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Trilingual Education in the Kam-Speaking Region of Guizhou

Policy, Praxis, and Perceptions

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Trilingual Education in the Kam-Speaking Region of Guizhou: Policy, Praxis, and Perceptions

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Abstract

In recent years, as China has embraced global trends and promoted English-language instruction throughout the country, minority-language dominated regions have been facing the challenge of incorporating three languages into the curriculum. Research has indicated that combining the minority language (L1), the national language (L2), Mandarin, and an international language (L3), English, into one curriculum has taken different forms with varied characteristics depending on the minority language context in question. While the body of literature is growing in this field, primarily in minority language areas that had pre-existing scripts prior to the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, there has been much less research into trilingual education practices in areas where minority language groups did not have pre-existing scripts. This study focuses on one such language group, the Southern Kam of Guizhou province. Adopting an ethnographic multi-case study approach, this research explores the sociolinguistic and historical context of education in the Kam region, and captures the *status quo* of language use practice and stakeholder attitudes towards the three languages involved in nine-year compulsory education in the current context.

This research incorporated a mixed-methods approach, in which data were collected from a cohort of participants with whom the researcher had developed significant relationships. Ethnographic interviews were conducted and were complemented with site visits and classroom observations of participants teaching English. This study found that although the Kam language (L1) remains vital in the current context and at the time of the study was the dominant spoken language of Kam students; it was not used in academic instruction, nor was its use promoted in the classroom setting, though its use outside of the classroom was encouraged for cultural heritage purposes. Instead, Mandarin Chinese, the L2 of Kam students, was the dominant language of education, testing, and school functions. L3, English, was taught as an academic subject through the medium of Mandarin Chinese, but was not used as a medium of instruction in any circumstance. This study found that stakeholder perceptions and attitudes towards Kam, Mandarin, and English existed in a complex dynamic and opinions regarding language in

education were largely based on misperceptions of best practices for trilingual education and a lack of awareness of beneficial demonstrated outcomes.

Limitations are discussed and potential further studies are recommended. The research concludes by evaluating the findings of this study in light of previous research into additive trilingual education and recommendations are made for improving the current forms of language education in the Kam-speaking region. Most notably, this study calls for education officials in Guizhou to develop policy, in accordance with constitutional freedoms, that creates implementational space for developing minority language students' L1 in accordance with research-based principles of additive trilingual education that will in turn improve performance and mastery of L2, Mandarin, and adequately develop L3, English.

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Lastly, I dedicate this work and its findings and benefits to current and future generations of Kam children. May you continue to love your language and culture that is full of beauty, dignity, and wisdom. May you continue to learn and share your language and to revel in its tones and take joy in its lyrics. Do not be ashamed of who you are or feel inferior to whom you are not.

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1   Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1   Introduction

In recent years, more and more research is focusing on trilingualism and trilingual education in greater China (Adamson and Feng, 2009; Adamson and Feng, 2015, Feng and Adamson, 2015a; Feng and Adamson, 2015b; Tsung, 2014). Much of this research has taken place in areas where ethnic minorities have had long histories of using their own language in education along with Mandarin Chinese, and in recent years have added English into the curriculum, thus creating a type of trilingual education. This study differs from much of the published research in that it explores the educational landscape in Guizhou province, where many ethnic minority languages exist in a rather undeveloped state and have not traditionally been used in formal education. This study explores multilingual education among the Kam[1], or more specifically the Southern-Kam-speaking minority of Guizhou, and looks specifically at the context of the educational environment, the *status quo* of language use in the schools, and the language perceptions of various stakeholders in education. In relation to other research on trilingualism and trilingual education in China, Guizhou is unique in that the ethnic minority communities within its borders did not have existing scripts prior to the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, and were not granted the same provisions for education as minority language groups with pre-existing scripts. Thus, the dynamics of multilingual education in Guizhou vary significantly from those in other minority-dominated provinces. Some studies have been published that have looked at a specific educational intervention in the Southern-Kam-speaking area of Guizhou (Geary and Pan, 2003; Finifrock, 2010; Finifrock and Schilken, 2015) and its outcomes. However, without other studies in place that provide baseline measures and give background and context to the setting, there is little with which to compare the outcomes of these interventions. This study responds to the calls for further research in this area (Finifrock and Schliken, 2015) and seeks to add context to the knowledge base by broadening the understanding of common practice and attitudes towards multilingual education as it exists in the Southern-Kam-speaking area of Guizhou.

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[1] For the sake of simplicity throughout this thesis, the Southern-Kam will be referred to

1.2 Objectives of the Study

This study, in its current form, was undertaken with three objectives in mind. The first objective was to come to a thorough understanding of the context of the area in which the study took place. As Feng and Adamson (2015b, p.491) point out, 'there is an intrinsic relationship between politics and language education' in China. Could it be that politics and historical events played out over time and in diverse locations have influenced the way ethnic minorities approach education in the present? This entailed seeking to understand the diverse set of factors that influence education in the focus area of the study. What are the political and historical influences that have come to bear on the setting? What are the policies that are in place and the objectives of the educational leadership in terms of educating ethnic Kam children? What are the dynamics of each of the languages involved? Is the language itself vital and useful to Kam people? Do they have any historical precedence of use in the educational landscape? These are some of the questions that must be answered in order to give texture and color to the research questions and answers that are being sought in this study.

The second objective was to understand the *status quo* of trilingual education in the Kam area. Adamson and Feng (2015, pp. 244-252) present four main models of trilingual education that exist in minority regions of China that will be explored later in this thesis. For this study, I wanted to know what are the dynamics of each of the three languages, Kam, Mandarin Chinese, and English, with which Kam students must engage in the course of their scholastic journey. How much of each of the three languages is used in the home, the community, the school environment, and the classroom? What types of methodologies are used in pedagogy, and to what degree? How do factors from the greater context of language policy and education influence practices in the Kam area classrooms? Which of the aforementioned four models is used in the Kam area, or, is it something different altogether?

The third objective of this study was to better understand the perceptions of different groups of stakeholders in education. Again, Feng and Adamson (2015b, p. 491) suggest that there is an intrinsic relationship 'between models used for developing… multilingualism and perceptions and attitudes of stakeholders in education.' Such a relationship must be understood in order to uncover the dynamics of multilingual education in the Kam-speaking area of Guizhou. It is thus important to ask: how do

teachers, students, parents, and education officials view the languages in question? Is the Kam language valued by the various stakeholders? Is it suitable for use in the classroom? Are students eager to study English? Is Mandarin Chinese education desired by Kam-speaking parents? Answers to these questions will provide researchers with an understanding of they dynamics that stakeholders bring into the discussion about multilingual education in the Kam region.

1.2.1   Research questions

This study used two main research questions to provide the backbone of the research and how it was conceptualized, structured, and carried out. These will be explored in detail in the methodology section below.

The first question is aimed to reveal answers to the second objective of the study.
Research Question 1: What is the status quo for language use in Kam area schools, and in English classrooms for L1 Kam speakers, in Misty Mountain county?
The second question is aimed to reveal answers regarding the third objective of the study.
Research question two: How do the participants perceive that different stakeholders in minority education view the importance of L1 and L3, i.e., Kam and English, in relation to L2, Chinese?

1.3   Assumptions

The study was undertaken with several assumptions in mind. First, it was assumed that participants in the study would approach their answers to ethnographic interview questions with honesty and integrity providing valid data to the researcher. Second, it was assumed that due to historical and cultural factors that are explored in Chapter Two of this thesis, and the scarcity of opportunity for participant teachers to participate in academic research studies prior to this study, that participant teachers would provide data that is colored by these factors and would need to be taken accordingly. Third, that participants had a sincere interest in participating in the study and did not have ulterior motives that led them to participate. Fourth, that the researcher would bring his own biases to the study that would need to be understood and mitigated reflexively throughout the life-cycle of the study.

1.4   Importance of the Study

In addition to the aforementioned dearth of research into multilingual education in areas in China with minority language populations without pre-existing scripts, there is another important rationale for this study. Guizhou Education Department officials, when critiquing education in minority language areas of the province stated in 2006 that then-current methods to teach minority children Mandarin Chinese were unsatisfactory (EFA Guizhou, 2006 p. 77) and did not lead to communicative skills in Mandarin or language skills that would transfer to other domains, claims that have been bolstered by other research (Finifrock, 2010; Finifrock and Schilken, 2015). The present study is positioned well to shed light on current permutations of language education in the province and to provide a more current pulse on the effectiveness of language education in the Kam-speaking area of Guizhou.

1.5   Background of the Researcher

I was raised in a monolingual environment in the mid-western region of the United States. In high school I was challenged by a note on my Spanish teacher's door that read: *"If you speak three languages you are trilingual; if you speak two languages you are bilingual; if you speak one language you are American."* I remember taking that quip as a challenge and worked enthusiastically to become fluent in Spanish, studying throughout high school and all through university. Post-university I moved to Mexico, where I lived and worked in humanitarian projects for three years, maximizing exposure to Spanish and effectively moving into the 'bilingual' category. In 1997 I took a job as a Spanish-English bilingual teacher in Norwalk, California and worked there throughout the height of the Unz initiative campaign and later victory. The Unz initiative, or California proposition 227 (Krashen, 1999) effectively brought an end to additive bilingual education in California, and I was able to see first hand the political and implementational complexities of bilingual education and the struggles of L1 Spanish-speaking children in my classroom who were unable to comprehend the curriculum that was presented in English.

In the year 2000, my wife, Monica, and I joined SIL International and were trained as linguists and were first dispatched to Kenya where we worked in the field of adult literacy and facilitated the use of the mother-tongue Bible among the local Kenyan churches. Later, in 2005, we were sent to China for the express purpose of carrying out research in the Zaidang Dong- (Kam-) Han bilingual education project in Guizhou province (see Geary and Pan, 2003; Finifrock, 2010). During this time we were also

engaged in full-time Mandarin studies at Guizhou University. Throughout two years of Mandarin study at university, and later eight years of continued self-study, I was finally able to conquer the challenge from 9th grade Spanish and confidently call myself 'trilingual'. I continue to use all three languages to this day and feel grateful for the linguistic tools that I have accumulated over the years.

It was during this time in China that I became deeply aware of the issues facing Kam students in the classroom and their struggle with the language education landscape in China. My daily interactions with peers in the Zaidang project over meals of sour fish, village-farmed vegetables, and home-brewed rice wine opened the door to the inner world of Kam area education. I witnessed Kam teachers balancing the need to grow their yearly supply of food while attempting to work in the school environment, often sacrificing teaching time in order to ensure a successful crop. I watched families deliberate over the cost of education for their high-school aged student versus the benefit the student could bring to the family by working in a factory. I guided students through English curriculum that was foreign, irrelevant, and nonsensical to them in their remote mountain village and sought to encourage them by my attempts to make language learning relevant, natural, and enjoyable. In later years I observed as families, one by one, gave up on education for their children who struggled through the Mandarin medium and celebrated with those precious few students from the village who were graduates of the Zaidang project with a foundation in mother-tongue literacy who succeeded in their classes and progressed from primary to secondary, and eventually qualified for university.

This exposure to the challenges of Kam students was reinforced after the Zaidang project was abandoned and I served as an oral English teacher for Kam teachers in a neighboring county. The teachers in my program, some of whom became participants in this study, were embroiled in English language education for Kam-speaking students and often shared their struggles, challenges, and occasional successes while under my tutelage. Being emerging trilinguals themselves, they were acutely aware of the challenges of their students and were eager to improve their own pedagogy. I have grown from their shared experiences and have supported their efforts to provide an improved form of education to their students.

It is with these experiences in hand that I embarked upon this study. Experiences that in no small way have shaped my view of education in general and language education in particular. It is with these incumbent attitudes that I approach this work, aware of my

position in the mix and its effect on my vision, yet emboldened to share this knowledge with the academic world in hopes that it will make even some small impact for good.

1.6   Anonymity

Due to the sensitive nature of minority language education in China and the desire to protect the identities of participants and informants of this study, I have decided to use pseudonyms of the counties and towns in which I conducted the study. The names for counties and townships used below, 'Misty Mountain,' 'Greenoak,' 'Yellowbriar,' 'Steel Mountain,' and 'Bluebell' are fabricated names for actual places. Other town names are omitted, or referred to with anonymous letters. The only exception to this is Zaidang village, which has been referred to in previous research and plays a central role in the context of this study.

1.7   Chapter Outline

The structure of this thesis is as follows:

Chapter 2 focuses on the historical and cultural underpinnings of the Kam culture and its relationship with broader trends and historical tides within China's history. An overview of critical elements of the national psyche and minority language policy is given and a broad overview of multilingual education in China is explored. The focus then turns to Guizhou and its approach to education in minority regions in the province. Lastly, specific educational interventions in the Kam speaking area of Guizhou are explored and discussed in light of broader historical influences.

Chapter 3 is focused on literature that is relevant to this study. First it explores research into bilingualism and bilingual education from the international context throughout the years. The chapter then looks at trilingualism and trilingual education, looking at theories, practices, and models that exist internationally and then specifically in the Chinese context. The study is then seated in current paradigms and typologies for trilingual education. Lastly literature is explored that focuses on challenges that minority language students in China face in education, including preferential policies.

Chapter 4 begins by focusing on the overarching aims of the study and the research questions that led to the methodology that was selected for this study. The chapter reviews the mixed-methods, multi-case study approach that was used with an emphasis on ethnography, and looks in detail at the participants that were involved in the study. A

detailed description of data collection methods is given and a focus is placed on the aspect of researching multilingually. Ethical considerations are discussed and data handling procedures are explained.

Chapter 5 looks at the data in the study and arranges it according to its source and themes that emerged during analysis. Ethnographic interview data is analyzed and grouped according to emerging themes. Participant data from field notes is presented and classroom observation data is explained in detail and analyzed on a case-by-case basis. Charts and graphs are used to display data within this chapter.

Chapter 6 summarizes the major findings of this study and seats them in the context of relevant multilingual education literature both internationally and within China. Findings are laid out relative to the research questions. Findings from policy and literature are summarized, as well as findings from the data collected and analyzed in the previous chapter. Conclusions from the findings are discussed, and recommendations are given to improve multilingual education in the Kam-speaking area of Guizhou. Limitations of the study are discussed, and recommendations for further research are outlined.

2 Chapter 2 Context: Minority Education in China

2.1 General Overview

This study takes place in a geographic location that is far removed from both the halls of academia in the West and the centers of power in the East. The education system in the Kam-speaking areas of Misty Mountain County that is currently under examination has been forged by the convergence of diverse historical, cultural, and political forces that are playing out in this yet remote and anachronous society.

2.1.1 Introduction

In this chapter I aim to set the study in its proper context with a desire to give the reader a clear understanding of the nature of the environment and conditions in which the study takes place. I first briefly explore the historical influences that play upon the current situation, with emphasis upon the most recent period of post-1978 'reform and opening' and the policies emanating from the national government and their subsequent effects on the minority communities in China. We then turn to look at the minority language context in greater China before turning to Guizhou province where the study is set. Minority education in Guizhou will be examined with a focus on specific attempts to enact bilingual and trilingual education in the province, including the hindrances to these projects, and the project outcomes.

2.1.2 Historical influences

The history of China is a diverse and well-documented account that reaches back nearly five thousand years (Spence, 1991; Jacques, 2009). A full treatment of Chinese history as it relates to minority culture and education is not necessary for the purpose of this study; however, there are some defining themes that should be noted in cursory fashion due to their impact on societal norms related to the process and practice of inquiry upon which this study is founded. In addition, having lived in the Kam area for more than ten years, I strongly feel that historical events have left indelible marks on the collective psyche of minority peoples in southern China, to the extent that even today, the present generation responds in real time to their echoing reverberations.

2.1.2.1 Hanzi writing system

Of primary consideration is the fact that the dominance of written Chinese language in society, in quite similar form to its present day manifestation, was established during the

Zhou dynasty near the end of the second millennia BC. It became the written language of the Imperial court and was the primary tool that was used to shape the ideas and practices of government, religion, philosophy and culture. Its development served to unify diverse spoken dialects among the Han ethnicity and other ethnicities with whom they neighbored, traded, and eventually absorbed. The written language served as a powerful tool, which helped to forge the unification of diverse peoples of mixed blood into the largest self-identifying ethnicity on our planet today. Consequently, the written Chinese language has been used as the primary vehicle of government and education in the middle kingdom (中国 *zhong guo* [middle kingdom]) for millennia, outdating all other currently used written languages in the world, save Hebrew. In addition to use in government, trade, banking, and common education from the time of the Zhou, Jacques (2009, p.83) notes that an Imperial exam system, already in use to varying degrees for centuries, was 'perfected' by the time of the Tang dynasty (AD 618-907) with the Confucian classics forming the core content of these exams which were used to select the bureaucratic elite. Thus a mastery of written Chinese was necessary to achieve success on the exams in order to maintain class status for the nobility, and to improve status for the common person seeking a better life with employment in the imperial government system. Therefore, the first schools in China were established for the very practical purpose of preparing would-be bureaucrats for the imperial exam. The resulting phenomenon of exam performance as the sole-focus and pragmatic purpose of education is an element so integral to the DNA of Chinese society that it remains quite visible today. The byproduct of this system in which *Hanzi* holds preeminent place is the current cultural and national presupposition that a mastery of *Hanzi,* for the Han and the minority alike, is the raison d'être of state sponsored primary education. Literacy in *Hanzi* is in fact the embodiment of 'culture'. Written Chinese has become so synonymous with culture in the mind of Chinese citizens of all ethnicities that it is quite common to hear a non-literate ethnic minority person stating that '我没有文化' *wo meiyou wenhua* [I have no culture]. What they mean, in the most reduced terms, is that they are not literate. However, there is a distinct feeling among minority peoples that their traditional lack of literacy and self-created orthography and resulting lack of 'culture' somehow indicates inferiority and an inability to succeed on their own terms. In the wider context among minorities that have not historically promulgated their own literacy or formal education system this statement is used to indicate that as an ethnicity, they have no written

language that has preserved and unified their culture over the centuries the way the Han do.

2.1.2.2 Confucian values

The second theme that should be understood is that during the Tang dynasty and thereafter, the content of the imperial exams, namely the Confucian classics, 'served, for successful and unsuccessful candidates alike, to articulate and reinforce a common set of values' (Jacques, 2009 p. 83). The articulation and reinforcement of Confucian values by those in power and pursued by those seeking power for centuries on end has woven this 'common set of values' into the fabric of Chinese national identity. And though often unarticulated in every day life, the ideas of Confucius hold sway over the educated and the uneducated alike, in both majority Han culture and minority ethnicities that it has enveloped.

Those who study Chinese history, as well as Chinese education, credit the historical figure of Confucius (孔子 *Kongzi)* with establishing a system of philosophy that has shaped the width and breadth of Chinese thinking, ideology, societal norms, education, and even morals (Spence, 1991; Jacques, 2009; Street and Matelski, 2009). Confucius (551-479 BC) was a scholar-philosopher who lived a simple life as a civil servant, and increasingly as a teacher, sharing life with and educating various paying students in the north-central state of Lu, which in now part of Shandong province. He lived in a period of time in which a rich historical and literary tradition already existed, but the stable society of Imperial China was yet to be birthed (Ames and Rosemount, 1998; Jacques, 2009; Lin, 2009; Spence, 1991). Unlike many of the philosophers who impacted the formation of Western cultural ideals, Confucius 'was interested in how to make ones way in life, not in discovering the 'truth' (Ames and Rosemont, 2010 p.5)

Although Confucius enjoyed little status or recognition during his lifetime, after his death he was to become the single most influential writer in Chinese history. For the next two thousand years China was shaped by his arguments and moral precepts, its government informed by his principles, and the *Analects*[2] became established as the most important book in Chinese history…His emphasis on moral virtue, on the supreme importance of

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[2] The collection of Confucian writings and sayings.

government in human affairs, and on the overriding priority of stability and unity…have shaped the fundamental values of Chinese civilization ever since.
(Jacques, 2009, p.198)

Because the philosophical underpinnings of the Western academy are distinctly different from Confucian streams of thought, in order for Western readers of this thesis to understand the context of this study in its broader societal setting, it is important to understand some of the major influences of Confucian thought on society, and by extension, practitioners of education in today's China. For, as I have discovered myself, one who is armed only with the Socratic axiom of 'the unexamined life is not worth living' and the Einsteinian aphorism of 'question everything' will quickly come up empty-handed in his search for answers in a staunchly Confucian society.

2.1.2.2.1 Filial Piety

 Filial Piety is without question the most important Confucian concept explicated in *Analects* that has bearing on today's society in China. By definition *filial piety* is the set of reverent obligations existing between parent and child that when understood and exercised properly build a foundation upon which all other human relationships rest. The parent-child relationship is, according to Confucian thought, the primary relationship one has in life. Key to this relationship is the notion of reciprocity, summed up pragmatically as 'do not do to others as you would not want others to do to you' *Analects 15:23* (De Bary, 1960). The parents lovingly care for the child in her infancy, and the child obeys the parents in youth and beyond, honors the parents by caring for their physical needs in her adulthood, and reveres the parents through ritual veneration once they are departed. In essence, the child's existence is only possible in the context of parental relationship, and therefore the child has a duty to return honor, obedience, and reverence in perpetuity, because after all, they would want to be treated that way by their own children. This relational outlook in consequence carries over to all other human relationships, resulting in an intensified view towards respecting ones elders in society and superiors in the workplace and government.

Few of those who are filial sons and respectful brothers will show disrespect to superiors, and there has never been a man who is respectful to superiors and yet creates disorder. A superior man is devoted to the fundamental. When the root is firmly

established, the moral law will grow. Filial piety and brotherly respect are the root of humanity.

Analects 1:2 (Chan, 1963)

2.1.2.2.2   Social harmony

A corresponding Confucian ideal to *filial piety* played out in society is the principle of societal harmony, stability, and unity among common men. As Jacques (2009, p.198) puts it, 'Two of the most obvious continuities in Chinese civilization, both of which can be traced back to Confucius, concern the state and education'. As children foray out into the world, the *filial piety* they have learned at home manifests itself in the classroom as children show extreme reverence for teachers and even peers who are in positions of authority. Teachers, in form like parents, and in practice like deity-- experts in their knowledge of the cryptic, unsolvable, and never-ending flow of *hanzi*, are never questioned, never corrected, and disobeyed only with the direst of consequences.

'In the classroom, children are expected to look respectfully upwards towards the teacher and, given the towering importance of history, reverentially backwards to the past in terms of the content of their learning. Education is vested with the authority and reverence of Chinese civilization, with teachers the bearers and transmitters of that wisdom.' (Jacques, 2009, p.199)

In a uniquely integrated convergence of culture and education not known in the West, the method of learning ideographic characters from a master reinforces the pious principles learned in the home to cement in the child an unwavering reverence for authority. While a child in the West who is learning to read an alphabetic language might be encouraged to 'sound out' words on their own and is quickly able to feed himself with written content containing words he has heard but not yet seen, the Chinese student remains dependent on his teacher for learning pronunciation and meaning of new characters throughout primary school, A method that is seen as inherently necessary and is so ingrained in educational practice that rote transmission of knowledge flows naturally to other academic content, even content that is not bound by the limitations of learning *hanzi*, a convenience and comfort to both teacher and student. The common practice of

teachers remaining with the same students for the duration of primary school provides a comforting stability that further impacts the formation of the germinating notion in the mind of the child that society is a layered and integrated whole.

Beyond the classroom, through the practices modeled by parents, teacher, and school authority, the child peeks out into the wider society and sees the *filial* pattern repeated in reassuring uniformity in the posture of citizens in relationship to government.

'The state has always been perceived as the embodiment and guardian of Chinese civilization, which is why, in both the dynastic and Communist eras, it has enjoyed such huge authority and legitimacy. Amongst its constellation of responsibilities, the state, most importantly of all, has the sacred task of maintaining the unity of Chinese civilization. Unlike in the Western tradition, the role of government has no boundaries, rather like a parent, with which it is often compared; there are no limits to its authority. Paternalism is regarded as a desirable and necessary characteristic of government…There is no doubting the reverence and deference which the Chinese display towards it [the state].' (Jacques, 2009 p.199)

Key to the maintenance and propagation of a unified and harmonious society is the ideal of not disrespecting one's superiors, especially government and its systems and ministers. Venting one's negative opinions about the status of society or the system in which one exists is strictly frowned upon in society, and this type of 'criticalness' is seen as being disrespectful and creating disorder. Such critical behavior is not practiced openly in society, not tolerated, and certainly not trained in the home or school. It is not promoted in arts or media and thus does not grow unchecked in society. There seems to be a sense of imbued nobility and admiration for someone who is rightfully discontent with society yet embraces his lot in life with resolve and dignity, quietly pressing on with his own affairs. Such an attitude is not completely unrelated to the Confucian teaching of the Doctrine of the Golden Mean, which can be expressed as an avoidance of extremes of thought and practice that allows for a harmony with others while allowing for the maintenance of disagreement. It can be succinctly summed up in the typically Chinese judgment 'A is right, and B is not wrong either' (Lin, 2009 p. 113). A spirit of reasonableness with a dash of fatalism is the mark of the humane man living by the Doctrine of the Golden Mean. Complaining of one's own lot, or the misdeeds of those in power in society serves no practical purpose except to create disorder and disharmony.

After all, if we are all in the same boat and the waves are coming at us all, there is no use complaining, just shut up and row.

2.1.3 Major factors since 1949

2.1.3.1 The Mao Era: Nation-building

Jacques (2009, p.82) suggests that in the Dynastic era philosophers and literati, even Confucius himself, were suffered to be critical of society as long as they were willing to remove themselves from it. But the common man, a civil servant, a teacher, or a peasant benefitting from the paternal benevolence of government should be wary to voice criticism. After the Communist Revolution of 1949, though, the responsibility for the maintenance of a harmonious society moved from exemplary men created by a Confucian education and self-motivated by an intrinsic sense of obligation to a paternal society, to the Central Government, who immediately imposed its own sense of harmony upon the elite and the masses alike with an iron fist (Spence, 1991; Chung and Halliday, 2005; Jacques, 2009). The notion of harmony no longer meant a self-regulated commitment to unity in diversity, but rather an imposed commitment to the Communist ideals and most importantly, unwavering loyalty to their supreme leader, Mao Zedong (1893-1976).

The post 1949 Communist era in China with its un-doubtable successes and graphic failures is perhaps the most significant era out of which this study, her participants, and phenomena has grown. To misunderstand the scope of influence of Maoist thought so intensely propagated from 1949 to 1978 is to misunderstand modern China and the current context of minority communities within. Yet the scope of this thesis is much too narrow to be able to explicate the dynamics of the movement, even in broad strokes. Suffice it to say that the government led by Mao Zedong and his comrades was successful in unifying a country torn by decades of societal unrest, foreign invasion, and a civil war that had left the populace traumatized and suffering in tatters. The rebuilding of a nation in those desperate times often called for desperate measures, including throwing out former Confucian and religious ideologies in favor of a Maoist-Marxist, atheistic system in which Mao himself became the ultimate arbiter of political and moral thought, establishing his political power "out of the barrel of a gun" (Chung and Halliday, 2005, p. 52). This approach to political control, propagated by Mao, did not

stop with the termination of revolutionary war, but continued to be used throughout his years in power.

2.1.3.2 The question of nationalism

After more than a decade of unrest marked by foreign invasion and brutal societal trauma at the hands of the Japanese (Fogel, 2000; Spence, 1991), followed by four years of a violent civil war, Mao's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) undertook the task of rebuilding China into a functioning nation-state. Of particular relevance to this thesis during this period is the CCP's attitude and posture towards minority ethnicities. During the initial years of the People's Republic the CCP was concerned with winning the support of minority ethnicities in the traditionally held territories of China, and especially in the border regions where there were shared ethnic identities with other existing nation-states such as Mongolia and Korea. There were, however, many ethnic groups within the borders of traditionally conceptualized China that were interested in being given autonomy under the provisions of the newly drafted constitution. The ethos of the state was to forge a unified nation, and in order to accomplish this feat they must promote a unified nationalism with China as the 'motherland' of all ethnicities while concurrently accommodating the plethora of ethnic identities wishing to be recognized for official status (Spence, 1991, Zhou and Sun, 2004). The national government undertook a survey of ethnic cultures and languages and opened an application system to allow ethnic groups to apply for official recognition. There were over 400 groups making applications for 'nationality' (i.e. recognized ethnicity) status based on their self-perceptions of their language and cultural identity. Over the course of the next decade, leaning on Marxism-Leninism as the theoretical guide for nation-building, the government recognized 54 of those groups of minority ethnicities based upon Stalin's four criteria[3] for defining a nationality. An additional ethnic group was to be added in 1979, bringing the total to the current 55. These groups were bestowed certain rights that will be explored below, such as the right to some form of political 'autonomy' as set forth in the constitution (Zhou, 2001; Zhou and Sun, 2004), and the Kam were one of these groups.

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[3]

2.1.3.2.1 A Hundred Flowers Campaign

In 1957, after eight years of establishing unity, purging the society of many of his overt political opponents, Mao, with a softening tone, instituted a campaign to allow for the metaphorical blooming of a hundred flowers in the field of culture, and for letting a hundred schools of thought contend in the field of science (Spence, 1991; Chung and Halliday, 2005). Mao invited intellectuals and academics to open up about their ideas for improving the new systems in place, and suggested it should be a "campaign of criticism and self-criticism carried to the proper extent". (Spence, 1991 p. 568) The response during the five-week open period was nothing short of astonishing, with many scholars publishing articles that, among other issues, focused on abuses of power, neglect of human rights, and problems with education. The public discourse grew to the point of fervor, with reports of rioting on university campuses and demonstrations throughout the country. The staunch left hard liners in the government were forced to act to curb the outcry, and Mao altered the text of his original speech to read that "intellectual freedoms were to be used only if they contributed to the strengthening of socialism, and this revised version was published and widely disseminated." (Spence, 1991, p.572). Intellectuals who participated in the campaign were officially branded as 'rightists' and were removed from their posts, ruining their careers. Many were imprisoned, or sent to perform forced labor for years, and some sentenced to life. Others were subjected to 'public struggle sessions' (a form of public shaming and torture common in the Mao era) (Lipman and Harrell, 1990), driving many to suicide, and Spence (1991, p.573) reports that even youth were not safe from retribution, as three student leaders in the Hanyang First Middle School were executed by shooting in the presence of 10,000 people, including their peers at school.

The resulting effect of this Hundred Flowers Campaign on Chinese society has been profound   (MacFarquhar and Mao, 1989; MacFarquhar, 1966; Hays, 2008; Chung and Halliday, 2005). Adding to the millennium of Confucian grooming of a *filial* responsibility to society to be demure in criticism of superiors and their policies, authoritarian governance and resulting civil unrest exhibited so clearly in the Hundred Flowers Campaign and the follow-on Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution periods cemented within Chinese society a resolve to keep quiet out of fear of retribution. Even though there is no longer such an iron-fisted government in place and radical politics have become more civil, politically sensitive subjects are simply not spoken of

openly, ever. Criticism of systems of government, authority, and public policy are kept internal, only to be shared with the closest of confidants. In the decades since the Mao era, this unspoken modeling of a non-critical public discourse has served to create a populace, including participants in this study, that are perhaps completely subconsciously, overly guarded in their sentiments and opinions of potentially sensitive issues.

2.1.3.2.2 Cultural Revolution

From 1966 to 1976 The CCP undertook a campaign to rid the country of "bourgeois capitalists" and "anti-rightists" and to force the birth of a true communist society by eliminating cultural holdovers from pre-Mao era China (Spence, 1991; Chung and Halliday, 2005). Anything within the society that was not overtly in support of this Communist agenda was open for attack; a cultural revolution was underway. Lingering holdovers from imperial or Confucian eras such as artwork, or churches and temples, were destroyed, and traditional as well as minority culture throughout the country was attacked an effort to rid China of backward looking features like traditional cultural heritage, dress, and architecture. Hard-line Communism following Stalin's ideologies aimed to make all ethnicities into one harmonious society using one common language (Zhou, 2001). So, traditional trappings, including minority language education were dismissed as hindering the development of a communist utopia.

The resulting chaos, in which many young people undertook particularly violent measures to prove their loyalty to the new cause, left no small mark on even the more isolated minority cultures. Through personal conversations, I have learned of instances of Kam cultural relics being destroyed, and of women who left their villages to go to markets whose long hair was publicly shorn by force. At this time, many Kam men forsook their traditional clothing in favor of Mao suits, hats and canvas shoes, which are readily available for purchase in markets to this day. Minority groups such as the Kam, though far removed from the nucleus of ideological fervor, had no choice but to be less distinct and more like the ideal that was being promoted by the proponents of the Cultural Revolution. This impact seems to have extended beyond cultural or linguistic identity, and may have, as Minglang Zhou strongly states, "caused significant damage to all levels of education in most minority communities" (2001, p. 146).

2.1.4   1978-Present "Reform and Opening"

In 1978 China entered a period of 'reform and opening' under Deng Xiaoping, China moved away from the hard left rush to communism and focus on a new system of 'Socialism with Chinese characteristics' with a call for modernizing agriculture, industry, military defense, and science and technology (Spence, 1991). With this shift, they took a step back from hardline communism and the utopian goal of harmonizing all ethnic minority cultures together into one Chinese culture, taking a long-term view of the utopian road, and thus allowing for and even embracing diversity among minority cultures and languages, and, at least in theory, for some form of developing minority language education and cultural preservation (Zhou, 2001).

2.1.4.1.1 Constitutional provisions

Within the constitution of the People's Republic of China, established on December 4, 1982, there are two elements that have direct influence on language use in the Kam-speaking schools in Guizhou province. In Article 4, provision is made granting freedom for minority ethnicities to use and develop their own spoken and written language.

Article 4. All nationalities[4] in the People's Republic of China are equal. The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the minority nationalities and upholds and develops the relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of China's nationalities. Discrimination against and oppression of any nationality are prohibited; any acts that undermine the unity of the nationalities or instigate their secession are prohibited. The state helps the areas inhabited by minority nationalities speed up their economic and cultural development in accordance with the peculiarities and needs of the different minority nationalities. Regional autonomy is practised in areas where people of minority nationalities live in compact communities; in these areas organs of self-government are established for the exercise of the right of autonomy. All the national autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China. ***The people of all nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own ways and customs***. (The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, 1982) [Emphasis mine]

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[4] The term nationalities used in English translations of Chinese literature is best translated as 'ethnicities'.

The provisions within article 4, as we will see later in this thesis, are subject to a great deal of interpretation. Worth noting is the provision for autonomous regions for some level of minority self-governance, and that acknowledgement is given to the 55 minority groups in regards to the right to maintain and develop their language and customs. Additionally, Article 19, dealing with education within the PRC, has direct relevance to this study in which language use in education is in focus.

Article 19. The state develops socialist educational undertakings and works to raise the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation. The state runs schools of various types, makes primary education compulsory and universal, develops secondary, vocational and higher education and promotes preschool education. …The state promotes the nationwide use of Putonghua (common speech based on Beijing pronunciation) (The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, 1982). [Emphasis mine]

It follows from looking at these two articles that the freedoms given to minority ethnic groups to develop and maintain their own languages are limited. Specifically, this autonomy that is given to minorities is governed by the state's interpretation of how best to uphold "equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of China's nationalities" (see section 2.1.4.1.1). In one case there are overt limitations as expressed in article 4, namely "any act that may undermine the unity of the nationalities" is strictly prohibited. Again, such acts can be interpreted broadly by readers of the constitution and allow for prohibitions against certain activities that might be enacted in the name of minority language development. Additionally, there are competing limitations imposed upon the freedom of minority peoples to develop and maintain their languages. Article 19, which makes (9-year) primary education compulsory also emphasizes the state's promotion of the nationwide use of Putonghua. I call this a competing limitation to the development of minority languages, because the time and resources necessary to promote Putonghua in the current system naturally compete with the time allocated for the development of minority languages.

In summary, the provisions of Article 4 granting the freedom to develop minority languages are only granted to the extent that they do not interfere with the Article 19 mandate of the promotion of Putonghua. Or, as it was described to me by a Chinese

friend, "the bird (of multilingual education) is free to live…inside the cage (of Putonghua promotion)."

Or, as Zhou (2001, p. 127) states in a more academic and historically cognizant tone:

Despite constitutional guarantees of minority language rights, bilingual education in China has been subject to the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) minorities policy, which is modeled after that of the former Soviet Union and founded in theories concerning the pace of the evolution from capitalism to communism and the relationship of ethnic groups to that evolution (cf. Dreyer, 1976, pp. 43–137; Mackerras, 1994, pp. 140–5). In Marxist–Stalinist theories (cf. Stalin, 1975, pp.15–88), ethnic groups are assumed to have arisen during capitalism and are predicted to integrate into a single community during the transition (socialism) to communism. Thus, views on the pace of the evolution from capitalism to communism make a great difference in minorities policy (cf. Zhou, 2001; Dreyer, 1976, pp. 43–53).

2.2   Zhou's Typology of Minority Languages in China

As stated previously, there is extreme diversity between the various ethnic minority groups in China. When I first arrived in China, a Chinese friend who had lived in the West told me "China is a waffle, not a pancake." He extrapolated by saying that the syrup often stays compartmentalized on a waffle and doesn't spread to every corner. In the same manner, as compared to China, the policies might not reach the entire country, meaning that conditions and realities in one region may be quite different in another region. I have found it a useful metaphor when trying to understand minority education in China. Population, geography, history, economics, social status, stance toward the majority culture and government, and religious practice are all areas of differentiation from one minority group to the next. Educational approaches and regional policies also vary between these groups, and it is impractical to lump them together to attempt to form one single 'flat-pancake' understanding of ethnic minority education.

Minglang Zhou (2000) puts forth a useful typology for understanding the minority language communities of China and their respective use of their own languages in society and education.

Type 1 communities, largely on the border regions of China, consist of relatively large groups, such as the Kazakh and Korean, who had an existing script that was widely used in education prior to the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, and continue to have

widespread use in education to this day. Type 2 communities are those with writing systems of limited usage before 1949 and without regular bilingual education since then. Type 3, which include the Kam, are those without functional writing systems before 1949 and with limited or no bilingual education since then (Zhou, 2000).

When examining the context and conditions in which this current study takes place, especially as it might relate to other studies about minority education in China, it is important to consider the type of language community in view.

2.2.1.1 Influences of policy

The policies stated in the section above and others implemented in the years since reform and opening was first initiated, have brought about significant changes to the educational landscape in minority regions. In an effort to modernize education within the country, and to show efforts to cooperate with international standards for education following from organizations such as UNESCO and its Education For All by 2015 initiative (EFA Guizhou, 2006), China has focused great energy and financial resources on establishing schools in the remaining areas that were previously without educational services. This great effort in physical and financial resources, in and of itself a remarkable achievement, has not come without a degree of negative results.

Although expressly countermanded in the preamble of the Constitution as an obstacle towards "the unity of the nationalities" (The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, 1982), "Han chauvinism" in the form of linguistic and cultural hegemony has been one of these unintended byproducts. The central government, though calling for decentralized decision-making and local control over curriculum, in the best-case scenario, has been unable to facilitate the production of educational materials in the plethora of minority languages in communities, so they simply followed the now well-beaten path of providing existing materials in *Hanzi*. Such a course has naturally led to the strengthening of *Putonghua* at the expense of developing minority languages.

With the increase in numbers of physical schools, there has also been an increase in school attendance, coinciding with policies and plans to provide universal education through grade nine (the third year of junior secondary school) to all citizens of China. This policy was first written into law in 1985 (Dello-Iacovo, 2009; EFA Guizhou, 2006, Yang, 2005) and first implemented as free compulsory education in Guizhou province in 2003. This increase in school attendance has in turn produced an increased need for

teachers, which has produced a widening gap in educational services between the urban and rural sectors of China (Hu, 2003). Classes in Guizhou county-level primary schools are known to have upwards of a 60 to 1 student-teacher ratio. It is not uncommon for schools to be short of teachers and be forced to use untrained substitute teachers to meet the demands of student numbers and the slow pace of teacher training (Hu, 2003; EFA Guizhou, 2006 p.116; Finifrock and Schilken, 2015).

2.2.1.1.1 Secondary education shortage

A secondary result of the policy to implement compulsory 9 years of education has been the increasing demand for secondary education. With increasing numbers of students studying through junior-secondary school, the Guizhou education bureau has been unable to provide enough space for all the year 9 leavers to study in senior secondary school. Currently in Kaili prefecture, which includes Misty Mountain County, there is only space for 40% of the year 9 leavers to enter year 10, though alternative schools providing technical training or training for kindergarten and preschool teachers also exist. There are two results of this shortage that bear some relevance to this study. First, the county education bureaus must rely on testing, and testing only, to place students in the secondary schools in their county. This testing orientation, though discouraged in the national education policies of the 1990's (EFA Guizhou, 2006) nonetheless exists for the pragmatic purpose of allocating students to their respective schools. This naturally plays to the favor of the mother-tongue Han speaking students who are better equipped to handle the rigors of testing and against the ethnic minority language speaking student whose parents are usually less economically able to pay for Senior Secondary tuition. The parents of these ethnic minority students are forced to make what I call the Farmer's Wager. If they believe that their child will not pass the grade 9 exam, called the *zhongkao* (中考), they will withdraw their child from compulsory education early, say in junior secondary 2, to allow their family to save school fees and use their child's time and energy to help with the family farm, or, in recent times, send them to a factory to earn an income. If they choose to continue to support their child and they qualify for Senior Secondary school, this Farmer's wager comes into play again as the student prepares for the university entrance exam.

2.2.1.1.2 *Yingshijiaoyu* (Testing orientation)

In the year 2001 China passed legislation geared to reforming education throughout the country (Dello-Iacovo, 2009; EFA Guizhou, 2006). One of the many reforms listed was to purposefully move away from a testing orientation that has been part of the Chinese education culture from the time of Confucius and beyond (Dello-Iacovo, 2009; EFA Guizhou, 2006 p. 63; Jacques, 2009). As stated by the Education For All authors from Guizou Province (EFA Guizhou, 2006 p. 62), "if one wants to empower future generations, students today need to be taught competencies rather than simply be trained by rote learning to pass examinations." This ideal now put into law, is still not visible in today's classrooms in the countryside. Evidence that will be explored later in this study suggests that the testing orientation of education in Guizhou province is still very much in place. This is most focused on something called the *Gaokao* (高考), or university entrance exam. The *gaokao* takes place every year in June and is attended by students in year 3 of Senior Secondary school, and students in year 4 who did not pass the *gaokao* the previous year and chose to remain at Senior Secondary school to *buke* (补课: literally, make-up class). The content and instructional aims of year 3 (repeated in year 4) are specifically intended to prepare students for the *gaokao.*

However, at the culmination of each stage of education (primary, junior secondary, senior secondary) there is testing that determines whether or not a student can go on to the next stage, or after primary school the testing determines for which school a child can qualify.

