industry in course of time has emerged as a mainstay of the Ladakhi economy, and much of the development in terms of infrastructure and technology is credited to the tourism industry, either directly or indirectly. Of course, there is no doubt that tourism industry has restructured the local economy and diversified their livelihood options. Yet, the benefits of the industry are not evenly distributed. Because, tourism activities are concentrated around Leh city and the city has a population of approximately 30,000. At the same time there are 30,000 tourists in the months of summer followed by roughly 30,000

soldiers. So it becomes one ratio of tourists, soldiers, and local people. Hence, nowhere else the impacts can be seen clearly than the garbage disposal sites. Add on to that, as I have discussed in the introductory chapter that benefits of tourism goes into the pockets of few hotel owners, travel agents, and few merchants of local as well as outsider. People living in remote villages have little or no gain from the flourishing tourism industry in the region. However, the matter is not only about an uneven distribution of income from the industry, some underlying problems associated with it are exerting pressure on the already scarce resources, environmental degradation, pollution of various kinds and a gap in the local culture. The current trend of mass tourism is endangering the fabric of community work; the reciprocal relationship of mutual assistance and interdependence are broken down by the extension of profit-oriented nature of the industry and tourist's demands for scarce resources drive up the prices of local goods. If it is not well planned and regulated on time it may cause several environmental problems like overcrowding, congestion, traffic, pollution, and pressure on scarce limited natural resources of the host community. Susan Visvanathan has shown how religious tourism can result in court cases regarding over construction by hoteliers, shopkeepers, and the problem of garbage disposal and noise pollution (Visvanathan 2010). Likewise, in a place like Ladakh, unregulated tourism is leading to physical deterioration of environment.

During recent decades, when international tourism burgeoned throughout much of the Western world and in a number of lesser developed countries, some major local environmental quality problems became more regionally obvious and a few global in extent. Global climatic change is one such problem. Its analysis suggests that tourism, transportation, and urbanization may contribute as powerfully to global problems as any other aspect of industrialization. (Farrell and Runyan 1991: 20-40)

Much of the problems arise due to the inability of the government and local stakeholders to assess the carrying capacity of the host community. The carrying capacity of a place must be taken into account while formulating and implementing any policy related to the industry. Ladakh is yet to capitalize its vision document 2025 on every sphere, including tourism envisaged by LAHDC. However, looking at the current ecology and environmental syndromes in Ladakh, need of the hour is for the decentralisation of tourism into the villages which in turn will consolidate the carrying capacity of the region. If things remain unchecked

in places such as Ladakh driven by ecological conditions, at some stage could not absorb tourism development and increased the adverse impacts on the functioning of ecosystem caused by the tourism development (Ross and Fennell 2003).

Ecotourism and Sustainable tourism development

Eco-Tourism has been broadly defined as tourism which is ecologically sustainable. The concept of ecological sustainability subsumes the environmental carrying capacity of a given area such as community involvement, the livelihood of local inhabitants, compatibility with the environment and socio-cultural characteristics of the local community and attempt to minimise the negative impacts on its environment (Ministry of Tourism, Government of India).¹⁰⁹ Likewise, World Tourism Organisation defined 'sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, and biological diversity and life support systems' (UNWTO 2001). In order to ensure sustainable tourism development the first and foremost important criteria is the involvement of communities and educate them about the possible consequences of unplanned tourism development. Policy makers and planners should be informed by the principles of sustainable tourism development, and must particularly focus on carrying capacity of the destination while formulating tourism strategies and projects (GDRC 1995).

Community participation is significant for ensuring sustainable tourism development. Ladakh, as a tourist destination, has great potential for developing ecotourism, a type of sustainable tourism. It is a small and closely knitted pastoral community, where people are still connected to their surroundings and share the essence of community togetherness as an ideal way to inculcate community participation. The word 'community' has been used in the combined sense to represent a group of citizens in a given geographical location. Godde (1998), defines that community is based on 'shared profession, religion, geographical location and interest in tourism' or on 'the interactions and relationships between the groups'.

¹⁰⁹ [Online: web] Retrieved on date. 13/11/2016 URL: <http://tourism.gov.in/eco-tourism>

He explained that ‘Community-Based Tourism’ (CBT) could be tourism de-facto planned and managed by a group of individuals/households comprising the community as an enterprise. It could also be managed by a private entrepreneur whose activity or agenda is set by the community and they are accountable to it.

Ladakh’s biggest tourist attraction remains its people, environment, and cultural antiquity. Tourism plays a big part in the life of Ladakhis with multiple links society, culture, environment, and economy. But major concern among the local stakeholders is that tourism business is largely being controlled by mediators from outside. Those agencies in collaboration with some local agents promote bulk tourism without paying much attention to its ecology and environment. ALTOA’s general secretary opined that ‘we have been trying to promote ecotourism and control the negative impacts on our ecosystem and surroundings due to this massive inflow of tourist in Leh, but some fringe local agencies in cooperation with big companies like MakeMyTrip, Yatra etc, ends up spoiling entire landscape by encouraging cheap tourism’ (Tsetan 2016). A number of cases were reported to have violated the basic rules set for ecotourism by LAHDC. The highly controversial case occurred between the All Ladakh Tour Operator Association (ALTOA) and the Bangalore-based travel company India Hikes in the year 2014,¹¹⁰ highlighted the need for regulation of ecotourism and sustainable development of tourism (Lundup 2014). Unless regulated, the current model of tourism will tear Ladakh’s social fabric and culture, while causing irreversible damage to its environment. However, this is not to suggest that tourism in Ladakh is completely unregulated and unmanaged but current model does have many flaws, especially in terms of sustainability.

¹¹⁰INDIA HIKES, a Bangalore base travel Company, running Chadar trek with cheapest cost and making Chadar trek an area for Human waste. They use green Plastic bag for human waste collection and throws in the river and surrounding area, making whole surrounding and environment polluted with green bag containing human waste. ALL LADAKH TOUR OPERATORS ASSOCIATION, LEH Inspected this area and found the whole area filth and polluted. They pitched toilet tents in the river bed and thus again polluting the river and stream extremely undrinkable for human being.

[On line: Web] Accessed on date, 09/03/2017 URL: <http://www.indiamike.com/india/ladakh-and-zanskar-f31/accusation-against-india-hikes-treks-in-ladakh>

The natural environment is crucial to the attractiveness of almost all travel destinations and recreation areas. Natural resources, the ecosystem, regional ecology, whatever may be the designation or concept, in their physical expressions, provide an important 'backdrop' to the commercial service and recreation sites, or at least contribute to all tourist locations. Even a major city, visited for its cultural or commercial attractions, may have a significant portion of its character arising from its rivers, its harbour, a mountain backdrop, or surrounding agricultural countryside (Farrell and Runyan 1991). In the light of the fact that environment plays the most significant role in the tourism industry, it becomes pertinent to protect, preserve, and promote the natural environment of all tourist destinations. Given the fragile ecology and environment, the needs are high at places in the Himalayas, such as Ladakh. The current rapid pace of unplanned modernisation bears direct consequence to ecological degradation. As I have discussed above that glaciers in Ladakh are melting at an unprecedented pace. If it continues at same pace then the very existence of the community is at stake. However, it is almost impossible to halt tourism in Leh; therefore, many agencies are engaged in finding a possible adaptive solution with minimum harm to nature. Sonam Wangchuk in his humorous way opined that 'if I was, to sum up the grammar of tourism in Ladakh that would be like past perfect, if present trend continues future would be tense'. He further elaborated this 'past was perfect in Ladakh with people living in harmony with the nature, but, if the present trend of tourist inflow continues which is Leh centric, then the day is not far from its decay. Since all the opportunities related to tourism are in Leh, people from rural areas are migrating to Leh and villages on the other end, are dying. But it's not too late to be managed, in fact, it can be managed beautifully or even more, tourists can be accommodated only if we decentralise tourism industry throughout Ladakh so that Leh, as well as villages, will prosper again' (Wangchuk 2015).

But the positive side of the discourse is that the community consciousness is surfacing and constructive discourses are taking place in the form of workshops, conferences, seminars, and in academic engagement. This suggests an increased sense of environmental and social responsibility in tourism plus sustainability, Community-Based-Tourism is gaining popularity as parts of strategies for environmental conservation and development. SECMOL

under Ice Stupa project has been operating tours on an experimental basis by involving villagers, promoting FarmStays tourism in the villages of Phyang and Phey.

Farm Stays Ladakh is an offshoot of the Ice Stupa Project aiming to revive the rural economy by supplementing the income of farming families through alternative means. While working on ice stupa artificial glaciers to solve the water problems of the villages we soon realised that the problems are more complex. Rural youth are migrating enmass to the Leh for economic and educational reasons and farming is left to the elderly members of family.

Therefore we realised that water alone couldn't solve the problems of dying Ladakhi villages. Hence FarmStays project was started with the aim of attracting discerning tourists to experience authentic Ladakhi village life, away from the noise and pollution of the city. Prototyping of the project was done last summer and this spring already in just one month seven families in Phyang and five families in Phey have had a turnover of roughly Rs. 50,000. The hospitality is amazing and the hosts have been trained to maintain highest standards of hygiene and comfort.¹¹¹

Merely decentralisation of tourism would not be enough to ensure sustainable ecotourism. Both hospitality industry and tourists need to be sensitised and promote without further jeopardising the fragile ecosystem of the land. Furthermore, community participation is paramount to realise sustainable ecotourism development, thereby availing equal economic avenues to all. The uneven infrastructural developments that have taken place in the capital Leh is the manifestation of an unequal distribution of income and the domination over the industry by few elites. Luxury hotels, jammed traffic, restaurants, shops, water scarcity, noise, hustle, contestation, and competition became an integral part of the landscape. Water being the most crucial resource for community survival, which has been handled meticulously through several social institutions evolved from the times immemorial, is at stake now. Presently, most of the water and power is channelized to the hotels, guest houses, and restaurants to cater to the needs of the tourism industry. Many hotels and guest houses have resorted to ground water use by means of bore wells to meet the daily demands of tourists. Paradoxically, the most surprising thing is that the local farmers and residents who have little or no gain from tourism industry have abandoned their fields due to water scarcity. On the other hand, some hotels have swimming pools containing gallons of water. It would

¹¹¹ [Online: web] Retrieved on date 22/11/2016. URL: <http://icestupa.org/farmstays>

not be wrong to argue that resources that everyone inherited equally as a member of the community are exploited by few top players of the hospitality sector.

Chapter-II

Lamayuru Village as a Tourist Attraction

I

In recent years anthropologists have tended to examine rural-urban acculturation patterns primarily from two points of view. Some, such as Lewis (1959) and Little (1962), have focussed upon the changed forms of behavior that characterise peasant immigrants in urban centers, while others, e.g., Fallers (1954) and Srinivas (1956), have been concerned with the filtering down or diffusion of urban cultural forms to the village level. The present study offers a different context to understand the phenomena of rural-urban contact and the ways in which cultural diffusion and acculturation are taking place. In newly industrializing countries, with the emergence of well-to-do urban classes, patterns of leisure use, typical of Western European societies, begin to develop. In due course of time, tourism catches the attention of various disciplines. However, tourism as a subject of anthropological and sociological inquiry has emerged recently which can be traced back to the early 1970s with the work of Dann, Nash, and Pearce (1988).¹¹² Until then, tourism was a subject for economy; in fact, the world's largest economy today is tourism. It seems that the economic aspect of tourism has been studied substantially, but yet the social aspect is yet to be explored in depth. This is a common observation in the tourism literature, and it portrays a central concern of that literature, namely economics. One of the first social psychologists who studied tourism argued that tourism has been understudied mainly due to its association with leisure, not work, and therefore is not seen as a "serious" subject. Perhaps for this reason, the discipline of tourism studies was oriented towards "serious" economic issues. Anthropologists and sociologists have given least attention to tourism as a subject of investigation, most likely due to the risk of moving away from the methodological sphere of discipline. This might be the possible rationale for Levi-Strauss who begins his *Tristes Tropiques* (1976) with a serious note by saying 'I hate travelling and explorers'. It took almost fifteen years to make up his mind to write the story of his travel experiences. However, *Tristes Tropiques*, hitherto of his

¹¹²Dann, G., Nash, D. & Pearce, P. eds. (1988). Methodological Issues in Tourism Research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15 (1), 1-28.

academic engagement has changed the field of anthropology, transforming western notions of ‘primitive’ man. It is a memoir of exquisite beauty and a masterpiece of travel writing: funny, discursive, movingly detailing personal and cultural loss, and brilliantly connecting disparate fields. In some ways, it raised an area for the anthropologist to envisage travel narratives (Visvanathan 2006).

Researchers have felt “a need to legitimate this seemingly frivolous topic by pointing out its economic and social importance” (Lofgren, 1999: 6). In due course of time, social aspects of tourism became an inevitable aspect to be studied. Since then, tourism has evolved as a complex and multidisciplinary phenomena which has been explored from the lens of social science, including anthropology and sociology. Slowly and gradually, a new body of literature has emerged which not only looks at economic aspects of tourism, but it also has begun to take the “frivolous” aspect of tourism seriously (see also Crick, 1989; Franklin & Grang, 2001; Urry, 1990). The representation of the tourist as a naive camera touting dupe, which was originally perpetuated in the literature, is now an object of study (MacCanell, 2001). Equally, the representation of helpless host populations swamped by “hoards” of tourists (e.g., Turner & Asch, 1975), is now giving way to a more nuanced account of the agency of host populations (Crick, 1994). Tourist-local encounters are power-laden on the one hand, but also sites of agency and self-making on the other (Demond, 1999; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998).

This chapter introduces Lamayuru, and the representations that lead tourists to Lamayuru, and begins to outline the dynamics of tourist-villagers encounters. Tourists in Lamayuru with their local guide and other helpers, is a representation of a complex system in itself, while villagers on the other hand, embedded with villagers’ values and norms is the representation of another set of symbols. The interface between these two systems created a space for anthropology and sociology to understand a new formation of village system through the presentation of different narratives.

Social Setting and Architectural Profile of Lamayuru

Lamayuru is a village in Ladakh, comprising 117 households which is neither big nor small in terms of population and number of households in relation to Ladakh. Two social institutions which are particular to Ladakh, namely *Chutso* and *Phaspun*, underlie the basic social structure of the village. The former is a territorial-based social organisation of larger villages, on the basis of which village responsibilities are divided. The members of the same *Chutso* also help each other in times of need. The group also discusses the issues relating to their area and chooses representatives to sit in the village council (Norberg-Hodge, 1991: 49). In other words, *Chutso* is an extended neighbourhood spread over a particular geographical area. These households are considered in many situations more important than any other kin group. There is a famous Ladakhi phrase -“a hostile neighbour is better than a kin group far away in times of crisis”, which illustrates the significance of *Chutso*. The concept of *Chutso* is implicated in pursuing practical roles which enable the villagers to procreate an aura to extend their hand to each other. For instance, the members of the same *Chutso* work collectively on rotation basis when there is a need for agricultural laborers. Therefore, healthy and bountiful agricultural yields depend on the collective effort of the *Chutso*.

The *Phaspun* system, on the other hand, is a group of households, consisting of 10-15 households, and based on certain communal rights and obligations. The group worships a particular ‘guardian deity’ called ‘*Phas-la*’ in Ladakhi. The members of the *Phaspun* are spread over the village and are not confined to a particular geographical area, a characteristic which distinguishes it from *Chutso*. The household in Lamayuru, or in Ladakh for that matter, finds membership in both a *Chutso* and a *Phaspun*. There are seven *Phaspun* groups in Lamayuru village. Each *Phaspun* has a shrine for their ‘*phas-la*’, located at the top of the village called ‘*Lhato*’. *Lhato* is a solid structure, at top of which a juniper plant is fixed. The juniper plant is replaced every *Losar*, (Ladakhi New Year). However, the connection among the members of *Phaspun* proves to be somewhat metaphysical in nature. Therefore, sometimes its members are not limited to one village, but can be found in several villages (Norberg-Hodge, 1991).

Phaspun as a social institution acts as a backbone in times of ups and downs for each family. The families of each *phaspun* extend all kinds of help to each other, which becomes more visible in life crises rituals, such as at times of birth, marriage and death. Whether it is a time of ‘mourning’ or ‘celebrations’, *phaspun* as a group provide all kind of support and takes the responsibility from the family to provide for all arrangements. For example, when someone dies in a family, the *phaspun* of the deceased are informed first. Then the members of the *phaspun* take over all the family’s responsibility by taking over the kitchen, food preparation and all other arrangements. Each *phaspun* possesses a common cremating furnace.

A *Phaspun* is further subdivided into smaller groups called as ‘*Khangba-gong-youk*’. *Khangba-gong-youk* represents the micro social group which is placed with far greater importance than the closest kin group. There are many rites pertaining to death which cannot be performed without the *Khangba-gong-youk*. For instance, within the *Phaspun* only *Khangb-gong-youk* can touch the deceased body, an act which no one else has the authority to do.

As in other societies, the basic unit of social organisation is none other than the family, embodied in the permanence of a house and in the daily life of a group co-resident under the same roof. In local language, this entity is called *Drong-pa* or *Khang-pa*. ‘Pa’ is the common suffix to identify the households. It should be noted that the words, *Drong-pa* or *Khang-pa* all and inextricably mean both family and house. One of the important aspects of Lamayuru is that it is a homogeneous Buddhist village braced with Buddhist symbolism. The fluttering prayer flags are embedded at the four corners of the roof houses, and are known as ‘*Tarchok*’. *Tarchok* consists of five colours of cloth- blue, white, red, green and yellow, which is then printed with wooden blocks carved with religious mantras.

Generally, each family in Ladakh has a name. In fact, this is one of the basic badges to identify one’s social status in society. The ‘Suffix’ of the home name sometimes plays an important role in identifying family status in the system of social stratification in Ladakh. For example, suffix ‘pa’ is always placed in the middle, i.e. home names such as Skabu-pa are considered in the middle of the social hierarchy while the Gar-ba suffix ‘Ba’ is placed much lower in the hierarchy. The names are attached to families after people, animals, trees, location of the house, etc. Sometimes the name of head of the family is also prefixed to

ahouse name to make it more specific. Such identification symbols have continued for centuries because in a family the next generations inherit the same title. House names are changed in the rarest of cases. One of my informants narrated a very interesting story about changing the name of one home which took place in an adjoining village called Domkhar,

One house name was '*Beda-pa*'. The family wanted to change the name because '*Beda*' is basically a name of the tribe which is considered to be at the bottom of the social hierarchy in Ladakh. In their case, '*Beda*' was a name of their forefather and has been traced from then on. In order to escape from the people's misconceptions about their family name, they organised an evening party to all the villagers and requested not to call their family name *Beda-pa* and proposed an alternative name. The family served *Chang* (barley-beer) to all the villagers and all got drunk. While they were discussing, some people actually forgot the purpose of the party and they again ended up saying *Beda-pa's Chang* was very good.

The name of a family is inseparable from the houses. For generations, the name descends from specific families who continue to have the same name. When a woman or a man permanently shifts to live in his or her wife's or husband's house, he or she is entitled to take on the house name too. Any one joining a new house would inherit the name of the other. In Lamayuru houses, names are generally traced from the natural environment, such as stream, hillock, plain, etc. For example, a house near the small stream would be called as *Tokpo-pa* (*Tokpa* means stream and *pa* is the suffix). There are also houses which are named after animals, such as tiger, rabbit, wolf, fox, etc. Some of the names were also named on the basis of their economic status at a particular point of time in history, for instance *Chukpo-pa*, (*Chukpo*-means rich and *pa* suffix).

This systematic allocation of the family names and small social groups (*Phaspun* and *Chutso*) form a web that unites the whole village into a network of alliance and effectively prevents any permanent factions or divisions from arising. Lamayuru's households also enjoy equal status, despite differences in wealth. Individuals are ranked for social purpose (in seating arrangements and dancing lines) during social gatherings, into a system that places Buddhist monks, aristocracy, outsiders, and now visiting government officers, into separate higher positions, but normally the social arrangement is based on age and gender. Monks and elderly persons are only two types of lay villagers to enjoy a high status, but this does not translate into political power, wealth or prestige for their families.

The political figures in Lamayuru village or for that matter any other village in Ladakh are the *Go-ba*, Sarpanch, and Councillor who control the community's funds and represent the village vis-à-vis outsiders. The *Go-ba* (traditionally, the head of the village is generally appointed by consensus, sometimes election and in some cases by rotation) and Sarpanch (elected by villagers) are supposed to play an important role in the development of the village. The Councillor is the representative of a village, in the case of a large village, or of a few combined villages in the case of small villages, such as with the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council Leh (LAHDC). The functions of the *Go-ba* are: organizing meetings, putting forward demands of the village to the administration and on rare occasion political mobilization. The *Go-ba* also ensures that everyone is aware of the astrologer's directive concerning the timing of agriculture events, and is responsible for resolving minor disputes. In specific terms, some of the *Go-ba*'s main concerns include: how to repair a bridge, how to clear canals, when to paint a monastery, and are also involved in space resolving issues on a more intimate scale between neighbours, friends and family members. Villagers come to *Go-ba* informally, seeking ways to settle an argument with a neighbour, or negotiate a good marriage-match for their adult son or daughter with another family as an unbiased third party is essential to settle a dispute or carry forward negotiations. The duty of the *Go-bais* rotated annually between all the households of the village in Lamayuru, as does that of his chief assistant, along with a number of other village obligations. One of my informants informed me that "in earlier times becoming *Go-ba* was a kind of privilege and pride, but now it has lost its charm. Now, *Sarpanch* took the place of *Go-ba* and becoming Sarpanch and councillor is not an easy task as one has to contest the election." In fact, Lamayuru together with other two big villages constituted one constituency to be represented in the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC). At present, the councillor is from Lamayuru. In practice, the *Go-ba*'s power is limited by the fact that all important and innovative decisions are taken at the village meeting. It is the *yul-pa* (villagers), acting at the meeting, who are the ultimate political authority of the village, and they also act as final arbiter in any problem. *Yulpa* is explained to be "all the men and women," by which is meant all adult members of the village households.

Rules and Custom

There are various forms of rules and customs prevalent in the village. Local terminology which approximately describes rules and custom translates it as *tral* (responsibility) and *trims* (custom). There are multiple ways to allocate *tral*, for the smooth functioning of the village is divided and shared on the basis of *trims* (Customs), which are passed on from generation to generation. *Trims* and *tral* are not only to retain the order in the village but also entail the notion of justice and morality. Village *trims* are placed above all other norms, and households have to obey them. These comprise a range of behavioral norms and more or less conspicuous methods of settling problems and differences. Any household or individual which go against the *trims* (norms) of the village are shamed (*trhelba*) and stigmatized or socially boycotted (*chusdhay mesdhay*). Any (norms) individual or household who do not fulfill the expectation of *trims* are subject to *trhelba* and *Chad-pa* or *chusday mesday* in the rarest case. The notion of *trahelba* is a sort of perception naturally internalized by the individual out of moral obligation. It has both negative and positive connotations. Where as *Chad-pa* is a negative term meaning punishment, it is followed by *chusday mesday* which is the severest form of *chad-pa*. The precise meaning of *Chusday mesday* refers to a boycott both in terms of social interaction and access to water. This is probably the most severe punishment that one can ever imagine. In the past there were many cases of *mesday-chusday* imposed on families. One such case narrated by one of my informants related to how one family (name unknown) whose members suffered from *Dzenat* (Leprosy), at that time a stigmatized disease in Ladakh and were imposed *mesday-chusday*:

They were not permitted to come out of the house and people used to offer them food from the backside of the house through a small window. One day when villagers offered them food, they were not responding from the inside and people thought they might have died the previous night. Therefore, they set the house on fire and the house completely collapsed. Later, people realised that their children might have been sleeping. However, their property was distributed between the monastery and the village. The present day village community hall was the place where the house was located. The village still carries a sense of guilt that their forefather had carried out such an act, but it was a collective decision of the village (*trims*, i.e. custom). Anyway, it was not the case that people did not have compassion for the family, they must have had respect and sympathy, but in order to serve the wider interest of the village they were bound to carry out such an act because there was no any other option to protect the village from such diseases. (Interview, with Nawang, August, 2015).

Considering this case, then, custom stands apart from practices determining what people have to do. To that extent, we might say *trims* are law-like; there is a sense of fixity or transcendence over the particular circumstances of the cases. As Dresch notes, ‘Laws stand apart from practice, evoking an order that outlasts the particular moment. But, custom in this village is never ‘formulated’, let alone written down. It seems to lie on the border of what we think of as law and custom” (Dresch 2012 a: 15). People often say *treltey-sheches* (meaning die out of shame), and it is the most commonly used metaphor in the village. For example, people are expected to feel *trelba* when they fail to host a guest and forget to invite distant relatives into their house when they come to Lamayuru, or anything at all which makes them feel that they have failed to fulfill the expectation of custom causing them to experience *trelba*. When I say ‘feeling *trelba*’ it is an expected norm which is a socially created perception of rectitude embodied in the village *trims*. Certainly, these dimensions of village life acquired are important to consider when understanding that the village is not just a territory, but a ‘structure of feeling’, an embodied reality that actors carry forth into the worlds in which they act. The notion of a ‘structure of feeling’ was forwarded by Vikash Panday (2003) who used fiction to reconsider how we might study and analyze villages, or more generally in his own agenda, the rural (Cited in Yazgi and Nicolas: 2010).

According to the customs, obligations are imposed on each household by the *Yulpa* (villagers). These include: assuming the post of *Go-ba* (head of village) by rotation, taking the post of one of *Go-bas* assistants (other members), protecting the fields from livestock, taking the livestock for grazing, organizing festivals, helping the monastery in organizing ritual events, undertaking work required by the government, providing transport for visiting officials, and making small contributions in money or in kind to the monastery and looking after water canals, which are precisely the role of the *Go-ba* and his assistants. However, it would be wrong to argue at this point of time that traditional customs alone uphold an order in the village. The advent of the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC) (1995) along with the Panchayat system has opened up a space for political contestation. Hence, there is a change in the village’s *trims* and *tral*. The role of the *Go-ba* and his assistants are now shared by Sarpanch and panches. The role of the *Go-ba* and his assistants

turned into a mere representation of the traditional village system. It would not be an exaggeration to say that electoral politics have succeeded in fragmenting even a tiny Buddhist village like Lamayuru which has worked to jeopardize the survival of traditional custom and norms. I will not go into the details of the village's internal dynamics of politics since these will be discussed further in subsequent chapters. Yet, the tourism industry is another important factor which has made a significant impact on the village *Yul-trims* in many ways. This impact includes the inflow of tourists, ideas, goods and money into the village which has led to the innovation of new *trims* to accommodate the tourism industry into the village economy.

These *Yul-trims* have evolved since time immemorial, and it would be wrong to understand the *Yul-trims* as being completely altered. Certain elements of *trims* became obsolete with the change in the socio-economic structure of the village. However, there are some *trims* which cannot be altered at the whims of the villagers as many of them govern fundamental matters, such as the devolution of property by primogeniture and the division of the households into units such as *Khangchen* and *khangbu*. *Khangchen* inherits the bigger portion of property and take the responsibility of village *Tral and Trims*. *Khangbu* inherits the smaller portion of land minimum role to play in the village affair. The customs and obligations of the village are so well-established that the concept of noncompliance is unthinkable. In fact, *trims* are well internalized by the villagers. Many of my informants said that '*yul-trims*' are the most important norms that one has to observe. They never consider *trims* as imposed by tradition, rather they obey it voluntarily. It seems that the strong notion of *Trals* and *Trims* which exist in Lamayuru village may differ from village to village in Ladakh. Durkheim in the discussion of division of labour described that moral facts like division of labour were themselves natural phenomena, they consisted of certain rules of action imperatively imposed upon conduct, which could be recognized, observed, described, classified, and explained (Durkheim 1893).

Thus the *tral* and *trims* provide a marker of order, which are internal to the community, and they are regularly referred to as the basis of village practices, even though change has obviously occurred in response to external influences (as mentioned above). Succession practices, for example, have long been characterized by a system of primogeniture.

Today, inheritance is shared by all brothers as well as by daughters in many villages. Another social institution, the polyandry system, which was practiced until only recently has given way to monogamy as a norm. In the 1940s, Ladakhi activists campaigned for a change to this, according to them, “old-fashioned” practice, and legislation was passed outlawing polyandry and requiring the equal division of property between sons. This was extended to the daughters in 1956 (Abolition of Polyandrous Marriage Act, (1941); Ladakhi succession to property Act (1943); Hindu Law of Succession Act (1956)). But changes made in the law are yet to be reflected at the level of practice in many of the villages. There are a few families in Lamayuru who still practice polyandry, but most of them belong to an older generation. The practice of polyandry, where only the eldest son in a family got married and his wife automatically became the spouse of all his younger brothers, ensured that there was control over the number of households and that the family size remained small (Gupta and Tiwari: 2002). Currently, the polyandry system is at the verge of disappearance. On being asked about polyandry, one of my informants said that “scarcity of land and food was the main reason that a man had to live with more than one woman or one woman with two brothers. We are living together for almost four decades, and it was normal in our village, but now things are changing” (Interview with Angdu August: 2015). As he mentioned in this statement that “it was normal in our village and now things are changing”, he is justifying his act of being in the village *trims* of polyandry system. Now, *trims* are changing with the change of the socio-economic landscape of the village. Of course, the polyandry system has been explored in great detail in social anthropology. Anthropologists, who have been engaged and carried out extensive field research in polyandrous societies in the mid-20th century, came up with numerous ‘endogenous causes and holistic explanatory frameworks’ (Levine and Silk 1997: 375-398). Lamayuru’s case falls within the purview of culturally sanctioned strategies for dealing with growing land fragmentation. However, advent of Government of India’s welfare schemes such as Public Distribution System (PDS), better education, health facilities, and other forms of awareness that came about in the recent past has significantly improved condition of the village. Furthermore, this was followed by an influx of tourism industry that has dramatically changed the fate of village economy. As a result of these improvements in household’s economy and losing importance of agricultural land in the village paved way to the prominence of the monogamy form of marriage.

Education is undeniably an essential appliance for the migration of young men and women out of the village to urban areas. But, it does not necessarily act as redeemer for the village; rather it alienates young generation from their indigenous knowledge system and practices. This state of disjunction is the upshot of institutional paradoxes of modern education system which is observed in Lamayuru village.

Coming to the pattern of Land ownership or inheritance of property *trims* in Lamayuru, brothers inherit land equally. In case of not having a son, the property is inherited from father to daughter or mother to daughter. Therefore, both patrilineal and matrilineal constellations exist in Lamayuru. One unique feature of Lamayuru is that most of the land of the village is owned by the monastery. Interestingly, a sort of feudal system is still practiced in Lamayuru, as many households cultivate the monastery's land with the condition that a certain percentage of the output has to be given back to the monastery as an offering. Unlike other villages, the land in Lamayuru has gained special importance due to the tourism industry, as many tourists are attracted to Lamayuru because of its beautiful landscape. But, the formulation and introduction of new *trims* is not readily accepted without some resentment at the earliest stage. In one of the instances, a woman showed great dissatisfaction with newly introduced *trims* which required equal distribution of income derived from the financial gains from the tourism industry. She further acknowledge that whatever change is taking place in Lamayuru is not because of the singular factor of tourism but also due to the influence of the changes they saw occurring elsewhere. The villagers of Lamayuru continue to insist on the centrality of their own internal *trims* despite the obvious influence of state laws and external economic developments. The *tral* and the *trims* represent a substantial assertion of autonomous control of the villagers over their own internal administration.

As we have learned, *tral* and *trims* are basic prerequisites for maintaining order in the village. The question then is how does Lamayuru uphold an order in the midst of external influences. In order to understand the dynamics of order in the village it is, therefore, necessary to look at the nature of power and authority. But, villages like Lamayuru require a consideration of the relationship between the monastery and village. The monastery has a strong role in maintaining an ethical order in the village. The head of the monastery (Rinpoche or Lobon) is one of the most powerful and respected persons in the village. In fact, the common

understanding of the monk is that of a holy man who plays a key role in shaping village landscape. The monastery and village have co-existed and are seen as an organic component of village life. However, with the improvement of the economic conditions of the village and the monastery, a shift in the pattern in their relation is revealed. There is a change in the intensity of the interdependence and interchangeability between the two. It might be perhaps due to the influence of outsiders as well as an opening up of new economic avenues in the village. Indeed, it is altogether another discussion which will be touched upon in other chapters.

Nevertheless, it would be safe to argue that life of the village cannot be imagined without the role of the monastery, or the monastery without the village. Lamayuru monastery in particular is different from many other villages because this monastery is the head monastery of *Drikung Kagyu pa* sect of the lower part of Ladakh. Therefore, the responsibilities of the Lamayuru village are different from the rest of villages. The relation between the village and the monastery as a close and reflexive connection between the two are obvious. What I am trying to point out here is that it is probably due to the presence of such a mighty monastery that village *tral* and *trimsrevolve* around Buddhist values. It is quite apparent that the influence of Buddhist teachings is evident in the life of people. All forms of fighting, arguing, quarrelling, abusive and insulting language were strongly condemned. They were explicitly considered to be undesirable, even dangerous. If a quarrel was reported, people would shake their heads and they shuddered at the mention of fighting. Even the expression of anger was considered to reflect bad personal qualities. The 5th Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC) election conducted in October 2015 provided an interesting case in which the internal dynamics within the village can be illuminated. The entire village was divided along the lines of political parties. Every day there was a clash among the people till the end of election. In previous elections, Lamayuru, supported by Takmachik village, unanimously voted for the Congress party and elected a councillor from their own or from Lamayuru village. Takmachik supported them because they made a promise that next time the mandate would be given to Takmachik village. But, when the time came, Lamayuru did not stand by their promise, hence, it became a source of confrontation between the two villages as well as among the people within the villages. A group of people (37 villagers) women, men and monks, went to Leh District congress office to bring forward a mandate for

Lamayuru. When they failed to get a mandate from the Congress party, they all ended up joining BJP and supported a BJP candidate from Domkhar, which is the third largest village in the constituency. Hence, it became news which was broadcasted in the local radio. There was a deep sense of resentment among active Congress party workers in Lamayuru village, and they confronted each other every day. Consider the statement made by a Congress worker:

It is not about the mandate, rather it is about the village dignity or custom (*Chewaor trims*) which we as Lamayuru villagers have lost the sense of honesty. We did not fulfill the promise that we have made in the previous election. It seems that the BJP party has mobilized a few people in the village and they spoiled the whole thing. I am so saddened not because people are not supporting Congress, but because we are losing our integrity. The people from Takmachik came to Lamayuru with *Khatags* and *Chang* (traditional ceremonial scarf and local barley beer) but what Lamayuru did was betray them. This is not the real character of being a Ladakhi (Personal interview, with Punchok, 28th Sep, 2015).

The statement he has made is quite pertinent to the whole of Ladakh, that villages are being fragmented along the lines of political parties. The notion of ‘we’ (INC) and ‘they’ (BJP) and so on are apparent in the villages. It is also affecting village *trims* in many ways. One such example is that an excessive politicization has led to the trust deficit among the people. Villages have lost their mutual trust and cooperation. They have their own systematic ways of settling their disputes and barely use state mechanisms (like court and police). However, many cases were reported from Lamayuru in court and local police stations. For instance, on the day of the recent council election, a Congress candidate from Takmachik village was beaten up in Lamayuru by a few BJP workers. This news was spread all over Ladakh. People from Takmachik sought an action from the village authorities. When they learned no step was being taken at the village level, they immediately approached the local police station and arrested them. Listening to the usual conversation among the people, it was repeatedly emphasized by these villagers that disputes have to be resolved ‘within the village.’ People would use phrases meaning ‘inside’ or within, *nanosgla*, as the context in which disputes had to be settled. Phrases such as *Nangdik* meaning ‘resolve within the village’ mutually would have been good. Consider the statement made by a monk:

Whatever happened during the election is a sign of losing village collective wisdom. When our collective karma goes down such things always happen. Even if such incidents have occurred, elderly people could have settled it quite easily. But, politics is overpowering our

sense of morality giving way to such things, which is absolutely not a good sign. (Interview, with Lama Tashi, Sept, 2015).

He sees it from Buddhist perspective while considering the possibilities for preventing the harming of the village identity. This indeed reflects a strong sense of local community, of the village as a place with boundaries beyond which disputes must not be allowed to emerge. The concerns with settlement issues and the restoration of order that was implicit in the attitude of the people and dominant in the village entail the idea that conflict is harmful to the wider community. Generally, people were explicitly open to discuss the construction of attitudes towards conflict. One of my informants said ‘villagers do not often use the court in Ladakh, whatever happens they sort it out at village level’. Because people are peaceful and followers of Buddhism, he added, obviously village people do not like court cases at all.

Furthermore, there was a fresh case that came up between the monastery and the village about an affair of one monk with a girl which was caught by the villagers. The monk belonged to another village which was quite far from Lamayuru, and he was serving as an in-charge of one temple in the monastery. There was a series of meetings and discussions at the village level and they tried to find a possible solution. A clear sense of agony among villagers and monks was noticed. Eventually, the case went to the higher authority, namely the Ladakh Buddhist Association in Leh. It became news in Ladakh and widely circulated on social networking sites. Villagers were feeling ashamed of hearing Lamayuru’s name in the news. Most of the informants agreed upon the point that the case should have been solved in the village itself in order to prevent the village’s name from being defamed. Hence, a strong sense of community feeling of the village was reflected in this case.

System of Stratification

Stratification in Ladakh is based on the social status of an individual or family. Three prominent strata will determine the status of an individual and family in a society. The group occupying higher positions in the hierarchy includes Skuthak, Takshos, and Kaga. The second one is commonly known as *Drongpa/Trongpa* which constitutes the majority of the Ladakhi population. The third group in the hierarchy are of lower status and constitutes Mon, Beda, and Gara. The membership to respective group is ascribed in nature. A person of higher strata may freely eat the food cooked and served by the lower strata group, and the

only restriction on commensality is the rule that those of higher strata shall refrain from sharing the same cup or plate as that of the a lower strata. Nor their touch pollutes a vessel permanently when it is washed it can be used again by the people of higher strata. These groups are endogamous in nature and matrimonial alliances are prohibited among the groups. However, if any member of the higher strata entertains permanent sexual relations with a person of lower strata, he/she loses his/her status superiority and is henceforth downgraded to the lower strata. The children from the mixed union rank as inferior status.

Kinship System

The list of terms used by the villagers in Ladakh to refer to their kin relationships expresses the nature of kinship system. This is why, by describing kinship terminologies, one is able to throw light on the kinship system. The usage of kinship terminologies in Lamayuru are in common with rest of Ladakh.

Table 6: Kinship Terminologies

Terms used in Lamayuru village	Terms used in English	Terms used in Lamayuru village	Terms used in English
Ama	Mother	Aba	Father
Abi	Grandmother	Mai-Mai	Grandfather
Ama-Chenmo	Mother's elder sister	Aba Chenmo	Father's elder brother
Ma-Chung	Mother's younger sister	Aa-gu	Father's younger brother.
Azang	Mother's brother	Anay	Father's sister
Apang	Mother's sister's husband.	Ma-chung	Father's younger brother's wife.
Achey	Elder sister	Acho	Elder brothers.
Nomo	Younger sister	Nono	Younger brothers
Pomo	Girls	Butsa	Boys

Tsamo	Granddaughters or Sibling's children	Tsao	Grandsonss or Sibling's children
Sring-mo	Sisters	Ming-bo	Brothers
Nama	Wife	Makpa	Husband

The kinship systems in Lamayuru do not follow a clear-cut structure with precision regarding the two categories of cousins that are cross and parallel cousins. This is common terms *tsamo* and *tsago*, for the son of bothsister's and that of brother's. Even the sisters and brothers of the cross and parallel cousins are called as *Achay/nomo* or *Acho/nono*. Among the Ladakhis, one cannot marry both cross and parallel cousins, and marriage between cousins or any relative is considered as anincest taboo.

Division of Labour

An adult Ladakhi performs multiple roles. However, there are no specific rules pertaining to varied tasks, but some divisions of labour exist in Ladakhi society in general and family in particular. Family members are assigned specific duties depending on their age, gender, and physical fitness as well as religious obligations, community expectation, and prevailing norms.

Household work is primarily a women's responsibility. A large part of her time is spent preparing food and taking care of the children. A woman is also responsible for preparing *Chang* (local beer), cleaning utensils and so on. However, men also do these tasks and the other essential tasks for women, but men help as and when needed.

Status of women

The influence of tourism has brought a positive change in the status of women within the households in Lamayuru. In traditional joint and polyandrous families, women were totally dependent on male members even if they enjoyed a degree of freedom. The accommodation of tourists within the household as home-stays and guest-houses has improved the status of women in the village. Besides, many women have now taken government jobs while others are engaged in wage labour for thearmy and private contractors. Their salaries help meet the

expenses of the family and they are more involved in decision-making processes. In these families, men have come to treat women as equal. Women are also being given a greater voice in village administration and women organisation are getting stronger.

Architecture

The Present day village

Lamayuru may be seen, as in the photo below, in its present form with simply built houses having flat roofs. The size of the village is defined by the number of 'main houses'. In that sense, Lamayuru village is neither small nor large.

Figure 19: Lamayuru Village

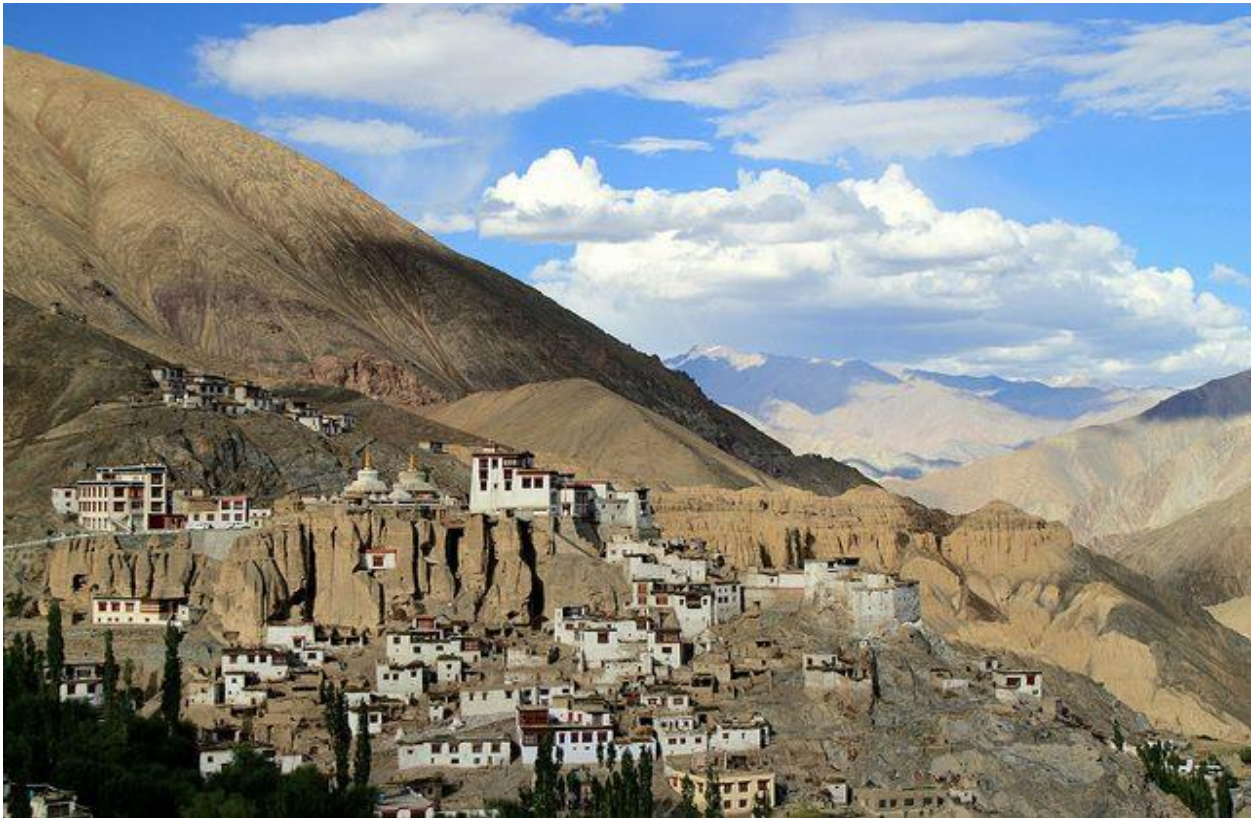


Fig.1. The photo is taken from the Leh-Srinagar highway. This is just an upper part of the village. A white house on the top is meditation center. The big white structure on the edge of mountain is the monastery founded in 11th century. At the bottom, sparsely dotted white houses are households.

The village is settled in accordance with its topography on which houses are vertically nestled. Meditation cells on the top, followed by the monastery and then households which dominate the landscape.

The group of houses below the monastery constitutes one *chutso* (one group of houses). There are a few more groups of *Chutsoto* to the east and to the west of the monastery. The village boundary runs along the hedge of foothills from the east to the west. The *moon-land* from the east marks the beginning of Lamayuru village and *Foto-la* pass from the west.

The oldest part of the village

With the passage of time, village economy has changed, people gradually settled near their agricultural fields and road (Leh-Srinagar high way). Many of the families constructed their houses on their agricultural (*Ma-zing*) fields. As you can see in the picture on the next page, the original site of the village is now completely abandoned..

Fig 20: The original site of the village where remnants of houses can still be seen.



Source: Tashi Lundup

This site was connected with the walls of the monastery where houses were nestled densely. One of the important temples called *singgey lakhang* founded by the great Tibetan Buddhist scholar and translator (Lotsava) *Rinchen Zangpo* in 11th century is also found amidst the houses

All houses of an entire village were located on this small hill. It came to the fore from the famous local phrase concerning with the original dwellings in Lamayuru as *Yuru-Korom Tukchu*, meaning Lamayuru with 60 families. All these 60 families had their houses within the range of approximately 100 meters on this hill. The houses were very much interconnected through their walls, having ‘grown together’ without any space in-between. There were multiple reasons for this pattern of architecture that existed at that time. One reason is due to the climatic condition that such a method of constructing the houses aided in keeping the arid cold climate at bay, making use of clay and wood, along with outer battered walls made of clay. The second reason is that the joint compactness of the old structure of the village was probably for security purposes. As one of my elderly informants told me: “Lamayuru was always targeted by invaders either from Jammu or from Skardo (presently in Pakistan) due to its location, therefore, security has always been the core concern of this village” (personal interview on 15 Sept: 2015). Hence, the need to defend oneself or simply discourage intrusion may have been of concern at that time. A further noteworthy fact is that the most important buildings of the villages are situated on this square, emphasizing its purpose as a centre of activity: the *Singgey Lakhang* temple to the south, *Yud gyi gon pa* (monastery) to the north, all the households to the east and the main gate of the village to the west. A ritual circumambulatory path, so called *skora*, winds around the *gon-pa*. The *skora* and the public square merge into one another. One house was located nearby the village gate, with the name *stago-paw* who had been given the responsibility to safeguard the village. Similar structures of gates and the names of houses can be found in other villages in Ladakh.

This public square at the centre of the pilgrim path was a symbolic representation of the village space for public gathering. The space of this public square was considered to be powerful where all the village activities ranging from *Losar* celebration (New Year) to *shaks-trims* (village meetings to resolve dispute/conflict) used to take place. The disputes/conflicts which were not resolved within or between the households often involved the village *goba* (head of the village), who would summon all other important members on this square to find possible solutions. The place was the village’s apex institution to resolve the conflicts. Therefore, people often seek to resolve their dispute within and between households to prevent their case from entering into the Public Square. It was a matter of *threlba* (shame/reputation) to their family if their case reached the public square. So, this very space

of the Public Square was their ultimate court upon which the village submitted their rights to govern, and this space in turn provided stability in the village.

It can easily be observed from a remnant of an apparent structure, that the sitting arrangement was hierarchically created by erecting seating cells vertically. All the cells were named after the name of an important position in the village. *Sdewa*¹¹³ were supposed to be seated on the top of the hierarchy, followed by important persons in the village like *Goba* (head of the village), *Chu-rpon*, (water man) *Onpo*, (astrologer) and so on. This pre-structured public Square offered a separate row for women just on the opposite side of the male. But, gender biases are an explicit part of the structure that women were not allowed to sit on those elevated cells. However, village still retains some of the elements of a public square, but whole notion of the public square has completely changed with an advent of a community hall in the village. The change in the space has also led to a change in the nature of power. Power which rested with the village governing body no longer exists in the village. Presently, the site of Public Square is nothing more than to elucidate a cultural memoir of Lamayuru to fascinate tourists.

Architectural landscape of the houses

The architectural landscape is also an important source which provides critical insights into the high-altitude mountainous culture which for centuries have adapted exceptionally well to inhospitable environments. Jest and Stein have rightly mentioned that “it is difficult to understand the complete history of the Tibetan plateau without taking the role of architecture into account, nor can proper insights into the relationship between the local cultures and their mountain environment can be derived” (1981: 96-303). In the entire region, particularly Buddhist houses have many similarities in terms of the type of architecture and symbolic representation of the houses. Social relationships and religious conceptions are expressed through architecture in the Himalayas.

In Ladakh, generally, the architecture of houses primarily emerged in response to the climate and geographical conditions of the area. It is quite interesting to look at how Ladakhis are

¹¹³The position of *Sdewa* was high and important in the monastery as he took care of the economic affairs. But, this position no longer exists in the Lamayuru monastery as it was abolished by the present head of the sect for many reasons.

managing to resist extreme climatic conditions through architecture. The traditional architecture not only represents religious arts and symbolism, but it has also adapted well with the harsh environment. The style of architecture developed with considering practically how to tackle the harsh climate. One can still see the glorious Leh palace as a premium representation of Ladakhi architecture. The remnant of a magnificent palace still towers above the settlement of Leh, the capital of the former kingdom of Ladakh. It was built at the beginning of the seventeenth century when the king of Ladakh was a powerful ruler, and it is an outstanding example of the style of monumental architecture represented by the better-known Potala of Lhasa, in Tibet, which was built between 1645 by the fifth Dalia Lama (Jest and Sanday, 1983: 1-11).¹¹⁴

In fact, houses (Khang-pa) in Lamayuru also have an alluring architectural beauty. One can find an entire village dotted with massive externally white washed houses which further adds an ingredient to its beauty in defining the village as a tourists' destination. The mystique of the monastery, representing the perfect exquisiteness of traditional architecture, lies at the hill-top of jagged rock formation that serves as its base. The magnificent monastery is positioned in such a way that it gazes down on the other small houses down in the villages. Indeed, the monastery is nothing less than the extension of a Ladakhi household. A new visitor to Ladakh will be surprised to see that all the houses and monasteries are white-washed. There are two reasons to account for this: firstly, white color lime is the only locally resource available in abundance to paint the houses; and secondly, like in all religions there is dichotomous representation of things and ideas in Buddhism into sacred and profane, pure and impure, etc. White color signifies auspiciousness in Buddhist culture. On each corner of the house, a small area is marked with red color believed to 'protect' the family and the house from 'evils'.

Other common features in the house design are that most of the houses in Ladakh are built at three levels: ground, upper and top. In most cases, the ground level is reserved for animals

¹¹⁴ Jest Coneille and Sanday Johan (1983). The Palace of Leh in Ladakh: An Example of Himalayan Architecture in Need of Preservation, *Mountain Research and Development, Volume*. Pub; International Mountain Society, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 1-11.

and storage of their fodder and wood for winter. The middle level is usually used for residence. At the top, there is generally a small prayer room wherein 'deities', *thangkas*, and statues of Buddha are housed. Affluent houses also have a small room for their servant. This architecture style reflects the Buddhist belief in the hierarchy of things, ideas and structure from 'pure' to 'impure'. For example, lower parts of the human body are considered as 'impure' whereas upper parts of the body are 'pure'. Similarly, the monasteries in Ladakh are located at the top. The houses have traditionally very small windows and doors to keep heat and cold out during the summer and winter respectively. However, the trend has now changed due to climate changes and external influences. Many of my informants said that the village is becoming warmer year-by-year. Therefore, the style of architecture has also changed to some extent.

The houses in Lamayuru can be categorized as being: old, average and modern (i.e. newly constructed houses). As I mentioned above, most of the old houses located around the monastery are now abandoned. They moved down the valley as it is more accessible to water and a motor-able road (Leh-Srinagar road). Few families are still living in the comparatively older houses nearby in an old village, and they restored their houses without destructing the basic architecture of the house. One of the oldest people in the village whose family is still living in their old house made a statement that:

My son who is now serving in the Indian army initially wanted to construct a new house on the *mazing* (original agricultural field), but I resisted and did not allow him to construct a house there because I have seen how my parents made those fields cultivable as well as this house to live. We recently renovated the house but we hardly use cement. People do not realise the importance of fields and old houses which were built in response to this harsh climate. That is why I feel most of the young people are not healthy due to the fact that they live in the house built by cement and metal. I personally cannot stay in cement houses no matter how warm you make them. (Personal interview on 17 Sept: 2015).

