INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

GENDER, MODERNIZATION, AND CHANGE IN LADAKH, INDIA

by

KATHERINE EVE HAY
B.E.S. (Hons.) University of Waterloo

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Norman Paterson School of International Affairs.

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
February 20th, 1997

© copyright
Katherine Hay
1997

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-22080-X

The undersigned hereby recommend to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of this thesis
submitted by KATHERINE EVE HAY partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Maureen Appel Molot, Director
The Norman Paterson School
of International Affairs

Professor J. O'Manique, Supervisor

Abstract

Ladakh is an historically and culturally distinct region of India, encompassing an unusual mix of Tibetan Buddhism and Islam, combined with the Dogra, Kashmiri, and Dard cultures. Encompassing one of the most elevated areas on the globe the region has, until fairly recently, remained relatively isolated from the rest of the world. Through the introductions of the Indian military and tourism (and the concurrent shift towards a cash economy and paid employment) Ladakh is experiencing pressures to modernize. This thesis is based on fieldwork undertaken over a period of eight months in the summers of 1995 and 1996. The work is grounded in postmodern feminist theory (particularly gender and development theory) and methodology and relies heavily on interviews with women. The central question addressed in this thesis is how the changes occurring in Ladakh (a function of modernization) are affecting the household structure and, specifically, women's lives.

Acknowledgements

The process of creating this thesis has made my many debts apparent and created new ones.

Of the later group, the most outstanding is to the Ladakhi women who directly participated in creating this account. I am grateful to all of you for your generous hospitality and for enduring my endless questions with smiles and good grace. I shall not soon forget your warm friendship.

Phuntsog Angmo, my primary research assistant for the majority of the fieldwork, was an invaluable partner in the collection of these accounts. By so openly sharing her perspective and insights she became indispensable to this research. In extending her friendship she, and her family, deeply enriched my life in Ladakh. I owe them so much.

Warm thanks are also due to Sonam Angmo who worked with me in the early stages of the field research and whose help was a wonderful boost. My appreciation also goes out to all those at SECMOL, LEDeG, and especially the Woman's Alliance, who always took the time to answer my questions. I am also grateful to Thinlies Dawa and his family who both welcomed me into Ladakh and showed me what I could give back, and to my friend Neekat who opened to me both the hardships of the family and also, with the birth of her son, the joys.

To the community of feminists I know only through your writing, I appreciate the risks you have taken, the rigour you have applied, and the conviction and faith you have instilled in this project which, on so many levels, has enabled me to be here. To Fiona Mackenzie, exemplary feminist scholar and teacher, I am indebted for the introduction. To my supervisor John O'Manique I am most grateful for the space to do things differently. Special thanks go to Shelagh Squires, my advisor, who brought unparalleled dedication and insight to the process and whose many contributions to this work have distinguished her as a wonderful scholar, guide, and friend.

To my father Alec, who has challenged me on so many levels but has always been my strongest supporter . . . I look forward to the mountains. To Nazir -- Ladakh's gift to me -- who has grounded this research in ways which he is probably unaware but which have meant so much, I owe too many thanks to mention here.

Finally, I want to acknowledge all my women -- my kin -- who have shown and taught me so much. Notable among them are Andrea who asked the right questions, and my sister Julie who has always been a gentle role-model. Special thanks go to my sister Liz who supported me in so many stages in this research and whose deepening friendship I list as one of the rewards of the process. I am grateful to have had beside me both my grandmothers, Beatrix and Sophie, whose lives have been models of courage, compassion and strength. And finally to my mother, Geraldine, who has filled my life with joy and love, and is simply the best person I have ever known -- you have done more than you could ever know.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures	vi

CHAPTER 1: Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Thesis Structure	2
1.3 Background	4

CHAPTER 2: Theories of Gender and Development

2.1 Introduction	22
2.2 WID, WAD, and GAD: The Union of Feminism and Development	23
2.3 Feminism and Postmodernism	28
2.4 Conceptualizing Gender, Culture, and Difference	32
2.5 Power and Resistance: Public and Private Accounts	34
2.6 The Household	37
2.7 Bargaining Power and Access to Resources	40
2.8 Gender and the Division of Labour	43
2.9 Agency	45
2.10 Conclusion	47

CHAPTER 3: Methodology and Methods

3.1 Introduction	49
3.2 Paradigm Shifts	50
3.3 Personal Standpoint	52
3.4 Introduction to Feminist Methodology	53
3.5 Introduction to Research	62
3.6 Methods	66
3.7 Conclusion	78

CHAPTER 4: Findings: Marriage, Family, Work, and Education

4.1 Introduction	81
4.2 Participant Profile	81
4.3 Marriage	82

4.4 Children	99
4.5 Power Relations in the Household	101
4.6 Financial Control in the Household	103
4.7 Education	104
4.8 Division of Labour: Work and Gender	109
4.9 Conclusion	127

CHAPTER 5: Findings: Tradition and Change

5.1 Introduction	129
5.2 Tradition and Change	130
5.3 Changing Lifestyles	140
5.4 Counter Development	147
5.5 Conclusion	151

CHAPTER 6: Making the Links

6.1 Introduction	153
6.2 Gender and Gender Role Construction	155
6.3 Power and Authority: Emergent and Traditional	156
6.4 Social Structures	158
6.5 Modernization and Social Change	178
6.6 Conclusion	182

CHAPTER 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction	187
7.2 Summary	188
7.3 Additional Research Questions	192
7.4 Conclusion	194

APPENDIX 1: Participant Profiles	197
--	-----

APPENDIX 2: Checklist of Subject Areas	201
--	-----

APPENDIX 3: The Work Survey	206
---------------------------------------	-----

APPENDIX 4: Glossary	208
--------------------------------	-----

WORKS CITED	210
-----------------------	-----

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Ladakh	5
Figure 2: Rates of Change in the Population of Ladakh	18
Figure 3: The Division of Labour by Gender (Work Survey Results)	114

GENDER, MODERNIZATION, AND CHANGE IN LADAKH, INDIA

1.0 Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

"As a woman and a farmer I have to do all kinds of work, and it is very hard work, and this is a very hard life." Mingur

" . . . all three of us sisters didn't go to school, and our brothers they all went to school . . . people used to think that education was not so important for girls. Everyone thought that we had to do our work properly so they didn't send us to school, they got us to look after the house and look after the cattle." Korzom

"If women don't wear traditional clothing the Gods will be angry and will dry up the water . . . men are superior so it doesn't matter [for them]." Carpenter

"The life of my mother and grandparents is better than now because even though they didn't have good food to eat and good clothes to wear, their mind was very happy. But now people have everything. They have food to eat and clothes to wear, but their mind is a little bit disturbed. They don't have time and their life is full of tension." Dsomo

"Without money there is nothing." Digzin

Upon first glance the above quotations may seem to have little in common. Labour, education, tradition, change, and money are some of the subjects being touched upon. However all of these statements were brought out in discussions surrounding one general question: "What have been the gender dimensions of modernization in Ladakh?" That is the question examined in this thesis, and the above are just a few of the people who, through the open and generous sharing of their lives and their time, made it possible for it to be written.

Ladakh is a remote region of the Himalayas where military and tourism industries are causing a shift from what was essentially a subsistence economy to a market economy. The central question addressed in this thesis is how the changes occurring in Ladakh are affecting the household structure and, specifically, women's lives. The fate of Ladakhi women caught up in the 'passage to modernity' is conceptualized using a gendered discourse of development and change. The structure of the thesis is detailed in the following section.

1.2 Thesis Structure

The thesis is organized into five chapters. This first chapter introduces the research and provides background information on the region. Socio-cultural traditions in the region are emphasized as is the position of women. The chapter concludes with an examination of some of the changes introduced through military and tourism industries.

Chapter two provides the theoretical foundation for the research. A brief evolution of selected feminist theory is presented, followed by conceptualizations of: difference, the household, bargaining power and access to resources, the division of labour, power and resistance, public and private accounts, and agency. Feminist theorizing is used to conceptualize the nature and dynamism of relationships in the household and society, in this case over a period of change.

In chapter three aspects of feminist theory are used to develop the methodological framework for the research. Theories presented in chapter two are applied to the research process and methods. The chapter opens with some background material related to feminist methodology and a discussion of some foci of feminist research including: inequality, experience, action, self location, and participation. The second section of this chapter includes discussion of some of the constraints and issues faced during the research process as well as a detailed description of the methods used, specifically: interviews / personal narratives, participant observation, and surveys. In many ways this chapter serves as the anchor of the thesis, directly linking the theory with the analysis through the choice and application of methods.

Research findings are presented in chapters four and five. Chapter four explores the themes of marriage, education, work, and the family. It presents interviewees' current situations and their reflections on both their current circumstances and the changes they have experienced. Chapter five takes a more in depth look at the forces and processes of change, examining participants' experiences and attitudes towards the shifts from the traditional to the modern. Trends in counter-development and conscientization are also discussed, in particular the work of the Women's Alliance, a non-governmental organization working to promote a return or maintenance of certain aspects of traditional Ladakhi culture.

Chapter six links the findings from the previous two chapters back to the theoretical arguments put forth in chapter two (pointing out seeming contradictions as well as

complementarities). This chapter draws a general picture of the gendered dimensions of change in Ladakh and the implications of these findings on previously theorized conceptualizations of power, the household, gender and change.

The concluding chapter summarizes the main ideas of the thesis. Problems faced during various stages of the research are laid out, and limitations are presented. Finally a number of further questions raised by this research are highlighted.

1.3 Background

The following section provides some basic background on Ladakh, as well as more detailed discussion of some themes deemed particularly relevant to this research. The region's geographic, economic, and political history are outlined briefly, followed by analysis of a number of socio-cultural traditions including: family structure, division of labour, and, more generally, the position of women. The section concludes with an overview of military and tourism growth in the region, and discussion of the changes accompanying these industries.

1.3.1 Introduction

Politically a part of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh is a historically and culturally distinct region of India, encompassing an unusual mix of Tibetan Buddhism and Islam, combined with the Dogra, Kashmiri, and Sikh cultures. Located high in the Himalayas, with

borders touching Pakistan, Afghanistan, and China, Ladakh is the most North Western part of India (figure one). The greater part of Ladakh is in the principal valley following the course of the Indus river. The chief mountain ranges are the Zaskar, Karakoram and Ladakh. Except for a few fertile tracks along the river banks, the area is barren desert (annual rainfall does not exceed three inches). Ladakh forms one of the most elevated areas of the world; the region's approximately 150,000 inhabitants live at altitudes ranging from 8,787 ft in Kargil to around 20,000 ft in Chang-Thing. The winter is long and severe; it starts in October and continues until April.

Figure One: Map of Ladakh

The region's isolated location helped to insulate it from major changes; until recently life remained shaped by age old socio-economic institutions. Survival strategies had evolved in response to the harsh climate. Agriculture was only possible where adequate water and soil depth existed and only during the summer months. The winter months were devoted to social and religious activities. Despite these difficult conditions, for centuries the population adapted. Certain customs including primogeniture, polyandry, and monasticism, combined with a lack of medical facilities had kept population growth low, while frugal use and recycling of natural resources in addition to an inherently simple lifestyle following Buddhist tenets maintained a balance in the human - nature relationship.

Although Leh, the capital, was at the crossroads of the Central Asian and Far East trade routes, the regional economy remained dominated by subsistence level agriculture. Traditional agricultural crops include barley, buckwheat, and peas, which were combined with animal husbandry, notably of Yak, Dzo (Yak and *Bos indicas* mix), goats, and sheep. Basic requirements were endogenously produced in self sufficient village communities with trade providing a few luxuries such as tea. In addition to the peasantry, social strata included nobles, monks, merchants and caravaneers, mainly centered in Leh.

Having no airstrip or motorable roads (and blocked by the Himalayas), Ladakh remained almost inaccessible to the rest of the world until the Chinese attack in 1962. In the wake of this aggression, the arrival of the Indian army spurred construction of roads and infrastructure projects, thereby focussing attention on the region. Ladakh, guarded because

of its strategic location, was closed to tourists until the 1970's. The construction of the Upshi-Manali road (built by the military) has made the route via Bara Lacha-la less treacherous and has brought a surge of tourists. Over 15,000 tourists annually have been visiting Ladakh since the late 1980's (Michaud, 1990, p. 610).

Ladakh's modernization has brought many changes. Tourism and the military bring income and goods to a region still relatively untouched by other industries. However, popular opinion is divided on the nature of these changes. Some additions, such as Trombe walls (passive solar technology) and greenhouses have arguably improved the quality of life in the harsh mountain environment. Other changes include an expanding road network, increasing pollution, as well as a surge in growth of hotels and demand for non-traditional services. Some introductions, including Rambo-type movies, television dramas profiling conspicuous consumption, and school curricula biased towards urban, affluent lifestyles, have been blamed for everything from increasing violence against women, to substance abuse, and more generally, a rejection of traditional Ladakhi culture as backward and primitive.

Although the majority of Ladakhi's are still involved in subsistence agriculture, many, especially men, have begun to work in other jobs in the money economy, leaving more of the agricultural production to women. This increasing differentiation in work may be leading to growing polarity between the sexes; because women are not earning money for their work, they may be seen as less productive. Meanwhile other factors, including the shift away from polyandry, are also altering traditional gender roles. In order to address my

central thesis question of how the changes occurring in Ladakh (a function of modernization) are affecting the household structure and, specifically, women's lives, the socio-cultural structure and customs of Ladakh first need to be understood. The following section introduces some of these structures and customs (focusing on gender-related issues) and concludes with a more detailed discussion of the changes in the region.

1.3.2 Family Structures

Ladakh, as does nearby Nepal, has a tradition of fraternal polyandry (a number of brothers marry one woman). Reasons for the development and perpetuation of polyandry in the region include a limited resource base that is unable to sustain population growth and requires relatively high labour inputs, and the continuity of customs. Polyandry curbs population growth by reducing the number of adults who marry and have children. By keeping the family unit intact, polyandry prevents the fragmentation of cultivatable land which would otherwise quickly result in plots too small for subsistence. Polyandry was supported by religious institutions (surplus men and women were absorbed into monasteries or remained to work on the estates) and by the law (only the eldest brother inherited the property and one of the youngest generally had to become a lama {Buddhist monk}). Drawing on a study done in 1938, Crook and Shakya (1994, p. 703) claim that at that time ninety percent of Ladakhi families lived polyandrously and it was the preferred marital practice. Polyandry was perceived as essential for wealth and survival and was considered to be morally responsible. R.S. Mann (1986) argues that polyandry elevates women's status.

For example, he notes that while the younger brothers of the bridegroom need to express their consent for the union "the bride does not object to her being shared, as wife, by more than one husband because she feels that her position remains more secure with two or three husbands" (1988, p. 59). At times the historical accounts of polyandry seem to assume that this marriage system must necessarily reflect the dominance or high status of Ladakhi women. The implicit reasoning seems to be based on facile conceptualizations of polygyny or 'harems' which are then reversed to portray the wife as dominating many husbands; an alternative conceptualization, however, could be that the wife is now dominated by many husbands instead of just one. While polyandry may lead to higher status for some women such generalizations do not seem self evident.

There are two forms of arranged marriage in Ladakh. In the Magpa arrangement the male moves in with the wife's family. This form often occurs when the woman has no brothers so she is the heiress. In the Bagma form of marriage the couple stays with the groom's parents. Mann (1986) argues that the Magpa marriage arrangement gives women a great deal of power, noting: "she not only dominates her husband but can get rid of him without more of excuse [sic].¹ In [the] latter case, she would be free to marry again. Anybody would like to marry her because of her being heiress [sic]" (1986, p. 61). In Reis' (1982) study, nine out of the twenty seven households had female ownership. Her depiction of women's

¹

Some of the writings on Ladakh contain a number of errors in syntax and grammar. Most errors in the original sources are left unchanged but are noted with [sic]. However, if in leaving the quotation unchanged the meaning is unclear, minor changes contained within square brackets are inserted for clarity.

power and roles in Magpa arrangements differs from Mann's. She claims that in all nine households, husbands had a fair share of responsibility, especially in community matters where women are considered unsuited to representing households. She does agree, though, that their position is better than that of women in Bagma marriages. The majority of the women Reis interviewed in these marriages said they had been very unhappy and had been feeling insecure for a long time after their marriage; her observations also showed that such women kept more in the background and did not participate in discussions to the same degree as did women who stayed in the parental house (1982). Most Ladakhi marriages today are monogamous, while a number are polyandrous and a few are polygynous. There are some cases of marriage between religions and of divorce.

The home and domestic relationships in Ladakh are ruled by kin links reflected in the accessibility of individuals to the house-god (differentiated by different levels of purity) (Reis, 1982).¹¹ A number of helpers belonging to a chain of families called the *Pha.sPun* provide each other with mutual services concerning the finding of marriage partners and the performance of funeral rites. Traditional living arrangements are either *khang-chen* (family head) or *khang-gyu* (all other kin). A man or woman who has married into another household is put under the patronage of another housegod. Women may no longer be able to enter the house-temple of their parental house, however, men may enter all house-temples (Reis, 1982). Divinities are seen as more dangerous to women largely because women are deemed less pure than men because of menstruation and childbirth (Reis, 1982).

¹¹ Appendix 4 consists of a glossary of terms.

1.3.3 Division of Labour

At the age of five or six, both male and female children begin to labour in the household, helping to care for younger siblings and fetch water; older children collect dung, wood, and shrubs (Norberg-Hodge, 1994). Gradually gender roles diverge although even in adult life, Norberg-Hodge (1994) claims that the division is far from pronounced. Indeed, the available literature suggests that, with the exception of ploughing, slaughtering cattle, and felling trees, which are only done by men, there has not been a rigid division of labour between the sexes. Because most of the men's work is carried out in summer, while the specific duties of women transcend summer and winter, Reis (1982) argues that both men and women concede that women have to work harder. Mann (1986) concurs, arguing that women do as much agricultural work as men, while reproductive activities fall to the women. In the only discussion of the implications of the division of labour to date, Reis (1982) argues that cultural taboos preventing ploughing, slaughter, and felling trees, are notable as the basis of the economy which makes women more dependent on men for the supply of food.

1.3.4 Position of Women

Almost all accounts of Ladakhi life maintain that the status of women is relatively high. Unfortunately the parameters of comparison are often unclear. For example, in the previous discussion of the division of labour all authors stress that boundaries are not rigid although all do note differences in labour by gender. Some of this can be attributed to the secondary

nature of gender issues within the research; with the exception of Reis none of the authors are working from a feminist or gender perspective and the discussion of women usually seems to be an insufficiently rigorous afterthought. Mann (1986) devotes a slim chapter to women in his study. While his discussion of marital forms and practices is interesting, his comments on the status of women do not seem grounded in any theory or even any conceptualization of gender relations. This approach often results in incoherence. He argues that the Ladakhi women "enjoy a great deal of freedom" and he claims that because of polyandry a woman "was never underrated" (1986, p. 75); but he also writes that, "all admit that the women are more hard working, and their contribution in various economic pursuits is far greater than the men . . . But in spite of all this she is rated inferior. Under such explanations it appears that woman's inferiority has become a matter of tradition" (1986, p. 77).

Differences amongst women are not discussed rigorously by any of the researchers (although some differences in Magpa and Bagma marriages are recorded). When noted, the existence of difference is often presented as an anomaly instead of as the product of any deconstruction of the category 'woman.' For example Crook (1994) writes that "ladakhi family life allows a degree of freedom for women that is higher than in many peasant societies. Married women have considerable influence in the home, especially in polyandrous families (they often engage in marketing and commercial activity). They express opinions in words and actions easily. Older unmarried women are in many ways the deprived representative of this culture – little more than unpaid family labourers" (p. 767).

At times the writings about Ladakhi women appear contradictory. However, these differences may be attributed to variations in the perspectives and interpretations of researchers, and not necessarily to differences in findings and observations. Some examples of these variations follow.

Mann (1986) argues that Ladakhi Buddhism has elevated women's status. He claims that in the sphere of religious service there are not many disparities between the lamas and the chomos (nuns). Reis (1982), however, claims that in the monastic order, nuns are inferior to monks (they have to do the most strenuous work, they hardly partake in the religious practices of their religious house and they are not allowed to officiate at ceremonies).

Reis (1982) argues that a woman is first and foremost seen as a mother and her reproductive function is both emphasized and tied up with impurity; she claims that all women said they wanted children and that a woman who could not conceive was pitied. Alternatively, a study done by Norberg-Hodge (1994) on birth and childrearing practices (based on interviews with twenty-five women) claimed that there was no stigma attached to sterile women – no embarrassment and no great unhappiness.

Reis (1982) claims that both men and women feel Ladakhi women have an innate interest in children, the only place they really feel at ease is the kitchen, they are shy, lack self-confidence, and have to be guided by other people (husbands, parents, brothers). She notes that these qualities are seen as normal and positive feminine traits. Reis argues women are

"in a position of subordination and dependence in relation to men" (1982, p. 228). On the other hand, Norberg-Hodge (1991) claims that women in Ladakh actually have a more dominant position than in any other cultures with which she is familiar. She asserts that the informal sector in which women are central, plays a much larger role than the formal one and that the focus of the economy is the household where all important decisions are settled. Norberg-Hodge (1991) does warn that modernization is resulting in increasing polarity between men and women as their work becomes more differentiated. She claims that when men get jobs in the money economy women become invisible shadows; they do not earn money for their work so they are no longer seen as productive (Norberg-Hodge, 1994).

1.3.5 Change

In the last three decades, change has come quickly to Ladakh. In 1962 the Indian army established a permanent post in Ladakh in response to border disputes and built a highway over the caravan route. After three wars with Pakistan and one with China, tensions began to ease in Ladakh and in 1974 the state decided to open Ladakh to tourists "in the interest of its development" (Jina, 1994, p. 46). Later the government allowed air service to Leh; the first civil flights arrived in December of 1978. In 1980 the Zangskar region was opened to foreigners and as of 1994 foreigners have been able to obtain permission to visit the previously restricted areas of DaHanu, Nubra Valley, and Tsomoriri.

When the area was opened up tourists surged into Ladakh. Visitor numbers rose from zero

to 10,000 between 1973 and 1979 and increased by another 5,000 with the 1979 air link with Srinagar, Delhi, and Chandigarh (Michaud, 1990, p. 610). Numbers have largely stabilized at 15,000 annually as all transportation is saturated. Over eighty percent of the tourists visiting Ladakh are from Europe, Canada, the U.S., Australia, New Zealand, and (recently) Japan (Michaud, 1990, p. 610). Tourist activities include trekking, and other outdoor adventuring, visiting monasteries, and simply sightseeing in Leh (a town of perhaps 15,000 inhabitants).

Correspondingly, the large scale introduction of the army and support services brought with it outside foods, fuel, clothing and construction methods. As these flooded into the region they inevitably found their way into the market and peoples' homes. Coupled with exposure to outside influence, this surge of consumer goods resulted in rapidly shifting the barter economy to a market economy (Equations, 1991). This transformation was also furthered by development measures initiated by the federal and state governments, including expanding road networks to the two urban centers (Leh and Kargil) and creating government initiated schools and medical facilities.

The employment of the local population in the money economy (in both military and tourism related industries) has increased the diffusion of cash and the infusion of commodities. A new stratum of an economically better off upper class is emerging from the traditional society. The old power structure was based on a strong clergy and an ancient monarchistic regime. A strengthened commercial bourgeoisie has been implanted above it and a new

petite bourgeoisie is now emerging, consisting of Indian educated youth (Michaud, 1990, p. 611). Economic success has brought them power before tradition would have.

Politically, Ladakh has been the site of increasing communalism, arguably, as a result of the emergence of this educated middle class seeking power (Crooks, 1994). 1989 saw the beginning of a movement to separate from Jammu and Kashmir State as a Union territory governed directly from New Delhi. Religion was used by Buddhists both to mobilize a large sector of the local population and to garner more attention externally. Crisis followed, when resentment against the Kashmir government erupted in local violence and a three year social boycott of Muslims. The social boycott was spearheaded and enforced through pressure from the Ladakh Buddhist Association; the boycott limited Buddhists from mixing socially, as well as commercially, with Muslims (for example Buddhists were pressured not to shop in stores owned and run by Muslims). The demand for separation, later lowered to Autonomous Hill Council Status was granted in the summer of 1995. Hill Council status entails more Ladakhi participation in planning and implementing development programs, education, culture, and to some extent staffing government posts; additionally the Council will have full executive powers over levy of local taxes, collection of state accounts and various other regulatory functions (excluding policing and the judiciary) (Rigzin Jora, 1994, p. 11). However, the movement towards this decentralization, according to van Beek and Bertelsen (1995) "created a deep rift between the two communities [Buddhist and Muslim], and it is not clear that the Hill Council, dominated, as it will be, by the Buddhist political leadership that led the agitation, will be willing or able to bring about a reconciliation" (p.

12). Further, although acknowledging that it is an improvement over centralized state and national rule, van Beek and Bertelsen criticize the Hill Council formula for institutionalising "difference of community, culture, and religion, and obscuring and ignoring divisions within and across these communities, cultures, religions" (1995, p. 15).

At a more micro-level, the family structure is another site of change, in part caused by increasing family size because of fewer polyandrous marriages, and the external employment of men as a possible alternative to self-sufficient family agriculture. Fraternal polyandry, once the preferred form of marriage in Ladakh, has declined for a number of reasons including: the imposition of Indian legislation making it technically illegal since 1942 (Norberg-Hodge, 1991, p. 57), changes in inheritance laws, the expansion of jobs (these latter two promoting the economic independence of younger brothers) and finally, contact with outsiders who condemned the practice as immoral and disgraceful. Ladakhis have already started to speak ill of polyandry. For example, one man working in the army argued that people would not marry polyandrously today and that they would be ashamed of such a marriage; he argued that the "improved" economy and new educational opportunities rendered polyandry unnecessary (Crook and Shakya, 1994, p. 732). While others questioned by Crook and Shakya (1994) agreed that the division of land would result in plots too small for agriculture, this was deemed acceptable since the owner could get a job to support his family. The well-being of these families now depends on commercial development in Ladakh and no longer upon ecological adaptation through agriculture and animal husbandry.

Traditional living arrangements, either khang-chen (composed of the family head and his / her immediate kin) or khang-gyu (composed of all other kin), are also changing. There are now more kinship categories in the khang-gyu because of more marriages (therefore nieces, nephews, etc); as well, the length of tenure of the family head is increasing (Crook and Shakya, 1994, p. 715). The contemporary function of the khang-gyu is no longer to house the grandparents; it is to house the reproductive siblings. As a consequence of these changing social customs (and improved access to medical facilities) the population has been increasing dramatically (see figure two).

Figure Two: Rates of Change in the Population of Ladakh, 1901 – 2001.

Year	Population Size	Percentage Change
1901	60467	—
1911	67994	(+) 12.50
1921	68886	(+) 01.30
1931	72181	(+) 04.80
1941	76030	(+) 05.30
1951	82340	(+) 08.30
1961	88651	(+) 07.70
1971	105291	(+) 18.80
1981	134380	(+) 27.62
1991	175918 *	(+) 30.91
2001	229905 *	(+) 30.68
* extrapolated		
Source: Census of India District Handbooks of Leh and Kargil 1981 and 1991.		

Family life in Ladakh is moving towards a more nuclear monogamous unit favoured by the urban bureaucratic value system of middle class India with its consumer oriented market economy (Crook, 1994). Norberg-Hodge (1991) warns that this process isolates women, removing them from the larger community and depriving them of meaningful work; men, despite their new dominant role also suffer from the breakdown of these community ties and contact with children (p. 27). While the roles of many Ladakhi men are changing quite dramatically with their growing shift to paid employment, Crook and Shakya (1994) claim this is not necessarily the case for women, noting: "Amongst women, there is much less sign of change in traditional activity . . . with many men now in non-agricultural employment, women's role in agriculture is more important than ever" (p. 717). Traditional farmers and women are coming to be viewed as inferior and they are developing feelings of insecurity and inadequacy (Norberg-Hodge, 1991).

One direction of change is towards the belief that everything Ladakhi is primitive and should be replaced by the modern western version (Page, cited in Crook, 1994, p. 809). Imported garments, shoes and other items have begun replacing indigenously produced goods. Traditional Ladakhi jewellery, especially the perak (turquoise headpiece), is all but disappearing from daily life. Crook discusses the threat of monetization in Ladakh to what he calls "benevolent traditional values" (1994, p. 802). He examines and generally concurs with the claim that Ladakhi culture is unusually peaceful and happy. He notes that this is likely the result of generally stress free childhoods, among other things notable for the absence of extreme gender-role differentiation in childcare, and the development of

cooperative social devices necessitated by years of wintering in very tight quarters. Traditional values of reciprocity and collaboration are further supported by Tibetan Buddhism's emphasis on selflessness and renunciation. Crook claims that changes in attitude (particularly in young men), including the desirability of western style clothes, and consumer products, are leading to a feeling that Ladakhi culture is backward or primitive. Crook argues that while some Ladakhis are taking a deeper look at their own culture, the majority are prepared to replace it as quickly as possible with "the modern western version" (1994, p. 813).

Crook describes a possible future society resulting from such changes as characterized by a "hierarchal [class] structure," "stress," "crime," "depopulation," "erosion," and "decay" (1994, p. 809). Norberg-Hodge (1994) agrees that Ladakh is paying a heavy price for development, claiming that: in and around Leh there is a growing dependence on imported goods and services coupled with a decline in self-help and cooperation (p. 117); chemical fertilisers and pesticides are being applied to fields that always did well without them (p. 117); refined food is forming an increasing part of many diets (p. 120); the family is showing signs of breakdown, and population, once controlled, is on the rise (p. 128).

While not downplaying the negative impacts of some of the changes in Ladakh, some of the above scenarios may be overly pessimistic, or at least seem to ignore the roles of Ladakhis as social actors. Not all external introductions have been destructive – for example, glass has allowed the use of solar heating, ideal in Ladakh's climate. Similarly the interest of

foreigners in Ladakhi culture and Buddhism has been directly linked with the upsurge in the pride in and protection of cultural artifacts in the region. Some outsiders, perhaps afflicted with what van Beek and Bertelson call the "Lost Horizons syndrome," tend to romanticize Ladakh's "peaceful" and "ecologically sound" society and not focus on what Ladakhi's think and feel about the changes occurring (p. 15, 1995). Claims that Ladakhi culture is being 'destroyed' ignore the dynamic nature of culture and the possibility that culture is emergent. Crook (1994) seems to recognize this idea; he does not suggest that the monetization in Ladakh could or should be prevented, or that traditional ways of life should be forcibly conserved, but rather that the value of traditional ways needs to be highlighted and discussed. Change in Ladakh may be inevitable, but what benefits it brings, to whom, and at what costs needs consideration. The following chapter attempts to lay out a theoretical basis from which to engage in some of these questions.

2.0 THEORIES OF GENDER, DEVELOPMENT, AND CULTURE

2.1 Introduction

Determining the gendered impacts of modernization in Ladakh (used throughout to refer to the introduction of, or further integration into, a capitalist economic system via certain projects, or structural changes in society) requires understanding how traditional gender roles are constructed and perpetuated within the domestic and social spheres. It also requires comprehending how the social sphere is constructed from both inside (by the social actors) and outside influences (such as state policies and / or actors). In this chapter, relationships between economic development, gender, and cultural change are theorized to provide a methodological and analytical foundation. To conceptualise the experiences of Ladakhi women caught up in the 'passage to modernity' this chapter deconstructs some of the dominant discourses that have marginalized or excluded gender and attempts to reconstruct a gendered discourse of development. Following a brief discussion of Women in Development (WID), Woman and Development (WAD), and Gender and Development (GAD) theories, various concepts deemed particularly relevant to understanding the gender dimensions of modernization are presented. Conceptualizations of gender, difference, the household, the sexual division of labour, and power and resistance, are made explicit.

2.2 WID, WAD, and GAD: The Union of Feminism and Development

Depending on the theoretical framework selected, analyzing the impact of modernization on Ladakhi women could take many forms. In the following section some of the more powerful ideas about gender and modernization are presented, particularly Women in Development (WID), Woman and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD) theories. This thesis draws heavily from all of these theories but is grounded primarily in GAD theory.

In the twenty-six years since the publication of Ester Boserup's *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970), there has been a surge of research and writing about women around the world, caught up in transitions to modernity. Prior to Boserup, and the subsequent surge in western feminism, dominant discourses dealing with development had usually marginalized or excluded gender. Boserup described the sexual division of labour in agrarian communities. She argued that introductions of technology require increased labor inputs, altering the work assignments of women and men. She showed that men gained most from the introduction of modern technologies and the expansion of cash cropping while the work burden of women was often increased – challenging prevailing assumptions that such development benefitted everyone. In fact, instead of decreasing with economic growth, as predicted by earlier theories, gender differentials tend to widen with increasing penetration of 'modern' or capitalist forms of production (Mazumdar and Sharma, 1990, p.189).

