

THE FAILURE OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN
TIBETAN AREAS OF CHINA¹

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ABSTRACT

China has undergone profound economic change and growth since economic reforms began in the late 1970s. Although associated policies provided many business opportunities in Tibetan areas of China, Tibetans remain poorly equipped to respond to and take advantage of these opportunities. The reasons for this are complex, difficult to assess, and include political, social, cultural, and environmental factors. An examination of current educational practice with a focus on vocational education in Tibetan areas of the PRC suggests that poor education is key to explaining the inability of Tibetans to compete economically with non-Tibetan migrants.

KEY WORDS

Market participation, vocational education, Tibetans, PR China

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INTRODUCTION

Since the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) initiated far-reaching economic reforms in the late 1970s, China has experienced significant economic change and growth. Associated policies have provided many business opportunities in Tibetan areas of China, particularly as a result of the Western Regions Development Program launched at the beginning of this century. Tibetans remain however, poorly equipped to respond to and benefit from such opportunities. During research across Tibetan regions of China, one problem was strikingly obvious: although Tibetans are a majority in most Tibetan areas, Tibetan owned businesses comprise only about twenty per cent of the total. This figure emphasizes the difficulties faced by the Tibetan community, and highlights the extent of serious competition in seeking employment in Tibetan home areas.

Studies of Tibetan employment obstacles have resulted in varied perspectives and causes. Both Chinese and foreign scholars have recognized that Tibetans are generally unable to compete with non-Tibetan migrant laborers. For example, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences undertook a detailed study of economic and social development in Tibetan areas of China in 2003 through examining small businesses and found that eighty per cent of private businesses were owned by non-Tibetans migrants (Wang and Zhu 2005:11). Goldstein and others conducted a study of life in rural Tibet from 1997 to 2000 and concluded:

Villagers and many of their leaders are frustrated by the dearth of job opportunities in construction projects, blaming this not on the lack of economic investment in Tibet but rather on the unrestricted influx of non-Tibetan migrant laborers.

They further observed that non-farm work is crucial for Tibetan rural households, given increasing population and decreasing land per capita. However, villagers and their

leaders almost universally noted a lack of available jobs, and most of those who do find employment only receive poorly-paying jobs because of their low skill levels. The difference in pay scales between low-skilled manual labor and skilled labor is substantial; skilled laborers earn 65-100 per cent more than their unskilled counterparts (Goldstein et al. 2003:777).

The causes that obstruct people, particularly the poor, from effective market participation are complex and difficult to assess. To understand why Tibetans are unable to participate effectively in the market and, in particular, to better understand why only a limited number of Tibetans are able to operate their own businesses, an understanding of Tibetan culture, society, social practices, and norms is paramount. The Buddhist foundation of Tibetan society explains in part why it is difficult to apply a 'rational' choice theory derived from self-interested individualist prototypes of Western society that many social scientists assume to be a universal. To have valid answers to the question of lack of Tibetan participation in the market, it is crucial to better comprehend the history and culture of Tibetan society and how this applies to the values and attitudes of Tibetans toward business. More importantly, it is also essential to understand the applied policies of government as practiced. Education is another crucial factor in explaining why Tibetans compete poorly with non-Tibetan migrants in the market.

Recent studies on China's western regions have shown the critical role of education in economic and social development. For example, both Yang (2005) and Chen (2006) conducted studies on human resources in China's western regions, which include all Tibetan areas of China. Although they explored this issue from different perspectives, each concluded that the development of human resources is key in promoting sustainable economic development and social cohesion. In addition, because sixty to eighty percent of Tibetan areas are ecologically fragile, a non-resource-based approach should be adopted in developing Tibet (Ng

and Zhou 2004:554), reinforcing the essential role of education in economic development.

The nature of vocational education means that it directly impacts people's market participation; it is crucial in forming and providing skills needed for individuals to be able to compete for and obtain jobs. For these reasons, this study focuses on vocational education. It starts with a brief review of the current state of vocational education in Tibetan areas of China and focuses particularly on the existing problem of vocational and business training programs. The conclusion is that it is essential to develop vigorous vocational and business education to assist Tibetans participation in the market.