2.2.1.1.3 Preferential policies

The government of China, in the name of equal access, has promulgated policies that are designed to help ethnic minority students participate in tertiary education proportionate to the degree that they are represented in the population at large (Zhou and Hill, 2010). To borrow from Feng (2012) these preferential policies are official policies or guidelines that encourage affirmative action for supporting ethnic minority groups in many aspects of education. These include providing increased financial and material resources to minority education, providing financial reward to teachers working in remote ethnic minority dominated areas, and policies to promote bilingual education (Feng, 2012; Feng and Sunuodula, 2009; Zhou and Hill, 2010). Clothey (2005) further reports that minority language students in China are given some preferential treatment in regards to tertiary education such as being allowed to take the *gaokao* in the minority language, attend

university in their own language, and receive testing bonus scores added to their *gaokao* scores because they belong to an ethnic minority.

2.3 Minority Education in Guizhou

Guizhou province with an area of nearly 180,000 Km^2 and a population of just under 40 million has a diverse range of 18 minority ethnicity groups comprising 38% of the population alongside the Han majority (Peng, 2012). Education in Guizhou is administered by the Guizhou Provincial Education Bureau (贵州省教育厅) whose offices are located in the provincial capital of Guiyang. The Bureau has the responsibility of organizing and conducting education at all levels throughout the province, from primary school to the university level.

It is important to understand that historically there has not been any differentiation between 'education' and 'minority education' in the province. As reported by Ou (forthcoming), a Kam-speaking scholar who was educated during this period, prior to the establishment of the PRC education in minority areas of Guizhou consisted in a Han teacher, or less common a Chinese speaking minority, teaching minority students to memorize the Confucian classics. Students would kneel before a memorial to the sage to start the day, and memorize Chinese characters "without understanding any meaning" (Ou, Forthcoming). Content often consisted of lists of Chinese surnames and Confucian sayings from the classics. After the PRC was established, education improved in the sense that there were more schools and improving facilities. The Confucian classics were replaced by recitations of Marxist-Maoist thought, yet the medium of instruction and methodologies remained much the same.

In the recent period of 'Reform and Opening' great strides have been made to broaden the scope of education to prepare students to be able to engage dutifully in a wide variety of academic fields. With very few exceptions that will be explored below, *Putonghua* has remained the main medium of instruction in the province regardless of whether or not the students have the ability to understand. Even so called bilingual education programs or dual language schools in Guizhou have resisted teaching literacy in the minority language or using the language as a medium of instruction (Li, 1991).

The education system in Guizhou, as in other provinces, is profoundly impacted by the CCP having direct control over the institution at all levels. In the current system, there

are "two organizations with one set of troops."[5] The Guizhou CCP and the Guizhou Provincial Government are two distinct organizations with their own sets of responsibilities. The CCP in Guizhou has a working committee in charge of education, whose leader is appointed by the CCP and whose position is called the Party Secretary or *shuji* 书记. It is the job of the *shuji* to ensure that the ideals of the CCP are carried out within the education system. The leader of the Guizhou Province Department of Education (GzDOE), a Government Bureau, is called the *jiaoyuting tingzhang* 教育厅厅长, often shortened to *tingzhang,* The *tingzhang* is responsible to lead the education system in the entire province and to ensure that the educational policies are implemented in all subordinate departments. In every province, prefecture, and county the leader of the CCP Education Committee and the Government Education Department leader are **one in the same person.** Even though many subordinate workers in the education department and in schools are not CCP members, and may even to some degree be opposed to CCP policies and ideals, they remain subordinate to the CCP leadership and influence within the education system. The resulting impact of this set up is that the education policies and best practices are trumped by CCP goals and ideals, which are not publicly available and can only be deduced by looking at current practices in education. Minority education it then follows, is directly influenced by CCP minority theory and policy.

Currently, education in Guizhou, minority areas notwithstanding, education is directed at not only training students in core academic subjects such as mathematics and language, but also in the ways of the majority society and the political ideologies of the CCP. Such a purpose is stated plainly in the "EFA Monitoring Report 2005" for the UNESCO Education For All initiative, written by members of the Guizhou Provincial Education Bureau.

> *Ethnic minority children very often do not speak Chinese when they enter school. One of the important missions for compulsory education in Guizhou is to help these children's [sic] to quickly get a grasp of Mandarin. This is important for three reasons:* **First, Mandarin is the medium of instruction in school**. *To*

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[5] Description by an anonymous member of the Guizhou Education Department, in personal correspondence 2016
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*master the language as soon as possible and to acquire thus an irreplaceable study tool is a prerequisite for any educational success of ethnic minority children. **Second, Mandarin is the common language used in all aspects of life in China.** To master Mandarin is therefore a basic requirement for every citizen in order to take part in political and social affairs and to contribute to the economic and cultural life of the country. **Third, to offer a Chinese education to ethnic minority children within the compulsory education framework, means to give them the tools that allow for integration into Chinese mainstream culture and its values;** thus it promotes the awareness of the nation united as a whole and contributes to the goal of building a harmonious society.* (EFA Guizhou, 2006 p. 76-77, emphasis mine)

Thus for the above three reasons taken as 'fact' by the Guizhou DOE, in order to 'quickly teach minority children Mandarin' students are being forced into Mandarin language studies and Mandarin as MOI programs at an earlier and earlier age, effectively ignoring the many benefits, let alone constitutional rights, of L1 instruction. Education in minority areas of Guizhou, using Mandarin as the medium of instruction, has taken an 'earlier, faster, harder' approach that is based on the commonly espoused belief that younger children can learn language better than older children, and that more 'time on task' (Cummins, 2001 p. 208-209) in the target language, in this case Mandarin, will yield better results than teaching through the medium of L1. Evidence of this philosophy comes from the Steel Mountain project (referenced in the context chapter section 2.3.3.1.3) in which the local officials opposed the proposal of testing lower-grade students via the medium of Kam, because test results could not be compared to other schools that were conducting all of their mid-semester and semester final exams in Mandarin/Hanzi. In addition, 2012 kindergarten curriculum planning documents in Guizhou call for literacy instruction in *Hanzi* and oral instruction in *Putonghua* irrespective of the mother-tongue or Chinese language ability of the students (Office visit with Education Officer, Field Notes, May 10, 2013). This recent policy change moved the onset of Mandarin language instruction in minority areas of Guizhou from first grade (age 6 or 7) to kindergarten, which in Guizhou could be as early as 4 years of age. Education officials are promoting this methodology in part because Guizhou has lagged behind other provinces in their *gaokao* scores and officials are frantically trying to increase the Chinese language levels of the students in their system. With the Central

Government investing more resources in the province, the education department needs to produce results. This 'earlier, faster, harder' approach is the response of the leadership in the education system, many of whom are not necessarily educators themselves, and in spite of evidence displayed by educators in the system that current policies and practices are largely ineffective. Such ineffectiveness is openly admitted by GzDOE personnel and documents:

...in the past Guizhou has not paid enough attention to an overall language teaching policy or to specific classroom teaching methods that are required in a context of ample linguistic diversity. Therefore, so far the teaching of Mandarin Chinese to ethnic minority children whose mother tongue is not Mandarin has not been very successful (EFA Guizhou, 2006, p. 77).

Although some within the system acknowledge the failures of language teaching policy, the response has not been to focus on such weaknesses, but rather to amp up the intensity of the current ineffective practices. Thus, children now start learning Chinese earlier than previously, are encouraged to work harder, and move through curriculum at a faster pace regardless of whether or not they have mastered the language of instruction.

Bilingual education, or *shuangyu jiaoxue* (双语教学) [literally, two language teaching and learning] is a term that is used in Guizhou and elsewhere in China to describe the process by which ethnic minority students are often educated. It is, in practice, very different from the methodological approach promoted by Western academics such as Lambert (1974), Cummins (1989), and Baker (2006) who promote a systematic type of *additive bilingual education* that develops competencies in both, or all, languages involved. In Guizhou and many other ethnic minority area, as reported by the likes of Finifrock and Schilken (2015) and Feng and Sunundola (2009) in their respective reports of education among the Kam in Guzhou and the Zhuang in Guangxi, this type of instruction is an undeveloped methodology that simply consists of individual teachers performing on-the-spot interpretation for children from Mandarin to the ethnic minority language (Li, 1991). The methods are not structured and vary greatly from teacher to teacher and class by class. The term, often seen in reports and on placards at schools,

gives some air of promoting inclusivity and care for minority students diverse language needs. The results of this methodology are lacking, even when evaluated by the GzDOE:

> *In Guizhou, the mother tongue of ethnic minority children is generally used to assist their learning. However, the way it is used at present to assist the learning of Chinese as a second language at primary school is not very satisfactory. The textbooks of Chinese are conceived for native speakers and are used by teachers who have no training at all in teaching Chinese as a second language. They give– on the whole boring–word-for-word translations of the Chinese text and some explanations to the children in their mother tongue. This does not further the pupils communication skills nor their readiness to study the other subjects all taught in Chinese. Even though these primary school pupils tend to learn a number of Chinese characters… that learning achievements remain unsatisfactory is a predictable outcome.* (EFA Guizhou, 2006 p. 77)

The main body within the bureau, the Basic Education Unit with a workforce of 8 people at the time of this writing, is responsible, through the network of education departments at the prefecture and county levels for the selection and maintenance of school sites, the development of curriculum at all levels of education, and the selection and training of teachers at all levels and departments. It should be noted that most curriculum in Guizhou, regardless of its use in minority areas or not, is produced in accordance with educational mandates from the Central Government in Beijing and is directed at mother-tongue Han students with no L1 support for minority students, and no L1to L2 methodology geared toward learners of Chinese. Therefore, the BEU in Guizhou, though responsible for developing curriculum in theory, in practice simply adopts curriculum already prepared by the PRC's Central Education Department. Regardless of the majority ethnicity or L1 in a particular school, the schools use the same textbooks.

In addition to the basic education unit, there is a Minority Education Unit (MEU), which is responsible for any education that deals with children in minority schools throughout the entire province. The Minority Education Unit, at the time of this study, was staffed by a single official and a single secretary, with a constituency of roughly 3,700,000 minority students. The MEU is limited in its authority, restricted to projects in the province that address only minority students. Everything implemented by the MEU must first be approved by the BEU. The MEU in essence, is responsible for all programs in ethnic

minority schools that are first approved by the BEU and support the BEU constitutional mandates, which are among others, to promote *Putonghua,* and policy mandates to decrease illiteracy (the specific language to be used is not stipulated, however based on the dearth of non-Han literacy programs in schools that use minority languages, it is best presumed to mean illiteracy in *Hanzi*), and increase the *gaokao* examination scores in the province (Guizhou JYT a, 2005).

The Director of the MEU for more than 15 years, with whom I have had significant personal contact in planning and training meetings, has stated on multiple occasions that her hands are tied by the BEU (Personal Conversation, Field Notes, June 07, 2013). Though the MEU would like to implement more scientifically based approaches to education in minority communities, the BEU has not displayed a desire to work in a manner that would allow for these changes to be implemented. The MEU has been supportive of some of the experimental interventions that will be mentioned below, but not to the extent of advocating strongly enough to clear away bureaucratic roadblocks to their adoption.

2.3.1 Minority education in Kaili Miao-Dong (Kam) Autonomous Prefecture

Kaili prefecture is located in the Southeastern part of Guzhou Province. It is an autonomous prefecture, granted special constitutional rights of limited self-governance due to its high population of Miao and Kam ethnic minorities. The prefecture, which covers an area of 30,339 square KM of mountainous terrain, had a total population of 3,480,626 people according to Census data from 2010 (Peng, 2012). Ethnic distribution in the prefecture is as follows: 41% Miao, 31% Kam, 19% Han, and 9% other ethnic minorities (Peng, 2012).

Prior to 1949, education in Kaili prefecture was strictly an exercise in Han language education provided at a fee by private teachers. Historical evidence of education aimed at the subjugation of the Guizhou minority people dates to the late Ming dynasty (1383-1644) when Han military posts were established in the Guizhou countryside, and continued through the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) as well (Li, 1991). Very few ethnic minority children were formally educated during this time period, though definite numbers are impossible to locate (Li, 1991; Ou, forthcoming). After 1949, education in Kaili prefecture was enhanced, in terms of numbers of public schools, but remained inaccessible to most students until the turn of the 21st century.

After reform and opening the national government has made significant strides to meet internationally agreed upon standards for universal compulsory education (UCE) for all members of society. The *Compulsory Education Law* of 1986 saw the government committing to make UCE through grade 9 'basically universal by the last decade of the 20th century'. (EFA Guizhou, 2006). The term 'basically universal' was defined as covering 85% of the population. The Guizhou provincial government set a goal in 2001 to achieve Basically Universal Compulsory Education (BUCE) by 2005. Statistics show that in Kaili prefecture, UCE rates were at 25% in 2000, but had reached 100% by 2005 (EFA Guizhou, 2006 p.81). These figures are not explained in detail however, and it is unclear what criteria were used to mark this achievement. Though increases in funding were reported during this time that would presumably used to build schools in remote areas, the sheer volume of material and human resources necessary to meet the EFA goals in such a short period of time would have been extreme.

Other measures such as enrollment in primary and junior secondary schools paint a slightly different picture during the same time period. Enrollment figures for Kaili Prefecture, reported in Table 2.1 show a decrease in enrollment between 2001 and 2004 for primary schools in the area, and a relatively commensurate increase in enrollment for junior secondary schools during the same period. This relatively static portrait of enrollment in the prefecture doesn't show such a dramatic increase as one would think from looking at the BUCE statistics. Such a discrepancy has led some to doubt the reliability of publicly available statistics.

Table 2.1 Enrollment data for Kaili Prefecture Compulsory Education 2001-2004

Level	Primary		Junior Secondary	
Year	2001	2004	2001	2004
School enrollment	508,781	477,897	190,690	230,980

Source: (EFA, Guizhou 2006, p. 86)

Nonetheless, schools are now prevalent and largely accessible in the Kam speaking regions of Kaili prefecture, including Misty Mountain County where this study takes place. Current statistics seen in Table 2.2 show a decrease in enrollment figures from the 2005 numbers in Table 2.1, though overall population hasn't decreased nearly as much. This most likely reflects the influence of the *dagong* phenomenon in which massive

numbers of people from minority areas go to the east coast of China for work, increasingly with children in tow.

Table 2.2 Enrollment data for Kaili Prefecture and Misty Mountain County 2015

	Kaili Prefecture		Misty Mountain County	
	Primary	Junior Secondary	Primary	Junior Secondary
Number of schools	844	200	141	22
School enrollment	338759	190109	33627	18981
Number of full time teachers	19960	12577	2028	1236

Source: (GzDOE internal document, 2016)

In China, after 1985, education funding was decentralized and local regions in Kaili Prefecture had to fund education largely on their own (Yang, 2005). Rural schools where there is little industry to generate revenue were grossly underfunded, so many counties relied on school fees from students to fund their classes and pay teacher salary. In 2002 Kaili Prefecture public expenditure for education was $1.96 USD per student per year on non-teacher-salary educational expenses (EFA Guizhou, 2006), leaving school costs to be spread among the families of students who attended. In 2003 a law was passed in Guizhou ensuring that families in need would not be charged school fees so that there would be no barrier to education in rural areas (Finifrock and Schilken, 2015). This resulted in students having free compulsory education, with counties and townships footing the bill for their own schools, which in turn led to a situation in which schools, though free, were underfunded, under-resourced, and understaffed. In the year 2010 the Kaili Prefectural government began a process of school consolidation, which defunded village schools and teaching posts[6] to relieve the financial burden of the prefecture and county governments. The process of consolidation included assigning students from remote villages with teaching posts to attend the nearest township central school, which required primary school students to walk long distances of up to 15 Km to school in the central township town. Because of the long distances, primary students from remote

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[6] One or two classroom schools with a single teacher for younger grades.

villages are now forced to board in town near the school. Many of these schools did not have adequate dormitories, so primary school students would need to live with a relative if possible, rent a room, or sleep on the floors of the school building. This added educational expenses to families has been a continued deterrent to education, and in some cases disrupts traditional family life because one parent must leave their village to live in the township town to care for their child before and after the school day. In the case where a parent is not able to accompany their child, it is not unheard of for several primary students from the same village to live together in the township town unsupervised, cooking together and sleeping in a common bed. Schools, such as the one in Bluebell township described below, have been making strides to build dormitories on campus, often with the help of external organizations, or even foreign charities.

2.3.2 1980's minority language education experiment

In the 1980s during the initial stages of 'reform and opening' when the CCP began to embrace a longer term approach to nation building the Guizhou Minority Affairs Commission, or *minwei* 民委 began to promote the study of minority languages as an academic subject in schools of several ethnicities of Kaili Prefecture. Scripts in these type 2 (Miao) and 3 (Kam, Bouyi, Shui) languages were composed of Romanized letters roughly corresponding to the equivalent sounds used in English. The language commission of the *minwei* had developed literacy primers in the late 1950s and early 1960s that were designed to teach minority language literacy to people who already knew how to read Hanzi. These were the only texts used in the experimental schools. Thus, students were required to first learn the complicated *hanzi* writing system in order to have a reference for learning their mother-tongue. The methodology could be termed 'learning L1 as if it were L2'. The methodology, strictly using a text to text correspondence approach gave merit to the minority language as something worth studying, but remained cumbersome and counter-intuitive to students in the program (Li, 1991). Because the language was taught exclusively as a subject by only a few trained teachers at the experimental schools, the bulk of language instruction in education remained in the students' L2 of Chinese, using the *hanzi* script. Reports from that era showed that even using cumbersome methods gave ethnic minority students an increased desire to study, and a more energetic spirit in their classes.

It was reported, however, that results and attitudes were mixed among practitioners in these projects. Teachers in large part remained unconvinced that the methods were

worthwhile. Some claimed that the L1 presence in schools increased motivation and benefited literacy, while others grew concerned that the script would interfere with the mastery of the *pinyin* script, or would increase the academic burden of minority students. When emerging Western literature was cited in support of the projects, especially in support of not increasing L1 at the cost of L2, it was largely met with skepticism simply because the research was Western, and was not believed to be able account for the complexities of the Chinese languages and *Hanzi* script (Personal Conversation with Education Official, Field Notes April 12, 2013).

2.3.3   Recent interventions

Since 1999 there have been three attempts to initiate improved multilingual education models among the Kam in Kaili Prefecture, one each in Greenoak, Misty Mountain, and Yellowbriar counties. All of these projects included some form of partnership with the Provincial Education Department, the Provincial Ethnic Minorities Commission, Guizhou University South West Minority Research Institute, SIL International, and the respective county education department.

2.3.3.1.1 Greenoak Zaidang pilot project

The first, and most comprehensive, of these projects took place in Zaidang Village in Greenoak County. Zaidang was chosen for its richly preserved Kam cultural practices, especially its excellence in Kam singing. The project, well documented in academic literature (Geary and Pan 2003; Malone, 2007; Finifrock, 2010; Finifrock and Schilken, 2015), was the first of its kind among Type 3 communities in China based on an additive multilingualism methodology (Feng and Adamson, 2015b). Members of the above mentioned organizations, as well as Kam language experts from the Guizhou Ethnic Minorities University and Kaili College prepared comprehensive Kam-language curriculum from pre-literacy to primary 6. More than 800 stories and 80 Kam-language songs were collected from Kam storytellers and song-masters and were central to the curriculum. Kam visual artists were employed to provide full pen and ink illustrations to all textbooks, ensuring that Kam culture (C1) was integral to the curriculum alongside Kam language (L1).

A cadre of 9 villagers serving as temporary or *daike* 代课 teachers were employed and trained in the project. These teachers served alongside two full time, or *gongban* 工班 teachers, one native to the village, and one not, who had been trained at teacher's college,

bringing the staff of the project to 11. The *daike* teachers were given extensive training in Kam literacy, newly created Kam-language curriculum, and learner-centered teaching methodologies[7] prior to the project inception and continuing in-service teaching instruction throughout the course of the nine-year experimental project.

Funding, in the amount of $85,000 USD was provided by SIL International to cover the costs of curriculum development, project management, and to upgrade the salaries of the 9 *daike* teachers to the equivalent of the salary of a *gongban* teacher, in order to retain teachers and combat the lure of higher wages paid for manual-labor in other provinces. The base teacher salary was paid by the Greenoak County Education Department.

The project curriculum in C1 and L1 and teacher training in learner-centered methodologies were designed to bolster BICS and systematically create CALP (Cummins, 1986) in the students' L1. In the two years of preschool and the first year of primary school literacy and content instruction was conducted entirely in L1. In year 1 of primary school oral Chinese was introduced for an hour a day using a learner centered language acquisition method called TPR (Asher, 1965; Krashen,1982) in which the language teacher uses context embedded natural language to introduce new vocabulary to students, requiring them to process the language and respond to the verbal cues with a physical, as opposed to a verbal, response (See Finifrock 2010). All other academic content, such as mathematics, music, history, and morals were taught using L1. In year two of primary school, students were introduced to written Chinese, using the education-department-supplied national Chinese texts for L1 Chinese students, after having mastered BICS in Chinese during year 1. In year two of primary subjects other than Chinese were taught using L1.

After year two, Chinese was used more and more for instruction using standard textbooks for other subjects such as mathematics and history. Kam language was used to continue to teach Kam culture, language, and music.

The Greenoak county education department did not allow the Zaidang project to modify Chinese textbooks to make them suitable for Chinese-as-L2 learners, though they did

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[7] A two track approach to literacy (top-down, whole language, and bottom up phonics) was used in which students began to write personal stories to share with their classmates from the moment they could write the first handful of letters in the Kam language. Students were daily using natural language in the classroom to listen, speak, read, and write information that was directly relevant to their life using L1 and C1.

give permission for the mathematics books to be translated into Kam. The schedule for teaching Chinese was modified so that students in the project school would catch up to their peers (in terms of current textbook and current lesson) in other schools by the end of year six of primary school. Other subjects, such as mathematics, were held on course with other schools.

During primary year 5 English was introduced to students, also using learner-centered methodology as described by Finifrock (2010). Great care was taken to ensure that the language in the classroom was natural and that students were given ample opportunities to listen and produce natural language according to their developmental abilities.

2.3.3.1.1.1 Project outcomes

The project ran from the year 2000 to the year 2010, with nearly 50 students receiving the entirety of their pre- and primary school education within the scope of the project. A total of nearly 300 students participated in the project before it was terminated by the Greenoak County Education Department.

Finifrock (2010) and Finifrock and Schilken (2015) reported that the students in the project consistently outperformed their peers at other schools in their township on both mathematics and Chinese and persisted longer in education, with a greater percentage of students completing nine-years of compulsory education and qualifying for senior secondary school than their peers from surrounding villages. There were two classes that had the entirety of their primary school education within the scope of the project. These two classes were comprised of 45 students, 23 of who graduated from senior secondary school and 18 of who continued to study at a tertiary institution (personal correspondence with village head, Field Notes, May 17, 2016). These numbers vary slightly from those reported by Finifrock and Schilken in 2015 because some students who had dropped out of school to work in factories later returned to school to complete their studies within the last two years. In the same village in years prior to the project it was rare for students to qualify for senior secondary school, and extremely rare for them to qualify for university.

The project by all accounts provided a dramatic improvement from the scholastic environment in most Kam-speaking villages of Guizhou. Judging by the fact that students in the project achieved well-rounded literacy in L1 and superior literacy levels in L2 than students in surrounding villages, it seems that such a project could fulfill the

spirit of both article 4 and article 19 of the Chinese constitution, as well as the goals for improved education and literacy in minority areas.

The project, however, was not granted permission to continue after the ninth year. Though there was verbal support from the Chinese National Education Bureau, Guizhou DOE, Guizhou *Minwei,* Guizhou Foreign Affairs Department, and continued financial and human resource support from SIL International, the Greenoak County Education Department decided not to support any further L1 education in Zaidang, and even after many appeals from village leaders and supporters from Guizhou University, the project was terminated. Teachers were released from the project, many of whom went to take manual-labor jobs in other locations, though three of the original *daike* teachers were able to achieve *gongban* status through studies and personal exploits.[8]

In fact, the Greenoak DOE stated that they would allow the project to continue if they were mandated to do so by the Guizhou DOE. In response, the Guizhou DOE stated that even though they supported the project and admired its outcomes, it was beyond their scope of authority to mandate, and they could only approve a project that was requested by the Greenoak County DOE. Neither party was willing to find a solution to the bureaucratic obstacles blocking the continuation of the project and thus the *daike* teachers were released from their duties in January 2010.

The villagers of Zaidang were won over by the success of the project, and were disappointed when the project was terminated. They were so convinced by the success of the curriculum and methodology that they formed a committee to complain to the Greenoak County DOE and to offer to carry on the project themselves to no avail.

In 2014 the Zaidang Village Head, who had two children graduate from the project and eventually go on to university, was interviewed by the Misty Mountain County television station:

最开始有很多人都担心就是怕做双语教学就怕教学质量高不上来，但搞过后效果出来了他们没有这种担心。09 年后这个项目不做了很多家长都反应要做。他们最

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[8] One of the project teachers, who was also the village singing instructor, had participated in a national televised singing competition in which her choir placed second. She was awarded *gongban* status because of this. The other two teachers needed to attend a two-year training program during weekends and school holidays provided by the Greenoak DOE.

打的区别就是， 进入项目的学生他们的性格好像比较开朗一些。而且他们做什么都有一些信心也有一种冲劲。

In the beginning many people were nervous that this bilingual education would not be of good quality, but then afterwards the results came out and no one was nervous. After 2009 when we didn't do the project anymore, many parents responded that they wanted to keep doing it. Their biggest difference is, the students within the program their character is more open, furthermore, whatever they do they have self-confidence, and they have a certain type of drive.

应该是从实际出发吧， 针对我个人来说， 不管什么东西，它进来了， 只要对我们有好处我们应该借鉴它，吸收它。如果对我们没有好处我们就可以拒绝它。但我们不能够像有一些东西本来对我们有好处的也要把它拒之门外，我觉得这种就不好。(Misty Mountain CCTV special report, 2014)

We should look at this realistically, according to my own opinion, and it doesn't matter what type of thing it is. If it comes and it benefits us we should learn from it and absorb it. If it doesn't benefit us then we should reject it. But, I cannot, like some things that have always been good for us, take them and 'set them outside the door,' I think that type of situation isn't good.

In the Guizhou context where, as a public official, the village head could be sanctioned for stating something unflattering about the CCP leadership and their decisions, this is a very strong statement. He initially states that the project was good, and then carefully states that when something (presumably any random thing, but in very pointed reference to the project) is good, but is not learned from and absorbed, that type of situation would be bad. Thus the take away stated in direct terms: **in his opinion, the fact that the project wasn't continued in Zaidang village 'is not good'.**

2.3.3.1.1.2 Project expansion

In addition to the nine-year pilot project in Zaidang, a two-year preschool program was started in five neighboring villages in 2003 that ran until 2006. Before the termination of the Zaidang project the GzDOE MEU and the Provincial *minwei* approached SIL International to look into expanding the project model into schools in additional minority groups in Guizhou, such as the Miao, Bouyi, and the Yi. SIL agreed to the proposal and

additionally proposed keeping the Zaidang project as a model school and training center for practitioners in other settings, as well as expanding to other Kam-speaking schools in the area. In the end, both the expansion and the Zaidang project were denied on bureaucratic grounds without clear statements as to why.

Appeals by SIL International East Asia Group leadership were made in person to supporters of the Zaidang project in the National Education Bureau and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, both located in Beijing, in 2010. Although the leaders of the NEB Minority Education Department, some of whom had visited Zaidang, agreed that the Zaidang project was exemplary and the results were in stark positive contrast to surrounding school programs, they were unwilling to intervene in the decision made by Greenoak County DOE and allowed by GzDOE. The stated rationale was that because it would be impossible to replicate the methods and curriculum in the Zaidang project for every minority in the country, it would be improper for them to grant Zaidang special status and encourage special treatments for only one minority.

After the termination of the project in 2010, the Guizhou Provincial *Minwei* hired one of the former project curriculum developers and created a Kam-language reading primer using many of the stories that the project developed. This text, which provides an introductory overview to early literacy in Kam, was distributed to many schools in Kaili prefecture that had Kam-speaking students. However, the final printed copy did not go through a proofing process, nor did it contain any instructions for teaching Kam literacy, and no teacher training in-services were given to ensure that instructors were literate or adept at using the resource. To this day, they remain wholly unused.

2.3.3.1.2 Misty Mountain Bluebell Primary School

Bluebell town is situated in Misty Mountain County, some 20 KM southeast of Misty Mountain town. It is a village of nearly 4,000 inhabitants, over 98% are Kam speakers. It is regarded as one of the last bastions of authentic Kam culture and is indeed an important center for Kam architecture and annual festivals that include singing, performing arts, traditional dress, and traditional games such as mud-wrestling and bull vs. bull bullfighting, all accompanied by robust drinking of traditionally made rice-wine. It has been designated by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences as a 'Kam Grande Song Preservation Base' (Field Notes, May 11, 2012).

Bluebell Township Central School began teaching Kam language lessons during the minority language push in the1980s. They were one of the initial schools to use the Kam

as L2 literacy primer to teach children in primary school how to write Kam. When the funding for the project phased out in the early 1990's the Bluebell school decided that they wanted to keep teaching Kam to their students. Although they did not have new text books coming to them each year, they continued to retain their Kam language teachers who used the remaining primer textbook as a guide to teach the language. The content of Kam language instruction, beyond the examples in the original texts, consisted of Kam songs that the instructors would teach the children to sing. This way the classes doubled as a way of teaching literacy and also as a way of teaching Kam culture in the form of song. The children coming into the school do not speak Chinese, and the school had found success in using Kam in the classroom as a means of welcoming the children to the school environment (Conversation with School Official, Field Notes, May 11, 2012). The school leaders in Bluebell believed that using Kam increased student's interest in school, and because Kam literacy has similarities to *Hanyu Pinyin*, it facilitated the learning of Chinese and other subjects in the early grades. They also believe that learning through the mother-tongue stimulates a sense of self, a sense of pride, and an eager desire to continue to learn, much the same as Finifrock (2010) reported in Zaidang Village. Lastly, they believed that maintaining the program served to preserve and pass on the excellent traits in Kam traditional culture (Bluebell Project Application Document, 2012).

In 2003 Bluebell was named a 'bilingual education experimental school' by the Guizhou Provincial *Minwei* and in 2008 it was labeled a 'Mother-Language Preschool Model Site'.

Though these titles seem formal and encouraging to those who would promote L1 education in minority areas in China, they remain superfluous titles. No new texts, training methodologies, trained personnel, or teaching methods have been developed for these projects.

Through the introduction of the Guizhou Provincial DOE director of Minority Education, in 2012 the Bluebell School leadership approached SIL International "strongly requesting help" (Bluebell Project Application Document, 2012) to develop their L1 program. An emissary of the Guizhou DOE research department hosted meetings in Misty Mountain with members of SIL International, Bluebell School, and the Misty Mountain County DOE present. Over the course of two days the parties collaborated to prepare a proposal that would meet the requirements of the Guizhou DOE for approval if submitted by the Misty Mountain County DOE. The proposal would establish a partnership with SIL International, Misty Mountain County DOE and the Bluebell School to provide L1

instruction throughout the primary school years in a similar fashion to the Zaidang Pilot Project. The one notable difference would be that textbooks for Chinese Language Arts would be augmented using Kam in order for them to be compatible for Chinese as L2 learners. English texts would be written in Kam, eliminating the need to master Chinese literacy prior to learning English in primary three. In addition, the proposed English curriculum would mirror the Zaidang English curriculum, including video lessons prepared by L1 English speakers and L1 Kam speakers emphasizing listening and processing before reading and writing.

The proposal was submitted by the Bluebell School leadership to the Misty Mountain County DOE and was verbally approved by its director. After a matter of two weeks, the project proposal was denied due to Misty Mountain County leadership being opposed. No reasons were stated except that in their opinion the project wasn't necessary, and no appeal would be heard. Again, the Guizhou Provincial DOE could not force the county to approve of the project, and the attempt was abandoned.

Nonetheless, since 1984, there has been a consistent push to use the Kam language in the Bluebell school as much as possible, considering the lack of texts and the requirements of the Misty Mountain County DOE to perform testing in Chinese, limiting the school leadership in the amount of Kam courses they feel they can offer. The school, offering Kam literacy and music classes in grade one for one hour per day, and grades two through four at one hour per week, consistently outperforms other schools in the township (Bluebell Project Application Document, 2012) on the Chinese and Mathematics exams, and school officials believe that this is due to the interest and motivation that learning the mother tongue gives to students. In addition, starting from 2007, the school extended the Kam instruction to upper grade students as well. After the intervention, they saw a year-by-year increase in the sixth grade students' year-end Chinese and Mathematic test results compared to other schools in the entire county during this time span, moving from 25th out of 141 in 2006 to 17th in 2007, 15th in 2008, and 7th in 2009 (Bluebell Project Application Document, 2012). Although there is no conclusive evidence that the expansion of Kam language studies directly caused the increase in test scores in other subjects, the correlation does exist, and it is not unreasonable to consider that the increased development of their L1 literacy and the increase in culturally relevant school activities, as well as the hour a week reprieve from the tedium of L2 studies could have affected students motivation and progress in their

Chinese and Mathematics studies. It is certain that Bluebell School officials remain convinced of this.

2.3.3.1.3 Yellowbriar Steel Mountain Primary School

After the denial of the Misty Mountain Bluebell project proposal in May of 2013, the director of the Guizhou Provincial DOE Research Department approached SIL International and proposed another project in an adjacent county. His suspicion was that the county governments in both Greenoak and Misty Mountain were hesitant to directly cooperate with a foreign NGO in light of the tightening of visa regulations and anti-foreign sentiment within the government post 2008 Beijing Olympics, particularly within Guizhou. He was of the mindset that the foreign workers (American, German, Irish, Swiss, and Japanese) from SIL International were feared to bring too high a profile to the county DOE officials who would be involved with the project, and that if ever there was an accident or error involving a foreign worker that the DOE officials' jobs might be in jeopardy. His solution was to take leadership in proposing the project on behalf of the Guizhou Provincial DOE Research Department with the county level DOE. His office would take responsibility for funding, training, material development, oversight, and communication with the county level DOE. A veteran of over 30 years in the Guizhou Provincial DOE, his superiors granted him the authority to initiate the project. His plan, approved by his superiors, was then to outsource the training, development, and oversight to SIL International.

Yellowbriar County DOE officials eagerly courted the project in 2013, and suggested it take place in Steel Mountain Village, whose school had also preserved Kam language literacy instruction since the 1980's and was interested in the project. They were keen to use the materials developed in Zaidang and to expand their curriculum to offer more Kam language instruction similar to that within the Zaidang pilot project. The Kam spoken in Steel Mountain is of the Northern-Kam variety, which is linguistically different from the Southern-Kam, but not so significantly that the materials couldn't be easily adapted for use in the school. The school had one Kam language teacher and offered Kam literacy classes to students in preschool and their first year of primary school. Unlike Bluebell school, they did not carry the Kam literacy instruction to upper

years in school. Apart from the one Kam instructor, no other teachers on staff were literate in Kam.

In October 2013, the project agreement was signed between the Guizhou Provincial DOE and the Yellowbriar County DOE, who agreed to the outsourcing of critical elements of the project to SIL International over the course of a 10 year project. However, after six months of teacher literacy training and curriculum development, the Yellowbriar County police prevented any further training to continue, and the Yellowbriar County DOE withdrew their commitment to the project. The leadership of the Guizhou Provincial DOE Research Department, offended by the Yellowbriar County DOE behavior, refused to continue to pursue the project any further. The school officials in Steel Mountain made formal complaints to both the county police and the county DOE, but were not granted an appeal. The school continues to carry out Kam language instruction without text books or additional teacher training. Due to the lack of official support, and despite pleas from the village leaders, SIL International has officially withdrawn personnel and financial resources from the Kam-speaking areas of Guizhou in respect of government authorities.

2.3.4   Obstacles to quality minority education

There are many tangible obstacles to improving education in minority language areas of China. Reasons that have been postulated range from the bottle-neck of a highly centralized government, which is commonly expressed as the 'too many people' problem, to issues of rural poverty, lack of funding, lack of resources, and lack of time to teach a language that will not be tested on college entrance exams.

2.3.4.1   Economic obstacles

It is fair to say that the lack of financial resources is the major stated obstacle to the expansion and development of minority language education in Guizhou. The system in place for over thirty years produces teaching materials and evaluation material primarily in Mandarin Chinese, and there are many personnel, offices, and departments within the Guizhou DOE that work in developing curriculum. Changes to the curriculum in terms of content and languages used would require further investments in personnel to create, or at the very least, translate curriculum for use in minority language schools.

Since 1985 funding for education in China has been decentralized, and economically sourced primarily by the local entity in charge of a jurisdiction (Hu, 2003; Wang, 2002;

Yang, 2005). Thus in Guizhou, which has the lowest GDP of any province in China at slightly under $4000 USD per year, the funds to source education are scarce (UNESCO EFA, 2005), and funding to source experimental projects such as minority language education are even more scarce.

2.3.4.1.1 Education funding disparity between urban and rural

In Guizhou, as in many other areas of China, there is a disparity in funding of education between rural and urban areas. According to Rosling (2010) China has developed one of the largest urban-rural gaps in the world. Developed urban centers such as Shanghai have reached the development level of wealthy European countries like Italy at a GDP of nearly $40,000 USD, while provinces such as Guizhou can only be comparable to Pakistan, while rural areas of Guizhou, such as the Kam speaking area are more on par with the African nations of Ghana, Namibia, or Botswana (Rosling 2010, Tania, 2008). This divide is immediately evident when visiting urban Guizhou classrooms with smartboards, projectors, and modern sports complexes which are strikingly different from the rural dirt-floor classrooms of Misty Mountain county, less than an hour away by high-speed train, where the only form of technology is a single 40 watt light bulb suspended from a wire.

2.3.4.1.1.1 Human resources

There is a shortage of qualified teachers who are willing to live and work in minority areas. In Guizhou province, and especially in areas such as Misty Mountain county there is a movement of well-educated human resources away from rural areas, a phenomenon sometimes referred to as 'brain drain'. Local students who are skilled enough to finish senior secondary school or teacher training college are often interested in plying their trade in a more developed part of Guizhou, China, or the world. Such areas offer a better standard of living and higher salaries, so much so that it is often difficult for young professionals to consider a return to their home area.

One recent Kam-speaking Misty Mountain SSS graduate, top of her class in English, went away to university in the northern city of Harbin intent on returning to teach school in one of the Kam counties. Successful at University as well, she was then offered a position in a foreign work program in South America. The new appointment meant a greater opportunity both socially and financially than did returning to Kam-land, and her

world has been broadened to the extent that she sees living overseas as a more stimulating opportunity than returning home (Personal Correspondence 2016, SYC). The results of brain drain are varied. The most qualified personnel for helping the rural areas improve education, governance, medicine, business, and other industries have moved elsewhere, leaving the development to primarily second tier personnel. This leads to the stimulation of already developed areas and the slower development of minority areas. Additionally, members of minority communities that would have the most capacity to preserve their own language through education, community use, and authorship have removed themselves from the conversation, leaving those less equipped to carry the mantle of language preservation and development.

The numbers supporting brain drain can be estimated from the census data compiled every 10 years. In the period from 2000 to 2010 Guizhou province showed a decline in overall population even though there was an increased birthrate (need exact data here).

2.3.4.1.1.2 Training factors

Difficulties in facilitating teacher training in the Kam-speaking present another obstacle to the improvement of minority education. Because of the centralized nature of the Chinese government and education system, local entities are given little power to conduct and facilitate training in their own settings. Thus, when trainings are offered there are often formidable expenses involved for transportation and housing of trainees. Trainings are conducted, however, primarily in the county seats, but also in the prefectural or provincial capital. The trainings that do exist, are generally focused on the basic education curriculum, and little to no pedagogy is developed for working with students of minority language communities.

It is common for existing teachers to apply to training programs that are geared to improve Chinese or Mathematics teaching ability. These programs are resident programs that are located in larger cities such as the prefectural capital of Kaili, or provincial capital of Guiyang. Entrance into these programs, which might last from one month to one year, necessitates a move away from the school of employment and is often a burden for the families of the teachers. Such burdens are a barrier to entry for many teachers who also have responsibilities in their homes and fields.

From 2007 to 2011 the Misty Mountain county DOE in cooperation with Kaili University and a foreign-owned education company jointly ran a teacher training program in Misty Mountain town. A cohort of 40 teachers was selected from various

corners of Misty Mountain county to study oral English, teaching methodology, computing skills, and Guizhou history. The teachers boarded at the school site in Misty Mountain town during the week and most returned to their homes in the countryside on weekends and holidays. Each cohort studied for a duration of two years, and upon successful testing and graduation received a bachelor's degree diploma from Kaili University. Funding for the program was shared between the Misty Mountain County DOE (40%), the work unit (employing school) for each teacher (40%) and the teacher him- or herself (20%).

The school, named Misty Mountain Language Center, was the brainchild of two American English teachers concurrently employed at Misty Mountain Senior Secondary School, who noticed that their efforts in teaching secondary school students were not being retained in the county as students went out of the prefecture and province for university. Their effort to train teachers instead of secondary students was aimed at improving and retaining resources within the Kam-speaking area. The school was supported by the Misty Mountain County Communist Party Secretary, who had lived abroad for a short period of time and was open to creative ideas for improving education. The school was relatively successful, as over 70 primary and junior secondary school teachers were trained over the four-year period. Many of these teachers, some of whom were participants in this study, have been successful leaders in their respective schools since.

When the aforementioned Communist Party Secretary became ill in 2011 and was replaced in 2012, the training center was no longer supported by the county government and thus was eventually disbanded.

