

# **Tibetan Architecture within the Diaspora in India**





**Contemporary Architecture within the Tibetan Diaspora in India**

**An Urban Development Strategy for New Aruna Nagar**

## **Background: Vernacular Tibetan Architecture**

nomadic architecture: the black tent

rural architecture: villages in Yushu

urban architecture: town house in Lhasa





**nomadic architecture:  
the black tent <sup>1</sup>**

tent only open to the south

prayer space in the  
most remote corner

long table as central element  
women right, men left





**rural architecture:  
villages in Yushu**

village scale: 2, 3, 4

usually less than 100 people

on a slope facing south  
maximum solar exposure  
shifted street axes  
direction of water

compact, closed buildings  
private yards





**rural architecture:  
villages in Yushu**

village scale: 2, 3, 4

privacy through level difference





**rural architecture:  
villages in Yushu**

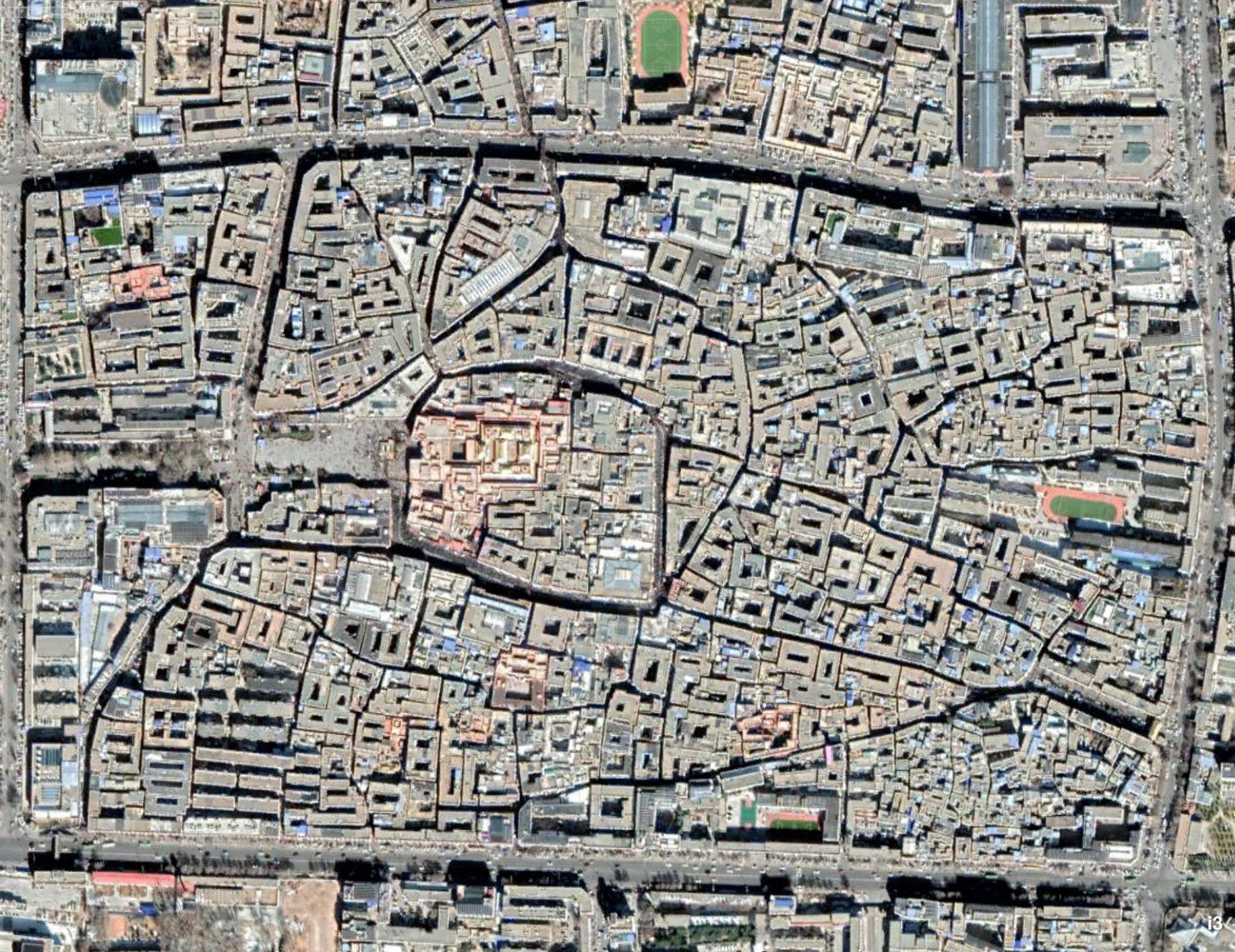
building scale: 2, 3, 4

introverted - courtyards

sequences of dark & bright spaces

sophisticated wooden handcraft





**urban architecture:**  
**Lhasa**

urban scale: 5, 6, 7

growth around sacral spaces  
circumambulation

narrow streets, pocket spaces



**Labrang Nyingba:** <sup>5, 6, 7</sup>

17th century

little typological development  
no styles or periods

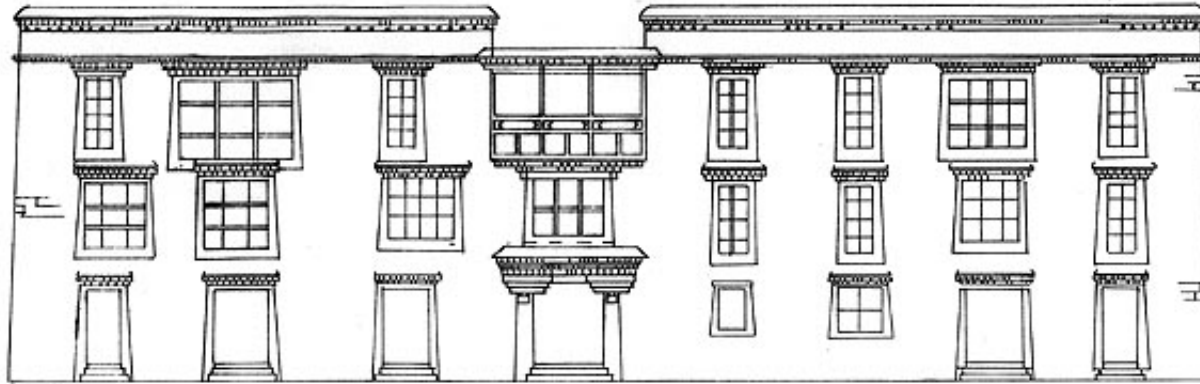




roughly symmetrical  
central living space,  
large window (Rabsel)

complex wooden overhangs  
symbolic meaning

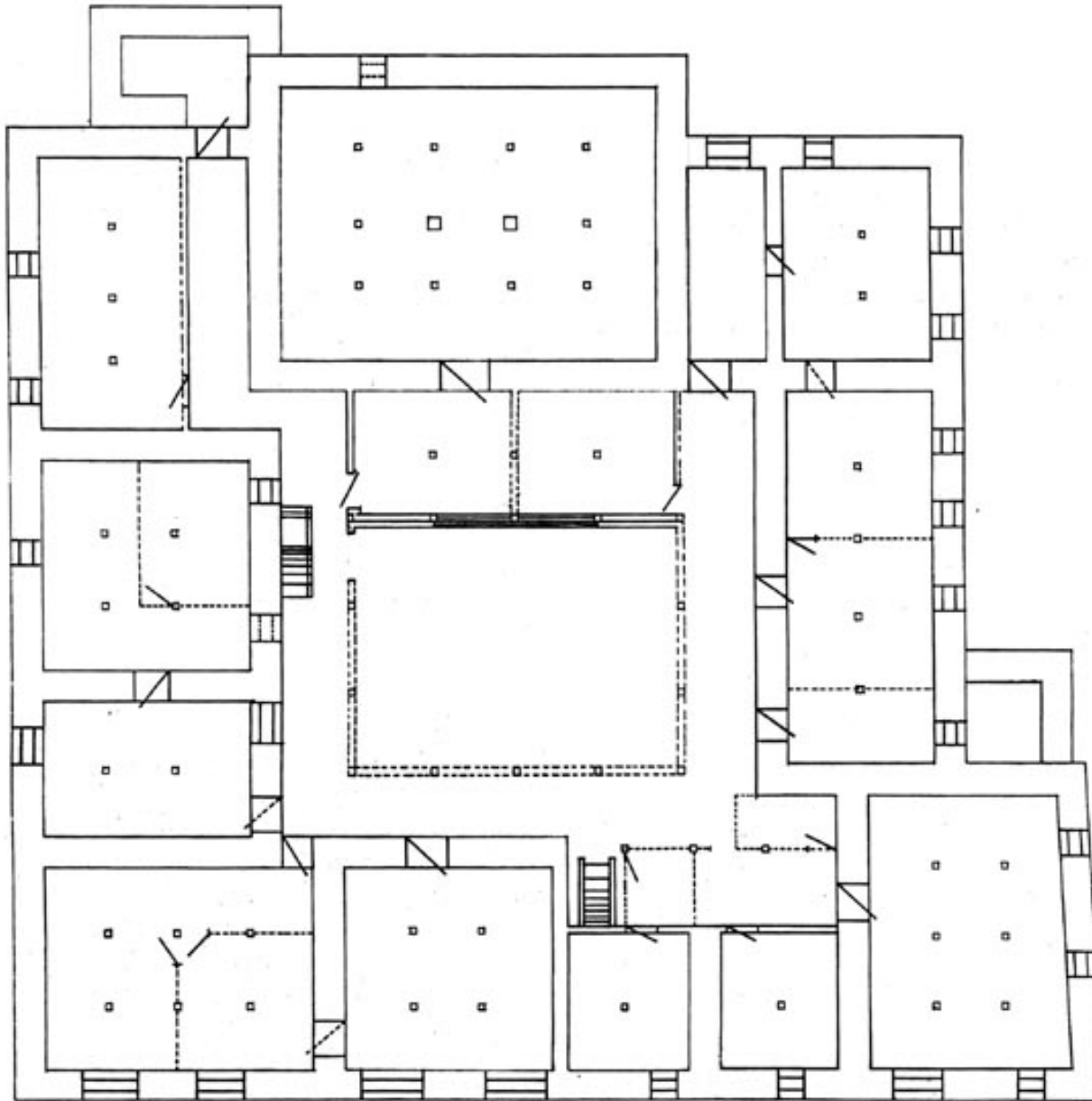
LABRANG NYINGBA FACADE



introvert courtyard house

central living rooms

remote prayer space



## Research Question

**Does the deliberate isolation of the Tibetan exile community in settlements facilitate the maintenance and continuation of Tibetan architectural practice and thereby a sense of belonging within the diaspora?**

## Research Question

**Which social problems does the lack of cultural sensibility within architecture for uprooted Tibetans create?**

## Research Question

**How does contemporary Tibetan architecture relate to vernacular architecture and is this tradition rather preserved or continued?**



## Research Question

**To which extend can architecture stimulate a sense of belonging and how do Tibetans uprooted in different settlements reconstruct and individualize space?**

# **Tibetan Architecture within the Diaspora in India**

Bylakuppe, Karnataka

McLeod Ganj, Himachal Pradesh

New Aruna Nagar, Majnu Ka Tilla, Delhi





**Bylakuppe:** 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16

isolated

temporary solution

80 people per village

subsistence farming

few facilities, mostly schools

shops, restaurants

few tourists

overpopulated, satellite camps





**Bylakuppe:** 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16

some old buildings:

courtyards

central living rooms

remote prayer rooms





**Bylakuppe:** 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16

few Tibetan characteristics  
within the architecture

new buildings  
large hall  
Indian style





**Dharamsala** 9, 10, 20, 21

urban scale:

growth around sacral spaces

circumambulation

wide streets as public spaces





**Dharamsala** 9, 10, 20, 21

building scale:

symmetrical  
central entrance, large window

wooden lattices

fabrics above windows and doors

courtyard houses

white-washed stone walls





**Dharamsala** 9, 10, 20, 21

building scale:

most modern buildings:  
no Tibetan characteristics





**New Aruna Nagar,  
Majnu Ka Tilla** <sup>9, 10, 17, 18, 19</sup>

informal settlement in the north  
of Delhi





**New Aruna Nagar,  
Majnu Ka Tilla (south)** 9, 10, 17, 18, 19

urban scale:

circumambulation

narrow street network

pocket spaces

sequences of dark & bright spaces





**New Aruna Nagar,  
Majnu Ka Tilla (north)** <sup>9, 10, 17, 18, 19</sup>

building scale:

introvert

harsh borders between  
in- and outside

dark rooms

traditional spatial configuration  
disappeared

no aesthetic Tibetan features

Does the deliberate isolation of the Tibetan exile community in settlements facilitate the maintenance and continuation of Tibetan architectural practice and thereby a sense of belonging within the diaspora?

**The deliberate isolation of the Tibetan exile community in settlements impedes a continuation of Tibetan architecture practice.**

**The sense of belonging and its expression in architecture has rather sharpened in those settlements that grew naturally and developed in confrontation with Indian society.**

Which social problems does the lack of cultural sensibility within architecture create for Tibetans?

**Most buildings and settlements in India keep Tibetans from practicing their tradition,  
impede any culturally sensible modernization and  
hinder the intersection with other cultures as well as social mixture within the diaspora**



How does contemporary Tibetan architecture relate to vernacular architecture and is this tradition rather preserved or continued?

**While in the early years of exile, vernacular typologies - especially on an urban scale - were reinterpreted and assimilated to the new environment, this tradition gradually vanished.**

**Institutions tend to aesthetically replicate Tibetan buildings, individual people rather reinterpret typologies based on values.**

**Urban architecture in India and Tibet resembles more than rural one, as urban architecture evolved more from cultural habits and rural architecture is rather influenced by climatical circumstances.**

To which extent can architecture stimulate a sense of belonging and how do Tibetans uprooted in different settlements reconstruct and individualize space?

**In master-planned settlements,  
Tibetans largely individualize their space through aesthetic and nostalgic features.**

**In organically grown settlements,  
architecture facilitates a continuation of practices and culture rather than a preservation  
It stimulates a sense of belonging within the diaspora more than relating back to geographic Tibet.**



## **Objectives:**

stimulate more interaction and empathy among Indians and Tibetans and between Tibetans

promote awareness of heritage, facilitate traditional habits

stimulate culturally sensible, value-based modernization

provide a means of identification and space to individualize

**New Aruna Nagar**









500m



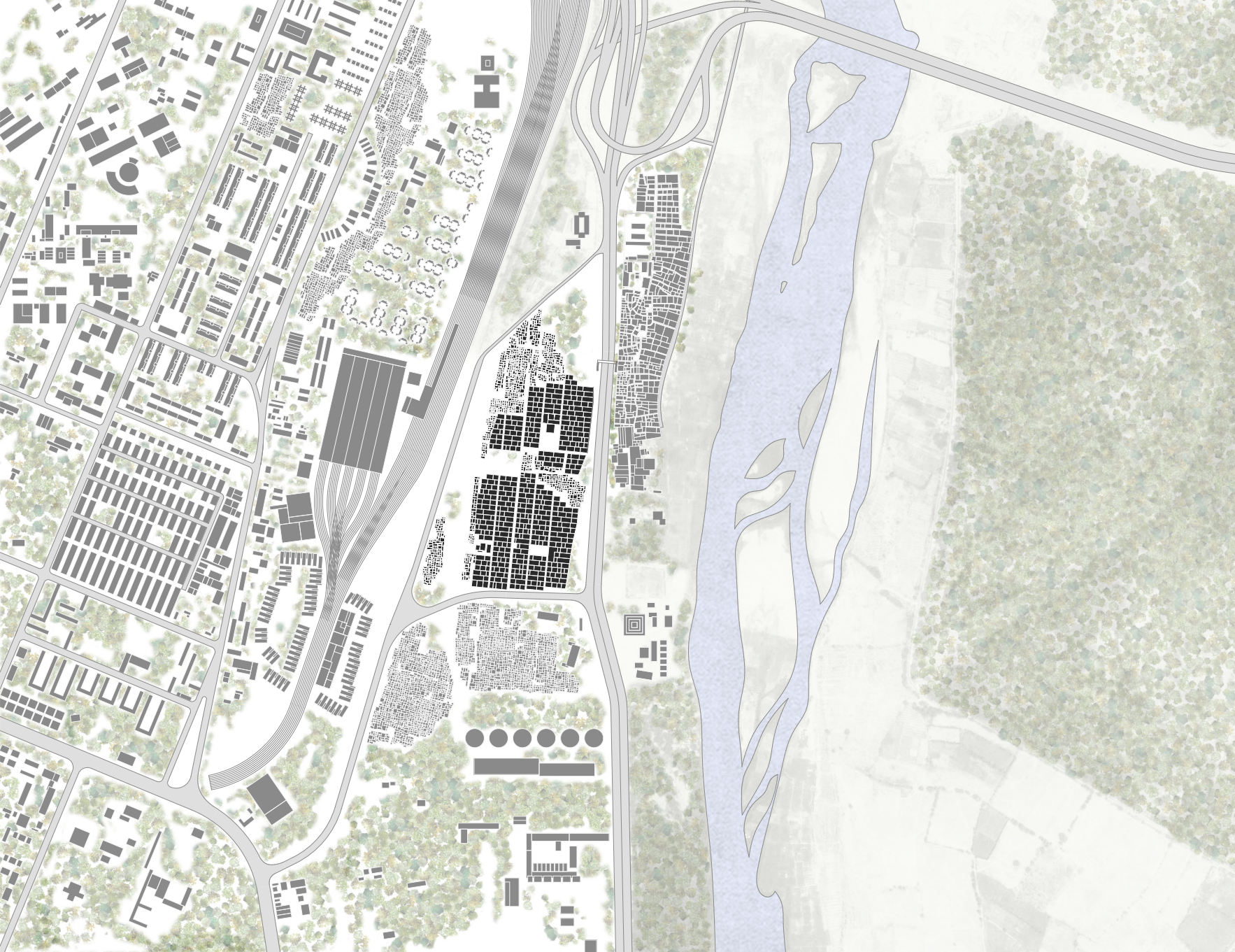


## Old Chandrawal Village

developed around 1900

temporary accomodation  
for construction workers





## Aruna Nagar

developed in 1958

resettlement of people  
from the centre



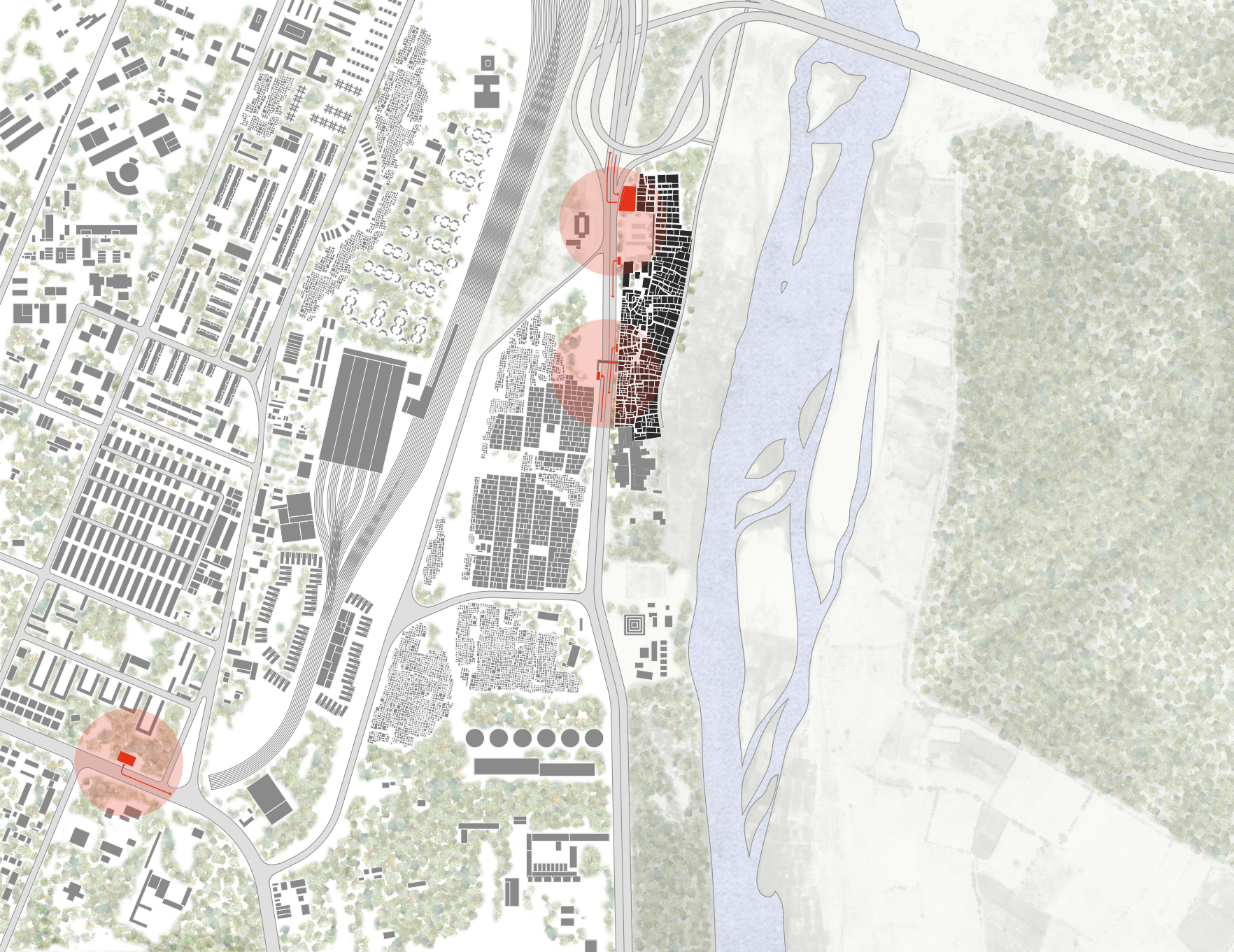


## New Aruna Nagar

developed after 1959

government tolerates Tibetans









## New Aruna Nagar

38,925 m<sup>2</sup>

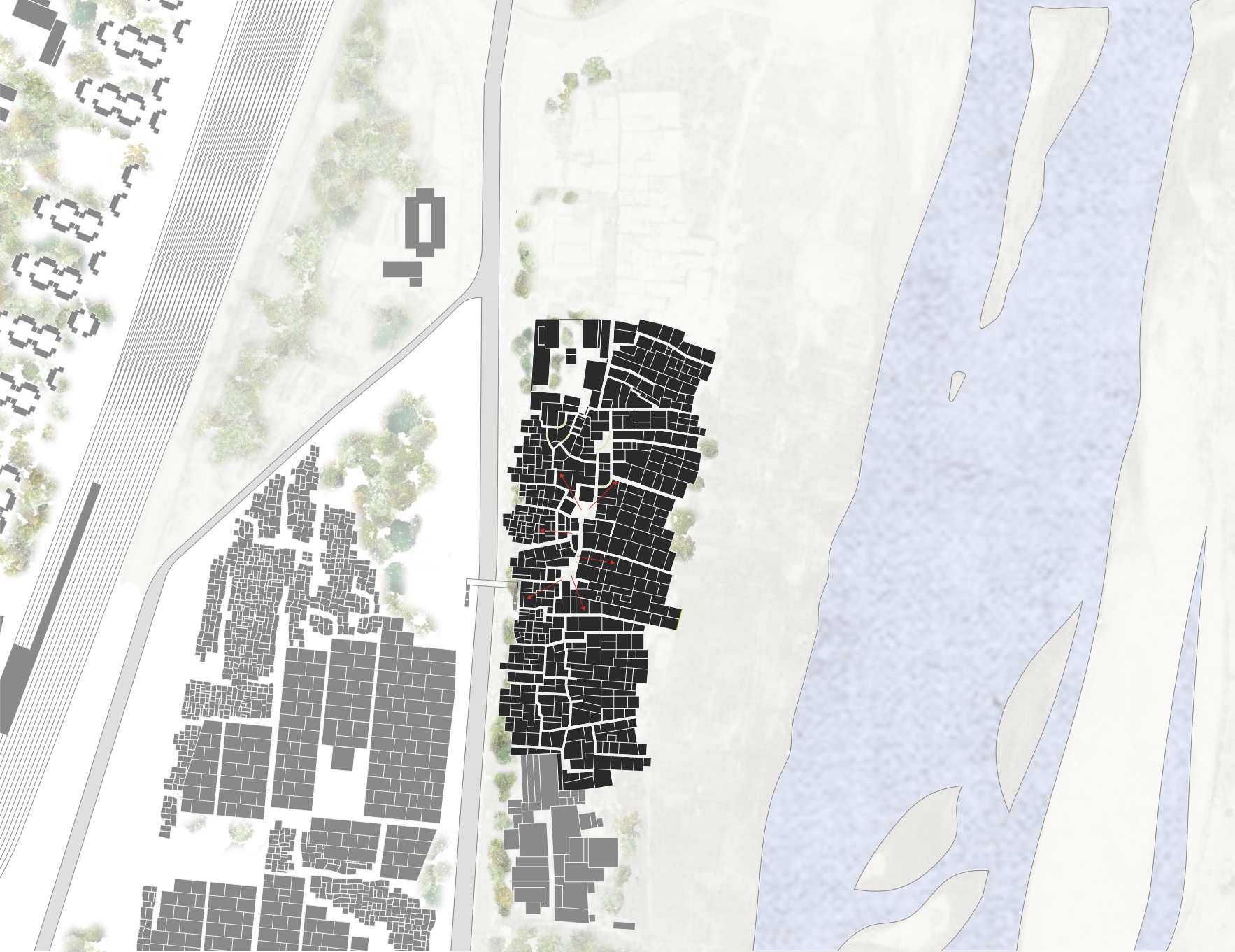
ca. 5,000 inhabitants

128,452 inh/km<sup>2</sup>

Delhi: 11,297 inh/km<sup>2</sup>

100m |





## New Aruna Nagar

1959  
first developments between  
temple square and the bridge



## New Aruna Nagar

1970's  
boys' prison

100m





## New Aruna Nagar

1982  
road extension for Asian games  
people get resettled  
from the west to the north