CURRENT VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS

Vocational education in China is integrated with the general education system, unlike in most other countries. After completing nine years of compulsory education (six years of primary school and three years of junior secondary school), students may pursue one of two educational tracks: they may continue with general education, thus continuing to senior secondary school and possibly, college or university. Alternatively, they may choose to follow the vocational educational track, thus continuing to secondary vocational schools and then possibly college or university.

In Tibetan areas, there are relatively few well-established and effective vocational training programs. Such programs are usually provided by specialized secondary (*zhongzhuan*) schools that are general diploma education institutes offering such subjects as healthcare, teaching, translation, veterinary skills, finance and accounting, secretarial skills, and agricultural skills. The standard curriculum for specialized secondary schools is common across China, taking three to four years to complete. Such subjects as political theory and Chinese literature are part of the core curriculum.

Most vocational training schools and centers are attached to Tibetan middle schools, such as Hongyuan Tibetan Middle School in Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province and Rebgong Tibetan Middle School in Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. Although vocational training schools have a connection with middle schools, they lack necessary facilities and properly trained teachers to provide effective vocational training. Usually, they offer vocational training as elective courses, in addition to normal courses in the secondary school curricula. Classes include Tibetan painting, household appliance repair, computer skills, tourism, motorcycle and automobile repair, and agriculture and construction skills. Teachers are invited, as needed, for relatively short periods of time. However, such teachers often lack teaching experience or training; instead they only have certain skills and knowledge in the subject gained through work experience.

There are also short-term vocational training programs provided by government departments, for example, the Employment Bureau, targeting laid-off employees of former state owned enterprises (SOEs). Such trainings are run two to three times a year. In certain areas, the government department must fulfill a quota of trainees. However, due to limited funds, such trainings are not always conducted.

Most Tibetan autonomous prefectures only have two specialized secondary schools, namely those focusing on teacher training and healthcare. Historically, an acute shortage of teachers had led to teacher training dominating specialized secondary education. However, due to new standards set by the central government for higher teacher qualifications in the late 1990s, teacher training schools stopped recruiting students. For example, all teacher training schools in Qinghai were ordered to stop recruiting students after 2005. Consequently, most teacher training schools were renamed either general senior secondary schools or vocational training schools. Such schools may be qualified to

offer general senior secondary school programs, but cannot provide sound vocational training programs because they lack relevant trainers. For example, Huangnan Teacher Training School was renamed Huangnan Vocational School in 2003 so that it could include vocational training. Despite its title, the school lacks resources to run effective vocational training programs, making it no different from regular schools that recruit students for senior secondary school education. The local government then designated the former healthcare school a vocational school. But again, without qualified teachers and resources for vocational training, effective vocational training programs cannot be offered. Although the importance of vocational training is vigorously promoted and emphasized in government documents and in the media, there is no single effective vocational training school in Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

A similar situation applies to most other Tibetan autonomous prefectures. For example, in 2002, Yushu Medical School and the Nationality Normal School combined to form the prefecture's only vocational school. Currently, the school has seventy teachers, most of whom are from formal teacher training and medical schools. The school provides training in driving, tailoring, cooking, computer skills, rural medicine, and translation, through evening schools and short-term programs. Currently, 200 students study medicine, forty study computer skills, and forty study English. Students are recruited based on their *zhongzhuan* provincial standard examination scores and ninety percent are Tibetan. Lacking qualified teachers, the school is unable to provide other locally needed vocational training programs.

Vocational training in Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province is another example. It began in 1984 with the founding of Hezuo Vocational Middle School. At present, there are five vocational schools and two vocational training centers in Gannan Prefecture, which have faced difficulties in recruiting students because:

- Since 1995, the government has stopped assigning jobs to vocational school graduates.
- After completing a middle school education, students prefer general senior secondary schools to vocational schools.

