



FOUNDATION FOR

Non-violent Alternatives

An Initiative for Developing Peace Studies

Women's Political Representation in Tibetan-Inhabited Regions: Insights from Provincial, Prefectural, and County Levels

By- Rinzin Namgyal (FNVA Research Associate)





About FNVA

The Foundation for Non-violent Alternatives (FNVA) is a not-for-profit, non-partisan, public policy organisation, established to undertake the objective study and analysis of India's security that is directly linked with developments in contemporary China and Tibet.

DISCLAIMER

The information presented in this research paper on female representation biographies is primarily drawn from official news sources at the county and prefectural government levels. These sources are subject to strict censorship regulations and may occasionally contain inaccuracies.

FRONT PAGE COVER

This AI-generated image portrays Chinese female politicians with male CCP cadres in Beijing's Great Hall of the People. Tibetan women in traditional attire are showcased as token figures, underscoring the CCP's performative inclusion amid systemic marginalization and authoritarian control.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Rinzin Namgyal is a Research Associate at the Foundation of Non-Violent Alternatives (FNVA). He holds a Master's degree in East Asian Studies from the University of Delhi, specializing in China, with a focus on its domestic politics, ethnic policies, and the ideological strategy of the Communist Party of China.

NOTE ON GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS

Traditionally, Tibet comprised three main regions: U-Tsang, Kham, and Amdo. Following what is widely regarded as an unlawful occupation by China, these areas were reorganized into an autonomous region, provinces, autonomous prefectures, and autonomous counties.

SPECIAL NOTE

All images in this paper are for research and analysis only. Any unauthorized use is prohibited, and neither FNVA nor the author is responsible for misuse in propaganda or defamation. All images are compiled by the author.

CITATION

Namgyal, Rinzin. Women's Political Representation in Tibetan-Inhabited Regions: Insights from Provincial, Prefectural, and County Levels. Research Associate, Foundation of Non-Violent Alternatives, February 2025, 1–41.

© Foundation of Non-violent Alternatives (February 2025)

Foundation for Non-violent Alternatives (FNVA)

143, 4th Floor, Uday Park, New Delhi, 110049

Website - www.fnvaworld.org

Email - office@fnvaworld.org

Phone - +91-959950039



List of Abbreviations

TAR:	Tibetan Autonomous Region
TAP:	Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
MTAP:	Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
TQAP:	Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture
DTAP:	Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
GTAP:	Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
HTAP:	Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
MHTAC:	Minhe Hui and Tu Autonomous County
HTAC:	Hezhu Tu Autonomous County
XSAC:	Xunhua Salar Autonomous County



Abstract:

This study critically investigates the political representation of women in Tibetan-inhabited regions, with a particular focus on their roles within governmental and party structures across various administrative tiers. Despite the Chinese Communist Party's rhetorical commitment to gender equality, Tibetan women remain markedly underrepresented in positions of substantive political authority. Utilizing a "division of labour" analytical framework, this research elucidates their systematic relegation to culturally and socially oriented domains which is the case of all women irrespective of ethnicity, while strategic spheres of political decision-making, state security, and ideological governance remain overly male-dominated. The study encompasses one province, twelve prefectures, two prefecture-level cities, one autonomous region, and 89 counties across Tibetan-inhabited regions. The findings substantiate two key hypotheses: (H1) that women are disproportionately assigned to roles that align with conventional gender norms within political institutions, and (H2) that ethnic minorities experience entrenched structural marginalization within China's political apparatus. This study underscores the imperative for further scholarly inquiry into the intersectionality of gender and ethnicity within China's political appointment mechanisms, particularly concerning the systemic constraints faced by Tibetan women in achieving higher political office.

Keywords: *Political Representation, Gender Parity, Ethnic Marginalization, Division of Labour, Structural Constraints, Tibetan Women, Ethnic Representation.*

Introduction:

The status of women in China has witnessed a precipitous decline in recent years, as evidenced by the newly released Global Gender Gap Report of the World Economic Forum. Among 146 nations assessed in 2024, China's ranking has deteriorated significantly, plummeting from 63rd in 2006[1] to 106th in 2024. This regression can, in part, be attributed to the persistent underrepresentation of women in political spheres, particularly across bureaucratic and legislative institutions. This study seeks to analyse the bureaucratic apparatus, with a particular emphasis on government leadership within the state domain and party committee leadership within the party domain at the provincial, prefectural, and county-district levels. As China's political system under the Communist Party of China operates through two parallel vertical structures—what Professor Xu Chenggang defines as the 'Party-State Bureaucracy'. It aims to elucidate two primary aspects: (a) the roles occupied by women officials in Tibetan-inhabited regions, and (b) the ethnic composition of female representation in Tibetan-inhabited regions.

It is important to note that this research does not extend to an analysis of female representation in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) and the National People's Congress (NPC). The findings are derived from empirical data collected through the Government Leadership Window of the provincial, prefectural, and county-district administrative units, as well as from party committee membership records of the aforementioned administrative divisions. China has a long and entrenched history of patriarchy, wherein men have traditionally been perceived as stronger, more active, and dominant figures in society (Granrose, 2005). In contrast, the birth of a daughter was often regarded as undesirable, as she was expected to marry into another family, thereby constituting a financial liability—an asset upon which one incurred a loss (Wolf, 1985). Confucianism, as the predominant philosophical tradition, reinforced hierarchical social structures, filial piety, and rigid gender roles.

[1]Jiang, Xinhui, and Yunyun Zhou. 2024. "When Socialist Legacy Meets International Norms: Gender Quota Adoption and Institutional Change in China." *Journal of Contemporary China* 34 (151): 161–80. doi:10.1080/10670564.2023.2299964.



The doctrine of the Three Obediences and Four Virtues (三从四德) dictated that a woman should submit to her father before marriage, her husband upon marriage, and her son in widowhood[2]. Despite the Communist Party's rhetorical commitment to gender equality, China remains a profoundly patriarchal society. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, successive leaders have underscored the importance of women in national development. Mao Zedong was a fervent advocate for gender equality, encapsulated in his famous dictum: "Women hold up half the sky" (妇女能顶半边天). His administration implemented progressive reforms, including the Marriage Law of 1950, which outlawed polygamy, arranged marriages, and child betrothals, thereby granting women legal rights in marriage and divorce.

The economic reforms initiated under Deng Xiaoping (1978–1997) facilitated increased female participation in the workforce. Under Xi Jinping (2012–present), the discourse surrounding women's roles has evolved to encompass both economic participation and the reinforcement of familial values.[3] While his administration has actively encouraged women's engagement in grassroots governance and economic development, it has concurrently promoted Confucian ideals of domesticity and motherhood, underscoring the primacy of family stability in national cohesion.

The Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) governance over Tibet has introduced new paradigms of gender and ethnic representation. The CCP's official discourse on gender equality, rooted in Marxist-Leninist and Maoist principles, promotes women's participation in public and political life, yet this is often mediated by ethnic policies that prioritise political loyalty over genuine representation (Wang & Zheng, 2015).

