Chapter - VI

IMPACT OF MODERNIZATION ON MARRIAGE, FAMILY, WOMEN'S STATUS AND HEALTH AND HYGIENE

In accordance with the objectives of the study laid down in chapter No. III, the study in essence is directed to make an endeavour to know how far the social philosophy of two sample subjects (SSA-SSB) in general and areas like marriage family women's status and health and hygiene in particular are influenced by the process of modernization. Such impact is seen as a gradual change in social fabric and is still going on. Impact for the study is treated as an observable implication on many aspects of social life as well as individual behaviour. Generally both Dard Communities (SSA-SSB) are a cohesive units characterized by eccentrics geographical isolation, endogamy traditional economy of agriculture and close kinship relations governed by the phaspoon system. Nevertheless, both communities are passing through the process of transformation. The influences of modernization vary between SSA and SSB. Further more there is a variation in area wise influence as well.

Impact of modernization on social relationships and institutions is characterized by certain tendencies, which have been empirically observed and can be grouped under three broad categories.

The most frequently observed phenomenon is gemenischaft gessallschaft shift, referring to the change from dominantly face to face interactions in ones own ethnic group to interaction and association outside ones kinship group. This change is associated with the pull of job opportunities new channels of upward socio-occupational mobility and the consequent loosening of stratification patterns. Both communities show undercurrents of these changes. However, such influences are quite evident in SSB High degree of physical mobility associated with new job opportunities at urban centers of Kargil and Srinagar has loosened the phenomenon of face to face relationships and eroded the strength of primary groups. Although traditional stratification pattern still have a strong hold and variables like age sex, piety form the basis
of ascertaining status and prestige. That elders, learned persons, pious and worshipers still command respect Aghas in SSB and learned lama in SSA are the most highly regarded persons in the society. However, money economy has a leveling effect on this traditional pattern. Besides, Aghas and Lamas new interest groups are emerging in SSA and SSB.

Both sample villages demonstrate many elements of structural unity associated with a strong sense of village identity expressed during village festivals crisis or election time, whereby people as a whole cooperate and participate. The solidarity is enforced and governed by the institution of Phaspoon, somewhat identical to the Jagmani system. As against SSB, the phaspoon in SSA is still the Centre of social, ritual and economic interdependence. The phaspoon relations are predominant not only among fellow villagers but also in relation to other non Dard Communities. The study reveals that institutional changes introduced through decentralized administration and community development programmes has very little impact on phaspoon system of SSA. However, in SSB the phapoon functions have been taken over by other institutions. In SSA and SSB village leadership is still regulated by old generation, but there is a dormant but marked tendency of informal leadership in the age group of 20-35 years comprising of literate, educated and highly mobile members of the community. This informal leadership is working as a pressure group helping in turning the formal leadership to be conciliatory and pragmatic in direction and orientation. In SSA the horticulture and agriculture has moved from subsistence to cash crops of apricot, apple and vegetable. The hired labour is slowly replacing cooperate labour (Bes). In SSB the agriculture is a secondary occupation. The majority of workforce is absorbed in government and semi-government agencies, trade, transport, tourism and its associated jobs. Phaspoon is slowly turning into class interest group and political association.

The second group of tendencies is characterized by increased rationalization and moralization of human thought and behaviour. Rationalization is an approach for problem solution an approach requiring greater abilities for objectivity and self criticism. These abilities increase as a result of improved communication and induction of progressive values of
Modem economic political and education systems with deliberate, planned and compulsory modernization take a leading role in calculating such values. Such planned social change result not only in economic development but also in social reform; in the modernization of laws of marriage inheritance labour and education.

In both communities traditionally content of education has been metaphysical and esoteric and its communication limited to upper class of monks in SSA and Aghas in SSB. Modern education on the other hand is characterized by its liberal and exotic content besides being replete with the themes of scientific world view freedom equality and humanism. The study reveals a high tendency towards education, co-education and girls education. The trend in SSA and SSB cuts across all barriers of age sex religiosity and social standing of the respondents. 57% of the SSA strongly agree that the formal education of both boys and girls is the fundamental ingredient to social change only 17% disagree. In SSB 74% strongly agree and the rest agree with the statement. However, strongly agreeing respondents believe that modern education makes the young generation critical of traditional behaviour patterns and customary practices.