These factors mean that most vocational schools no longer provide vocational training programs; they only provide standard senior secondary school education. Gannan Tibetan Vocational School is now the only institution that continues to recruit students for vocational training in Gannan Prefecture. Established in 1972, the school was originally named Gannan Nationalities School and initially trained teachers to serve in primary and secondary schools throughout the prefecture. It was renamed in 1999 for the purpose of developing and promoting vocational education.

It has three training program courses. One is at the *zhongzhuan* level, offering graduates the *zhongzhuan* diploma issued by the government. Currently, the school offers three-year training courses in tourism and computer skills. Another track is the "3+2 higher vocational training program" that combines three years of senior secondary school first with another two years of training in vocational skills. Upon graduation, students receive a college diploma. To run the "3+2 program," the school must obtain approval from a relevant college and offer the program jointly with the college. The third program offered is general vocational training, providing graduates with a certificate issued by the school. Currently, there are forty students enrolled in driving, twenty in sewing, and another twenty in household electrical appliance repair. However, like other vocational training schools, they lack qualified teachers and find it difficult to recruit students.

The situation of vocational education in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) differs slightly, mainly because the government is better equipped financially to implement

policies of developing secondary vocational education and constructing key vocational schools. The government has earmarked ten million RMB annually for vocational education and has either halved or waived tuition fees for children of farmers and herdsmen as well as workers in dire straits.

In terms of special policies, the government actively encourages vocational schools to adapt their curriculum to market needs. It permits excellent graduates of secondary vocational schools to continue study at higher vocational education in colleges and universities without having to sit for examinations. Furthermore, it encourages the development of vocational education in technical skills, including training for farmers and herdsmen, and also encourages in-service teachers to advance their degrees and professional skills through further study.

The main measures implemented are:

- Adjusting the distribution of vocational education and optimizing educational resources. Since 1998, the distribution and structure of vocational schools in the whole region has been adjusted according to the industrial structure of the TAR and local population density. Former schools with a single major have been restructured into comprehensive vocational schools. In total, three secondary vocational schools have been closed while three have been incorporated. Five have been restructured. These measures have reduced the number of vocational schools from sixteen to eleven. Currently, each of the six prefectures, except Ngari Prefecture, has a comprehensive vocational school.

- Improving the hierarchical structure of vocational education. By doing this, the government hopes to increase the options and channels to further education for graduates of vocational schools.

- Targeting agricultural and pastoral areas. The government hopes to develop technical skills in primary and secondary schools in agricultural and nomad areas by introducing a new set of technical skills, such as agriculture, livestock breeding, sewing, carpentry, drawing, and weaving.
- Adjusting the courses offered at vocational schools to fit market demands. Vocational schools should develop new majors that meet the demands of leading industries.
- Improving the quality of teaching in vocational education. By encouraging in-service teachers to attend teaching methodology courses and gaining further qualifications in vocational teaching, the government hopes to increase the number and quality of vocational teaching staff in the region.

Nonetheless, even though the government has given much support to vocational education, the reality is that vocational training programs remain at a difficult stage. In order to understand these challenges, we examine the Vocational and Technical School of Nagchu Prefecture, the only vocational school in the prefecture. Until 1997, the school was known as the Nagchu Prefecture Normal School. Among the TAR *zhongzhuan* schools, this was the first to become a vocational and technical school. At present, the school has an enrollment of around 300 students and a faculty of twenty-one.

The school offers courses in animal husbandry, rural veterinarian skills, secretarial skills, computer skills, and machine maintenance and repair, in addition to other such short-term courses as railway mechanical operation, cooking, and accounting. In recent years, laboratories, practical training centers, and specimen classrooms have been built. However, the school stills lacks a faculty of properly trained vocational trainers.

In March 2002, the school held an eight-month training program supported by the Tibet Poverty Alleviation Fund (TPAF), an international NGO based in Lhasa, attended by forty-five male students from the seven counties in the prefecture. Most trainees had received a few years of primary education. The project aimed to increase local income by providing more employment opportunities to local Tibetans through construction and building projects.