The quota system within the CCP and its affiliated organisations, such as the All-China Women's Federation, theoretically ensures female representation in governance, yet research suggests that these quotas function more as symbolic compliance rather than substantive empowerment, particularly for ethnic minority women (Cooke, 2018). Tibetan women's participation in local governance remains constrained by both structural limitations—such as a lack of access to education and economic resources—and ideological factors that reinforce state narratives of ethnic unity and socialist modernisation (Barnett & Finnane, 2021). In contrast, Han Chinese women have witnessed fluctuating political participation, with notable progress during the Maoist era followed by stagnation and regression in later decades as market reforms reshaped gender roles and economic opportunities (Rosen, 2019).

While there exists a substantial body of literature on Chinese women in the political sphere (Rosen 2019; Wang 2016; Ji and Wu 2018; Chen and Cai 2019; Edwards 2007; Hershatter 2007; Jiang and Zhou 2024), scholarly engagement with contemporary Tibetan female political representation remains notably scarce, particularly at the provincial, prefectural, and county-district levels. This paper seeks to bridge this gap by examining the political participation of Tibetan women and the roles they play at the governmental level, alongside women of other ethnic groups, including Han, in Tibetan-inhabited regions. In doing so, it offers a nuanced perspective on gender, ethnicity, and governance in Tibetan-inhabited region.

[2] Chen, M., Cai, J. (2019). Women's Access to Political Power: An Analysis of the Life Trajectory of Wu Yi. In: Cai, S. (eds) Female Celebrities in Contemporary Chinese Society. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-5980-4_8.

[3] 注重家庭，注重家教，注重家风 <http://www.qstheory.cn/20250130/63cd6117b15f491586b51b45a2f7580e/c.html>



A. Female Representation from the Provincial and Prefecture level Analysis:

This study examines female political representation, focusing on ethnic composition, Tibetan women's participation, and their roles at the deputy governor level in government leadership and party committees across one province[4], twelve prefectures[5], two prefecture-level cities[6], and one autonomous region[7]. The findings indicate that all these administrative divisions meet the "at least one woman quota"[8] for the deputy governor position. However, the application of this quota to deputy party secretary[9] remains confined to Tibetan women in Tibetan-inhabited regions.

Notably, based on the data available in this study, no Tibetan woman holds the position of party secretary at either the provincial, prefectural and county level in Tibetan-inhabited areas. One Tibetan woman[10] held the position of deputy party secretary at the prefectural level in Tibetan-inhabited areas, but no such Tibetan woman held this position at the provincial level.

This analysis presents a two-fold study:

1. Examining the roles occupied by deputy-level female officials across Tibetan-inhabited regions at the provincial, prefectural, and county levels of administration.
2. Analyzing the ethnic composition of female representation within Tibetan-inhabited regions at the provincial, prefectural, and county levels of administration.

Based on this study, I examined two widely accepted hypotheses in Chinese gender studies to evaluate their validity.

- H1: that women are assigned to roles aligned with conventional feminine norms within political institutions. [11]
- H2: that ethnic minorities experience structural marginalization within China's political apparatus.

A feminine post typically refers to roles or positions traditionally associated with tasks or responsibilities that are considered female-dominated. These positions often focus on care, nurturing, social, cultural, or health functions, and are considered more gender-specific due to historical, cultural, and social norms. It is commonly acknowledged that women are often (s)elected to handle 'women's work' in politics, a reflection of the gendered division of labour (Goodwin et al., 2020). Their career trajectories generally follow traditional 'feminine' paths, and women tend to be assigned roles dealing with issues such as education, health, and youth (Goodwin et al., 2020; Krook and O'Brien, 2012), which are often regarded as low-prestige, resource-limited, and lacking in substantial political power.[12]

[4] Qinghai Province 青海 མཚོ་སྐོད་ (Amdo Region of Tibet).

[5] Aba (Tib: Ngawa), Hainan (Tib: Tsolho), Garze, Haixi (Tib: Tsonub), Huangnan (Tib: Malho), Yushu, Haibei (Tib: Tsojang), Diqing (Tib: Dechen), Linzhi (Tib: Nyingchi), Xigaze (Tib: Shigatse), Nagqu (Tib: Nagchu), and Shannan (Tib: Lhoka) Prefectures.

[6] Haidong and Lhasa Prefecture-level city.

[7] Tibetan Autonomous Region.

[8] In early 1990s China witnessed the birth of the 'at least one-woman quota' for the deputy governor and deputy party secretary across all levels of subnational government. 'Jiang, Xinhui, and Yunyun Zhou. 2024. "When Socialist Legacy Meets International Norms: Gender Quota Adoption and Institutional Change in China." *Journal of Contemporary China* 34 (151): 161–80. doi:10.1080/10670564.2023.2299964.'

[9] However, the Deputy Party Secretary of the Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture Qiao Yaqun is ethnically Mongolian.

[10] Lhumtso from Burang, Tibet, was elected deputy party secretary of Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture on January 15, 2025, at the 14th People's Congress of Yushu, Qinghai Province. <https://news.qq.com/rain/a/20250119A032J300>

[11] 'Jiang, Xinhui, and Yunyun Zhou. 2024. "When Socialist Legacy Meets International Norms: Gender Quota Adoption and Institutional Change in China." *Journal of Contemporary China* 34 (151): 161–80. doi:10.1080/10670564.2023.2299964.'

[12] *ibid.*.

I have designed a "division of labour" framework that specifically maps the roles of women within the data presented in this paper. Traditionally, roles associated with culture and health have been regarded as falling within the female domain. In contrast, roles related to state affairs—such as security, military modernisation, poverty alleviation, religious matters, and propaganda—are predominantly occupied by male CCP cadres. These cadres consider these areas as high-value targets [13], central to the CCP's legitimacy, the government's ideological education, and the state security framework.

Based on this "division of labour" framework, I have generated the accompanying graph, which illustrates the division of labour among female political representatives in the Tibetan-inhabited regions, specifically at the deputy-level official ranks [14] at the provincial and prefectural levels. The findings strongly support the H1 hypothesis [15] at the Provincial and Prefecture level.