Modern education for both communities conjures up the picture of schools full of neat and clean children knowledge of English language and above all a license for getting a government job associated with a constant cash flow in the shape of monthly salary. Education also means a new identity; a learned man’s image distinguishing him from rest of the community. Although 67% of the respondents of SSA still consider monkhood as the highest virtue and almost identical number in SSB consider “Imamat” as the most respectable position in society. However, there has been only three cases of induction into the monkhood for the last 10 years and only six parents in SSB have sent their sons to Deoband for exclusive religious education. Surprisingly the reasons for induction into religious affairs have been economic rather than the attainment of merit. As except one case from SSB all inducted monks and Imams belong to the lower income group.

The increase in farm produce, vegetable culture, culture tourism new work opportunities in army is introducing both communities to new experience
in money economy. As compared to SSB, SSA has little acumen for making and saving money. Their life style seldom lead to the accumulation of wealth and exploitation of money. There are exceptions who display the trait of acquisitiveness by a relatively higher standard of living, large gatherings at weddings, or on death ceremonies offerings to the Lamas and feasts of merit. On the other hand SSB have a better understanding of wealth and money. Interesting feature of their economy is Banking. Out of 250 respondents, 75 are visiting banks, 47 respondents including 7 transporters. 21 technical hands have availed loan opportunities from the banks. Only, 13 respondents think that loan acquisition and returns are frustrating. Education, new job opportunities, banking services and loan facilities result in a syndrome reinforcing each other, resulting in more education more services and more financial help. In banking and financial affairs SSB have proved an ideal type of rationalization and compartmentalization. Both communities being rural and primitive, it is easy to assign to science that which is science's and religion that which is religion's.

This dualistic view however is not held by the societies where science is highly developed. In SSB such dualism is less frank and less congenial as there has been relatively a more development of knowledge and information. This tendency also lead to the feeble but no less important undercurrents of role differentiation and role accretion. However tendencies of extreme individualism associated with modernism have very little impact in SSA and SSB.

The third characteristics of change due to modernization is that the experience of change has been very different from society to society. Some of these variations in patterns of social impact are determined by the differences in pre-modern conditions, differences in impetus to development, differences in experiences and above all differences in values and norms from culture to culture. Therefore, impact is not the exact replica of changes as observed in other cultures.

Impact On the Family Pattern:

1 See the list appended to the chapter for reference
Since ancient times, the joint family system has been one of the chief characteristics of Indian social system in general and tribal social structure in particular. Recently the joint family pattern throughout India has been showing a declining tendency. Under the stress of modernization the roles of different institutions including family institutions get differentiated which subsequently leads to structural changes. In many situations traditional units become obsolete and gradually replaced. In case of SSA and SSB although there are no upheavals in the traditional joint family systems but sublime cracks can be identified so far as the differentiation of roles is concerned. Out of 78 households only 14 are nuclear and for SSB only 23 out of 90 households have opted for nuclear family system.

Traditionally joint family in both cases has worked as an agency of procreation and socialization. Simultaneously the joint family performed educational, economic, leisure and recreational duties. In differentiation process apart from procreation and socialization, rest of the functions have been diffused and taken over by specialized agencies like school, employment agencies modern sports clubs, TV and radio. For SSA only 23.5% consider nuclear family as a better institution than joint family and for SSB almost identical number, 22.5% consider nuclear family as a better institution. For 7 nuclear families in SSA and 9 for SSB there was no choice. Majority in both cases belongs to so called conservative class and this majority has almost equal distribution in all age groups, sex, literate illiterate, highly religious/lowly religious, highly mobile and least mobile respondents including four polyandrous families of SSA. Like any other peasant society both SSA & SSB still exhibit patrilocal and patriarchal tendencies and females in such systems have relatively a subordinate position. Rest of the family members are guided by an elderly male head. The females and younger members have no de-jure rights to make any major decision in family affairs. Same tendency is manifested in phaspoon or panchayat representation, acquisition and selling of land and property, herds and packs as well as the fixing of dates for sowing, harvesting and marriages. For SSA 44% of respondents exhibit the modern approach vis-a-vis sharing authority with female heads. On the Contrary only 31% respondents of SSB exhibit the same attitude. Majority shows a conservative attitude. Impact is evident in formulation of a general modern
attitude towards polygamy, polyandry and polygeny. 75% in SSB and 69% respondents belonging to all age groups, sex education and religious categories, consider polygamy, polyandry and polygeny as the main cause of strained family relations.