The above statement clearly represents the dichotomy between the old generation and new generation pertaining to the preservation of architecture in the village. However, it would be completely wrong to argue that architecture has changed, but the method in terms of using material has changed to a great extent. However, the basic functional aspects of the houses remain intact. For instance, inside the house, generally, there is a single large room called '*chantsa*' with a wood firestove (*Thab* or *lChak-thab* in local language) in the middle, which

is used for cooking as well as heating up the interior space. The *thab* has an interesting history which has evolved over the course of time. Clarke wrote an interesting paper entitled '*The Tibetanisation of European Steel Stove in Ladakh*', in which he revealed a surprise correlation between 'Tibetan art form' and 'European technology' which evolved from an interaction of traditional idioms with western technology. The development of the stove technology was not intended to suit western taste nor was it determined by a tourist market, but part of the living fabric of society itself (Clarke 1997: 70).

However, it seems that earlier mud forms of stoves were perhaps replicated in steel when steel was re-cycled from steel oil drums brought in by the Indian Army in 1948, when the first war between India and Pakistan was followed by even larger scale of the 1962 border war with China (Ibid.58). Almost every house in Lamayuru has a steel stove which is highly decorated with Buddhist symbols on the front face. The typical layout consists of a central '*yid dzin nor bu* or wish Fulfilling Jewel' flanked by two 'Endless Knot' designs or *dpal gyi be'u* with top and bottom, bands of meander or 'Chinese Wall' *rgya nag lcags ri* design and sometimes a band of lotus flowers and scrollwork at the base. These are auspicious symbols of abundance and purity. This is the reflection of the role of religion in Ladakhi society which operates as a constant reminder of the notion of interdependence conferring through those symbols. The 'Endless Knot' for instance, refers to the continuity and interrelatedness existing between all living things and to the endless interaction between wisdom and compassion in Buddhist theory (Heller & Reynolds 1893: 71). The 'Wish Granting Jewel' is a magical emblem which leads to the fulfillment of all desires, both material and spiritual (Ibid.72). While the Lotus is an ancient South Asian symbol of spiritual purity (Ibid..68).

Figure 21: Modern Ladakhi Kitchen (Metal stove)



Traditional Ladakhi Kitchen (mud stove)



Source: Tashi Lundup

The *Chan-tsa* in particular involves symbolism wherein seating spaces are hierarchically structured. The *thab* is the axis from where seats are arranged. The mother's seat is called *Bang*, and it is close to the fire stove for cooking. The grandfather, father or any elderly person are supposed to seat on *Talgho* (*Tal*, means queue, and *gho* means top which is opposite to *Bang*) which is considered as the top in the arrangement. Other family members will sit according to their age. Therefore, age is the main criteria for such a hierarchy. At the side of the *bang*, a small door can be found which is where one enters the store house where important things of daily use like *phey* (barley), *bak-phey* (wheat), and *mar-pak* (butter) would be kept. In most of the houses *Bang* is to be considered as sacred, the married daughters are supposed to not be seated at *Bang*, because of the notion that they will pollute that space. Thus, the shadow of patriarchy and the notion of purity and impurity are visible within households in Lamayuru village.

The trend of partitioning *Chan-tsa* into bedrooms and a kitchen is a recent phenomenon in Lamayuru, and people adopt it for status elevation, ignoring the benefits of the indigenous system. The importance of planning the building in a modern way, ignoring the traditional style, is now gaining popularity among the locals and most of the new houses have standard divisions as found in any two-bedroom flat. In addition, with the influx of tourists in the village, western style toilets have become an integral part of these newer households who are

involved in accommodating tourists in their house. Thus, it naturally creates a threat to already scarce natural resources for water.

The houses are made entirely of mud, sometimes re-enforced with horizontally placed logs of timber at the ceiling. The walls are either made of sun-dried mud bricks, stone or rammed earth¹¹⁵ system. Internally, the walls are mud-plastered, while flooring could be either in mud or in wood. The ceiling height is low, and spaces are dimly lit as to trap the heat inside the room and maintain the temperature inside conducive for living. Some of the affluent families have *rabsal* (wooden house with glass/glass room) facing the sun for warming the room. *Rabsal* is also an indicator of the family's socio-economic status. One of my informants told me that "most of the *rabsal* is made of wood, earlier it was quite difficult to find wood in the village, only rich could afford it. Therefore, in those days there was a saying in Lamayuru village among the parents that marry your daughter to those who have *rabsal*". (Personal interview on Sept: 2015). Hence, *Rabsal* was then regarded as a sign of wealth in the village. Those who have *rabsal* always had the privilege of hosting government officers in their house. Now it has become a common aspect in the village. *Rabsal* was basically made and evolved to cope with this harsh climate. It appeared to be that with the influx of the tourist industry in the village, traditional *rabsals* are re-enforcing their usage because most of the 'home stays' in Lamayuru are accommodating tourists in their *rabsals*. There are different types of *rabsal*. The old style is without glass in the windows but fixed with wood carved of different designs. Modern designs of *rabsal* are fixed with glass. Thus, the design of *rabsal* has changed in due course and it may differ from one village to another. Moreover, the houses in Lamayuru are essentially utilitarian. Nearly all the houses have traditional black bands at the roof level and bordering the window and door openings with flags

¹¹⁵Rammed earth also known as *gya-pak* (Ladakhi), is a technique consists of casting huge bricks in place, in a frame made of planks. Sand and clay are mixed in the right amounts to get a very strong constitution. It is then packed in the frames and rammed with pounders. The thick earth walls are not just structural (to take load) but also have an essential function to heat the room (thermal mass). They absorb the excess solar heat during the day and release it to the room at night. The same properties also keep rammed earth buildings cool in summer. It is an ancient technique used in monasteries, castles and forts around Ladakh. These structures have survived, unprotected and exposed to the elements, for hundreds of years.

fluttering above them. At some places, on the roof level, the black band gives way to more traditional bands of hay and wood adding an elevational feature (Sharma 2007).

Some of the houses in Lamayuru are still intact with their traditional architectural style, yet sizable changes are also observed. Many of the elderly informants expressed their sense of resentment for architectural changes in Lamayuru. Some monks also expressed the same in the context of the monastery where they have erected a big hotel for tourists within the compound of the monastery. Likewise, many villagers are repelling the idea of constructing big hotels in the village. Hence, this fork of ideas among the villagers regarding architectural changes manifests the dichotomy between tradition and modern. The younger generations tend to give least importance to a traditional style of architecture; they are fascinated with the modern capitalistic idea of constructing houses. The owner of the MoonLand Hotel told me that he wanted to explore some western architectural style to re-construct his hotel. Since the inflow of tourists is growing at a rapid pace, he wanted to expand his hotel so that more tourists can be accommodated. However, the present architectural style of the hotel is a fusion of both traditional and modern features. Similarly, many guest-houses and hotels are constructed to accommodate tourists in order to earn a living. An informant told me that ‘these days the materials which are used in constructing houses are not that conducive to this kind of environment and people’s health. People are using so much cement and metal in building their houses which will bring uneven consequences in the time to come’.

Rotational Procedures

Here it becomes clear that the ‘household’ is a micro social unit. Numerous duties are discharged on a rotational basis by members of the then main households (*Khang pa*). These are exclusively of a socio-religious nature, with the exception of the *chutso* meetings focusing on village politics, when each main household by turns entertains the representatives of the other main houses. One *khang pa* has the following responsibilities, in the following rotations:

Monthly: *Chutso* meetings is one of the *khang pa*, entertaining.

Yearly: the costs of festive occasions in connection with the reading of texts by the monks

(*bskang gsol and chos-sil*)

Yearly: the renewal of the lha tho (and yul ha) by the lha bdak together with a lama who makes a Lha bsang.

Yearly: arrange *lha-raise* during (Losar) New Year's celebration

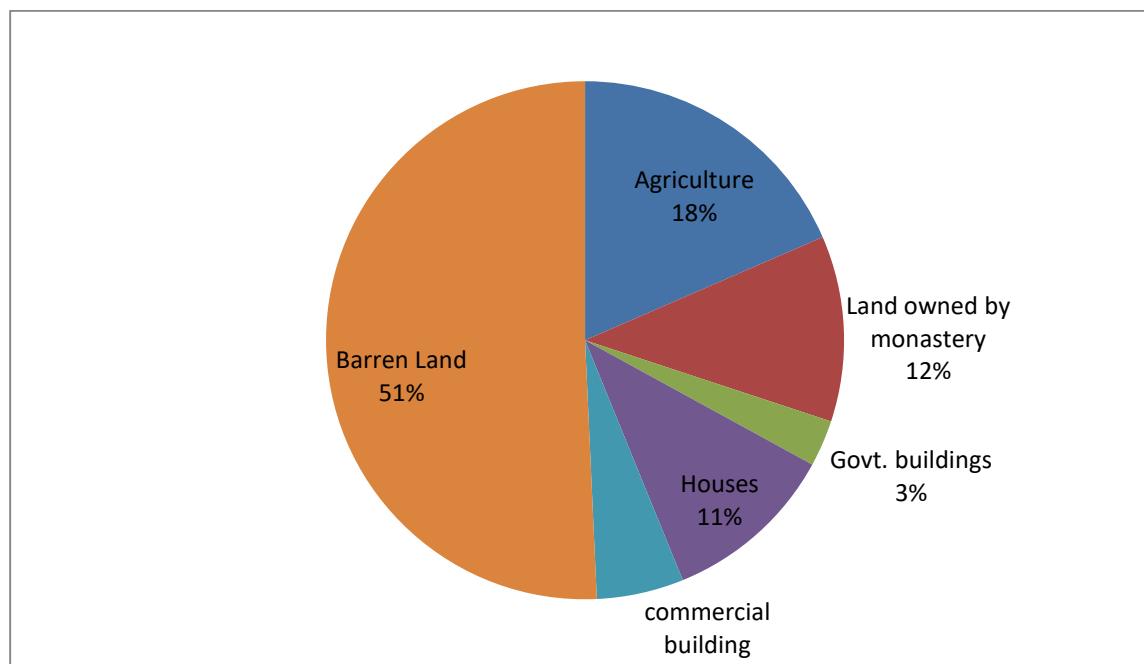
Yearly: the annual whitewashing of the monastery, mane walls (sacred mantra) and stupas around the village.

Agriculture

Given the short growing season, the village community is dependent on mutual support. The completion of the main work, such as tilling the fields in spring, making irrigation system operational and harvesting in autumn, has to be done quickly (beginning of June to September).

Under the so called *langde* system, three to four families usually work on the field together at the time of ploughing, harvesting and threshing. Relationships are close, too, on another level. It is often a matter of commonly using hardy draught animal for ploughing. The institution of *bes* (sort of exchanging service) is vital to fulfil difficult labour of agriculture in Ladakh. The labour intensive works of agriculture such as ploughing are dependent on the institution of *bes*. Unlike many other villages in Lower part of Ladakh, Lamayuru due to its higher elevation has single cropping system. Barley and Wheat is their main crop. Limited availability of water secures it from using chemical fertilizers. Hence, it's purely an organic village. Livestock and human are the main source of manure. Livestock is managed through the institution of herdsman *ra-res*. Members of two main houses keep watch for two days and then are relieved rotationally.

Figure 22: Land use pattern of Lamayuru¹¹⁶



Source of Water and Irrigation System

There is a great saying in Ladakh pertaining to water as '*Chumed na youl med*' meaning 'no water no village'. Life in Ladakh is strictly controlled by an accessibility of water. Lamayuru village in particular is located in this desert or steppe like landscape through which runs a small stream from spring water. The irrigation of the fields, pasture land and trees are necessary for the existence of the village, and has been going on ever since the village came to exist (Herdick 1999). Lamayuru village is a bit different from the other villages of lower Ladakh. It is mainly due to the limited availability of water as there are comparatively fewer trees and pasture in the village. Unlike other villages, Lamayuru's source of water is *Chumik* (spring) which feeds the entire village. A small *tokpo* (stream) is formed out of this spring water and it is used only for agriculture. Apart from *tokpo* there are two small *Chumik* which they use for washing clothes and utensils, and for drinking. The *Chumik* which is located in the midst of the present settlement is mainly used for washing clothes and utensils. The other one is situated near the monastery complex at the hill and is the most preferred for drinking

¹¹⁶ This chart is drawn on the basis of approximate data produced during field work.

water in the village. Furthermore, there are eleven bore-wells and eight taps which are piped from the *Chumik* (the main source of stream) and spread out in the village, constituting a major source of drinking water. These eight taps are presently not functional due to the flood in previous years. The interesting thing about drinking water in this village is that they use different water for different purposes. For instance, for making tea they use only water from a *Chumik* near the monastery; a *Chumik* which is located within the village is used only for washing clothes, utensils and to feed domesticated animals. Pertaining to the *Chumik* which is located at the monastery, according to Togdan Rinpoche (presently the head of the *Drikung pa* sect in Ladakh), a few decades ago during the time of Sonam Norboo (an engineer who built Leh Airport) owing to the scarcity of water in Lamayuru, the present water tap at the monastery was piped all the way from a place called *Chumik chan*, 4km up the hill. *Chumik chan* is an abandoned fertile land that belongs to the monastery where remnants of the fields can be seen even to this date. This is the monastery version of the story, as there are many other stories about this land. However, initially there were two points of the tap, one is for the village and another is for the monastery, later due to the lessened quantity of water they combined it to the monastery. This is one of the main sources of drinking water in the village. (Nurbo, personal interview, 15 Sept, 2015).

Water from the bore-wells is used for cooking food and washing hands and face (*Khalak thuchas*), and so on. In addition, there is an earthen pond called *zing* that can be found in the village which is used to store water, and immensely important during times of scarcity. *Zinghas* outlets for the release of accumulated water. The *tokpo* and the *zingare* most often used in conjunction to maximize the use of water. The scarcity of water is a perennial problem of the region in general and Lamayuru in particular. Therefore, contestation for water is an everyday experience of the villagers. There are many conflicting stories which revolved around the shortage of water. One such instance narrated by the village Sarpanch:

We are confronting with the army every year on the issue of water. No doubt the army is helping us in providing roads, but when it comes to the issue of water they do not care about the local people. Lamayuru is a village that depends on spring water; therefore, we use water so carefully, be it from bore-wells or spring water. The army is digging bore wells whenever they want without understanding the natural constraint and the village needs. They dug more than 300ft, yet they did not get the water. The entire village went up to an

army camp and requested them not to spoil village resources. But, they hardly listen to us. There are some good officers too who understand the importance of water in a place like ours, and they even stop some bore wells. Many villagers go to army camp as a coolie, and they always come to me with complaints that the army is wasting too much water. (Interview on 17 Sep: 2015).

It is apparent that throughout the past number of years, the consumption of water has increased in the village. It came to the fore through the analysis of people's narratives that the army and the tourism industry are contributing substantially to the increased level of water consumption in the village. The rise of household consumption of water is attributed to the massive influx of tourists in the village. There are few comparatively big hotels, many guest houses, home stays and restaurants which all use considerable amounts of water. Interestingly, many of my informants revealed the fact that these days there is enough drinking water available in the village. Of course, state-subsidized bore-wells have made drinking water available throughout the year. But, there is also a constant rise in the volume of water of the springs with the changing pattern of precipitation due to climate change. In fact, the scientist discourse on climate change acknowledges the fact that in recent years, the entire Ladakh region is witnessing a shift in the amount of rainfall as well as the rainfall pattern. Another reason is that most of the agricultural fields belong to the monastery, and they are no longer in cultivation due to the construction of commercial buildings and the building of concrete structures for sermons (*Photang*). Likewise, many affluent families have also erected hotels, shops and restaurants on their *ma zhing* (the original contiguous fields). Hence, water which used to be consumed for agricultural purposes will automatically go down. However, it will not make any impact on drinking water because people hardly drink water from the *tokpa* (stream). It appears that household consumption of water has gone up and agricultural water consumption has gone down.

The influx of the tourism industry and the army has led to many other abrupt changes in the village. Economic reasons for the existence of the kind of marriage institutions (both polyandry and polygyny), the offering of children to the monastic institutions to become nuns and monks, the system of inheritance through primogeniture which ensured the carrying capacity of the land and land holdings as a viable unit of economic production are now in a state of change. For instance, monogamy has replaced polygamy, offering of children to the monastery (unless it his/her choice) are no longer in common practice, inheritance laws are

governed by Hindu Succession Act, 1956. Therefore, old social practices which have evolved against the aggressiveness constrained by nature are fading away replaced by new ones which suit the present needs of the village. It would not be wrong to argue that the present trends of change are putting more pressure on the already scarce resources of the region. The wisdom of the age-old systems and social institutions has enabled villagers to sustain thus far and is now certainly in a state of flux as these circumstances of change and continuity of the village are taking place in which water regulatory systems form a part. It is interesting to see the past and present of the village through the lens of this system which indeed has enriched many aspects of the village.

The people's memory about past water regulatory systems are astonishing. As I mentioned above, there was only one source of water for Lamayuru which was used for all purposes, the main *Chumik* (from which source *tokpois* formed). Human and animals were both involved in making a life easy in the village. For instance, the monastery used to have *Langto* (bull) just to transport water from downstream to the monastery. Consider the statement made by an incumbent head of the monastery:

At times in the past, it was difficult to manage with such a small availability of water. We literally used to transport water with *Langto* (bulls) or villagers would carry water on their back all day and night especially during the times of festivals. Lamayuru is known for the scarcity of water, which depends upon spring water. When there were no such problems in Leh city we used to queue up for the water in Lamayuru. Now, things are much better especially with the advent of this water tap which is piped up here from *Chumik Chan* few decades back, followed by bore wells which are quite recent. These two sources of water are enough for the monastery, school as well as for the hotel own by monastery. But, yes we always educate young monks in terms of using water carefully. (Konchok Samstan, personal interview, Sept 21, 2015)

Similarly, people used *bungbu* (donkey) to carry drinking water from the stream. In due course of time, with the twin intervention of state as well as the community's spirit, this has enabled them to overcome water-related problems. Those informants who have the memory of the past tend to give a religious explanation. One old woman made a statement that "it is all because of our collective karma that we are now witnessing enough water, there was a time when we *jingny-a-Chutang-ches* (watering the fields) only twice, yet we reaped the crop, it's all because of the blessing of *Sangyas* (Buddha)". (Abey Yangzes, personal

conversation, Sept 25, 2015). This kind of perception is quite common among the people. It seems to be true that the constant religious stimulus facilitates their community spirit.

Religion plays an important role in the village; villagers often go to the monastery when there is a scarcity of water. However, the case of Lamayuru where they harvested a crop by watering fields only twice in the whole course of cultivation is exceptionally unique in Ladakh, and it was a recent experience of the village. There are multiple versions of stories regarding why Lamayuru is reaping crops out of less watering on field. According to the Sarpanch, “The place which comes out of water will witness a plant which is locally called *dambu*, and *dambu* is Lamayuru’s ingenious plant which sprouts out naturally on fields, it absorbs water, provides shadow to wheat/barley which prevents them from the sun. It also releases water from time to time, and is probably the reason that there is less water required in Lamayuru” (Village Sarpanch, personal interview, Sept 15, 2015). Another, version of the story is that there are fields which do not have *dambu*, yet they equally consume less water. As Lamayuru came out of a lake, hence, the soil beneath is wet/muddy which helps in forming dew during the night. Fields in Lamayuru always witnessed dew in the morning which keeps the wheat/barley alive. (Conversation with village elders on August 12: 2015).

No village in Ladakh can think of surviving with only watering the fields twice. As in the neighbouring village, Khaltse, they need to water their fields twice a week. The popular beliefs among the people pertaining to the need for less watering on the field in Lamayuru is that the soil the village came out of is from a lake. Hence, it needs less water. Nevertheless, the people of Lamayuru have formulated detailed rules for the distribution of water. It would not be wrong to say that this village can be considered to be an archetype of careful utilization of natural resources. In fact, scarcity of natural resources like water enables people to adopt and develop means to minimize the burden on natural resources and optimize their uses. They develop multiple ways and social institutions to overcome such problems. This can be seen in the systematic regulation of water distribution through irrigation and norms that govern the entire system of water within the village. The cold harsh weather conditions fueled by scarcity of water result in a short cultivation period and thus constrains agriculture which is of primarily subsistence based. Yet, such constraints are overcome by following age-old social institutions and rules governing irrigation. The onus rests with the community

resilience and power which complement human relations with nature to overcome those difficulties. These rules have been practiced from time immemorial, and passed on from one generation to another. Interestingly, these rules have been codified into records called *riwaz-i-abpashi*, almost hundred years ago, at the time when Land settlement records (*bandobasti*) were being drawn up (1908) for every village in Ladakh and are now maintained by the *patwari*¹¹⁷. Prior to the annexation of Ladakh to the kingdom of Jammu in 1834, royal edicts defined the rights of water management systems for certain areas in Ladakh. Some of these royal edicts can still be found in monasteries (Gupta and Tiwari: 2012). This document called *riwaz-i-abpashi* maintained all the details of yuras (canals), lands (recognized through maintained plot numbers) ownership, rules of distributing water in the villages, relationships with adjoining villages for water allocation, the rights of all categories of landholders, as well as any history of dispute. These are the documents which are supposed to be updated after every 20th year. Looking at the prevalent water regulating system in the villages, it appeared to be that it has never been updated so far.

The Traditional Irrigation System

The arid climatic condition of the village enforced cultivation through *yura* (canals/irrigation) system. It is impossible to cultivate fields in such a desolate terrain and sparse rains without the *yuras/irrigation*. In fact, Ladakh is considered to be one of the world's largest cold deserts, with an annual rainfall of less than 12 cm a year (Osman & Crook 1994). The temperatures here drop down to minus 30 degrees Celsius and hover between 10 to 20 degrees Celsius in the summers. Looking at the landscape in the midst of *Fotu-lapass* encircled by huge mountains, the village of Lamayuru has become accustomed to such a harsh environment. Agricultural fields scattered along the foothills are severely constrained by the availability of water. However, people have learnt to live a life in such an extreme condition by inventing various methods and social institutions which are in tune with their environment. The village's cultural ethos and values shows a great degree of respect to natural resources/environment. For instance, 'The worship of *glu*, or spirits of the earth, demonstrates a real respect for all life, and recognition that man is a part of and not a master of the natural world' (Hodge 1982: 75). The irrigation system in Lamayuru can also be

¹¹⁷ Each village has one patwari.

regarded as a symbolic representation of age-old traditional mastery to overcome an intimidating landscape. Unlike Lamayuru, most of the villages in Ladakh survive because they have *kangri* (glaciers) on top of the mountain which is the main source of water to form a *tokpo* (stream) of melted snow water. Interestingly, Lamayuru does not have any glacier to serve as a source of water to form *tokpo* (stream). They only have *chumik* (spring) which is their main source of water for agriculture. This accumulation of water from the source of *chumiks* can be called a small *tokpo*. People pronounced it as *tokpo* in the village, though it is comparatively smaller than other adjoining villages.

However, people over the years have developed efficient systems and institutional arrangements which enable people to establish an equitable and timely distribution of water for irrigational purposes. This can be seen in the physical layout of the irrigation system and in the customary rules and rights that govern the distribution of water, between the monastery and the village and among the individual fields. As I mentioned above, spring water flows down and forms a small stream which embodies the lifeline of this village. The water from the *tokpo* is channelized into the *mayur* (the main distributor channel) and descends in steps which pass to the left and right till the end the village. There are several personal *yuras*¹¹⁸ to irrigate their *tsas* (vegetable gardens) along its edge. In addition, there is a single large pond like a water reservoir which is locally termed as *zing* measuring approximately 56-30m. It has an outlet and inlet and it is filled during the day, with its contents fed to the field during the nights or whenever needed. In order to maintain the smooth efficacy of the whole system of water distribution, they have institutionalized the responsibility of *chu-rpon*. Deriving from the word *chu* meaning water, *chu-rpon* is an important person in the village who has been given the responsibility of monitoring the entire system so that it works smoothly and efficiently as laid out in the rules vested by the villagers. The *chu-rpon* is appointed with the onset of agricultural season. There would be a village gathering on the day when the *chu-rpon* is being appointed. One household would be given the responsibility on rotational basis to arrange this gathering along with one filled *szem* of *chang* (a wooden container filled with local beer). This event is created to select the *chu-rpon* where they review the *kamgya*¹¹⁹ of the previous year and appoint the *chu-rpon* accordingly. Once they appointed the *chu-*

¹¹⁸ Intricate network of earthen channel locally called as Yura.

¹¹⁹ *Kamgya* is a document which codifies the collective decision of the village.

rpon, they again draw up the *kamgya*, which is a sort of contract between the newly appointed *chu-rpun* and the village community. The process of an appointment of *chu-rpon* differs from one village to another. Traditionally, in most of the villages in Ladakh, the *chu-rpon* is generally the most respected person within the village who is known to have a thorough knowledge of the rules governing the irrigation system. He would be selected on a collective decision in which each and every *khang-ba* (unfragmented family) in a village has a voice. Moreover, water being an important resource, every household anticipates this event whether they belong to a *Khang-ba* (unfragmented) or *Khang-bu* (fragmented) to ensure that a competent person is selected. He is either selected on the basis of common consent, as was found in some villages, or appointed by rotation from the original numbers of *khang-ba* (an unfragmented household in the village) which is the case in Lamayuru. There are some exceptional cases found in some villages that a single household has traditionally been given the responsibility as a *chu-rpon* in the village. Hence, their house is named as *chu-rpon pa*.

The *chu-rpon* is an institutional arrangement to supervise the water system in the village. He has become an important figure in the village. The agricultural season in the village begins in late spring, in the months of April and May. The role of *chu-rpon* begins with the onset of the agricultural season. He has to look after the *yuras* (water channels), which needs to be cleaned and made operational for almost a few months of the irrigation period. These kinds of collective work in the village always begin with a consultation to the village's *onpo* (astrologer), who gives specific dates to clean the *yuras* (water channels). It is mandatory for every household to come and clean up the *yuras*, and those who fail to join are subject to *chadpa* (monetary fine-punishment). Sometimes, it takes weeks to clean them up because the *yuras* are cracked due to the formation of ice during the winter, blockage due to stone and landslide, etc, which are perennial problems of the landscape. This is the most difficult phase of the cycle, as it is during this time when maximum scarcity of water is faced. The water of the spring reduces substantially during the winter time because snowmelt water and rain gives impetus to the springs. This is the time when the ambient temperatures are not high enough to induce the melting of snows and therefore, it becomes difficult to fill the *mayur* for irrigation. The field needs to be watered prior to sowing which is called *thachu* and considered to be the beginning of the agriculture season. It is this phase of the season that customary norms for the allocation of water are apparent and strictly adhered to. During

the agricultural season, the *mayur* requires constant monitoring. Periodically, there are significant losses of water in the *yuras* even when they are elevated to take all of the water from *tokpoto mayur*, which Lamayuru has experienced many times in the past. When such situations come, they often go to the monastery to consecrate the village. The daily rhythm of irrigation, however, is an indication that, in principle, a lot of water is available. Enlarging an irrigated area would be difficult due to the lack of workers (Herdick 1997).

II

Lamayuru as a Tourist Site

In this section, I will try to explore the question of how Lamayuru village became a tourist attraction. This village is presently marked as one of the most famous tourist destinations in Ladakh. Hence, it would be interesting to look at the course of Lamayuru's contestation in a global tourism marketplace. In order to understand that we need to figure out what is Lamayuru's unique selling proposition (USP) which leads to the massive inflow of tourists into the village. The global contestation for tourism markets leads to an increasing business rivalry among the nations. It not only remains at the level of the nation. Smaller tourist destinations like Lamayuru have to compete in international terms (Ritchie and Crouch: 2000, Webster and Ivanov: 2014 cited in Reitsamer and Sperdin: 2015). The destination needs to develop its own unique proposition within the realm of its own profile to anticipate tourist expectations. This process of developing a destination's symbolic resources to attract tourists has become the focus of attention for both research and practice (Formica and Usal: 2006). These symbolic resources which have attracted tourists have become the part of a unique selling proposition of the place. The choice, feeling and expected behavior of tourists are also determined by a destination's attractiveness (Henkel: 2006). It is in this context that Mayo and Jarvis described this aspect of a destination as "the perceived ability of a destination to deliver individual benefits" (1981: 22) since a destination's spaces are primarily a place which presents a milieu of tourism products and services. It involves a collective perception about the place regarding its attractiveness and hospitality which is an essential pre-requirement for a tourist's feeling, understanding and behavioral responses. As I have mentioned above that tourists are attracted by a destination's symbolic resources, for instance,

they are more likely to envision wellbeing at a destination and to recommend it to others. The recent research in this sphere reveals that attractiveness of the destination is observed as one of the important components of destination competitiveness (Ritchie and Crouch 2003).

Lamayuru's journey to fame as a tourist destination is equally driven by its uniqueness which offers a range of avenues for tourists. Therefore, in order to understand the depths of Lamayuru's venture of becoming a tourist spot we need to see how and under what circumstances it emerged. The western quest for Himalayan mystery, especially the Tibetan plateau, leads to an unfolding of many places like Ladakh.

Westerners search for the Magic and Mystery of Himalaya

With the growing desire among tourists to visit a mountainous region, the Himalayas are not an exception as it is also seen to be targeted by the major attraction of new tourism. The Himalayas also offer an ideal condition for the tourist, as it is comparatively less influenced by development activities, unpolluted and un-commercialized environment. There are a number of factors which can be considered to be the causes of tourism development in the Himalayas. But, one important factor especially in context of Tibet, Ladakh and Bhutan can be attributed to the earlier traveller accounts who described the Himalayas as the mysterious and enigmatic mountain kingdom. Richard Leviton, who wrote a wonderful chapter in the book called *Ancient Secret of the Fountain of Youth* by Peter Kelder (1999: 15), presented a glimpse of earlier travellers' experiences to unfold the mysterious land to others. Many westerners have attempted to explore the Himalayas, especially Tibet, which was then inaccessible to the rest of the world. Colonel Bradford, in the early decades of the previous century, and a few other courageous travellers "discovered" Tibet, and their first-hand experiences surprised the west. Many of them failed and died in the attempt to explore these un-touched parts of the world in the Himalaya. However, those who succeeded brought stories of the land of magic and mystery. When they returned home, they wrote books about their experiences where they described Tibet as "supernaturally-empowered lamas, flying mystics, living Methuselahs and death-defying, miracle-performing sages" (Ibid..16). Even as late as 1950, Lowell Thomas, Jr., the well-known American traveller, in writing of this "*sealed and silent land*" of Tibet, said, "The mysterious mountain kingdom beyond the towering Himalayas on the very roof of the world has long been the number one El-Dorado

for explorers and travellers with a keen appetite for the unknown.” (Ibid.15). There are many books written by western explorers which have drawn many travellers into the Himalaya. One of the more well-known travel accounts was: *Living among the Great Ones* by Helena P. Blavatsky (1831-1891). She spent almost seven years there living and studying with highly spiritual masters. She called those masters *Mahatma*(the great one) “the perfect ones or accomplished ones” and saw them as possessing some of the oldest and possibly purest wisdom teachings in the world. Baird T. Spalding (1858-1953), a university-trained scientist organised research to study great Himalayan masters, their feats, and their wisdom, i.e Tibetan miracles. They came up with remarkable discoveries which amazed the West, as Spalding wrote: “he and his fellow travellers witnessed miracles of overcoming death, through transference and telepathy, levitation, lying through the air, walking through the fire and walking on water.” Alexandra David-Neel, the French Buddhist Scholar (1868-1969), was among the first westerners to ever travel through Tibet. She spent more than twelve years in Tibet from approximately 1912-1924. Evans-Wentz and David-Neel were pioneers in the introduction of Tibetan teachings in the West. Therefore, all these travel accounts became an asset or symbolic resources which have fascinated tourists on a massive scale. Prior to the Chinese invasion, Tibet was an epitome of Himalayan representation to the rest of the world. But, when Tibet went under China, the focus of the West then shifted to explore alternative places like Ladakh, Bhutan and Nepal which share similar topography and cultural congruity. In the process, Ladakh acquired the title as ‘Little Tibet’, an alternative destination for real Tibet. Furthermore, Ladakh gained an advantage since Srinagar on the one hand, had become a disturbed place for decades, and Tibet on the other hand was colonized by China which made these two places insecure for tourists. Ladakh, bearing an identity constructed by earlier explorers as a ‘beautiful pristine Landscape and peace loving people’ emerged as a perfect place for the people from the west to escape the cacophony of western industrial mono-culture.

Furthermore, the myths of *Shangri-la* captured the imagination of the West and subsequently attached it to Ladakh or Lamayuru. As we have discussed in detail in the previous chapter, the romantic construction of Lamayuru as ‘*Moon-Land*’ attracts thousands of tourists each year because of its uniqueness of Landscape and history. Most tourists in Lamayuru carry with them this romantic notion of an idyllic land, eclipsed from time and space. In the

Himalayas, it is easy to let the magic of timelessness enfold you. But, the mountains are not infinite text of wisdom, frozen in eternity. There are roads linking Ladakh to Srinagar and Himachal Pradesh, the daily flights bring tourists from all over the world, the same bureaucratic afflictions ail Ladakh as in other parts of India, and so do similar religious tensions.

Thus, Ladakh has been represented in dual terms, as a surviving remnant of the glories and mystic secrets of an unsalvageable Tibet and as a primitive wilderness at the fringes of the Indian sub-continent. To quote one eminent writer, “Ladakh comprises the last remaining area of the world in which the original Tibetan religious culture remains untouched either by communism of Tibet as in Tibet proper or by the modernization to which refugees in India and Nepal are generally exposed” (Crook 1980:140). Crook’s article goes on to prophesy for its “the tourist, however poorly informed, visits Ladakh for its authenticity. If that is lost the nature of tourism itself will change” (1980: 160 cited in Aggarwal 1993: 33).

Romantic Construction of Lamayuru as ‘Moon-Land’

Lamayuru attracts hundreds of thousands of tourists each year because of its alluring Landscape, its historic role as a famous tourist destination in Ladakh. It has an image of a unique and symbolic Ladakhi village which was opened for tourists from the onset of when Ladakh was first thrown open to tourists in 1974. The history of this village is exceptionally unique, as it evolved independently on its own. It has never been under the control of any Ladakhi king. It has its own significance within the broader context in the history of Ladakh. Therefore, Lamayuru is renowned as ‘*Tharpa-Ling*’ which means the ‘place of freedom’ (Khenpo Rangdol, personal interview, 11 July, 2014).

The inflow of tourists grew swiftly in the following years, and it emerged as one of the must-visit destinations. The Lamayuru village became the archetype of tourists’ consumption. It is an interesting exercise to look at how the tourism industry has brought the small and isolated Himalayan village within the ambit of popular mass culture. Lamayuru is not an exception. It is already located within the paradigm of mass culture. Lamayuru as the representation of an isolated Himalayan village became a part of what T.W. Adorno termed as cultural industry. T.W. Adorno coined the term “cultural industry” to signify the process of the

industrialization of mass-produced culture and the commercial imperative that drove the system. Adorno and Horkheimer were among the first social theorists to note its importance in the reproduction of contemporary societies. In their view,

Mass culture and communications stand in the center of leisure activity, are important agents of socialization, mediators of political reality, and should thus be seen as major institutions of contemporary societies with a variety of economic, political, cultural and social effects.

Lamayuru village becomes a space for an ardent cultural reinvention, and just the right place to explore the interface between tourism, religion and cultural representation. It is an appropriate space to obtain tourist-villagers intricacies through employing ethnography narratives. The romantic construction of Lamayuru exudes western nostalgia. It is one of those villages which have been captured in the accounts of early travellers. Moorcroft and Trebeck (1819-1825) had a glimpse of Lamayuru, and then described Lamayuru as ‘the site of a very large establishment of Monks and Nuns’. Likewise, Aynsley J. C. Murray (1978) who travelled the length and breadth of India (or Hindostan), Kashmir and Ladakh offered an insightful travelogue, in which she conferred an account of monastery and its architectural style. She was told by villagers that Lamayuru monastery was the third largest and important monastery in the whole of Ladakh.

The travel accounts tend to comprehend the western melancholic desire for a perceived place and time of harmony between the physicality and the spiritual. Lamayuru’s spectacularly odd geological formation seems to have captured the imagination of western fantasy. However, this is not unique to Lamayuru. Rather, the sacredness of the monastery is much more peculiar than its geological formation of the landscape. In fact, the ‘lunar’ Landscape has been promoted as “Moonscape” and has become an entity in itself for Lamayuru to be known as Moon-Land. The tourism industry amicably capitalized its natural landscape, and in the process it became a symbolic resource for attracting tourists. The very mode of presentation attempts to ‘still’ time. The village is being renamed for tourists’ consumption. The role of media should be acknowledged here in the making of Lamayuru as the ‘Moon-Land’, as they made the place famous and popularized to the extent that it is found on the map of tourism enterprises world-wide. On camera the mystic landscape and its people is recorded, edited, produced and made available throughout the world. In the process of electronic media

representations of the name Ladakh as Last Shangri-La, Little Tibet, Moon Land, it has become a monument to tourist.

This idealistic construction of the village and poetic name 'Moon-Land' although enormously appealing to western nostalgia, ignores the challenges Lamayuru faces today. It forgets the realities of the subsistence agricultural pattern of living, scarcity of water due to less snow fall in winter, increasing numbers of unemployed youths, and so on. Environmental degradation is indeed one of the short comings commonly associated with tourism at every tourist's destination (Brohman, 1996). This is caused by a number of factors, among which are poverty and difficulties in earning an alternative livelihood, the lack of infrastructure, and lack of policies and planning. Frequently in developing countries, tourism policies are outdated, incomplete, or poorly applied (Singh 2002). This is one of the inherent patterns of contradiction, wherein the tourism industry tends to exoticize the destination and overlooks the ground realities of the host society.

If we look retrospectively at how Ladakh was being imagined leading to how it is imagined today, according to Hanlon, missionaries projected Ladakh as uncivilized and pagan. This was propagated with the presumption of converting their faith. Unsurprisingly Hanlon and his colleagues won few converts. Today, there are more than twenty Christian families in Ladakh and a missionary school which was founded by this missionary project. The task of modernizing Ladakh has passed on from missionary to the central Indian government and the Jammu and Kashmir government.

In the twentieth century, Ladakh was imagined as again one of hope and even salvation. Ever since Ladakh was opened to outsiders in 1974, it has been a popular destination for westerners in search of the last Shangri-la, for adventure tourists, cultural tourists and backpackers. Ladakh was imagined and objectified in the idea of Shangri-La (Bishop, 1989; Lopez, 1998). Shangri-La was, until its 'discovery', in China (British Broadcasting Corporation, 1998 cited in Gillespie 2006: 56). Shangri-La is basically a fictional construction of a valley in a book *Last Horizon* (1933) written by James Hilton. This ideal construction of Shangri-La is a fertile valley far away in the Himalaya. In the midst of a mountain inhabited by Buddhist peasants, while on top, high up on the side of the valley is a semi-religious establishment. The idea of creating Shangri-La was to preserve a positive

culture in the modern world. Here all that is good in modern culture, literature, science, art, is being stored; so that when the modern world self-destructs, Shangri-La will, like Noah's Ark, reseed the world. Today, the image of Shangri-La is typically an antithesis to modern culture. For example, in 1978, the National Geographic ran a cover story titled "Ladakh: the last Shangri-La," which described Ladakh as being:

People of hardy mountain stock, proud, spirited, steeped in ancient traditions, not yet encumbered by modern gadgetry such as matches, gunpowder or (except for mechanized prayer devices) the wheel. (Abercrombie 1978: 338)

The image of Ladakh was somewhat close to Shangri-La, as people were simple and innocent, which is now being lost in the process of modernization. This is how Ladakh is being projected as the Last Shangri-La. This idea tries to convey the message that we are losing something which is quite meaningful. However, it has enthralled tourists from across the globe who are willing to invest substantial time and money in order to get a glimpse of the Last Shangri-La. This is one of the projects leading tourists to Ladakh, and the prospect of capitalizing on that desire is what led to the Chinese tourist authorities' claim to have discovered Shangri-La (Gillespie 2006).

Similarly, many documentary films were made on Ladakh. Helena Norberg's '*Ancient Future*' was one among the earlier popular films which has carried the image of Ladakh to the western world. More recently, especially, since the making of the Bollywood movie *Three Idiots* in 2009 which was partly shot in the region, an Indian middle class whose travel aspiration of low cost-flights has been realised, have also begun to flock there (Demenge and Gupta, 2013: 7). Promoting tourism was hardly their objective. Nevertheless, Urry (1990) and Riley (1994) have demonstrated that films and television programmes set in 'exotic' locations frequently increase travel to such places. The films *Ancient Future* and *Three Idiots*, show us that films are one aspect of growing numbers of romanticized electronic media representations that are increasing visitation to the region.

Tourism is the world's largest employer, a fact that Lamayuru acknowledges in the face of increasing unemployment of its youths. Rural youth, better educated, and therefore less willing to choose the difficult existence of high altitude farming, are beginning to move to

Leh city and other urban centres. Prior to tourism becoming a major source of income, agriculture and Army has been the main source of livelihood for residents of Lamayuru.

When Experience Coincides with the Ideal

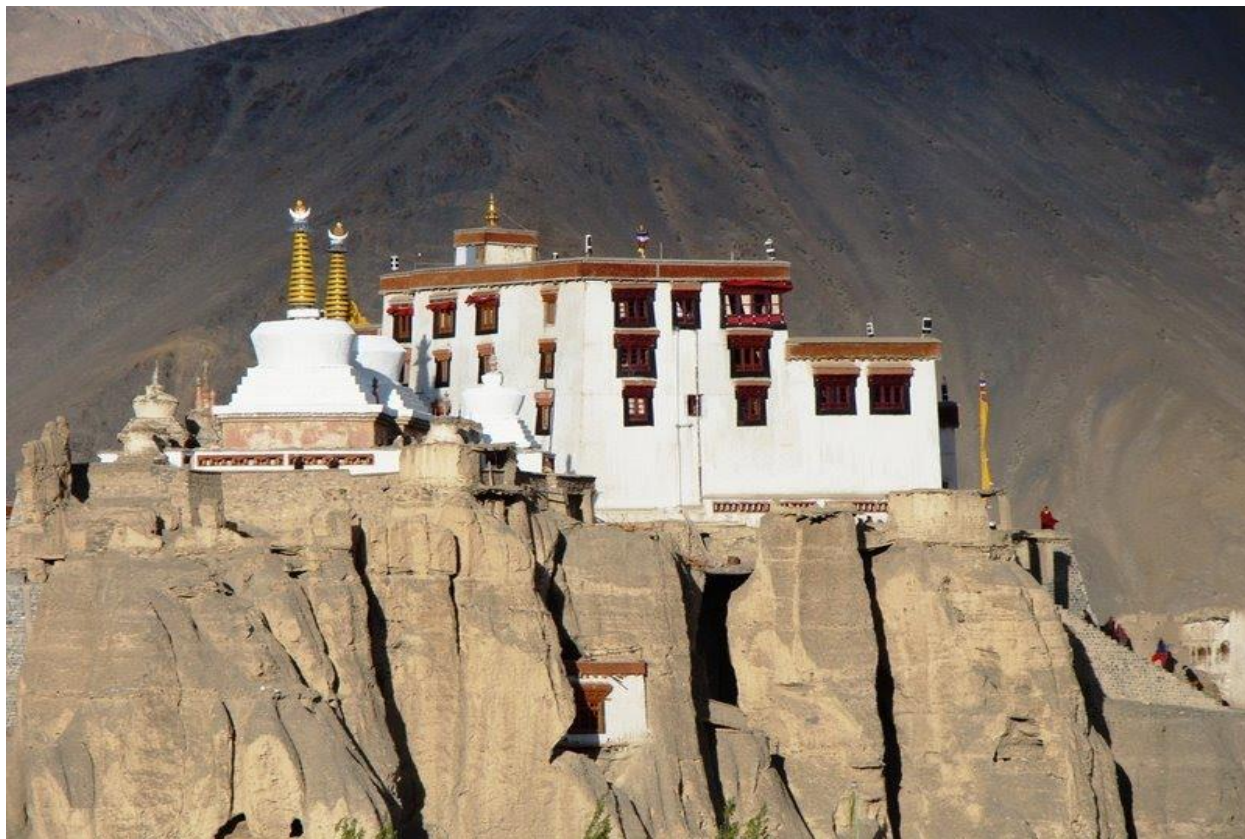
One of the most fascinating things about human beings is the capacity to idealize or imagine things before they experience them. Gillespie (2006) has rightly pointed out that the ‘ideal are an important part of the mass mediated environment’. Ideal in this context refers to tourists’ aspiration for upcoming experiences and their imagination about the destination. Indeed, the choice of their destination is the reflection of their imagined ideal. Ladakh being one among the ideal places for tourists, they invest a handsome amount of money and time trekking to remote villages. These tourists are striving for some ideal experience, a possible future that they feel within their grasp. Tourist determination to visit Ladakh is provoked by such ideals. While analyzing the interview data, it came to light that the tourists own photographs become the source to unveil the nature and origin of such ideals.

The interesting thing to be observed is that tourists often click photographs at those instants when their ongoing experience coincides with the idea towards which they are striving. Many tourists take photographs so as to verify their present experience with the one they had imagined and with photos of the same places they saw before they came to Ladakh. Consider, for example, figure-25. This photograph was taken by an Italian lady. She was on tour with a group of thirteen people from Italy. She told me that initially Lamayuru was not in their schedule, but later she convinced other members to include Lamayuru too.

They came to see the Lamayuru gompa (Lamayuru monastery), and when they arrived at the monastery she took this photograph. She said,

This is exactly what I am looking for, this [Buddhist monastery] look unbelievable. This is not among my usual photos because I had a guide book on Ladakh and it was all the pictures I had seen and now I am here.

Figure 23: A tourist's photograph of Lamayuru *gompa*



Source: photo by tourist

This photograph is one of the typical representations of Lamayuru, and a similar sort of image can be found on postcards and in guidebooks. The photo of Lamayuru gompa in the midst of a mountain, with its white washed buildings and beautiful *Chorten* (stupas) has become the source of attraction for tourists. The guide book introduced this image to her in Italy, and now she employs the image as a base by which she judges her own experience. She says ‘this is not among my usual photos’, yet she clicked the photograph because what she saw was just like the book. Her experience conformed to her ideal expectation. The image of the Buddhist monastery existed, via books, before she ever arrived in Ladakh. This tourist, in part, engaged in an attempt to actualize this image which she achieved both in her experience and in the photograph.

Furthermore, the tourist, I came across and interviewed had an interesting explanation about their travelling plans in Ladakh. The first obvious question I asked was, “How did you come to know about Ladakh?” Most of the tourists replied that they got to know from their friends

and guide books, particularly the Lonely Planet guidebook, *Indian Himalaya*, wherein Ladakh is referred to as “the last Shangri-La” and one of the most remote regions in India (Mayhew Plunkett, Coxall, Sax, & Greenway, 2000; 201). One of the tourists replied:

Every people have their own ideal place where they want to go and spend some quality time. I also had the same and inquired about it. I read guidebooks on Ladakh and talked to my friend who visited Leh a few years back; they narrated to me about the beauty of nature and simplicity of the people. When I came here, Leh appears to be something more than I expected, it is an awesome experience and I wanted to visit more in future’ (Sabina, an Italian tourist. interview on July 17, 2014).

It is clear, therefore, that these tourists have not explored Ladakh before, nor have they travelled anywhere else in the Himalaya, but they do have an ideal image and anticipation about the place. Such an ideal place where tourists aspire to visit can be very general. This is evident in several references to the *National Geographic* magazine. Although the *National Geographic* has had several articles on Ladakh, there is nothing to suggest that any of the tourists I interviewed had actually seen these articles, the best known article was published in 1978. Instead, *National Geographic* is used by tourists to refer to a particular genre of the exotic. And it is toward this type of exotic that tourists strive towards. Therefore, the tourists’ quest for an ideal place and the images of Ladakh constructed in the mass media add to a thriving tourism industry in Ladakh. Those guidebooks or images which objectify Ladakh and the remote regions of the Himalaya are what have been called as ‘symbolic resources’ (Gillespie, Zittoun Duveen, Ivinson, & Psaltis, 2003; Zittoun, 2006) which help to attract tourists. These are the preparatory resources for tourists to obtain information about Ladakh, which has equipped them with local knowledge. It helps them to overcome the unknown problems that they may encounter during their tour. Lamayuru, for that matter, is comparatively one of the most circulated images through mass media and guidebooks. Those guidebooks, arguably, epitomize Lamayuru as a ‘symbolic resource’ for Ladakh. The Lonely Planet guide book described Lamayuru as:

Set among mountain-backed badlands, low-placed Lamayuru is one of Ladakh’s most memorable villages and an ideal place to break the Kargil-Leh journey. Picturesque homes huddle around a crumbling hilltop that’s pitted with caves and topped by the ultra-photogenic Yundrong Gompa (admission Rs 50 rupees). Behind glass within the Gompa’s main prayer hall is a tiny cave in which 11th-century mystic Naropa meditated. Lamayuru is traditionally

the starting point for some of Ladakh's greatest treks (to Zaskar, Chiling etc). It remains the most hopeful place for organizing your own packhorses/donkeys (Rs 330 per day including driver). (Croxall Michelle, Greenway (edited) 1996: 204)

These guidebooks draw upon the collective intelligence of thousands of tourists who have previously been to Ladakh, and make this knowledge available to the new arrival (Gillespie 2006: 60). Now information is easily accessible because those guidebooks are supported by web pages and discussion forums in the internet ensuring that information is up to date. Lamayuru's cosmopolitan character of being traditionally the starting point for trekkers to many places made Lamayuru famous the world over. For instance, Lamayuru to Darcha (Himachal Pradesh) trekking route which take 22 days to complete is one of the longest and more famous trekking routes in Ladakh. It would not have been known to the world if media had not played the role in disseminating information about Lamayuru. In fact, the entire information on institutions has changed the phase of tourism industry in Ladakh. Over a period of time, it has become as strong as to reverse the asymmetry of knowledge between locals and tourists in an inaccessible place like Ladakh. It has come to be known from the fact that earlier travellers had to rely upon local tour guides. But now tourists come to Ladakh and do their sightseeing on their own without the help of a local guide. Some of the tourists expressed their sense of resentment about the inefficiency of local guides in narrating the history of Ladakh in general and monasteries in particular. They said "in many respects the guidebooks provide more information than local guides could". Therefore, the entire industry of information empowers tourists and creates an enormous inferiority complex among the local guides. A 26-year-old tourist guide from Lamayuru has articulated his discontent at being rejected by one tourist group. He further stated that 'I read one guide book written by a foreign author' and that was his only resource, to know and explain about the history of Ladakh. Here, the interesting thing is that most of the guidebooks are written by earlier explorers and it is now common practice for guides in Ladakh to keep them up-to-date by reading tourist guidebooks. Tourists, who travel to Ladakh expecting to find some instantiation of Shangri-La, expect to find Buddhist villages and festivals, traditional communities, and happy peaceful people. What they find does not always conform to expectations, and it is this which stimulates many of the debates between tourists and the

local guides. It is interesting to look at conversations between tour leaders and the local guide within the courtyard of Lamayuru monastery.

For example:

Susana: I read in my guide book that there is one big and ancient drum in this monastery?

Dorjey: Ohhh really!!! I never saw it before.

Susana: Since you are a guide, you should know.

Dorjey: Well, I have been coming to this monastery for the last seven years. But I never heard or saw it before. Which book did you read?

Susana: I already informed the group about this, and I am sure there must be.

Dorjey: Ok, I will check with the monk then.

Monk: Who said that?

Dorjey: My group leader read it in the book.

Monk: I never saw it. Book always tells lie.

Susana: Well, it must be somewhere else in Ladakh if not in Lamayuru. Ok!! Tell us about the history of Lamayuru.