Category	Responsibilities
State	Propaganda, Ideology, Public Security, Religious Affairs, Civil Affairs, National Defence, Science and Technology, Military Modernisation, Trade, Poverty Alleviation, Veteran Affairs, Legal and Judicial Affairs, Ethnic and Minority Affairs, Party Organisation and Discipline, Economic Planning, Rural Development
Cultural	Tourism, Education, Media & Literature, Cultural Exports, Heritage and Arts Affairs, Radio and Television, Cultural Preservation, Tourism-Related Trade, Internet and Digital Media Regulation, Language and Script Promotion, Soft Power and International Cultural Exchanges
Health & Social Affairs	Women's Federation, Women and Children's Protection, Environmental Protection, Red Cross Society, Health Protection, Animal Husbandry, Food and Water Safety, Water Resource Management, Public Health and Epidemic Control, Social Welfare, Elderly Care, Disability Support, Labour and Employment Policies, Housing and Urban Development

Figure 1. Division of Labour
Source: Compiled by the author

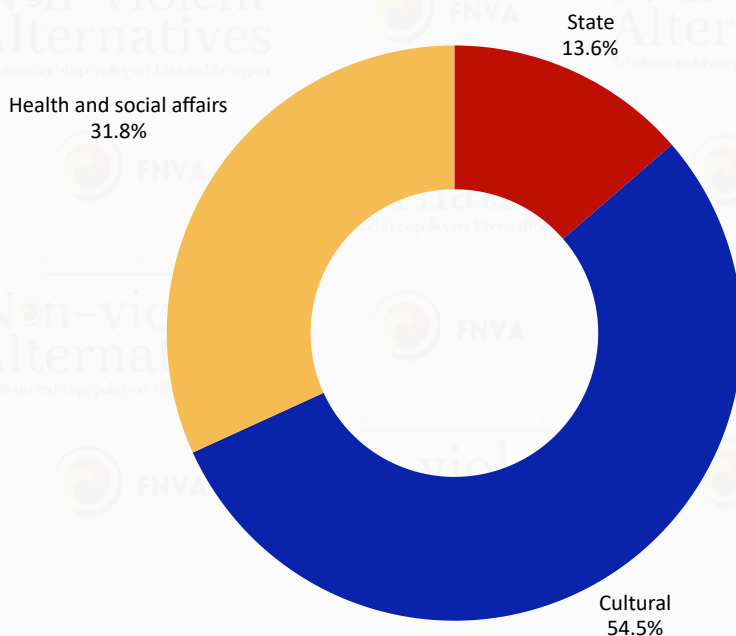


Figure 2. Division of Labour Among Female Political Representatives at the Provincial and Prefectural Levels
Source: Compiled by the author

[13] <https://interpret.csis.org/translations/fully-implement-the-overall-national-security-outlook/>

[14] In China's local governance system, Deputy Mayor, Deputy Magistrate, and Deputy Governor are distinct titles, though they share similarities in function as deputy-level officials assisting the head of a government unit.

[15] That women are assigned to roles aligned with conventional feminine norms within political institutions

However, the H2 hypothesis remains relevant within the discourse of China's political appointments. Determining the reasons behind such gender gaps and divisions of labour in China falls beyond the scope of this paper. However, socialisation theory, structural theory, and situational theory can be utilised to explore the origins of such prejudice against women in China. In the context of Tibetan women, it appears that, beyond these three theories, the influence of Chinese colonialism and racism also plays a significant role. However, I do not currently have a design methodology or strong evidence to support this, but future research on gender studies in China, with a focus on ethnic regions, could explore this further. It could examine whether external factors such as Chinese colonialism and racism play a role, or whether there are significant internal factors, such as patriarchal values within Tibetan society that effects the Tibetan female political appointments.

B. Ethnic Composition of Female Representation in Provincial and Prefecture level Analysis:

The ethnic composition of female representation in Tibetan-inhabited regions, particularly at the provincial and prefectural levels, is a significant aspect of the broader discussion on ethnic minority participation in the Chinese political system. Data in this paper indicate that, while Tibetan women remain underrepresented in high-ranking positions, they have made some progress, particularly in deputy governor roles, primarily at the prefectural level.

Different studies in this field indicate that ethnic minority representation in the Chinese bureaucracy largely operates under a quota system (Xinhui Jiang & Yunyun Zhou, 2025). However, research suggests that such policies have had limited impact in Tibetan regions due to cultural, political, and structural constraints (He & Feng, 2017). While Han Chinese women have seen some progress in representation within the Communist Party of China (CPC), Tibetan women face additional challenges due to their ethnic background (Zang, 2018). The Party operates through hierarchical structures, where promotion is often influenced by political loyalty, reliability, and access to influential networks. As a result, Tibetan women, who are often confined to lower administrative roles, struggle to advance to decision-making positions (Li & Shakya, 2020). Despite the existence of Tibetan autonomous regions, decision-making remains largely controlled by the central government, which limits the authority of local Tibetan officials, including women in leadership positions (Fischer, 2013).

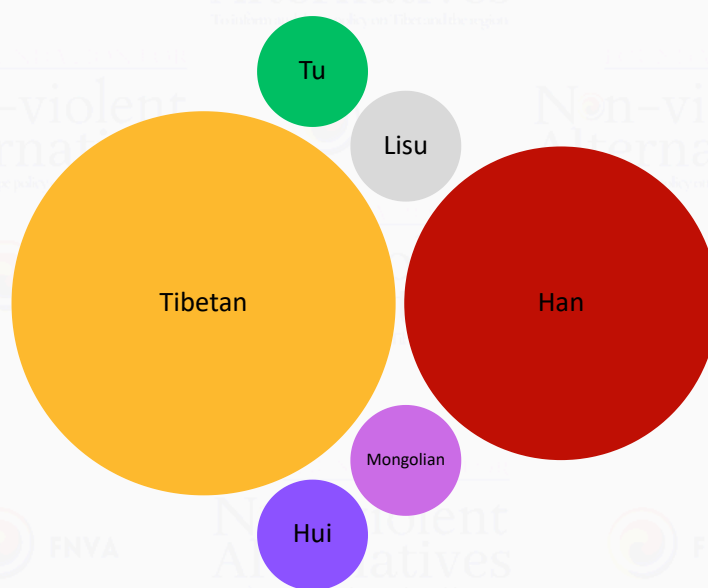


Figure 3. Ratio of Ethnic Composition of Female Representation at the Deputy-Ranking Level at Provincial and Prefecture Level.

Source: Compiled by the author.



The numerical representation of female officials at the provincial and prefectural levels across the Tibetan-inhabited regions, which encompass 12 prefectures, one province, and one autonomous region in this paper (Data), is as follows [Fig.4]:

Ethnicity	Representation at Provincial and Prefectural Level
Tibetan	12
Han	8
Hui	1
Mongolian	1
Lisu	1
Tu	1

Figure 4. Numerical table of women’s representation and ethnicity in Tibetan-inhabited regions at Provincial and Prefectural level.

Source: Compiled by the author.

Additionally, one woman from the Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture has held the position of Governor concurrently with the deputy party secretary[16]. Among the 12 Tibetan female deputy-level officials, only one has attained the role of deputy party secretary from the Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. The ratio of Mongolian to Tibetan women serving as deputy party secretaries stands at 1:1 and 1:12 respectively.

C. Female Representation from the County level Analysis:

China’s local governance system operates through a hierarchical structure, with counties (县, xiàn) playing a crucial role in implementing policies from the central government while also addressing local needs. However, in this paper, I have examined 89 counties across Tibetan-inhabited regions to analyze the roles assigned to women at the deputy-official level and the ethnic composition of female representation at the county level, testing the H1 and H2 hypotheses [17] at the grassroots level. I have tested the H1 hypothesis based on the "division of labour" framework I designed, which resulted in Figure 6 below.

