



DYNAMICS OF OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE IN ZANSKAR SUB-DIVISION AND UNDERSTANDING SHIFTING OF RURAL LIVELIHOOD: A CASE STUDY OF LADAKH UNION TERRITORY, INDIA

Mr Chhering Tandup*

*Faculty of Earth Sciences, Institute of Mountain Environment, Bhadarwah Campus, University of Jammu, Bhadarwah, Doda, Jammu and Kashmir

*Correspondent author mail id: chheringgeo@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Work force is very important parameter of any economic structure. Workforce represents that portion of workers employed in economically useful and productive pursuits. Workers engaged in different sectors of the economy, reveal relative importance of some economic activities vis-a-vis others. In agricultural economies, the predominance of the primary sector workers shows close interaction between human activities and environment. Agriculture is single most important economic activity in Zanskar and other parts of Ladakh. Shares of secondary and tertiary workers in these rural economies, to some extent, bring out the level of economic diversification. Decline in the proportion of cultivators to the total workforce, therefore, shows economic changes in this direction. In this paper census data for 2001 and 2011 has been used to analyse changing in the occupational structure in Zanskar Sub-Division. It is found that proportion of agricultural labour, cultivators are declining significantly among persons, male and female. Village wise percentage of other workers has got increased in 2011 as compare to 2001.

Key Words: Occupation, rural livelihood, labour, agriculture, economy

INTRODUCTION

Ladakh has seen a significant change in the livelihood diversification which was earlier dominated by subsistence economy i.e. agricultural and pastoralism. Agriculture in the region primarily is of subsistence type and only a few crops have been traditionally grown, because of cold arid climate, high altitude, extremely rugged and isolated terrain, absence of market etc. The major crops cultivated included Grim (Barley), wheat, peas, vegetables and alfa-alfa for fodder.

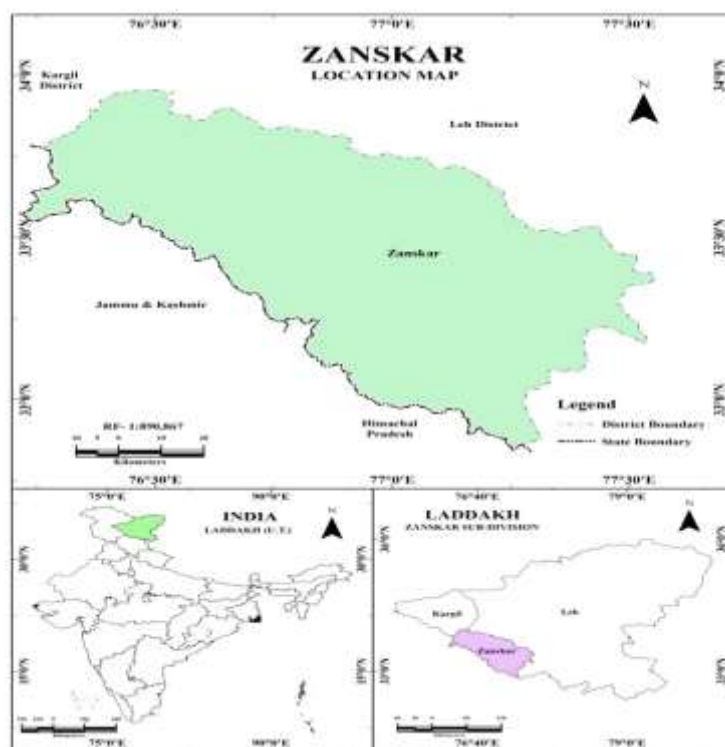
The introduction of tourism industry, permanent stationing of military troops after the 1962 Sino-Indian skirmishes and Indo-Pak border disputes as well as wars of 1965 and 1971, and consequent construction of National Highways linking Ladakh with Kashmir and Manali, have led to integration of Ladakh with the world system (Michaud, 1991; Goodall, 2004), transition and monetization of economy of the region. These post 1960's changes in the economy had significant impact on the dominant economic activities of Ladakh, i.e., agriculture and pastoralism. A rapid growth of tourism industry after 1974 along with the presence of defence forces induced many farmers to adopt new crops and diversify their production. Thus, it becomes imperative to look at crop diversification and cropping patterns as these are relatively recent influences. One of important

parameters of economic structure is the total number of workers engaged in various economic activities.

As stated earlier, majority of people were traditionally engaged in agriculture excluding nomads and lamas who are forbidden by rules from engaging in economic activities. There was dominance of primary sector in Ladakh. In 1971, primary sector employed 84.69 per cent of total workers as against 3.55 per cent and 11.76 per cent in secondary and tertiary sector respectively. There has been a significant shift from primary to tertiary sector over a period of four decades from 1971-2011, with a marginal change in secondary sector. Primary sector constituted 27.21 per cent workers in 2011, while their share in tertiary sector rose to 71.02 per cent. Increase in the tertiary sector was at the expense of primary sector. One of the most important reasons for transition of economy from primary sector to tertiary sector was opening up of Ladakh for tourism in 1974. Tourism industry generated a variety of jobs. It engaged a large number of workers, predominantly males. In addition to tourism industry, the stationing of defence forces also created employment opportunities. These mainly related to defence needs, infrastructure development, transport, communication and logistics, which further enhance tourist arrivals. Improvement in education facilities and increase in literacy rate led to increase in preference for engagement in non primary activities.