The discussion took place in the courtyard of the monastery with several other tourists joining in the discussion. Susana had never been to Ladakh before, yet, she seemed to have more information about Ladakh than any other tourists because she came as a tour leader. She expressed her sense of umbrage for not meeting her expectation of seeing a 'big and ancient drum'. Her construction of knowledge about Lamayuru monastery is being rebutted. However, Susana is invoking one of the iconic images associated with Lamayuru, the Moonland. For Susana, the image of Lamayuru was crystallized into the utopia of a simple, authentic and stress-free place that is the opposite of contemporary Western society. Her ideal construction of this image about a simple village, however, is real. It is real enough to make her criticize her own country. This is also evident in the most popular book on Ladakh, *Ancient Futures: Learning from Ladakh* by Helena Norberg-Hodge (1992), which argues that the alienated and bureaucratized West needs to learn from Ladakh in order to re-cultivate

local community structures. *Ancient Futures: learning from Ladakh* is both “our” past and “our” future. Such a representation reveals how deeply entwined the imagination of Ladakh is with the Western world. In either case, whether one sees ones’ past or ones’ future in Ladakh, it remains that in Ladakh one sees oneself. An American tourist who comes to Lamayuru every summer made an interesting statement: “The reason I to come Lamayuru every year is that it gives me an immense peace of mind. I am in love with Lamayuru. I miss the monastery, this landscape and peaceful environment.” (Marten, Personal interaction, 21st June, 2014)

It appeared from the above statement that the cacophony of the western industrial cultural ethos is reflected in their choice of which place to visit. Most of the tourists tend to have the same opinion about Lamayuru as a place which has something more to do with mental peace than just a place to see. Further conversation with Marten revealed the fact that he sees himself as not just a tourist, rather he is something more than a tourist. He refused to accept the word “tourist” as applying to him because his connection with Lamayuru is what he thinks goes beyond expression. Marten mentioned that “I have been visiting many places in the world but never found a place like this.....it is like an imaginary place which has come into existence”. Each tourist has a story to narrate about their impression of Lamayuru as a place of destination. Almost all the tourists with whom I interacted revealed their sense of apprehension about their monotonous way of life. It seems that Lamayuru’s unique landscape and peaceful environment enables tourists to experience a close connection with nature. This is exactly what Helena has mentioned, that ‘it is difficult to understand the difference between nature and culture in Ladakh’ as they are so closely connected. Eventually, it became the symbolic resources for Lamayuru which invited the tourism industry. This unique landscape gives a new identity to Lamayuru as a place for tourists. McCabe and Stokoe (2004: 602) have rightly pointed out that place and identity is fundamental to understanding the ‘dynamic character of destinations and meanings attached to places by tourists’. They suggested that accounts of travel and tourism are formulated as stories containing biographical detail, temporal formulations and the activities of others.

The monk incharge at the monastery of Lamayuru told me that “many tourists do come back after their first visit to Lamayuru, and they do practice meditation in the monastery. At

present there is only one couple from America who are continuously coming here for the last few years. They are staying in the hotel owned by the monastery.” Many of the guidebooks on Ladakh undertake readers through these remote regions, towards ‘ancient’ Buddhist monasteries and into traditional villages. They describe appealing topics such as the Polyandry system in Ladakh, the simplicity of the people, a romantic construction of traditional dress and peoples’ way of living etc. There are images of Lamayuru monastery, edited pictures of the landscape merging into blue sky, snow peaks and rivers green at the bottom, images of goats and shepherds, old men and women with portable prayer wheels in their hand, and so on. These are the kind of textual symbolic resources and images that lead tourists to come to Lamayuru or to Ladakh for that matter. This imaginary place of James Hilton’s ‘Shangri-La’ and the existent place like Lamayuru reveal how deeply entwined they are with the imagination of westerners. Shangri-La, an imaginary place like paradise, would be divulged anywhere in the Himalayas. The myth of Shangri-La, ‘a multi-ethnic community living a perfect life in an unblemished and wondrous natural enclave, enjoying harmony, longevity and supernatural powers, grew with the Lost Horizon screen version’ by Frank Capra (1937) (cited in Kelder 1999: 21). The Westerners undertook innumerable expeditions in search of this paradise on earth. This imaginary paradise became the object for Westerners which has led to the rapid growth of the tourism industry in the Himalayas. In the process of searching for such an imaginary place, a number of pseudo-Shangri-Las are flourishing in the Himalayas. Such kinds of “ideal place” always bear the signs of placelessness. It is the “causal eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardized landscape that results from insensitivity to the significance of place” (Relph 1976, ii) and are fostered by McDonaldized forms of tourism (Ritzer, 1998). In order to categorize this consecutive production of fake Shangri-Las, state council of the people’s republic of China pronounced a contest which would declare Shangri-La’s brand applicable to the “real” one. Finally, this imaginary place concurs with Zhongdian, a decent town in Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province (China). Nevertheless, many of the tourists see Ladakh as an alternative destination to Tibet.

Chapter III

Tourist-Villager Interaction

In the previous chapter I dealt with the socio-cultural contour of Lamayuru village and its journey to become a famous tourist destination. Therefore, in order to maintain the continuity of discussion, this chapter would focus on understanding the dynamics of tourist-villager encounter in Lamayuru. Lamayuru village, in particular, offers a laboratory to comprehend tourist (guest) and villager (host) interaction. The famous and biggest monastery of lower Leh, geographical landscape, and social setting seize the attention of tourists which augment the inflow of tourist in the village. In addition, spatial setting of the village further makes it more conducive to observe a micro world of tourist-villager encounters. However, it is not an easy task to comprehend the dynamics of this ‘micro-social world’¹²⁰ of Lamayuru without sociological imagination and theoretical framework. Therefore, it would be an appropriate framework to examine the social situation of Lamayuru from the standpoint of Herbert Blumer an American sociologist (1969). He was a student of George Herbert Mead who made an attempt to turn Mead’s ideas into empirical social psychology. He further synthesized the pragmatist philosophy of George Mead (1864-1929). Consequently, he propounded a comprehensive theoretical framework to examine social interaction.

The first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or rises out of, the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, and interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounter. (Blumer, 1969: 2)

He explains his discontentment with psychology and sociology for placing the origin of action outside of interaction. Psychology, for instance, generally put the causes of action deep within the individual, and in set of cognitions, a dynamic unconscious, or a personality trait. Sociology, on the other hand, comprehends human action through macro social structures, function or social facts, among others. Social interaction in such account is not a cause for creating meaning or action, it is just a means to conceal causes. Blumer’s suggestion is that “the empirical social world consists of ongoing group life and one has to

¹²⁰ Alex Gillespie (2006). ‘Becoming other: from social interaction to self reflection: *Advances in Cultural Psychology: Constructing Human Development*. Greenwich, CT: Information age publishing.

get close to this life to know that what is going on in it” (p.38). It is in this context under which dynamics of social interaction has to be understood by observing lived life of the community with its invisible kinds of traits, but interaction takes places on the basis of created and shared meaning. The task of the present chapter is to enter the micro world of tourist-villager encounter, and simply ask, what is going on there among the villager and tourist?

Observing the question of ‘what is going on’ is astoundingly complex. The things which take place regularly are invisible. As I mentioned above that in order to understand the dynamic of this invisible social world we need a theoretical frame. Here I am using the notion of social act. What is going on in tourist-villager encounter? Attempt has been made to construct a corpus of discourses among tourists as well as among the villagers concerning tourism industry. Tourist and villagers interact around sightseeing, monastery, home stays, hotels, guesthouses and photographs. There is also so much of economic exchange. Tourists spend lot of time being served by villagers. Villagers tend to exoticize their way of life and try to exhibit their culture to the tourist; they take care of the need of tourists and provide them accommodation. Using the notion of social act, to conceptualize this observation of interaction between different social positions of actors who are involved in tourism related business, we need to ask a series of detailed questions. Here I would focus mainly upon those people I came across in hotels, guesthouses and monastic space. Broadly, it comprised of three main aspects, the corpus construction discourses among villagers as well as among tourists and role of local guides in tourism industry.

Participating in and Observing an Interaction

My observation and participation in observing tourist space began in 2000, when I first took active part in the tourism industry as a helper, in a trek for 16 days. As I look back, I see myself as a child, being born and brought up in a milieu where tourism envelops all the spectrum of life, it transcends the dichotomy of personal-political, in fact it colonializes one’s life world, it would not be wrong to say it governs all aspect of our lives as Ladakhis. Therefore, it would be inauthentic on my part to pretend not to be influenced by the impact of tourism that has an imprint upon my growing up as a child, as an adult, as helper, a guide and moreover a researcher in the field of tourism. These

random experiences in fact, nurtured a kind of understanding within me about tourism, its politics and its political economy.

My field experiences as a professional tourist guide at different sites in Ladakh and at different junctures of time have indeed helped me to understand the changes that occur by abrupt opening up of a society to the rest of the world. However, systematic field work as a Ph.D student began in 2013, and was followed with extended visit to Lamayuru village in 2014 and 2015. During this period I spent time staying in tourist guesthouses, hotels, resorts, monastery, and local houses. Apart from that, I have participated as a guide, tour organiser, driver, sometimes as a helper in all the major tourist practices (trekking, cultural sightseeing, motorbike safari, mountain climbing, etc). And local practices (travel agencies work, receiving and dropping tourist to airport, conflict resolving and negotiation process with local tour operators viz outsiders, the monastery festivals, village weddings, political movements, religious teaching, and funeral, etc.). Each visit to Lamayuru is indeed unique, in terms of observing tourist-villagers encounter. But, one surprising fact that I have noticed is that my visit as a researcher made me become more interactive than my earlier visits as a tour guide. This huge inflow of tourists created a wave of interaction each year. Tourist pass through Lamayuru village, but the pattern of its constancy is being shaped in the village. Visiting monastery, moon-land, local houses, and photography are the major social acts. Lamayuru offers wide range of avenues for social interaction. These interactions fulfill the tourists' motivation to come to experience and see Lamayuru village. It is through these interactions Lamayuru's image as a tourist destination is being shaped and re-shaped.

Furthermore, during the course of this research, I got an opportunity to visit several European countries from where Lamayuru receive most of its visitors. It surprisingly changed my understanding and perception about the tourists who come to Ladakh and my own experience of an act of being a tourist. This actually added different dimension to understand act of tourists or the act of touring, more closely. The way Ladakhi villagers perceive tourists as rich and happy was found to be ambiguous, since they are not necessarily happy at home. There can be numerous reasons to travel to Ladakh. In fact, all

tourists who come to Lamayuru are not essentially rich but they are certainly not poor. This dynamics of the social position of tourist at their home were observed from my own act of being guest within the house of the tourist who visited Lamayuru.

Constructing a Corpus of Discourse: An Interaction between Tourist and Villagers

Constructing a body of discourse from unknown population is indeed difficult. When I say unknown population, it is not about individual population of tourist or villagers (sampling tourist and villager would be easy). Here, I am talking about sample of discourses. Obtaining data in terms of number of tourists, village population, number of households, etc are easily obtainable from government records. Generally, the procedure of acquiring information is initiated by selecting a population and defining sample out of that population. But, in this case prior population is not defined. Because, the method of corpus construction accepts that often “one cannot determine what a representative corpus looks like”. (Bauer and Aarts, 2000: 29). It is a procedure used to collect data, from discourses, when one does not know the population beforehand from which one is collecting data. This approach is suitable to use under such circumstances when one need to produce data through interactive process. The idea is that researcher keeps on creating space for discussion until it reaches saturation point. I decided to use this method of ‘corpus construction’ in order to produce a set of data about an interaction between tourist and villagers. I tried to gather together tourists’ discourse on themselves and villagers. Accordingly, I approached different tourist groups and local people in relatively natural settings and discussed with them various topics, ranging from their aspiration for coming to Lamayuru to dynamics of Ladakhi culture. Each discussion followed a pattern which helps to prolong the discussion. Each discussion was compared to previous discussions and continued to collect discussion until I ceased finding new topics and perspectives.

The Tourist Discourse

The construction of discourses comprises of 11 group discussions, including two domestic tourist groups. The size of the groups ranged from minimum 4 tourists to maximum 27 tourists and total 103 tourists participated on different occasions. Most of these group discussions were carried out while I was then tour guide which can be considered as

relatively in natural setting. Interestingly, tourists from 16 nationalities participated in the process of constructing corpus of discourses. They represented France, Germany, Greece, Italy, United Kingdom, USA, Israel, Japan, Venezuela, Taiwan, Canada, Malaysia, Singapore, Switzerland, Africa, Czech Republic and India. French, Italian and Germans were the most common tourists whom I guided.

This corpus has diversity in terms of nation, age, gender, interest and qualification. Much of these discussions were held in public setting, such as resorts, restaurants, and hotels. Some were even conducted within the premises of the Lamayuru monastery. Few of the discussions followed some pattern especially those conducted in *Moon-land hotel*, Lamayuru, and *Ule Ethnic Resort* which was situated at a distance of 40 km away from Lamayuru. The rationale for choosing these two places is that tourists who stayed back in Lamayuru were approached in *Moon-Land Hotel* which is relatively the biggest hotel in the village. Those tourists who make a day trip to Lamayuru are normally accommodated in *Ule Ethnic Resort* where they tend to have more time to talk. The duration of the discussion in these two places lasted comparatively longer than any other places. It lasted from 3 to 4 hours and covered a range of topics. It came to light that space for discussion matters in invoking participants. However, I did manage to conduct three discussions in restaurants at Leh town, particularly with a small group with an average of 4 tourists in each group. Language used in all the interaction was English.

What makes them come to Lamayuru?

The tourists visiting Lamayuru were recommended mostly by their friends, internet, guidebook and travel agencies. However, there were few groups who had come without reference or recommendation from anyone. Most of the discussions began with the simple question of what makes you come to Lamayuru? The responses are somewhat common that they have been led to Lamayuru by an expectation of the representation of Lamayuru as a peaceful and pristine Himalayan village, exotic, adventure, or in search of mental peace. Moreover, nearly every one of them shares interest in going off the beaten track and in having a different kind of holiday. Few of them were regular visitors to Lamayuru monastery

and they have been accommodated within the premises of monastery. These are the people who come to Lamayuru monastery for retreat for about two to three months in summer.

One interesting group led by a 57 year old man from South Africa, who had been working for the last 30 years with '*Unique Travel Destination*' a travel company based in Cape Town, especially came to see Lamayuru monastery. He is specialized in Himalaya (especially Ladakh and Bhutan) Arctic and Antarctic. This time he decided to bring his group to Ladakh and this counts as his second trip to Ladakh. He immediately and generously agreed to convince his group for two hour discussion at the roof of Lamayuru monastery. Few monks also participated in the discussion. We covered a range of topics but the revealing part of this discourse was that they categorize themselves as *traveller* not as a *tourist*.

Tashi: What is your view about this monastery, as tourists?

John: We are not tourists, we are travellers.

Peter: Yes, you are right we are not tourists.

John: That is what I said, this group is different from other groups because we organise the tour only for travellers not for tourists. I am interested in Lamayuru because it is unique and many travellers wrote about it. Indeed, this place is magnificent ...look at the colors of the mountains and location of the monastery.

Tashi: How do you differentiate between tourist and traveller?

John: Well, there is a big difference. Travellers works with his mind, he explores, imagines, questions, reasons out and the tourist is more personal, just ticks of the places, that means nothing.

This exchange begins with the presumption that travellers are different from tourists. All the participants shared the common view that Lamayuru is interesting for travellers because of its rich history of the monastery and geographical uniqueness. Similarly, another group from Czech Republic refer to themselves as travellers and not as tourists. They were introduced to Lamayuru through the '*Lonely Planet*' guide book and internet. Moreover, they said, Lamayuru village is a well known place in their country. One informant expressed his view that 'places like Lamayuru are not just a place to tick off on one's diary, but it actually represents a great art of nature that one needs to come and see so closely'. Although tourists in the interviews and group discussion represented diversity in terms of its composition of the

corpus, I am forced to stay with their homogeneous nature of responses. 70 percent of the people who took part in corpus construction held especially at Lamayuru monastery are not ready to be called tourist. The discussion with the tourists which took place at Leh in different restaurants and coffee shops revealed that they however had no problem being described as tourists. One very interesting observation is that the same individual who participated in Lamayuru tends to change their identity from tourist to traveller. However, we may use the words 'tourist' and 'traveller' interchangeably, but for some individuals in the tourist community, these titles have different implications. It appeared from their conversation that one may choose to be tourist one day and then be traveller on the other days. It is true that the construction of Lamayuru's image as a traveller destination has been explored by famous travellers like Moorcroft and Trebeck (1819-125), Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893) and Nicholas Roerich (1874-1947).

What do the tourists think about Lamayuru and the people?

It was a unanimous outcome from all the discussions with tourists that they visit Lamayuru to experience what they called 'old and remote traditional communities' not touched by industrialization and modernization far away from western industrialized nations. Their act of touring Lamayuru is to visit the monastery, natural landscape, village custom and tradition and its people. However, it is evident across all the debates that tourists' main concern is to evaluate whether villagers or their culture are traditional or modern. Tourists usually presume that people in Lamayuru are least concerned about material possessions or aspiration to become wealthy. They often use the following terms to describe people in Lamayuru- 'simple' 'religious' 'having everything they need' and 'satisfied with life'. But, sometimes they found it contradictory seeing those hotels, guesthouses and assets owned by the villagers. Thus, the widely accepted image of Lamayuru is being jeopardized by the image of people who are involved in tourism industry because they aspire to become more modern and materialistic as well. Hence, it becomes a topic for discussion.

In the following exchange, a group of tourists were discussing their day experiences in Lamayuru village inside the dining hall of Moon-Land hotel. One of them said that 'I am so shocked by seeing garbage disposal problem in the village'. She probably saw the garbage

stored near the monastery where monks, pilgrims and hotelier throw garbages. Another one said ‘I went to a local house but that house is not traditional, it looks so new’. The third one said ‘I came across an old man and I took a photo of him...look at him...isn’t he so charming?’ Her encounter with traditional Ladakhi man fascinates other two. Then the conversation takes an interesting turn with the discussion of the dichotomy between traditional and modern Ladakhi. A debate arises between the earlier assertion that villagers are ‘happy’ and ‘satisfied’ and the idea that they are becoming ‘modern’ and ‘materialistic’. Another occasion of discussion with a group from Czech Republic also focussed on the same topic. Some of them have been to Lamayuru earlier and they explained about their earlier experiences in Ladakh by showing pictures to the group. They were showing the group pictures of Monasteries, an old lady with her grandson in traditional dress, old monks, children, and shepherds from nomadic area of *Changthang* etc. Yet, another interesting photographer group from USA came across in *Ule Ethnic Resort* where they all were presenting their photos on a projector, which had been taken on the way from Srinagar to Ladakh. They were professional photographers, accompanied by their teacher, who earlier used to work with the famous singer Michael Jackson as a photographer. It was a mandatory class in their schedule to present their photos to the group on every alternate day. They showed diverse photos ranging from nomadic *Gujar* goat herder to Buddhist monasteries including Lamayuru. Interestingly, the photos of Lamayuru became the centre of attraction for their discussion. Eventually, this group also somehow reflects on the two poles of modern and traditional/old and new. But, the images of both the groups were similar to the images which appeared repeatedly in postcards on Ladakh and the guidebooks.

Let us try to put this discourse into the context of corpus construction of an encounter of tourist and villagers in Lamayuru. This is the discussion of the tourists which has a pattern beneath the surface of all the discourses. An objectifying act of the tourist in term of capturing old and traditional Ladakhi/villagers and their exclusion of modern Ladakhi in their act of photography itself reveals one pattern of discourse. This pattern of an act of tourist photography has many implications on the host community. I am referring here to Gillespie (2006) who argued that ‘whatever photograph tourist takes becomes Ladakhi culture’. The act of photography is very powerful as it has a tendency to create a ‘pseudo community’. The tourist encounter with the people in Lamayuru objectively takes photograph of those who are

traditional and primitive. They are not happy with modern Ladakhi or anything which looks new and modern. I am using here what Moscovici (1984) referred to as 'objectification'. This act of photography and tourists' classification of villagers made this discourse more apparent. What classification of image made the theoretical ideas of 'modern' and 'tradition' real and imaginable? There are two types of image being constructed about the villagers in Lamayuru one as *'farmer'* and other as *'hello madam/sir'*. The first types of people are traditional because they have nothing to do with tourism industry because they are not involved in any tourism related business. The second type of villagers are those who are involved in tourism business and try to attract tourist into their guest house and hotel with acts of their hospitality. Gillespie referred to the second type of people as 'Lizardman' in context of Leh. These are the tourists' constructed images of the local people which often rise in tourist discourses. I am referring here not necessarily to the most commonly invoked images, but rather to those images that seem to have the most meaning within the representational field. It seems apparent that traditional and modern evaluative dimension is objectified, using it in implicit way, in an opposition between the image of a 'farmer' and 'hello madam/sir'. This is the root image through which tourists actually experience people in Lamayuru village.

Tourist Quest for Authenticity

In order to understand the question of tourist act in search of authenticity in a place like Lamayuru, it would be meaningful to ask whether or to what extent tourists' aspiration to visit Lamayuru are in search for an authentic village culture, or village's artifacts 'made up' for the sake tourists are 'authentic'. This two questions needs to be comprehended if we are to get acquainted with the dynamics of tourist-local interaction in Lamayuru. Answering these questions requires first of all an investigation of tourists and the local debate about authenticity, especially local products and culture represented in the domain of tourism industry as authentic. It appeared to be that the influx of tourists in Lamayuru provide to the inhabitants reassuring discourses concerning the attribute of culture and how their cultural landscape might best and most accurately be presented to tourists. For instance, a cultural event organised by local artists showcase traditional dances and songs wherein hundreds of tourists watch the event. One local guide told me that 'those dances are not correct because

they have mixed many things into it'. Several others also expressed their dissatisfaction with the performances. Of course these dances and songs are for showcase, yet, they distorted the original form to make it more attractive. The authenticity was already lost at the outset because they were performing out of context and significance. Those were the songs and dances which are supposed to be singing and performed during the time of harvest and weddings. Yet, we can expect them to sing and represent its significance accurately which account as another form of authentic encounter. It seems that with the development of tourism, a new concern about authenticity is becoming evident among Ladakhi cultural brokers, some of them rather ingenuously marketing their culture as 'authentic Ladakhi culture'.

An authentic Ladakhi village sought by tourists on the one hand, and the media on the other, propagates an image of Ladakhi as a unique and exotic people who have always lived in harmony. In doing so, places like Lamayuru reinvented its symbolic resources to attract tourism industry. In fact, tourism offers avenues for diverse stakeholders to represent their vision of Ladakh. Travel agencies from Ladakh as well as from outside are marketing Lamayuru's image as *moon-land*, where people share intimate relation with nature and close to each other for centuries. They propagate Lamayuru as a 'dream cape' that characterizes *Moon-land* as tourist destination. The dream in question is essentially a romantic, anti-consumerist reaction against the problem of urbanization, and increasing commercialization. For tourists who hold this dream, comes to Lamayuru with an expectation to encounter the same. It is in this context the importance of tourist quest for the authentic become pertinent.

Yet, the concept of authenticity itself is embedded in complexities which has received considerable attention from scholars in recent years. It was MacCannell (1973) who first brought the concept of authenticity within the domain of sociological studies of tourist aspiration and experiences. Subsequently, a range of scholars are engaged with the concept in different ways. This academic engagement provides diverse perspectives, pertaining to the relationship to toured objects, destination sites and even touristic experience. Lamayuru is being propagated as an iconic tourist destination, and it would not be wrong to argue that the act of touring Lamayuru itself is the manifestation of the tourists' quest for authenticity. Because, over the course of time, Leh town became over crowded with too many tourists,

therefore, villages like Lamayuru are gaining importance for the tourism industry. Villages are also amicably capitalizing their resources to attract tourists. With the expansion of tourism industry in Lamayuru village, expression of ‘Ladakhi village culture’ have become objects of preservation efforts, as well as providing products to be bought and sold in the global tourism market. In the process, the name of Lamayuru has been re-shaped and re-named as ‘*moon-land*’ to be included in the map of tourism. Eventually, the tourism market in Ladakh has helped establish a common understanding that a particular place, which bears the name of ‘*moon-land*’, immediately connects to Lamayuru. The same name has been reproduced as hotel and guesthouse names in the village as well as in Leh town.

Let us examine the narratives provided by tourists about their quest for authentic place and people in Lamayuru. Their quest for authenticity attracted them to Lamayuru. It is observed that they often categorize people in terms of ‘authentic’ or ‘in-authentic’. According to them authentic are those who are preserving ‘Ladakhi traditional culture’ and ‘In-authentic’ are those who are imitating either tourist or becoming more modern.

Tourist: Where can we get a chance to interact with some old Ladakhi people?

Local guide: May be tomorrow while visiting Lamayuru monastery.

Tourist: Really!! We love meeting old traditional Ladakhi people.

Guide from Delhi: You should show them some traditional houses too.

Tourist: Yeah, that would be so nice of you.

Local guide: I will try to show an old house in Lamayuru but we need to give them something.

Tourist quest for a ‘chance to interact’ with old Ladakhi people/traditional and local guide’s anticipation to come across with them in Lamayuru, revealed an important dimension of this construction of discourse. Because, local guide’s affirmation to the tourist quest for their particular interest in seeing old Ladakhi people is the expression of an important consequences of tourists’ evaluative dimension between ‘modern/inauthentic’ and ‘tradition/authentic. Furthermore, guide’s suggestion to ‘show them some traditional houses’ is an act of objectifying traditional houses by ignoring other houses in the village. But, according to local guide those traditional houses are not easily accessible unless something is

given to the owner. That means, there already exist a constructed pattern of network to showcase traditional house for the tourist. Therefore, it seems that tourism gives an impetus to reinvent and conserve traditionalism. I asked an informant from Lamayuru whether they have traditional house or modern, he said 'normally we live in newly built houses but in summer we move to an old house, because tourists like that one, therefore, we offer them home-stay there'.

Thus, tourists usually wanted to engage with traditional people, and avoid those Ladakhi people who are desirous of being modern. In fact, this act of the tourist is justifiable because they have invested their time and money to come to Lamayuru. When tourists are around Lamayuru monastery, they take photographs of traditional looking people and let them pose. Questioning tourists about why they take photographs of old looking villagers invariably causes them some discomfort. When I asked one Italian tourist "why do you take photograph of old people?" He cautiously replied 'because I like to take photo of authentic people'. When I further asked him, what do you mean by authentic? Then he added 'which means a true Ladakhi who stays intact with local custom and tradition'. Likewise, the response to the same question by another tourist is that 'I like their traditional dress, smile and glow on their face because it also brings us joy when we see these photos back at home'. Similarly, another tourist replied that 'I like traditional cloths, but it is very sad that younger generations are not anymore interested in wearing traditional dresses. Hence, it came to light that their quest for authenticity is in traditional dresses and older generation. It can safely be generalized that tourists' presumption of Ladakh moving from traditional to modern are drawn from their interaction with the people and production of the material culture for tourist purposes in Ladakh. But, it does not mean that Ladakhis are still traditional in terms of non-material culture like traditional dress, architecture of house etc. The point here is that tourist act of searching for authenticity in Ladakh is mostly material orientation. Therefore, the material culture and non-material culture are not regularly examined within the tourists' discourse as an evaluative dimension of traditional and modern.

However, there was one tourist whose search for authenticity was quite different from the rest of the tourists. Her act of touring was for the quest of searching for an authentic sacred space. She embraced Buddhism and decided to become a nun. But, she was in search of a

right place for practice of Dharma. Her encounter with Lamayuru was accidental. She narrated her story about her journey to Lamayuru:

It was accidental for me to come in contact with *Kagyud* lineage. Earlier I did *Changchub Lamrim* with H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama in 2012 and went back to Australia thereafter. My friend gave me some teachings of Chagdud Rinpoche and he was from *Kagyud* lineage, this was my first sort of exposure to this lineage. Since I was attending only teachings for almost 15 years, so I complained to one of my friends that I need to do something more than that. She gave me some teaching of *Saraha*, which I never heard; I had no idea what *Saraha* was. We do not hear about such things. Then somehow I found Garchen Rinpoche through Facebook. I immediately, searched on Google to check if he has any teachings which he did, there were some teachings of *Mahamudra* and then I also found his movie '*For the benefits of all beings*' on YouTube. I got so emotional with Dharma that it scared me to some extent. That video completely changed my life and I decided at once that I am going to come to India and Nepal. Consequently, I went to Bodhgaya straight as I have been there before too, there I did the part of Monlam and I led a workshop as well. I was supposed to attend the second *Changchub Lamrim* in South India, and then I learned that Garchen Rinpoche is in Katmandu (Nepal) leading a Maney dupchen, so I changed my plan, went to Nepal and did this *Maney Dupchen* with him, Nupa Rinpoche and Konchok gyaltzen Rinpoche. I did not know any of these people. But, I knew Garchen Rinpoche because I have seen him on YouTube. So, I did this *Maney dupchen* where I was the only western nun. It was really a nice time and I decided to stay back in Nepal and did three months retreat. That is what I have been doing from last two years, doing retreats in various places between India and Nepal and meeting as many holy beings as I could. Not just of this lineage because this lineage was not in my plan at all, but I find that I keep coming back to this lineage again and again. I met Chouke Nema Rinpoche, I listened to Khentse Rinpoche in Bodhgaya, So, I am trying to get exposed to *Kagyud* because I was very content with *Gelug pa* lineage in Australia, it was very controlled actually! And really I have just been trying to expose myself to holy masters and there are so many realised masters. Last year I spent a couple of months in *Drikung kagyud* Monastery at Tso-Padma in Himachal Pradesh. I went there because it was Guru Rinpoche's place. There I decided to come to Ladakh and somebody said you should go to Lamayuru. I did not know what Lamayuru is all about; I did not have Google there. I planned to come to Ladakh, find monastery to stay and retreat. I did plan to visit Lamayuru but I never thought of staying here. As soon as I got here, I went straight to the temple of *Mahakala*, I know there was something. So I am sure I been here before that I have some sort of karmic connection with Lamayuru, now I am staying here from last seven weeks. I do not even realise how quick days pass on. It is a perfect place to do retreat. I am astoundingly grateful that I have found this place. This place is a wonderful site for meditation, retreat and people are extraordinarily supportive. Finally, I have found the right place for which I have been searching from last many years. This place is so special for the reason that it has a history, many realised masters including the great Buddhist saint *Maha-Naropa* came here. This place is very special and sanctity of this place is incomparable to any other place. I can feel the blessing of those great mediators and there is no destruction. (Interview on 30th Sept: 2015)

Her act of searching for an authenticity is attuned with the sanctity of the place. As she mentioned in the above statement that she has been travelling in search of a place where she can connect with her inner being and practice dharma. Her act of exploring Ladakh was an accidental encounter with Lamayuru monastery which she thinks is the place of her dream. She gave religious explanation to it by saying 'karmic connection' to encounter with the space of Lamayuru monastery. An act of encounter with the sacred space of monastery itself was a revelation for her because she was unacquainted with the place before. But, it is an exceptionally unique case in this corpus construction of discourses in terms of her dissociation with usual tourists' evaluative dimension of traditional and modern Ladakhi. It is due to the fact that her quest for authenticity does not lie in the socio-cultural landscape of Lamayuru village, but in the sacredness of the space. Her peculiar way to search for authenticity is embedded in her quest for life and that she chooses the path of Buddha. Therefore, her act of encounter with Lamayuru monastery and evidence of an authentic space of the monastery has to be felt and connected from within. Eventually, Lamayuru connects her, so she decided to visit it every year. The historical construction of the space as sacred and narratives about the place reconnect her to that particular time and space, wherein many mediators dwelled in the caves of Lamayuru. Those 'realised Buddhist masters' are stimulation for her reflexive feeling of an authentic encounter with this sacred space of the monastery.

Her mode of search for authenticity is unique from the rest of the tourists who come to Lamayuru. Generally, most of the tourists seek authenticity in the host culture and people. When they do not always meet with their expectation, it is the rupture that stimulates many of the debates that utilize the traditional-modern evaluative dimension. For instance, one tourist said that 'people in Lamayuru are comparatively better regarding the preservation of their culture than in Leh town but, generally I'm quite sad that Ladakhis are not preserving their culture'. This sort of responses is very common among the tourists who visit Ladakh. Here, the tourist is being judgmental about Ladakhi culture without acknowledging the fact they themselves are part of the whole process of change in Ladakh. In fact, one of the informants did mention that tourism industry is equally contributing to the whole business of change in Ladakh. Interestingly, Helena-Norberg (1991) in her book *'Ancient futures'* also emphasises that 'Ladakhi should preserve their culture and failure to do so is perceived as

something very bad'. I found this idea of 'Ladakhi should preserve their culture' as quite problematic because 'culture cannot be frozen in time' and therefore is not something to be lost (Gillespie 2006). Rather, they can only ever be subject to change. Culture evolves in time and space, and only when certain elements of culture become obsolete over time it naturally goes to the museum. This is how the whole idea of museum comes into being, through which we can understand human civilization. But, on the contrary, tourist quest for 'authenticity' and local people efforts to preserve their 'culture' result into the museumization of the communities. This aspect of tourism industry tended to dominate the academic debate. MacCannell refers to it as the process of constructing 'Pseudo-communities',

What one witnessed in the villages that are transformed for tourists, is a reification of the simple social virtues, or the ideal of 'village life', into 'something to see'. The village is not destroyed, but the primary function of the village shifts from being the base of human relationship to a detail in the recreational experiences of a tourist from out of town. Ironically, the tourist is often seeking to experience a place where human relationships still seem to exist (MacCannell 1992: 176).

Does the influx of tourism industry in villages necessarily end up creating 'Pseudo-communities'? Is the village which is attracted by tourist just an 'empty meeting ground' (MacCannell 1992), and are tourist sites essentially 'dreamscapes' of visual consumption (Zukin 1992)? But, tourist debates in Lamayuru pertaining to whether villagers are authentic or not, have to be understood from the functional aspect of their expectations. They come to Lamayuru with a prior expectation to encounter with their imagination of Shangri-la, they expect people to be simple living, in pristine places, peaceful and typical Buddhist village etc. What they come across is not necessarily up to their expectation because most of the villagers do not wear traditional dresses in summer and they are in tune with adapting a new way of life. Some villagers are engaged in tourism related business, some are engaged as coolies or soldiers in the army and monks are also busy receiving tourists in the monastery. Hence, tourist excitement for meeting an old one who wears traditional dress is justified here because most of them came to see old people in traditional dress. They do encounter with old people in and around the monastery but it is also commodified as they do ask for money to take photographs (see the details in second chapter). However, this interplay between their expectation and the reality they have encountered give rise to the discourse by employing

authentic and in-authentic dimension to evaluate the situation. The important point in this discussion is not about what constitutes authentic or real cultural markers but here authentic is used discursively, and trying to comprehend the true expression of culture.

Thus, the debate about tourist search for authenticity in a place like Lamayuru can be characterized as operating upon an evaluating dimension between traditional-modernity. Tourists expect people to be 'simple' 'spiritual' 'non-materialist' and 'authentic'. The problem is that their expectation is often turned down when they encounter with modern Ladakhi who is seen as modern, materialist and even non-spiritual. Therefore, we can see the tradition-modern in terms of tourists' goal and interest in Lamayuru.

The Tourist Quest for Local Food

Another interesting part of this corpus construction of discourses is the tourist quest for experiencing Ladakhi food. Tourist quest for local cuisine is an essential component of the tourist experience. They have not only come to Ladakh for visual and oral consumption, but also to experience the taste of the place. The act of tasting local food is an important approach to enter into a local culture as "it allows an individual to experience the 'other' on a sensory level and not just an intellectual level" (Long 1989: 195). Food is in fact, an elemental part of a destination's attribute, besides, a wealth of essential ecological resources to attract tourists (Symons: 1999). The engagement of social science in particular domain of food consumption elucidate that it is a cultural approach. Ritchie and Zins (1978) argue that cuisine is one of an integral part of cultural tourism and explain that gastronomy is a symbolic representation of culture. Sociology and anthropology bestowed many food theorists who have substantially contributed with their disciplinary approach on food consumption.

Now, coming to tourist quest for the local food in Ladakh which penetrates a range of debates related to the kind of food they are being served. Nearly, all the tourists have an interest in knowing about the indigenous gastronomy and want to experience the taste of local food. But, their quest for local food is not always met in restaurants and hotels in Leh and Lamayuru. Thus it becomes a topic for debate. In the following exchange, a group of tourists having their lunch in *Ule Ethnic Resort* and they were wondering why most of the

workers in the restaurants and in hotels are outsiders, especially from Nepal and other parts of India and they hardly come across with Ladakhi food.

Augustine: I have noticed that in every restaurant, hotel and resort most of the workers especially cooks, service boys and waiters are non-Ladakhi. Is that not strange!

Lili: Yeah, it might be one of the reasons that we are not getting Ladakhi food in hotels. there is not much difference between the food we get here and in other parts like delhi and Rajasthan.

Adriana: No no, there must be some ethnic restaurant as well. Our guide mentioned 'Tibetan Kitchen' A place where only Tibetan foods are served.

Pedro: But, that is not Ladakhi. Ladakhi must be having different cuisine.

Adriana: I thought they are same.

Waiter: Sir, this fruit juice is made of apricot which you can see from here.

Agustin: Oh! Really this is what we are looking for. What do you have for the dinner tonight?

Waiter: Sir, Chinese, Indian and Italian.

In the above exchange we learned that Ladakhi foods are not being served in hotels and restaurants. The reason they asserted is that most of the staff members were outsiders. Therefore, they assumed that they get the same food in Ladakh because most of the chefs are from Nepal and mainland India. Adriana's perception of Ladakhi food is similar to Tibetan which is already globalized. This opens the discussion between Tibetan and Ladakhi food, yet they are not certain about an authentic Ladakhi food. The waiter pointing at the table said 'this juice is made of apricot which you can see from here' is an act to authenticate the identity that what they were having is made of local products. It stimulates Augustine to ask the waiter 'what do you have for dinner?' and got the reply, 'Chinese, Indian and Italian', and that seems the usual experience in their tour. Their tourist act of searching for Ladakhi food was to enjoy the local taste. But, this standardization of the few cuisines in the hotels and restaurants especially Indian, Chinese, Italian and continental makes it difficult for Ladakhi cuisine to enter into the arena of high profile hotels. There are one or two restaurants in Leh exclusively for Ladakhi cuisine but they are rarely accessible for tourist. Listening to

the conversation of two tourists at Leh market, John says ‘I was just thinking about where to have lunch’, David, who has probably been to Ladakh more often says ‘Now you can get everything in Leh, when I first came to Ladakh there were hardly any restaurants, I still remember the family who offered me a Ladakhi Thukpa when I arrived back from seven days trek from Marka valley’. John responded, ‘You are right, yesterday I was looking for local food which I did not find but I came across with ‘*Bon appétit restaurant*’ and ‘*German Bakery*’ which I found quite weird/ strange’. Their conversation is perplexing in the sense that their quest for Ladakhi food remains blurred and encounter with Italian and German restaurants which put them into dilemma. It also divulges the dynamics of contesting space for cuisines and place in making for leisure tourism. Likewise, a group of tourist visit Lamayuru monastery and they are invited by the monk into a huge monastic kitchen. Where, some of them tasted local butter tea with roasted barley flour locally known as *Cha-srul* (which is a typical Ladakhi sort of soup). Their guide explains them about the importance of *Cha-srul* in the life of Ladakhi and also emphasis that this encounter is an authentic one. I asked one of them after they came out of the kitchen, do you like *Cha-srul*? He replied:

Yes, I like the *Cha-srul* very much though little bit salty but that is how Ladakhis drink. For me it’s more about the way monks treated us with such affection and humbleness. It is so real, it comes from their heart. Hotel staffs are also humble and nice but those are not from their heart because it’s their duty to do so. I really like having *Cha-srul* with these little novice monks and it is indeed an awesome experience for me. (Interview on 26Sept: 2015)

It is obvious that the monastery has become a very popular tourist site in Lamayuru, whether it is appreciated for its architecture and artwork, as an expression of Ladakhi cultural and religious life, or for the experience of spirituality. Inviting tourist in the kitchen becomes an integral part of the tourist experience at monastery. Tourists are getting an opportunity to experience the taste of Ladakhi food and it also becomes a space for interaction between tourists and monks. In the above statement, ‘I really like having *Cha-srul* with these little novice monks’ is an expression of his interest in interacting with monks through the act of having *Cha-srul*. Yet, his conscious quest for authenticity comes into play by comparing monks’ ‘humbleness’ to the hospitality of the people in the hotel.

The Villager Discourse

What do villagers think about themselves and tourists? What perspective do they have and how do they look at the inflow of tourists into the village? Most villagers' discussion is held in more private setting. While it is relatively easy for me, being a local, to approach naturalistic groups of villagers in private setting, it is more difficult for me to approach tourists group in restaurants and in the monasteries. Most of the group discussions which I had with villagers are much more likely to talk about tourists in their discourse. In accordance with the objective of my research problem, the sampling aimed at diversity, and I ensured that following population strata were covered: Monk/ lay, males/females, young/elders, formal educated/uneducated, rich/poor, apart from a few whom I interacted with, most of them are somehow involved in tourism related business.

Lamayuru, a village of 117 household, lies 125 km towards south of Leh and is one of the most famous and symbolic villages of Ladakh which has gained unique status as the 'land of freedom' under the king of Ladakh¹²¹. Geographical factors played a dominant role in retaining its status of unique relation with its neighbours. As it lies in between Buddhist populated Leh, and Muslim populated Kargil, and both the communities agreed to respect the monastery and the village. Monastery was also known for its political dynamics by maintaining a cordial relation with the king of Skardo (Baltistan presently in Pakistan). Hence, the socio-political history of Lamayuru and the mysterious myths about the monastery became symbolic resources to fascinate tourists. Presently, Lamayuru is known both domestically and internationally as a traditional 'Buddhist village' and is often touched in scholarly literature, government documentation, and tourist discourse as cultural relic from an earlier age. It is important to understand here that the phenomenon of tourism is not new to the village. Because of the fact that Lamayuru lies on the crossroad holds attractions for the travellers who simply wanted to expand their horizon; apart from that it has become a part of colonial itinerary for overnight stay. The older generation in Lamayuru who are in their late 80s and early 90s has vivid memory of those days.

¹²¹This is unpublished chronicle, entitled g. *Youg drung dgon dang po ji ltar chags rabs dang d altar ji ltar gnas tshul gyi rnam dbye bi dza har tisma* is mentioned in Vets and Van Quaille (1998:87) it is translated by K.H. Everding. (Discussed in detail in Chapter II)

Earlier encounter with the tourist and the local discourses

As I stated above that Lamayuru always fascinated travellers and has been captured in their accounts. The great travellers like Moorcroft and Trebeck (1819-125), Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893) and Nicholas Roerich (1874-1947) have been to this place.¹²² They described about place and people through different narrative devices and artistic expression. In spite of that, there is no comprehensive account of Lamayuru especially about local perception towards tourism. Therefore, this would be an attempt to fill the gap. So in this particular section I have tried to place on record some of the memories of an old generation who have experienced the colonial period as well as initial intrusion of tourism industry.

An astrologer (Onpo) and farmer 81 years of age from the village of Lamayuru said,

Tourists used to visit Lamayuru when I was a child but very less in number. I am 81 years old, but my memory is still fresh which means time passes so fast. Sahibs travel through this village. Don't get confused with the term Sahib is a tourist, there are different names for them, Sahib, Mem sahib (female tourist) and Padari Sahib (Father and Priest of Christian Missionaries). Look wise they were fair in complexion and tall. At that time, there was no road, so they used to come either by foot or horse. We used to rent our horses and donkeys, unlike *Dogras* Sahibs they paid fair amount of money, which is two *Ana* per *Para* (More than 5 KM). So we always used to drop them from Lamayuru to Nurla which is at the distance of five *Para*. When *Dogras* came they used to take our horse, donkey and even Dzo forcefully without giving a single *Ana*. When they were passing through Lamayuru we used to hide our cattle up on the mountains. There are many stories of atrocities by *Dogras*. I myself used to have a very healthy and strong Dzo which they took away.

Coming to *Skoryangs pa* (tourist), as I said we used to provide them helpers, horses, donkeys and Dzo. But, going as a *Dabsang* (guide) was not an easy task; we have to go through interrogation and examination of body fitness by them. I don't know what they did but they used to examine our fingers just to check whether we can walk or not. On that basis they tell us our capacity to walk. And I heard that they were very accurate in examining it, a friend of mine who got rejected forcefully joined them but later we learned that after few days he fell down somewhere and could not move ahead. As a result they had to face a huge problem. I myself never had an experience of going as a *Dabsang* but I remember few *Dabsang* who were quite famous in those days. I know two of them, one was from Tigmosgang (40 km from Lamayuru) and other one from Phey (Near Leh).

Like I said, Lamayuru was then a happening place in Ladakh in those days too in terms of the presence of tourists. But, right after Ladakh became a part of India, restriction was

¹²²Moorcroft, W. and G. Trebeck. (1841) *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; In Ladakh and Kashmir; In Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz, Bokhara*. Vol. II. London: John Murray.

imposed on the entry of tourists into the region. Those who were already staying there in Leh had to leave immediately. There was one Doctor at Khaltsi (25 km from Lamayuru) who could speak Ladakhi a bit, but had to leave, it was a big loss for all of us because there was no hospital at all except village level Amchi (Tibetan name for Doctor or one who cures diseases). At some point of time, people used to go to Kargil because there was a road in Kargil, they sometime bring Doctors from Kashmir.

As per as socio-economic condition is concerned people were poor. Agricultural production was not enough because half of it was collected as tax either by king or Dogra. People hardly have money to do business. But yes, if we see in terms of happiness index then people in those days were much more contented though their material status was very poor. I saw my parents which is hundred years before and my sons and daughters now, the difference is that my parents and I used to have more than 200 cattle, now we have only 4 cows. Now tell me who is rich? I think Sahibs brought a sense of competition among the people, even you can see people are running like a mad man after Sahibs for money. (Interview, on 21st Sept, 2015).

I spoke also with 79 year old farmer/porter/rock sculptor who carve six syllable mantra of Avalokiteshvara (Om mani padme hum) on stone plates. He told me,

In those days I used to work as a porter to transfer their goods from Kargil to Nurla, they used to pay us around 25 *Paisa* from Kargil to Nurla (160 Km). From there we further travelled to *Sakti* for trade with *Changpas*. We provide them barley, in return they provide us salt. For one 'Bo' (a wooden cup filled with barley) we get three 'Bo' of *tsa* (salt). Then in Kargil we sell them *Tsa* (salt) where one 'Bo' of *Tsa* is equal to three 'Bo' of Barley. In addition, tea and butter were also common goods in that trading network. It is like 2 kg of tea for 8 rupees, and 2 kg of *Khagla* (butter mostly comes from Zanskar) for 9 rupees. Now you can see how expensive butter is in the market. These was a good profit but travelling was always difficult, sometimes it took month to reach back home. Whenever, we get offers for porter work from Kargil for 70 rupees, we used to rush to bring it here. That means, 70 rupees was a good amount.

We used to have 70 cattle in those days. Now children are grown up they are not interested in rearing animals and agriculture anymore, they have already abandoned Brok (farm in the valley) which was our centuries old source for survival. My two sons are in army, one got married to a girl from Leh and they constructed their own house. Another one also bought land in Choglamsar. Daughter-in-law is also having government job. I am quite old now and cannot work anymore in the fields.

Firstly, *ration Kuttee* (Food depot) has had a great impact on local agriculture system in Lamayuru. But, it came as a blessing for those who do not own fields for cultivation. It certainly made life easy for the villagers. I remember the day when ration first arrived in Lamayuru, subsequently, *ration kutee* (Food depot) was established in the village. Lamayuru became the center from where they used to supply rations to adjoining villages. Prior to the construction of *Kutte* two people had to guard the ration which was kept on the

field covered with a sheet. These two people were kept on rotational basis and they have to be there all day and night. Irritating part was that *Kutte-dar* (Store keeper) who is in charge for distribution of ration. His name was *Kasdar* and he used to come from Leh, so we had to pick him up from Khaltsi on horse every month. We had to treat him well whenever he was in the village. So, in this way, consumption pattern in the household has completely changed. Earlier we used to have Yak's butter, cheese and even cloths from our own farms but now everything depends on bazaar (market). I normally feel very bad when we buy butter at a very expensive price. Producing butter was our pride like in Zanskar these days. Earlier, in some ways every household was self sufficient.

Secondly, army stationed near the village; most of the people went as coolie to earn money. These days, people become for Coolies to earn easy money, they found agricultural work harder than doing coolie under someone else supervision. Those who are cultivating fields are mainly for *Phugma* (chopped straw), because people from Manali comes here and buy *all Phugma* from Lamayuru.

Thirdly, earlier tourism was different from now; I myself accompanied them many a times with my horses. When they stopped coming to Ladakh because of imposed restrictions it actually affected my income and I even sold one of my horses. Then, certainly, it boomed again, which provided huge avenues for the villagers. Yes, tourism is advantageous for those who own hotel and guest houses. But, those like me who used to go for trekking and earn money from our horses and donkeys, we have lost our share of profit due to the development of road connectivity in trekking areas. Normally, we used to go from Lamayuru to *Hunu-phata, Lingshed, Hinju, Wanla and Chelling*, now they are all connected by motorable road. Now, the tourists who are interested to go there take taxi and reach easily. But, tourism costs a lot for village custom and tradition. Many young people have died who were engaged in tourism business. This *Chisgyal pas* (foreigners) have brought many diseases which killed many of our young people in Lamayuru and in other villages too. However, all these external factors have impacted a lot on village serenity. Younger generations are no longer found interest in doing agricultural farming, as they are more fascinated with making abrupt money from tourism, army and so on. People built hotels and guest houses on their fields and earned a lot of money. (Interview on 12th Sep: 2015).

76 year old farmer/storyteller, recounts to me that,

Yes, Sahibs (tourists) did visit Lamayuru in earlier times too. It was not easy for them to reach Ladakh without taking help from the people of Lamayuru. My father and I were also involved in transferring their luggage from Lamayuru to Khaltsi or sometimes to Saspol. We had seven horses and three donkeys. We used to have more than 100 cattle, but later me and my brother divided the entire family property. Which was further sub-divided between my eldest son (present Sarpanch) and me. I gave most of the cattle to him, at the moment I have none. Right now I am living with my youngest son; he is a monk and a government teacher in a monastery school.

I remember the hard times that my father went through during time of *Jamboo Raja* (Dogra). I was born in the last phase of Dogra regime, it was my father and other elderly

people in the village who used to narrate us about their cruelties, I myself saw few instances while serving them. People in Lamayuru and other villages which lie on crossroad had experienced many things, both good and bad. We have had both, advantages as well as disadvantages. Because, we got opportunity to earn money from travellers especially from Sahibs, at the same time we had to face a lot of problems from those who invaded Ladakh especially *Dogras* and sometimes *Baltis* (Baltistan presently in Pakistan). You cannot even imagine now, that how *Dogras* harassed and humiliated our people. My father used to narrate me about the metal carrier (square in shape fitted with wooden handles) for carrying them, when they feel shaky on horse they often used this. Most of the times, they used it and people carry them all the way till Saspol which was constituted five *Para*, from there on people from Saspol would carry further. Sometimes they intentionally tend to ignore riding horse. When I was a child I saw my father and other fellows carried one of the officer and moving towards Leh. Sometime, they even put small rocks to make it stable. Now I am realizing there was no such difference between horses and human being. Not only the people Lamayuru had to do it, but people from adjoining villages had to come for *Bari* (turn on rotation basis). Apart from this, he used to tell us about the story of demolition of the monastery by *Dogras* when they were going back towards Kashmir. That story is always painful. But, when *ChisgyalpaSahib* came we rejoice because they treat people well and paid money too. Once, one *Sahib* came with his own beautiful and healthy horse which he probably bought somewhere from Kashmir. He told me to buy it but I was not having enough money for that and he left. After a few days, when I went for grassing my horses nearby *Futo-la*, I saw his horse. Later, I learned that he left his horse. From there I brought the horse with my horses and kept with me for the rest. Even then I thought someone will come for inquiry but nobody came. Eventually, horse became mine, but I always used the horse for receiving *Rinpoches* and other Lamas. (Interview on 5th August: 2015).

The earlier pattern of tourism is significantly brought out by these memories, regarding their experiences in dealing with tourists as well as imperialists. People in Lamayuru were engaged in tourism industry, prior to Ladakh becomes a part of independent India. They maintained an affable relation with tourists without engaging in in-depth cultural exchanges. This is the reason that they have a limited understanding about tourists who stayed in their houses and eat with them. As we saw in the above three cases, that whenever I asked question about their earlier encounter with tourist, they tend to give answer through differentiating *Sahibs* (tourist) and *Dogras*(Colonial masters). This dual encounter with *Sahibs* and *Dogras* at particular juncture imprinted in their memories in such a way that their anxiety about colonial experience reflects in everyday discourses. Their memories about tourist/sahibs are joyful because they provided avenues to earn money. On the other hand, *Dogras* are remembered for their act of domination and atrocities. The notion of *Sahibs* and Ladakhis experience of their encounter with *Sahibs* is well explained in Ghulam Rassul

Galwan's unique book, *Servant of Sahibs* (1923). He was a Ladakhi who worked as Caravan *bashi*, employed to organise and manage men, pack animals, and supplies by Western explorers, *Sahib*, about a century ago. This book is the account of the first Ladakhi who wrote in English, and describes his life and travels. The most problematic *Sahib* encountered by Galwan, was the *Sahib* who, 'never travel by straight way' (Galwan 1923: 268). This *Sahib* was one of the first trekkers. On the whole, three important things can be extracted from above three cases; firstly, tourism and trade was an integral part of local economy. Secondly, *Dogras*' period and village collective experiences of suffering of the period as well as cultural memories of their forefathers were somehow overlooked in all travellers' accounts. The book has not recorded any villager's voice in constructing the history of Lamayuru so far. In fact, there is not much literature available on Lamayuru village. Yet, the existing literature focussed mainly on the monastery which revealed that Lamayuru monastery was completely destroyed by *Dogras*. The third chapter of the thesis will elaborate this theme. Thirdly, it came to the fore from the above three cases that both tourism and army were the key to have brought about changes in the village's economic. Traditionally, village's economy has always been based on small farms and livestock herding. But with the introduction of tourism in the 1970s, the deployment of army and alternative job avenues provided by the centre and the state government has led to a drastic shift in the traditional pattern of economic pattern. The army constitutes another vital force of change in Ladakh's economy. The deployment of the army has increased immensely after the Kargil War (1999) and sporadic Chinese incursions and now, the Indian Army is the biggest employer locally not just of soldiers but also of porters, vegetable growers, and road workers. Under operation *Sadbhavana*, the army is running computer centres, schools and hospitals in many villages.