Women in Development (WID) theory, however, was quickly criticized for, among other things: being grounded in traditional modernization theory, accepting existing social structures, and tending to focus exclusively on women's productive labour (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 493). Although WID deconstructed the household by splitting it formally into two opposed units of production it arguably supported the ideology of a sexual division of labour rendering male and female production incomparable, and "reinforced the domestic / public distinction with its female/ male, subsistence/ cash dichotomies" (Moore, 1988, cited in Geisler, 1993, p. 1967). What was characterized by some as an 'add women (to productive labour) and stir' approach was critiqued as shortsighted. Beneria and Sen (1981) argue:

The economic marginalization of women . . . results not from women's exclusion from productive labor but from the exploitation of their labor in the global system of capitalist labor relations. Women are forced by their poverty to participate in 'a system that generates and intensifies inequalities' and 'makes use of existing gender hierarchies to place women in subordinate positions at each different level of interaction between class and gender' (cited in Jaquette, 1990, p. 65).

WID did not challenge the existing system of development, but saw the main problem as women's insufficient participation in an otherwise benevolent process. However, dominant notions of development, in such arguments, counter feminism. Development is assumed to follow a eurocentric approach, presupposing that progress is a linear transition from one lower level of capitalist economic growth to the next. Bunch and Carillo (1990) note: "This approach is not only hegemonic but also runs against fundamental values stressed by the women's movement: the need to listen to the disempowered along with a commitment to respect differences. It also puts heavy emphasis on the individual (a Western European

tradition) rather than on the community, and it measures progress of human beings and societies only in economic terms, leaving out other human needs whether cultural, social, political, or spiritual (p. 75)." This view is echoed by Dwyer and Bruce (1988) who claim that because most studies examining women and development issues have been done for development agencies, they have avoided questioning the theoretical structure of 'development' or, in particular, the mandate of the particular development agency (cited in Tinker, 1990). Given that development projects have increased women's work burden as often as they have decreased it, and that both increasing labour demands and increasing income often remain "hostage to patriarchal control" such a reassessment seemed overdue (Dwyer and Bruce, 1988, cited in Tinker, 1990, p. 5).

The Woman and Development (WAD) approach (neo-Marxist feminist approach) emerged later. It departed from WID by suggesting that women's economic role both inside and outside the household maintained existing structures of inequality. Critics of WAD argue that it gives little attention to the "social relations of gender within classes," it "fails to undertake a full-scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination and oppression," and it implicitly assumes that women's position will automatically improve with more equitable international structures (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 494). The concept of 'status of women' assumed in the WID (and to some extent the WAD) literature has been critiqued as an essentialization of the category *women*. Rogers (1986) argues that the concept "conceals as much as it enlightens," going on to state: "It ignores the enormous variety of situations in which individual women may

find themselves" (cited in Van Esterik, 1989, p. 1). Indeed, emerging conceptualizations of feminism as highlighted in the following quotes, made a new approach or 'union' with development seem imminent:

Feminism . . . asks the right question: about power, about the links between the personal and the political; and because it cuts through race and class. Feminism implies consciousness of all the sources of oppression: race, class, gender, homophobia, and it resists them all (Antrobus, as quoted in Bunch and Carillo, 1990, p. 73).

The feminist vision acknowledges . . . diversity and the differing but equally valid meanings of feminism in each region, society, and time (Bunch and Carillo, 1990, p. 80).

A feminist model of development requires that cultural conditions in their relational and historical context be viewed as actively constructed (Van Esterik, 1989, p. 5).

The GAD approach incorporates these visions. GAD rejects public / private dualism and recognizes the artificial division between productive and reproductive labour. It identifies the social construction of gender roles and the concurrent construction of productive and reproductive labour as the source of women's oppression, questioning both the validity of these roles and their spatial and temporal differences. While not ignoring the importance of increasing women's participation in "social, political, and economic life," an examination of the roots of women's systematic position in inferior or secondary roles has been GAD's primary focus (Rathgeber, 1990, pp. 494-495). Proponents argue that the GAD approach is holistic and encompassing. Rathgeber (1990) claims: " . . . GAD is not concerned with women per se but with the social construction of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities, and expectations to women and to men . . . the GAD approach welcomes

the potential contributions of men who share a concern for issues of equity and social justice" (1990, p. 495). Finally, the GAD approach does not see women as 'development problems' but sees women as agents of change, who are capable of and should organize themselves politically. GAD recognizes the importance of class and other cleavages but maintains that patriarchy operates within and across them to oppress women: GAD is concerned with both the "connections among and the contradictions of gender, class, race, and development" (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 495).

In the context of Ladakh, GAD theory will be used to understand how gender roles are constructed and maintained in the region and how these roles then shape the division of labour, access to resources, and power and authority. From this basis the gendered impacts of modernization on this particular society can be examined, and GAD theory also helps to conceptualize how gender roles and the issues mentioned above are reshaped. In such a conceptualization and, for more complete understanding, the roles and actions of Ladakhi women in shaping and reacting to changes are also critical. Further GAD provides a space within which to try and understand gender as one of many overlapping social cleavages that shape individual experiences. Thus, although making it possible to draw certain generalizations about modernization and gender, GAD theory does so without denying the role of other cleavages such as class, age, and religion etc. in shaping individual experience.

GAD's focus on difference and overlapping social cleavages reflects the impact of postmodernism on feminism. The discussion of this impact is critical, especially the

implications on methodology because in essence the debate is whether there is a 'truth' to be discovered (for example, about gender in Ladakh) or whether there are a number of different 'truths' that are expressed through various belief structures, some of which are more privileged than others. In the next section the reaction to postmodernism and the tension (as well as opportunities) it creates for feminist theory is examined.

2.3 Feminism and Postmodernism

Postmodernism offers both obstacles and opportunities to feminist thinkers. It challenges and deconstructs notions that concepts of knowledge, or justice, for example, can encompass any kind of universal truth. For example, Michel Foucault stressed the need to examine the relationship between power and knowledge; both are defined and contested within discourse – "a historically, socially and institutionally specific structure of statement, terms, categories and beliefs" (Parpart, 1993, p. 440). Metanarratives, then, are seen as "embedded in the specific historical time and place in which they were created" and are "privileged discourses that deny and silence competing discourses" (Parpart, 1993, p. 440). Power can be challenged through alternative discourses which offer different conceptualizations of reality.

In the face of such postmodern critiques, feminist scholars have taken a number of stances. Some feminists reject postmodernism completely, arguing that it leads to relativism and the impossibility of maintaining any political position (Flax, 1992, p. 446). Nancy Harstock (1990), for example, claims Foucault's postmodernism obscures systematically unequal

power relations by overemphasizing the individual perception and experience of power. Further, the importance of difference revealed in the search to uncover the construction of social meanings worries some feminists for its potential to divide and fragment feminist consciousness (Parpart, 1993, p. 442). Questioning the ability of feminism to speak for all women "has led to fears that dismantling the identity of 'woman' may well lead to the dissolution of feminism itself" (Hennessy, 1993, p. xi)

Conversely, postmodernism is embraced by some feminists who agree that although "taken to its logical extreme and as practiced by its mostly white middle-class male proponents, [it] appears to undermine feminists' search for a better, more egalitarian world," its focus on difference "provides a space which legitimizes the experience of women marginalized along sites of difference, including class, race / ethnicity, religion, age, and sexuality" (Parpart 1993, p. 443). Privileging one segment of the group which makes up 'woman' – the western, white, middle-class segment – affects what knowledge is created and whose voice is heard. Goetz expands on this view, arguing that "the analytical privileging of the category 'women' in a unified, ahistorical way divorced from the social contexts and relations of class, ethnicity and race in which women are situated, has the epistemological effect of constraining possible knowing" (1988, p. 99). Postmodernism provides an opportunity to examine the intersections of class and gender in their various historical circumstances; in this way it "provides new insights into Third World peoples' behaviour and undermines the tendency to unthinkingly apply western standards to all Third World societies" (Parpart, 1993, p. 454). Southern feminists have used postmodernism to deconstruct what they see

as the western feminist essentialization of 'woman'. Chandra Mohanty provides such a critique, writing:

The 'status' or 'position' of women is assumed to be self-evident, because women as an already constituted group are placed within religious, economic, familial, and legal structures. However, this focus whereby women are seen as a coherent group across contexts, regardless of class or ethnicity, structures the world in ultimately binary, dichotomous terms, where women are always seen in opposition to men, patriarchy is always necessarily male dominance, and the religious, legal, economic, and familial systems are implicitly assumed to be constructed by men (1991, p. 70).

A more encompassing and less distorted image of both the 'position' of women and of gender relations can be derived by starting from women's actual lives; feminist standpoint theory is based on this assumption. This exercise does not only produce opinion, but also knowledge which is nonetheless socially situated. Harding (1992) argues that "it is still partial in both senses of the word, but less distorting than thought originating in the agendas and perspectives of the lives of dominant group men" (p. 181). Rather than rejecting structuralism and epistemology altogether, as some postmodernists do, feminist standpoint theorists claim that knowledge of the world can only come through being in the world and struggling against oppression of all forms (Walter, 1995, pp. 238-284). According to Flax (1992), theorists such as Sandra Harding and Nancy Hartstock are mistaken in thinking that ending patriarchy depends upon making truth claims about feminist knowledge or "maintaining the innocence of feminist theories and politics; it is "power", she claims, not "an innocent truth," that is the goal of feminism (p. 457). Rosemary Hennessey (1993)

argues that standpoint theory is contradictory in that it fails to explain the relationship between the discursive (feminist critique) and the nondiscursive (women's lives). However, she feels that this link can be made when discourse is conceptualized as ideology, allowing us "to consider the discursive construction of the subject, 'woman,' across multiple modalities of difference, but without forfeiting feminism's recognition that the continued success of patriarchy depends upon its systematic operation" (1993, p. xv). Feminist standpoint theory does offer a potentially powerful framework for explaining and analyzing the relationships between knowledge, power, and subjectivity. With Henessey's conceptualization, though, it becomes a critique of the dominant discourse, and not an experiential ground for knowledge or truth.

From this perspective, postmodernism is not considered a threat to feminist politics but rather a tool for feminist theorizing. Fraser and Nicholson (1990) advocate the mutually reinforcing nature of feminism and postmodernism, stating: "Postmodernists offer sophisticated and persuasive criticisms of foundationalism and essentialism, but their conceptions of social criticism tend to be anemic. Feminists offer robust conceptions of social criticism, but they tend at times to lapse into foundationalism and essentialism" (1990, p. 20). Parpart (1993) writes that postmodernist critiques "have encouraged an openness to difference . . . a reluctance to essentialize 'woman' . . . a sensitivity to social, historical and cultural specificity . . . a focus on the body as a locus of social control . . . and a commitment to uncovering previously ignored voices and resistances" (p. 445). It does, however, create tension, for as Ferguson (1991) notes, "the creation of a women's point of view is done in

order to reject the male ordering of the world; the deconstruction of gender is done in order to reject the dualism of male and female" (pp. 322-323).

The challenge here, then, is to continue to see the systemic nature of modernization's impact on gender roles in Ladakh, while simultaneously seeing a diverse and heterogeneous 'women' instead of a monolithic one. This task can be partially accomplished through a more inclusive understanding of gender that recognizes other social cleavages. In the next section conceptualizations of gender and difference are presented.

2.4 Conceptualizing Gender, Culture, and Difference

My research is based on an examination of gender. In this work gender is understood as " . . . a system of culturally constructed identities, expressed in ideologies of masculinity and femininity, interacting with socially structured relationships in divisions of labor and leisure, sexuality, and power between women and men" (Swain, 1995, pp. 258-259). Culture, meanwhile, is conceptualized as the negotiation of meanings over time – a process rather than a product. Walter (1995) writes that culture, "is communicated and practiced over time and vested in the construction of future meanings and practices." (p. 274). Conceptualizing culture as "contested, emergent, and practical" (Walter, 1995, p. 278) provides a space to express feminist concerns over the construction and contestation of power differences, how gendered structures are created, perpetuated, and / or challenged, and how gender is related to other sites of difference in society.

Gender, then, is conceived as a historically varied, fluctuating, and context dependent set of human customs. The construction of gender is the outcome of complex and highly specific historical processes in which both women and men have played parts as gendered subjects (Stevens, 1994, p. 376). Arguably, the situation of one gender can be understood only when placed in the dynamic of relations involving both. Gender relations are "found in all the different spheres of society, and produced (and reproduced) on a daily basis by the actions, ideas, and discourse of individuals, and groups" (Tanzania Gender Networking Project, 1993, p. 17). Gender is a particular type of knowledge constructed within discourse – thus the dominant discourse has unequal power in shaping gender and gender relations. Other forms of knowledge, or other constructions of gender still exist in varying levels of resistance. Gender relations are not static, but as sites of struggle are changeable.

Gender differences are one of the great 'fault lines' of societies, and as Papanek (1990) puts it, refer to "those marks of difference among categories of persons that govern the allocation of power, authority, and resources" (p. 163). Gender, though, is but one of the many 'fault lines' which together with class, race, ethnicity, religion, etc. form a matrix of socially constructed differences that inform the workings of gender both spatially and temporally. As Gallin and Ferguson (1993) explain, there are two disparate concepts of difference in feminist thought: the first interpretation focuses on gender differences and primarily the contrasts between men and women; the second stresses the differences amongst women and identifies "class, race, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, and age" as major "axes of differentiation" (p. 2). Difference is "a series of relationships of power, involving

domination and subordination" (Gallin and Ferguson, 1993, p. 12. citing Kerber). On the other hand markers of difference, such as class, race, and gender, are sites of power and thus sites of resistance as well (Barrett, 1987, cited in Gallin and Ferguson 1993)." As Sen (1990) notes: "The fact that the relative deprivation of women vis-a-vis men is by no means uniform across the world does not reduce the importance of gender as a parameter of analysis. In fact, this variability is an important reason for giving serious attention to the causal antecedents of the contrasting deprivations (p. 124)." Thus, in the context of Ladakh, the historical accounts of gender relations which describe Ladakhi women as relatively powerful and the gendered division of labour as quite uniform, (assuming they are accurate depictions) raise questions such as: what factors led to these accounts of relative privilege vis-a-vis women in other regions?; how do women's life situations vary along other 'fault lines'?; how has this relatively high status affected their ability to shape, or capture the gains from, modernization?; and how have other social cleavages varied the impact of modernization among women? These are essentially questions of power: how power comes about in gender relations, how these relations shape society, and how society shapes power relations along gender and other cleavages. In the following section notions of power and resistance are examined in more depth.

2.5 Power and Resistance: Public and Private Accounts

The ways in which resources are distributed and labour is divided reflect the power relations and the 'implicit priorities' within a group (Papanek, 1990, p. 163). These implicit priorities

are the result of the socialization (often for gender inequality) that takes place at an early age. Socialization for gender based inequalities is arguably very successful given their widespread existence and resistance to change: inequalities are often not perceived, fostering their persistence, or they may be deemed morally sound. In fact the perpetuation of inequalities survives through the alliance of the oppressed. Sen (1990) notes that "the underdog comes to accept the legitimacy of the unequal order and becomes an implicit accomplice" (p. 126). The absence of protest, therefore, should not be considered evidence of gender equality. Conflicts between men and women have to be analyzed within a structure where not only do both parties gain from cooperating but where their activities must be "overtly cooperative" even when a great deal of conflict exists (Sen, 1990, p. 147). Thus, as Stølen (1991) concludes, "...the fact that women often agree with practices that subordinate them, that they resist the exercise of power, and that there often exist friendly relations between women and men, cannot be understood in terms of the exclusively repressive view on power" (p. 9).

To explain power relations in the household, Wilson (1991) applies Foucault's conceptualization of power to Sen's cooperative conflict model to illustrate the creation of private accounts that are in keeping with the dominant ideology. Since cooperation is essential to survival and a recognition that shares are unequally distributed could break down this cooperation Wilson hypothesizes that women might conceal information from themselves (p. 33). Using a cooperative conflict model is not enough to determine the actual experience within the household because of the power of the dominant model or ideology

in shaping perceptions of those in the household (Wilson, 1991, p. 32). She writes: "There are public accounts of that experience and private accounts. Public accounts usually fit the dominant ideology or present the person interviewed in a good light. Private accounts may be more personal. Often the different accounts are conflicting but that does not mean that one or other is any less 'true' or important than the other" (1991, p. 32). A faster rate of change in actual living conditions than that of the dominant ideology (as would likely be the case in Ladakh) may result in a serious mismatch between women's lives and their life accounts. The actual experience may be so different from the dominant ideology that there is no language through which to voice the experience in which case the account is absent. This silence not only reflects the power of the dominant ideology but is required by it. Foucault argues: "Power is tolerable only when a good deal of its workings are concealed. Its efficacy is proportional to the degree of that concealment. For power, secrecy is not an abuse but a necessity; and this is not only for its greater efficiency but also for its acceptance" (cited in Wilson, 1991, p. 33). In order to understand actual living conditions the researcher has to try to uncover both the public and private accounts of experience and power relations.

Power relations shape all aspects of peoples lives. In the most practical sense, they shape who does what and who gets what. But power relations do not only lead to *the way life is* but also, because it privileges certain discourses, it leads to norms about *the way life should be*. In following sections theoretical perspectives regarding the division of labour (who does what) and access to resources (who gets what) are presented. But first the household – the

site where many power relations amongst men and women are played out, where resources are allocated and labour may be divided, and where a great deal of the socialization for gender differences takes place – will be conceptualized. Conceptualizing the household is particularly important to this study as most of the research was carried out at the household level.

2.6 The Household

Households are devised to meet the needs of their members. They take on many forms and functions as well as different styles of organization and external linkages. Modernization can change the structure of the household and may impact upon its ability to meet members' needs (which may themselves be altered) especially when the change is rapid. The neoclassical model of households, in essence, assumes they function as a corporate unit subject to generalizable rules of organization within clearly defined boundaries. The distribution of resources within these corporate units is structured by "sharing" (Young, 1992, p. 137) or altruism which, at the practical level, takes the form of a "benevolent dictator" setting the priorities of the household in the interest of the whole (Evans 1991, p. 52). The widespread acceptance of these concepts across academic disciplines cannot be solely attributed to "some obscure morality" or even a "paucity of methodologies" but rather, according to Geisler (1993), "is above all, an effective and powerful methodological tool in avoiding the questioning of power as an aspect of gender relations" which "blocks out women's exploitation as unpaid labourers and thereby perpetuates their invisibility within

that ill-defined 'private' space termed household" (p. 1966).

The structural adjustment literature has pointed to the ways in which economic development affects women and men differently (see for example, Moser, 1989; Elson, 1991). Further, a number of feminist scholars have begun to critique the conceptualization of the household provided by neoclassical economics (Evans, 1991; Wilson, 1991; Young, 1992; Roberts, 1991). As Sen (1990) argues: "... many writers insist on seeing the deprivation of entire families as the right focus for studying misery and for seeking remedies, ... However, for some problems, income and class categories are over aggregative and even misleading and there is a need for gender classification" (p. 123).

Neoclassical economic models of the household assume that individual choices "are motivated by the desire to maximize total family welfare" (Evans, 1991, p. 56) and ignore the potential for conflict and power struggles in decision-making and resource allocation and "removes the possibility of exploring conditions of unequal exchange and exploitation between family members, and in particular between women and men" (Folbre 1986, cited in Evans, 1991, p. 56). Young (1992) uses the example of biased food distribution to illustrate that the assumption of sharing does not account for often unequal distributions of resources (p. 137). By portraying households as a 'black box,' the neoclassical economic model "submerges important information about variations in household composition – by gender, age, and kinship – and intra and inter household resource allocation and distribution" (Evans, 1991, p. 54). Presenting the household in this way also obscures the

impact of the external domain in determining authority over resources (Roberts, 1991, p. 61). Gender relations outside of the household are extremely important to the domestic sphere. Wilson (1991) notes that "the less power people have to order their lives satisfactorily outside the household, the more likely they are to remain within it" (p. 31). The view of the household as somehow apart from society, "presocial" or "natural," must be deconstructed and reconceptualized as "historically produced, culturally specific and socially constructed" (Roberts, 1991, p. 61).

Thus, as will be shown in the following two sections, access to resources is not always equitable and the division of labour is not based solely on comparative advantage. Access to resources is determined by status within the household, kinship group, and the wider social and political environment. Similarly, family labour is differentiated by a number of factors. The argument that labour differences are based solely on comparative advantage, that is, that women engage primarily in subsistence work while men are more likely to be in paid employment simply because of wage differentials, ignores all of the "non-economic and ideological factors that discriminate between male and female labour in the market place and values their labour differently in market and non-market sectors" (Evans, 1991, pp. 54-55).

Sen's (1990) cooperative conflict model addresses many of these issues, by analyzing the household as a site of both conflict and cooperation. Resources and power are not always evenly distributed since although "there are many cooperative outcomes (beneficial to all

the parties concerned, compared with non-cooperation)" the "different parties have strictly conflicting interests in the choice among the set of efficient cooperative arrangements" (Wilson, 1991, p. 31). Thus, we cannot assume that gender (and other) relations are egalitarian but must question the extent to which they involve different and possibly unequal obligations, rights, power and control.

2.7 Bargaining Power and Access to Resources

As discussed above, access to resources is not always equitable. According to Boserup (1990), power hierarchies of age and sex characterize most rural areas of the 'least developed' countries and are the basis of both "privileges" and "obligations" (p. 15). "Bargaining power" for access to resources is often based on the 'perceived contribution' of household members, a combination of "the actual ability to earn income or to bring valued resources into the household" and "the value given to that contribution by other household members" (Young, 1991, p. 155). While men often have more access to paid labour, women's contributions to both productive and reproductive labour are generally under-rated, reinforcing the perception that men provide the main inputs to the family and should thus determine the resource allocation. Growing numbers of men are entering the paid workforce in Ladakh while the majority of women remain in subsistence agriculture. This polarization in their work may be leading to differences in their perceived household contributions and hence to shifts in power and access to resources. The 'perceived contribution' is not necessarily correlated with the amount of time expended in working both inside and outside

of the household, in fact quite the opposite situation prevails. Sen (1990) claims that time allocation studies indicate that women often do "astonishingly large amounts of work" even when their economic contribution is perceived as relatively small, leading him to conclude that perceived contribution is much more a factor of the amount of cash earned rather than time and effort expended (pp. 139-140). In addition to cultural perceptions undervaluing their economic input (in all forms), most women are constrained from making equal cash contributions to their households by "lower levels of education and training, their concentration in poorly paid jobs or economic sectors, social stereotypes and other barriers to employment and promotion, and intermittent and atypical workforce participation (U.N., 1991, p. 42)"; hence, there is no country in the world where women's waged income equals men's (U.N., 1991, p. 42).

Generally, women's lower perceived contribution relative to men diminishes their bargaining power and could partly explain dominant patterns of male control over household income. A 1991 U.N. study entitled "Woman and Households in a Changing World," showed that while women may appear to be in charge of the allocation of household income, in fact their role is much more limited: they are most often managers of that portion of household income which the men allocate to them (p. 41). Women are more likely to have control over purchases corresponding to the gender based division of labour (food, child care, clothing, rent, etc.) while men are more likely to make expenditure decisions for less routine and more external items (Whitehead, 1984, cited in Evans, 1991, p. 57). Research tends to indicate that men are more likely to spend money on personal consumption, leisure and "greater or

smaller luxuries" while women spend more on families (U.N., 1991, p. 42), thus the dominant pattern of male control of income may provide a partial explanation of why development does not necessarily improve the well being of the entire household.

Some of these concepts can be illustrated with a study done in a Nepalese village that has shifted from primarily subsistence agriculture into a wider cash economy through milk production (Thomas-Slayter and Bhatt, 1994, p. 467). The researchers found that while commercialization increased the well-being of many households within the economy through improved access to cash and food security, it also increased gender-based inequities. Men's disproportionate access to and control over resources exacerbated the subordinate position of women, while demands on female labor dramatically increased (p. 468). The authors found that when added to women's existing labour burdens, the increased workload has "... restricted their mobility, lessened or erased their leisure time, and resulted in girls dropping out of school" (p. 485). While the women acknowledge the economic benefits garnered by family members as a whole, they cite little or no personal gain. Indeed the authors claim that, "Increased cash flowing into the community bypasses women altogether" (p. 487) and they conclude : "... men seek the credit and are defined as the important earners of income for the family while women are given the responsibility for caring for the buffalo. Women experience significantly increased workload, diminished mobility, and little involvement in household resource allocation decisions" (p. 488).

Access to and control over resources is directly related, then, to the division of labour and

particularly to the perceived contribution of household members. Further, this perceived contribution is not necessarily a factor of effort expended but is more likely based on cash contributions. Finally the way labour is divided has systematically produced a global trend where women have less access to paid labour and earn less than men when they do obtain such employment. In the next section the division of labour is discussed in more detail.

2.8 Gender and the Division of Labour

The unequal division of power maintains unequal divisions of labour, creating a circle whereby women are relegated to undervalued work while the fact that they do this undervalued work reinforces notions of women's lesser contribution. These perceptions seem to persist even when women assume directly economic earning activities on top of their non-market and reproductive labour (U.N., 1991, p. 43). Noting that the conceptual relationship between women's subordination and the division of labour is a source of contention, Muzumdar and Sharma (1990) suggest: "The important issue is not at what point of human history sexual division of labour emerged; the issue is how unequal relationships between men and women have been historically generated" (p. 186).

The division of labour within households is often set along gender and / or age lines, although other lines of stratification (e.g. class and kinship) may also affect its complexion. The division of labour creates certain forms of interdependence within the household and between households in the form and type of labour services provided by members, but this

interdependence is not necessarily reciprocal or of equivalent benefit to all members" (Evans, 1991, p. 55). Evans (1991) claims that women in traditional subsistence agriculture work harder than men, providing most of the labour input needed to maintain and reproduce other household members (p. 55). This interpretation seems applicable to Ladakh, as all accounts of the division of labour indicate that women are the hardest workers. Boserup (1990) argues: "The members of dominating groups enjoy more leisure, perform the most interesting and pleasurable jobs, and pass onerous and tedious jobs to the persons over whom they have power" (p. 15). For example, Morvariadi's (1992) study of gender relations in agriculture in Turkey (1992) revealed that hoeing, perhaps the most arduous task in agricultural production, is only done by women and is considered "inappropriate for men, even when they are still boys, as a matter of pride and honour within the village" (p. 574).

Paid employment may either reinforce the above gender division of labour or transform it by developing new income opportunities (Kinnaird *et al*, 1994, p. 17). In Ladakh, the two most important catalysts of modernization were tourism and the military. Both tourism and the military created a fairly large-scale transformation to paid employment. This process raises fundamental questions about the division of labour, paid and unpaid labour, and the gender implications of such a transformation. Taking a WID approach to development might entail increasing women's access to 'productive' labour; this may, however, increase their work burden with no real improvements in their material well being. For example, Morvariadi's (1992) study revealed that, "women are expected to participate in the production process while continuing to bear responsibility for domestic labor and the well

being of the household . . . Child care, milking, providing fuel from animal dung, collecting water, food preparation, and baking bread are all tasks that only women assume" (pp. 575-576). Similarly, in her study in rural Guatemala, Katz (1995) found that women transfer significant labor time to the new male income-generating activity, concluding that, ". . . a woman's primary obligation is to domestic labor. After fulfilling this primary obligation, either with her own labor or that of her daughters, she can divide her remaining time between income generation for herself and /or for her husband . . . " (Katz, 1995, p. 340). Indeed as women extend their domestic responsibilities to include the provision of cash, other members of the household are not sharing the household tasks as one might assume (U.N. 1991, p. 40). In fact, gender roles and power structures, perhaps because of the early process of socialization, seem highly resistant to change and persist in changing circumstances regardless of their appropriateness. However, without denying the existence and strength of gender roles and power structures, people are not only the products of this operation but are active subjects. The ways in which Ladakhi women are actively shaping their relations and creating their own opportunities is essential for understanding the way in which power is resisted. In this context, then, human agency is discussed below.

2.9 Agency

Notions that capitalism destroys women's traditional rights and economic autonomy in relation to men (along the lines of Boserup and others) have been criticized for simplifying the impact of capitalism by romanticizing traditional societies and ignoring the ways in

which individuals and groups contribute to and modify patterns of development. As Stølen (1991) notes, there are a variety of responses to similar processes of change which can be attributed to historically and culturally specific "socio-cultural prerequisites" (1991, p. 2). Examining the ways people create, react to, and change the development process is an actor oriented view of social change. Inherent in this view is the conceptualization of human beings as active subjects, capable of processing their experiences and creating coping strategies even under extremely oppressive conditions. Indeed, from her study in Ethiopia, Pankhurst (1992) reflects that, "to look at gender relations. . . within the limited framework of women's subordination and the hardship of their daily existence would do serious injustice to their active negotiation of a position in all spheres of life (p. 179). Such perspectives point to the importance of focussing on both the accommodation and the resistance of oppression and highlight the relationship between structure and agency (Walter, 1995, p. 272, see also Stølen, 1991, Scott, 1985, and Huizer, 1981). The notion of agency does not imply dismissal of, what may at times be overwhelming, constraints of exploitation and subordination. As Sen (1990) suggests: the ". . . actual agency role is often overshadowed by social rules and by conventional perceptions of legitimacy" (p. 148). These rules and conventions, again, may be so entrenched as to prevent even the recognition of what may be incredible inequity.

Variations in social organization can be explained in part as a reflection of different ways social actors deal with various problematic situations. So, for example, the polyandrous marriage system in Ladakh may reflect a population control response to the lack of arable

land. Further, this form of social organization then creates a different context for the negotiation of power and may result in different responses to modernization than has occurred elsewhere. Stølen (1991) notes: "The notion of local women and men as social actors implies that it is difficult or impossible to predict impacts of innovations without a thorough knowledge of the socio-cultural context where the innovation is going to be adopted" (pp. 2-3). Gender studies carried out within such a framework would depict women as active shapers of their lives, whether they exploit new opportunities or resist them, or whether they succeed in their pursuits or not.

2.10 Conclusion

A number of conclusions of relevance to the Ladakh study can be drawn from the preceding theoretical discussion. Analyzing differential structures of power, authority, cultural and social interpretations and interests – and, in particular, how they are perpetuated, changed, and challenged – may provide key insights into how gender relations change as Ladakh's subsistence economy gives way to a 'modern' market economy. Because of the intensity of its social relations, the household seems to be a critical site for the construction and reproduction of gender relations, and in particular the division of labour and access to resources.

The development of commercialization transforms social relations at the village and household levels. When development is rapid, it is inevitable that these changes create

tensions between the sexes. While gender has been shown to be an important site of difference, gendered analysis must avoid essentializing the category *women* or excluding other important sites of difference such as class, age, ethnicity, etc. Gender relations should not be separated from the totality of social relations nor should discrepancies amongst women be down-played.

Understanding how development impacts vary by gender requires examining as many of the interlocking variables and processes that structure particular societies in particular historical periods. Questioning the gendered dimensions of modernization in Ladakh, one highly specific and local case at the beginning of its modernization process, can help explain the variability of women's relations to capitalist development processes around the world.

This question does not, of course, point to or even permit a simple answer. Working from a feminist theoretical framework demands that the methodology be consistent with feminism. Thus the methodology must not only attempt to answer this question but it must also raise other self-reflective questions about the research process. The following chapter details the importance of the accordance of feminist theory and methods and details the research process of this study.

3.0 METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3.1 Introduction

In many past written accounts of social science research, chapters or sections on methodology were often minor addendums (if present at all). This absence reflected both the dominance of positivist approaches to the social sciences and, perhaps, the subsequent attempt to sanitize the research process and make it appear more objective. In many cases, research questions were presented as variables in a petri dish, analyzed in the lab of the scientist and then generalized into some truths about the world. Methods could be found in any textbook and were taken as given – reflection on them would, perhaps, have seemed pointless. No longer, though, is an unquestioning approach to methodology appropriate; indeed, for many it is the most important component of the research. Kirby and McKenna (1989), explain:

Methodology, theory, and ideology are intertwined. How you go about doing your research is inextricably linked with how you see the world . . . choosing a method for a piece of research is a political choice. When you choose a certain method you adopt a particular way of seeing and constructing the world which may prevent you from knowing it any other way (p. 64).

This chapter details both my methodology and my methods. As Sandra Harding (1987) points out, the two are often used interchangeably but, following her distinction, methodology is the "theory and analysis of how research should proceed" while methods are

"the techniques for gathering evidence" (p. 2). So although I will not claim to have used feminist methods, the research techniques I did use (interviews, participant observation, and surveys) were very much informed by a feminist methodology and epistemology. The first section of the chapter introduces feminist methodology and details some of the areas in which it differs from positivist social science including: focus on inequality and experience, objectivity vs. subjectivity, researcher distance vs. closeness, cultural abstraction vs. uniqueness, and the need for participation and action. In the following section the theories are applied to this study, and constraints and issues which arose during the research process are laid out. Finally my methods and fieldwork are detailed.

3.2 Paradigm Shifts

In the social sciences, changing attitudes about methodologies arose in part from the challenges of postmodernism to traditional social science theory (as discussed in chapter two). One of the changes postmodernism brought to the social sciences was the recognition of many possible paradigms, instead of the presumed truth of any particular one, and the subsequent shift to postpositivism. This shift was marked perhaps most fundamentally by the premise that "a particular social scientist operates on the basis of *a* framework rather than *the* framework" (Stivers, 1993, p. 32). All researchers see through lenses of perception founded on assumptions which may or may not be consciously chosen. Indeed the very power of paradigm is centered in the often unconscious and thus unquestioned ways it shapes perceptions. Maguire (1987) notes that paradigm: "shapes what we look at, how we

look at things, what we label as problems, what problems we consider worth investigating and solving, and what methods are preferred for investigation and action" (p. 11).