The course encountered difficulty in finding qualified trainers who had both practical experience and Tibetan language ability. Finally, a Han Chinese trainer conducted the courses and a Tibetan teacher interpreted. The quality of training was below average because the Han Chinese trainer was not properly trained. Though skilled in carpentry and painting, he was unable to convey content and produce detailed training syllabi and plans.

There are a few effective vocational training programs in this dim picture of vocational education. The Sichuan Tibetan Institute (STI) is one. Established in 1981, it is directly under the jurisdiction of the Sichuan Province Ethnic Affairs Commission. It is located at the prefecture seat of Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. In 1982, the school began recruiting Tibetan students from Ganzi, Aba, and Liangshan prefectures in Sichuan Province. Students are recruited based on their scores on the provincial senior secondary school examination. Currently, the school has thirty-eight teachers and 518 students of which ninety percent are farmer's and herdsman's children. The school offers courses in tourism, Chinese-Tibetan translation, secretarial skills, traditional art, Tibetan medicine, Tibetan literature, Tibetan Buddhism, and Tibetan Buddhist philosophy. Political theory, Chinese, and computer skills are taught in Chinese while all other subjects are taught in Tibetan.

According to the school headmaster, the school's mission is to preserve and promote traditional Tibetan culture, which is its biggest advantage with regard to student recruitment and employment opportunities as compared to

other schools in Ganzi. The school has adjusted the set-up of its program and increased the number of teachers in time to seize new opportunities in the job market: the tourism industry is rapidly growing in Tibetan areas, yet tour guides proficient in Tibetan and Chinese are lacking and Tibetan tourist products are insufficient; construction in Tibetan areas is quickly expanding, yet qualified personnel are still needed in the building, decoration, and design of Tibetan houses; and healthcare standards are low in pastoral areas, yet the number of Tibetan doctors is insufficient.

Government officials and local people throughout Ganzi Prefecture praise both the competency of graduates and the high quality of education provided by the school. The school headmaster and teachers believe the reason for such praise is that the graduates' employment rate is high. For example, sixty percent of the graduating class of 2002 found employment immediately after graduation, which has made parents feel that their educational investments are rewarded. For other graduates in 2002, they either went home to assist local farmers and herdsman by using skills learnt in school or moved to towns to find jobs. Because of their high level of education and skills, these graduates usually eventually become self-supporting.

Plans to develop the school include increasing the quality of education and offering higher degrees through cooperation with other colleges and universities such as:

- to jointly teach college-level Tibetan language classes with Southwest Nationalities University (Chengdu);
- to hold college-level Tibetan medicine classes in cooperation with Qinghai Tibetan Medical College (Xining);
- to run classes in teacher-training in both Chinese and Tibetan with Northwest Normal University (Lanzhou); and

- to jointly hold classes in traditional art with Qinghai Nationalities Teacher's College, Qinghai Normal University (Xining).

However, the school faces many difficulties in recruiting students and adjusting to market demands, including offering other needed vocational training programs.

CHALLENGES FACING VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS

Policies related to employment options as well as educational structure, translate into vocational training programs facing numerous problems. As mentioned, policy on educational structure merges various specialized schools. For example, Aba Industry School, Aba Finance and Trade School, and Aba Agriculture and Animal Husbandry School merged to become the Aba Vocational School. Another policy changed specialized schools into senior secondary schools teaching the standard senior secondary school curriculum. For example, Ma'erkang Normal School has been changed into Aba Nationalities Senior Secondary School. The drawback to such actions is that the newly formed schools are neither effectively supported nor sufficiently equipped to provide high quality vocational training, and so they fail to attract students. These programs depend on tuition to meet part of their operating revenue; a decreased student enrolment leads to decreased operating funds. Furthermore, Tibetan areas struggle to complete the government mandate for compulsory six- and nine-year education. As such, government spending in vocational education is limited because funds are lacking. This combination of factors binds vocational training programs and causes them to run on extremely limited budgets. For example, according to information provided by the Aba Education Bureau, it has an annual budget of only 100,000 RMB to plan for vocational training—this in a prefecture with

thirteen counties—which is far from adequate to build a quality vocational training program.