According to participants in this study, trainings that they are required to attend as ongoing professional development are often tied to newly implemented policies coming from the DOE, and not necessarily relevant to their needs in the classroom. The content is usually complex and presented in a manner that is hard to grasp, and the final evaluation of the training is often a written test of head knowledge regarding the topic. Very little training is geared to improving teacher's linguistic competencies, especially in Kam or English, or teaching methodology, especially methodology with minority students as the intended benefactor.

2.4 Summary

Minority Education in China at the macro level, and in Misty Mountain County at the micro level is the product of many decades, centuries even, of practice, politics, and pragmatism. Historically, education provided by the Chinese government has centered around the Han language and civilization, except in minority areas where existing script and a purpose for using that script in education has existed. Throughout the last seventy years or so, the bulk of ethnic minority groups have received varying degrees of support in both language and educational development. During this period the Kam speaking areas of Guizhou have benefitted from government commissioned linguists and educators who have striven to implement some form of Kam-language education in their region. Programs have been well-received by Kam speakers and although results at various stages have shown promise of bringing improved education, they have not been consistently sustained and thus have lost footing in favor of an emphasis on the more simple to produce and economically viable Han language and culture education. Obstacles on many levels are present that have consistently prevented improvements to minority language education in the Kam-speaking areas from taking hold.

As we have seen in this chapter, the context for education in the minority-language areas of China in general, and Guizhou specifically is multifaceted and complex. Because Guizhou is a multilingual and multiethnic province, and Misty Mountain county is a microcosm of this linguistic complexity, it is natural that multilingual education has been suggested as a possible solution for educational progress in the Kam-speaking areas (Geary 2003, Finifrock 2010, Finifrock and Schilken 2015). With that in mind we now turn to the equally complex field of bilingual education and the emerging literature on trilingual education to understand how it best functions and use its platform to eventually assess the status of multilingual education in Misty Mountain county, China.

3 Chapter 3 Literature Review- Trilingual Education

3.1 Introduction

This study has as its central aim to unearth the *status quo* of trilingual education in the Kam-language area of Guizhou Province. Of particular interest, and thus the focus of the pertinent research questions in the study (see section 4.3), are the practice of language-use in the classroom and the attitudes of various stakeholders towards the languages involved in education.

In this chapter I give an overview of literature related to the focus of this study. Of foundational focus is the research on bilingual education throughout the world, as many theories of trilingual education sprout from the foundational research in bilingualism and bilingual education, including typologies and pros and cons of the practice. I then turn the focus to the literature on trilingual education, providing a working definition and an exploration into pre-existing typologies of the phenomenon. I then explore the literature regarding trilingual education in China and focus on current theories, practices, and models that exist in the Chinese context. In order to narrow the focus of the present research, I seat the study in the current Chinese Trilingual education model-paradigm. I give rationale from current literature for how English language education policy in China has necessarily caused an increase in need for trilingual education in minority areas, explain its manifestation in different types of language communities, and seat the current study in the prominent trilingual education in China typology. Lastly, I explore literature that focuses on challenges that minority language students face in education and explore the benefits and drawbacks of preferential policies for minority students.

3.2 Increase of Bilingual Education in China

Since the entrance to the global stage post 1978 and the inclusion if English in the national curriculum in the late 1990s (Hu, 2003; Yang, 2005; Dai and Cheng, 2007; Adamson et al., 2013; Feng, 2007; Sunuodula and Feng, 2011; Tsung 2014) and the increasing implementation of this policy in Guizhou province since 2003 (Finifrock 2010; Finifrock and Schilken 2015), the rush to expose Chinese students to English and to have them master it as a language of function has rapidly altered the landscape of education in China . The increase of the phenomenon in the last 25 years has been so prolific that now, bilingual education (*shuangyu jiaoxue,*双语教学) is a widespread

concept from the East to the West of the country. This will be explored in more detail in sections 3.4.1 and 3.5 below.

3.3   General Overview of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education

3.3.1   Overview from literature

A comprehensive review of the literature on the topic of trilingual education must necessarily start with its predecessor in research, namely bilingual education, and the preexisting notion of bilingualism. The ability for one person to understand or communicate in two or more languages, has been documented throughout recorded history in societies ranging in diversity from Egypt, Greece, Israel, Northern Europe, Africa, and China (Lung, 2005; Papaconstantinou, 2010; Dai and Dong, 1996; Feng and Adamson, 2015). It is a phenomenon that occurs in people who are naturally engaged in using two languages in their society or societies, which might sometimes be distinct, and sometimes overlapping. In more recent history modern Europe and the Americas accounts abound of men, women, and even children who are adept at expressing themselves in more than one language and some, such as the Native American heroine Sacagawea have used this ability to cement their place in recorded history (Ambrose, 2003). With well-documented roots in history bilingualism today is indeed a pervasive global phenomenon.

Hugo Baetens Beardsmore started his seminal work on the subject entitled *Bilingualism: Basic Principles* by stating that 'it is no easy task to start any discussion on bilingualism by positing a generally accepted definition of the phenomenon that will not meet with some sort of criticism' (1986). The idea that there is one strict definition of bilingualism that universally applies to all situations was quickly negated in the first chapter of his work by reviewing existing definitions and debunking them by finding exceptions to their narrow boundaries, or by pointing out that the existing overly general definitions were of little use in understanding the phenomenon (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986). He states that 'bilingualism as a concept has open-ended semantics,' (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986 p. 1) meaning that the concept of bilingualism is akin to a centered set of characteristics which has at its core certain traits that define inclusion, but with out firm boundaries at its perimeter that exclude inclusion. Core concepts such as understanding two or more languages, or having the ability to communicate in more than one language

to accomplish some purpose would be at the center of the set. Variable concepts such as degrees of mastery of different components of language such as reception or production, or ages and methods of language acquisition are virtually unbounded. Thus we can find very different manifestations of bilingualism in different individuals in various contexts and still have the *a-priori* awareness that an individual or a community can be considered bilingual.

Bilingualism is a term that has been defined by different people in different manners (Bloomfield, 1933; Mackey, 1962; Weinreich, 1953) with varying degrees of specificity (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986: pp 1-2). For the sake of simplicity in this study, the term describes the phenomenon whereby a person is able to understand, speak, read, or write two or more languages (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986: p.3) on a communicative level, albeit with varying degrees of mastery. Or, as Cenoz states, bilingualism is simply 'the ability to use two languages in communication' (2009). Though, in this study the simplified term 'bilingual' is used to describe individuals who are not isolated anomalies in a community of monolinguals, but rather persons in the midst of a community in which language boundaries overlap and blur.

Bilingualism as a broad category has been analyzed quite rigorously throughout the past half-century (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986; Romaine, 1995; Baker, 2011; Cummins, 2000) and many useful subcategories of the phenomenon have been proposed. Some of these notions have great merit in elucidating the context and parameters of bilingualism that are relevant in this study.

Additive bilingualism as first proposed by Lambert (1974) describes a situation in which a person has mastery over one language and then adds a 'socially relevant language to their repertory of skills' allowing the person to function well in the second language without losing skills in the first language. Baetens Beardsmore (1986) extrapolates this idea and suggests that the person in question has positive views to both languages and sees them combining in a 'complimentary and enriching' manner. This can be contrasted with *subtractive bilingualism* in which the second language in a dominant and competitive fashion gradually replaces the functionality of the first language.

Baetens Beardsmore (1986) proposes the idea of *functional bilingualism*, which places emphasis on what an individual can accomplish with any given language they control. He

posits that a minimalist interpretation of functional bilingualism would include a person who is able to perform a limited set of language tasks in a second language, though in many domains they might not be considered to be fluent. The maximalist interpretation 'comes much nearer to widely held views on what is involved in being bilingual, since [the language functionality] covers a wide range of activities and capacities in two languages' (1986, p.15). As the functionality of the second language increases and encompasses more and more linguistic domains to the point where a person is able to function with native fluency in their first language and near-native fluency in their second language they are often termed *balanced bilinguals* (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986). Balanced bilinguals, as pointed out by Baker (2011) are rarely exactly equally proficient in all areas in both languages. However, they are competent in both languages to the degree that any existing deficiencies in one are not generally noticeable to other native speakers, especially because balanced bilinguals often use different languages for different domains of use.

Bilingualism in its various historical forms can come about in an organic manner, for instance when a child grows up in a home where parents may speak different languages, or where a community exists on the edges and boundaries of two or more language communities for instance. Members of such communities can find themselves with bilingual abilities through no specific effort on their own part, but rather by merely existing in a bilingual environment. In other circumstances, a society or language community may intentionally determine to build or foster bilingualism in its young members. Such is the case in places such as Belgium and Wales, where facility in two languages fosters both cultural and national identity. In bilingual societies across the globe it is the normal practice for more than one language to be used in the education of their children in some form or another of *bilingual education*.

Bilingual education has been described by Cenoz (2009, p.3) as 'the use of two languages in education, provided that schools aim at bilingualism and biliteracy'. It is a well-developed field of study whose body of supporting literature is diverse and far-reaching (Mackey, 1970; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Genesee, 1988; Edwards and Redfern, 1992; Baker, 2011; Cummins, 1981, 2000; Cenoz, 2009; Garcia, 2009). From its roots in the multilingual societies of Western Europe, this field of study and accompanying body of literature draws from all continents on our globe. Though bilingual education has

existed in some form or another dating from ancient times (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986; Cummins 2000, p.174) its benefits and drawbacks have not always and in every society been well understood, nor well-received. Although the science behind the phenomena and research outcomes in the field promulgate the idea that bilingual education is at the very least not in any way harmful to students, and in some cases the benefits of bilingual education being greater than a monolingual education (Cummins, 2000; Thomas and Collier, 1997), throughout the world there has been resistance to the practice (Cummins, 1980, 2000, 2003; Baetens Beardsmore, 2003).

Nonetheless, the outflow of much of the academic research over the past 50 years has produced within academia the understanding that bilingualism is a fully valid construct that is an acceptable and even admirable phenomena, and that harmonious bilingual societies can engender success and reverence in its members.

Bilingual societies are hailed for their political and cultural fairness, and bilingual education has come to be seen not only as a social asset, but also as a way of developing and reinforcing certain brain functions and of allowing greater linguistic and cultural adaptability (Papaconstantinou, 2010).

3.3.1.1   Typology of bilingual education

Typologies exist to help make sense of the breadth and width of the bilingual education phenomena. Because of the fact that the range of programs is so diverse, the overarching term 'bilingual education' is not a 'one size fits all' proposition (Coyle, 2007).   Mackey (1970) proposed a typology of bilingual education that exhaustively displayed over 90 different models of the phenomena. This comprehensive work takes into account variables in four different factors (the relationships between the languages involved, the organization of curriculum and language use, the linguistic community, and the function and status of the languages involved) and produces a type based upon the interaction of the factors. Such an extensive typology gives good evidence to the truth that bilingual education is a complex and diverse subject simply by glancing at the typology. Though thorough and exact, the typology has been criticized for being too cumbersome and complex to be very useful to practitioners (Ytsma, 2001). Baker (2011) attempts to improve upon Mackey's framework and proposes a more succinct typology with ten broad categories of education for bilingual students. These ten broad categories are divided into three sub-groups based upon the methods and aim of the program. *Monlingual* programs are designed for minority students but are exclusively in the one

language, with the outcome being a monolingually proficient student. A segregationist program in which a language minority student is only allowed to study in the medium of their own language, or a sheltered immersion program in which a minority student is provided with only majority language instruction are examples of a monolingual program. *Weak Bilingual* programs for assimilation or enrichment purposes are designed for either language majority or language minority students with limited exposure to the other language. Such programs produce limited bilingual or relative monolingual students. Transitional programs where a minority language is gradually replaced by a majority language, or a mainstream program in which language majority students are taught in the majority language with sessions of foreign language instruction are both examples of weak programs. *Strong Bilingual* programs aim at producing students that are balanced bilinguals and in most cases biliterate. Immersion programs for language majority students and two-way immersion programs where language majority and language minority students are combined in the same classroom and both languages are used for instruction are examples of strong programs. Heritage programs, in which minority language students are taught bilingually with an emphasis on the minority language combined with purposeful instruction and strengthening of the majority language are also strong forms in Baker's typology.

Garcia (2009) suggests a typology that is different from Baker's in that she promotes conceptualizing a heteroglossic view of language proficiency where language proficiencies interact within the individual to produce a multi-language aptitude without strict and well-defined language boundaries within the mind of the individual over a monoglossic view in which language proficiencies fall into neat and separate monolingual categories within the mind of an individual. Garcia offers a typology that the underlying notions of previous typologies that assume monoglossia as the normative reference for language proficiency (2009, p.115) but rejects them for their incompleteness and promotes hetroglossia as a view that better corresponds to the sociolinguistic realities in the 21st century and areas of the world such as Africa and Asia that have more recently joined the conversation. She incorporates the realities of the extant typologies of Mackey (1970), Baker (2011), Fishman (1976), and Hornberger (1991) into her typology while pointing out that many existing programs are built on their monoglossic ideologies and their limitations. She then adds a new dimension of theoretical ideology that was missing from previous typologies, namely, heteroglossia.

Garcia's typology has under the Monoglossic ideology two categories that roughly correspond to Baker's weak and strong models. These are based on the theoretical construct of diglossia, with monolingual usage in each language as the norm. *Subtractive Monoglossic* programs are ones that see minority language students as being deficient, and view their bilingualism as a problem, and shifting to the majority language as a solution. *Additive Monoglossic* programs see the maintenance of the minority language and the development of the majority language as important, and set up programs where these languages are highly compartmentalized. These programs develop bilingualism with monolingual usage norms, and monoculturalism for majority students and biculturalism for language minority students (2009, p.116).

Garcia's heteroglossic theoretical categories which she calls *recursive* and *dynamic* respectively have come about as language communities have sought to go beyond the ideas of language shift, language maintenance, and language addition. The principles embodied in these theoretical frameworks also include the aims of *language revitalization* in language groups that have suffered language loss, *bilingual development* aimed at developing bilingualism and biliteracy, not just language maintenance, in two languages for both the language majority and language minority groups, and *linguistic interrelationships*, or recognizing that languages are not competitive, but rather strategic and synergistic, developing multilingual capacities in all students.

So, in addition to the *subtractive* and *additive* theoretical frameworks emanating from monoglossic language ideology Garcia includes the heteroglossic theoretical frameworks called *recursive* and *dynamic*. The *recursive heteroglossic* framework is embodied in language communities that are aware of their complex bilingual identities and understand that different aims may be existent at different times throughout the life of a language community. The entire community or individuals within the community may move along the bilingual continuum at different stages or paces throughout time. It is such a community that may support *language revitalization* for religious or cultural purposes, and embraces bilingualism in its members not as a goal but as a core value. The *dynamic heteroglossic* framework exists in language communities that are increasingly global and integrated with bilingual speakers of different stripes. A dynamic bilingualism 'allows the simultaneous co-existence of different languages in communication, accepts translanguaging, and supports the development of multiple linguistic identities to keep a linguistic ecology for efficiency, equity, and integration, responding to both local and global contexts' (2009, p.119). Schools in such a community might place students of

different bilingual abilities or cultural backgrounds together as a means of promoting the growth of what Garcia calls *functional interrelationships* instead of promoting *separate functional allocations*.

The various typologies of bilingual education that inform this study have developed over the course of the last fifty years and are evolving along with the realities of an increasingly global and multilingual world.

3.3.1.2 Benefits and drawbacks to learners

A common theme swirling around bilingual education involving families, schools, politicians, and most importantly students themselves, is the theme of efficacy. Is bilingual education a useful tool? Should it be promoted for bilingual students? How about for present monolingual students? Does it detract from or encourage academic growth? Are there other benefits or drawbacks to the methodologies and processes used that are immediately evident or latent in their effects? A quick survey of the related literature suggests that these issues have been well documented. Serious scholars such as Baker (2011), Cummins (2000) and Garcia (2009) provide comprehensive overviews of these issues, with the lion's share of research looking at Baker's strong models, which is often contrasted with either weak models or monolingual models. Cummins (2003) provides a competent though brief summary of much of this foundational literature. Evaluating the benefits or drawbacks of bilingual education programs is a tricky prospect in and of itself. Scholars, politicians, educational administrators and practitioners must have a clear reference point for making evaluative judgments. Often the ending conclusion of an argument on one side of the issue from another is quite different, not because the calculations are incorrect, but rather the starting reference point is different or even misinformed. Such is the case with the highly criticized Unz Initiative, or Proposition 227 that negatively affected bilingual education, and bilingual students, in California in the late 1990s (See Krashen, 1996, 1999; Cummins, 2000, 2003).

One question that must be answered when evaluating programs is the question of reference, or 'against what standard should a program or program outcomes be measured?' Should academic results of bilingual students, especially in language based subjects, be compared with results of monolingual students? Can bilingual immigrant students be adequately evaluated against students in bilingual immersion programs geared towards members of the majority language? The permutations and combinations

of bilingual education programs and sociopolitical circumstances are virtually endless and stifle the facility of adequate comparison. Grosjean (1992) states emphatically that a bilingual person is NOT two monolinguals in one body, but rather a unique individual who has 'a unique and specific linguistic configuration.' He compares the bilingual to an Olympic high hurdler, who has combined the skills of a sprinter and a high jumper and can excel at the highest levels in his or her sport, but may not be among the world's fastest sprinters, or strongest high jumpers. Following this argument, it is then inappropriate to judge a bilingual or bilingual education program strictly on the comparison of the academic performance of bilinguals in only one of their languages to those of monolinguals in their language. Thus, the discussion of benefits and drawbacks to bilingual education is not a straightforward proposition, and should be viewed holistically with the appropriate shades of gray in mind.

Baker suggests that research into bilingual education is rarely neutral (2011, p.278), meaning that usually researchers have motives that inform their research. Thus, the positive research outcomes of much bilingual research should be weighed carefully against research that claims negative outcomes. Examples of such research questioning the efficacy of at least some strong models of Bilingual Education are the study done by Rossell and Baker (1996) entitled *The Educational Effectiveness of Bilingual Education* and Gersten (1985) entitled *Structured Immersion for Language Minority Students: Results of a Longitudinal Evaluation.* The Rossell and Baker study looks at several hundred articles published on transitional bilingual education (TBE) and examines their findings, concluding that many of the studies in favor of TBE were significantly flawed. Gersten seeks to demonstrate that a methodology called structured immersion is an effective approach for acquisition of academic skills and proficiency in written English for the students in the study. It is important to note, however, that these studies do not suggest that strong models of bilingual education have negative outcomes, as much as they show deficiencies in much of the pro-bilingual education research and the possible efficacy of other methods of education.

Krashen (1999) outlines many of the anti-bilingual education arguments in his book *Condemned Without a Trial: Bogus Arguments Against Bilingual Education*, which is largely in response to the unbridled media negativity towards bilingual education in the state of California in the late 1990s. Romaine (1995, p. 108-111) cites several studies claiming negative effects of bilingualism and carefully examines their methodology and philosophical underpinnings, concluding that many of the findings of the day would not

be considered valid today. Though there is not substantial quality research showing negative effects of bilingual education, even the greatest proponents of bilingual education such as Cummins (2001, p.203) state that bilingual education is not a panacea for any child who is underperforming, and that L1 instruction by itself will not transform a[n underperforming] student's educational experience.

3.3.1.2.1 Linguistic and educational development

Cummins (2003) reviewed the findings of over 150 studies suggesting that children who are equipped to use two languages, especially if they have developed literacy in both, come away with a deeper understanding of language and how to use it effectively. They have more opportunity to process language and are able to compare and contrast the ways in which languages work. This results in greater flexibility in using language to process thought as they navigate the different language systems with which they are familiar. Some of these studies suggest that students coming from strong models of bilingual education develop a greater capacity for divergent thinking as compared to monolinguals as a result of in-depth processing language in two different systems once they reach a certain threshold of balanced bilingualism (Baker, 1988; Cummins, 2000).

3.3.1.2.2 Development of two languages

Educating students through the medium of two languages naturally means that they have greater opportunity to develop skills and abilities in those languages. Cummins (1984) suggests that there are two different types of language at play in the mind of an individual. The ability to communicate with others in normal and contextualized communication, what he calls Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) is developed fairly quickly and naturally, especially in children under the age of 12. The ability to think critically, create complex arguments, and articulate things like problem solving strategies in the increasingly complex academic environment, what Cummins calls Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) develops over a longer period of time and through increasingly difficult language processing tasks. The degree of CALP is not easily discernable through casual conversation with a child who might display fluency in BICS (Cummins, 1984).

Cummins (1976, 1991, 2000, 2003) also suggests that the degree to which a student's primary language is developed is a predictor of success in learning a second language

(threshold hypothesis). Children with a more fully developed home language demonstrate a greater ability to develop stronger literacy abilities in the school language. Once a certain threshold of balanced bilingualism is reached, a learner obtains positive outcomes from bilingualism, however, if that threshold is not reached, say in a weak form of bilingual education, a learner might be hindered by his or her bilingualism. Another hypothesis of Cummins (1991, 2001) is what he calls the interdependence hypothesis. This suggests that the concepts that a child has developed in the home language can transfer easily to the school language, and vice versa. Cummins suggests that the languages are interdependent, and when learned together in a bilingual education program, for example, can build a synergy that compounds language development. Thus, L1 promotion in the schools benefits not only the development of that language, but also strengthens and facilitates the learning of L2 in the process. The converse situation, whereby L1 is not promoted in the schools, and its development stagnates, the development of L2 is then hampered.

Some opponents of L1 based bilingual education purport that the use of L1 will detract from or hinder the development of L2, which in many cases is the more dominant or socially important language in question. The converse of this argument, sometimes referred to as the 'time-on-task' argument (Cummins, 2001 p.32), purports that the longer a student is exposed to L2 (and as is often proposed, the earlier in one's life one is exposed to L2), the better the student will learn L2. Cummins (2003) research synthesis cites several examples, such as the Foyer study (Byram and Leman, 1990; Leman, 1993) that counter these arguments, and give supporting evidence to the claim that instructional time spent in L1 does not hurt the students' academic ability in L2.

3.3.1.2.3 Increased academic ability

It follows naturally from the theories stated above that students who are educated using a bilingual methodology that emphasizes the development of L1 thereby increasing the development of L2 will perform better in academic measures that are administered in L2. Therefore, strong models of bilingual education that develop L1 and additionally develop L2 produce stronger academic results.

Perhaps the strongest case in support of this argument is the study put forth by Thomas and Collier (1997) in which data was analyzed from over 700,000 student records. Their

research showed that immigrant students in strong bilingual education programs were able to reach the US Normal Curve Equivalence in L2 (English) more quickly than students who were in weak or monolingual forms. Additionally, students who persisted in strong form two-way immersion programs and strong form one-way additive developmental bilingual programs significantly outperformed L1 English speakers (by 12% and 2% respectively) on the NCE measures by grade 11. The pertinent take away from this study is that there is good evidence that a well structured bilingual education program produces academic results that are at least on par with standard education models for majority language students, though as we have seen above, even the comparison may be skewed in favor of a monolingual.

Other cases throughout the world lend support to the findings of the Thomas and Collier study. Reports from Africa (Graham, 2008; Trudell, 2005; Gfeller and Robinson, 1998), South America (Hornberger, 1998), Asia (Finifrock, 2010; Finifrock and Schilken, 2015; Feng and Sunuodula, 2009) Europe (Ytsma, 1995; Cenoz, 1998) and Canada (Genesee, 1988; Collier, 1992), show evidence that bilingual education can have positive effects on the academic outputs of students.

3.3.1.2.4 Cultural heritage benefits

Bilingual education programs, in addition to fostering language development and empowering children to succeed in academics, are often poised to create benefits to the entire language community by recognizing cultural heritage values in the classroom. Cummins (2000) suggests that community involvement in the school has a way of empowering minority students, and bringing about a collaborative dimension in the community. In one such example, Geary and Pan (2003) report that in the Zaidang Kam bilingual education project over 740 stories were incorporated into the preschool curriculum. These stories were gathered from Kam story-tellers and community members at workshops held in the local schools. In the same project, over 80 songs were incorporated into the daily lessons of the Kam children (Finifrock, 2010) and were used as a basis for early literacy. The simple practice of gathering stories and songs for use in the classroom, which had previously been a bastion of Han language and culture, brought encouragement to the Zaidang villagers, especially the older generation who had seen their language, and the interest in their language in younger generations dwindle. Grandparents and elders became interested in the younger children's education as traditional songs began reverberating throughout the village and children would ask

elders to tell them stories in order to write them down for class assignments. Malone (2007) cites a village grandmother in his report for UNESCO: "The children's study of Dong [Kam][9] will help our stories and songs to be preserved. I hope this project will continue to develop in our village." This grandmother is encouraged because her language and culture are embraced in the classroom, and she is seeing the role that Kam language education is playing in preserving and transmitting culture and language to the next generation.

Such a project is developing minority language, which Baker (2011, p.45) calls 'repositories of history' and is working with the elder generation to transmit cultural beliefs and traditions that might otherwise be eschewed in favor the values of the more dominant national culture or language.

3.3.1.2.5 Identity

Baker (2011, p.45) calls language an index, symbol, and marker of identity. A child's L1 (in some circles called the heart language) is the medium in which he or she thinks and in thinking understands his or her existence. Using one's L1 in education not only facilitates the one's understanding of the world, but also validates one's self-understanding. Cummins (2003) suggests that if the L1 must be left outside the classroom door, that a significant part of that child's identity is forbidden from entering the classroom. When a child's identity is absent in a school program they no longer have cultural and linguistic capital with which to participate within the academic system. Conversely, when a child's identity is welcome in the school environment the whole child is then empowered to engage in the academic endeavor. According to Cummins (2003), negotiation of identity is a crucial factor in minority children's academic success. Bilingual programs where L1 is fostered embrace this process of identity negotiation and provide ample space for a child to engage with the indexes, symbols, and markers of identity that provide a foundation for continued growth and development.

3.3.1.3 *Global acceptance of bilingual education*

Bilingual education is not in any way a recent phenomenon. As Baetens Beardsmore (1986, p.22) points out it was a fixture of life for elite Romans in ancient times that revered both Greek and Latin, as well as in Russian society during the time of the Tsars

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[9] The word Kam does not appear in the original quotation by Malone. It has been added by the present author for clarification purposes.

for people who also valued French. Historical figures such as Paul of Tarsus were known to be literate in both Greek and Hebrew having been tutored under the scholar Gamaliel. Europe saw the formation of formal bilingual education in the 19th century (Coyle, 2007) and some forms of bilingual education have persisted in parts of the continent where language communities have continued to value the diversity of languages existing within their cultural boundaries.

During the colonial era, where European powers carried their goods, languages, and ways of life to other quadrants of the globe they took along with them a system of education that was rooted in the language of the homeland from whence they came. Schools teaching subjects in European languages for the education of the children of colonizers were a closed system in which mastery of the European language for the expatriate children and local indigenous children alike was necessary for success. In many colonized regions, such as Africa, India, and the Americas the European languages (Crawford, 2007) became the predominant, if not only language of education.

With certain exceptions notwithstanding, modern forms of research-based bilingual education have proliferated mainly within the last seventy-five years as Europe has embraced the effective practices and in as western colonial powers have retreated but left their linguistic mark on the former colonies, and the ethnic language groups within. As this scene has unfolded, research detailing the efficacy of bilingual education practices in Europe and North America for diverse indigenous languages or has increasingly impacted language planning and practice in many parts of the globe (Baker, 2011).

3.4   General Overview of Trilingual Education

Trilingualism and Trilingual education respectively fall under the oft-researched fields of multilingualism and multilingual education, being a specific variety that focuses exclusively on three languages of involvement.

Jessner (2008) gives an overview of the history of mulitilingualism research in which she credits researchers such as Braun (1937), Peal and Lambert (1962) and Vildomec (1963) with leading investigations into the phenomena. It was Vildomec who suggested that 'bilingualism is the mastery of two languages, while multilingualism is the familiarity with more than two.' She astutely points out, expanding on Cenoz's (2003) suggestion that during the 1960s and 1970s much research was done from two different theoretical frameworks, namely bilingualism research from the sociolinguistics field, and second language acquisition (SLA) from the field of education or pedagogy, as she calls it. It

wasn't until the researchers began to investigate multilingualism and third language acquisition (TLA) on a wider scale that the proximity of the fields of bilingualism and second language acquisition became evident. TLA has been defined as 'the acquisition of a non-native language by learners who have previously acquired or are acquiring two other languages'(Cenoz, 2003). Much of the early research in TLA from the late 1970s and 1980s focused on the possible advantages, or disadvantages, that bilinguals have over monolinguals in studying an additional language (which would be L2 for the monolingual and L3 for the bilingual student). According to Cenoz (2003) much of this research on general aspects of proficiency seems to indicate that bilingualism has a positive effect on TLA when it takes place in additive contexts and the learners have acquired literacy skills in both previous languages (Jessner, 2008; Cenoz and Genesee 1998; Cenoz, 2003). Some reports on particular aspects of TLA, though, suggest that there are some disadvantages for the bilingual learner. For instance, Bialystok (2001) suggests that bilinguals do not demonstrate advantages on all aspects of metalinguistic awareness, and other studies seem to show that bilinguals have a slower speech rate and reaction time than monolinguals when speaking L3 (Mägiste, 1979; Cenoz, 2003). Much of the recent literature on multilingualism has been interwoven with TLA, especially as many multilingual education projects began testing the theories put forth in the early years of research and began publishing their results. This is due in part to the relative rarity of naturally occurring trilinguals, compared to the instances of naturally occurring bilinguals. Baker (2011, p. 103) points out that natural trilingualism [being a form of multilingualism][10], whereby children naturally pick up three languages in the home or in their environs is much more rare than natural bilingualism, and that trilingualism is usually the result of some sort of academic training.

Academic programs promoting multilingualism are becoming more and more common throughout the world as globalization creates more and more opportunity for various language groups to interact. Parts of the world, such as Oceania, India, and the Philippines, and Central America are examples of regions with extraordinary amounts of diverse languages in close proximity, with India designating 15 of their 1600 languages as 'official' (Tucker, 1998). India in particular with its vast linguistic diversity has enacted policies to develop their students using what is called the 'three language

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[10] Clarification added.

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formula' in which a regional language is often the medium of instruction at the majority of primary schools, a regional language, often Hindi or Punjabi, is used as the medium of instruction by middle school, and English or some additional modern international language us taught in middle and high school (Azam et. al, 2013; Hornberger and Vaish, 2009)

Europeans are encouraged to be conversant in three languages (Coyle, 2007, Jessner 2008), but multilingualism, even in Europe, is widely misunderstood (Jessner, 2008). Multilingualism and multilingual acquisition is a complex phenomenon that can involve the complexities of bilingualism but introduce greater numbers of elements as the languages involved increase (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998).

Multilingualism is not static, but rather a dynamic process within an individual, and language abilities change as a result of the interaction of the subsystems within the mind of a multilingual person (Jessner, 1997; Cenoz and Genesee, 1998). It is even less likely to find a 'balanced multilingual' than a balanced bilingual according to Cenoz and Genesee, (1998), who suggest that while a multilingual must have the same overall competencies as a monolingual, they have those competencies spread out over several languages instead of being confined to one, so they do not commonly develop the same competencies in all three languages.

It is posited that through the process of learning L2, the learner also learns and 'practices' learning techniques that they either subconsciously or consciously carry with them into their approach to studying L3. The ability to think *about* languages and the interrelationships of languages one uses can give a learner an advantage over someone who has not had such practice. This phenomena which can influence TLA, if conscious, is termed *metalinguistic awareness* (see Kemp 2001; Jessner, 2008). In addition, as the learner becomes accomplished at language learning through the process of learning and succeeding in language learning, they incorporate skills and strategies that they have found successful in learning L2 to their practice of learning L3, making the process more efficient (Mcglaughlin and Nayak 1989, Cenoz and Genesee, 1998).

Just as with bilingualism, there is evidence that multilingualism can possess some inherent benefits in the areas of education and language learning. Evidence from several studies suggests that multilinguals learning a third or greater language benefit from having learned other languages (Cenoz and Genesee 1998; Bild and Swain, 1989;

Hammarberg and Williams, 1993; Finifrock, 2010). It appears that in addition to knowledge that a person learns in previous languages, mental processes related to language acquisition, syntax, and grammar also transfer to some degree from previously learned languages to L3 depending on the relative distance between languages. This *linguistic transfer* seems to be greater in languages that are more closely related, and especially if they are within the same linguistic family (Möhle 1989; Singleton, 1987; Cenoz and Genesee, 1989). This usually takes place in the direction from L1 to successive languages (Ringbom, 1987) and therefore, in accordance with Cummin's (1981) 'developmental interdependence hypothesis', Cenoz and Genesee (1998) suggest that multilingual education has a better chance of success in situations where the first language literacy is developed ahead of the third language. They also suggest that due to these indications, it is especially important to develop the first language when it is a minority language and might be neglected during the normal education process at later stages.

3.4.1 Working definition

Cenoz (2009, p.4) defines multilingual education as the use of two or more languages in education provided that schools aim for multilingualism and multiliteracy. Under this definition both bilingual education and trilingual education would be considered to be forms of multilingual education. For the purposes of the current study, I will differentiate bilingual education from trilingual education and multilingual education, but because of the proximity in meaning that these terms are given in most research I will not differentiate the terms 'trilingual' and 'multilingual' and at times will use them interchangeably. The definition provided by Cenoz above is a bit limiting in the Chinese context, however. Because there are many minority languages in China that have not had developed orthographies, or have not widely used their developed orthographies (Zhou, 2001) there are many trilingual education programs that do not promote literacy in the minority language. Because the minority language is L1 in most cases, and is foundational to the development of the child's psyche, social identity, and is invariably used orally in the school especially in lower grades, I will broaden Cenoz's definition to include such permutations.

3.4.2   Historical precedence for trilingual education

Trilingual education, or at least the study of multiple languages in one academic training program is not a recent invention. Mills et al (2003, p.31) point out that at the Council of Vienne (1311-1312) Raymond Lull was influential in proposing the development of programs at the universities of Paris, Oxford, Salamanca, and Bologna providing trilingual education for Catholic missionaries, who were trained in Arabic, Greek, and Aramaic. Although today's scholastic environment and purposes for multilingual education would vary from Lull's programs that weren't fully established until the 16th century, it nevertheless was a successful precedent that demonstrated that people could effectively learn foreign languages through academic study successfully enough to be communicative.

Today, trilingual education is practiced in several parts of Europe, such as the Basque region of Spain (see Cenoz, 1998; Zalbide and Cenoz, 2008, Jessner, 2008), Belgium, with its Foyer model (See Byram and Leman, 1990) and Luxembourg (see Hoffman 1998; Lebrun and Baetens Beardsmore, 1993; Ehrhart, 2011;), and the Netherlands (Riemersma and de Vries, 2011; Ytsma, 1995) with reports of good educational gains and positive outcomes (Baker, 2011).

Especially with the dynamic rise of English as a global language and emerging as the most important language of communication in Europe, trilingual education projects have taken hold, particularly in areas where there is a minority language, a national language, and English is deemed a necessity (Cenoz, 2009, p.10).

The contexts and dynamics of multilingualism within Europe, like bilingualism, are diverse and fluid, taking different shapes in different socioeconomic, sociolinguistic, and national containers. Goals, motivations, and outcomes can be varied from program to program, and resist easy quantification and prescription.

Cenoz and Etxague (2011) state:

Multilingualism is one of the most important aims of a large number of educational systems in Europe, and particularly in bilingual communities such as Friesland or the Basque Country. Even though different educational contexts share some characteristics, they also have a different history and important differences regarding the role that

languages play in society. For this reason, it is not possible to find a single formula for the development of multilingual education… (p. 43).

As with bilingual education, the occurrence of trilingual, or multilingual education in an individual society can come about for a variety of contributing factors. Linguistic heterogeneity of an area, religious language preferences, promotion of national identity, or the desire for students to have communicative abilities in languages of wider communication have all been cited in recent research (Tucker, 1998).

From a best practices standpoint, the literature on multilingual education is largely consistent with the bilingual education literature reviewed above. Many principles and strategies carry over from bilingual education to multilingual education.
Tucker suggests that there are several consistent factors that are important in multilingual education, many of which correspond with the important related factors in bilingual education that were referenced above:

- Parental and community support and involvement are essential.
- Development of the child's first language is encouraged to ensure cognitive development and to facilitate the acquisition of second and third languages.
- Development of the child's first language, with its related cognitive development, is more important in promoting second and third language development than mere length of exposure to these later acquired languages.
- Children learn a second, or later, language in different ways depending upon their cultural background and their individual personality.
- Cognitive/academic language skills, once developed and content-subject material, once acquired, transfer readily.
- Teachers must be able to understand, speak and use the language of instruction proficiently whether it is their first or second language.

Tucker (1998, p.10-11)

Of the above articulated principles the value of having a literacy foundation in L1 that sets the stage for school making sense to children, building identity, and fostering self-

esteem that equips children to be successful in later academic endeavors (Cummins, 2003; Finifrock, 2010) is paramount. The development of L1, though necessary for the success of a program, is not in and of itself sufficient for establishing positive outcomes in L2 and L3. Imperative for greater success is the inclusion of research-based methodologies for second and third language instruction.

Such methods go beyond primitive language instruction as is found in many of the schools in the United States that teach other languages as a school subject for an hour per day. One such progressive method provides in depth instruction in the target language (L2 or L3) with language that is in the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1980) of the students in the class. Such a method is proposed by Met (1998) arguing from a constructivist theoretical background who suggests that contextually relevant language curriculum integrated with academic content is a productive means of implementing multilingual education. Content and language integrated learning (CLIL) (See Coyle, 2007; Coyle et al., 2010) helps children move from the less effective model of learning *about* language to the more effective process of learning language *through* learning content in the target language. In this manner, children are challenged to use the tools within a language to comprehend and master contextually meaningful academic content, thereby mastering the grammar, syntax, and vocabulary in a manner that produces more tangible and useful results.

Sanz (2000), offering research evidence in support of Tucker's proposition above, suggests that bilingualism enhances L3 acquisition in some developed regions, though in studies conducted in lesser-developed areas the results have been contradictory. Therefore, she calls for more research from the psycholinguistic perspective to better determine the effects of bilingualism on third language acquisition globally.

With all of the positive evidence for the efficacy of multilingual education it would seem appropriate for it to be readily embraced in multilingual areas. However, there are significant financial and human resources necessary to begin to implement such projects (Graham, 2008; Geary and Pan, 2003). Although it is certainly true that when making changes to curriculum and methodology, initial costs may seem insurmountable. Some suggest that even though multilingual education programs incur significant start-up costs, particularly in the areas of teacher training and material development, the economic barriers should not prevent programs from being implemented, particularly because the

programs have been shown to be effective, and the long-term cost to a society implementing inferior educational programs would be greater (Tucker, 1998).

Throughout the world multilingual education is making inroads into the difficult areas of education for multiple ethnicities in the same school, global languages with their growing importance in the technological age, and minority language groups who are concerned that their students not be excluded from the national conversation. Particularly in Europe, where research has led the way, these ideas are well-established. In other parts of the world, and specifically China, though many of the issues are similar, the unique context and immense population provide unique challenges to educators.

3.4.2.1 Typology of trilingual education

Ytsma (2001) proposes what she suggests is an 'economical' typology for trilingual education in the European context that responds to an increased call for regionalization and at the same time for internationalization. These trends, though supported by European Union policies in the European context, are surprisingly apropos in China as well, where the pressing needs in minority communities for preserving and developing heritage languages must be balanced with the increasing call for English language instruction (Feng and Sunuodula 2009; Adamson and Feng, 2009)

In the introduction of her typology Ytsma emphasizes that trilingual education, in an additive form, is not intended to create three monolinguals in one person who is able to attain monolingual levels of mastery in each language. Rather, she suggests that trilingual schooling should aim to create appropriate levels of language competence in the students for each language, aiming at developing a type of peer-appropriate *functional* trilingualism. The typology, then, is useful in broad situations where goals and motives of trilingual education vary, and is not limited to use only in situations where three languages are used as media of instruction or aim at multiliteracy as suggested by some (Cenoz, 2009).

Her typology consists of 46 different types of education based on: '(1) the linguistic context in which trilingual education takes place, coupled with (2) the linguistic distance between the three language varieties at issue and (3) the organisational design of the teaching of the three school languages' (Ytsma, 2001).

Table 3.1. Ytsma's Criteria Used for Typology of Trilingual Education

1. Linguistic context
- trilingual area
- bilingual area
- monolingual area

2. Linguistic distance
- three related languages
- one non-related language (minority, dominant, foreign, immigrant)
  three non-related languages (minority, dominant, foreign, immigrant)

3. Programme design
- simultaneous
- consecutive

Ytsma (2001, p. 13)

The typology as seen above is useful in quickly sorting through trilingual education situations to allow for easy comparison from one setting to another. The criteria are fairly straightforward. *Linguistic context* refers to the dynamics of language in a given community, specifically, how many languages are spoken in the area where the education is taking place. Is a child regularly exposed to the three languages in question in the academic setting, or only two or one of them? This set of criteria is relevant to the typology because it indicates the degree to which students are exposed to a particular language outside of the classroom and how they might perceive language use prior to beginning schooling. It also indicates the type of support a child might have from their natural environs while learning the given languages in a trilingual education program. *Linguistic distance* refers to the degree of relationship between languages. If languages are in the same family, or contain grammatical, syntactical, or phonological similarities it should facilitate learning. On the contrary, if the languages in question have great disparity, learning should generally be slower and more difficult. *Program[me] design* refers to the sequencing of the languages in the program, or whether they are taught simultaneous or consecutive. In Ytsma's thinking, simultaneous programs start all three languages when schooling begins, though allowing for differing allocations of temporal engagement. Consecutive programs allow for the development of L1 prior to adding L2 and L3. In the typology, any form of sequential introduction of languages would fall under the consecutive program heading. Ytsma acknowledges that there is room for increased analytical precision in her typology, particularly in the area of program design, as there are indeed a variety of different temporal patterns of language introduction that could be used in a program. With that being said, the usefulness of the typology for quickly sorting criteria for comparing and contrasting programs and related literature is related to its relative simplicity.