There are many diverse paradigms in the social sciences and any discussion of the use of particular methods must acknowledge their contingency on assumptions about the nature of social reality and what constitutes knowledge. Herein, knowledge is understood as being socially constructed through social interactions. Hence everyone has knowledge but because different people experience the world differently they have different knowledges. Further, knowledge is not static but changes over time. Power differentials have led to a monopoly over knowledge production and control at a macro level (in universities for example) and at a more localized level (such as households). As Spender (1981) notes, "constructing explanations of the world is a human activity. And yet knowledge production has been organized in a way that excludes many people from ever participating as either producers or subjects of knowledge (cited in Kirby et al. 1989, p. 95).

Following from these assumptions, there is no unbiased knowledge – it is all grounded in different paradigms and social contexts. Further, the researcher cannot be removed from the process of acquiring knowledge as that knowledge will inevitably be shaped by the assumptions and interests of the researcher. This situation should not lead to paralysis, for, as Stivers (1993) contends "individual contextual accounts are real knowledge as they are grounded in the consensual rules of the relevant knowledge community" (p. 33). The change is that instead of aiming for a ubiquitous or innocent truth, "feminism must work to

constitute itself as the most inclusive possible knowledge community and its knowledge as a perpetual unfolding or developmental process" (Stivers, 1993, p. 34).

In this context, knowledge and knowledge acquisition are no longer seen as an unproblematic gathering of truth, but rather become "a function of sets of rules or agreements among members of particular knowledge communities" (Stivers, 1993, p. 33). From this base, proponents of alternative methodologies launched wide-scale critiques of positivist approaches to social science. Advocates of feminist methodologies, in particular, focussed on the ways that positivism reinforces inequality, and put forward their own proposals for methodologies that "challenge existing power inequalities and empower women and marginal people" (Cancian, 1992, p. 625). The following section sketches the background to, and some components of, feminist methodologies. However, before detailing the implications of feminist epistemology on the research process and the researcher participant relationship, my personal standpoint is provided as recognition of the importance of my social context in shaping the knowledge produced by this research.

3.3 Personal Standpoint

This section briefly sets out aspects of the personal context which has no doubt shaped my identity and perception of the world. I am a white, university educated woman in my twenties. I was raised mainly in North America, in a middle class family of mixed European roots. While this information certainly does not fully capture or express my lenses

for seeing the world, all of these factors have contributed to my consciousness and must certainly affect my conclusions in ways which I may be unaware but may be readily apparent to persons grounded in dissimilar contexts.

3.4 Introduction to Feminist Methodology

Defining feminist methodology depends on how feminism is defined. Chapter two examined feminist theory in more detail, but a working definition (drawn primarily from the GAD literature) will be restated here. Feminism is based on a vision of gender equality at all levels of social life and a commitment to break down structures of gender subordination. Feminism does not deny that discrimination is experienced differently according to a number of cleavages including race and class – feminism recognizes all of these sources of oppression, and their overlap, and it resists them all. Taking this sketch of feminism, then, feminist methodology can be defined as a political as well as scholarly undertaking – one which gives women researchers and research participants voice as well as highlighting previously neglected issues and inequities.

The challenge for feminists is to apply the goals of feminism to the research process. Their attempts have led to the development of a number of different sets of criteria or research components. It should be stressed that there is no one feminist methodology or set of accepted methods; many of the criteria deemed important by some feminists overlap in other discussions of feminist research, but often with varying preeminence (Reinharz, 1992;

Maguire, 1987; Mies, 1991; Billson, 1991; Cancian, 1991). Some criteria, such as the focus on inequality or power differentials and the importance of women's experiences, can be seen in most studies while others, including participatory and / or action oriented approaches are less prevalent. The following section examines some foci of feminist research including: the qualitative and quantitative debate, epistemology / experience, difference, connection, action and participation, and self location. All of these components are integrated in varying degrees to my study of gender, modernization, and change in Ladakh.

3.4.1 Qualitative and Quantitative

One of the most vocal areas of debate in feminist writings on methodology (and social science in general) has been on the use of qualitative or quantitative methods. With the shift to post-positivist research epistemology, some feminists began to assert that quantifying women's experiences into categories predetermined by researchers distorted participant's actual situations and ignored their views and perception on these situations (Roberts, 1981; Mies, 1983). Jayaratne and Stewart (1991) note that underlining this rejection of quantitative methods and enthusiasm for qualitative methods has been an "understanding that many aspects of women's experience have not yet been articulated or conceptualized within social science" (p. 89). The researchers go on to note that "a deep suspicion of quantitative methods as having concealed women's real experience has motivated much preoccupation with, and advocacy of, qualitative methods as methods which permit women

to express their experience fully and in their own terms" (p. 89). Other feminist researchers felt that abandoning quantitative methods would not only carry scholarly costs but that quantitative methods need not distort experience (Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991). Other feminists (Reinharz, 1992; Cancian, 1991; Kirby and McKenna, 1989), including myself, have occupied a middle ground and promote and use both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Researchers have increasingly emphasized the difference between positivist methodology and quantitative methods (Stanley and Wise, 1983). Jayaratne and Stewart (1991) suggest that this de-linking "seems to be increasing consensus in the feminist community that quantitative methods are legitimate research tools and that methods should be chosen based on an appropriate fit with the research question" (p. 92). I took this approach in my study, using primarily qualitative methods with some more quantitative techniques being applied when they were seen as more likely to generate the desired information. The tension surrounding the use of qualitative or quantitative methods in feminist research can be seen as a reaction to the broader debate between researcher objectivity versus subjectivity. This debate is discussed in the following section.

3.4.2 Objectivity / Subjectivity

Challenges to the concept of objectivity stem directly from critiques of positivism and basically counter the latter's claim of an objective reality existing external to human

consciousness and creation. Maguire (1993) argues that "objectivity is an illusion because it suggests that it is possible to separate the subject of knowledge from the object" (p. 18). The act of filtering means that we are always dealing with our perceptions. The extension of this claim is that the social sciences in general, and this study in particular, cannot be value neutral on issues such as gender, race, or class because society is not yet neutral on these issues (Rosser, 1988, cited in Billson, 1991, p. 202). Alternatives to objectivity have been proposed by a number of feminist researchers. Westcott (1979) advocates "intersubjectivity" – bringing in women as subjects of knowledge to break down the separation of subject and object – as a potential feminist methodology (cited in Billson, 1991, p. 202). Mies (1993) calls for "conscious partiality" which is achieved through "partial identification with the research objects" (p. 38). Stivers (1993) claims that focusing on making the contextual basis of the knowledge clear – making the researchers interests and assumptions explicit – constitutes the "new objectivity" (p. 34). Maguire (1987) meanwhile proposes a feminist participatory research process built on a critique of both positivism and androcentrism in social science research.

A number of these proposals shaped my research in Ladakh, including a focus on participant knowledge (and encouraging participants to create their own narratives), attempting to identify with participants (via observation and participation), and being open about my interests and assumptions throughout the research process. All of these approaches call for new types of relationships between researcher and participant, where detachment is abandoned for connection and the researcher is clearly located within the research. These

shifts in relationships are discussed further in the following section.

3.4.3 Distance and Non- intervention

Positivist notions of objectivity led to a preference for distance between researchers and "subjects". Distance was presented as a strategy for "preventing contamination" and avoiding bias (Oakley, 1981, p. 20). Once the notion of objectivity was called into question so also was the assumption that the detached researcher both could and should measure a social phenomenon without interfering (engaging in close personal exchange) with people. Patton (1975) questions the usefulness of such techniques, noting that "without close, empathetic, interpersonal exchange and relationships, researchers will find it impossible to gain meaningful insights into human interaction or to understand the meaning people give their own behavior (cited in Maguire, 1987, p. 20). Developing personal relationships with Ladakhi women was not only necessary to foster the trust necessary for them to reveal personal details of their lives, but it was an end in itself. My epistemology did not allow me to see these women as variables for analysis. They are interesting women, women with knowledge, women from whom I wanted to learn. Further, the notion that a researcher does research with human subjects in some sort of vacuum, neither impacting or being impacted by the process seems naive. As Billson (1991) contends, "we cannot measure a social phenomenon without affecting it, even if only to raise people's awareness of it . . . it is a matter of degree (p. 204). One site of difference between traditional social science and feminist methodology is that feminist research not only accepts that research has impacts

but embraces research that raises consciousness as an important source of change. The obligation of feminist researchers to reject notions of objectivity and neutrality and to institute change is discussed next.

3.4.4 Action and Participation

Many feminist researchers argue that the research process itself must be representative of feminist ideals. The ends, so to speak, do not justify the means. Top down, authoritarian approaches must be replaced by more participatory approaches and egalitarian models. The research process needs to be re-created to include the concerns of the majority. As Mies (1993) notes: "the vertical relationship between researcher and 'research objects', the view from above, must be replaced by the view from below" (p. 38). The relationship I hoped to foster with participants was one of equality – a relationship permeating all aspects of the research. For this research in Ladakh, it meant giving up the mantle of 'expert' for one of colleague or even more likely of student.

Stemming from the goal of representative research processes is the notion that feminist theory requires feminist politics. These politics apply to the research process. As discussed earlier, research is not neutral, it has effects, which may hurt or harm people. The researcher is responsible for the impacts of this research and must evaluate whether these impacts run counter to feminism. One dominant theme in feminist methodology is that research must be for women. It should go beyond explaining and documenting to focus on social

transformation and improving conditions. Action should be based on knowledge constructed from individual contextual accounts. Such accounts are discussed in more detail in the following section.

3.4.5 Standpoint

In order to get to the actions described above, feminist scholars needed to research women's experiences to fill large gaps in knowledge. As Anderson et al. (1990) point out, the absence of many women's perspectives in past research accounts was not simply a result of oversight but women's knowledge " . . . had been suppressed, trivialized, ignored, or reduced to the status of gossip and folk wisdom by dominant research traditions institutionalized in academic settings and in scientific disciplines . . . Dominant ideologies distorted and made invisible women's real activities to women as well as to men" (p. 96).

For this study of Ladakh, focusing on individual accounts is not simply a way to avoid postmodern critiques of essentializing, but is a recognition of the claim that "each human being occupies a legitimate position from which to experience, interpret, and constitute the world" and the demand that "those who have been objectified now be able to define themselves, to tell their own stories" (Stivers, 1993, p. 34). Further, grounding research in women's actual experience helps to avoid the myth of authority – the notion that the researcher is somehow the expert on the lives of others. As Billson (1991) contends, "the view into cultures not our own should be painted only with the guidance of those who live

in them. To interpret from the outside is social science arrogance . . . and can lead only to continuing distortion, invisibility, and misunderstanding of women" (p. 205). These problems can be partially offset by making assumptions and interpretations open, not only to academic peers and advisors, but also to research participants, and remaining open to alternative explanations. This openness requires situating the researcher in the research. However, while there is room to provide the potentially different views of the researcher and the participants, priority should be to maintain authenticity by letting the participants speak for themselves.

3.4.6 Difference / Uniqueness

Proponents of feminist standpoint theory (see chapter two) argue that while multiple feminisms may be contradictory, this contradiction is the source of feminism's strength. In Harding's (1992) view, each feminism can achieve only a partial view of reality. None is disinterested, impartial, or detached from its unique social location (p. 180). Dubois notes that feminist methodology implies "seeing things in context"; failing to locate women within their culture strips us of identity (cited in Billson, 1991, p. 203). Deconstructing the category *women* provides a framework to understand gender oppression within a matrix of other social cleavages such as race and class which may further marginalize some women and create different feminist perspectives. For example E.F White contends that the marginalization of Afro-American women through both sexism and racism creates a unique Black Feminism (cited in Hill Collins, 1991; see also hooks, 1984; and Lordes 1984).

Feminist research must examine gender constructs from many perspectives and not shy away from revealing the differences in how women perceive and experience gender – otherwise research will distort not only the women at the margins but also those at the center (Gallin and Ferguson, 1993, p. 13). Analyzing the social structure or the context of women's lives in Ladakh is essential for grounding the enquiry; it not only helps avoid the errors of abstraction or generalization but it also aids in what Mies (1993) calls the "collective conscientization of women" by enabling them to subjectively appropriate their history to make their past struggles, sufferings, and dreams, their own (p. 42). The need to avoid essentializing through this focus on context and difference is elaborated in the following section.

3.4.7 Avoiding Essentialising

This section will briefly examine an important task for feminism, namely, "to break out of the all women are oppressed everywhere and in all times mold" (Billson, 1991, p. 213). One problem in trying to understand and eliminate the differences between men and women is the potential to reinforce a sexually based dichotomy between genders and to obscure the difference within gender groups and the links across genders. As Helen Pankhurst (1992) reflects on her research in Ethiopia: "ironically, in attempting to argue that biological difference between men and women is used to perpetuate a certain type of hierarchy, there is the danger of sex and the biological distinction being reinstated as the dominant, or even the only issue" (p. 185). We need to surmount our own assumptions about male domination

and female passivity, and present the stories of women who have authority and whose roles are valued, examining both the cultural / social, political and economic forces that subordinate women and those that work towards equality.

Gender must not be isolated from other cleavages or sites of difference within societies. For example, in Ladakh many of the problems facing women are also those of poor men or remote peoples. Further, amongst women there are many sites of difference including class, religion, education, age, etc. This research attempts to examine the links between some of these categories, and the contradictions within them, as well as contextualize women's position and work in relation to the position and work of men. In the following section, the research process is made explicit and the extent to which I was able to integrate some of the previously discussed goals or components of feminist research is examined.

3.5 Introduction to Research

The best feminist research may satisfy all of the above mentioned criteria. However, most does not (Cancian, 1991) and mine did not. Some components were very much a part of my methods, however, due to various constraints – notably of time – others were not. Following a brief introduction to the research, the methods used as well as some of the limitations of the research process are discussed.

The research began in earnest in January 1995 when I engaged in a preliminary literature

review on Ladakh. However my interest in Ladakh stemmed back to a visit I made to the area in the summer of 1993 while participating in an ecological field study of the Himalayas. I was curious as to how aspects of the region's cultural background (particularly polyandry and the division of labour) might be impacting on the ways in which the transition from a subsistence to a cash economy was altering women's lives. I also felt that the seclusion of the region (and the relatively recent and rapid rate of the changes taking place across it) might enable me to isolate the impacts of these changes. Finally, I was drawn to the people – who in my last visit had been very welcoming. I spent four months in 1995 (May - August) in the region collecting the data, followed by a subsequent stay of four months in 1996 (June - September) working on the analysis.

3.5.1 Issues and Limitations: Changing Scope of Research

This section explains some of the constraints and issues which shaped the research process. The first two major constraints are related: time and language. I could not speak Ladakhi and I had only four months for primary data collection. Although recognizing the problems associated with using an interpreter (discussion to follow) I did not feel I would be able to learn enough Ladakhi in that short time span to conduct the interviews myself nor did this seem to be an efficient use of time. A number of university educated men were interviewed for the position of research assistant (after being told of the unavailability of women by well meaning locals) but they were not suitable. They were resistant to my proposed methods and confirmed my suspicions that they would be uncomfortable discussing certain marital issues

(such as polyandry) with Ladakhi women. I then encountered two young women (one a high-school graduate and the other who had completed one year of college) whom I engaged as my research assistants.

During the progression of the work, my initial research aims were modified by both changing opportunities and constraints and by my own understandings of the situation. I will first briefly note how I intended to proceed with the research and then, what I ended up doing. I originally intended to leave Leh for a smaller village where I hoped to select about twenty women for detailed oral narratives supported by extensive participant observation. However both research assistants had family constraints which prevented them from leaving Leh for extended periods of time. A pilot test of ten interviews revealed that the short length of my stay had not allowed me to build up the trust needed for women to discuss certain subjects with me candidly. My research assistants pointed out that if we went through their family contacts they could attest to my trustworthiness (for example vouch for my promise not to allow access to taped interviews, or use their names) and in this way we could overcome the trust barrier. Although this would certainly change the nature of the study, using kin links seemed to be a good strategy as the alternative of random sampling seemed unlikely to reveal any personal information, nor is it a pre-requisite in qualitative methods. Choosing not to use random sampling does limit the generalizability of research findings. However, I was actually much more interested in generating hypotheses than confirming them. That is, I wanted to go beyond using women's lives to confirm or counter pre-existing models to let women's lives and life accounts shape the questions, and in this way play a part

in creating more inclusive models. In this sense, the nature of the study meant that abandoning random sampling was not a methodological problem.

The number of interviews was also expanded. The research was undertaken during the busiest agricultural season and most of the women could not spare more than a few hours to speak with us. Longer conversations were supplemented with briefer ones in accordance with the individual's time, willingness, and also, simply, the rapport we could establish. Sixty-five people were interviewed. The majority of research participants were women, villagers, Buddhist, engaged in subsistence agriculture, and over the age of thirty (for participant profiles see appendix one). Older women were preferred as I was trying to get an historical perspective on societal changes. The study focused on Buddhists, farmers, and villagers because the great majority of women in Ladakh fall into these categories (see background chapter). Kin links also skewed the sample towards Buddhists as my research assistants were Buddhist. However residents of Leh, Muslims, professional women, and young women, were also included to explore differences along cleavages of class, religion, education, age, etc. Similarly some men (including lamas) also participated.

3.5.2 Self Presentation

How the researcher is perceived by participants obviously impacts the relationship and consequently the types of information shared. Often, of course, we have little control over some aspects of self presentation – for example our age, gender, race, etc. Many of these

factors, particularly my gender, impacted the information I was privy to. I presented myself as a student who wanted to learn about Ladakhi women's lives so that I could tell the people in my part of the world about their experiences. Many times I was certain that my relative youth and my gender allowed these women to open up to me as these two things seemed to counterbalance their surprise at my level of education and their subsequent shyness to speak to me, many of them saying "I am just an illiterate farmer, I will not be able to answer any of your questions." Following their participation these same women often noted that my questions were very easy to answer because they were just telling me about their lives. The methods used to collect these sketches of participant's lives are discussed in the following section.

3.6 Methods

In addition to archival and printed information, primary data were gathered using a mixture of research methods including participant observation, surveys, and personal narratives / interviews. All of these methods are discussed below, as are the methods used in the analysis of findings. First though, some thoughts on the use of multiple methods is laid out.

3.6.1 Multiple Methods

This research is based on a number of different research techniques including interviews, surveys, and participant observation. The hope is that using a multi-method approach draws

the strengths from and counterbalances the weaknesses of the individual methods. This research approach has some links with ethnography. According to Reinharz (1992) ethnographies "focus on interpretation, rely on the researcher's immersion in social setting, and aim for intersubjective understanding between researchers and the person(s) studied (p. 46). Further, citing Morick and Goran (1971) Reinharz notes:

Feminist ethnography is consistent with three goals mentioned frequently by feminist researchers: (1) to document the lives and activities of women, (2) to understand the experience of women from their own point of view, and (3) to conceptualize women's behavior as an expression of social contexts (p. 51).

Preceding sections highlight how all three of these goals are crucial to this research effort (see also chapter two). In the following sections the particular methods used are detailed along with the rationale for their selection.

3.6.2 Personal Narratives / Interviews

When women speak for themselves, they reveal hidden realities: new experiences and new perspectives emerge that challenge the "truths" of official accounts and cast doubt upon established theories. Interviews with women can explore private realms such as reproduction, child rearing, and sexuality to tell us what women actually did instead of what experts thought they did or should have done. Interviews can also tell us how women felt about what they did and can interpret the personal meaning and value of particular activities. They can, but they usually do not (Anderson et al, 1990, p. 95).

The above quote indicates both the potential value of interviews as well as their likelihood of falling short of this ideal. My research was aimed at capturing the relationships between

societal and individual change over time, with special emphasis on household and community gender relations. To do this I focused on the roles, activities, and status of women in their domestic, cultural, and community contexts – to obtain information about their present situation but also their perceptions of their past and futures. While wanting to document activity, as Anderson et al. note (1990), "a story restricted to action and things is incomplete" (p. 98). For example, I wanted to learn not only how the marriage ceremony occurred but also whether it was exciting or frightening, whether the bride was willing or coerced, whether she was happy or in despair. Further I wanted to explore how women are affected by change but also how they affect change.

Depending on the participants the interview process took various forms. The process was first tried using a pilot of ten participants and was then refined by listening to the taped conversations and noting difficult or awkward elements. I also tried to experience the interview as a participant by attempting to answer my own pilot question areas. A checklist of subject areas (see appendix two) was used to engage participants in dialogue. In some cases the discussion did not stray far from the checklist of subjects while in others it developed into a much broader exchange. The checklist of subjects followed roughly chronologically based events which resulted in the creation / collection of brief histories of most participants.

Upon arrival in the villages we would visit (and usually stay with) my research assistant's closest relative. We would explain the research aims and methods to her and then usually

request her participation. We would then interview her and she would also sometimes accompany us to the homes of other women that she or my assistant felt would be willing to participate. In that context, she would help us to explain the process and tell them of her own experience to encourage their participation. She would then either go back to her work or attend the interview. Most of the interviews took place in the homes (usually kitchens), or fields of the participants. Often the three of us (myself, my interpreter, and the participant(s)) sat at floor level, drinking copious amounts of butter tea (usually served by a younger female family member but sometimes served by the participant). The research process mirrored the local style of entertaining guests. At the beginning of the visit we would explain who I was and the nature of the research, then explain the format of the interviews and ask individuals if they would like to participate. All participants were encouraged to ask questions at any point in order to foster a sense of sharing ideas. Usually, though, it was after the taping ended that participants would ask me questions about my life, also sometimes providing more detailed or personal information pertaining to areas we had discussed (I later made extensive field notes of these conversations). At various times during the interviews and at the conclusion of each session, participants were asked what they thought of the questions or if there was anything they would suggest or emphasize.

It was very easy to find willing participants. Unlike some researchers in the area who found many men unresponsive to being interviewed as they claimed to have been asked all the same questions before but to no avail – most women seemed very happy to talk with me. In fact many of the women said that I was the first foreigner they had ever spoken with

(somewhat surprising considering the number of foreigners visiting the area). My visits to the village women were often quite festive, accompanied by much laughter and excitement, and usually ending with the women dressing up for a photo.

In the pilot study a number of women asked me to take photographs of them and their families. I was quite happy to provide them with these as a show of my appreciation for their time. In fact, at the time I was grappling with what type of remuneration or gift would be appropriate for participants. The photograph was both affordable, and appreciated. Further, it maintained the spirit of friendship which developed with some participants. My research assistants told me it was primarily appreciated as a remembrance of "the Canadian girl's" visit. In addition to the portraits I took at the close of the interviews, I spent a good deal of my free time in the villages maintaining my journal and taking photographs. I photographed everything from the landscape, to homes, religious artifacts, tools, jewelry, food etc. and people engaging in their everyday tasks. Although I was aware of creating a visual record, I did not consider it a component of my methodology. However, although this strategy was not the intention at the time, photography became very much a method in the research. The photographs gave me a visual record of the women, their children, their homes, etc. and served as a focus of discussion when I returned with the prints some weeks after the interviews. Later, writing up the research out of the field, the photographs and journal entries kept many of the details of daily life fresh in my mind and, I believe, helped me to continue to see participants in the context of their lives. While the candid shots capture some of the details of the ways of living, the portraits seem to capture a sense of how

participants perceive themselves and how they want to be perceived.

Except in a few cases (at the participants' request), the interviews were taped. The recording process certainly affected the discussion dynamic; many women seemed shy or hesitant at the beginning of the interview. This seemed entirely understandable as most people probably begin to self-censor the moment a recording device is used. However, despite these problems, taping the interviews was a requirement for my ethical clearance from Carleton University to do the research (the visible presence of the tape recorder would make it clear that the information was going to be used and thus ensured informed consent of participants – although this consent was actually given some time before the recording began). I feel, however, that the benefits of taping the conversations outweighed the constraints. Not having to make notes during the discussion allowed me to concentrate more attentively on the dialogue and, after the initial awkwardness of the tape recorder diminished, it led to a more natural form of conversation. Finally the tapes and transcripts are a very rich and detailed source of information.

As mentioned previously, I was working with interpreters. One obvious concern was the addition of one more person's perceptual lenses and her potential editing or shaping of information. It must be stressed that although my research assistants were both Ladakhi women, many factors of difference separated them from some of the research participants including age, religion, class, education, and their more urban lifestyle. I spent a great deal of time discussing my methodology with them and encouraging them to use as literal

translations as possible. I also stressed the importance of confidentiality. I tried to mitigate potential errors in translation by encouraging my interpreters to simply make an oral note of any terms they were unsure of in English which we could check later or, if they were unsure of what I meant to simply ask me to clarify until they did. While this may seem obvious, explicitly voicing that they were not expected to be experts at translation made them comfortable indicating when they were unsure, instead of guessing. Probably the most difficult aspect of using interpreters was in establishing rapport with the participants. I tried to mitigate this by adopting local mannerisms of conversation such as nodding or clucking while the participants were responding to questions according to their tone and mannerisms, which, combined with the vocabulary I knew, let me get a sense of what they were saying. The most satisfying times in the research process were when a three way rapport was established. At times the three way sharing of information between myself, my interpreter and friend, and her relative – usually from a different generation – was very intimate. We were all often learning details about each others lives that we had never considered. At times I felt almost like a catalyst between the two women – the older participant sometimes expressing satisfaction in explaining her life and how things used to be to her younger relative – who in turn often expressed her fascination and pleasure in learning about the other. My research assistants were born in 1975, after tourism and the military had come to Ladakh, and in Leh – the center of these changes. However, many of the participants had lived before the area was opened up, and in a style that had varied little in hundreds of years. The sites of difference in their lives and the differences in their perceptions of various issues and events served as a dynamic focal point for my own understanding.

3.6.3 Surveys

In the collection of women's life histories . . . special attention should be paid to the very concrete aspects of resource allocation – why they are the way they are and whether people accept them readily or resist – and to the recall of explanations offered by adults. Perhaps people will speak more willingly about these concrete details, which are often more clearly remembered, than about abstract ideas like discrimination or status. Perhaps they will also express their feelings more readily about specific inequalities than about any broad sense of being less valued than others (Papanek, 1990, p. 175).

The existence of both private and dominant discourses or accounts (see chapter two) have ramifications on methodology which should be briefly discussed. Often when a culture's material base can no longer support its ideologies and norms, people's accounts of their experience do not always seem to match that experience. As Papanek (1990) suggests above, often asking action oriented questions can reveal the private account where questions around ideology may reflect the dominant account. Both types of questions were used in the interviews and at times resulted in what might appear to be contradictory results but when situated in the conceptualization of dominant and private accounts, are not surprising. Details of the division of labour and access to resources were deemed particularly important to document (as this information seemed likely to point to the variations in power relations among household members – see chapter two), so forty of the interviews included a survey on these themes. The survey was composed of a number of specific questions targeting male and female activities (see appendix three). For each task (carding wool, purchasing food, etc.) respondents were asked to indicate who did them in their household. Other questions directly targeted resource distribution and control and spending of finances.

3.6.4 Participant Observation

Because I stayed as a guest in many of the homes of the village women I interviewed and developed some close relationships with them, I gained insights into their lives through participating in and observing their day to day activities. This process was combined with a detailed diary of events, which also served as a venue for reflection on the research process. Such participant observation, "combines ways of data gathering with direct observation to give a full account of how individuals make sense of their experience (Kirby and McKenna, 1989, p. 76)"

Participation is essentially interacting with participants where they normally are and doing what they normally do. Levels of involvement vary, but the goal is to attempt to understand by doing – to approximate the experience of participants. Both meaning and information can be gained through participation. Kirby and McKenna (1989) suggest that "even though perfect understanding is impossible, a measure of assurance about understanding can be gained from 'standing in the shoes of another' and / or immersion in the setting of another (p. 78)." I experienced various levels of participation throughout the research process, ranging from helping with chores (cleaning grain, separating rice, weeding) to attending family gatherings and celebrations.

Observation entails watching people do what they normally do in the places they normally do it. In my case this included everything from watching women (and at times men) in

public places (working in the fields, washing clothes in stream-beds, selling vegetables in the market) as well as in their homes (cooking, cleaning, breast-feeding, etc.). The difference from participation is in the extent of the researcher's involvement. However, although the observer may feel detached from the situation, her presence alone ensures some minimal level of participation. There are limits to what the researcher can and should observe while remaining non-invasive and respectful of privacy. Further, the process must be accompanied by reflection and a conscious attempt to remain open-minded and avoid projecting personal meanings on to observations.

Through participant observation I was better able to understand women's lives. As well as generating many discussion questions the process enabled me, however briefly, to bridge some of the cleavages separating me from participants and get a glimpse of what their lives might truly be like.

3.6.5 Methods of Analysis

The analysis process is perhaps the most difficult aspect of research, but it is one that is rarely discussed in the qualitative methods literature (Strauss, 1987). In part this omission can be explained by the individual nature of the exercise but I think more likely, researchers are hesitant to reveal their flounderings in this very subjective art. The analysis process can determine what information is highlighted and what is hidden. The methods used to analyze findings impact the way the findings are interpreted and the style or organization selected

to lay out the analysis also affects how findings are presented. That is to say, using the same fieldnotes, photographs, completed surveys, and audio-cassettes, another researcher could come to conclusions very different but not necessarily contradictory (and potentially complementary) to mine.

The first step in the analysis was to transcribe the audio-cassettes. Although this is an extremely time consuming process, transcriptions provide a rich and detailed source of information. Further, transcribing helps to ensure that the accounts shape the findings much more than, for example, devising particular questions ahead of time and noting recorded comments that fit into these pre-determined categories.

Once the hundreds of pages of transcripts were compiled, I was faced with the rather paralyzing task of sorting this information into a coherent account without artificially simplifying the complexity of the women's lives it spoke of. I was intensely aware, at this stage, of the impossibility of this task and of the power I had to shape the information into almost any form (see also Acker, Barry and Esevald, 1991, p.143). Following Strauss (1987) I started by reading through the interviews and field-notes and making marginal notes of possible categories that the discussion would fall into (e.g. marriage, education, etc.). These categories were refined and expanded as I went through the information; after the first reading, a list of categories was drafted. Codes for this list were then created and inserted into the transcripts and fieldnotes.

During the initial reading various passages from the transcripts were put through a rather painstaking discourse analysis (see Jones, 1985). This approach took the form of breaking the passage into small chunks of text (often physically – i.e. using scissors) and then creating maps of interrelationships. This process could see five sentences transformed into a four page matrix of interconnected ideas and themes. I felt that this process alone would not enable me to do any comprehensive analysis of my findings because it was extremely time consuming and would transform the rather bulky mass of transcripts into a matrix so vast as to be unworkable. However, by emphasizing links among ideas and relationships, these links then became much more apparent in the broader coding process; therefore, during the coding, discourse analysis techniques were employed on a number of randomly selected passages.

Because of the number of participants in the study, presenting findings in a case study or participant profile approach did not seem appropriate. It also makes comparison and integration of themes difficult. However using themes can mask individual circumstances and mask the relationship between events. Still a thematic approach seemed the better approach to take even given the constraints. Following this approach, my coded information was then divided into different files (some information being placed in a number of files since code overlap was more the rule than the exception). Throughout the entire process notes were made about some of the issues underlying many of the categories and some of the links among the themes.

The difficulty of data analysis is that in essence it is an artificial reduction of very complex and dynamic relationships and processes into a linear format that obscures the chaos and impalpable nature of reality. Like other researchers I questioned my ability to face the challenges required of this task, as Pankhurst (1992) asks, "how can I mention one issue in isolation without mentioning its impact on a series of other factors?" or even more fundamentally, "what issues should I highlight?", "what explanations do I espouse?" (p. 188). These challenges should make a researcher pause but should not bring the research to a complete standstill; at some point something has to be said – and it will not capture everything and it will reflect the lenses of the researcher. I am aware of this and try as much as possible to make my 'lens' clear to both myself and the reader throughout the following analysis chapters.

3.7 Conclusion

In the preceding sections I presented both my methodology and methods. These two components are necessarily connected. The feminist methodology I detailed directly informs the selection and use of research techniques.

While there is no one set of feminist research criteria, earlier in the chapter, a number of common as well as less prevalent research foci were presented. My research has only partially met some of the preferred components of feminist research. The research developed out of a feminist framework and had feminist goals – but is it *for* women? That

depends on which women. Certainly it was *for* me. I think that is also *for* academic women who may use the information. Finally I think it also was *for* my research assistants in that the intensity and depth of their participation would seem to have shaped their consciousness to some degree. Specifically, though, was it *for* the participants? How will it affect the lives of the women on whom it is based? Realistically, probably not very much. Certainly I would guess they have a memory of a pleasant interchange, some a new friend. Perhaps the research led to a process of conscientization among some, but beyond that, I can make no broader claims. To some extent I think this limitation reflects the nature of the research – there was no one theme with direct policy implications being examined – however it is partly due to the research methods. More participatory approaches, especially in the research design, would probably have increased the levels of conscientization and ensured the research answered the questions the participants deemed important.

