

Keynote and paper abstracts

Keynote

Grunfeld, Tom A.

[New York State University, USA]

Cultural security among China's ethnic minorities: The case of Tibet

All ruling elites aspire to social stability and to have their minority populations (be they ethnic, religious, cultural, linguistic, etc.) feel they are equal stakeholders in the nation state. While this is universal in any heterogeneous country it is especially true in China where the ruling elites, thanks largely to history, fear disorder and the breakup of the country to a exceeding degree.

Tibet was incorporated into the People's Republic of China in 1950 and for the past 65 years the central government has struggled with how to best achieve the goals of stability and inclusion.

Outside of China, Tibetan exiles and their supporters advocate independence for Tibet at best, and "meaningful autonomy" at the least. And, no doubt, if a poll of Tibetans inside China were possible we might find considerable support for either of these options. However, I would argue that while these may be the unattainable goals one can aspire to, Tibetans have more mundane issues of importance pertaining to their daily lives. There are concerns over employment, schooling, medical care, housing, etc; all much more immediate than any lofty aim of independence.

And there is something else, I believe, a more urgent, concrete issue; the decline and fear of total loss of their cultural norms – language, religion, customs.

In the 1980s, the Chinese Communist Party under Hu Yaobang and the central government under Premier Zhao Ziyang understood that to make Tibetans (and all ethnic minorities for that matter) feel as though they are stakeholders in the PRC, they would have to be assured that their cultures will remain intact. This policy was ended by the late 1980s.

Since the early 1990s the central government's policy has been to win the loyalty of Tibetans by substantially improving their living standards. To that end tens of billions of yuan have been poured into the region which has been physically transformed. Yet, the loyalty of the Tibetans, and stability, is still in doubt. Indeed, tension between Tibetans and ethnic Chinese (Han), if anything, is increasing.

This policy of trying to win the loyalty of the Tibetans through material means has clearly failed resulting in an increase of discrimination and repression, particularly since 2008.

I propose to look at the importance of cultural security to any minority and how reassurances on this front can lead to stability and loyalty to the state. The focus will be China and the Tibetans with some additional examples from around the world.

Paper abstracts

(in alphabetical order of presenters)

CHEN, Ping (Jigmy Chan)

[Yunnan International Cultural Exchange Center, Kunming, China]

Shallow debate on the protection and dissemination of Tibetan folk dance

Tibetan folk dance is one of the traditional Tibetan singing and dancing, and is also an important and unique Tibetan culture. It has a long history with strong ethnic characteristics. In recent years, Tibetan folk dance gradually spread from Tibet to the vast hinterland, obtained the universal love of people of all ethnic groups and active participation. Tibetan folk dance has become a significant carrier of cultural fusion. How to do a good job on Tibetan folk dance protection and dissemination is not only vital for the security of Tibetan culture and its characteristics, but also great contribution to promote the exchange and the fusion between Tibetans and other ethnics in China. It is worth to explore and think carefully.

Croteau, Jean-Philippe

[School of Languages and Culture, Sichuan University]

The rights of linguistic minorities and remedial role of the Federal Government of Canada (1867-1927): The failure of cultural security policy?

In the mid 1860s, future fathers of Canadian Confederation attempted to negotiate a compromise to establish a new political regime. The status of minorities is at the very heart of the discussions. On the one hand, the French-Catholic minority claimed his provincial government where the majority of the Francophone population lived which would have jurisdiction in cultural, educational and social matters. On the other hand, the Anglo-Protestant minorities in Quebec and French Catholics elsewhere in the British colonies were concerned about their status that would be reserved by the majority.

With the adoption of the British North America Act in July 1867, a compromise was reached. Education was recognized as provincial jurisdiction, but a remedial power was granted to the federal government to abolish any educational law that would not respect the rights of minorities. However, in the fifty years following the adoption of this compromise, most provinces, except Quebec, limited access to linguistic education to its linguistic minority. This communication will try to show that this policy of "cultural security" has had little success because of the tension between the rights of linguistic minorities and provincial autonomy. Between 1867 and 1927, the federal government has chosen most of the time to respect this autonomy rather protecting the rights of linguistic minorities.

Das Kundu, Nivedita

[United Service Institution of India, New Delhi]

Hindu religion and its impact on the Indian society.