When analyzing programs using Ytsma's typology it is important to understand the political and historical context in which a given program is located, something she leaves out of the typology and thus limits its effective use to some degree. As different countries, or even different regions within a country often have different language policies, a typology must be used delicately in order to avoid the unwarranted comparison of two programs that share similar characteristics but in vastly different backgrounds. For example, a bilingual community in Texas, where language policy is decidedly pro-English might have very different background characteristics than a bilingual community in Quebec, where policies are generally more balanced between French and English. Thus, the comparison of a hypothetical trilingual education program in these two communities may not be practical simply on the basis of them being more or less equal within Ytsma's typology.

3.4.2.2   Cenoz's Continua of Multilingual Education

Whereas a typology such as Ytsma (2001) proposes can be useful for understanding different programs based on a set of salient characteristics, they can be limited in their ability to provide a clear description of the dynamics of within multilingual education projects. Instead of a typology that puts factors in binary categories, Cenoz (2009) promotes looking at the factors involved in multilingual education in several continua. Her '*continua of multilingual education*' is a tool that is designed 'to describe as many situations of multilingual education as possible' (2009, p.34). The Continua are grouped in three groups that deal with different aspects of the environment in which the multilingual education is taking place, namely sociolinguistic, educational, and linguistic. For a detailed treatment of the topic see Cenoz's *Towards Multilingual Education: Basque Educatinoal Research from an International Perspective* (2009, pp. 22-56).

3.4.2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Continua

The sociolinguistic continua serve to describe the language environment on two levels, the micro and the macro. The micro level deals with the student and their close language environment in home, school, and community. The macro continuum relates to the broader status and use in the larger language community, including government and media. (2009, p.38)
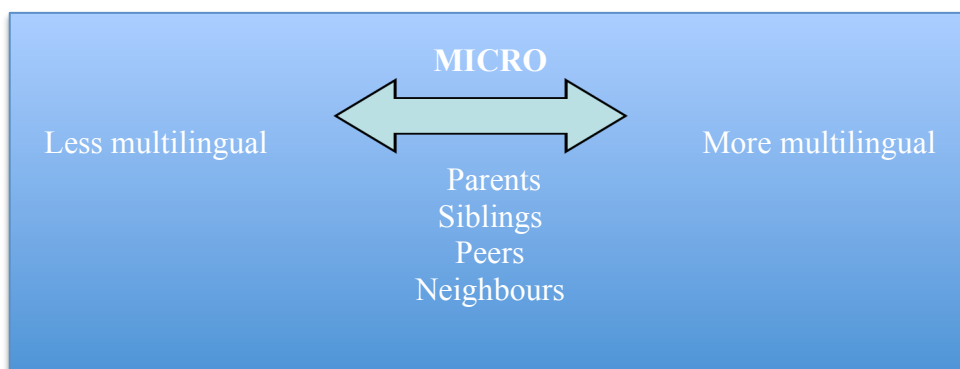
Adapted from Cenoz (2017)
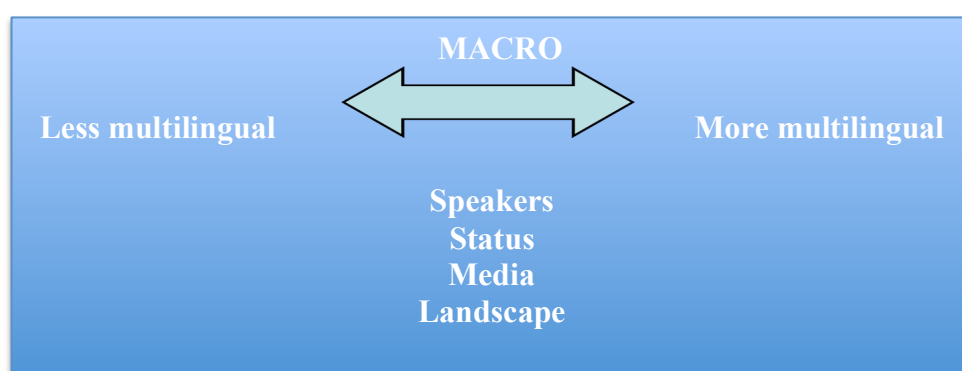
Adapted from Cenoz (2017)

3.4.2.2.2 Educational continua

The educational continua are four in total, and refer to different aspects of the language use in education. Subject refers to which languages are studied as subjects in school, language of instruction refers to the degree of multilingualism the media of instruction entails. The next continuum is the degree of multilingualism of the teacher or the teaching staff, and the last is designed to reflect the overall school context.
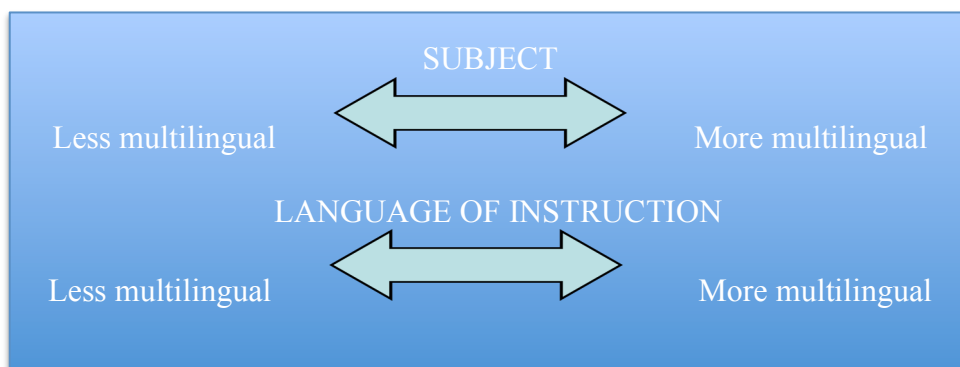
Adapted from Cenoz (2017)
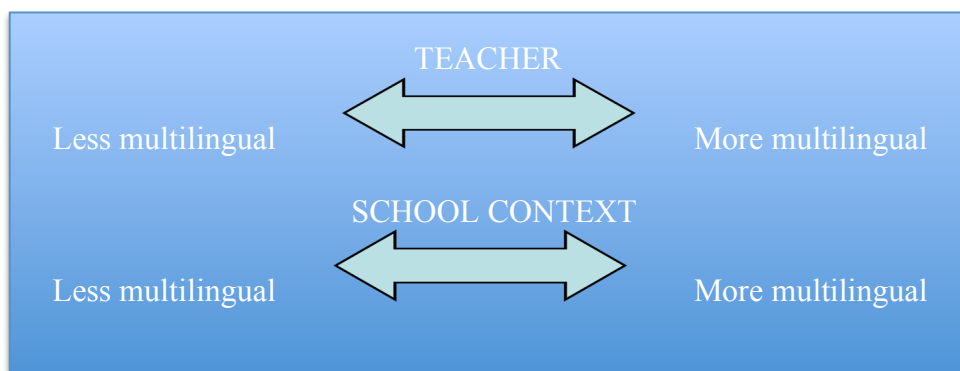
Adapted from Cenoz (2017)

3.4.2.2.3 Linguistic continuum

The degree of linguistic difference between the languages involved in the multilingual education setting is reflected in the final continuum in Cenoz's model. Are the languages involved from the same language family? If so they would register on the 'less distant' end of the continuum, if not, and they involve international languages or languages from different language families they would register on the 'more distant' end.
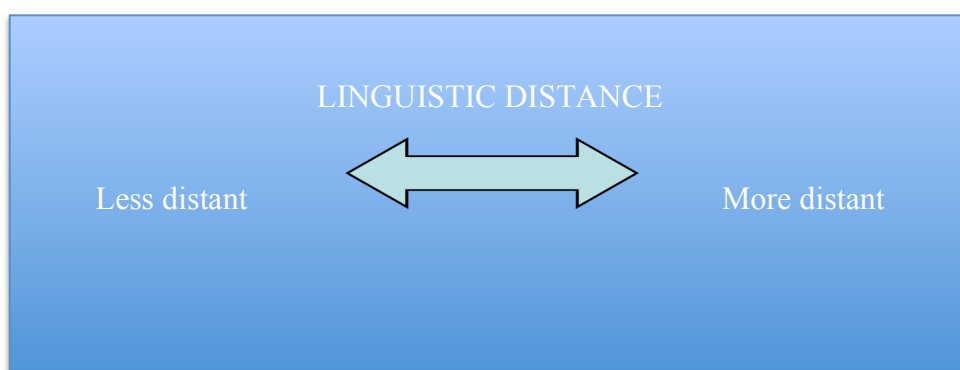
Adapted from Cenoz (2017)

Using the above continua, one can relatively easily place a particular multilingual education program in its proper context. I will return to this concept and directly link it to this study and the Kam multilingual education scenario in the discussion chapter below

3.4.2.3 China related literature

As shown above, the early literature in the field of trilingualism and trilingual education by and large has emanated from Europe and multilingual European communities seeking

to value the diverse members of their multi-ethnic communities and to find an inclusive way to maximize educational gains in their regions. Many of the examples of multilingual education programs that have been cited above were initiated by the community of speakers who valued the three languages involved for various purposes (for example, see Ehrhart, 2011; Byram and Leman, 1990; Riemersma and de Vries, 2011; Cenoz and Etxague, 2011).

China and its diverse ethno-linguistic environment has unique characteristics in terms of its context for multilingual education. According to Feng (2005) the majority and most dominant ethnicity, the Han, number about 92% of the total population. Their language, *Putonghua* or Mandarin Chinese, is spoken as the first language by the Han and additional groups of minorities who have given up their language in favor of Mandarin. Current estimates suggest that roughly 6% of the national population speaks a minority language as L1, which totals more than 82 million by today's estimated population figure of 1.372 billion (Livepopulation.com, 2016). This substantial population is concentrated in 5 Autonomous Minority regions and further dispersed throughout provinces primarily in the South and West of the country. Feng further relates that official education documents 'often state explicitly that the main purpose of minority education [*not* multilingual education][11] is to maintain political stability and unity of all nationalities (2005, p. 530).

The Chinese context for multilingual education varies from that of Europe in several different ways. China does not face the natural pressures that promote multilingualism in the same manner that Europe does with so many developed international languages in close proximity and relatively balanced numbers of people speaking languages such as French, German, Spanish, and Italian, among others. China instead has an inward facing language situation that is dealing with a multitude of minority languages and their interface with the majority language of Mandarin, and an outward facing challenge of equipping Chinese students to engage on the international stage, primarily through the medium of English and to a lesser extent other international languages such as Japanese, Spanish, and French. These inward and outward facing priorities exist in concert with existing political ideals that influence language policy. As Lam (2007) points out, the

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[11] Bracketed information mine.

language policies of the PRC are threefold: 'to enhance literacy, to ensure internal stability[12], and to strengthen the nation with the acquisition of scientific knowledge and economic progress so as to withstand foreign aggression' (2007, p. 18). Therefore, the context for multilingual education on China is unique and should be looked at through the context of these Chinese dynamics and not only through political and scientific dynamics of Europe or North America.

Bilingual education in some form has been taking place in China for centuries (Feng and Adamson, 2015), including the entirety of the history of the People's Republic, or from 1949 to present (Adamson, 2007; Feng and Adamson, 2015). As introduced in section 3.4 above, the forms and functions of the practice have varied throughout different eras and language regions. Feng (2007) explains that there have been two distinct forms of bilingual education in the modern era. One form, in minority language groups, produces what is called a *Min-Han Jiantong,* and is focused on producing bicultural and bilingual speakers of their minority language (*Min*) and the language of the Han majority (*Han*) which is Mandarin Chinese, or *Putonghua.* There is an expectation that the minority student will take on the ability to identify with the majority culture and language while retaining certain elements of their minority culture. This expectation to develop 'perfect' bilinguals goes beyond establishing linguistic competence in two languages and comfort in two cultures, but there is a political expectation that the minority student will develop a patriotic loyalty to the state as well (Feng, 2007). It is quite rare, in standard education practice, for members of the Han majority student to become bilingual in a minority language as a result of formalized bilingual education.

The other form of bilingual education that has been present in the People's Republic of China is aimed at equipping the monolingual Han majority to be bilingual in their native *Putonghua* and an international language such as Russian in the early years of the Republic, or English in the last 50 years (Lam, 2007; Adamson, 2007). The product of this system, termed a *Zhuanye Waiyu Fuhexing Rencai* is hoped to be bilingual linguistically, but retain mono-cultural Han characteristics and allegiance to the state (Feng, 2007).

Feng (2007) carefully examines much Chinese language educational policy literature and argues that many of the issues at hand in the conversation about bilingual education in

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[12] Feng (2005, p.530) calls this 'national unity.'

China, as well as other countries, are political in nature. He points out that both ideals of *Min-Han Jiantong* and *Fuhexing Rencai* 'clearly reflect the sociopolitical agenda in the Chinese context.' Feng (2007, p. 260). He suggests that even though the term 'Min' takes first position in the labeling of bilingual education for minorities and that some Chinese scholars (such as Niyaz, 1998, cited in Feng, 2007) suggest that minority language should take first priority in the educational process. Others including national education bureau publications (*zhongguo jiaoyubu*, 2003; and Amat, 2003) strongly promote the dominant Han language and culture to be at the center.

Whether or not the policies in place effectively do or should put minority language and culture first in the curriculum and classroom practices, the reality is that the exclusive use of the Han language in benchmark testing to enter high-school and university forces minority students, through language and culture hegemony, to assimilate to the majority language and culture. Feng (2007, p. 272) suggests that this is the clandestine, yet real aim of minority related bilingual education policies in China. Postiglione (2014) agrees, stating that 'the message received by many ethnic minorities is: to be Han is to be modern. While minority songs, dress, and dances are celebrated and ethnic artifacts are preserved, the prescription for modernization includes education as cultural assimilation.' (2014, loc. 781)

After reviewing the academic discourse of Chinese scholars in relation to minority language bilingual education practices, Feng proposes three major challenges to the *status quo* of academic discourse and bilingual education practice:

- *The academic discourse evidently shows an assimilation philosophy and indications of superiority of the majority and inferiority of the minority. Academics and education commentators should be fully aware of the impact of this discourse on policy making, curriculum design and daily educational activities. All stakeholders should demonstrate a stronger consciousness of and commitment to equality of all nationalities* [read: 'ethnicities'] *and stand firmer against all forms of assimilation, explicit, implied, or concealed.*
- *No matter how difficult and costly it is, ample opportunities should be created for minority children to develop adequate linguistic competence in their home language and knowledge of their own culture so that they can affirm their identity and become cognitively and socioculturally competent…*

- *The practice of using the nation-wide assessment system for all clearly needs re-justification and re-evaluation. This system forces all to fit into one size and leaves little space for meaningful bilingual education…it may well be the cause of failure of many bilingual programmes and student dropouts…*

(Feng, 2007 p. 277-78)

In terms of policies for bilingual education aimed at the Han majority students who are hoped to learn a foreign language in addition to *Putonghua*, Feng suggests that the utilitarian policies and underlying philosophies promotes ethnocentric attitudes and should be re-formulated to embrace an intercultural awareness that is currently absent. He promotes a 'productive bilingualism which includes a creative dimension as an outflow of intercultural learning over 'additive bilingualism'[13] or a mechanical addition of knowledge of a second language as is currently practiced (Feng, 2007).

Bilingual education for minority ethnicities in China is rife with inadequacies, and bilingual education for the majority seems to be ethnocentric and limited in its scope. Since the 2001 mandate for English instruction to take place in the entire nation if resources allowed (Tsung, 2014, Feng and Sunuodula, 2009) English teaching has spread rapidly, even to minority areas that have little contact with native English speakers (Hu, 2007). Thus, the above stated inadequacies in minority bilingual education are compounded by layering on a third language for minorities using the arguably-lacking methods of the *Fuhexing Rencai* philosophy.

3.4.3 Demand for English in China

David Crystal (2003) suggests that English is the first global lingua franca. A language, he states 'develops a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country' (2003, p.3). English, with its connection to computing, technology, entertainment, and science has truly reached a global status in the last 40 years. According to Crystal, at the time of writing in 2003 English was the chief language taught as a foreign language in over 100 countries (2003, p 5). China, even with its deep history of linguistic isolationism and xenophobia (Jacques, 2009; Cronin, 1984) is no exception. English training programs are increasingly popular in China churning

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[13] This term, as it is used here, should be differentiated from Lambert's (1974) usage of the same term.

out large numbers of 'English-knowers' (Hu, 2003; Yang, 2005), and some estimate that if it is not already the case, there will soon be more English learners and speakers in China than there are English speakers in the United States with a population of 316 million (Gregg, 2011).

In the post 1949 new republic, English was first introduced into the curriculum for senior secondary students in the 1950's and had an increasing role in international engagement and economic growth in the 1960's (Adamson, 2007). Under Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s and coming to the present time English has seen an increasing role in education primarily for the purposes of economic development and globalization, especially with China bursting upon the global scene with its acceptance into the World Trade Organization in 2001 and its allocation as the host of the 2008 Summer Olympic Games, also in 2001 (Adamson, 2007; Lam, 2005; Feng, 2005; Feng and Sunuodula; 2009). That same year, the national ministry of education instituted a policy to broaden English instruction to include primary school students starting in grade 3, and in minority areas where bilingual education (*Min-Han Jiantong* programs) is implemented 'English should be offered in regions where favourable conditions exist' (State Council 2002, in Feng and Sunuodula, 2009). Feng and Sunuodula (2009) point out that no explanation was given for the term 'favourable conditions', leaving much discretion to local government bodies to decide whether or not to provide English instruction. The result is that in some areas where resources or access to materials is scarce, English is not generally provided, creating a greater divide between the advantaged urban centers and the disadvantaged rural areas in minority regions.

3.5   Current Practices in Trilingual Education in China

In recent years, with the primary motive of increasing China's international influence, the national government has placed a focus on increasing the English language ability of Chinese students. (Yang, 2005; Adamson et al., 2013; Feng, 2007; Sunuodula and Feng, 2011; Tsung 2014) The inclusion of English in the curriculum has increased the need for Chinese educators to implement Chinese-English bilingual education. In minority language areas, this has spawned certain types of trilingual education that is new to the Chinese educational landscape (Feng and Sunundola, 2009; Finifrock, 2010; Finifrock and Schilken, 2015; Adamson et.al 2013). In general, the term Trilingual education, as used in the Chinese context, refers to the inclusion of three languages in the educational

environment, in most cases, it refers to a minority language, Mandarin Chinese, and English.

Trilingual education in China has developed regionally, with different practices in the differing 3 Types of language communities, unguided by national policies or recommended practices (Yang, 2005). The unguided nature of trilingual education, coupled with the testing relevance of Mandarin and English has generally resulted in the diminution of the minority language in favor of Mandarin and English. With a few notable exceptions, there is widespread failure to consistently produce students with balanced competencies in all three languages (Tsung, 2014; Postiglione, 2007).

One exception to this failure is in the Korean speaking communities of Jilin province. This community benefits greatly from sharing a spoken and written language with a highly developed nation-state in South Korea. South Korean educational practices, curriculum, teacher training, language development and base of literature have all been used to bolster the teaching of Korean as L1, and South Korean methodologies for teaching L2 have guided the approach for both Chinese and English instruction. The schools in Jilin have parlayed the unique factors of a well-developed minority language education system, favorable economics, and international guidance to produce schools that are very successful by any standard of measure. (Zhang et al., 2015; Adamson Feng, 2015).

Type 2 communities, though benefitting from having scripts that have been approved by the government for use and publication and have a historical record of use in religious practice, have not seen the success that the Korean-speaking community has seen. Projects initiated through partnerships between SIL International and the Yunnan Provincial Education Bureau and Provincial Minority Affairs Commission in Jinhong prefecture among the Dai minority have been largely resisted by local education officials. Cobbey (2006) reports that though evidence exists that mother-tongue preschool and early primary education has been effective in these schools, and there is ample support from the Dai community leaders, local officials limit the project scope to a handful of schools and will not promote mother-tongue classes beyond primary 2. Recent negotiations with provincial leadership, though promising, have not yielded tangible results on the ground (Cobbey, 2016, personal correspondence). Concerns about testing results in Chinese and English dominate the rationale used against further mother-tongue expansion throughout the area.

Type 3 communities such as the Zhuang, as reported in Feng and Sunuodula (2009) and Adamson et.al (2013) and the Kam (Dong) as reported in Malone's UNESCO (2004) report and Finifrock (2010) and Finifrock and Schilken (2015) do not benefit from having approved scripts for wide-use in publication, nor do the written languages have a consistent historical record of use by the communities themselves. As was explored in depth above, the 9-year trilingual pilot project in the Kam community has been extremely successful, especially in comparison to the current practice in surrounding schools in the Kam-speaking community, yet local officials have failed to embrace the curriculum and practices modeled in the project.

In the Chinese context the dynamics of language policy are of particular importance when comparing language programs. Thus, the inclusion of Zhou's (2001) aforementioned language typology (see context chapter 2.2) is paramount to understanding comparative factors within Chinese trilingual programs. Type 1, 2, and 3 communities vary drastically in terms of how minority education is implemented. In addition, minority language policies vary from province to province depending on the attitudes of the language communities in question (Postiglione, 2014; Feng and Adamson, 2015 pp. 3-5). For instance, policies in the Korean speaking areas of Jilin province are generally more favorable towards trilingual education (Zhang et.al, 2015) than those in the Uyghur speaking areas of XUAR (Feng and Sunuodula, 2011).

3.5.1 Theoretical framework for trilingual education in China

As demonstrated above, the current context of the People's Republic of China has had many influencing factors that put pressure on language and education policies today. Therefore, any discussion of a theoretical framework for trilingual education in the country must necessarily take into account the strict parameters within which any educational practice takes place. Haugen's (1972) linguistic ecology framework focuses on the study of interactions between a language and its environment and takes into account the 'interrelationships between languages and the society in which they exist, especially mainstream and minority languages. This includes the geographical, political, socioeconomic, and cultural conditions in which the speakers of any given language live, as well as the wider linguistic environment' (Tsung, 2014). In light of this, the current

study must take into account the breadth of conditions that influence the Kam language and the interrelationships between the Kam, *Putonghua,* and English.

In apparent opposition to the aforementioned *Min-Han Jiantong* philosophy of bilingual education promulgated for Chinese minority communities, western multilingual education theorists such as Garcia (2009) suggest that multilingual education, especially in recursive models that promote language revitalization need to embrace multilingual realities that empower multilingualism as a core value as opposed to being an end-goal of education. In addition, Hornberger (2002, p.30) suggests that in the language ecology model, multilingual language policies are 'essentially about opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible.' And again, she states that 'multilingual policies can transform former homogenizing and assimilationist discourse into discourse about diversity and emancipation' (Hornberger, 2002 p. 178).

It seems that the multilingual education context and environment found in minority communities in China as portrayed by Feng above is indeed a different animal from the programs envisioned by Garcia and Hornberger. Therefore it is inadequate to assume that the out-workings of a progressive theoretical framework that they propose is sufficient to explain the current state of multilingual education in minority language areas of China. Instead, as hinted at by Feng (2007), the underpinnings of today's practice in such communities are very likely the oftentimes conflicting and directionless policies that have been promulgated over the years for political and nationalistic purposes (See Zhou, 2001), irrespective of principles of educational science.

Regardless of the true motives behind educational policies, certain realities exist on the ground in minority areas and stakeholders in education are beholden to facilitate a type of education that first and foremost is deemed as being legal and in accordance with current policies, and secondly, and from some viewpoints most importantly, produces the best possible academic, social, and self-actualizing results. With this in mind, some scholars have proposed a framework for trilingual education that fits within the letter of the current law, takes into account the realities of life for minority peoples, and produces academically sound graduates considering the global realities that China faces. According to Adamson et al (2013, pp. 188-189):

> *Three major justifications can be discerned for trilingual education. These, in turn, translate into three policy goals that evaluators should use as criteria for assessing the performance of various language programs and approaches. The*

first is the fostering of mother tongue literacy and cultural identity through the learning of the ethnic minority language. The second is the cultivation of a sense of national unity and of opportunities for social and economic advancement through the learning of Mandarin Chinese. The third is to broaden students' world views and facilitate their contribution to national economic development through their learning of English as an international language.

3.5.2 Models of trilingual education in China

Dai and Cheng (2007) make an attempt to categorize some of the methods of bilingual education in minority areas of China. Their seven main categories, which are often overlapping, show a great deal of variety of programs and methods throughout China but unfortunately are not well developed enough to be of much categorical use. The authors do, however, explain that minority languages in early years of education are becoming more important, however, notwithstanding a few exceptions, the programs they surveyed are by and large focused on the transmission of Mandarin Chinese to minority students, and use methodologies that are teacher centered, grammar focused, and textbook heavy. With the inclusion of English, these models by nature become trilingual to varying degrees.

Lam (2007) describes three main models of bilingual education in play in China, and with the inclusion of English, again, would be trilingual models. She describes the *submersion model* as one in which minority learners use the majority language for all of their studies throughout their school years, with the main argument for this method being something akin to the 'time-on-task' argument referred to above. The *dominant language intensive program model* gives students intensive support in the majority language (Mandarin) while at the same time administering at least some years of instruction in the minority language. This model attempts to prepare students to be able to receive all of their instruction in the majority language at a later stage. The third model, is what Lam calls *transitional bilingualism*, which gives mother tongue support and instruction in early stages and sometimes through primary school, before transitioning to Mandarin. A language shift model whereby the home language is not supported as a medium of instruction but is nonetheless used when needed in the classroom also seems to fall into this category in Lam's description.

Feng and Adamson (2015) propose a typology that includes four models of trilingual education from minority regions of China. The typology draws on data from extensive research that they and members of the Chinese Society of Multilingual Education have conducted. The members include many foreign-language and education professors at universities across China's minority regions. While they state that the four models that they propose are not exhaustive, the typology is nevertheless quite helpful in understanding the dynamics of the trilingual education phenomena as it exists today, and will be referred to along with Ytsma's typology, as the main working model for understanding the particulars of this current study.

Model one, the *accretive* model, exists in language environments where the minority language has strong language vitality and often carries with it an economic advantage, yet Mandarin Chinese and English are also valued and desired by members of the community. The accretive model, as seen in the Korean speaking Yanbian and Mongolian speaking Inner Mongolia, tends to produce students with trilingual proficiency, though with varying degrees of fluency, as all three languages are at least taught in the school as academic subjects, and can often be found being used as media of instruction.

Model two, the *balanced* model, is typically found in minority areas where there is often and urban population and thus a more equal distribution of the Han majority and a minority group, still with a strong sense of language and cultural vitality. The *balanced* approach is typically fostered only in primary school, and includes instruction in three languages, often having a track that is more Han focused, and a track that is more minority focused. This model produces trilingual competencies in the students, and is generally focused on simultaneous bilingualism between Mandarin and the minority language, with English instruction layered on in the upper grades of primary school. It is likely in these areas that the minority language would be minimally supported in secondary school if it is supported at all, while all studies would be undertaken in Mandarin starting in grade 1 of junior secondary school (Feng and Adamson, 2015). Both the *accretive* and the *balanced* model resemble Baker's (2011) strong forms of bilingual education for L1 and L2, and produce varying degrees of competence in L3. The third and fourth model, however, are more akin to Baker's weak forms, and do not produce such strong or balanced users of three languages.

The third model, called *transitional*, is a generally subtractive form of bilingual education which moves the students quickly away from their L1 and into Mandarin

Chinese as both a subject and increasingly as a medium of instruction with English cobbled in as a subject while still in primary school. There are two forms of this model, the first being in urban areas with a large percentage of Han students, and the second being in rural areas where one or more minority language dominates. The transitional model generally weakens the student's minority language development over time, and is not very successful in developing trilingual competencies.

The fourth model, *depreciative*, is what Feng and Adamson call an 'explicit form of subtractive trilingualism' (2015 p.249) whereby the goal of competency in three languages is expressly replaced with the goal of developing bilingual competencies in Chinese and English a la *Fuhexing Rencai* models for majority Han students. The minority language is left out of the equation in a deliberate manner, often due to lack of vision, training, and financial or human resources, or perhaps covert assimilationist intentions. The result is that students only have the potential to be trilingual due to their belonging to the minority ethnicity and home support of the minority language, not because of any purposeful form of education in the school program. Typically, though not exclusively, this model is found in communities where the minority language vitality is relatively weak.

3.5.3 Seating of current study in TE typology and Chinese models

Figure 3.1 Seating of present study in Ytsma's typology
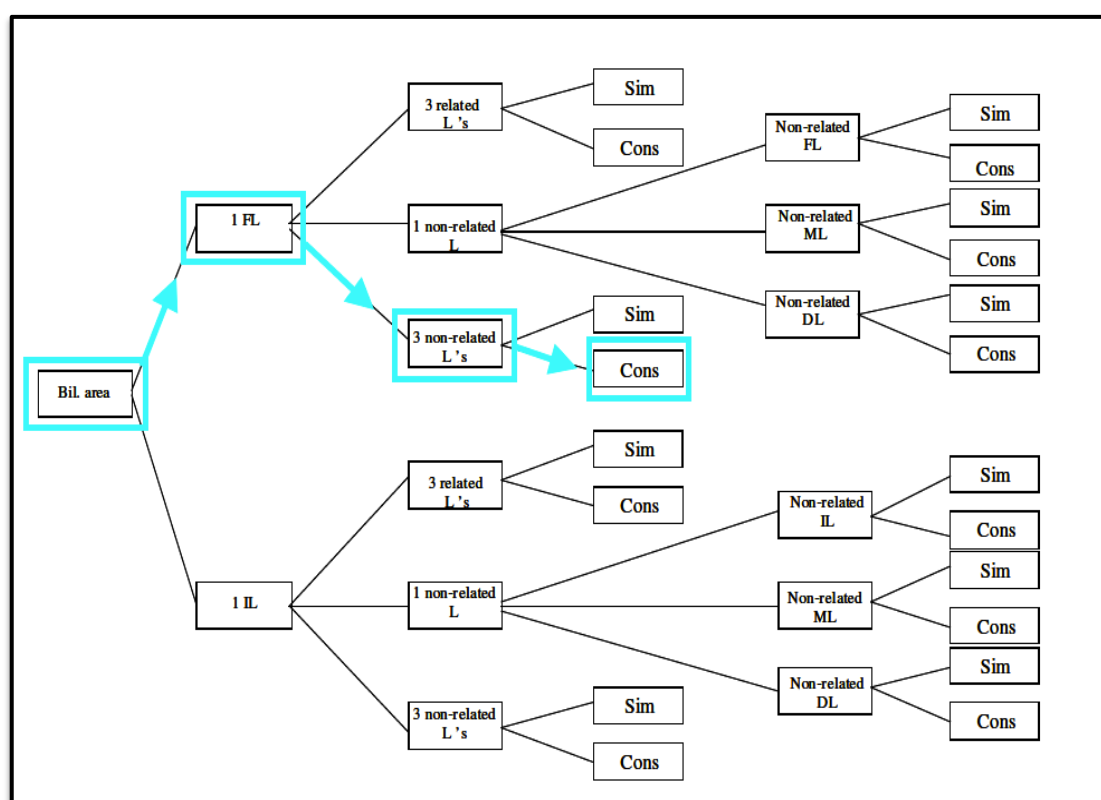
The current study takes place in the Kam region of China, which is considered to be a type 3 community according to Zhou's (2001) typology of languages in China. Type 3 languages are those that had no pre-existing script prior to 1949 and have had very little bilingual education since. The Kam script was developed in the 1950's, but as was demonstrated in the context chapter, efforts to use the script in education have been sporadic, and thus far relatively unsuccessful. There is also very little support for multilingual education within the Provincial, Prefectural, or County governments. Moving to Ytsma's typology, the current study takes place in a generally bilingual area (please refer to the blue/bold lines and arrows in the diagram above). Although the Kam villages are vastly monolingual, they are within an area that is interspersed with Han, especially in towns and cities, and under the jurisdiction of a government structure that is Mandarin speaking. There are no formal government services such as healthcare, banking, household registration etc. offered in Kam, though if the government agent in question is Kam they will freely use oral Kam to communicate. The language of the village schools is largely Mandarin, with all school documents and formal meetings taking place in Mandarin, even in situations where the school staff is Kam. Therefore, by nature of the lack of Kam services, in the sphere beyond the family level at least some members of society must function bilingually in order for the village to function at all, thus the classification as a bilingual area in this study. The second column of Ytsma's typology refers to the third language and whether or not it is a foreign language or an immigrant language. In this case, the third language is English, which is a foreign language. The third column differentiates between related and non-related languages. According to the Ethnologue, a catalogue of world languages compiled and updated by the linguistic research organization SIL international (Simons and Fennig, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c), The Kam language is classified as a Tai-Kadai language, Mandarin Chinese a Sino-Tibetan language, and English a Indo-European-Germanic language. Thus, all three languages are non-related. Lastly, the languages are introduced in a consecutive manner: Kam in the home, Chinese in preschool or grade 1, and English in grade 3 or higher. The latter two columns of Ytsma's typology are not relevant to this study, as there are no related languages in question.

The final seating of this study in the models that have been explicated in the relevant literature is within the trilingual education models proposed by Feng and Adamson

(2015) above. This study will examine the data in light of the proposed typologies and upon examining the data will seat the study in the Feng and Adamson models.

3.6 Challenges Facing Minority Trilingual Students in China

As referenced above, minority students in China are faced with the unenviable task of mastering three languages in order to maintain ties to their source culture, advance to tertiary education, or participate in the workforce or society at large. This is done largely within a system that undervalues the minority student's language and culture and is based on coercive relations of power (see Cummins 2001, especially pp. 43-51) with the majority Han culture and language (Feng, 2005).

While governments at different levels in all regions where minority groups live have taken strong measures to ensure vigorous promotion of Mandarin Chinese, the attention paid to the ethnic minority language shows significant variations across and even within groups (Yang, 2005; Adamson and Feng, 2009; Adamson et al. 2013). Furthermore, in regards to English, Yang (2005) points out that because there is no explicit legislation from the central government regarding the implementation of English instruction in minority areas, each area has developed its own methods, or, in some cases, has neglected to develop methods, or provide English instruction at all.

Scholars have also pointed out that beyond the lack of clear policy, there are many additional obstacles to making sustainable trilingual education viable in many areas.

These obstacles are very similar to the obstacles for quality minority education thoroughly explored in section 2.3.4 above, but deal specifically with the addition of English into the curriculum. Yang (2005) lists lack of funding for materials and human resources, lack of perceived value of English[14], and difficulty in learning L3 as major obstacles, while Feng and Adamson (2015) citing Lei (2012) also list shortages of qualified teachers, lack of suitable textbooks, and lack of systematic planning as major critiques of the current system by educators and researchers.

Sunuodula and Feng (2009) point out though, that despite many of these drawbacks that some minority students are extremely motivated to learn English because it gives them a conduit to a fresh worldview through English and helps them to combat Han dominance by putting them on equal footing with Han students in this subject that is equally foreign to both groups.

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[14] Sunuodula and Feng (2009) challenge this notion.

3.6.1 Preferential policies

Over the years as minority language and educational practices and policies have oscillated through several iterations from restrictive to progressive (Zhou, 2001, Hu, 2007, Feng, 2005, Tsung, 2009, Bilik, 2014) and outcomes have been largely unsatisfactory (Tsung, 2014), many jurisdictions have instituted preferential policies for minority students that are aimed to compensate for the discrepancies in educational outputs (such as higher secondary education dropout rates and declining tertiary participation) between the Han and most minorities except Korean and Russian (Sautman, 1998; Tsung, 2014; Adamson et al., 2013; Postiglione, 2014; Simayi, 2014).

Education authorities in autonomous regions are given the liberty to use minority languages in textbooks and instruction, according to the Constitution of the PRC, while at the same time making efforts to teach *Putonghua* and standard Chinese characters wherever possible (see Jin and Wang 2002: 609– 613). These policies are widely used in some areas but not in others. As learning Chinese is one of the greatest difficulties that minority children face (Yu, 2014), students from select minorities are able to sit the *gaokao* 高考 exam in their own language (a practice called *minkaomin* 民考民), making it easier for them to understand and respond to the content. These are often, but not exclusively minority students who have participated in the segregationist model of 'bilingual education' whereby they become literate in their own language but only minimally literate in Chinese. According to Mackerras (1994) Kazakh, Kirghiz, Korean, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uyghur students are privileged to choose this option and move on to tertiary education, often administered in minority languages at minority universities. Other minorities including the Kam, however, are not given this liberty and must take the exams in Mandarin Chinese. It used to be that in autonomous regions local education officials would create the minority language exams according to the local curriculum. In the mid 1990's in the Uyghur Autonomous Region, however, minority language exams began to be translated from the Chinese exams into the minority language. The result was that the exam content was no longer the same content that the students had studied in their classes, and some postulate that it led to lower test scores for minority students (Tsung, 2009; Tsung, 2014). Testing in one's own language is arguably an educational 'right' instituted to bring equity to a system that often leaves minority students on the outside of tertiary education looking in.

Beyond minority language testing, however, there have been many preferential policies

(called '*youhui zhengci*' 优惠政策) instituted from as early as the 1950's (Tsung, 2014) to allow minority students greater access to education and limit the discrepancies between Han and minority students. These preferential policies range from providing clothing, food, and accommodations to children in Tibet (Postiglione, 2014) to instituting quotas and minimum acceptance scores for minority students in secondary and tertiary institutions (Tsung, 2014), and in places exemptions from tests altogether (Yang, 2005). Additionally, minority students are given additional points to raise their *gaokao* test scores based strictly on their ethnicity. The additional scores vary from region to region, and within regions from ethnicity to ethnicity, with students of some ethnicities receiving as many as 100 additional points (out of 800) on top of their score (Tsung, 2014). Furthermore, minority students, even after receiving extra points, are given preferential enrollment over Han students with the same scores (Tsung, 2014).

Simayi (2014) suggests that although there have been many positive effects of preferential policies, such as increased access to primary and secondary education and increased university attendance for minority pupils, there are also negative effects that cannot be ignored. She argues that the negative results of these policies include perceptions of reverse discrimination among the Han, difficulty in changing policies due to dependence upon them as they exist, fewer employment opportunities for minorities, increasing negative identity issues, and increasing competitiveness among differing ethnic groups. In addition, Adamson and Xia (2011) point out that although some minorities receive benefits from lower university admission standards, they do not receive the same benefits upon graduation, which leads to greater attrition for minorities at the tertiary level.

While Banks (2014) suggests that the Han might not be averse to preferential treatments for minorities as long as the treatments also benefit the Han, Liebold (2014, loc. 5456) suggests that preferential treatments, especially for tertiary access based on ethnic identity has become a 'sensitive and emotive issue among certain segments of the majority Han population.' Some complain that the preferential treatment policies are too soft and that minorities are 'spoiled' by them (Postiglione, 2014).

No matter what opinion one has about the efficacy or equanimity of preferential policies, the simple fact that they exist and are supported by the Ministry of Education in the PRC is tacit admission that minority language policies and educational opportunities as they exist are vastly inadequate, and often keep minority students on inferior and unequal footing with the Han.

3.7 Summary

The study of trilingual education in the Kam area of China must necessarily be undertaken with a thorough understanding of the factors that affect its implementation. The study of bilingualism, bilingual acquisition (or SLA), and bilingual education are foundational to the study of trilingual education as the research and the descriptive characteristics of and prescriptive measures for trilingual education are all deeply rooted in them. In this chapter I have thoroughly summarized the research on bilingual education and its benefits and drawbacks before transitioning to investigate the research on trilingualism trilingual acquisition (TLA) and trilingual education. Of particular importance in the research on trilingual education is the role of international languages, such as English, and their place of prominence in settings where a minority language and a national language are already well-established in the educational system.

An overview of the history of bilingual education in China, and in particular as it relates to minority ethnicities was given to set the stage for investigating the literature on trilingualism and trilingual education in China. Special emphasis was given to trilingual education typologies both abroad and specifically to China, and the current study was set in relation to these typologies. Finally, difficulties facing minority trilingual students and preferential policies in place in China were explored in order to provide a thorough background context for the current study.

The current literature on trilingual education in China, though still in its infancy, is heavily dominated by investigations into type 1 language communities such as Korean, Tibetan, and Uyghur, with comparatively little research focused on the type 2 and 3 communities. Thus, the literature review has revealed a need to bolster the information available in type 3 communities such as the Kam, an aim to which this current study aspires.

4 Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the methodology used in this study and will examine the rationale behind the choices of methods employed. The chosen research methods will be examined in light of the practicality of employment in this particular research environment and the efficacy of use in terms of uncovering answers to the research questions. The development of research questions and processes for data collection, management, preparation, and analysis are also explained in detail.

4.2 Appropriate Methodology

As outlined in the background section above, this study took place in a social, cultural, and political setting with unique characteristics that significantly narrowed the choice of methodological options. It was necessary for the researcher to have a thorough understanding of the contextual characteristics of the sociolinguistic environment in order to choose appropriate methodologies. It required implementing methodologies that proved to be adequate for the purpose of the study, in this case, exploring language-use practice and stakeholder attitudes to render the *status quo* in the context at hand.

The concept of language-use practice can be simply described as the normal practice of language use in a particular setting. In other words, we can ask the question 'what language is used by which people in what setting?' In a classroom setting, the different actors, namely teachers and students, make language choices when they speak. Language-use practice is then the regular practice of using a particular language in a particular environment.

The concept of stakeholder attitudes can be described as the consensus of the general feeling and thoughts (attitudes) towards a concept held by all of the people that come into contact with that concept (stakeholders).

As my research questions suggest, language-use practice and stakeholder attitudes are the main concerns of my research. They both involve a certain subset of people, in this case of the same ethnicity, living in a common geographic region that are involved in a common pursuit of English-as-a-third-language education (ETLE). So the phenomena in question involve this subset of people, at the risk of sounding simplistic, *doing something* (practice) and *thinking about what they do* in certain ways (attitudes). To a certain degree the practices can be observed by an outside researcher, and indeed they were, because they exist in a sort of common physical space involving time, movement, sounds, and

artifacts. The attitudes cannot be seen so readily, though much can be inferred by observing practice.

In order to provide a scope for the study a frame was built around the issues in the form of research questions, with the purpose being to 'find out what the participants *do* and *what they think and feel about what they do'*.

4.3   Research Questions

The research was inquiring into the two main research questions and their corresponding sub-questions. It should be noted that the research questions are influenced, in part, by my participation in the Trilingualism and Trilingual Education in China Symposium[15], which shares many of these same research goals in understanding English language education throughout China.