As compared to SSB the joint family in SSA is still a unit of socialization and procreation economic activities and leisure and will remain so unless economic structure is opened up and more technological innovation becomes frequent. Such changes have a marked impact on family pattern of SSB. Further more in absence of technological innovations in SSA the main volume of knowledge, history and expertise exists in the form of folklore and folk songs transformed through oral tradition. This phenomenon gives age an edge over other factors, making it an important element in family system.

In SSA traditional laws of inheritance whereby the old heads are supposed to leave their family after the marriage of their elder son, as a consequence they virtually refrain from indulging in any family decisions. This institution leaves very little room for any potential tension between two generations, which might cause break up, in the joint family system. As against SSA the system of inheritance is quite different in SSB as all sons inherit a share in ancestral property. Therefore, a potential possibility of tension between two generations is always there. As revealed by the study 5 nuclear families out of 23 have been formed out of strained family relations resulting from two generation tensions. Same feeble undercurrents are manifest in SSA, courtesy new inheritance laws, and decline in polyandrous marriages. Besides, there is a decline in the movement of elders after elder son’s marriage only 9 elders have moved out of their ancestral house during last ten years. New job opportunities in Army and associated infrastructure, road building and construction has radically changed the nature of relationships in traditional family structure of SSA, especially for younger brothers of the family who used to depend upon the ancestral land holdings for a living and a common wife for sexual relations which otherwise legally belonged to the eldest brother. Such tendency always discouraged setting up of a new family in absence of any land, property or any other asset.
The emergence of nuclear family is rather an accident than a regular and deliberate phenomenon. The concept of nuclear family has not been institutionalized and still invites raised eyebrows and criticism. Besides, there is no impact on extended nature and functions of the joint family. Even after the establishment of nuclear family whether due to role differentiation or employment pulls or by any strained relationships within, the family control of ancestral family does not completely disappear. Those nuclear families, who are settled within the sample villages A and B or are settled outside the sample villages at urban centres of Leh, Kargil, Srinagar or Manali (HP) consider themselves as part of the extended family. On special occasions like births and naming ceremonies, marriages deaths festivals and sacrificial ritual, the final authority rests with the ancestral home and the head of the extended family.

When the nuclear family of SSA and SSB are rated on the "Sentimental joint-ness Scale" only 2 families from SSA settled in Leh and 5 families of SSB settled at Srinagar and Leh lie on zero scale of sentiment of joint-ness. This aspect is least influenced, either by opening up of economic structure or by technological innovations and high physical mobility. Perfectly three generation extended families are common in SSA and SSB except in cases where parents have decided to move out to small house after the marriage of eldest son in SSA and that used to be the most patterned and institutionalized break up of joint family.

Impact on Marriage:

Marriage as a social institution gives legitimacy to matrimonial relations. Both communities have well established marriage institutions, subject to changes due to introduction of new ideas and behaviour patterns, Marriage institution more than any other institution has served to maintain the SSA as a unique compact and the purest of Aryan racial groups with its rigid endogamous practices, consciously enforced. In SSA there are 5 cases of polyandrous marriages where more than two brothers share a common wife, 13 polygamous and two polygeny cases where more than two uterine sisters share a common husband (Magpa). On the other hand in SSB there are 11 cases of polygamy and the rest are monogamous. As the institution is strictly governed by religion, polyandry and polygeny is strictly forbidden. There are two cases
of a strange and unique type of marriage known as "fore-zekus" in SSA, in Shina language meaning additional husband. A man is inducted in the family for labour and allowed to enjoy sexual relations with the lady of the house. No wages are paid, neither in cash nor in the shape of corn. However, in addition to sexual enjoyment he gets two time meals. Beyond this he has neither right to possess or divorce nor any other property rights. The arrangement is usually time-bound and is terminated at the will of the legal husband.