The paper on "Hindu religion and its impact on the Indian Society", will try to provide the basic idea about the most practiced religion in India i.e. *Hinduism* and its impact on Indian society. The paper will try to provide the basic understanding about religious practices in today's India and highlight the discourse on the topic of *Hinduism*, trying to analyse the

aspects and details which will provide clarity on the significance of religion in the contemporary Indian society and its impact on protecting the cultural aspects .

Hindu religion is one of the most important institutions of the Indian society. *Hindu* religion is practiced by many in India. It is one of the most common faith of worship in India. There are various other religions that are practiced in India like *Buddhism*, *Jainism*, *Christianity*, *Islam* and *Sikh*. Indian Society is largely depended on the institution of religion and religion impacts on Indian society and helps in maintaining its ancient culture. In contemporary Indian society religion plays a greater role.

Hindu religion is one of the oldest religion of the world. Archival data shows that the existence of *Hindu* religion was found since the Indus Valley civilization. It is believed that in *Hindu* religion there are around 33 crore god and goddesses. Hinduism beliefs in worshipping idols. Temples are built where Idols are kept. The idols has different names like *Durga*, *Kali*, *Shiva*, *Ganesha*, *Lakshmi*, *Saraswati*, *Vinshnu* etc. The great epics of Hinduism are *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Bhagavad Gita* etc. In *Hindu* religion certain rituals are practiced, certain customs and traditions are followed as per the cultural norms during the birth, death and also during marriages.

There are caste systems that exists in Hindu religion. There are four main casts in *Hindu* religion these are [*Brahmins*](#), [*Kshatriyas*](#), [*Vaishyas*](#) and [*Shudras*](#). Many scholars believes that British Colonial regime made the caste system popular and as per the caste, people were allocated the jobs. Like *Brahmins* were given the job of priest. In the society, they were given the role to correspond with the philosophers, religious leaders and teachers. They were also considered as a intellectual and spiritual leaders. *Kshatriyas*, were meant to look after the administration and they were also warriors. They are known as the protectors of the society. *Vaisyas* were mainly the merchants of the society. They had the skill as a producer. They were also good craftsmen, artisans and farmers. The fourth categories were the *Shudras*, they are the unskilled labourers or labouring class of the society.

Within the practice of *Hindu* religion the devotees follow certain rituals, customs and traditions. *Hindu* religion is a system of beliefs and practices related to sacred things. In India, people identifies closely with particular religious group as per the religious practices. In India, religion acts as an effective tool for the social control as well as for maintaining its cultural heritage. The broad aims and objective of this paper will be to provide various aspects of Hindu religion and its impact on the modern society giving India's perspective.

Exnerova, Vera

[Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Social Sciences, Praha]

Cultural security:

The Soviet case negotiating the Muslim identity in Soviet Central Asia

The Soviet multinational state tried to eradicate the Muslim culture and identity in Central Asia both by repressive and ideological means and replace it by the unified culture of a "Soviet citizen". The paper will analyse this case with the aim to bring a comparative perspective to the debates on cultural security in China and the world. The analysis will bring attention to the question of legal protection of cultural security as a means to avoid conflict and achieve security in regions of political conflict. Specifically, it will show that the Soviet Union had a legal protection for Muslims (stipulating religious and other freedoms) yet its system of administrative burdens and ideological pressure created an overall ideologized environment where maintaining cultural security was difficult at best. The paper will then bring attention to a fact that for understanding the cultural security in China and in general it is necessary to study the strategies and new forms that the diverse local actors invent to maintain their cultural security in such contexts. This will be illustrated on example of

strategies that different actors in the Ferghana Valley adopted during the latter decades of the Soviet regime to protect their cultural security. The paper will thus contribute to the debates on cultural security in China and the world, and to theoretical advances in the field of the concept of cultural security. The paper will be based on the archival and ethnographic research carried out in Central Asia between 2007 and 2011.

Gruschke, Andreas [Convenor]

[Institute of Social Development & Western China Development Studies, Sichuan University]

Cultural security / cultural inclusion: Introductory notes.