Study area:

Geo-tectonically Zaskar represents the North West extension of Spiti basin. The absolute location of Zaskar valley lies between $32^{\circ} 52' 30''$ N to $33^{\circ} 52' 30''$ N latitudes and $76^{\circ} 14' 5''$ E to $77^{\circ} 32' 4''$ E longitudes. Nomenclature of Zaskar comes from the local word “Zangskar” meaning white copper. Zaskar is basically a Buddhist area with a small Muslim population. It covers area of some 7000 Km^2 and is situated at an elevation between 3500 and 7000 meters above the mean sea level. Its climate is very severe and it remains cut off from the rest of the world from November to June when only limited helicopter service is its only link with outside world. The region remains snow-covered during winters and movement of people comes to nearly standstill even within the region. Winter is severely cold and nearly no outdoor activity is possible for four to five months.



Map 1. Study area

OBJECTIVES

The prime objective of present paper is to analyse change in occupational structure among the male and female in Zaskar sub Division. It is also tried to explain the sector which has amplified the last few decades in the region.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This research has used census data for the year 1971, 1981, 2001 and 2011. It is a comparative analysis of the workers engaged in cultivation, agricultural, household industry and other workers among male and female. The gender variation has also analysed. The maps and diagrams are also used to analyse data on various aspects. The survey has also been conducted for the basic information about the region. The Arc GIS software has been used for the preparation of maps.

Result and discussion

Occupational Structure

Work force is very important parameter of any economic structure. Workforce represents that portion of workers employed in economically useful and productive pursuits. The ratio of workers to non workers, therefore, is an indicator of the pressure on the workforce. Workers engaged in different sectors of the economy, reveal relative importance of some economic activities vis-a-vis others. In agricultural economies, the predominance of the primary sector workers shows close interaction between human activities and environment. Agriculture is single most important economic activity in Zaskar and other parts of Ladakh. Shares of secondary and tertiary workers in these rural economies, to some extent, bring out the level of economic diversification. Decline in the proportion of cultivators to the total workforce, therefore, shows economic changes in this direction.

Table 1. Shows proportion of total workers of total population and proportion of cultivators to total workers.

Proportion of Total Workers of Total Population (%)				Proportion of Cultivators to Total Workers (%)		
Year	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
1971	63.08	57.43	68.72	95.58	90.14	100
1981	59	53.77	63.35	93	86.71	99.18
2001	46.84	22.74	24.09	54.7	53	56
2011	44.96	49.33	40.55	43.13	49.33	40.55

Source: Census of India

It can be inferred from the above table no.1 that in Zaskar total workforce decreased from 63 percent in 1971 to 59 percent in 1981, 46.84 in 2001 and 44.96 percent in 2011. Part of the decline can be attributed to different definitions adopted in different census enumerators. The decline is also seen in the proportion of male workers in all the three census years. The same applies to the female workers in Zaskar. The female workers in Zaskar are forming an important part of agriculture labour force.

The table also reveals that the proportion of cultivators of total workers is very high in Zaskar (95 % in 1971, 93 %, in 1981, 54.7% in 2001 and 40.55% in 2011). This clearly reveals the importance of agriculture in the economy of Zaskar. There is trend of declining in all categories of worker for both male and female. As mentioned earlier, this can be attributed to change in the definitions of workers in the last three decades. However, opening of Zaskar road from Kargil to Padum (235 Kms) in 1980 made people started getting engaged in tertiary activities like business, government job and tourism etc.

Village wise male and female workers

Table no. 2 and 3 shows village wise male and female total workers, cultivators, workers in household industry, agricultural labour and other worker for the census year 2001 and 2011. It can be inferred from the table that there is a high participation of both male and female workers. From this table we can analyse that the total workforce of persons, male and female is very high in villages like Ofthipiting, RugrugNeruk, Tongde, Kumi and Zangla, while it is the low in Pipcha and Hamiling villages. Villages with very high proportion of cultivators are Testa, Shunshadi, Ichher, Zangla, Akshu and Hamiling, while the lowest percentages of cultivator are Padum, RuruMony, Kargyah, Karshah, LungmiReging and Phe. Same table also shows the share of workers in household industry relatively higher in villages like TechaKhasar, RuruMony and Phey. Male workers in household industry are low in every village mainly because they are engaged in other sectors of economy. Percentage of female workers in household industry is more in villages. Proportions of agricultural labour are high in villages like Remala, Ichher and Testa. Female agriculture labour contributes 7 percent of workforce in Remala village. Rest of the village has low agricultural labour.