Question one: What is the status quo for language use in Kam village schools, and in English classrooms for L1 Kam speakers, in Misty Mountain county?

The following sub-questions guided the collection of data:

a. How much Kam, Chinese, and English is used for communication in the school environment?
b. How much of each language is used in oral instruction, textbooks, interpersonal communication between students and teachers and also between students and their peers, even outside the classroom.
c. What is the status quo for language use in the English teaching environment in the participants' classrooms?

Question two: How do the participants perceive that different stakeholders in minority education view the importance of L1 and L3, i.e., Kam and English, in relation to L2, Chinese?

The overall assumption behind this question is that L2, Chinese, is generally regarded as the main focus of education, and also the accepted medium of instruction.

The participants in the study were asked to state their own attitudes towards L1, L2, and L3, and also to report their perceptions of other stakeholders within the education system, such as parents, students, education officials, and other teachers.

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[15] www.ied.edu.hk/triling

4.4   From Questions to Methods

The research questions employed in this study were formulated from my previous experience in the research environment and the need to thoroughly understand and describe the current language use in classroom instruction and language use attitudes of the various stakeholders in the environment in question. With the absence of detailed research in the existing literature and in order to fully understand the current situation as it is, an investigative approach that would be able to provide a glimpse into the *status quo* was employed.

> *Good qualitative questions should invite a process of exploration and discovery, as Creswell (2007) suggests. Initial provisional questions can become more focused; however [if too narrow]...movement forward later in the inquiry process is constrained. Maxwell (2005, 67) also cautioned that starting with questions that are too focused can lead to tunnel vision and can inhibit a researcher's understanding and analysis. Creating discovery-oriented questions can help a researcher use the process of developing and refining questions as a basis for a more rigorous and reflexive inquiry.* (Agee 2009, p.434)

With this in mind, research questions focused on the 'what' in the research situation in order to garner baseline data as opposed to answering the 'why'. In this regard the study is a descriptive, or borrowing again from Agee (2009), an exploratory study, as opposed to being an explanatory study. In an exploratory study the researcher is framing questions that describe the state of a certain phenomenon, in this case ELT in a minority area in China (Flick 2006; Marshall and Rossman 2006; Agee, 2009).

4.5   Research Design

The study of language use practices and stakeholder attitudes in the Kam speaking region of Guizhou Province in China is largely an exploratory pursuit in which the context and many phenomena must be experienced personally in order to be better understood. The body of literature explicating how Kam, Chinese, and English use in the educational setting is scarce, therefore this study was undertaken in an effort to provide some sort of baseline for language use and language use attitudes in the administration of 'Third Language Education' in the present context.

Although I have had ample exposure to the research context, there were many unknowns involved in undertaking this research. Furthermore, the research, being exploratory, was not necessarily theory driven. Therefore it was decided that a flexible approach should be

taken in which I could adapt the study to the unfolding realities of the research context and in a sense follow the data where it led during the course of the study.

4.5.1 Quantitative or qualitative approach?

Much has been written about different approaches to social research. Some, perhaps over-simplistically, state that quantitative approaches deal with numbers and qualitative approaches deal with text, while others might say that quantitative is 'hard science' and qualitative 'soft science'. (Robson, 2011, Loc. 1292, Bryman, 2012, p. 408) Although helpful at some level, these dichotomies in approach are not a starting point for me in this study, but are rather viewed as representing tools to be handled along the way in an epistemological search of an ontological reality. In this study I have taken a decidedly pragmatic *transformative mixed-methods* approach a la Creswell (2003) and Denizen (2010). In a concurrent mixed methods approach, the researcher relies primarily on one approach to data collection but incorporates elements of the other. Data is collected at the same time, or concurrently, and weighed together during the data analysis phase of the study. In this case the abundance of data is qualitative in the form of ethnographic interviews and ideas expressed by the participant teachers, while the quantitative observation data used to triangulate the interview data is less abundant. The idea in this study is to use whatever works best to paint a realistic picture of the phenomena in question, namely language use practice in the classroom and stakeholder attitudes. The transformative element of this mixed methods approach lies in the fact that through the process of research the participants, who have traditionally been marginalized and underrepresented in the Chinese education system are given a voice to express their ideas and points of view. More on this topic and the transformative element of this research is discussed in section 4.7.1.2 below.

The main type of relevant data in this study was primarily in the form of propositions involving personal, subjective expressions of experiences, perceptions, ideas, and values revealed by participants themselves. These expressions can serve to broaden the understanding of the researcher and expand the inquiry to other dates and times, and even give insight into attitudes of other stakeholders both past and present. In this regard the study must be primarily qualitative in nature, allowing the researcher to gain insight into

the 'socially constructed' phenomena that is uncovered through contact and interaction with participants who serve as guardians and interpreters of their own practices.

The study did incorporate data that is at some level quantifiable though, and on certain dates and times I was able to observe some of the outworking of the more qualitative phenomena in person and take some form of empirical measurements as it were. The relevance of such quantification becomes extremely limited in its scope, lacks generalizability, and is of little value to broaden understanding on its own merits. However, it should not be discounted entirely, because of its ability to make other forms of data generated in the study more robust, in a type of triangulation. In some regard, this more 'etic' data, or data as seen from the outside (Pike, 1954), gives the researcher a starting point from which he can launch himself into the acquisition of more 'emic' concepts that can only be understood by accessing information that reveals the shared values and worldview of practitioners.

4.5.2 Ethnography

After developing research questions that would guide the researcher in acquiring relevant and valid data it was imperative that appropriate methodology be used to bring the research questions into the real-world setting.

Because I have spent many years living in the research environment and have developed a working rapport with the participants, this study has clear characteristics of an ethnographic study. A description of ethnography, being a "complex interdisciplinary area…changing and diverse" (Clifford, 1986 p.3) aptly describes the nature of this study in which I, in addition to being a social scientist aiming to elucidate cultural and in this case, educational phenomena, am reflexively involved in the culture, community, and phenomena in question. As such, I involved myself in the lives of the participants and their craft long before the idea of focusing on these phenomena in the confines of a doctoral program was ever considered.

In this study, and specifically in this thesis, the term ethnography is not necessarily a prescriptive one that confined my ideas and practices in my pursuit of knowledge, but rather is a descriptive term that best describes many of the practices I employed, even if they differ at some point from what some might consider should be included in a classic ethnography. Instead of being sterile and removed from the topic of study, ethnography is "actively situated *between* powerful systems of meaning. It poses its questions at the

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boundaries of civilizations, cultures, classes, races, and genders. Ethnography decodes and recodes, telling the grounds of collective order and diversity, inclusion and exclusion. It describes processes of innovation and structuration, and is itself part of the processes" (Clifford 1984a). Elements of these approaches were used in this study, particularly in the field journal that I kept. In this situation I was most certainly situated between the two powerful systems of western academic inquiry and the rural Chinese education machine. Perceptions were absorbed over many years of immersion in the system, turning over stones of inquiry, first as a guest, then as a teacher, then as a teacher trainer, and finally as a researcher. At the same time, other methods employed in this study might be discouraged or even disdained by staunch proponents of postmodern ethnography who would certainly frown upon the sterile practices of semi-structured interviews, or voice recording and transcription of data, attempting to somehow make sense of complex realities by artificially putting them into sound byte questions and relying upon spur of the moment answers of the participants (Tyler, 1984; Clifford, 1984b).

Nonetheless, with ethnography being 'changing and diverse', and at the same time the study needing to move in a direction that would eventually culminate in this thesis, I employed many ethnographic elements in navigating the complexities of the research environment.

According to Bryman (2012) Ethnographic research involves a researcher:

- being immersed in a social setting for an extended period of time;
- making regular observations of the behavior of members of that setting;
- listening to and engaging in conversations;
- interviewing informants on issues that are not directly amenable to observation or that the researcher is unclear about;
- developing an understanding of the culture of the group and people's behavior within the context of that culture;
- and writing up detailed accounts of that setting.

(Bryman, 2012, p. 432)

In this study, I have been involved in all of these pursuits for a number of years, thus the ethnographic methodology has in some ways selected itself. In addition, I have, over time, developed great familiarity with the participants who have all studied in my classroom and are familiar with my language use abilities and tendencies, character, work ethic, and even family life. Likewise, I am familiar with the participants in the same manner. In addition to involving elements of an in-depth ethnography, in this study I

have taken advantage of this preexisting ethnographic condition to have deeper access to ideas, attitudes, and practices of the participants in regards to the research questions. In other words, I have parlayed my position as an ethnographer, through an iterative process, into that of a researcher of the specific questions set forth in this study.

4.5.3 Multiple case study

In the study context at hand it seemed appropriate to study different 'cases' or examples of participant teachers working their craft in order to observe the *in situ* practice of language teaching and then seek to 'get inside the mind' of the practitioner through asking deep and reflective questions of the participant. This involved having access to different teachers who were working at different schools within the study area in a kind of 'multiple case study approach' in which the researcher covers multiple cases and then draws a single set of "cross-case" conclusions (Yin 2009, Kindle Location 687). In a case study, the researcher takes an in-depth look at the context in which the participant is engaged and seeks to understand this context and some of the elements that have shaped the views of the participant instead of blindly collecting information from impersonal informants. In a multiple case study this is done in a repeated fashion involving multiple participants, though with some loss of depth due to constraints of time, energy, and other resources. A multiple case study can offer greater insight into practices and attitudes of a community, though it is argued by some (Nisbet and Watt, 1984, in Cohen et.al, 2008, p. 293) that these individual cases should be taken as non-normative and not representing a general population in whole.

> *"The main criticism of the case study method is that in most circumstances the individual cases are not sufficiently representative to permit generalization to other situations. Efforts to overcome this perceived weakness include increasing the number of cases so as to improve their representativeness, and provide for comparative analysis within the case study (Bryman, 1988, in Jupp, 2006)."*

This study sought to overcome some of these perceived weaknesses of the case study approach by purposefully selecting multiple participants with different fundamental characteristics such as gender, age, grade level, school size, etc. that could broaden the generalizability of findings. These participants, their schools, leaders, and their students and parents represented different cases, and provided the study with differing vantage points from which to consider the research questions. Having multiple participants in multiple school contexts gave the study a broader spectrum of data, and allowed for

comparisons of one context to another context in order to reveal the nature of ETLE in Misty Mountain County.

Another weakness of the 'case study' approach is the potential for researcher bias in selecting cases to be studied, or in the reporting of data that could be argued is in line with the researcher's bent and is less than objective. (Nisbet and Watt, 1984, in Cohen et.al, 2008) This is particularly relevant in this study because of the depth of the relationship between me and the participants. I have been involved in training the participants in their professional craft, and have close personal relationships with many of the participants that were developed over many years of contact in my classroom, over countless meals at the Misty Mountain Language Center, and even in my or participants' homes.

In relation to this study there are several arguments that serve to overrule the option of forgoing a case study approach due to potential researcher bias. The main argument is that in this study *the context demands such an approach*. The very nature of the sociopolitical and even geographic context require that a person live in Misty Mountain County for an extended period of time in order to develop trust and rapport with police, education authorities, headmasters and teachers sufficient to be allowed to access schools and classrooms without an entourage of said officials whose presence would certainly alter the data offered by the participant. The familiarity with participants that could potentially bias a researcher is thus a *necessary condition* of conducting the research in this context. An additional argument for selecting the case study approach in this context is that of the superior practicality of carrying out the research. This argument presumes that a researcher that the participants know well is able to vet the participants to some extent prior to the study in ways that a researcher who is unfamiliar with the participants would not be able to do, making the research process more efficient and productive. To clarify this idea, let us hypothetically examine two potential participants that are known by the researcher, in this case because of having studied in his classroom for a period of time. One has proven to be reliable, responsible, and thoughtful about her work, and the other has proven to be unreliable, irresponsible in preparing for class, and lacking thoughtfulness. In this scenario though they are both plausible participants due to all of the pre-stated qualifying criteria, it behooves the researcher to invest time, energy, and finances into visiting the first participant to observe and interview. She will likely agree on a date and time that will not be changed, will garner the necessary permission from her headmaster, will be esteemed by her colleagues enough to be trusted to maintain the

'face' of the school in the presence of a foreign visitor, and will likely teach her class with the same attention to detail and care as she would without the researcher present. She will likely be more thoughtful when considering interview questions and will be more articulate in her responses. Such practical judgments are unavoidable in a research setting in which limited resources make efficiency a paramount consideration in the selection of participants.

A third argument for continuing to use a case study method in light of the criticisms revolving around researcher bias is that each researcher, whether familiar with the participants or not, brings with them their own bias to any form of study. The key to less-biased research is then to understand and openly address researcher bias as a fact of life and build-in safeguards that promote honest and open inquiry, analysis, and reporting. One such method for mitigating effects of researcher bias is by employing the practice of reflexivity. As defined by Robson (2011) reflexivity is "the process of researchers reflecting upon their actions and values during research (e.g. in producing data and writing accounts), and the effects that they may have." Or as May (2011) puts it, reflexivity 'is a guard against hypodermic realism', or a safeguard against the notion that there is an 'unproblematic relationship' between the object of research and the research report, namely, the presence and involvement of the researcher.

In this study I employed several reflexive strategies at different stages of research as suggested by my supervisors. A reflective journal was kept in which I recorded the details surrounding each research event during data collection, stated problems and successes, critiqued various elements of my decision-making, and suggested changes for future events. During the data translation process a list of questions helped guide my decisions. Questions such as: Is this a fair rendering of the spoken words? Am I being consistent in word choice and grammatical forms? Have I injected my own sentiment into the meaning of the participant's spoken words? In addition, a written reminder was perched on my computer screen reminding me to 'let the data do the talking'.

Also, non-reflexive methods were incorporated to mitigate researcher bias. Colleagues of mine were invited to vet research questions and interview questions prior to their inclusion in the study. They also checked pilot interviews and suggestions were accepted that improved the clarity of spoken *Putonghua* and structure of interview questions. A third party, a Kam colleague of mine who is an expert in Kam and Chinese language and culture, transcribed the interviews, and bilingual experts in Chinese and English checked the translations of interviews to ensure naturalness, clarity, and consistency.

4.6 Moving from Methodology to Methods

After understanding the sociopolitical context of the study, formulating research questions that are appropriate for deeper understanding the educational context and selecting methodologies that fit the purpose, the researcher must then select the appropriate methods to be used in the study. This process, often called 'operationalizing' the research questions involves bringing the research questions from 'expressions of interest into issues that lend themselves to being investigated in concrete terms' (Cohen et al 2011, p. 127). The final part of this process involves selecting appropriate tools, or methods, to be used to 'generate' data that can be collected or measured.

Generally speaking, in a research setting such as the one in this study it is possible to use a wide array of research methods. Often the use of surveys, questionnaires, observation (non-participant or participant), and interviews with varying degrees of structure is involved.

4.6.1 Surveys and questionnaires

For this study it was decided that surveys and questionnaires would be too cumbersome for the participants to use and that the data returned might be unreliable and data-poor. This decision was based in part on problems inherent in the survey and questionnaire methods (Bryman, 2012 p.271; Cohen et.al 2011 p.258), and my previous experience in this same geographic and socio-educational context (Finifrock 2010, Finifrock and Schilken 2015). In previous studies undertaken between 2005 and 2011, similarly qualified participants reported difficulty in responding to scaled questions or understanding the meaning of items on written questionnaires. Some had questions regarding the process of filling out forms, and they generally returned diluted data when given the opportunity to provide written answers to open ended questions on questionnaires. For this study it was apparent that it would take a significant amount of training and instruction for the participants to become familiar with the process of responding to surveys or questionnaires, as it is not generally part of the participants' life experience to do so. In addition, because I was able to spend such a significant time on the ground with the participants the time-saving aspects of using a questionnaire or survey to collect more data from more participants was deemed unnecessary. Thus, these were eliminated as possible methods for use in this study.

4.6.2   Journaling

It was originally hoped that some participants would be able to keep reflective journals for short periods of time to give the researcher insight into their thought processes and interactions with parents and students with regard to the research questions (Allwright and Bailey 1991). Upon investigation it became apparent that the practice of keeping such a journal is a foreign concept to the participants in the study. To introduce such a requirement would pose an ethical issue by potentially overburdening the volunteer participants who are likely already quite busy with their work requirements. In the interest of keeping the study efficient and manageable I was unwilling to add this as a requirement to the already burdened schedules of the participants, thus the idea was never implemented.

I did keep my own reflective journal, however, in which I noted elements of research visits or conversations I had along the way that bore relevance on the study. Notes were taken during the process of an interview or classroom observation, and audio notes were recorded as soon after an interaction as possible in order to capture the essence of a conversation or observation before time eroded the memories. Then, upon returning home after an interview or observation I transcribed the notes into a Word document. This journal was also used to reflexively question my own practices and approach with individual participants or my approach to the study as a whole.

4.6.3   Policy documents

When dealing with Research Question 1, looking at the actual classroom practices of English-as-third-language instruction naturally lends itself to using several methods for inquiry. A natural starting point is with the curriculum standards that are in place in the Nation, Province, and County in which the study is set. National policy documents are accessible on the Internet[16] and were reviewed by the researcher to ascertain whether or not there were any stipulations placed on a school system or individual teachers in regards to language-use practice in English instruction. Surprisingly, copies and knowledge of these documents were not present at the schools that were visited by the researcher. Upon arriving at the school and meeting with the participant teacher or school

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[16] For example, see http://www.doc88.com/p-998390083154.html and http://www.fqyc.cn/Article/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=2020
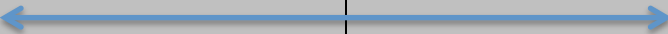
headmaster, the researcher would ask if there were any curriculum standards or national policies for English that guided instruction at the school. At the schools that I visited, not one could produce such a document for me to view. As one participant teacher put it 'we don't know about any of those things, we simply use the books we are given.' Another participant stated bluntly 'The *gaokao* determines our practice'. And a provincial education official told me using a Chinese proverb: '上有政策，下有对策' or ' Upper level (government) has policies, Lower level (government) has counter policies' meaning: "The high-minded policies of Beijing are countered by the impracticalities of the countryside". In other words, if the policy states that we have ten hours of English instruction per week, but we do not have ample English teachers we do not comply with the policy, so we ignore it. Also, at the provincial level, in Guizhou, occasionally there are documents produced by the education bureau that promote the practice of certain methods or the implementation of policy. One such document is the 'Guizhou Province Basic Education Reform Compulsory Education Curriculum Plan' [Appendix F] which includes a proposed timetable that stipulates how many hours of instruction a school is beholden to provide students of various grade levels. When visiting schools these policy documents were not present in the school environment and the participants did not ever refer to these documents when referring to instructional policy. They were given to me by a leader in the Misty Mountain county Education bureau who stated, in regards to English instruction, "we have these, but do not really force the schools to abide by them" (Personal Conversation, Field Notes, April 28, 2014).

4.6.4 Observation

Non-participant classroom observation was another method employed in the pursuit of answers to research question number one. This type of observation can benefit the study because it provides quantifiable data taken from the natural school setting, and is 'faithful to the real-life, *in situ* and holistic nature of a case study (Verschuren, 2003, p. 131). The purpose of adding observation is to allow more streams of data into the study in order to bolster some of the weaknesses of a case study approach that were mentioned in the section above. Of course, there are some drawbacks and possible negative effects of non-participant classroom observation. As a method, it has been criticized because it may cause anxiety in students or teachers, and it may lead to reactivity or the 'observer's paradox' in which the presence of an observer alters the environment being observed

(Allwright and Bailey, 1991). Cohen et.al (2011) put forth a typology of observation studies adapted from Bailey (1994). The typology is displayed in a grid in which the vertical axis represents the degree of structure in the environment and the horizontal axis displays the degree of structure imposed by the observer. The horizontal axis moves from Natural on the left to Artificial on the right, in terms of the structure in the environment, and the vertical axis ranges from Structured on the bottom rising to Unstructured (see Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 This study seated within a typology of observation studies grid

Degree of structure imposed by observer	Degree of structure in observational setting	Natural	Artifical
	Unstructured	This Study	
	Structured		

(Adapted from Cohen 2011, p. 297; referencing Bailey 1994)

Thus, in the case if this study, the observations would fall within the upper left quadrant of the grid, as they were situated in a natural environment with no structure imposed by the observer. This method of unstructured observation in a natural environment was chosen in an effort to obtain a more objective measure of the methods employed in English instruction, with minimal intrusion into the classes and minimal interference with the students as they learned. It provided data that could be used to triangulate the data gathered through interviews in which participants revealed their perception of the amount of each language used in instruction.

During the observation period the researcher was looking for behaviors or patterns of behavior that might not be readily understood by looking at the video lesson. The class period was broken into three-minute segments in which the lesson was evaluated for the following elements: Pupil attention/engagement, pedagogy, questioning, and teacher attitude. In addition, other elements such as resources used, class size and spacing, and specific teacher/student interactions were noted. Even though these particular items are

not directly linked to specific research questions in the study they were taken in the spirit of an ethnographer collecting rich data and taking copious notes (Bryman, 2012 p.431), and they provided elements that made for a more robust understanding of the instructional period.

The observations were video-recorded and later analyzed for content related to the research questions. In particular focus was the amount of time spent in which of the three languages in question. In order to thoroughly understand these elements, the observations were transcribed in detail according to the guidelines set forth by Allworth and Bailey (1991: p 222). Utterances were coded according to the distinctive features found in table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Distinctive features used for coding

Speaker	Usage	Language
Teacher	Instruction	Kam
Female Student	Clarification	Han
Male Student	Correction	English
Chorus	Question	Trans-language KH
Silence	Response	Trans-language KE
	Model Utterance	Trans-language HE
	Peer-communication	

The classroom observation data was then compared to the data collected through ethnographic interviews as a means of triangulation.

4.6.5   Ethnographic Interviews

Collecting data via ethnographic interviews can also provide insight into the practices in the classroom, though not in the empirical sense that can be obtained through observation. The interviews produce data that is more reflective in nature and reveals the participant's firsthand report on the practices of languages and methods used. These interviews allow the researcher to 'peer into' classroom practice that he is unable to directly observe. Participants are able to express their perceptions of common practice and the attitudes of teachers and students in the process of learning. In addition, they provide much more diversified data that allows the researcher to understand the environmental, contextual, and historical influences on the practice of Third Language Education.

For the second research question, in which participants' attitudes were at the fore, the ethnographic interview was clearly the method of choice for collecting data. The interview questions, which were crafted prior to the data collection, often took on a different form during the interviews depending on the individual participant and the nature and flow of the individual interview. Because attitudes are not always readily accessible to the participant or discernable to the researcher, the ethnographic interviewing approach provides flexibility in questioning and the ability to probe into areas where attitudes may be more easily expressed. This method dovetails nicely with the flexible approach to the research and the desire to take each participant as a unique entity with valuable perceptions and insights that are worth understanding.

4.7 Environment and Role on Methodology

The nature of this study is largely determined by the socio-political context in which it takes place. In general, it has been historically very difficult for researchers to access the geographical area in focus. Permissions are highly restricted and physical access and living conditions have been a challenge to the researcher. Additionally, outsiders in the focus area are generally looked upon with suspicion by authorities, making access to large-scale testing data impossible to come by. Even when some form of testing data exists, it is in the form of statistics reported by schools to township education bureaus, then townships to counties, counties to prefectures, prefectures to provinces, and provinces to the national education department. The data is not readily standardizable, and some fear that the reporting of such numbers may be intentionally skewed at various levels to paint a picture of progress that is more flattering than accurate (LXP, 2012).   A widespread survey or other quantitative measure of English education in the Kam speaking area would be rife with difficulties ranging from attaining permission for physical access to schools and students to reliability of the data reported by such schools. Conversely, there is room in the Kam speaking area of Guizhou for access to schools through a personal network of relationships in which the researcher's presence and motive is trusted and non-threatening to police and school officials. As a teacher and teacher-trainer in these regions for the greater part of the last seven years, I have developed a network of trust-relationships with teachers and headmasters at all levels of education. These pre-existing interpersonal relationships provide an avenue for access to schools, or more specifically, teachers, whose thoughts, ideas, and opinions, would

otherwise be difficult to access. Such access does not directly involve reporting student performance or necessitate obtaining permission for working with minors, making the access more readily obtainable.

4.7.1 Researching Multilingually

I, a first-language English-speaking American, and the participants, being first-language Kam-speaking Chinese, interacted primarily through the medium of *Putonghua* (Mandarin Chinese), the second-language of all those involved, a dynamic that may reduce power imbalances between the language of the researcher and the participants (Holmes et.al 2013). The research report in this case is presented entirely in English, meaning that all interview data was transcribed and translated before it could be analyzed and then reported in English.

Having formally studied *Putonghua* at Guizhou University for five semesters and having lived in China for an additional five years prior to the commencement of this study, I had achieved a high level of fluency in *Putonghua*, which has been reported as being uncommon in research involving multiple languages (Temple and Young 2004). Yet, it should not be assumed that I have attained a perfect mastery of spoken *Putonghua* or the sub-dialect of *Misty Mountainhua*, in which the participants responded to investigative questions or shared their perspective on their life and work. Indeed, the process of dialogue, negotiating meaning, and coming to mutual understanding with participants was something that called upon extreme focus and rigor.

There is a good body of research that has extrapolated the complexities of working in cross language contexts and the problems and dilemmas of translating ideas from one language to another (Barrett, 1992; Bashiruddin 2013; Derrida, 1978; Foucault, 1989; Holmes et.al 2013, Magyar and Robinson-Pant 2011; Simon, 1996; Spivak, 1992, Temple and Young 2004). Issues such as accuracy, validity, transparency, and integrity of the research all come into play, as well as the pragmatic issue of workload. All of these issues needed to be accounted for during the course of this study.

So, how does one ensure that in the process of interviewing, transcribing, translating across cultures and languages that intended meaning isn't distorted or lost? Are we able to trust that what is being analyzed is actually what has been said, or is at least in the same neighborhood?

In the field of multilingual research there has been a push to establish some accepted conventions that seek to preserve, as much as possible, the integrity and meaning of the source language so as not to make it invisible (Temple and Young, 2004) when translated into languages of power. In establishing such conventions, and encouraging a transparent process (Andrews, 2013; Holliday, 2007; Temple and Edwards, 2002) in which the role of interpreters, transcribers, and translators is explicit, research can then be more fairly evaluated, and hopefully the voice of the participant can be discerned more clearly.

In the formation of this study it was determined that the multilingual data collection and handling should be undertaken according to as many of the best practices as practical so as to attempt to preserve the integrity of the data collected. Bashiruddin (2013) feels that the researcher playing as many roles as possible in multilingual research is a benefit to maintaining the integrity of the data, to the extent that the researcher is capable to fill each role. But even in cases where the researcher has adequate facility in both the source language and the receptor language this does not come without its own difficulties, however, and can increase the reflexive nature of the role of the researcher. Temple and Young (2004, p.171) argue that "The translator always makes her mark on the research, whether this is acknowledged or not, and in effect some kind of 'hybrid' role emerges in that, at the very least, the translator makes assumptions about meaning equivalence that make her an analyst and cultural broker as much as a translator."

Holmes et.al (2013, p. 287) point out that "when the multilingual researcher fulfills a double role, as both translator and interpreter, this also brings opportunities. And Shklarov (2007) observes that multilingual researchers who perform a double role are able to mediate between different linguistic worlds, identify areas of methodological concern, and develop higher levels of ethical sensitivity with regard to the complexities associated with research of this nature."

It was with these issues in mind that I decided to conduct and translate interviews myself, after having employed a qualified colleague to perform the more mechanical task of data transcription. Carrying out the translation task myself served to give me a deep understanding of the data and forced me to struggle with nuances of meaning, tone, and intent in the spoken words of the participants, resulting in a more thorough comprehension of each participant's point of view.

In the end, immersing myself in the data and thinking deeply about the translation of the ethnographic interviews from Chinese to English may have had a strengthening effect on the study. It increased my familiarity with each participant's responses and allowed me to

naturally compare and contrast the views of different participants throughout the course of the translation task in a manner that could not have been achieved had I not been as immersed in the process.

4.7.1.1 Transcription

After conducting and recording the ethnographic interviews I wanted to transcribe the interviews in the best possible way to preserve the data and to prepare for analysis. There are various accepted methods for this procedure, ranging from strict word-for word transcription with great emphasis on non-verbal cues to eschewing transcription altogether in favor of analysis directly from the source audio or video file (Cohen et.al 2011 p. 538; Brynam 2012 p. 482-486). Some suggest that it is best if the interviewer or researcher transcribes the data himself (Bryman, 2012 p.486; Bashruddin 2013) in order to 'get closer to the data'. However, in this study I decided to have a Kam-speaking colleague perform the transcriptions for several reasons. First, she is a very skilled typist in both Kam and Chinese and has had previous experience in transcription, making her efforts both precise and efficient. Second, because she shares both Kam as first language, and the local Chinese dialect as a second language with the participants, she is able to pick up on colloquialisms that I would not readily identify. Last, hiring her as a scribe allowed me to more quickly record my own field notes and audio notes in the days immediately following the interview.

After the digital files of interviews were duplicated and saved, an anonymous copy was made for transcription. I worked along with the professional transcriber to transcribe the first portion of the pilot interview, and after I felt confident in the transcriber's ability and attention to detail I left her to continue transcribing the interviews on her own. The written interviews were then saved in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet for ease of input and analysis. Upon completion of the transcription, I reviewed each transcript while listening to the audio interview and inserting time marks for each question and response. On occasion, I found it necessary to amend the transcription where there were typographical or transcription errors.

In order to ensure accuracy to the spoken words of the participants, I employed the practice of listening to the interviews along with the transcription to look for mistaken

words and typos. This allowed me to have increased proximity to the data while at the same time improving the accuracy of the transcription.

The data in transcribed interviews was stored in an excel spreadsheet in *hanzi,* or Chinese characters. A worksheet was dedicated to each participant in the study, and the transcription was laid out in columns with the researcher's question in column A and the participants' responses in column B. Column C was reserved for a time stamp representing where the question was located in the audio file of the recording. Upon completion of the transcription the researcher listened to the interview while reviewing the transcription to verify that the transcription was accurate and complete. This process involved several hours of careful listening and comparing the audio file to the written transcription for each interview. If necessary, the transcription was altered to eliminate typos or clarify meaning that may have been ambiguous to the transcriber.

Other 'good' transcription practices are encouraged by authors such as Reissman (1993), Bryman (2012 p.482), and Bashiruddin (2013), who are of the disposition that the way people say things is as important as what they say. They encourage transcribers to include in the transcription record non-verbal cues such as pauses, hesitations, speed changes and volume changes. I found this to be quite tedious work to ask the hired transcriber to do, so I didn't require her to do so. It would require quite a bit of training and rigor to establish how long of a pause should be recorded, how different should the spoken pace be before it is noted, what volume difference should be considered significant etc. As she was not present in the interview personally, she would not know any context that was not immediately available from the audio recording. In response to this problem, I myself added the non-verbal information to the script of the first interview notes after listening through to check the transcription. Having been in the interview myself, I could generally remember what pauses in the audio recording were present because of what stimulus. I found that mostly such pauses and changes of pace were for mundane reasons, such as the participant checking his cell phone, or losing a train of thought because he was rolling up his shirt-sleeve. In the end, I found that adding the non-verbal information left me with more questions than answers, and because the focus of this study was to learn information about the Kam-area education system and not to analyze the pace of speaking during interviews I decided to forego this tedious task in remaining interviews. Not only for the reason that the exercise is extremely detailed and time-consuming, but I also wanted to avoid adding information that could easily be misinterpreted by a reader to mean something untrue. For example, would an increase in

speaking speed mean that the participant is nervous, or that she is excited about the topic, or that she is in a hurry? These questions seem impossible for me as the researcher to answer within the scope of this study.

4.7.1.2 Translation

After reviewing and editing the transcription the interviews were translated into English. Before translation took place I needed to make two fundamental decisions. First, who would do the translation, and second, how should it be done?

In order to answer the first question I needed to evaluate factors such as cost, ability, and other intangible benefits. To hire a professional translator would be expensive, to do it myself would be extremely time consuming. Hiring a professional would allow me to use my time to focus on other tasks in the research process, however doing it myself would both save money and increase my proximity to the data that would hopefully aid later during the process of analysis. Because of the benefits of reduced financial outlay and increased contact with the data I wanted to do the translation myself, but this brought up the questions of time allocation and ability to translate well. Holmes et.al (2013) indicate that in some contexts translation of multilingual field data into the accepted language of the Academy can double the amount of effort on the part of the researcher. This seemed to be a reasonable estimate in the case of this research.

In the end I chose to allocate the time to do the translating of data myself. In addition to the beneficial reasons considered above, I felt that it would also eliminate several of the possible errors that can take place by having others who are not familiar with the subject matter or the context of the study translate the interviews. Also, because of the diffuse nature of the timeline of the data collection phase of the study data translation would need to take place over the course a period of many months. I wanted to eliminate the potential possibility of hiring someone who would not be able to complete all of the interviews due to their own time constraints, and then need to hire an additional translator, a condition that might compromise the reliability of the interview content. Another consideration was my sincere desire to represent the participants in as faithful a way as possible in order to give them a voice. I felt a profound dissatisfaction with not being able to conduct interviews in Kam, in order to give the participants the privilege of being heard in their own language. After all, one of the purposes of this project is transformative in nature, namely to give a voice to people who have been marginalized in

a system of power. I wanted to as faithfully as possible include the participants as 'co-participants in a common moral project' (Denizen 2010), namely to elucidate the reality of the ELT environment and give expression to the perceptions of the primary actors. I also felt dissatisfied with conducting the interviews in Chinese, as it is the second language of each participant and they likely feel some sort of restraint in expressing themselves. Additionally, translating their interviews into English runs the risk of minimizing their voice even more. Like Ganassin and Holmes (2013), I have a desire to "resist normative multilingualism – where the marginalized remain marginalized, voiceless, misrepresented and misunderstood" through the elimination of a true voice through translation into a language of power.

On the other hand, as readers of Kam are few, and Kam language publications nonexistent, I see representing Kam teachers in my research in English as giving a window of expression to those who are shuttered within a dominant system.

In terms of ability, although I have never had formal training in translation, my considerable practice with translating data in other research projects (Finifrock 2010; Finifrock and Schilken, 2015), preparing dual-language English teacher training curriculum in China, and having performed innumerable freelance translation tasks, gave me confidence in my decision to undertake the translation of the data. In addition, translation into one's native language is viewed as being easier than translation into a non-native language. Dickins (2002, p.2), Reiss (2000), Newmark (1981). So translating from Chinese to English, given my general command of written Chinese and access to quality dictionaries, seemed a reasonably attainable task.

The simple fact that the data was translated from Chinese to English brings up the issue of validity of the translation of source material. In other words, assuming the transposition of the data is accurate after thorough checking, the validity of the data is dependent upon the ability of the translator to bring the meaning from the source language into English.

In order to protect against the dilution of data in this study, the translated interview texts were submitted to colleagues of the researcher who were native Chinese speakers who had attained a high degree of fluency sufficient enough to complete Master Degree programs in English. The interviews were checked for accuracy of meaning and adjusted if necessary to a better, more accurate rendering in English. There was not a strict methodology employed in this process, simply that the readers were asked to read

through the interviews and suggest more appropriate renderings of the Chinese if appropriate.

I did indeed find that an advantage of translating the data was the degree to which I interacted with the interview data prior to analysis. After spending tens of hours translating each interview I developed a thorough understanding of the perspective of each participant, and wrestled with the best way to express those perspectives in English. Such a practice gave me greater familiarity with the data that aided the synthesis and analysis that was necessary during this study.

Although I felt confident with my abilities to translate from written Chinese to English, the process itself presented some difficulties. First, the tedium of the task and time involved was profound. Second, the differences in word order, grammar, and phrasing required me to be both focused and creative in order for me to be able to relay the most appropriate meaning. Third, some vague phrases used by the participant that could not be clarified by re-listening to the audio recording could be interpreted to mean two or more distinct things. In these cases, the meaning most fitting to the context and trajectory of the interview was used, resulting in a sort of interpretation of the data as opposed to a direct translation of exact wording. This phenomenon is in accordance with Temple and Young's above assertion that the translator cannot help but leaving his mark on the data (2004).

The idea of spoken words being static and immutable, containing only one possible translation, and one meaning only has been generally cast aside in favor of the notion that language, and translations of meaning are socially constructed by the end user, being influenced by their worldview, life experiences, linguistic capacity and understanding of socially accepted meanings of words as used in other contexts. This implies that the role of the translator in cross-language research is crucial to the construction of the end texts that will be analyzed in the attempt to find answers to research questions.

For the data in this study I opted to use a dynamic equivalence approach to translation as promoted by Eugene Nida (1984, p.13) instead of a more word for word formal equivalence translation. Because there are different structures and elements between Chinese and English that do not correlate on a 1:1 basis, a formal equivalence translation of the data from Chinese to English would be nearly impossible (Liu, 2012). In dynamic equivalence translation, Nida states that "anything that can be said in one language can certainly be said in another language…" (1984, p.13) by establishing equivalent points of reference in the receptor's culture. Dynamic equivalence, as defined by Nida, is to

reproduce "in the receptor language the closest natural equivalence of the source-language message…"(Nida and Taber, 1969, p. 12).

The key result of a dynamic equivalence translation is that the meaning is preserved, even if the exact form is different, or as Nida states in his own words, "the degree to which the receptors of the message in the receptor language respond to it in substantially the same manner as the receptors in the source language"(Nida and Taber, 1969, p. 68). In my efforts to translate the data from Chinese to English I was aiming to adequately capture the core meaning of the participants message in order for the reader of this thesis to respond to the statements in the same manner as a Chinese speaker would respond.

4.8   Sampling Approach

This study employed a form of purposive sampling to find participants who could inform the study. Bryman (2012) describes purposive sampling as having to do with 'the selection of units with direct reference to the research questions being asked' (Bryman, 2012, p. 416) In other words, selecting participants who are in a position to inform the researcher in regards to the research questions at hand. In this case, it was crucial to include participants who could give insight into the classroom practices and language-use attitudes present in English classrooms in the Kam speaking schools in Misty Mountain County.

Following from the research design and research questions, participants were selected who were 1) mother-tongue Kam speakers, 2) currently teaching English to Kam speaking students, 3) comfortable to be observed and share openly with me during interviews.

Conditions 1 and 2 ensured that participants are genuinely 'insiders' who had the positional vantage point that would provide the researcher with data that originated from within the desired research context. Condition 3 ensured that the data could be presented without fear of negative repercussions from school or community authorities, and that there was a comfortable atmosphere in which information could be shared without compromising the validity of the data.

The initially proposed sample of participants as shown in Table 4.2 consisted of 10 teachers in Misty Mountain county who were L1 Kam speakers, have attained a level of

L2 Chinese sufficient to attain *gongban* (national teacher certification) status and are active English (L3) teachers.

Table 4.2 Initially Proposed Participant Sample

Category	Characteristic	Participant no.									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Kam Language Ability	Kam MT Speaker	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Kam Literate High										
	Kam Literate Low	x	x				x				x
	Kam Not Literate			x	x	x		x	x	x	
Chinese Language Ability	Chinese Literate Average	x	x	x	x	x			x		
	Chinese Literate Advanced						x	x		x	x
English Language Ability	English Literate High	x				x	x	x		x	x
	English Literate Low		x	x	x				x		
	English Fluency High						x	x			x
	English Fluency Moderate	x						x	x	x	
	English Fluency Low		x	x	x						
Previous Education	9+ Teacher's Training		x	x	x			x	x		
	12+ Teacher's College	x				x				x	
	12+ University						x				x
Current Work Situation	Primary Teacher		x	x	x	x		x	x		
	Junior Secondary Teacher	x								x	x
	Senior Secondary Teacher						x				
	City school	x				x	x	x	x	x	x
	Countryside school		x	x	x						
Gender	Male	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	
	Female				x		x				x
Age	<35				x	x	x		x		x
	>35	x	x	x				x		x	

Of these initial 10 potential participants, some were eliminated from the study due to their own concern for safety, due to the parameters of their work environment changing, or due to being deemed by the researcher unfit for participation in this study. For example, upon further examination, the senior-secondary teacher who initially committed to the study informed the researcher that at the senior-secondary level students of multiple ethnicities were mixed together. In this situation, her Kam speaking students were in the minority of the students in her class. She did not make it a practice of identifying her Kam students and did not employ any unique methods to teach them. Although it was known to the researcher that her own unique 'education story' was interesting and could potentially provide rich data, the parameters of her work environment precluded her from the study. It should be noted, however, that this process of conversation with potential participants provided the researcher with additional

information that helped him understand the broader educational context and environment of this study. Specifically, that Kam-speaking students who reach the senior-secondary school in Misty Mountain are 'mainstreamed' into classrooms with Han majority students and use *putonghua* as the main language of instruction.

An additional participant who had initially committed to the study withdrew after having agreed to participate. His primary school had recently initiated a program in which they invited a group of college students from Hong Kong to their Kam-speaking village to provide an English camp. When the county police learned that there were outsiders in the village (without having been especially granted permission by the county government) they intervened during the first day of lessons and the village and school leaders were forced to write statements of self-criticism which were posted publicly in the village and in the county seat. The resulting embarrassment to the village school caused them to shy away from inviting visitors to the school, even ones like myself with written government permission , and he requested that I not include him in the study.

One benefit of the study's flexible design was the ability to include participants that originally were not known by the researcher, or whose relevance to the study only became apparent during the course of the study. One such participant entered into the study via a chance encounter on the street when the researcher was returning from sending his children to school. The participant, who is well known by the researcher, is a primary school headmaster in a Kam speaking school who had previously been the headmaster at a mixed-ethnicity middle school, and was thus overlooked when the research project was initiated. Because of the participant's unique vantage point, being positionally 'in the middle' between students, teachers, parents, and education officials, he was able to inform the study in a singular manner.
In the end, there were 8 participants in the study after having 'lost' three of the originally intended participants and adding an additional one during the course of the data collection phase.

An important factor to consider here is that these participants have both been educated within this system and are currently within it working as educators, so they were able to inform the study from the vantage point of the teacher while also taking into account the

perspective of the students they teach, and were able to provide data revealing their perceptions of the attitudes of other stakeholders such as parents and education officials.