In China, until now, development measures mostly do not take cultural identity into consideration. Many cadre may even regard ethnic distinction as an obstacle for steady economic and social development. At its best, cultural features – and mostly the visible and therefore somehow more superficial features – are seen as a basis for the development of local tourism, thus initiating the development of economic activities in further related economic sectors, like handicrafts, hotel and transport businesses, among others. Little attention is given to the protection of what is considered as a “basic commodity” for development of ethnic cultural regions.

This paper argues that cultural features are more than a commodity, and are certainly not “obstacles” to be overcome before development can take off. Cultural identity is the ground for any kind of development, and therefore needs protection and support. Like agriculture without land is not manageable, people will take their decisions with regard to both economic necessities or opportunities and their cultural onset.

This paper therefore aims at unfolding different perspectives on how cultural security is both a necessity and an opportunity of unfolding a more sustainable way of local economic and social development with important consequences for social and political stability and thus the country’s harmonious society.

HUANG Jinhui 黄金辉

[School of Politics, Sichuan University, China]

Cultural resource demands and cultivation in inclusive development of China

Although great achievements in economic and social development since China’s reform and opening up, the issue of social exclusion has been looming, which is mainly shown as the difficulty for certain social groups in sharing fair development opportunities, as well as the dividends of reform and development. Increasing social exclusion leads to more rigid structure of social interests, greater divide between rich and poor, hindrance to further reform, more frequent emergence of social contradictions and conflicts, and finally higher costs and risks for healthy social operation. To change such status quo, the Chinese Government has worked out an inclusive vision of development. The essence of inclusive development lies in the equal opportunity for development, participation in the development process, and equal sharing and distribution of development achievements. A solid basis for cultural resource conservation is indispensable to reduce social exclusion and promote inclusive economic and social development. In reference to the development experiences of many countries, promotion of inclusive development needs a number of elements, such as justice-oriented conceptualization of development, a political culture that nurtures democratic participation and consultation on an equal footing, and a social spirit to respect differences and tolerate pluralism. These are the necessary cultural resources for China to achieve inclusive

development. China's traditional cultural resources, with "peace and harmony" at its core, as well as the ruling party's emphasis on the doctrine of scientific development, has provided strong support for inclusive development in terms of cultural concept. However, inclusive development in China is yet to overcome the challenge due to insufficient cultural resources, with highlights in the late-maturing political culture, especially in the aspects of democratic participation and consultation on an equal footing. Therefore, in promotion of inclusive social and economic development of China, great importance must be attached to cultivation and accumulation of cultural resources, with particular attention to the cultivation of democratic political culture.

HUANG Yunsong 黄云松

[Institute of Social Development & Western China Development Studies, Sichuan University]

Defending ground for survival:

Discourse to endangerment of traditional spoken Chinese.

In China, there are seven groups of traditional spoken Chinese according to the official classification by linguists, and numerous dialects of within each and every group. Distinction between these groups, in many cases, poses as the major obstacle of communication amongst people from different parts of China. In order to facilitate communication between mutually unintelligible groups of Chinese, as well as Chinese minorities, the central government, back in 1955, defined Putonghua/Standard Chinese as the common spoken language/national lingua franca of all ethnic groups in modern China.

Due to widely expanded usage of Standard Chinese in the educational system, the civil service and the media, the traditional spoken Chinese, as well as dialects, are becoming of less use not only on official occasions, but also in every corner of public life, and even within households, where many parents intentionally push their children to relinquish the local dialects. This phenomenon is especially prevalent since the early 1990s in developed coastal areas of east and south China, such as Shanghai and Guangdong, and thereafter becomes more and more common in the hinterland, which has led to general concerns that traditional spoken Chinese/dialects is losing ground to Standard Chinese. The potential price for marginalization of traditional spoken Chinese/dialects can become very heavy, since they are intangible cultural heritage themselves and the carrier of diversified cultural traditions in forms of arts and literature, etc. It is similarly true when it comes to minority languages, and an even worse thing about it is that minority language issue is highly sensitive in political sense in certain cases, for instance, the Tibetan language, though which is not covered during this particular discussion.