What I did try to do was add a missing account to the unfolding and multiple feminist knowledges. Starting from the position that everyone has knowledge and that feminism must work to constitute itself as the most inclusive possible knowledge community, I selected tools to bring out individual contextual accounts. Dorothy Smith (1979) contends that feminist research must "begin where we are with real concrete people and their actual lives," to go beyond the dominant ideologies about women and our place in the world (cited in Anderson et al., 1990, p. 97). I have tried to realize this goal. As mentioned earlier, I took a number of portraits that I find very revealing. Many of the women seem to present an image of the way they see themselves and perhaps the way they want to be seen. I

surrounded myself with these faces while writing up the research: some staring at me with determination and quiet strength, others seeming more hesitant; most smiling while some appearing sad or tired; some proudly displaying their ornaments and traditional dress and others in the new Indian style of clothing; many with a child or grandchild held up to the camera. I surrounded myself with these faces and have tried to reflect the complexity and integrity of their lives, while meshing their stories with my own emergent understanding of gender, power, and equity. Most important though, I hope I have let the voices speak for themselves.

4.0 FINDINGS: MARRIAGE, FAMILY, WORK, AND EDUCATION

4.1 Introduction

Having laid out the theoretical and methodological framework for the research, the original thesis question of the way modernization is affecting Ladakhi women can now be directly examined. The research findings have been divided into two chapters to make presentation of the information more manageable. This chapter sketches the day to day life of Ladakhi women, focussing on: marital and household structures, power and resource allocation within these structures, division of labour, and access to and impacts of education. In the following chapter more abstract themes including tradition and change are analyzed. Finally these two chapters are integrated in the analysis chapter (chapter six) which pulls all of the themes together under the rubric of gender and change and explicitly links the findings to the scholarly literature examined in chapters two, and three.

4.2 Participant Profile

As stated in the previous chapter, sixty-five people were interviewed. The majority of research participants were women, villagers, Buddhist, engaged in subsistence agriculture, and over the age of thirty. Brief information about each participant is provided in appendix one, including their sex, age, religion, occupation, marital status, home location, and some details of their family living arrangements. To protect their privacy all participants are given

pseudonyms.

Throughout the following sections statistics are at times used to present the findings and show trends among participants. It should be stressed that participants were not randomly selected. The use of these statistics does not imply generalizability to the general population of Ladakh. For example if it is indicated that eighty percent of participants were in arranged marriages it is intended as a description of this particular group and is not necessarily reflective of the percentage of arranged marriages in Ladakh. Similarly, the survey on the division of labour was conducted on forty of the interview participants and is also not generalizable to the entire population.

4.3 Marriage

The position of women in traditional society as well as in the shift towards modernization is grounded in a number of social constructs. In the case of Ladakh, critical themes emerging from discussions of participant's lives and changing circumstances included marriage, education, and the division of labour. All of these constructs both shape and are shaped by power relations in society and in the household in particular.

As discussed in chapter two, power and gender are relational concepts; that is they do not exist outside of relations and are not simply qualities a person has (Stølen, 1991, p. 9). In analyzing my field notes and transcripts, the question was, therefore, not whether men or

women have power but rather how power is negotiated between them. I felt that the intensity of social relationships within the household made it a critical site for the construction and reproduction of gender relations, including the division of labour and access to resources. Of these social relations, certainly one of the most intense, in this regard, is that of marriage. Because of the way in which it shapes and influences other household relations, marital relations in Ladakh are discussed first.

During discussions participants often commented on their parents and their childrens' marriages; often all continue to live together as extended families. For this reason and because not every participant discussed every subject, quantitative data will not always add up to sixty-five (the number of participants).

The age at marriage of participants ranged from nine to thirty-two years of age. The majority of the women I spoke with had married between fifteen and twenty-one – the most common age at marriage was eighteen (most had married men within a few years of their own age). There was no obvious link between age and the type of marriage; older women seemed just as likely to be in arranged marriages and some love marriages occurred at very young ages. For example a thirteen year old was in a love marriage and the woman married at the oldest age of participants (thirty-two) was in an arranged marriage. Love marriages are not a new phenomenon nor do arranged marriages seem to be declining in popularity. Similarly marrying at very young ages does not seem to be restricted to the past. The ten women I spoke with who had been married at or before fifteen years of age, currently range

in age from twenty-four to seventy-two. The majority of them, though, and reflecting the participant profile, were in their forties and fifties.

One participant said her parents "gave her" at "a very young age" (she was fifteen) because there were many children in her family.ⁱⁱⁱ Another said that she was married early because she had no brothers; her parents brought her husband in (Magpa marriage) because they needed the additional labour. With the exception of one woman who said that at twelve, "I was happy to leave my family and go live with my husband," all of the women married before sixteen said that they experienced difficulty upon first marrying. Of the decision to marry Darchan said, "I was very young and did not know anything, my parents told me to marry with this man and I got married." Others noted that they were not happy about marrying and had to be forced. Some found the transition from childhood to womanhood an abrupt one. Tashi says, "I was just a child so I knew nothing about running a household", while Dhosit notes, "when I was with my parents I didn't do anything. I used to play and enjoy myself a lot. I didn't have any burdens on me, but after marriage I had to do each and every work."

Age at marriage may be linked with the home village. For example, one woman I interviewed said that around the time she was born there was a boy born in her village; their

iii

While the original transcripts have been edited to eliminate grammatical errors, the style of the dialogue has been maintained (including different structuring and non-standard usage). Square brackets are used to insert additional words or phrases when minor grammatical changes are not enough to clarify the meaning.

parents decided that they would have the children marry when they were old enough. When they were nine they were married. No other women whose marriages had been arranged during infancy were interviewed but the participant told me that in her village it was relatively common. Interviews had not been conducted in her home village (she had since moved) but it was within ten kilometers of another village where interviews had been undertaken. Often people indicated that in remote villages both young ages at marriage and polyandrous marriages were more common than in the regions surrounding Leh and close to the main road. This situation may reflect the reduced impact of external influences, such as the Indian Marriage Act (making polyandry illegal), television and schools, on more remote populations.

4.3.1 Selecting Marriage Partners

Unlike many parts of India, Ladakh does not follow a dowry system. However, women have certain ornaments which are passed on to their eldest daughter. These include jewelry and the elaborate turquoise studded headdress called the perak, as well as sets of metal cookware and serving pots. In the past a woman's eligibility for marriage seemed strongly linked to these possessions. For example, Rangzon, now in her sixties or seventies (she was not sure) never married because, as she said:

we [she and one sister] did not have ornaments. In those days . . . during marriage, people gave utensils and ornaments to their daughter; those who did not have those things did not get any proposals for marriage. That is why I stayed unmarried and became a nun. Only the

oldest sister married; she had our mother's ornaments. Whatever the mother has she has to give it to her eldest daughter, and the eldest has the opportunity to marry and the others do not.

Similarly, Namgyal, now in her forties related:

It was a tradition that the oldest daughter should marry. I had lots of ornaments and many proposals were coming and my parents did not allow me to go to school . . . my parents used to say you have lots of ornaments you should not go to school and I used to feel happy that I have all these ornaments and there is no need for me to go to school.

Today, many women in the areas surrounding Leh no longer have any ornaments. Many have been sold to antique dealers in the Leh market for sale to outsiders. Some people even scorn the idea of the perak altogether; one man said to me that the perak is a bad tradition, that "keeping 1 lakh [hundred thousand] Rupees on the head is not good." Still, participants often dressed in all of their ornaments including peraks with obvious pride for photographs. Such ornaments are also worn during ceremonies like birth festivals and parades for Buddha Purmina (a Buddhist holiday). In some remote regions most women were observed wearing the perak, especially at festivals, and the traditional importance of these ornaments may likely persist. In areas around Leh the possession of ornaments does not seem to be as enticing to potential marriage partners and in-laws as other factors – such as a government job. Still the shift in preference to earning potential is in no way obvious. Dawa, a university graduate I spoke with, is currently grappling with the type of woman he should marry. He noted:

. . . there are advantages and disadvantages to marrying either an educated or an illiterate woman. The advantage to marrying a government employee would be that we both can collect money to give an education to our children but since government jobs often entail distant postings a government employed wife could lead to problems with childcare if both myself and my wife had to be away at the same time.

In none of my discussions with unmarried men or women did the possession of ornaments arise as a consideration in their future marital arrangements.

The large majority of participants' marriages were arranged but about twenty percent of the marriages were said to be love marriages. Both the arranged and love marriages can occur in many different ways. Some love marriages involved the man and woman meeting (for example at work or through relatives) and falling in love. Other couples fell in love from afar (perhaps relying on their own observations of each other and / or the encouragement of mutual friends). Often this is followed by seeking parental approval, or in some cases eloping. Love marriages may involve couples who have never met or have never seen each other. Namgyal eloped with a man she had never met in order to escape an impending arranged marriage she was unhappy about. A proposal had come from the man but was rejected by her parents. The woman's friends presented the man favorably and he had certain traits she preferred over her parent's selection so she ran away with him and had a court marriage in Srinagar.

None of the participants indicated that they had any "relations" with their husbands before marriage. There were no unchaperoned meetings between the men and women before-hand

and I did not hear of any cases of cohabitation before marriage. Dolma (now in her seventies) who had been deserted by her husband, later had a child by a second man. She said that people would say things behind her back and she experienced a number of hardships because of her social situation. Participants indicated that having a child when not married meant that a girl was "spoiled;" many stressed that "we don't do that in Ladakh." Some participants indicated that it was not proper for men and women who were less directly related than first cousins to walk about together or spend time alone (rules are even stricter for Muslims who are permitted to marry first cousins). The result of this was that they would both be "spoiled." In practice, however, the social repercussions did not seem to be as severe for men. As Diskit said:

People in Ladakh have a double standard. If a boy does something wrong they will talk about him only for four or five days, like: 'this boy is with this girl.' If a girl does this, they will say she is very bad. For the whole of her life people will keep on talking about her the same way. Whether the girl is good, if she didn't do anything, still the people doubt her character.

Some married women who became comfortable with me questioned me at length about the relations between men and women in the West. One asked how it was that unmarried women travelling with men (foreign tourists) prevented pregnancy, saying that in Ladakh birth control pills were only available to married women and then only after the birth of one child. Similarly, abortion is generally only available to married women and after having the procedure once, some participants claimed that a woman faces a scolding from the doctor if she returns for another. Abortion, said one participant, "is a big sin in Buddhism." When

unmarried women become pregnant participants indicated that they are quickly married to the man with whom they are having relations. One participant relayed one such case involving her acquaintance. The girl in question was later married to the man with whom she had the affair; since he was already married she became his second wife.

In arranged marriages, the son's parents (or other relatives) may choose a suitable woman and may or may not garner their son's approval. A phas.pun / family member may then be sent to approach the parents of the girl who may or may not seek their daughter's approval before responding. The degree of control held by the potential bride can vary enormously. Educated women from economically well off Buddhist families, especially in Leh, seemed to have more control than other participants but these links would require further study to substantiate. Some women indicated that they gave their parents a list of required criteria (e.g. a government employee) and had the power to accept or reject any proposal. Many women indicated that they were forced by their parents to marry. Storal says, "I was not happy to marry but I was afraid of my father, if my father said, 'go and marry this man,' I would do it because I was afraid of my father." The force often took the form of verbal pressure with the parent indicating, for example, that the man was a good match and the child must obey, etc. Others were even coerced, or tricked, by their family members or outsiders into a marriage they were not happy with; this is often referred to as being "stolen." Zalmo said both her two daughters were "stolen away" from her, recounting:

... they were unhappy. The younger daughter cried a lot, she said: 'I won't go again,' but

she had to go because she gave birth to a small baby. They played a trick. Her relative said: 'your mother and father are happy with this proposal and they told us to make you marry with this man,' and they said a lot of things like this and she had to marry.

Diskit related a similar story of how her daughter had been "stolen" from a friend's home:

A proposal came for my daughter, (she is a teacher) twelve or thirteen had already come . . . but she always said: 'I won't marry' . . . one [group] came and they told us to give our daughter to their son. And I said my daughter is not going, if she doesn't want to I won't force her. I won't marry her. But I told her you should wait for three or four months and then maybe marry this man. Then my daughter went to Leh to meet her brother. He was in Leh for school. The person from my daughter's in-laws came to Leh. My daughter was in Leh with her friend, a girl from the village. They told her [the friend] that we want her to marry with my son so will you please help us in this. At that time she [the daughter] was returning to Alchi and that girl told her that she needed her help so could she please stay one more night in Leh. She [the daughter] thought 'she is my friend, I should help her' so she stayed with her. At night they [the in-laws] came and say 'we want to marry you now' and she cried a lot and said she is not going to marry. And then she said, 'if I have to marry call my brothers here'. They thought that if they call the brothers they would create a problem so they made a trick . . . they made a trick [participant is crying] it was a trick . . . he said that your mother told me that 'my daughter is not marrying and you can take her from Leh.' And then she thought that I wanted her to marry and then she was able to do so . . . she then had a lot of misunderstanding against her mother and family . . . girls don't have their own choice . . . somebody can play a trick and they can make her marry.

Cases were relayed to me where the woman was essentially verbally abused and threatened with the negative repercussions of not marrying. The suitor might also spend the whole night at the home where she was staying and thus ruin her reputation (regardless of whether any sexual relations occurred). Or she might be criticized for thinking herself "too proud" or conceited to marry this suitor. I was told that the women often resist for some time and finally under duress and cajoling may relent and marry. One young woman told me that perhaps if a woman is "very strong" she could jump up and escape by running away. The

only cases of trickery I have heard of occurred at night when the women were visiting another village. During the day perhaps women could leave the home and go into the market and try to secure help, but at night everyone would be in their homes and, unless they had another place they could get to easily, this could be an effective barrier to leaving. After dark women stay in the homes and if they are out for some reason it is usually with an escort. Sonam notes, "parents get worried if girls go roaming about. If we have to go out after six p.m. somebody will always go with us – men can stay out late roaming around with their friends." The fear of this type of coercion acts as a barrier to mobility for some young women; they or their parents may decide that travel is unsafe without appropriate escorts. The trauma many women experienced during forced or pressured marriages led some to take a less intense approach to their childrens' marriages, indicating that if a daughter did not want to marry they would not force her. However, some of the women who told of how their parents forced them to marry say that they also used pressure tactics to get their children to marry.

4.3.2 Marriage Structure and Living Arrangements

Of the fifty women who discussed their living arrangements after marriage, thirty-eight of them moved in with their husband's family (Bagma marriage), six of them were joined by their husband's in their parental home (Magma marriage) and six lived away from both sets of parents. Some of the women in Bagma marriages left their villages while others married local men. Traditionally, Magma marriages occur when there is no son and the eldest

daughter becomes the heiress (now in Ladakh legally all children inherit equally but in practice this is often not the case). Four of the women in Magpa marriages had no brothers. In one case the brother became a lama and in the other the brother was the youngest of eight children and the parents decided to bring in a husband for added labour. Of those women not living with either set of in-laws, two women married non-local army personnel and moved into rented quarters in Leh, one woman is a doctor and is posted away from both sets of in-laws, another woman and her husband left their villages to work as labourers in Leh, and one woman eloped to avoid an arranged marriage. The final woman said that her husband's stepmother refused to give them any land and told them to live separately from them.

Polyandry was, as mentioned previously, the most common form of marriage in Ladakh. The system was based on notions of the unity of brothers and the primogeniture of the eldest son. Polyandry also restricted population growth and prevented the division of land into plots too small for subsistence agriculture. Tsewang commented on the system, noting:

Before there was a custom amongst our ancestors that all should stay in the unity. The thinking of sons was quite similar so if there were three brothers they should stay together and bring in one wife. Today it is quite difficult and there are no polyandrous marriages in Ladakh . . . in the old days there was a fear of the distribution of land, that was the main fear . . . but today it is difficult to stop one particular son. They don't want to pair with their brothers wife so the polyandry system is totally vanishing in Ladakh.

The decline in polyandry (as well as other factors such as changes in health care) has been accompanied by dramatic population increases (see Figure 2). In the ten year period from 1971 to 1981 population grew by almost thirty percent, compared to under two percent from

1911 to 1921 (Census of India). While polyandry is certainly on the decline, especially in and around Leh, where it no longer seems to be occurring, by many accounts the practice still takes place in more remote regions of Ladakh. In these regions the influence of changing laws and attitudes may be slower and / or less influential.

Thirteen of the participants revealed that they or one or more of their relatives had a polygamous marriage (this may not accurately reflect the prevalence of polygamy as now it is perceived by many Ladakhis as shameful and in some cases participants may not have felt comfortable revealing these family details). In eleven cases the marriages consisted of one woman and two brothers. All of these marriages were polyandrous from the outset; that is, both brothers were married to the woman at the same time. In two cases two sisters married one man. One of these was polygynous from the outset while in the other the sister was brought in because the first wife needed help; as she said, "I felt very sick and weak and was not able to do the work, so my sister married my husband and it was a great help to me." In one case a man had two wives who were unrelated; the second wife was brought in because, according to the daughter, "we had a lot of land and had to work on the land so they had to bring in one more wife."

Tsetan, whose mother had two husbands, felt that polyandry was not a good system because, as she put it, "with two brothers and one wife there won't be good relations. There will be fighting. In my parents case they fought and there were tensions." The remaining participants with personal experiences of polygamous marriages did not indicate that

polygamy led to problems in relations, although some considered it a bad system for other reasons. For example, Digzin said that her workload was the same and that her two husbands did not compete or have tension for her affections; "they got along well," she said.

However she told me:

I wish I could only have one husband, but at the time [of marriage] I was so young [twenty] and I did not know that having two husbands was against my religion, at that time I was young and didn't know. But now I feel it is not good . . . in the older days it used to be like that because all the people kept two or three husbands, but at that time I was so young and did not know anything. As I grew bigger and bigger I came to know that this is not good. At that time the time had passed already, I was not able to say. I was not able to say to one of my husbands to go away because the time had already left and it would be a big problem with my husbands.

Similarly, Zalmo notes that "it is better to live in a polyandrous family in order to save the land from division. It is not in our religion that is the negative of polyandry." Polyandry is now seen by many as being counter to Buddhism although historically the monasteries and nunneries could be interpreted as supporting this social structure by absorbing excess men and women. Many participants noted that although polyandry may have been accepted "in olden days" (Zarchan) it is no longer acceptable. Yangmo says:

Polyandry is not good. It is a big shame. It's a big shame for the public. Today if we see polyandry, we treat polyandry as bad manners, and it is not in our religion also. It doesn't matter if an old lady is in a polyandry because in those days it was a tradition, but today it is not good.

Despite the trend away from polyandry and negative perceptions of it, many participants maintained that it was a positive system. Often there appears to be a tension in the accounts

between the public discourse that polyandry is a shameful thing and participants' own positive experience of the system. For example, in discussing her two brothers' marriage to one woman, Pobzang, notes, "actually this is not good, but it is necessary to save the land and to work and live in a group. It is better to live together." Stozom's two brothers have one wife and she claims, "polyandry is good . . . the benefit is that it is good for the progress of the family; if there are two husbands they will earn enough for the family and it is a great help in the progress of the family." Lobzang who has two husbands thinks that it is a good system because "the two brothers have to stay. They have to be home." Other participants indicated that "a woman with many husbands is a little bit powerful" (Zalmo) or that "when a woman marries three or four brothers everything is in her hands" (Choskit). Storal who has two fathers and two husbands, said there were no tensions in the marriages and claimed that in the past:

If a woman didn't keep two or three husbands, if there are three or four brothers, if she cannot keep four or three of them as her husband then people said she is good for nothing. She is not able to control this man. That's why in those days it was considered good if a woman was able to keep two or three husbands. She was admired. But today it is not the same.

4.3.3 Marital Difficulties

Of the women I spoke with – women in all three types of living arrangement, women in love marriages as well as arranged marriages, women who were very young or relatively old – the majority indicated that they found marriage difficult in the beginning. Many women

noted that they had increased work burdens, and / or they were very sad to leave their families. As Skazang reflected: "I found it very difficult to leave home as I had more work to do [in the new home] but mostly because there was no one in the new home that was my family." Some of the women indicated that their in-laws were kind and that they "got used" to their new situations fairly quickly. However some faced problems more difficult than homesickness or extra work. One woman explained that her husband was so cruel that she had to return to her parental home after seven or eight months (her husband later remarried).

In addition to the above woman, three participants were also separated or divorced from their husbands and one participant's son-in-law had deserted her daughter. In one case the husband was a non-local in the army. He was from the state of Himachal Pradesh; this was the only case I encountered of marriage between Ladakhi's and non-Ladakhi's although there are many accounts of such marriages. When his posting ended and after having one child, he deserted his wife. Another woman was divorced by her husband (he was also in the army) whom she claims was having relations with his brother's wife. The third woman also claimed that her husband had an affair with another woman and then divorced her, as she said "I had two daughters and he didn't like me, and he divorced me." The woman whose son-in-law left her daughter claimed it was because her daughter became ill.

One of the divorced women remarried (some of the men did); Pamgyal told me that divorce is seen as bad for both the woman and the man, but that remarriage is acceptable for either. Although divorce is allowed, and historical accounts indicate that this has been the case for

some time (Mann, 1986) there is a social stigma to divorce in Ladakh, especially if there are children involved. Tsewang said her brother wanted a divorce but, she noted, "they were considered to be selfish, they were just considering themselves; the villagers tried to make them understand that they should not be divorcing as they had a child." Yangmo told me, "divorce is not good" but noted that if a woman married someone cruel, "when there is no child within those couples it is good if they get divorced; when there is a child between them then they should not get divorced. She should bear whatever her husband does just for the children."

Those in Magpa arrangements did seem somewhat less likely to experience severe problems after marriage. Two women in these marriages indicated they experienced problems, one in running the household and the other in her relations with the two men brought into her polyandrous marriage. However, the remaining women indicated that it was not a difficult transition. As Padma noted, "I did not find it difficult when I first married because I stayed in the same home," while Lanzas said it was not difficult although she had additional farming duties, and Kunzang found that "in the first years of marriage it was easy, as in those days we had little work to do."

One issue many married couples have had to face in the past thirty years has been extended periods of separation. Many men are employed in the army and are apart from their families for periods of up to eleven months at a time. This situation is leading to a whole new type of family where one spouse (usually the husband but not always) does not live with the

family but rather is engaged in some form of employment elsewhere. Nine of the women had husbands who were (or had been for most of the marriage) living separately from them. Eight of the men were in the army and one had a government posting. One woman (a doctor) was posted away from her family and in-laws (her husband was posted in yet another town). Army postings were usually in Ladakh but often in very remote and strategic locations (border zones). Of those with their husbands posted away from them some noted that they experienced difficulties because of this as they did not have as much help with the work (although the added household income was seen as outweighing this). Their husband's absence in some cases led to the woman effectively acting as household head in his place (depending on the age or presence of the father-in-law and other household members). Many women seemed quite happy with this arrangement. One told me that her husband had wanted to retire but she had pressured him to remain in the army as she felt they needed the money and she felt quite content with the circumstances. Two women were involved in polyandrous marriages where one of two brothers were posted in the army. In these two cases the women indicated that the army postings did not bring any negative repercussions as they still had the help and support of one husband while they had the income of the second. The absence may also have prevented any possible tensions between the brothers. Storal noted, "it was good having one husband away in the army because whenever he used to come sometimes I used to feel that he was like a guest and we used to treat him well."

Considering the number of women who experienced varying degrees of difficulty upon marriage it is perhaps no surprise that three of the seven young unmarried participants said

that they did not want to marry. These women will, however, probably marry. As one young man indicated, "if I don't marry by thirty people will talk." Similarly a twenty-eight year old teacher said she was not interested in marrying but noted, "our society is very conservative; if my parents force me I have no choice." One eighteen year old woman said her parents "won't say anything" about her choice not to marry based on her fear that "being uneducated I cannot deal with my in-laws, maybe my in-laws will not be kind people." Further, four of the seven women said that they would prefer an arranged marriage which they deemed superior to a love marriage (no young women said they would prefer a love marriage). Sonam, a college educated twenty year old said that "arranged is better as both parents will be happy and they will help in the future if something happens." However, some of these women did indicate that they would play a role in the selection of their husbands by laying out criteria (e.g. education level, type of employment) as well as perhaps retaining the power to refuse a suitor. One twenty year old participant received a proposal during the course of the research which she refused. She asked her parents to refuse the proposal by saying she was not ready for marriage but asked them to indicate that she was unaware of the proposal so that she would not have to feel "shy" about meeting the boy's family in the market and on social occasions.

4.6 Children

Except in three cases, all of the married women interviewed had children. In two instances they had been unable to conceive and in the third the couple separated before having

children. Of the remaining forty-five married women about half had four or more children while half had one to three children. These are the number of surviving children. One woman with two surviving children had had eight children that had died as infants. Other women spoke of three, four, and five children who had not survived past early childhood. Two of the larger families had nine and eleven surviving children. Families living and farming in villages were much more likely to have larger families than those in Leh. In the villages larger families are an advantage in agricultural tasks (although increasingly less so as children spend more time in formal education and less time helping in the fields) and access to, and information on, birth control is less widespread. Alternatively in Leh, large families can be a financial burden and if both parents are working away from the home, childcare can be problematic. Additionally, women working outside of the home cannot spare the time and other demands of numerous pregnancies. Modern methods of birth control and abortion are now available in Ladakh and many women, particularly those living in Leh or with employment outside of the home, are making use of these options. The most common form of contraceptive is the Inter-uterine Device (IUD), and women are encouraged to have tubal ligations after two children survive to five or six years of age. Still, as previously noted, even with these new techniques, the Ladakhi population is growing. This growth is partly due to reductions in infant mortality achieved through western medical techniques, but perhaps is more reflective of the decline in polyandry and the resulting increase in the number of married women

The preceding descriptions of marital and family structures and participants' attitudes

towards them starts to shape a picture of one of the most critical arenas of gender relations in Ladakh: the household. In the next section the household is discussed in more detail, particularly accounts of authority, access to resources, and the division of labour.

4.5 Power Relations in the Household

Historically the focus of the Ladakhi economy has been the household, where "almost all important decisions to do with basic needs are settled" (Norberg-Hodge, 1991, p. 69). Further women typically played a larger role in this sphere than in the public one, leading some researchers to conclude that although men and women in Ladakh had different roles they were very much equal in power and status. Because of the emphasis on women's traditional power in the home and because of the intensity of gender relations in the household, exploring current balances of authority in homes and in marriages was a key theme in the discussions.

Three participants indicated that both parents played an equal role in some aspects of the decision making in the home while three said that their mother made the decisions (financial decisions in three of these six cases were not made by their mothers). In forty cases participants indicated that decisions in the home were made by the male head of the household (father, oldest brother, grandfather, or uncle). In one case where both parents were cited as equal decision makers they both worked as teachers. In one case where the mother-in-law was said to make the decisions the husband was away in the army.

In discussions of their own marriages, six women indicated that they were the primary or equal decision makers while the remainder said their husbands or male head of the household made the decisions. Of these six women, four are in Magpa marriages, one of them is a government employee in the same office as her husband (she is senior), and one of them is a farmer with her husband. Women in Magpa marriages do seem more likely to play a larger role in decision making both in terms of family arrangements (childrens' marriage, education, etc.) as well as having more control over the allocation of resources and finances. It also seems that the women who are working in paid employment are also more likely to have more decision making power in the home.

It is, of course, extremely difficult to fully capture the power relations between men and women, particularly husbands and wives, just by asking questions and engaging in participant observation. Dawa said his father was "in control" but noted that, "mostly I have seen that my mother gave suggestions to my father in every respect – 'you must do like this' and so accordingly my father arranged the things." He also noted that even though he has lived with them for almost thirty years that he was just guessing as to the power dynamic of their relationship, saying, "I think but I don't know their inner views." His reluctance to make any definite judgements about his parents' marriage even given his long time observation of it certainly struck a chord with me. I did receive many impressions of male power in marital relations but I also "do not know their inner views." This reflects the limits of social science research. The accounts of male authority may reflect the dominant discourse and not necessarily the actual experiences in the home. This being said, male

dominance in certain sectors of the household, especially in control of finances, does seem apparent.

4.6 Financial Control In the Household

Male control of finances seems particularly prevalent in Ladakh. Most of the women indicate that they would either make requests for an allowance to purchase certain goods or they would tell the male head what they needed and he would purchase it for them. The only exception to this pattern is the cash derived from selling garden produce either in the bazaar or to the army – some women controlled this income (the women generally are the producers and the sellers). To reveal some private accounts of access to financial resources, particular questions about income and expenditures were explored in the work survey. In addition to questions about who controls the finances, other questions pertaining to particular actions, such as who purchases certain products, or what pattern precedes the purchasing of a particular item (e.g. a dress) were also asked. Out of forty participants, only five women were in charge of buying food, and two were in charge of buying other items.

Ladakhi women would seem to be losing some of the authority they have been said to traditionally hold in the home. The cases where this does not seem to be happening are in Magpa marriages and among those women who are working outside of the home. This situation points to what Norberg-Hodge claims is one of the most divisive factors in the roles of men and women – the polarization in their work (1991). She suggests that when men

enter paid employment (which is the typical pattern), women become "invisible shadows, they do not earn money for their work so they are no longer seen as productive" (1991, p. 126)." This will be discussed in a later section examining the division of labour and types of employment. First, though, education – seen by many as the ticket to paid employment and a "luxury life" will be discussed.

4.7 Education

More than any other thing, Ladakhis (like their counterparts around the globe) seem to pin their hopes for the future on education. Education is, especially for women, the variable which determines their future spouse, work, and lifestyle. Thirty-six of the women participants did not attend school. Eight women attended school for five years or less and then withdrew. Three women completed at least eighth class (one is still in school). Three made it to tenth, two to eleventh, one to college and two to university. Each class represents one year of school and passing the tenth class makes a person a matriculate (roughly equivalent to a North American high school graduate).

Forty-four of the women had either very little or no schooling. In some cases none of the children in their family attended school but in most cases some children went while others were kept at home. The child most likely to be kept at home was the oldest daughter. She was kept home primarily for two reasons: to help with the household work, and because school was not seen as important for her as traditionally she would marry. Kunga

remembers, "I did not go to school. All of my other siblings went to school. My parents kept me at home to do the cooking and cleaning. I wanted to go to school but I couldn't." It is not uncommon to encounter families composed entirely of matriculates whose oldest sister is illiterate. In one such family, Dawa remembers, "my elder sister is illiterate . . . all my other siblings are highly educated . . . my sister is asking my parents 'why didn't you give an education to me?'" Lanzes and Thukja were both the eldest daughter and both were kept home to help care for their younger siblings. Thukja recounts: "I have not been to school and the other five [siblings] have been to school and some of them went to tenth class. My parents didn't send me, and at that time I was very young and did not know the benefit of going to school. My parents kept me as a babysitter. I had to look after my brother and sister." In some cases, if the mother became sick, or died, the oldest daughter (in one case as young as nine years old) had to take over her duties. Zangmo said, "my brothers went to school but I did not. When my mother passed away I took over her duties, cooking and cleaning; I managed the house. I had to stay home a lot so I couldn't be sent to school."

In some families all of the girls were kept at home and in others all but one or two of the children stayed home. Some children were kept home for financial reasons (they were needed to work and / or their parents could not afford the cost of their uniforms). For example, Dashi remembers: "because of financial problems we weren't so wealthy, that's why my parents only sent my younger brother and sister to school and not me and my elder sister." Many female children were kept home because school was not seen as necessary for them. Several participants said that they had been kept home from school while their

brothers were sent because their parents felt that they only needed to learn how to be wives – something they could learn at home by working. Storal was one such child; she remembers her parents saying " . . . we are going to marry our girls so we should better teach them how to do household work and work which will help them later on." Similarly Korzom recounts:

. . . all three of us sisters didn't go to school, and our brothers they all went to school . . . in those days education was not so important. People used to think that education was not so important for them [girls]. Everyone thought we had to do our work properly so they didn't send us to school, they got us to look after the house and look after the cattle.

Many of the women expressed great regret about being uneducated. Tashi told me simply, "I feel sad because I am illiterate." Some women were upset with their parents for keeping them at home. A number of participants equated their lack of education with current problems; Digzin, for example, said, "when I was young my parents didn't allow me to go to school and I feel very sad nowadays. I feel that my parents didn't allow me to go to school and that is why I am facing such hardship today." Some participants suggested that if they had gone to school they might have a paying job today.

For many women their lack of education translated into a strong desire to send all of their children to school. Tsering, Tsetan, Palzom, Zangmo, Kunzang, Yanchan – all of these women said that they would ensure their daughters had the chance at education which they had missed. Stalzin said, "In my family all the children didn't go to school . . . I and my husband forced the children to go to school, because I think that if the children do not go to

school their life will be the same as mine." While some said they wanted their daughters to go to school so that they would be happy and educated, many felt that it was the results of education (more than the process) that was important, listing money and jobs as the benefits. Tsering stated firmly, "[as a] Ladakhi woman I have to do lots of work because my parents didn't send me to school, but I want my children to go to school and have a luxury life."

Many parents continue to keep some of their children home. Some still retain the eldest daughter at home to help with work. Kunga who was not permitted to attend school because she was the eldest daughter, notes that she sent all her children to school except the oldest daughter who was "kept for the household." Tashi who expressed sadness about being uneducated also kept her oldest daughter home, saying: "we were poor so we didn't manage to give her to the school." Dorje sent her oldest daughter to fifth class but then pulled her out because "I needed her help in the house." Similarly Zalmo kept home her oldest daughter saying, "my girl . . . used to do a lot of work. She wanted to go to school and the teacher also asked that she be sent to school but she was also very good at work, and I was not able to do her work and that is why I kept her to help with the housework."