Category	Responsibilities
State	Propaganda, Ideology, Public Security, Religious Affairs, Civil Affairs, National Defence, Science and Technology, Military Modernisation, Trade, Poverty Alleviation, Veteran Affairs, Legal and Judicial Affairs, Ethnic and Minority Affairs, Party Organisation and Discipline, Economic Planning, Rural Development
Cultural	Tourism, Education, Media & Literature, Cultural Exports, Heritage and Arts Affairs, Radio and Television, Cultural Preservation, Tourism-Related Trade, Internet and Digital Media Regulation, Language and Script Promotion, Soft Power and International Cultural Exchanges
Health & Social Affairs	Women's Federation, Women and Children's Protection, Environmental Protection, Red Cross Society, Health Protection, Animal Husbandry, Food and Water Safety, Water Resource Management, Public Health and Epidemic Control, Social Welfare, Elderly Care, Disability Support, Labour and Employment Policies, Housing and Urban Development

Figure 5. Division of Labour
Source: Compiled by the author

[16]According to the LEAR, the position of Governor (省长) must always be occupied by an ethnic minority of the particular region, while also concurrently serving as the Deputy Party Secretary (党委副书记) of that region.

[17] H1: that women are assigned to roles aligned with conventional feminine norms within political institutions.

H2: that ethnic minorities experience structural marginalization within China’s political apparatus.

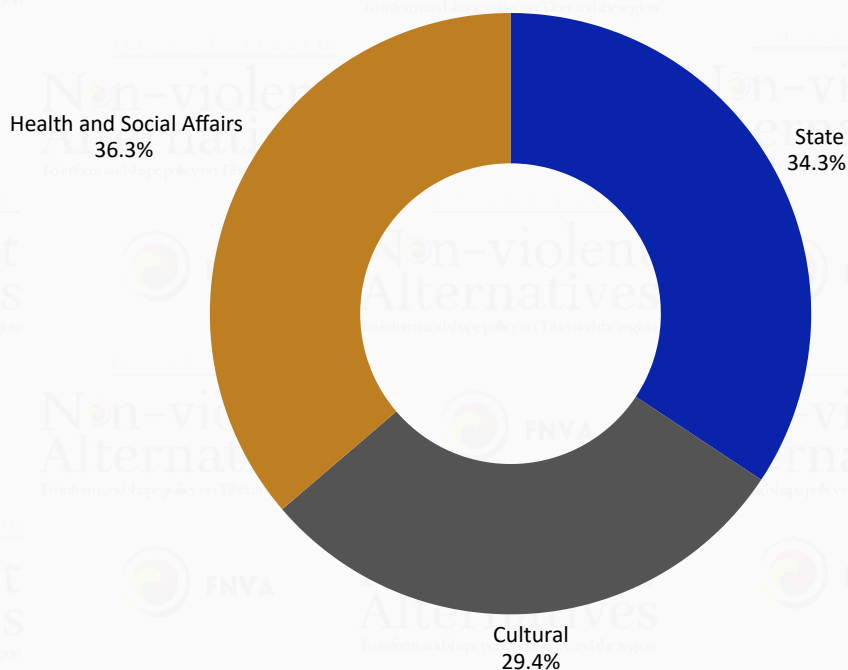


Figure 6. Division of Labour Among Female Political Representatives at the County, City and District Levels
Source: Compiled by the author

At the county level, the roles of female political representatives also align with the H1 hypothesis; however, there is a notable increase in their presence within state affairs[18]. This suggests that at the grassroots level, women are more actively engaged in governance and administrative functions. Yet, as the political hierarchy ascends, power becomes progressively male-dominated, resulting in a stark decline in female representation within state affairs. Instead, women are relegated to cultural and social roles, which are traditionally perceived as more ‘appropriate’ for them.

The sharp rise in female representation in cultural affairs at higher administrative levels indicates that these positions are regarded as lower-risk and peripheral to core political functions such as security, propaganda, and ideological governance, which remain firmly controlled by male cadres. This structured division of labour underscores the entrenched gender hierarchies within the Chinese political system, where women’s involvement is systematically confined to domains considered less central to state power and security apparatus.

D. Ethnic Composition of Female Representation in County Level:

At the county level, the representation of Tibetan women in political roles appears ostensibly robust, however, the ethnic composition remains heavily influenced by the significant presence of Han female officials. While Tibetans form the overwhelming majority among ethnic groups in Tibetan-inhabited regions, my study of 89 counties reveals that the presence of other ethnic minorities is significant less. Despite what may seem like a strong representation of Tibetan women, their political ascension remains profoundly constrained, particularly in attaining positions of substantive authority and influence. A stark manifestation of this disparity is evident in the distribution of deputy Party secretary appointments.

[18]Here, state affairs refers to the responsibilities outlined in Figure 6.

Among 43 Tibetan women holding deputy-ranking positions in county level, only one ascended to the rank of deputy Party secretary[19] at the county level. In stark contrast, a single Mongolian woman also secured the same position, yielding an alarming ratio of 1:43 for Tibetans[20] compared to 1:1 for Mongolians[21]. This glaring imbalance underscores the entrenched structural impediments that curtail the advancement of Tibetan women within the CCP's political apparatus. The disproportionately low elevation of Tibetan women to pivotal leadership roles suggests that while they may be relegated to administrative and social governance domains, their access to high-level strategic decision-making remains severely restricted.

The data presented in this paper further indicates that Tibetan women maintain a significant presence within the county-level Party standing committee[22], alongside their Han female counterparts, suggesting a degree of political inclusion at the grassroots level. However, the extent to which Tibetan female standing committee members exert substantive influence and exercise meaningful authority within local governance structures remains an important subject for further academic inquiry. Their inclusion within the Party's organisational framework does not inherently translate into genuine political authority, and the extent of their decision-making power necessitates a more nuanced examination in future.