In the Nubra Valley, most of the youth leave traditional farming practice and are employed by the army as daily wagers, such as porters at the Siachen Glacier. They earn handsomely by working for a couple of months and then spend the earnings by coming down to Leh. Earlier, the army was concentrated only in few regions, where India shares borders with China and Pakistan but today they have spread their bases as far as to Zaskar Valley. The need to battle these changing trends in the economy has led to the birth of NGOs working together to develop alternatives to the global economy.

Generally, in the study of tourism especially in villages like Lamayuru, there is a tendency to see tourists and their role in the economy as important factor, with the maximum critics illustrating the 'tourist-local' interaction as form of 'cultural imperialism' (Turner and Ash 1975; Nash 1989). This is one dimensional approach to understand the dynamics of tourist destinations. The 'tourist gaze', as defined by Urry (1990: 1-2), differs from society to society, social group and historical period, and is constructed through difference, in relation to its opposite, to non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness'. Every tourist destination has its own identity and unique resources to attract tourists. But, it would be difficult to define single tourist gaze because it varies according to time and space. As we have seen in the above cases, Lamayuru residents reflect on the social experiences of an earlier period of encountering tourists. But, no attention has been given to the role of villagers who were engaged in providing services to tourist. Moreover, it is important to understand villager's role in the process of promoting their cultural resources in the making of place as a specific tourist destination with its characteristic properties and signs. Therefore, the focus of this chapter is on an interaction between the villagers and the tourists with an attempt to understand how representations of the village are mediated by cultural brokers.

Local stakeholders: Hoteliers and Guesthouse owners.

Standing in the midst of Lamayuru's picturesque and eventful summer time of hosting tourists, it is easy to be taken in by the myth that it is a timeless ancient place. Many tourists expressed that it is easy to believe that one is seeing a model of how Ladakh was before the 'intrusion' of the modern world. Indeed, Lamayuru still retains enough continuity with the past while potential was building up for radical change. Anybody with money to invest could in principle start up a tourism-related enterprise in Lamayuru. However, in order to build a hotel, guest-house and home-stay required permission from the concerned government office. Thus, with the influx of tourist visitation in the village several hotels, guest-houses were erected and houses were converted into home-stay.

Table 7: Hotel/Guest-house/Home-stay.

S.N	Hotel: Name	Guest-house: Name	Home Stay: Name
1.	Hotel Moon-Land	Singay	Tharpaling
2.	Hotel Neranjana	Shango	Green-Land
3.	Hotel Futo-la	Chukpo	Lonedne
4.	Hotel Shangrila	Jugur	
5.	Hotel Dragon	Halam	
6.	Hotel Siachan	Kalkul	

There are 6 hotels, 6 guesthouses and three home-stays in Lamayuru. Among all the hotels Moon-land and Niranjana are comparatively bigger than other hotels. The voices of local stakeholders are paramount to construct this corpus of discourse on an interaction between tourist and local in Lamayuru. For instance, one of my informants, the owner of a Hotel Moon-Land, is among the richest families in Lamayuru, who had accumulated considerable sums of money from tourism industry and were looking out for new opportunities for investment. The Moon-Land Hotel has 26 well furnished rooms, 12 staff members including two chefs. All of them are non-Ladakhi, out of which 4 are from Nepal, 5 from Uttarakhand and 3 from Jammu. The food they are serving is what they called 'Inner Circle' Indian, Continental and Chinese cuisine. It is little surprise to know about the homogeneity of cuisine in all the hotels in Lamayuru. Unlike, *Ule Ethnic Resort* who serves diverse option of cuisine especially including Ladakhi Khambir (bread made of barley flour) for breakfast, hotels in Lamayuru mostly serves typical North Indian foods. Nevertheless, the *Moon-Land hotel* not only holds a value for commercial achievement, but rather it symbolize as the spirit of hard work done by the owner. Currently, the who owner is 46 years old, told me his story, when I asked him about his involvement in tourism business,

I have a long story! My father passed away when I was 17 years old, we had a serious crisis in the family after he left us. I have 9 siblings, I am the third one. Two of my eldest sisters got married. Since, I am an eldest son it is my responsibility to take care of everything. I left my school and decided to become a coolie. When I went to army camp they found me young enough to be registered legally as coolie. But, the army officer was kind enough to keep me as store keeper without being registered. I stayed there as coolie for almost two years. After two years, the camp moved to another place, they told me to come with them but I did not go because I did have to stay near Lamayuru. Then, I joined as a proper coolie in General Reserve Engineer Force (GREF) at road construction site near Lamayuru. I had spent three years as a coolie in GREF, after that I bought few donkeys and worked as pony man cum guide in trek with tourists. At that time most of tourist groups were operated from Srinagar, so it was bit difficult for us to work with tourists because most of the staff members they brought from Srinagar itself. Only those who had donkeys and horse got a chance to earn money. But, it changed after 1989, when there was a communal clash between Buddhist and Muslim. After that, Ladakhi travel agent gets dominant role in organizing tours in Ladakh. Therefore, many of us got an opportunity to work in tourism. I really started liking this job and after three to four years of involvement in tourism. I thought of opening a restaurant in Lamayuru and I did so. I am the first person who opened up a restaurant in Lamayuru. There were only two three guest-houses existing in Lamayuru but no restaurant at all. The furniture of restaurants are still being used in the hotel, which I had previously brought from the monastery. In this way, somehow I was able to save some money from the income of the restaurant and eventually thought to build a hotel. Today, I myself get surprised when I think of my initial days. Can you imagine building a hotel with only 1 lakh in your account? I exactly had 1 lakh in my account and took 2.5 lakh loans under government unemployment scheme. Firstly, I build 5 rooms and slowly and gradually I built the hotel. Initially people were so skeptic about whether it will be a success or not because the place is comparatively far from the village and the road. But, I proved them all wrong through the success of the hotel. Today, my seasonal turnover is around 40 lakh out of which around 10 lakh I spend on upgrading and maintenance of the hotel. (Interview, on 15 Sept, 2015).

This narration reveals the how tourism has transformed the life style of villagers in due course of time. Unlike other tourists' destination where many of the hotels are owned and managed by giant business companies from outside, hotels in Lamayuru are owned by local people. Beside hotels, a substantial number of people are informally engaged in tourism business, including vendors, drivers, cooks, helpers and porter etc. The income opportunities offered by tourism to local villagers depended largely on how much capital they had available for investment. In the case of Moon-Land, the owner invested 3.5 lakh to start a hotel but now he realizing that his idea of constructing hotel is more valuable than the money he invested. Because nobody have thought to built hotel in place like Lamayuru. Another

case in point, Dragon Hotel which is the oldest hotel in Lamayuru, could not capitalize the advantages of being the first hotel in the village. Presently, the owner is 52 year old, but his father established the family business. Their family was once the richest of Lower Leh who owns a lot of property in Leh town. But, he could not realise the market of Lamayuru.

We were rich then not now, we had built this hotel when no one else even thought about it. I do not remember how much we have invested because my father did so. I renovated it five years back by investing around 7 lakh but I am thinking of expanding it even bigger. We have our own contacts in Leh who have been sending groups for years but now it is declining over the years because of so many hotels and guest-houses in the village. I never really engage in advertizing my hotel, otherwise I would have emerged as one of the leading hotels in Lamayuru. Somehow I could not do it. (Interview, 26th July, 2014)

Dragon hotel has 9 staff members, all of whom are from Nepal. Their cuisine is somewhat similar to Moon-Land hotel. Although, he earns profit around 7 to 8 Lakh Rupees in a season from tourism, he could not take advantages from tourism industry. Likewise, Monastery's Hotel Niranjana is currently given on lease to a person from the village. He paid 21 lakh for three years and invested around 30 lakhs including renovation. His seasonal turnover is around 27-31 lakhs. The staff members are from UP, Jammu and Nepal. Many tourists seek accommodation in this hotel because of its location of easy access to monastery. The present owner who is 62 year old, and retired from the army said, that 'I paid a huge amount of money to monastery for lease this hotel but I would not regret even if I could not make any profit because whatever money I paid would directly go to monastery account. But, I know this place is blessed, so it would not let me down' (Interview, on 22nd Sept, 2015). Though an act of risky investment he tried to content himself with dual expectation of religious and business profit. However, he already laid a foundation for building his own hotel near the Moon-Land hotel where he is expecting to invest a lot more than the profit he is earning from Neranjana Hotel. Likewise, all other hotels, guesthouses and home stays are investing good amount of capital in tourism sectors. When we talk about tourism in Lamayuru, it's just about four to five months (May to September). In these five months many things coincide. The beginning of tourist season coincides with the ploughing season. The month of July and August which is the high season for tourism, coincides with the most labour-intensive agricultural period, as well as the peak mushroom harvesting season. The houses that were setting up a guesthouse or tourism related business and were depending on their family

members as their main work force were hence forces to choose between continuing their farming and investing the household's supply of labour in their tourism business.

The village perception towards tourism industry

Much of the development in Lamayuru, such as roads, communication, shops, restaurants, hotels, infrastructural development and monastery renovations etc, is attributed to the development of tourism. People are having less knowledge about the role of state and its developmental schemes. Tourists are highly esteemed and superior because they are perceived to be 'modern and western'. This shows the inferiority complex among the villagers. In one discussion, tourists are described as 'intelligent people' because they speak English and understand things easily. Nevertheless, all tourists are not being perceived equally by villagers because they developed their own category to evaluate their status of being rich or not which often surface in their discussions. I asked the owner of one guest house, how do you look at tourism in Lamayuru? He paused for a moment and then answered:

So far tourism is doing great in Lamayuru and it is the main source of income for my family. I remember the tough time of my childhood experience, we did not have proper food and dress. Today, relatively we have everything because of tourism. Without tourism it is difficult to imagine the life we are living now. My children are studying in a good school in Leh and I am sure they will become doctor and engineer which I always dream about. To be very honest we are losing our traditional values and inner peace of mind which I feel very bad about because we do not have choices' (Interview on 22nd, July, 2014)

First, my respondent admits that tourism is one of the major sources of income for his family which enables him to fulfill his children's aspiration towards having a comfortable life. Secondly, he admits that he is in the danger of losing mental peace. He feels fortunate enough to have had benefit from tourism and many new opportunities are now coming in his way. However, he seems to be worried by the changes he is witnessing. He added further:

Tourist comes here usually for one night stay but sometimes they stay for two or three days. It is only because of their act of touring that we are getting benefits. Many people are categorizing tourists as Chhad-po, Chugguk-po, Gyagar-pa which I don't like at all!! As long as they are benefitting local people why should we judge them in term of their wealth?

We should be very thankful to them as they are contributing immensely to local economy.¹²³

Chhad-po, Chhug-po and Gygar pa are the three words which frequently arise in villager discourses about tourists. As it is also emphasized in above statement, directly translated, Chhad-po means poor foreigners whose dress is worn out, ragged, torn or frayed. Chhug-po means rich foreign tourist who stays in big hotels and give more tips in the end. Gygar-pa means Domestic tourist who bargain with the prices. This categorization of tourists is common across Ladakh. He viewed it as unconstructive to judge tourists in term of their wealth because whosoever comes to Lamayuru are contributing equally to local economy. Therefore, he believes that it would be unethical to reduce their identity into local terminology which determines their financial status. Probably he may have had the privilege of experience because most of the time his guest-house is packed. He did not really felt the differences between the two types of tourists. On the other hand, many informants responded that Chhad-po tourists are more beneficial to Lamayuru than Chhug-po because they directly come to Lamayuru without consulting travel agent at Leh. Therefore, they are getting a better price for their rooms from tourists.

Likewise, an interview with the village Sarpanch (elected head of the village) who is the owner of Tharpaling guest-house reveals that initially villagers were not comfortable with accommodating tourist in their houses.

There was a constructed perception among the villagers that those who are involved in tourists related business were looked down in the village. Things have changed today, these days people are arguing for the tourists to be accommodated because they understood the value of money. We do not have contact with any travel agent in Leh, most of the chhad-po tourist prefer our guest house. The income that guesthouse generate is mainly from Chhad-po tourist not from Chhug-po tourist. Because, most of the Chhuk-po tourists pre-schedule their accommodation in the hotels. Yet, we earn good money from Chhad-po tourists and they usually do not have much complaint about the service and everything. (Sarpanch, personal interview, 23 June, 2014).

¹²³ Obviously what is presented here is not the unmediated voice of my respondent. Their words here are as I tape-recorded them and I have transformed them through the act of writing.

Villagers need to distinguish between tourists in order to do business with them; in order to manage tourism in Lamayuru; and in order to constitute their own identity. The distinction which villagers make is subtle and suited to a variety of contexts and issues. This constituted a local evaluative dimension to see whether they are wealthy or not. Chhad-po and Chhug-po evaluative dimension is much more than just rich and poor. Those tourists who are disrespectful to the local community and their environment are also encompassed within the definition of Chhad-po. And those who are generous and respectful to locals are regarded as Chhug-po tourist. The iconic scores that sustain this evaluative dimension are evident in the very terms Chhugpo and Chadd-po. To recap, the identity of Chhad-po tourists is characterised by those who wear grimy and bad cloths. They are disrespectful in dress and manner. For instance, they do not obey the rules of monastery in wearing full dress. People are supposed not to wear half-sleeve clothes while visiting monastery. Chhug-po tourists on the other hand, are regarded as more generous and beneficent. The present Deputy Director of Tourism, Leh, explicitly conveyed that he is trying to encourage Chhug-po tourist and it is only by virtue of such tourists that Ladakh can develop. As we have seen in the above statement that Tharpaling guest-house is dependent upon Chhad-po tourists. Almost all the guest-houses owners give the same explanation.

Beside, the Chhad-po and Chhug-po evaluative dimensions which they usually use in case of tourists, but they also construct a self-reflective dimension to evaluative themselves. This means new conscious for self-reflective discourses are evolving within the tourist-local encounter in Lamayuru. Where does this self-reflexivity emerge from? When do people start to think that Lamayuru is a possessor of unique cultural as well as natural landscape? It is evident across all the discourses among the villagers that Lamayuru does possess a unique cultural landscape. Almost all the interviews endorse the statement that people should preserve the culture to retain its uniqueness. It seems to be the case that the influx of tourism industry in the village provided a platform to re-invent and re-assert its identity in a much more positive sense. Another guest-house owner made a statement;

Tourism generates a lot of income in Lamayuru but at the same time it has many negative influences on local culture and tradition. People are becoming more modern and forget village, custom and tradition. When all the family members engage in tourism, children tend to be attracted towards tourism and often lose their interest in pursuing further

education. More than that, in the last ten years I have observed that consumption pattern in households has dramatically changed. I personally feel that tourism actually creates an aversion for more and more money (Interview on, 21st Sept, 2015).

It is evident across all these debates that the role of tourists is usually confined to luring villagers away from their natural state, and towards modernity. By bringing money into Ladakh, tourism is seen to foster greed and materialism. The modern and traditional axis is also used by villagers to evaluate themselves. Particularly, the older generation still holds the same perception that tourism is the sole responsible for fundamentally eroding social values in Lamayuru. They think that traditionally, the scale of village life has allowed for a high level of social and political cohesion. The units have been small, and every individual has played an integral part. The tourism influence is undermining the intimacy of village life, and gradually replacing it with the sort of uncaring means to earn money. Nevertheless, Sarpanch's family seems rather content with the inflow of money into their family and proud enough to overcome village perception towards tourism industry. His house was among the first who accommodated tourists from the beginning, and remains one of the favorite places for the tourists to experience local household life. He said that "I restored my house without making much change in the previous architectural style because I knew tourists will like it". He restored the house skillfully and converted it into a guest house. He also asserted that the name of his guest-house is included in the famous tourist guide book 'lonely planet' which attracted many tourists. They do not have a special cook and other necessary staff members. All the members of the household are engaged in running the guest-house. During summer time they are all busy in providing services to their customers and earning handsome money. Simultaneously, they have to maintain their agricultural farming which also demands intensive labour. This is the challenge that almost all the guest-houses and home-stays are facing in the village. The interesting thing about this family in particular is that of the division of labour between father, mother and daughter. Father (Sarpanch) stays in the house to take care of their guests (tourists) and simultaneously playing the role of the village's head. The daughter runs general store and the mother is fully engaged in advertising their guest house rooms to bring tourists near bus stop in the Lamayuru village. It appears that gender differences are least important in allocating work among their family members. In fact, women in Ladakh relatively enjoy better position than any other part in India. If we look

at the structure of Ladakhi households and observe closely we would understand that differences in the role did not necessarily mean inequality. There is a dynamic balance; it is difficult to say, who has more real power, men or women. Helena Norberg (1991) in her book *Ancient Futures: Learning from Ladakh* rightly pointed out that:

One of the first things that struck me on my arrival in Ladakh was the wide, inhibited smiles of the women, who moved about freely, joking and speaking with men in an open and unselfconscious way. Though young girls may sometimes appear shy, women generally exhibit great self-confidence, strength of character, and dignity. Almost all early travellers to Ladakh commented on the exceptionally strong position of women (Page-68)

Anthropologists looking from the Western perspective at formal external structures might get misleading impression, since men tend to hold the public position and often sit separately from women at social functions (Ibd.68). However, Norberg's statement challenges villager's assumption about the idea of the status of women in the West. There is an assumption among the women in Lamayuru that western culture is something superior that they have evolved to a higher level of being. They tend to get an impression from tourists that the women in the West enjoy much freedom. They think that they are going to benefit from their superior knowledge. But the fact is, in Lamayuru when women sit with their female friends, chatting away, there is no question of sexual discrimination. Although differences between the sexes are not denied in Ladakh, probably in some ways they are less accentuated than they are in the West. For instance, names for men and women are often identical, and the one pronoun *kho* stands for both "she" and "he".

How wealthy and generous are they?

Tourism has established itself as the main driver of the economic growth that has played a dominant role in shaping the socio-economic fabric of Lamayuru village. With continued local and central government efforts to increase the inflow of visitors, tourism is expected to maintain its central role in the socio-economic life of Ladakh and this village in particular. Tourism counts for about half of Lamayuru's income and it comes as no surprise that many households depend upon tourism for their financial well being. Accordingly many of the frontline households, that is those who deal with tourists for a living, are primarily concerned to differentiate tourists on the basis of relative wealth. For instance, some of the guest house owners are particularly proud of their ability to "estimate tourists", that is, determining

tourist wealth on the basis of a brief interaction. This is a necessary skill for those who work with tourists. Tourists often ask about the price of a guest house room. All such price is negotiable in Ladakh, and essential to this negotiation is the estimated wealth of the tourist. The following excerpt reveals some of the ways in which villagers differentiate between tourists on the basis of their wealth:

Me: Are you saying that tourists are rich?

Angdu: Yes, they are rich that is why they come here and spend much money.

Dorje: They might be rich in terms of money but I believe no one is rich in this universe, because nobody is satisfied with what he/she has.

Me: When they changed their currency in Indian rupees they become rich. Don't you think they are rich?

Angdu: Obviously they are rich and travelled all the way from America and Europe to Ladakh. I cannot imagine myself anywhere even within India because I don't have enough money.

Me: Tourists from which country brings more money?

Dorje: America, but, these days, lots of Europeans are coming and even Indian are not less.

Angdu: Some of the tourists come here and go trekking but they do not need local people.

They carry guidebooks and most of the time they cook for themselves. Thus, the role of guide and cook is eliminated.

Angdu seems to believe that tourists are rich but Dorje's responded to the question by drawing upon the basic tenets of Buddhism, according to which, wealth does not satisfy desire, and therefore, one who is financially rich may not necessarily be 'rich'. Angdu consolidated his argument that tourists are rich, that is why they travelled all the way from America and Europe to Ladakh. Furthermore, he affirmed himself as poor for not being able to even imagine to fulfill his travel aspiration. Dorje understands that tourists have differential wealth which America and Europe on top and Indian tourists are also in his list. Angdu made an interesting point that some tourists cook for themselves and they do not hire local people as guides or helpers during their trekking. Thus, Angdu distinguishes the two positions that we have discussed above as Chhad-po and Chhug-po. These two terms are commonly used by villagers to classify tourists in terms of their wealth. Thus, this discussion is revealing, in the sense that they tend to categorizes tourists in term of their relative wealth.

Their wealth is in turn determined by the “value of their currency”. This means that one dollar is equivalent to sixty two rupees, and one euro is worth seventy five rupees. Many of my informants think that American tourists are richer than the European tourists. Such kinds of categorization are found mainly among the guest house owners.

Lamayuru’s unique selling proposition (USP) is its scenic beauty and as eco-friendly tourist destination. The latter one has been deliberately managed and harmonized by local people in a resolute attempt to sustain their commercial activities and to fascinate tourists. However, tourists on the other hand, are not aware that it has been deliberately created image, they come and spend their leisure time in the village, and behaving that their act of touring is in tune with the nature. This different understanding of rural tourism practices may have created a distance between the host and guest.

The Role of Guide in the Discourse

The role of tour guides are known to be an important part of tourism industry. The tourist guide has a crucial role to play in making a destination’s image. Cohen (1985) was the first scholar who brought the ‘role of guide’ in academic discourse by giving scientific attention to it. Subsequently, various scholars have been engaged in explaining the importance of guides in mediating the interaction between tourist and local. World Federation of Tourist Guide Association (2005), defines tour guide as someone who leads tourist in ‘the language of their choice’ and expertise in ‘culture and natural heritages’ of an area where he takes tourists, and his specialization should be certified and recognized by the competent authority. Cohen (1985) defines, ‘the role of guide as ‘pathfinder’ who helps people to find their way in unknown places and the mentor, a spiritual advisor or leader’. There have always been guides accompanying tourist group. The tour managers-cum-tutors, known as governors or bear leaders, who accompanied the young aristocrats on the Grand Tour during the 17th and 18th centuries have been regarded as harbingers of the modern tourist guides. The act of guiding and their explanation is a fundamental element in the tourism industry through which the image of the destination has been constructed. Therefore, the role of the guide cannot be undermined in the making of a place as tourist destination. Zhang and Chow (2004) suggested that the success of the tourism industry relies on the performance of tour guides in

various destinations because they are the ones who are endowed with all the information required by tourists. As in the context of Ladakh, there are different sort of guides, like trekking, cultural, hiking, rafting, and mountaineering etc. It has become a common and attractive avenue provided by the tourism industry. Sometimes the guide has to adopt various but overlapping roles; one may act as driver, cook, helper etc. Given all these tasks, the tourist guide and tour leaders play an important role in mediating and negotiating villager-tourist and cross-religious encounter. Timothy and Olsen pointed out in their research that many tourists groups choose for guides those who share their own religious preferences and structure the trip according to their own needs and expectations (2006: 10). This is exactly the case in Ladakh that, most of the tourist guides are Buddhist and there are only few exceptionally well trained Muslim cultural guides who take groups in Buddhist sectors. Both professional and non-professional guides lead tourist groups. The latter category often comprises part-time guides such as local students or other marginal natives who act as tour leaders. In the course of the development of tourism in a given areas 'original' guides are often replaced by professional ones (Cohen 1985: 16). Likewise, the department of guides in Ladakh is still in its infancy stage. The guides I came across at Lamayuru monastery were not professional ones. Majority of them were students who become guides as a part time job in the months of summer. Nawang, one of the senior local guides, who has been working in the tourism industry from past 30 years said,

I have been working in the tourism industry for the last 30 years. Hence, I have seen how tourism has developed during this course of time. I remember my own reaction when I first came across with tourists in Leh. We literally used to run after them just to see how they look like, as if they came from another planet. But, it was so for us. I think we are so fortunate to live in such a wonderful place which fascinated people from all the corners of the world. Tourism is a unique industry which provides equal opportunities to all the people. For instance, if the tourist spends around one lakh, it will not go in one pocket but it will be distributed in many pockets, ranging from travel agents, hoteliers to helpers to villagers, which covers a large section of the society. It also generates donation in the monasteries and provides lot of avenues to far off villages through their act of trekking. It is an industry which ensures equal distribution of income to all those who are involved in it. More importantly, we need a sustainable and responsible tourism model which can be passed on from one generation to another. For that, first of all, we need to take care of our own environment. Then, we need to figure out how we are being influenced by tourists. There are both probabilities of being influenced negatively as well as positively. If we really want to develop tourism industry, we need to take positive things from tourists and discard

negative ones. Especially, I'm more concerned about the guides who share most of their time with tourist groups. Therefore, they should take their job bit more seriously because whatever information they transmit to tourists would define the identity of a place as a tourist destination. There is a great hope that Ladakh would eventually emerge as one of the top tourist destinations in the world (Interview, with Nawang, on 21 Sept, 2016).

It came to light from the above statement that self-reflective discourses among Ladakhis are actually due to tourism. As you see in the statement that 'we are so fortune to live in such a wonderful place', the worth of place is realised by Ladakhis only because tourists appreciate the place. Prior to 1974, no Ladakhi author described Ladakh as 'wonderful and beautiful or fortunate to live in such a place'. Rather, they always asserted Ladakh as having 'difficult life and backwardness'. It was basically tourism industry which stimulated self-reflective discourses among villagers in Ladakh. His emphasis on the 'role of guide' is vital to sustain tourism in Ladakh. He believed that the reason for this, is their act of transmitting information which needs to be strengthened and the efficiency aspect of the guide needs to be taken more seriously. Indeed, All Ladakh Tourism Operators Association (ALTOA) and Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA) organises training program and trains guides every year to communicate with tourists. They evaluate how guides are being trained and what kind of cultural attributes are communicated to tourists. The tourism department helps local tour guides in communicating with tourists. It is also creating a way to establishing an anthropological discourse between culture and tourism, rather than merely focussing on monuments and events. It can be well contextualized within the theory of Habermas' communicative action and rationality, wherein tourists and local guides interact and coordinate their action based upon agreed interpretations of situation. 'Communicative action has the ability to reflect upon language used to express propositional truth, normative value, or subjective self-expression' (Habermas 1984: 95).

The interaction between the tourist and the villagers are mediated and negotiated by guides. In fact, this type of interaction can be considered as a unique form of cross cultural interaction. Tourists stay for a very short period of time, yet it has a tendency to upset the village routines and pace of life. Generally, tourists and host have different goals and expectations of an encounter. Tourists are mobile, relaxed, free-spending, utilizing leisure time and trying to absorb the experience of being in a different environment, the villagers on the other hand are relatively stationary, and are often in a position of serving the tourists'

needs (Sutton, 1967). Such temporal nature of tourist tends to be affluent compared with the local people (Pearce 1982) and it creates a space where in local people are always inclined to capture only the glimpse of material disposition of tourist. Hence, it develops the perception that tourists are inherently rich and living in their dreams. They hardly realise the other side of the tourists. It is in this context, (Hodge 1991: 97) rightly mentioned:

For millions of youths in the rural areas of the world, modern Western culture appears far superior to their own, it is surprising since, looking as they do from outside, all they can see is the material side of the modern world -the side which Western culture excels. They cannot so readily see the social and psychological dimensions- the stress, the loneliness, nor can they see environmental decay, inflation, or unemployment. (Hodge 1991: 97)

This one dimensional observation of villagers towards tourists and tourism tend to develop enormous feeling of inferiority complex. Gradually, people began to lose interest in their own customs and traditions and at the same time are willing to imitate the new one. They reject their own culture and values and rush after so called modernity and westernity which they think is every tourist. So they readily give up their own culture and unique life style and prefer the ones followed by outsiders because of the perception that western culture is better and more advanced too. Consider the conversation among three local guides at Lamayuru monastery:

Dorjay: You know tourists in my group are very rich. I'm expecting to get a good amount of tip.

Lobzang: Yeah, I can see from their gadgets. Mine are not very rich, so not expecting much.

Gyalson: Mine are also rich. They gave me some clothes too.

Dorjay: How many groups you guided this year?

Lobsang: This is my 5th groups. Three of them were Chhad-po and I did not get much tip.

Guides discourse does contain many points of view, and it is filled with internal debate. As we can see, in the above conversation their evaluative dimension as whether their clients are rich or not. This kind of conversation is very common among the guides. Dorjay was expecting a 'good tip' because they are rich; therefore, he is giving his best to fulfill their expectation. Lobzang on the other hand, is leading a group who he thinks are not rich enough

because they do not carry many gadgets. Hence, he is not expecting much tip. Gyalson's group is also rich and he is also striving for maintaining his image through his act of guiding. Likewise, a monk guide made a statement;

Most of the Ladakhi guides do not know much about the history of monasteries and Buddhism. There are also differences between lay and monk guides in terms of handling groups. Tourist come here to know about Ladakhi culture which is predominately Buddhist. Most of the lay guides are more concerned about getting money than doing their own job. (Interview, 27 July, 2014).

The monk acting as guide, and his sense of discontentment with lay guides performance reveal the power dynamics within the act of tour guiding. Since he is well acquainted with Buddhist philosophy and history, it gave him the power to judge other guides. Although, the monks involvement in tourism through acts of guiding, assisting in mediation, serving tea and simply talking about Buddhism in English, is not often appreciated by villagers. A statement made by an old lady at Lamayuru monastery that '*ya ta tus thama lebs tey innok pa lama sagangresss Pe Yougpo chos ae dul duk*' meaning, 'it is the end of the world/time, as the monks have become servants of tourists too'. Her perception of monkhood contradicts with the monks who are involved in the tourism industry. The local adherent to the monastic institutions and tourism as a bearer of modernity, and the intermingling of the religion and the secular put the older generation in an ambiguous situation, as they perceive a clash between the modern and their own traditional values. Nevertheless, Ladakhi guides facilitate tourists' sightseeing and trekking. They are the ones who closely work with tourists. They know about tourists' aspirations, in order to guide them towards areas of interest. The various dynamics of local's acts of guiding can be explained by considering Dorjay, a monastery guide whom I have known from my childhood.

Dorjey grew up in a village 125 Km from Leh. He has an arts degree from Punjab University. He spends the winter in Delhi learning Chinese language (aiming for a secure a job as tourist guide especially for Chinese tourists in the northern India Buddhist Sector), summer in Leh where he guides "cultural tourists" in order to subsidize his studies. He says tourist ask many difficult questions which he often found difficult to answer. The most common question he came across are, 'what is the altitude of this place?' and 'how old is this and that?' these are difficult question for him to answer, neither has place within the traditional Ladakhi symbolic

universe. Accordingly, he often reads guide books and memorises those facts. He says it is good that tourists visit monasteries for that means Ladakhis, like him, have to learn about their culture.

When guiding tourists, he used to wear a traditional *gonchha*, and prostrate when entering a temple. Now he does not, though he says he got more tips and photographs when he did. Some tourist even asked him why he is not wearing a *gonccha*. Recently as a means to increase tips, he made a contact with in the Kitchen of Lamayuru monastery. This means he is able to take tourists backstage into the old smoky kitchen, and offer them some Ladakhi tea. He says tourists like to try Ladakhi tea, but do not like the salt and butter in it. Such strategies are common among guides, and illustrate how guides orient themselves to the perspective of tourists. The visit to the kitchen is for tourists, but it is not a charade. When I ask him why tourists like to go into the kitchen, he is unsure.

Chapter IV

Tourism and the Monastery

There is no satisfying sensual desire, even with a rain of gold coins. For sensual pleasures give little satisfaction and much pain. Having understood this, the wise man finds no delight even in heavenly pleasures. The disciple of the supreme Buddha delights in the destruction of craving.

The Dhammapada (2010:151)

The Origin of Monastic Culture in Buddhism

The Buddhist monastery in Tibetan and Ladakhi is known as Gompa (Dgon pa), a solitary place or hermitage. According to Robert Miller “any unit where in there is a resident body of monk will be called Monastery.” (Miller 1959: 12).¹²⁴ However, it would be interesting to look at how the notion of monastery abides in Buddhism. Monastery did not come ardently; its origin goes back to the time when Buddhist monks wandered around for knowledge and food (Joldan 2006). It seems that in the process of evolving Buddhism as a religion, monastery acquired its value as a location for imparting Buddha’s teachings. There is no doubt that the tendency for monasticism was developing even during the lifetime of Gautama the Buddha (Miller 1959). The early Buddhist monks were wandering teachers, who settled in caves, forest dwellings, or huts during the rainy season. The rationale behind this is to reside at one particular place during the rainy season and was well defined in terms of moral questions. Wandering around in water/floods may cause harm to living beings. This might be the probable reason of why there was a tradition of staying at one place during the rainy season. Apart from that there was a problem with spending the whole year wandering in India. During the monsoon season, for about four months, the roads and tracks halt due to excess of water and it created hindrance to travel around the country.

There were two types of abode for Buddhist monks during the time of Buddha. One was called as *avasa* and other was called as *arama*. An *avasa* was one of the earliest forms of dwellings built by monks which were mainly found in the forest area. It was usually a

¹²⁴ Robert James Miller (1959) *Monasteries and Culture Changes in Inner Mongolia*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. P, 12.

temporary hut and a simple shelter where they could practice meditation and asceticism. Those huts could accommodate two to three monks at a time. An *arama* also known as 'pleasant park' was a type of dwelling which was usually offered by the rich people to Buddha and his disciples. At that time it became a common practice among the rich people to donate land where Buddha and his students could rest. These dwellings were more permanent and spacious places than the *avasa*. However, in due course of time these places became important sites where one could learn and practice Buddhism. The rules that Buddha had prescribed to the monks were such that they could own only a single alms bowl and a basic set of three robes. No other personal possession, such as land and house was allowed. Therefore, monks relied on the *aramas* which provided simple communal accommodation where all monks from different regions could come and practice Buddhism together. It belonged to no one in particular. This marked the beginning of the *Sangha* and the birth of Buddhist monasticism (Wong 2011).

Once the sanction was given, the monks as well as the devotees showed much zeal in the building of monasteries that it necessitated Buddha to frame a number of rules... restraining the monks from drifting into luxury (Dutt 1923: 290)

It became clear that the origin of the present Buddhist monastic tradition was rooted in these two kinds of retreat dwellings. Furthermore, Royal patronage especially after king Ashoka, radically transformed the monastic structure (Joldan2006).

Tibetan Buddhist monasteries are the cornerstones of Tibetan religion, culture, education and knowledge. For centuries, great monasteries with their renowned universities become famous across Tibet and in neighbouring countries where Tibetan Buddhism took deep roots. Many monks and other scholars from different countries used to go to Tibet for higher studies. Many monks from Ladakh also went to different monasteries in Tibet. There were no records how many Lamas from Ladakh went to Tibet for education except those sent by the royal house, which were mentioned and recorded. As with the Tibet, when Tibetans came to study in India, there are no records except the sixteen Tibetans who were sent to India with Thonmi Sambhota by the royal court. There was a close and consistent cultural relationship between Ladakh and Tibet for centuries and this resulted in the development of many monasteries in Ladakh. Lamayuru was also one among them. There were many monks who went to Tibet for their higher education and many of them are still alive.

Monasteries in Ladakh can be categorized into three levels. These are the village level monasteries, medium monasteries and the main monasteries. Every Buddhist village in Ladakh has a village monastery and few such monasteries are attached to medium monasteries and they in turn are linked with the main monastery. The cases of Lamayuru monastery very well illustrate and manage several medium monasteries and each of these manages a large number of village-level monasteries.

Location of Monasteries in Ladakh

There are about thirty-seven major monasteries in Ladakh including Zanskar. This figure does not include all other small village-level monasteries (Joldan 2006). Some of the most famous monasteries in Ladakh including Lamayuru monastery are located on travel routes. Most of these monasteries are located in and around Leh town which indicate the prominent role in trade activities. Thus, the location of the monasteries along the trade routes extending from Kashmir valley to western Tibet, e.g., Lamayuru, Spituk, Phyang, Thiksay, Hemis and Chemday, and from Punjab plains to central Asia, such as Karsha, Takrimo, Samkar and Disket, etc, were some of the important monasteries engaged in trade (Singh 1978). In the eastern part of Ladakh, there are some four monasteries including Korzok monastery, at an altitude of about 4200 meters from the sea level, situated about 170 kilometers east of Leh. In central Ladakh, i.e. from Hemis to Phyang, there are about nine monasteries belonging to different sects and sub-sects of Tibetan Buddhism. In the northern part of Ladakh, i.e. in Nubra valley, there are some four monasteries at the average altitude of 3300 meters from sea level. In the western part of Ladakh, i.e. from Nimo to Shargola, there are some nine monasteries. In the Zansker valley of Ladakh, there are some twelve monasteries. Besides, there are small nunneries, run on the same lines as the monasteries. Each nunnery has attached to it a small estate, usually worked by the nuns themselves. Different sects have its dwellings for nuns, and these nunneries are called as Chomoling.

Another way to look at the significance of the location of monasteries is embedded in the Buddhist view. Monasteries are located in such places which is inevitable for one to presume that it reflects the idea of Buddhist philosophy detaching from worldly affairs. Therefore, ever since, the monks were placed in high esteem on the underlying Buddhist principle indicating their real distance from the masses. Perhaps this might be a rationale for locating

monasteries far away from the main settlement. Even the small village-level monasteries have been built in the outskirts of the village at a higher plane than that of the local settlement.

The location of a monastery seems to have been a structural representation of the superior position of the institution in society. There are many rules regarding the establishment of a monastery, rules which pertained to the actual location as well as to the founding ritual. The primary rule, a sign of complete renunciation of the world by the monks, required the monastery to be at a distance of less than the reach of human voice from a town, village, or residence of laymen (Miller 1959: 32)

Consequently, the level of spiritual status of the monasteries became positively correlated with the variable of inaccessibility. The monastery is a spiritual centre of a community (Singh 1978). Another important dimension which has been observed during the field work is that, the location of monasteries on hill tops and its visibility played a significant role which is a symbol and constant reminder to the people to retrospect one's own act of detachment from worldly affairs. The buildings themselves are generally impressive and highly organised, with sections and levels delineated for specific people, activities and times of the year. The older monasteries built before the 13th century, are spread out in the valleys, with long, lazy limbs of buildings embellished and added on to cover time (Martens 2009). Perhaps the construction of such mighty splendid and colorful buildings requiring considerable architectural skill, on difficult sites underscores the availability of collective labour. Indeed, the architectural style is similar with that of Tibet. They look exactly alike in style, design, and architecture. Stone and sundried bricks are commonly used as wood is scarce in both the regions. In terms of size, Tibetan monasteries are bigger and in some cases, they can accommodate thousands of monks (Waddel 1959).

Monastic Culture in Ladakh

Natural Landscape is not only the sole reason to attract tourists in Ladakh. Ladakh has tremendous potential both in terms of material and non-material culture. The cultural and religious tradition magnetized the entire tourism industry in Ladakh. Research conducted by Ahluwalia revealed that 64 percent of tourists mainly come to experience the Tibetan Buddhism and to observe Ladakhi culture. Although, there are many countries in the world where Buddhism is predominantly represented, yet, tourists choose to come to Ladakh despite of its extreme weather conditions. This is one of the main reason that, what tourists

gets in Ladakh, they do not get anywhere else. This is probably because of the fact that Ladakh being the last bastion where the purest form of Tibetan Buddhism is still preserved. Even in Tibet, religious activities and influences are curbed (Ahuwalia 1988: 239). Therefore, monasteries in Ladakh are considered as significant symbolic cultural resources to attract tourists.

It is difficult to imagine the Ladakhi way of life without the role of the monastery in society. The entire region is dotted with monasteries on hilltops creating a sacred aura of religious landscape. This is indeed their collective expression of faith that people bestowed over centuries. Monastery is the significant aspect of social life, and the social dimension is an important part of religion. Religious values influence people's action and religious meaning helps them to interpret their experiences. Sociologists seek to understand the meaning of religion to the believer themselves.

This is where the interest of sociology lies in understanding the influence of monastery on society and in turn, society's influence on monastic culture. Monastic culture in Ladakh was greatly influenced by Tibet because Ladakh was then an integral part of Tibet. Ladakh, presently, is in a state of transition, yet it upholds many challenges within the monastic space as well, and in society as a whole. The incompatibility between traditional monastic culture and modern industrial consumer culture creates a tendency to change monastic landscape. No doubt, monastic culture has changed to some extent. Monks tend to have different views owing to the idea of change, as they believed in the notion of impermanence. However, monasteries in Ladakh still retain the status of being one of the most active and vital institutions which imparts ethical and religious values to the people. Apart from that, monastery is a sacred space and it is also a living space swollen with ceremonies. In a sense, the monastery represents an expanded version of a Ladakhi household. Like the home, the monastery is an organised complex with gardens, fields, social spaces and specific customs that correspond with certain days. The monastery and village household are co-dependent. Since they rely on one another to structure membership and resource allocation, the monastery and the village community are linked in a unique way (Martens 2009: 71).

Even though monasteries give an appearance of large mud buildings from outside, its interior is richly decorated. The mud walls are smoothly plastered and embellished with wall

paintings. The entire woodwork such as windows, doors, cornices, galleries and roof beams are carved skilfully and decorated colourfully with motif paintings. The possessions of the paintings (Lakbis) are rare and priceless. These are the repositories of the best in Ladakh's art and culture. The paintings depicting various Buddhist carvings and ornaments are exquisite and popular all over the world. Most paintings and legends have Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other divinities of Buddhist pantheon, mandalas and Buddhist auspicious symbols figuring frequently. Apart from this, they contain the *thangkas* or scroll paintings. These walls paintings of Buddhist symbols and stories are not just for an art and aesthetic pleasure. Nonetheless, those who are not adherents to Buddhism, or are tourists, can see it as the representation of the richness of artist imagination and aesthetic sense. Buddhist on the other hand, is expected to make people understand the hidden meaning and significance of the symbols which are very much prevalent in their everyday life. From the sociological point of view symbols and paintings are the representation of the "community's deeply rooted values, collective consciousness, mental programming, habitus and ideology".(Ricoeur 1976:57)¹²⁵. Some of the monastery's paintings are fairly old which have now become a symbolic resource to invite tourists, archeologists, historians and scholars. These symbols do not only hold value for scholars but is also upheld as spiritual centers for the followers of the religion.

Monasteries still retain its importance as an institution of cultural diffusion. Parents send their children to embrace ascetic life. Sometime, people also turn to monks (Lamas) in times of uncertainty and spend their life participating in simple rituals such as circumambulation and meditation.

Monasteries are evolved within an indigenous version of religion called Lamaist Buddhism. This is a queer mixture of early Mahayana Buddhism, Tantrism and local polydemonism, making it unique. It was the Buddhism of plains which got modified over the years. According to a popular belief, King Ashok's missionaries are believed to have penetrated into Tibet and propagated Buddhism in about 250 B.C (Kholer 1978: 28). The worship of demons and spirits and the use of elaborate rituals are so dominant in this religion that sometimes one wonders whether it is Buddhism at all. Long after, Buddhism has disappeared

¹²⁵Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1976), 57.

from the place of its birth, but it continued to thrive in Ladakh (Singh 1977: 353). Religious belief has fashioned a distinctive culture in Ladakh, the value of which is embedded in every aspect of Ladakhi life. While undergoing a change towards non-violence, and kindness it has contributed towards the change in the perception of the people about life and the world. It has created a different sort of value. People are followers of Buddha and compassion imparted by their religion. The main cause of their modesty and love for peace and dispassionate attitude to life is their religion (Sood 1996). Many decades later despite the homogenizing experience of modern education, economic mobility, and change within the monastic space, people are still very much intact with monastic culture. It still continues to be the unifying force for socialization which helps people to make sense of their lives.

In due course of time, monasteries and other religious structures such as stupa (*Chorten*), Mani walls and religious festivals etc. became the main source of magnetism for the tourist industry. As we mentioned above, monastery (Gompa) means a solitary place, therefore, most of them are situated away from the village settlement. They are often seen perched on a cliff or near the summit of a craggy hill or on a slope. Rising tier upon tiers as much as seven eight storey, a monastery dominates the landscape all round. With its massive walls and small windows it gives the appearance of a fortress or a fairy tale castle. The inside space of all monasteries is quite similar. It is a spacious building with high ceiling. In addition to the main prayer hall or worship room, it contains a huge meeting room for the monks, the kitchen, prayer hall, library and a courtyard surrounded by galleries of artistic representations of demons and deities. Generally, on the southern slope below the monastery the living quarters (*tashak*) of the monks are located. The sacred images and murals are of great worth and are well appreciated. Almost every village has a monastery, but only thirty important ones are of tourist interest. It is observed by Vibha Sood (1990) that eight monasteries are classified as strongly frequented and they received more than 5000 visitors annually. Ten monasteries are visited by 1,000-5,000 tourists and are termed as medium frequented whereas nine monasteries get less than 1,000 visitors. Now, the frequency has increased substantially over the period of time. The average visitors at present would be approximately 20,000 to 50,000 in nearby monasteries in Leh. All the monasteries are easily accessible as they are well connected by road. Another reason for them getting larger numbers of visitors

is that, with the exception of Alchi and Lamayuru, all others are located within the vicinity of Leh town.

The Alchi monastery attracts tourists mainly because it is one of the oldest Gompa of Ladakh. It lies on the left bank of the river Indus, 70 km from Leh. The primary attraction is its 1000 year old mural paintings, most of which depict scenes from the life of Buddha. Alchi, in particular, is regarded as a treasure of arts. Art lovers do not consider their visit complete without a visit to Alchi (Ganhar 1978: 68). This monastery was founded in the 11 century by celebrated Tibetan monk Lotsawa Rinchen Zangpo, who spent a number of years in Kashmir studying the sacred Buddhist texts hence, a strong Kashmiri influence is noticed in the construction of the monastery and its rich artistic embellishment can also be seen. Lamayuru monastery is located on the high rocky outcrop, which overlooks a valley and the village of Lamayuru, 125 km west of Leh. The annual festival of Lamayuru monastery (Yuru Kabgyat), mural paintings and *thang-ka* catch the attention of tourists. We will discuss Lamayuru in depth in later sections.

Table-8: Prominent monasteries in Leh

Name of The Monastery	No. of Lar attached to Monastery	% of the total strength	No. of villages attached to monastery	% of total strength	Area of Land Owned	% of total strength	Year of Establishment
Hemis	390	21.78	100	44.64	1998.3	33.54	17 th Century
Thiksay	180	13.06	25	11.16	1307.8	21.80	17 th Century
Likir	120	8.70	10	8.08	263.3	4.38	11 th century
Phyang	115	8.34	14	6.25	360.0	6.00	16 th Century

Spituk	160	11.61	13	5.80	375.8	6.25	11 th Century
Lamayuru	198	14.36	16	7.14	234.5	3.91	11 th Century
Rezong	100	7.25	19	8.48	496.4	8.28	19 th Century
Stakna	70	5.07	12	5.35	516.7	8.62	16 th Century
Matho	75	5.44	5	2.26	400.0	6.67	15 Century

Source: H.N. Kaul, (1998). "Rediscovery of Ladakh"

Figure 24: A view of Lamayuru Monastery.



Source: Tashi Lundup

Historical Background of Lamayuru Monastery

Lamayuru has a mystic appearance because of its spectacular location on a high rocky outcrop, which overlooks a valley and the village. The village is situated 126 Km towards the west of Leh, and is one of the most famous tourists' destination in Ladakh and is called as Moonland. Lamayuru monastery is one among the three chief monasteries of Drikung Kargyud Lineage (Red-Hat Sect of Tibetan Buddhism) in Ladakh. It is also called the *Yung-drung* or *Swastika* monastery and its stunning location makes it mandatory visit on a tour to Ladakh. Tourists travelling to Ladakh from Srinagar by road, Lamayuru is the first on the way, an awe-inspiring way of introducing the religious, culture and landscape of the Land.

The early history of the Lamayuru monastery revolved around the mythical story which is quite prominent in Ladakh. According to this legend, it says that there was a huge lake where the present day village now stands covering the whole valley. Some of the local historians even assumed the date that it came into existence was during the time of Lord Buddha (around 550 B.C.) (Phanday, 2014). When Kashmir was the centre for learning Buddhism, Ladakh became a crossroad for Tibetan monks who travelled from Tibet to Kashmir to study Buddhism. After Lord Buddha, Ananda (one among the chief disciples of Buddha) travelled to Kashmir with the purpose of spreading Buddhism in the Northern regions of India. Some of the Tibetan literatures even mentioned that when Arhat Madhyantike along with few other monks travelled to Kashmir he also brought saffron seeds and sowed in Kashmir (Phandey 2014). It appeared to be that probably after Maha-parinirvana (death of Lord Buddha) Buddhism flourished in Kashmir and its immediate regions. It was at that juncture Arhat Madhyantika travelled to Ladakh passing through Lamayuru. It is suggested in the legend that when he saw the beautiful lake, he went into the lake and climbed on a small hill which had emerged from the lake. He performed the water ritual with barley grains, and after he completed the ritual he threw a handful of barley into the lake and made prophecy "*may a monastery be found in this place*". He offered a votive water offering (*Chu-gstor*) to all the Naga Serpent spirits who were the guardians of that place. Gradually water started to flow down towards a small channel to the east and completely dried up the place. According to the legend the east channel was dried by him. It means the village was once a site which under this great lake and this may well be true. As geological research on '*Moonland*' have

revealed equivalent to the claim made in the local legend. He planted corn which was carried by the waves to different places along the cliff side by the edge of the lake and when they mixed with the soil they sprouted forth as they ripened in the shape of a *swastika*. That is why the Lamayuru monastery is primarily known as *Yung-drung* (Swastika). Consequently, because of the western explorer writing through the ages, Lamayuru was invented as a sacred landscape from the mystic fantasies of Victorian romanticism, and the place was renamed as ‘*MoonLand*’.

Subsequently, way back in 11th century *Mahasiddha Naropa* (a great Kashmiri monk) came to this place and meditated in the cave which can be seen even now inside the main assembly hall of monastery. It was at that time when Buddhism was flourishing in the whole Himalayan regions and *Narapo* was one among the eight Indian sages who blessed this place. According to the chronicle written by Previous Bakula Rangdrol Nyima Rinpoche¹²⁶ in 1862¹²⁷, Lamayuru monastery, built after great Tibetan Lotsawa (*translator*) Rinchen Zangpo (958-1055)¹²⁸ passed through the region, originally consisted of five temples, one each in the four directions and one at the centre, with statues and images belonging to the four classes of tantra, and countless paintings. This great Tibetan translator as well as Scholar founded several temples in Western Tibet, Ladakh, Spiti (in Himachal Pradesh) and in many other places.

At the outset, Lamayuru monastery was administered by *Kadampa* lineage for many years. Afterwards *Shamarpa* lineage took over the monastery and had been under their control for several years, followed by *Zhwa-ma-pa* for many more years. Thereafter, in the middle of sixteenth century, Dharmaraja Jamyang Namgyal invited a renowned saint Chhosje Danma Kunga Draspa from Mount Kailash to heal his leprosy. The saint performed healing ritual and eventually king was cured. The King was delighted and requested him to be his private teacher but the saint did not accept his offer and said that another saint named Stagtsang

¹²⁶ He is Rinpoche (Reincarnated one) and head of Lamayuru monastery.

¹²⁷ This is unpublished Chronicle, entitled g. *Yung drung dgon dang po ji ltar chags rabs dang d altar ji ltar gnas tshul gyi rnam dbye bi dza har tisma* is mentioned in Vets and Van Quaille (1998:87). It is translated by K.H. Everding. Cited in Blancke, Kristin (2014) *Lamayuru (Ladakh)-Chenrezik Lhakhang: The Bar Do Thos Grol Illustrated As A Mural Paintings*, in Bray John and Bue, Erberto Lo (Ed.,) *Art and Architecture in Ladakh: Cross-Cultural Transmission in The Himalayas and Karakoram*. pub: Brill. Boston.

¹²⁸ He was a great translator of Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Tibetan during the second diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet. He is said to have built over one hundred and one monasteries in Western Tibet (Benoy K. Behl 2008).

Raspa would come. He would be the right saint Yogi to be the king's private teacher. Finally, King offered Phyang village and Lamayuru monastery to him. The saint built Phyang monastery and accepted Lamayuru monastery. From there on, Lamayuru has been the centre for Drikung Kargyud lineage (Red-Hats sect) till today.