Marriages are usually considered as interfamilial rather than interpersonal concern. Endogamy in SSA keeps almost everybody in the village in blood relation, resulting in the sustenance of communal solidarity. Inter marriages within the phaspoon makes paspoon a person's primary group and other four villages Garbkoon, Darschik, Gurgurdu and Batalik his secondary group. The marriage area is limited to 25 Sq. Km. On the other hand SSB marriage area is widened. There are many cases of exogamy besides many cases of intersect marriages. Intermarriage between Shia Sunni and Suni Noorbakhshi sets is common. The marriage areas not only extend to whole Drass area but to Kargil, Leh and Srinagar as well. Although there are no hard and fast rules for exogamy for SSA, however 70% of the respondents feel the practice shall be reciprocal. There have been many cases of elopement but not a single SSA respondent has brought a non Drokpa girl to the village. Two main factors discouraging such tendency are

1. The relative isolation and a typical culture of SSA;

2. Social ranking where SSA subjects are placed at the second lowest after mons in Ladakhi society

Higher educational facilities at urban centres on the other hand gives SSB respondents more opportunities to interact and develop liaison and amours. Same applies to employed section of the sample subjects. Mostly such liaisons are endorsed by family members and marriages are arranged. Traditional practices of ritual singing by prospective bridegroom at the first proposal meeting or first dating have been almost abandoned now.
Elopement in both cases (SSA/SSB) or a relationship outside one’s community and the likely breach of conduct is checked through communal powers of social control; weapons of gossip putting up noses, frowns, radicule and other overt forms of ostracism. After elopement, the girl’s parents and relatives do not sever off relations with the girl. She is frequently visited by her parents and relatives after some time. In most of such cases the girl’s parents strictly refrain from taking any bride money or gift from the eloped boy.

The study reveals a very little impact on the age aspect of marriage for SSA. 76% of marriages can be considered as early marriages within the age range 14-18 years. Ironically 56% of respondents favour early marriages.

In SSB the age range of marriage has increased to 18-25 years. This is mostly due to the attainment of higher education and subsequent job acquisition. Although SSB subjects reveal identical conservative attitude towards early marriages, however, attitude and overt behaviour towards girl’s education pacifies this tendency of conservatism.

There has been no impact on the mode of marriage. Most of the marriages in SSA and SSB are arranged marriages and performed traditionally with minutest religious and cultural details. For last ten years there have been only eleven love marriages registered by Secular Courts. Those marriages too were later on legitimised and endorsed by religious authorities. No such case has been reported in SSA where 100% marriages are performed traditionally.

There is a slight variation regarding the pattern of the marriage. Only 29% of the respondents think that marriages should be performed in simple manner without extravagance for SSA and only 11% of respondents from SSB show identical attitude. Rest 71% from SSB and 89% from SSA show a conservative approach. It is remarkable that there is no inconsistency between attitudes and behaviour vis-à-vis mode and pattern of the marriage.

Impact on Women’s Status:

Study reveals that the lot of SSA women and SSB women is not very much harder than that of the village women of other Mongoloid Purkhi, or Balti, women of the rugged region. The given terrain and geographical
isolation resulting in a typical lifestyle makes the women of the area as hardy as men. The womenfolk of SSA by virtue of old Bon Cultural practices enjoy freedom in the social intercourse of young people and Modernization has nothing to do with it. This tendency tends to decrease in orthodox Muslim respondents of SSB. Boys and girls get ample opportunity to develop courtships in festivals, dances, village feasts, marriage ceremonies, and on the occasions of Laundron. Fields and orchards provide conducive environment for free mixing of sexes where economic interests drew them together. On the other hand, educational institutions, offices, and modes of travel provide the same opportunity for SSB. The elders seldom interfere with such relationships. Although, such courtship are frowned upon by the community and respondents still reveal orthodox attitude regarding free mixing of sexes and co-education.