While education is seen by many Ladakhis as a way of securing a better future, the regional education system is riddled with problems. The mother tongue in the region is Ladakhi. Generally children are educated in Urdu (the State language) with some Hindi training until eighth class. At various points English is introduced and then most children switch to English in tenth class. After tenth class there is a state exam. Passing this exam (called

matriculation) is the minimum requirement for most government jobs. Colleges and universities in India are almost exclusively English medium. This constant switching of languages obviously makes learning difficult. Ninety-five percent of students are unable to pass their tenth class exam (SECMOL, 1995, p. 13). Yunga, a teacher, claims that when the Board exams are checked, the marks of Ladakhi students are arbitrarily lowered because the officials in Delhi wrongly believe that most Ladakhis cheat on the exam, and because of this concludes, " . . . so I could say that tenth class is something that depends on luck." Further, errors contained within the Board exam can make the questions completely meaningless. For example in one multiple choice question students were asked to pick the most "popular" country; the list included China so one can only assume they meant populous. Considering that many of the students writing the exam have only been studying English for one year, these types of errors make passing nearly impossible. The government schools in Ladakh produce only thirty to forty matriculates each year out of an enrollment of some two thousand students (SECMOL, 1996, p.17).

Still, education is seen as the road to success, and for women, perhaps even the way towards equality. Many participants felt that education was an equalizing factor between men and women. Some participants, including Storal, Yangmo, and Digzin, stated explicitly that boys and girls are equal today because of education. As Stalzin says: "nowadays the boys and girls are equal, they are treated equally . . . because nowadays the girls are also able to go to school." Going to school may result in paid employment which then seems to balance the shift in power regarding access to resources in the household. The links between

education and work will be further discussed in the following section on the division of labour, as well as in chapter six.

4.8 Division of Labour: Work and Gender

As discussed earlier, according to historical accounts, the division of labour in Ladakh was not very striking. Both men and women were engaged in subsistence agriculture and most tasks were performed by both genders. Some notable exceptions included ploughing, slaughtering cattle, and cutting trees which were restricted to men. Past studies indicate that women do as much agricultural work as men but that other duties such as housework, cooking, cleaning, and childcare, are predominantly undertaken by women, leading both genders to conclude that women have to work harder than men (as their duties go on all year while men's are limited to the agricultural season). I wanted to examine the current division of labour to see how it is changing in response to the introduction of a market economy and the creation of paid work. I was interested in both the dominant discourse regarding labour, that is views of how things should be, and the private discourses of women's actual experiences, or how things really are. To get at both of these accounts the checklist of discussion subjects was supplemented with a series of detailed questions to forty participants about the division of labour in the household (see appendix three).

First, the types of employment held by participants and their families will be laid out. This is followed by discussion of the division of labour in the household and in agricultural work.

The types of paid employment held by men and women are described, and attitudes towards employment and the gender based differences in paid employment are discussed. The final section examines the polarizing influence of the shift towards paid labour on gender relations.

When discussing their childhood, the majority of participants indicated that both of their parents had been farmers, especially the older participants. Currently, eight of the female participants work full time in paid employment. Two are teachers, one is a doctor, three are general labourers, one works as a clerk in a non-government organization, and one is a government employee. Forty-eight of the women participants work in the home and fields. Of these forty-eight, one had sold Chang (beer) in the market to support her children after being deserted by her husband. She now takes care of her grandchildren and does some farm work. Four of the women are also getting training at a center set up by the Ladakh Ecological and Development Group (LEDeG) to teach women stitching and crafts (they work / learn there full time for two hundred rupees per month) and one of the woman occasionally works at a local carpet factory (when she works she is paid two hundred and fifty rupees per month). Additionally, a few of these women have sold some of their garden produce in the local market; but generally the forty-two women work predominantly in subsistence or reproductive labour.

Fifteen of the participants' husbands are farmers, while thirty-three work in paid employment. Of the thirty-three, eleven work for the army. One of the direct impacts of the

large army presence in Ladakh has been the creation of numerous jobs, notably (but not exclusively) for men with relatively little education. With an army almost the same size as the local population, it is not surprising that almost every participant could name at least one family member who was employed by the army. Army wages and pensions often comprised the bulk of a family's cash earnings. Of the remaining husbands in paid employment, nine are government employees, four are labourers, two are drivers, and there is one teacher, one Amchi (traditional doctor), one mechanic, one tailor, one goldsmith, one prayer reader, and one shopkeeper. The four male participants consisted of three lamas and one government employee.

Therefore, sixteen percent of the female participants work in paid employment and about seventy percent of the husbands (of all participants) work in paid employment. This statistic does not reflect Ladakh employment patterns as a whole – certainly in more remote regions of Ladakh male paid employment would probably be much lower. What it does indicate is that in regions of Ladakh which are in relatively close proximity to Leh, men seem much more likely than women to engage in paid employment (usually outside of their village). Before detailing the types of paid employment in the region, the subsistence labour of the great majority of women in Ladakh (and the majority of Ladakh's in general) will first be discussed.

4.8.1 Agricultural Work

After spending some time engaged in participant observation I entered into dialogue with participants regarding the division of labour. Interestingly many participants told me that in Ladakh there is no women's work and no men's work – that both do the same work. Such interpretations seemed to contradict the divisions in labour I observed both in the homes and in the fields. The relatively rapid rate of change in the region since the arrival of the army, tourism and a market economy, may have resulted in a faster rate of change in actual living conditions than that of the dominant ideology, leading to a seeming mismatch between accounts of women's lives and their actual living conditions. As discussed in chapter two the public accounts usually fit the dominant ideology or present the person in a good light while private accounts may be more personal. Both of these accounts will be highlighted. First, the dominant discourse is presented; in this case, the notion of the absence of labour differentiation by gender.

Many participants said that there was no real gender based division of labour (although restrictions in ploughing and cutting down trees were noted). Many commented that they did all of the work together as a family. Tsewang said, "there is no special jobs that men can't do and women can't do, men and women they are just coordinating with each other." Yangzom claimed: "all the family does all the jobs together in the field and in the house," and, as Dawa bluntly stated: "there is no division of work." For the most part, though, it seemed that these statements were probably more reflective of the public account of the

division of labour than the actual living conditions in the region. For example, in Dawa's case, he and all of his brothers are educated and have paid employment outside of the home. His sisters work in subsistence agriculture and in the household; they are responsible for all of the cooking, cleaning, and childcare. The division of labour in this household was striking and marked.

When participants were asked who in their household did particular jobs, a different picture began to emerge. This is shown in Figure 3 – the results of the survey of the division of labour. Participants were asked to indicate whether, in their household, particular tasks were undertaken by men, mostly men, women, mostly women, everyone together, or children. The tasks which were exclusively, or primarily, done by men include: ploughing, spinning Yak and Goat hair, cutting trees, weaving, leather work, and buying non-food items. The tasks done more often by men than women include: collecting wool, trade and travel, and selling produce. The tasks which were exclusively, or primarily done by women include: dung removal, dung spreading, weeding, milking, butter making, collecting dung, collecting grass, shrinking wool, carding wool, spinning wool, dyeing wool, cooking / food preparation, childcare, and cleaning the house. The tasks which were done more often by women than men included: irrigation, animal feeding, and fetching water. The tasks which were primarily done as a group included: field preparation, sowing, harvesting, threshing, feeding animals, collecting wood, ritual and praying. Herding and fetching water were two tasks often listed as childrens' work.

Figure 3: The Division of Labour by Gender (results of the work survey)

The table indicates the allocation of tasks in forty households according to the following categories: M (men), M.M (mostly men), W (women), M.W (mostly women), A (all members), C (children). Not all tasks were done in all households so numbers will not always add up to forty. Half marks indicate two responses by one participant (ie. if children and men engaged in a task).

	M	M. M	W	M.W	A	C
Shrinking Wool	0	0	40	0	0	0
Spinning Wool	0	0	39	0	0	0
Cooking / Food Preparation	0	0	35	4	1	0
Butter Making	0	0	34	2	3	0
Cleaning House	0	0	33.5	2	1	3.5
Milking	0	0	33	3	4	0
Collecting Dung	0	0	30	8	3	0
Dung Spreading	1	0	28	5.5	4	0.5
Weeding	0	0	28	6	6	0
Collecting Grass	0	0	28	2	8	1
Childcare	0	0	25	4	2	3
Dung Removal	0	0	25	4	10	0
Dyeing	4	0	20	0	0	0
Animal Feeding	0	0	19.5	1	19	0.5
Cutting Wool	16	0	19	0	4	0
Carding Wool	0	0	18	0	0	0
Irrigating	1	0	17	4	18	0

Figure 3 continued.

Fetching Water	0	0	16	1	15	7
Field Preparation	6	0	14	1	19	0
Collecting Wool	21	1	12	2	4	0
Collecting Wood	6	0	11	2	17	0
Herding	3	0	9.5	2	11.5	10
Buying Food	21.5	1	5	1	10	0.5
Threshing	6	0	4	1	34	0
Spinning Yak and Goat Hair	30	0	4	0	0	0
Sowing	15	0	3	0	21	0
Ritual / Praying	15	1	3	1	19	0
Trade / Travel	16	5	3	1	15	0
Grain Storage	14	9	3	0	14	0
Selling Produce	17	1	2	0	14	0
Buying Non-food Items	34	1	2	0	3	0
Harvesting	18	1	2	0	20	0
Leather Work	29	2	0	0	0	0
Cutting Trees	40	0	0	0	0	1
Weaving	24	0	0	0	0	0
Ploughing	40	0	0	0	0	0

Women seem to do most of the work associated with animals. Men generally were not involved in the daily care of livestock. Women also seem to do the tasks that stretch over a long period of time or must be done regularly, such as weeding, milking, and collecting dung. Conversely much of the work that is done by men (such as ploughing and cutting trees), or as a group of men and women (such as field preparation, sowing, harvesting, and

threshing), tends to require short but intense periods of labour. Sara said "men have to do more difficult work than women but as a woman I feel I have to do a large amount of work"; likewise Kunzang notes, "women work the most hours and women's work is the most tiring and difficult." These divisions could be partly explained by the increase in male employment outside of the home; they would thus have less time to work in long-term daily tasks. However the divisions were similar in households where men were also full time farmers. Similarly, all three jobs associated with dung (removing it, collecting it, and spreading it) are done by women. Storal says, "being a Ladakhi woman, the work is very difficult, especially removing the dung and putting earth in the garden and all." Men tend to do the work related to finances, whether selling produce, or shopping for food and other items. This division reflects their greater authority in the allocation of funds within the household (as discussed earlier). Women do the cooking, cleaning, and childcare.

Farming is often presented as the most difficult and the least desirable work (with the exception of working as a general labourer). Skazang told me: "I have to work very hard . . . I would prefer to work in an office in Leh. It is difficult to be a farmer because we can't speak ['formal' Ladakhi or other languages (Urdu, English)] and we work very hard." At least in the region surrounding Leh, farming (and especially certain components of it) seems to be becoming women's work. Further women seemed to associate their gender identity with farming. Padma, among many others, assumes the work of farming is an understood component of womanhood when she notes: "the difficulty of being a woman is mostly the hard work in the field and all that." This association makes sense considering the percentage

of women working in farming compared to the men in their households. But also many paid jobs are directly linked to education and for some of the women it was precisely because of their gender that they did not attend school (as previously discussed). Still many of the difficulties the women experience are shared by male farmers. Mingur implicitly recognizes that it is both her gender and her occupation that define her work burden, saying: "as a woman and a farmer I have to do all kinds of work and it is very hard work and this is a very hard life."

About seventy-five percent of the participants engaged in farming exclusively for their home consumption while the remainder sell some of their produce. Of the latter group, most said that they sell the produce in Leh, notably in the Bazaar, and a few said that they would sell whatever was left to the army (who pays a lower price but buys large quantities). Almost all of those who were farming only for home use said they grew some combination of wheat, barley, and black peas. Those who were selling some of their produce also noted a number of vegetables including, spinach, cabbage, peas, potatoes, etc. Of those who indicated that a family member would take over the farming duties, all said it would be a son and many specified the eldest son. However, considering women's higher participation in farming duties the actual farm work would perhaps, in most cases, still be done largely by women.

In every case participants indicated that the first person to rise in the morning and begin working was a woman (twenty-five participants were asked); and in all but one case it is a woman whose work is the last to be done at the end of the day. Thirty-one participants said

that women work the hardest in Ladakh, while three said that men and women work equally hard, and five said that men work the hardest. Five of the eight women who responded that men work equally hard or harder had husbands who worked with them as farmers (of the remaining three: one husband works as a labourer, another is a government employee as is the participant, and one is a taxi driver).

For farm women, the shift from extended households to nuclear families (discussed previously) is changing the nature of their work from communal to individual. Some women felt that having large families reduces the individual workload. Phuntsog said that in the past, "there were a lot of people in the house so they all work together in the fields so it is not difficult." Similarly, Tsetan says, "when there are more people in the house everyone has to work less and it is better." Conversely for some women, perhaps especially women who are working in paid employment, the shift to a nuclear household may reduce their labour demands and increase their personal income. One participant told me that leaving her husband's family home and moving into their own rented quarters in Leh reduced her workload because she no longer had to regularly engage in fieldwork on top of her office job (although she still went to the family to help during busy agricultural times). Further, their income was no longer diffused within a larger family unit. For similar reasons, another woman called moving into a nuclear family "a big progress."

While farming is seen as the most difficult work it is also, perhaps, perceived as the least important or prestigious. For example, many participants would relate the details of their

children's paid employment but those working in farming were not mentioned. Often when I asked what these individuals did the response was that they did nothing, that they had no job. Diskit says, "nowadays my daughter-in-law is doing nothing . . . she only works for the family looking after the household work and working in the fields" and Darchan says, "my daughters are married now, one is a teller and the other two don't do any work, they just work for the family, they don't have any job." The new emphasis placed on paid employment could be reflective of the status associated with it.

Some women farmers were asked if they had the choice would they rather work in a government office. This question was always met with laughter and taken as a joke. When pressed for an answer the woman responded that of course they would rather work in an office but that it was impossible for them. The notion that someone might actually prefer to farm seemed very foreign to them. Yunga says, "if I was doing a job, at that time I would think only of my office job, I would never think I would like to become a farmer." "I was not able to get an education so it is not possible to get a government job" Stalzin explained to me laughing at the foolish question, but then noted, "I would be very happy to get a job." Echoing the thoughts of all participants who responded to this question, Neekat explained in the manner one speaks to a child, "people who work in the fields work harder than those who work in the government."

The perception of the relative ease of government or office jobs is also held by women in such jobs. Yunga who works as a teacher says, "because of my education I don't have to

work much. No, I don't have to face any problems, I only have to keep in touch with my books. But my mother is uneducated. She has to do all the household work; she will always be busy, no time to eat, no time to sleep." Similarly Yangmo, who works in a government job says, "my parent were uneducated, that's why they had to do a lot of work. They have hard jobs like working on fields and working in the dust and all. I am an educated lady, so I have to go to the office and at the office I do what I want. I could just sit on a chair and do writing work and all that."

Many participants indicated that they hoped their children would obtain paid employment. Phuntsog says, "I feel that if my children can get paid work then things will be easier for them, they won't have to face the problems I do." Further, their children seem to share these dreams - perhaps fueled by television dramas (mostly Indian with a few Western programs as well) profiling conspicuous consumption and the prestige associated with office work, a school curriculum biased towards a non-agrarian lifestyle, and by perceptions of farm work as difficult and undesirable. Kunga says, "The young girls, the new generation girls don't want to work in the fields." She seems correct in her assessment. One twenty year old, Sonam, told me, "none of my friends want to be farmers. We want to have a good luxury life. We want to have a government job."

The large scale introduction of schools has increased women's workload by largely reducing the amount of child labour available. Typical childrens' tasks in the past included household work, collecting dung, wood, grass, fetching water, herding animals, and caring for younger

siblings. Some participants did indicate that their children still engaged in these tasks – helping before and after school and on their day off. Also, during very busy agricultural times some children were kept from school to help with the agricultural work. About seventy-five percent of the women with sons and daughters indicated that their daughters helped them more and provided more labour, while some said that both their sons and daughters did the same tasks or that the sons worked harder. Daughters seem to help more in household tasks such as cooking and food preparation, so for families living in Leh and not having any fields the daughters would, generally, appear to have more responsibilities. Still, among children the division of labour is not rigid. While I did not see any young men cooking food, they often washed dishes or helped to take care of their younger siblings. However, with most children spending the bulk of their day in school, their work seems to be absorbed by the women in the household, as shown above in Figure three.

The shift in male labour off the farm has also increased women's agricultural burden. Skazang says, "when the husbands leave for paid work the women have to do more farm work." Dsomo says, "women have to work harder in the fields with the men working at office jobs. Women have to work harder and produce the same amount." But given the choice the women indicate that they would not want their husbands to return to farm. Digzin says, "doing a job is better because the work [farming] will be completed somehow; there they have to work a little bit harder but the money is very important because it is one of our basic needs, without money there is nothing." Some families have to hire labourers at certain times of the agricultural season (such as the harvest) to make up for the absent male

labour, some of the women in these families indicate that the employment of labourers has kept their labour demands relatively constant.

As discussed earlier, the ability of a woman to get paid employment through education is often presented as a path for women's equality. Kunzang says, "girls are now also working and earning money like men; that is why women are equal." However, using this argument as a starting point for equality is problematic considering the limited opportunity of most women to obtain paid work. For one thing most of the paid employment in Ladakh is clustered around the capital, Leh. For example, six of the eight employed women work in the capital Leh, while the doctor and one teacher are posted in villages within a few hours drive of Leh. Although some participants indicated that women could have any job this may reflect more of the ideal than the realized situation of women in Ladakh. Further, while some of the woman engaged in full time work have in some ways improved the quality of their lives (in their eyes), the following section shows that there are costs to this new lifestyle. Additionally, some of the women in paid employment (notably the labourers) do not seem to have a higher quality of life than their farming counterparts.

4.8.2 Paid Employment

The five women working in professional work (not general labour) include two teachers, a doctor, a clerk in a non-governmental organization, and a government employee. The teachers and the clerk are in their late teens / twenties and unmarried. They all live with

their families. Sonam, a clerk, is currently studying to pass her twelfth class. She has been working for two years. She keeps one half of her Rs 2000 per month salary and gives half to her mother. She likes working; she has a television, she watches serials, movies, news. She plans on being in an arranged marriage with a government employee. One teacher, Yunga, although from a smaller village, was educated in a private school in Leh. Her father was working at the school so they stayed in Leh together. After her eleventh class she took a teacher training course for one year in Madras. She is now teaching in Leh. On top of her teaching duties she does some household work in the home she shares with her father. Chozom, the other teacher has been teaching for three years. She lives with her parents and does all the cooking and cleaning and some field work on top of her teaching duties.

The doctor and the government employee are both married and in their early thirties. Choskit, the doctor, went to a boarding school / convent located outside of Ladakh at six years old. When she passed her medical examination she came back to Ladakh. First she was posted in Leh for three years and has been posted in a smaller village for the last two. The decisions about postings are made by the chief medical officer in Leh. She could be posted anywhere in Ladakh. She is married and her husband lives in Srinagar (one to two days journey). She also has a son who stays in Leh with her family. Her sister takes care of him. He is not quite six. She lives alone in rented quarters. She does her own cooking and cleaning but does not find it very difficult as she says it is not much work. The hard part, she says, is being apart from her son and husband. She is saving her salary to purchase a home in Leh. Yangmo, a government employee has passed her matriculation – the

minimum education required for government jobs. She works in the same office as her husband. They live in Leh with their five year old daughter (who attends school). They also have a two year old son who stays in a nearby village and is cared for by her mother-in-law. Of this separation Yangmo notes, "I feel very badly that my son is living away from me." She is senior to her husband in the office as she has been working there longer. On top of her office job she is also responsible for the household work. She notes, "when I get leave from the office I will come straight to the house to look after the children and the household work also, but my husband he goes out with his friend and roams about a bit later . . . it is difficult but I have to do it."

The above jobs are considered very desirable by most of the participants in the study. And, for the most part the women engaged in them seem to be happy about their work and their situations. All of them have achieved a very high level of education (often involving living outside of Ladakh as the only degree college in Leh opened only in 1996 – and it offers arts majors only). The most difficult aspect of their work seems to be the separation both married women face from a child, in one case, and from both husband and child in the other. Both of these working women are dependent on the (unpaid) childcare provided by their female relatives. In all of the cases where women with children are in paid labour their children were cared for by relatives, usually their mother or mother-in-law.

When farm women speak of the desirability of paid employment they are referring to specific jobs, jobs such as the ones described above. Darchan says, "the paid work available

to women is doctor and teacher I think . . . nowadays women can join many professions but only those who can get an education are allowed to get these professions." The participant does not mention working as a labourer or "coolie," the most widely available paid employment for women. It does not require any education but it is perhaps the only work that is more difficult and less well regarded than farming.

Three of the women participants work as labourers. All of them are currently working in the tourism industry but have had many types of employment. Palzom, now thirty, was divorced by her husband who was working in the army. Growing up, most of her family worked as labourers; she took care of their house until her brother married and brought in his wife. Then she married and began working as a labourer. Before getting her current job, summer work in a small hotel, she worked as a labourer in the fields and sometimes in construction. During winter she is unable to get any work. Her husband was having an affair and left her and their two young children; he does not provide any financial support. Of her work, she says, "at the hotel I sweep, wash the sheets, keep the things right. Sometimes I prepare the meals until the cooks come. I start at five am and work until about eleven pm." When there are a lot of tourists she does not get time to take any breaks. She gets no days off. She sleeps at the hotel. She says that if there are only a few tourists she can leave in an emergency. Her children are taken care of by her niece. She gives her as much of her salary as she can. She is paid seven hundred rupees per month. The men working at the hotel – a cook, a waiter, and a general labourer – all receive higher wages than she and the other female employee.

At the time of interviewing, the other two labourers, Zalma and Yama, had been working at the same hotel for two weeks. They were doing some construction work with a crew for the hotel when the management asked them if they would come to work full time at the hotel. Both women are in their mid twenties and have been married for about five years. Their husbands also work as labourers. They both have young children who are cared for by relatives. Yama says:

Growing up I worked as a labourer for other people to earn money, in construction, carrying rocks, making clay and all. When I started working I earned Rupees thirty-five per day . . . I just started working for the hotel. I was working on construction in the hotel . . . I was working as a coolie and they asked me to work as a cleaner and I agreed. The wage is Rs one thousand per month which is less than my daily wage as a coolie [now Rs eighty per day] but it's not sure that I will get a job the next day or not [when working at a daily wage]. I work from six in the morning to six or seven at night. I get breakfast and lunch. I wash the dishes and clean the rooms. The work is much easier than working as a labourer.

She also does all the cooking and cleaning at home.

Beyond the obvious physical difficulties and unpleasant nature of many labouring jobs (paving roads, carrying rocks, digging trenches, etc.), one of the often cited stresses of working as a labourer is the uncertainty of finding constant work. Labourers can choose to work with a contractor who pays them for the whole summer but at a lower rate than working independently. Yama's husband chose to work with a contractor but she did not because she says she needed more flexibility since she has young children. There is no work in the winter so they have to earn enough in the summer to last all year. Zalma has a similar experience. She also notes that "the hotel job is better than working as a coolie because

coolies have to work harder . . . the coolie earns enough money when compared to this job but this job is easier." She and her husband also have to save most of their money in the summer but she says her husband sometimes gets work carrying people's rice bag from the government distribution office in the winter as well. General labouring jobs are not perceived as a step up from farming but rather as a necessity for those who do not have their own land. Tourism and the army provide additional sources of employment in the region but most of those jobs are filled by men.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has sketched the day to day life of Ladakhi women focusing on marital and household structures, power and resource allocation within these structures, access to and impacts of education, and the division of labour. To sum up the key findings of this chapter: women are sometimes forced or coerced into marriage, they often experience difficulties upon first marrying and they face restrictions on their mobility. Despite increasing family planning, population is rising. Polyandry is declining and the family structure is shifting towards a more nuclear unit. Traditional female authority and decision making in the household seems to be declining. Education is becoming seen as an equalizing factor between men and women and the means to a better life. Finally, while farming is becoming devalued with regards to most types of paid employment, it is also increasingly being associated with women. In this sense shifting patterns of male employment increase womens' agricultural burden.

As presented in this chapter women's lives in many ways reflect lives and structures in transition – transition between a society shaped by hundreds of years of subsistence agriculture to one reacting to the introduction of a modern cash economy. The division of the new resources entering the region reflects both traditional as well as emergent power relations. In the face of modernization, new ideas about gender identity and gender roles are emerging. The following chapter sketches a picture of not only what these changes encompass, but also how participants feel about these changes and how they are actively negotiating their position in this changing society.

5.0 FINDINGS: TRADITION AND CHANGE

5.1 Introduction

In the last three decades social transformation has come quickly to Ladakh. The introduction of the army and tourism has catapulted this Himalayan region into a world of consumerism, paid employment, mass communication and transport (to name just a few changes). While the impacts of modernization have been concentrated primarily in Leh and its immediate surroundings (the areas examined in this study), as Norberg-Hodge (1991) notes, "the psychological impact of modernization has been felt throughout the entire region (p. 2)."

Having, in the preceding chapter, presented a sketch of some of the critical structures shaping daily life I will now build on this picture of lives in transition to identify some of the impacts of the modernization process on Ladakhi lifestyles. Particular examples of changes in food and clothing are highlighted, followed by accounts of lifestyle changes in general and the introduction of a market economy. The chapter goes beyond describing the changes to examine how people feel about them – both the perceived benefits and costs. Finally, the work of some Ladakhis engaged in counter-development initiatives is presented. In the following chapter, these ideas as well as themes presented in chapter four (marriage, education, and work) will be analyzed and linked with feminist theory to highlight the ways in which gender as a social cleavage underlies the modernization process in Ladakh.

5.2 Tradition and Change

Many of my research participants were already adults when the army and tourism arrived in Ladakh. Some of them, as well as my research assistants, were born after both of these industries had been established. I asked participants about the lifestyle changes they had experienced and what they thought about them. There was certainly no definitive stand amongst participants on ideas of tradition, culture, and change. These concepts are complex and include innumerable aspects of individual lives. Certain attitudes may appear contradictory but when situated within an understanding of culture as dynamic and emergent, are consistent. The following section draws together some of these reflections on change.

At times participants would appear to make openly contradictory statements. For example, they might say that "the traditional food is very good; we should maintain the traditional food," and then also note that "change is good in all respects; changes in the food are good." In fact "change is good" was one of the most often translated phrases I encountered. Digzin said, "the changes are good; for these children the changes are good because they are shifting towards a new thing. But I think after the next or next generation they will prefer to have old customs, old food and all, because these changes, the changes in the food – these foods are not good that the children have. They are not good because it makes them sick and weak." At first I tried to press the participants to choose (for example, whether the new foods were good or bad) but I finally realized that the error was mine. Perhaps as a

manifestation of the more circular Buddhist world view, many Ladakhis do not seem to see things in a binary or dichotomous way. My early attempt to set up the dialogue this way was a conceptual blunder. Norberg-Hodge (originally a linguist) writes that the Ladakhi language emphasizes relativity much more than western languages and that Ladakhis often use verbs that reflect the limitations of their knowledge (1991). She notes that Ladakhis "are far more reluctant than we are to categorize and judge. Good and bad, fast and slow, here and there; these are not sharply different qualities" (p. 82).

One of the things that grounded me when I engaged in dialogue on these subjects was being subjected to many of my own questions by some of the participants. Having to examine the changes in my culture and my thoughts on these changes helped to avoid simplifying the issue in the context of Ladakh. For while many of the changes in the West are deeply troubling, there are also many things which we take for granted and would not like to see eliminated. There is a tendency for some visiting westerners to apply different criteria for judging change in traditional societies than they would in their own. For example, on a prior visit to India a travelling companion was very upset by the presence of televisions in the village; she felt that local people should spend their limited funds on other things and not indulge in the mindlessness and consumerism inducing exercise of television (she, of course, had a television). Similarly in Leh I heard one tourist comment that it was a terrible shame that the electrical power lines marred the view of the mountain range. I felt uneasy with these types of judgements. My uneasiness is perhaps captured quite simply by the Dalai Lama who writes in the preface to Norberg-Hodge's book on Ladakh that, "no matter how

attractive a traditional rural society may seem, its people cannot be denied the opportunity to enjoy the benefits of modern development" (1991, x). This sentiment is reflected in my selection of methods, particularly the focus on the 'view from below' or 'standpoint' of participants (see chapter two). It would be inappropriate to simply indicate changes which may have lowered the 'status of women' in Ladakh as if the causal link between change and status are uncomplicated, as if Ladakhi society is cleaved only along the difference of male and female, and, perhaps most importantly, as if participants attitudes towards these changes are irrelevant. So in, hopefully, at least some of its complexity and variation, here is what participants said about the changes in their society: the things they are pleased with and those changes that they regret.

In discussions with participants about change in Ladakh, the topics arising most often were modifications in food and clothing. They are the surface aspects of culture – tangible and obvious. Their visibility may be why they are often presented as evidence of change in Ladakh. It is much easier to point out the obvious shift from the traditional woolen goncha to blue-jeans than it is to express shifts, for example, from working as a collective to working as individuals, or from a culture founded on self sufficiency to one based on materialism. However, these more superficial trends do reflect some fundamental changes in attitudes, highlighting the growing polarity not only between men and women but also along other social cleavages including education, class, and age. Shifts in diet and clothing are presented in the following section, followed by discussion of more general changes and links between gender and tradition.

5.2.1 Shifting Diet

Traditional Ladakhi meals are comprised of a number of barley and wheat dishes, supplemented by limited milk, cheese, and butter as well as some vegetables (especially root vegetables), apricots, meat (particularly in winter), soldja (butter tea) and chang (barley beer). The new food being introduced is primarily northern Indian, comprised of rice, flat breads (chapatis), and curries. Many women said that the new food was good. Lobzang says, "today I cook the Indian food, the rice the chapatis and all that. There are many varieties of food now and it is very nice." Sara notes that, "I don't cook traditional food as the new generation likes Indian food." While some indicated that the older generations preferred traditional foods, most participants indicated that their children preferred Indian food. For example, Dsoma told me: "older people, they prefer Ladakhi food, that is why we have to prepare Ladakhi food during the day time, but it is necessary to cook Indian food at night because if we don't cook rice then the children won't eat dinner." Many participants cooked Indian food almost exclusively or alternated between Indian and Ladakhi food.

Some women feel that traditional food is more nutritious or simply better. Choskit, Spalzas, and Dhoskit all commented to this effect. Dhoskit said, "there is a lot of change; in those days they were not getting any butter, rice, or anything. But now such things have arrived in market. These changes are not good, our old food is better than this." Some participants believe that Indian food could make Ladakhis sick. Many felt that more people, and younger people, were becoming ill than in the past, and that these illnesses could be attributed to

changes in diet. Diskit argued: "our food and our clothes are very good, because the old people are very strong, the old people they are not saying I am very sick, or weak . . . but now the children, even a small child of ten, are saying I have a pain in my leg, a pain in my stomach and all. These are all because of Indian food, and Indian clothes . . . their stuff is not good for our body." A number of participants claimed that the older people in Ladakh are much healthier than the young and attributed this strength to their diet. The notion of eating food in keeping with their environment was brought up by some women. Tsewang said:

The changes in diet are a bad thing because we are living in this Himalayan region. One should take their food according to nature. Today the young generation are using the rice and for people of Ladakh it is not good because rice is very light. The people of Ladakh they are doing much more walking, you know, in the fields because most of these parents depend upon farming . . . Today the young generation becomes much more ill than when they are having our traditional food. They become ill because their digestive system is not good.

There is a very apparent shift in the eating preferences between the oldest and youngest generations in Ladakh. Many women have to cook both types of food each day to satisfy both their children and their elders. Even those who feel that there are negative health benefits with the new diet recount a great deal of resistance from the younger generation to any attempts to shift back to a more traditional diet. Further, certain foods seem to be symbols of modernity while others are associated with the past (including subsistence agriculture). White store-bought bread is taken as a sign of wealth and modernity while Paba (a boiled grain dumpling) is considered to be "farmer's food." These associations will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. In the following section the change in dress,

which in some ways mirrors the discussion of eating habits, is presented.

5.2.2 Changing Dress

The traditional Ladakhi garment, worn by both men and women, is a long woolen robe called a goncha. It is accompanied by a goatskin cape called bok and hat or perak (woman's turquoise headpiece). In some areas the goncha is being replaced with current Indian styles; for the woman this is usually the Salwar Kameez (long full pants covered by a tunic), although some young girls wear the more 'modern' Indian fashions of pants or jeans, while for men it is a combination of blue jeans or trousers, shirts, and sweaters etc. Reflecting on the shifts in fashions, Tsewang explained:

There was a custom that men should wear a hat and women were not allowed to go out from the house without a bok which the women used to wear at their shoulder and without which they can't roam around here and there. Because it was a tradition – one cannot move with bare shoulders or bare head. Today it is quite free due to the tourism and the young generation who went outside from Leh and came to Ladakh with the modern things and introduced them. The Ladakhi young generation . . . they do not wear our traditional garments or anything. Instead of that they are just wearing jackets and everything . . . they have a feeling that we are modern – that the Ladakhi young generation are modern like other countries and other parts of India – so they think that they should not stay behind in the fashion too – that is why they are caring less about wearing the traditional dress.

