

# 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

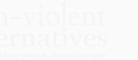
Namgyal, Rinzin. Women's Political Representation in Tibetan-Inhabited Regions: Insights from Provincial, Prefectural, and County Levels. Research Associate, Foundation of Non-Violent Alternatives, February 2025, 1–41.

D Rinzin Namgyal (Formal analysis, 0009-0009-8721-6405)

© 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







1



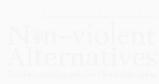


## **List of Abbreviations**

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



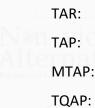




2







#### 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. *Rinzin Namgyal (Formal analysis, <u>0009-0009-8721-6405</u>)*  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 째 (Amdo Region of Tibet).

 <sup>[5]</sup>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.

<sup>[7]</sup> Tibetan Autonomous Region.

<sup>[8]</sup> 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.'

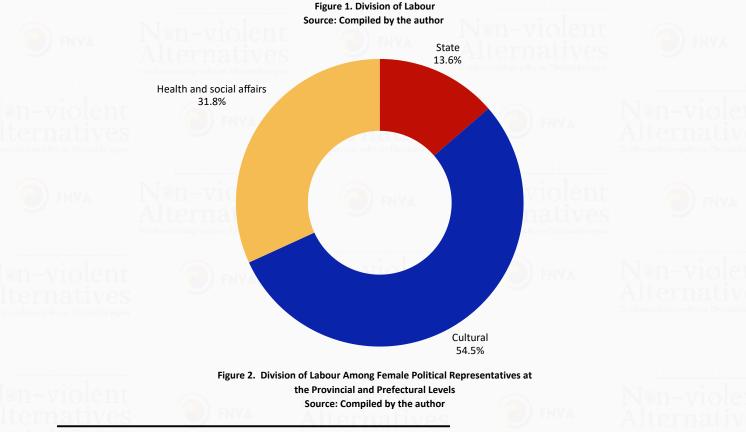
<sup>[9]</sup> However, the Deputy Party Secretary of the Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture Qiao Yaqun is ethnically Mongolian.

<sup>[10]</sup> 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



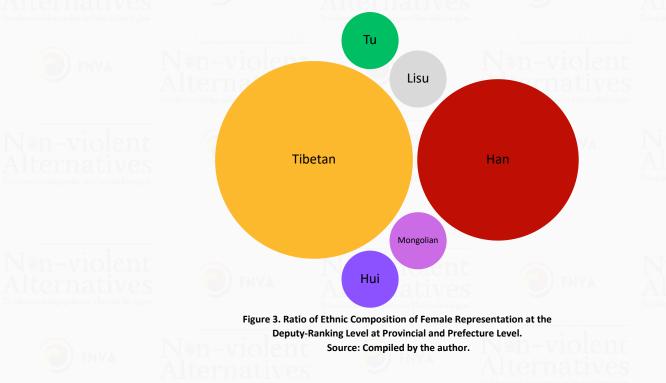
[13]https://interpret.csis.org/translations/fully-implement-the-overall-national-security-outlook/
[14]In China's local governance system, Deputy Mayor, Deputy Magistrate, and Deputy Governor are distinct titles, though they share similarities in function as deputy-level officials assisting the head 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).



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 Tibetaninhabited 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 Govenor 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.

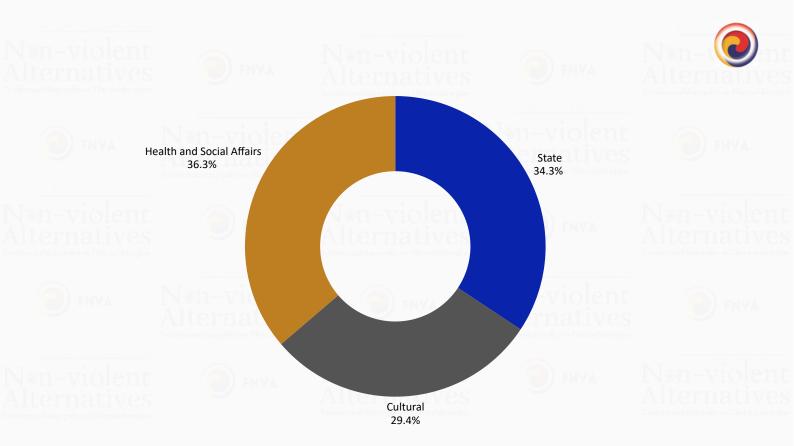


Figure 6. Division of Labour Among Female Political Representatives at the County, City and District Levels Source: Compiled by the author

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.