Table no 3 reveals that the percentage of cultivators, agricultural labours has got declined almost in every villages compare to 2001 census data. It can be inferred from the table that other worker percentage has got increased in every villages. This is mainly because of people involvement in tertiary sectors like business, government servant and tourism related activities. Padumtown is the headquarter of Zaskar Sub Division and because of that highest percent of persons (68% in 2001 to 80 % in 2011), male (79% in 2001 to 79 % in 2011) and female (53 % in 2001 to 86 % in 2011) are engaged in other worker. Besides this the villages in vicinity to Padum town has also high percentage of other workers e.g. Uftipibiting and Salapi etc. The peripheral villages like Shushshade, Abran, Akshow, Chah, Pipcha, Testa, Ating, Rantaakshahand Zangla etc. has low percentage of other workers. The given diagram no. 1 and 2 and map no. 2 also explain the changes in workers of Zaskar for the census year 2001 and 2011.

Table 2. Shows total workers, cultivators, workers in household industry, agricultural labour and other worker.

Village s	Total Workers (No.)			% of Cultivators			% of Workers in Household industry			% of Agricultural Labour			% of Other worker		
	Perso ns	Male	Fe mal e	Pers ons	M al e	Fem ale	Pers ons	Ma le	Fema le	Pers ons	M ale	Fem ale	Perso n	Mal e	Fem ale
Zangla	390	191	199	0	0	95.5	0.5	1	4.5	0	0	0	22.6	41.4	4.5
Hamiling	86	41	45	0	0	68.9	0	0	31.1	0	0	0	29.1	26.8	31.1
Padum	666	374	292	0	0	46.2	0.5	0.8	53.8	0	0	0	68	79.1	53.8
Salapi	193	104	89	0	0	10.1	0	0	89.9	0	0	0	47.2	10.6	89.9
Sani	254	110	144	0.4	0	85.4	0	0	13.9	0.4	0	0.7	24	37.3	13.9
Rantaks ha	175	75	100	0.6	0	51	0.6	0	47	0.6	0	1	48	49.3	47
Ating	265	131	134	0	0	55.2	0	0	44.8	0	0	0	44.5	44.3	44.8
Remala	237	106	131	5.5	2 .8	68.7	0.4	0	22.9	5.5	2. 8	7.6	23.2	23.6	22.9
Phey	218	97	121	0.5	1	37.2	3.7	7.2	62	0.5	1	0	48.2	30.9	62
Tongde	428	178	250	0.2	0 .6	66.8	0.5	1.1	33.2	0.2	0. 6	0	34.3	36	33.2
Ufti/ Pibiting	445	240	205	0	0	1.5	0	0	98.5	0	0	0	84.3	72.1	98.5
Tungri Thagan	232	115	117	0	0	80.3	0	0	19.7	0	0	0	34.9	50.4	19.7

Dynamics Of Occupational Structure In Zaskar Sub-Division And Understanding Shifting Of Rural Livelihood: A
Case Study Of Ladakh Union Territory, India

TechaKhasar	131	55	76	0	0	51.3	3.1	3.6	46.1	0	0	0	47.3	49.1	46.1
Karsha	376	178	198	0	0	48.5	1.6	2.8	51	0	0	0	56.6	62.9	51
Langmi Regin	160	72	88	0	0	48.9	0	0	51.1	0	0	0	55.6	61.1	51.1
Abran	180	102	78	0.0	0	65.4	1.1	1	33.3	0	0	0	31.7	30.4	33.3
Akshow	153	71	82	0.7	0	68.3	0	0	30.5	0.7	0	1.2	24.2	16.9	30.5
Pipcha	71	32	39	0	0	59	0	0	41	0	0	0	39.4	37.5	41
Testa	191	97	94	1.6	2.1	85.1	1	1	12.8	1.6	2.1	1.1	7.9	3.1	12.8
Raru Mooney	161	75	86	0	0	84.9	0	0	15.1	0	0	0	13	10.7	15.1
Shunshadi	112	59	53	0	0	13.2	12.5	10.2	71.7	0	0	0	55.4	40.7	71.7
Ichar	147	66	81	0	0	71.6	0.7	1.5	28.4	0	0	0	19.8	20.3	19.3
Kargyak	116	59	57	1.7	3.4	80.7	0.9	1.7	19.3	1.7	3.4	0	59.3	25.7	87.5
Chah	162	74	88	0	0	12.5	1.9	4.1	87.5	0	0	0	36.4	25.8	44.7

Source: Census of India 2001

Table 3. shows total workers, cultivators, workers in household industry, agricultural labour and other worker.