## New Aruna Nagar

connectivity



100m





## New Aruna Nagar

network south



100m





## New Aruna Nagar

south - circumambulation



100m





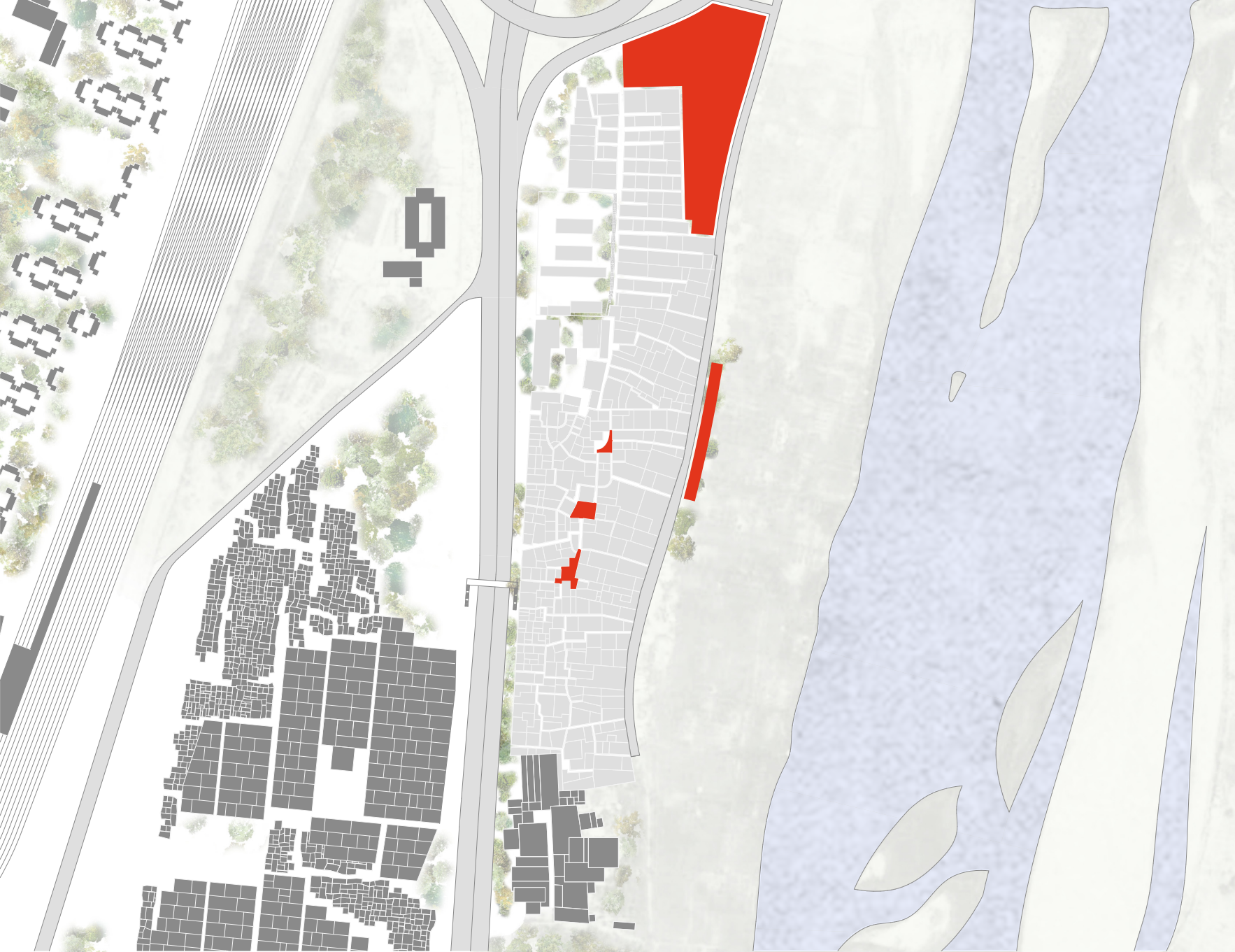
## New Aruna Nagar

public spaces



100m





## New Aruna Nagar

surrounding areas



100m





## New Aruna Nagar

daylight

natural ventilation

fire risk



100m





## New Aruna Nagar

daylight

natural ventilation

fire risk



100m





## New Aruna Nagar

monofunctionality

sacral

food

travel

local

no secular public institutions

- restaurant
- café
- guesthouse
- travel agency
- tourist shop
- money exchange
- shop
- bank
- barber
- art gallery
- pharmacy
- carpenter
- gaming hall
- spa

100m

**UN High Commissioner for Refugees:**  
does not grant Tibetans refugee status



**Chinese Communist Party:**  
puts political pressure on India



**Indian government:**  
does not legalize New Aruna Nagar  
does not legalize Tibetan' businesses  
forbids Tibetan official events

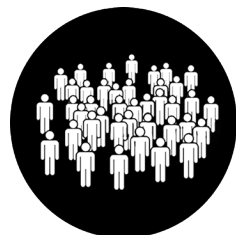


**Central Tibetan Administration:**  
legal affairs within the Tibetan diaspora  
financial capacity  
responsible for education



**Resident's Welfare Association:**  
in close contact with NAN's inhabitants  
mediation between different parties  
no legal or political rights

**NGO's**  
interested in having a say  
in any political decision



**business owners:**  
legalization of commercial activities  
**residents:**  
want a place worth living  
seek for more interaction with Indians

## New Aruna Nagar

legal insecurity:

no security of tenure

no land trust community



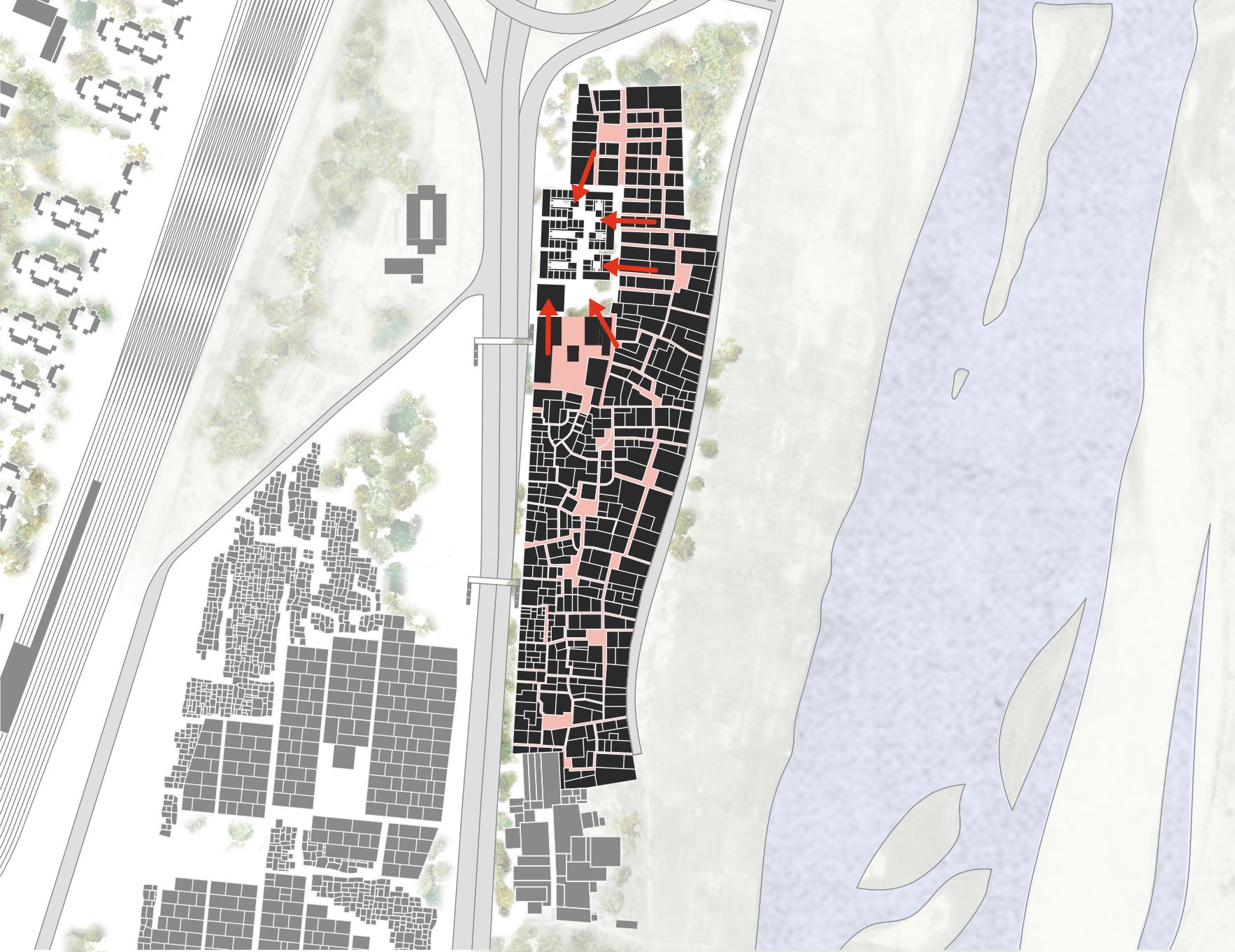
# Intervention



## Proposal

- 1) develop a new residential block on the site of the prison





## Proposal

- 1) develop a new residential block on the site of the prison
- 2) structurally upgrade the existing neighbourhood



## Proposal

- 1)  
develop a new residential block  
on the site of the prison
- 2)  
structurally upgrade  
the existing neighbourhood
- 3)  
establish secular public  
institutions throughout  
the neighbourhood



## **Stakeholders, Timeline & Finances**



#### Central Tibetan Administration:

negotiates about land and legalization with the Indian government

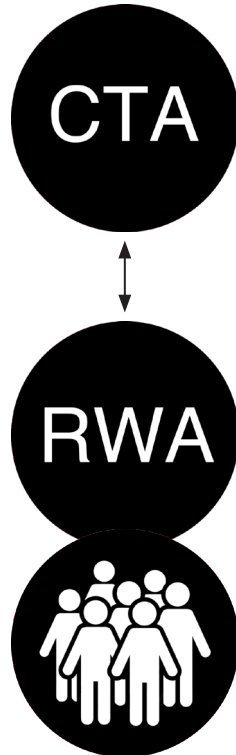
takes the legal responsibility for the urban upgrading

#### Indian government:

relocates the prison and sells the land to CTA & RWA

legalizes the existing neighbourhood and people's commercial activities





#### Central Tibetan Administration:

communicates with the RWA about the inhabitant's needs

directs order of local impact to the RWA

#### Residents's Welfare Association:

mediates between NAN's inhabitants and the CTA

takes care of the eviction and resettlements processes



**Central Tibetan Administration:**

work as purchaser

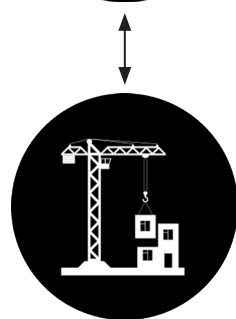
is the building owner and takes care of financial processes



**Resident's Welfare Association:**

functions as construction inspector and supervisor

mediates between CTA and the construction cooperative



**construction cooperative:**

executes the urban upgrading

employs Tibetan and Indian workers



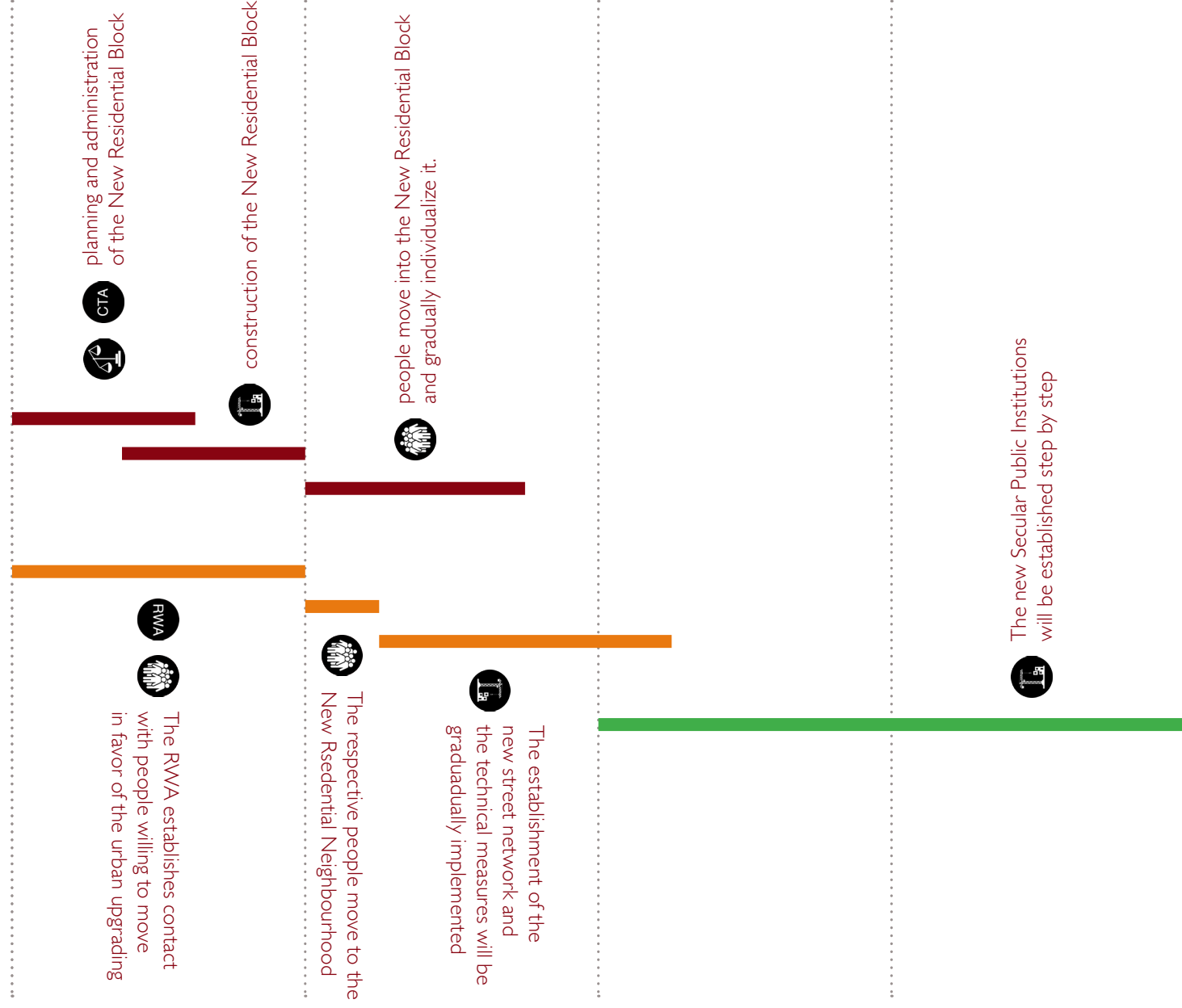
2020

2025

2030

2035

2040



Proposal

Timeline



#### price for the site

landprice in Majnu Ka Tilla:

5,000 Rs - 10,000 Rs / m<sup>2</sup>

prison site:

4,424 m<sup>2</sup>

estimated price for the prison site:

33,180,000 Rs

(average from ramcocements.in, naredco.in, indiareaestateforum.com)

#### price for construction

building cost (average quality housing):

12,000 Rs / m<sup>2</sup>

built area on the prison site:

10,248 m<sup>2</sup>

estimated building cost:

122,976,000 Rs

(average from naredco.in, ramcocements.in, makaan.in)

total price of new residential neighborhood:

**156,156,000 Rs**

#### price for urban renewal

demolition of 1,500 m<sup>2</sup>:

**36,000,000 Rs**

build 4 - 5 public amenities

**60,000,000 Rs**

	people	urban area	built area	floor area	urban density	floor area pp
New Aruna Nagar:	5000	38,925 m <sup>2</sup>	34,387 m <sup>2</sup> GSI: 88.3%	138,962,25 m <sup>2</sup> FSI: 357% (excluding commercial spaces)	1,285 ppl / ha	19,85 m <sup>2</sup>
eviction (urban upgrading):	192		1,500 m <sup>2</sup>	3,750m <sup>2</sup>		
neighbourhood (prison site):	386	3,058m <sup>2</sup>	2,535 m <sup>2</sup> GSI: 82.9%	9,198m <sup>2</sup> 301% (+1,050m <sup>2</sup> access)	1,262 ppl / ha	23,8 m <sup>2</sup>

After the relocation of the evicted people, there is space for approximately 194 people left, equalling roughly 4575 m<sup>2</sup>

rental price for middle income apartments in Majnu Ka Tilla: 250 Rs / m<sup>2</sup> / month

(makaan.in, 99acres.com, housing.com)

possible monthly rental income:

**1,143,750 Rs**

**...after 17,5 years, the CTA would benefit from rental incomes**

selling price for middle income apartments in Majnu Ka Tilla: 140.000 Rs / m<sup>2</sup>

(makaan.in, 99acres.com, housing.com)

possible turnover:

**640,500,000 Rs**

**...388,344,000 would remain as income for the CTA**

## Proposal

## Finances



## CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

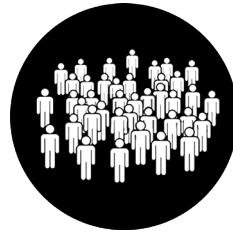
- 1)  
develop a new residential block  
on the site of the prison
- 2)  
structurally upgrade  
the existing neighbourhood
- 3)  
establish secular public  
institutions throughout  
the neighbourhood

## ORDER OF PRESENTATION

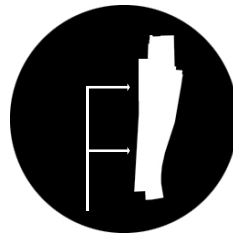
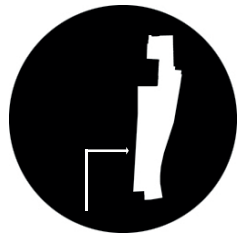
- 1)  
urban strategy
- 2)  
a library and cultural space
- 3)  
new residential block

# Urban Strategy

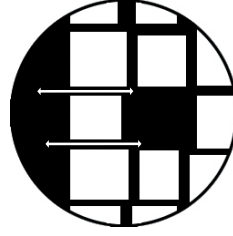
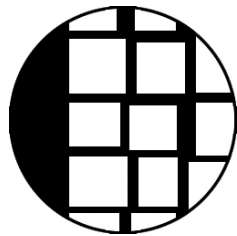




- increase urban quality for people that live in the neighborhood already
- open commercial and public areas to people from outside
- preserve privacy within the blocks
- create spaces to rest, to decelerate
- facilitate traditional habits

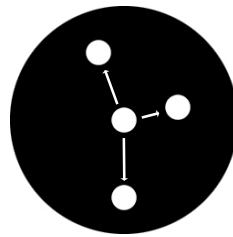
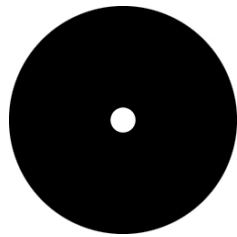


new points of acces towards the city of Delhi

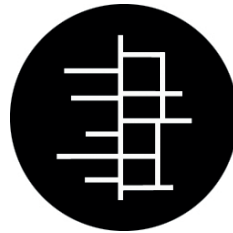


acces point leading onto public squares

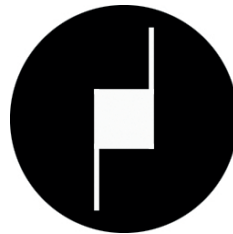
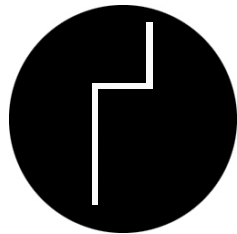