Lack of funds is related to a host of problems. Vocational training programs lack access to qualified teachers because most programs do not offer salaried positions to qualified individuals. Compounding the problem, the programs cannot afford to send their existing teachers to inland training schools to receive specialized training in relevant courses. As such, the programs have teachers with out-dated teaching methods, who are not practitioners or skilled in the areas they should teach. Additionally, schools lack the authority to replace unqualified teachers who retain their position until they retire. Therefore, the schools can only wait until a position becomes available to hire a qualified teacher.

Furthermore, existing vocational training programs cannot afford to build necessary facilities. This is apparent in the lack of practice-based and experimental facilities. For example, Yushu Vocational School has only two practice cars for eight terms of driving classes and forty computers for 280 students. There is no kitchen where budding chefs can practice cooking. Students are confined to reading lessons and unable to gain necessary practical skills, an essential component of vocational training.

Teaching materials are inadequate because they have not been specially developed to be relevant to local areas; they were originally developed in other parts of China. There is no further incentive to create or adapt proper teaching materials, either at government or institutional level, partly due to a lack of effective educational policy and partly because there is no relevant authority or expertise at the local level able to do so. This deficiency of direction and expertise extends to vocational training program curricula. At present, efforts have not been made to formulate sound curricula that are individually relevant to respective skills.

Another major problem with current vocational training programs is inadequate support in preparing students for graduation, i.e., there is no job placement service that

grooms students in interview skills, résumé writing, or networking. Vocational schools are thus unable to connect graduates to relevant industries.

Furthermore, although the government emphasizes the importance of vocational education, it is considered a second-class education. General secondary education remains the priority for both education administrators and parents. Vocational education is seen as fitting for those who fail to pursue an academic education. For many students and their parents, the only purpose for secondary school education is to prepare for and pass national entrance exams and enter a university. More importantly, for many education administrators, the indicator for the quality of education is the number of students who pass national entrance exams and has nothing to do with vocational education.

It must be said, however, that people's attitude is changing due to increasing difficulties in finding jobs with a college degree. Relevant vocational training programs can find a clientele. For example, in spring 2006, the Education Bureau of Huangnan Prefecture supported a training program on shoe repair and polishing, and selected ten young Tibetans from impoverished farming households. After the training, they provided basic facilities and equipment to the trainees who subsequently had little difficulty in finding customers, since previously Tibetans were not involved in such work (Zhejiang and Sichuan natives dominate). After some time, they discovered that they could make much more money than anticipated and continued their work. With some work experience and funding, they may begin their own small businesses in the future.

Another example is automobile repair training provided by Ban'ge Vocational Training Center, Ban'ge County, Nagchu Prefecture, TAR. In summer of 2003, the vocational training center started training classes in automotive repair for local Tibetans. Due to difficulty in finding qualified trainers, the center hired an experienced Tibetan driver to teach. Seven recently graduated trainees have opened car repair shops in the county seat, most of

which are successful businesses. At present, other than one Chinese-owned car repair shop, Tibetans own all other car repair shops.

BUSINESS TRAINING PROGRAMS

Business training is important because it directly affects people's market participation. As Guy Pfeffermann (2005) argues, a well-designed business education contributes not only to individual achievement but also to high societal aspirations. Businesses generate jobs, incomes, taxes, and technological innovation; economic and social development can hardly be achieved without dynamic firms. Business education thus plays a vital role in bringing people out of poverty by equipping them with necessary skills and knowledge to effectively participate in the market.

Business education can play a vital role in promoting Tibetans' participation in business, especially when combined with training that helps the development of individual models of enterprise-oriented thinking and behavior promoting entrepreneurship.

Business education and training is least developed in Tibetan areas of China. By transitioning from a planned economy to a market economy, China has witnessed a rapid growth in marketing and business education since the mid-1980s. Alon and Lu (2005) observed that in 1979 only one university in Shanghai enrolled a few dozen economic students and offered only three economics courses. Dramatic change has occurred; eighteen percent of China's university students took business courses in 2001. However, because of the poor quality of education and the language barrier, few Tibetans can access such improvement in business education.