Undoubtedly, the awkward situation for traditional spoken Chinese/minority languages has been recognized, while increase of Standard Chinese use has played positive role in facilitating people to avail themselves for more educational and career opportunities. Currently, discourse to the perceived endangerment of traditional Chinese varies at governmental, public and academic levels. Although push for Standard Chinese never ceases at the governmental level, an inactive and acquiescent approach is assumed to allow meaningful room for sustaining traditional Chinese, such as permitting traditional Chinese use in state owned mass media; some specific measures (i.e. bilingual teaching) is actively encouraged, or even made compulsory in schooling system of ethnically populated area for preserving minority languages, let alone fully dedicated minority language radio and TV stations, though which has been deemed as being far from enough. At public level, people's self-conscience for traditional Chinese preservation is rising, obviously the developed and ethnic areas of China taking the lead again. At academic level, extensive research has been seen for the purpose of reviving teaching in traditional Chinese from kindergarten to

university, as well as theoretical research in terms of its origin and development. The presentation will elaborate the relevant facts, practices, policies and mechanisms, in hope to achieve collective efforts in this regard, which is necessary and needs more attention from both the government and the civil society.

Hu-von Hinüber, Haiyan 胡海燕-封兴伯 [Convenor]

[Confucius Institute at the University of Freiburg]

Research and Preservation of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts found in Tibet

Buddhism and Buddhist scriptures are a major part of the Tibetan cultural heritage. Traditionally, Buddhist sacred texts were preserved in the libraries of individual monasteries. The title and number of copies of texts were mostly documented either in the catalogue of monastic libraries or mentioned in the local chronicles, which are called chos-vbyung, "History of the Buddhist teaching" (Chinese: 法史; Sanskrit: *Dharma-avatāra). However, this tradition was almost completely interrupted by the events during the fifties of the last century. In 1960, one year after the upheavals in Tibet, "The Cultural Palace of Nationalities" (民族文化宫) in Peking organized an expedition to Tibet which was initiated by the State Council of PR China (国务院). As a result, a number of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts were brought from Tibet to Peking and thus protected in the "Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities" (民族文化宫图书馆) for almost 33 years, particularly during the "Cultural Revolution", until they were finally returned to Lhasa in 1993, as instructed by the 10th Paṅ chen bla ma (Chökyi Gyeltshen 确吉坚赞: 19.02.1938-28.01.1989).

The first part of this paper will retrace the research and preservation of this invaluable manuscript collection once kept in Peking, especially the international cooperation and publication of some important Buddhist texts. In the second part of my presentation, the present state of different manuscripts collections of the originals or in microfilm will be described. First of all to point out the enormous challenge to Buddhist scholars worldwide when dealing with these materials. It is hoped that particularly Tibetan scholars of young generation will be involved in editing these precious manuscripts handed down from the 8th to the 13th century.

Jacobs, Fabian

[Department of Cultural Studies, Sorbian Institute, Bautzen, Germany]

Intangible cultural heritage and the Sorbs of Lusatia/Germany --

New perspectives for cultural inclusion?

In recent years, the discussion about Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) has become very important for the Sorbs, which is an ethnic minority in the Eastern part of Germany with officially about 60,000 members. One reason behind is the successful application of the Domowina - the union of Sorbian institutions - to include in 2014 the "Sorbian customs and traditions in the course of the year" in the German list of Intangible Cultural Heritage. In my paper, first I want to briefly discuss the change of perspective in the scientific study of Sorbian ICH, which was encouraged by new ideas from the discussion about the Safeguarding of ICH by the UNESCO Convention in the last decade. Then I will introduce the above-mentioned application of the Domowina, which was supervised scientifically by my colleague Dr. Ines Keller. Finally, I would like to summarize the implications of a new way of dealing with ICH for the cultural inclusion of the Sorbian minority (and other ethnic minorities as well) in the socio-political sense as well as in the epistemological and the cultural-practical sense.

Ptackova, Jarmila

[Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Social Sciences, Praha]

Development in Tibet. A favour or oppression?

