Low Coercive Capacity: Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago, Mexico, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Benin, Gabon, Guinea, Niger, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Sierra Leone, Mauritania, Togo, Kenya, Malawi, Botswana, Mauritius, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Philippines, and Fiji \((N = 23)\).

Middle Coercive Capacity: Haiti, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Guyana, Ecuador, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Equatorial Guinea, Mali, Senegal, Liberia, Ghana, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Zaire, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Madagascar, Gambia, Swaziland, Algeria, Tunisia, Sudan, North Yemen, Afghanistan, India, Thailand, Indonesia, and Bangladesh* \((N = 45)\).

A Historical Account of Modern Social Change in Ladakh (Indian Kashmir) with Special Attention Paid to Tourism

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ABSTRACT

In the interest of illustrating how approaches to the study of tourism in a local society can be respectful of its specific social complexity, I will evoke the history and culture of Ladakh and focus in particular on the effects of tourism in relation to the other main factors of social change in the region. The most important of these are the State as well as market imperatives. For reasons of methodological strategy, I have chosen to integrate the question of tourism into a historical account of Ladakh's economy and development, rather than trying to fit Ladakh into the general problem of tourist development. This assuming that an approach which takes history into account is more methodologically sound than the other alternative.

Introduction

Ladakh is a typical example of an internal periphery in a centralised State, where an ethnic minority isolated from a lowland majority is facing the challenge of being integrated into a national identity different from its own. At the core of this phenomenon is the ongoing process of modernisation and the linkage of a traditional subsistence economy to regional and national markets. Several authors have successfully highlighted the close relationship existing in similar Third World situations between the implementation of activities linked to tourism, the appearance of new economic operations or attitudes, social change in traditional hierarchical structures and identities, and the important role played by the State in the regulation of the actors involved in these activities (see Crick, 1989; Harrison, 1992).

* The data on the independent and the intervening variables for Bangladesh were for 1973-74.
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1. A Tibetan Enclave in Indian Kashmir

Ladakh is a complex of Himalayan valleys on the western edge of the Tibetan plateau. Located between the Great Himalayan range to the south and the Karakoram range to the north, the enclave is a vast rocky desert where only a few islands of vegetation bear witness to a human presence. The inhabited part of the territory is 3000 to 4500 meters above sea-level, with several summits rising to more than 7000 meters. As of the 9th century A.D., way stations appeared in the area to tend to the needs of the caravaneers and their animals plying trans-Himalayan trade routes. Since that time, Ladakh has helped maintain the commercial traffic which uses the valley of the Indus as an access route into Central Asia and Tibet.

Religion in Ladakh developed as a blend of Indian Buddhism and the indigenous Bon-Chos faith, producing an original synthesis which progressively took root in the whole of the Tibetan plateau, and eventually became modern Lamaism. This religion has melded with the Ladakhi way of life in a harsh ecosystem to forge a lasting association between the native peoples of these high plateaux.

Today, Ladakh is the most sparsely populated area in all of India. Indian census figures for 1981 establish the population of the district at 132,000 inhabitants, dispersed between one town and close to one hundred smaller settlements. The language used by the population is Ladakhi, a local Tibetan dialect, written with the same alphabet. The use of classical Tibetan persists among former nobles and the clergy but its use outside religious life is decreasing rapidly. Seasonal merchants and Kashmiri civil servants stationed at Leh (8500 inhabitants in 1990), the capital of Ladakh, have brought Kashmiri with them, while Urdu, a mid-oriental version of Hindi, is used in business and administrative communications with the rest of the country. English, a constitutional language considered transitory at the time of Indian independence, is employed by an educated minority of Ladakhis to communicate with the exterior. Understandably, this latter language is quickly growing in popularity amongst entrepreneurs and guides involved in international tourism, as well as Indian-educated youth eager to connect with the outside world.

The so-called traditional structure of the work force—i.e., that prevailing roughly up to Indian independence in 1947—was overwhelmingly tilted towards agriculture, with 90% of the population, exclusive of the Buddhist clergy, involved in agricultural production in a rural milieu. Agriculture still dominates the Ladakhi economy. Farming-related activities are concentrated in the period from May to October when all able-bodied people pitch in to assure the survival of the family, which is directly dependent on this one summer harvest. During the winter, below-zero temperatures render the use of water for irrigation and as an energy source impossible. It is during this period that people take care of domestic chores in their homes, which are heated by burning dried dung or, often today, coal.

Patrilineal, patrilocal and polyandrous, the family is the village economic unit, and is led by the oldest male in the child-bearing generation. The rule is that each