The final sample size of 8 participants as shown in Table 4.3 was broad enough to give a sampling of the diversity among trilingual teachers involved in multilingual education in Misty Mountain county, yet narrow enough for me to manage the data collection process in a geographic region that is difficult and time consuming to access. Most of the participants teach in towns or villages that were accessible by road within three hours travel from the county seat where I was allowed to reside.

Table 4.3 Final sample data

	Primary	Junior Secondary	Village School	Township Central School
Male	4	2	1	5
Female	1	1	0	2
Total	8		8	

Potential participants were initially informed about the intent of the study and assessed for interest at a social gathering of teachers and trainers in the spring of 2013, at which the researcher was present. The potential participants who expressed willingness or desire to participate were then assessed for fitness for the study. Some potential participants were excluded on the basis of not presently teaching English, others were excluded because they were not teaching in a Kam-speaking school, or, in many cases, because their village school had completely removed English from the curriculum. Throughout the course of the study, it became evident that most of the English instruction in Misty Mountain county at the primary school level was limited to schools in the township schools, of which there are 25 in the entire county. Village schools by and large did not have English teachers, and in fact only one of the eight participants was allocated to a village school.

Interviews were conducted using a combined approach in which a conversational ethnographic interview was augmented by the use of an interview guide. As all participants are well known to the researcher and the researcher has been living in the

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research area for several years, the ethnographic aspect of the interview allowed the participant freedom to share life experiences, opinions, and insights into the subject matter in a free-flowing manner. The interview guide was used to assist the researcher to probe into and deepen responses of the participants who might need more structure or stimulation to speak to the research questions in focus.   As was expected, some participants responded more comprehensively than others. This combined approach allowed for the interviews to be relevant to each participant while allowing for more comprehensiveness of data across participants (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2011, p. 413).

Stringer (2007) argues that "All stakeholders – those whose lives are affected by the problem under study – should be engaged in the processes of investigation" (p. 11). In accordance with the social context in which this study takes place, participants were asked to inform the study not only about their first-hand perceptions, but also their second-hand perceptions of additional stakeholders. In this way, though limited, the trust-relationship built with the researcher will most plausibly allow the participants to provide more accurate data regarding the perceptions of students or parents than first hand interviews with those particular stakeholders would produce.

4.9   Access to Participants: Logistics and Ethical Considerations

Bryman (2012) suggests that gaining access to participants is an inherently political process that involves negotiation on behalf of the researcher, resulting in a sort of 'research bargain'. That is to say, the researcher might need to compromise some aspects of the 'ideal study' in order to appease 'gatekeepers' who may be concerned how they will be affected by the research process or portrayed in the research report (Bryman, 2012, p.151). This was certainly the case in the study at hand. In order to have access to the participants in this study the researcher needed to obtain the permission of several gatekeepers.

As a foreign national, the researcher first needed to obtain permission from the Chinese government to live and work in China. This permission was obtained via a relationship with Guizhou University and the Guizhou Southwest Minorities Research Institute. After contacting the research institute and submitting the research proposal and plan, the researcher was granted a contract with the GSMRI to conduct research in minority areas

in Guizhou Province. The university in turn applies to three government offices to procure permission for the researcher to enter the research field. Permission is obtained from the Provincial Education Bureau, the Provincial Minority Affairs Commission, and the Provincial Foreign Affairs Department. Upon approval from these three departments, the application is passed to the Provincial Foreign Expert Oversight Administration who act as the final gatekeeper at the provincial level for foreigners in China wanting to work or do research. After reviewing research applications and approving a 'foreign expert' to work or research in Guizhou province the application is then passed to the Public Security Bureau who issues a one-year work visa to the applicant. During the course of this study the researcher was granted two consecutive visas to conduct the research. All told, this application process requires nearly three months each year to run its course.

The Misty Mountain county government also has jurisdiction over the geographical area in which the research was conducted. At the county level, there are offices that correspond to the relevant offices at the provincial level, but which are under the authority of the county government and do not answer directly to the corresponding provincial office. The relevant offices to this research were the Misty Mountain County Public Security Bureau Border and Immigration Office, the Misty Mountain County Foreign Affairs Office, the Misty Mountain County Minority and Religious Affairs Office, and the Misty Mountain County Foreign Affairs Office. The researcher presented a letter of permission, or 批文 (*piwen)* [Appendix A] to each of these offices stating that he had been granted permission by the appropriate provincial level offices to conduct research in Misty Mountain County. In addition to the *piwen*, the researcher provided copies of his participant information sheet [Appendix E] and participant consent form [Appendix C], and parent/guardian consent form [Appendix D] to the Misty Mountain County Public Security Bureau and the Misty Mountain County Education Bureau. In ordinary circumstances, a foreign researcher would then be escorted by members of the Misty Mountain County Public Security Bureau and the Misty Mountain County Education Bureau to the school sites at which the research would be conducted. The Education Bureau would choose the schools and classrooms that would be available for observation. In this study, because of the researcher's familiarity with government and school officials in Misty Mountain County developed over many years, he was allowed to travel by himself to the research sites and was not required to inform the education

bureau of the names and locations of specific research participants or research sites. The researcher was required, though, to inform the Misty Mountain County Public Security Bureau each time he traveled out of Misty Mountain town to conduct research in the countryside schools. This requirement had less to do with the research itself and more to do with issues of responsibility for the safety and whereabouts of foreign nationals in politically sensitive regions of China.

The School, as the representative of the state and family, is the final gatekeeper responsible for allowing access to the teachers and classrooms involved in the study. Contact with the school and the school's headmaster were made through the participants themselves. On one occasion, well into the data collection process, a headmaster contacted the Misty Mountain Education Bureau to verify that the researcher was permitted to observe classes and interview the participant teacher, but normally the headmaster would simply allow the participant teacher to be involved in the research without further questions.

Although minors were not directly participants in this study, they were of course present in the school setting, and involved in classes that were observed by the researcher. In the interest of meeting the ethical requirements of western research standards and Bangor University ethics regulations I requested that the participants obtain consent from the parents' of students who would be present during any class period that would be observed by the researcher. This request was met with unanimous incredulity among the participants for a number of reasons. First, in Chinese society the children are seen as being under the authority of the state, of which the school is the representative in the village. Children are required by law to attend school and there is no alternative for families to pursue any alternate form of education. Kam village parents, who view themselves as having little to offer their children in terms of education, trust the schools implicitly with activities that take place within the school setting. Therefore there is no prior practice of obtaining parental consent for any activity that takes place under the school's authority. Second, many of the parents of the schoolchildren in the villages where the study was conducted do not live in the village, or even the same province as the children. As reported by the participant teachers regarding their current classes during the time of the study, between 20 and 45 percent of the students related to the study had parents who lived in other locations (most commonly in other provinces) for employment

reasons. This phenomenon, called '*dagong*' in Chinese, is rampant among minority peoples who live in economically underdeveloped areas in China such as Misty Mountain County (Finifrock and Schilken, 2015; EFA Guizhou, 2006, p.95). The children remaining in their hometown often live with a grandparent or other relative, and it is not uncommon for children as young as 10 years old to be left alone in the village to tend to themselves while their parents are away working.

4.10 Research Procedures

4.10.1 Review of policy documents

This research focusing on English language education in minority language areas of China and the current practices on the ground directly relates to policy emanating from Beijing that is being promulgated at lower levels of the education system. Therefore the analysis of national policies and any local permutations of that policy were a natural starting point for understanding the *status quo* of English language instruction at the school level. The People's Republic of China's Ministry of Education website and the Guizhou Province Department of Education website were sources of a great number of policy documents that influence the implementation of education practices at the provincial levels. The Guizhou province Education Bureau provided two documents to be analyzed, namely, 2012 小学英语新课程标准, (The 2012 New English Curriculum Standards for Primary Schools) which is a National Education Bureau Document and the Guizhou Education Handbook, which is a Provincial Planning Report. The former document is an introduction to a new approach for delivering the New, as of 2012, English curriculum. The latter is a planning document, explicating education programs that were to be implemented in the province in the coming year.

In addition, the Misty Mountain County Education bureau, whose official responsible for English instruction in the county did not have the documents from the national or provincial level, only had one document available for analysis, a proposed timetable for English education for each grade-level. At the school level, English-language instructional policies were conspicuously absent at each school, leaving the textbook to serve as the only guide for instruction and curriculum.

A non-government sourced document, which I was given by an official in the GZDoE was the 2005 Unesco sponsored EFA Provincial Monitoring Report for Guizhou Province. This document was an indispensable resource for understanding broad educational goals and conditions within schools of the province, and though English

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language education is not specifically mentioned in the report, provided information pertinent to issues involved in this study.

Policy documents were read with the aim of understanding the purpose of English language instruction in minority areas, and specifically with the intent of understanding prescribed methodology or approaches for English language instruction in minority language areas.

4.10.2 Interviews and observations

4.10.2.1 Pilot interview

The research questions and sub-questions that were formulated to guide the research were foundational in developing questions for the ethnographic interviews that were the backbone of the research. Ethnographic interviews are characteristically free in form (Denzin 1970; Silverman 2006, p.117; Cohen et.al 2009, p.236; Bryman, 2012 p.473), and as a benefit lack rigid structure. The purpose of using such an interview format was to allow the research to follow the path that the participant was taking and to understand the research questions from the participants' points of view. However, because the research questions themselves are quite specific and deal with a narrow aspect of the participant's life and teaching experience, it was necessary to use an interview guide to help guide and prompt the interview into areas that were relevant to the study (Cohen et.al 2009). The interview guide and interview techniques were piloted in May, 2013. The piloting process included using the guide in an on-site recorded interview and reviewing the audio interview with the assistance of a balanced Chinese-English speaker. The interview was examined for areas of misunderstanding on behalf of the participant, for prompts that were unnatural in Chinese, and questioning techniques that were too narrow for procuring rich data. The interview guide questions were then altered to become more natural in Chinese and more helpful in generating useful responses to the research questions.

4.10.2.2 Scheduling

The process of scheduling interviews and observations was initiated when I hosted the aforementioned dinner for my former students in March of 2013, at which I presented the opportunity for them to participate in the study. Interested participants were then contacted individually via phone or WeChat (a mobile-phone-based social media platform) to set up appropriate times for me to visit their school site. The participants in

turn informed their headmasters, and if they received clearance suggested appropriate dates and times for me to visit the school for the purpose of interviewing and observation.

For the sake of being efficient in the use of my time, and to minimize any disruption to the participants' schedules and routine, every attempt was made to conduct the interviews and observations on the same day at a particular site. Generally speaking, participants were reluctant to schedule visits during the first and last month of each semester. The first month is usually dedicated to establishing routine in the classroom and the participant teachers expressed a desire to have time to become familiar with their students and class dynamics prior to being observed. The last few weeks of each semester is dedicated to content review and preparation for the formal testing that is used to evaluate students, teachers, and schools. Thus, most interviews and observations were conducted in the months of October, November, April, and May when the participants felt comfortable to host me.

4.10.2.3 Preparation

After deciding on dates and times for interviews and observations I would make preparations to go to the school site for the data collection visit. The first step was to inform the police (PSB) of the intended village visit via phone call or text message. Often the visit required that the researcher reside in the village for an evening or more, in which case the police would need to file a written report of the visit. If the village was close in proximity to the city where I resided, the visit could take place within a single school day. Many data collection visits included a time period in which I presented a model English lesson for the students of the participant teacher. So, if the participant requested such a lesson I would usually obtain a textbook several days in advance and prepare a lesson that included elements from the standard text as well as more communicative and interactive elements aimed at the appropriate age level of the students. To ensure that each visit would go smoothly, I prepared a 'Site Visitation Checklist' document (Appendix I) that was helpful in remembering all the documents and tools necessary to conduct research.

4.10.2.4 Site Visit

During each visit I took field notes whenever possible, being careful not to make the participant teacher feel uncomfortable or anxious. Usually, these field notes were taken during meals and informal chats with the participant teacher and their colleagues, as well

as during the classroom observation and interview sessions. I also took field notes using the audio recording software on my smartphone. These audio notes were reviewed and transcribed upon returning from the field visit so as to keep any salient memories fresh and unmuted by time.

4.10.2.5 Processing
After each field visit I would review the field notes, transcribe the audio notes, and write a summary report of the research visit. Every effort was made to dedicate the days following a visit to writing a thorough review of the visit and to list any salient impressions or themes that emerged during the visit. The general practice employed was to complete the transcription of field notes, write the visit summary report, input participant data into the participant database, and begin transcription of the interview immediately following the visit, before the conversations and impressions began to fade. Because I was also working full time during the data collection phase, it was necessary to schedule interviews several weeks apart to ensure ample time to complete the visit summary process for each visit before moving on to the next participant.

4.11 Data Management
Care was taken during this study to ensure that the data was collected in a manner so as to preserve, as well as possible, the integrity of the constituent sounds and images in the hope that data analysis would then prove to be more efficient and reliable. This involved the use of several different types of hardware, software, and purposeful procedures. Audio recording was conducted using a digital audio recorder mounted on a mini-tripod so as to reduce ambient noise produced by the participant or researcher's body coming into contact with the supporting table. The audio files were in MP3 format that were transferred directly to a laptop computer via USB cable.

Video recordings of class sessions were recorded using a digital camera mounted on a tripod. Videos were recorded in on a card that could be inserted into a laptop computer for convenient and safe file transfer. Videos were limited to 23 minutes of consecutive run-time, making it necessary to restart recording midway through observation periods.

Electronic data files were backed up, password protected, and stored in three locations for security purposes. In addition to the researchers laptop computer, files were copied to an external hard drive and to a remote folder at www.dropbox.com. In this manner, if one

copy was lost or damaged, the researcher would always have access to the raw data in the backup locations. In addition to these safety measures, the researcher also made weekly backups of all files on his laptop computer to an external hard drive.

4.12 Summary

In this chapter I have given a detailed account of, and rationale for the methodology used in this study. The methods used in this study, such as the ethnographic and multi-case study approaches, researching multilingually, participant observation, purposive sampling, and data management and analysis procedures were selected for their fitness of purpose for use in finding answers to the research questions in the study. They were selected as methods with an aim to procure rich and meaningful data in the most efficient and useful way possible given the parameters of the context of the study. I now turn away from the explanation of the methodology to the data itself and its analysis.

5   Chapter 5: Data Analysis

5.1   Introduction

The focus of this study, namely, reporting on the *status quo* of language use practice and language use attitudes among Kam-as-first-language English teachers in Misty Mountain County, Guizhou, China, served as a general guide while analyzing the data. Essentially, I was looking for themes of agreement emerging from the data between the participants in relation to the research questions set forth above. Is there agreement among the participants regarding the vitality and usefulness of the Kam language? Which languages are used in the classroom? Is there consistency in practice? Is there purposeful approach that is in line with government policy and stakeholder desires? If so, what are the core concepts, or framework of that agreement? If not, what are the factors underlying the differences? Are they related to differences in demographics, or instructional level, or the participants' life experiences? It was with these questions in mind that I began to analyze the data generated in the study.

The two primary sources of data, namely, ethnographic interviews and classroom observation, produced different data sets that were analyzed in an effort to find answers to the research questions. In addition to these main sources of data, this study also includes demographic data, informal interviews, field notes, and official policy documents.

Data was collected from 7 different school sites in 6 different communities within Misty Mountain County. At most school-sites, I was able to both interview the participant teacher and also observe the participant teach a class. In addition to the ethnographic interviews, informal interviews were conducted around meals or over tea in the village with the participant and his or her colleagues.

Data from these interviews and field notes were analyzed using content analysis. These data records were read exhaustively and coded for themes (called Nodes) using Nvivo 10 software as a mechanism for sorting and organizing the data. The themes were initially based upon the framework provided by the research questions; however, various other themes emerged during the coding process that were not part of the original focus of the study. After the broad themes were coded, the data was once again analyzed and coded

with attention to finer detail in order to better understand comparative or contrastive elements within the broad themes.

Observation data was handled in a different manner. Each observation was transcribed and evaluated using a coding matrix based upon the elements within the lesson as outlined in chapter 3. These data were evaluated with an eye to practice, to be compared, or triangulated, with the self-revelation of the attitudes and stated practices of the participant teachers.

5.1.1　Layout of data in this chapter

In the following sections I lay out the data from both the qualitative data from the ethnographic interviews and the quantitative data from the classroom observations. In the qualitative section (5.3) below, which focuses more on participant attitudes I give an overview of the attitudes that participants expressed in their interviews and then support the overview with select quotations from pertinent interviews. In some sections, such as the language vitality section, I include statements from each and every participant to show the unanimity of perspective, while in other sections I produce statements from a select few participants that are able to concisely or poignantly encapsulate the general feeling among participants. I purpose to, as much as possible, let the participants speak for themselves in this section. Because I used ethnographic interviews with a conversational format and not semi-structured or structured interviews the data from one participant varied in content from others. In addition, I did not always ask the same question in the same manner in each interview. Thus, I believe that laying out the data in this manner gives voice to the participant and provides expanded context for their data. These sections are followed by a simple one-line table, where applicable, that gives a type of quantitative summary of the attitudes of the qualitative interview data. These tables are then combined in to one large table in the final section of 5.3. In section 5.4 I lay out the participant data, some of which is reflected in table 5.1 in prose form using a case- by-case approach, and give an overview of the lesson that I observed when visiting each participant in their school setting. I then lay out in table form the quantitative data from each lesson that I observed, recorded, coded and analyzed. This is followed by an overall assessment of the data in chart form.

5.2   Participant Data

For the sake of simplicity in understanding the data present in this study, as discussed in Chapter 3, I have called each individual participant a 'case' and the study a 'multiple case study'. Each participant was involved with a school setting that had similarities to other schools, yet carried with it individual distinctions that varied from village to village, town to town, and participant to participant. The data from each participant were collected and organized in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Participant Data

Participant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Gender	M	M	M	F	M	M	F	M
Age	37	32	36	37	29	38	27	49
Years Teaching	17	11	13	17	6	17	5	27
Education	TC	TC	BA	TC	TC	BA	BA	BA
Instructional Level	P (4)	JS (8)	JS (9)	P (3/4)	P (5)	P (6)	JS (9)	P (H)
Main Instructional Subject	Chinese English Computer	English	English	English	English	English	English	Chinese
Language Ability Self-assessment								
Oral Kam	High	High	High	Mid+	Mid +	Mid+	High	High
Written Kam	High	Mid	None	None	None	Low	None	Mid
Oral Chinese	High	Mid	High	Mid+	High	High	High	High
Written Chinese	High	Mid	High	High	Mid +	High	Mid	High
Oral English	Mid-low	Mid	High	High	Mid -	High	High	None
Written English	Mid	Mid	High	Mid	Mid	High	Mid	Low
Community and School Information								
Setting	Village	Town	Town	Town	Town	Town	Town	Town
Community Population Estimate	950	4800	3500	4200	2200	2200	2500	4800

Community Ethnic Distribution	K 100	K 90 H 9 M 1	H 65 K 35	K 60 H 40	K 97 M 2 H 1	K 97 M 2 H 1	K 40 M 40 Y 10	K 90 H 9 M 1
EGID rating	5	4	6a	6a	5	5	6a	4
School Enrollment	250	523	1009	409	502	502	450	467
Class size	34	52	67	25	49	54	45-55	n/a
Dagong %	45%	27%	30%	38%	24%	22%	21%	n/a

The table above contains personal and demographic data as given by the participants on the day of their first interview.

The education level of the participants was either TC, which stands for Teacher's College, or BA, which is a Bachelor's of Arts degree from a 4-year university. A Teacher's College is a 3-year program for students who have finished 9 years of compulsory education, in other words, graduates of Junior Secondary School. To enter a BA program one must have first completed 9 years of compulsory education, plus three years of Senior Secondary School.

Instructional level is the grade level that the participant was currently teaching at the time of the first interview; P = Primary, JS = Junior Secondary; The numerical code i.e. (4) represents the participants' main grade level at the time of the study. (H) = school headmaster.

Participants were asked to judge their own levels of language proficiency, in relation to other teachers at their school on a scale of None, Low, Mid, High.

Ethnic distribution of the community; H= Han, K = Kam, M = Miao, Y= Yao.

For an explanation of the EGID rating, please refer below to section 5.2.1.

Dagong % is the self-reported number of students in the observed class who had at least one parent living away from home for employment purposes. See section 4.9 for more on this phenomenon.

Shading in the table above indicates that participants 2 and 8 are from the same community; participant 2 from the junior secondary school and participant 8 from the primary school. Participants 5 and 6 are from the same school.

5.2.1 Language vitality

Language vitality is a measurement of the health of a language in terms of its use in different domains of culture within a society. There are several accepted measures of language vitality that stem from differing frameworks (Fishman 1991; Lewis and Simons, 2010; UNESCO 2009). For this study I relied on an initial assessment taken from Finifrock and Schilken (2015) that relied on the EGID scale (Lewis and Simons, 2010) (See table 5.2). The communities in the study were all considered to have a safe level of Kam, meaning that they are not in danger of becoming extinct in the current generation (Finifrock and Schilken, 2015). The Kam language in Misty Mountain county falls within the less vital section of the safe category of languages. Within this study, there are instances of communities with EGIDS level 4, 5, and 6a. Communities categorized as 6a are communities in which the language is still being orally transmitted to children but there is no literacy. Communities in level 5 are one level more vital because they have some usage of written-Kam in addition to the vital oral transmission of Kam to children. Communities in level 4 use the written Kam in education to some degree (Kam writing classes), though currently, written Kam is not used as a medium of instruction for academic content in any school in Misty Mountain county.

Generally speaking, Kam as a language should only be categorized as level 5 and higher because there is a written script that has been in use to varying degrees since the 1950s, but because many communities have not been exposed to written Kam and they have no Kam-literate members, they function instead as EGIDS level 6a communities.

Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (adapted from Fishman 1991)[*]			
LEVEL	LABEL	DESCRIPTION	UNESCO
0	International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level.	Safe
2	Regional	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.	Safe
3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	Safe
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	Safe
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

From Lewis and Simons (2010, p. 28)

5.3 Participant Perspectives

In Chapter 2 of this thesis I outlined some of the major trends and factors that influence education in the setting in which this study takes place. With those in mind, I now turn to the issue of the situation on the ground as it exists at the time of this study and the data generated by means of ethnographic interviews with the participants. A current measurement of Kam language vitality as expressed by the participants seats the investigation in the reported reality of the language values of the broader Kam society. I then turn to the attitudes towards language use in the classroom as expressed by the participants themselves, and also their perceptions of other stakeholder attitudes in the educational system. Lastly, I look at the current classroom language use practice as reported by the participants.

5.3.1.1 Participant perspectives on language vitality

The relevant extracts from the interviews are recorded below. In each instance, the important aspects of the theme "Language vitality" have been emphasized in bold. The basic question asked was: "What language do the students usually speak when they are in class?" The answers below were extracted from various parts of the interview transcripts:

> Participant 1: *"Mostly they would **choose themselves to speak Kam,** and **with the teacher they also will speak Kam, same as when they are out of class,** But* younger students use Kam more**, and in class will use Mandarin more."*
>
> Participant 2: *"**They chiefly use Kam,** because usually they are all from the same village, they all speak the same variety of language, so they aren't afraid that it will be inconvenient to communicate with each other; they all speak the same kind of language."* …*"The majority is the same, **they can use it for all conversation,** they can all arrive at their point in the conversation."… "Yes, **they always use Kam at home. From birth, children can speak Kam,** it is formed naturally, usually it is also trained."*
>
> Participant 3: *"Usually they won't ask [in Kam]. [Also,] If a student uses Chinese, he will feel embarrassed to talk so he won't say anything. **Outside of class there are many who usually speak Kam, just now when we were coming by they were all speaking Kam.** "*
>
> Participant 4: *"There are some that use it, there **is a portion of students that use Kam to converse with each other**." … "Especially the students who have been transplanted from the surrounding villages, **when they are playing they use Kam to converse."***
>
> Participant 5: *"When I see the [fifth grade] students out of class**, I use Kam to speak to them, and they use Kam to respond."***
>
> Participant 6: *"... **when they speak with each other they use Kam,** but perhaps occasionally they use Putonghua."*

Participant 7: *"In terms of the ability levels of students when they come here, they are most proficient in Kam, **they can all converse in Kam**. They all use Kam and Chinese. When I ask them if they understand the meaning of the Kam songs they sing, they say they don't understand. **But, their spoken Kam is as good as mine**. They don't understand the song lyrics, but they understand the rest, **they can talk about everything [in Kam]**.*

Participant 8: *"Yes, for the most part. Han students are few. Probably more than 95% of the students here are Kam. Mother tongue Kam, **not only can they speak it, it is their mother language, that's how we should speak about it."***

Table 5.3 Language vitality responses

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Is the Kam Language Vital in the Students at Your School?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, in most	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

As seen in table 5.3 all participants in this study corroborated that Kam language remains vital in the students that they teach. In fact, Participant 5 stated that "*When kids come here they are only able to understand a little of what the teacher says in Mandarin."* Even though the communities represented vary in their degree of Kam usage, it is clear that the language remains vital across the scope of this study. This, of course, means that it continues to be passed down within the home in the students' villages of origin. Students at all age levels seem to use Kam to converse with one another unless they are required to use Chinese or English in the classroom setting.

Even in Kam area towns where the majority population is Han, Kam is still vital, even to the point that Han children are able to understand some spoken Kam, as shown in table 5.4. In communities where Kam are the majority, the Han students are influenced to engage in Kam as shown in the extracts below:

Participant 4: *"They [Han students] can understand a bit of Kam, but they can't speak it."*

Participant 5:*"My parents spoke the local Kam dialect**, even though [my father was] Han ethnicity, because they had been here for a long time they always spoke Kam**."*

Participant 8: *"For the most part, **Han students who come here with Kam students use Kam language to communicate without too much problem**. But there are one or two who can't communicate."*

Table 5.4 Kam influence on Han speakers responses

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Is the Kam Language Vital enough to influence Han Speakers?	N/A	Yes	Somewhat	Somewhat	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

There is some evidence that the increase of Chinese language pressure is starting to influence some individuals within the communities in the study, particularly through intermarriage, and that transmission of Kam is not so important to some young parents.

> Participant 5,*"I don't speak Kam with my own child, I speak the local dialect of Chinese, Misty Mountainhua. **My wife is from Misty Mountain so we speak Misty Mountainhua, with my child I don't speak Kam**.*
> *When my child was first born, I didn't think about what language to teach him. I just was concerned about loving him dearly, humoring him, and say little things to him, I wasn't concerned about teaching him anything."*

Thus, even though Kam language remains vital, there are some signs of it shifting in recent years. Some participants, even in the more Kam-language-vital towns and villages, have observed that their Kam-speaking students are less proficient in their mother tongue, being influenced by Chinese television and education in ways that were not evident twenty years ago. This was clearly expressed by Participant 1, who suggested that the language environment is changing in his village as follows:

> "*Yes, now it is different, it has changed." ... "Yes, there is an influence." ... "just that towards our own ethnic language they are grasping less and less, they are unable to articulate many things, can't remember many nouns, don't know how to speak well in Kam, like that day I presented a poem, within was a 'suoyi'* [chinese word suoyi, meaning a cape made of rushes to protect from rain] *they didn't know. I said 'siip' using Kam we call it 'siip', our old people still know what it is, now there isn't this type of 'suoyi', now there is only a raincoat. **So having received such a barrage from Han Chinese culture, minority language has become increasingly bland, it is also gradually disappearing, it's a real pity**."*

Language use attitudes are simply the attitudes or viewpoints of the participants regarding the three languages used in the education system in Misty Mountain County. When queried about Kam, Chinese, and English the participants in the study expressed their attitudes and ideas. The attitudes reflect what the participants believe about how each language should be handled in the education system.

Some quite readily demonstrated that language use is an issue that they have considered deeply, while others needed to be drawn out before being able to articulate their thoughts about the subject. As I looked at the data pertaining to language use attitudes, I noticed that there were not many overt statements from the participants that directly revealed what their attitudes are. Rather, when I asked questions or probed about attitudes the answers I received were often more statements of practice, with rationale, or subtle references towards attitudes embedded within. As a result, in the sections below the statements of the participants that reveal their attitudes are often included in the context of their statements about their practice. I felt that it was important to keep these statements as intact as possible to accurately portray the breadth and the complexity of the situation.

5.3.2.1   *Participant attitudes towards the Kam language*
As Kam is the mother-tongue of each of the participants and also the mother tongue of the vast majority of their students, much of the focus of the interviews was on Kam and its role in education. I wanted to understand how the participants thought the Kam language should be used in their education system. In order to understand the present-day usage of Kam I first wanted to understand the language environment that the participants had come from.

5.3.2.1.1 Participants' childhood exposure to Kam in education

5.3.2.1.1.1 *Oral Kam*
Participants were asked to reflect on their own early childhood education to be able to seat the present day situation in relationship to historical attitudes and practice. The responses are shown below with statements relevant to the oral use of the Kam language in bold:

Participant 1: "***In first grade my uncle was my teacher*** *(today he went to Gaojin to visit friends).* *He still teaches at this school.* ***He was my first and third grade teacher****. Second grade was Mr.* *Yang, the guy you just met. Fourth grade, that teacher has retired, and fifth grade was a teacher* *from another place. From fourth grade, having teachers from other places, we were taught in* *Mandarin Chinese.* ***Third grade and earlier was primarily Kam****.*"

Participant 2: "***It was probably that before first grade I relied on Kam, the teachers used two*** ***languages a lot****. Yes, texts were all in Chinese. He would ask about a sentence in Hanzi then say it* *in Kam. We needed to write Hanzi,* ***it was only relying on the teacher to interpret that we studied****.* "

Participant 3: "*In primary school,* ***the teacher didn't use Chinese to teach us, he only used Kam.*** *It was only oral, not written, but what we wrote was Chinese characters. We spoke Kam. We* *learned in this way.*"

Participant 4: "*The local teachers could all speak it [Kam]. They used both Kam and Chinese, to* *explain a few things they would use Kam to explain****, if there were a few words that you didn't*** ***know the meaning the teacher would then use Kam to help explain it to us****.*"

Researcher: "What language did your teachers use to teach other subjects, like Math?" … "*For* *math we used Chinese, but* ***when we didn't understand they would use Kam to explain, it was all*** ***that way.***" … "*it was all* ***oral****, we never saw the writing.*"

As shown in table 5.5, the participants revealed that most of their early education took place using oral Kam, or a combination of oral Kam and spoken Chinese, with literacy almost exclusively in written-Chinese. This type of teaching where utterances are first spoken in Chinese and then translated impromptu into Kam is what is commonly referred to as '双语教学' [= bilingual education] in Misty Mountain county.

Table 5.5 Participant's response to language of education question

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Were you educated in Kam as a child?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

5.3.2.1.1.2 Written Kam

In the 1980s the Misty Mountain education bureau instituted written-Kam instruction in all of the primary schools in two different townships within Misty Mountain County. In the mid-1990s, the Guizhou Provincial *jiaoyuting,* against the wishes of the Guizhou Provincial *minwei,* stopped funding the production of the primer texts and promoting their use, thus the programs were mostly halted, with only two remaining vestiges visible

among the Kam today. Confidential sources within the Guizhou *minwei* have stated that the evidence was clear that the students who studied their own language were more motivated and more enthusiastic about school, leading to better performance; however, the decision to defund the programs and to revert to Mandarin only education was one based not on scientific research, but political inclinations (Personal Conversation with Government Official, Field Notes, December 08, 2012). Written Kam has continued to be taught in one township in some capacity in the township primary school, and even recently in the township junior secondary school.

Only one of the participants in this study had the opportunity to study written Kam in the program during their childhood, though others picked some up on their own because of its similarity to *Hanyu Pinyin,* the phonetic script for writing Chinese, (see table 5.6 below). As explained in Chapter 2, this program was designed to teach students the written form of Kam, but not to teach academic content through the medium of written Kam.

Participant 1 revealed his participation in this program during his ethnographic interview, he states:

> "*Well, at first when I was here [at the village school] my uncle taught us the Kam language, (I was pretty good at Kam studies)*" … "**Yes, when I was in 3rd grade I studied [written] Kam, my uncle taught it.**" … "*we **didn't study [written] Kam** [in first and second grade], at that time there wasn't Kam instruction [in those grades], in the 80s.*"

Upon further questioning, Participant 1 stated that he felt that this exposure to written Kam benefitted his study of English later in his educational career. Because Kam script and the English script are similar in form and share many sounds, once a student learns Kam the perceived barriers to learning the English script are reduced. He stated:

> "*[It was a benefit] because, first off, both Kam and English use English symbols [roman alphabet], both use letters to write, this is a common point. Especially having to do with writing. **When I first started to study English, there were some words I wasn't able to read, but I could just use Kam to write them.** Furthermore reading them aloud is the same. But if I were to use Chinese to write them, when reading aloud the sounds are not correct.* "

Table 5.6 Participants' written Kam exposure

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Did you learn to read Kam as a child?	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No

5.3.2.1.1.3 Participants' current attitudes toward Kam

During the ethnographic interviews I asked the participants questions designed to draw out their attitudes towards the languages they use in the school setting. Some of the responses are reflected below, with statements focused on written Kam in bold script:

> Participant 1: *I am particularly interested in Kam culture, like song lyrics for example, proverbs etc., so when I was young I really looked for these kind of books, I went to the older generation myself to find these books to read, had them use Chinese characters to* **write [Kam] song lyrics**, *and would* **write them down in Kam**. *I also liked to go collect songs to listen to. Now I have taken them all and uploaded them on the web, it is very good material.*"
>
> Participant 3:"…, *there isn't [a Kam language primary school].* **There almost aren't any, No, now even we cannot write [Kam]**"
>
> Participant 7: *"All our minority language is taught to us by our parents,* **we can only speak, not write**...*it's that way.* " ... : *"I for sure care that my child can speak Kam, then writing and studying knowledge he can use Chinese, teach him Chinese, but* **for sure he should know how to speak Kam. But not to be able to write it**, *I even don't know how to write it, but I want him to speak it."* … *"I think if he [my child] could write Kam it wouldn't be bad,* **for sure it would be useful**, *but now the language we use in most of our country is Putonghua, but if you can write another language you can't go wrong.* **Knowing how to write your own minority language is even better."**

Table 5.7 Written Kam at participants' schools

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Is Written Kam Part of the Curriculum at Your School?	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes

From these comments, shown visually in table 5.7, it is clear that most participants do not know how to read and write in Kam, and are not aware of it being taught in the schools. For these participants, it is seen as being an oral language only, and is not currently

valued as a written language. Some see value in learning Kam for the sake of learning something additional, but do not see learning Kam as necessary component of life.

5.3.2.1.1.4 Participant attitudes toward Kam in today's classroom

During the ethnographic interviews, participants were asked to discuss their thoughts about the use of Kam in the modern classroom. Some of their responses are reflected below, with relevant statements in bold.

> Participant 1: "*But later I felt that using Kam is also very good, in older years the students can use Mandarin, **younger students should still be able to use Kam**.*"
>
> Participant 2: "*Here we develop this [Kam language] aspect, **I also think it is important**.*"
>
> Participant 5: "*When in the classroom **I permit the students to have conversations in Kam**, I wouldn't prevent them from doing so, because **we are attempting to use a Kam-Mandarin bilingual method**.*" … "*In my view, adding an additional skill is like adding an additional road, so, **studying written Kam is also very convenient**, **If I am a Kam person but don't know how to read it myself I feel like it doesn't look so good**.*"

As seen by these comments, reflected in table 5.8, participants in general see some value in using Kam in the classroom. Some participants simply expressed that they thought using Kam was good, seemingly reluctant to elaborate, while others were able to elaborate and express their thoughts as to why. They see value in three primary areas: a) ease of use; b) preservation of cultural heritage; and c) increasing mental abilities. However, in lockstep, they fell short of endorsing Kam as the primary language of instruction because of the requirement to teach Chinese. They express that d) teaching Kam may hinder the students in their Chinese studies, and that e) speaking Kam in the classroom seems unnatural. Even those most involved with schools that teach the Kam language saw obstacles in the system that would prevent Kam being used as the primary language of instruction.

Table 5.8 Participants' views on Kam as language of education

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Should Kam be used to educate students at your school?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	No	Yes

In answer to the question: "What do you think the impact would be if you used Kam language to teach the children at this school?" the participants' responses were:

> Participant 1: "***I think it would be a good impact****. "I think it [teaching in Kam] saves time, I think, **because students all understand Kam**, but for the purpose of increasing Chinese levels there is no choice but to speak Chinese, **actually speaking one's own mother tongue helps with comprehension, also accelerates comprehension**."*
>
> Participant 3: *"A small minority of students, when conversing with the teacher, those who don't know Chinese, **the teacher can use Kam**, usually it is like that. At school, for example if I am teaching and using Chinese and I am conversing with this student but he doesn't understand what I am saying, he's a minority student, he is from a different place, **I can use a little Kam to converse with him to help him understand my meaning**. "*
>
> Participant 6: *"I personally think that if students could speak Kam in class, they could really master a language, their thinking ability would be greater, **their ability to express, so their thinking and expressions would be different than now, so I think** it would positively affect the ability for their brains to be stimulated, actually it would certainly benefit."*

In answer to a probing question: "The content in the text books, help me understand, apart from English, so let's say math, history, science, morals, art, etc, what percentage of those could you use Kam to teach?" Participant 1 replied:

> *"Almost all, you could say it is 100%, **and everyone could use their mother tongue to figure it out**, but sometimes for the sake of the standard answer, they just mechanically memorize Chinese."*

Because Kam is the mother tongue of many of the students in the participants' classes, they feel that it is useful to use Kam to communicate with them in some circumstances. Kam can be most easily understood by their students, even into junior secondary years, and students are most able to express themselves in Kam. Additionally, Kam shares many sounds with English and has many words that are pronounced the same as English words. Teachers frequently point out these words to their students.

Participants' attitudes towards the ease of use of the Kam language for their Kam students is reflected below in table 5.9.

Table 5.9 Participant attitudes related to Kam language ease of use

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Is it Easiest for Students to Learn Content Through the Medium of Kam?	Yes	Yes	Yes	For some	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

5.3.2.1.1.4.2 Preservation of cultural heritage

Some participants felt that studying Kam in the classroom could possibly help Kam people to retain their culture. For example, participant 8 has thought deeply about this subject:

> Participant 8: *"…We hope that it will pass on some of the minority culture traditions. If there isn't a way to write it is extremely inconvenient. If we rely on just passing it on orally, there is a lot of culture that will be lost forever. We know that in China everything is modernizing, and Kam cultural things are continuously vanishing. **If we use Kam to teach children, I hope that later there will be a few students who can use Kam writing to record things for preservation or research**. Like if we preserve a few Kam songs, we can use Chinese characters to write them, but if that person isn't there, others can use Kam to write them down. A few years ago we had a 90-year-old song master who was close to dying, we got a voice recorder and recorded all his songs, because we rarely use Chinese characters to record songs, so we recorded these songs, **later these will be cultural treasures. Those things are invaluable**."*

Participants felt that studying Kam in the classroom could possibly help to retain their culture. The main component of cultural preservation has to do with singing and the ability to record songs using the Kam script as noted in Finifrock and Schilken (2015).

5.3.2.1.1.4.3 Increasing mental abilities

When asked to elucidate the possible results of using Kam in the classroom, some participants indicated that it might be stimulating to the students mental development as seen in bold in the responses below:

> Participant 6: *"There are advantages to studying Kam, it's just that you can't really observe them, but, speaking from my own individual thinking, **there is a certain usefulness, it can impel people to be more enlivened, their information more robust**, like that. If you only master one language, my opinion is that it isn't so good. If you can master one more language, your ability to express*

yourself is rather flexible. You know that in this language you express it this way, in that language you express it that way. It spurs on this type of 'information never ceases' type of gradation. ***So I personally think it is very good****, but I've never seriously researched it.* " … *"Knowing written Kam would allow them to really master a language****, allowing them to have a bountiful usefulness to their ability in other languages, it would lead to a sort of stimulation****."*

In probing further, the researcher asked: "Can you compare these two schools, that one doesn't use Kam, this one does. Is there any difference?" Participant 8 responded as follows:

"Actually, that school doesn't compare well to this one, that authentically teaches written Kam, ***which adds a language that can stimulate other abilities****."... "****We hope that teaching Kam will help children be able to understand Chinese a little better****."*

As seen in table 5.10, some participants feel that learning Kam well can increase their students' mental processing abilities and perhaps lead to improved performance in the school setting. Expressions of this type of benefit are usually qualified as simply a personal opinion.

Table 5.10 Participants' attitudes toward Kam study influence on mental ability

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Can studying Kam increase your students' mental abilities?	Yes	Yes	Probably	Probably	Yes	Yes	Not really	Yes

5.3.2.1.1.4.4 Teaching Kam Hinders Successful Testing Outcomes

In commenting on speaking Kam, the participants were unanimous in their opinion that this did not contribute to good marks in tests.

Participant 2: "*Speaking of this problem, like in this place, if there were Kam books they would work hard to learn Kam,* ***if we look more broadly, if they want high marks on the exam, then don't study [Kam]."***
Participant 5: "*If in first grade students* ***only study written Kam*** *and not Chinese characters,* ***there would be a negative influence on test results****, The only lifeline for the schools are the tests, because student's test scores are like the 'master'.*
Participant 6: "*During first through third grade there are sometimes students who don't know exactly how to answer a question in Chinese, so they will use Kam to share their thoughts or*

*feelings, even sometimes in fourth grade, **but it is better if they can use Chinese, because they have to take tests in Chinese.** They can talk about some points, but they can't be speaking incorrectly in their Chinese, If you make mistakes it won't be much help when you write in Chinese, so you better write your composition correctly. Here, even the younger children, **its best if they don't use Kam, they must speak Chinese.***"

Participant 7: "*Yes, there are local teachers here, but the school won't allow them to teach the kids using Kam. **Even if they were willing to use Kam to teach, later, on the tests they have to write in Hanzi**, then they'll even be less able to do it.*"

I wanted to know why the teachers could not give tests to children in Kam. In response, Participant 7 said:

"*It's a national policy, I also don't know. **Actually, the [tests] are all in Chinese**, but there is a small portion of students who don't understand at all, about 10% of the students, they feel so strange, I think.*"

The participants, though they see some value in using Kam in their effort to teach Kam students, are in complete agreement (see table 5.11) that within their current system there are significant obstacles to teaching written Kam and using Kam to teach academic content. The chief obstacle that participants perceive is that studying Kam is a hindrance to excelling in tested subjects, particularly Chinese and mathematics. The general attitude expressed is that using Kam in the classroom will be a hindrance to learning Chinese well, and therefore will negatively impact test scores.