Like the food, many women feel that the new fashions are a nice change. Some noted that it was nice to have a choice of different fabrics and styles. Dsoma, for example, told me: "changes in clothes are good because in those days people did not have lots to wear they only had the local things . . . today they can have any kind of clothes but in those days we only

had one quality a thick one which you might have seen." Many participants, however, said that they felt the change in clothes was not necessarily a good change or that it was a negative change. Some participants, including Palzang, and Yangmo, cited practical concerns (e.g. that the Goncha is very warm and suited to the climate) as well as health concerns (that the new fabrics were somehow unhealthy for Ladakhis). Korzom, for example, told me "Ladakhis should wear their own clothes, the thick woolen clothes, and they should wear their own shoes. Because now people are wearing polyester clothes and all and it is giving lot of problems, because of that people are facing a lot of problems in their back and all. It is not good for the Ladakhis."

However the most dominant theme which arose from the discussions of shifting styles was the idea that they represent a rejection of "tradition" and "culture." Some participants felt that young Ladakhis were "just copying" from foreign tourists, Indian films and television. Digzin told me: "the Ladakhi girls are getting too fashionable. They are copying from the foreigners and others. I think that if we do like this we can lose our culture and traditions. They are wearing pants and all; it is right according to the comfort we have to wear. But from one side we have to think of our culture and tradition too." Further, it is clear that some participants extend the rejection of the Goncha to the crafting process and cultural communication behind it. Dawa noted: "always people used to wear the goncha, today, you cannot find gonchas easily. My mother and grandmother used to weave the clothes in winter. Many women would sit together and weave. Traditional clothing is a very good idea."

In response to efforts of a local development group to promote (among other things) traditional clothing, some young people indicated that they resented the implication that by wearing jeans they were giving up their traditions. One young man said, "just because I wear jeans and drive a motorcycle I am still in my heart a Ladakhi and I am proud to be a Ladakhi." Changing fashions are a manifestation of many changes going on in Ladakh but it would be wrong to use clothing as an absolute indicator of membership in a particular community. This interpretation is simply a gross over-simplification of culture and heritage. However, as seen in the following case, cultural artifacts such as clothing and food can be instilled with deeper meaning – seen as symbols of broader changes and treated accordingly.

5.2.3 The Case of Alchi

It seems that in many cultures women may become associated with the traditional while men become more modern (Morvariadi, 1992; Stamp, 1991; Abbott Cone, 1995). Very generally, this seems to be true in many parts of India (Mazumdar and Sharma, 1990; Rahman, 1994). Sonam, a twenty year old participant noted, "boys reject the traditional things because they're modern. Men are more modern than women. Women keep the traditional things while men accept the western styles and like the western foods." Modernization can lead to a tightening of social restrictions on women and in some cases even the creation of 'tradition.' In the village of Alchi I encountered an interesting case where social customs and religion are being redefined to place restrictions on womens' dress.

The village of Alchi is divided into three groups of households^{IV} and from each group one man is selected every year to form a council which "runs" the village. A few years ago these men made a rule that no woman would be allowed to walk on a field without wearing her goncha, hat or perak, and her bok (cape). Storal told me that the rationale behind the rule was that the hat, perak, and bok "are vanishing from our culture." However, Darchan, Zalmo, and Zokar told me that the wearing of traditional garments by women prevented water shortages and crop failures by "keeping our god happy." Zokar explained,

In our Alchi we have a very big [Buddhist] monastery and in that we have a god and our god will get angry if we don't wear our hat and our bok. If we don't wear that, our god will get angry and we will face lots of problems like shortage of water, shortage of food, we won't be able to produce good greens and our animals will not give enough milk.

The link between these things and clothing was said to have been observed by the village council (Darchan). The men do not have to wear their traditional clothing. All of the woman said that it didn't matter for men, that the council "does not say anything for men (Storal)" because "men are a little bit superior and nothing will happen if men do not wear [the goncha] (Darchan)" and that "women are a little bit inferior and men are great (Zokar)."

Originally the dress code was enforced through violence. Zalmo recalls that a few years prior "there was no fine but if a woman did not wear a cap and bok then the man who looks

iv

Larger villages are divided into groups of ten households called chutsos. Communal decision matters are decided by village councils chaired by a village head (a man appointed by rotation) and composed of at least one member from each chutso.

after the water used to beat them with a shovel." Now it is enforced with a 50 Rs fine (about Can \$ 2.00 – or approximately the equivalent to a daily wage). Zalmo notes that it is mostly the young women who refuse to wear the traditional garments and are fined, but notes that if a woman is unmarried she is not required to wear the bok and hat.

Later, my research assistant and I encountered a carpenter working. We began talking to him and the conversation turned to the village rules. He said: "If women don't wear traditional clothing the Gods will be angry and will dry up the water . . . only in Alchi." I asked him why the gods don't get angry that the men including himself are wearing western clothes. He replied that, "men don't have to wear hats and caps but on certain occasions like Buddha Purmina they have to wear the goncha. Plus men are superior so it doesn't matter."

Through fines and social pressure, Alchi women are being forced to maintain their traditional attire. Perhaps villagers, maybe men in particular, felt threatened by women's new garb and they channelled all of their apprehensions about modernization onto this one symbol – the changing dress of women. Some of the women resist this but many accept it completely. Misfortune was blamed on women's clothing, a symbol of modernity and change that is relatively easy to eliminate. Further, it is not all women who are blamed but only married women. They may be perceived as less pure (perhaps due to marital relations and childbirth) than unmarried women and thus capable of bringing about natural disasters such as tainting the soil and drying up the water. Religion is used to redefine clothing into something either sacred or profane. Culture, being emergent, changes to reflect this new

reality. Gender relations are thus redefined with the men making the rules because of their 'god-recognized superiority' (a notion counter to Buddhism, created to support the differing rules governing male and female behaviour), even going so far as resorting to violence which goes completely against Buddhist beliefs. This creation of tradition is linked to the role of nostalgia in conceptualizing the past. The following section briefly explores the idea of nostalgia and then moves on to impressions and perceptions of more general lifestyle shifts.

5.3 Changing Lifestyles

Many participants talked about "the way things were" in the past. These accounts varied tremendously. Discussions of 'the way things used to be,' can sometimes lead to ambiguity about what constitutes "the past." After all, "the past" is not a particular time point but varies according to the individual reflecting on it (see Lowenthal, 1992). The past can shift; that is as a time period, "the past" means different things depending on the participant's age. Further, notions of what constitutes the "traditional" can also be arbitrary and vary among participants. For some the past is remembered fondly as a time of greater community and family unity while for others it is presented as a time of hardship. Both concepts of the past and of the traditional can also be overlaid with nostalgia, or a romanticization of the way things actually were. This section presents more general accounts of lifestyle changes, particularly participant's attitudes about traditional lifestyles and more modern lifestyles. This is followed by discussion of the particular implications of the shift towards a market

economy in Ladakh .

Some participants spoke of the past with nostalgia. They spoke of a more relaxed time, a simpler time. For example, Tsewang recalls:

In the earlier period there was a simple life – a uniform life . . . Now there is fluctuation . . . In the early period there was quite uniform activities. Activities were quite similar. Today if we go to our neighbor's house they may have something else. They may be thinking about business but we are not thinking about business we are thinking about only farming. Today due to modernization and due to development in Ladakh, activities are totally different like other metropolitan cities. People are quite busy today, they don't have time to say hello. In the early period they were spending their time very happily, getting together, drinking local barley beer together, and making jokes and everything. Today people don't have time to do that type of thing.

Many participants felt that although they did not have as much money, in the past, they had nonetheless enjoyed more leisure and less tension. Dawa told me: "The people in the past were very happy. They had less money. Today . . . people are too busy. They have no time to talk to another – really. The things are really changing. In the past they were lucky. They could share their problems with each other and in this way help each other." A number of participants claimed that the workload was increasing and bringing added tensions; " . . . in those days," Jigna remembers, "we did not have a lot of work . . . now it is a lifetime of work." Others suggested that although there had been difficulties in the past (hard work, inadequate food etc.) the people had peace of mind, and it is the loss of this that is the burden of modernization. Dsoma and Korzom capture this loss eloquently, saying:

The life of my mother and grandparents is better than now because even though they did not have good food to eat and good clothes to wear their mind is very happy. But now people have everything. They have food to eat and clothes to wear, but their mind is a little bit disturbed. They don't have time and their life is full of tension . . . (Dsoma).

My parents and grandparents had a very simple life, and they worked hard. Though they did not have much food to eat and sometimes they had to borrow from others . . . they were very happy and had peace of mind, they were so happy. But now people have everything but their life is getting more tense, and it's a very hard life (Korzom).

While not suggesting that the above accounts are simply romanticizations of the past, it is important to point out that many participants do not remember things in such positive terms. For many Ladakhis life was very difficult. Unfortunately many historical accounts (Mann, 1986; Norberg-Hodge, 1991) of the past in Ladakh seem to avoid any discussion of the ways in which traditional Ladakh society may have failed certain individuals, as if pointing out these instances would diminish the lessons to be learned from positive accounts. Many participants described earlier times of hardship and inequity, and claim that things have greatly improved. Hardships described by participants included the lack of facilities (transportation, communication, schools, hospitals), and basic needs (such as food and clothes). Stalzin told me, "My children are more lucky. They get everything they want to eat. Whatever they want to eat and whatever they want to wear they can have it. But in those days we did not have anything." Participants also pointed to inequitable distribution of resources which meant that "in the earlier days the poor had to serve the rich (Tundup)." Some felt that modernization is an equalizing force in Ladakh. Stalzin said, "Today rich and poor are equal because everyone has enough to eat and to wear. But in those days, some were very rich and very poor. The rich treated the poor very badly. They used to let them

work on their fields. People used to do that because they did not have food to eat and the rich people can give them food and all. That's why in those days it was worse than it is now." Wangyal echoes her views, recounting:

In those days the people were very poor and the king was very cruel. There were a few rich people who used to lend grains to the poor and in return . . . we had to give a lot of interest. And peoples' lives were very hard. They were very poor. But today the changing face of Ladakh is very good. There are more and more schools and all the people are getting an education. All are getting enough to eat.

Many of the changes discussed in both positive and negative accounts reflect the impact of the shift towards a market economy. Like change in general, there are those who think that these changes have made things better in Ladakh while others point out the costs. Some feel that the market economy has had an equalizing impact, making the poor less dependent on rich landowners to survive. Still others point to the consumer goods they are able to purchase with their income, and the added mobility that money and modernization has brought. Other participants, including Tashi, said that change is felt only by the rich, who get richer while the poor stay the same. Further, some suggested that money was changing people and leading to selfishness and conceit; Chondol notes: "there is lots of change in everything. It is not good. Things are not honest now and people are selfish . . . because they earn lots of money, it is the money." Further some participants note that the market economy is not an equalizing factor but rather creates social divides according to wealth. Skazang says, " . . . the people with lots of money – only that person is considered in the

society important. They have [social] relations only with people with money." Similarly according to Kunzang, "government personnel and a farmer they are alike but the one who works for the government earns a lot of money. That creates a barrier and determines status . . . according to the one who has money they think this is good, but according to me this is not good."

As discussed in earlier sections, often clothes and food are seen as marks of a modern person; Yunga says that "in previous years most of the girls are wearing the traditional dress. Now we are wearing something different, then *even the educated* wore the traditional dress." The link here is that education leads to a change from the traditional to the modern. Education leads to employment which in turn can provide material goods, and in general more worldliness (through travel to other parts of India, television, print media, etc.). Clothes become the outward sign of this change; they become the mark of an upwardly mobile Ladakhi. Food is also becoming a status item. In most homes the traditional Ladakhi butter tea is often supplemented by Indian tea. In many homes being considered an honoured guest I was served store bought biscuits (often a child was sent out to fetch them upon our arrival). On one occasion my research assistant had brought some store bought white bread from Leh which she shared with her relatives in a village we visited. All of the family, but especially the children seemed very happy to get this bread. When I began eating some local style bread (a very heavy dark, flat bread) that had been given to us in another home they asked me why I did not want the white bread. Everyone was surprised to hear that a westerner actually preferred homemade brown bread over the generic white bread.

I explained that for us, homemade bread was the treat. Similarly, if I was given the choice of a Ladakhi dish such as Thukpa or Skyu and selected it over an Indian dish there was also some surprise. When I ate paba (a type of dumpling made with barley flour) there was often a great deal of amusement. The vision of a westerner eating and enjoying Ladakhi dishes was obviously seen by many to be ironic. The very strong impression given was that Indian and store bought foods were higher status because they reflected wealth and 'worldliness' in contrast to the 'backwardness' of traditional food. However, upon learning of my appreciation of Ladakhi dishes many women were pleased to teach me to cook them and expressed happiness and pride.

I do not want to suggest that pride in their heritage is something that foreigners can 'give' to Ladakhis; rather, it relates to the idea of counter development. Ladakhis have been so bombarded with the idea that their culture is backward and primitive that they have come to expect it, anticipate it, and in some cases believe it. My appreciation simply seemed to foster an environment where they were free to take pride in their abilities instead of one where they had to feel inadequate because they did not happen to have any store bought food to serve the foreigner. Similarly, some Ladakhis are shocked to hear about the social ills in the west such as homelessness, violence, environmental devastation, and the treatment of the elderly. When they are presented with the entire picture of life in the west, instead of glossed over images, their own culture does not seem so backward or primitive. Dawa reflected on this shift towards a more balanced view of the two cultures, noting:

If in my neighbour's house somebody gets ill and there is no one to support them, it's my duty to help. These are the basic things that humans need. I don't know if it's true but I've heard that in the west people do not take care of their parents, of each other. What is the point of getting a lot of money, if people do not have any peace in their mind? One day everybody has to die. Man and woman die as they arrived from the mothers womb. They are bare and have no money. People should place less preference on money, preference should exist but if one puts more preference on peace of mind they can adopt to this culture very well.

Modernization was rarely perceived as having only good or only bad ramifications, but more likely some combination of the two depending on individual context. As Diskit put it, "Now people have everything, but one problem is that we do not have time. We have food to eat but we have no time to take the food properly." Similarly, Stozom, agrees that in the past there were hardships but that there are certain traditions worth maintaining. She says:

The economic change has made the people's life easier, and it's a good change. Today they get enough to eat and good clothes to wear . . . in those days a few people were very rich and the rest were very poor. They had to go to the rich people but today everyone has got . . . whatever they need, so there is not much difference between rich and poor . . . but a lot of the old ways are important to keep. Particularly not to rely on government and the things government brings such as rice. Because if the truck was to get stopped then we wouldn't have it . . . we should grow our own food and we should sew our own clothes, basically be self-reliant.

Stozom's point is not that the past was perfect and that change should be stopped. Rather it is to examine the changes critically and make balanced decisions about them. In this vein, the efforts of the Ladakh Ecological Development Group (LEDeG) to engage in counter development, or to expose the costs of an industrial way of life may strike the right balance. Their focus is on providing a more accurate representation of life in the west to counter the

images being supplied by the media and impressions of foreigners. The following section highlights the work of some participants in counter development.

5.4 Counter-Development

Some of the research participants are members of the Woman's Alliance, a group within LEDeG comprised of women working to maintain certain aspects of traditional Ladakhi culture. The Alliance was founded by Helena Norberg-Hodge (the founder of the Ladakh project and LEDeG) in 1993 and currently consists of about seventy representative members and five-hundred associate members in the villages. The group meets once a month and plans various events, particularly visits to villages to discuss the positive attributes of traditional culture. Tsewang explains the formation process and the groups activities:

Helena advised the women of Ladakh that in Ladakh we have a kind of problem and we . . . can remove negative things which we should not do . . . we understood all these things then we cooperated with Helena and joined the center . . . Due to the ecology center all the women in Leh and especially in the other villages are controlling what we eat and what we wear. We shouldn't forget our traditional culture. Time by time the members of the ecological center in Leh, go to the other areas to make them understand that we should not leave our culture.

The group's focus is wide, ranging from agricultural techniques to television. Dashi says, "in the Women's Alliance we are taught that we should eat our own food, we should wear our own clothes, and we used to give the same teachings to other people." Tsewang adds: "I am a member of the ecological center and we are taught by Helena that we should use our

own traditional food like paba and thukpa and not to look much to the television. There should be some time to show the television to the students but it is also necessary to take them to walk in the field. She taught us to use our own fertilizer – manure fertilizer– not to use the artificial one – urea." Korzom added to this:

Helena told us about everything . . . 'you should eat your own food, you should wear your own clothes, and you should not forget your parents like in western countries . . . all the children and parents they should live together like they lived before. And teach your children all the things . . . whenever you water the fields you should carry your son or daughter, whoever, along with you and teach them how to give water to the field. And how to spin, how to cook, you should teach your children everything and you should educate them, but it doesn't mean that education is enough. You should teach them everything. Whatever you have in Ladakh.' Helena told us all this and they selected a few people as members and I am one. And all the members have to go to the places and tell people all these things which we should maintain and all . . . And the villagers are most serious about this Alliance, they are teaching their children . . .

The group is composed entirely of Buddhists which may simply reflect the formation process but perhaps unintentionally serves to reinforce the political divide between Buddhists and Muslims which has emerged in the last decade. Further, sometimes the way the women speak about Helena raises interesting questions about the founder effect or exogenous solutions. For example, when discussing the ease with which the Leh group convinced village women of the value of the Alliance, Tsewang notes: "There was no difficulty talking to the women in the other villages. They already understood that one foreign lady, she had this pain in her heart about Ladakh to maintain our culture and traditions so it is very easy to make them understand. So they also have a feeling that one foreign lady has come and she has this pain for our traditions so why should we not do it like

that." Likewise, Dashi notes: "I feel very happy. I feel very happy for Helena also because she has come from a very far place and she has taught us that you should maintain your own culture and I think that she is right we should maintain our culture, and I feel very happy about it." Such statements raise the issue of whether this kind of cultural preservation is a response to modernization from within or, by contrast, reflects the impact of a respected and well liked individual from outside. The group certainly originated with Norberg-Hodge. Yet it also seems to move along quite strongly in her absence under the leadership of Sonam Dolma, it's President (1996).

Notwithstanding these questions of exogenous influence and solutions, certain things can be said about the existence and work of the Alliance. The women seem to derive a great deal of satisfaction from their work in this group. While one woman noted her family was very supportive and that they are all learning from the group Korzom said, "if I go to the Alliance and my work at home is left standing sometimes my children and husband scold me that I am doing this leaving my own work. But I feel happy because I was asked to do this, and because of me many people benefit, and I feel happy for that." To a certain degree, many Alliance members have also gone through a process of conscientization about the process of modernization. Some have acquired a broader awareness of the relationship between certain changes in their society. For example, the members realize that government subsidized foods like rice may seem beneficial in the short run but could prove costly in the long term. Korzom says: "today we are getting from government, we are getting rice at a cheaper rate. But it is not sure that we will keep on receiving the same from government or

not, because the population is increasing. Sometimes in the town area if the flood comes or whatever comes, we can get shortage of those things. We are not sure whether we will get the same from government in future or not. That is why we should eat our own food, and we should cultivate them and all." By questioning the value of certain changes and, perhaps more importantly, by asserting that Ladakhis are able to choose as well as reject these changes, the group acts as a forum of debate on the shape of modernization in Ladakh. Women's active participation in the group and their attempts to initiate change in their lives as well as in their household and society clearly point to the importance of understanding women as social agents.

Yunga, although not a member of the Alliance, participated on an exchange to France when she was fifteen years old. Of this experience she reflected, "France was very nice. Along with my eighteen friends I went, as a culture exchange I went. I enjoyed it a lot there. The negative thing I found is that people are very very busy. They don't have time to spend with their children. Only during the evening time they can be together. Otherwise they are very busy. I found they are very kindhearted and almost everyone smiles." Yunga seemed particularly intent on preserving certain aspects of Ladakhi culture. When I noted that she seemed more keen on traditions than many women her age, she said: "even most of the European people think Ladakh is something very nice. They like the culture, traditional and all. So I too feel that we should be proud of our culture and traditions."

Some women (as discussed above) do not accept that all facets of modernization are

inevitable, that new is necessarily better, and that the traditional way of life must become a thing of the past. Further they are working to hold onto certain aspects of their traditions that they deem important. However, they do represent a rather small portion of the population as a whole. It is unclear at this stage whether the ideas they propose will be supported by a broader section of the population and gain momentum as a wider movement. Many participants, although they had some nostalgia for the past, still seemed to feel that overall change was inevitable and generally welcome. The negatives of modernization were seen as an acceptable price in order to receive the benefits such as consumer products, improved facilities, and television.

5.5 Conclusion

Highlighting the examples of food and dress, this chapter has sketched some of the ways that modernization is altering Ladakhi lifestyles. Using the case of Alchi, norms about gendered identity were shown to be linked with processes of modernization. In that case, women's traditional clothing has become symbolic of tradition, religious piety, and purity. The perceived benefits as well as costs of the modernization process were examined and the variation in attitude towards change was emphasized. Generally the benefits of modernization described by participants are material – that is, good or enough food and clothing, consumer goods, money – while the negatives tend to be a loss of values – a sense of loss of certain traditions, less neighbourly ties and affection, more competition, and the devaluation of cultural artifacts. Finally, the work of some Ladakhis engaged in counter-

development was described. In the following chapter, the above ideas as well as themes presented in chapter four (marriage, education, work) will be analyzed and linked back to the theoretical framework sketched in chapters two and three. The chapter presents the ways in which gender as a social cleavage underlies the modernization process in Ladakh.

6.0 MAKING THE LINKS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, findings presented in chapters four and five are analyzed using postmodern feminist theory and directly linked back to the theoretical framework developed in chapters two and three. I also relate women's experiences to the background literature on the region (pointing out seeming contradictions as well as points of complementarity). This chapter highlights the ways in which gender roles have created both opportunities and constraints for Ladakhi women in the modernization process. It also examines how emergent social structures and norms are currently shaping access to resources and authority in Ladakh along gender lines (particularly within the household). Further, participants' perceptions of and attitudes towards these changes, and the ways they are actively negotiating their position within the emerging society are situated within the theoretical framework. The following chapter, then, integrates the earlier discussions to present the ways in which gender as a social cleavage underlies the modernization process in Ladakh.

In chapter two, postmodern feminist theory (and in particular a GAD approach) was laid out as the foundation for this research. Here, the theory is applied to understand how gender roles are constructed and maintained in the region and how these roles then shape the division of labour, access to resources, and power and authority. This application is not to suggest that gender is the only site of power interrelations that matters in the experience of

change. The ability to capture gains from modernization and attitudes towards the process varied widely according to age, gender, socio-economic status, location, and education. As discussed in chapter two, postmodern feminism's influence on GAD theory has provided a space to try to understand gender as one of many overlapping social cleavages that shape individual experience, and thus, although making it possible to draw certain generalizations about modernization and gender, does so without denying the role of other interrelated cleavages in shaping individual's experiences. Additionally, understanding the roles and actions of Ladakhi women in shaping and reacting to changes is a critical component of GAD's actor oriented approach. The wide variations among female participants reflect both the role and importance of different social cleavages, as well as women's roles as agents of change. However the commonalities in many of the participants' experiences also point to the importance of a gender based analysis. Modernization occurs and is shaped in societies defined and organized along gender lines. Further this process seems to be structuring Ladakhi society even more divisively along gender cleavages.

For the sake of organization this chapter is structured in a linear fashion. However, the themes defy a simple cause and effect layout. For example, although social structures are discussed as factors shaping authority and power, the reverse is perhaps equally if not more true; that is, social structures both shape and are shaped by authority and power. Thus the order highlights particular relationships among themes but should not be taken as the only possible causal chain.

The underlying theme in this chapter is power interrelations and, in particular, traditional and emergent power interrelations along gender lines. Ideas of power and gender are discussed first and then the structures shaping these constructs are examined. The structures examined include those within the household such as marriage, family size, household division of labour, as well as structures that are emerging outside the household through the modernization process such as paid employment and formal education. Modernization also has impacts beyond employment and education; amongst other things, it encourages a shift towards materialism and individualism as well as reshaping gender norms and identities. These ideas are discussed at the end of the chapter.

6.2 Gender and Gender Role Construction

To briefly restate, gender, as I use it here, refers to a system of culturally constructed identities. This system is the outcome of complex and highly specific historical processes in which both women and men have played parts as gendered subjects and it is expressed in norms about masculinity and femininity. This GAD understanding of gender as the process whereby individuals born into biological categories of male and female become the social categories of men and women by acquiring local interpretations of masculinity and femininity (Kabeer, 1991, cited in Parpart, 1993, p. 450) brings with it the possibility of transforming gender roles. Gender is a particular type of knowledge constructed within discourses – thus the dominant discourse has unequal power in shaping gender and gender relations. Other forms of knowledge, or other constructions of gender, exist in varying

levels of resistance. Gender differences are one of the great 'fault lines' of societies – as Papanek (1990) puts it, "those marks of difference among categories of persons that govern the allocation of power, authority, and resources" (p. 163). The variability in cultures around the world leads to many different gender identities and gender relations. The subsequent variability in the status of women around the world is an important reason for analyzing the causal antecedents of contrasting situations. The next sections explore how power comes about in gender relations, how these relations shape society, and how society shapes power relations in terms of gender and other cleavages.

6.3 Power and Authority: Emergent and Traditional

Power relations shape all aspects of people's lives, leading not only to the way life is but also, because certain discourses are privileged, they lead to norms about the way life 'should' be. An absence of protest from those wielding less power does not necessarily reflect gender equality; the relations between men and women and the seeming alliance of the oppressed cannot be understood within an exclusively repressive view of power.

Since cooperation is essential to survival, and a recognition that shares are unequally distributed could break down this cooperation, it has been hypothesized that women might suppress their own knowledge of inequality (Wilson, 1991, p. 33) creating public and private accounts. The emphasis on describing actual women's lives by collecting accounts of their experiences should not ignore the possibility that women's experiences can be distorted by

their internalization of patriarchal ideology (Cancian, 1992, p. 632). In order to understand women's activities in a society that limits their choices, we must begin with the assumption that their thoughts may not always be reflected in their actions, and develop methodologies taking this assumption into account. This concealing of information from the self and others was seen most markedly in the division of labour survey. While most participants claimed that there was no division of labour along gender lines in Ladakh (the public account) the breakdown of work in each household showed very distinct divisions according to gender (the private account). A faster rate of change in actual living conditions than in the dominant ideology may be the reason for this serious mismatch between women's lives and their life accounts. The power of the dominant account makes understanding actual living conditions a challenge; however the persistence of the private account makes it a possibility.

Studying only women's behaviour gives an incomplete picture of their lives. To develop a more encompassing understanding of women's experiences, we need to "go behind the veil of outwardly conforming activity to understand what particular behavior means to her" (Anderson et al, 1988, p. 97). The use of multiple methods and qualitative interviews gave me the unique opportunity to ask people directly: How did it feel? What did it mean? Finding out about women's actual lives deepens the critique of existing knowledge by documenting the inadequacy of past assumptions. For example, Mann (1988) assumed that the reason a Ladakhi bride (unlike grooms) did not have to express her consent for a polyandrous marriage was because she must consider her position more secure with more

husbands. However, when I asked women to explain how they felt about the marriage process, the fear, powerlessness, and unhappiness they describe points to weaknesses in past accounts of their high status and privilege. We need to develop methods that can point out both the public and private accounts and try to understand the reasons behind each account. One powerful methodological tool in examining power as an aspect of gender relations is conceptualizing the household within a framework of cooperative conflicts (Geisler, 1993, p. 1966). This perspective is examined in the following section.

6.4 Social Structures

As discussed in chapter two, the assumption that individual choices "are motivated by the desire to maximise total family welfare" (Evans, 1991, p. 56) ignores the potential for conflict and power struggles in decision-making and resource allocation and "removes the possibility of exploring conditions of unequal exchange and exploitation between family members, and in particular between women and men" (Folbre, 1986, cited in Evans, 1991, p. 56). In this research, examples of various forms of inequality amongst household members were more the norm than the exception. In the case of women and men, the fact that women often agree with these practices, and that inequalities do not appear to foster great resentments or break down the friendly association and cooperation amongst them, again points to the importance of a more encompassing understanding of power than simply 'power over'. Recall Yangmo who worked in the same government office as her husband. She told of having to return home immediately after work to do all of the household tasks

and childcare while her husband would "roam about with his friends." She expressed no obvious anger or resentment towards her husband and seemed quite resigned to this division of labour which effectively left her with little or no leisure time. In this situation, though, presenting the husband as the oppressor and the wife as the passive victim would be simplistic. It would also be simplistic to present the unequal access to leisure time according to gender as coincidence. Instead of assuming that gender relations are egalitarian, analyzing the household as a site of both conflict and cooperation (Sen, 1990) reveals that access to resources and authority is determined by status within the household, kinship group, and the wider social and political environment. These structures shape power relations; but being emergent, they are also a product of power relations.

In Ladakh, traditional markers of status reside in a number of different areas including kin links (in particular ties to the household head), possession of ornaments, age, number of husbands, and (perhaps) number of children. Emerging markers of status, for example, paid employment and education must be added to the above list. While certain structures within households (for instance, marriage) directly shape women's position within the household, broader social structures (including access to birth control, education, and paid employment) also shape women's authority within the home. The more power women have outside of the home the less dependent they are on the household and thus the more bargaining power they have to change the balance of authority within the home. The next section examines how particular structures affect access to power in the household.

6.4.1 Marriage and Family Structure

The GAD approach involves rejecting the public / private dichotomy that so often has been used to undervalue the work of women and entering the so called "private sphere" of the family to understand women's access to power (Rathgeber, 1990, p.494). In looking at Ladakh from a gendered perspective, one of the social structures that seems particularly important in shaping authority appears to be the marriage structure(s). The absence of a dowry system may have prevented some aspects of the marginalized status of women in other regions of India. However, in the past, the absence of ornaments (jewelry, cookware, and the perak) which are passed from mother to eldest daughter was cause for some women to remain unmarried. By contrast, plentiful proposals came for women with many ornaments. Today, however, in the regions surrounding Leh at least, the possession of ornaments is not an important factor in determining a woman's marital eligibility.

Once the preferred marital form in Ladakh, fraternal polyandry is now on the decline (especially in the region surrounding the capital). My research confirmed Crook and Shakya's (1994) contention that Ladakhis have already started to speak ill of polyandry. Recall Yangmo's assertion that: "polyandry is not good. It is a big shame . . . Today if we see polyandry, we treat it as bad manners, and it is not in our religion also." Polyandry is perceived as primitive or uncivilized by many Ladakhis (although it is forgiven in the older generations). The shame attached to polyandry seems primarily associated with non-monogamous sex in such a union. The few participants who felt comfortable enough to

discuss it noted, "a man would no longer want to pair with his brother's wife." Further, polyandry is also now considered to be counter to Buddhism. This situation creates embarrassment and shame among women living in polyandrous unions. However, as is suggested by some historical accounts, in the past the traditional marital structure and its workings, particularly polyandry, may have resulted in more varied family structures and less rigid gender norms. Most *accounts* of polyandry – whether from women in such marriages or their children and / or other relatives – indicate that the system has many benefits, such as increased family security and companionship. This discussion ties back to the preceding analysis of public and private accounts. The public account used to be that polyandry was good; this account is being reversed. However, the experience of many participants does not correspond to the new public account, thereby creating a conflict resulting in the formation of private accounts of polyandry's value.

Another example of mismatched accounts, in line with postmodern feminist theory, related to polyandry regards the position of unmarried women in this system. Polyandry leaves many women single. On the surface there is no great stigma to being unmarried and, perhaps, in the past there was no great hardship attached to it either. Such women often call themselves, and are considered, *chomos* (Buddhist nuns) although most have no religious training (itself a reflection of a religious structure that despite having a monastery in almost every Ladakhi village has very few nunneries). Today these women are often treated as little more than unpaid family labour and many have to work as general labourers for income. They certainly do not enjoy the position or privileges of their male counterparts (Buddhist

monks), nor do they have their income earning opportunities. Thus the dominant account in Ladakh is that unmarried women are equal in status to married women and that Buddhist nuns are equal in status to Buddhist monks but the experience of many, and hence the private account suggests that this is not actually the case. In both cases the dominant account obscures some of the systematic power imbalances along gender lines.

Participants usually married at about eighteen but there was a considerable range in marital age. The majority of marriages were arranged by the couple's parents although there seem to have always been a significant number of "love" marriages. Love marriages continue to occur but there has not been a radical shift towards them (perhaps even the opposite). This tendency may reflect a tightening of social restrictions on unmarried women and a lessening of their autonomy. These social norms are discussed in more detail later. Many Ladakhi women are coerced or forced into marriage by their parents who may exert varying degrees of pressure. Some are even "tricked" or coerced into marriage by the potential groom and his entourage: this generally happens if the woman is spending time away from her parental home.