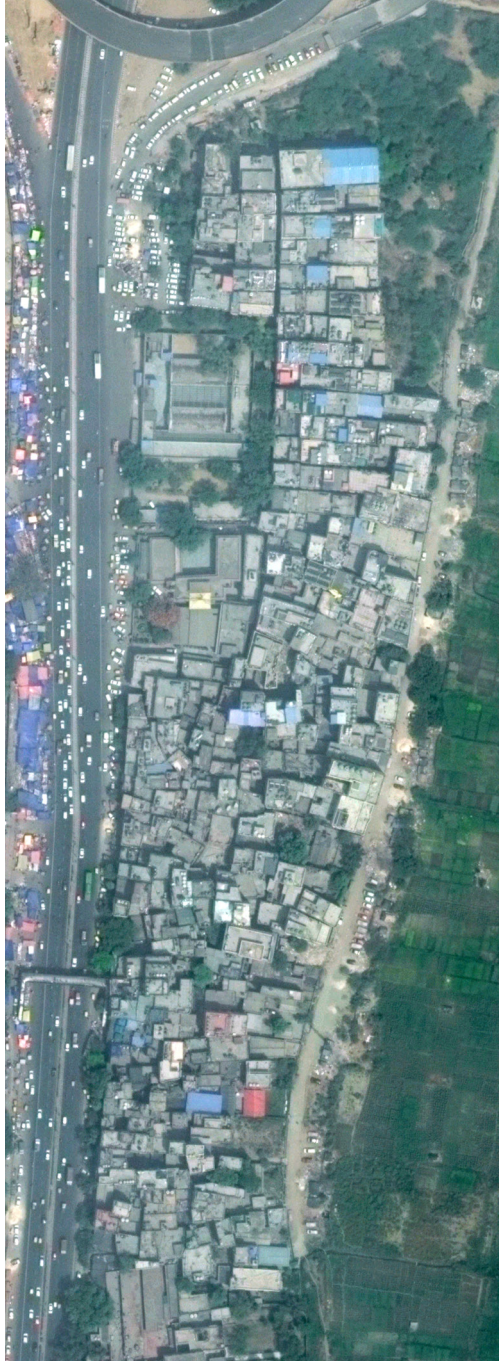
decentralization of points of interest



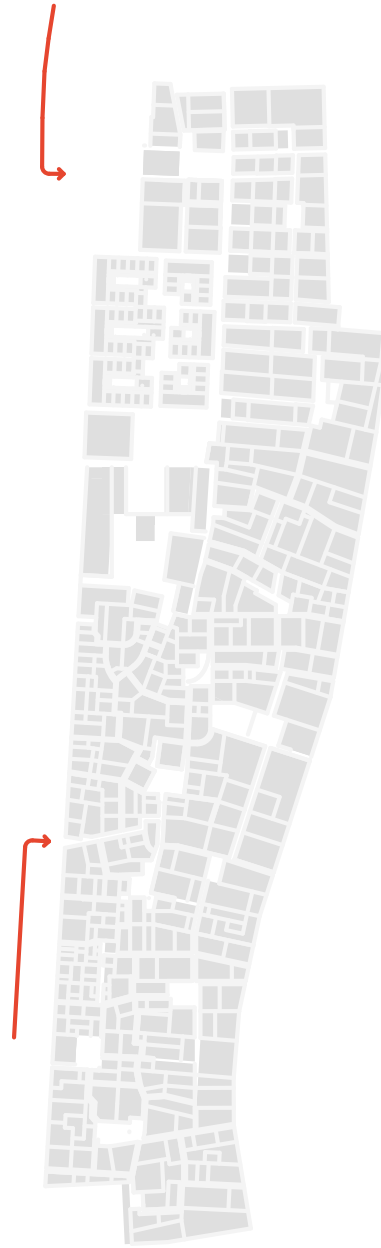
loops and circumambulation

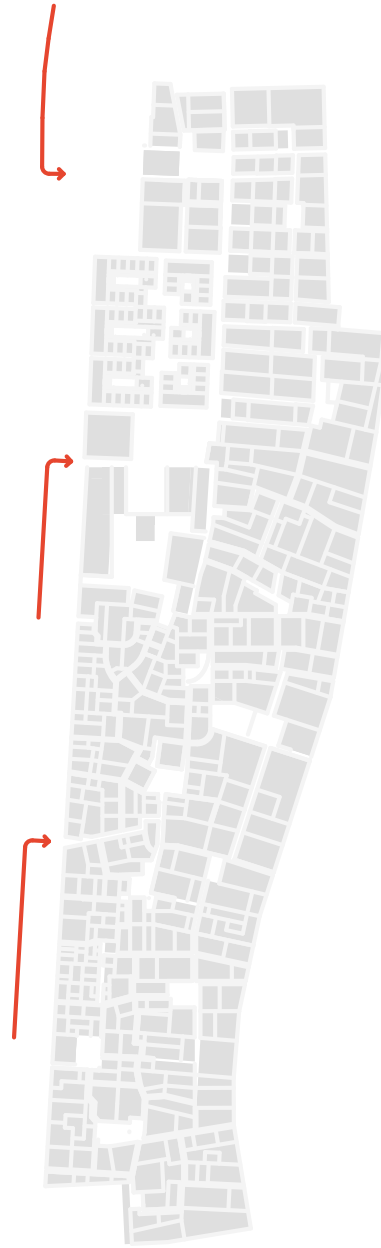


small pocket spaces

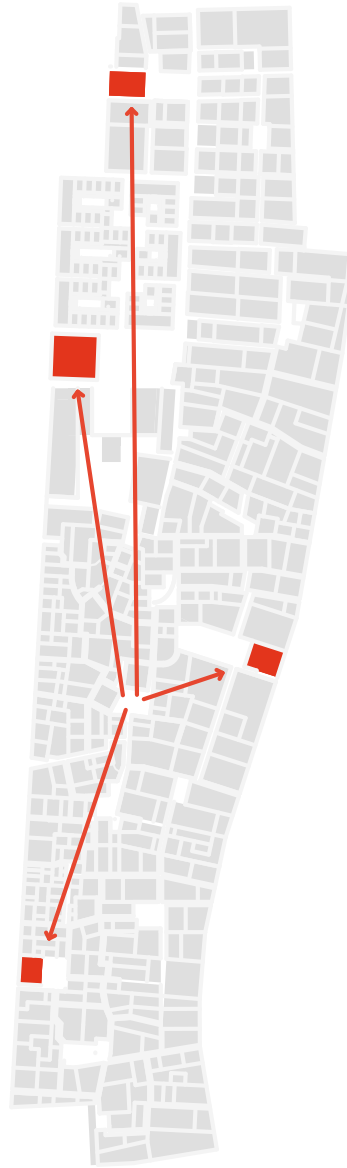


















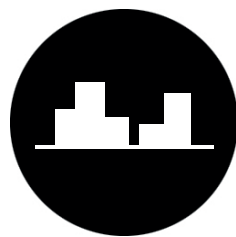
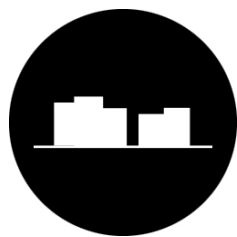
## Urban strategy

various decentral pocket spaces

circumambulation

upgrading of dead-end streets

secular public institutions  
as entrance situations



height variation





## Urban strategy

ventilation & daylight

private outside spaces

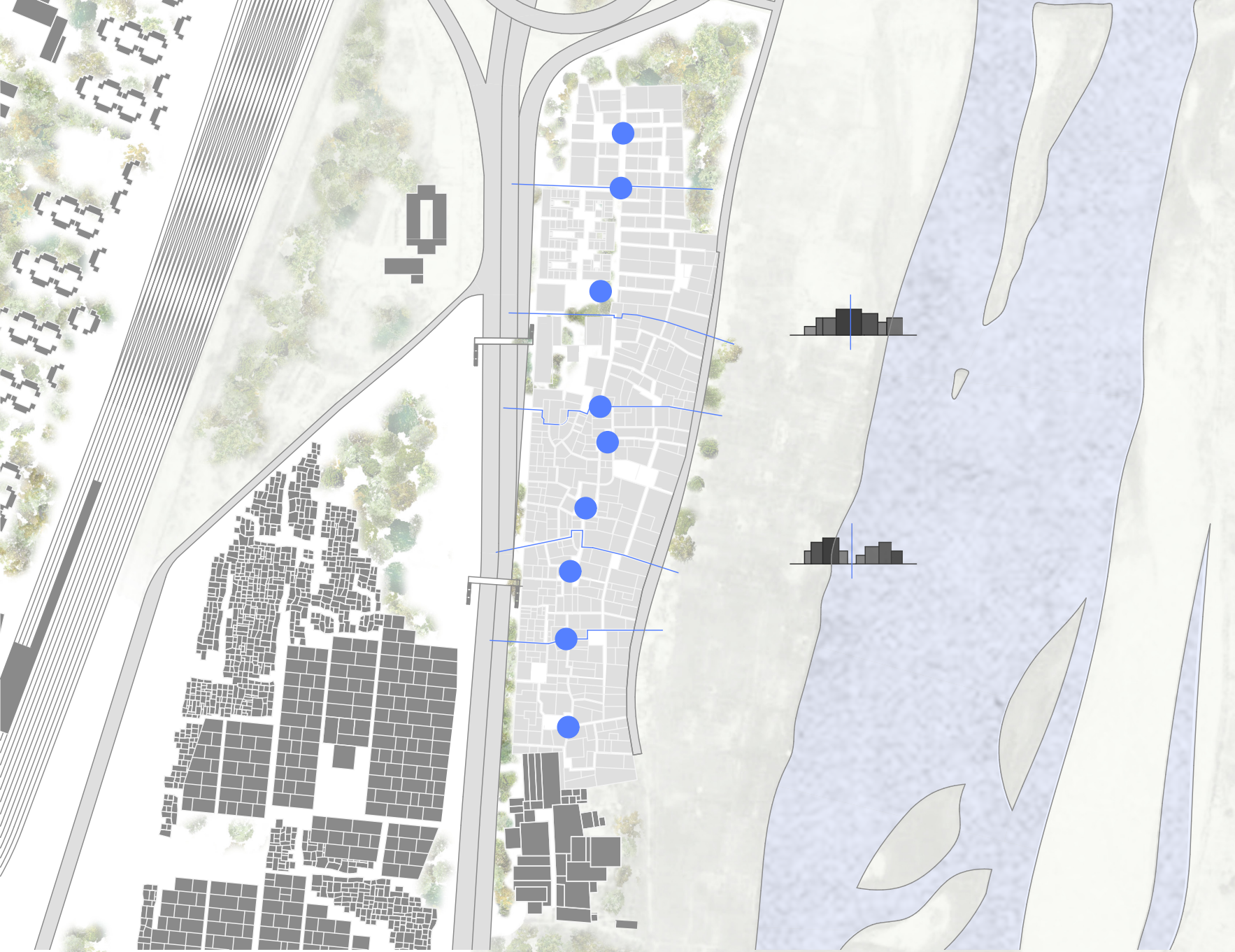
## Urban strategy

fire safety



100m





## Urban strategy

fire safety

100m







# **Secular Public Facilities**

## **A Library & Cultural Space**



## Library & Cultural Space

public goods: knowledge,  
interaction, communication

towards the outside:

object of attention

transfer point between  
neighbourhood and street

towards the inside:

object of identification

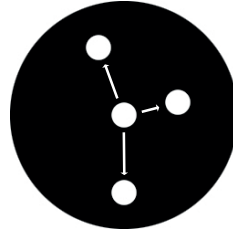
place for deceleration

20m

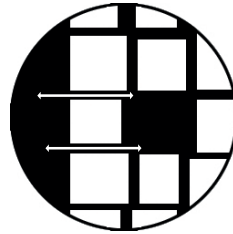




point of interaction  
Institution to promote heritage and facilitate education



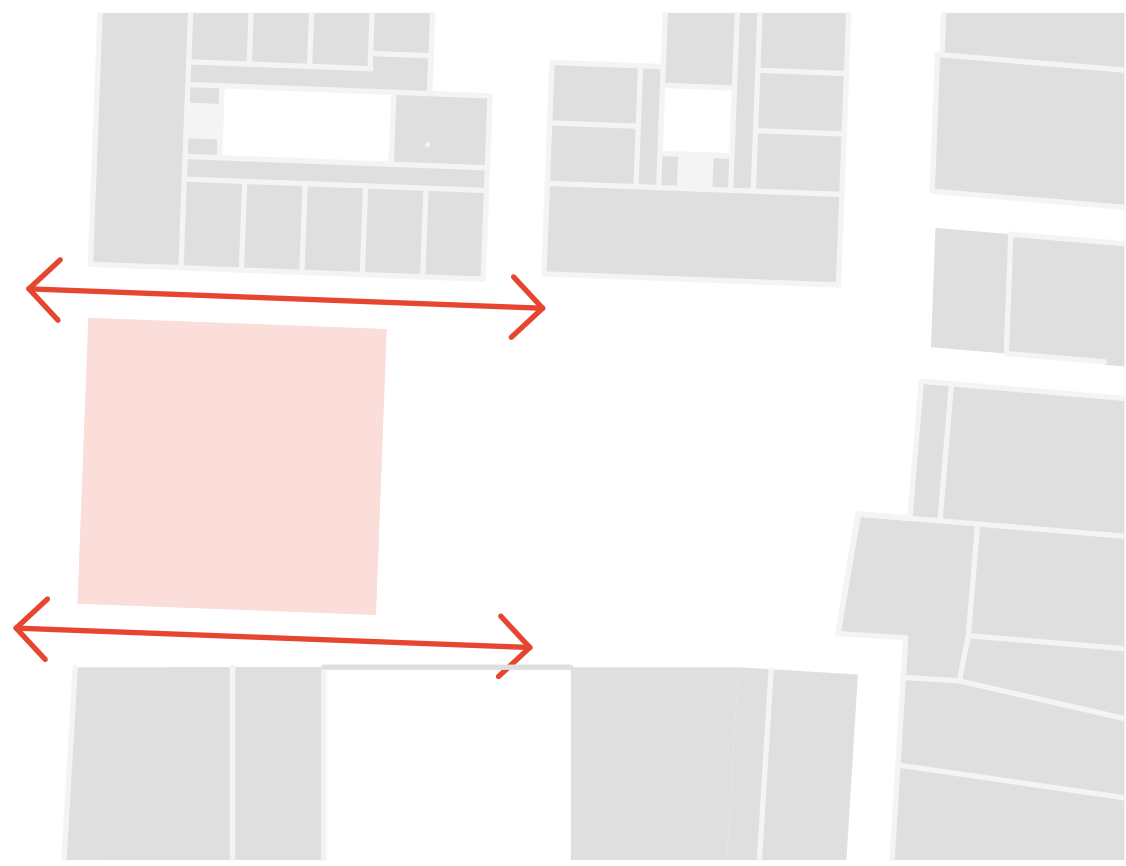
Allocated decentrally in the neighbourhood to enliven all areas



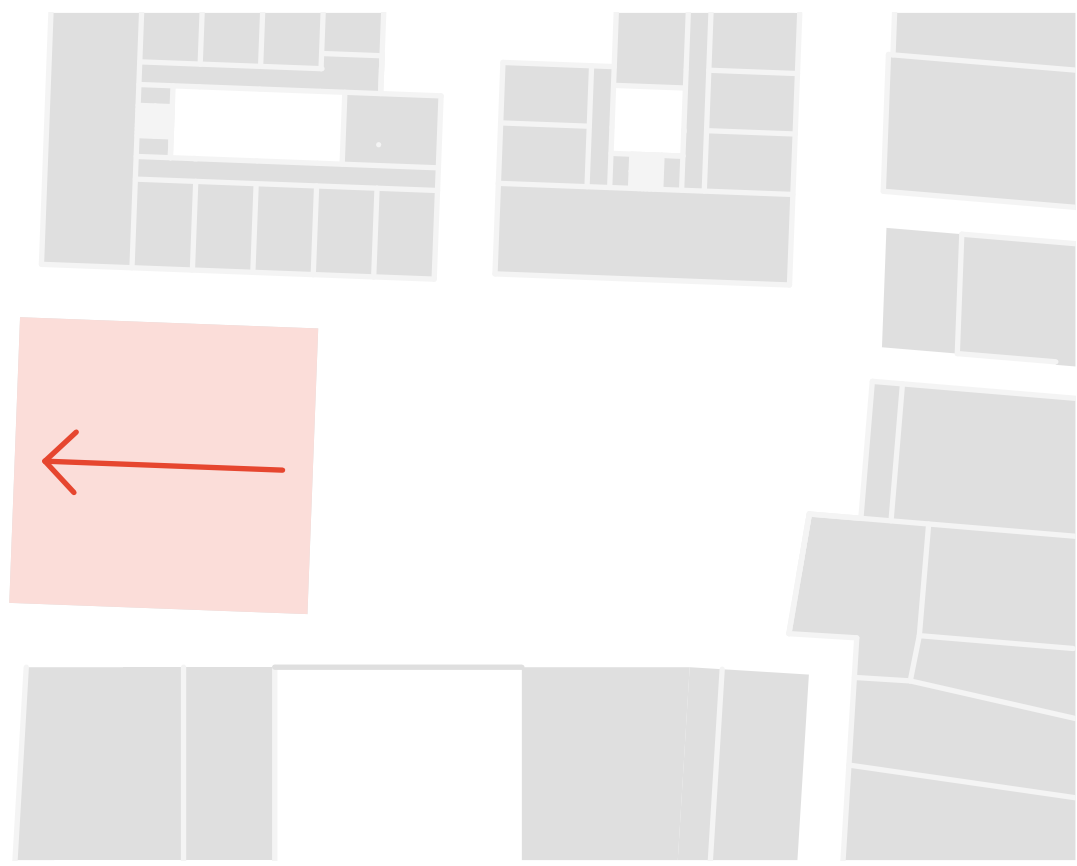
secular public facilities as points of acces

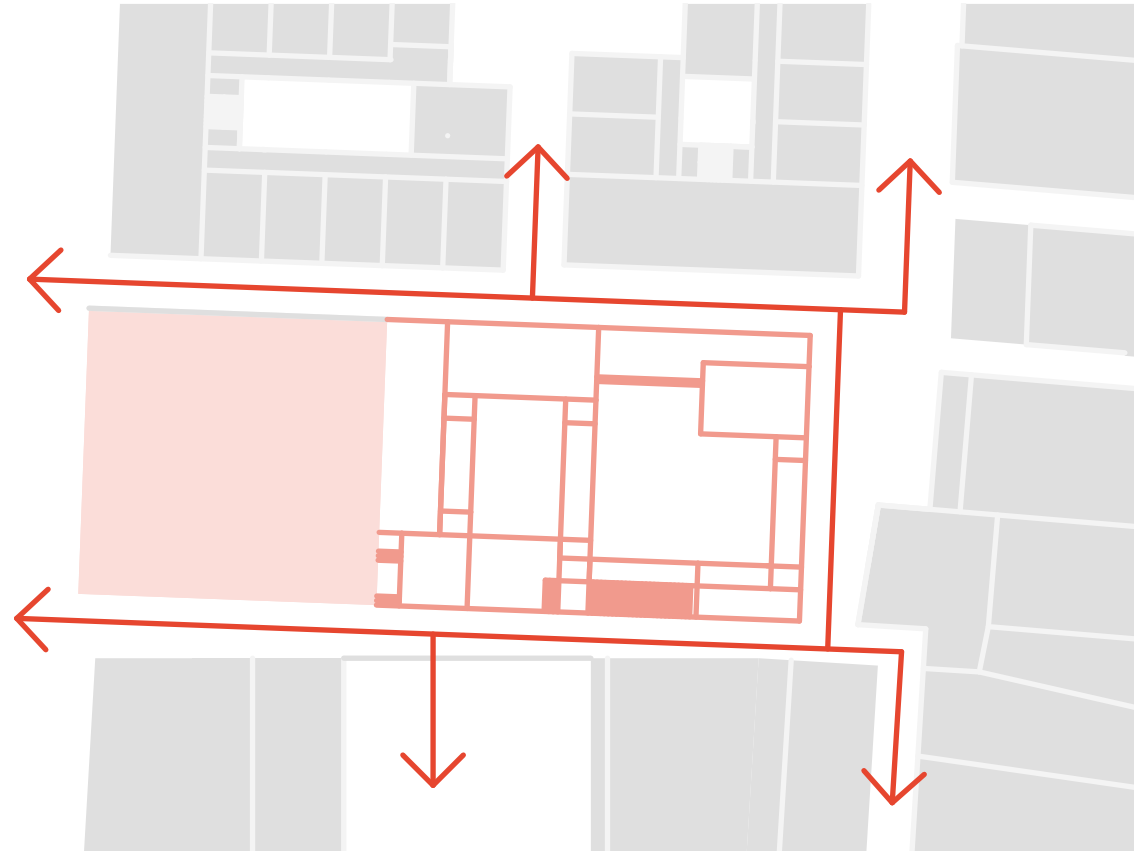


seperate commuting and resting

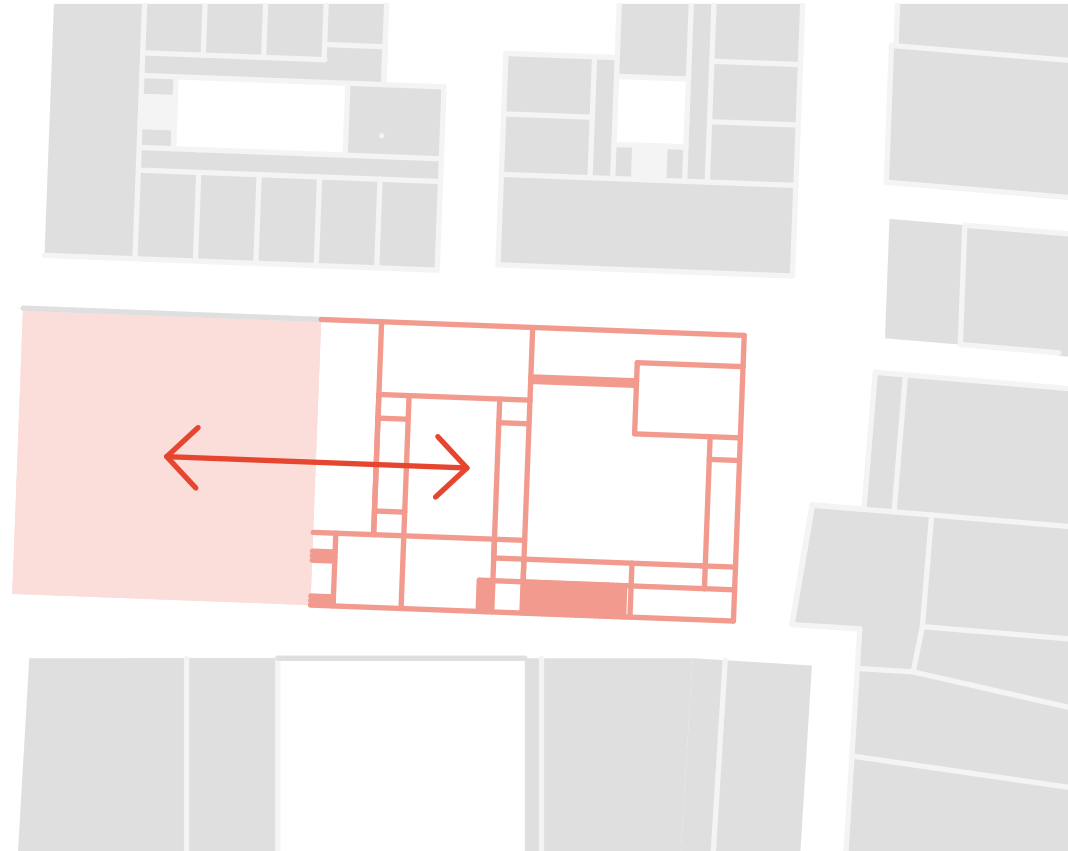














## Library & Cultural Space

public square:

fragmented by 40cm terrasses

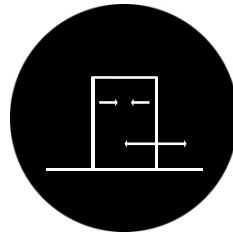
water pond, adiabatic cooling

greenery as buffers

promenade architectural

10m

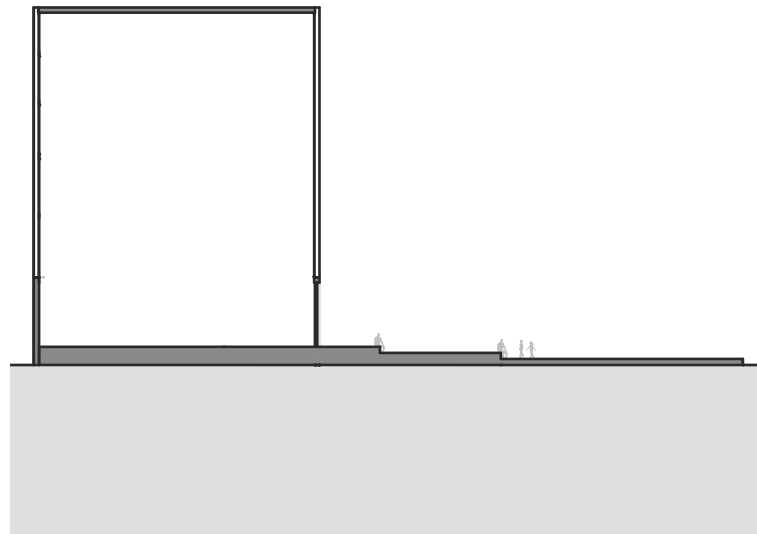




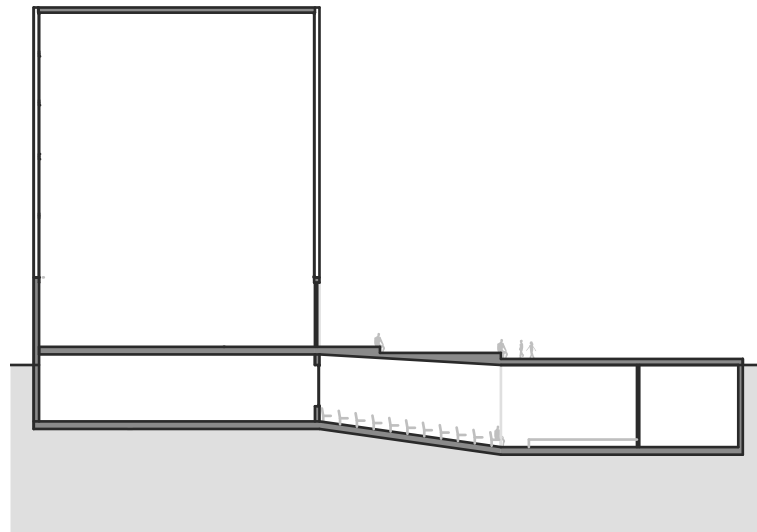
gradual transition from outside to inside, from public to private