Villages	Total Workers (No.)			% of Cultivators			% of Workers in Household industry			% of Agricultural Labour			% of Other worker		
	Pers ons	Male	Fem ale	Pers ons	Male	Fem ale	Pers ons	Male	Fem ale	Pers ons	Male	Fem ale	Pers on	Male	Fem ale
Zangla	443	227	216	26.86	19.82	34.26	0.45	0.44	0.46	2.3	4.4	4.6	19.64	33.48	5.09
Hamiling	130	60	70	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.77	1.67	0.00	35.4	76.7	91.4	8.46	15.00	2.86
Padum	288	244	44	1.39	1.23	2.27	4.86	5.33	2.27	0.0	0.0	0.0	80.21	79.10	86.36
Salapi	70	60	10	4.29	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0	0.0	0.0	92.86	91.67	100.00
Sani	406	193	213	27.83	20.73	34.27	0.99	2.07	0.00	8.1	17.1	17.8	11.82	20.21	4.23
Rantaksha	250	123	127	31.20	38.21	24.41	2.00	3.25	0.79	5.2	10.6	14.2	8.80	15.45	2.36
Ating	188	138	50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.53	0.72	0.00	11.2	15.2	84.0	31.91	39.86	10.00
Remala	332	178	154	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	19.9	37.1	64.9	7.53	11.24	3.25
Phey	65	48	17	3.08	2.08	5.88	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.2	8.3	11.8	52.31	58.33	35.29
Tongde	416	234	182	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.72	0.85	0.55	10.3	18.4	67.0	39.18	61.11	10.99
Ufti/Pibiting	306	173	133	2.94	1.73	4.51	1.63	1.73	1.50	1.3	2.3	6.0	49.02	71.68	19.55
TungriThagan	402	204	198	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	1.47	0.00	17.9	35.3	9.1	12.44	21.57	3.03
TechaKhasar	149	75	74	3.36	1.33	5.41	0.67	0.00	1.35	10.7	21.3	16.2	26.17	45.33	6.76
Karsha	581	283	298	10.50	8.13	12.75	1.38	2.47	0.34	9.0	18.4	42.3	18.42	33.92	3.69
LangmiRegin	353	176	177	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.7	11.4	32.8	27.20	40.91	13.56
Abran	347	178	169	0.58	1.12	0.00	0.29	0.56	0.00	25.9	50.6	66.9	6.05	11.80	0.00
Akshow	252	121	131	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	29.8	62	78.6	2.78	5.79	0.00

		1						00			.0				
Pipcha	166	11 0	56	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0. 00	0.00	7.8	11 .8	62.5	7.23	10.9 1	0.00
Testa	341	18 1	160	4.69	4.97	4.38	0.59	0. 55	0.63	11.4	21 .5	30.6	5.87	9.39	1.88
Raru Mooney	211	10 7	104	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0. 00	0.00	3.8	7. 5	24.0	10.9 0	17.7 6	3.85
Shunshadi	45	32	13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0. 00	0.00	0.0	0. 0	7.7	24.4 4	31.2 5	7.69
Ichar	106	51	55	81.1 3	64.71	96.3 6	0.00	0. 00	0.00	0.0	0. 0	0.0	16.0 4	31.3 7	1.82
Kargyaak	192	82	110	87.5 0	78.05	94.5 5	0.00	0. 00	0.00	0.0	0. 0	0.0	7.81 0	12.2 0	4.55
Chah	181	81	100	86.1 9	79.01	92.0 0	1.10	1. 23	1.00	0.0	0. 0	0.0	11.6 0	17.2 8	7.00

Sources: Census of India 2011

Non primary activities:

As stated earlier, largest proportion of workforce is engaged in the primary sector. The share of secondary and tertiary activities is very low. Manufacturing has never been important activity among Zanskari people. Similarly, under the traditional conditions, the service sector was unimportant in the region.

Weaving of wool constitutes the single most important activity of secondary sector in Zaskar. Spinning yarn is main occupations of aged people during agricultural season and of all workers during winters. Weaving cloth into long strips does called making pattu that is usually undertaken by one or two families in village own wooden looms. Other types of economic activities include carpentry and metal work. These small sectors of manufacturing units are entirely hereditary with skills passed from generation to generation.

Other non primary activities are those related to the tertiary sector. These include trade, transport, and tourist related work and government service. There was no shop in Zaskar in 1970 days. Goods used to be brought in by traders from Leh, Kargil, and Lahul on horse and mule caravans. Till the opening of road in 1980, there was no organized transport service, and every household owned their own horses and donkeys for carrying goods or for riding purposes. Similarly, tourist oriented services became important only after 1980s when the road link enabled an increase in the number of tourists visiting the region.

Substantial amount of trade is, however, carried out by transiting traders who come to Zaskar during summers with their caravans. Often they put up make shift shops in tents and move within the region. Sometimes, this movement coincides with religious festivals at monasteries, which also function as markets places for people who come from far flung villages.

Tourism has been the single most important impetus to commercialization of economy of Zaskar, and to increase earning of local population. Almost every tourist visiting Zaskar takes to trekking and those who do not wish to trek usually limit their visit to Leh and Kargil. Usual practice is to hire a horse and guide at an approximate rate for Rs. 200 and 1000 each respectively per day. A large number of tourists come by bus, hire small vehicle like Tata sumo, Quallis or Scorpio, up to Padum from Kargil, Srinagar Leh they also go for sightseeing by hiring small vehicles which cost around Rs. 3000 per day. There are around 60 small vehicles at Padum taxi stand owned by Zanskari people.¹

Tourism has drastically altered the traditional socio- economic structure especially in and around Padum. Ten hotels had come up at Padum by 1981. Now there are twelve hotels in Padum and six in other villages like Karsha and Sani. The earning from tourism oriented services is very high as compared to the other works. Consequently, a number of young men especially in Padum aspire to work in this sector.