Such ploys have the effect of curtailing women's mobility, for many families will not permit their daughters (or other female family members) to travel unchaperoned whether it be for pleasure, education, or employment. Generally this restriction can be seen as a new site of difference between men and women as in the past travel was more difficult and the reasons for travel (marriage ceremonies, religious ceremonies, etc) ensured participation of both

men and women. Modernization has both made travel easier as well as bringing new reasons for travel (such as buying or selling produce or products, education, paid employment, and entertainment). While many women are travelling more, particularly for educational purposes, a number of participants suggest that perceived 'threats' to unchaperoned women are curtailing their mobility. These threats appear to be associated with notions of women as being 'pure' – a norm of womanhood that is not indigenous to Ladakh but is becoming much more prevalent. The transformation process of gender roles conceptualized in GAD theory extends to both 'progressive' as well as 'regressive' changes. Under Ladakhi's new norms a woman's purity (as a mark of status for her husband) now has to be protected. This 'protection' may take the form of restricting women to the domestic sphere. For example, one participant is no longer allowed (by her husband) to walk about unchaperoned in Leh for fear that she be propositioned or talked to by strange men. A number of participants indicated that this was not uncommon, particularly for Muslim women.

This process of cloistering isolates women from the larger community. This new circumstance can be partly explained by the influx of non-locals into the area and the resulting potential for "improper behavior." Yet, only a generation ago the notion that an adult married woman was in need of a chaperone to protect her 'purity' while buying vegetables in the bazaar would probably have seemed laughable. This change reflects the growing emphasis on outside constructions of gender, found in, amongst other things, Indian movies, television serials, and magazines. The growing acceptance that an inappropriate

comment can harm or 'spoil' a woman seems to be becoming internalized by many women, particularly younger more urban women, who indicate they often are made to feel shy and uncertain when walking in the bazaar, especially when alone. The postmodern feminist focus on understanding the construction of gender ideology reveals the ways in which gender ideology can shape and limit women's knowledge and power. At the same time as emergent gender norms are curtailing Ladakhi women's mobility, the increasing ease of, and reasons for travel, result in men travelling much more. This further reinforces the growing polarity among men and women that presents women as being traditional and tied to the home while men are modern and worldly.

Many Ladakhi women experience great difficulty upon first marrying; they report that the separation from their family is traumatic and that their work burden increases. Perhaps not surprisingly, some young women, especially those from less wealthy and / or educated backgrounds, expressed little desire to marry – some insisting that they would remain single. Such stances challenge representations of women found in the WID and to some extent the GAD literature, as victim and other "helplessly entangled in the tentacles of Third World patriarchy" and substantiate the usefulness of postmodern feminist methodologies including standpoint theory (Parpart, 1993, p. 453). The choice of remaining single, however, may also reflect the increasing difference in the levels of authority among household members, particularly amongst those who earn money and those who do not. An uneducated woman entering the home of her in-laws would typically have had less authority than many other family members because of traditional markers such as her age and relative

newcomer status. Now, however, this situation may be exacerbated by her lack of earning potential. The perceived value of her contribution to agricultural and household tasks is lessening and with that her authority, decision making power, and access to resources are also diminishing.

Women in Magpa unions report less difficulties in marriage than their Bagma counterparts. Recall that in Bagma the woman moves into the groom's parental home and in Magpa the male joins the woman's parental home. Women who remain in their parental home are not forced to make as substantial changes as those who marry into another home. Further, they retain the authority and status that they have built up over the years through their household contributions. Additionally their closeness to the household head is another traditional marker of status. This study corresponds with Reis' (1982) claims that the position of women in Magpa is better than that of women in Bagma marriages. The difference in the experience of women in the two marriage structures reflects how socio-cultural prerequisites may lead to a variety of responses to similar processes of change. Such differences challenge prevailing notions of the homogeneity of Southern people, and especially women, who are often lumped together into "one undifferentiated category" (Parpart, 1993, p. 454).

Divorce, while relatively uncommon in Ladakh, does occur, as does separation and desertion. Most of the cases encountered in this study involved local women marrying non-local army personnel. If the couple has children, women are pressured by relatives and

friends to remain married, even if they are subject to cruel or brutal treatment. If they have no children divorce is generally socially acceptable and both spouses are free to remarry. However, again, while the dominant account is that both may remarry it seems that among participants the male was more likely to remarry than was the woman. Most women who divorce or separate become dependent on their families for support and may have to work as general labourers if this support is not forthcoming. None of the participants in these situations received any form of personal or child support from their estranged or former husbands. Women who are not heiresses and thus leave their family home upon marriage, may be more likely to encounter very oppressive conditions than women who remain in the parental home. Further, since they are not heiresses they may be seen as having little to offer the household of a second husband. Finally, while in the past such women were not seen as being 'spoiled' by their marital relations nor were their children seen as a burden, today attitudes may be slowly shifting towards outside gender ideals that focus on notions of purity as the womanly ideal. Thus, a divorced woman may be increasingly facing a social stigma which, although certainly not as paralysing or encompassing as in many societies, in many circumstances may effectively curtail her chances for remarriage.

The duration, depth, and intensity, of the relationship between spouses makes this structure particularly important in both reflecting as well as crafting power relationships along gender lines. Another key structure shaping gender roles and norms in Ladakh, that of motherhood and reproduction, is discussed in the next section.

6.4.2 Motherhood and Reproduction

Another structure within the household that directly shapes women's lives is their role as mothers and their experiences of reproductive labour. In the village communities, many women continue to have relatively large families but in and around Leh more women are choosing smaller families. In the villages, larger families are an advantage for agricultural tasks (although increasingly less so as children spend more time in formal education and less time helping in the fields), while in Leh, large families can be a financial burden and (if both parents are working away from the home) childcare can be a problem. In all such cases among participants, women are dependent on the unpaid childcare provided by female relatives. Finally, women working outside of the home cannot spare the time and other demands associated with numerous pregnancies.

Modern methods of birth control and abortion are now available to married women in Ladakh and many, particularly those living in Leh or with employment outside of the home, are making use of these options. Still, even with these new techniques, the Ladakhi population is growing. This growth is partly due to reductions in mortality achieved through western medical techniques, but perhaps more a repercussion of the decline in polyandry and the resulting increase in the number of married women.

All married female participants either had children or said they were physically unable to. The few women who had difficulty in becoming pregnant or carrying a child to term

expressed sadness about their situation and those around them seemed to pity them. This finding seems to substantiate Reis' judgment on the subject more so than Norberg-Hodge's (although it should be noted that Reis' study was undertaken in the same region as mine and Norberg-Hodge was examining a more remote region). Recall that Reis (1982) argues that a woman is first and foremost seen as a mother and . . . that all women said they wanted children and that a woman who could not conceive was pitied, while Norberg-Hodge (1994) claimed that there was no stigma attached to sterile women – no embarrassment and no great unhappiness. It would seem that while increasingly married women have access to family planning, strong socialization for childbearing means they generally do not have the option of remaining intentionally childless.

Just as power interrelations shape norms governing women's roles as mothers, they also structure other roles both within and outside the household. The next sections build on the discussion of how power shapes gender identities, relations, and family structure to examine the way that these relations shape the division of labour and access to resources. The division of labour in subsistence agriculture is presented first, followed by access to paid employment and education.

6.4.3 Division of Labour in Agriculture

As detailed in chapter two, GAD theory stresses the importance of analyzing the gendered division of labour in specific contexts, and the ways that these divisions relate to other

aspects of gender inequality. Once a fairly evenly shared vocation in Ladakh, agriculture is increasingly becoming women's work. The work survey substantiated studies that show the most onerous and tedious jobs are passed from the members of dominating groups to the persons over whom they have control (Boserup, 1990; Morvariadi, 1992). Such labour allocations were particularly true of the mundane, repetitive, jobs such as spreading dung, weeding, and animal care, which my work survey found were almost exclusively done by women, although there is no social basis for this division. One male participant, Dawa, said, "there is no restriction in weeding and putting seeds in the soil, both men and women can do it. I have seen both the male and female doing this. Women engage more in weeding; perhaps they have better fingers." It is, however, more likely the tedium and never-ending nature of the work, rather than the nimbleness of women's fingers, which has made this an almost exclusively woman's task in so many parts of the world. Similarly all three jobs associated with dung (removing it, collecting it, and spreading it) are done by women.

This research substantiates general claims that women have to work harder than men in subsistence agriculture as they provide most of the labour input needed to maintain and reproduce the other household members (Evans, 1991, p. 55). It also supports specific claims that Ladakhi women have to work harder than men, because most of the men's work is in summer whereas the specific duties of women continue all year (Reis, 1982; Mann, 1986). However, as explained above, my findings counter the available background literature which suggests that, with the exception of ploughing, slaughtering cattle, and felling trees (which are only done by men) there is no rigid division of labour between the

sexes. While the dominant or public account substantiates this, the private account reveals very distinct gender based divisions of labour.

The increasing shift to nuclear households has had different implications for women's work burdens. For women in paid employment the shift out of the extended family may reduce their work but it may also impact upon their reliance on the extended family for unpaid childcare. For the majority of women (who farm) the shift can further reduce the amount of labour available for agricultural tasks – thus increasing their work. This finding supports Rahman's (1994) study in Bangladesh, which found that vulnerable members of society such as women and children experience increased hardship when extended households break-up and reciprocity amongst kin members begins to erode.

Women are increasingly becoming associated with farming tasks. This is partly because so many women are now bearing the brunt of agricultural work with their husbands in paid employment and their children in school. Additionally, many women perceive the gender based denial of education as having relegated them to agricultural work. The polarizing influence of paid employment on the lives of women and men, and the influence it has on access to resources and authority is discussed in more detail in the following section.

6.4.4 Access to Paid Employment

In Ladakh, growing numbers of men are entering the paid workforce while the majority of

women remain in subsistence agriculture. This polarization in their work is leading to differences in their perceived household contributions and hence to shifts in power and access to resources. Perceived contribution is shaped by notions of what is important – increasingly with the shift towards materialism, money is seen as paramount. Therefore, people with paid work are perceived as making greater household contributions than other household members. In chapter two, bargaining power was shown to be based on the perceived contribution of household members, a combination of "the actual ability to earn income or to bring valued resources into the household" and the "value given to that contribution by other household members" (Young, 1991, p. 155). The perceived contribution is not necessarily correlated with the amount of time expended working as most participants indicate that women in Ladakh have to work harder than men. This finding supports Sen's (1990) claim that time allocation studies indicate that women often do "astonishingly large amounts of work" even when their economic contribution is perceived as relatively small, which lead him to conclude that perceived contribution is much more a factor of the amount of cash earned rather than time and effort expended (pp.139-140). Thus, in Ladakh, while men have more access to paid labour, women's contributions to both productive and reproductive labour are generally becoming under-rated, creating the perception that men provide the main inputs to the family and should determine resource allocation.

Most women indicated that the decisions in the home were made by the male head (their father, father-in-law, or husband). The prevalence of male decision making is especially

true in all decisions related to finances. Men are responsible for making all large purchases and sales, while women tend to have control mainly over household purchases such as food (although even this is done much more often by men). This division of responsibilities corresponds to the findings of the U.N. study "Women and Households in a Changing World" (discussed in chapter two) that showed that while women may play some role in *managing* household income (especially in purchases corresponding to the gender based division of labour such as food etc.) their *control* of it is usually quite limited (1991, p. 41). Many women say that when they need something they go to the male household head who may either purchase it for them or give them the funds. Their ability to get the resources they need, therefore, becomes dependent on a number of factors including their relationship to the male head.

The equation of government (or paid) jobs with wealth, and wealth with status, has seemed to diminish the value of subsistence work. Hence there appears to be a growing rift among paid and unpaid workers – itself often translating to hierarchies between men and women. Norberg-Hodge (1991) claims that when men get jobs in the money economy women become invisible shadows, they do not earn money for their work so they are no longer seen as productive, and that traditional farmers and women are coming to be viewed as inferior and are developing feelings of insecurity and inadequacy (p. 126). The shift in male labour to paid employment does appear, as Norberg-Hodge suggests, to be having a polarizing effect on gender relations. Tsetan says, "I am an uneducated woman so I have to work from morning to night and my life is very dependent on the man." Although she says she enjoys

working in the fields, she notes, "I feel very unhappy that my parents didn't send me to school, and I am unhappy when I see my husband go to the office."

Labour in Ladakh is differentiated by a number of factors. The argument that labour differences are based solely on comparative advantage, that is, that women engage primarily in subsistence work while men are more likely to be in paid employment simply because of wage differentials, was not substantiated by this study. As Evans (1991) claims, this argument ignores all of the "non-economic and ideological factors that discriminate between male and female labour in the market place and values their labour differently in market and non-market sectors" (pp. 54-55). As well as having less access to education and training, women are concentrated in poorly paid jobs or economic sectors, face social stereotypes and other barriers, and have intermittent and atypical workforce participation (1991, p. 42). Although some participants indicated that women could have any job, this perception may reflect more of the ideal than the realized situation of Ladakhi women. Again, in many cases, public accounts of equality noted by participants, for example that women could join the police force or the army, did not correspond with the reality that most people did not know of any women in such positions. The women having access to paid employment in Ladakh tend to be relatively better educated and often have parents who had formal education. The closer the family lives to a bigger center (such as Leh) the more access they have to schools. Women outside of Leh are much more limited in taking certain jobs. Further the gender based denial of education has eliminated options for many village women.

Like their female counterparts, educated men from the regions surrounding Leh also have increased access to paid work. However, there are also many jobs for uneducated men (particularly in the army and tourism industries), and because their mobility is not as restricted as that of women, men can also travel from more remote regions to find work. Another factor shaping labour in Ladakh appears to be the traditional authority of men in the public sphere and women in the household. In line with postmodern feminism, existing and emergent gender ideologies shape women's access to authority and power in particular societies by shaping their very real daily opportunities and constraints. Certain jobs (notably doctor, nurse, and teacher) are often cited as being appropriate jobs for women; this activity is perhaps due to the similarity such jobs have to women's traditional household duties. These jobs are also notable for requiring a great deal of schooling. Some women earn money by selling their produce in the Bazaar; this is co-opted at times by men when the prices are very high for certain items. Similarly, some women sell their produce to distributors (male) who in turn sell in bulk and at higher prices (usually to the army). The paid employment available to uneducated women includes working in crafting industries such as carpet weaving or working as a general labourer. These jobs are extremely low paid and low status and tend to be characterized by long hours, repetitious and often physically difficult tasks. Many of the jobs available to uneducated men, such as working as a tourist guide or joining the army, are not considered appropriate for women.

Although many Ladakhi women are obtaining educational credentials, it does not appear that they are entering the paid workforce in the same numbers as men and, as in many regions,

women are not usually found in the higher echelons of organizations (whether governmental, N.G.O, or private sector). Many more men are working in paid employment than their wives. Thus, in addition to cultural perceptions undervaluing their economic input (in all forms), most women in Ladakh are constrained from making equal cash contributions to their households. Still, some women do have many well respected positions in Ladakh, most notably of doctors and teachers. However, even for those women who manage to remove the first constraint of education and the second of getting hired, their lives seem more characterized by tension than luxury. Many are separated from their children and husband for extended periods of time or have a double work burden of household and paid employment. Substantiating the findings of the U.N. study (1991), as women extend their domestic responsibilities to include the provision of cash, other members of the household are not sharing the household tasks as one might assume. Indeed the work burden of participants in these higher status jobs is very high. Still such jobs are considered both easier and more prestigious than farming (the work of most participants) and certainly of general labour. Women's access to resources and authority also seems to increase with these types of jobs. Women having such jobs were much more likely to report control over decision making and finances than other participants. Because these women bring home money their perceived contribution is higher and they have more say in the allocation of resources in the household.

The ability of a woman to get paid employment through education is often presented as a path for women's equality. Recall Kunzang who said, "girls are now also working and

earning money like men; that is why women are equal." The following section analyzes some of the gender dimensions of the introduction of formal education.

6.4.5 Education

In the past it was common for girls (especially the eldest daughter) to be kept from school or withdrawn early. Many participants regretted their perceived lack of education and most of them seemed adamant that their children should be educated. Education is perceived by many participants to be the path to a "luxury life" as well as an equalizing factor between men and women. Despite this impression many families continue to keep their daughters out of school, primarily based on the tradition that the eldest daughter is assured of marrying out of the household. Although education may give her more authority or status in the new home, her parental home (especially her mother) would have to bear the cost of her education by not having her labour; further the parental home would not receive the benefits from her outside employment as at that time she would belong to a different household. This is another example, in line with GAD theory, of the way in which the traditional social structure affects the structuring of the modernization process. Conversely, in cases where the daughter is the heiress and will bring in a husband, educating her could be seen a good investment for the household.

In the short term, high hopes for the benefits of education are over-shadowed by an ineffective public school system where over ninety percent of students are unable to pass the

state matriculation exam (high school leaving). Further, faith that education alone will result in equal access to paid employment and equal wages ignores all of the other barriers to such access; as mentioned earlier, there is no country in the world where women's waged income equals men's (U.N., 1991, p. 42). Considering the limited opportunity of most women to obtain paid work, using this approach as a starting point for equality is problematic. For one thing most of the paid employment in Ladakh is clustered around Leh. Further, women's paid employment is dependent on the unpaid labour of female relatives for childcare. Additionally, in the long run it seems unlikely that there will ever be enough government jobs to employ all matriculants – potentially leading to high unemployment, depression and outward migration. Finally, structuring equality in this way undermines the value of the agricultural and unpaid work done by the majority of Ladakhis.

In Ladakh, a growing hierarchy seems to be developing between the educated and uneducated. This social cleavage may create a rift between a mother and her children. One traditional marker of authority – age – is becoming less important with regards to another – education. Many women (especially in Leh) work extremely long hours in their homes and fields while their husbands and children sit and watch television while waiting to be served their evening meal. Some participants relayed cases to me of children in Leh who will only do their traditional tasks (such as fetching water) if they are paid for it. Still, some children, particularly in the villages, continue to provide a substantial amount of labour to the household. Overall, daughters were said to do more work than sons but this judgment varied according to a number of factors including the age of the children.

The growing value placed on education and, especially, paid employment reflects the shift to materialism. By their own accounts, women have certainly benefited from many of the changes brought via modernization: improved transit, communications, and access to health care amongst others. Many women also indicate that they desire and enjoy many of the products of this material culture including food, clothing, and television. Views on particular changes, such as in clothing, seem to be a matter of personal choice (and to some degree of conscientization, as shown by certain members of the Women's Alliance and the participant who travelled to France on a cultural exchange). Modernization is having a profound sociological impact on Ladakhis. It goes beyond changing labour to reassessing what is important and restructuring society along these lines. Money is increasingly seen as important and the status tied up with money results in shifting power towards those who have it. Further, modernization is changing norms about social constructs such as family structure and gender roles. Some of these impacts of modernization are discussed in the following section.

6.5 Modernization and Social Change

Modernization has impacts beyond employment and education; among other things, it encourages a shift towards materialism and individualism as well as reshaping gender norms and hierarchies. A postmodern feminist perspective, while accepting the importance of economic development, does not accept a complete or uncritical transition to the modern (Parpart, 1993, p. 453). In Ladakh, new gender norms seem to further undermine women's

status and authority as decision makers (and subsequently lower their access to resources) even while their work burden increases. In this section, shifts in the dominant discourse of gender are discussed, including the introduction of outside norms of womanhood such as purity and passivity, as well as the ways in which women are actively redefining themselves and their roles. Both processes are reshaping norms of gender, power, and authority in Ladakh.

Generally, the benefits participants described from the shift to a money economy are material – that is, good or enough food and clothing, consumer goods, money – while the negatives tend to be a loss in values – elimination of certain cultural traditions, less neighbourly ties and affection, more competition, and the devaluation or commodification of cultural artifacts. Highlighting the examples of food and dress, chapter four sketched some of the ways that modernization is bringing about changes in lifestyles. A number of participants welcomed these changes while others were concerned about the health ramifications of shifts in food and clothing. However the most dominant theme which arose from the discussions of shifting styles was the idea that they represent a rejection of "tradition" and "culture." Some participants felt that young Ladakhis were "just copying" from foreign tourists, Indian films, and television. While this trend seemed to be generally accepted in young men there seemed to be a double standard for women. Recall, Digzin, who told me: "the Ladakhi girl are getting too fashionable . . . I think that if we do like this we can lose our culture and traditions."

The growing association of women with tradition (which is recreated into a much more conservative structure), and men with modernity, was highlighted by the case study of Alchi, where married women are forced to wear their traditional garments in order to prevent crop loss and water problems. The fines for disobeying these strictures were rationalized by recreating Buddhist tradition to include women's traditional garments as sacred and / or women wearing modern clothes as profane. The double standard for men and women's dress in this case, as well as in Ladakh in general, can be situated within postmodern feminism's understanding of the relationship between gender ideologies and power and authority. In order to justify such restrictions on women while not forcing men to wear their traditional Goncha, men have to be reconceptualized as being superior (under Buddhism) to women. Control over the means of production directly influences the direction of this process of emerging patriarchy. Dominant groups, with their command over knowledge, political power, literary and religious traditions, are uniquely positioned to reshape tradition and ideology to their advantage. This creation of tradition in Alchi has some parallels with the changing perception of polyandry (as discussed previously) as being counter to Buddhism, a religious taboo that does not seem to have been present in the past. Somehow Buddhism has been reconceptualized by the villagers to support their claims that men are "superior" to women or "something great."

The importance of female traits of beauty, chastity, and subservience seems to be more critical today than in the past. A number of young women indicated that they were very concerned about their clothing and physical appearance. Further, based on recollections and

written accounts of the past (Mann 1988; Norberg-Hodge 1991) it does seem as though Ladakhi society is becoming more conservative and restrictive towards women. Such shifts may be the result of imported Indian and Western images regarding gender roles or may also reflect male insecurity in the face of modernization and a subsequent desire to enforce control, or power over, those members of society who have less power. Young Ladakhi girls' extreme concern about their appearance, and weight, for example, may reflect the former, while the use of fines to force women in Alchi to wear their traditional clothing may perhaps reflect the latter. The transformation in values accompanying modernization seems to have created a vacuum in ideals for both men and women. In the past, traits esteemed for both genders seemed predominantly things like patience, peacefulness, and a hardworking nature and pleasant disposition. Increasingly, there are signs that this vacuum is being filled with outside divergent gender stereotypes that include earning potential, power, aggression, and domination for men, and beauty, purity and submissiveness for women. However, when situated within postmodern feminism's understanding of knowledge and ideology as sites of resistance, it is clear that the shift is by no means complete or pre-determined. The tension between traditional and emergent gender roles is very pronounced in Ladakh. Many women (and men) reject outside stereotypes and gender norms, as well as other introductions.

The ways in which many Ladakhis are shaping the modernization process must not be ignored. As set out in chapter two, the GAD approach sees women (and men) as agents of change, who are capable and should organize themselves politically (Stølen, 1991). Individuals and groups do contribute to and modify patterns of development. The agency

role was seen at an individual level among many participants; for example, in the young women who were resisting marriage and the mothers who were trying to serve more Ladakhi foods. At a group level, it was evidenced by the work of the Women's Alliance. Through this group, a number of participants are involved in struggles to protect certain aspects of traditional culture. Participants were not simply passive experiencers of modernization but rather, actively shaped themselves and their surroundings; in so doing they shaped their experience of change. Without dismissing what may at times be overwhelming constraints, the changes occurring in Ladakh also need to be understood within this framework of women's active negotiation of a position in all spheres of life.

Ladakh is a society in transformation. The last three decades of rapid changes have radically altered many Ladakhi's lifestyles and have brought traditional structures and norms into question. The next section attempts to pull together some of the preceding discussion and summarize the hypotheses emerging from this study of the gender dimensions of modernization in Ladakh.

6.6 Conclusion

Norberg-Hodge (1991) claimed that women in Ladakh actually have a more dominant position than in any other culture she knows. She asserted that the informal sector in which women are central, plays a much larger role than the formal one and that the focus of the economy is the household where all the important decisions are settled. Ladakhi women do

seem to have traditionally held more sway in the home; however this balance of power seems to be shifting. The relative absence of differentiation of labour along gender lines could partially explain the past accounts of gender equality in Ladakh vis-a-vis other regions. However, through the introduction of paid employment, modernization is altering the division of labour. Women's centrality in the household or informal sector, once a site of power, is increasingly becoming a site of marginalization.

My study supports the claim that gender differentials generally tend to widen with the expansion of 'modern' or capitalist forms of production (Mazumdar and Sharma, 1990, p. 189), instead of decreasing with economic growth as predicted by earlier theories. With the shift to a market economy, the introduction of tourism, and concurrent changing values and attitudes, women seem to be becoming more and more marginalized. Studies carried out around the world list as impacts of modernization: "inadequate access of women to resources . . . devaluing of unpaid work . . . low wages in insecure jobs" and "male control of women's sexuality" (Tinker, 1990, p.12). The way the dominance and control of traditional patriarchal structures have been consolidated and expanded as Ladakh has modernized is distressingly familiar. While the experience of modernization varied greatly among participants, the majority of women in subsistence agriculture report that their work burden is increasing with the shifts in male labour to paid employment, and the extraction of children through formal education. Women are becoming associated with subsistence agriculture even as farming is losing status relative to paid employment. While women's work is increasing, their perceived input is decreasing, thus diminishing their bargaining

power and access to household resources.

While more women are getting access to paid employment, issues of childcare and the double work day are as problematic in Ladakh as in most regions of the world. Women's mobility is becoming restricted to the home where their traditional decision making power is being curtailed. They are becoming more subject to ideals of beauty and domesticity. Women appear to be becoming linked with tradition and they are being pressured to remain traditional (which itself is being redefined as much more restrictive or conservative vis-a-vis women than historical accounts would suggest). Meanwhile men are becoming more modern – defined by smoking, drinking, 'roaming' (among youths) and paid jobs and separation from the family (among older men). These roles are new social creations being shaped through emergent patriarchal structures.

This study clearly highlighted the alliance between patriarchy and capitalism. The expansion of capitalism creates a hierarchy between market and subsistence production, concentrating women in subsistence production where their labour is devalued. When the traditional hierarchy is threatened by changes in the socioeconomic system its members try to reassert their strength through patriarchal controls over gender and age groups (Boserup, 1990, p. 24). This domination was noticed in Ladakh in the new norms governing gender roles. The use of religion or cultural revivalism is a common tool for this type of reaction which "manipulates peoples' faiths and sense of cultural or intellectual identities to restore the powers of patriarchy and hierarchy in new forms" (Mazumdar, 1990, p. 191).

Additionally, recent introductions to Ladakh, whether of formal education, health care, the military, tourism, and the media, have been already shaped in outside societies – patriarchal and for the most part capitalist. That these introductions retain a great deal of their outside structure is perhaps not surprising.

Thus the emergent patriarchal structures in Ladakh reflect a combination of hierarchies being shaped and also reshaped. This evolution is occurring from the inside through existing structures of inequality, religious and cultural revivalism and revisionism. It is also occurring from outside through capitalist penetration and certain forces of modernization such as stereotyped images of women projected by the media and contact with outsiders.

Generally the benefits participants described from modernization are material – while the negatives tend to be a loss in traditional benevolent values. From a postmodern feminist perspective this study affirms that the pre-modernization social structure influences emergent social structures, that differences among women shape their experience of modernization, and finally that in their role as social agents, women resist as well as position themselves within evolving structures. In order to avoid essentializing women, each woman's life story needs to be situated in its specific social and historical setting. However, this study did point to a number of commonalities in women's experiences of modernization which provide a starting point to examine the widespread gender dimensions of modernization in Ladakh. Women's accounts suggest that the shift from the traditional subsistence economy is increasing gender based inequities. Modernization seems to have

lessened women's authority and power in Ladakh by replacing traditional criteria shaping perceived contribution with financial contribution. It can be hypothesized from participants accounts that, overall, modernization has increased women's workload, diminished their mobility, curtailed their decision making and access to resources, and subjected them to restrictive and foreign gender norms and ideals.

The following concluding chapter summarizes the main ideas of the thesis, highlights a number of further questions raised by this research, and suggests ways in which this exercise of generating accounts and hypotheses from women's actual lives can provide a more nuanced understanding of Southern women's experiences.

7.0 CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

When I first visited Ladakh in 1993 the effects of the introduction of military and tourism industries, and with them a market economy, were clearly evident in the capital city and neighbouring villages. The thirty years of relatively rapid changes in this remote region could be seen in the abundant juxtapositions of the modern with the traditional. The streets were lined with shops selling a wide array of consumer goods, and filled with trucks, cars, scooters, and mounds of garbage. Goncha clad women sat amongst all of these vehicles and shops, selling their vegetables in the bazaar. Jean clad youth smoked in tea stalls, while old men reciting mantras and turning small prayer wheels walked through the streets. Restaurants, hotels, and guest-houses opened their doors, while the traditional Amchi doctors offered services of a very different kind. Extended families worked in the fields, tapping the glacial runoff in a system of irrigation channels unchanged for centuries; nearby, their homes were humming with radio and television programs. Mornings saw the men of many households leave for office work, while neighbouring families worked together in the fields, women preparing the soil while men ploughed, singing to the dzo.

Ladakh was and is a society in transition. However while these outward signs of tradition and change were eyecatching it was the more personal, more hidden, impacts which interested me most. What, I wondered, are the gender dimensions to the relatively recent

and rapid process of modernization in this remote region?; How are women's lives being modified?; And, I wanted to find out what Ladakhi women had or wanted to say about this process. This thesis evolved out of these questions. This final chapter first summarizes the main research findings as described in previous chapters and then notes questions for further research.

7.2 Summary

In chapter one, research questions were introduced and some of the background literature available on the region was examined. Socio-cultural traditions including family structure, marriage systems, and gender roles and norms, were highlighted. It was hypothesized that these pre-modernization structures were a key to understanding the impact of modernization in this region. Chapter one also revealed that relatively little has been written on Ladakhi women and what there is has not been written from a feminist perspective. The history of modernization in Ladakh was reviewed and summarized as were some of the implications of this process. Tourism and the military were shown to have created a shift towards paid employment and increased the diffusion of cash and the infusion of commodities in the region. In addition to these changes, chapter one showed that despite reductions in infant mortality population is increasing, family life is moving towards a more nuclear monogamous unit, and political communalism is rising. As well as modifying some of the surface aspects of culture (such as food and clothing styles) it was shown that modernization may be leading to the loss of certain traditional values. It was suggested that these changes

might be leading to a polarization in gender roles.

Chapter two laid out the theoretical framework for the research. While drawing from many perspectives, GAD was presented as the most appropriate theoretical underpinning for this research because of its focus on the social construction of gender roles and the resulting systematic position of women in secondary roles. As well as pointing to the potential for public and private accounts, postmodernism's influence on GAD theory was seen as an effective tool to avoid essentializing the category women and was embraced for legitimizing the experience of women marginalized along other sites of difference. Standpoint theory, or starting from women's actual lives, was put forth as a powerful framework from which to analyze power inter-relationships. Chapter two also conceptualized gender, culture, and power in keeping with the GAD approach. Both gender and culture were understood as emergent and contested sites of struggle. This chapter highlighted that the perpetuation of inequalities often survives through the alliance of the oppressed and that conflicts between men and women cannot be fully understood using an exclusively repressive view of power. The household was deconstructed using a cooperative conflict approach to explore conditions of unequal exchange and exploitation among family members, particularly in relation to access to resources and the division of labour. Finally the chapter examined the role of women as social agents and highlighted the importance of women's active negotiation of their position in all spheres of life.

As well as detailing the particular methods used in this thesis, chapter three built on the

theoretical framework established in chapter two to devise an appropriate methodology. Postmodernism underlay the discussion of paradigm and the need to contextualize knowledge. Feminism was presented not as an innocent truth but as a challenge to existing power inequalities. Differences in feminist methodologies were discussed and some common concerns were examined including debates surrounding qualitative and quantitative methods, objectivity and subjectivity, closeness to subject, and the role of feminist research in social transformation. Standpoint theory was further developed – the potential for individual accounts was presented as a path for those who have been objectified to tell their own stories. While multiple feminisms were noted as being contradictory, this multiplicity was deemed a source of strength, each feminism being able to achieve a partial view of reality and helping to see things in context.

Chapter four sketched the day to day life of Ladakhi women focussing on marital and household structures, power and resource allocation within these structures, access to and impacts of education, and the division of labour. It was shown that women are sometimes forced or coerced into marriage, they often experience difficulties upon first marrying and they face restricted mobility. Despite increasing family planning, population is rising. Polyandry is declining and the family structure is shifting towards a more nuclear unit. Traditional female authority and decision making in the household seems to be declining. Education is becoming seen as an equalizing factor between men and women and the means to a better life. Finally, while farming is becoming devalued with regards to most types of paid employment, it is also increasingly being associated with women, as shifting patterns

of male employment are increasing women's agricultural burden.

Highlighting the examples of food and dress, chapter five presented some of the other ways that modernization is altering Ladakhi lifestyles. Using the case study of Alchi, norms about gendered identity were shown to be linked with processes of modernization. In this case, women's traditional clothing has become symbolic of tradition, religious piety, and purity. The perceived benefits as well as costs of the modernization process were examined and the variation in attitude towards these changes was emphasized. Generally the benefits of modernization described by participants are material – that is, good or enough food and clothing, consumer goods, money – while the negatives tend to be a loss of values – the elimination of certain traditions, less neighbourly ties and affection, and more competition. Finally, the work of some Ladakhis engaged in counter-development was described.