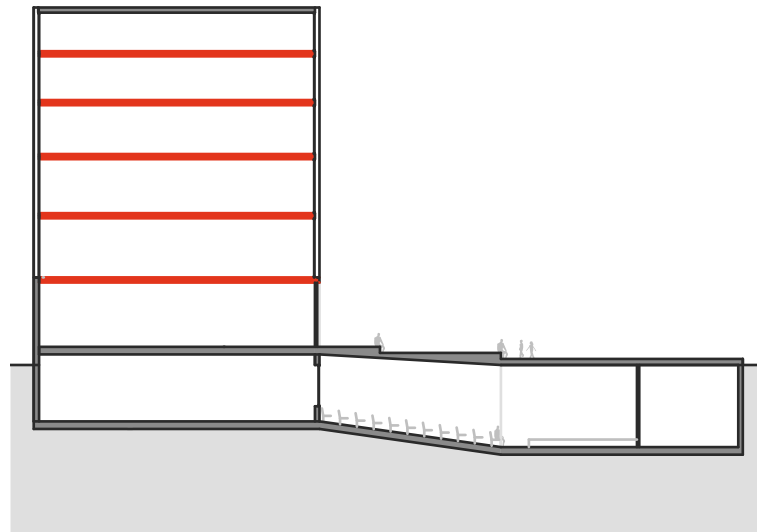


iconic that stimulates sense of identity

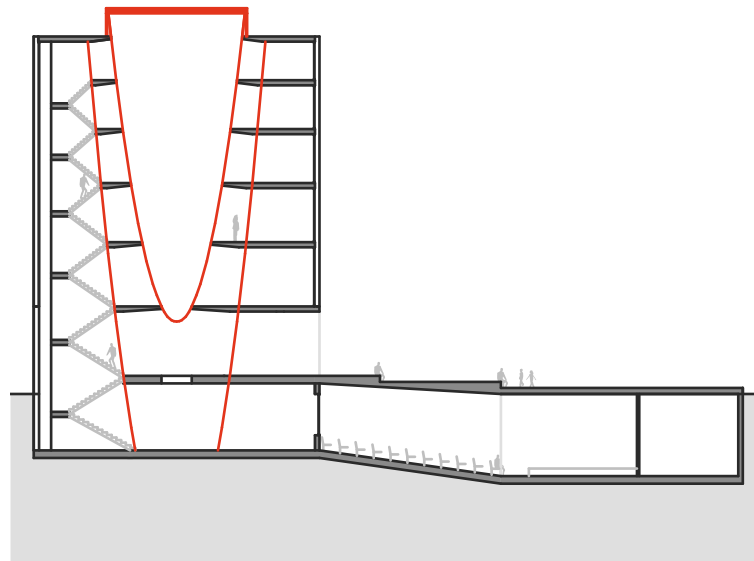


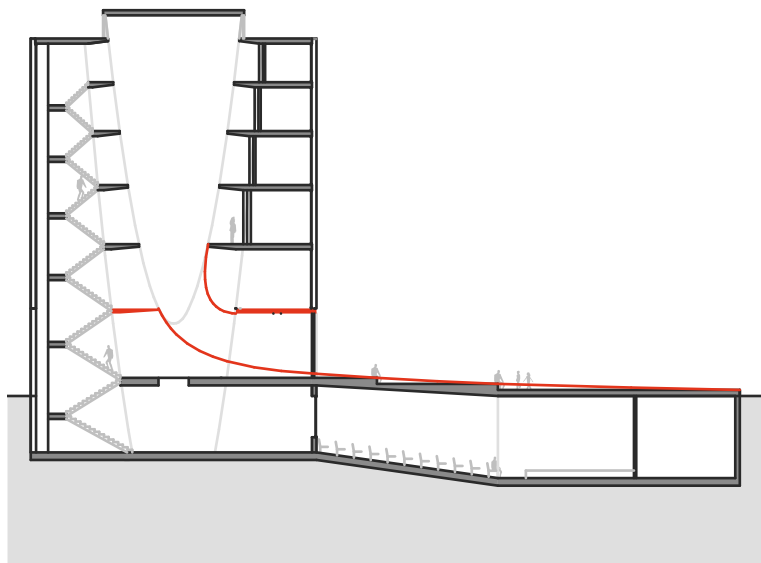










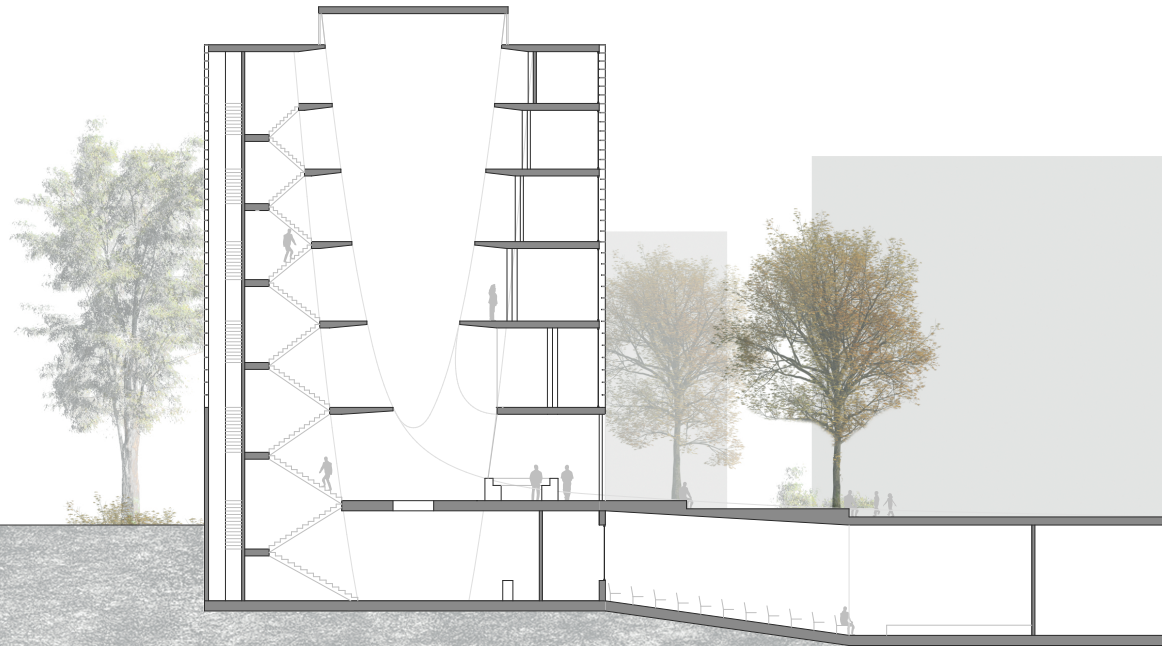




## Library & Cultural Space

section west - east

axial- / point-symmetric

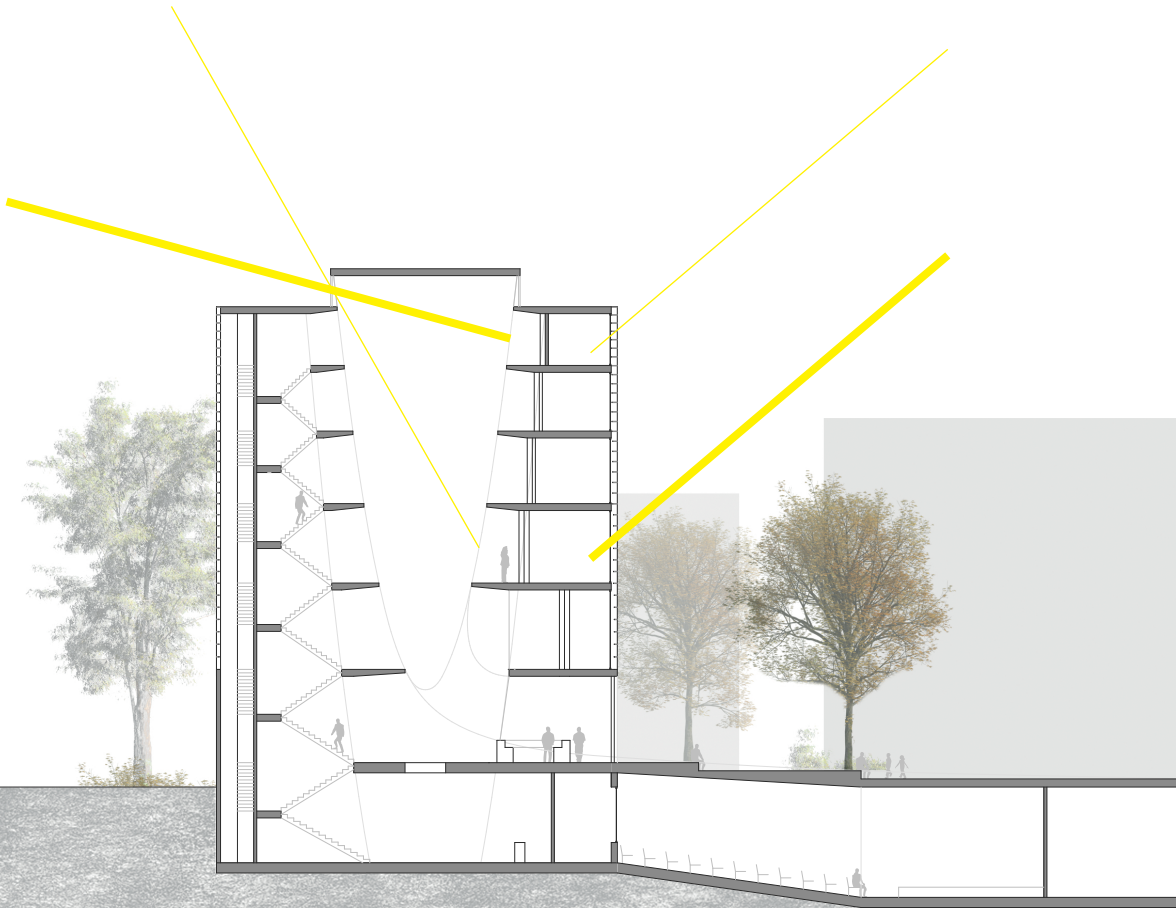



10m 

## Library & Cultural Space

section west - east

gradient through light



10m 



## Library & Cultural Space

ground floor:

entrance & reception

exhibition space

administration



10m



## Library & Cultural Space

underground floor:

foyer

cultural events

larger meetings

archive and storage

technical areas





## Library & Cultural Space

ground floor:

entrance & reception

exhibition space

administration



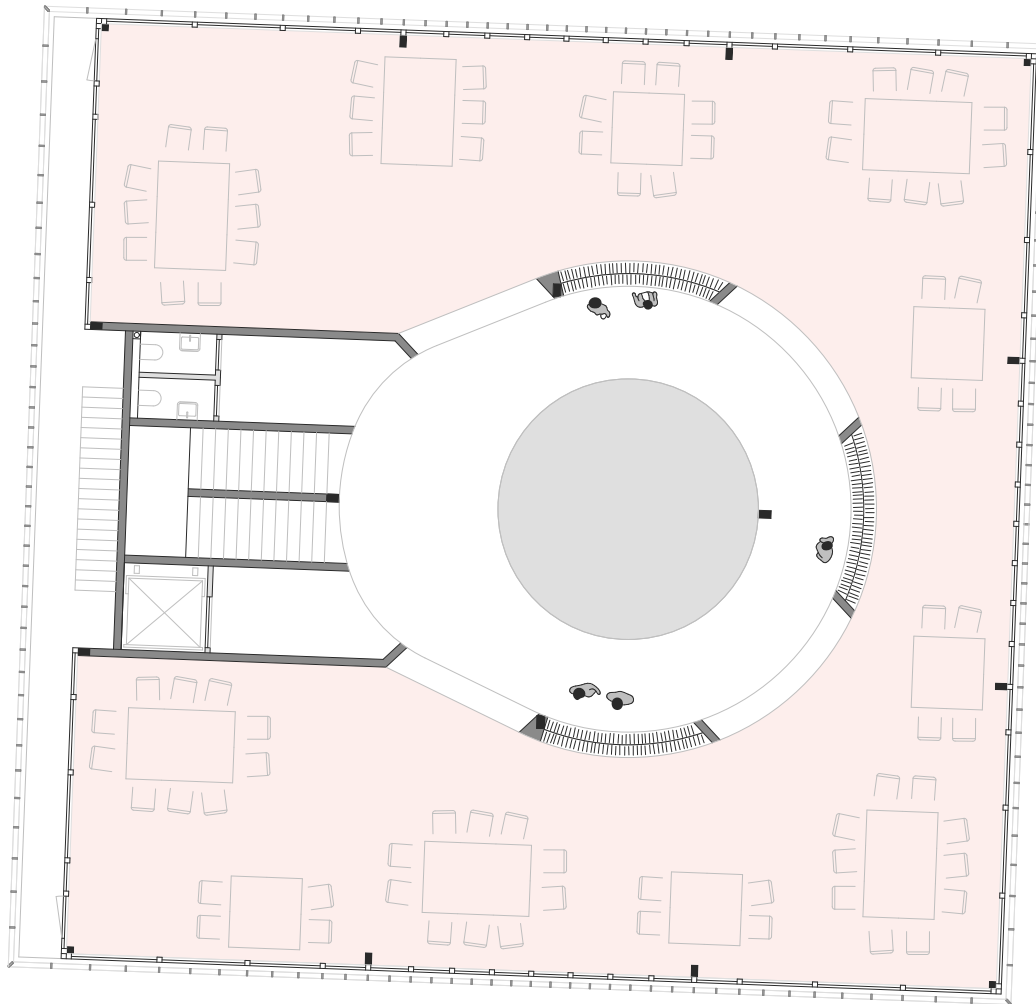
5m



## Library & Cultural Space

1st floor:

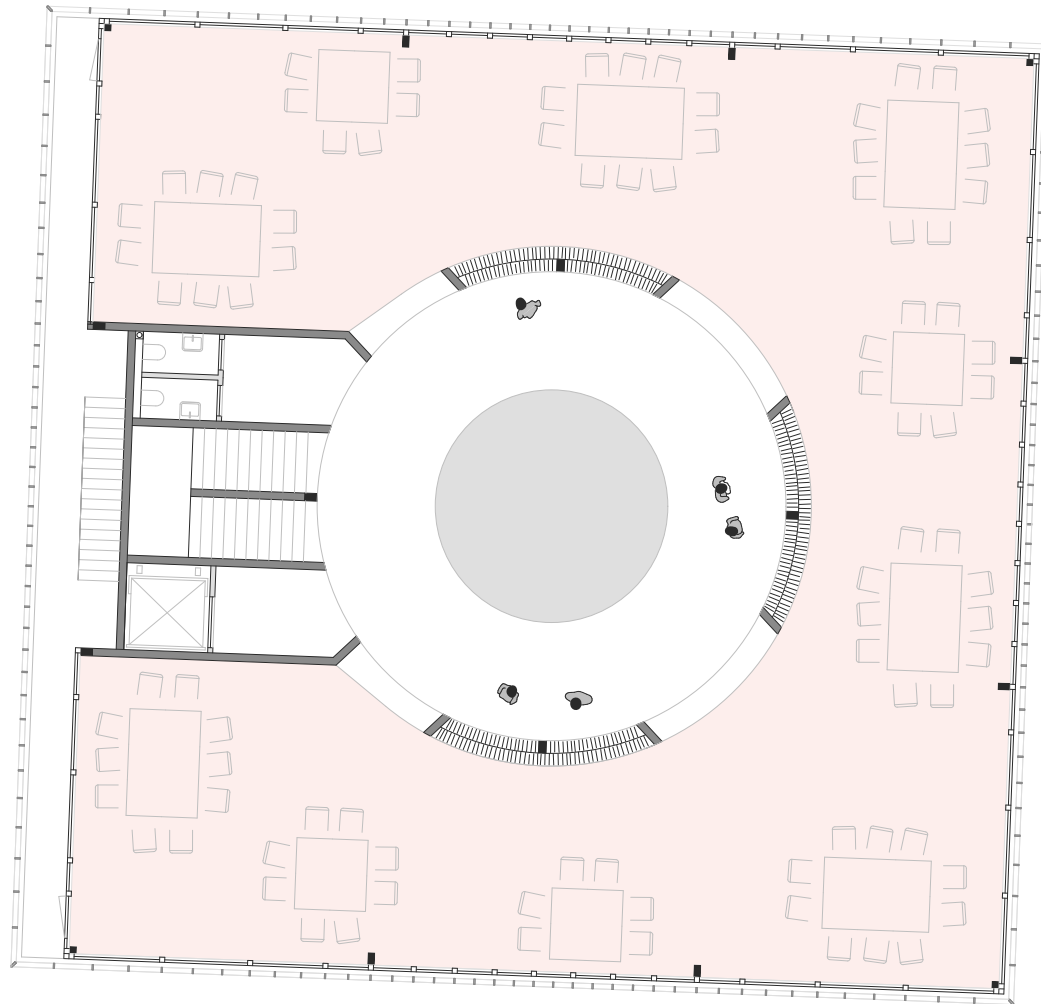
open area, parlatorium



## Library & Cultural Space

2nd floor:

open area, parlatorium



5m

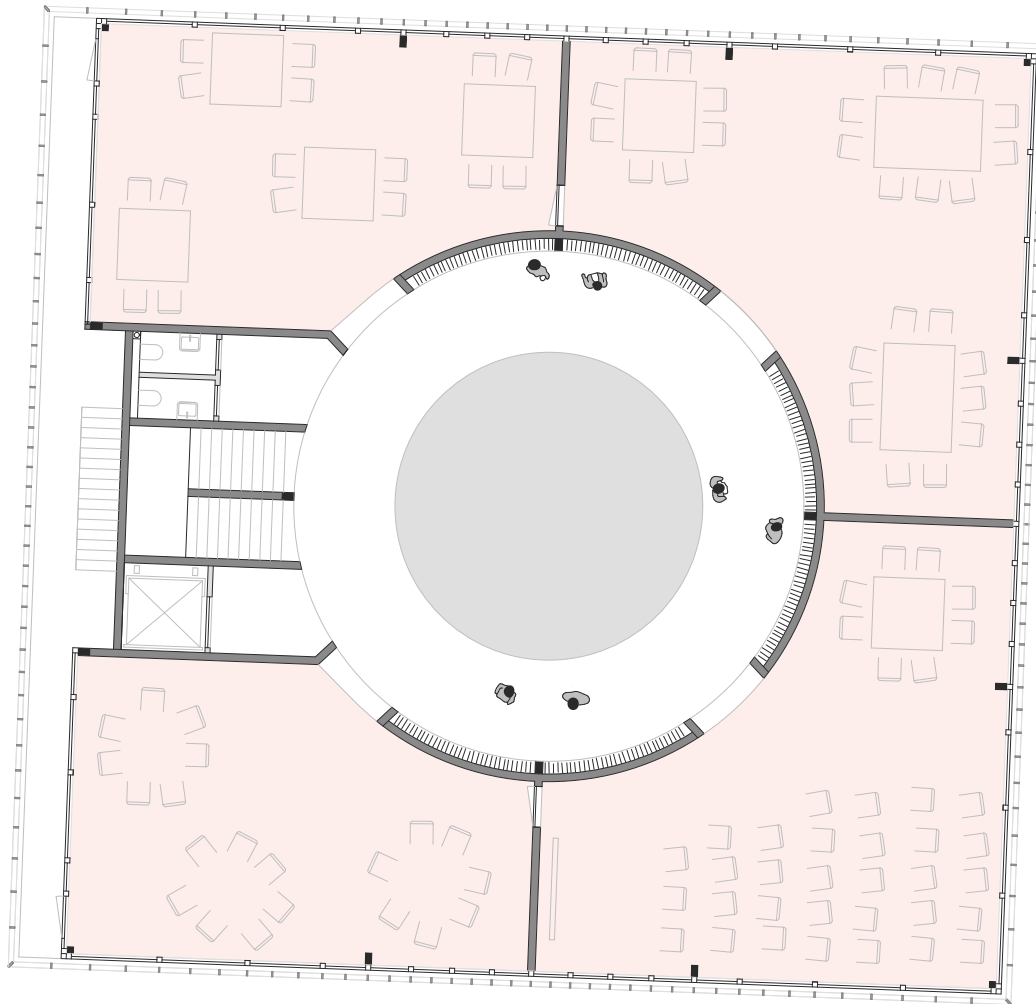


## Library & Cultural Space

3rd floor:

seminar spaces

lecture & presentation rooms



5m

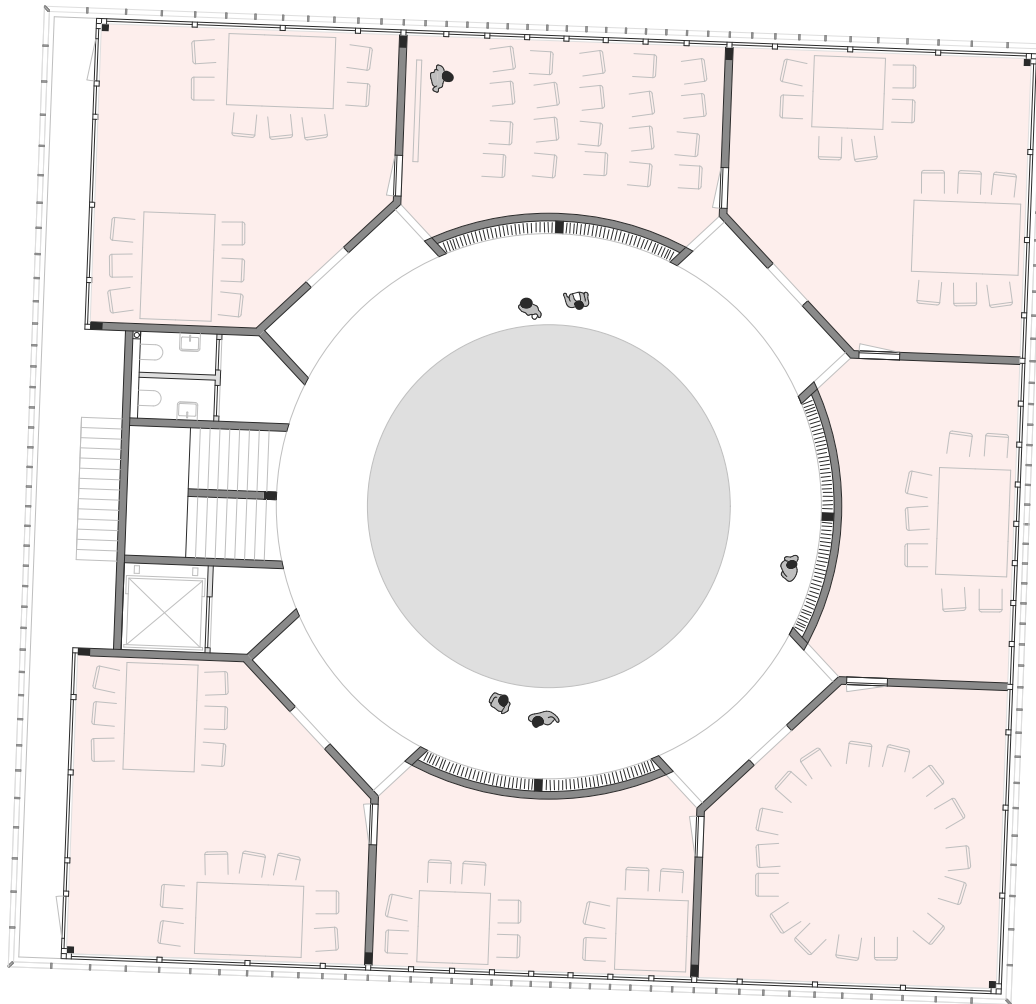




## Library & Cultural Space

4th floor:

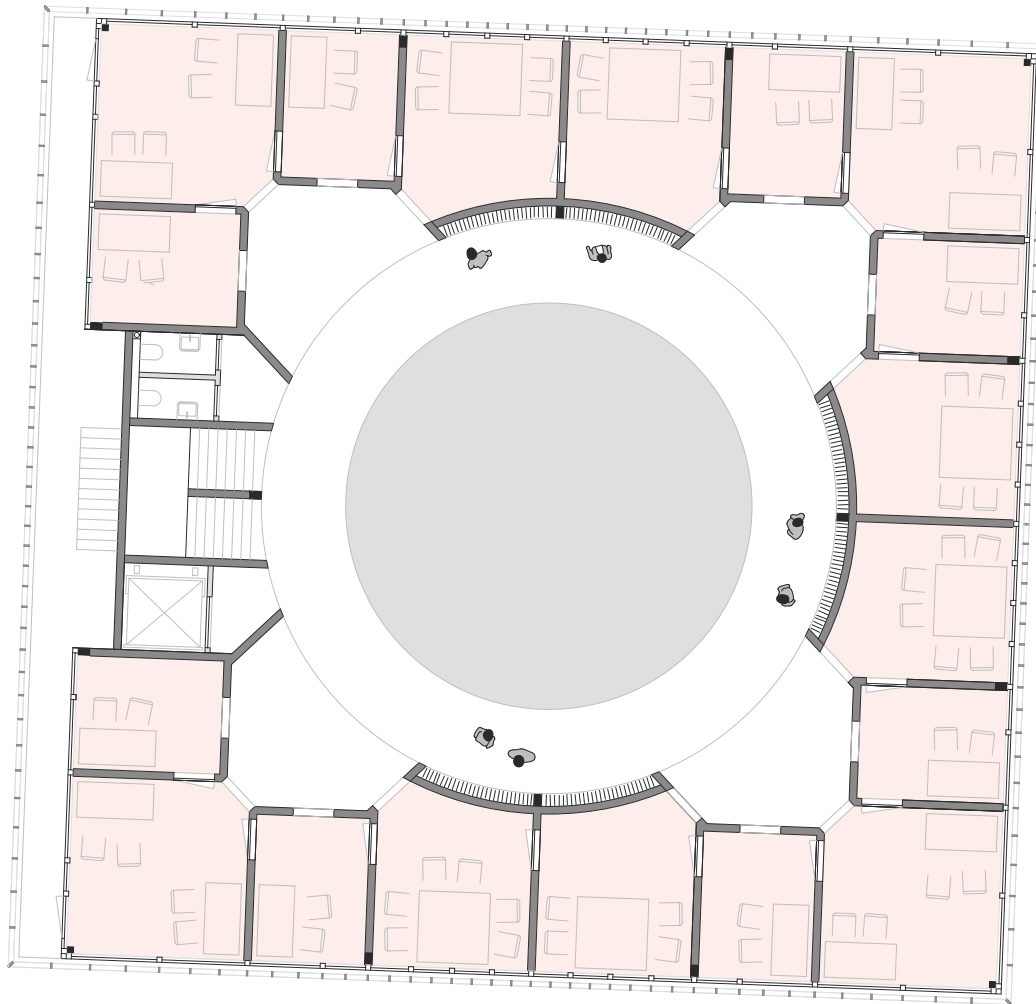
group working spaces



## Library & Cultural Space

5th floor:

small working units



5m



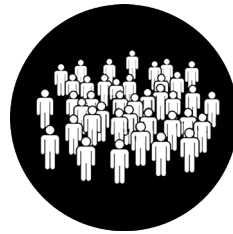








## **A New Residential Block**

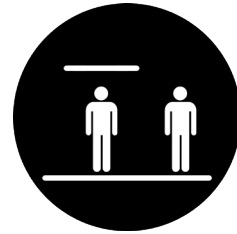
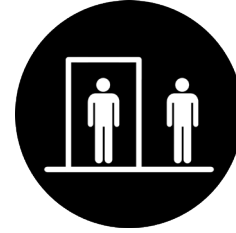