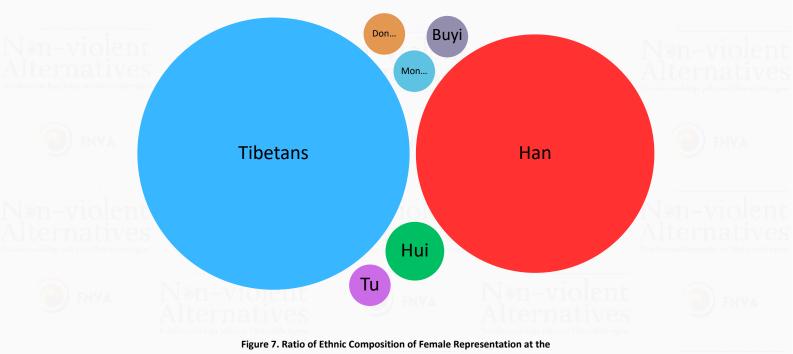
The sharp rise in female representation in cultural affairs at higher administrative levels indicates that these positions are regarded as lower-risk and peripheral to core political functions such as security, propaganda, and ideological governance, which remain firmly controlled by male cadres. This 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.

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.



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 Riwoqe 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	Non-violen Alternative Hui	Deputy Mayor of the Haidong Municipal People's Government	Haidong Prefecture ચર્કે બુર ગ્રેંક હિરા Qinghai Province
	Wang Guilian	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of the Haidong Municipal People's Government	Haidong Prefecture અર્ਛે:બુરુ:ગ્રॅंद:ಡ્ರિસ્ Qinghai Province
	Cheng Lu	Han	Deputy Governor of Ganzi Prefecture	Ganzi TAP ૬૫૧૨ ચદેશ વેંડ્ વૈવાશ ૨૬૦ સુંદ હુવા Sichuan Province
	Silang Yongji	Tibetan	Vice Governor of Ganzi Prefecture People's Government	Ganzi TAP, इगार आहेंश वेंद्र रेवाश रुर क्रुंत ख़ब्प Sichuan Province
	Yang Xing	Tibetan	Minister of the Propaganda Department	Aba TQAP ૬ વ વેંડ્ સ્વેષાઝ વંડ સ્વાયાસ્ટ સ્ટ્રેડ્સિયા Sichuan Province

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	CINATIVES		To inform and shape policy on Tibe	ad the region
	Youdon Tso	Tibetan	Deputy Governor of Ngawa Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	Aba TQAP, इ.च.वेंत् देवाशक वंद देवाश कर क्रुंदाखुव्या Sichuan Province
lent ives	) fiva	Non-viole Alternativ	IT O IN ES	a Nen Alte
	Wang Na	Han Non-viole Alternativ	Deputy Governor of Ngawa Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture	Aba TQAP, ૨ વર્ષેઽ મૈત્રાષ્ય ઢ વંદ મૈત્રાષ્ય મ્દર્ સ્નુંદ ાસુવ્ય Sichuan Province
Alt	r-violent ernatives		Non-vio Alternat	ent ves
	Sun Junxia	Han	Vice Governor of Hainan Prefecture People's Government	Hainan TAP, અર્ક્સે ક્રેવિંત્ 'રેગ્રાચ'રુડ' ર્શું <sup>દ</sup> ાલુવ્યા Qinghai Province
lent	- FNVA	Non-violei Alternativ		A Nen Alte
	Luo Mei	Tibetan	Vice Chairman and President of the Red Cross Society of the Tibet Autonomous Region	Tibetan Autonomous Region షేగ్రాన్ స్ట్రేగ్ స్టోగ్రాన్ని