In fact, the chronological dates are not available to identify the periods of different lineages that administrated the monastery. Yet, it is certain with its inception *Kadampa* followed by *Zhwa-ma-pa* and finally *Drikung-pa*. Apart from the above chronology, there is another view owing to the origin of Lamayuru monastery that many Western scholars like Francke (1999: 48)¹²⁹ and several Guide books (Like Lonely Planet) attributed its origin to *Bon-po* religion, for which I found no evidence whatsoever. They might probably deduce it from the symbol of 'Swastika' because the symbol of *Bon-po* (Primitive) religion was also 'Swastika'. As a result, many elderly monks in the monastery and local scholars show deep sense of resentment towards such types of distorted history.

Another remarkable thing about the history of Lamayuru was that when the king got cured he offered Lamayuru to the saint and declared it as a place of 'freedom'. Therefore, it is popularly known as "*Yung-drung Tharpaling*" means '*Land of freedom*'. It was then considered a sanctuary where fugitives on the run could evade capture if they were able to throw their hats into "Lamayuru village" before they were caught (Khenpo Rangdol, personal interview, 2014). Furthermore, Lamayuru monastery was exempted from taxes. It was because of the fact that Lamayuru Skushok (Head of the Lama or also called Rinpoche) maintained good relations with neighbouring countries. In the middle of the 16th century, most of the monastery heads acted as mediator and stopped the war between Balti vs Ladakh. Therefore, the Skushok of Lamayuru monastery upheld a good relation with Baltis as well as that of Ladakhi king. All the kings remunerated great respect to Kushok as well as Lamayuru as a unique and holy place. Kushok used to get gifts from Baltistan as well as from King of Ladakh on the occasion of Losar (New Year) and he also sent return gifts to them. Therefore, under this pretext Lamayuru was exempted from all kinds of taxes levied either from King of Ladakh or Skardo Cho (Baltistan). As a result, Lamayuru was one of the biggest

¹²⁹The most famous Bon-po monastery of Ladakh according to the popular tradition was the Yungdrung monastery presently known as Lamayuru or Yuru (Francke 1999:48)

andwealthiest monastery in Ladakh, owing to the fact that Lamayuru monastery is sandwiched between Buddhist dominated Leh and Muslim dominated Kargil. (Jina 2009: 270). Therefore, both communities made an agreement that they would protect the monastery jointly (Ibid.271). Thus, the land of Lamayuru was respected and secured by both the communities as it connects Muslim majority Kargil and Buddhist majority Leh. Nevertheless, the later passage of the history of monastery was not so smooth; it had a lot of ups and down. The monastery was completely destroyed by the invasion of Dogras in between 1842 to 1843. The original buildings were all destroyed and all the artifacts looted or, if not possible to carry away, smashed into pieces. In his Chronicle, Bakula Rangdrol Nyima described his anguish and utter incredulity at the destructions of formerly blessed and thriving monastery. He narrates how he had to go begging to accumulate enough money to rebuild the monastery and re-establish the monastic community. At that time, he himself fled away to another village. Later he came back on the request of the villagers and gradually restored the monastery in its present form. Presently, the successive reincarnation of Skyabsje Toldan Rinpoche acts as an incumbent of the monastery. Today there are more than 400 monks under Lamayuru monastery, but all are not residing at Lamayuru monastery. According to His Eminence's chronicle, it is mentioned that about prophesy made by his previous reincarnation that this monastery will house more than 400 monks in the time to come. At one point of time Lamayuru monastery retained a good political and religious relation with Tibet. The monastery used to send monks to Yangspachan monastery in Tibet in pursuit of higher studies in Philosophy, Tibetan medicine and paintings. There are few monks still residing in the monastery in their seventies and eighties who went to Tibet during that period.

Table 9: Monks who went to Tibet for their higher education from Lamayuru monastery¹³⁰

S. no.	Name:	Age:	Village:
1.	Yeshe Jamyang	84	Paley/Nurla
2.	Konchok Norbu	84	Gongmapa/Nurla
3.	Dorjey Phuntsog	82	Choktsepa/Bodhkhharbu
4.	Padma Jigskop	80	Rangthipa/Wanla
5.	Mehmay Rigzin	80	Monding/Bodkharbu
6.	Konchok Chukdrup	78	Tigmosgang
7.	Mehmay Padma	78	Kanji
8.	Sonam Jorphel	77	Gongmapa/Bodhkhharbu
9.	Konchok Samstan	76 Presently an acting head of the monastery.	Yultak pa/Takmachik
10.	Konchok Stanzin	76	Domkhar Barma
11.	Konchok Rigzin	76	Lampa/Bodhkhharbu
12.	Konchok Tsewang	72	Khosal/Kanji
13.	Rabgyas	82 (No more)	Timosgang
14.	Phuntsog Rabstan	82 (Nomore)	Dakchan/Henasku
15.	Tundup	80 (No more)	Mikir/Bodhkhharbu

¹³⁰Source: J. Sonam (2006) Cross checked and updated and added by researcher, in June 2014.

16.	Phuntsog Namgyal	80 (No more)	Yultak pa/ Takmachik
17.	Tsewang	78 (No more)	Ribyapa/ Kanji
18.	Konchok Tsultim	77 (No more)	Shingkhan/Henasku
19.	Tashi Phuntsog	77 (No more)	Tigmosgang
20.	Konchok Rabzang	70 (No more)	Stara pa/Khaltsi
21.	Konchok Smanla	70 (No more)	Changzi/ Kuksho
22.	Tsering Morup	69 (No more)	Thutong/ Wanla
23.	Konchok Tagspa	68 (No more)	Pharkaythang/Nurla
24.	Tashi Phuntsog	68 (No more)	Kyalbu pa/Lamayuru
25.	Konchok Stanzin	66 (No more)	Shali/Kanji
26.	Tashi Norbo	65 (No more)	Domkhar Gongma
27.	Guru Mehmay	(No more)	Skurbuchan
28.	Horchung	(No more)	Skurbuchan
29.	Konchok tarchin	(No more)	Skurbuchan
30.	Mehmay konchok	(No more)	Skurbuchan
31.	Mehmay Norbu	(No more)	Skurbuchan
32.	Mehmay Phorbu	(No more)	Skurbuchan
33.	Mehmay Samphel	(No more)	Skurbuchan
34.	Mehmay Tsondus	(No more)	Skurbuchan
35.	Norbu Myapa	(No more)	Skurbuchan

36.	Sherap	(No more)	Skurbuchan
37.	Sonam paljor	(No more)	Skurbuchan
38.	Larjey Chomo	(No more)	Skurbuchan
39.	Nerma Mehmay	(No more)	Skurbuchan
40.	Mehmay Samphel	(No more)	Gondangpa/Skurbuchan
41.	Mehmay Sdewa	(No more)	Kharponpa/Skurbuchan

Kabgyad (Monastery festival)

Prior to the festival, a grand Guru Puja performance of the Drikung kargyud-pa, the Skyobpa Rinpoche's Parinirvana (death) commemoration ceremony is held on 25th of the fourth month of Tibetan Calendar. The annual festival Lamayuru festival is celebrated on every 17th and 18th of the 5th Tibetan month known as *Yung-drung Kabgyad*. This is one of the famous festivals in this region. Monks have to practice for a month and undergo meditation before the festival. It attracts thousands of tourists and devotees from different parts of Ladakh. The mask dances of the Drikung-pa sect is of much longer than any other sect in Ladakh. The dances are categorized into two parts.

1. First day mask dance of New Tantra.
2. The second day of Old Tantra.

First day:

1. Atsara dance, 2. Mahakala dance, 3. Acchi dance, 4. Kasrung dance, 5. Namsras dance, 6. Jing skyong yab-Yum dance, 7. Gyalpo chos skyong dance, 8. Don Tangpo.
9. Don Barpa. Don Thama. The first day is over with the Don Thama.

Second day:

Second day starts from 5 o'clock in the morning.

1. Atsara dance, 2. Rngachams, 3. Che Chog Gerdon, 4. Chhi Tor Sgoma ji, 5. Zam dance, 6. Mahe dance, 7. Shava dance, 8. Dub Chams, 9. Janag Dance, Kargyud Dance, Lung Nag Tsubmo and then day is over.

As we have mentioned above that Lamayuru monastery is the apex monastery of the lower part of Ladakh. There are thirty seven small branches of monasteries under Lamayuru. They are further sub-divided into categories, where out of thirty seven monasteries four are considered as important monasteries after Lamayuru. They are *Skurbuchan* monastery, *Tigmosgang-Tserskarmo* monastery, *Wanla* monastery, and *Bodhkharbu* monastery. These four monasteries mediate the relationship between Lamayuru and other small monasteries. Monks generally reside in their respective places but they all have to attend Lamayuru monastery at least twice a year. On the occasion of *Lamayurukabgyad* (festival) and other during the recitation of the Holy Books and to perform *Chakra Sankwara* Liturgy. All monasteries have to take certain responsibilities in organizing festival and other administrative works. Monastery has a systematic mechanism to allocate responsibilities to individual monks as well as collective responsibility to other small monasteries.

Monastic Administration

Monastery or Gompa in Ladakhi is not only a place for residence of monks. It emerged as a community center or religious meeting place for the laity; its physical lay-out clearly reflects this dual function (Bunnag 1973). The monastic administration is hierarchically structured into three tiers in order to maintain and facilitate the operation of functional linkages. Lamayuru monastery occupies the top and other four monasteries in the middle followed by twenty six small monasteries at the lower end of the hierarchy (Phandey 2014). Singh (1976) categorized it in terms of village level Gompas, medium Gompas, and main Gompas. Each village has a Gompa administratively attached to medium Gompa which in turn is affiliated to the main monastery i.e. Lamayuru Gompa. Thus, villages are immediately affiliated to their Gompas through the latter to the medium and eventually to the major one. All the monasteries own sizeable properties like Barley fields, trees, apricot and apple orchard, and livestock which are given to some families on lease basis. The role of the monastery in the economy of the region is quite substantial. The main Gompa Lamayuru in particular own big

landed estate and, to large extent, control and operate the economy of the village. The monastery lands are scattered through the length and breadth of the village. According to P. S. Jina (1995) Lamayuru monastery owns 234.5 acres of Land, which he ranked among the third richest in terms of the possession of Land in Ladakh. Therefore, those lands are given to some families as they cultivate the fields, either as tenants or as agricultural laborers, as the monks are not supposed to work on the fields. The tenants pay 1/5 to 1/2 of the produce to the monastery as rent, they hold very little of it in their own right.

The monastic administration is hierarchically structured as under:

1. Rinpoche or Head of the monastery
2. Lobon
3. Umzat
4. Cham-spon
5. Todan-pa
6. Sdewa
7. Gyaskos
8. Komnyer

Rinpoche or Skushok (Reincarnated Lama) occupies the highest office and power in the hierarchial structure; he usually resides in an apex monastery. His position is determined by birth, therefore, it is an ascribed status. The fact is that Rinpoche and the Gompa are inextricably linked with each other, which helps in evaluating the role of Rinpoche in a monastic set-up. The Rinpoche and the monastery are one for all practical purposes. His visit to any Buddhist village is celebrated as an event.

Rinpoche is followed by Lhobon, an acting head of Lamayuru monastery, or he who represents the authority of Rinpoche, but his power is confined within Lamayuru monastery. Likewise each monastery has its own abbot. Umzat is another important position in the hierarchy especially within Dukhang (the main assembly hall) during prayer time. No prayer is possible without him, as he has to initiate everything. He monitors high and low pitch of the voice during prayers. Cham-spon is responsible for Cham (Mask dance). He teaches Cham for performance during the festival. Todan-pa and Sdewa are two positions with an

equivalent status which is one of the key components of the administrative machinery of the monastery. They maintain the relationship between tenants, agricultural labours, through collecting revenue and tributes, giving loans, etc. They basically uphold the task of maintaining economic affair of the monastery and managing monastery accounts. The Gayaskos is the disciplinarian of the Gompa and his role is restricted with the complex of monastery wherein he maintains law and order. He is expected to keep a strict watch on the life in the Gompa in order to ensure that Lamas strictly follow the prescribed code of conduct. Finally, each temple has a Komnyer, who is responsible for the performance of the ritual every morning, as well as being custodian to the temple. Most of the officials mentioned above are elected by monks subject to the approval of the Rinpoche. Mostly, Lhobon is directly appointed by Rinpoche.

Source of Income

Following are the sources of income of a monastery

1. Agricultural produce from the land cultivated by agricultural labourers.
2. Rent collected from the tenants.
3. Income from hotels and restaurants on lease.
4. Donation and offerings made by devotees as well tourists.
5. Entry tickets from tourists

Education

Monastery itself is a great learning institution for the monks. As we mentioned above that prior to 1959, scholars, novices and monks of Lamayuru monastery used to go to famous monasteries like Sera, Drepung, Tashi Lhumpo, Gadan, Sakya, Sangang Chosling, Dege, Digung etc. in Tibet for higher studies. Later, due to Chinese invasion in Tibet this trend came to an end. As a result, the need for an institution was felt to impart formal Buddhist education apart from monastic education. Consequently, '*School of Buddhist Philosophy*' was established at Leh in 1959, later institution was renamed as '*Central Institute of Buddhist Studies*' registered under Government of India Act, 1941. Subsequently, this institute became one of the most important centres for the study of Buddhist philosophy to all the Ladakhi monks, irrespective of their lineages. Every principal monastery in Ladakh, including

Lamayuru, has a school affiliated with this institute which imparts formal Buddhist education as well as modern education including science, mathematics, English etc. Presently, at Lamayuru there are fifteen students in the school with two teachers. They have residential hostel within the complex of the monastery which runs under monastery administration. Besides school curriculum, students have to learn monastic education and have to memorize some essential religious texts. Those remaining novice monks, who are not studying in school, are entitled to search for the teacher of their own from the same monastery. The teacher will take him wherever he goes. This was in fact a traditional way to impart education to novice monks. With the introduction of schooling system such practices are rarely found now. In Lamayuru monastery there are few novice monks who are having personal teacher or Guru. Those who are having personal teacher are generally expected to focus more on monastic education and rituals and the greater probability of staying behind at the monastery. Those studying in school have a platform to pursue further education. Normally, after finishing their school, they move to Leh, and from there to different parts of India. Most of the monks from Lamayuru are studying outside Ladakh in places like Nepal, Dehradun, South India and Himachal Pradesh. In fact, monks enjoy a great degree of freedom in pursuing their interests. When they finish their formal education most of them often become teachers in Government Schools in Ladakh. They are usually exempted from monastery responsibility. Those who excel in philosophy acquire the status of *Khempo* which is equivalent to Doctorate degree. Only head of the sect (i.e His holiness the Drikung Kyabgon Chetsang Rinpoche) is entitled to give the status of Khempo. Lamayuru monastery is one among the well known monastic institutions which produced many Khempos, scholars, meditation masters, best painters, and many more are presently serving to the progress of lineage as well as helping people at many posts. There are many Khempos who live in Europe and America, looking after *Drikung Dharma* Centres.

Table 10: Well known Monks from Lamayuru monastery holding different positions¹³¹

S.No:	Name	Designation or post
1.	Bakula Rangdol Nima Rinpoche	Head of the Monastery or Rinpoche of the monastery, Great Dancer, and author of many books.
2.	Kyabje Chosgotsan Rinpoche	Another Rinpoche from Lamayuru monastery
3.	Drubpon Sonam Jorphel Rinpoche	Retreat master of Lamayuru center and the founder of Drikung Kagyu Dharmaraja in Nepal.
4.	Drubpon Konchok Samstan	Founder and the resident teacher of Drikung Kyobpa Choling Escondido, California, (USA).
5.	Drubpon Sonam Kunga (Teacher of Rangdol Nima Rinpoche who passed away in 2014)	He was the retreat master of the Drikung Kaygu Institute in Dehra Dun.
6.	Drubpon Konchok Sangye	Resident teacher in the Baltic States in Europe.
7.	Drubpon Konchok Ozer	Retreat master of Limi region in Nepal.
8.	Khempo Dorje	Abbot of Atitse Shedra, graduated from the famous Nyima Changra Institute in Tibet.
9.	Khempo Konchok Tashi	Former abbot and principal of the Drikung Kagyu Institute.

¹³¹ Researcher own field produced data June 2014.

10.	Khempo Dr. Tashi Samphel	Reader at the Tibetan University in Varanasi and Director of the Songstsen Library in Dehra Dun.
11.	Khempo Konchok Rangdol	Former principle of Kagyu College, Dehra Dun.
12.	Khempo Konchok Rigzin	Abbot of Drikung Kagyu Dharmaraja, Nepal.
13.	Khempo Konchok Tamphel	Resident Dharma teacher and translator at the Songstsen Library. Dehra Dun.
14.	Khempo Sonam Tundup	Resident Khempo at Drikung Rinchen Palri Monastery in Nepal.
15.	Khempo Konchok Phende	One of the eminent contemporary scholar in Ladakh.
16.	Prof. Konchok Rigzin	Chief research officer at the Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, Ladakh.
17.	Lama Yeshe Jamyang	One of the best painters and the only monk to have complete authority on every rites, rituals and vajra-dances of the Drikung Kagyu. tradition, trained in Yangrigar and Drikung Thil in Tibet.
18	Khempo Konchok Sherab	Research assistant at Songsten Library Dehra Dun.

Tourism: Globalising Monastic Culture

Villages in the Himalaya such as Lamayuru was once found among the world's outlying places, are now accessible to tourists. The whole process of linking such an esoteric Land

like Himalaya to the rest of the world is an indispensable aspect of globalization. Lamayuru village as a representation of Himalaya attract massive tourists in the form of globalization process. Hence, the essential question needs to be addressed here is that how villagers and monks in the monastery deal with such a rapidly globalizing world? Globalization is understood as a process of creating homogeneous cultural space and the world. The development of information technology (IT) and communication system transformed the face of humanity. This is in fact, the virtue of human innovations which enables us to connect every nook and corner of the world and our aspirations to become a single global community. This is the idea that connectivity is globally encompassing and this implies a certain 'unicity' a sense that the world is becoming, for the first time in history, a social and cultural setting. Whereas it was in the past possible to understand social and cultural processes and practices as a set of local, relatively 'independent' phenomena, globalization makes the world a 'single place'. Obvious examples are the ways in which the economic affairs of nation-states are locked into a global capitalist economy, or how the environmental effects of local industrial processes can rapidly become global problems (Tomlinson: 1999: 11).¹³²

In a strict sense, however, the idea of the world becoming one place is only contingently related to the idea of increasing connectivity. Indeed, the twenty first century can be viewed as the realisation of the certain sense of a global village, especially when cyber space revolutionized the whole world. Cyber world can be seen as the manifestation of globalization process which has a tendency to create a perpetual world in itself. Nevertheless, nothing is free from the gloomy side. Everyphenomenon has two sides of reflecting an impact as positive and negative. This whole process of homogenizing the world is also not as impressive as it appears to be. There are many undesirable changes occurring in the society which are embedded in this process. But, more importantly, the fall of cultures is the matter of prime concern, which has evolved within the suitability of its own environment, is now at stake. The threat of globalization lies in the tendency to subdue the importance of local culture which we learned has emerged within the limits of its own environmental compulsion. Hence, tourism as a product of globalization appears to be a threat to an indigenous knowledge system, embedded in the cultural values and norms. It is in the light of

¹³² Tomlinson, John (1999). Globalization and Culture. Pub: Blackwell Oxford, UK.

this understanding that Lamayuru gains an essential place to comprehend how the people of Ladakh especially in monastic spaces are responding to such challenges.

In due course of time it seems that Ladakhi villages underwent significant changes owing to the development of tourism industry in the recent past. Tourism has brought great deal of changes which include places of tourist interest, especially monasteries (Singh 1998: 351). Lamayuru monastery, for that matter, is also not an exception rather it would be found among the most touristic sacred spaces in Ladakh. The mysterious stories and myths that articulate the meaningful value of monastic space makes the place more interesting for tourist. Furthermore, the peculiarity of Tibetan Buddhism has formed a unique culture in the region. Religion is indeed absorbed in the way of life of the people. It is almost impossible to think of life without the role of religion. Therefore, monastery appeared to be one of the most important agents of socialization in the village. It has created a peculiar sort of value. Sood (1996:62) described that the 'people are comparatively more humble, gentle, peace loving and god fearing. The main cause of their humility and love for peace and dispassionate attitude to life is their religion'.

While undergoing structural transformation due to tourism, there is a change in the perceptions and aspirations of the villagers and the monks towards life and the world. In fact, those changes are expected with the change of socio-economic fabrics of the village. The socio-economic set up of the village shows its emergence as a response to local environmental compulsions, with little external influence. It may, however, be mentioned that Lamayuru, though remote, was never completely isolated because of its location on trade routes and presently on Srinagar and Leh national highway. In fact, Lamayuru is one among the most marked place in the accounts of early travellers. But, in recent years, significant changes are observed. These changes have profound impact on the way of life of the villagers and on the monks in the monastery. It posts a major challenge to village concerning with its custom, tradition and cultural values and to keep those values intact. Tourism might not be the only cause for those changes in general but it is certainly a major force of change for Lamayuru. Prior to the present form of tourism, the level and nature of interaction was endogenous and it also reflects on the socio-economic and cultural setting of the village.

Lamayuru were then frozen within its own world with less frequency of interaction with outsider.

Peripheral areas are generally distinguished as less interactive with rest of the world as well as within itself. If it is a mountainous region, nature acts as a strong constraint on the evolution of space relations and each valley turns into micro-world in itself (Singh 1978: 85). Lamayuru lies in an inhospitable area in the midst of *Photola Pass* at an elevation of above 3500 meters, and highly rugged mountain terrain and cold arid climate. Consequently, its rugged geo-climatic condition left less space for social interaction among the people. Nevertheless, despite high restriction imposed by nature in terms of inter-village interaction, relatively isolated Lamayuru village did not become a blind alley. Rather its location became a signature for the village and symbolically connects the two major communities of the region, i.e, Buddhist Leh and Muslim Kargil. Furthermore, it continued to be an important link in the communication system of tourism industry in Ladakh. It still retains some of the important ancient routes which are being reinforced by present forms of tourism. For instance, from Lamayuru to Darcha in Himachal Pradesh the trekking route is well known, since for the adventure tourist it is believed to be one among the toughest routes in Ladakh. Therefore, Lamayuru as a place was never completely isolated.

Yet, it is impossible to think of a particular place without inferring to a social dimension. The meaningfulness of a given place derives to a large extent from its status in the relations that people have with each other. Even sites of solitude or social estrangement contain a social dimension, perhaps more so than those that thrive on contact and interaction with others. Indeed, the absence of society can be a powerful social force. Every society has its own unique ways to evolve with the surroundings and environmental constraints. The tendency of human adaptation with an environment forms an essential process in shaping social relationship. Environment is vital element in constructing social relation among individuals. This is how an explicit pattern of life evolves in due course of time which is known as culture. Ladakh, for instance, has its own pattern of evolvment with nature. Ladakhi society has evolved with nature in such a way that even social anthropologists get blurred in identifying its standard parameter to locate Ladakhi culture within their discourses. Ladakhi capitalized natural resources to the fullest for survival.

Hence, the importance of place in social relationships goes beyond its role as the site where people interact. In fact, place serve as an integral element in all social relations, both as a determinant of those relations and as a product of them as well. This is apparently visible in monastic space and other sacred sites. The sacredness of the site and those who occupy those sacred spaces are bestowed with high social prestige. For example, head of the monasteries, reincarnated lamas, (*Rinpoches*) and the Monks (*Gelongs*) in the monasteries who reside and regulate these sacred sites earn the respect of people. People respect them because they have faith in religion and believe in the sacredness of monasteries and their association with the auspicious nature of site gains the respect of religious adherents (Bremer 2006: 26). Simultaneously, the recognition of the place as sacred is achieved as a result of the presence and activities of *Lamas* (monks) and those who practice meditation in and around the monastery. Therefore, social and spatial dimensions reinforce each other and sustain their special character in an inextricable relationship of reciprocal meaningfulness.

As we have mentioned above that even the solitude sites are more social than those of an active occurrence of human interaction. Hence, almost all the monasteries in Ladakh are found on solitude and isolated sites. It would be interesting to look at the social dimension of monasteries and how it is changing over a period of time. ‘Because places are social, they are never unchanging’ (Ibid..27). Lamayuru monastery also lies on the hilltop and far from the village settlement. There are small dwellings spread on the hill where monks practice meditation. The meaningfulness of a monastic space originates from the engagement of *monks* in practices and activities which establish them and maintain them. The *stories* and *myths* owing to the history of monastery and from the discursive force of monks practices in the communities that regard them as special and peculiar. The peculiarity and sacredness of the monastery allure tourist in massive scale. Consequently, the monastic spaces apparently change over time in the ongoing ebb and flow of interaction between tourists, monks and sacredness of the site. The place itself changes as its meaning shifts for the individuals and communities who find it distinctive.

Tourism and Monastic Space

The phenomenon of the relationship between host and guest at religious places or sacred sites are well discussed within the domain of scholarly engagement in tourism literature (Pearce,

Moscardo, & Ross, 1996; Smith, 1992). However, Buddhist monasteries especially in Himalayan region is never touched upon in the previous research on religion and tourism. Monasteries are one of the most important resources to attract tourists. Therefore, how Buddhist monks perceive to have accommodated tourism and the dynamic of changes taking place in the socio-economic set-up of monastic community would be the focus of this section.

Indeed, substantial work has been done in the context of other religion and sacred sites, which tend to indicate that tourism is essentially perceived as a threat to sacred sites, even law court cases increased against ecological ravage and overbuild (Joseph & Kavoori 2001; Raj & Morpeth 2007; Visvanathan; 2010). It appears from earlier works that negative impacts outsource the positive impact on sacred sites. Nonetheless, the contribution of tourism industry cannot be ignored which facilitates the development of infrastructure on sacred sites. Hence, the task set for this chapter is to understand the perception of monks at Lamayuru monastery toward tourism. The rationale for locating Lamayuru monastery as the field for exploration is simply the fact that it is one among the well established tourists' destination in Ladakh. Furthermore, the kind of tourism that Lamayuru witnessing is a new phenomenon to be studied.

An understanding of perceptions of the monk at Lamayuru can contribute to finding ways of sustaining the sacredness of the village religious sites that have become tourist attractions. Monastery is one of the major resources to encourage tourism into the village. Thus, it became an interesting place to look at how religious or sacred sites perceive having non-adherent tourist at monastic space. Moreover, what kind of tourists are witnessing at monastery, how Buddhist monks perceive tourism development, and the subsequent transformations occurring within the monastery and to monastic life in Ladakh, is therefore arguably an important question which needs to be addressed.

Pilgrim and Tourist

Before going into any further details, first of all it is essential to be acquainted with what kind of tourism Lamayuru monastery hosts. We already have a body of constructed typologies in tourism literature by range of scholars (e.g. Apostolopoulos et al. 1996; Collins-Kriner 2000;

Cohen 1979; Cohen 2003; Jafari 1987; MacCannell 1976; Smith 1992). The whole discourse about the typologies of tourism looped around the two concepts mainly pilgrimage tourism and secular tourism or leisure tourism. Pilgrimage tourism usually referred to those travellers who undertook long journey to religious sites around the world. Digance (2006) has rightly mentioned that the whole concept of pilgrimage is drawn from 'medieval social movement which occurred between 500 and 1500 CE' (Page 36). Indeed, that was the period wherein pilgrimage was the only concept which builds upon travel habit. Although motivation for travelling was embedded in religion, yet it offered a sense of temporary relief from generally tough existence in an agrarian based society. In fact, medieval pilgrimage is generally given as the first example of mass tourism as we know it today. However, it came to the fore that by the end of fifteen century the motivation for pilgrimage had changed from spiritual to be one of curiosity, the desire to see new places in European society around that time (Sumption 1975).

Subsequently, MacCannell who is one among the pioneer scholars in the scholarship on tourism described that 'tourism is a type of pilgrimage' (1973, 1976, 1992,). The curiosity to explore places which are perceived as pristine and untouched, were the aspiration of many individuals in contemporary societies who are expected to experience a more authentic and holistic reality in which their fragmented world is reunited (Allcock 1988; Cohen 1986; Cohen 1988). If we tend to make a distinction between secular tourist and pilgrimage traveller then one needs to understand their inner aspirations. The difference is more to do with one's inner consciousness for travelling. Their inner aspiration would certainly reflect on their travel habit. Yet, it is difficult to demarcate the distinction between the two in clear terms, because both can exist simultaneously within one individual. If we look at the ways in which tourism is evolving in the mountainous region of Himalaya, it would certainly reflect the interplay between these two travelling patterns. Many of my tourist informants communicate that they came to visit monasteries and other sacred places of Ladakh in search of an inner peace and get away from what Nordberg-Hodge termed as *western industrial mono-culture* (1997). Similarly, Visvanathan has illustrated in her narratives that pilgrims who come to visit the Ramanasramam, Tiruvanamalaiaspire to obtain peace from the noise and complexities of urban space (2010: 118).

Though, there are many similarities as well as differences between the tourist and the pilgrim. Fahey tried to distinguish pilgrim from tourist wherein he specified eight elements in pilgrim which makes it somewhat different from the tourist such as 'Faith, penance, community, sacred space, ritual expression, votive sacrifice, celebration and the furrow' (2002: 213-218). These differences were made in reference to an earlier pattern of pilgrimage which he articulated as 'Pilgrimage is more about stillness than movement: it is more about journey than destination' (Ibid.). This may seem a contradiction to the modern pilgrim who flies off to some distant shrine or holy city eager to arrive there as soon as possible. However, there are also similarities between the modern pilgrims and the tourist. Sometime, tourists tend to become pilgrims and pilgrims become tourist. Mostly, similarities lie in the realm of travel aspiration which in both cases would seek to attain mental peace and calm. In fact, most of the tourists perceive Himalayan Mountain as something sacred which can confer peace and tranquility. Therefore, their aspiration for travelling to Himalayan Mountain or Ladakh can also be allied with a form of pilgrimage. Furthermore, if we see in a deeper realm pilgrimage is a travelling pattern which aspires for an inner realisation rather than mere sensual pleasure. Their feeling of alienation and fragmentation of relationships which Cohen referred it as a *diaspora of consciousness*- an intellectual or spiritual, rather than physical, dispersion in which people are unable to exist fully in the here and now; they are torn between here and there, between now and another time, typically a romanticized past and idealized future (Cohen 1986). This is a journey which can be seen more as a passage for self-discovering or self change, a search for 'personal authenticity' (Desforges 1998; Noy 2004). Therefore, one cannot simply confer an ordinary identity, such as tourist, when they are visiting Ladakh or Himalayan monasteries. In particular, we need to look at their purpose of visiting the monastery. Their imagination plays an important role in bringing them into Ladakh and their physical presence there at the monastery. They are being told stories about Ladakh and Buddhist monastic culture and provided with parallel structure and planes. They have crossed thousands of miles and boundaries to visit Ladakh. Their act of touring Lamayuru has a nostalgic quality. Their imagination comes real through their act of travelling to Ladakh. Lamayuru as a place in isolation and peace which seized the imagination of westerners and domestic tourists can be viewed as the reflection to their monotonous way of life. In fact, the whole business of modernism is all about a sense of

defilement, and loss. Thousands of people were displaced and a large morass of emotions which conglomerate in the individual in an odd and outward fashion. This leads to a loss of self esteem, and that state which Jung called “modern man in search of his soul” (Visvanathan 2010: 114). Tourism in that sense can be viewed as the mirror image of human grief in search of happiness. It is a paradox of human civilization that nation should develop to pursue human happiness but we are apparently witnessing otherwise. The whole process of modernisation not only consumes human happiness but it also created disturbance to other species too. In this thesis, I asked why people leave the ‘first world’ to spend leisure time in ‘undeveloped region’. Most of them leave western industrial nations to non-developed ‘backward region’ to spend their holidays. In the western industrialized nations, development and growth have become ends in themselves. They no longer adapt to the primary human needs, but rather to the wishes of a consumer society that needs to detour more and more in order to survive. This inflated entity has taken on self-destructive dimension and has created an ever-increasing feeling of saturation.

Unlike modern mass consumption pattern of tourism, traditional travellers were expected to carry a faculty of inner transformation. According to MacCannell’s (1976, 1992) ‘tourism is essentially a cognitive activity, but impacts may also be emotional or behavioral’ (Cited in Cohen 2006: 76). Nevertheless, there is a strong relation between modern mass tourism and religious travel pattern. Ancient religious travel gradually evolved into modern mass tourism. Each fostered the other. The relation has been symbiotic and complementary. It is however observed that, over time, modern mass tourism has secularized religious travel movement. Prior to modern mass tourism, religious travel was restricted to religious activities only, but with its proliferation, the purview is extended to more secular pursuits.

Here, tourism and pilgrimage are interpreted neither as opposed concepts nor even opposite ends of a spectrum, but rather as the two axis in a theoretical model of pilgrimage and tourism. The popularization of the Himalayan region, development of cultural tourism, and the importance of monastic culture in identity formation of the place have all influenced in drawing tourists into monasteries in Ladakh. Lamayuru monastery is also not an exception. It became one of the most desirable destinations for tourist. Some of the western tourists even visit Lamayuru because they deem the site as sacred, special or set apart from mundane,

everyday world (Eliade 1961). Although, these tourists are not Buddhist adherents, yet they tend to differentiate themselves from the other form of tourists. Neither is this particular tourist regarded as pilgrims nor as leisure tourist. The perplexities in categorizing types of tourist are not uncommon. It is common phenomenon at every sacred distinction in the world. Keeping those complexities in consideration open ended questions have been formed and asked to 150 tourists about their aspiration to visit Lamayuru monastery. Asked them whether they were pilgrims or leisure travellers? Out of 150 tourists, 87 wrote leisure and cultural exploration, 39 wrote both pilgrim and culture. 14 wrote just reach Lamayuru by chance because their friends suggested so. 9 did not respond to the question. One unusual and interesting answer received in response to this question is ‘It hardly matters to me whether I’m in Church or in Buddhist Monastery whenever I go to these sacred sites I just visualized my own God’. Here, his act of visiting any sacred space always takes him back to his own faith. The sacredness of the outer space gives impetus to his inner self to remember his own god.

On the other hand, the monks at Lamayuru monastery also tend to construct their own typologies. They categorize tourists mostly in terms of their faith. Those who are *Nang-pa* (Buddhist adherent or insiders) are termed as *Jal-Me* (pilgrims) tourist. *Jal-me* is a local term for pilgrims which is more appropriate to use for Buddhist visitors including Ladakhi. The modern mass cultural type of tourists or non-Buddhist and secular or leisure tourist is known as *chisgyal-pa*, which mostly implies to American and European tourist. They presume that all *Chisgyal-pa* are non-Buddhists, therefore they cannot be called as pilgrims. These types of tourists are high in number which Lamayuru is witnessing. Lamayuru is witnessing more of such tourists than the former one. They further categorized *Chisgyal-pa* into two types as *Chugpo-Chisgyal-pa* and *Chaddpo-Chisgyal-pa* which means rich one and poor one. Lastly, *Gyagar-pa* refers to Indian tourists. These are the typologies which are being constructed by monks at Lamayuru monastery.

Hence, three types of tourists or visitors are being hosted at Lamayuru monastery. Firstly, Local visitors called as *Nang-pa*, means Buddhist, these are Ladakhi who come to visit monastery as *Jal-me* (pilgrims) from other parts of the Ladakh irrespective of their sects. The sect is least important to people when it comes to visit monasteries. All the Buddhist

monasteries are equally important especially for the lay people in Ladakh. One can safely argue that the politics among the various sects within Tibetan Buddhism is only confined to monastic communities. Lay people do not ally with sectarian politics. Therefore, sometimes people do not even know which monastery belongs to which sect. Secondly, *Gyagar-pa* means Indian tourists who have recently entered the milieu. Bollywood seems to influence the landscape of the Indian mind, especially the film 'Three Idiots' which was partly made in Ladakh, appeals to lots of Indian to come to Ladakh. Finally, *Chisgyal-pa* encompasses all type of tourists other than local and domestic tourists. Hence, monk's understanding of tourist constitutes only *Chisgyal-pa* and *Gyagar-pa*, not the local *Jal-me* (pilgrims) as tourists. The axis is simply between whether one adheres to Buddhism or not. Adherents are considered as an insider to the monastic community and cannot be called as tourist. Therefore, the whole paradigm of pilgrimage as a concept of tourism is not gaining recognition among the monks of Lamayuru monastery. They think that it is their obligatory task to entertain *Jal-me* at any time. But, for other two types of tourists they have set a specific time to visit monastery. If they fail to visit on time they would not entertain and close the door. It is notified on the counter that ticket is available for tourists only from 6:00 a. m to 6:00 p.m. The monk who works at the ticket counter informed me that most of the monks are engaged in their respective duties. It appeared to be that monastery is observing strict institution of division of labors in allocating duties especially during tourist session. Therefore, tourism seems to have brought multifarious impacts on monastic setting and on the monks. It would not be an exaggeration to say that tourism is fostering monks to engage in various activities other than learning and practicing Buddhism. This will be discussed in detail in the later section of the same chapter. Coming back to the question of differences and similarities between pilgrim and tourist, as in term of their travelling aspiration they are somewhat similar but there are differences too. Nevertheless, that distinction also creates some difficulties, leaving one to ponder if there is any meaningful and valid difference at all.

Overlapping and Convergence of Sacred Space

It is evident that sacred sites across the world are receiving tourists in sizeable number. It might perhaps be due to the coincident expansion of both religious pilgrimage and mass tourism (Lloyd 1998). In many countries across the world, religion and its associated sites,

sacred landscape, festivals, ritual, are seen to be used by government officials and tourism industry as a symbolic resource to attract tourists (Timothy and Boyd 2003). Consequently, there is a high probability that sacred sites would be transformed and commodified for tourist consumption, which in turn give impetus to the development of mass tourism and other leisure activities. This is evident through the images and meanings assigned to sacred sites and adopted in various local, regional and national tourism promotional literature (Olsen 2006). As a result of this, there is an interesting overlapping and convergence between religious space and tourist space which Bremer termed as “duality of place” (2001: 3). This convergence of religious/sacred and tourist/secular space, however, adds a complexity to the traditional management practices at sacred sites where the focus has been on the needs of pilgrims and worshippers rather than other form of visitors (Olsen 2006). Sacred sites such as monasteries in Ladakh are also not an exception to this duality of space. Both tourism industry and monastic elites are amicably capitalizing these sacred sites to attract tourists. Apparently, there has been a shift from traditional pattern of management and behaviour of monks to cater to the needs of tourists. Such kinds of changes can be seen in all those monasteries which fall within the ambit of tourists’ map. In fact, monasteries in Ladakh are famous for its well preserved Tibetan Buddhist culture, which makes it both a centre of Mahayana Buddhism and a popular tourist destination, attracting both Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist tourists.

Therefore, increasing number of tourists bring new challenges to the monastic communities. If we look at all other sacred sites in the world, it appears that it is not an unusual phenomenon, for the sacred sites or religious places around the world which host tourists and are encountering parallel complexities. The result is simultaneity of places, both touristic and religious. In other words, these dualities of space emerge out of shared space between leisure travellers and the pilgrims. These two kinds of practices make the place into either a religious site or a tourist destination. Consequently, their interpretation about the significance of the space would differ according to their practice. At the same time, however, they often move between touristic and religious aspects of a single site as they shift from tourist to worshipper and vice versa (Bremer 2004: 3). At monasteries in Ladakh, for instance, monks and other local residents mingle with tourists in the cavernous space of the interior of monasteries and other sacred sites. Monks participate in the sacramental life of the monastic community,

while tourists come to experience the well preserved monastic culture of Tibetan Buddhism which is regarded as the last bastion for the life of Tibetan Buddhism in the world. Likewise, there are many places in the world which visitors encounter spaces that slide easily between the touristic and the religious.

The practices that produce and maintain these sort of places, whether they be touristic, religious, or some hybrid of the two, also generate one defining aspect of tourism that relates directly to religion and articulation of identities. In fact, the making of place always involves the making of identities and conversely, the construction of identity always involves the construction of place, thus place and identity emerge together in a relationship of reciprocal meaningfulness. This inextricable convergence of place and identity holds true for both places of religion and places of tourism (Bremer 2004).

In order to answer the question of how place become sacred, we need to look at the historical background. Place became sacred according to the historical, social, and cultural contexts of particular religious traditions (Timothy and Olsen 2006). The narratives of sacred place occur within the discourse of particular religious traditions. The sacred sites in Tibet like Potala Palace, Norbuglinkha and Jokhang Monastery, for instance, cannot be understood apart from the historical and socio-cultural contexts of Buddhism. Indeed, the close identification between Buddhist and its most sacred place make them nearly indistinguishable. Similarly, as in the case of Holy Mecca which cannot be understood without understanding the socio-historical context of Islam, likewise, the shrine at Tepeyac, which houses the sacred image of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico City, gains its auspicious powers from the miraculous appearance of the Virgin there. These powers, however, also derives from the historical circumstances of colonial relations between European Christians and Native American converts, as well as from the racial, ethnic, gender, and socio-economic dynamics of subsequent generations of Catholic worshipers at the site (Boris, Vukonic, Jafari, 1996).

The place where people have made a space for an interaction with sacred, religious and spiritual power, presence of visitors or touristic practices are able to establish a site worth of visitation (Bremer 2006). For tourist, one's religious faith need not come in the way of his admiration for other creeds. These places of worship also create a space for an interaction of tourists and the local people or insiders and outsiders. Tourists, on the other hand, arrive with

a different set of spatial practices embedded in their own peculiar historical, social and cultural contexts. Unlike religious practices related to particular sacred spaces, the spatial arrangements of practices rely on modern conventions of travel aesthetics designed in the citadel of global capitalism. Hence, they make this space into touristic places that remain distinct from the sacred places meant exclusively for religious purposes. In the case of monasteries in Ladakh, for instance, the sacredness sustained in the practices of Tibetan Buddhism appears to a touristic sensibility in terms of aesthetics, history and other exotic otherness of unfamiliar cultic behaviours. Thus, the space of monasteries becomes simultaneously a place of religious practice and a place of touristic indulgence.

Simultaneity of places emerges in parallel geographies of both the sacred and the touristic. Both religious adherent and non-adherents occupy the same space at the same time. Their respective practices and resulting interpretation of its significance make distinct place of it (Gillespie 2006). The interesting thing to comprehend here is that how this overlapping place becomes meaningful for both tourist and religious adherents? The stories, myths and local narratives which have been constructed to articulate and affix meaning to the place consolidate the bonds that believers and the tourists feel towards the place. This temporal constructed meaning became a symbolic identity which magnetized tourism industry. In short, sacred spaces of tourist destination inform stories that articulate coherent identity.

Case of Lamayuru

Likewise, talking of religion and sacred space or sites in context of Ladakh inevitably brings to fore monasteries and monastic culture. Ideally, monasteries are situated at secluded place with isolated and static characteristics. However, the massive inflow of tourist brings these isolated 'sacred spaces' in contact with external factors. The resultant phenomenon will discuss in detail in forthcoming sections. These spaces are prime tourist attractions, and the tourism industry is hell-bent on capitalizing them. Interestingly, these 'sacred places' have responded to this capitalization amicably and mutually, some of the monasteries have shifted their festivals to summer months to cater to tourist needs. Coming to Lamayuru village, monastery and other religious structure such as *Chorten and Mani walls*, and *Yuru Kyabgyat* (Lamayuru festivals) are the main attraction for tourist. As mentioned above, monastery (Gompa) means a solitary place, therefore, Lamayuru monastery is also situated away from

the village settlement at the top of hill. Monasteries are often seen perched on a cliff or near the summit of a craggy hill or on a slope. Rising tier upon tier as much as seven or eight storeys, a monastery dominates the landscape all round. With its massive walls and small windows it gives the appearance of a fortress or a fairy tale castle.

Tourists visit and hear tales and saga of grandiose order, and weave their own too. The monastery courtyard is filled with tourists particularly during summer months. It becomes an interesting space for the sociologist to observe the confluence of space between tourist (non-adherent) and local people (adherent). More to the point, local guide became an important mediator in this web of social interaction which takes place within the courtyard of the monastery. Guide explicates the mysterious history of monastery to tourist and monks are active observers to authenticate and to clarify any distortion of information. The relationship between monks and guides seem perturbed within the monastic space. The monk who is *komnyer* (care taker) of *dukhang* (main assembly hall) informed me that many guides are unacquainted with history of the monastery and Buddhism; therefore, they tend to communicate wrong information to tourists. The guide on the other hand, shows his nervousness when explaining to tourist group in the presence of monks. A senior monk said,

Many guides come and narrate their own version of history, especially '*Chisgyal pa guide*' foreigner guide and '*Gygar-pa guide*' Indian but not Ladakhi. Some guides are really good but most of the guides are not familiar with history and philosophy of Tibetan Buddhism. They tend to tell story according to their own faith. For instance, if he is a believer of Hindu faith, he tends to relegate with the story *Mahabharata*, and always distorts the names of the statues. For example, we know the name '*Dharma tara*' (the main deity of Drikung pa sect and this monastery). It has only one name no matter what language they speak. But, sometime *gyarpa-guides* called it as '*kali mata*' which is a Hindu deity. Likewise, there are many instances that they tend to distorts the names, palace, and its history, especially when guides come unacquainted with necessary information.

A French group accompanied by two guides, one is Ladakhi trained in English language, and the other one who spoke French came from Delhi. While explaining the monastery history and Buddhism, I have noticed from his gesture that he was misrepresenting the names of statues. I asked the local guide to explain what he was saying to the group but he could not understand the French either. Instead, he told me that he is well versed with Buddhism, you do not have to worry about it. Situation got strained, eventually, I had to intervene and stopped him from explaining any further, because we have enough experienced of such kinds in the past. Later on, we came to know that the same guide had the same issue at Hemis monastery. Likewise we are bound to fight every now and then

with tourist guides. Ladakhi guides are also not an exception as many of them are inefficient and know nothing about Buddhism. Many people are blaming us for indulging in argument, we are also helpless and feels bad to so, but we cannot allow someone to lie and distort the value of centuries old traditions. (Interview, July 13th, 2014)

The role of guide has indeed become an important component of tourism industry to situate what kind of cultural attributes are communicated to the tourist. From a sociological point of view, Habermas (1984) 'communicative action and rationality' is a relevant here, wherein tourist and local guide interact and coordinate their action based on agreed interpretations of situation. Language became an important means to communicate local cultural values to tourists. Communicative action has the ability to reflect upon language used to express propositional truth, normative value, or subjective self-expression (Habermas 1984: 95). With the virtue of language, the guide has to mediate the relationship between host and guest. It is quite evident within Lamayuru's monastic space where the guide plays a dual role of being a local and part of tourist's group. When he interacts with local people he takes the position of tourist, conversely, local position to tourist.

Let us examine in detail about the monastic space at Lamayuru. It came to light that villager especially elderly people are of the view that the massive influx of tourist into monastery is disturbing the sanctity of monastic space. Consider the statement made by 73 year old lady below:

We come to monastery for *Skora* "circumambulation" but when tourist sees us they immediately take our photo. Now, monastic surroundings have become so noisy and are crowded for whole day. (Interview, June 17th, 2014).

She made an interesting statement that her religious space is shrinking and she became an object for tourists to be photographed. She clearly articulated her sense of resentment with this 'dual space' which is emerging out from the influx of tourists within the monastic space at Lamayuru. Unlike other monasteries, Lamayuru monastery is home to elderly people of the village. They come to monastery almost every day for *Skora*¹³³ (circumambulation or walk around) carrying *maney lagskor* and *Thangna* (Rosary) in their hand. They spend

¹³³The principle involves making a clear and conscious connection with something that is regarded as special. This is often a physical object but it could also be a person. In a religious context 'the thing' would be seen as especially related to or embodying the transcendent qualities aspired to. In a more mundane situation one could go round a dwelling, say, as part of a blessing.

the whole day within the complex of monastery and sometime they go up on the hill for *Skora*. They walk around the monastery clockwise repeatedly. The idea of walking around the monastery, *stupas*, *manay* walls and other religious structures is to gain merits and for self-purification. When they get tired they sit in corner under the shade and recite mantra. Sometime they gossip among themselves. Then it became a perfect time for me, where I could have conversation with them. They generally wear *goncha* (long sort of coat made of woolen) and *lok-pa* (goat's skin worn on their back) are traditional Ladakhi dresses. Moreover, they do have a reason why they always wear *goncha* while visiting monastery. The reason is captured in a popular Ladakhi Phrase '*go-stong kang-jen la-man-dul*' meaning 'do not go around bare foot and head'. While visiting sacred sites villagers particularly older generation observe a strict rule pertaining to their dress. They believe that an inappropriate dress can pollute the aura of sacred sites. This is one reason that many monasteries in Ladakh banned entry of tourist with half shirt and half pant. If anyone wears half shirt and pant within the monastic compound, he or she would be fined. They are of the view that without wearing proper dress (i.e traditional *goncha* and *tebi*) one should not enter within the compound of monastery. One's dress, thinking and motivation can pollute the aura of monastic space. It seems that the faulty behavior of tourists, such as inappropriate or lax religious attitude have made a negative impression on villagers.

Another informant said that '*dang-dering ney thugu nyun goslaks minda minda gon duk. Chisgyal-pa minda minda youngs pa ta char –chu tus se-ka kaney babs sen...Lha, lamo a tsetu song they innok*', meaning 'These days younger generation wears different clothes exposing their body parts and monasteries witnessing different type of tourists who brought many things in Ladakh, pollutes deities and goddess of our surroundings. Therefore, how can we expect rainfall and snow on time'. This perception is very common among the elderly people in the village. This is probably the fact the village way of life is tuned with local environment. Hence, they tend to associate that intrusion of modern element into local culture causing uneven climate change and shifting space of sacred landscape.

Looking at the way of life and strength of the village as it confronts the modern world. Helena Nordberg (1991), when she first came to Ladakh in the year 1978 argued that Ladakhi way of life can throw light on the root causes of an environmental crisis and family

breakdown in the west. If we see villages now, it is visible that considerable changes have occurred in the way of life of the villagers, when it was suddenly thrown open to the outside world. Lamayuru village due to its location is more exposed to those changes. Development of communication systems and Government of India's Welfare schemes, brought cheap subsidized food through vehicles running on subsidized fuel, seems to outsource the village economy. At the same time villagers were bombarded with advertisement and media images and romanticized the western style of consumerism created enormous inferiority complex among the people by comparison. Villagers and the monks in the monastery are increasingly exposed to consumer culture. It creates an intense competition and pressure among villagers and monks. There is a breaking down of village community and their links with nature that has been the cornerstone of Ladakhi culture for centuries. This is the village introduction to globalization.

While addressing the monastic space, it is evident that local elderly people who visit monastery everyday became an object for tourists to photograph. The interesting thing about this social situation is that local guides are also involved in creating a space for tourist to take photographs. The interaction between tourist photographer and local being photographed is a clearly identifiable genre of interaction that is reproduced, in various ways, across the world. Concepts in tourism research, such as Urry's (1990) "tourist gaze," have tended to endow the tourist behind the camera with much power (e.g., Crawshaw and Urry 1997). The tourist gaze, objectified in the camera, is said to have the power to create a cultural revival (Bruner 2005:119), commodify local culture (Philp and Mercer 1999), and cultivate new forms of self-consciousness amongst the local people (Tilley 1999). However, the photographer–photographee relation is even more complex at Lamayuru monastery. Villagers particularly elderly people come for circumambulate at monastery on regular basis. Tourists found their traditional attire unique and exotic. They instantly take their photos. When they resist the tourist, and not being insist on photographed, then guide would intervene and convince them to pose for photograph. One interesting case I have witnessed that one guide have informed his group about this elderly villagers before they reach Lamayuru monastery. When the tourists saw them and screamed loud out of excitement. The guide also rejoices along with them, probably with the feeling that he has served the purpose of his guiding. They took their photos without asking for permission, made them pose the way they wanted to photograph,

gave them money and went back happily. Tourists would come and go, but the impact they leave brings serious repercussion to the monastic space. One old monk told me that 'one tourist took his photograph many years back, the same photo he got back in the form of postcard'. Though, he was very happy that he got it back and genuinely extending his compassion to the one who took the photo and bother to send it back to him. He was completely unaware of the fact that his image was being sold in the market. It was probably in consequence to the initial phase of high end tourism in which both the locals and the tourists were at their candor. As locals entertained tourist out of their kindness and allowed them to take photograph. Tourists offered them money out of their sense of generosity without understanding the inner value of their culture. Therefore, slowly and gradually it became a trend that people started asking for money (Baksheesh) to take photograph.

Currently, it is a problem for Lamayuru monastery, as the issue has been raised in monastic meetings and in other tourism related government offices as well as by travel agents. Yet, such practices are still prevalent.