¹Information is collected from Padum Taxi Office.

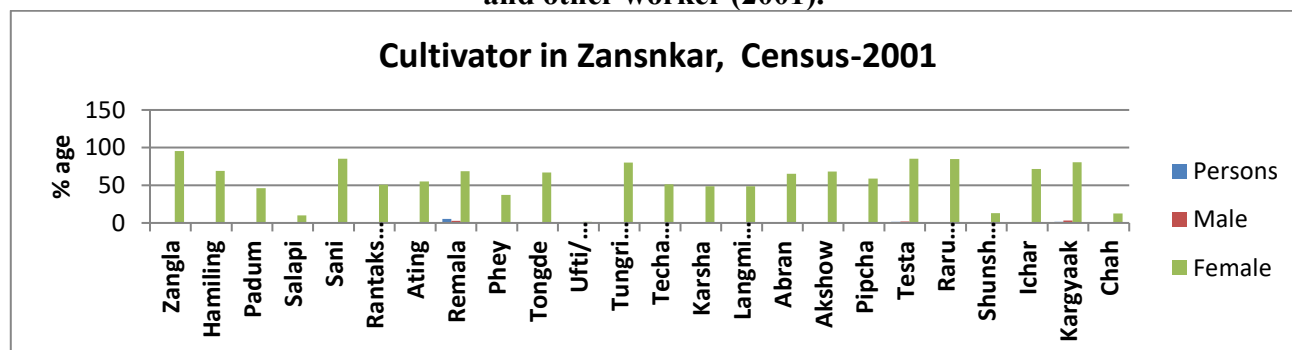
Government services a very important occupation, in tertiary through employing only a few people. Table 2 and 3 shows the share of other workers who are mainly government servants, teachers, traders, in transport banking etc. in Zanskar. Most of these employees are literate. Higher percentage of other workers in some villages can be considered as a sign of economic diversification in that village. The villages having higher proportion of other workers are Ofiti Pipiting, Padum, Karsha, Kargyah and Lungmi. All these are villages where either offices have come up or are places of tourist interest these have lot of activity related to recent development. Some villages like Testa, Icher, and Raru Moony have low percentage of these workers. These are isolated region.

The most important feature of the non primary sector is that it has coming up very rapidly after the road link was established and region was opened to tourism. This has led to economic diversification especially around Padum in the Central valley. Though the non primary activities are still largely localized, but these offer immense potential for further development.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that there is drastic changes in various categories of worker. The proportions of cultivator to total worker have got declined from 95 % in 1971 to 43 % in 2011. The same changes can also find for both male (90 % in 1971 to 49 % in 2011) and female (100 % in 1971 to 40 % in 2011). The same changes has also analysed for proportion of total worker to total population. The proportions of total worker to total population have got declined from 63 % in 1971 to 45 % in 2011. The same changes can also find for both male (57 % in 1971 to 49 % in 2011) and female (69 % in 1971 to 41 % in 2011). It can be concluded that there is a high participation of both male and female workers. It can be analyse that the total workforce of persons, male and female is very high in villages like Ofiti Pipiting, Rugrug Neruk, Tongde, Kumi and Zangla, while it is the low in Pipcha and Hamiling villages. Villages with very high proportion of cultivators are Testa, Shunshadi, Icher, Zangla, Akshu and Hamiling, while the lowest percentages of cultivator are Padum, Ruru Mony, Kargyah, Karshah, Lungmi Regin and Phey. Padum village as being a sub division headquarter has high percentage of other workers. Besides this the villages close to Padum town has also high percentage of other workers. The peripheral villages have low percentage of other workers. Tourism has been the single most important impetus to commercialization of economy of Zanskar, and to increase earning of local population. Weaving of wool constitutes the single most important activity of secondary sector in Zanskar. Spinning yarn is main occupations of aged people during agricultural season and of all workers during winters.

Chart 1. Shows total workers, cultivators, workers in household industry, agricultural labour and other worker (2001).