MUCIIICUIVCD

13

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Qiao Yaqun	Mongolian	Deputy Secretary of the Haixi Prefecture Party Committee and Governor of Haixi Prefecture	Haixi MTAP અર્કે સુવ ર્ચવા રેવાયાઠા વેંત્ર રેવાયાત્ર્વર સ્ર્રુદાલવા Qinghai Province
lent (	PINVA A	lternativ	es en	Alter
	Hu Yingqi	Han Han Han Han Han	Vice Governor of Haixi Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Haixi MTAP અર્કે કુવ સ્વારેવા રેવા સ્વાસ્વ વેંદ્ર રેવા સ્વાસ્વર્ગ Qinghai Province
Alte	rnatives	ENVA	Non-vio Alternat Tointencontidene policy on Tile	Ves udde region
	Wang Haihong	Han	Vice Governor of Qinghai Province	Qinghai Province মর্ক্র র্ফুরা
Ender Constanting of the second se	E CONTRACTOR S Republic on Tiberand the region		AILEFINAL Toristions and dispeptidey on Tite	IVES
lent ( ives	$\bigcirc$ finva $\bigcap_{A}$	lternativ	lt 🕘 fny 2S	
	Tsering Yangdon	Tibetan	Vice Mayor of the Shannan (Lhoka) Prefecture Municipal Government	Shannan Prefecture ঝুঁলেশ্ব্র্নিষ্ট্রেম্, TAR
	• • • • •			

oinform and shape policy on Tibet and the region

Non-violent Alternatives

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Yu Guifen	Lisu	Deputy Governor and Member of Communist Party of China of DTAP	Diqing TAP, ચરે કેલ ચેંર સેવાય સ્ટ સ્ટ્રોન્ટ્રાસુવ્યા Yunnan Province
	Dawa Dolma	Tibetan	Member of the Standing Committee of the Lhasa Chengguan District Committee	Lhasa স্থ্যখ্যশ্লিৰ স্তৃষ্ণ 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 স্থ্যমাই্ট্রিস্টার্ন স্ত্রমা TAR
	Ha Wenxiu	Tu n-violet Tu n-violet ternative	Deputy Governor of Haibei Prefecture	Haibei TAP ચર્કે વુદ્ર વેંદ્ર રેવાચ રુદ્ર ગ્નુદ વુવ્ય રુદ્ર ગ્નુદ Qinghai Province

AILENDUUVES

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
Data Unavailable	Tsekyi	Tibetan	Member of the Standing Committee of the Huangnan Prefecture Committee of Qinghai Province and	Huangnan TAP स्र <sup>भ</sup> ्चे <sup>भू</sup> र्येन् <sub>भै</sub> त्मुश्चर्यः र्क्रु <sup>द्र</sup> ादुव्या Qinghai Province
	) finva 1 2	Internation and approved as the second secon	Minister of the Propaganda Department	A Non- Alter
	Lhumtso	Tibetan	Deputy Secretary of the Yushu Prefecture Party Committee and Governor of Yushu Prefecture	Yushu TAP, યુવ્યવુવ્યર્વેત્ તૈવાષ ત્રત્કર્ભ્નુત્ર હુવ્ય Qinghai Province
olent tives Bradda gen		Jon-viole Iternativ	Member of the Standing Committee of	Linzhi
Data Unavailable	Yuzhen	Tibetan	the Linzhi Party Committee and Deputy Mayor Linzhi Prefecture	Prefecture ঈন্ট্রের্ছার্নট্রেন্। TAR
Data Unavailable	Nima Puchi	Tibetan	Member of the Party Leadership Group and deputy mayor of Shigatse.	Xigaze Prefecture শ্বৰিশ্যশস্টিৰ্ম্মনান্ত্ৰীমা TAR

vinformand share region of the transformand share region

# IMAGE NAME ETHNICITY DESIGNATION REGION Deputy mayor Nagqu

Han

Wu

Dongmei

Data

Unavailable

of Nagqu

Municipal

Government.