The Tibetans are said to be ungrateful towards the state of China, who is investing milliards to develop their backward region and backward way of life. Instead of appreciation and growing allegiance with the caring multiethnic state of China, the Tibetans encourage unrests blaming the Central government for oppressing their cultural identity. Viewed from outside and considering the optimistic figures in the official statistics, enormous success of infrastructural expansion, urbanisation and industrialisation as well as growing GDP in western Chinese areas is undeniable. Locally, however, we can see that many opportunities and achievements of the development pass around the original population, which is unable to benefit from them. Although promising to improve the living standards and socioeconomic situation of local population in remote regions, such as Tibet, the policy agenda in many aspects does not consider the people as the main subject of the modernisation efforts. In contrary, the people are required to make way for the development measures, which irreversibly change the landscapes, living environments, established livelihoods and social structures. Those, unable to adapt to the over speeded development process and integrate into the modern Chinese society get marginalized. Both scenarios, the social and cultural integration, as well as social marginalisation, support an extinction of various cultural aspects, unique to a certain ethnic group. Loss of living and livelihood spaces, due to the implementation of development can cause further insecurity among the Tibetan population about their existence and ability to preserve own culture and can lead to public expressions of despair or disagreement. Examples from Eastern Tibet will demonstrate this contradictory issue of development.

von Senger, Harro

[Swiss Institute of Comparative Law, Lausanne]

On two different patterns of legal reception

In this paper, the phenomenon of the different degrees of knowledge about the reception of foreign law is discussed. Some receptions of foreign law are well known, for instance the reception of the Swiss civil code by Turkey under Kemal Atatürk or the reception of Soviet law by the People's Republic of China in the 1950ies. However, other receptions of foreign law are rather unknown, for instance the concept of non-existence of minorities which Turkey took over from France and the punishment of caning in Singapore or the administrative detention in Israel. These two legal institutions are of European origin because they were taken over by the two states from the former British colonial ruler. There arises questions such as: Why are certain receptions of foreign law so unknown? Are the Western countries concerned ashamed about the "cultural inclusion" of their legal institutions in foreign areas?

Luitgard Soni & Jayandra Soni

[University of Innsbruck, Austria]

Endangered Tribal Culture in India -- Some aspects

The presentation begins by pointing out how the tribes in India were, and still are, endangered. The paper first mentions several words used for tribes in India, such as *ādivāsi* or the 'first inhabitants, or 'inhabitants (in India) from the beginning', indigenous people, primitive tribes, notified tribes, de-notified tribes, scheduled tribes. A brief historical overview

about them will bring us to the period of Independent India in which “Gandhi’s last years were overshadowed by the betrayal of his vision of India’s future, as Jawaharlal Nehru, India’s first Prime Minister, pursued a policy of rapid industrialisation”.* Moreover, government policies on forest reserves have affected tribal peoples profoundly: in exploiting the forests all over the country the State has undermined the tribes’ way of life, with futile resistance on the part of the tribals themselves. Even the education policy regarding the tribes has led to grave problems. This is particularly the case with the endangered tribal languages. The significance of their language as part of their own identity will be shown to be extremely crucial.

* Debasree De 2014: 1: “Nehruvian Vision of Sustainable Development for Tribals in India: A Critique”. South Asia Research, vol. 34 (1): 1–18, p. 1.).

YANG Minghong 杨明洪

[Institute of Social Development & Western China Development Studies, Sichuan University]

Participation and cultural inclusion:

Tourism development in Lulang, Tibetan Autonomous Region

This paper examines the role of local participation in cultural inclusion of Tibetan populations in the TAR. Based on one local case study, it focuses on the multiple and complex factors and processes that influence local participation and cultural inclusion in one particular case of a tourism development project in Lulang, Linchi, in the TAR’s East.

The paper is based on the author’s investigation of the processes of planning and implementation of the Lulang project. Located about 70 km von Linchi town, Lulang offers considerable potential for tourism, including ancient villages, a historical town, and local food specialities the region has been famous for. The project examined here, with a total investment volume of 2.5 billion RMB, has been financed by Guangdong province, the most important partner to Tibet in the context of mutual development assistance projects. This setup raises multiple question, such as: How is the process of local participation organised? How do the multiple stakeholders involved shape local participation? Based on the premise that local participation constitutes an effective way to enhance cultural inclusion and other factors such as inclusive decision-making and local populations’ level of understanding, the paper argues that participation can give strong impacts on cultural inclusion, and that a better understanding of the participation-inclusion nexus needs detailed analysis of local case studies such as Lulang. In this sense, this paper also discusses the challenges in the tourism development project and gives recommendations for further development of Lulang in terms of cultural inclusion.

Yonten Nyima ཡོན་ཏན་ཉི་མ་ (云丹尼玛)

[Institute of Social Development & Western China Development Studies, Sichuan University]

From a perceived source of instability to a true source of stability:

A long way to cultural inclusion in China?