Table 5.11 Participants' view toward testing in Chinese and influence on Kam education

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Expressed that Testing in Chinese is the Main Obstacle to Using Kam in Education.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

5.3.2.1.1.4.5 Using Kam seems unnatural

In response to the question "What do you think about speaking Kam in the classroom?" Participant 1 replied:

> *"Now we all think **teaching in Kam seems unnatural**, it doesn't really matter, Because everyone speaks Mandarin, **so if you speak in Kam it seems out of place, a little incompatible."***

Even though the participants are all Kam-speaking, living in primarily Kam-speaking communities, and teach primarily Kam-speaking students the schools have become by and large Chinese speaking-only territories.

5.3.2.2 Participants' perspectives on other stakeholders' attitudes towards language use

During the interview process, I asked participants to share their thoughts about what other stakeholders in education might think about language use in the classroom. They gave information about other teachers, parents, education officials, and even students. This data is second-hand, not coming directly from the stakeholders, but rather reflects the perceptions of the study's participants. The most salient theme from this set of questions is the role that testing plays in determining educational content and influencing the interests of the stakeholders.

5.3.2.2.1 Reading between the lines

Quite frequently during the interviews the participants obliquely declined to state their perceptions of other stakeholders, instead rerouting the question to a fact about the environment or reiterating their own previously-stated point of view. At first glance, it may seem that the question was not answered; however, these are simply safe answers that allowed the participants to answer without directly stating something that could be seen as being critical of someone else, particularly those in authority. For example, in answer to the question "Do the leaders in the education department here think it is important to facilitate Kam children studying Kam language and writing?" Participant 2 replied:

> *"From birth children can speak Kam, it is formed naturally, usually it is also trained. This aspect isn't tested in the examinations, so there isn't Kam language."*

The underlying answer in this situation is that the education officials believe that because Kam is taught in the home, no aspects of Kam need to be taught in the school. Furthermore, education department leaders are most concerned about reporting test scores to their superiors at higher levels of government, so they will focus class time and resources only on the tested subjects. The participant was careful to not say what education authorities think, only that by virtue of observing the current situation, one can deduce what education authorities must think is important.

This pattern of indirectly answering direct questions is prevalent in the following sections and should be read with careful attention to subtleties of meaning.

5.3.2.2.2 Participants' perspectives on other teachers' attitudes towards language use

The participants in the study reported that many other teachers, especially those who are not Kam speakers themselves, are opposed to the use of Kam in their school environment (See table 5.12). They reported that students would prefer to use Kam if they could, but most often do not use it in the classroom, presumably because it is not allowed by the school or the teacher. Some participants view other teachers as not caring deeply about improving practice or dedicating themselves to finding the best ways to educate students.

> Participant 1: "*Mandarin, because the teacher's demand it*, *I don't know exactly what year in the past it was mostly Kam, but later* ***there were a few teachers from other places that came and said 'this isn't good', 'Don't let me hear you speak Kam,'*** *So, now it has changed, mostly,* ***if at all possible, [we] speak Mandarin.***" … "*I think* ***these teachers don't attach any importance to it [teaching Kam]***, *but perhaps parents would mostly agree to it, because they think to study one's own culture is good,* ***but teachers think that if it isn't tested, it isn't important, there is no need to study it, even to the point of wrongly influencing Chinese language results, so, they don't really advocate it.*** *But as for me, I don't think this way, I hope that if they can master it, it is good.*"

In probing further, I asked about what language the students usually spoke when they were in class.

> Participant 1: "*Mostly they would choose themselves to speak Kam, and with the teacher they also would speak Kam, same as when they are out of class,* ***But younger students use Kam more, and in class will use Mandarin more.***"
>
> Researcher: So it was some teachers from the outside that said speaking Kam wasn't good?

> Participant 1 *"Because some of them couldn't speak Kam, it's a problem. **They also believe everyone speaking Kam isn't good for studying Mandarin and language, so they required a change.**"*

A secondary question was on whether the teachers had any thoughts about the use of English or Kam to which Participant 1 responded:

> *"I now think that these teachers here don't really like to study, **so they don't really care.**"*

Generally speaking, even teachers in schools where there is a high minority population and a noticeable number of students who struggle to communicate in Chinese do not feel that there is a need to bolster minority language in the classroom. For example, Participant 7, who previously stated that she has had students in junior secondary with whom she could not communicate in Chinese, revealed that the teachers at her school did not feel that minority language support was necessary. These answers come across as being very conflicted and unclear considering the environment and performance of minority students. Participant 7 stated that:

> *"Currently our students primarily speak Chinese, Kam language is very important, we all speak Chinese with them, **so we don't emphasize the aspect of reading and writing Kam.**"*

Table 5.12 Other teachers' view of Kam in education

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Do other teachers value Kam in education?	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Some

5.3.2.2.2.1 English

Over the course of data collection I had heard some teachers make comments about English at the village school, how if it was not tested then it did not seem important. In light of this, I asked the participants to help me understand what the other teachers thought about English.

Participant 1: "*I think that **people who understand English think English is important, those who don't know English aren't interested, and don't think its important**, that's how it is. And **because we don't test English here, and can't study it well, they think it is wasting time.**"

Participant 6: "**If the headmaster just used his own idea to develop the curriculum** to teach the students in the village, if there wasn't the education bureau, or the national education system **they definitely wouldn't offer English, they wouldn't offer it at all**."*

Participants in the study reported that English was only taught because it was required by the national standards. They reported that other teachers, especially those that had not learned English, would not include English in the curriculum if given the choice. In a similar manner to Kam, English was seen as being a peripheral subject that did not enhance the students' general abilities. These attitudes are reflected in table 5.13 below.

Table 5.13 Other teachers' view of English

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Do You Think Other Teachers Value English as a School Subject?	Not really	No	Some	Yes	Some	No	No	Not really

5.3.2.2.3 Participants' perspectives on parents' attitudes towards language use

In response to the question on whether parents valued English instruction, Participant 1 said:

> "***Parents aren't conscious of it or otherwise don't think it is important***, *they don't even concern themselves about their own children, they only ask '**is this tested in the school, or not?**' 'Did you do well on the test?' If it is not tested, they don't know if you have learned well or not.*"

As shown in table 5.14, parents of Kam children were viewed by the participants as having little interest in the scholastics of their children, as the school was viewed as the guardian of children's education. They said that parents did not have much concern for the content or methods used. Parents were not opposed to their children learning Kam *per se*, but because their children were already overburdened with tested subjects like Chinese language and mathematics, they were reluctant to push for Kam to be included in the curriculum. Additionally, they were reluctant to have their children study Kam during school holidays, for two reasons. First, they wanted their children to have a break

from academics, and second, if they were to send their children to classes during school holidays they would have them focus on subjects that were tested in the normal curriculum.

English is seen as a subject that is irrelevant to the lives of their children beyond the fact that it is tested in the schools. If it were not a tested subject, the participants believed that most parents would not require their students to study English.

On the other hand, in answer to the question on whether parents thought it was important for children to learn to read Kam, the responses were as follows:

> Participant 2: "***Not really important***, *Kam is mostly spoken, not written.*"
>
> Participant 5: "*Now maybe these few **parents only want their kids to be able to converse in Kam and that's enough**, maybe hearing and understanding is sufficient, perhaps this phenomenon exists, they never truly paid attention to preserving and passing on this culture, that's the way it is. **Parents usually don't pay attention to things at school**, they very rarely have interaction with the school in these parts. There are some parents who really take interest in their students. The large majority of the parents of the excellent students here pay close attention to education, but only the excellent students. **The remaining poor students, there are some parents who say that they don't pay attention to how they study**.*
>
> Participant 6: "*Teachers and **parents think it's ok to study Kam, just that there isn't any way to organize a good time**. I'll say again that student's load is already very heavy, During school breaks the students want a break, you can't go and additionally have class, right? **I individually believe, [parents] supporting or not supporting is difficult to say**". … "**There are some parents who put a lot of emphasis on studying English, but not all of them.** I remember coming here to hold a summer English training class. From the whole school there were only 25 students who came.*

A related question was 'what language parents would like their children to study if they could have a choice, and testing was not an issue?'.

> Participant 8, "***Parents aren't very conscious of these things.** Because we teach the students, and they grow up and enter society, **they really need to have Chinese language education**. Only then can they go out and communicate. Kam language education can only help with passing on our own cultural heritage, but many people aren't conscious of this side of things. **If we taught them written Kam they [the parents] would receive it happily, they wouldn't oppose it, but as far as unified support, we don't receive it.**"

Table 5.14 Participants' views of parents' and curriculum

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Are parents expressive of their opinions regarding Curriculum	No	No	No	N/A	No	No	No	Some
Do You Think Parents Value Kam Instruction?	No	Some	N/A	N/A	No	Some	No	Yes
Do You Think Parents Value English instruction?	No	Yes	Yes	N/A	No	Some	No	Some

5.3.2.2.4   Participants perspectives on students' attitudes towards language use

5.3.2.2.4.1 Kam

As reported above, Kam students in each school location in this study freely use Kam when speaking with each other and often use it to speak to Kam-speaking teachers outside the classroom and with those teachers who permit its use within the classroom.

In answer to the question "When you observe the children here, do they have interest in Kam language?", Participant 1 stated:

> *"There should be some, **They for sure should be interested in their own language**, I think. "*

Furthermore, in answering a follow-up question: "If students could choose between Kam, Chinese, or English to use to learn academic content, which language would they choose?", participants said:

> Participant 1: *"**Kam, because it is easy**, it the language they always use, it is very easy."*
> Participant 2: *"Speaking of this problem, **like in this place, if there were Kam books they would work hard to learn Kam,** if we look more broadly, if they want high marks on the exam, then don't study Kam. "*

Table 5.15 Student attitudes toward Kam education

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Do you think Students would appreciate learning through Kam?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Some	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes

Even though the depth of knowledge of Kam language among children might be decreasing, participants stated that they think Kam children would prefer to use Kam to study academic content in school. These responses are shown in table 5.15 above. Again, the urgency to study the dominant language, Chinese, trumps any interest students might have to invest their time in studying Kam.

5.3.2.2.4.2 Chinese

I asked the participants to give their opinion of the student attitudes towards Chinese, reflected in table 5.16 below. Responses were similar to that given poignantly by participant 2 below when asked if he thought that Kam primary school students have much interest in studying Chinese.

> Participant 2: "Now about this 'interest'. **If we didn't use Chinese to test students then there wouldn't be much interest,** if we used Kam then they would use the Kam point of view to look at things. Because it is using Chinese writing to express or convey (something), **one must study Chinese.** If one is interested in reading, then one must know Chinese, if he has a book he wants to read, He must rely on Chinese."

Table 5.16 Amount of students who intrinsically desire to study Chinese

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
What amount of students intrinsically desire to study Chinese?	Few	Few	Some	Some	Few	Most	Some	Some

According to participants in this study, students see mastery of Chinese as a means to improving their test scores, thus, by extension succeeding in school. This scholastic success will then allow them to study in Senior Secondary School and then hopefully university. Even if they are not able to attend university and find a high paying job,

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students see Chinese as a necessary tool to engage the broader culture beyond the Kam-speaking region where they now live.

5.3.2.2.4.3 English

The participants who are English teachers all reported some sort of intrigue with learning English during their student years. They remember being fascinated with the language and working diligently to learn, regardless of their test scores or the methods that their teachers used. Presently, they report that the majority of students are indifferent to learning English. Several reported that students feel that English is too difficult to learn, or that students become overwhelmed by the amount of vocabulary they must memorize. Again, the national curriculum requirements and testing are the most important factors affecting student interest in English; without them, there would be very little interest among students in studying English. Participants report that testing results are dismal and lead to decreasing motivation.

Participants gave the answers below when I asked: "Can you help me understand what attitudes the students at this school have towards English, now?"

> Participant 4: "*Regarding English, the students enjoy the idea of it, **but they all say it's too difficult to learn**, so after a while the interest in it isn't really good, perhaps at this age they aren't able to grasp it, and when they get to junior secondary school they can't keep up.*"
>
> Participant 7: "*When I teach them they always say '**studying English is useless, why do we have to study it?**' Only if a particular student loves to speak English would they choose to study it. **Most students complain about it**. Some don't participate and just work on their other subjects in a sneaky way during class. I don't allow that, but they often do it. **If the national government didn't stipulate that they had to study English, they for sure wouldn't want to study it.**" ... The English level of students when they arrive is worse than their Chinese, it is very hard for them to converse. In a class of more than 50 there might be only two or three that can use English to chat, **the rest have no ability if given the choice they probably wouldn't study English.***

In answer to a follow-up question on whether all the students had to study English, Participant 7 responded as follows:

> "*They have to take the tests, **so all the students must study English**, they can't separate and only teach the kids who want to learn English.*"

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I followed up by asking about this topic of tests: "So your class is going to take exams soon, right? Do you have a goal for your class?"

> *"I say to them, I say for example like last semester, there **were 5 out of 55 students that passed the test with 60%, right?** I said next semester I want at least 7 or 8 to pass, for 3 more to make it. Passing is 90 points or more out of 150. **This semester I have 44 students. Most of them won't pass**, may be in one class there will be two or three, the last test I gave three passed, but for the test at the end of the semester I usually have three, four, or five who pass."*

Table 5.17 Student motivation to study English

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
What are student attitudes towards studying English?	Motivated	Not motivated	Not motivated	Not motivated	Neutral	Not motivated	Not motivated	Not motivated

5.3.2.2.5 Participant perspectives on education authorities' attitudes towards language use

5.3.2.2.5.1 Kam vs. Chinese

The participants portray education authorities as being focused primarily on increasing Chinese usage and minimizing Kam usage. Participants portrayed the education authorities' attitudes as being opposed to Kam language use in the schools, most importantly, because they perceive it will have a negative impact on students' test scores. Because education authorities are evaluated on student test scores, they are careful to promote only activities that they believe will result in higher test results.

Such thinking is evidenced below in response to the question I asked participant 1:"Now, at this school, without regard to which subject, normally what language is used to teach [students]?" He stated:

> *"Now we speak Mandarin Chinese mostly, even in first grade we seldom speak Kam, at the school children mostly speak Mandarin. **It's because the authorities require it more and more and emphasize that we don't speak Kam, if we speak Kam it will have a negative influence, they tell us to speak more Mandarin to teach.** But, there are times, for instance when I am teaching 4th*

grade that students cannot understand clearly in Mandarin, I use Kam to teach them, then in just a few words they understand."

In one township, however, the attitude was slightly less negative. This township is the only remaining holdover from the Kam language experiment that was conducted in Misty Mountain county in the 1980s. The community school has striven to maintain the program and as recently as 2012 appealed to county and provincial education authorities to augment the program with the help of a foreign NGO that conducted a successful pilot project in a neighboring county (Finifrock 2010, Finifrock and Schilken 2015). Even though the appeal was denied, the community has garnered enough favor from authorities to maintain some Kam language classes in both the primary and junior secondary school.

In answer to the question of whether or not the leaders thought it was important to use Kam language to teach content to Kam children, Participant 2 said:

> "*I think that now at this middle school, **in the entire township, or even here in Misty Mountain [county] there are only one or two schools like ours that have a Kam language class,** other middle schools don't have it. None have offered this type of Kam language class. Here we develop this [Kam language] aspect.*"

The underlying meaning is that it is not important to the education authorities to use Kam to teach content to Kam children. The evidence of few schools teaching Kam reflects the underlying attitude of disinterest or opposition. If it were important, there would be many more schools that would teach written Kam, or the participants would feel free to answer the question in a direct manner, perhaps stating, 'yes, it is important to the leaders, but because of X reason they are unable to implement it.' When pressed further, in reference to school leaders with whom he might have closer relationships than with education authorities at the county level the participant became more direct.

> Participant 2: "***Yes, I think they are pretty supportive,*** *they just recently offered this class subject. If they didn't support it, then they wouldn't have offered it.*"

Yet, even in this township, where Kam language classes are offered in the school, the participants do not believe that the education authorities support Kam language instruction in the classroom. They state that the educational authorities have not

considered the extended benefits of students mastering their mother-tongue in relation to their cognitive development or learning second or third languages.

With regard to the leaders' opinions on language of instruction and how children should be taught academic content, the following opinions were expressed:

> Participant 2: "**Probably use Chinese for everything, Mandarin**. Because on the campus Mandarins is spoken all the time, so, it's Mandarin. [We] only rely on this speech to explain and understand, rely on Kam, there are different places that speak Kam differently, If we used English, it is even less suitable, they won't understand, so we rely on Mandarin."
>
> Participant 8: *"**I don't think the county level leaders have really ever thought deeply about how studying Kam can help with studying Chinese and English**, I know a lot of them well, and **I don't think they have ever really seriously thought about it**."*

A summary of participants' views of their county education officials and school leaders' attitudes towards Kam in education is provided below in table 5.18.

Table 5.18 County and school leadership views towards Kam

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
What is the Education Authorities' view towards using Kam in Education?	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative
What is your school leadership's view towards using Kam in Education?	Negative	Positive	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Positive

5.3.2.2.5.2 English

With regard to what the education leaders thought about the importance of English education, the participants gave the following opinions:

> Participant 1: "*English, English, **they [the education bureau] only pay attention to the central school**, here in the countryside especially.*"
>
> Participant 2: "*About the English curriculum, like, **every year the education bureau holds a competition for excellent education,** teachers from every township go to Misty Mountain to*

*display their own teaching method. **They have this for English as well**, it's the same for every other subject. And, **also the test, it is also on the exam, it is all very important**."*

Table 5.19 Officials' views towards English

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
What are Education Officals' attitudes towards studying English?	Neutral	Positive	Neutral	Positive	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral

English education is seen as being valuable to education authorities, as shown in table 5.20 primarily because it is a national regulation. It is also a tested subject whose results are used by the provincial government to evaluate the county education bureau, and by the county education bureau to evaluate the teachers. As a result, they encourage improvements in English language instruction by organizing contests for English students and English teachers. Some participants perceive this as the Education authorities being supportive of English Language instruction. Other participants reported that the education bureau does not adequately fund or equip schools with English teachers, and thus there is a disparity between central township schools and village schools.

5.3.3   Language use practice

As seen above in section 5.3.2.1.1.3, the majority of participants in the study see some usefulness in using Kam in the classroom. There is a range of practice among the participants with some eschewing the use of Kam altogether, and others, primarily at schools with written Kam programs, that seek to develop Kam and are willing to use Kam to help their students gain an academic advantage.

All participants in the study shared that during their own childhood they were frequently taught content using oral Kam. In most cases, if content had been presented in Chinese and the students were unable to understand, their teacher then interpreted the content into Kam so that they could understand. Many shared that it was not until the latter years of primary school, or even junior secondary school that they were taught exclusively in

Mandarin. The participants revealed, however, that this practice is generally not used in the present day classroom.

5.3.3.1 Language use practice- Kam language instruction

When interviewing Participant 8, a headmaster and head of education for his township, I asked him to give me an overview of the Kam language instruction practices in the township and in the broader county. His relevant responses are as follows:

> Participant 8: "[this] township has four schools in the countryside that belong to it, and the **only one that teaches any written Kam** is [A] primary school. [B] and [C] don't have written Kam instruction, now [D] just started teaching Kam singing."..."**Authentically carrying out Kam language education [in terms of the county], I think it is only here in [A]**, and [E] used to, but I don't think they do anymore, and in [F], the government requires them to teach written Kam, but whether or not they have really done it I don't know. **It hasn't been done a lot, it is a little like going as far as hanging a sign that says mutton but selling dog meat**. After all, it is a way of complaining against a command, because it isn't really teaching content, it's only developing ability, **they think that they should only promote academic learning that can be tested**."

In the most vital Kam-language township, rated EGIDS level 4, [A], only the township central primary school and one additional primary school have any written Kam component. This is essentially a Kam-as-second-language class, meaning that the methodology for teaching written Kam is similar to how second languages are often taught; there are few contact hours per week, and though the content is presented in Kam, the lessons I have observed focus on teaching Kam children how to spell Kam words that occur in Kam song lyrics. The focus is primarily on spelling only, and does not include language production aspects such as word or sentence formation, creative writing, or reading texts of assorted genre. The students remain passive and are not engaged with the language beyond singing and reciting lyrics. Teachers primarily use Mandarin as the language of instruction in these lessons.

In other towns and villages where the Kam language is less vital there are no Kam literacy classes at all as evidenced in the responses of other participants when asked to explain the provision of Kam language instruction in their school.

Participant 1: *"**Now there isn't Kam language class**. but I heard that maybe next semester it will be taught."*[17]

Participant 5: *"**Our school doesn't teach Kam literacy**, we don't have a teacher that specifically teaches Kam language arts. I seem to remember that when I was a student we had a Kam language book, but they didn't teach it, back then there was written Kam."*

Participants' outlooks for having Kam literacy classes in their school in the future are reflected below in table 5.20.

Table 5.20 Outlook for Kam classes

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
What is your outlook for there being Kam language classes in your school?	Positive	Positive	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Positive

5.3.3.2   Language use practice in the core classroom

In response to the question: "What languages do teachers at this school use to teach academic content in the classroom?" participants gave the following responses:

Participant 7: *"**Our school requires that teachers teach students using Putonghua**, but some teachers will sometimes use Misty Mountainhua. The majority of teachers use Putonghua. [Also] the **[tests] are all in Chinese. It's a national policy**.*

Participant 4: *"**Mandarin, now all the kids mostly know how to speak Chinese from a very young age.** There is no need to use a bilingual method."*

In all cases, Mandarin Chinese, or *Putonghua* was identified as the primary language of use in the core classroom. The core classroom being when core subjects such as mathematics, language arts, science, and history etc. are being taught. Some participants reported that the use of Mandarin Chinese was mandated by policy, while others simply stated that its dominant use is for the purpose of preparing the minority students for engagement with broader society. One participant reported that she thought the Kam children were already fluent enough in Chinese to use it as their primary language of instruction. Nonetheless, as seen in table 5.21, each participant reported that Mandarin is by and large the primary language of instruction in his or her respective school.

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[17] This interview was conducted in 2013. As of the writing of this thesis in 2017 such instruction had not been implemented.

Table 5.21 Main language of instruction

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
What language is promoted in the instruction of the Core Curriculum	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin

Participant 8, the only headmaster in the study, was willing to elaborate on the language use practice of his school and some of the village schools he oversees. He stated that at the township central school they primarily use Chinese for instruction, even in preschool classes, but in the village schools they will use more Kam than Chinese. There is no standardized method for this process. Teachers simply teach in Chinese until they somehow perceive that students do not understand, then they will use Kam to interpret. This process starts in preschool, even though students vastly prefer to speak in Kam at this stage. He brought up the notion of 'student understanding' as being the primary rationale for determining which language to use in the classroom, and indicates that in his jurisdiction individual teachers have the autonomy to determine how much of each language to use in the classroom. Extracts from the interview are presented below:

> Participant 8: *"Because… it's this way, not all of our teachers here understand Kam. Like now at our township school we have 20 teachers. Originally there were 4 teachers who had mastered written Kam well enough to teach. Now there are only 2. The other teachers are only able to understand a little written Kam, so,* **we are unable to perform all of our instruction in Kam,** *so we just do it according to the ability of the teacher,* **we advocate having Kam writing class from preschool to sixth grade, but in sixth grade, to tell you the stark truth, the class schedule is too tight, we don't have time to teach Kam***." … "****Our language of instruction is primarily Chinese,** *Kam serves to support the teaching technique. If there are some students who don't understand, then we'll use Kam. Usually at the township central school it's this way,* **but in the average village they will use Mandarin-Kam bilingual methods, teaching orally in both languages, using both***." … "This solely depends on the teacher's experience.* **Usually if they use Chinese and the kids don't understand they will use Kam to explain,** *if in the process of teaching there are some words they know the kids won't understand they will interpret in Kam. This isn't only in primary school,* **even in junior-secondary school there are some words that need to be explained in Kam***." … "****In preschool we probably use about 80% Chinese,** *and 20% Kam, but* **in the village schools it is probably the opposite, 80% Kam and 20% Chinese***. This is the language environment, in the village they use less Chinese, because if they used it during teaching the children wouldn't understand.* **Here in the township school most of the children understand a little Chinese, so we**

use Chinese to teach. The students are used to instruction in Chinese, the whole point of education is for the children to understand. If students don't understand, then you can't teach them anything."

During the interviews I asked the participants to estimate the amount of each language that they use when they teach their Kam students. The results are displayed below in table 5.22, and their full responses are as follows:

Participant 1: *"**80% Mandarin and 20% Kam**."*

Participant 2: *"**Usually it is all Chinese, Mandarin, Mandarin foremost**. If it is English class, we also speak English, [for the students] to be affected a little bit by the English language environment. **Chiefly it is mostly Chinese**, then English, and farthest behind is Kam."*

Participant 3: *"I can speak Kam with them a little bit still, like when they don't get an English word I can explain it a bit, but **in the beginning I tried to only use English, but when there were many students who didn't understand I would also use Kam or Mandarin**. When the students study a text, and they don't understand a short section you just explain it, it's a real bother.[in terms of] **Chinese, we try our best not to use it, but there are some who can't do it in English, so I am only speaking about 20 to 30% in Chinese"**… "**about 70% English." …** : "During class it is not very often, in 7th grade it is more common, now in 9th grade because the students have been here for 3 years and they themselves can now speak Chinese, **now in 9th grade it is rare to speak Kam**. 7th grade teachers still use it often, but it's not everyday, they use it occasionally. It is only used specifically for a certain question or issue that the student doesn't understand……"A small minority of students, when conversing with the teacher, those who don't know Chinese, **the teacher can use Kam**, usually it is like that. At school, for example if I am teaching and using Chinese and I am conversing with this student but he doesn't understand what I am saying, he's a minority student, he is from a different place, **I can use a little Kam to converse with him to help him understand my meaning**. "*

Participant 4: *"**Chinese- perhaps 50%, 50% to 60%,** English- 30%, I use Kam less than 10%, very little… **only occasionally do I use Kam when teaching English**, there are a few words whose pronunciation is the same as in Kam, **I use the help of Kam pronunciation to help them remember vocabulary words**, for example in English the word 'toy', in Kam, it's the same pronunciation as the word to return something that was given (toik).*

Participant 5: *"**I generally use Mandarin Chinese when I teach students here.** When I teach English I also mostly use Mandarin, I don't often use English, **I would say it is probably 80% Chinese, only about 20 or 30% English.**"*

Participant 6: *"Now, **I use Mandarin 99% of the time when I teach**. One percent of the time I use Kam...in special circumstances… "…**When I speak with the students I use as much Putonghua***

as possible, but when they speak with each other they use Kam, but perhaps occasionally they use Putonghua. ***I only speak Kam when I want to help the students remember a word***, *like today in class. For example, if you say 'sov', [it sounds like 'so' in English] it means trousers here in our dialect (but not in the Greenoak dialect).*"

Participant 7: "...***We all speak Chinese with them [the students].*** ... *"When we teach we aren't permitted to use minority languages,* ***but there are times when I will use Kam to crack a joke, or give an example that helps kids remember an English word***, *like the word 'door' in English sounds like the word for door in Kam."* ... *"There are times when I might use Kam to speak to students outside of the classroom, but not too often. I have been here several years and have only done so a handful of times.*

The language usage in the English classroom generally follows the pattern that is used in the core classrooms, but with the inclusion of English. Most participants explained that their language in the English classroom was also primarily Mandarin Chinese, followed by English, followed by a small percentage of Kam. Most participants stated that they often speak up to 80% English during classes, though when communicating with their students they primarily use Mandarin Chinese, and on occasion will use Kam to explain a word to their students.

English is primarily spoken by teachers and students who are giving or repeating an example, and very rarely for any form of intentional conversation. The amount of English spoken varies between teachers and is influenced by their personal styles and aims in teaching. Some feel that maximizing the amount of spoken English in their classroom will help their students learn better, but others feel that such a method is 'too slow' and Chinese is used in lieu of English for the sake of expediency.

Table 5.22 Participant self-report of language use in the English classroom

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
When you teach English, what percentage of each language do you think you use in a class period?	K: 20% M: 80% E: 0%	K: <5% M:80% E: 15 to 20%	K: 0% M: 30% E: 70%	K: <10% M: 50 to 60% E: 30%	K: 0% M: 80% E: 20%	K: 0 % M: 99% E: 1%	K: 0% M: 80% E: 20%	N/A

5.3.4 Student Language Usage in Classroom

During the interviews I asked participants to report on their students' use of the various languages in the classroom. Asking them if the students asked questions or spoke to one another in a particular language. Their responses about the topic are shared below.

> Participant 3: "***Usually they won't ask (in Kam)***. *If a student uses **Chinese, he will feel embarrassed** to talk so he won't say anything. **Outside of class there are many who usually speak Kam.**"* … "*When the students talk to each other in English class, **Usually I require them to use English**, but there is a portion of them who aren't able, because they think it's too difficult."*
>
> Participant 5: "***If they use Mandarin it is only three characters 'lao shi hao' (hello teacher) the rest after that is all Kam***." … *"When the students come here **in first grade they use Kam** 80% of the time or more. And Chinese? **With the students on either side they very rarely use Chinese**, and only **those few students who very early learned a little English can say a tiny bit,** like the names of a few simple fruits.*
>
> Participant 6: *"During first through third grade there are sometimes students who **don't know exactly how to answer a question in Chinese, so they will use Kam** to share their thoughts or feelings, even sometimes in fourth grade…*
>
> Participant 7: "***Currently our students primarily speak Chinese [during class].***

The participants reported that the majority of their students are reluctant to speak aloud in the classroom no matter the language. Students understand that Kam should be avoided as soon in the course of schooling as possible, but with Chinese being undeveloped, especially in lower grades, students are also reluctant to speak in Chinese and risk making a mistake.

Table 5.23 Comprehensive table of ethnographic interview responses

	P01	P02	P03	P04	P05	P06	P07	P08
Is the Kam Language Vital in the Students at your school?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, in most	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Is the Kam Language Vital enough to influence Han Speakers ?	N/A	Yes	Somewhat	Somewhat	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Were you educated in Kam as a child?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Did you learn to read Kam as a child?	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
Is Written Kam part of the curriculum at your school?	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes

Should Kam be used to educate students at your school?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	No	Yes
Is it easiest for students to learn content through the medium of Kam?	Yes	Yes	Yes	For some	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Can studying Kam increase your students' mental abilities?	Yes	Yes	Probably	Probably	Yes	Yes	Not really	Yes
Felt that testing in Chinese is the main obstacle to using Kam in education.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Do other teachers value Kam in education?	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Some
Do other teachers value English as a school subject?	Not really	No	Some	Yes	Some	No	No	Not really
Are parents expressive of their opinions regarding Curriculum	No	No	No	N/A	No	No	No	Some
Do Parents Value Kam Instruction?	No	Some	N/A	N/A	No	Some	No	Yes
Do Parents Value English instruction?	No	Yes	Yes	N/A	No	Some	No	Some
Do you think Students would appreciate learning through Kam?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Some	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes
What amount of students intrinsically desire to study Chinese?	Few	Few	Some	Some	Some	Most	Some	Some
What are student attitudes towards studying English?	Motivated	Not motivated	Not motivated	Not motivated	Neutral	Not motivated	Not motivated	Not motivated
What is the Education Authorities' view towards using Kam in Education?	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative
What is your school leadership's view towards using Kam in Education?	Negative	Positive	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Positive
What are Education Officals' attitudes towards studying English?	Neutral	Positive	Neutral	Positive	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral
What is your outlook for there being Kam language classes in your school?	Positive	Positive	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Negative	Positive
What language is promoted in the instruction of the Core Curriculum	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin

When you teach English, what percentage of each language do you think you use in a class period?	K: 20% M: 80% E: 0%	K: <5% M:80% E: 15 to 20%	K: 0% M: 30% E: 70%	K:<10% M: 50 to 60% E: 30%	K: 0% M: 80% E: 20%	K: 0 % M: 99% E: 1%	K: 0% M: 80% E: 20%	N/A

In table 5.23 the participant's responses during the ethnographic interviews are distilled and placed into a table form in order to give the reader a quick visual reference to the tenor of a response. Some of the data returned in the table lends itself to such visual coordination and some is more difficult to categorize in this manner. The attempt here is to take very complex and multi-layered data and put them into a more digestible format in order for the reader to access the overall feeling of the participant responses. For some of the questions, such as 'what language is promoted in the instruction of the core curriculum?' this type of table returns a very simple and digestible response. For other questions, such as 'do parents value English instruction?' The answers might vary by both participant and their particular parent sample. In such cases I returned the general feel of the participants response based on his or her overall response during the interview.

5.4 Observation Data

During the study I visited the participant teachers to observe their classroom instructional practice. The lessons I observed were video-recorded from the back of the classroom in order to be as unobtrusive as possible. I made a total of 7 full class recordings that I later transcribed, coded, and analyzed for language content according to the categories in the table below.

The purpose of the observations was to understand the language use practices employed in the English classes in Misty Mountain County as related to research question one of this study. Although the participants themselves reported in the section above about the percentages of each language used in the English classroom, the observations provided a different lens into the actual language use practices of the participants. This observation data served to triangulate (Cohen et.al, 2011; Bryman, 2012) the interview data to broaden my understanding of the interview data.

The observations were coded according to the speaker, language used, and the type of utterance as displayed in tables 5.24, 5.25, and 5.26.

Speaker	Code
Teacher	T
Female Student	FS
Male Student	MS
Multiple Female Students	FSS
Multiple Male Students	MSS
Multiple Mixed Gender Students	FSMS
Entire Class (Chorus)	CH

Language	Code
Kam	K
Mandarin	M
English	E
Translanguaging Kam Mandarin	TKM
Translanguaging Kam English	TKE
Translanguaging Mandarin English	TME
Total Physical Response	PHR

Type of Utterance	Code	Usage
Instruction	IN	Teacher explaining to students about language characteristic
Self- Correction	SC	Speaker realizes a spoken mistake and self-corrects
Read Aloud	RA	Speaker reads utterance from a book or the blackboard
Question	Q	Speaker asks a question
Answer	AN	Speaker responds to a direct question
Translation	TR	Speaker translates utterance from one language to another
Peer Communication	P2P	Students use the utterance to communicate with each other
Command	CMD	Speaker gives a command to the listener(s)
Statement	ST	Speaker makes a statement of fact
Repetition	RP	Speaker repeats previous speaker's utterance
Clarification	CLA	Speaker clarifies the meaning of previous utterance
Correction	COR	Speaker corrects previous speaker
Response	RS	Speaker responds to previous utterance
Modeling	M	Speaker models language to listener(s)

5.4.1 Comprehensive observation data

Table 5.27 Comprehensive participant teacher utterances table

CODE	Total Number	Total Percentage	English Number	English Percentage	Mandarin Number	Mandarin Percentage	Kam Number	Kam Percentage	Translanguage Number	Translanguage Percentage
T/E/AN	61	0.02	61	0.02						
T/E/CMD	128	0.04	128	0.04						
T/E/COR	36	0.01	36	0.01						
T/E/IN	48	0.02	48	0.02						
T/E/M	315	0.10	315	0.10						
T/E/Q	179	0.06	179	0.06						
T/E/RA	414	0.13	414	0.13						
T/E/RP	575	0.19	575	0.19						
T/E/RS	2	0.00	2	0.00						
T/E/SC	2	0.00	2	0.00						
T/E/ST	158	0.05	158	0.05						
T/K/IN	2	0.00	0	0.00			2	0.00		
T/K/ST	8	0.00	0	0.00			8	0.00		
T/M/AN	36	0.01	0	0.00	36	0.01				
T/M/CMD	71	0.02	0	0.00	71	0.02				
T/M/COR	11	0.00	0	0.00	11	0.00				
T/M/IN	227	0.07	0	0.00	227	0.07				
T/M/M	5	0.00	0	0.00	5	0.00				
T/M/Q	395	0.13	0	0.00	395	0.13				
T/M/RA	1	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.00				
T/M/RS	2	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.00				
T/M/ST	168	0.05	0	0.00	168	0.05				
T/M/TR	189	0.06	0	0.00	189	0.06				
T/TME/CMD	4	0.00	0	0.00					4	0.00
T/TME/IN	29	0.01	0	0.00					29	0.01
T/TME/Q	29	0.01	0	0.00					29	0.01
T/TME/ST	2	0.00	0	0.00					2	0.00
	3096	1.00	1917	0.62	1104	0.36	10	0.00	65	0.02

5.4.1.1 Comprehensive participant observation data analysis

Participant teachers combined spoke 3096 utterances in the seven lessons I observed. Several trends stand out while looking at the distribution of these utterances as displayed in table 5.27 and figure 5.1 respectively. First, participant teachers used English to produce 62% of their speech in the class sessions. Mandarin was used to produce 36% of the utterances. Notably, Kam, the L1 of the students in the participants' classrooms was used to produce less than 1% of total utterances in the seven class periods that were observed. Translanguaging, where English and Mandarin were used in the same phrase, was rarely used, with only 2% of participant teacher utterances being of this nature. Second, when using English in the classroom participant teachers primarily used language that was prepackaged in the form of reading text aloud (13%) or repeating something they had previously stated, modeled, or read aloud (19%). Modeling language for their students comprised 10% of the participants' utterances in the lessons I observed. Third, Mandarin was used primarily to ask questions of students (13%) or give instructions (7%) or translate English questions (6%). When instructions were given, they were given almost exclusively in Mandarin (74%) or Mandarin/English Translanguaging (9.5%) as opposed to English (15.7%) or Kam (<1%).

Fourth, Kam was all but completely ignored in the lessons I observed, only appearing 10 times. The majority of the 10 total Kam utterances were a single word 'o' which means 'Yes' in English. Translanguaging by participants comprised less than 2% of utterances. Fifth, participant teachers used more English in these seven lessons than they perceive that they use in general. As seen in table 5.22 most participant teachers self-reported usually using about 80% Mandarin in their classes. According to the observation, the overall usage was more in the order of 36%.

Figure 5.1 Comprehensive participant teacher utterances chart
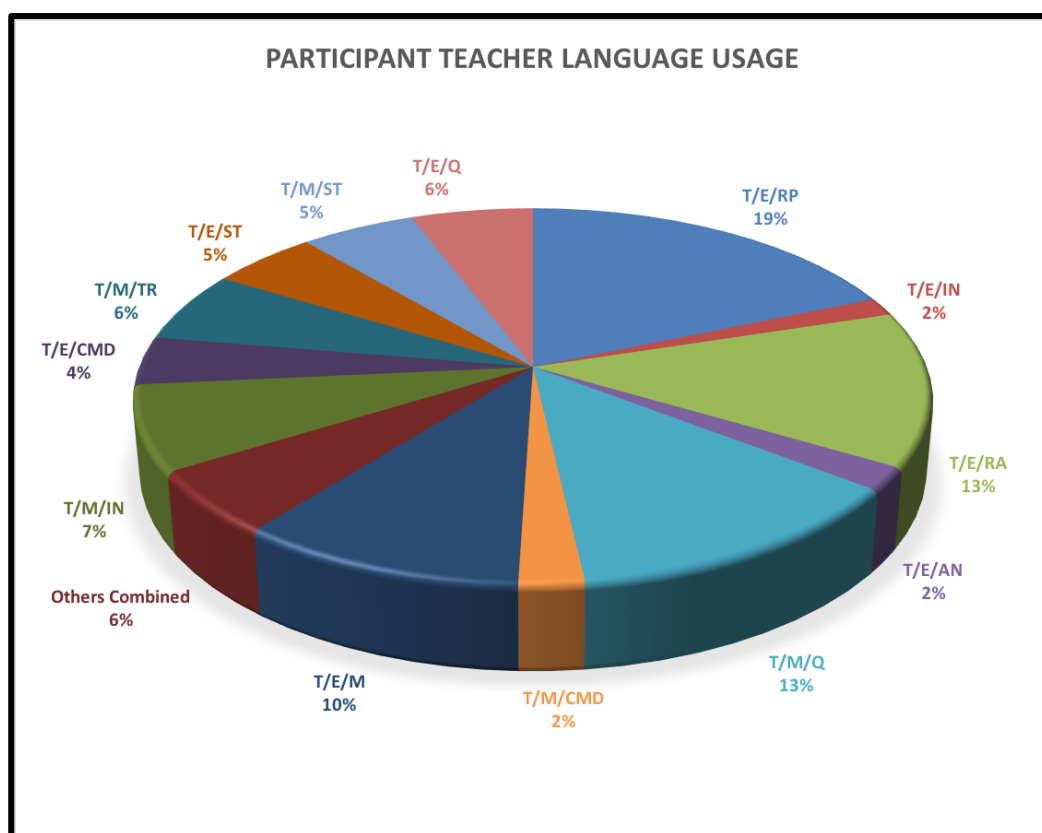
Table 5.28 Comprehensive student utterances table

CODE	Total		English		Mandarin		Kam		PHR	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
CH/E/COR	1	0.00	1	0.00						
CH/E/RA	181	0.09	181	0.09						
CH/E/RP	1226	0.59	1226	0.59						
CH/E/RS	147	0.07	147	0.07						
CH/E/SG	5	0.00	5	0.00						
CH/M/P2P	3	0.00			3	0.00				
CH/M/RA	23	0.01			23	0.01				
CH/M/RS	80	0.04			80	0.04				
CH/M/SG	2	0.00			1	0.00				
FS/E/RA	2	0.00	2	0.00						
FS/E/RP	46	0.02	46	0.02						
FS/E/RS	23	0.01	23	0.01						
FS/M/P2P	6	0.00			6	0.00				
FS/M/Q	4	0.00			4	0.00				
FS/M/RS	34	0.02			34	0.02				
FS/PHR	21	0.01							21	0.01
FSMS/E/RA	15	0.01	15	0.01						
FSMS/E/RP	15	0.01	15	0.01						
FSMS/E/RS	50	0.02	50	0.02						
FSMS/M/RS	44	0.02			44	0.02				
FSS/E/RA	3	0.00	3	0.00						
FSS/E/RP	2	0.00	2	0.00						
FSS/M/RS	2	0.00			2	0.00				
MS/E/RA	1	0.00	1	0.00						
MS/E/RP	50	0.02	50	0.02						
MS/E/RS	29	0.01	29	0.01						
MS/M/RP	2	0.00			2	0.00				
MS/M/RS	23	0.01			23	0.01				
MS/M/ST	3	0.00			3	0.00				
MS/PHR	13	0.01							13	0.01
MSS/E/RA	8	0.00	8	0.00						
MSS/E/RP	15	0.01	15	0.01						
	2079	1.00	1820	0.87	225	0.11	0.00	0.00	34	0.02

5.4.1.2 Student utterances data analysis

The student utterances data shown in table 5.28 and figure 5.2 reveals the nature of utterances that students produced in the seven lessons that I observed. In total, students produced 2079 utterances during the seven lessons. 87% of the student utterances were produced in English, 11% in Mandarin, and 2% of student responses were not utterances, but were instead physical responses to the instructor stimulus. There was not one single utterance in Kam produced by students in these seven lessons, nor was there any evidence of Translanguaging in the classroom.