Premarital as well as extramarital sexual relations do not contain any taboo and inhibitions for SSA unless both belong to the same community. Apart from the final authority of male member in domestic affairs, the relations between wife and husband are friendly and cordial and woman make a regular companion of her husband. She is consulted, if not given a decisive authority in all affairs of the family and receives fullest consideration. The women's position is identical to the "KOL or HO" woman for whom Dr. Dalton bears witness that as a rule in no country of the world are wives treated better. Although many restrictions of orthodox Muslim communities have been loosened in SSB, infact, she does not enjoy the same position as the women in SSA enjoy. This tendency is pacified in case of educated working women.

For SSA, in case of polyandrously married women, the self respect of the women is tarnished when measured by Western standards, but very few of sexual acts condemned as sins by established religions of the world are not considered even perversions by these cultures. Sex and Sexual relations have quite different connotations in their society. Sex is closely related to economies of the society and polyandry in institutionalized through specially devised inheritance code. The institution is a humble social device as against the barbarous girl infanticide of Kowshoua gamiæt of Alaskans or eskimos who face long periods of hunger and starvation. The institution of polyandry despite being condemned has enabled these people to live contently on meager land resources by keeping a check on population. On the other hand SSB after
conversion abolished the practice and opted for polygamy and monogamy. As a result very soon squeezed already drained food resources, therefore, had to seek new means of subsistence resulting in migration and different job opportunities other than farming.

In SSA sex is a means of procreation and survival in already dwindling numbers, sex for entertainment only is considered a perversion. In polygenous marriages women commands respect and authority. She is the queen of the house, enjoying all rights to property and divorce. 90% of cash crop of vegetables and apricot is managed and marketed by the woman of SSA, who are tourist attraction in Leh and Khalsi markets, in their traditional attire, flower bedecked caps and sharp aryan features. On the contrary such activities are restricted to the homes and fields for SSB woman. The SSA respondents show positive attitude towards women’s right to education and participation in decision making 73% have no objection to allow their daughters to have as much education as they want. On the other hand 55.5% of SSB show the same attitude. Although endogamy and inbreeding is rampant in the community structural changes in the economy, education and change in food habits have helped in the increase in population. In such an atmosphere child bearing is considered a blessing of Lhas. Therefore, there seems to be no bias for bearing female child. Majority of respondents (91%) reveal modern attitude towards gender bias and are unanimously in favour of not blaming a woman for bearing a female child.

For SSB, identical attitudes are revealed but for quite a different reason in absence of endogamy, inbreeding and dwindling numbers. 65% of respondents know the reason for bearing a female or male child lies with God and man not with woman. Only 14% of respondents show an orthodox attitude. 21% reveal a moderate attitude; unlike other Muslim Communities of Kashmir, it is not the girl’s parents who seek prospective husbands and lure them with dowries. On the contrary it is prospective boy’s family who have to lure girls who by virtue of education, employment, household utility and agriculture, command a high price raising to 25000 to 50000 - rupees. In case of an educated employed girl the price goes as high as 75000 - to 100000 - rupees. In addition the sharp aryan features of SSA and SSB women, in the Mongoloid sea of Ladakh in itself is a charm to be sought and paid.
Impact on Health and Hygiene:

The most frequent phenomenon, which has fascinated almost all social scientists and travelers for centuries, is the dread of water and taboos related to the cow’s milk and its byproducts, fowl and eggs of SSA subjects. The people of SSA till recently were used to burning of pencil cider sticks for ceremonial purification, instead of having bath or washing clothes. The conversion to Islam for SSB abolished the practice and were adopted to ceremonial washing (Wadoo) and bath (Gusul). Comparatively it is the most influenced area of social and personal life. The subject in both cases were evaluated on the basis of the frequency of having baths, changing of clothes, preferences for treatment of diseases and so on and accordingly categorized as modern, moderate and orthodox.