Through a case study from the Tibet Autonomous Region, China, this paper presents and analyzes ways in which cultural inclusion is challenged, and underlying reasons behind the challenge. The paper first presents a description of cases of ongoing challenges associated with cultural inclusion in the region. It then analyzes causes that underlie the challenges. The paper points out four overlapping factors responsible for challenging cultural inclusion.

First, in the context of stability being considered far more important than anything else and of upward accountability in China's political hierarchy in which what lower-level governments and officials primarily do is to deal with the pressure of maintaining stability from the higher level, the expression of ethnic identity is considered as a source of instability and resistance to the state, and thus repressed. Second, in the recently articulated concept of interethnic contact, exchange and mixage, although these three elements are considered equally important, in practice the first two appear to serve the third to assimilate minorities into the majority in the process of national integration as an overriding goal. Third, a well-known gap between theory and practice in law enforcement in China means that legislation on cultural protection appears meaningless or ineffective at best. Forth, at least in practice in China cultural protection is often reduced to the "cultural surface" — like cultural exhibitions in museums or cultural shows for a particular purpose rather than cultural practices of everyday life. As a result, in practice ethnic culture has, under current conditions, always been considered unimportant. The paper concludes that cultural inclusion in China will not be easy because it will fundamentally be a political process that cannot, in principle, be addressed purely through technical solutions.

XU Jun 徐君

[Tibet Studies Institute, Sichuan University, China]

A preliminary investigation on the relationship between education and cultural inclusion: A comparison of the effects of three types of schools in Tibetan areas

General speaking, education is considered as the best way to make culture inclusion and local culture or traditional culture been inherited, but this kind of idea is challenged as education is becoming far from local culture and their life, especial when we talk about nowadays education in ethnic minorities areas of China. It seemed modern education is considered as a contrary of traditional culture to some extent. And more and more people, which include policies makers, scholars, and local elites, are joining in the discussing and try to find a best way to avoid the contradiction. Then there are three types of school in Tibetan: general primary school (which we call it modern school, similar to all the schools in other parties of China), monastery school (some supported by eminent monk but not means that all the students in school are monk) and a combined school (eminent monk donated some money to modern school), which shows that the results of their endeavored. In order to show the different effects of the three types of school, this paper give a preliminary investigation on their curriculum, work and rest regime, student's behavior(in school and in home), and their adaptability, etc.

Zenz, Adrian

[Akademie für Weltmission, Korntal, Germany]

Inclusion and exclusion of the Tibetan language in civil service, public service and teacher recruitment in China's Tibetan regions.

Since the early 2000s there has been a significant expansion of Tibetan-medium education from primary to tertiary levels in Qinghai and other Tibetan regions in China. However, since the abolishment of the socialist job assignment system, stable and adequate employment for tertiary graduates has been a key issue. This particularly impacts Tibetan graduates, notably those from Tibetan-medium degree programs, due to the severely limited employment opportunities for Tibetan speakers outside public employment.

From about 2007 onward, a wide range of government recruitment advertisement documents have become accessible online. The analysis of this relatively new source of data enables a systematic cross-regional comparison of public employment opportunities. This not only gives us a way to assess the overall significance of the Tibetan language in public employment, but also to evaluate the (potential) provision of qualified Tibetan-medium teaching staff, especially of teachers for Tibetan-medium subjects other than just the Tibetan language (i.e. Tibetan-maths, Tibetan-English etc.). The evaluation of employment data allows us to e.g. demonstrate that the TAR has completely withdrawn from Tibetan-medium teacher recruitment in these other subjects. In contrast, Qinghai's Amdo Tibetan regions have seen a vast amount of such job adverts, despite a 2010 provincial policy initiative to essentially abolish secondary-level Tibetan-medium teaching apart from the Tibetan language subject.

Since graduate employment has turned out to be a key factor for social stability particularly in restive minority regions, in 2011 the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) announced an ambitious plan to provide government employment for all local TAR university graduates. Subsequently, TAR government job intakes multiplied. However, this positive development has not led to a proportional increase of job adverts mandating Tibetan language skills or related tertiary degrees. Generally, a comparison of Tibetan regions shows wide discrepancies regarding preferential language policies, with major implications for the role of the Tibetan language these locations.