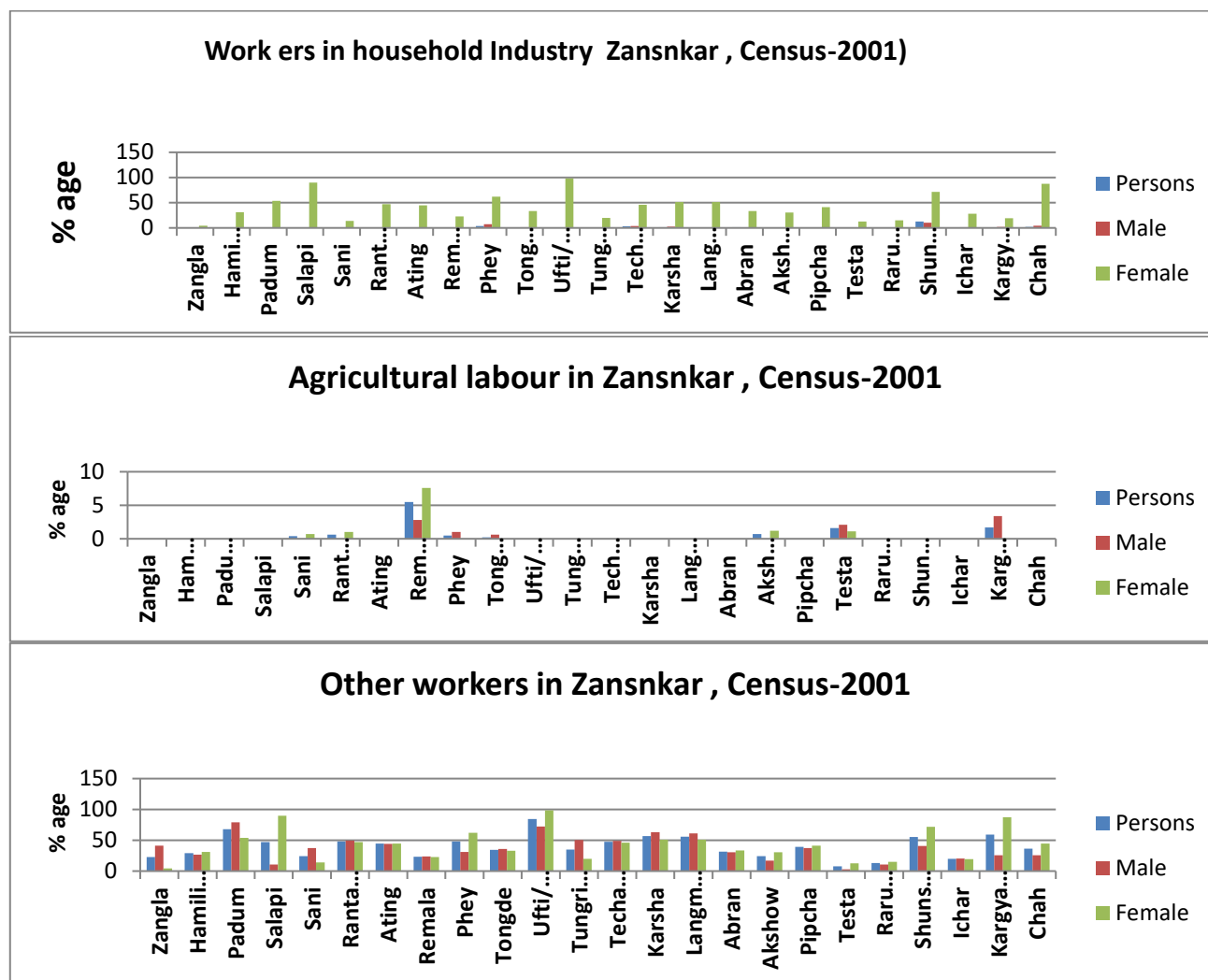
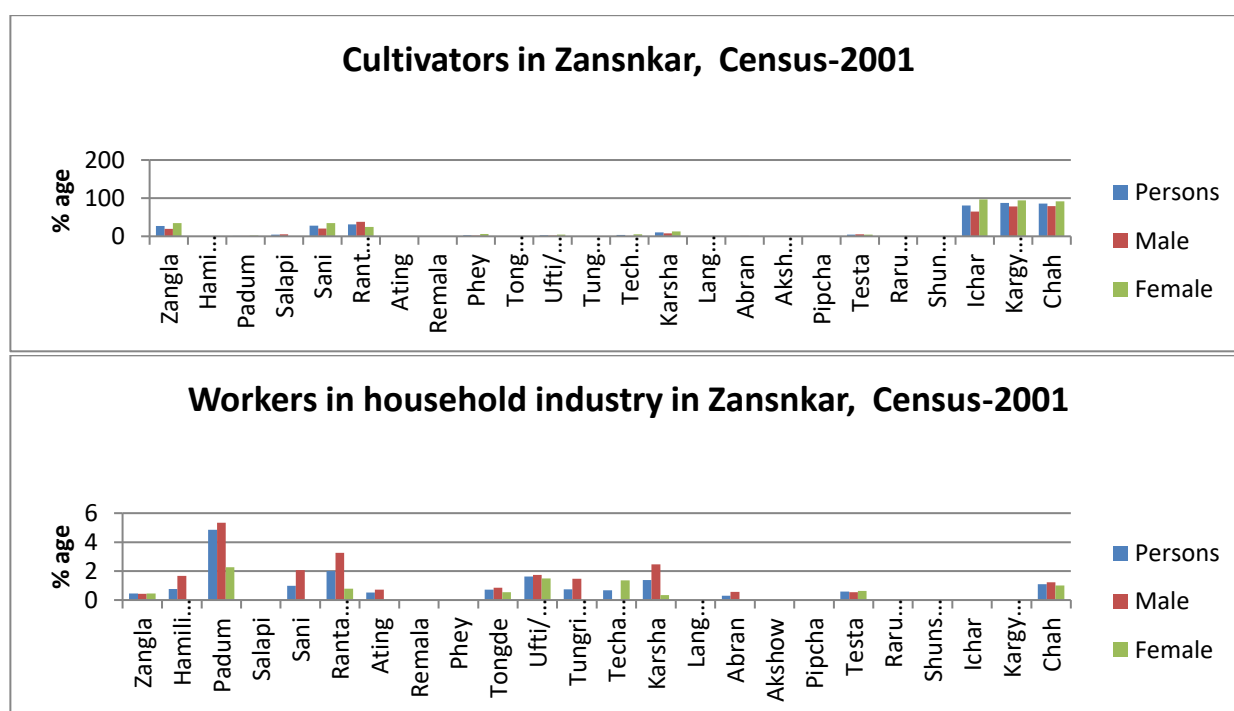
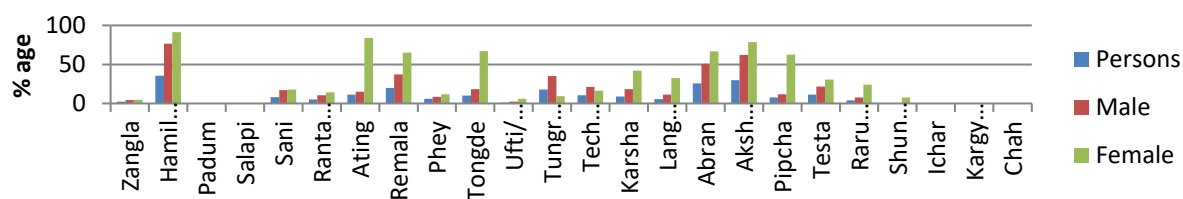