It is certain that places are not inherently sacred but they became sacred over a period of time, through the presence of religious leaders, monks and the people who adhere to them. Therefore, adherence is one of the most important elements in the construction of place as sacred. In places like Lamayuru, local adherents became a part of tourist attraction. In the beginning, when local villagers come in traditional dress people took pride in their culture and proudly allowed tourists to take photos. Gradually, when many of them started asking for money it became a source of an embarrassment for guide, monks and villagers. The feeling of embarrassment implies a discrepancy between Ladakhi image of self and self image of how tourist perceives Self (Edelmann 1987). The embarrassment of the guide, monks and villagers indicates that their image has altered, not necessarily in a fundamental way. But simply within this interaction, has been positioned (Holland et al. 1998). And the manifestly social nature of this discomfort, the blushing, indicates that the mechanism underlying this repositioning is to be found in the social situation at this monastery. The act of tourist photograph has been theorized, as it has a tendency to commodify local culture and create new identities amongst those photographed. The identities of those elderly people who usually visit monastery have lost their actually identity as pilgrim. Now people's perception

towards them has reduced to just pseudo pilgrim who comes to monastery for *Baksheesh* (tourist money). Even if they are genuinely motivated for *Skora* people tend to think otherwise. Hence, it hinted that when tourists contest for physical space in monastic space, the actual space for local is shrinking rapidly. All the major sacred places get occupied by tourists during summer season, and local people lost their peaceful environment in the monastery where they come for spiritual upliftment.

Apart from that, many towering structures have been desecrated owing to management and overuse of tourists' facilities. One big hotel consisting of 22 rooms has been erected within the complex of the monastery to accommodate tourists. As a result, monastery has now come to entertain tourist by opening restaurants, commercial shops, food stalls, etc. This duality of place directs many changes in the culture of monastic life, now monks have to perform dual tasks as they have to manage and run these establishments, simultaneously, they have to stay in the praying hall to show it to the visitors and perform their daily tasks as monks. Traditionally, most of the monks used to leave the monastery during the day time to perform rituals in the villages. Now they have to stay in the monastery due to the massive inflow of tourists into monastery. Every small and big hall in the monastery has a *komnyer* (care taker). Their responsibility is to perform everyday ritual and be custodian to the temple. The most exciting place is the main assembly hall where monks congregate occasionally for the *Puja* (prayers). Two monks have given responsibility for this particular hall. This is the place where one can witness the glimpse of live convergence and overlapping of space between religion and tourism. This hall is the most sacred and central of attraction to both adherents and non-adherents wherein one can still see the 10th century old Naropa's meditation cave. Sometime hall is jam-packed with visitors, is both adherents and non-adherents, adherents searching space for *chagphu-la* (to prostrate) and tourist is busy in taking photos; When they prostrate, tourists immediately takes photos. *Komnyer* of that hall informed me that;

This *Dukhang* (hall) is so busy especially for two months we hardly get time go out. We tried to inform tourists not to climb on monk's seats and touch sacred objects. But, sometimes it is difficult to manage tourists as they come and sit on *Choktse* (Ladakhi table) where monks keep their *chos* (scripture) and tea cups. If anyone sit on *Choktse* we regard it as extremely disrespectful. On one hand, people worship monks and sacred objects of the monastery; on the other hand, tourism industry reduced us as if we are here for them like a

museum. Some tourists ask me to pose for photograph, while holding monastery keys in my hand. I do not like it at all. But, I cannot refuse also because they came all the way to see us.
(27th June. 2014)

The above statement revealed the complexity of monastic space twisted by tourism industry. The contested space between tourist and local pilgrims within Lamayuru *Dukhang* (temple) veiled the potential and actual havoc that tourism has wrecked in the monasteries. Nevertheless, there is an interesting overlapping and a converging point between the respective perceptions of tourists and religious practitioners within the *Dhukhang*. The cultural dissimilarities among pilgrim and tourist create apprehension to host site. Yet, it would be unjust to confer tourist behaviour as faulty. We need to understand the individual's socio-cultural and historical background which plays significant role in constructing perception. Just as sites are not inherently sacred, so are perceptions of individuals are not the function of received information alone. Therefore, tourists perceive monastic space as just cultural sites and ritual objects as nothing more than a symbol. Such circumstances jeopardized the subtle order of monastic culture. For instance, pointing finger at idols and statues of Buddha inside any *Dukhang* in the monastery would be considered as bad act by local pilgrim. Because, pointing finger is regard as improper and disrespectful act. Likewise, maintaining silence is also one of the most important characters of monastery.

However, monasteries in Ladakh in general and Lamayuru monastery in particular seem to have softened these conditions. Tourists make noise and will talk loudly even at the time when prayers are going on inside the hall. Amid the din of religious and touring crowd, the hitherto serenity of the space is compromised with. Coupled with these negativities looming large, monks are lured away by the glitz and glamour of the material world. It is reported that young novice monks are often drop out from the monastery. The influx of new ideas and new possibilities to earn money has also created a recruiting problem for the monasteries. However, it would be wrong to argue that tourism alone is the cause for upsetting the tempo of monastic space. On the contrary, many of the earlier studies revealed that tourism in many ways has helped to restore the sacred character of the sites, which made them a meaningful destination for the tourist. Tourists and religious practitioners attach different meanings and harbour varied understandings of the same site. Thus, the existence of duality spiritual and

profane is possible in the current scenario. Resulting from this kind of tourism, whether they be touristic or religious, a very distinct space is created which is also one of the defining aspects of tourism. Thus, such sites are sacred to religious believers and aestheticized and commodified for the tourist.

Tourism and Perception of Monks

In order to understand the perceptions of monks and impacts of tourism on their way of thinking, several questions have been asked. These questions revolved around two main concerns. First, what type of tourist do you think come to Lamayuru? Secondly, how do you perceive tourism and receiving tourists in your monastery?

25 monks were interviewed through random sampling method out of which 8 monks were interviewed at Dehradun Changchubling monastery, where many monks from Lamayuru monastery were studying. Those who are being interviewed at Lamayuru had been living there from 2 to 25 years and their ages ranged from 19 to over 80 years.

The sample of the informants included junior monks who are on-duty guarding *Dukhang* as *Komnyer* (care-taker), *Chams-son*, (the monks who teaches religious mask dances), monk who sits on ticketing counter to register visitors, teacher who delivers Buddhist teachings to pilgrims and teach at the Central Institute for Buddhist studies (CIBS) at Leh, scholar of Buddhist philosophy, senior monks who are well aware of those who visit Lamayuru and have had many opportunities to deal with, talk to, and to observe the behavior of visitors, store keeper who is responsible for managing the kitchen affair, and *Rinpoche* (Reincarnated monk) who is the incumbent head of the monastery.

The fact that I am a Buddhist who respects and understands the Buddhist worldview well, that my identity is Ladakhi and I speak Ladakhi well, certainly offered me an advantage in conducting research in Lamayuru monastery. That I understand Buddhist culture well and capable of having a meaningful discourse about Buddhism undoubtedly contributed to establishing a good rapport with the respondents. Indeed, researcher's religious identity and ethnicity qualified his act as an 'insider' who was able to experience empathy and gain a deeper understanding of the perception of the informants (Escalas & Stern, 2003, p. 566). Yet, there was also a moment of difficulty when I appeared as an 'outsider' to observe things

objectively, and represented myself as a researcher with a keen interest to detect issues that are of relevance to the phenomena under study.

The perceptions of the monks are based on their experiences in dealing with tourists within the monastery. Their daily interaction and conversation with tourists as well as observation of their behaviour are recounted in their interviews. While interviewing them, I have noticed that they have a dual perspective to take on in their responses to my questions. It can be categorised in two worldviews, as ‘mundane’ (secular) one and the religious (Buddhist). Secular responses are the one in which they understand the social phenomena through their cognitive construction of reality in an ordinary social situation. Whereas religious view is that as they understood phenomena from the perspective of Buddhism. One sees and understands social reality from the faculty that has been inculcated in him/her from the context of their upbringing and act according to the norms and values of that particular society. Yet, for a Buddhist, the normative guidance of the religion stresses that all *sentient beings* (i.e. in Buddhist cosmology all those who sense and feel and live in the realm of reincarnation) are equal and that all are made exclusively of the same four elements (soil, fire, water, and wind-the four basic elements of all tangible things), regardless of obvious dissimilarities.

The two worldviews of the mundane and the Buddhist was apparent in almost all the interviews. While responding to the questions they always reflect on both the views. They often made it clear whether they were presenting by adopting the one perspective or the other when expressing themselves. While responding to the questions; what is your view on the kind of tourists that visit Lamayuru? One elderly Monk said, “From my understanding as a Buddhist they (tourist) are not different from us. ‘There is no need to differentiate human beings, as we all are same and equal no matter from where they have come from’”. He then continued, “From the secular perspective most of the tourists who come here are not Buddhist; they usually come to see the monastic landscape, architecture and the people”. Another monk, Sherab, also responded in a similar way and said;

Of course tourists come from different countries and we also receive many Indian tourists. Some tourists come with incense sticks and use at monastery. Some even come with prayers flags, we often consecrate the flags. From the my Buddhist understanding, they are all

same, they all have good karma so they came all the way to Lamayuru. The nature of the origin of all the sentient being is the same (Interview, Sept 13th, 2015)

It is clear that when monks make the distinction among the visitors they are seeing them from the mundane perspective. They often categorize them just by looking at their physical appearance and behavior. They tend to categorize tourists into two types which we have already discussed in detail above. Another monk, Motup, commented that “I perceive tourism as something which became an imperative as it provides economic security to the monastery, but I as a Buddhist monk should not give prime importance to material things and money”. It is noteworthy that all the informants somehow reflected the basic Buddhist principle which was inculcated in them by the monastery. Some monks see tourism as an immediate reality of needs to sustain their spiritual passage. The monk who is currently in charge as *Nyarpa* (storekeeper) stated;

It is only because of the money which comes from tourism that we are able to set-up a free kitchen serving three meals a day to all the monks residing in the monastery. Earlier monks were served food only when there was occasion of gathering or being sponsored by villagers. Usually they have to cook in their own *tashak* (dwellings). Hence, tourism can be seen as a blessing and considered good for the monastery. Indeed, many things have changed in the monastery which is both positive as well as negative. As a Buddhist monk I strongly believe that nothing is permanent in this universe, everything changes with time and space. (Interview, Sept 21st, 2015).

He is managing the store for last two years, it is considered as one of the most difficult job which demands a lot of manual labour. Most of the monks have to take this responsibility once. He has seen the changing pattern of consumption in the monastery kitchen. Therefore, it became clear from the above statement that tourism gives impetus to monastery economy. He substantiated the changing scenario from Buddhist perspective that ‘everything is impermanent nothing lasts forever’.

Out of 25 monks, there are only a few of them who see the world from Buddhist perspective were reflected that to distinguish between “tourists, local, black, white are secondary. What we need to understand is that each one of us possesses the seed of becoming Buddha (attaining Buddha-hood)”. They typically expressed the view that there are no differences between the people, as they all are sentient beings carrying Buddhist seeds. A ‘Buddhist seed’ is a metaphor for the Buddha-nature that every sentient being possesses, and it is meant

to give everyone the potential to become, eventually, full enlightenment, that is a Buddha (Too, 2003: 257). The monk who is in-charge of the main assembly hall expressed his sense of resentment with the local tour operators, guides and tourism department. He made an exceptional statement from his mundane perspective or worldview.

Local people are losing cultural and spiritual integrity; for instance, when guide comes to monastery with tourist group they hardly prostrate (*Chakphul-ches*). Similarly, the travel agents in Leh are doing nothing for the monastery. They are earning a lot of money from tourism never realizing the fact that tourists are coming to Ladakh because of monasteries and uniqueness of local culture. They hardly visit any monastery, if one is a true Buddhist he/she should first come to visit monastery. Instead of that they think that monks are just there to entertain their guests. Tourists are innocent they follow what guide and travel agents says. Of course when safeguarding the halls, you have more conversation with tourists; it can be quite annoying when they misbehave and you have to tell them not to do this and that. Also we have less time to do the things that we want to do. People are not realizing that whatever monasteries do is for the village, the people, and for the world peace. These days it seems that monks are only responsible for the monastery. People should own monasteries like they used to do once. Imagine how hard Ladakhi life was earlier, but during those days people were more generous than today. Too much material obsession is not a good sign, indicating that people tend to forget their religion. This is not a good sign for Ladakh. (Interview, 17 July, 2015)

He is well aware of his role adaptation to give a mundane response to the question. His statement implied that people are becoming more materialistic and tend to forget the importance of monastery. Those who are involved in tourism related business do not comprehend the fact that monasteries and local culture are the only unique selling proposition which attracted tourists to Ladakh. It is evident that their traditional work ethics is in conflict with the current working system. There is a belief system in Ladakhi tradition, that one must always visit a monastery before initiating any sort of business or joining any job for blessings. Therefore, most of the people who are involved in tourism business are probably forgetting these values; rather they tend to make money out of it. Monk, Sonam, commented;

I see that the money comes from tourism to monastery as a result of our prolong prayers and it is fortune or karma that we have accumulated. But, at the same time we should not forget the practice of dharma (Dhamma) for out of this material comfort, one should constantly reflect on the notion of the impermanent, to keep intact our spirituality. (Interview, 12th July, 2015)

He perceives tourism as positive from the Buddhist point of view, at the same time he made an emphasis on the vulnerability of monks to the material world; therefore, one should not be blown away by material comfort and must aspire to search for the ultimate truth. It is important to note here that most of the informants consciously practiced role adaptation ‘as a monk’ when they responded from Buddhist perspective. It is argued that when the generalized self of a monk has been largely ‘Buddhalized’ (Highly enlightened) through the socialization and transformation induced by Buddhist training and education, praying and meditating, he/she may think automatically from Buddhist point of view (Karmapa, 2008: 99). However, we cannot assume that all the monks have achieved the same level of enlightenment at the same time when they were interviewed. Indeed, it is almost congruent with the identity of Buddhist monk that they see the world from Buddhist perspective. The monks who were interviewed at Dehradun monastery are exposed to both modern education and Buddhist philosophy. All of them belong to Lamayuru monastery pursuing their further education. Their response to the question is more multifaceted in nature. Two of them have master in Buddhist philosophy, presently working as a research assistant at Songten Library. Consider the remarks made by monks Khenpo Sherab;

Tourism contributes to monastery in term of monetary gain but it also creates a lot of problems within the monastic space. I see many people arguing that tourism is not destructive, well it may not be vicious at apparent level but it certainly creates lots of competition, challenges within one’s inner self. This race of material world makes people run until they die. Hence, it is important for the monastery to observe sanctity of the place and being sensitive to its sacred nature of the place. (Interview, 19th Oct, 2014)

Apprehensions on the presence of tourists within the monastic space are embryonic from their mundane views than from the Buddhist worldview. Moreover, it revealed from the data classification that those who are more enriched in their practises are better prepared to receive tourists and tend to see tourism more positively. Another interesting statement made by a monk at Dehradun monastery;

Well, I would say that since we all are like tourists on this planet, it would be difficult for me to judge whether their presence at monastery is good or bad. What would be your response be if I say whether my presence on earth is worth or worthless? Anyway, whether those can affect our practices or not, will vary. It all depends on our own training and how much we have learned from Buddhism. (Interview, 11th Oct, 2014)

Some of the monks are of the view that external disturbances have no effect on their Buddhist mindset. On the other hand, some are of the view that the ‘intrusion’ of new ideas into monastic space creates an intense competition within oneself. It appeared that whether visitor affects one practices or not is more of a personal matter. Yet, tourism certainly creates a space for vulnerability with regard to the material world. Monk Tundup noted;

Having more tourists within the compound of monastery will of course make it more crowded, tourists just come in and leave. It would not certainly affect my daily practise, our life will not change according to the number of tourists in the Monastery. To practise Buddhism it does not really matter where you are sitting and how many people are there. (Interview, 12th Oct, 2014).

On the contrary, the monk who is the care taker of the temple made a remark that “Tourism is certainly affecting my practice because whole day I have to be here for the tourists, otherwise I might have plenty of time to do my own work”. Monk Konchok made a counter statement, “If one became a monk just for the dress and name without understanding the real essence of Buddhist teachings and cultivate the wisdom to see the world from Buddhist perspective, than he is only physically present in the monastery, he is not a real monk”. The above mentioned statements advocate to the aspect of the monk’s real inner serenity, which gets affected by tourism or not, depends on how much they have understood Buddhism and have been able to put it into practice. Most of the interviews revealed that monks perceive tourism positively, because they see it as a way to impart to people more about Buddhism. It might be affecting their monastic life, but it gives a great deal to tourists, and to Buddhism, as a whole. They get an opportunity to think about Buddhist way of life which persuades more about love and compassion. On the whole, the perception of monks towards tourism industry, or presence of tourists at Lamayuru monastery are diverse, since the vulnerability of being affected depends on one’s own level of understanding about Buddhism. The majority of the informants perceived it positively. However, there were few monks especially those who are actively involved in maintaining and managing tourists’ related work at the monastery, who expressed negative feelings. They found them tourists ‘annoying’ ‘disturbing’ and affecting their monastic life.

While tourism has some positive impacts in the forms of economic gains, much of the literature focussed on the negative side of tourism, especially with regard to sacred spaces

and religious festivals. It is seen in many circles as a way of contributing to the preservation of heritage and religious sites and to bolster sagging economics, most observer feel it is a destructive force in terms of cultural unity and degradation of the natural and built environment (Timothy and Olsen 2006: 13). More or less huge inflow of tourist and exposure to outside world is also eroding the local language and food habits. In fact, as we have already mentioned earlier that mass tourism at holy sites of religious significance has caused some structures to be closed owing to mismanagement and overuse. Overcrowding leads to the local populations having little room to enjoy their own spiritual environment (fish and fish 1993). Mass tourism and the media have transformed the images of traditional religious festivals into international secular status (Crain 1992). Indeed, it has been well propounded in tourism literature that tourism has a tendency to museumizing religious sites and culture. It has been in many instances violated the sanctity of sacred places. For example, during the festival of Lamayuru monastery, foreigners who pay money are given priority, and local pilgrims often do not have any significance. Sometimes monks also show tourists, on paying an additional fee, particularly rare or beautiful thangkas, statues, or ritual objects. Discrimination against local people at feasts and the monk's business activities have led to decrease in confidence and respect. To extend the short tourist season from June to September, traditional festivals have been rescheduled and are now carried out to attract tourists against their seasonal and occasional significance. The development of tourism has also caused the creation of superficial cultural images and events that have no historical or cultural roots, such as the Ladakh Festival brought to life by the Jammu and Kashmir Tourism Department in an effort to extend the tourist season.

Chapter-V

The Interface between Tourism and Religion

Tourism and religion

In the previous chapter we have discussed about the details of Lamayuru monastery. In order to maintain the connection between the two chapters, an attempt has been made to illustrate the relationship between tourism and religion, i.e. the ways and places where these two systems meet and interact (Stausberg: 2011). The existence of the relationship between tourism and religious institutions has long been recognized as an important issue which needs to be studied. On one hand, those who travel for religious purposes are actually identified as specific types of tourists, 'who are motivated either in part or exclusively for religious reason' (Rinschede, 1992: 52). This sort of travel is probably one of the oldest forms of tourism, with human migration being linked to religion from earliest times (Vukonic 1996: 117). This is manifested in a diversity of touristic- religious activity, from long-term journeys to and/or short-time stays at religious centres or sites for the purpose of religious celebration, contemplation or meeting. In the former case, the entire trip may be religious in purpose; whereas in the latter, visits to religious sites may be one element of a multi-functional trip. Here I am dealing with the latter case which is not exclusively for the religious purpose, but tourists visit religious sites irrespective of their religious adherence.

Tourism and its associated practices interact with religious life and the institutions of religion in virtually every corner of the world. From Amish communities of rural Pennsylvania to the snowy summits of Mount Fuji in Japan, from the mysterious ruin of Machu Picchu in the Peruvian Andes to the monumental pyramids of Giza in Egypt, from Chartersin France to the Western Wall in Jerusalem, millions of tourists seek out places of religious importance every year. (Boris,Vukonic, Jafari, 1996). The relationship between religion and tourism, however, amounts to far more than places of religion that host tourist visitors. Thus, there are interfaces between tourism and religion i.e. the ways and places where these two "systems" meet and interact. Such interfaces may take the form of impact or interferences.

My concern has been to address some intellectual questions regarding the relationship between religion and tourism. To begin with, it will need to be reminded that even though tourism is generally perceived as a profane activity, tourists are not a priori a-religious people. As we shall see, the religious needs of the travellers' (and those working in travel related workspaces) can be catered to by special churches and parishes, but may call forth further institutional provisions.

Relationship between Tourism and Sacred Space

Looking at the relationship between tourism and sacred space, both occupy the same spaces. Tourists also play an important role in sustaining the sacredness of the place. Consequently, they play an important role in attributing meaning to these places and in sustaining the sacred character of sites that host casual and deeply committed visitors. The attachment of religious meanings to the place also makes the place an important and meaningful destination for tourists. In fact, the relationship between tourism and religion is bound by sacred sites that actually depend on the tourists and religious practitioners. Indeed, tourists and religious practitioners usually have very different attachments to and understandings of these sacred spaces (Boris, Vukonic, Jafari, 1996).

Tourism also contributes to some extent in making places sacred. Some sacred sites that hosted tourists are sustained with travel practices. In fact, the religious adherent and non-religious adherent-tourists both occupy the same site at the same times, with their respective, practices and resulting interpretations of its significance making distinct places of it. As we have discussed in the previous chapters, religion and sites of tourism maintain what Bremer has called simultaneity of places (2004). Neither their religious quality nor their touristic character can make a total claim on these places. They remain religious and touristic, occupied by both religious adherents and other tourists whose respective experiences of the sites are quite different from each other. Truly, the experiences of particular individuals may cross between the religious and the touristic, as when tourists participate in religious activities, or when religious followers indulge in touristic attractions of their sacred precinct (pilgrims for instance, often indulges in touristic practices in the course of their religious journeys).

The result is a synchronism of places, both touristic and religious. In other words, leisure travellers and religious adherents make distinct places out of shared space, with the numbers of each group turning space into either a religious site or a tourist destination according to their respective practices and their interpretations of the significance of the space. At the same time, however, they often move between touristic and religious aspects of a single site as they shift from tourist to worshipper and vice versa (Bremer 2004: 3). At monasteries in Ladakh, for instance, monks and other local residents mingle with tourists in the cavernous space of the interior of monasteries and other sacred sites. Monks participate in the sacramental life of the monastic community, while tourists come to experience the well-preserved monastic culture of Tibetan Buddhism which has become an important center for the life of Tibetan Buddhism in the country. In this way, there are many places in Ladakh which visitors encounter spaces that slide easily between the touristic and the religious.

The practices that produce and maintain these sort of places, whether they be touristic, religious, or some hybrid of the two, also generate one defining aspect of tourism that relates directly to religion and the articulation of identities. In fact, the making of place always involves the making of identities and conversely, the construction of identity always involves the construction of place, thus place and identity emerge together in a relationship of reciprocal meaningfulness. This inextricable convergence of place and identity holds true for both places of religion and places of tourism (Ibid). Now, the important aspect is to understand the quest of how this convergence takes place and how the place became sacred. Timothy and Olsen (2006) have rightly suggested that the socio-cultural history of the particular place would determine the sacredness of the place and space. The saga or tales that have evolved to describe the sacredness a place and space is common in any popular religious traditions. For instance, famous Buddhist sacred sites like Bodhgaya, Lumbini, Kushinagar etc. cannot be comprehended in isolation without taking into account the historical and socio-cultural context of Buddhism. Similarly, most of the sacred places in the world have to be understood according to their respective religious tradition. Indeed, the close identification between that particular sacred space/place and the city or village makes them almost indistinguishable (Boris, Vukonic, Jafari, 1996).

Space also embodies sacredness, time structures, lives and events. The most significant attention that has been paid to this notion is by scholars of religion, and Eliade's work in this regard is seminal. Eliade argues that time, like space, is not homogeneous in religion, for there is ordinary, profane time "in which acts without religious meaning have their setting" (Eliade 1957: 68). All sacred places are not necessarily associated with particular religious traditions. It simply means that the meaningful experience articulated in the narratives of the place must have some larger discursive framework that orients an understanding of sacredness. To deem a place sacred, there must be an understanding of what the sacred entails. This understanding relies on discourse of particular religious traditions which usually takes a positive form.

Place-centered sacredness owes much to the works of Eliade (1959) and Turner (1969; 1972). But Eade and Sallnow (1991) suggest that such an emphasis ignores where the sacredness vests in a holy person (e.g. Sai Baba or Mother Mary) or notion of textual pilgrimage (such as Roman Catholic pilgrimage to Jerusalem). Geo-piety, Topophilia or place attachment are also important when explaining pilgrimage whereby people develop, over time, a sense of belonging to specific geographical locals (Tuan 1977). Drawing on Turner's work, Cohen (1979) develops the idea of 'Elective' spiritual centers that are 'external to the main stream of his or her native society and culture'. (Robertson 2001:42)

Tourists, on the other hand, arrive with a different set of spatial practices embedded in their own peculiar historical, social and cultural contexts. Unlike religious practices related to particular sacred spaces, the spatial practices rely on modern conventions of travel aesthetics practiced in the context of global capitalism. Hence, tourists make this space into touristic places that remain distinct from the sacred places of religious people. In the case of monasteries in Ladakh, for instance, the sacredness sustained in the practices of Tibetan Buddhism appeals to a touristic sensibility in terms of aesthetics, history and other exotic otherness of unfamiliar cultic behaviours. Thus, the space of monasteries becomes simultaneously a place of religious practice and a place of touristic indulgence.

Places of both religion and tourism range from predominantly religious to the predominantly touristic. As an example of the former, the prohibition of non-Muslims in Mecca keeps Islam's most holy city free from purely touristic travellers, although the touristic imagination of non-Muslims makes it a desirable, if improbable, destination. In contrast, Uluru in

Australia, the world's largest monolith, retains its mythic significance as sacred sites for aboriginal people, but it is best known for the striking beauty of its ethereal hues. A half million annual visitors make the journey deep into the Australian interior to view the giant outcropping set in the stark outback landscape.

Lamayuru's Context

Lamayuru monastery is also a sacred place for Buddhist adherents. It has its own version of myths and tales to be narrated. In this chapter we will discuss in detail as to how villagers have constructed and are maintaining the sacred order of the village and how tourism as a secular force is affecting this order.

Tourism here is taken as an extrinsic force of economy against the existing tempo of village economy which is primarily a pastoral community. Prior to the tourism industry, religious (monastery/faith on village deity) motivations governed the socio-economic system of the village. This is because religion constitutes the base upon which the social structure of the village has been formed. Many scholars have advocated that a sense of 'cosmological order' underlies the socio-political configuration of Ladakhi village community (Pirie: 2007: 89). Dollfus, for example, maintains that, 'the observance of hierarchy and order is necessary for the maintenance of order, the success of a marriage, the efficacy of a ritual' (1998:98). In order to meet the social order and stability, things are sacredly constructed hierarchically in Lamayuru village as we have seen in the previous chapters. This is expressed in the form of seating arrangements during public gatherings, in language, the serving of food, the architecture of the houses and structure of the village itself. Furthermore, if we holistically examine the entire village, it would come to light that the underlying base for social solidarity in Lamayuru village is the notion of the 'sacred'. The entire village and its web are considered as a sacred entity in itself. It is a collective representation of the sacred landscape of the village. For example, each household has a *Chod-khang* (temple) where Buddha's image, religious scriptures and *thangkas* are kept, and an apex monastery of the lineage lies on the top of village, *Lha*, *Lhu*, *Lhamo*, *Lhato* (various forms of village deities/gods/spirits), *Zhidagand Sadag* (spirits that inhabit the locality), the sun, the moon, village's custom and tradition, people's relation with animals and environment, etc. are all perceived as sacrosanct and embedded in the village's web of social order, hence the entire village is considered as

sacred. During the auspicious days of the Buddhist calendar, villagers circumambulate the entire village to cover every sacred thing within the village. However, when it comes to religious hierarchy in the context of Lamayuru, *Sangyas* (Buddha) is considered higher than the village *Lha* (deity). *Lha* (spirits) are further sub-divided between the *stanglha* (upper realm), *barsam* (the intermediate world) and the *yoklu* (the underworld). All these spirits have a different function to ensure the protection of the village and well-being of individual households.

However, when we talk about religion in Lamayuru, it is basically a syncretic form of religion which emerged from indigenous folk religion and the Tibetan form of Buddhism. Many scholars suggested that through a long process of assimilation, Buddhism in Ladakh came to incorporate 'local numina into the rank of its protectors deities' (Tucci 1980: 163-6, 206). The specific history of the idea of subjugation or *dulwa*, is the metaphor found widely in Tibetan texts to describe the spread of Buddhism and the conversion of both human beings and local numia (Gyatso 1987). Having been tamed and brought into the service of Buddhism by Guru Padmasambhava¹³⁴, among others, who travelled all the way from India to Bhutan, Nepal, Ladakh and Tibet while subjugating evil spirits on the way. Such local gods can now be called upon in monastic worship to perform a protective function (Snellgrove 1957: 239). That is why in every monastery there is a protector's room, walls of which are always found painted red.

Therefore, two types of faith have been merged and have appeared in present form in Ladakh. One is Buddhism which is embodied in monastic culture and the other is *Lha*, an indigenous faith system. Nonetheless, the binary aspect of these faiths can still be seen in Lamayuru village. Some of the strong local spirits are subjugated within Buddhism and are now known as Buddhist protectors. However, village level deities are still worshiped in their original form. Villagers believe that failing to respect or worship *Lha* and *Lhu* would certainly bring destruction to them. The range of ritual practices that a villager has to perform incorporate those for local gods as well as for the monastery in diverse. Samuel's distinction between Indian Buddhism and Tibetan folk religion as one that structures many discussions

¹³⁴Padmasambhava, an emanation of the Buddha Amitaba, was a great yogi from the region that borders on present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan. He brought Buddhism to Tibet in the eighth century and is affectionately called Guru Rinpoche.

of religion in Tibetan societies (1972). Similarly, Ladakh has its own peculiar indigenous belief system prior to the emergence of Buddhism. This nameless religion which Samuel described as 'folk religion' includes 'the whole body of ideas and custom belonging to the indigenous tradition: a religion but an unorganised churchless, doctrine-less, priest-less and almost nameless, whole' (1972: 164). In short, *Lha* and *lhu* are worshipped to the extent of solving immediate problems encountered in daily life experiences. Monastery/Buddhism on the other hand is for the quest of liberation from the vicious circle of birth and death. Therefore, it represents a form of the sacred which is reflected in the structure of village organisation and in the relationship between the human and supernatural inhabitants of the village, symbolizing village order and the sense of solidarity that unites its members. The existence of the community, Dollfus maintains (1998: 125), is 'often defined by reference to either the village divinity or the monastery' and she links this to the 'strong sense of solidarity' within the village. Srinivas (1998: 90) also suggests that, in face of 'the symbolic unity in the presence of the god of the village settlement', conflict, it would seem, must pose a threat to this overarching cosmological order, dislocating the hierarchies which constitute it and which allow humans and spirits to live in harmony. Visvanathan's study of apocrypha and the lives of saints contrast the canonical of the church with popular practice. (Bakhtin 1980, Visvanathan 1993) Indeed, there is evidence that elsewhere in the Tibetan region disputes are indeed considered to give rise to *drib*, spiritual pollution (Schickelgruber: 1998).

Scholars on the Ladakh region have linked religion and social practices in different ways. In this study of the Sherpas of Nepal, Furer-Haimemdrof (1967: 181) described their local moral concepts as having been 'shaped by' philosophy and Buddhism. Ortner (1978, 1989) describes Buddhist divinities and rituals as providing a model for the social problems of Sherpa society. The symbolic meanings of these rites, she says, provide models for the problems of aging, wealth, status, fighting and the contradiction between hierarchy and equality. Inspired by Geertz's (1973c) description of religion as cultural system, she argues that through its rituals 'the Buddhist mode of seeing, feeling, interpreting, categorizing and so forth, are constantly and systematically fed into lay experience' (1978:4). A related view is taken by Samuel (1993: 362) who suggests that other aspects of religious life in Tibet, not just the strictly Buddhist, provide the 'cultural patterns' that are fundamental to social forms. Hence, it would not be wrong to argue that religion in Lamayuru is also multi-faceted and

fundamental to social life. Now we shall see how this delicate web of relationship between villagers and religion is maintained when the secular aspects of tourism have already intruded in the village

Household, Sacred Ritual and Tourism

Ritual within the household

Unlike many other villages in Ladakh, one of the distinct characteristics of Lamayuru village is that the whole village belongs to the *Drikung pa* sect. Hence, there is only one monastery, which is also the apex monastery of the same lineage. Each household is connected to the monastery and their primary contact with Buddhism/religion is through the monks who occupy the post of *Komnyer*, *Lhobon*, *Nyearpa* and so on (see chapter 3). When we talk about sacred rituals within the household, first we need to understand the question of how the notion of the sacred is being perceived and constructed in the village. There are two important concepts which envelop the idea of ‘purity and impurity’, i.e. *chinlab* and *drib*. Huber identifies these terms in context of Tibetan village: *drib* as ‘contamination’, ‘defilement’ or ‘pollution’ and *chinlab* as ‘sacred energy or empowerment’ (1999: 13). As far as I observed, in Lamayuru *drib* and *chinlab* are two important concepts to understand the sacredness of the acts of ritual and objects. The villagers of Lamayuru seem to have an implied set of assumed categories and qualities of place, space, objects, substance and person. This concept acquires importance in arguing that the significance of ritual action within the household is all about constructing relationships between person, place and space.

Underlying this ritual logic is the important and common Tibetan assumption that Persons and places are involved in various degrees of mutually determinate relationships. This assumption about gnas (sacred place) resonates strongly with other ancient and popular ways of thinking about the ritual relationship between persons and aspects of the physical world that are, apparently, external to and discrete from them. In general the great variety of beliefs and practices in Tibetan folk culture (concerning illness and cures, purification, agriculture, building, child birth, magical practices, wealthier-making, fertility, good and bad fortune, and so on) assume a complex ontological continuity between persons, places, substances and non-human beings.

(Huber 1999: 14 cited in kolas: 2008)

In this section we illustrate some of the ritual continuities and explore how the farming economy is interlinked with the religious practice, and how tourism as a new secular force of economy is being adapted within the household and largely at village level.

Khang-ba(household) in Lamayuru can be considered as the basic unit of economic production. It is formed on the basis of mutual respect and cooperation among its members. The right to land use and produce are shared, and the division of labour and responsibilities are demarcated. The idea of *khang-ba* itself is the vital site for representing the web of complex relationships between human beings and the spirits through ritual acts. Corlin, who studied Gyalthang village in Tibet, suggested that the ‘house is not just a shelter, but a cosmological meaningful structure designed to maintain an efficient relationship with powers of the outside world. The connection between house, ritual and its family members are the reflections of the significance of *khmag-ba*. Every household has to perform a range of rituals, among which some are performed monthly and some yearly. The ritual of *sangs*, the basic purification ritual said to be ‘for everyone, for animals, to make sure we do not get ill and do not have accident’ (1980:91). Likewise, they also carry *tse-tsu*, meaning each tenth day of the Tibetan months; this particular event is attributed to ‘Guru Rinpoche’. Similarly, many other rituals are carried out annually.

Table 11: Annual Ritual Calendar

Sl. No.	Tibetan Months	English Months	Work and Rituals performed at the monastery/Village
1.	Tangpo(First month of the Tibetan Calendar)	February	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The month starts with <i>Gochak</i> (prostration), which is held from 1st day of the month till the 15th day of the month, the prostration is carried out from Skurbuchan village to Lamayuru. (50 km) From <i>Tsesgyat</i> i.e., the 8th day of the month begins <i>Snaynas</i> and <i>Snungnas</i> (Fasting, which also includes restraining from speech in the latter case) at Snaynaskhang (fasting cum prayer hall) Lamayuru.

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People from nearby villages gather at Lamayuru monastery on the 15th day (full moon) of the month for religious function and to seek blessings from the Rinpoche or any other high profile lama.
2.	Nispaa(Second month of the Tibetan Calendar)	March	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The daily basis rituals and recitation of holy books are performed throughout the month.
3.	Suumpaa(Third month of the Tibetan Calendar)	April	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monastery administration and villagers gear themselves with the necessary material required to host the tourist in the coming months. • The village astrologer fixes a day for the restoration of the <i>Mayurs</i> (Main water channel) and other small water channels for irrigation, which is followed by ploughing and sowing of fields. • Many of the villagers who own hotel, guest house and home stays prepare to host their guests in the months to come. Most of the restoration and renovation work is done during this month.
4.	Rjipa (Fourth month of the Tibetan Calendar)	May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Dhumchod</i>: Fourth month of the year, it starts with the restoration and whitewashing of the Manay walls and the Monastery. Annual manay carving on stones and consecration for to be placed on manay walls in the village. • <i>Rjipay Chona (15th day of the month)</i>: This month is also one of the sacred months of the Tibetan calendar, for the fact that three

			<p>events falls on the same day, i.e Buddha's birth, enlightenment and Death(<i>Mahaparinirvana</i>). The day is celebrated with great zeal and religious fervor across the region.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Loard Jigten Sumgon's (founder of the lineage) Parinirvana (death) Commemoration: (25th day of the month).</i> A rehearsal of the annual spiritual mask dance takes place on the next day. • <i>Yuru kabgyat (Monastery festival): (27th and 28th of the fourth month of Tibetan Calendar).</i> Thousands of spectators and devotees come to see the spiritual mask dance and the monastery.
5.	<p>Snapa (Fifth month of the Tibetan Calendar)</p>	June	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is the peak summer time with the village thronged in by tourists round the globe. • <i>Chakra Sankwara Liturgy (mituk pa):</i> This is the second occasion where all the monks have to gather to perform recitation of the Holy Books and to Perform <i>Sankwara Liturgy</i>. At the same time they make beautiful sand mandala of Cakra Sankwara for its liturgy performance. • The monks start the yearly grand liturgy performance on 25th of this month. • The annual occasion for the recitation of the holy books like the <i>Kangyur (Tripitika)</i> also takes place in this month. • <i>Kartse at Atitse monastery</i>(White washing of a distant monastery of Lamyuru is also done during this month). • The villagers are busy catering tourists in

			their hotels, guest houses and home stays.
6.	Tukpa (Sixth month of the Tibetan Calendar)	July	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The 4th day of the Six month of the Tibetan calendar is sacred date of Buddha's first turning of Four Noble Truth at Sarnath, Varasasi. The same day is also date of birth of the His Holiness <i>Skyabsgon Chhetsang Rinpoche</i>, the supreme head of the Drikung Kagyud pa lineage all over the world. The day celebrated with great zeal and end up with the ceremony of the Sankwara Liturgy. • Second main activity at monastery during this month is the <i>Spopsang</i>, when all the lamas perform mask dance and offer prayers. • Besides this, a three days mantra prayer (manay tsog) isorganised at the monastery. • It is similar to fifth month in almost every aspect, with people engaging themselves in tourism related work and making their livelihood. • Apart from this, it is the agriculture which demands people's time and attention. Deweeding, watering the fields and gardens once in a week constitute an important work of the villagers for a month or two.
7.	Ldunpa (Seventh month of the Tibetan Calendar)	August	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is the seventh month of the Tibetan calendar. With it starts the harvesting season, which is locally termed as <i>Skarzin</i>. • All the villagers work together on each other's fields on rotational basis. • Besides this the seventh month also witness the monastery and villagers

			entertaining tourists.
8.	Gyatpa (Eighth month of the Tibetan Calendar)	September	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is threshing time for the already harvested crop. Earlier it was done manually, but nowadays machines have substituted human labour.
9.	Ghupa (Ninth month of the Tibetan Calendar)	October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ninth month of the calendar is mainly dominated by <i>Bhakston</i> (marriage ceremonies) and Ldhun and Ldhagang (Which marks one week and one month of a child's birth respectively). • All the economic activities be it agriculture or tourism cease to operate and life in the village becomes a bit passive as compared to the peak active summer months.
10.	Chupa (Tenth month of the Tibetan Calendar)	November	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Losar</i> (Ladakhi New Year). Ladakhi Losar is celebrated in tenth month of the Tibetan calendar, unlike, Tibetan Losar, which is celebrated in the first month of a year. The early celebration of Losar in Ladakh owes to politico-historical reasons. • Ladakhi <i>Losar</i> (New Year) usually falls in between the months of November and December. <i>Chag</i> (greetings) start from monastery, as villagers go to the monastery with <i>Khatags</i> (auspicious and traditional ceremonial scarf) offer it to deities for blessing. • Monks observe prayers and offerings are made to the deities and Rinpoches.

11.	Chukshikpa (Eleventh month of the Tibetan Calendar)	December	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People are usually free and have leisure time as its winter and most of the economic activities like agriculture and tourism cease to operate. • In the month of December and January, most of the monks take pilgrimage or to escape from the winter cold either to Dehradun and Bodhgaya or to Nepal. • Those who stay back are usually engaged in household ritual in the villages. As every household has to observe certain rituals annually, such as <i>Yangskus</i> and <i>Solka</i> rituals.
12.	Chuknispa (Twelfth month of the Tibetan Calendar)	January	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the month of January, recitation of the mantra “<i>Om Mani Padme Hung</i>” of the Buddha of Compassion (Chenrezig) is organised. People from nearby villages come to recite mantra. • The twelfth month of a year is also passive with little or no activities carried out in the village

The physical aspect of the *Khang*-pareflects the architectural landscape of the village. The architecture styles of *Khangba* (household) are indirectly influenced by the notion of purity and impurity. Each *Khangba* has a *chud-khang* (shrine room), which contains Buddhist statues, religious scriptures, *thang-ka* (painted hanging), *tings* (offering bowls) and other sets of ritual objects. Apart from a *chud-khang*, many of the households have a *lha-and-lhukhang* (place for household gods) and *Phalha*, (a small dark room, mostly behind *bang*, the place where the mother sits) where they keep *shukpa* (juniper branches), *khatak* (white scarves) and animal horns from previous years, probably from the sacrificed animals. This is considered to be the place of their ancestral god and is worshipped collectively by the *phaspun* (group of households). There is a village *lhato* on top of the village on a nearby hillside of the monastery. It is basically represented through a red-painted structure topped

with juniper branches, containing many precious objects, where offerings had to be made periodically. Likewise, *Lhu* which I mentioned above is basically associated with spring water and fertility. It is a white-painted structure containing pots of barley and ‘other treasures’. The *Lhu-bang*(place of water spirit inhabits) has to be taken care of in a curious manner. Milk from a white goat consecrated by a lama or *onpo* (village astrologer) has to be offered on specific days in a year and in consultation with the village astrologer.

The *lha* are omnipresent within the village. According to the popular belief of the villagers, *lha* are responsible for the wellbeing of people and their livestock. They internalize the presence of *lha* in the village and every act of the villagers is meant to appease them. No activity is held in the village without revering *lha*, from a villager’s act of sleeping and eating to agricultural activities that are observed in such a way that will soften at the times of malevolent spirits. Even sickness, sudden death of people, misfortunes and natural calamities are attributed to their malevolent counterparts. There is a complex web of relations between the realm of spirits and the village. This relationship has to be maintained by a household along with the collective efforts of the villagers to ensure stability in the village. It is apparent that the binary of two systems of faith are manifested within the household and the village. On the one hand, there are ritual practices which are mostly attributed to the veneration of local protectors and on the other hand, the monastic culture of Buddhism which imparts the teachings of Buddha to overcome this worldly suffering. Particularly, the older generations are well versed with the basic precepts of Buddhism, as it offers a simple method of morality of relevance to the villager. Most important of these are the ‘three poisons’ (*rtug-sum*), that is, hatred, desire/attachment and ignorance which are actual sources of the origin of sufferings. The ‘ten virtues and non-virtues’¹³⁵ (*Gewa-rchu and mi gewa-rchu*), and ‘sixteen moral rules’ also contain practical injunctions for the daily lives of the religion’s adherents. Besides, the monastery also provides physical help to households. Monasteries in

¹³⁵ 1: Ten non-virtues actions are: Actions of body: 1. killing, 2. stealing, 3. sexual misconduct. Actions of Speech: 4. lying, 5. slander (divisive speech), 6. Harsh speech (hurtful words), and 7. Gossip (idle chatter) Actions of mind: 8. Covetousness (greed), 9. Harmful intent (hatred), and 10. Holding wrong views (ignorance).

2: Ten Virtues actions are: Actions of body: 1. Protecting the life of other being, 2. Giving – practicing generosity. 3. Maintaining moral conduct. Actions of speech: 4. Truthfulness – speaking the truth. 5. Reconciliatory speech – creating harmony among others; bringing foes together. 6. Kind words – speaking peacefully and politely. 7. Meaningful talk – speaking that is important. 8. Actions of Minds: Non-attachment – and being content with what one has. 9. Loving-kindness – good will and being kind to others. 10. Right view.

every village in Ladakh act as caretaker to the villagers both mentally and physically. The monastery ensures food security to those families who send their child to the monastery, and provide loans to households in times of crisis. Therefore, religion permeates all aspects of life in Ladakh, inseparable from art and music, culture and agriculture. People in this way are deeply religious (see also Norberg-hodge: 1991). The social and economic systems, and the patterns of work and family life that generations of Ladakhis have developed to cope with these, constitute a seamless whole which will inevitably be affected in its entirety by change wrought in any of its part (Rizvi: 1996).

However, this religious and ecologically balanced way of life of Lamayuru village is today threatened by the influx of tourism industry coupled with other developmental activities. Now we shall see how villagers are coping with the influx of the tourism industry within the households and the village.

Household: A Meeting Point of Tourism and Religion

As we have mentioned above that *khang-pa* 'households' in Lamayuru itself is regarded as 'sacred' sites. Within the *Khang-pa*, a range of ritual practices are carried out attributing to their own *Lha* and the spirits 'inhabiting' in the village. A discussion of how tourism might be influencing the 'sacredness' of the households and the sacred landscape of the village is therefore highly relevant. Such discussion however requires a careful consideration about how this *khang-pa* and the village itself has featured in the promotion of tourism. There are constructed perceptions among tourists that Lamayuru village as a tourist destination is represented as a 'landscape of nostalgia', where ancient traditional Ladakhi culture can be seen and considered as model of 'spiritual' and 'harmonious' Ladakhi village. This was due to the subsequent dissemination of Lamayuru's image which has been captured by earlier travellers. Some of those images of Lamayuru monastery were circulated worldwide on postcards. Many scholars have used Lamayuru's image on the cover of their books represents with caption as 'moon-land'. This further served as an advertisement for captivating tourists to see Lamayuru. Today, tourism has reached a stage where it poses invariable challenges to the existing structure of households and the village. Households, which constitutes the basic unit of economic production is in a transitory phase due to the influx of income from tourism. Indeed, apart from natural laws of change, Lamayuru has experienced cultural changes as it

lay on the crossroads of historical trade routes. Therefore, the village has been exposed to the influence of other cultures. But, those changes have occurred gradually, conceding enough space for an adaptation from within. As a result, the impact on village culture had been incorporated in a gradual process.

In recent years, however, the tourism industry has surfaced on Lamayuru village like a devastating force, causing massive and rapid disruption to the sacred landscape of the village as well as within the households. Kalkul *khang-pa*, for example, juxtaposes tourism and religion within their households. This house offered a home-stay (kalkul) for the tourists and made their best effort to give a comfortable stay. Their 27-year-old son was a monk who decided to leave the monastery a few years previously, as all the monks are free to do, though suffering social disgrace, as they are called *ban-lok* or ‘turncoats’. Now, he is helping his parents in running the home-stay and publicized their house by putting a fancy board amidst all other boards of advertisement near the road. It helped them to attract tourists into their home-stay. Subsequently, they receive many different types of tourists who want to experience a Ladakhi village household. However, his parents are not happy with this new development because they believe that the sacredness of the house has been affected adversely. They often use the term *tsetu, drib*, (pollution/impure) to describe the relationship between religion and tourism. Their understanding of pollution is not just at the level of noticeable things, but it also counts people’s way of thinking, motivation and perception. Their narration revealed that tourism is polluting the minds of villagers as it inculcates and encourages a sense of competition among them.

Likewise, most of the elderly people responded to the question of the tourism industry in the village with negative impression. The village *onpo* (astrologer) has said ‘tourism industry is helping local economy but at the same time it is polluting the sacred aura of the village which is more dangerous. Earlier people (including monks) were comparatively more kind hearted and compassionate, but now money makes them more greedy and materialistic’ (interview on 21st Sept: 2015). This is a ubiquitous perception among all the elderly people in the village. In order to substantiate their perception; they often narrate the internal dynamics of their *khang-pa*. The *Khang-pa*’s eco-system is embedded within this delicate relationship between human beings and spirits which has been maintained in a balanced way. This delicacy of

relations is maintained through different ritual practices within the households as well as in the village. But, the sudden intrusion of tourism has shaken this regular order of things in households as well in the village. For instance, there is a shift in the mode of working from outside (agricultural activities) to inside (house became a site for earning). I am not arguing that an absolute shift has occurred in the village economy. But, there is a tendency to become one. Those who have a guest-house, hotel and home-stay are negotiating with agricultural activities. Their source of income is now either their own traditional house in the form of home-stay or they have constructed a hotel/guest-house on agricultural fields. Therefore, it can safely be argued that those families who are fully engaged in the tourism business are negotiating with sacred space within the *Khang-pa*.

The very notion of *Khang-pa*, as we have learned, is itself is regarded as a sacred item, where a series of ritual has to be carried out to purify and to prevent bad incidents, and so on. For example, in the house of *Bagur-home stay*, it was observed that the workload of the mother has increased manifold due to the accommodation of tourists in their house. Earlier she used to get plenty of time because the household chores by their definition were least counted as work. The real work they considered is outside the house on fields. Now, since they converted the house into a home-stay, she has to perform dual task on daily basis- both taking care of the fields and taking care of the home-stay. To take care of the sacred space of the *Khang-pa*, she has to renew the offering bowls of water in the *chod-khang* every morning and perform a number of prostrations and carry a *phoskor* (small sensor of burning juniper) around the house, blowing smoke into every room and calling invocations to the *Lha* and *Lhu*. Throughout the day, numerous small food offerings have to be made to the spirits. Besides, there are many other rituals which have to be observed on different occasions. Simultaneously, she has to take care of the tourists. It is her task to provide boiled water in the morning and prepare meals for the tourists. She has also learned a bit of English to communicate with tourists. Tourists also enjoy talking to her with her broken English. She said ‘I talk to them no matter how funny I look like but it helps tourists. Sometimes, tourists help me preparing food and other stuffs. But, some tourists are very demanding and they often complain to me, but yes, most of them are very kind’ (Interview, 23rd Sept, 2015). Her busy schedule reveals the fact that the household has become a site of contestation for tourism and religion.

Thus, there is a constant negotiation with these two spaces of religious faith and the secular force of tourism within the household. The secular force of tourism tends to overpower the sacred landscape of household. The house which was a festive atmosphere where people come to work together as part of the traditional *melak*(turn-wise) practice is now on the verge of disappearing. Houses are becoming independent production units but they are not aware of the fact that this new economic system creates more dependency. This changing economy makes it more difficult to remain as a farmer only. Previously, there was no need for money because village economy was based on mutual cooperation among the neighbours and relatives. Now, these families who have a hotel/guesthouse employ paid labour from Nepal and other parts of India on their agricultural fields. However, it would not be wrong to say that Lamayuru is still intact with the cooperative nature of the village life which I witnessed during the harvesting season of agriculture. The entire village owns one thresher which they collectively use from one end of the village to the other end. The thresher becomes a symbolic representation to reclaim the village's cooperative working style as it was their collective decision that no one is allowed to buy a new one because it would eventually increase competition among them. Yet, many of the households often sent paid labour as *melak* to help other families so that they in turn would get the same help from them. I heard many older people saying that 'there was a time when we had almost nothing, yet we had a peace of mind. Now people have everything, but they do not have time, not even for their own agricultural work'. Traditionally, people were conscious and well aware about the limits of resources and of their responsibilities. But this new economic system has brought change both in the system of households as well as in the village. *Khang-pa* which is the primary agent for imparting basic ethical values to the child has been commodified by opening up for the tourists. Centuries old practice of people working together, side by side as equals, as brothers and friends, helping one another turn by turn, are changing, so does the relationship as a community. Money becomes a wedge between people, pushing them further and further apart, which is of course fueled by tourist flows to the village. This is an alarming sign that people might become alienated from their religion and community space in times to come, if the factors remain unchecked and unaddressed.