Chapter six represented an attempt to directly and explicitly link the individual accounts back to the earlier theoretical and methodological framework. It was argued that the pre-modernization social structure influences the emergent social structures, that differences among women shape their experience of modernization, and finally that in their role as social agents, women resist as well as position themselves within evolving structures. However, the chapter concluded that gender differentials in Ladakh generally have widened with increasing expansion of 'modern' or capitalist forms of production. Capitalist expansion creates a hierarchy between market and subsistence production, concentrating women in subsistence production where their labour is devalued; this diminishes their bargaining

power and access to household resources. The shift from the traditional subsistence economy was shown to have increased gender based inequities by reinforcing and revising local religious and cultural patriarchal traditions and by introducing new ones. Overall, modernization was shown to increase women's workload, diminish their mobility, curtail their decision making and access to resources, and subject them to restrictive and foreign gender norms and ideals.

7.3 Additional Research Questions

The lack of background research meant that this study was in many ways very exploratory. Particular methodological limitations were laid out in chapter three, but some further points should be noted. This study tried to create a framework to analyze the many cleavages shaping women's lives. However there are, of course, many limits to what a work can usefully examine and I openly concede such limits.

Certain cleavages integral to understanding women's lives in Ladakh include, among other things, religion, class, education, ethnicity, and age. While I attempted to integrate these sites of difference into my analysis, further study highlighting these different cleavages and their interrelationships would likely help to enlarge the understanding of the lives of Ladakhi women. For example, growing communalism between the Muslim and Buddhist communities is increasing the relevance of religion as a site of difference among Ladakhi women. At the same time, the role of religion in general, is evolving with modernization.

Growing class cleavages were discussed in this thesis but could certainly be examined in more detail in further research. Other questions, raised in this thesis but not within the scope of its analysis include, possible future scenarios rising from the combination of an educational system that creates students both unable and unwilling to farm and a rather limited number of year round non-agricultural positions.

The particular role of the two industries fueling modernization in the region, tourism and the military, are both also deserving of more attention. The patriarchal structure of the military as well as the change it brings to family structures (by employing so many Ladakhi men at distant postings) would seem particularly useful to a gendered assessment of the changes occurring in Ladakh. Changing family structures also raise questions of how wide-scale reductions in men's traditional childrearing roles caused by their employment in the army and the paid labour force in general, will further shape gender ideology in Ladakh. The relevance of tourism as a catalyst of change is another issue key to understanding modernization processes in Ladakh. Of the industries that may modernize a region, tourism is notable for the intense social as well as economic changes it often brings. This is partially due to its creation of a host guest relationship, the demonstration effect, the potential commodification of culture and cultural artifacts, and the potential loss of authenticity of these artifacts. The above are only a few of the additional research questions stemming from this thesis. The next section moves on to some final thoughts on the research.

7.4 Conclusion

Drawing from postmodern critiques of modernity, GAD was used to show modernization can perpetuate and reinforce existing hierarchies as well as change them. By highlighting the relationship between gender and power, postmodernism has focussed feminist theory on difference and created a reluctance to essentialize women. By examining local systems of power interrelations, such as this case study of Ladakh, postmodern feminist approaches encourage a focus on the concrete circumstances of Southern women's lives and their coping / survival strategies. Such research could present not only the constraints shaping women's behavior but also their self reliance and capacity to act. These approaches can uncover both women's real living circumstances and their interpretations of these circumstances. Methodologies flowing from this theory could lay out the multiple realities and knowledges of women and help to uncover previously ignored or trivialized voices. This knowledge could challenge dominant accounts.

I have tried to use this framework in Ladakh, to understand the impact of modernization on the social construction of gender ideologies and relations and how these constructions shape and limit women's access to power. One of my goals in writing this thesis was to help capture and create an account that was not present in the written history of Ladakhis. I wanted to present Ladakhi women's day to day experiences but also their interpretations of their changing lives, their fears and sadness, their hopes and dreams. I also wanted to discover these things, not simply assume or prove them.

Such goals are certainly not simple to achieve, but I have tried to capture some of the complexities of the lives and thoughts of Ladakhi women. Going through my research journals brings back the constantly unfolding and shifting nature of my emergent understanding of the issues. Interestingly, the hesitation I currently face in laying down conclusions is similar to that of which I wrote many months ago. My journal entry for May eleventh (1995) reads:

today I met again with Angmo [my research assistant]. I was feeling paralyzed by the task at hand. What questions should I ask? How can I get a real picture of women's lives? How should I interpret things? To what extent should I reveal my interpretations of things? How can I get women to reveal potentially differing interpretations? . . . and on and on it went, endless questions, endless doubts. I started off trying to impress upon my new assistant the tremendous responsibility we had but I would guess the only thing I instilled in her was a sense that I had lost all perspective. She listened to me going off on my panic laden tangents and asked, 'you are interested in finding out about the lives of Ladakhi women . . . correct?.' I replied that indeed this was my goal. 'Then' she said, 'it's very simple. You need only ask them.' At that moment, and none too soon, I finally relaxed. I will ask them . . . and I will listen to what they say.

In essence, 'asking' and 'listening' is what I tried to accomplish with this thesis. As well though, in capturing this account of Ladakhi women's lives I wanted to contribute to the broader understanding of how certain processes affect women and men marginalized along various lines of difference. One challenge was to see the systemic nature of modernization's impact on gender while simultaneously seeing a diverse and heterogeneous woman instead of a monolithic one. Trying to move between these levels of analysis is difficult (and creates tension) but the process of starting with women's experience and developing it through

multi-disciplinary observation, theoretical analysis, and ultimately social action would, I felt, lead to the most inclusive knowledge. Such life accounts can give a more nuanced understanding of Southern women's experiences and improve development theory by calling into question simplistic assumptions that modernization equals development. Ultimately, these research approaches could yield the conceptual framework for feminist / development theory and practice and may provide a partial map in the search for a more gender equitable world.

Appendix 1: Participant Profiles

The following provides some brief information about the participant following the pseudonym. Many of the names are common Ladakhi names while others are modifications or inventions used to ensure the different participants are distinguishable from one another.

Chondol: Female, 72, Buddhist, farmer in Thicksey, widow (husband was a farmer), has 3 children.

Choral: Female, 31, Buddhist, student in Handicraft center in Saspol, husband is a farmer, has 4 children.

Choskit: Female, 32, Buddhist, doctor in Saspol, husband is clerk, has 1 child.

Chozom: Female, 28, Buddhist, teacher in Thicksey, unmarried and lives with parents.

Dashi: Female, 48, Buddhist, farmer in Leh, widow (lives with extended family), has 3 children.

Dawa: Male. 28. Buddhist, lives with parents in Thicksey, has government job, unmarried.

Dechen: Female, 55, Buddhist, farmer in Chusut, husband also farms, has 2 children.

Dhoskit: Female, 55, Buddhist, farmer in Saspol, husband is an Amchi, has one child.

Digzin: Female, 45, Buddhist, farmer in Saspol, one husband in army and one farms, 6 children.

Diskit: Female, 46, Buddhist, Ana in Alchi, husband is in army, has 3 children.

Dokar: Female, 18, Buddhist, student in Handicraft center in Saspol, unmarried.

Dolma: Female. 70, Buddhist. Lives in Shey with her son and his family, was deserted by husband, sold Chang in market when younger now supported by her sons (had 2).

Dorje: Male Lama, 25, in Alchi.

- Dsomo*: Female, 36, Buddhist, farmer in Phey, husband works as clerk, has 2 children.
- Isehy*: Female, 57, Buddhist, farmer in Leh, husband works in office, has 4 children.
- Kor-zom*: Female, 53, Buddhist, farmer in Leh, husband is a tailor, has 7 children.
- Kunga*: Female, 53, Buddhist, farmer from Shey, husband also farmer, has 6 children.
- Kunzang*: Female, 30, Buddhist, farmer in Saspol, husband in army, has 5 children.
- Kunzes*: Female, 19, Buddhist, student in Handicraft center in Saspol, unmarried.
- Lanzas*: Female, 36, Buddhist, farmer in Thicksey, husband also farms, has 6 children.
- Lobzang*: Female, 40, Buddhist, farmer in Thicksey, husband also farms, has 7 children.
- Mingur*: Female, 26, Buddhist, farmer in Saspol, husband in army, has 4 children.
- Namgyal*: Female, 40, Buddhist, homemaker in Leh, husband is a government employee, has 3 children.
- Nasmeen*: Female, 35, Muslim, farmer in Thicksey, husband also farms, has no children.
- Neekat*: Female, 35, Muslim, farmer in Thicksey, husband also farms (was a driver), has 4 children.
- Padma*: Female, 43, Buddhist, farmer in Thicksey, husband also farms, has no children.
- Palmo*: Female, 17, Buddhist, student in Handicraft center in Saspol, unmarried.
- Palzang*: Female, 30, Buddhist, farmer in Saspol, husband is farmer, has three children.
- Pal-zom*: Female, 30, Buddhist, labourer in Leh, husband deserted her, has 2 children.
- Pamgyal*: Female, 45, Buddhist, farmer in Leh, husband is farmer, has 3 children.
- Paskit*: Female, 23, Buddhist, student in Handicraft center in Saspol, husband is in army, has 1 child.
- Phuntsog*: Female, 36, Buddhist, farmer from Chusut, husband in army, has 4 children.
- Pobzang*: Female, 40, Buddhist, farmer in Phey, husband in army, has 3 children.

- Rabgias*: Male Lama, 39, in Likir.
- Rangzon*: Female, 60 - 70, Buddhist, Chomo living with extended family.
- Rigin*: Female, 41, Buddhist, farmer in Leh, husband has government job, has 3 children.
- Sara*: Female, 24, Muslim, farmer from Thicksey, husband is a driver, has 2 children.
- Skazang*: Female, 50, Buddhist, farmer in Chusot, husband also farms, has 4 children.
- Sonam*: Female, 20, Buddhist, clerk in N.G.O, in Leh.
- Spalzas*: Female, 40, Buddhist, farmer in Saspol, husband retired from army, has 5 children.
- Stalzin*: Female, 39, Buddhist, farmer in Saspol, husband is a clerk, has 5 children.
- Stamstan*: Female, 40, Buddhist, farmer in Thicksey, husband in army, has 3 children.
- Stanzin*: Female, 31, Buddhist, farmer in Leh, husband has office job, has 3 children.
- Storal*: Female, 52, Buddhist, farmer in Alchi, husband is in army, has 6 children.
- Stozom*: Female, 30, Buddhist, separated from husband, no children, works at carpet factory.
- Tashi*: Female, 45, Buddhist, farmer in Thicksey, husband also farms, has 9 children.
- Thukja*: Female, 25, Buddhist, student in Handicraft center in Saspol, husband is a farmer, has 3 children.
- Tsering*: Female, 63, Buddhist, farmer from Shey, husband also farmer, has 7 children.
- Tsetan*: Female, 27, Buddhist, farmer in Chusot, husband works as a clerk, has 2 children.
- Tsewang*: Female. Buddhist. 43. Lives in Leh. Farms. Husband has government job. Has 3 children.
- Tsomo*: Female, 47, Buddhist, farmer from Shey, husband is tailor, has 5 children.
- Tundup*: Male. 48. Buddhist, furniture maker, married with 2 children. Lives in Shey.
- Wangyal*: Male Lama, 68, in Likir.
- Yama*: Female, 25, Buddhist, labourer in Leh, husband also a labourer, has 2 children.

Yanchan: Female, 33, Buddhist, farmer in Saspol, husband in army, has 4 children.

Yangmo: Female, 32 , Buddhist, government employee, husband also government employee, has 2 children.

Yangskit: Female, 17, Buddhist, student in Saspol, unmarried, living with parents.

Yangzon: Female, 61, Buddhist, farmer from Shey, husband also farmer, has 4 children.

Yunga: Female, 18, Buddhist, teacher living in Saspol, unmarried.

Zalma: Female, 24, Buddhist, labourer in Leh, husband also a labourer, has 1 child.

Zalmo: Female, 55, Buddhist, farmer in Alchi, husband is a goldsmith, has 6 children.

Zanchan: Female, 48, Buddhist, farmer in Alchi, husband also farms, has 11 children.

Zangmo: Female, 45, Buddhist, farmer in Thicksey, husband is a labourer, has 4 children.

Zhukja: Female, 35, Buddhist, farmer in Likir, suffering from some kind of psychosis.

Zokar: Female, 50, Buddhist, farmer in Alchi, husband also farms, has 3 children.

Appendix Two: Checklist of Subject Areas for the Interviews

The following are examples of the subject areas and types of questions used in the interview process. It should be noted that these questions were used as a rough guide. Many of the interviews delved into issues not noted here while others did not examine every subject area depending on a number of factors (discussed in more detail in the methodology chapter). Obviously not all questions were relevant to each participant. The interviews were free form. Participants were encouraged to ask their own questions. Nearing the end of the interview I would check to ensure that no question areas had been ignored, but most of these questions would be drawn out in a much less linear fashion than is suggested by the following list.

Background

What is your religion?
Where were you born?
How old are you?
What occupation did your parents have?
How many siblings did you have?
How many people were in your family before you married?
What were their relations to you?

Childhood

How did you spend your time as a child?
What kind of work did you do?
What kind of work did your siblings do?
What do you think about the way this work was divided among family members?
How did you spend your free time?
How were decisions made when you were a child?

Education

What level of education did you achieve?
 Where did you go to school?
 What was your school like?
 What did you like / dislike about your school?
 Who decided whether (or not) you should go to school?
 Did your siblings go to school?
 How were these decisions made?
 What do you think about these decisions?
 What made you stop school?

Marriage

Do you want to get married?
 Why or why not?
 What type of marriage would you like to have?
 What qualities do you look for in a spouse?
 Do you face any pressure to marry?

When did you get married?
 How old was your husband(s)?
 Why did you not get married?
 Describe your courtship.
 Were you happy to be married?
 How were you forced to marry?
 How did you elope?
 Where did you live after marriage?
 Describe the early years of your marriage.

Why was this a polyandrous / gamous marriage?
 Who decided it should be such?
 Was it polyandrous / gamous from the outset?
 Were all of the partners happy with the union?
 What do you think about being in a polygynous union?
 What has been your families / childrens reaction to it?
 What are the advantages / disadvantages to polygyny?
 What is the social reaction to polygyny?

If a husband and wife do not get along should they get divorced?
 Do you think a divorced man / woman should remarry?

Should a widow (er) remarry?

When did you leave your spouse?

Describe the process of separation / divorce?

Why did you leave your spouse?

What was the community reaction to your separation / divorce?

How did your family react?

Childrearing

How many children have you had?

How many children survived infancy?

How old are your children?

Will you have any more children?

What do you think is the ideal number of children in a family? Why?

(How) have you limited family size?

Do you wish you had daughters / sons?

Why do you wish you had had daughters / sons?

Why did you not have children?

How do you feel about not having children?

How does your husband feel about it?

What has been your families / in-laws reaction?

What chores do your children do?

Are there different jobs for boys and girls?

Why is the work divided this way?

Who helps you more with your work?

Which of your children go to school?

Where do they go to school?

What do you think about their schooling?

How much school do you think your daughters / sons should have?

Who decided that they should / should not attend school?

How did the child(ren) react to this decision?

Why do certain children go to school / stay home?

What are your hopes for your children?

What kind of job do you want your daughters / sons to have?

Describe your childrens' marriages?

How were their partners selected?

Who do you think should have the final decision about who a girl should marry?

Were your children happy to marry or did you have to pressure them?

What tactics did you use to force them to marry?
 Why did you do this?
 What do you think about this process?

Paid Employment

Does anyone in your household have paid work?
 Describe their / your job.
 What are their earnings?
 How did they get this job?
 What do you think about this job?
 At what age did they / you start this job?
 Are you satisfied with this job?
 Have you ever stopped working after joining the labour force?
 Who takes care of your children?
 Do you pay them?
 What do you think about this childcare arrangement?

Subsistence Work

What jobs do you do in the home / fields?
 Do you think your jobs are difficult / easy?
 Describe a typical days work in the summer / winter?
 Which season do you prefer and why?
 How is the work allocated?
 What do you think about the way this is decided?
 Are there any jobs that women / men are not allowed to do?
 Who is the first in your household to start working in the morning?
 Who is the last to finish working at the end of the day?
 Who would you say works hardest in your household?
 Do you think the other household members would agree?
 Would you rather have another type of work?
 Which jobs do you enjoy?
 Which jobs do you find most difficult?
 Do you ever hire labourers to help with work?
 Has your work burden increased or decreased in the last 10 / 20 / 30 years?

Finances

Who has access to money?
 Who decides what is bought with this money?
 Describe the process of making various purchases?

Describe the process of selling produce?
 If you need something who do you ask for money?
 What do you think about the way money is allocated?

Industries

Would you like to see tourism / the army in this area grow? Why (not)?
 What are the benefits / negatives of these industries?
 How do these industries affect your family?
 How do you think has benefited the most from these industries?

Travel

Where is the farthest place you have been?
 Describe that trip?
 How did you get there?
 How travelled with you?
 Why do you travel?
 Who in the household travels?

Change

What is the biggest difference in your life now and thirty years ago?
 What do you think about these changes?
 What type of foods do you cook today?
 What do you think about the new types of food?
 What kinds of clothes do you / your husband / your children wear?
 What do you think about the changing styles?

General

How do you spend your leisure time?
 What are the happiest times for you?
 What are the saddest times?
 What do you like about being a Ladakhi woman?
 What do you dislike about being a Ladakhi woman?
 What are your biggest concerns / fears?

What do you think we should talk about that will better help me understand you?
 What do you think are the important questions I should be asking?

Appendix Three: The Work Survey

Forty participants were asked to indicate who in their household engaged in the following list of tasks. According to their responses the tasks were categorized as being the work of: women, mostly women, men, mostly men, children, or a communal task. Participants also indicated if the task was not done in their household (for example not every family did their own leather work). If a participant indicated that the job was done by men and children (for example) each of those categories was given a half mark.

List of Tasks:

Removing the dung from the storage area under the toilet.
Spreading the dung on the fields.
Ploughing the fields.
Preparing the fields for planting.
Sowing the fields.
Irrigating the fields.
Weeding.
Harvesting crops.
Threshing.
Storing the grain.
Herding animals.
Milking livestock.
Making butter.
Feeding the livestock.
Collecting animal dung.
Fetching water.
Collecting grass (for livestock).
Collecting wood.
Carding wool.
Spinning yak and goat hair.
Spinning wool.
Cutting trees.

Weaving.
Dyeing wool.
Leather work.
Cooking and food preparation.
Trade and travel.
Ritual and praying
Childcare.
Cleaning the house.
Buying food.
Buying non-food items.
Selling produce.

Appendix Four: Glossary

The following are a list of terms derived from Tibetan or Ladakhi which are used in the text.

Bagma: A marriage union where the bride moves into the groom's parental home.

Bok: The cape worn by women. Traditionally made of goat skin but also now in brightly embroidered fabric.

Chai: Indian style tea (an Urdu term).

Chang: Fermented barley water, mildly alcoholic.

Chomo: Buddhist nun; often used to refer to unmarried Buddhist women with little religious training (who do certain tasks including praying) as well as those nuns living in nunneries and having formal religious training.

Chorten: Religious structure found throughout Ladakh. The local word for the stupa of ancient Indian Buddhism, itself believed to refer to the grave-mounds erected over the divided ashes of Gautam Buddha.

Dzo: Offspring of the male yak and the common cow (*bos indicas*); used for ploughing.

Gompa: Literally means solitary place but refers to a Buddhist monastery.

Goncha: The long woolen Ladakhi garment of both men and women.

Gur-gur chai: Onomatopoeic word. Gur-gur is the cylindrical wooden churn in which butter is made and the ingredients of Tibetan tea (tea, salt, milk, and butter) are blended.

Julley: Greeting of Ladakhi Buddhist, on both meeting and parting. It also means thank you.

Kangchen: the main household dwelling.

Kangyu: literal meaning is little house. Often refers to a small house adjoining the main household where the household heads retire to when transferring the main house to the heir.

Lama: The actual meaning is fully ordained senior monks (the Ge-long) but is ordinarily applied to all Buddhist monks and is so used throughout this work.

Magpa: A marriage union where the groom moves into the bride's parental home. The term is sometimes also used to refer to the husband.

Mani Wall: A long wall topped with stones engraved with some text or mantra, most often Om Mani Padme Hum (see definition below).

Om Mani Padme Hum: Buddhist mantra literally meaning 'Hail to the Jewel in the Lotus'. This mantra is associated with the Bodhisattva of Compassion, Avalokiteswara.

Paba: A traditional Ladakhi dish. A type of boiled barley dumpling.

Perak: The turquoise studded headdress of Ladakhi women.

Phas.Pun: A group of households that help each other out at times of birth, marriage, and especially death.

Skiu: A traditional Ladakhi dish. A type of vegetable or mutton stew, with a wheat noodle and often peas.

Thangka: A scrolled painting on cloth of a religious subject.

Thuk-pa: A traditional Ladakhi dish. A type of vegetable or mutton soup, with a wheat noodle.

Tsampa: Roasted barley flour. The staple food of Ladakhis.

WORKS CITED

- Acker, J., K. Barry, and J. Esseveld. 1991. "Objectivity and Truth: Problems in Doing Feminist Research." In (eds.) M. Fonow and J. Cook, *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Anderson, K., S. Armitage, D. Jack and J. Wittner. 1990. "Beginning Where We Are: Feminist Methodology in Oral History." In J.M Nielsen (ed.), *Feminist Research Methods: Exemplary Readings in the Social Sciences*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Beek, M. van and K. B. Bertelsen. 1995. "Ladakh: 'Independence' is Not Enough." from *Himal*, Vol. 8. No. 2.
- Berninghauser, J., and B. Kerstan. 1992. "Theoretical Background and Methodology." In *Forging New Paths: Feminist Social Methodology and Rural Women in Java*. London: Zed Books.
- Billson, J. M. 1991. "The Progressive Verification Method: Toward A Feminist Methodology for Studying Women Cross-Culturally." In *Women's Studies Int. Forum*, 14, no. 3: 201-215.
- Boserup, E. 1970. *Women's Role in Economic Development*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Boserup, E. 1990. "Economic Changes and the Roles of Women." In *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bunch, C., and R. Carillo. 1990. "Feminist Perspectives on Women in Development." In *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cancian, F. 1992. "Feminist Science: Methodologies that Challenge Inequality." In *Gender and Society*, 6, no. 4: 623-642.
- Census of India. 1981. *District Handbook of Leh and Kargil*. Delhi: Government of India.
- Census of India. 1991. *District Handbook of Leh and Kargil*. Delhi: Government of India.

- Crook, J. 1994. "Tradition, Development, and Conservation in Ladakh." In *Himalayan Buddhist Villages*. Bristol: University of Bristol.
- Crook, J., and T. Shakya. 1994. "Six Families of Leh." In *Himalayan Buddhist Villages*. Bristol: University of Bristol.
- Elson, D. 1989. "The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues." In Bade Onimode (ed.), *The IMF, the World Bank and African Debt*, 2. Zed Press: London.
- Equations Bangalore. 1987. "The Future of Tourism in India and its Implications." In *Tourism Recreation Research*, 12 (no.1): 37-52.
- Evans, A. 1991. "Gender Issues in Rural Household Economics." In IDS Bulletin, *Researching the Household: Methodological and Empirical Issues*.
- Ferguson, K. 1991. "Integration and Genealogy in Feminism." In *Signs*, 16 (no.2): 322-339.
- Flax, J. 1992. "The End of Innocence." In (eds.) J. Butler and J.W. Scott, *Feminists Theorize the Political*. New York: Routledge.
- Fonow M. M., and J. A. Cook (eds.). 1991. *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Fraser, N., and L. J. Nicholson. 1990. "Social Criticism without Philosophy: An Encounter Between Feminism and Postmodernism." In (ed.) L.J. Nicholson, *Feminism / Postmodernism*. London: Routledge.
- Gallin, R. S. and A. Ferguson. 1993. "The Plurality of Feminism: Rethinking Difference," In (eds.) Gallin, Ferguson, and Harper, *The Women and International Development Annual*, 3. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Geiger, S. 1991. "What's so Feminist about doing Women's Oral History." In (eds.) C. Johnson-Odim and M. Strobel, *Expanding the Boundaries of Women's History: Essays on Women in the Third World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Geisler, G. 1993. "Silences Speak Louder Than Claims: Gender, Household, and Agricultural Development in Southern Africa." In *World Development*, 21 (no. 12): 1965-1980.

- Goetz, A. M. 1988. "Feminism and the Limits of the Claim to Know: Contradictions in the Feminist Approach to Women in Development." In *Millenium*, 17 (3): 477-496.
- Harding, S. 1992. "Subjectivity, Experience and Knowledge: An Epistemology from / for Rainbow Coalition Politics." In *Development and Change*, 3.
- Harding, S. 1987. "Introduction: Is There a Feminist Method?" In (ed.) S. Harding, *Feminism and Methodology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hennessy, R. 1993. *Materialist Feminism and the Politics of Discourse*. New York: Routledge.
- Hill Collins, P. 1991. "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought." In (eds.) Fonow and Cook, *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- hooks, b. 1984. *From Margin to Center*. Boston: South End Press.
- Huizer, G. 1986. "Women in Resistance and Research: Potential Against Power." In (eds.) Dube, Leacock, and Ardener, *Visibility and Power: Essays on Women in Society and Development*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Jaquette, J. S. 1990. "Gender and Justice in Economic Development." In *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jayaradne, T.E. and A.J. Stewart. 1991. "Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in the Social Sciences: Current Feminist Issues and Practical Strategies." In (eds.) M. Fonow and J. Cook, *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Jina, P. S. 1994. *Tourism in Ladakh Himalaya*. New York: Indus Publishing Company.
- Joldan, E. 1985. *Harvest Festival of Buddhist Dards of Ladakh and Other Essays*. Srinigar (Kashmir): Kapoor Brothers.
- Jones, S. 1985. "The Analysis of Depth Interviews." In (ed.) R. Walker, *Applied Qualitative Research*. Aldershot: Gower Publishing.
- Jora, R. 1994. "It's all Uphill to the Autonomous Council." *Ladags Melong*, 2: 11-15.

- Judd, E. R. 1994. "Women and Agency." In *Gender and Power in Rural North China*. Stanford California: Stanford University Press.
- Judd, E. 1990. "Alternative Development Strategies for Women in Rural China." In *Development and Change*, 21: 23-42.
- Karlekar, M. 1986. "A Study of Balmiki Women in Delhi." In (eds.) Dube, Leacock, and Ardener, *Visibility and Power: Essays on Women in Society and Development*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Katz, E. G. 1995. "Gender and Trade Within the Household: Observations from Rural Guatemala." In *World Development*, 23 (no. 2).
- Kaul S. and H.N. Kaul. 1992. *Ladakh Through the Ages: Towards a New Identity*. New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company.
- Kirby, S. L. and K. McKenna. 1989. *Experience Research Social Change: Methods from the Margins*. University of New Brunswick: Garamond Press.
- Krulfeld, R. 1986. "Sasak Attitudes Towards Polygyny and the Changing Position of Women in Sasak Peasant Villages." In (eds.) Dube, Leacock, and Ardener, *Visibility and Power: Essays on Women in Society and Development*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Leacock, E. 1986. "Women, Power, and Authority." In (eds.) Dube, Leacock, and Ardener, *Visibility and Power: Essays on Women in Society and Development*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Lorde, A. 1984. *Sister Outsider*. Trumansburg, New York: The Crossing Press.
- Lowenthal, D. 1985. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maguire, P. 1987. *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach*. Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts.
- Mann, R. S. 1986. *The Ladakhi: A Study in Ethnography and Change*. Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Dept. of Culture, Government of India.
- Masini, E. B. 1991. "The Household, Gender and Age Project." In (eds.) Masini and Stratigos, *Women, Households and Change*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

- Masini and Stratigos (eds.) 1991. "The Impact of Economic Development on Rural Women in China." In *Women, Households and Change*. All-China Women's Federation, Beijing, China. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Masini and Stratigos (eds.) 1991. "Women and Households in a Changing World." In *Women, Households and Change*. Division for the Advancement of Women, United Nations Office at Vienna. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Mazumdar, V., and K. Sharma. 1990. "Sexual Division of Labor and the Subordination of Women: A Reappraisal from India." In *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McCracken, G. 1988. *The Long Interview*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.
- Michaud, J. 1991. "A Social Anthropology of Tourism in Ladakh, India." In *Annals of Tourism Research*, 18: 605-621.
- Mies, M. 1991. "Women's Research or Feminist Research? The Debate Surrounding Feminist Science and Methodology." In (eds.) M. Fonow and J. Cook, *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Mies, M. 1994. "Feminist Research: Science, Violence, and Responsibility." from (eds. Mies and Shiva), *Ecofeminism*. London: Zed Books.
- Mohanty, C. T. 1991. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." In (eds.) C. Mohanty, A. Russo and L. Torres, *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Morvariadi, B. 1992. "Gender Relations in Agriculture: Women in Turkey." In *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 40 (no. 3).
- Moser, C. 1989. "Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs." In *World Development*, 17 (no. 11): 1799-1825.
- Norberg-Hodge, H., with H. Russell. 1994. "Birth and Childrearing in Zangskar." In *Himalayan Buddhist Villages*. Bristol: University of Bristol.
- Norberg-Hodge, H. 1991. *Ancient Futures: Learning from Ladakh*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

- Oakley, A. 1981. "Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms." In (ed.) H. Roberts, *Doing Feminist Research*. London: Routledge.
- Pankhurst, H. 1992. "Gender, Rural Poverty, and the State: Towards a Synthesis." In *Gender, Development, and Identity: An Ethiopian Study*. London: Zed Books.
- Papenek, H. 1990. "To Each Less Than She Needs, From Each More Than She Can Do: Allocations, Entitlements, and Value." In *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Parpart, J. 1991. "Who is the 'Other'? A Postmodern Critique of Development Theory and Practice." In *Development and Change*, 24: 439-463.
- Rahman, A. 1994. "Women, Cultural Ideology, and Change in Rural Bangladesh." In *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, XV, (no. 3).
- Rathgeber, E. 1990. "WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice." In *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 24: 489-502.
- Reinharz, S. 1992. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Reis, R. 1982. "Reproduction or Retreat: The Position of Buddhist Women in Ladakh." In (eds.) Detlef Kantowsky and Reinhard Sander, *Recent Research on Ladakh*. Munchen: Weltforum Verlag.
- Rizvi, J. 1983. *Ladakh, Crossroads of High Asia*. Delhi: Oxford.
- Roberts, P. 1991. "Anthropological Perspectives on the Household." In IDS Bulletin, *Researching the Household: Methodological and Empirical Issues*.
- Scott, J. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Sen, A. 1990. "Gender and Cooperative Conflicts." In *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Shiva, V., H. Hodge, E. Goldsmith, and M. Khor. 1994. *The Future of Progress*. Dehra Dun: Natraj Publishers.
- Smith, V. (ed.). 1989. *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, Second Edition. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.

- Smith, S. 1993. "Who's Talking / Who's Talking Back? The Subject of Personal Narrative." In *Signs*, 18 (no.2): 392-407.
- Stamp, P., 1991. "Burying Otieno: The Politics of Gender and Authenticity in Kenya." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 16 (no. 41).
- Stanley, L., and S. Wise. 1991. "Feminist Research, Feminist Consciousness, and Experiences of Sexism." In (eds.) M. Fonow and J. Cook, *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Steady, F. 1981. *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally*. Cambridge: Schenkman.
- Stevens, M. 1994. "Gender at the Margins: Paradigms and Peasantries in Rural Malaysia." In *Women's Studies International Forum*, 17 (no.4): 373-390.
- Stivers, C. 1993. "Reflections on the Role of Personal Narrative in Social Science." In *Signs*, 18 (no.2): 408-425.
- Stolen, K. A. 1991. "Introduction: Women, Gender and Social Change." In (eds.) Stolen, Mariken, and Vaa, *Gender and Change in Developing Countries*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.
- Strauss, A. L. 1987. *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Swain, M. B. 1995. "Gender in Tourism." In *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22 (no. 2): 247-266.
- Tanzania Gender Networking Programme. 1993. *Gender Profile of Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.
- Thomas-Slayter, B., and N. Bhatt. 1994. "Land, Livestock, and Livelihoods: Changing Dynamics of Gender, Caste, and Ethnicity in a Nepalese Village." In *Human Ecology*, 22 (no. 4).
- Tinker, I. 1990. "A Context for the Field and for the Book," In *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*. New York: Oxford University Press..
- Tsering Shakspo, N. 1993. *An Insight Into Ladakh*. Sabu-Leh, India: Published by Nawang Tsering Shakspo.

- Van Esterik, P. 1989. "Ideologies and Women in Development Strategies in Thailand."
In Paper # 1 *Working Paper Series Thai Studies Project*. Toronto: York
University.
- Walter, L. 1995. "Feminist Anthropology." In *Gender and Society*, 9 (no. 3).
- Wilson, G. 1991. "Thoughts on the Cooperative Conflict Model of the Household in
Relation to Economic Method." In IDS Bulletin, *Researching the Household:
Methodological and Empirical Issues*.