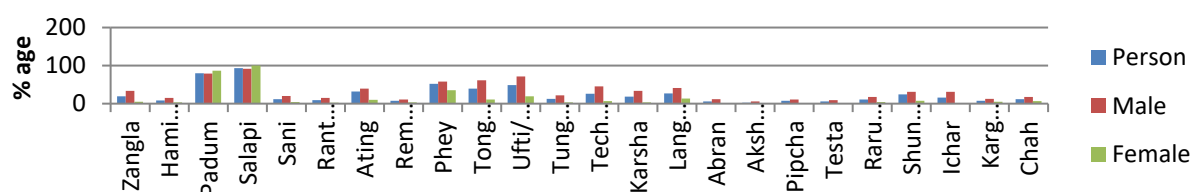
Chart 2. Shows total workers, cultivators, workers in household industry, agricultural labour and other worker (2011)



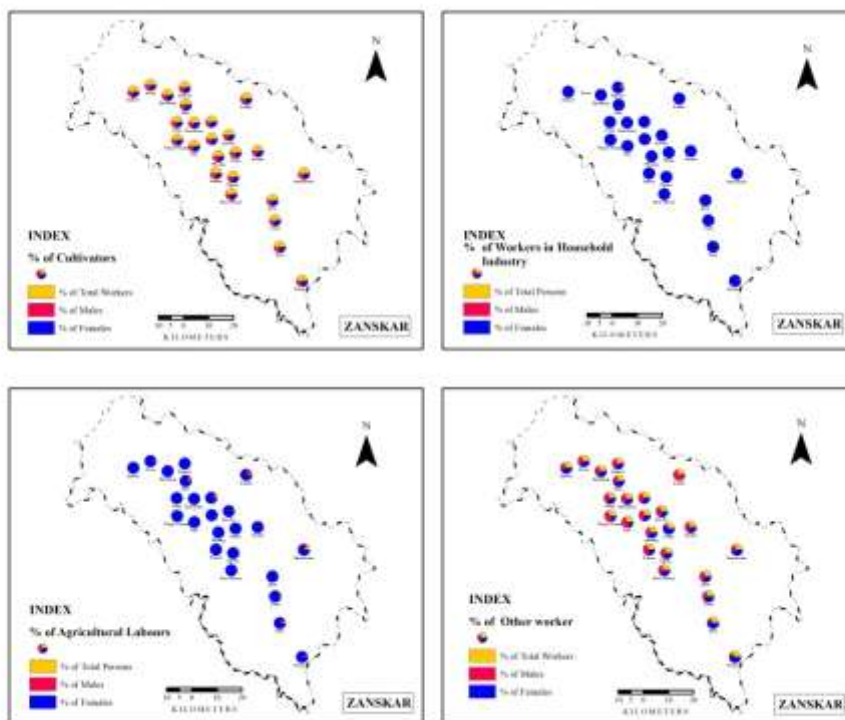
Agricultural labour in Zanskar, Census-2011