People's

Prefecture

ৰৃশ;স্তু:শ্<u>ৰ্</u>মিনান্ত্ৰীমা

TAR

17



## 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, শ্বুক্ট্রিণ Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Tsering Dolma	Tibetan	Member of Standing Committee and Head of the Propaganda Department of Maqu County	Maqu County রাক্ট্ <sup>ই্র</sup> া Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Tso Bai	Tibetan	Mayor of the Hezuo City municipal government	Hezuo City শউঁশ র্শ্নিম্ট্রিম্ Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Zhao Ying	Han Han	Deputy Mayor of the Hezuo City Municipal People's Government	Hezuo City গর্উমার্লুমার্ট্রমা Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Yan Haiyan	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Lintan County	Lintan County वोदाधद्राईंदा। Gannan TAP, Gansu Province

MUCI II a UIV CS

VA Non-Violent

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
No Female Representation		<u>120 solety 100</u> Non-viole Alternativ	No Female Representation	Jone County ङेबेह्रेन्। Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Xie Jing	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Zhouqu County	Zhouqu County ৎরুশাক্তইনি Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Zhang Yunxia	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Tewo County	Tewo County बेलॉईट) Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Zhang Zhiyong	Han NA	Standing Committee of the Xiahe County Party Committee and Head Propaganda Department of Xiahe County	Xiahe County चब्रुइहेंदा Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
	Hu Jingke	Han	Standing Committee of the Xiahe County Party Committee	Xiahe County বৰ্ষদক্ট্ৰিনা Gannan TAP, Gansu Province

Sinform and shape policy on Tibet and the region

<b>e</b> 1	IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
n-Vio ternat		Shi Bin	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of People's Governmnet of Xiahe County	Xiahe County বৰ্ষনক্রিইনা Gannan TAP, Gansu Province
n-v <del>io</del> ternat	lent 🕘	) fnva – <u>P</u>	l <del>en-viole</del> Iternativ	it O HWY CS	Alte
nadshqepole on Ti <u>1. S. S. S.</u> 2n – ViC ternal nadshqepole on Ti		Li Linqiong	Han Han Han Han	Deputy Head of Gonghe County People's Government	Gonghe County অশ্বিক ইনা Hainan TAP, Qinghai Province
		violent		N@n-viol Alternati	ent C
n-Vic ternat		Oygen Dolma	Tibetan	Deputy Head of Xinghai County People's Government	Xinghai County হৃষ্য্বশ্যম্ ইন্য Hainan TAP, Qinghai Province
n-vio terna		) fnva – P A	In-viole: Iternativ	1t 🕢 FNV. 2S	Tongde
en-vic terna		Li Jinqing	Han John – viole	Deputy County Governor of Tongde County People's Government	County এমআইন্। Hainan TAP, Qinghai Province

AILEF MALIVES

Ť Т

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 विगाहेंद्रा 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 द्वेग्प्हेंर-1 Hainan TAP, Qinghai Province
	Yang Gaiji	Data unavailable	Deputy Head of Guinan County People's Government	Guinan County ब्रद्रःर्द्रो Hainan TAP, Qinghai Province
	Ding Ying	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government	Hezhu TAC, इउ:गुउ:इउ:देग्रूभ रू:क्रुँ:हॅट:1 Haidong Prefecture, Qinghai Province

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Ma Xiaoyu	Nen-viole Alternati Hui	County Magistrate of Minhe County	Minhe HTAC क्वेंन् र्न् फुदे रेपाश र्न् र रेपाश रूर क्लुन हेंदर Haidong Prefecture, Qinghai Province
	Sangay Kyi	Tibetan	Standing committee member of Mao Party Comittee and Minister of Propaganda Department of	Mao County <sup>ৱাৰ্ব</sup> স্থৰা Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province
	violent	FIVA	Mao County	lent ives
	Da Yulin	Nen-viole Altenati	Deputy County Magistrate of Dulan County Government	Dulan County দৃহ্যত্মৰ্ ই্র Haixi MTAP, Qinghai Province
olent	FNVA	Non-viole Alternation	ent es	va Non- Alter
	Tentso	Tibetan	Standing Committee member of Zamtang County Party Committee	Zamtang County འ੬མ་གང་རྫོང་། Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province
	-violent			lent