Let us now locate tourism and religion within the household setting. It would be interesting to see how these two systems co-exist within the households and what impact it brought on

the household system. In a loose sense of the term, tourists are often seen as ‘travellers for pleasure’ (Cohen 1979) and villagers, on the other hand, are deeply superstitious and religious in nature. This sharp contrast is overcome by tourist’s hedonism and villager’s fiscal need. The interplay of these needs lead to the negotiation of space within the household as well as in the village. The household is considered as a sacred site to carry a range of rituals which have been conducted from time immemorial. There is a ritual named *Yang-kugs* during which outsiders are not allowed to come in their houses, and all the family members are supposed to get together. Today, most of the people have accommodated tourists in their houses for economic gain. Therefore, many of my old informants believed that they have lost the sanctity of their households. These home-stays in particular are witnessing those tourists who come to stay only for one or two days. Hence, it bears its own positive and negative impacts on households. In fact, *khang-pa* has become a part of tourists’ experience of Lamayuru; there must be a serious implication to it. Ritual practice such as burning *sangs*, lighting twigs of pine or juniper, is performed every morning in the house. Elderly people usually read Buddhist texts or recite ‘*Om ManeyPadmey Hung*’ the mantra of the Buddha of compassion. They often go for circumambulation around the monastery and other sacred places in the village. There are a set of rituals and events of reverence associated with their household. For instance, *Chod-pa* is an act of offering food to the spirit before they start eating any food. The first spoonful of any meal was placed on the side of the *thab*, (stove). *Chod* has to be offered whenever people drink *chang*(local beer) and eat food. Likewise, every household has to carry out a multitude of ritual practices right from the start of the agricultural season to the end. Winter has its own course of rituals to perform. Households in Lamayuru are a site for sacred ritual practices. Now, what happens to this complex ritual system when they accommodate tourists in their home?

The influx of tourists and Government of India’s developmental programs, the importance of local agriculture has weakened. As a result, people are forced to abandon the villages to earn money in the city. Cash cropping becomes the norm as farmers are pushed by the force of development to become dependent on the market economy (Hodge: 1991). Nevertheless, Lamayuru village has managed to magnetise young people due to tourism industry. Yet, there is an increasing pressure on older generations to keep the village intact with village traditions and customs. The role of women has acquired a significant position within the

household as she has to look after household affairs as well as tourists whom they provide lodging. Since, households have become home-stays, where tourists are expected to experience the natural setting of the home, most of the home-stays in Lamayuru usually do not keep any helper; so it's the sole duty of the family member, typically a woman, to provide services to tourists. Apart from this, they have to manage agricultural activities as well as the responsibilities of village and the monastery. It appears that a new economic pressure has saddened the entire ecology of the household, given the situation that the tourism industry has become a vital source of income for the family. Whatever income they generate from tourism, many households would spend on their children's education for those who are studying outside Ladakh.

Most of my informants expressed a sense of anxiety as they are not able to devote their due time for *chos* and *gewa*.¹³⁶In Tibetan, the act of giving a donation, *chinba* (sbyin-pa), enables one to accumulate merits, *gewa*(dge-ba), for one's personal salvation. This act reflects the Ladakhi altruistic approach that benefits both the author of the action and the recipient. Since they accommodate tourists within their households during the entire summer, households tend to remain busy, thus having less time to practice Buddhism (*chos*) and accumulate merit (*gewa*).

It is a prevailing perception among the villagers that the tourists are polluting the sacred aura of households and the village. If any bad things happen in households or in the village, they immediately link it to *Lha* and *Lhu* by saying that tourism has polluted the sacredness of the village and so on. Whenever I asked questions about life in Lamayuru before it was opened up for tourism industry, they immediately recount their childhood experiences. The tendency of human beings to glorify history is certainly reflected in Lamayuru. In Lamayuru village, people often cherish the life that their forefathers have lived. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that life in the village was indeed tough and simple, but their aspirations and imaginations were far more beyond their existence. People were religious and superstitious in nature; yet their ultimate goal or aspiration was to attain liberation. We might say that this

¹³⁶“In the strict sense that which is physically honest and good and, more concretely, that which one accumulates to ensure a better birth or obtain the help of gods in the realization of a project” (Dollfus 1989: 82).

would be a mere reflection of the difficulties that they have gone through. But, their understanding about life was far from existential quests.

Even today most of the older generation of Ladakhi carries the similar pattern of understanding about life. An 87 year old man said, that:

Nothing is permanent in this world, I do not understand why the younger generation are so busy and they only see money. My own son is engaged in the tourism business and he earns good money, yet he is not very happy and content with his life. Tourism is actually letting people forget about their religion because they hardly give time for religion'. (Interview, 12th Sept, 2015).

Tourism has played a significant role in diverting people's attention from religion to mundane things, and is in fact one of the driving forces behind people neglecting religious practices and becoming more materialistic. Likewise, almost all the elderly people in the village are not happy with the current changes in the village. The older generation seems to have an ample amount of time for *chos* and *gewa*, as most of the time they are found circumambulating around the monastery. This is the meeting point where they come and spend the whole day. Sometime, they sit and talk. But, they understand the limits of their voice in the village. As one of them metaphorically referred to Ladakhi proverb '*rgan ber po sa mazuk and rgan sperbo mea mazuk*', meaning 'an old man's stick cannot hit the ground, neither his words can influence the people'.

Their unheard voices are indeed worthy to be documented and to construct an alternate history of the village. They went on sharing their consumption patterns and a number of livestock they used to own during their time. The Onpo/astrologer family used to own more than 200 livestock, whereas today the number has reduced to 12; likewise, *Bagur pa* households, who used to own more than 100 livestock, but today the number has reduced to *none*. Hence, such losses resonate in their voices as they are not relevant to today's village economy. Similarly, every household in the village used to own livestock and their life was comparatively stress-free. But, in due course of time, tourism coupled with modernity has brought dramatic changes within the household setting as well as in the village. As I have mentioned above that, there was a change prior to the advent of the tourism industry in the village, but those changes were adapted from within without much wider implications. The changes which were witnessed earlier were slow and gradual, giving enough time for the

people to adopt and incorporate such fluctuation. Moreover; none of the earlier encounter with anything changed or interfered their religious space. However, with a sudden influx of the tourism industry in the village, new economic avenues have opened up to people. With this everything started to change.

Consequently, life within the household is getting busier than it ever was before. Villager choice, taste, household consumption pattern and imagination have changed drastically. Earlier it was religion which governed every aspect of social life, now it is economy (tourism) which governs life in the village. Hence, there is a constant contestation between these two forces within the households. Elderly people think that the tourism industry is polluting the sacredness of the households as well as the village. Younger generation thinks that tourism actually provides new opportunity to re-assert their identity in a more positive way. However, it cannot be denied that tourism is actually affecting the social structure of the village in various ways.

The modest life of the village seems to be in a process of fading away. A 52 year old lady, who converted her house into a home-stay, says that the ‘whole summer we remain busy because of home-stay, it is so disturbing but what to do. We also need money for children’s education. I don’t know how these children will carry forward *jing-las* (agricultural activities) and *khang-las* (household responsibilities) because most of the young people stay outside the village’. This statement reveals a great deal of concern about the prevailing ‘paradox’ within the household and in the village. The ‘paradox’ of development which keeps people away from their indigenous beliefs and practices, consciously and unconsciously.

Secularising Effects of Tourism and Technology on Lamayuru Village

The kind of tourism that Lamayuru is receiving can be considered as the expansion of mass tourism, which is specifically a modern phenomenon. Modernity is often assumed to lead to secularisation; hence, it might be safely assumed that tourism directly and indirectly have a secularising effects on the host society. In fact, Sociologist, Erik Cohen, one of the leading voices in the nascent field of Tourism and Religion has suggested that tourism in general has a “secularising” impact in the sense of “a weakening of the local adherence to religion and of

the belief in the sacredness and efficacy of holy places, rituals, and customs” (Cohen 2004: 156, cited in Stausberg 2011).

However, there can be two possible ways to look at this matter: First, through the theoretical premise and prediction which argues that tourism has led to the ‘secularisation’ of host society; Second, some of the studies suggested that tourism has led to ‘re-sacralised or sacralised’ sacred sites in different ways (Kolas 2008). These two hypotheses need to be examined. As far as the first is concerned, substantial research has been carried out and put forward the argument that tourism has led to the ‘secularisation’ of the host community. In fact, Beckerleg’s study on the village of Watamu at heart of the Kenyan tourist region shows that tourism abide secular impact on the host society (Olsen and Timothy 2006: 13) At Watamu in Kenya, as well as in many other tourist destinations across the globe, host communities are badly affected, particularly the younger generation, for there are dramatic changes in health patterns, alcohol consumption and addiction. Likewise, there are many destinations in India where similar patterns of changes are evident. Such kinds of behaviours are usually allied to the presence of the tourism industry. In many ways, tourism (directly) threatened the traditional value system of this Islamic community in Kenya.

In contrast to Berkerleg’s understanding of the impact of tourism on the cultural value system in Kenya. Kolas’s (2008) case study on the Himalayan Buddhist community in Tibet made an inverted argument. According to his study, ‘tourism is providing a new frame of reference for locals of Shangrila to understand, and explain, sacred sites. This is partly linked to the evident appreciation of tourists for sacred sites, and partly to the new incentives to represent ‘Tibetan Culture’ as provided by tourism’ (Kolas 2008:77). Tourism in this case is positively reinforcing sacred sites by providing new platforms to assert their identity in a more constructive manner.

Now, we shall see how Lamayuru is dealing with this question. The traditional culture of the Lamayuru village has provided people with their basic needs without money. Their economy was based on self-subsistence and independent in nature. They evolved skills that enabled them to grow barley at a height of 3500 meters and to manage a hugenumber of livestock. However, it would be a hyperbole to argue that they were self-sufficient. Especially due to their, vivid memories about the shortage of food and the struggles the village went through

are still fresh, particularly among elderly people in the village. After listening to their account about the gallant role of monastery in emancipating them from famine and imbuing the moral ethics of Buddhism which has helped them to sustain life in such a difficult situation, one tends to think often why the role of the monastery in Ladakhi culture has always led people to describe the society as feudal. Initially, I too carried the same perception that the relationship between the monastery and the rest of the population was an exploitative one. But, after observing the close relation between the two it appears to be much more complex. It was probably because of their cordial relation with the monastery that every household in Lamayuru offered a piece of land to the monastery and invited the previous *BakulaRangdolNeema* Rinpoche, to rebuild the monastery, who had fled away in Domkhar village, when it was completely destroyed by Dogra. Thus, the monastery owns a large share of land, which is worked by the village as a whole. There are also farmers who, in addition to their own land, cultivate monastery fields, and in return they offer barley. Overall, the monastery provides a real economic benefit to the villagers. In fact they provide “social security” for the entire village, ensuring no one goes hungry. (Hodge: 1991).

The main reason for any household to send their child to the monastery was solely based on economic reasons. A similar sort of statement was endorsed by *BakulaRangdolNeema Rinpoche*: ‘Things have changed now. When we were children, the precious food we had was *Paba* (mixture of roasted flour of barley, which was once the staple food of Ladakh but is now very less preferred). I myself remember those joyous moments when my teacher used to bring *Paba* as a gift to my parents. These days *Paba* is hardly prepared and served in the monastery’ (Interview, 24th March, 2016). Even *Rinpoche* who was supposed to be having a comfortable life expressed the limits of food consumption in the monastery. Likewise, the narration of elderly monks in the monastery unfolds many past instances of food shortage in the village. However, the monastery was the source of food for the poor. The relationship between village and the monastery is maintained through the exchange of services. This practice of give and take between monastery and the village nurtured a kind of rich culture and religious tradition in which all members of society are involved and benefits accrue to everyone. Furthermore, anyone irrespective of their age, gender, married or un-married can become a nun or monk at any point of time. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that when we talk about the culture in Lamayuru, we are actually talking about a way of life

based on Buddhist culture. Because it is the village wherein Tibetan Buddhism has had a profound effect on the tangible culture and has formed an anchor for the daily rhythms, system of belief and social and cultural practices of the villagers.

Now let us see how tourism as a secular force of modernization is affecting this Landscape of Buddhist culture in Lamayuru. Tourism as we understand it is cultural phenomena wherein two sets of cultures come into contact, i.e. that of the tourists and that of the host community. Generally, both tourists as well as the host in this cultural exchange get affected in many ways, but the fact is that the impact on host culture is more evident than on the tourists. Because, territorial factor comes into play that tourism is practiced in the territory of the host. There is a probability for a secularising impact and contestation began to arise when tourism industry comes into contact with sacred spaces and ritual practices, especially when the tourist and the host do not share a religious faith.

As we have explained above, the notion of the relationship between the village with the monastery, as well as with the *Lha* and *Lhu* (spirits) that inhabit households and the landscape of the village are considered as sacred. In order to uphold this order of sacredness in the village, the calendar is filled with lots of collective rituals and mundane activities. From the beginning of the ploughing season to the end of harvesting season, and from the start of the winter season to the clearing of culminated snow from rooftops of the monastery, all are sacredly formed in an order of rituals to fulfil those tasks. For instance, in order to prevent damage from the melt of accumulated snow, one person from each household is mandatorily expected to participate in clearing snow from the roofs of the monastery. The monastery will serve *chang* (local barley beer) and *dZara* (lunch) to villagers. It is not an instant call, as it has been practised from the inception of the monastery and people take it to be a manifestation of the sacred. While clearing snow they would sing different songs and chant *ya-le-lhamo* (kind of oratory for collective energizing).

Thus, failure to perform any task means breaking a sacred rule of the village. So, the village has its own socio-economic and cultural tempo which is inspired by the religious tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. Now, coming to the question of how does the tourism industry bring a secular outlook on Lamayuru village and how is it affecting the tandem of social life in the village? As far as the influence of tourism on Lamayuru village is concerned, it certainly

brings multifaceted impacts which will be discussed in later sections of this chapter. However, the question of the secularisation process is not a recent phenomenon. In fact, this question cannot be studied in isolation from the rest of Ladakh. Therefore, we need to look back at the history of secularisation processes in Ladakh and in villages in particular. For the purpose of making it a bit simpler to understand we can broadly categorize it into three phases:

- 1) Emergence of Buddhism.
- 2) Contribution of Christian Missionaries.
- 3) Opening up of Ladakh to international as well as domestic tourism in 1974.

1) *Emergence of Buddhism as progressive force in Ladakh*

Since village custom and tradition has evolved within the domain of Buddhist (Tibetan/Tantric Buddhism) code of conduct, many elements in the pre-Buddhist culture were against the ethic of Buddhism which has been eliminated or replaced by a suitable code of conduct for Buddhism. For example, the practice of animal sacrifice existed in the pre-Buddhist culture to appease local god (Lha/spirit) which are now replaced by different modes of ritual practices without harming any sentient being. Buddhism has introduced a way of life which respects every sentient being and has a notion of compassion, love and affection which are the core of its teaching. Hence, Buddhism has emerged with a progressive vigor and has imbued different outlook among the people.

2) *Contribution of Christian Missionaries*

The actual root of modernization processes dates back to 1887 when Christian evangelists started the Moravian Mission School and established an Allopathic Dispensary in Leh. That dispensary was the only allopathic outlet for about 3000kms. (Interview with Gergan 18th Jan: 2014). Although the missionaries tried their level best to convert Ladakhis into Christianity, they did not succeed except in a few instances. There are a few families who were converted to Christians in Khaltse village, which is situated 25 km away from Lamayuru. It is impossible to understand the process of modernization/secularisation without taking into account their contribution in the field of education, agriculture and

medicine. The Moravian missionaries were versatile and taught all sorts of agricultural methods and handicrafts to help the income of the farmers.

3) Opening up of Ladakh for tourism industry in 1974

Finally the tourism industry recurs as an agent to imbue a secular outlook to Ladakh. From the onset of the opening up of Ladakh to tourism, Lamayuru has been a major source of attraction for tourists. The year 1974 can be marked as the foundation stone for modern Ladakh. Moreover, it can further be sub-divided into another phase, when Ladakh gained the status of a semi-autonomous hill development council (LAHDC) in 1995. Thus, the tourism industry as well as Government developmental programs has changed the political-economy of Lamayuru village. As a result, villager's perception and aspiration towards life have also changed to a great extent.

Perception of Monks about the Secular Effect of Tourism and Technology

Lamayuru village is famous for its well preserved monastic tradition and its peculiar natural landscape which makes it an important Buddhist centre as well as an important tourist destination. The spirit of place of Lamayuru is largely influenced by its rich religious and cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible. The place is historically marked by the presence of great yogi *Naro-pa* (11th century) of the same lineage. *Naro-pa* was a great Buddhist saint who came to Lamayuru and sat for meditation. For this reason, the place is regarded as supremely sacred for and one of the most prominent monasteries of the Kagyu lineage in Ladakh. This particular section consists of a group of monks who are presently associated with the monastery, having stayed at Lamayuru monastery for more than five years. These monks who live in the monastery are the representation of an important element of the sacred place of Lamayuru village and its spiritual practices. I seek to bring insights into the ways in which the changes have been brought to the monastery via tourism, are perceived through the eyes of monks. In this way, we can see the interface between tourism and religion, which eventually becomes a contribution to the relationship of the understanding of the relationship between tourism and religion in this specific context of Lamayuru.

The massive influx of tourists in the recent years has brought new challenges to Lamayuru. As a result, sudden changes have been observed in the monastery and in the village which

has shaken the underlying principle of the village. However, it would be wrong to say that tourism alone is the harbinger of change. It is difficult to say whether tourism which brought money and access to technology have brought more fundamental changes in the village. But, it is obvious that they are closely interlinked and form the cornerstones of a systematic transformation of the village (Hodge: 1991). Let us now turn to how monks have responded to the questions asked through an interview schedule during my fieldwork which was conducted in the months of August and September 2015.

50 questionnaires were distributed at the monastery, out of which only 33 were collected back from the monks. However, not all them were filled by informants themselves; 30 percent of the questionnaires were interviewed and filled in by the researcher¹³⁷. About 11 out of the 33 monks who were interviewed at Lamayuru monastery were novice monks between 12-21 years old, and 13 monks were between 29-43, and the remaining were in the age group of 50-83. Only a few of the monks belonged to Lamayuru village, and the rest came from other villages. 90 percent of all the monk informants had been in the monastery during the last five to six years. Few elderly monks have been in the monastery during the last 10 to 30 years. The questionnaires were designed to bring out the complexity and ambiguity of change by documenting villagers and monks' experiences in dealing with tourism industry and their perceptions towards it.

The range of questions were formulated and asked to the monks pertaining to the intervention of technologies and its usage into their life. Most of them agreed to the fact that technologies do affect their daily practices of Dharma (Chos). Yet, some of them asserted that it depends upon one's own understanding and wisdom. The most commonly responded statement is this, "It depends on the person who uses it, if you use excessively than obviously it has a negative effects" (interview, Sept, 2015). Few monks think that technologies are not affecting their daily practice whatsoever.

This was followed by an attempt to capture, the perception of monks towards the material world and ways in which they are coping with today's techno-centric world as a monk. One monk while responding to the question of "how to deal with this material world?" have

¹³⁷ The questionnaires were formulated in English and most of the respondents cannot understand and write English. Hence, researcher has filled the questionnaires in presence of respondents through an act of interview.

mentioned that, “it is very competitive, challenging and destructive to one’s inner peace. This race of material world makes people run till the day he dies” (Interview with Sherab, Sept, 2015). Followed by the statement of another monk that, “one must know how to balance it. Technology should be used as a need rather than for luxury. We are the preacher of the middle path, and hence, we should know the middle path in using technologies too” (Interview, Sept, 2015).

Most of the old generation monks do carry an apprehension on the role of ‘technologies and tourism’ in the life of novice monks. Because, they think that they are more vulnerable to get diverted their attention to other than their daily practices of Dharma. This is in fact, indirectly reflected in their responses to the question of the influence of tourism on monastery. Hence, two major views can be extracted from the answers generated from questionnaires. First, young generation monks who are more inflected to the modern worldviews tend to maintain a variance pertaining to the issue of technologies and impact of tourism, with the older generation. While, older generation monks on the other hand, try to maintain the normative structure of the monastery through the endorsement of traditional monastic values and norms. Although, positive impacts of tourism are welcomed irrespective of their ages. In this regard one old monk said:

Tourism counts for economic gain, now it has become a major source of income to the monastery. But, some novice monks tend to get involved in tourism business, and later they give up monk-hood; this is thus, worrisome. Tourism is also in a way contributing to people become more materialistic and greedy. (Interview, with Randol Nima Rinpoche, 21st Sept, 2015).

These kinds of perceptions are common among the villagers as well as among the monks. However, overall, alleged economic development is brought about by tourism industry to the village; it also create a space for the self-reflecting discourses among the villagers. This self awareness has arisen due to the presence of outsiders in the village. It may be perhaps as a reaction to the accelerating globalization in the form of tourism. As a result, the discourses of a renewed desire to revitalize indigenous culture and identity as a Ladakhi are prevalent. In fact, there has been a growing recognition of the value of cultural diversity in Ladakh and within the village. Consequently, tourism’s impact on the village, such as erosion of local cultures and tradition, and rising consciousness of ‘relative deprivation’, have been assessed

increasingly in an undesirable light. At the same time, more weightage is being given to the issue of 'who benefits from tourism'.

In her book *Ancient Future: Learning from Ladakh*, Helena Norberg-Hodge, has called one chapter 'From Lama to Engineer', she has eloquently articulated this question of transition from traditional to modern. She argued that 'Ladakh has not yet experienced far-reaching technological change, but this will certainly come if present trends continue' (1991: 105). Looking at the present scenario, she was indeed right in her prediction. Due to the technological intervention, things have profoundly changed in Ladakh. Technology has certainly intruded in every sphere of Ladakhi life, especially in a village like Lamayuru. In fact, it has colonized one's life world. The village is no different from any other place in India in terms of its access to technology. Although it is considered to be as digitally remote, however, the survey showed that most of the households have a T.V, radio, telephone, washing-machine and a few houses even had a refrigerator, and so on. Cars, buses, trucks and bikes are commonly owned in the village. Most of the villagers you meet in the street are carrying cell phones and other portable electronic gadgets. Even in the monastery, all the monks are well-equipped with the latest technology, and they are connected to cyberspace. Even though the monastery now has its own mini-truck for the purpose of transportation, many of the monks have kept their own personal car or bike. They also extravagantly use their car and bike just to enjoy riding to nearby villages. Mobile phones, cars, bikes and laptops have almost become part of their daily necessities. One can even sense the hassle of modernity through the sounds of mobile phone ring tones, cars, bikes, excessive human noise, radio and television sounds which were unknown to the village earlier. Indigenous sounds of the livestock, the sounds of the shepherd's songs which were used to resonate in the foot hills of the village and the melodious sound of the songs of farmers while doing agricultural activities have vanished and is becoming relegated as myths. One 83-year-old man who always came to circumambulate around the monastery expressed a deep sense of anxiety and resentment with present aura of noisiness within the complex of monastery. He also expressed an inexplicable nostalgia for the phase of village life that he had experienced with a huge body of livestock. He is one of the well-known folk artists in the village who knows the maximum number of *Jung-lu* (folk songs). Likewise, the 79-year-old *Lobon* (head of the monastery) mentioned that the 'monastic aura has to be maintained peaceful and quiet.

If we do not maintain the quietness how would monks meditate? There are many other sentient being on earth they will also get disturbed'. He then goes on saying 'it is not only about the monastery, in fact, the entire village should maintain the sanctity. It is unfortunate that due to excessive inflow of tourists we are not able to maintain tranquility in the village. Earlier villagers were not allowed to shout, blow a whistle and so on, except on a few occasions' (Interview, 21st Sept, 2015). Similarly, during an appraisal from many villagers and the monks in the monastery, it came to light that the boosts of tourism have impinged on the sacred serenity of the village.

As we have discussed above about the technological impacts on the life of monks in the monastery and in the village, a new social problem has arisen within the monastery as young monks are psychologically inclined towards the modern trend of using technological gadgets. They spend their free time near the hotel *Niranjana* where they get access to wifi and they all are quietly involved with their android phones on social networking sites. *Gayskos*(disciplinarian) said that 'this mobile phone disturbs a lot while praying in the assembly hall, I keep telling all of them to switch it off but they always tend to forget' (Interview, 22nd Sept, 2015). It seems that the older generation of monks is apprehensive about the novice monk's access to modern technologies. There are advantages as well as disadvantages to the access and use of mobile phones among monks. However, it seems that the negative impacts are outpacing the positive ones. It is also visible that it creates a sense of inferiority complex among those novice monks. A group of novice monks encircled one tourist on the rooftop of the monastery who was carrying different cameras, and all of them seemed very inquisitive to know the function of those cameras. One novice monk pointing at the tourists' iphone said "look at his mobile phone, it's similar to Konchok's one". Another one responded, "yeah! He seems very rich, look at his jacket and cap!"

This sudden influx of Western influence has caused these novice monks in the monastery to develop feelings of inferiority complex (Hodge: 1991). Many novice monks have returned (*Banlok*) to lay life. Some of them even started pursuing a modern education outside Ladakh. Some are working as tourist guides in Leh. Their one-dimensional understanding about technology and tourists comes as a slap in the face. They tend to compare their own life with tourists and often become lured by the life style of westerners. Hence, tourist-monk

encounters have different meanings for both tourists and monks. Monks tend to think that they are underprivileged in technology. Tourists, on the other end, feel that they are deprived of a relation with nature.

However, one monk Jigmet, who currently holds the position of *nyarpa* (store keeper), received a laptop as a gift from *BakulaRangdol NeemaRinpoche* to practice typing the Tibetan script. He is practising it every day like it is a calling to fulfill his task, so that he may also contribute through this act of typing which provides a constructive mode of service. He knows the importance of this act, as *Rinpoche* is also a scholar who published his first book on Ladakhi grammar and has translated many books from Tibetan into Ladakhi language. Therefore, there are only a few people in Ladakh who know how to type Tibetan script on a laptop. Another, monk who is *Komnyer* (in-charge) of the main assembly hall of the monastery said that “These days people are so busy in making money, it seems that they have forgotten *Chos* and *Gewa*, (prayers to earn merits) as they hardly visit the monastery”. He further added, after a pause, that “tourism has actually spoiled all of us because it gives easy money, just go in the village you would find people who have accommodated tourists in their houses for money”. (Interview, 21st Sept, 2015). In contrast to the above statement, one woman also made a revealing narration that ‘there are many monks who are in relations with *chisgyal ma* (foreigner woman) for money and they often go to foreign countries’ (Interview, 12th Sept, 2015). This revelation which was made was under the pretext of discussing about the recent controversy involving a girl and a monk who were caught by villagers at a monk’s *tashak* (residence). This woman was supporting the girl as the girl belongs to a poor family and no one is there to support her; therefore, she was saying that such things are not new. There are many girls in the village who are secretly maintaining their affairs with monks. (Interview, 21st Sept, 2015). It has been observed that the incidence of contact between monks and tourists has also increased, which can be seen to bear positive as well as negative influences on the monk’s life style. Thus, in short, tourism may be one cause of ‘secularisation’ in Lamayuru monastery, but there are many others, including some that have always existed and some that are more recent. Among the latter, schools now offer alternative paths to education and young monks sometimes leave the monastery to follow their own educational goals rather than those preferred by their parents.

Transition Phase of the village

The basic underlying principle of the village is in a transition phase, from being traditional to so-called modern. But, it is difficult to say that tourism is the main source for this change. However, the village's culture which evolved within the limits of its own natural environment is today intimidated by the forces of change and progress which no ancient society, brought face to face with the modern world, can hope to escape (Rizvi, 1998). Like, any other well established pre-modern village, the traditional culture of Lamayuru has evolved within a specific time and space by process of constant refinement in response to the natural environment. Socio-economic and political structure, relationships, family and working patterns that are from generations have developed to deal with these problems. It constituted a sum total of relationships, which are interdependent; change in any part will certainly affect the whole.

Change is already coming, and radical change at that. Some change is due simply to the new linkages established between Ladakh and the rest of the world; other aspects to the deliberate application of modern techniques of economic development by the numbers of efforts of several organisations operating on a voluntary basis. (Rizvi 1998: 173)

After the Sino-India war of 1962, the Government of India recognized the strategic importance of the Ladakh region and an immediate need was felt to ensure its connectivity with rest of the country. In a way it would not be wrong to argue that the concrete process of "modernization" has begun only after 1962, followed by 1974 when Ladakh was thrown open to the tourism industry. It was India's strategic move to develop Ladakh in terms of infrastructure, electricity, and phones. Along with these, television, vehicles, commodities, educational system have improved considerably. Nevertheless, these developments were uneven and modernization processes remained confined largely to Leh town only (Wangal, 1997). Lamayuru due to its strategic location within Ladakh in earlier times has always remained connected, yet there are certain villages in Ladakh which remain disconnected with the rest of Ladakh, as they are not connected by roads or any other service.

Over a period of time, considerable changes have occurred in the villages in Ladakh. Almost all the villages are connected through roads, electricity, and telephone. These proved to be a major cause for changes in the villages. Lamayuru due to its geographical location lie on the crossroad was never been an isolated village in the past. The village was comparatively

dynamic in nature terms of its connectivity and presence of the travellers is concerned. Tourism is indeed not a new aspect for Lamayuru, and most of the elderly people in the village still remember the days of the trans-Karakoram trade, when the direct routes to central Asia and Tibet were open. Lamayuru was a resting haven for traders who traveled very often. In a way we can say that today's tourism industry is a continuation of traditional trade; no doubt there are differences between the two. For instance: first, in those days the inflow of outsiders were limited, but now the excessive influx of tourist makes all the differences; Secondly, during those days outsiders came from a familiar intellectual environment, and fell within the expectation of local values and norms. As in the case of today's pattern of the tourism industry, there is undoubtedly an unusual sort of intensified adaptation and change.

What happens to the village which is suddenly thrown open to consumerist forms brought in through the tourism industry? Tourism coupled with technology, particularly mobile connectivity brings sizeable changes in the village. No one can deny the fact that tourism and technology has certainly brought huge economic benefits to the local population. Rizvi rightly argues that "Thanks to the tourism industry, Ladakh is probably more prosperous than ever before. No one can argue against the provision of a security system for the real poor". (1998: 175). In fact, it is easy to romanticize a traditional way of life and the indigenous technologies. But, at the same time it is very common to disregard many of its advantages in the West. (Hodge: 1991). Local scholars such as Aba Tashi Rabgyas would give much emphasis on the advantages of traditional technologies compared to the modern ones, especially in terms of the relationships between human, animals and nature rather than machines. As he says that "there is a relation with human and animals, they become your friends and you constantly appreciate your friendship with them. Suppose, if they have performed well in some task by way of working hard, you might give them something special to eat. But, the machines are lifeless; you do not have any relationship with them. When you work with machines, you tend to become like them, you become lifeless too" (Interview for speak Ladakh series, Dec, 2015). His nostalgic endorsement of the traditional way of life in the villages was in tuned with nature. But, things have to be evolved with the change of time and space. Certainly, the intervention of modern technologies has made people's life easy and effortless in the villages. The efficiency of modern technologies to save time has

outsourced the indigenous small scale technologies which work on a human pace. Hence, it is not surprising to have welcomed new and modern technologies in the villages. Yet, one can see whether people are aware of its negative consequences or not. The substantial reduction of livestock in the village is probably the one reason for it. Some of the vital animals such as *Dzo* and *Yak* have lost its importance to households. These two animals were considered as pride for households because they provide the heavy service to household. However, in due course of time animals and human labour is substantially replaced by machines in the village.

Lately, an interesting short Ladakhi movie was released entitled as “*Dzo seller*” part of which was shot in Lamayuru village. It eloquently illustrated how technology is affecting the relationship between human beings and animals in the village. Due to the technological competition in the village, a father decides to sell their *Dzo* for the purpose of buying a mobile phone. For that, they have to travel all the way to Leh town. But, his daughter was not happy with the father’s decision and she convinces him not to sell the *Dzo*. The movie has nicely captured the essence of ongoing dynamics of villages due to technological intrusion. It ends on a symbolic note by reclaiming that *Dzo* is the *pride* of a Ladakhi farmer. Although, the fact is that the *Dzo*’s labour has already been replaced by a machine and is no longer the pride of a farmer.

It appears that the village is bombarded with new technologies, new people, new ideas, from Western and Indian films, television serials and other programs which had a profound impact on the young generation. The glamour and excitement in the films lead young people to reject their own culture. It is common in the village, especially among the younger ones, to talk about T.V serial in the schools and at other social gatherings. Many of school going boys and girls usually come to take drinking water for their home from the spring-water tap of village, where they usually talk about the twist and turns in T.V serials. Girls are more interested to talk about the dresses of mainland Indian culture and boys talk about Hollywood and Bollywood stars. Most of these teenagers are active on social networking sites which certainly inculcate a sense of social isolation. Many of them complain about poor internet connectivity and apparently it creates an anxiety among all those who regularly use the Internet. *Skabu* household in Lamayuru has put up a few desktops with an internet

connection in one of their rooms exclusively for the use of tourists, but most of the time it is used by local people.

However, considering their body gestures and patterns of prevailing discourses among themselves, it can be assumed that the sudden influx of tourism and technologies in the village leads to inferiority complex among these young people in the village. A 19 year old boy wanted to go outside Ladakh because he thinks that those students who already study in places like Delhi, Jammu and Chandigarh, know how to speak English and how to dress up well. This was by another boy who said, that ‘There is nothing in this village and I don’t know why tourists come here among the dust’. Therefore, young people often tend to reject their own culture and try to embrace the new one. Their quest for a modern glamorized life on T.V screen and cyber space fascinates them to be a modern. On the other hand, tourists who intruded into their households symbolize this modern culture. Hence, they often tend to imitate tourists. Their parents remain busy in making money from tourists and other household activities. In some senses, it would not be wrong to argue that media and tourists have become a powerful agent of socialization for village children. For instance, earlier grandfather and grandmother used to be important persons to socialize their grand children. But, now it seems that media have taken their job. Media is telling children what to eat, how to dress and how to sing and dance. This is probably the reason that lately old age home have come up in Mahabodhi at Leh. Furthermore, village’s *iesun* (party/jamboree) system and evening bonfire where people used to come and elderly people used to tell *kesar rungs* (local epic/story), especially during winter season. They used to sing *junglus* (folksongs) and *rungs*(folktale) in social gatherings. In fact, winter was the most interesting time of the year where many festivals and wedding celebration takes place. By way of celebrating many social gatherings people drink lots of *chang* (local beer) and this way they overcome the coldest phase of the year. It was their major source of entertainment and as well as process for socializing children. Nevertheless, now things have changed, winter turns out to be a backstage preparation for the villager to host the tourist industry during summer. Those who own hotels would go outside Ladakh to market their hotels and guesthouses. For instance, Moonland Hotel’s website is maintained from Delhi. Therefore, the owner is always connected with Delhi. Likewise, it is observed that in winter many people from the village would go for *jala* (pilgrimage) to Buddhist circuit (Lumbini (Nepal), Bodhgaya (Bihar),

Sarnath (Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh) and Kushinagar (Uttar Pradesh), Dehradun, Bhutan, and Mysore in south India. Similarly, younger people often go for leisure experience in places like Goa and Kerala. Previous year the owner of Dragon Hotel went to Goa where he saw a beautiful hotel. Now he is renovating the interior of his hotel because he wanted to replicate the same in his hotel. Thus, in summer they host tourists and in winter they themselves become tourists. Tourist influence on local people is beyond village's culture; rather it is impinging on individual imagination. Likewise, arrival of radio and television ruined the vitality of public gathering in the village. Earlier, whenever there is an *iesun*. (party/jamboree) everyone used to sing and dance no matter how well or bad he/she sings or dance and they used to tell folk stories and so on. Now, the best voice is being recorded and they are on receiving end through radio and television etc. These days there is hardly any *iesun* in the village even if they organise it they would use musical gadgets. What I am trying to argue is that the western consumerist monoculture and media bombard is giving way to extinct village's folk songs, dances, folktales etc. Moreover, the feeling of village and villager's imagination is constricting towards material possession.

Many parents and grandparents also expressed the sadness that their children are overlooking traditional values and norms of the village. It would be wrong to argue that tourism alone is responsible for this shift, given the fact that other forces are equally in play. The actually germ is rooted in modern education system which is an indispensable factor to keep aside young Ladakhis from the wisdom of their indigenous knowledge. Indian education system which was then designed by British colonist arbitrarily imposed on Ladakh is now proving harmful for Ladakh. Right from the beginning of school, children are being taught in alien medium of instruction (Urdu/English) with irrelevant content served as the main cause to delink younger generation from indigenous knowledge system (Interview with Sonam Wangchuk, 2015).

Alien education system, tourism and media together have altered the face of villages in Ladakh, and Lamayuru is not an exception to it. Nevertheless, the impacts of tourism is more prevalent in Lamayuru in terms of its implicit visibility. My study and analysis of the village, supplemented by questionnaires showed that almost 90% of households in the village are either directly or indirectly involved in tourism related activities. Tourism industry fascinate

maximum number of people to give up traditional village farming system to adopt modern service sector of logistics, travel agencies, Ladakhi style of home-stay, hotels, guest-houses, restaurants and producing local souvenirs etc. Nearly, all the youth are engaged in tourism business, some own restaurants, hostels, home-stay and others work as guide, helper, taxi driver, cook, and as a pony man. Thus, change in the mode of production also brought changes in the ways of living. Younger generations have embraced western style of clothes instead of *Goncha* and other traditional attire. However, in recent times it has been observed that youth's interest in traditional *Goncha* has been revitalized especially on the occasion of wedding and religious festivals. Latterly, Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA) also made it mandatory for all the tourists' guide to wear *Goncha*. But, it did not work for all, yet some serious guides wear it with pride. In this way, *Goncha* has been reproduced as a new trend in the market. Furthermore, the consumption patterns in the households have also changed, shifting from a heavy traditional diet system of *Paba* and *Kholak* (made of barley flour), *Khambir* (local bread), *Skyu*, *Thukpa* (wheat flour made into noodles), *Oma* (milk) and *Zjo* (curd) to a more contrasted diet of rice, wheat and other flour. The village is now dependent upon subsidized rations which come from the state of Punjab and Haryana. Likewise, as I mentioned above, most of the households are fully equipped with flush toilets, gas stoves, televisions, washing machines, and computers etc. Moreover, modern means of transportation such as cars, bikes, buses and sports utility vehicles have become almost necessary needs of the village. As far as material culture is concerned, it is visible that change has taken place considerably. Non-material culture or intangible culture on the other hand is also in a state of transition.

Tension between Tourism and Religious Practices

The key question regarding the impact of tourism is whether it is a culturally destructive force that causes collapse of 'cultural meanings' (Greenwood 1989; Selwyn 196), or rather a means to aid 'cultural survival' (Swain 1989; Boissevain 1996); Cheung 1996). A related issue is potentially 'secularising' or 'de-sacralising' effects of tourism, provoked by the tensions between tourism and religious practice (Shackley 1999; Digance 2003; Robinson and Boniface 1999). One of the strongest criticisms is again provided by Greenwood, describing the transformation of the Basque Alarde festival by the tourism industry from

‘vital and exciting ritual’ into a commodity that was ‘meaningless to the people who once believed in it’ (Green wood: 1989).

Attempt has been made to explore the dynamic interaction between tourism and religion in the context of the monastery. The monastery is one of the most significant symbolic resources to attract tourists into the village. It has always received the maximum number of visitors. Particularly during the months of summer, tourists are brimful in the corridors of the monastery. There is no difference between the crowd of visitors and the local people who gather for the famous *Yuru-Kabgyad* (festival). It is also worth mentioning that tourists are required to pay an entrance fee, which is a source of revenue for the monastery.

In fact, it is a clear sign of appreciation when people travel long distances to visit a monastery and admire its landscape, building and images. But, this does not mean that the experience and actions of the tourists are similar to those of local devotees, who have very different purpose and motivations for visiting the monastery. A case could be certainly made out -- the tourists are primarily ‘consumers’ of experiences of spirituality in which the local worshippers play an important role, knowingly or unknowingly. It may perhaps be prejudiced to maintain that the motivations of the tourists are less ‘worthy’ than those of the villagers, as long as the visitors are left with few other options than to ‘consume’ by paying an entrance fee and hiring a guide. However, these constant practices of both tourists’ motivation to enjoy the aesthetic quality of the monastery and the villager’s/pilgrim’s motivation to practice the spiritual aspect contribute to retain the peculiarity of the place. Particularly when we see practices of tourism at places like Lamayuru, we need to go beyond the economic advantages of tourism. The cultural dimension is much more relevant than the economic aspect on these places. Because, by now we are all well acquainted with the economic aspect of tourism. Hence, Ladakh being the last bastion for well- preserved Tibetan Buddhism and the inflow of tourists seems obvious. Therefore, its impacts on the monastic culture and on the people who are the preservers become pertinent. In fact, tourism creates an interesting space where different cultures come into contact. It is obvious that it affects each other in different ways. But, most of the impacts are always visible on host culture than tourists. Likewise, the probability of impact is more in the case of religious sites, and even conflict increases when tourists come into contact with these religious sites or practices, particularly when the tourists

and hosts do not share the same religious faith (Suntikul 2007). For instance, Lamayuru monastery is famous for its well-preserved *Kagyud* lineage in particular and Tibetan Buddhism in general. It makes it both a centre of Mahayana Buddhism and a popular tourist destination, attracting visitors of both Buddhist and non-Buddhist backgrounds. Thus religion and tourist destinations maintain what Bremer has conferred as 'duality' of places (Bremer 2004). Neither their religious quality nor touristic character can make a total claim on these places. Nevertheless, flooding of tourists in recent years have brought new challenges to the monastic community.

Let us see how this duality of space is being maintained at Lamayuru monastery. As I have mentioned above, tourists come to Lamayuru from long distances with varying motivations, some even consider the Himalaya as sacred and special or set apart from mundane, everyday world (Eliade 1961). Travel to pilgrimage sites has increased considerably due to happenstance with steady growth of the other form of tourism practices (Lloyd 1998). In most of the countries of the world, religious festivals, rituals, arts and landscape are used by their government or tourism promoters as a symbolic resource to attract tourists. (Timothy and Boyd 2003). In that sense, Lamayuru monastery in Ladakh is also not an exception. Jammu and Kashmir tourism department and Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC) are equally capitalizing the image of Lamayuru to attract tourists. Recently, Government of India's official video of 'Incredible India' made an exclusive footage on Lamayuru as the representation of the Himalayas to affirm India's diversity to enhance the tourism industry. Local travel agencies as well as outsiders are also engaged in marketing Lamayuru's image. However, it is common that images and meaning embedded with sacred places often appear in all the tourism promotional literatures at different levels. Such places end up becoming an overlapping place for religious and touristic space. This is where tension between tourism and religion confronts one another. It is due to the fact that the focus of the traditional monastic institution has been to maintain the needs of monks as well as adherents/pilgrims, but now they have to manage different types of visitors too. This transformation leads to sets of questions regarding the maintenance of monastic administration, interpretation, narration of symbols and meaning of sacred sites. Specifically, when the place became versatile in nature and function, it becomes a place of recreation, education and leisure rather than strictly focus on spirituality and rituals.

At Lamayuru monastery this ‘duality of place’ can easily be observed. There is a clear cut division of labour in terms of maintaining tourists as well as to uphold the routine functions of monastery. Tourism has indeed become an integral part of monastic administration. Normally, the impacts are more visible on the host community, but in case of Lamayuru influence on both the host as well as on tourists are visible. There are many tourists who have been influenced by the sacred aura of the Lamayuru monastery and are still retaining their relation with the monastery. For instance, a decade and a half ago Joseph Housel from America, first visited Lamayuru as a tourist. His encounter with Lamayuru had a profound influence on him. As a result, he embraced Buddhism and was ordained by the late *DruponSonamKunga*, (the teacher of rinpoche who passed away in 2014) whom he considers as his Dharma teacher. He worked with *BakulaRangdol Neema Rinpoche*,¹³⁸ on monastic *Chams*(dance) and produced valuable video cassettes of the whole *Chams* of Lamayuru *kabgyad* (festival). He invited his teacher along with many other monks to Chicago, where they also performed mask dances at different places in America. His teacher passed away in 2014 but his relation with Lamayuru still continues. Likewise, there are many other tourists who visit Lamayuru monastery without a prior knowledge, but the impact on them is also inexplicable. Some young educated monks who are studying in *DrikungKagyud* Institute (DKI) in Dehradun are operating a group page on a social networking site (Facebook) which reveals an interesting case of reunion processes of tourists who visited the monastery at different times and juncture. Many of them visited more than five to six times and some of them even clearly elaborated in their posts and comments about their spirituality influenced by the sacred aura of Lamayuru monastery.

The influence tourists have on monks and the monastery are more clearly visible. As we have discussed earlier in this chapter as well as in the second chapter that the perceptions and aspiration of monks and villagers are changing with the massive influx of tourists in the village. In fact, infrastructural development of the monastery owes a lot to the development of tourism. The monastery has many rich tourists who are sponsoring the restoration works of wall paintings, stupas, and to build new shrines. For instance, *Tserkarmo* monastery in

¹³⁸ He is a dancer and considered as the finest dancer in many generations. While he claimed that he does not recall any steps from his previous lives, he learned seventy percent of the dances-that is more than fifteen hours of dancing in less than three weeks.

Tikmosgang village which comes under Lamayuru monastery has recently built a huge stupa with temple inside it, is worth more than crores of rupees was mostly funded by tourists who have connection with Lamayuru monastery. Furthermore, *Kagyud lineage* and Lamayuru monastery in particular has exceptionally established a give and take sort of relationship with Europe, America and many other Asian countries. Over a period of time, this lineage has established more than 125 Dharma centres in Europe and America where many monks from Lamayuru monastery are serving in these centers as Dharma teachers. Therefore, Lamayuru seems to be a center which produced many well-known intellectuals, philosophers, artists and other well-trained monks in traditional monastic education. The head Bakula *Rangdol Neema Rinpoche* himself is considered as one of the finest *Trulkus* of *Drikung Kagyud lineage* to have attained mastery over both religious and academic studies. Hence, he has published several valuable books on Ladakh and on Buddhism. He is also well-known in different dharma centres in Europe and travels often to impart teaching.

Having said that, it came to light that many of the monks are in search of a chance to go to Europe. Following questions that were asked during the fieldwork, for the question ‘what are your favorite subjects studied in monastic school/monastery’ most of the monks have mentioned Buddhism followed by English. Once more, the top answer seems to be that the monks felt obliged to say, rather than what they felt. The common reason they stated is ‘they would like to learn English because they wanted to teach Buddhism to tourists who visit their monastery. Elderly monks in the monastery confirmed that novice monks are more interested in learning English because they see English as having more relevance in qualifying them for employment (Interview, 2015). Likewise, those monks who are studying and working in Dehradun monastery showed more interest in English. In fact, most of the monks speak English well. It is logical to correlate a high incidence of learning English with a desire to work in tourism industry as well as to deliver religious teachings.

Dehradun is the first place from where they often get a chance to go Europe and other places right after they attain *Khempo* (equivalent to Doctorate degree). As I have mentioned above that many of monks are already in Europe and America. Surprisingly, many of Tibetan as well as Ladakhi monks attained a green-card and gave up the life of celibacy. Some of them even got married. This trend however seems to be worrisome for the lineage as well as for

the monastic institution. Nevertheless, serious monks are critical about this trend of going to Europe and America for money rather than focusing on their religious practices. One of the disciples of *ChatralRinpoche*, who passed away in 2015 (at the age of 105), asked him, ‘what will be the future of Dharma?’ He replied:

Support and take refuge in those spiritual masters who focus their practice in solitary retreat. In order to attain the stage of enlightenment, one should enter into solitary retreat to focus on one’s practice under his or her close guidance and mentorship. If not, it will be just like these days, where Khempas are fooling everywhere, who gives empty talks. Those ignorant ones, who run after fame and fortune, and establish their own factions, will cause people to have aversion for Buddhism and lead to the extinction of Buddhism sooner or later. Hence, it is difficult to find an authentic Dharma in the monasteries, neither has it existed in the books nor you would find it in the material world but within one’s own mind. Now, needs remain only to be awakening through one’s own practice to realise the ultimate truth of religion. This is how you can preserve and continue the Dharma. (Quoted by Rigyal Tulku, 2015)

It is clearly mentioned in the above statement that the present generation of monks are more vulnerable to material world. Many of them have already been attracted by the material world. Young novice monks in Dehradun are also aspiring to get a chance to go abroad. Nearly, all of them have shown interest in learning English and to go to Europe.

Furthermore, immediate and visible tension between the two is that of conflict between the tourists and local culture. Though, this sort of conflict can be found at every destination. Due to the lack of knowledge or sensitivity towards local culture, tourists bring in a lot of unintended consequences. They may seem normal in the context of their understanding of tourism. For instance, activities such as consuming alcohol and smoking in sacred places may be offensive to locals as they consider the place as sacred which cannot be polluted.

Another interesting dimension of the study of the impact of tourism on monastic community is that of the gender boundaries within the monastic community. ‘There is a long tradition in sociology of the structural examination of events and institutions as markers of natural and social time and as definer of the nature of life itself. This stems partly from Durkheim’s (1912) notion of the Sacred – the non-ordinary experience---and the profane’ (Kolas 2008: 74-75). Tourism brings in otherwise forbidden activities such as free mingling of the female tourists and male monk guides. In this way traditional monastic boundaries between

inside/sacred and outside/profane are redrawn, and the sacred is threatened because the rituals and practices that 'hedge in' the sacred are being dispensed with in the interest of providing access for tourists.

Tourism and Commodification of Religion

If it is becoming more difficult for sociologists to make blanket statements about 'the tourists' or about the political-economic impacts of tourism, in the field of cultural and aesthetic critique, tourism has always and still generates an elitist and romantic critique. This attitude, and its limitations, are well elaborated by Greenwood's essay in Valene Smith's (1988) influential collection *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Once a Spanish Basque municipality had decided to officially sponsor the *Alarde* festival and develop it into a tourist spectacle, as far as Greenwood was concerned, it had died and lacked any real meaning. The town's people only participated as actors in commercial production. It became, in Dean MacCannel terminology, a performance in 'staged authenticity'.

The commoditisation of religion often extends to sacred objects formerly kept out of market circulation. Here, too, the causes and consequences of this new trade are complex and contradictory. Parry and Bloch have described a near universal cultural distinction "between a cycle of short-term exchange which is the legitimate domain of individual –often acquisitive –activity, and a cycle of long –term exchanges concerned with the reproduction of the social and economic order" (Parry and Bloch 1989: 2). These "transactual orders" must be both articulated and held apart. Appadurai (1986) notes that political and religious elites generally reserve the right to fix meanings and enclave sacralized objects, while merchants push for "unfettered equivalence" and exchange.

While there has been long an elite market for "primitive" ritual object re-contextualised as 'art,' Graburn (1984) has written that functional religious forms are unlikely to become mass marketed tourist commodities. But this is not completely true with Ladakhi ritual goods. For instance, *thangkas* –religious paintings depicting Tantric deities were traditionally commissioned on the recommendation of a lama on occasions such as death of a relative or for meditation practice. They were sold not for profit. But today, *thangkas* became an object of souvenirs for tourists without realising the religious importance. Likewise, many ritual

objects such as bell (*drilbu*), Buddha's image, and sacred mantras of *Om Mani Padmai Hum*, are mass produced and sold on the tourist market.

Of course, it is natural proclivity for any host society to capitalise local cultural and natural landscape for the enthrallment of tourism industry. However, excessive flocking of tourists would eventually transform their art, religion, and life ways into commodities. As mentioned above, relying on culture and selling it for tourist consumption makes it a commodity (Cole, 2007). In fact, Shepherd (2002) stated that increasing tourism demand inevitably leads to the commodification of cultures, as the tourists want to experience cultures different from their own culture. A widely supported view in the literature is that this commodification actually destroys the local culture making it inauthentic. Examining the construction of "Ladakhi culture" reveals that it is comprised largely of the things that tourists photograph. It is as if whatever tourist photography has become "culture" for the Ladakhis. The traditional dress, the dances, the monasteries and the religious paintings are all fundamental to "Ladakhi culture." (Gillespie, 2006). By commodifying local culture through attaching economic value to cultural heritage, it loses its value to local communities. As the sociologist and philosopher, George Simmel observed in the *Philosophy of Money* (1978), Money reduces quality into quantity, and is a universal measure of value with no content (Simmel 1978).

As far as the issue of commodification of religion is concerned, monasteries are one of the main attractions of tourists, so the probability of commodification is quite high. The prominent monasteries in Ladakh have since witnessed a flood of visitors every year-including an increasing an increasing number of domestic tourists interested in local cultural tours, as well as foreign tourists who tend to be more interested in Buddhism, many of whom are on Buddhist pilgrimage. The traditional dress, the dances, the monasteries and the religious paintings are all fundamental to 'Ladakhi culture' (Gillespie 2006: 51-61).Some of the emerging problems which are associated with the development of tourism are commodification of local culture and the negative impact on the historic environment.As far as the issue of commodification of religion is concerned, monasteries are one of the main attractions of tourists, so the probability of commodification is quite high. The traditional dress, the dances, the monasteries and the religious paintings are all fundamental to 'Ladakhi culture' (Gillespie 2006). However, there has been long an elite market for "primitive" ritual

object re-contextualised as ‘art,’ Graburn (1984) has written that functional religious forms are unlikely to become mass marketed tourist commodities. But this is not completely true with Ladakhi ritual goods. For instance, *thangkas* –religious paintings depicting Tantric deities were traditionally commissioned on the recommendation of a lama on occasions such as death of a relative or for meditation practice. They were sold not for profit. But today, *thangkas* became an object of souvenirs for tourists without realising the religious importance. Likewise, many ritual objects such as bell (*drilbu*), Buddha’s image, and sacred mantras of *Om Mani Padmai Hum*, are mass produced and sold on the tourist market.