Currently, only the School of Economics and Management of Tibet University and the Department of Tibetan Literature, Northwest Nationalities University offer business courses specifically targeting Tibetan students. In the School of Economics and Management, business courses

are offered by the Department of Economics and the Department of Industry and Commerce. Both were established in 2003. Currently the School of Economics and Management has fourteen Tibetan and twenty-two Han Chinese teachers. A total of 782 students are in this school, but only half are Tibetan, the other half is Han Chinese. Tibetans account for ninety-two percent of the TAR population. Thus it is not convincing that this school aims to train Tibetans. Additionally, all textbooks are in Chinese.

The Department of Tibetan Literature of Northwest Nationalities University is the only institute providing business courses solely to Tibetans. It began offering a BA business program to Tibetans in 2000 and is the first program providing a business management major to Tibetan students. Currently the program has 120 students from all Tibetan areas. Besides meeting the requirements of national entrance examinations, students must demonstrate strength in the Tibetan language, ensuring nearly all students are Tibetan. Non-Tibetan students, such as students classified as Tu from Huangnan fluent in Tibetan are equipped to better serve Tibetan communities, particularly in comparison to non-Tibetans from inland China who have little knowledge of local Tibetan realities. An international NGO has supported the translation of twelve business-related textbooks into Tibetan. However, this program has only four teachers. Two are former Tibetan literature teachers and received one to two years' training in business courses in an inland university. Another two were recruited from the first class of graduates in 2004. A challenge facing this program is to identify and hire qualified teachers given the fact that few Tibetans have received business course training.

Starting this century, several international NGOs have begun to pay increased attention to business training for Tibetans by supporting training programs with cooperating relevant local institutes. For example, international NGOs supported several business management-training programs in Chengdu, Xining, and Lhasa. However, they are unable to support a systemic training program.

CONCLUSION

During my research I observed that Tibetan small businesses tend to be concentrated in the sectors that rely on marketing and selling Tibetan goods and cultural items including handicrafts, ornaments, and Tibetan medicine; Tibetan restaurants, bars, and Tibetan-style hotels are also included. However, Tibetans are rarely involved in businesses requiring specific skills, or significant levels of investment, such as hair salons, photocopy and print shops, computer repair shops, photography studios, Western-style clothes shops, electrical appliance sales and repair shops, and automobile sale and repair shops. These services are dominated by Han Chinese and, in some areas, Hui (Chinese Muslims). For example, during fieldwork in Huangnan Prefecture in the summer of 2006, I counted 326 shops along several busy streets in the prefecture capital. Even though Tibetans are the majority population, Tibetans owned only 103 shops, accounting for thirty-two percent of the total. More strikingly, the thirty-four repair shops were solely owned by Han Chinese.

It is obvious that Tibetans find it difficult to involve themselves in skill-oriented markets, concentrating instead on certain limited areas. The reasons for this are clearly complex. However, to some extent, poor vocational education is one factor.

Additionally, there has been noticeable progress in educational development in Tibetan areas since 1978. A modern educational system from primary school to higher education is in place. However, a large gap exists between the educational attainments of Tibetans and Han Chinese, and even between Tibetans and other ethnic minorities. For example, in 1990, less than twenty per cent of TAR Tibetans had a primary school education (Postiglione et al., 2006). Although this figure had increased to 42.3 per cent by 2005, the illiteracy rate in the TAR was 44.84 per cent in the same year, the highest among the western provinces and regions and far higher than the national illiteracy rate of 11.04 per

cent. In terms of the secondary educational level, the failure is astonishing. By 2005, at the national level, 38.3 per cent of PRC citizens had a junior secondary education and 12.4 per cent had a senior secondary education, while in the TAR these numbers were 8.4 per cent and 2.1 per cent respectively, the lowest educational level in all of China (NBS 2006:112–14). At the same time, few educated Tibetans are in the labor force.