MILLET THALLIVES

Geng Renqi	Tibetan	Standing committee member of Zorge Party Comittee and Minister of Propaganda Department of Zorge County	Zorge County बाईन:नवीईन:1 Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province
Γ			
Liu Xueting	Huisva Huisva	Standing committee member of Jiǔzhàigōu Party Comittee and Minister of Propaganda Department of Jiǔzhàigōu County	Jiŭzhàigōu County আইস্ট শুন্ল্য ইন্য Aba TQAP Sichuan Province
violent		Nen-vic	lent
Mo Zhengping	Tibetan	Standing committee member of Barkham Municipal Party Comittee and Minister of Propaganda Department of Barkham City	Barkham City वय्य रायस्र व्याद ख्रिम Aba TQAP Sichuan Province
		l Tihetan I	Mo Zhengping Tibetan Tibetan Tibetan Tibetan Tibetan Tibetan Comittee Add Minister of Propaganda Department of

Foundation and shape policy on Tiber and the region of

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Tsewang Tso	Tibetan	Deputy Secretary of the Hongyuan County Party Committee	Hongyuan County জু <sup>ম্</sup> মক্ট্রিণ Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province
	Wei Na	Han	Standing Committee member of Heishui County Party Committee and Head of the Organization Department of Heishui County	Heishui County জিক্ট <sup>িন</sup> া Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province
N@n- Alteri	violent natives		N <b>●n</b> –viole Alternativ	nt es
	Li Xueyan	n - violeni Tibetan	Standing Committee member of Wenchuan County Party Committee and Deputy Head of Wenchuan People's Government	Wenchuan County জ্রির্জন্ট্রিনা Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province

AITEMATIVES To informand shape policy on Tibet and the region

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 হুশ্:ব্বিশ:স্ত্রীমা 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 로드호奎드기 Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province
v₄ N⊚n– Alter	violent		Non-viole	nt 🧧
	Zhou Chaoqun	Han Han	Deputy Secretary of the Xiaojin County Party Committee	Xiaojin County न्दर्भ भ्रुष्ट्रेह्ना Aba TQAP, Sichuan Province
	violent		N@n-viole	

oinform and shapepolicy on Tiber and the region

0

Г

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Dolma Yangchen	Tibetan	Deputy County Governor of the People's Government of Daocheng County	Daocheng County व्यत्रयाष्ट्री Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
iolent (	D FNVA	Ion viole		Nøn-
	Lhamo	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Ganzi County.	Ganzi County नृणमः अदेशः ईदः । Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
ENVA Non	-violent		Non-viole	nt 🔵
	Li Hui	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Baiyu County.	Baiyu County न्द्रव्यापुव्याहेंदा Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
iolent (	D FNVA	Jon-viole	lt 🕘 mvz	Non-v
	Liu Ping	Han Han	Deputy County Governor of the People's Government of Luding County	Luding County ঝুগ্যস্থাইনা Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province

informand shape policy on Tibet and the region

Altern<u>atives</u>

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Tsering Tso	Tibetan	Standing Committee member of Derong County Party Committee and Executive Deputy county magistrate	Derong County 활託室( Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Wang Yingrong	Han Ole 1	Deputy county magistrate of the People's Government of Luhuo County	Luhuo County রশাৎশীই্রা Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Wangmo	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Derge County People's Government	Derge County श्वेंदर्गोईंदर Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	Kunga Tsomo	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Xinlong County	Xinlong County कृषार्केट हेंदा Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province