- evicted people
- voluntary movers inside New Aruna Nagar
- newcomers



## privacy

introverted buildings, windowless walls, courtyard  
private outside spaces, visually disconnected  
narrow, intransparent street network, orientation towards a centre



**openness**  
desired integration into Delhi's urban fabric  
integration of residential and commercial spaces  
roof landscape  
blurred borders

**density:**  
180,000 ppl./km<sup>2</sup>, increasing

## religious values

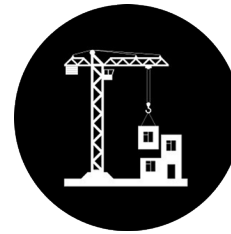
monofunctionality, no secular institutions

preservation of culture habits, traditional means of identification

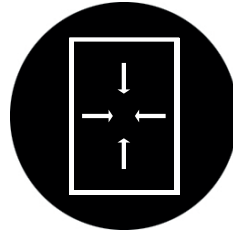
sequences of dark and bright spaces, level differences and hierarchy, circumambulation



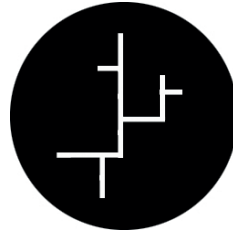
**modern development**  
spatial and social diversity  
western lifestyle, interests and visions  
integration with India society  
quick variation of shapes, sizes, colours



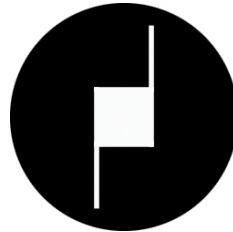
**technological progress**  
new building techniques



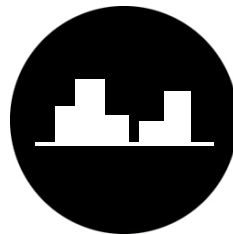
Interactive within the block,  
strict border towards outside



Meandering street network

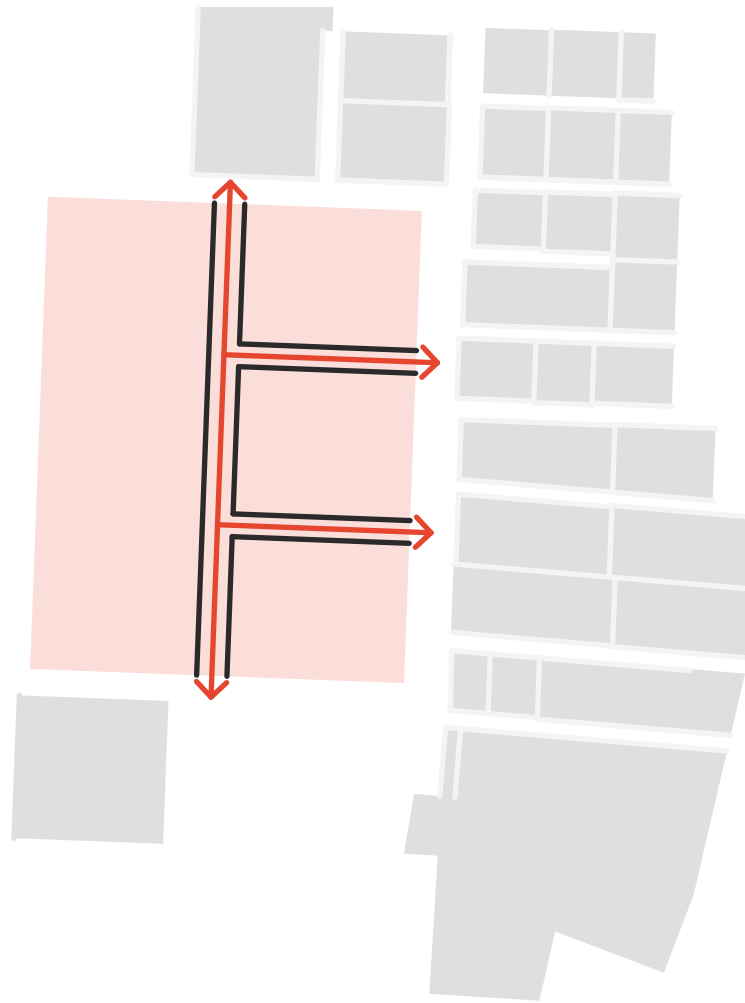


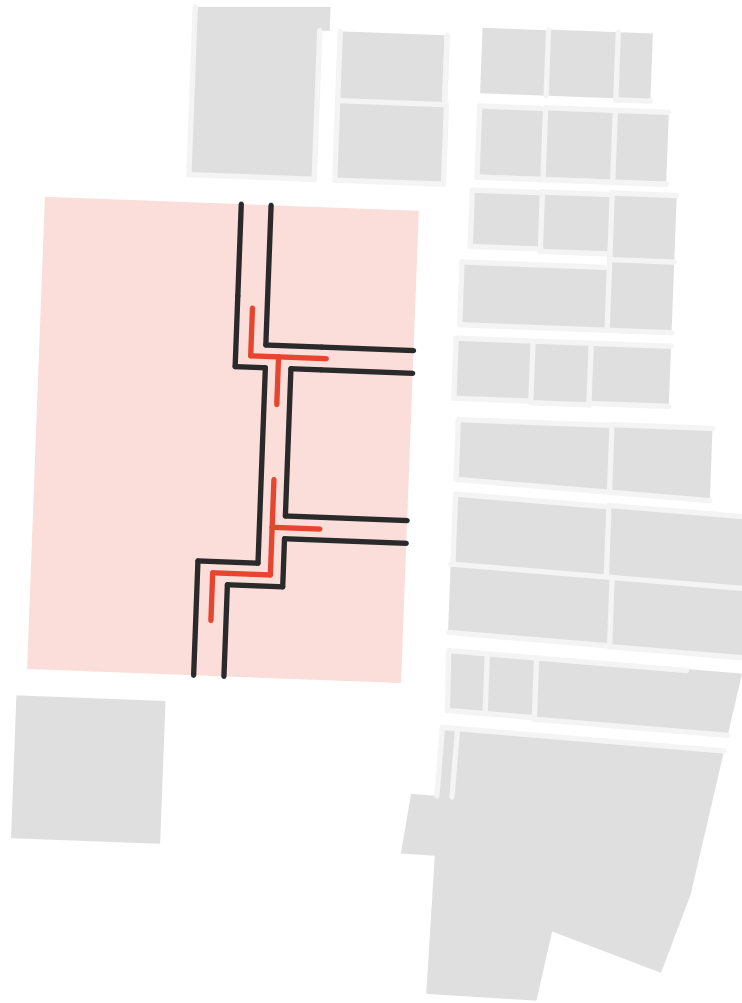
Interactive pocket spaces

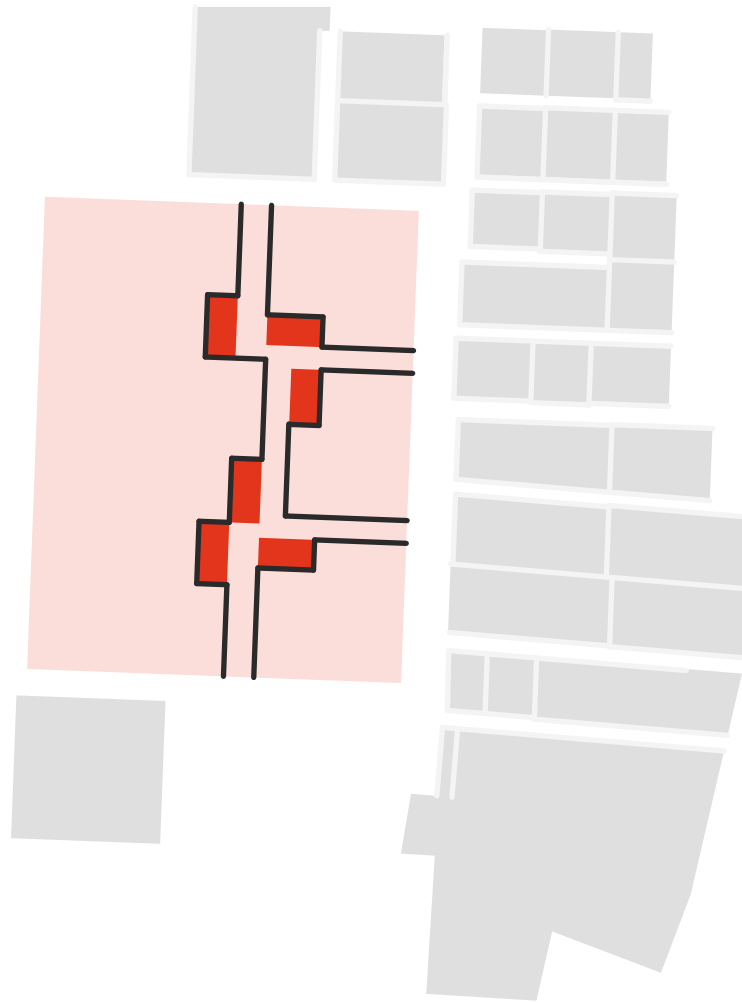


Height variation

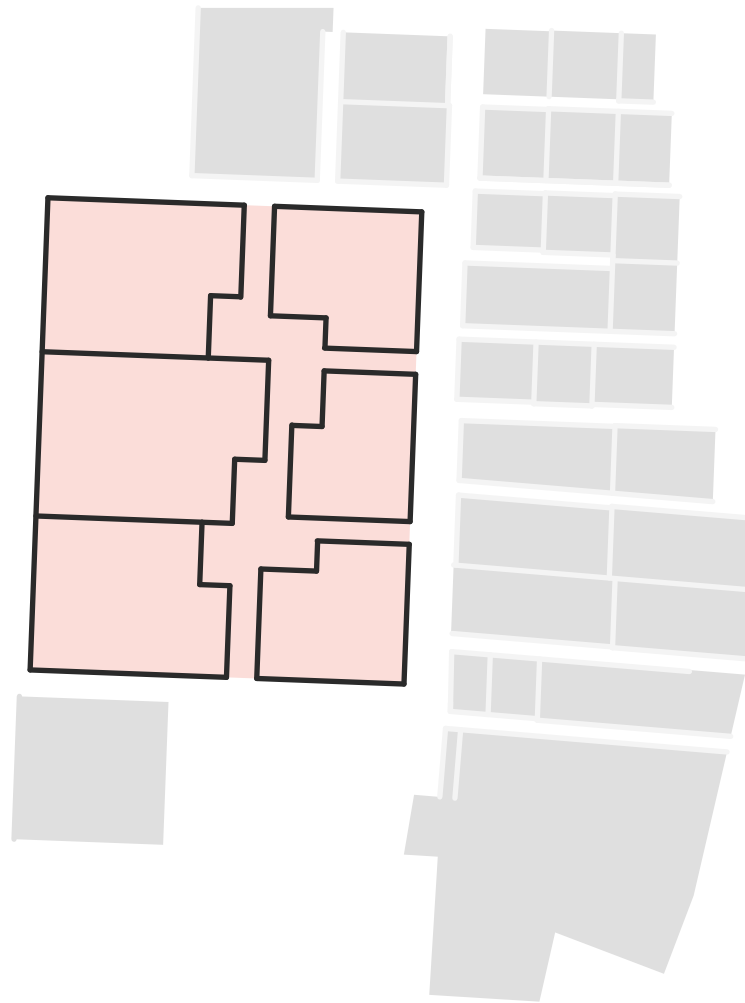


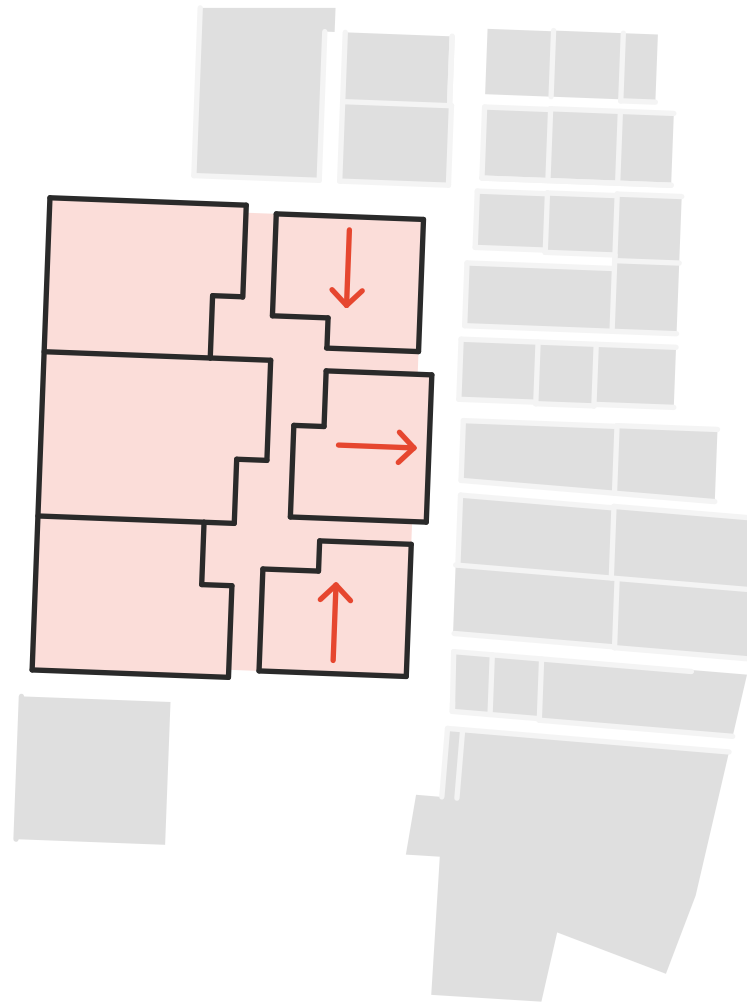


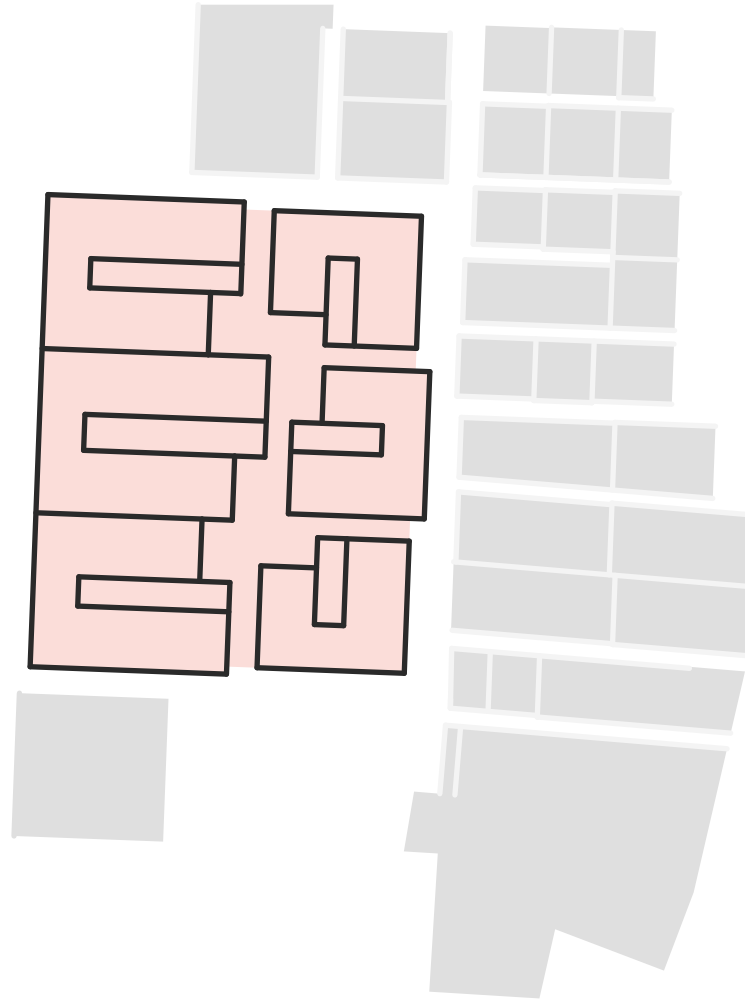




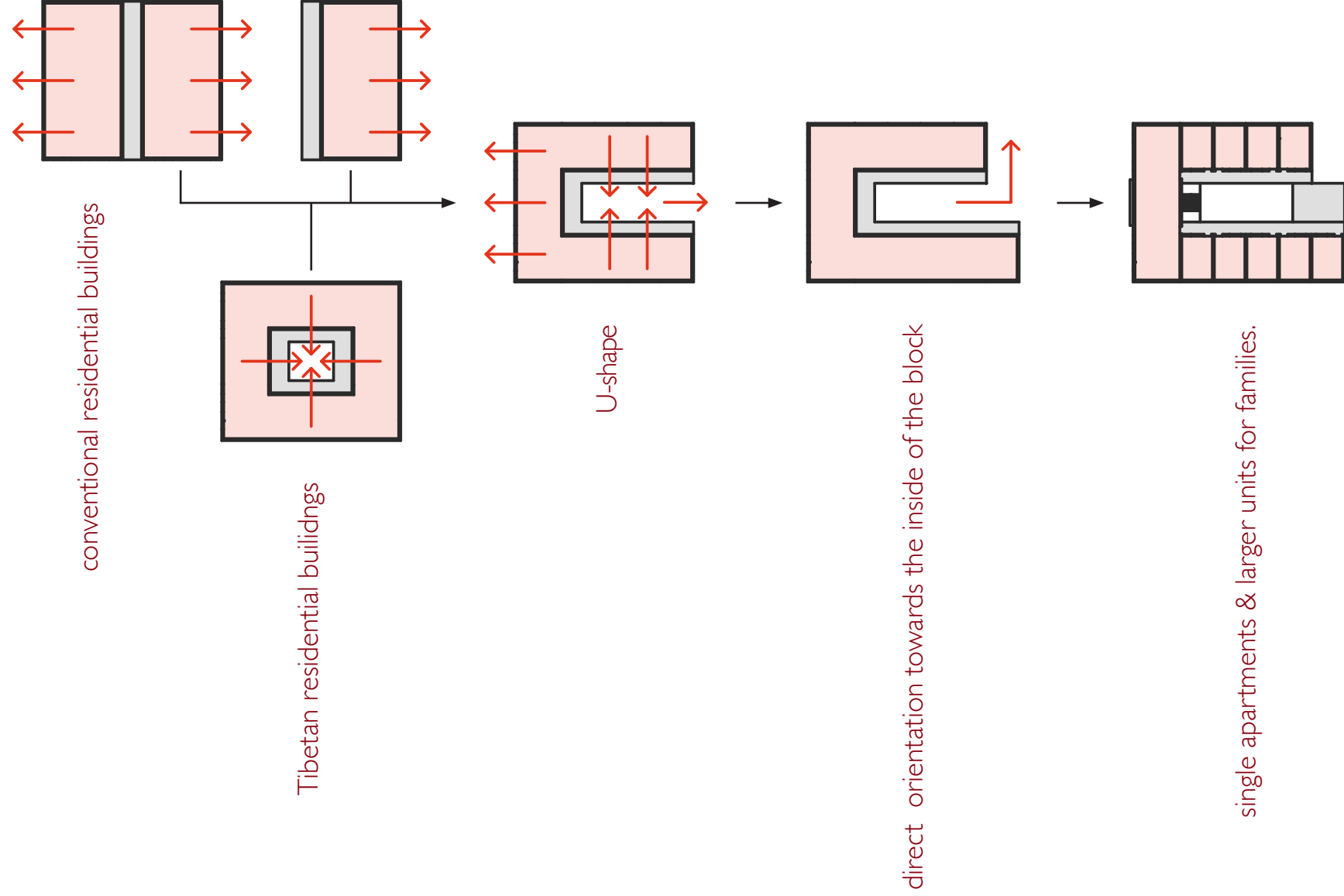














## New Residential Block

ground floor:

open street

niche within the street network

courtyard

## New Residential Block

1st floor:

public area above the entrance  
for all residents of a building





## New Residential Block

2nd floor:

terrasses -  
shared space per floor

acces balconies  
with private pockets

private units



## New Residential Block

3rd floor:



## New Residential Block

4th floor:



20m 



## New Residential Block

5th floor:

roof landscape  
point of interaction with neighbors outside of the block

traditionally: roof terraces  
above central living rooms



20m













## New Residential Block

ground floor

front entrance:  
level difference - ramps

back entrance:  
stairs leading to the platforms  
garbage bins  
bicycle stands

commercial units  
(and shared kitchen)  
towards the outside

residential units  
half a floor higher

5m 



## New Residential Block

ground floor

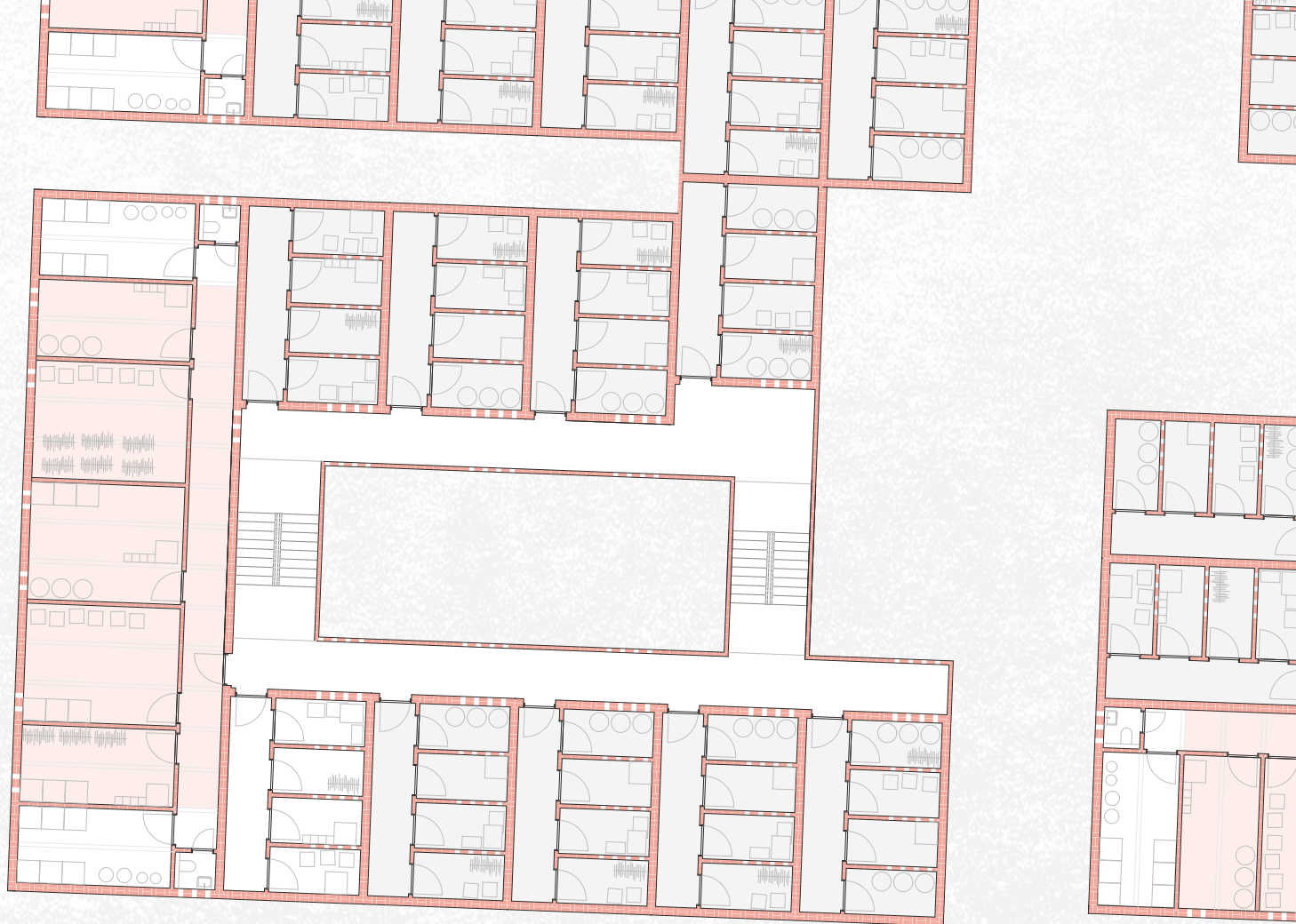
front entrance:  
level difference - ramps

back entrance:  
stairs leading to the platforms  
garbage bins  
bicycle stands

commercial units  
(and shared kitchen)  
towards the outside

residential units  
half a floor higher





## New Residential Block

underground floor

storage and toilet for  
commercial units

storage for residential units

GWE rooms

5m





## New Residential Block

1st floor

public area above the entrance



5m



## New Residential Block

### 2nd floor

platforms start to jump back

greenery in the corridors:  
visual privacy and shading  
within the units

niches on the corridors  
belonging to the units



## New Residential Block

3rd floor

activities on the platforms

prevent from people privately  
enchroaching the platforms



5m





## New Residential Block

4th floor

activities on the platforms

prevent from people privately  
enchroaching the platforms



5m













## **The Residential Units**



traditional, larger families with grandparents  
2-floor-units for 6 - 8 people



average families  
unit for 3 - 4 people



single people - youth hostel culture  
single apartments

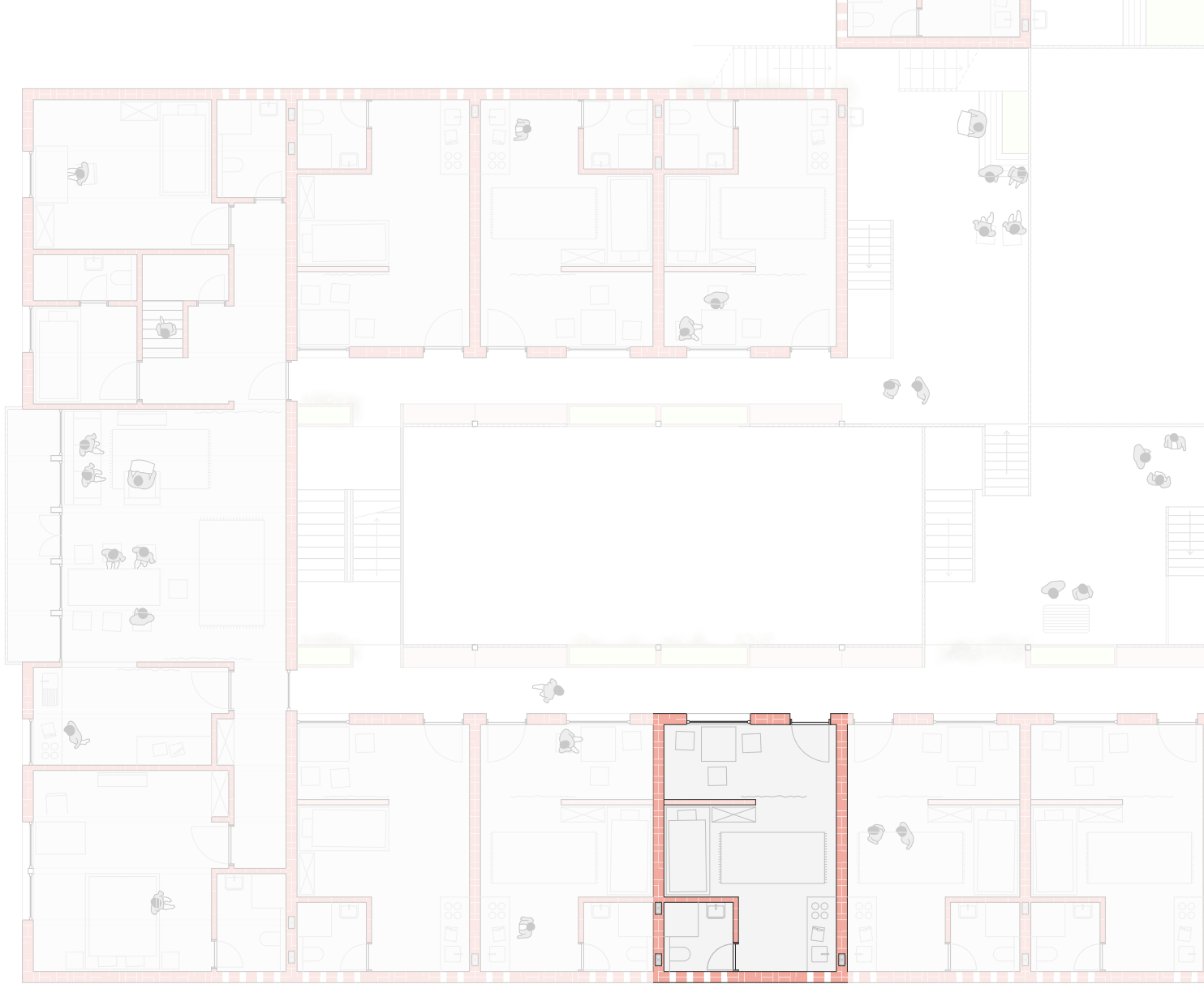
## New Residential Block

2nd floor

single units:

gradually more privacy towards  
the back of the units

cross-ventilation through  
interrupted brick pattern







## New Residential Block

2nd floor:

family units:

buffer space next to the entrance

central doubly floor living room  
with private terrace

attached kitchen

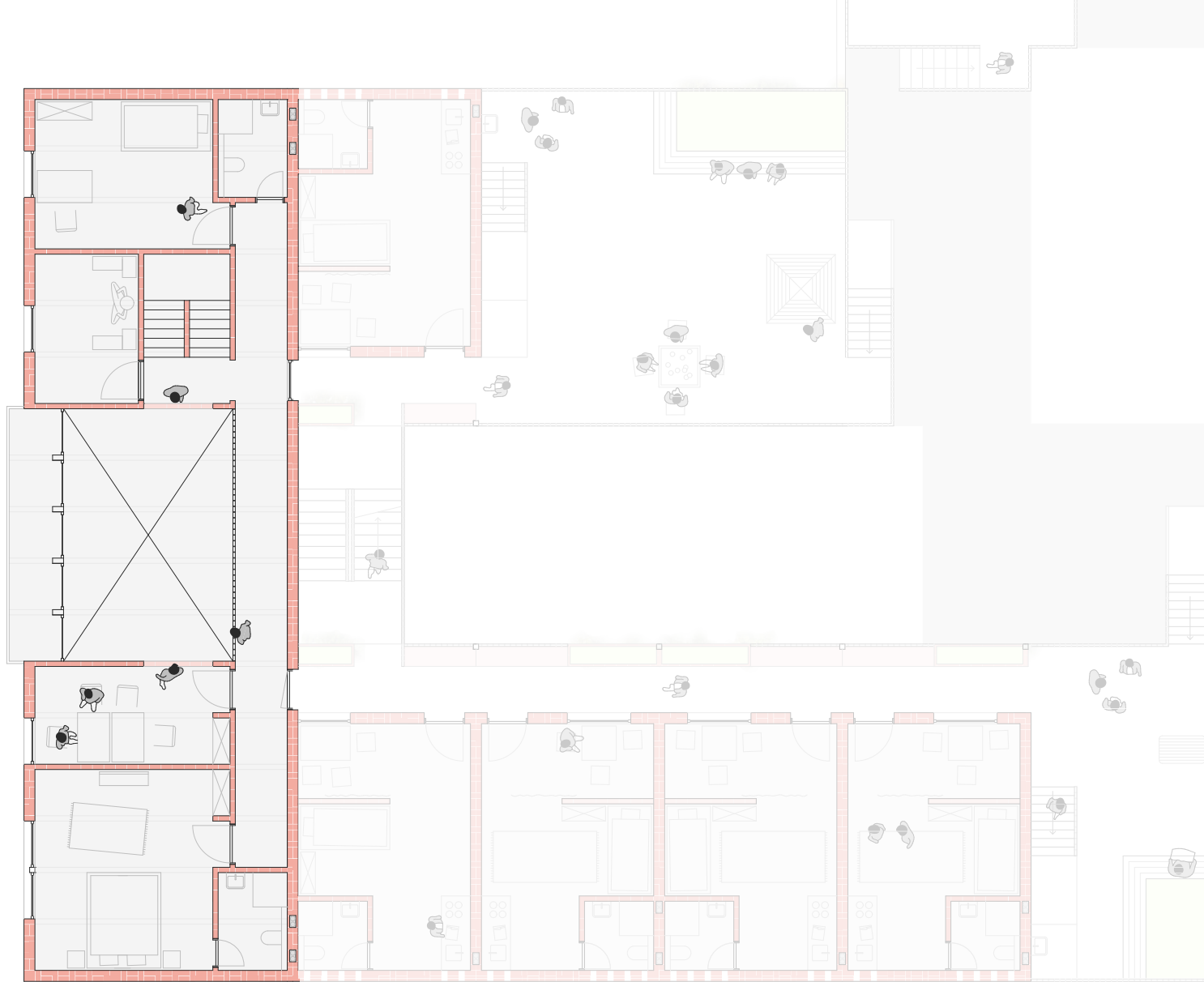
2 master bedrooms

2 bedrooms

service room

remote prayer room

study room



## New Residential Block

3rd floor:

family units:

buffer space next to the entrance

central doubly floor living room  
with private terrace

attached kitchen

2 master bedrooms

2 bedrooms

service room

remote prayer room

study room



## New Residential Block

2nd floor - in 10 years

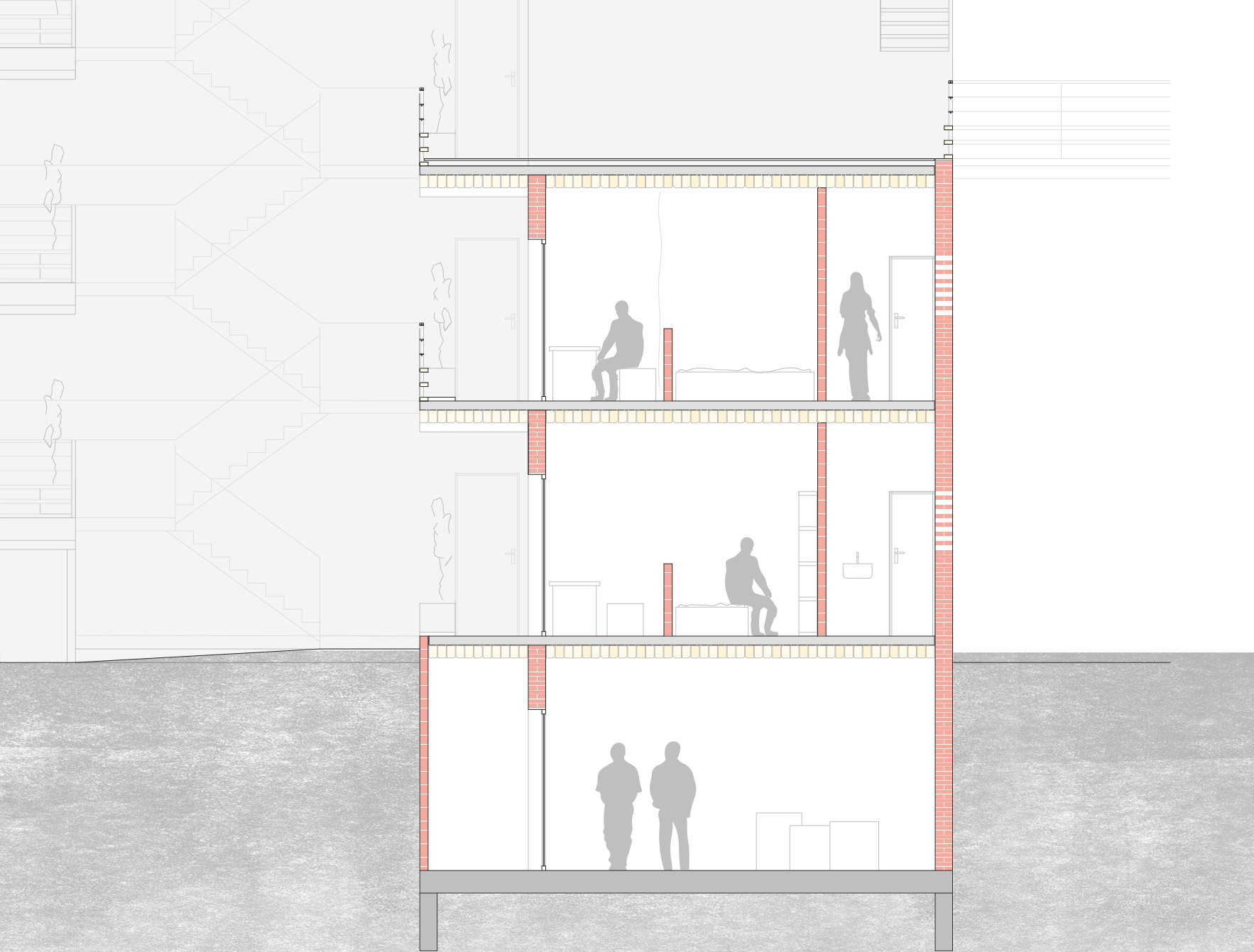
single units:

free-span ceiling

lintels for openings between units

brick walls within the units  
detached from load-bearing walls





## New Residential Block

2nd floor - in 10 years

single units:

free-span ceiling

lintels for openings between units

brick walls within the units  
detached from load-bearing walls



## New Residential Block

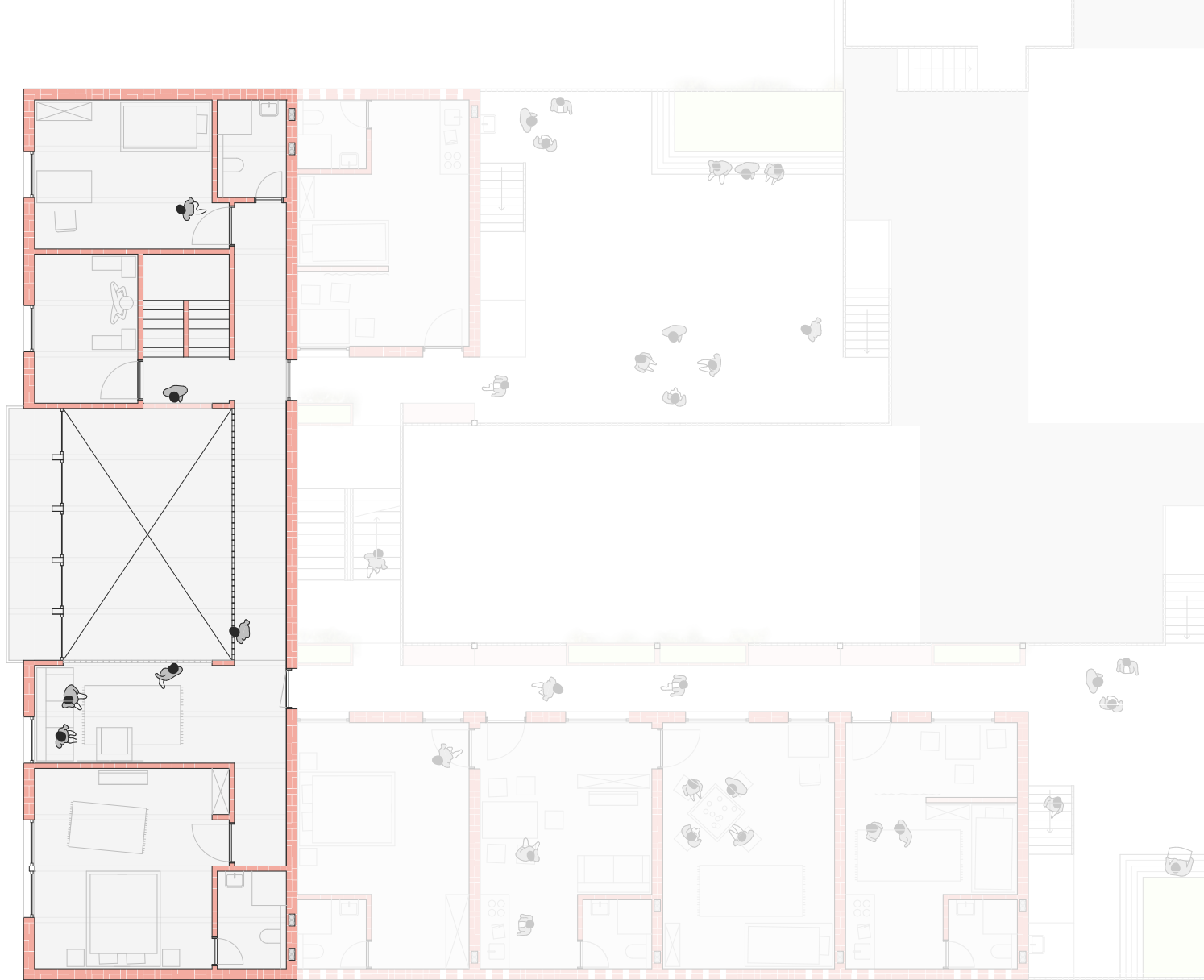
2nd floor - in 10 years

family units:

beam grid

brick walls within the units  
detached from load-bearing walls

simple displacement of  
walls and doors



## New Residential Block

3rd floor - in 10 years

family units:

beam grid

brick walls within the units  
detached from load-bearing walls

simple displacement of  
walls and doors



## New Residential Block

3rd floor - in 10 years

family units:

beam grid

brick walls within the units  
detached from load-bearing walls

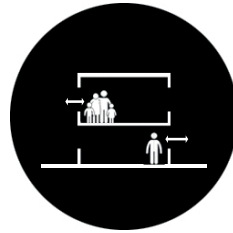
simple displacement of  
walls and doors



# Fassade and Detailing



Merge Indian and Tibetan building



Stimulate individualisation and variety



Simple, affordable and sustainable construction materials



## New Residential Block

main „face“ towards the public

continuation of urban scale





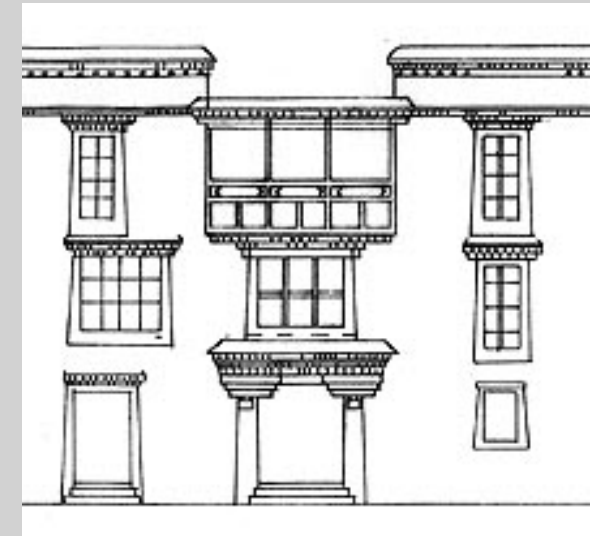
## New Residential Block

Tibetan features

monolithic appearance

„almost“ symmetry

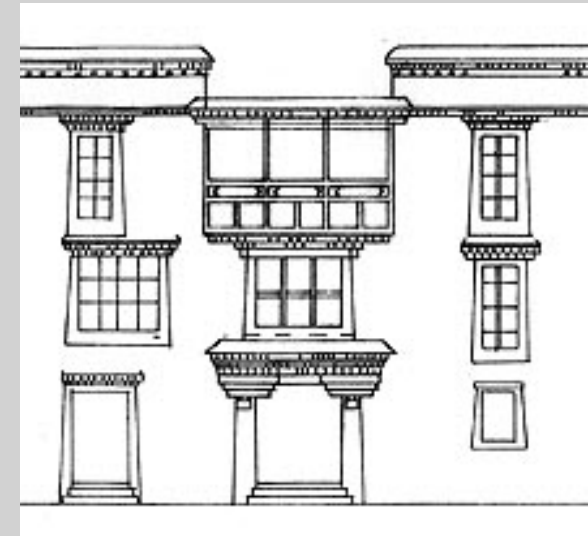
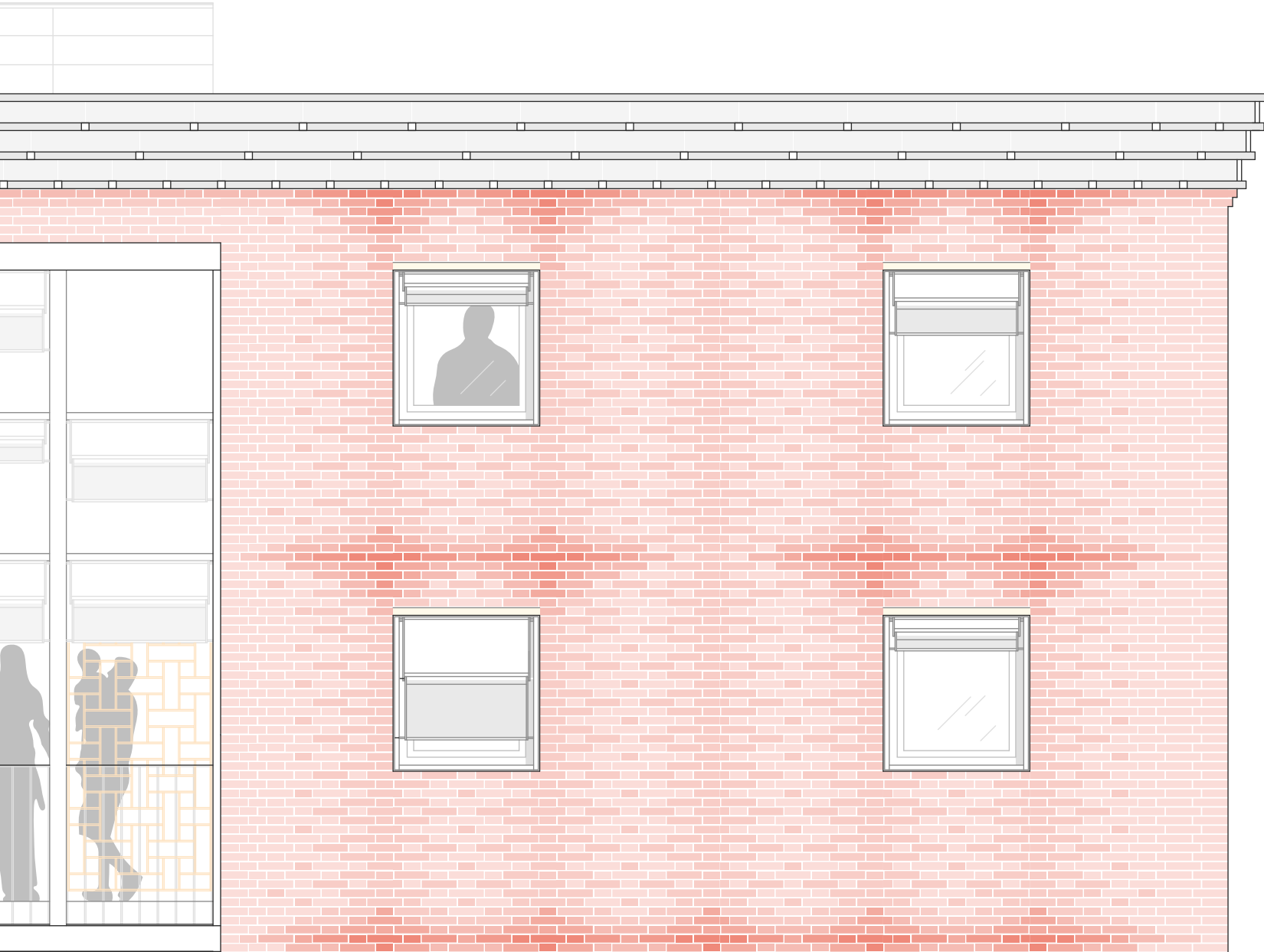
window blind as means to show individualisation