About half of Tibetans who do receive secondary education cannot continue with higher education because of the limited number of seats in colleges and senior secondary schools, and especially because of financial hardships. A limited number of junior secondary students enter senior level and a limited number of senior secondary graduates enter colleges and universities. Most who cannot enter higher levels return to their villages and contribute little to the economic productivity of the Tibetan community. In Tibetan areas, as elsewhere in China, education has focused on preparing students to take examinations for higher education and neglected the development of practical skills. The transition from a planned economy to a market economy has increased the competitiveness of the job market and the poor economic situation in Tibetan areas of China has not created sufficient job opportunities for graduates. The language barrier—since Chinese is the official language and many Tibetan students never master it—and the general poor quality of Tibetan education, are additional reasons why Tibetans cannot compete with non-Tibetan migrants.

The extremely low enrollment in secondary schools affects Tibetans' market participation and the lack of vocational training program exacerbates this. Low enrollment means that few people receive secondary education. But because of the poor quality, those who do receive secondary education are unable to compete with non-Tibetan graduates. More importantly, poor vocational education does not prepare Tibetans with needed skills, thereby putting Tibetans in a difficult situation in a highly competitive market. Promoting Tibetan market participation

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requires improving the quality of education and developing vigorous vocational and business education.

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

Aba Agriculture and Animal Husbandry School, Aba
nongmu xuexiao 阿坝农牧学校

Aba Education Bureau, Aba jiaoyuju 阿坝教育局

Aba Finance and Trade School, Aba jingmao xuexiao 阿坝
经贸学校

Aba Industry School, Aba gongye xuexiao 阿坝工业学校

Aba Nationalities Senior Secondary School, Aba minzu
gaozhong 阿坝民族高中

Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Aba zangzu
qiangzu zizhi zhou 阿坝藏族羌族自治州

Aba Vocational School, Aba zhiye xuexiao 阿坝职业学校

Ban'ge County, Ban'ge xian 班戈县

Ban'ge Vocational Training Center, Ban'ge zhiye peixun
zhongxin 班戈职业培训中心

Chengdu 成都

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Zhongguo shehui
kexueyuan 中国社会科学院

Department of Economics, Jingji xi 经济系

Department of Industry and Commerce, Gongshang xi 工商
系

Department of Tibetan Literature, Zang wenxue xi 藏文学系

Education Bureau of Huangnan Prefecture, Huangnan zhou
jiaoyu ju 黄南州教育局

Gannan Nationalities School, Gannan minzu xuexiao 甘南民
族学校

Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gannan zangzu
zizhi zhou 甘南藏族自治州

Gansu 甘肃

Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Ganzi zangzu zizhi
zhou 甘孜藏族自治州

Han 汉

Hezuo Vocational Middle School, Hezuo zhiye zhongxue 合
作职业中学

Hongyuan 红原

Huangnan Teacher Training School, Huangnan shifan
xuexiao 黄南师范学校

Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Huangnan
zangzu zizhi zhou 黄南藏族自治州

Huangnan Vocational School, Huangnan zhiye xuexiao 黄南
职业学校

Hui 回

Lanzhou 兰州

Liangshan 凉山

Ma'erkang Normal School, Ma'erkang shifan xuexiao 马尔
康师范学校

Nagchu Prefecture Normal School, Naqchu diqu shifan
xuexiao 那曲地区师范学校

Nationality Normal School, Minzu shifan xuexiao 民族师范
学校

Ngari Prefecture, Ali diqu 阿里地区

Northwest Normal University, Xibei shifan daxue 西北师范
大学

Qinghai Nationalities Teacher's College, Qinghai minzu
shifan xueyuan 青海民族师范学院

Qinghai Normal University, Qinghai shifan daxue 青海师范
大学

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Qinghai Tibetan Medical College, Qinghai zangyi xueyuan
青海藏医学院

Qinghai 青海

Rebgong, Tongren 同仁

RMB, Renminbi 人民币

School of Economics and Management, Jingji guanli
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