Under the shadow of the taboo and dictum “if you wash you wash off prosperity and if you shake up clothes you shake up good fortune” the SSA have been dreadfully dirty as compared to SSB and other communities of Ladakh Changpa too are a dirty lot but the reason for their poor hygiene is more geographical than social. SSB inhabits a more harsh area as compared to SSA who inhabit a relative low and warm area. The religious prerequisite of ceremonial wash (Wadoo) is now deeply imbibed in SSB psyche and has become a second nature of their life.

Table 117

Frequency distribution and scoring key for SSA on the basis of having bath and changing clothes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bath &amp; Change of clothes</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>Scoring key</th>
<th>%age</th>
<th>Label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>04.4</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twice a month</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a month</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>229</td>
<td></td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of 250 respondents 8.41% never had a bath in their lifetime.
Table 118
Frequency distribution and scoring key for SSB
on the basis of having bath and changing clothes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bath &amp; Change of clothes</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>%age</th>
<th>Scoring key</th>
<th>Label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twice a month</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a month</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 250 100

The frequency distribution reveals that only 14.9% respondents can be labeled as modern, 29.06 as moderates, 28.4% as conservative and 19.2% fall in the category of orthodox. Out of 250 respondents 21 respondents (8.4%) have had never a bath or wash in their life time. All the 21 respondents belong to highest age group of SSA. In such a situation the whole distribution is encouraging where bath and wash is associated with taboo. As compared to SSA, the SSB is highly influenced where 67 respondents (26.8%) have a daily bath and change, 70(28%) bath once a week (26.08%), 76 twice a month. Constituting modern and moderate categories. Only 46 (18.4%) fall in conservative category having bath once a month only. No respondent fall under orthodox category.

The impact is evident in the area of selection of medicines. For SSA 76 respondents (30.4) opt for modern medicine instead of Amchic and consider that the effective cure of diseases lies with doctors only. 174 believe in the efficacy of medicine and blessing of Lama simultaneously. 40% of child bearing females delivered in Kargil and Leh hospitals, 21% in the local dispensary and 39% delivered in their homes with the help of local "daya". On the contrary of in SSB 159 respondents (63.6) avail of modern allopathic medicines. 91(36.4) avail both allopathic and Amchic medicines. Majority of
respondents believe that effective cure of disease lies with doctor and God's favour simultaneously. 64% child bearing delivered in Kargil Hospital, 21 (8.4) in the home with a helping Daya and 15 delivered in the local dispensary. It is remarkable that all delivering mothers opted for modern medicines and advice after delivery. Both SSA and SSB think that the local dispensaries are ill equipped in specialized technical staff, instruments, and medicines. 26% of SSA and 35% of SSB prefer private practitioners at Leh and Kargil. 46% of SSA and 79% of SSB respondents consider disease and illness as physiological phenomenon rather than a curse of gods and evil spirits. High mobility education government services army presence and cultural tourism are positively related to health and hygiene of SSA & SSB. Ironically for SSA, despite having a dread of water for centuries together harsh cold for SSB, ill ventilated houses, abstinence from Cow’s milk and fowl products (egg, chicken), the rugged terrain and open air life together with a simple life style has made them hardy and endowed with a good physique and health. Among all Ladhaki racial groups, this ethnic group rightly claims to be the healthiest. 78% of respondents in SSA and SSB combinedly report that they had no serious illness nor had their parents.

Along with the major areas like economy, politics, education, health and hygiene, family and marriage, another process of change is going on at the grass root level, having ramifications in material culture, dress, modes of travel, food habits, language and vocabulary.
References:


4. Magpa: Ladakhi title given to the common husband of two or more than two uterine sisters in polygenious marriages.

5. Laundron: Puberty ceremony of Buddhist Dard girls celebrated with fun fare as the first birth day at the age of 12 years.

6. Dalton: *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. 