5m 

## New Residential Block

abstraction of Tibetan features  
large lintels, frieze



1m

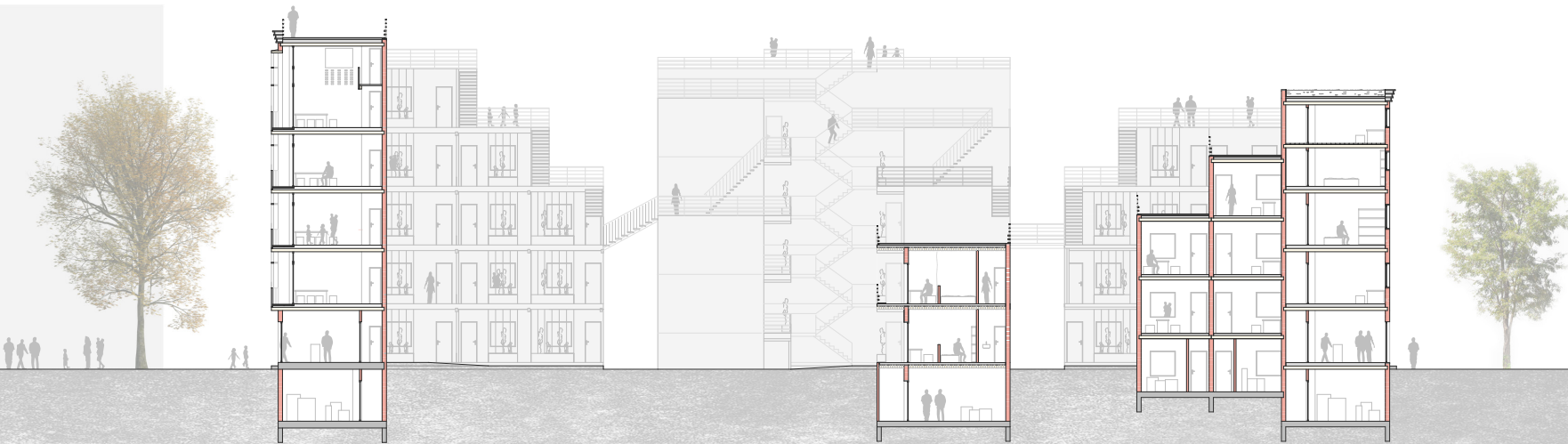


## New Residential Block

section:

height variation within the units

roof terrasses



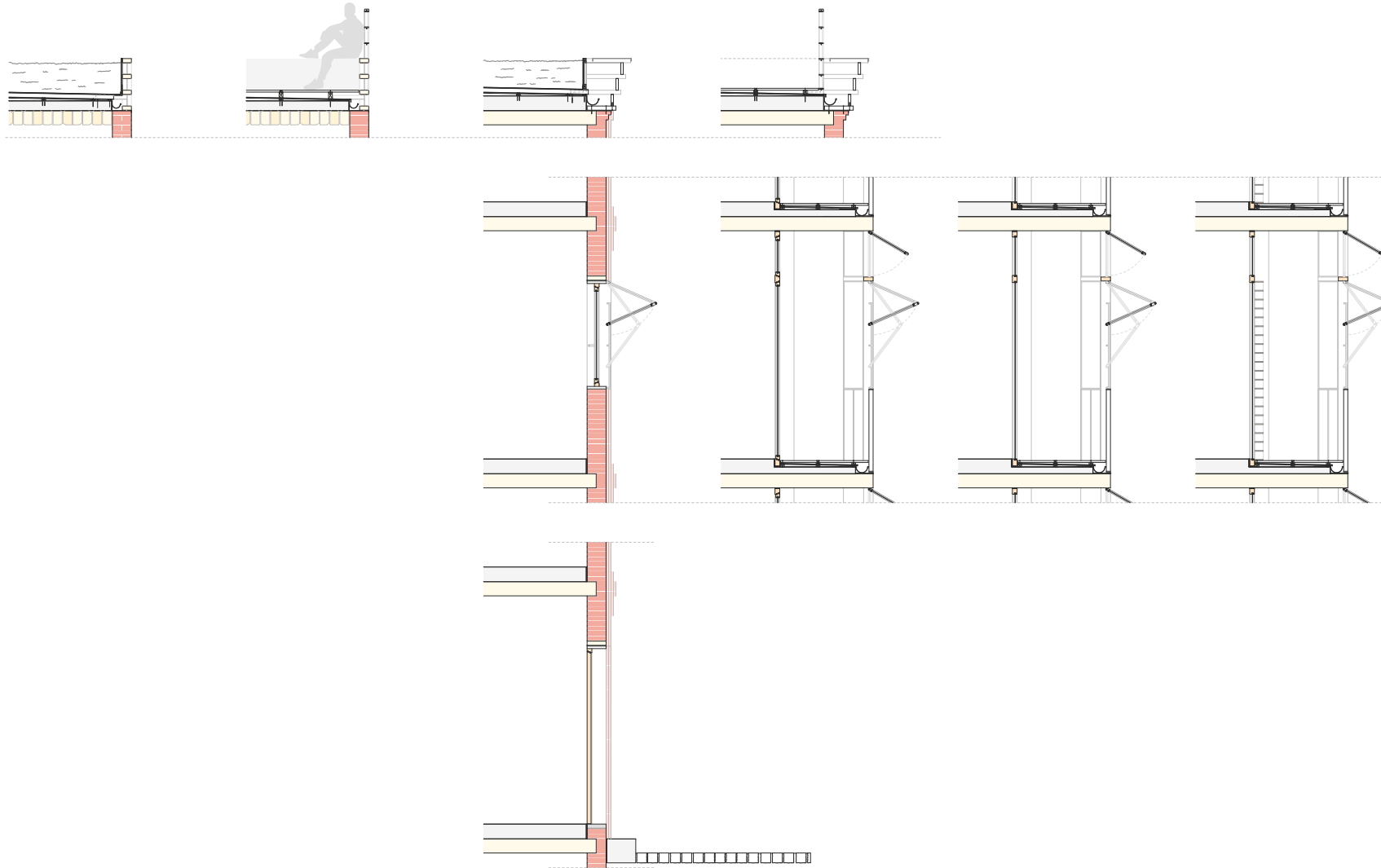
## New Residential Block

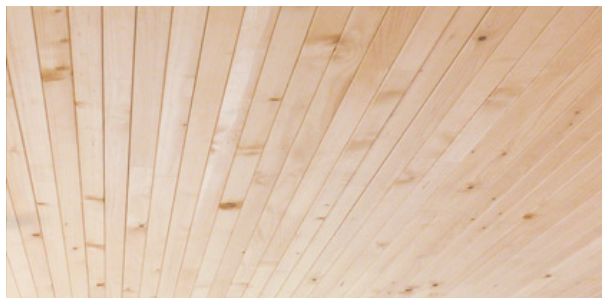
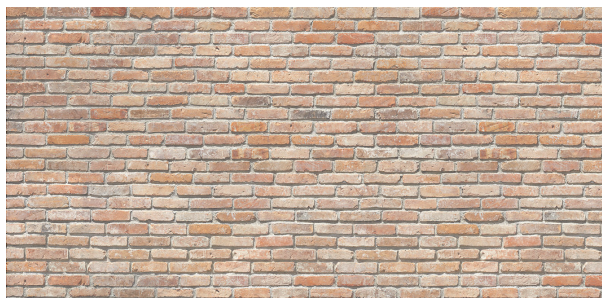
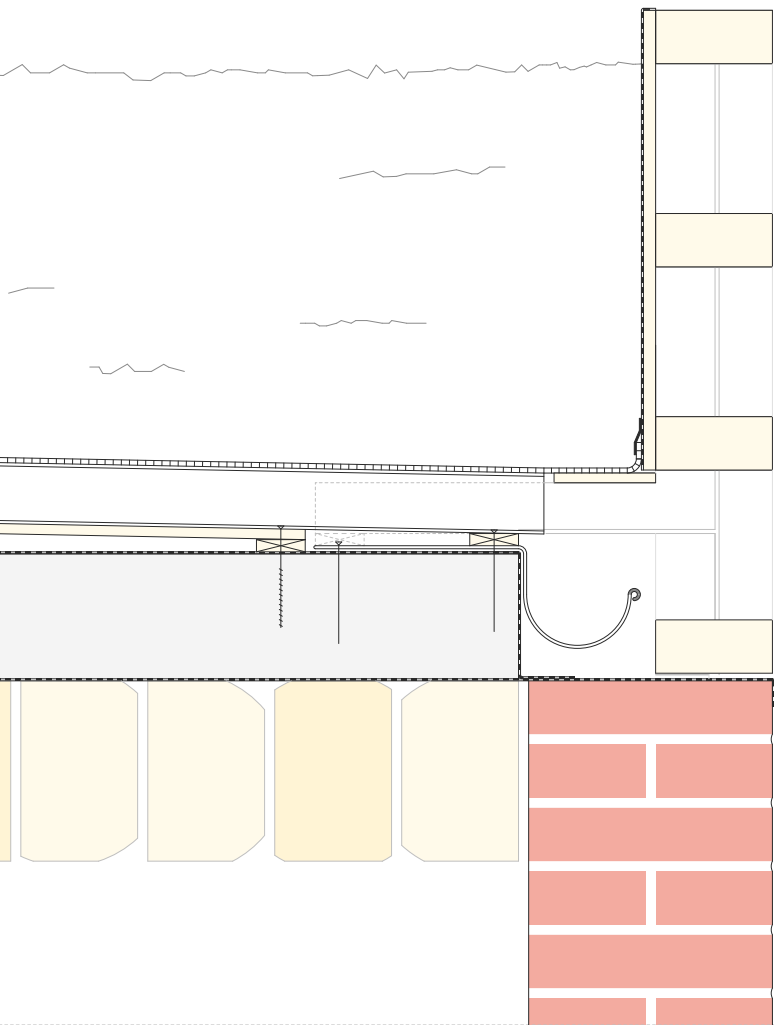
details towards the street:

Tibetan frieze

middle floor

contact with the ground

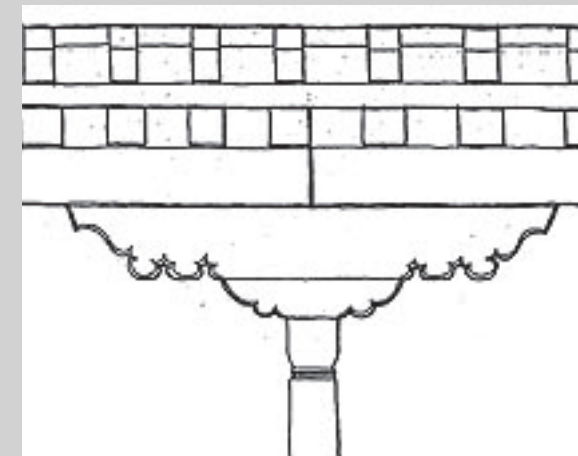




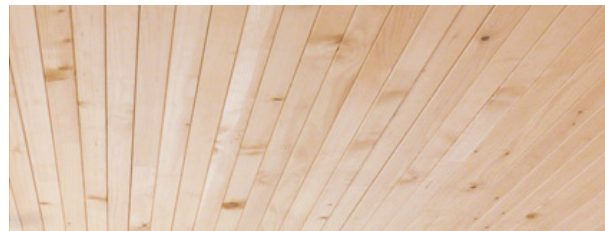
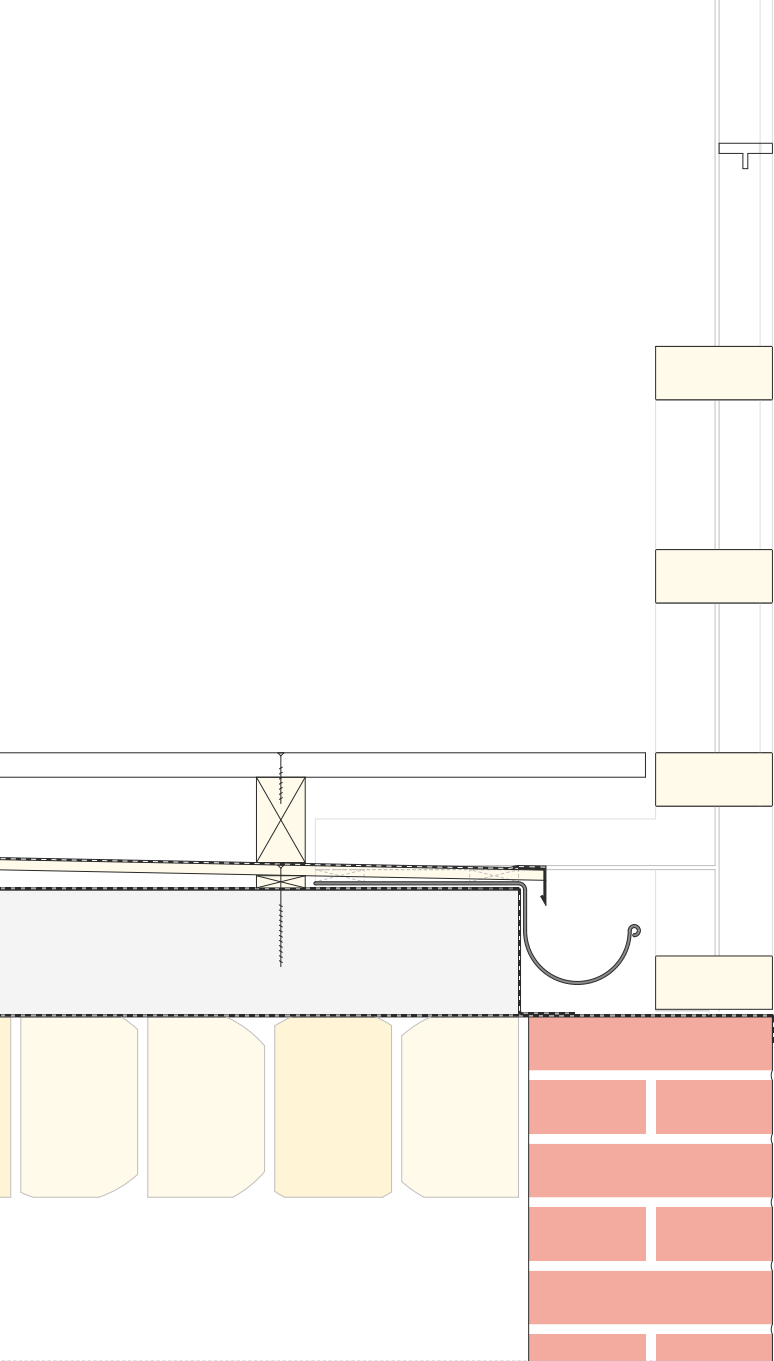
## New Residential Block

Tibetan frieze

greenery



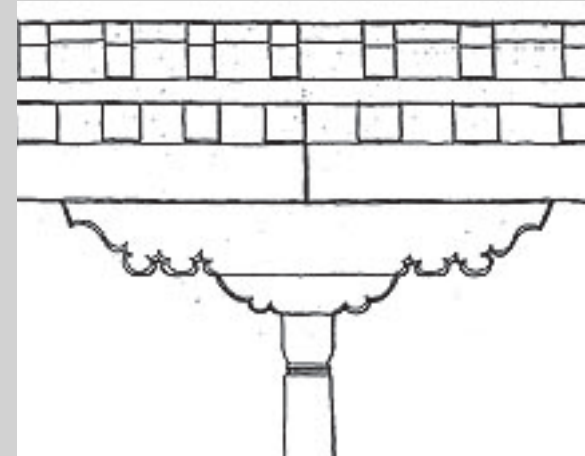


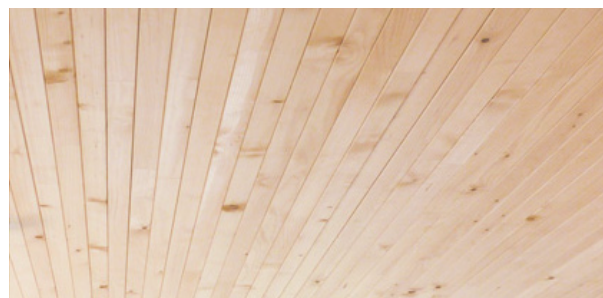
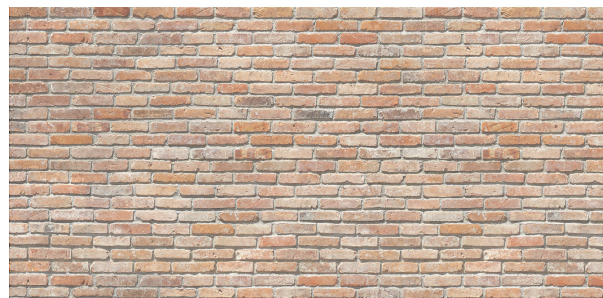
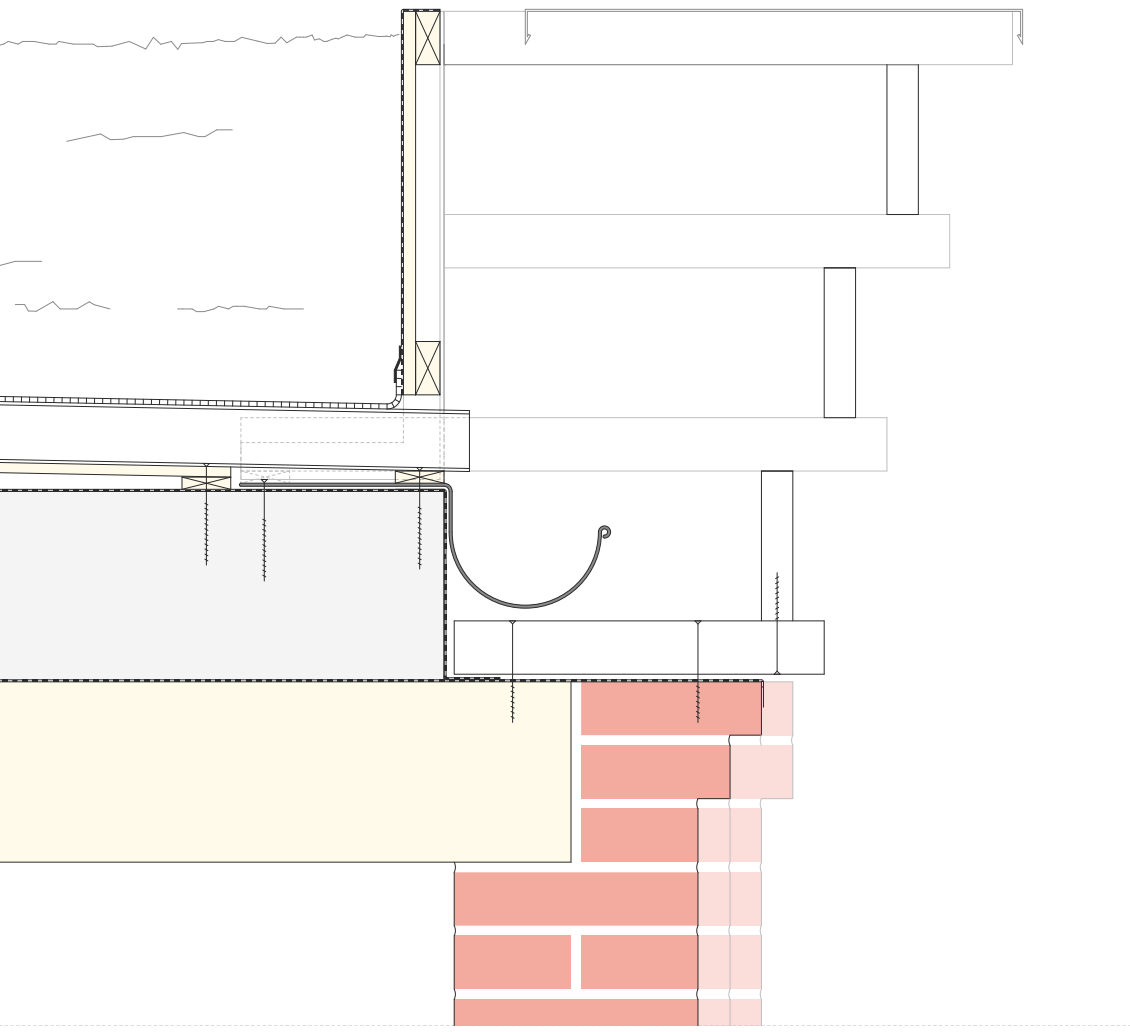


## New Residential Block

Tibetan frieze

terrasse

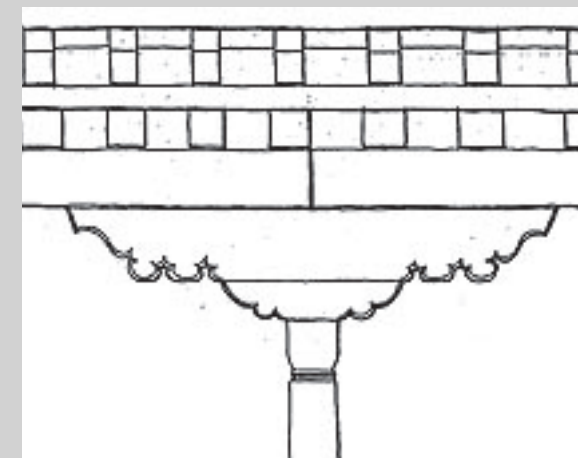


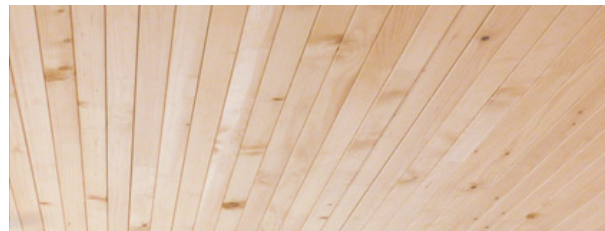
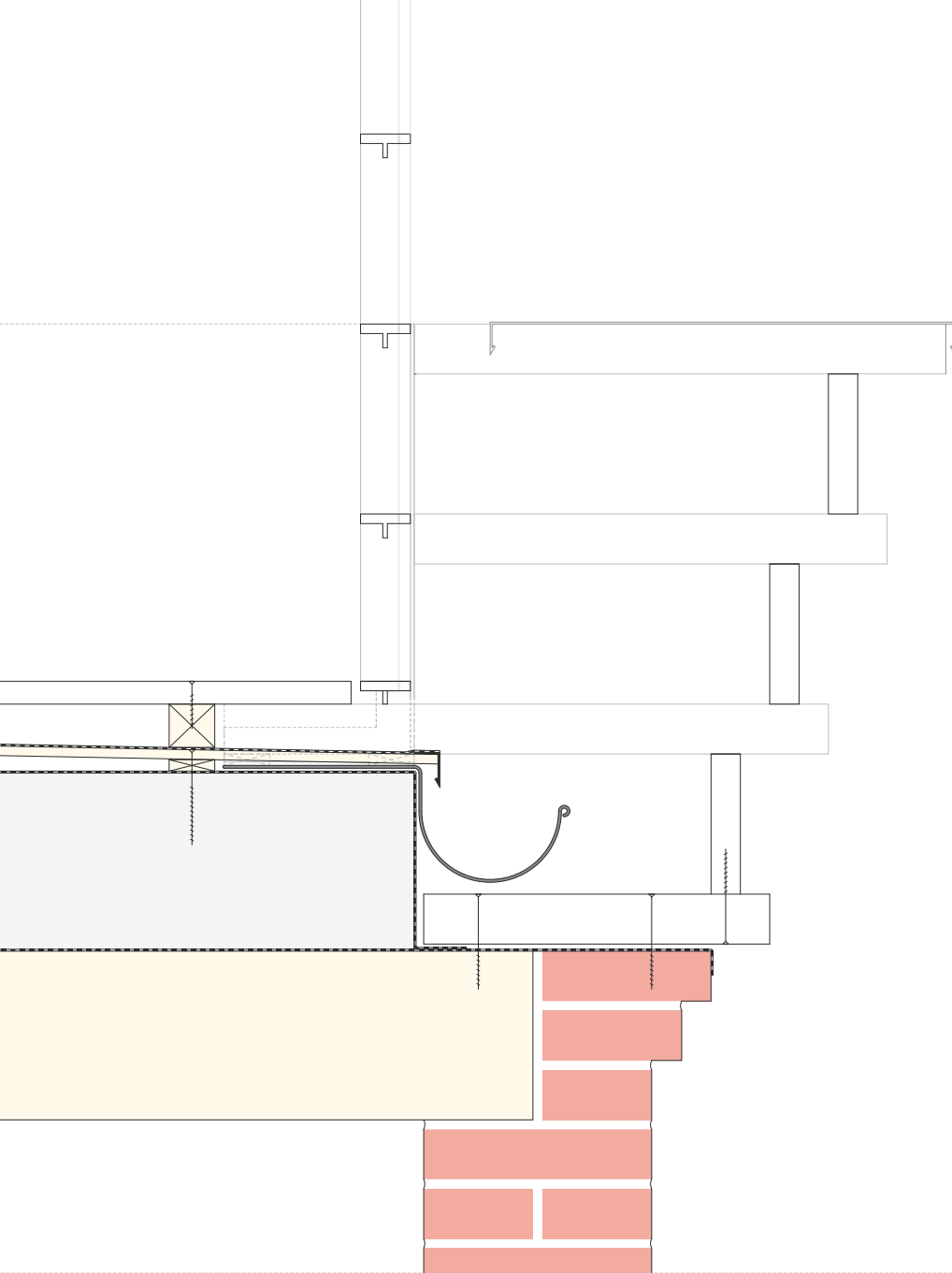