ninform and shape policy on Tibet and the region

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
Alte	matives	ENVA	Alternat	ives
	Zhang Li	Tibetan	Standing Committee member of Batang County Party Committee and Deputy Mayor of Batang County	Batang County व्यव्य घर्न हेंदग् Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
	D FNVA	N@n-viole Alternativ		a Non Alte
	Lhakyi	Tibetan	Deputy County Governor of Serxu County People's Government	Serxu County એર.લુવ્યૉફ્ટ) Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
A Non	-violent	ENVA		ient
	Zhong Se	Tibetan	Deputy Secretary of the County Party Committee and County Magistrate of Yajiang County	Yajiang County ঙশাক্তই্ট্রা Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
lent (	) FNVA	Alternativ	nt 🕘 ek Tes	∧ N∍n Alte
	Yangzom	Tibetan	Deputy County Governor of Yajiang County People's Government,	Yajiang County গৃশান্তই্টিনা Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Fointion and shape policy on Tibet and the region

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Ge Ming	Han	Deputy County Magistrate Jianzha County	Jianzha County मण्डल कॉईंदा Huangnan TAP, Qinghai Province
ent (	) FNVA	len-viole Iternativ	nt 🕡 fni ps	Alter
	He Cuihong	Han	Deputy County Magistrate Jianzha County	Jianzha County मण्डव:कॉईंटा) Huangnan TAP, Qinghai Province
	Tsetan Dolma	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of Tongren Municipal People's Government	Tongren City इन्द्रेव च्रॅन्ख्रिन Huangnan TAP, Qinghai Province
	Jing Li	Tu Tu Iternativ	Deputy County Magistrate Zeku County	Zeku County हेंस्पिंग् हेंद्ा Huangnan TAP, Qinghai Province
	NEX LEVEL 1		Non vio	

Conformand shape policy on Tibet and the region

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Tashi	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Derong County People's Government	Derong County 文文室室기 Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
tives	() FNVA	Alternativ		Alter
	Yang Xia	Tibetan	Deputy County Mayor of Jiulong County People's Government	Jiulong County བརྒྱུད་ཐིལ་རྫོང་། Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
Contention of the second	Zou Xuehong	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate and director of the Public Security Bureau of Xiangcheng County	Xiangcheng County ধ্রত্বাইর্ন্ট্রন্ট্রন্ট্রন্ট্র Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province
olent ( tives	PINVA	A <del>on-viole</del> Alternativ	IU O FNV ES	A Non Alter
	Tsokyi	Tibetan	Deputy County Governor of the People's Government of Nangqian County	Nangqian County कुरुक्रेक्ट्रेंड्रिंग Yushu TAP, Qinghai Province

inform and shape policy on Tibet and the region

0

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
olent tives	POLICY OF EXPECTATE LINE SPECT	n-violen Iternative		Maqen County इंग्डें4हॅ£ी
No Female Representation	violent natives	En ren and stage policy on Tibertaraldre og	No Female Representation	Golog TAP, Qinghai Province
lent (	PINVA A	ternative	C PNVA	Non- Alter To informand shap
	Xia Hongmei	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Banma County	Banma County यद्याईरआ Golog TAP, Qinghai Province
	violent nativos	ENVA	Non-viole Alternatio	
	Kelsang	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of the People's Government of Dari County	Dari County নৃমঞ্জাইদা Golog TAP, Qinghai Province
olent		n-violen	C 📄 FNVA	Non-
	Gu Xiyan		Standing Committee member and Minister of Propaganda Department of Dari County	Dari County নমঞ্জাইনা Golog TAP, Qinghai Province

foinformand shape policy on Tibet and the region

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Yangtso	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of Yushu Municipal People's Government	Yushu City લુવ્યસુવ્યર્થેદ્ર હિંગ Yushu TAP, Qinghai Province
olent (	) FNVA	Non-viole		A Non- Alter
	Cai Yongxia	Han	Deputy Mayor Mangnai city Municipal Government	Mangnai City स्राद्ये में राष्ट्रिम् Haixi MTAP, Qinghai Province
	Ma Jing	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Nagarze County People's Government	Nagarze County স্থ্র'নশ্বই ইনা Shannan Prefecture, TAR
	Chen Min	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Gonggar County People's Government	Gonggar County র্থান:দ্রশান:স্রান Shannan Prefecture, TAR
	N. I.V. LOS IMB		2010/05/05/10	