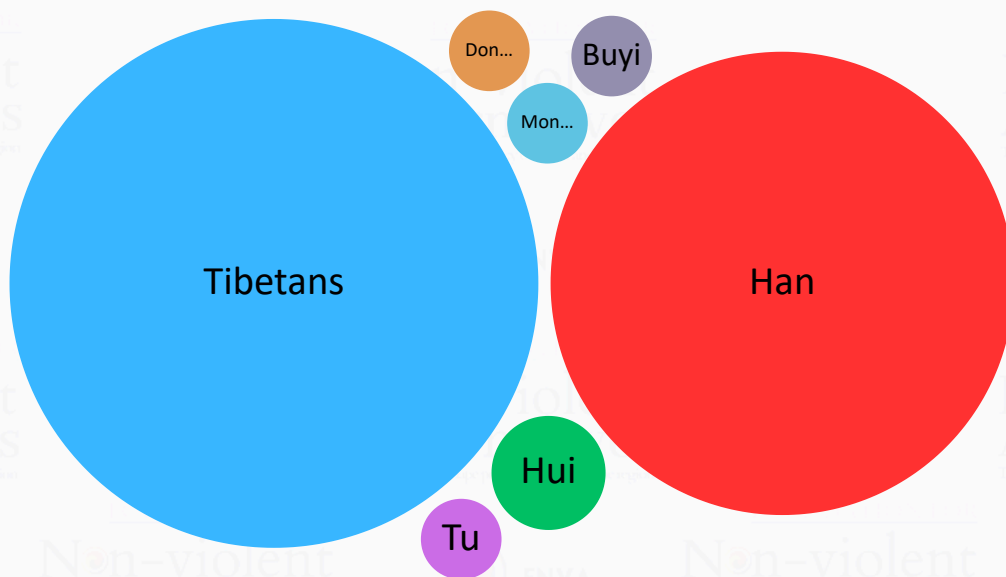


Figure 7. Ratio of Ethnic Composition of Female Representation at the Deputy-Ranking Level at County, City, and District Level.
Source: Compiled by the author.

[19]The Chinese political system operates through two parallel structures of governance: the State and the Party. In essence, the Party secretaries wield significantly greater authority than state-appointed governors across all administrative levels. Ultimate decision-making power resides with the Party secretaries, who act as the principal agents of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

[20] Gayong, an ethnic Tibetan, serves as the Deputy Secretary of the CPC Riwoqie County Committee in Chamdo Prefecture, Tibet Autonomous Region.

[21]Salna, an ethnic Mongolian, serves as the Deputy Secretary of the CPC Guide County Committee in Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province.

[22] In the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) structure, the Standing Committee at the county level serves as the core decision-making body within the County Party Committee. It operates under the authority of the CPC at the prefectural and provincial levels, ensuring that Party policies and directives are effectively implemented at the grassroots level.



Ethnic Group	Women Representation at County Level	Women Standing Committee Members at County Level
Han	33	7
Tibetan	43	11
Hui	2	1
Tu	1	0
Dongxiang	1	1
Mongolian	1	0
Buyi	1	0

Figure 8. Numerical Table of Women's Representation and Ethnic Composition in Tibetan-Inhabited Regions at the County, City and district Levels

Source: Compiled by the Author.

E. Conclusion

The analysis of female political representation in Tibetan-inhabited regions, as examined through the "division of labour" framework, underscores a highly structured and hierarchical distribution of power that systematically relegates women of all ethnic backgrounds to roles within the social and cultural domains. In contrast, male CCP cadres continue to dominate key political spheres, particularly those associated with state security, propaganda, military affairs, and ideological governance. At the prefecture and county level in specific, Tibetan women have made some progress in numbers, particularly at the deputy-ranking level; however, their ascent into senior leadership at the Provincial and national level remains (State Council and Party's Central Committee) limited. Notably, no Tibetan woman has ever held a position within the CPC Politburo Standing Committee, the Politburo, Central Committee or an alternative Central Committee in the history of the People's Republic of China. Within the Central Committee, there are currently only four Tibetan men, three of whom serve as an alternative members of Central Committee, while a similar absence of Tibetan women is evident in the State Council, where no Tibetan woman has ever been appointed. In contrast, other ethnic minority women have attained high-ranking positions within the Chinese political system. For instance, Shen Yiqin, an ethnic Bai, currently serves as a State Councillor in the State Council.

The intersection of ethnicity and gender in China's political appointments warrants deeper scrutiny, particularly in assessing how ethnic identity impacts Tibetan women's capacity to progress within the Party's bureaucratic and governance structures in comparison to their Han Chinese counterparts. A critical examination of the CCP's internal promotion mechanisms and their implications for Tibetan women will illuminate whether their systematic underrepresentation in higher level is a consequence of deliberate exclusion or an inherent by-product of structural marginalisation. Further, an exploration of how Tibetan women perceive their roles within the Party, as well as the strategies they employ to circumvent institutional barriers, will provide a more nuanced insight into their lived experiences within this constrained political environment. The findings in this study reveal that while numerical representation has increased at lower levels, it gets constrained for the Tibetan women at the upper level. The 'division of labour' framework limits Tibetan women's roles and other ethnic women including Han to non-strategic domains, reinforcing their exclusion from decision-making processes. Thus, this study fully endorses the H1 hypothesis. However, with regard to the H2 hypothesis, variations emerge between the local and upper levels. At the local level, the evidence presented in this study contradicts the H2 hypothesis, whereas at the provincial and national levels, the findings lend support to it.



Provincial and Prefecture-city level Female Representation in Tibetan-Inhabited region

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Chen Daolin	Hui	Deputy Mayor of the Haidong Municipal People's Government	Haidong Prefecture མཚོ་ཤར་གྲོང་ཁྱེར། Qinghai Province
	Wang Guilian	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of the Haidong Municipal People's Government	Haidong Prefecture མཚོ་ཤར་གྲོང་ཁྱེར། Qinghai Province
	Cheng Lu	Han	Deputy Governor of Ganzi Prefecture	Ganzi TAP དཀར་མཚོས་བོད་རིགས་ རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ། Sichuan Province
	Silang Yongji	Tibetan	Vice Governor of Ganzi Prefecture People's Government	Ganzi TAP, དཀར་མཚོས་བོད་རིགས་ རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ། Sichuan Province
	Yang Xing	Tibetan	Minister of the Propaganda Department	Aba TQAP རྩ་བ་བོད་རིགས་རྩ་བ་ རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ། Sichuan Province



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	<p>Youdon Tso</p>	<p>Tibetan</p>	<p>Deputy Governor of Ngawa Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture</p>	<p>Aba TQAP, ཇ་བ་ཐོད་རིགས་ཆ་བོང་ རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ། Sichuan Province</p>
	<p>Wang Na</p>	<p>Han</p>	<p>Deputy Governor of Ngawa Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture</p>	<p>Aba TQAP, ཇ་བ་ཐོད་རིགས་ཆ་བོང་ རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ། Sichuan Province</p>
	<p>Sun Junxia</p>	<p>Han</p>	<p>Vice Governor of Hainan Prefecture People's Government</p>	<p>Hainan TAP, མཚོ་ལྷོ་བོད་རིགས་རང་ སྐྱོང་ཁུལ། Qinghai Province</p>
	<p>Luo Mei</p>	<p>Tibetan</p>	<p>Vice Chairman and President of the Red Cross Society of the Tibet Autonomous Region</p>	<p>Tibetan Autonomous Region བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་གྲུབ་ཁོངས་</p>







IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Qiao Yaqun	Mongolian	Deputy Secretary of the Haixi Prefecture Party Committee and Governor of Haixi Prefecture	Haixi MTAP མཚོ་རྩལ་སོག་རིགས་ཆ་ བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ། Qinghai Province
	Hu Yingqi	Han	Vice Governor of Haixi Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Haixi MTAP མཚོ་རྩལ་སོག་རིགས་ཆ་ བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ། Qinghai Province
	Wang Haihong	Han	Vice Governor of Qinghai Province	Qinghai Province མཚོ་ལྗོངས།
	Tsering Yangdon	Tibetan	Vice Mayor of the Shannan (Lhoka) Prefecture Municipal Government	Shannan Prefecture ལྷོ་ལ་ཕྱོང་ཁུལ། TAR



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Yu Guifen	Lisu	Deputy Governor and Member of Communist Party of China of DTAP	Diqing TAP, བདེ་ཆེན་པོ་དོན་རིགས་ རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ། Yunnan Province
	Dawa Dolma	Tibetan	Member of the Standing Committee of the Lhasa Chengguan District Committee	Lhasa ལྷ་ས་ཐིན་གོན་རྒྱུས། TAR
	Xu Hua	Han	Member of the Party Leadership Group of the Lhasa District Government and Director of the Potala Palace Square Management Office.	Lhasa ལྷ་ས་ཐིན་གོན་རྒྱུས། TAR
	Ha Wenxiu	Tu	Deputy Governor of Haibei Prefecture	Haibei TAP མཚོ་གླང་པོ་དོན་རིགས་ རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ། Qinghai Province


IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
Data Unavailable	Tsekyi	Tibetan	Member of the Standing Committee of the Huangnan Prefecture Committee of Qinghai Province and Minister of the Propaganda Department	Huangnan TAP མ་ལྷོ་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ། Qinghai Province
	Lhumtso	Tibetan	Deputy Secretary of the Yushu Prefecture Party Committee and Governor of Yushu Prefecture	Yushu TAP, ཡུལ་ཤུལ་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ། Qinghai Province
Data Unavailable	Yuzhen	Tibetan	Member of the Standing Committee of the Linzhi Party Committee and Deputy Mayor Linzhi Prefecture	Linzhi Prefecture ཉིང་ཁྲི་མོང་ཁྲུང་། TAR
Data Unavailable	Nima Puchi	Tibetan	Member of the Party Leadership Group and deputy mayor of Shigatse.	Xigaze Prefecture གཞིས་གཟུང་མོང་ཁྲུང་། TAR



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
Data Unavailable	Wu Dongmei	Han	Deputy mayor of Nagqu Municipal People's Government.	Nagqu Prefecture མགུ་མེད་རྫོང་། TAR

County and District-Level Female Representation in Tibetan-Inhabited region

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Liu Yangping	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of the Luqu County People's Government	Luqu County, ལུཀུ་རྫོང་། Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Tsering Dolma	Tibetan	Member of Standing Committee and Head of the Propaganda Department of Maqu County	Maqu County མཁུ་རྫོང་། Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Tso Bai	Tibetan	Mayor of the Hezuo City municipal government	Hezuo City གཙུག་ཁྲིའི་རྫོང་། Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Zhao Ying	Han	Deputy Mayor of the Hezuo City Municipal People's Government	Hezuo City གཙུག་ཁྲིའི་རྫོང་། Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Yan Haiyan	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Lintan County	Lintan County ལིན་ཐན་རྫོང་། Gannan TAP, Gansu Province







IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
No Female Representation			No Female Representation	Jone County ཅོན་རྫོང་། Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Xie Jing	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Zhouqu County	Zhouqu County ལྷུག་རྫོང་། Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Zhang Yunxia	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Tewo County	Tewo County ཐོ་འོ་རྫོང་། Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Zhang Zhiyong	Han	Standing Committee of the Xiahe County Party Committee and Head Propaganda Department of Xiahe County	Xiahe County མཁའ་རྫོང་། Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Hu Jingke	Han	Standing Committee of the Xiahe County Party Committee	Xiahe County མཁའ་རྫོང་། Gannan TAP, Gansu Province



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Shi Bin	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of People's Government of Xiahe County	Xiahe County བསང་རྩེ་རྫོང་། Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Li Linqiong	Han	Deputy Head of Gonghe County People's Government	Gonghe County གཤམ་རྫོང་། Hainan TAP, Qinghai Province
	Oygen Dolma	Tibetan	Deputy Head of Xinghai County People's Government	Xinghai County ཐོག་མཚོ་རྫོང་། Hainan TAP, Qinghai Province
	Li Jinqing	Han	Deputy County Governor of Tongde County People's Government	Tongde County འབྲུག་རྫོང་། Hainan TAP, Qinghai Province





IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Salna	Mongolian	Deputy Secretary of the Guide County Party Committee, County Mayor, and Director of the Tourism Development Management Committee.	Guide County ཞིག་རྫོང་། Hainan TAP, Qinghai Province
	Wangmo Tso	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate and member of the Party Leadership Group of the People's Government of Guide County	Guide County ཞིག་རྫོང་། Hainan TAP, Qinghai Province
	Yang Gaiji	Data unavailable	Deputy Head of Guinan County People's Government	Guinan County མང་རྫོང་། Hainan TAP, Qinghai Province
	Ding Ying	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government	Hezhu TAC, ཅུ་ལྷོ་རྫོང་གི་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ རང་སྲིད་རྫོང་། Haidong Prefecture, Qinghai Province



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Ma Xiaoyu	Hui	County Magistrate of Minhe County	Minhe HTAC མིན་རྫོང་གྲུབ་རིགས་རྫོང་རིགས་ རང་སྐྱོང་ཁྲུང་རྒྱུ་། Haidong Prefecture, Qinghai Province
	Sangay Kyi	Tibetan	Standing committee member of Mao Party Committee and Minister of Propaganda Department of Mao County	Mao County མའོ་ཕུག་། Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province
	Da Yulin	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Dulan County Government	Dulan County དུལ་ལན་རྫོང་། Haixi MTAP, Qinghai Province
	Tentso	Tibetan	Standing Committee member of Zamtang County Party Committee	Zamtang County འཛམ་ཐང་རྫོང་། Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province





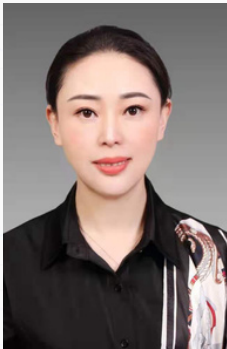
IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Geng Renqi	Tibetan	Standing committee member of Zorge Party Committee and Minister of Propaganda Department of Zorge County	Zorge County མཚོ་དཀོན་རྫོང་། Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province
	Liu Xueting	Hui	Standing committee member of Jiǔzhàigōu Party Committee and Minister of Propaganda Department of Jiǔzhàigōu County	Jiǔzhàigōu County ཀའི་ཅུ་ལྗེ་དགུ་རྫོང་། Aba TQAP Sichuan Province
	Mo Zhengping	Tibetan	Standing committee member of Barkham Municipal Party Committee and Minister of Propaganda Department of Barkham City	Barkham City འབར་ཁམས་གྲོང་ཁྱིམ་། Aba TQAP Sichuan Province




IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	<p>Tsewang Tso</p>	<p>Tibetan</p>	<p>Deputy Secretary of the Hongyuan County Party Committee</p>	<p>Hongyuan County ལུང་མཁུ་རྫོང་། Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province</p>
	<p>Wei Na</p>	<p>Han</p>	<p>Standing Committee member of Heishui County Party Committee and Head of the Organization Department of Heishui County</p>	<p>Heishui County ཁྲི་མུ་རྫོང་། Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province</p>
	<p>Li Xueyan</p>	<p>Tibetan</p>	<p>Standing Committee member of Wenchuan County Party Committee and Deputy Head of Wenchuan People's Government</p>	<p>Wenchuan County ཁྲི་མོང་རྫོང་། Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province</p>



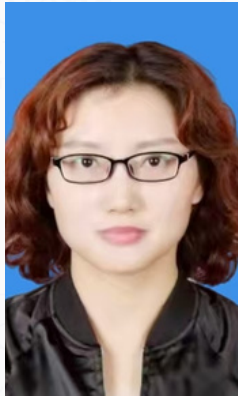


IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Xie Xiaoqin	Tibetan	Standing Committee member of Li County Party Committee and Head of the Organization Department of Li County	Li County བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྒྱུད། Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province
	Yuan Fucui	Tibetan	Standing Committee member of Songpan County Party Committee and Head of the Organization Department of Songpan County	Songpan County རྫོང་རྒྱུད། Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province
	Zhou Chaoqun	Han	Deputy Secretary of the Xiaojin County Party Committee	Xiaojin County བཙན་ལྷོ་རྫོང་། Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Dolma Yangchen	Tibetan	Deputy County Governor of the People's Government of Daocheng County	Daocheng County འདབ་པ་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Lhamo	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Ganzi County.	Ganzi County དཀར་མཛོེས་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Li Hui	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Baiyu County.	Baiyu County དཔལ་ཡུལ་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Liu Ping	Han	Deputy County Governor of the People's Government of Luding County	Luding County ལུངས་ཟེམ་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Tsering Tso	Tibetan	Standing Committee member of Derong County Party Committee and Executive Deputy county magistrate	Derong County ལྷོ་རོང་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Wang Yingrong	Han	Deputy county magistrate of the People's Government of Luhuo County	Luhuo County ལུ་འུ་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Wangmo	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Derge County People's Government	Derge County ལྷོ་རྩེ་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Kunga Tsomo	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Xinlong County	Xinlong County ཉམ་ལོང་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Zhang Li	Tibetan	Standing Committee member of Batang County Party Committee and Deputy Mayor of Batang County	Batang County འབའ་ཐང་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Lhakyi	Tibetan	Deputy County Governor of Serxu County People's Government	Serxu County ཤིར་ཤུ་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Zhong Se	Tibetan	Deputy Secretary of the County Party Committee and County Magistrate of Yajiang County	Yajiang County ཉག་རྩུ་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Yangzom	Tibetan	Deputy County Governor of Yajiang County People's Government,	Yajiang County ཉག་རྩུ་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Ge Ming	Han	Deputy County Magistrate Jianzha County	Jianzha County ལམ་ཚལ་རྫོང་། Huangnan TAP, Qinghai Province
	He Cuihong	Han	Deputy County Magistrate Jianzha County	Jianzha County ལམ་ཚལ་རྫོང་། Huangnan TAP, Qinghai Province
	Tsetan Dolma	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of Tongren Municipal People's Government	Tongren City ཐུང་རྩོན་གྲོང་ཁྱེར། Huangnan TAP, Qinghai Province
	Jing Li	Tu	Deputy County Magistrate Zeku County	Zeku County ཕྱེལ་ལོ་རྫོང་། Huangnan TAP, Qinghai Province



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Tashi	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Derong County People's Government	Derong County ལྷོ་རོང་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Yang Xia	Tibetan	Deputy County Mayor of Jiulong County People's Government	Jiulong County འགྲུང་ཟིལ་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Zou Xuehong	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate and director of the Public Security Bureau of Xiangcheng County	Xiangcheng County ཕྱག་ཤིང་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Tsokyi	Tibetan	Deputy County Governor of the People's Government of Nangqian County	Nangqian County ནང་ཆེན་རྫོང་། Yushu TAP, Qinghai Province






IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
No Female Representation			No Female Representation	Maqen County མ་ཁོན་རྫོང་། Golog TAP, Qinghai Province
	Xia Hongmei	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Banma County	Banma County ཕན་མ་རྫོང་། Golog TAP, Qinghai Province
	Kelsang	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Dari County	Dari County དར་ལག་རྫོང་། Golog TAP, Qinghai Province
	Gu Xiyan	Han	Standing Committee member and Minister of Propaganda Department of Dari County	Dari County དར་ལག་རྫོང་། Golog TAP, Qinghai Province



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Yangtso	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of Yushu Municipal People's Government	Yushu City ཡུལ་གཞུང་གི་འབྲེལ་འདྲིལ་པོ་ Yushu TAP, Qinghai Province
	Cai Yongxia	Han	Deputy Mayor Mangnai city Municipal Government	Mangnai City མང་ནེ་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་ Haixi MTAP, Qinghai Province
	Ma Jing	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Nagarze County People's Government	Nagarze County སྐར་རྒྱལ་རྩ་མཛོེས་། Shannan Prefecture, TAR
	Chen Min	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Gonggar County People's Government	Gonggar County གོང་རྒྱལ་རྩ་མཛོེས་། Shannan Prefecture, TAR



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Pema Yangchen	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Lhunze County	Lhunze County ལུན་ཅེ་རྫོང་། Shannan Prefecture, TAR
	Tsering Lhamo	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Lhozha County	Lhozha County ལྷོ་བླ་རྫོང་། Shannan Prefecture, TAR
	Xiang Xiaohua	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Qusum County	Qusum County ལུ་གུ་མུ་རྫོང་། Shannan Prefecture, TAR
	Pema Yangchen	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Sangri County	Sangri County ཟང་རི་རྫོང་། Shannan Prefecture, TAR






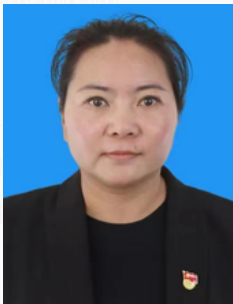
IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Daqu	Data Unavailable	Deputy Director of the People's Government of Naidong District	Naidong District ལྷོ་གཞིང་ཁུལ། Shannan Prefecture, TAR
	Dolma	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Jiangda County	Jiangda County འཛོལ་དབུ་རྫོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
	Norbu Dolma	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Gongjue County	Gongjue County གོང་རྫོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
	Gayong	Tibetan	Deputy Secretary of the CPC Riwoqe County Committee and County Mayor	Riwoqe County རི་ལོ་ལྷོ་རྫོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Li Chengguang	Han	Member of the Standing Committee of Chaya County Party Committee and Executive Deputy County Magistrate	Chaya County བྱམ་གཡལ་རྫོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
	Tsering Tsomo	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Dingqing County People's Government	Dingqing County ཐིང་ཁྲིན་རྫོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
	Dege Wangmo	Tibetan	Deputy Secretary of the CPC Basu County Committee and County Mayor of Basu County	Basu County བཅའ་ཡུལ་རྫོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
	Bujiang Dongmei	Han	Deputy Magistrate of Zuogong County	Zuogong County མཚོ་སྐོང་རྫོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR





IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Ngawang Choedon	Tibetan	Data unavailable	Markham County མུ་ཁམ་རྫོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
	Linkang	Han	Member of the Standing Committee of Luolong County and Deputy County Magistrate.	Luolong County ལྷོ་རྫོང་རྫོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
	Yang Li	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Luolong County.	Luolong County ལྷོ་རྫོང་རྫོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
	Shen Xiaolin	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Bianba County	Bianba County བཤམ་འབར་རྫོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	<p>Sonam Choedon</p>	<p>Tibetan</p>	<p>Deputy County Magistrate of Zayu County</p>	<p>Zayu County རྩུལ་རྫོང་། Linzhi Prefecture, TAR</p>
	<p>Wang Cuili</p>	<p>Han</p>	<p>Deputy County Magistrate of Medog County</p>	<p>Medog County མིང་གླང་རྫོང་། Linzhi Prefecture, TAR</p>
	<p>Li Fengzhi</p>	<p>Han</p>	<p>Deputy Mayor of Mainling City</p>	<p>Mainling City ལྷན་སྐོར་ཕྱོད་རྩེ་རྫོང་། Linzhi Prefecture, TAR</p>
	<p>Tian Xueqin</p>	<p>Han</p>	<p>Deputy District Head of Bayi District</p>	<p>Bayi District བླ་མོ་ལྷོ་རྫོང་། Linzhi Prefecture, TAR</p>

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Ni Qiong	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of Yadong County	Yadong County ཡའདོང་རྫོང་། Xigaze Prefecture, TAR
Data Unavailable	Choedon	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of Kangmar County	Kangmar County ཁང་མམར་རྫོང་། Xigaze Prefecture, TAR
	Xue Jinyu	Han	Member of the Standing Committee and Deputy County Magistrate of the Tianzhu County.	Tianzhu County. དཔལ་རིམ་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་རྫོང་། Gansu Province
	Wang Zouxiu	Dongxiang	Member of the Standing Committee of Tainzhu County Party Committee and Minister of County UFWD	Tianzhu County. དཔལ་རིམ་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་རྫོང་། Gansu Province



IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
Data Unavailable	Tenzin Choedon	Tibetan	Member of the Standing Committee and Deputy Mayor of Renbu County Party Committee	Renbu County རིན་ལྷན་རྒྱུང་སྡེ་རྫོང་། Xigaze Prefecture, TAR
	Penpa Dolma	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of Lhazi County	Lhazi County ལྷམུ་རྫོང་། Xigaze Prefecture, TAR
	Guo Ningning	Han	Deputy Mayor of Tingri County	Tingri County དིང་རི་རྫོང་། Xigaze Prefecture, TAR
Data Unavailable	Woeser	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of Sakya County	Sakya County སུ་ལྷུ་རྫོང་། Xigaze Prefecture, TAR

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
Data Unavailable	Luo Mei	Han	Deputy Head of Pulan County	Pulan County ལུ་རྩེ་རྫོང་། Ali Prefecture, TAR
	Wu Xiaolan	Buyi	Deputy Mayor of Luòlóng County	Luòlóng County ལྷོ་ལྷོ་རྫོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR

References

- Cai, Junyi. 2023. “The Communist Party of China: Where Are the Women?” In *Chains*, edited by Linda Jaivin, Esther Sunkyung Klein, and Annie Luman Ren, 147–54. 1st ed. ANU Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/jj.11930986.16>
- Chen, M. 2018. “Inside the Flower Vase: A Report on Private Entrepreneurs’ Political Participation in a County-Level Political Consultative Conference.” In *Local Elites in Post-Mao China*, edited by Yingjie Guo, 39–52. Oxon: Routledge.
- Chen, M., Cai, J. 2019. “Women’s Access to Political Power: An Analysis of Wu Yi’s Life Trajectory.” In *Female Celebrities in Contemporary Chinese Society*, edited by Shenshen Cai, 159–84. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chen, M., Hao, J., and Baird, M. 2017. “China: The Reconfiguration of Women, Work and Care.” In *Women, Work, and Care in the Asia-Pacific*, edited by Marian Baird, Michele Ford, and Elizabeth Hill, 25–40. London: Routledge.



- Conway, M. Margaret. 2001. "Women and Political Participation." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34 (2): 231–33.
- Guo, Xiaojuan, and Litao Zhao. 2009. "Women's Political Participation in China." *East Asian Policy* 1 (3): 107–15.
- Hillman, Ben. 2024. "From Soft to Hard Authoritarianism: The Consolidation of One-Party Rule in China." In *Political and Social Control in China: The Consolidation of Single-Party Rule*, edited by Ben Hillman and Chien-Wen Kou, 1–20. 1st ed. ANU Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/jj.16487862.7>.
- International Campaign for Tibet. 2024. "Underrepresented: Tibetans Kept Out of Most Leadership Positions." Central Tibetan Administration, March 5.
- Jiang, Xinhui, and Chuanmin Chen. 2024. "Gender Differences in Policy Preferences of Legislators: Evidence from China's National Legislature." *Politics & Gender* 20 (1): 137–61. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X23000405>.
- Jiang, Xinhui, Eaton, Sarah, and Genia Kostka. 2022. "Women's Work: The Gendered Nature of Appointment Politics in Subnational China." SSRN. October 24. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4256526>.
- Jiang, Xinhui, Eaton, Sarah, and Genia Kostka. 2023. "Provinces in Command: Changes in Prefectural Appointments from Hu Jintao to Xi Jinping (2003–2020)." *Journal of Contemporary China* 32 (144): 963–83. doi:10.1080/10670564.2023.2202629.
- Magarey, Susan. 2014. "The Position of Women in China: 1978." In *Dangerous Ideas: Women's Liberation – Women's Studies – Around the World*, 235–44. University of Adelaide Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.20851/j.ctt1t305d7.22>.
- Milton, Nancy. 1971. "Women in China." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 16: 106–20. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40999917>.
- Rosen, Stanley. 1995. "Women and Political Participation in China." *Pacific Affairs* 68 (3): 315–41. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2761128>.



www.fnvaworld.org
Foundation for Non-violent Alternatives (FNVA)
143, 4th Floor, Uday Park, New Delhi, 49
office@fnvaworld.org