## New Residential Block

Tibetan frieze

greenery

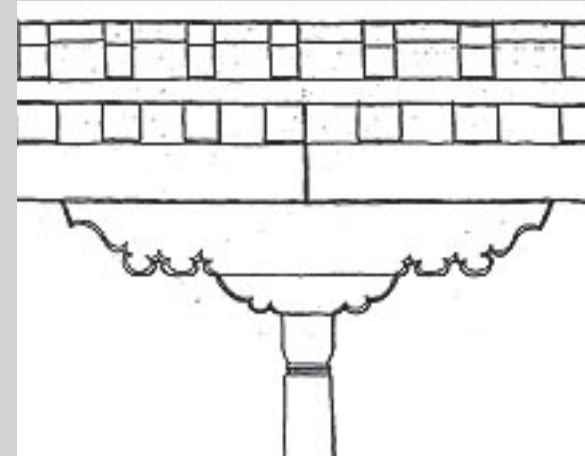




## New Residential Block

Tibetan frieze

terrasse



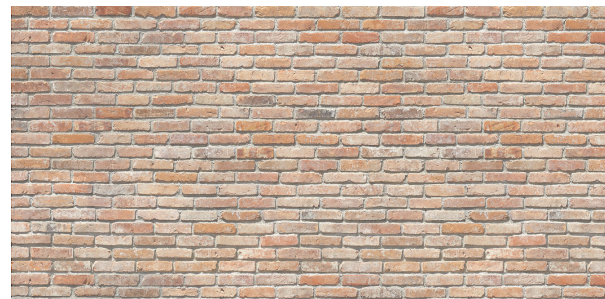
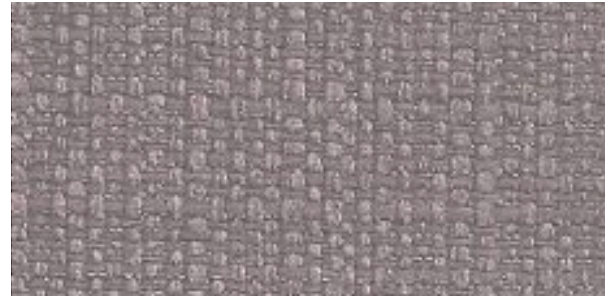
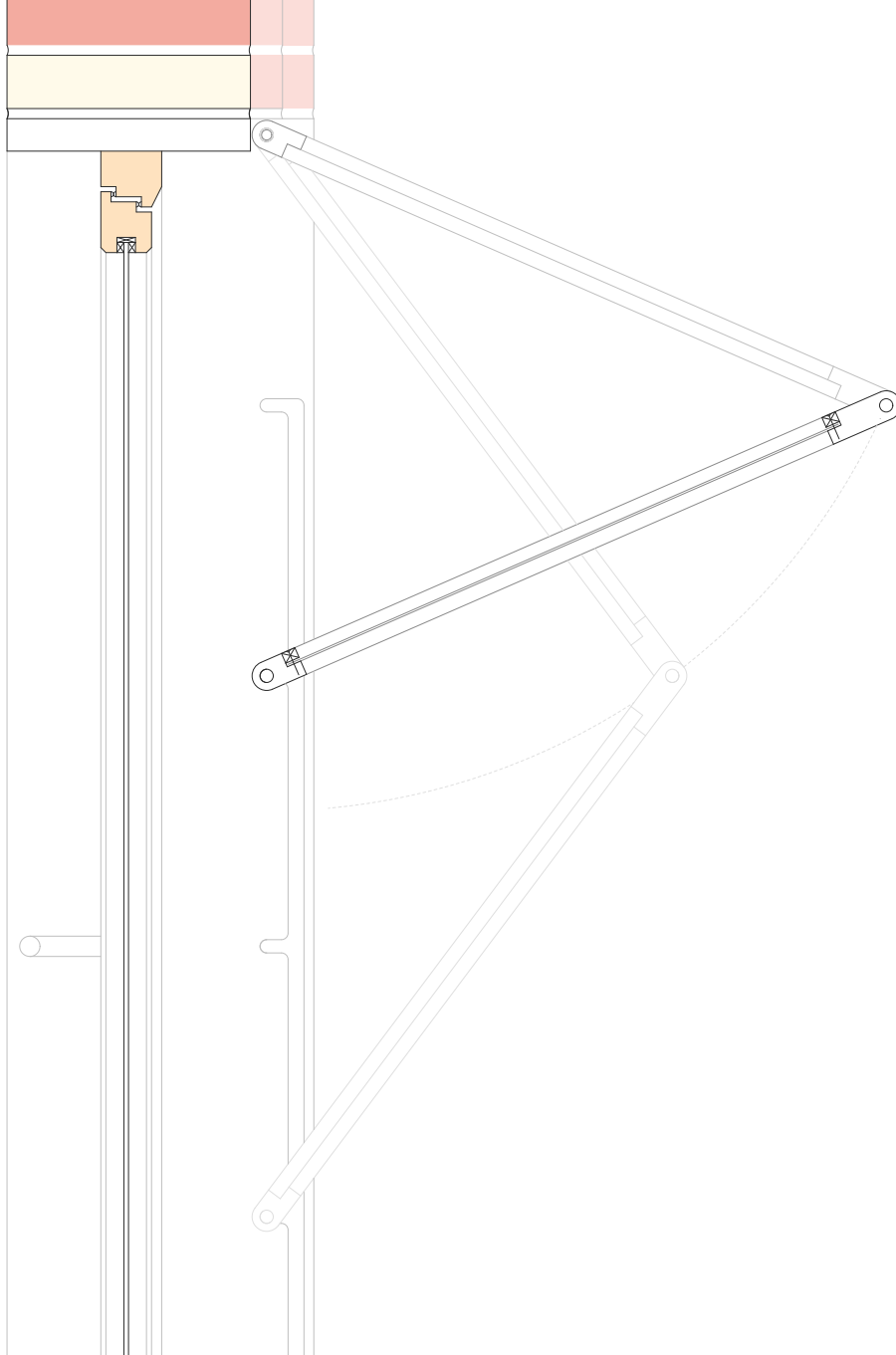
0,5m

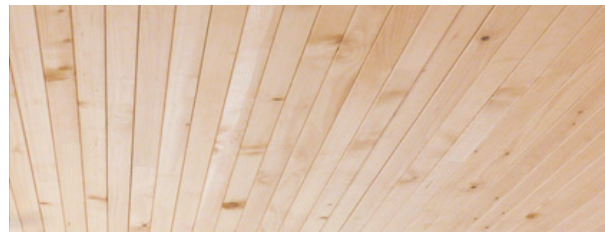
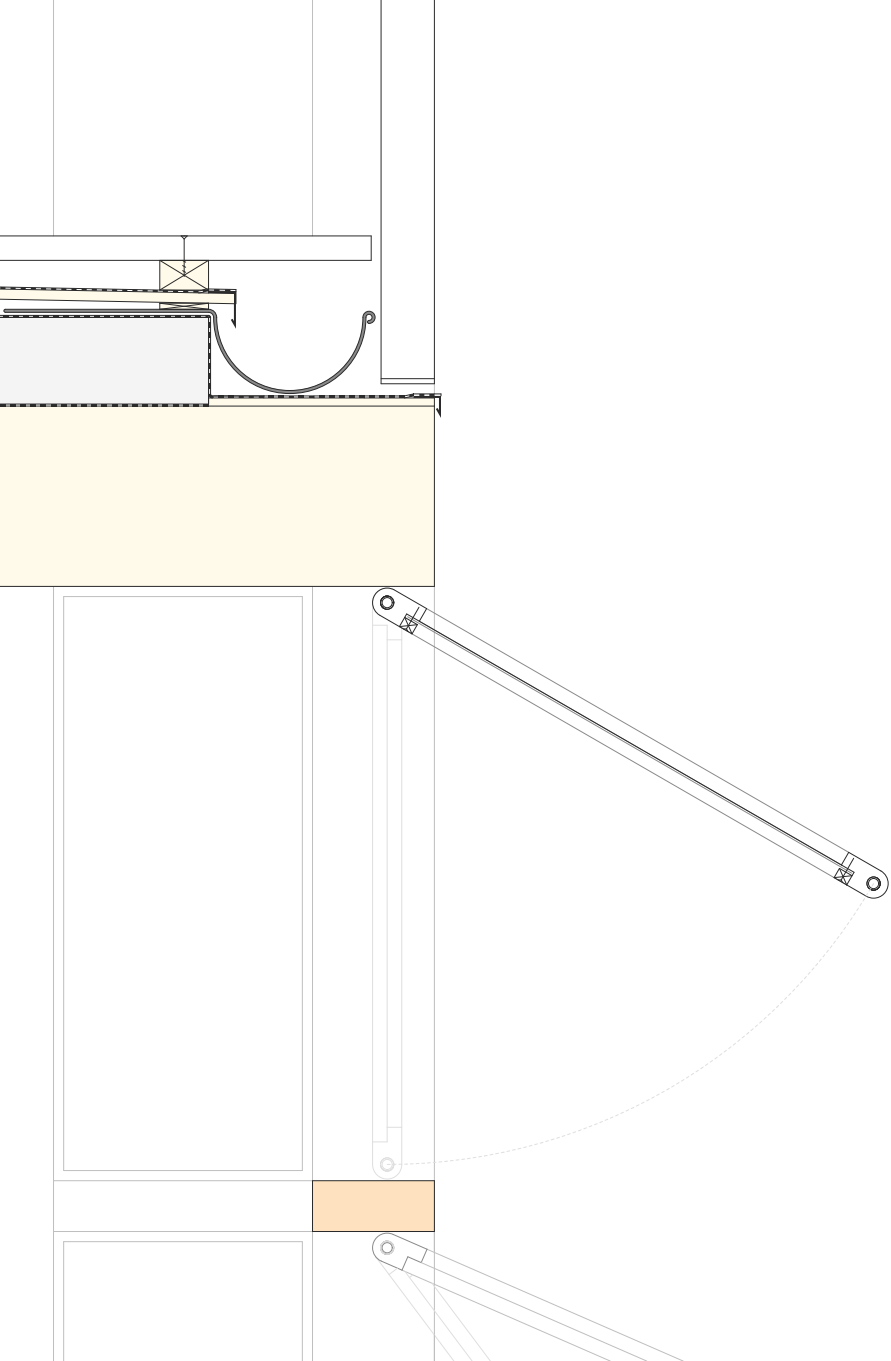


## New Residential Block

middle floor

window with exchangeable blind

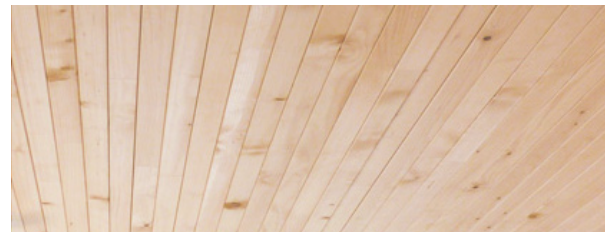
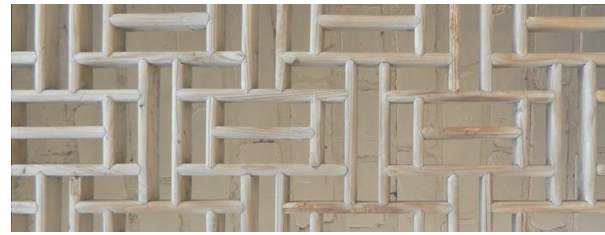
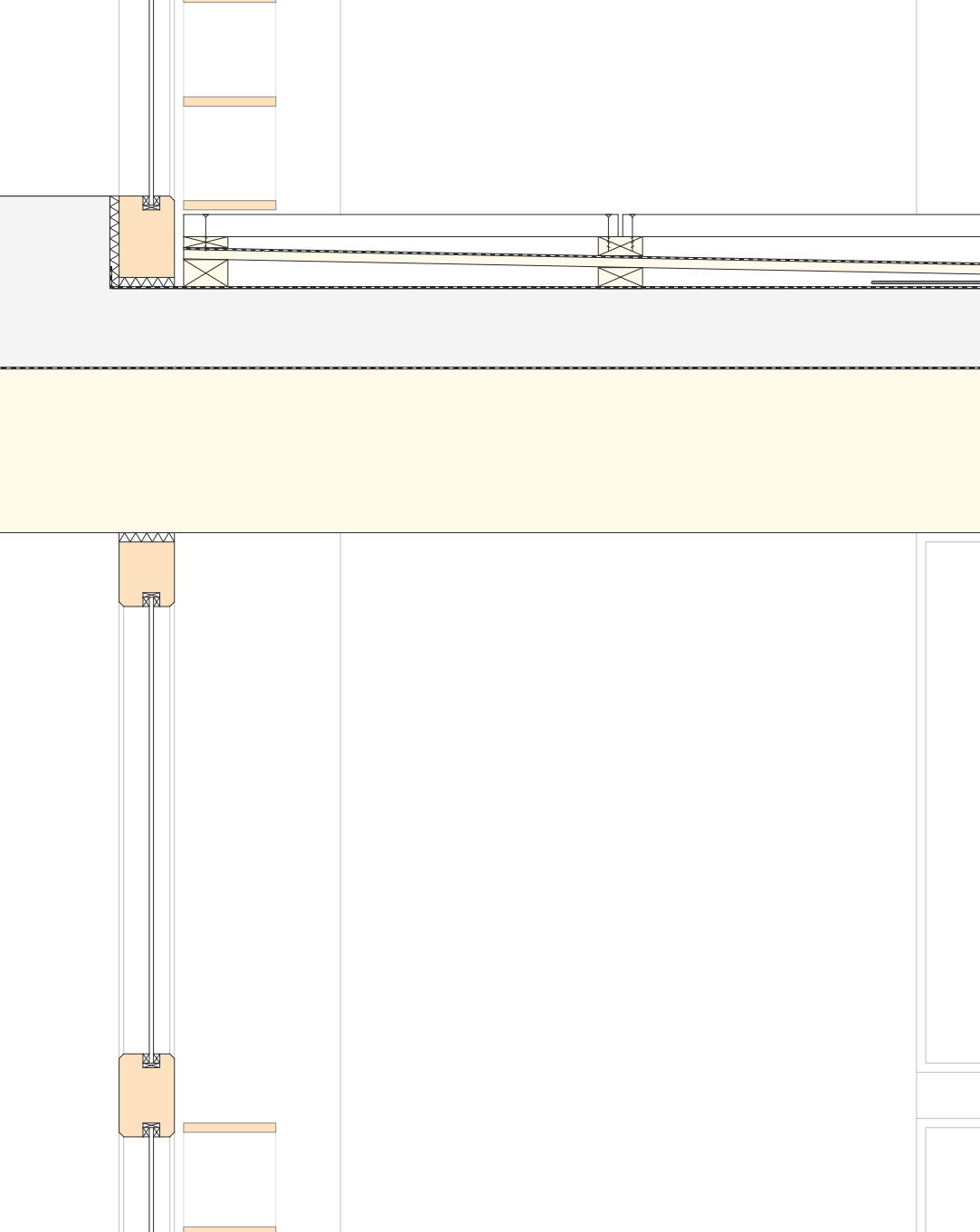




## New Residential Block

middle floor

balcony with exchangeable blind

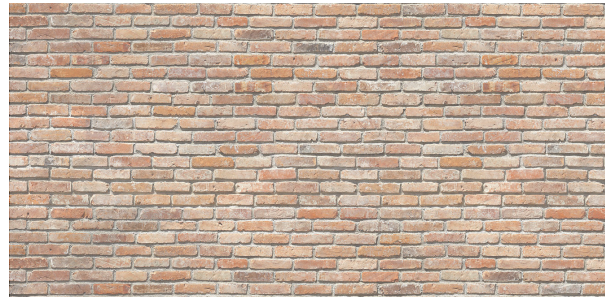
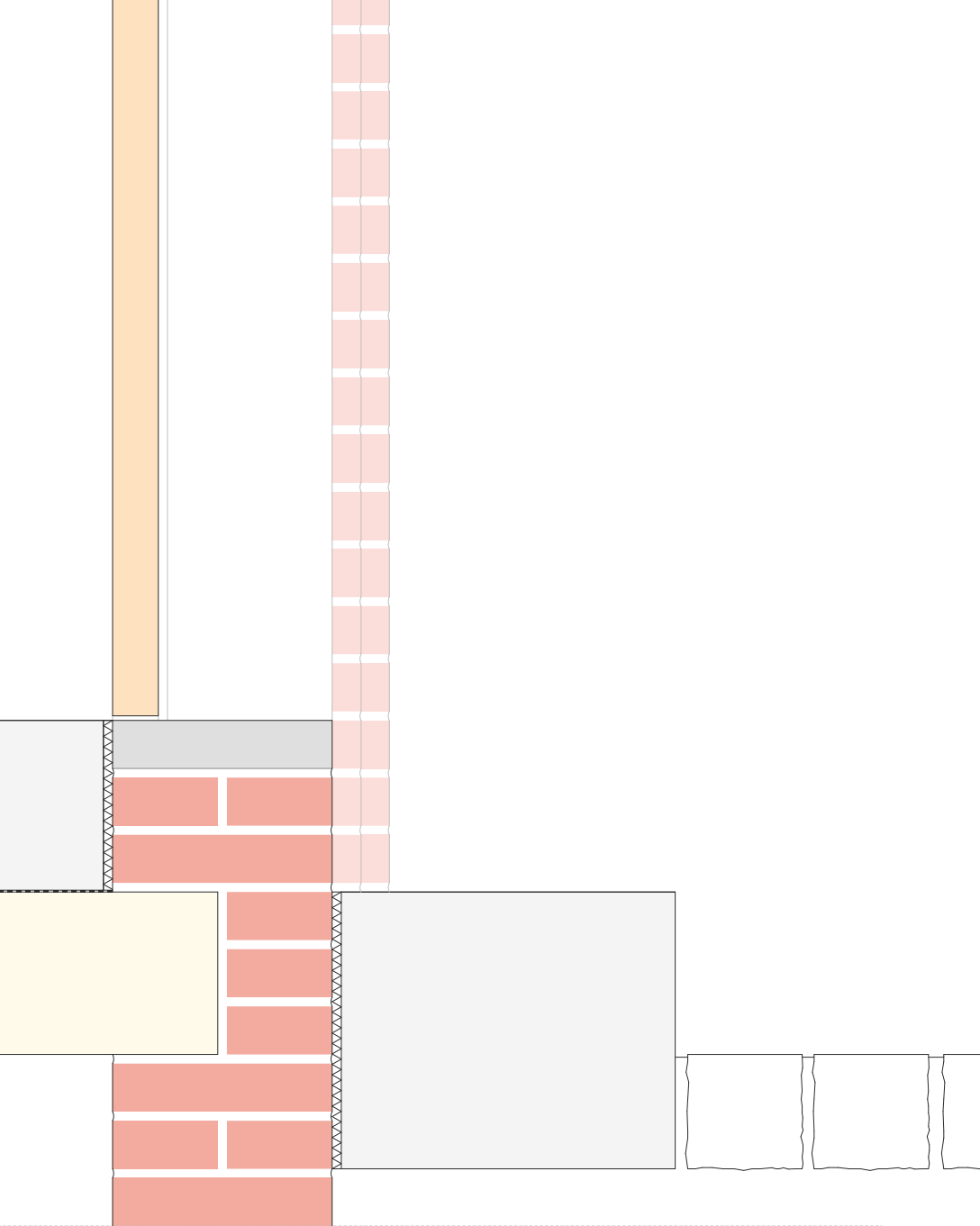


## New Residential Block

middle floor

wooden lattice to separate the balcony from the inside





## New Residential Block

contact with the ground:

steps to prevent from water  
and create threshold

bricks below the entrance to  
emphazise monolithic volume

# Sources

## Text:

- 1) Zhou, Dong, und Zhe Wu. interview, 29. Dezember 2019.
- 2) Herrle, Peter, und Anna Wozniak. Tibetan Houses. Basel: Birkhaeuser, 2017.
- 3) Alexander, André, und Andreas Catanese. „Leh Old Town - Concepts and Challenges“. Torino, 2007.
- 4) Lundrup, Dorje. „Tibetan Historic architecture Conservation in Rural Areas of Qinghai Province“. Napoli, 2007.
- 5) Alexander, André. „Restoration and Protection of Cultural Heritage in Historical Cities in Asia, between Modernity and Tradition - principles of Tibetan architecture“. Napoli, 2007.
- 6) Heyne, Beate. „Meeting of Tradition and Modernism: Architecture and urban development in Lhasa - The Magic of Sites: Their Preservation and their Loss“. Torino, 2007.
- 7) Alexander, André, The Traditional Lhasa House – Typology of an Endangered Species. LIT Verlag, 2019.
- 8) Ahmad, Zahiruddin. The Historical Status of China in Tibet. Mumbai: Aditya Prakashan; 2012, 2012.
- 9) Grent, Anne. „Sense of belonging among Tibetan refugees in India: A case study of the Bylakuppe settlement in Karnataka State“. Utrecht University, 2018.
- 10) Pehrson, Charlotte. „Tibetan migration to India - Why, when, how and with what consequences?“ BA Thesis Human Geography (SGE302), Lund University, 2003.
- 11) Doshi, Vidhi. „After nearly six decades of exile, some Tibetans in India are slowly letting go of their past“. The Washington post, 9. Oktober 2017.
- 12) Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft. „Staatssekretariat fuer Migration“, o. J. <https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/de/home.html>.
- 13) Wangchuk, Falcone, Tsering, Jessica. „We’re Not Home”: Tibetan Refugees in India in the Twenty-First Century“. India Review, Juli 2008.
- 14) Minervini, Corrado. Preservation and Development of Vernacular Architecture: a Research for Compatibility, o. J.
- 15) Herrle, Peter, Henning Lübke, und Jakob Rösel. „Slums und Squatter-Siedlungen“ Universität Stuttgart. Städtebauliches Institut. Stuttgart: 1981, o. J.
- 16) Franz, Uli. Gebrauchsanweisung für Tibet. Muenchen, 2000.
- 17) Herrle, Peter. „Vom Mandala zum Flächennutzungsplan“. Universitaet Stuttgart, 1983.
- 18) Jones, Adele. „Child Asylum Seekers and Refugees: Rights and Responsibilities“. Journal of Social Work, 1. Dezember 2001.
- 19) Kaushik, Arya. „Majnu Ka Tilla, Streetscape Analysis“. Sharda University, 2018.
- 20) Jampa, Tsering. phone call, 7. Oktober 2019.
- 21) Krishar, Arind, und M. R. Aguihahri. „Architecture and Design“, Nr. sep / oct 1995 (1995).
- 22) Fischer, Andrew Martin. China’s development policies in Tibet: Beneficiaries and Benefits. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, 2005.
- 23) Human Rights Watch. “They Say We Should Be Grateful”, 27. Juni 2013. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2013/06/27/china-end-involuntary-rehousing-relocation-tibetans>.

## Images:

- i1: Jakob Schmitt
- i2: <https://www.norlha.com/blogs/life-at-norlha-blog/the-tibetan-tent>
- i3: Google Earth Pro
- i4: Tibet Heritage Fund
- i5: Human Rights Watch