MILEI II. CUVES

ΝΔΜΕ		FTHNICITY	DESIGNATION
	Toinfo	m and shape policy on Tiberand the reg	an an
FNVA	Al	ternative	c ( ) FNVA

		A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A	Alternativ	ies 🕗
	Pema Yangchen	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Lhunze County	Lhunze County ञ्चुबडे हेन्। Shannan Prefecture, TAR
ent 🤅		n-violen		Non- Alteri
	Tsering Lhamo	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Lhozha County	Lhozha County ঔ্রিণাইন্য Shannan Prefecture, TAR
	violent natives	ENVA	Alternati	ritt 7es 📀
	Xiang Xiaohua	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Qusum County	Qusum County কু:শাঙ্খরু:ইঁর্না Shannan Prefecture, TAR
ent 🥥		n-violen		Non-
	Pema Yangchen	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Sangri County	Sangri County बद्रुवारे हेंद्रा Shannan Prefecture, TAR
		YangchenImage: Series of the series of	YangchenTibetanImage: Second	Perma YangchenTibetanMagistrate of Lhunze CountyImage: State of Change CountyTibetanDeputy County Magistrate of Lhozha CountyImage: State CountyTibetanDeputy County Magistrate of Lhozha CountyImage: State CountyTibetanDeputy County Magistrate of Lhozha CountyImage: State CountyXiang XianduaHanDeputy County Magistrate of QuantyImage: State CountyState CountyHanDeputy County Magistrate of QuantyImage: State CountyPerma YangchanTibetanDeputy County Magistrate of Quanty

Altern<u>atives</u>

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Daqu	Data Unavailable	Deputy Director of the People's Government of Naidong District	Naidong District শ্ব্রুশার্নি-ক্রেমা Shannan Prefecture, TAR
nt Zes	) finva	<del>Mən viole</del> Alternativ	nt 🕤 🕅	Alter
	Dolma	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Jiangda County	Jiangda County འརོམདའ་རོང་། Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
N@n Alte	violent		Non-viol	ent 🔒
Leader and a	Norbu Dolma	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Gongjue County	Gongjue County শ্বিইইিনা Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
e <del>nt</del> ves	PNVA	Ven-viole	nt <del>on</del> n Rs	Non- Alter
	Gayong	Tibetan	Deputy Secretary of the CPC Riwoqe County Committee and County Mayor	Riwoqe County ইর্নটার্ছিন্য Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
•			Nan-vio	

oinform and shape policy on Tibet and the region

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 রব্যব্যপ্রব্দুর্হা Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
	Tsering Tsomo	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Dingqing County People's Government	Dingqing County শ্বিনকি ইন্য Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
	Dege Wangmo	Tibetan	Deputy Secretary of the CPC Basu County Committee and County Mayor of Basu County	Basu County নম্বংর্প্রাইন্য Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
ives	A A	ternative	S	Alter
	Bujiang Dongmei	Han 911 – Han 1611 – Han	Deputy Magistrate of Zuogong County	Zuogong County অইস্কিন্ট্রন্ Chamdo Prefecture, TAR

ninform and shape policy on Tibet and the region

0

ltern <u>atives</u>	( ) ENVA	Alternatives	S (C) FNYA	Alte
IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Ngawang Choedon	Tibetan	Data unavailable	Markham County শ্লুম্বেয়্য্যশূর্দ্রা Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
n-violent	() ENVA	Non-violen		Non
	Linkang		Member of the Standing Committee of Luolong County and Deputy County Magistrate.	Luolong County 햧주도할도미 Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
	Yang Li	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Luolong County.	Luolong County 꽃국수奎수비 Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
n-v <u>iolent</u>	ENVA	Non-violen		N∍n Alte
	Shen Xiaolin	Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Bianba County	Bianba County न्यव्यव्यव्यद्र्द्रा Chamdo Prefecture, TAR