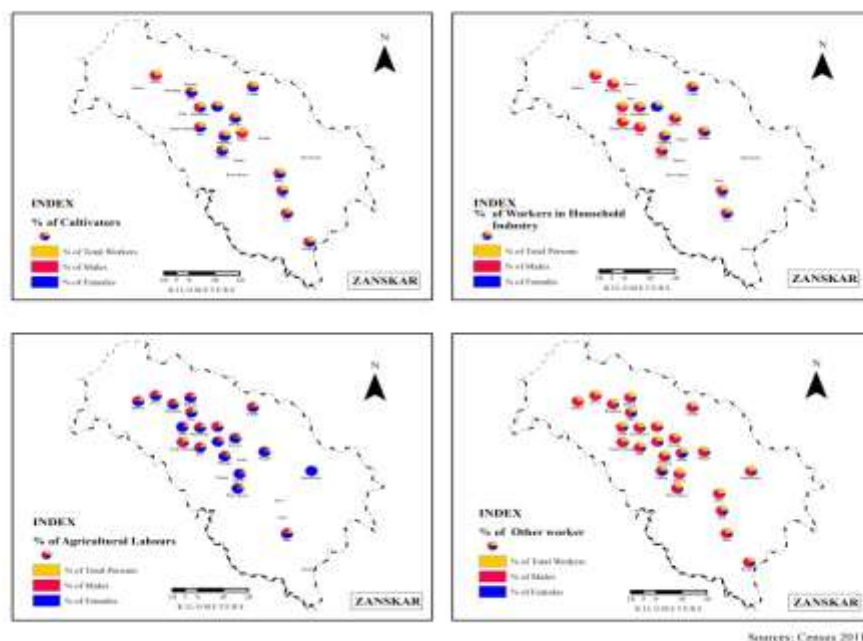


Other worker in Zanskar, Census-2011



Map 2. Shows total workers, cultivators, workers in household industry, agricultural labour and other worker(2001 and 2011)





References

1. Statistics South Africa Pretoria (2007). Report on the survey of large and small scale Agriculture.
2. Mendelsohn, R. Dinar, A. and Dalfelt, A., (2000). *Climate change impacts on African agriculture*. Centre for Environmental Economics and Policy in Africa.
3. Adger, W. N., Huq, S., Brown, K., Conway, D. & Hulme, M., (2000). *Adaptation to climate change in the developing world*. New York.
4. Howden, S. M., Soussana, J., Tubiello, F. N., Chhetri, N. and Dunlop, M. (2007) Adapting agriculture to climate change. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 106, 691–696.
5. Parry, M.L., Fischer, C., Livermore, M., Rosenzweig, C. and Iglesias, A. (1999). *Global Environmental Change*, S51 – S67.
6. Solomon, S., Qin, D., Manning, M., Chen, Z., Marquis, M., Averyt, K. B., Tignor, M. & Miller, H. L., (2007). *Regional climate projections*. In *Climate change: the physical science basis. Contribution of Working Group to the fourth assessment report of the IPCC*, Cambridge University.
7. United Nations Development Program (2008). *Human Development Report*. 67-84.
8. Hassan, R. M. & Nhemachena, C. (2008). *Determinants of African farmers' strategies for adapting to climate change: Multinomial choice analysis*. *AfJARE*, 2,(1), 83-104.
9. Sandhya, G. (1986). *Man-Environment Interaction and Problems of Socio-Economic Development in Zaskar*, Unpublished Thesis CSRD, JNU, New Delhi.
10. Chaube, S.K. (1985). *Modernization and Adaptation in the Himalayas: A Conspectus*. National Publisher, New Delhi.
11. Mertz O., Mbow, E., Reenberg, A. and Diouf, A. (2009). Farmers' Perceptions of Climate Change and Agricultural adaptation Strategies in Rural Sahel. *Environmental Management*, 43, 804–816.
12. Kayastha, S.L. (1988). *Regional Development in Mountainous Regions of India*, Satrokan publications, 403-419.
13. Aparna, R. and Casimir, M.J. (1990). Perspective on Pastoral Economy and Ecology in the Western Himalay. *Journal of Agriculture Science*, IV, 32-45.
14. Shahnawaz, (1999). *Development- Environment Interface in Mountain Ecosystem*. CSRD, JNU, New Delhi.
15. Lal, U. (2004). *Environment and Socio-economic Transformation of Kinnaur*. CSRD, JNU, New Delhi.
16. Thomsen, T. B., Frederiksen P. and Otto, H. (2001). A Livelihood Perspective on Natural Resource Management and Environmental Change in Semiarid Tanzania. *Economic Geography*, 77, 41-66.

15. Valdiva, C. (2010). Adapting to Climate Change in Andean Ecosystems: Landscapes, Capitals, and Perceptions Shaping Rural Livelihood Strategies and Linking Knowledge Systems. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 11-32.
16. Hasshain, F.M. (1977). *Ladakh the Moonland, Light and Life*. National Publisher, New Delhi.
17. Singh, H. (1978). *Ladakh Problems of Regional Development in the Context of Growth Point Strategy*, CSRD, JNU, New Delhi.
18. Singh, H. (1988). *Ladakh Environment, Socio economic Set-Up and the Problems and Prospects of Development*. 32-41.
19. Chatterjee, G.S. (1985). Stratification and Change in the Contemporary Ladakhi Society. *The Himalayan Heritage*. 486-88.