In the case of Lamayuru monastery, a huge hotel erected near courtyard is equivalent to the size of monastery itself. Although, at first it was not built for commercial purpose but later was converted into a hotel. It was basically constructed to accommodate pilgrim coming from different villages during the festival of *Yuru-Kabgyad*. But, looking at the inflow of tourists they decided to convert it for commercial purpose. As a result, probability of interaction between tourists and monks become higher. Apart from that, there are many antique shops opened up along the roadside near the monastery. One shop belongs to the monastery, rented to one villager. Besides, many other changes have occurred in the culture of monastic life, now monks have to perform dual works as they have to manage and run these establishments, as well as to do the duty of staying at the doors of many temples for tourists. Prior to tourism they used perform their daily monastic ritual (*Sangs-Solka*) in the morning and spend the day performing household’s ritual in the villages.

Another example of the commodification of religion can be seen during Lamayuru festival in summer. Foreigners who pay a fee are given priority and local villagers are often ignored. Sometimes monks also show tourists, paying an additional fee, particularly rare or beautiful *Thangkas*, statues, or ritual objects. Discrimination against local people at feasts and the monk’s business activities have led to a decrease in confidence and respect. Faulty behaviour of tourists, such as inappropriate clothing or negligent religious attitudes has even made a negative impression on Ladakhis. The influx of new ideas and new possibilities to earn money has also created a recruiting problem for the monasteries. In some monasteries belonging to same lineage, events are being re-scheduled to meet the needs of the tourists rather than the cultural calendar, or repackaged as commercial endeavours by locals

themselves, threatening their perceived relevance in the lives of the locals'. The development of tourism has also caused the creation of superficial cultural images and events that have no historical or cultural roots, such as the Ladakh Festival brought to life by the Jammu and Kashmir Tourism Department in an effort to extend the tourist season. Moreover, monastery festivals at each monastery where the colourful *cham*, or mask dances, are performed, are now advertised widely both nationally and internationally in order to draw an increasing number of tourists to the region. In September 2016, the *Naro rGyan-Tugo* or the 'Naropa festival' was the most widely marketed takes place every 12 years entails the revealing of the sacred six bone ornaments of Naropa, an 11th century saint, with 2016 making the millennial anniversary. It would not be wrong to argue that this festival marks a major transformation in the way in which Buddhist festivals are held in Ladakh, possibly impacting Buddhist festivals in the Himalayan region and beyond. The festival is said to have drawn over 100,000 participants, mostly from Ladakh, but also large numbers of pilgrims from the wider Himalayan region including Bhutan and Nepal, pilgrims from East and Southeast Asia, as well as from Europe and the Americas. But the week-long celebration with cultural programme and evening entertainment including performances by the Kung-Fu nuns, celebrated Bollywood stars, a magic show, fashion show and light show. Drawing heavily on the donations received mostly from the recent spread of the Drukpa lineage to East and Southeast Asia, as well as significant registration fees for international participants, the festival and all of its glory was understood to be offering to Naropa, a celebration of Buddhism, and a means to spread and secure the teachings of the Buddha worldwide for the lifetimes to come. The spectacle of Buddhist festivals such as this thus challenges academic consideration of the role of religion in contemporary society as that which is or should be apart from business and the market economy, entertainment and spectacle. The marketisation, commodification, and mediation of this event, while often criticised as lessening the importance or value of region. As a result, left adherents and inquisitive minds in confusion, overlay new pattern of discourse on religion, economy and market.

Furthermore, monks are always ready to showcase *chams*(mask dance) whenever they asked to do so. Recently a group of monks from Shachukul monastery (belonging to Drikung-pa lineage of Lamayuru monastery) were invited by Dharmakirti center in Germany to showcase *chams* in several European countries. The director of Dharmakirti who is a nun said that she

invested more than 10,000 Euros, to organise the tour (Interview, 2nd July, 2015). Monks on the other hand, were in competition with each other to get selected in the group. Highly eroticised advertisement brochures were presented at various international airports in Europe and beyond. It is said that they were raising funds for the monastery, but it eventually gives the impression of commodification. In some places they also made a sand mandala which again needs to go through some basic process of consecration within specific context. However, it is safe to argue that anything which performs for the purpose of money without the specific context and significance can be called as commodified. Hence, it would not be wrong to say that commodification of religion is taking place in Lamayuru monastery. *BakulaRangdol Neema Rinpoche*, stated that ‘*chams* have emerged for economic purpose only, likewise, earlier becoming a monk was for the food security of the family’ (Rinpoche 2016). There are different myths owning the history of the origin of *chams*. However, it has been performed within the courtyard of monasteries from immemorial times; when it goes out of context and significance it is a threat to the sacred essence of *chams*. Many people opposed the monastic community when they were invited to attend Republic day and performed *chams*. Apart from that, it came to light that initially many monks have sold their precious things to tourists at Lamayuru monastery. Likewise, there have been reports of missing artifacts from the monastery.

To conclude, it is important whether the monasteries are appreciated by tourists for its architecture and artwork or as an expression of Ladakhi culture and religious life, or for the experience of an atmosphere of ‘spirituality’. As visits to monasteries and pilgrimage sites have become an increasingly significant part of the touring experience in Ladakh, tourism is providing a new frame of reference for villagers to understand, and explain, sacred sites. This is partly linked to the evident appreciation of the tourists for sacred sites, and partly to the new incentives to represent ‘Ladakhi culture’ provided by tourism. Representations of the characteristics of the ‘local’ and its ‘Ladakhi-ness’ often draw significance of sacred sites, especially pilgrimage sites and the monasteries.

Conclusion

This thesis is a drop of knowledge to the already available ocean that has been accumulated across various disciplines trying to explain the relationship between tourism and religion. Concluding chapter attempts to review the arguments made in previous chapters and also tries to summarise all the chapters, in pursuit of sociological analysis on tourism and religion. In doing so, the chapter is divided into two parts, firstly, a brief summary of the previous chapters is called for. Secondly, a detailed analysis of the arguments, trends and findings is made.

I

The first one, as an introductory part of the study, has dealt with the prolog of various matters such the problem of the study, review of the literature, methodology and historical development of modern mass tourism and as to how modern mass tourism has developed in the Himalayan regions. Tourism as a human pursuit has a longer history but it has gained its present form only after the Second World War. Tourism, as it is understood today, is an industry that caters to organizing prescheduled tours for a group of people who would travel together with similar motives. Much of the development of this phenomenon or industry alludes to the emergence of the middle class. Tourism, hitherto a privilege of the few, has expanded its reach to the working class. With enhanced leisure days and higher disposable income, the working class has revolutionised the industry. Atop that these, foster and more accessible modes of transport and communication has made the industry a thriving one.

This part has discussed at length the evolution of tourism as an industry. Starting from European Nations where it has its nascent roots, there is an attempt to understand its rapid expanse across the globe. There is a strong relation between modern mass tourism and religious travel pattern. Ancient religious travel gradually evolved into modern mass tourism. Each fostered the other. The relation has been symbiotic and complementary. It is however observed that, over time, modern mass tourism has secularized religious travel movement. Prior to modern mass tourism, religious travel was restricted to religious activities only, but with its proliferation, the purview is extended to more secular pursuits.

It further introduced the precise scope of the thesis, i.e tourism in the Himalayas, especially in Ladakh. Religious travel was especially important in the Himalayan region, where innumerable novice monks visited Tibet to learn Buddhist Philosophy. Thus, the Himalaya has a long tradition of religious travel. The region dotted with numerous monasteries had been the site of Buddhist pilgrimage. Western interest in the Himalaya is a relatively recent phenomenon. The oriental notion of mysticism was a propelling factor. The East is somewhat a fillip to the spiritual emptiness of the West. However, along with the spiritual aspects, western 'pilgrim' sought to explore more. The mountain's terrain of the Himalayas is just the right spot for adventurous activities ranging from mountaineering, to rafting to trekking to snow skating etc. Ladakh in the Himalaya provides innumerable such opportunities for adventurous tourists. Adventure tourists, especially from Europe visit the region in the summer months. In fact, Ladakh is one of the most popular destinations in India for adventure tourists. This is where tourism industry makes its mark prominently.

The first chapter traces out the structural changes in the livelihood strategies of the people of Ladakh to deal with climate change due to various factors. In the recent times, global climate change, destructive use of natural resources and unplanned development processes led to many unintended consequences to the people and habitation in the area. Moreover, Ladakh has been sustaining with locally available resources by practising livestock rearing and subsistence agricultural activities, which are now in a state of crisis. The chapter basically captures the pattern of climate change syndromes and the role of 'engaged Buddhism' in finding new livelihood strategies. Interaction of different modes of resources use in the past and in the present, indicate a chronology of livelihood strategies as their structural transformation. These changes were encountered by nature-culture conflict in contemporary Ladakh that led to a new form of ecological discourses among the intellectual circle. The study, in fact, tends to understand and explain how 'Engaged Buddhism' used as a strategy to preserve the eco-system by accessing locally available natural resources for the livelihood of communities and eventually structural changes observed due to tourism in the form of globalization as external factors and force. The local economy of Ladakh has been driven by subsistence agriculture, animal husbandry, and trade. However, in recent years, tourism restructured the local economy and diversified livelihood options. But, tourism is mainly centered around Leh city, which leads to the migration of people from the peripheries in

search of new opportunities. As a result, Leh is exceeding its carrying capacity, whereas villages, on the other hand, are being abandoned. While capturing the pattern of change due to tourism and modernisation, the chapter suggests that changes are both functional and dysfunctional to the community. The chapter clearly and sharply documented the empirical findings of climate syndromes in the form of rapid receding of glaciers, frequent floods, intrusion of strange pest and so on. Furthermore, it is to be reiterated that daily activities and ecology of Ladakh are strongly shaped by the belief system people follow. Buddhist perspective of ecology mediated through religious places, objects, and symbols and their symbiotic relationship have been the guiding principles for the locals. The six symbols of longevity and their symbiotic relationship with the eco-system is the core value of Buddhist doctrine.

Coming to the second chapter, it has attempted to explore socio-cultural and architecture profile of Lamayuru and strive to understand Lamayuru's journey to fame as a tourist destination. The insertion of Lamayuru into the map of tourism is the reflection of growing travel and leisure activities the world over. With these creates an interesting contest to re-examine the rural-urban acculturation patterns in the Himalaya. Hitherto, tourism industry brings a fresh trend of rural-urban contact which paved way for the speedy acculturation and assimilation to foreign cultural traits. Growing urban class and leisure activities have revolutionized the tourism industry. Subsequently, it attracts the attention of various disciplines including sociology and anthropology. Until then, tourism was a subject for the economy. This massive mass movement across the globe has compelled other disciplines to study the phenomenon of tourism. It became inevitable for sociologists and anthropologists to examine the socio-economic and cultural significance of tourism. As a result, their perception towards the phenomena of tourism as "frivolous subject" gradually changed and in due course of time established tourism for sociological and anthropological investigation.

Lamayuru comprising of 78 households is considered as a moderate village in Ladakh. It has its own ways and means to uphold social solidarity. Two social institutions namely *Chusto* and *Phaspun*, underlie the basic social structure of the village. *Chusto* is a territorial group of households which is considered far more important than any other kin group,

whereas, *Phaspun* is a group of households based on certain communal rights and obligation. The connection among the members of *Phuspun* indicates somewhat metaphysical in nature. It is further sub-divided into smaller groups known as *Khangba-gong-yok*, which is almost like an extension of one household. This constitutes the micro group extending all kinds of help to each other in times of crisis. However, it is confirmed that the basic social organisation is none other than the family, embodied in the permanence of a house and in the daily life of a group co-resident under the same roof. In local terms, it is known as *Drong-pa* or *Khang-pa* all and inextricably mean both family and house. Each of these households has a given name, which is generally traced from the natural environments, such as stream, hillock, plain, personal occupation, animals and so on.

This systematic allocation of the family names and small social groups such as *Phaspun* and *Chutso* form the web that unites the whole village into a network of alliance and effectively prevents any permanent fractions and division. Though, the advent of Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC) opened up a space for political contestation in the villages. As a result, it made an impact on the traditional system of power and hierarchical structure in the village. For instance, earlier *Go-ba* and *Lobon* was the ultimate head of the village and the monastery respectively, which have now been reduced to nominal head with no real power in decision making. Currently, people's representatives such as Sarpanch and Councillor enjoy the real power in matters concerning village development and decision making.

Then chapter discussed at length the village's *tral* and *trims* (rules and customs) which is passed on from generation to generation. These *trims* and *trals* are placed above all other norms, and households have to obey them. Thus, it provides a marker of order, which are internal to the community and they are regularly referred to as the basis of village practices, even though change has obviously occurred in response to external influences. For instance, succession practices have long been characterized by a system of primogeniture. Today, inheritance is shared by both sons and daughters in many villages. Likewise, polygamy has given way to monogamy as a norm. Although, few case of polyandry does persist in the village particularly among the older generations. Lamayuru's *trims* retain equal distribution of property among the sons and in the absence of a son, the property is inherited from father to

daughter or mother to daughter. Hence, both patrilineal and matrilineal practices exist in Lamayuru village. It is suggested in the chapter that Lamayuru continues to insist on the centrality of their own internal *trims* despite the obvious influence of state laws and external economic developments. This *tral* and *trims* represented a substantial assertion of autonomous control of the villagers over their internal administration.

In order to understand the dynamics of the nature of power and authority of the village, chapter further intensifies the debate on the relationship between the village and the monastery. The village and the monastery have co-existed and are seen as an organic component of the village life. It has a strong role in maintaining an ethical order in the village. It is argued that both the village and the monastery cannot exist independently without support from each other. However, with the improvement of the economic conditions, a shift in the pattern of relation is revealed. Besides, monastery imbues Buddhist ethics which reflects in the everyday affair of village life.

The chapter then goes on to explore the architectural landscape of the village, primarily emerged in response to the climate and geographical conditions of the area. This is followed by the source of water and irrigation system in the village. The traditional institution for managing water resources has proven successful and long enduring. There is awareness among the people that, given the natural constraints of their environment, the principles underlying this management regime is a foundation ensuring optimal resource utilization. Clearly, the rules governing this traditional irrigation system, with their inherent flexibility are kept intact through a conscious engagement of the people with the forces of change through innovative and adaptive method. An illustrative example of this ability is to be found in the institution of the *chur-pon*, which is one of the key functionaries for the successful implementation of these rules. Even though the forces of change are in a sense undermining the values, both economic and cultural, attached to it, people have steadfastly made adjustments to keep this institution alive.

The third chapter focused on the question of how Lamayuru lives with tourism, the study sought to understand the dynamics of tourists-villagers interaction and touristification of the village, in the sense how it has evolved to coexist with tourism. During the months of summer, a veritable torrent of tourists-local interaction flows across Ladakh. It is, of course,

impossible to characterize each and every detail of these interactions. However, an attempt has been made to arrive at an argument through constructing a 'corpus of discourses' among the tourists and the villagers. Both tourists as well as villagers discourse do contain diverse points and are filled with internal debate. But, within this swirl of discourse, there are also points of stability. There are recurring debates which can be conceptualized as occurring on, or between, relatively stable evaluative dimensions, which in turn, contain relatively stable images.

Generally, the most vigorous part of the tourist's discourse is their quest for authenticity in a place like Lamayuru, which can be characterised as operating upon an evaluating dimension between traditional-modernity. They expect local people to be 'simple' 'pious' 'non-materialistic' and 'authentic'. The problem is that their expectation is often turned down when they encounter modern Ladakhi, who is seen as modern, materialist and even non-spiritual. Villager discourse, on the other hand, tends to construct, evaluative dimension, such as *Chhad-po* and *Chhug-po*. They also construct a self-reflective dimension to evaluate themselves. This means new conscious for self-reflective discourses are evolving within the tourist-villager encounter in Lamayuru.

The study had shown that such tourist-local interaction leads to the emergence of new cultural forms which can be identified as tourist space. These new cultural forms include specific space in which cross-cultural interactions take place rather than actual tangible products. These cultural forms are new because they emerged in response to the recent mass influx of tourists that has created a scenario where all the spaces including households have become shared spaces between tourists and locals. There is a competition among the villagers to attract tourists into their homestays, guesthouses and hotels. The centre the village has evolved as a space for advertisement, where stakeholders are strategically using this space to lure tourists. This space is asymbolic representation of a new form of culture where villagers show their hospitality skills to influence tourists. This very space is mostly been characterized as contestation and competition to control one another. Sometimes it becomes a space where people become a subject of mockery. Though, according to the older generations, space has gone out of village's moral conduct.

Tourist-villager encounter is mediated and negotiated by various stakeholders. In fact, these types of encounter are a unique form of cross-cultural interaction. Tourists stay for a very short period of time, yet it has a tendency to upset the village routines and pace of life. However, Lamayuru amicably has enabled to take benefit from tourism without leaving much space for negative consequences. Generally, tourist and host have different motive and expectation of an encounter. Tourists are mobile, relaxed, free-spending, utilizing leisure time and trying to absorb the experiences of being in a different environment, the villagers, on the other hand, are relatively stationary, often willing to serve the visitors for monetary gains. Such temporal nature of tourist tends to be affluent compared with the local people and it creates a space wherein local people are always inclined to capture only the glimpse of the material disposition of tourist. Hence, it develops the perception that tourists are inherently rich and living their dreams. They hardly realise another side of the tourists.

The fourth chapter throws light on the detail profile Lamayuru monastery and the origin of monastic culture in Buddhism. In order to set the argument in motion, a brief history of the emergence of monastic culture and Buddhism is indispensable. Monastic administrations and its hierarchical positions, education, ritual process and source of income are discussed at length. A contention has been deduced from the available literature that the monastery has become visible to the outside world through the eyes of those wandering scholars, travellers and missionaries. Briefly touring on the historical background of the monastery, this chapter also engages with the debate of introduction of monastic culture to the west and their growing urge to visit mountain and monasteries in the Himalayas.

As mentioned in the preceding chapters, monastery lures western tourists and of late domestic tourists too, for its serene atmosphere and religious antiquity. That being so, the development of tourism in the region owes not to rapid modernization, but because of its ability to retain its cultural and religious traditions, its picturesque landscape and its status as one of the bastions of Tibetan Buddhism. The culture and traditions of Lamayuru have however been influenced by modern mass tourism. This modern mass tourism can be understood as the process of globalization aspires to create a homogeneous cultural space. The chapter has articulated clearly that the impacts of globalization in the form of modern mass tourism are visible at monastic space. In fact, tourists are known to leave their impacts

on the socio-cultural life of the host communities across the world, but more so in the developing countries, where local people tend to imitate and adopt the lifestyle of foreigners from richer countries of Europe and America.

The massive inflow of tourists into the monastic space upset its tandem and pace of life. As it is with any change, this phenomenon too has had negative and positive impacts. Among its positive impacts are a better economic condition, exposure and better education opportunities for monks. However, it is found that reactive negative impacts outsource the positive ones in numerical counts.

There is a commercialization of culture, unfortunate commodification of religion and a serious tainting of pristine Ladakhi culture by Western influence. In certain cases, it is found that overexposure to western culture has made younger generation monks averse to their own. Moreover, the development has been uneven. With commodification, tourists are served inauthentic culture so much that the inauthentic culture becomes the new authentic. In the light of this observation, the chapter has discussed the context of Lamayuru, it has focused on how spiritualistic, peaceful, authentic and remote is Lamayuru. The baseline of all such discussion highlights the opposition between traditional and modern Ladakh. The role of tourism has primarily been to lure traditional Ladakh to modernity with materialism and the tangible pursuit of the world. Commodification has two aspects to it. While augurs well for the region that it has helped the revival of local culture through protection and maintenance of indigenous culture, and instilling a sense of pride among local people, the bleaker side of the coin is equally true.

Commodification in Ladakh, in general, is occurring in two ways—direct and indirect, objects of cultures such as sculpture, paintings, and articles of daily use are being sold to tourists. Indirectly, culture is being commodified on the front of daily lives of host communities. The host has to live and routine his life to cater the tourists 'convenience'. It has come to fore that the actual drawback of cultural tourism is that it locks host community into a certain of stage development or even underdevelopment to ensure a continuous flow of tourists. The need of the moment is to strike a balance so that both parties may be benefitted.

Nevertheless, there is an interesting overlapping and converging point between the respective perceptions of tourists and religious practitioners or the villagers with regard to the monastic sites. The individual's socio-cultural and historical background plays a significant role in constructing the perception. Just as the sites are not inherently sacred, so are the perceptions not the function of received information alone. Tourists come and hear tales and sagas of grandiose order, and weave their own too. The sites which are sacred to religious believers are aestheticized and commodified for the tourists. Due to the exposure of monastic space to tourism industry, there has been a shift from the traditional pattern of management and behaviour of monks to cater to the needs of tourists. This rampant influx of tourists brings new challenges to the monastery. Although tourism has helped to restore the sacredness of the sites, therefore, making them a meaningful destination for the tourists. Tourists and religious practitioners attach different meanings and harbour varied understandings of the same site. Thus, the existence of duality---spiritual and profane is possible in the current scenario. Resulting from this kind of tourism, whether they be touristic or religious, a very distinct space is created which is also one of the defining aspects of tourism.

The fifth chapter may be understood as the lead chapter in the study. It explores the key concerns that are deeply associated with the interface between tourism and religion. It begins with introducing the concept of 'sacred space' its meaning and significance, and as to how its notion has been perceived throughout academics. Deconstructing the idea of how 'space' turns into 'sacred space', rather than assuming sacred spaces as inherently 'sacred', and the status of space in religious practices. There is an attempt to view it more pragmatically. The sacred place becomes one from socio-political and cultural influence or understanding. It is observed that contemporary scholarship on space has shifted from religious to more profane perspective.

Talking of 'sacred space' inevitably brings to fore monasteries and monastic culture. Ideally, monasteries are situated at a secluded place with isolated and static characteristics. However, the massive inflow of tourists brings these isolated sacred spaces in contact with external factors. The resultant phenomenon has been discussed in the foregoing chapters. These spaces are the prime tourist attractions, and the tourism industry carries on capitalizing them.

Interestingly, these sacred places have responded to this capitalization amicably and mutually, some of them have shifted their festivals to summer months to cater to the tourists.

In the light of this observation, the chapter has discussed the context of Lamayuru. The sacred is not exclusively referred to the monastic space, rather the entire village and its web is considered as a sacred entity in itself. A sense of cosmological order underlies the socio-political configuration of Lamayuru village. For instance, the observance of hierarchy and order is necessary for the maintenance of order, the success of a marriage, the efficacy of a ritual. Hence, the task of the chapter is to see how the villagers have constructed sacred and are maintaining the sacred order of the village and how tourism as a secular force is affecting this order.

There are two important concepts which envelop the idea of ‘purity and impurity’, i.e., *chinlab* and *drib*. The meaning of these terms in context of Ladakhi language: *drib* as ‘contamination’, ‘defilement’ or ‘pollution’ and *chinlab* as ‘sacred energy or empowerment’. As far as I have observed, in Lamayuru *drib* and *chinlab* are two important concepts to understand the sacredness of ritual acts and objects. The villagers of Lamayuru seem to have an implied set of assumed categories and qualities of place, space, objects, substance and person. This concept acquires importance in arguing that the significance of ritual action within the household and in the village is all about constructing relationships between person, place, and space. In order to ensure stability and harmony in the village, this delicate web of relations between people, spirit, and natural environment has to be maintained by performing numerous rituals within and outside the households. Failing to perform village level rituals will count for descending of village’s collective karma, which in turn is a threat to the village.

Tourism appeared on the scene, as many of the respondents have endorsed, a tendency to dislocate the subtle eco-system of the village. The religious and ecologically balanced way of life of Lamayuru village is today somehow threatened by the influx of tourism industry coupled with other developmental activities. As it is discussed at length in the chapter how households in Lamayuru are themselves regarded as sacred sites. Within the households a range of ritual practices are carried out attributing to their own *Lha* and the spirits inhabiting the village. A discussion of how tourism is influencing the sacredness of households and

landscape of the village is therefore highly relevant. Such discussion, however, requires a careful consideration about how *khang-pa* (households) and the village are featured in the promotion of tourism. There are constructed perceptions among tourists that Lamayuru village as a tourist destination is represented as a 'landscape of nostalgia', where ancient traditional Ladakhi culture can be seen and considered as a model of 'spiritual' and 'harmonious' Ladakhi village. At length, the chapter has made an argument that tourism has reached a stage where it poses invariable challenges to the existing structure of households and the village.

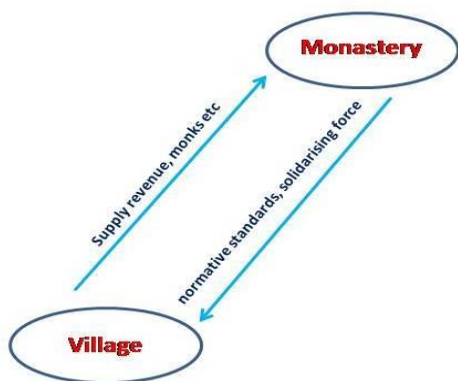
Ensuing from the foregoing discussion, another pertinent question is raised and addressed to, that whether tourism as a culturally destructive force has contributed to diluting the essence of cultural meaning, or has it helped in augmenting it. That to what extent tourism leads to the secularisation of sacred sites, and sacralisation or de-sacralisation of the sites. The chapter proceeded with an attempt to understand the dynamic relation between tourism and religion in general and monastery in particular. An understanding prevails that tourists arrive in the flock to glimpse the geographical features of Lamayuru and the serene milieu of the monastery and their quest of exotic Ladakhi culture. Notwithstanding the paraphernalia abounding the sacred sites. It is still precisely the monastery that draws tourists. Thus, it may be safely argued that tourism has not de-sacralised these sites rather they re-sacralised them in new ways.

The chapter ends on a sardonic note, it hinted at the potential and actual havocs that tourism has wreaked in the village. Many towering structures have been desecrated owing to management and overuse of tourists' facilities. When tourists contest for physical space particularly in the monastery, the actual space for local people glumly shrinks. All the major important sacred places get occupied by tourists during the summer season and local people lose their peaceful environment in the monastery where they come for spiritual upliftment. Amid the din of the religious and touring crowd, the serenity of the space is compromised with.

II

The study is concentrated around the relation between tourism, monastery, and the village. The work began with an attempt to understand the dyadic and organic relationship between, the village, ecology, Buddhism, and the monastery. While doing so, the social history of the monastery and the village was documented and analysed thus trying to capture the interface between tourism and religion in Lamayuru. In order to attain the complete picture of the social life in Lamayuru ethnographic method were used to construct multiple narratives elucidating past colonial experienced and contemporary mass tourism issues. Hitherto tourism industry the relationship between the monastery and the village was maintained in two ways. However, with the introduction of tourism, this two way relationship became triangular.

Dynamics of coexistence between monastery- the village then



The village and monastery relationship or for that matter the relationship between lay people and the monks seem to be dichotomous to an outsider, but they are interdependent, complementary and exists in a continuum. The monastery serves the needs of the village and the village serves the needs of the monastery. People lives are interwoven with the monasteries.

Going into the dynamics of the relationship between the village and the monastery of Lamayuru, it would not be an exaggeration to say that life of the village cannot be imagined without the role of the monastery, or the monastery without the village. Lamayuru in particular is different from many other villages because this monastery is the head monastery of *Drikung Kagyu* sect in the lower part of Ladakh. Therefore, the responsibilities of the Lamayuru village are different from the rest of villages. Because of this mighty monastery, the village's *tral* and *trims* revolve around Buddhist values and the monastery. In order to understand the importance of the monastery in the lives of the village, I have sketched the rough calendar of events of the village (see chapter 4). Some of the events take place in great fanfare and merrymaking, while other is seriously spiritual and religious. In all cases,

involvement and participation of all villagers is mandatory. While the manifest function of these events is adherent to traditional customs which includes Buddhist ones, the main latent of such event is solidarising force among the villagers.

Apart from the cyclic activities of ritual calendar of the village, there are several other activities beginning with the ploughing season to the end of harvesting season, and from the start of the winter season to the clearing of culminated snow from rooftops of the monastery, all are sacredly done by the villagers. For instance, in order to prevent damage from the melting of accumulated snow, one person from each household is mandatorily expected to participate in clearing snow from the roof of the monastery. The monks will serve *chang* (local barley beer) and *dZara* (lunch) to villagers. It is not an instant call, as it has been practiced from the inception of the monastery and people take it as a manifestation of sacred and accumulation of merits. While clearing snow they would sing different songs and chant *ya-le-lhamo* (kind of oratory for collective energizing). For each ceremony at the monastery numerous duties are discharged on a rotational basis by the villagers. For each of these ceremonies, villagers supply volunteers, food and services. In order to ensure smooth conduct of the activities, on rotational basis, two or more household is appointed to give responsibility for each ceremony. The families which are appointed and given lead role are called (*gNyer-pa*), who ensure smooth conduct of activities in coordination with the monks in the monastery, ensuring availability materials, foodstuffs and objects for rituals. All the villagers help them if the event is at a large scale. All forms of violence, arguments, quarrelling, and use of abusive and insulting language is strongly condemned inside and around the monastery during the rituals and holy months. They were explicitly considered to be undesirable, even dangerous. If a quarrel was reported, people would shake their heads and shudder when informed of fighting.

At the level of household and individual, the relationship with the monastery is not less important. Each household is connected to the monastery and their primary contact with Buddhism/religion is through the monks who occupy the post of *Komnyer*, *Lhobon*, *Nyearpa* and so on. Apart from the monastery, each house has a sacred space or temple called *Chod-kang*, where all the religious rituals takes place. In a sense, the monastery represents an expanded version of a Ladakhi household. The monastery and village

household are co-dependent. When we talk about sacred rituals within the household, first we need to understand the question of how the notion of the sacred is being perceived and constructed in the village. Every household has to perform a range of rituals, among which some are performed daily, some are performed monthly and some on a yearly basis. For instance, *Chod-pa*, an act of offering food to spirits before eating anything is performed on a daily basis. The first spoonful of any meal is placed on the side of *thab*, (stove). *Chod* has to be offered whenever people drink *chang* (local beer) and eat food. Likewise, every household has to carry out a multitude of ritual practices right from the start of the agricultural season to the end. Winter has its own course of rituals to perform. The ritual of *sangs*, the basic purification ritual said to be ‘for all, including animals, to make sure that we do not get sick and to protect from any bad happenings’. There is yearly recitation of texts like *Bum, the Kanjur bskang gsol and chos sil*) by monks of the monastery in each household. Ritual practice such as burning *sangs*, lighting twigs of pine or juniper, is performed every morning in the house to keep the purity intact. Elderly people usually read Buddhist texts or recite ‘*Om Maney Padmey Hung*’ the mantra of the Buddha of compassion.

The monastery not only plays an important role in the religious and spiritual life of the people in Ladakh but also in their social functions. Presence of *Komnyer* from the monastery on occasions of birth, marriage and death are very important. When a child is born, the parents must take the child to the head Lama and request him to suggest a name for their child. An auspicious day for a marriage is suggested by the local astrologer (onpo) or by a monk. On the occasion of the marriage, monks perform worship at both the bride’s and groom’s home. In the event of death in a family monks give the sermon of ‘Phoa’ before anyone else touches the dead body. The sermon is believed to pave way for a smooth heavenly journey, and for a better rebirth. Monks are invited for cremation, and after the cremation, monks continue to perform worship for many days in the house of the deceased person. The monks at the monastery have religious or *shamanic* solutions to problems faced by the villagers. At the level of individual, the monastery is a sacred space which he or she can visit any time. The priest at the monastery is his/her counsellor, psychologist and healer. The priest is consulted on issues ranging from personal, relational and familial. Therefore, a priest must be available at the monastery all the time.

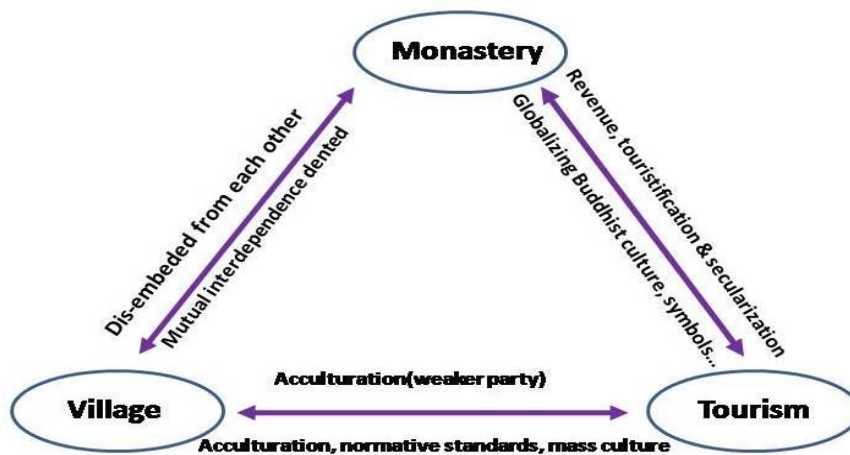
On the other hand, the monastery is completely dependent on the village for its survival. The economic needs are supplied by the village household collectivity. Lamayuru monastery has land donated by villages since time immemorial, widely scattered in many localities or villages. The dwellers of these localities or villages work on the land either as tenants or as agricultural labourers. The tenants pay some percentage of the produce to the monastery. According to Harjit Singh, "the tenants pay 1/5 to 1/2 of the produce to the monastery as rent" (1995: 12). Each household has to supply some amount of fresh produce of wheat, barely and nuts to the monastery. Because of this the monastery always remain economically sound. The monks at the monastery also get cash and kinds from the villagers while performing rituals in households. Individuals also donate money to the monastery and monks.

As the survival of the monastery is dependent on its members i.e monks. As a tradition, each households supply one of their son to the monastery in cases where there is two children. The activities cited above create a strong interdependent relation between the monastery and the village. This give and take relation helps in maintaining social order, harmony, solidarity and ethical standards in the village. The villagers and the monks check each other in performance of their traditionally prescribed role on the basis of Buddhist doctrines. They are in a sort of mutual steering mechanism to keep each other under check. The monks help and push the villagers in living ethical lives based on Buddhist values. The head of the monastery (*Rinpoche or Lobon*) is the most powerful and respected person in the village. In fact, the common understanding of the monk is that of a holy man who plays a key role in shaping village landscape. At the same time, the monks are always under pressure to be embodied of compassion, wisdom and morality in order to meet the expectations of the villagers.

Post Tourism

In the dyadic relationship between monastery and village, a third force has been introduced i.e. the tourism and its associated forces like market economy, media etc. It has made the socio-metry a triangular one

Monastery-Tourism Dynamics



With tourism industry reaching at peak in recent times, there are tremendous upheavals going inside the monasteries. The result includes monks entering into uncharted territories and roles. Monks have come in frequent contacts with lay people especially

tourists, as a result their roles are getting re-defined. At the same time, they spend less time in performing their prescribed religious roles. Now a day many monks indulge in many secular activities like trade, tour guides, government teachers, etc. Many have travelled outside Ladakh to learn English and Buddhist philosophy as necessitated by changing time. There are two kinds of monks, one catering to the needs of the village, learning rituals and conduct ceremonies, while the other learn Buddhist philosophy and modern education. Emergence of tourism industry in the region has increased the demand for the latter kind of monks.

At a psychological level, this sudden influx of Western influence has caused novice monks in the monastery to develop feelings of inferiority complex (Hodge 1991). Many novice monks have disrobed (*Banlok*). Some of them have started pursuing modern education outside Ladakh. Some are working as tourist guides in Leh. Their one-dimensional understanding about technology and tourists come as a slap in the face. They tend to compare their own life with tourists and are often lured by the life style of westerners. Hence, tourist-monk encounters have different meanings for both tourists and monks. Monks tend to think that

they are underprivileged in technology. Tourists, on the other end feel that they are deprived of the nature and attitude to live a simple life.

Another impact as discussed above, which is happening on in monasteries and village, is commodification, standardization, lost of authenticity or staged authenticity and giving in to tourist demands, in short it is touristification of the monastery as an institution.

Village-Monastery Changing Dynamics

As tourism and other forces have come to Lamayuru, there is a re-alignment and restructuring going on in the traditional scheme of things. The monastery and village have co-existed and are seen as an organic component of village life. However, with the improvement of the economic conditions of the village and the monastery, a shift in the pattern in their relation is revealed. There is a change in the intensity of the interdependence and interchangeability between the two.

The need for each other in order to sustain the monastery and the village has relatively declined, as their perspectives have changed. For the monastery today it is not the village, rather tourism, which is the main source for its economic survival. Likewise, there is general decline in performance of rituals in villages, because villagers have become more secularised and rationalised in attitude. Few do not believe in rituals as such, others curse the rituals as superstitious and prefer doing meditation and understand Buddhist philosophy. The important *Rinpoches* like Dalai Lama and others have been emphasising the importance of meditation, understanding philosophy etc as Buddhism meets science in 21st century. Secondly the monks also do not insist on performing rituals as they earn paltry sum of money from this rituals compared to easy money through tourism. The result is that many of the monasteries in Ladakh are locked during winters or the monks keep the key with the village head.

The growing disenchantment between the monastery and the village

In the process of serving the tourism industry, the villagers and the monks in the monastery seem to have lost respect for each other or losing touch with each other compared to older times.

With a market driven society becoming more prominent today, there is growing gap between the monastery and the village. While in terms of revenue, the monastery has become self sufficient, on the other hand the villagers, especially the younger generation is becoming more secularised. Modernity is often assumed to lead to secularisation, hence, it might be safely assumed that tourism directly and indirectly have a secularising effects on the host society. In fact, Sociologist, Erik Cohen, one of the leading voices in the nascent field of Tourism and Religion has suggested that tourism in general has a 'secularising' impact in the sense of "a weakening of the local adherence to religion and of the belief in the sacredness and efficacy of holy places, rituals, and customs" (Cohen 2004: 156). His argument seems to be proven true in context of Lamayuru monastery and village.

Many of the villagers often complain of deteriorating standard, ethics and morality among the monks. The monks complain that villagers have become more materialistic and run after money. Some complain about the tourism industry for their situations.

The emerging pattern of living standards of people in Ladakh suggests that tourism become a significant instrument for employment generation and advancement of women and other disadvantaged group in Ladakh. Generally, women are underrepresented in management and leadership in many parts of Ladakh. But, in case of Lamayuru contribution of women in the tourism business is higher than their counter part. Most of the hotels, guesthouses, and home-stays are managed and run by women. It certainly shows a pattern that tourism sector definitely provides various entry points for women's empowerment and opportunities to create self-employment in small and medium sized income generating activities.

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Annexure-I**The interface between Tourism and Religion in Ladakh: A study of Lamayuru village.****(Interview Schedule for Monks)****Name:** _____**Age:** _____**Education:** _____**Designation:** _____**1. Question related to personal profile:**

a) Where are you from?

b) When did you become a monk?

c) Becoming monk was your choice?

1). Yes. 2). No.

a) If, yes why?

b) If, No, then what was your goal?

d) Can you please give brief account of your daily routine?

e) How is your family background?

f) How many members are there in your family?

g) How was your childhood days (includes education, family socialisation and responsibility towards family, if any)

h) Say something about your education and vocation and idea of the world?

i) Since when, you are into this life of a monk?

2. Questions related to Monastery and Tourism

a) What are the ideas about the world, that monastery inculcated in you?

b) How has been this monastery life mean to you?

3. Do you have a Tashak (Monastic residence) in the monastery? If yes, is it provided by the monastery or you build it of your own?

4. What do you have to say about monastic rules and regulations?

6. How has been the relationship of monasteries with the village, the outer world and environment?

7. Lamayuru, being a place of the destination for thousands tourists every year, how do you look at the relationship of tourism and this place?

8. How do you perceive having tourism and receiving visitors in your monastery?

9. How has been the relationship of this monastery with tourists?

10. Do you think tourism has played any significant role to the outer world, or something else you have notice about tourism?

11. What are the changes do you see within the monastery in the last 10 years?

12. What changes you see in terms of consumption in the monastery in the last 10 years?

13. Are these changes in any way linked to tourism?

14. What, in your opinion, are the positive contributions of tourism in the monastery?

15. What, in your opinion, are the negative effects of tourism in the monastery? -

16. If the inflow of tourists decreases in Ladakh, do you think it affect monastery in any way?

Yes/No give details.

3. Questions related to assets in everyday usage:

a) Are you using following technologies?

a) Mobile _____

b) Car, Bike etc _____

b) Laptop _____

d) Others _____

b) Are these technologies affecting your daily practices in any way?

c) What is your perception about the material world?

d) How do you cope with techno-centric world and life as a monk?

Annexure-II**Household Survey (July-August2015)**

Name: _____

Name of House: _____

Type of family: _____

No. of family members: _____

Occupation: _____

Gender: _____

Age: _____

Demographic particular of household members

S.No	Name of the Member	Relation to head	Sex	Age	Marital Status	General Education level/place of study	Usual activity
			Male-1 Female-2				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1							
2							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							

10							
-----------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

1. Asset possession

Whether the household possess the following assets:

i. Technological Assets

Items	Yes/No	Details
Vehicle		
T.V		
Computer		
Telephone		
Washing Machine		
Fridge		
Cable connection/ DTH		
Inverter		
Heating facilities in winter i.e traditional Bukhari, Heat king, Super heat, heater etc.		
Other		

crop			(Khal)	n		help)		

If you produce for the market than how and where do you sell?

- i.** Own shop.
- ii.** Village trader (middle man).
- iii.** Wholesale Mandi.
- iv.** Co-operative society.
- v.** Private Company.
- vi.** Any other.

3.Other sources ofFamily income (give details)

S. No	Nature of Job	Main working days/year/ season	Income
1.	Labourer Under MNREGA/REP (rural employment programme) Otherwise		
2.	Livestock Rearing		
3.	Tourism		
4.	Trade		

5.	Local Handicrafts & Industry		
6.	BRO labour (beacon)		
7.	Army porter:		
8.	Any other work specially done by women		

4. Does anyone of your family member involve in tourism related business? If yes give details?

- Guest House/hotel.
- Travel agency.
- Guide/Cook/Helper/Pony/Driver.
- Camping site.
- Others.

5. Monthly expenditures incurred in household: _____

6. Food availability through PDS:

i. Do you have Ration Card? Yes/No

If No, Why?

ii. Under which category you get the ration? General/ Below Poverty/Above Poverty Line/Antyodaya Anna Yojana Scheme?

iii. How much of the following do you buy through the PDS and at what price?

Items	Quantity	Price	Frequency (Monthly/ quarterly/half yearly)
Wheat			
Rice			
Sugar			
Dal			
Oil			
Kerosene			
Any other			

iv. What do you think about the PDS system?

V. Is this impacting local agricultural practice in any way?

7. Questions related to tourism

i. How do you perceive having tourism and receiving visitors in Lamayuru?

ii. Changes you see in terms of consumption in the household in the last 10 years?

iii. Are this related to tourism? if yes/if no-give details

iv. What are the changes in any way linked to tourism?

v. What, in your opinion, are the positive/negative contributions of tourism in Lamayuru?

vi. If inflow of tourists decreases in Ladakh, do you think it affect your family in any way?

Yes/No give details

8. Question for Hotel/Guest house Owners.

No. of workers employed	Where are they from?	No. of Rooms	Investment/Profit	Season	Kind of food served

9. Facilities & Amenities at Village Level

i. Educational

- Primary school
- Middle School
- High School

ii. Health

- First Aid
- Minor Diseases
- Major Diseases
- Veterinary Facilities
- Others Specify

iii. Post & Telegraphs Health

- Postal Tickets
- Post Box
- Post Office
- Telephone Service
- Telegraph Service

iv. Transportation

- Road Types
- Bus Stop
- Frequency of Busses

v. Economic Services

- Co-operative Stores
- Fertilizer Depot
- Marketing Societies
- Electrification
- Fruit Growers Society

vi. Credit Services

- Banks
- Agriculture Finance

- Fruit Growers Society

vii. Industrial Units

- Floor Mills
- Machines
- Furniture Making
- Porters
- Others Specify

viii. Irrigation facilities and Drinking water source

- Canal
- Pond
- Spring Well
- Tube-well
- Tap
- Stream
- Water tanks
- Any other

10. Agriculture Land use in the village

- i.** Total Reported Area: -

- ii.** Area under Cultivation:

- iii.** Barren Lands:

- iv.** Fallow Lands:

- v.** E. Grazing Land:

- vi.** Cultivable Waste Lands:

vii. Land under Other Uses

(Specify): _____

Supplementary Questions:

Is there any women representative in village Panchayat?

Y/N, _____

If yes, whether she actively participates in the decision making?

Y/N, _____

Annexure-III



His Holiness Drikung Skyabgon Chetsang Rinpoche: Throne holder of Drikung Lineage.



Chetsang Rinpoche with Omar Abdullah, the then Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.



Gathering at a religious sermon in Lamayuru.



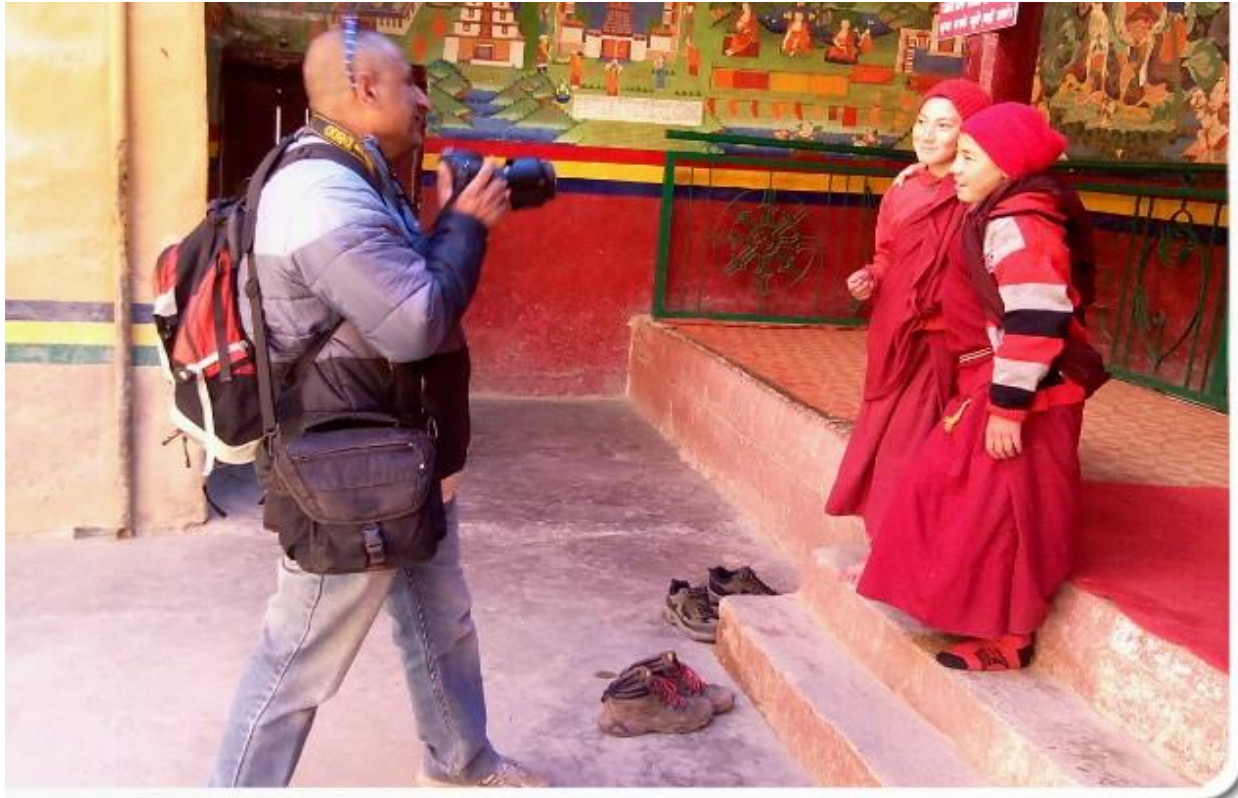
Drikiung Dharma Center: Frankfurt, Germany.



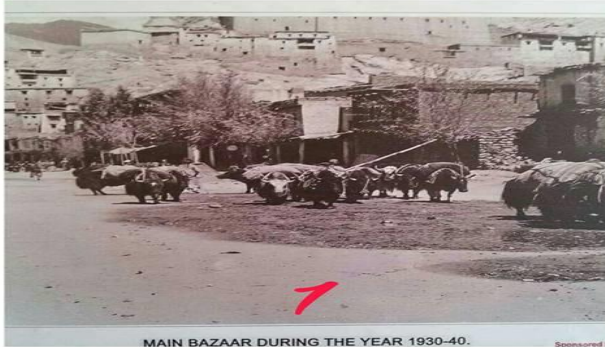
Mask Dances within the Monastic Premises.



Torma: A religious offering.



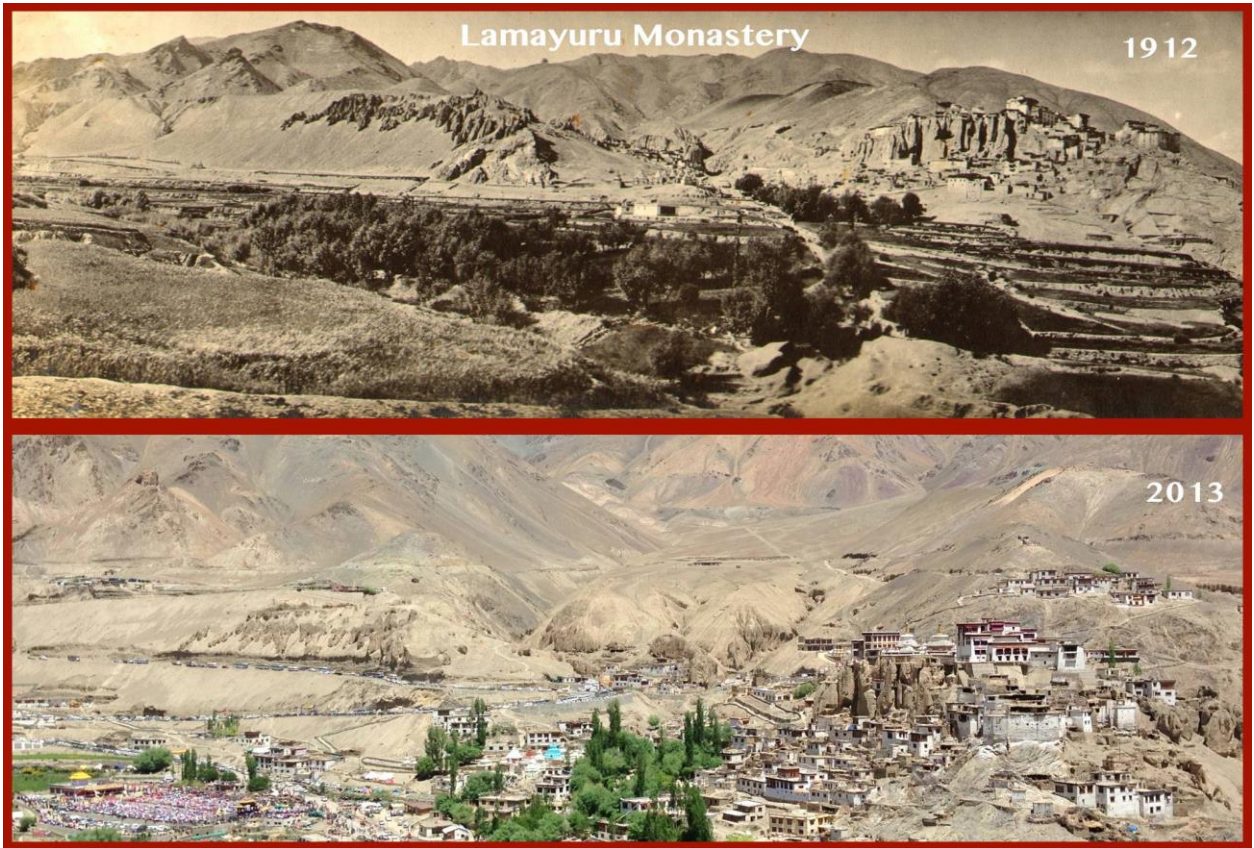
Tourist act of photography during festival within the monastery.



MAIN BAZAAR DURING THE YEAR 1930-40.



Leh Town: at Different Stages of Development.



Lamayuryu Village: Then and Now



Plantation Drive: Go Green Go Organic.