MUCI II a UI V CD

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Sonam Choedon	Tibetan	Deputy County Magistrate of Zayu County	Zayu County द्राणुव्याद्वेदा Linzhi Prefecture, TAR
ives (	ENVA A	en-violei ternative	IT (2) ENVA IS	Alte
	Wang Cuili	Han Han	Deputy County Magistrate of Medog County	Medog County ঝ৾র্ট্রশ্র্ইিশ Linzhi Prefecture, TAR
A Non Alte	-violent inatives	FNVA		nt /es
	D FNVA A	en-violer Iternativo	IT IS IS	Mainling City
	Li Fengzhi	Han	Deputy Mayor of Mainling City	শ্লুৰ স্থ্ৰীন শ্ৰীন জ্ৰিনা Linzhi Prefecture, TAR
lent		n-violer		Nen
Per	Tian Xueqin	Han Han Iternativ	Deputy District Head of Bayi District	Bayi District হ্রশা <sup>ত্মিন্দ</sup> ক্তমা Linzhi Prefecture, TAR
			N Iour - 1	

The second state of the se

0

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
	Ni Qiong	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of Yadong County	Yadong County ন্যার্হাইনা Xigaze Prefecture, TAR
ionent atives	FNVA I	Iternative	lt es es	A Non-V Altern
Data Unavailable	Choedon	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of Kangmar County	Kangmar County মেন দ্বরুম ট্রিন্। Xigaze Prefecture, TAR
Altei	natives	ENVA	Alternat	ves 🥥
	Xue Jinyu	Han	Member of the Standing Committee and Deputy County Magistrate of the Tianzhu County.	Tianzhu County. నారాహాస్తోగా క్రా gansu Province
iolent	) enva I	lon-viole	1t 🕘 FN	A Non-V
	Wang Zouxiu	Dongxiang	Member of the Standing Committe of Tainzhu County Party Committee and Minister of County UFWD	Tianzhu County. నారాష్ సార్ కార్ స్రోగా క్రాం Gansu Province

MIUCI II CUIV CO informand shape policy on Tibet and the regio 

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 स्वज्जुरुषाहरू। Xigaze Prefecture, TAR
lent	-	Jon-viole	nt 🕘 env	Nen
	Penpa Dolma	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of Lhazi County	Lhazi County 몇 डे हें हें ी Xigaze Prefecture, TAR
	Guo Ningning	Han	Deputy Mayor of Tingri County	Tingri County नेदःर्श्वेह्रा Xigaze Prefecture, TAR
olent ( tives		l Iternativ	1t (@) fnv/ 2S	Alter
Data	Woeser	Tibetan	Deputy Mayor of Sakya County	Sakya County रु'्ञु¥ॅ्र-1 Xigaze
Unavailable	) FNVA	Alternativ		Prefecture, TAR

IMAGE	NAME	ETHNICITY	DESIGNATION	REGION
Data Unavailable	Luo Mei	Han	Deputy Head of Pulan County	Pulan County 휡축도董도] Ali Prefecture, TAR
olent	FNVA I	J⊚n-violer lternativo	Lt 🕘 FNV PS	N <b>∍n-</b> Alteri
	Wu Xiaolan	Buyi	Deputy Mayor of Luòlóng County	Luòlóng County ଡੁੱੱጂ 돌기 Chamdo Prefecture, TAR
Nan	violent		Nan-viol	ent 🔿

## 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. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/jj.16487862.7</u>.
- 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. <u>https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X23000405</u>.
- Jiang, Xinhui, Eaton, Sarah, and Genia Kostka. 2022. "Women's Work: The Gendered Nature of Appointment Politics in Subnational China." SSRN. October 24. <u>http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4256526</u>.
- 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. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.20851/j.ctt1t305d7.22">http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.20851/j.ctt1t305d7.22</a>.
- 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