When looking at the constituency of the utterances several trends stand out. First, the overwhelming majority of student speech in these lessons was repetition of a word or phrase spoken by their instructor (see figure 5.3). Such speech comprised 65% of all student utterances. Such utterances ranged from single phonemic particles (see appendix G, Participant 6 observation transcription) to multi-word phrases. Participants Teachers often had predictable patterns of repetition rates according to their own habit. The rates ranged anywhere from one repetition per utterance to as many as twelve repetitions in a row.

Second, Kam students primarily spoke in chorus along with their other classmates. 80% of all student utterances were made in unison with their peers.

Third, there was a stark absence of peer-to-peer communication. Only nine out of 2079 utterances were between students. Of these nine, all were in the medium of Mandarin, meaning that there was no opportunity for students to converse with each other in English during these lessons.

Fourth, students did not speak any Kam, their L1, during these lessons. All speech was uttered in either English or Mandarin.

Fifth, students only asked 4 questions of their teachers in all of the lessons combined; all four were asked in Mandarin by female students.

Figure 5.3 Comprehensive student utterances chart
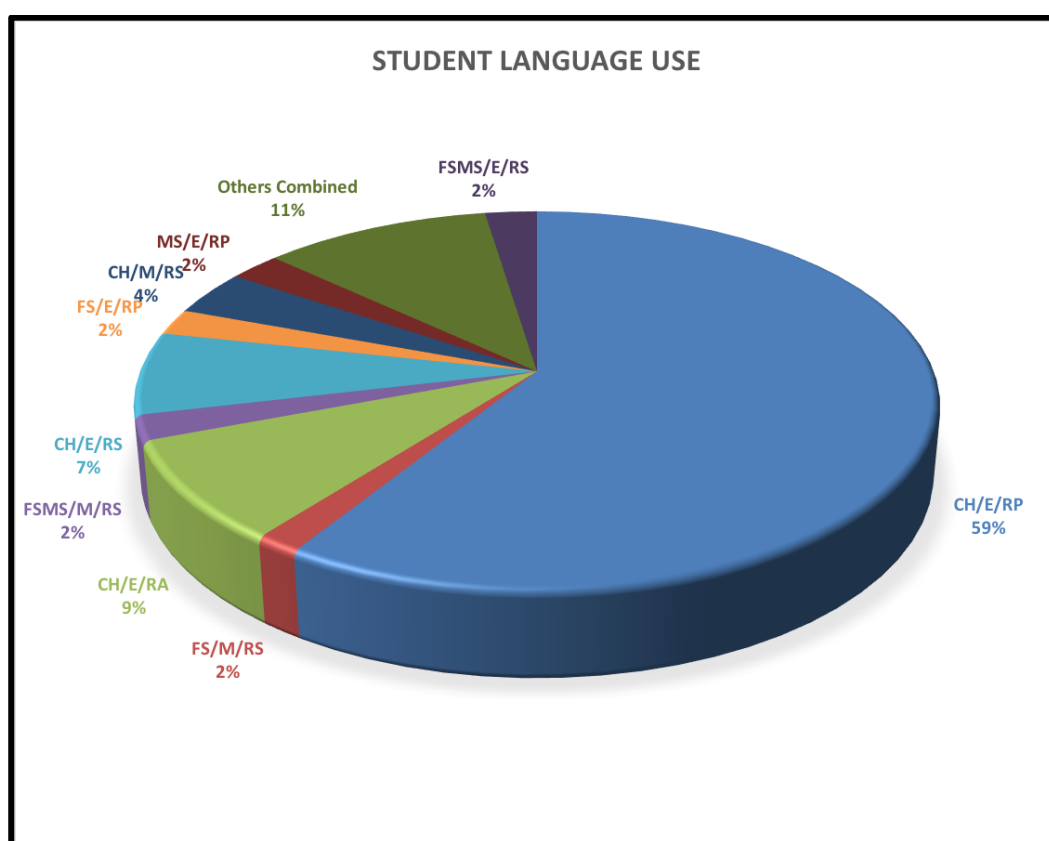
5.4.1.3 Classroom language use analysis

During the seven classroom observation periods there were a total of 5,076 utterances spoken aloud, as shown in table 5.29, not including 34 incidents of translanguaging. The utterances were either spoken by the participant teacher or by the students in the classroom. L3, English, was used to produce 74% of the utterances. Mandarin, L2, was used to produce the remaining 26% of the utterances. Kam, the L1 of both participants

and students, was used less than 1% by participant teachers and not at all by students. Participant teachers produced 60% of the utterances as compared to 40% produced by students.

Table 5.29 Comprehensive classroom language use data

Speaker/Language	Number
Teacher English	1917
Teacher Mandarin	1104
Student English	1820
Student Mandarin	225
Teacher Kam	10
Total	**5076**

Figure 5.3 Who is doing the talking?
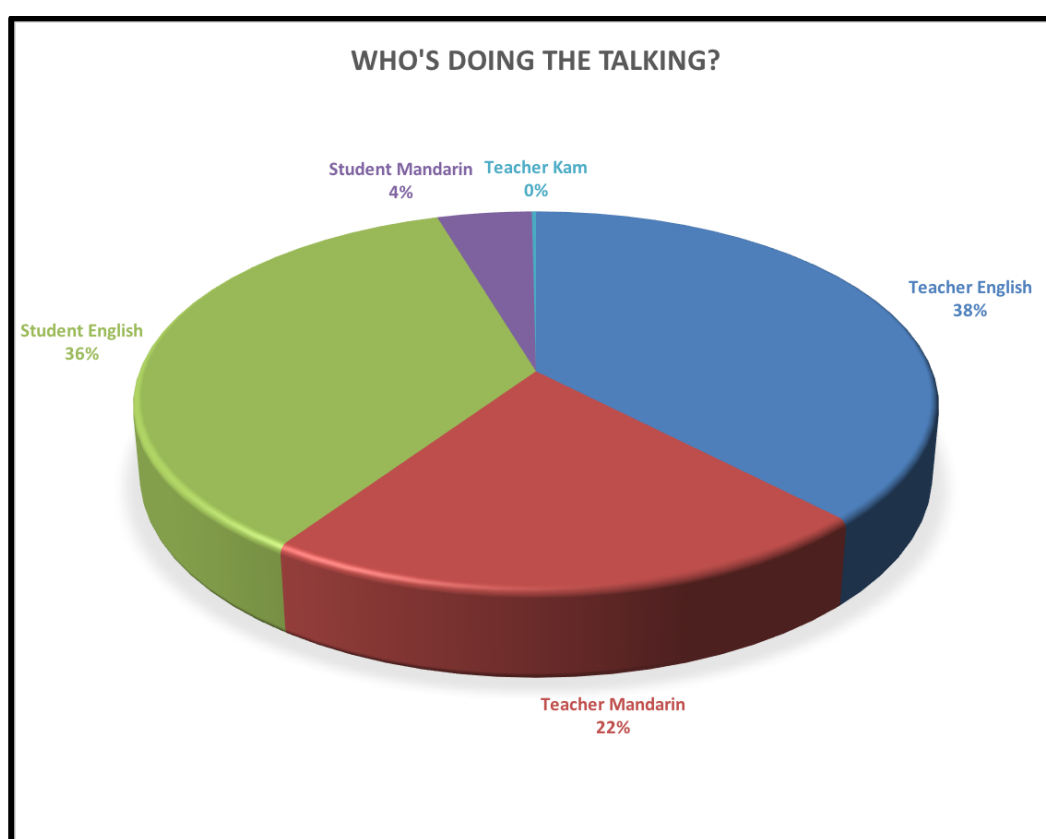
5.4.2 Individual participant observation data sets

5.4.2.1 Participant 1 overview:

Participant 1 was a 37-year-old male who teaches Primary 4. His village was exclusively Kam demographically and linguistically. He was Kam literate with high Kam oral fluency, Mandarin literate with high oral fluency, and English literate with mid-low oral fluency. In his ethnographic interview, he revealed that he generally favored the use of

Kam in education and lamented its rapid decline and marginalization in society and education.

Table 5.30 Participant 1 observation language use in classroom

Number of Teacher Utterances: 550		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**<1%**	Instruction
Mandarin	**24%**	
	11%	Ask Question
	6%	Instruction
	3%	Translation
	5%	Other Combined
English	**75%**	
	22%	Repetition
	20%	Read Aloud
	18%	Modeling
	5%	Ask Question
	10%	Other Combined
Translanguage-TME	**<1%**	Ask Question

Number of Student Utterances: 552		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**N/A**	
Mandarin	**10%**	
	8%	Response
	1%	Peer to Peer
	<1%	Other Combined
English	**90%**	
	75%	Repetition
	8%	Response
	6%	Read Aloud
	1%	Other Combined
Translanguaging	N/A	

During the observation, Participant 1 taught a lesson from the 4th grade English text focusing on numbers and currency. He used lesson-relevant objects during his lesson and made attempts to have students participate by asking specific students to answer questions. He made attempts to speak English to give commands or ask questions, but in each instance quickly repeated himself in Mandarin, thus undermining the use of English. During this observation, which was one complete class period, Participant 1 spoke a mixture of Mandarin and English. Students were focused and engaged and each student

had an opportunity to make at least one utterance aloud in English. During this observation Participant 1 produced exactly 50% of the utterances and the students produced the other 50%.

5.4.2.2 Participant 2 overview:

Participant 2 was a 32-year-old male teacher of Junior Secondary 2 in a Kam majority village that had a high level of language vitality. The participant was in his eleventh year of teaching, and described himself as a strong speaker of Kam, with moderate writing abilities in Kam as compared to his peers. He self-reported as having mid-level ability in spoken and written English, as well as in spoken and written Chinese. He was generally favorable to the idea of using Kam in the education setting, and valued its promotion in the community and school through increased exposure through maintaining cultural events and traditions. In his ethnographic interview, he stated that he used Chinese the majority of the time when he taught English classes, followed by English with Kam an extremely distant third.

Table 5.31 Participant 2 observation language use in classroom

Number of Teacher Utterances: 242		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**N/A**	
Mandarin	**42%**	
	17%	Translation
	13%	Instruction
	11%	Ask Question
	1%	Command
English	**55%**	
	30%	Read Aloud
	6%	Statement
	4%	Command
	4%	Modeling
	3%	Instruction
	3%	Ask Question
	3%	Repetition
	2%	Other Combined
Translanguage-TME	**3%**	Instruction

Number of Student Utterances: 193		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**N/A**	
Mandarin	**23%**	
	12%	Read Aloud
	10%	Response
	1%	Peer to Peer
English	**77%**	
	52%	Repetition
	22%	Read Aloud
	3%	Response
Translanguaging	N/A	

In the lesson that I observed when at his school, Participant 2 taught a lesson from the textbook focused on English phraseology around health and wellness, with an emphasis on body parts and interaction regarding the common cold. The lesson was heavy on repetition and rote memorization, with some emphasis on reading. The participant used a combination of English and Mandarin, with more of a balance than what he feels he normally uses. Students were attentive during the first part of the lesson, but only a minority of students participated when given the opportunity, and particularly male students at the rear of the class waned in attentiveness as the lesson progressed. During this observation Participant 2 produced 56% of the utterances and the students produced the other 44%.

5.4.2.3   Participant 3 overview:

Participant 3 taught Junior Secondary 3 at a township school in the southeastern outskirts of Misty Mountain county. The township was largely Sinicized, with lower than average Kam language vitality. Participant 3 stated that Kam usage had steadily declined since the time he was in primary school more than 25 years ago; he was, at the time of the study, 36 years of age. Participant 3 had high level abilities in spoken Kam, but had no Kam literacy ability. He self-reported as having high levels in both written and spoken English. He reported his Mandarin ability as high in both spoken and written forms. He saw value in using Kam in education, but felt that it was extremely difficult to implement and may be a lost cause. He felt that methods he learned from foreign teachers were excellent language teaching tools, but not practical in the environment where keeping pace with a text book was paramount.

Number of Teacher Utterances: 279		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**N/A**	
Mandarin	**34%**	
	17%	Translation
	6%	Instruction
	5%	Ask Question
	5%	Command
	1%	Other Combined
English	**65%**	
	17%	Read Aloud
	13%	Ask Question
	9%	Repetition
	8%	Instruction
	5%	Command
	5%	Modeling
	5%	Answer Question
	3%	Other Combined
Translanguaging	**2%**	Instruction

Number of Student Utterances: 118		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**N/A**	
Mandarin	**11%**	
	9%	Response
	2%	Ask Question
English	**89%**	
	40%	Repetition
	34%	Response
	15%	Read Aloud
Translanguaging	N/A	

Participant 3 taught a lesson focusing on the differences between British and American English. He used multimedia to present his lesson, taken from a DVD that accompanied the standard textbook. He used primarily English in his speech and was very close to his estimated average percentage of 70% English language use. Students were marginally engaged in the lesson, with fewer than 10 out of 67 participating verbally when given the option. During this observation Participant 3 produced 75% of the utterances and the students produced the other 25%.

5.4.2.4   Participant 4 overview

Participant 4 was a 37-year-old female teacher in the northern part of Misty Mountain county. She taught in a town where Kam was spoken less than the local dialect of Chinese, with students from the surrounding villages being the primary Kam speakers at the school, which she estimated as less than 50% of the school population. Although most students were Kam ethnically, the minority were fluent Kam speakers. She taught primary 3 and 4, and was in her 17th year of teaching. She self-evaluated as having Mid+ ability in spoken Kam, and had no written Kam ability. She evaluated her Mandarin level as Mid+ spoken and High written. She evaluated her English ability as High spoken and Mid+ written. Participant 4 was intrigued by the potential use of Kam in education, but did not see much usefulness in her school context, and favored exposure to Mandarin and English as soon as practicable.

Table 5.33 Participant 4 observation language use in classroom

Number of Teacher Utterances: 662		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**N/A**	
Mandarin	**25%**	
	16%	Ask Question
	4%	Instruction
	3%	Statement
	2%	Other Combined
English	**74%**	
	43%	Repetition
	19%	Modeling
	4%	Answer Question
	3%	Command
	3%	Read Aloud
	2%	Other Combined
Translanguage-TME	**1%**	Ask Question

Number of Student Utterances: 573		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**N/A**	
Mandarin	**6%**	Response
English	**94%**	
	74%	Repetition
	13%	Response
	5%	Read Aloud
	2%	Other Combined
Translanguaging	**N/A**	

Participant 4 taught a lesson from the textbook on the language associated with birthdays and birthday parties. Her students had a very high level of participation and were engaged with posters and games throughout the lesson, keeping interest high. Although participant 4 used a great deal of repetition in her lesson, she was careful to ensure that students demonstrated their understanding of the content by physical responses to her prompts. Students showed remarkable interest and focus during this lesson as compared to students that were evaluated in other settings.

Participant 4 self-reported as usually using only 40% English in her lessons, while this particular lesson she used 74% English, including attempts to give instructional commands to students in English. During this observation Participant 4 produced 54% of the utterances and the students produced the other 46%.

5.4.2.5 Participant 5 overview

Participant 5 was a 29-year-old male teacher in at a township school in central Misty Mountain County. He was in his sixth year of teaching and taught primary 5. He was ethnic Kam but reported that he has Mid+ spoken Kam ability in relation to his peers, and no ability in written Kam. He evaluated himself as having Mid+ ability in oral Chinese, Mid ability in written Chinese, Mid- ability in spoken English, and Mid ability in written English. He did not feel that Kam was necessary to teach in the school and felt that it would compete with the academic advancement of Kam students.

Number of Teacher Utterances: 286		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**N/A**	
Mandarin	**49%**	
	20%	Statements
	13%	Ask Question
	10%	Instruction
	4%	Translation
	2%	Other Combined
English	**51%**	
	16%	Read Aloud
	15%	Repetition
	10%	Ask Question
	5%	Model
	4%	Statement
	1%	Correction
Translanguaging		

Number of Student Utterances: 187		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**N/A**	
Mandarin	**15%**	
	14%	Response
	1%	Peer to Peer
English	**69%**	
	55%	Repetition
	12%	Read Aloud
	2%	Response
Translanguaging	N/A	
Physical Response	**16%**	Response

On the day I observed participant 5, he showed up late for his class after having had a large meal with other teachers, including his headmaster. He was mildly intoxicated,[18] but moved right into his lesson from the text without additional notes or teaching materials. He appeared to be a bit disconnected from his students' abilities and largely taught without paying much attention to the responses of his students. The students

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[18] Alcohol consumption is an age-old tradition of males in the Kam culture. Traditionally, homemade rice wine is generally seen as a staple and an important part of both the morning and evening meal.

appeared mildly interested in the lesson, with a small group of students providing the majority of interaction with the teacher in the form of responses and repetition. Participant 5 used approximately equal amounts of English and Mandarin. He reported generally using 80% Mandarin and only 20% to 30% English. During this observation Participant 5 produced 65% of the utterances and the students produced the other 35%.

5.4.2.6   Participant 6 overview:

Participant 6 was a 38-year old male teacher in a township primary school in south-central Misty Mountain County. He had been teaching primary school for 17 years, and was an assistant headmaster at the school. He had very strict ideas about using Mandarin for instruction, though he valued the Kam language and would, in an ideal world, provide Kam literacy as long as it would not compete with Mandarin and the opportunity for children to progress socially and economically. He had Mid+ ability in spoken Kam, and Low ability in written Kam. He believed that his spoken and written English abilities, as well as his spoken and written Mandarin abilities were High compared to his peers.

Table 5.35 Participant 6 observation language use in classroom

Number of Teacher Utterances: 767		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**1%**	Statement
Mandarin	**36%**	
	12%	Question
	9%	Statement
	7%	Translation
	4%	Command
	5%	Other Combined
English	**63%**	
	15%	Repetition
	13%	Statement
	10%	Read Aloud
	10%	Command
	9%	Question
	5%	Modeling
	1%	Correction
Translanguaging	**N/A**	

Number of Student Utterances: 391		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**N/A**	
Mandarin	**3%**	Response
English	**97%**	
	67%	Repetition
	16%	Read Aloud
	14%	Response
Translanguaging	**N/A**	

On the day I observed participant 6, he taught a lesson from the text on vocabulary relating to purchasing items in a bookstore. He took an aggressive approach to the class and was very strict and at times condescending to the students in his class. He focused primarily on syllable-by-syllable pronunciation (see excerpt from his lesson below in section 5.4.2.6.1, beginning at time code 9:45). When he used English for classroom instruction, he often immediately followed with translation in Mandarin (see below time code 3:45) upon which students would respond to his request or instructions. He did use some currency as a visual prop to stimulate the students' interest, but his primary methodology was to use statements and repetition. Students were moderately engaged in the lesson and did not show particular mastery or creativity with the content. During this observation Participant 6 produced 66% of the utterances and the students produced the other 34%.

5.4.2.6.1 Participant 6 lesson transcription excerpt

I have included an excerpt here from the lesson that Participant 6 taught when I was observing his class. The full transcript is in Appendix G. Transcription codes, reflected in Table 5.36 were modified from suggestions taken from Allwright and Bailey (1991, pp. 222-223).

Table 5.36 Transcription codes: List of abbreviations and notations:

T	Teacher
S	Student, gender unclear
FS	Female Student
MS	Male Student
FSMS	Multiple Students
CH	Chorus
{K}	Kam
{E}	English
{M}	Mandarin
/x/	Phonetic Transcription of Utterance
[x]	Translation of Utterance
[*x*]	Researcher Description
XX	Unintelligible Utterance

5.4.2.6.1.1 Excerpt from participant 6 lesson

3:45

T: {E} Take out yours book…..{M} 请拿出你的课本。[*Students take out books.*]

T: {E} Turn to the page…..ten. [*raising 10 fingers.*] Page ten.
4:00

T: {E} Lesson three. [*Begins writing on blackboard.*]

Blackboard Image:

3. Have you got enough money?   P.10

a dictionary-一本字典   bookstore-书店   a dirty mark- 一个污点
 /ə dɪkʃənɛri/   /bʊkstɔ:/   /ə dərti mɑ:k/

useful
/jusfəl/
有用的

8:20 [*Teacher begins walking around classroom to ensure students have copied correctly.*]
8:48
T: {E} Are you finished?

MS: {E} Yes

T: {E} You say after me please. Look at the blackboard everyone would you please?

T: {M} 看黑板 xx. [= look at the blackboard]

9:15

T: [*pointing to the words 'a* dictionary' /ə dɪkʃənɛri /] How do you say? You know. I think you
      know you can say.

S: {E} / ə /

T: {M}对，　怎么说？[yes, how do you say it?]

CH: {E} / ə /

T:　　{E} / ə

CH: {E}/ ə /

T: {M}这个 [= this one] [*pointing to the syllable 'dic'*]

CH: {E} /dɪk/

T: {E} /dɪk/

T: [*Pointing to 'c'*]

CH: {E}/k/

T: [*Pointing to 'ʃ'*]

CH: /ʃ/

T: /ʃ/

CH: /ʃ/

T: /ʃə/

CH: /ʃə/

T: /ɛ/

CH: /ɛ/

T: /nɛ/

CH: /nɛ/

T: /i/

CH: /i/

T: /ri/

CH: /ri/

T: / ə dɪkʃən /

CH: / ə dɪkʃən /

T: / ə dɪkʃən /

CH: / ə dɪkʃən /

T: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /

CH: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /

T: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /

CH: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /

T: [*pointing to /ə dɪkʃənɛri /]* {M}这个比较长，啊，这个注音多一点就比较长，再来一遍。
      [= this is pretty long, ah, there are many phonetic symbols, so it's pretty long, one more
      time]

T: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /

CH: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /

T:　　/ə/

CH: /ə/

T: /dɪkʃənɛri /

CH: /dɪkʃənɛri /

T: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /

CH: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /

End of Excerpt

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5.4.2.7 Participant 7 overview:

Participant 7 was a 27-year-old female teacher who had taught Junior Secondary School English for 5 years. She was a High-level speaker of Kam but had no ability to read or write Kam. She described herself as having High proficiency in oral Mandarin and Mid-proficiency in written Mandarin. She described her English in a similar manner with High level spoken and Mid-level written. Although she was an L1 Kam speaker and used Kam with her family and friends, she refrained from using Kam with students and colleagues at school. She was resigned to the fact that Kam was used less and less and did not support using Kam in the school environment, either in its spoken or written form, citing the need to use class time studying Chinese and English.

Table 5.37 Participant 7 observation language use in classroom

Number of Teacher Utterances: 353		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**N/A**	
Mandarin	**57%**	
	22%	Instruction
	20%	Ask Question
	7%	Translation
	5%	Statement
	3%	Other Combined
English	**31%**	
	12%	Read Aloud
	6%	Modeling
	5%	Statement
	3%	Answer Question
	2%	Ask Question
	3%	Other Combined
Translanguaging	**12%**	
TME	8%	Instruction
TME	4%	Ask Question

Number of Student Utterances: 67		
Language	Usage	Purpose
Kam	**N/A**	
Mandarin	**62%**	Response
English	**38%**	
	34%	Response
	4%	Repetition
Translanguaging	**N/A**	

When I observed participant 7 she was preparing her students for the year-end English exam. She used a majority of Mandarin to teach her lesson and focused on explaining grammatical structures in English. She used no English to communicate with or give instructions to her students, and primarily used English to read aloud words in the text or model a certain grammatical structure. Students were moderately engaged in the lesson as demonstrated by their willingness to respond to the teacher's prompts and take notes in their textbooks. During this observation Participant 7 produced 84% of the utterances and the students produced the other 16%.

5.4.2.8 *Participant 8 overview:*

Participant 8 is a 49-year-old male who has served for many years as a Chinese language instructor and headmaster. He is the only participant in the study who does not self-identify as being trilingual, though he does have some ability in written English. He states that his Oral Kam is High, and written Kam is Mid. Oral and written Chinese are both High. He has no oral English ability and only Low written ability. He has served many years as a headmaster in a school that emphasizes written Kam instruction and is very supportive of students using Kam as long as practicable for education. He is of the belief, however, that time spent on Kam instruction is negatively correlated with success on Mandarin language exams, so he expresses being caught in the dilemma of wanting to promote Kam for language and culture preservation purposes, but 'needing' to promote Mandarin for testing purposes.

Because participant 8 is not an active English teacher, and his primary duties are those of a headmaster, I did not observe him teaching any lessons at his school. I did take the opportunity to visit the school's Kam instruction class where the Kam language teacher, also the village song leader led a lesson in Chinese, teaching children how to spell words in Kam songs.

5.5   Summary

The data in this study primarily consists of qualitative data from the eight participants' ethnographic interviews and the quantitative data from seven classroom observations. The ethnographic interview data has been displayed in a format that should give the reader some context beyond a specific question that was postulated and answered by the participants. Great care was taken to preserve the voice of the participant, in the true spirit of ethnography and transformative research in an effort to not reduce the participant's view into a binary option or sound byte as he or she was providing relevant information. The general consensus of the participants regarding the research questions was collated into a table to give the reader a sense of the general feeling of the participants and their views towards language use. Observation data was displayed in three tables and three charts to display the comprehensive language use in the seven classrooms that were observed. In addition, participant lessons were briefly explained and analyzed for language content in a case-by-case format to provide greater depth to the quantitative data. For each of the seven cases, a table, categorized by the speaker, was presented that displayed the percentages of language used and main purpose for speech during each lesson that I observed.

6 Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

In chapter 5 I laid out the data in relevant categories. First the ethnographic interview data as related to language use attitudes, analyzing it according to the principles of content analysis. Then turning to the classroom observation data, I displayed the language use practice in graphic form after coding and analyzing the language usage content, provided examples of classroom language usage, and displayed demographic data regarding the participants. Here in the discussion chapter I now turn the reader to the salient themes coming out of the data and their relevance to this study, and their connection to relevant academic literature. I then draw conclusions from these themes and provide recommendations for improving multilingual education in the Kam speaking areas of Guizhou, as well as recommendations for additional research in this area.

6.2 The Objectives Of The Study

This study was undertaken with two overarching objectives. These two objectives guided every aspect of the study from start to finish, and served as road markers in every aspect of decision-making throughout the course of the undertaking. These objectives were as follows:

- To develop a thorough understanding of the contextual characteristics of the sociolinguistic environment in which the study took place.
- To explore language-use practice and stakeholder attitudes in order to render the *status quo* in the context at hand.

Arising out of these objectives, the research questions I developed to guide the collection of data were:

Question 1: What is the status quo for language use in Kam village schools, and in English classrooms for L1 Kam speakers, in Misty Mountain county?

Question 2: How do the participants perceive that different stakeholders in minority education view the importance of L1 and L3, i.e., Kam and English, in relation to L2, Chinese?

6.3   Limitations of the Study

Before discussing the conclusions of this study it is important to review its limitations in order for the reader of this thesis to have a clear picture of what the findings will and will not demonstrate. In order to do this, I ask the question: "what issues in the context, design, implementation, or analysis of the study might have had a negative impact on the results and what does this mean for the validity and reliability of the study?"

According to Robert Yin (2000, Kindle Location 335-36) "just as different scientific methods prevail in the natural sciences, different social science research methods fill different needs and situations for investigating social science topics." In this study I used an approach that included elements of ethnography, observation, and case-study research in order to enhance the reliability and validity of the study, and to mitigate gross limitations inherent in any one method. In addition, the methods selected for this study were deemed most suitable in terms of 'fitness of purpose' for the study. With that said, the study at hand had limitations related to the context, methodology, and multilingual nature of the research.

As thoroughly explored in Chapter 2, the context in which this study took place had many unique characteristics. First, the historical factors that play upon the present day context of this study are manifold. Historical currents such as the role of Confucianism in Chinese (Jacques, 2009; Lin, 2009) and also Kam culture (Ou, 2007), significant politically motivated events (Ou, 2007; Geary 2003a), and the sensitivity of minority culture issues presented a situation in which free and open inquiry was restricted. I posit that within a Confucian society where there has been geographic and societal isolation and where identity with greater society holds more value than identity with self, individual members of such a society find it difficult to meta-analyze their environment and to think critically of the systems that are in place. In addition, in a society where censorship is the norm, and systemic change is initiated from the top-down, members of the society survive in their roles by limiting the expression of their opinions. As a researcher, this left me questioning the qualitative data that I collected in the ethnographic interviews. Were the participants truly able to reflect critically on their environment, or, was the fish unaware of its surrounding water, so to speak? I was unable to come away with a definitive answer to this question during the course of this study.

Such a concept should be investigated further. Of course, this potential constraint was mitigated by having developed long and sustained trusting relationships with the participants, which allowed me to probe more-deeply into their thoughts and attitudes, however, the degree to which I successfully accomplished this goal in this environment remains somewhat unclear to me. In the end, much of the ethnographic interview data corroborates with my personal field notes and observations in the study, pointing in a generally uniform direction.

The current situation at the time the study took place, in which foreign researchers are heavily monitored and restricted in the areas where this study was situated, lent itself to great restrictions in the methods that could be used, and narrowed the pool of participants whom could be accessed during the data collection phase of the study. The tremendous difficulty of living, working, and researching in the Kam speaking area of Guizhou, logistically, emotionally, and physically for both my family and me were paramount. Such factors and their practical outcomes were no doubt grand limitations to carrying out the present study.

Methods were selected that lent themselves to the situation at hand, but are not without limitations. Ethnographic interviews, such as the ones that I conducted, allow a researcher to have deep, natural, and meaningful interactions with participants. Participants are free to express their ideas with few prompts and restrictive structure. However, such interviews are most valid when there is significant trust between the researcher and the participant. Developing such trust takes time and energy on the part of the researcher, and by nature limits the number of suitable participants available for such a study. Because of the exploratory nature of this study, and the objectives stated above, in my opinion this factor does not limit the findings significantly, but rather increases the value of this research and elucidates the need for more studies of this nature to take place in this environment.

The case-study approach, as mentioned in Chapter 4 section 4.5.3 has inherent limitations, most poignantly regarding generalization of one case to other settings. In a multiple case study approach, the recurring trends in each case somewhat mitigate this limitation and begin to paint a picture of broader trends within the community in question. Nonetheless, this method was selected because it was deemed to be the most

fit for the purpose of the research, was permitted by the authorities in the Kam region, and provided rich and high-quality interactions with participants in their natural work setting.

The multilingual nature of the research is another limitation of this study. This limitation and its relevant factors were examined thoroughly above in Chapter 4, section 4.7.1. Every attempt was made to follow commonly recommended practice for conducting such research, and to involve people whose expertise in the languages at hand could help me to steer clear of making errors that would affect the process of data collection, transcription, translation, and analysis. In addition, due to my extended exposure to the Chinese language, I was able to directly access relevant literature in Mandarin, though it was scant in quantity, yet it was difficult to analyze the quality of that literature because of the parameters of my linguistic competencies and the time involved in the process. Further joint studies between Chinese and foreign researchers should expand upon the work presented in this thesis and emphasize the Mandarin language literature in greater detail.

6.4 Summary of findings from literature

6.4.1 Policy

Based on the policy document and literature review conducted in this study, as well as the application of practice that is evident in the analysis of the interview and observation data, it is clear that there is a significant lack of policy guiding the implementation and practice of ELT in the Kam speaking area of Guizhou, which are areas where Mandarin and a minority language exist in the same scholastic community. Policy documents emanating from Beijing that deal with ELT are idealistic and modern in their verbiage, but bereft of guidance for implementing the ideals that are promoted within. Additionally, these documents have not been modified within either Guizhou or the Kam area education system to plan and account for the differences in approach that are promoted by the international academic community (See Chapter 3, section 3.5) for successfully implementing multilingual education. They are, in fact, geared to Mandarin as L1 learners of English as L2, and make no mention of recommended practices for Minority language as L1, Mandarin as L2, and English as L3 students.

In the county education bureau document stating accomplishments for the 2016 school year, and establishing plans for the 2017 year this trend continues. In the thirty-three

page comprehensive document there is no explicit provision made for Kam language in the school environment, in fact the term 'bilingual' only appears once in the entire document in reference to a program designed to train 'bilingual' teachers to improve their Mandarin (Misty Mountain, 2017). There is one reference to support a Kam cultural heritage project in one school in a community that is famous for Kam singing performances, however Kam language instruction is not promoted. In terms of 'trilingual' education, the document makes no mention of English instruction. Other documents emanating from the provincial education bureau only mention English language instruction by making room for so many hours per week for it in the overall school instructional program. Within this provincial document there is no distinction that is made between Han speaking areas and minority language speaking areas. And in this document there is no provision for class time to be dedicated to any minority language instruction in the entire province in which, in 2010, it is estimated that there were over 3 million minority language students in the province.

One result of this lack of policy guidance is that teachers in the Kam speaking area of Guizhou have no overarching source for shaping their instructional practices. They are forced to teach students whose L1 development has been ignored and whose L2 development has not been curated. L3 instruction is thus generally an exercise in futility. The role of policy should be to shape practice in a way that connects the classroom environment and the teacher and student experience with the science that guides best practices and with other resources. Without clear policy from government, or training from the education bureau, participant teachers in this study were set adrift to figure things out on their own, leading to a dependence on their personal experiences in their instructional history, the text, and dealing with the pressure of testing measures that are tied to the advanced skills of reading and writing in Mandarin. Their practice is uniformly uninformed by scientific research distilled by policymakers, and the results are evident.

6.4.2 Context

The context in which this study took place is enigmatic and multi-layered. In addition, there is little transparency on the side of education officials, which has historically prevented academic inquiry into the scholastic culture, including goals, practices, motivations, and attitudes of stakeholders. It could be said that the context is akin to a proverbial black box. As was explored in Chapter 2 of this thesis, there is a multitude of

cultural, historical, economic, political, and sociolinguistic elements that come to bear on the setting, and have influenced both the language-use practices of ELT practitioners and the language-use attitudes of stakeholders.

6.4.2.1 Context evaluation

One of the objectives of this study was to thoroughly understand the context in which it took place in order to better situate the findings in the breadth of other research on multilingual education.

As explored in Chapter 3, the '*continua of multilingual education*' developed by Jasone Cenoz (2009) provides a template for evaluating a multilingual education setting and the contextual factors that influence multilingual education. The continua provided a framework with which to understand and evaluate the context by applying them to the setting in the Kam speaking area of Guizhou. In table 6.1, I display the features of the Kam speaking area educational setting that I examined in this study. In the continua as they were designed, Cenoz used purposefully fluid and vague descriptions of the different degrees of multilingualism. In an attempt to make the continua a bit more concrete and useful for this study, I have developed a 9-point numeric rating to overlay on the continua. The rating system is simply a visual aid, and I have found it useful to bring the continua to life and make them more useful to the reader. The lower numbers indicate a lesser degree of the measure of each continuum, and the higher numbers indicate a greater degree.

Table 6.1: Kam area schools 'continua of multilingual education' scores

Sociolinguistic- Macro										
Less Multilingual	1	2	3	4	**5**	6	7	8	9	More Multilingual
Sociolinguistic- Micro										
Less Multilingual	1	2	**3**	4	5	6	7	8	9	More Multilingual
School- Subject										
Less Multilingual	1	2	3	**4**	5	6	7	8	9	More Multilingual
School- Language of Instruction										

Less Multilingual	1 **2** 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	More Multilingual
School- Teachers		
Less Multilingual	1 2 **3** 4 5 6 7 8 9	More Multilingual
School-Context		
Less Multilingual	1 2 3 **4** 5 6 7 8 9	More Multilingual
Linguistic Distance		
Less Distant	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **8** 9	More Distant

Adapted from Cenoz (2009, pp. 34-37)

According to Cenoz (2009, p.37), the *macro sociolinguistic* continuum involves the vitality of the languages involved in the setting and their use in different domains in the greater society. In this case, English and Mandarin are both international languages with great vitality, level 0 on the EGID scale (See Chapter 5, section 5.2.1), where the Kam language in the communities in the study are rated level 4 through 6a respectively (see Table 5.2 and section 5.2.1). The interesting finding is that in the macro environment, there is little overlap between the languages in question. English is never used in the macro environment, Mandarin, in the form of the local dialect, is used by government and services (including within the school environment), and for business with a portion of the community that is not Kam, and Kam is used in all other domains. I rated this element a '5' on this continuum.

The *micro sociolinguistic* continuum involves the student and their close relationships with peers, parents, siblings, and extended family. In the case of the students in this study they are typically monolingual in the micro level. English is non-existent in these relationships, and Mandarin is rarely used within their micro-relationships. Mandarin is used in the school setting with peers inside of the classroom, or with the small percentage of students who are not Kam that have moved into the Kam community. Because of the relative lack of multilingualism in the micro setting, I rated this a '3'.

The four continua in the school setting are all very clearly on the less multilingual side of the scale. The first category, *subject*, deals with the degree to which different languages are taught as school subjects, the degree to which they are taught, and the degree of integration into the syllabus. According to Cenoz (2009, p. 34) each individual school in the same community may have a different rating. In the case of this study, I assessed only schools that included an English component, though most primary schools in the county do not provide English instruction. At the schools that do provide English within this study, most start at grade 3, though some at grade 4. Only two schools provide language instruction in Kam, the L1 of the vast majority of the students in the schools represented in the study, and all schools provide instruction in Mandarin, though unfortunately with methodology and materials that assume that Mandarin is the L1 of the students, which, of course, it is not. Overall I rated the setting for the study a 4 on the *school-subject* continuum.

The second category, *school-language of instruction*, deals with the degree to which different languages are used as languages of instruction and their integration into the syllabus design and language planning. This measure is clearly 'less multilingual' in the setting of this study. No school in the study, or in the greater context where the study took place use any language other than Mandarin, the L2 of the students, in instruction. Kam, the L1, is overlooked as a language of instruction, and English, L3, is only taught as a school subject. Therefore, I rated this category a level '2', far to the less multilingual side of the *school-language of instruction* continuum.

The third school related category, *school-teachers*, rates the degree to which the teachers in a school setting are proficient in different languages, and the degree to which they are trained in delivering multilingual education, including delivering content through a second language. Although the participant teachers in this study have trilingual capabilities in Kam, Mandarin, and English, they are not strong in written Kam and are not strong in English. According to my ad hoc observations as a teacher trainer in Misty Mountain County and when visiting school sites, most other teachers in the participants' schools are even less proficient in Kam and English than the participant teachers. In addition, these teachers have received no training in multilingual education methods and are not capable of delivering content through a second language. I rated the schools as a '3' on the *school-teachers* continuum.

The final school related category, *school-context* refers to the degree of multilingualism within the school for 'communication between teachers, supporting staff, parents, students and parents, including informal conversations, meetings and written information' (2009, p. 36). This continuum highlights some of the anomalies of the school language context in this study. Informal communication between students and teacher and their peers is almost exclusively monolingual in Kam. Teacher communication with each other is typically conducted in the local dialect of Mandarin, unless both individuals are L1 Kam speakers and other teachers are not present. Meetings between teachers are all in Mandarin and written communication is exclusively in Mandarin. Community meetings are typically held in Mandarin, though oral Kam is used for clarification, and all written communication again uses Mandarin. Thus, there is a degree of multilingualism in the school context, however it often resembles dual spheres of monolingual domains. Therefore I have given the overall rating of '4' on the *school-context* continuum.

The final continuum is the Linguistic continuum, in which linguistic distance between the languages involved in education are measured. A lower number on this scale would refer to languages that are linguistically similar, and a larger number indicates that the languages are linguistically diverse. Cenoz identifies language family as the main criteria for establishing the linguistic distance measure, however in reality, there are many other measures that could influence this factor. For instance, although Kam and English are in different language families, in some phonetic categories, such as the inclusion of syllable final unvoiced stops (*t,p,k)* they are more similar than Kam and Mandarin which does not contain such stops. For the sake of this study I will rely on the measure that Kam, English, and Mandarin are all from three unique language families and are rather distant. I have rated *linguistic distance* an '8', or more distant.

Cenoz's *Continua of Multilingual Education* as applied to the context of this study reveals that the context at the time of the study was not conducive to successful multilingual education taking place. As is evident in Table 6.1 all of the continua display conditions that are not very favorable for incubating multilingual education.

6.4.2.2 Systemic opposition to multilingual education

It has been postulated that China's assimilationist language policies in the past have been at odds with developing the best quality of education in minority areas (Feng, 2007; Tsung, 2014; Postiglione, 2007, Postiglione, 2014) and that some of the assimilationist trends are continuing into the 21st century (Beckett and Postiglione, 2013). This is clearly the case in the history of education in Guizhou in general, and the Kam speaking area specifically. Since the decade of the 1980's there have been several projects in the Kam speaking area that have demonstrated the superiority of well-crafted and carefully implemented multilingual education over the *status quo* Mandarin L2 instruction in the area.

With the information collected in this study and related in Chapter 2 regarding efforts to implement multilingual education in the province in at least two different minority groups since the 1980s, it is clear that the officials at the provincial level area are aware of the successes of these projects to 1) maintain and bolster the cultural heritage and linguistic vitality of ethnic and linguistic minorities and 2) improve school retention rates and 3) improve academic performance in mathematics and Chinese language arts, as well as English (Finifrock 2010; Finifrock and Schilken, 2015). Over the last fifteen years, Senior members of the Guizhou Minority Affairs bureau, Guizhou Department of Education Research Institute, Guizhou University Southwest Minority Language and Culture Research Institute, and SIL International have all provided scientific evidence, support, and funding for expanding groundbreaking pilot projects such as the one in Zaidang Village, and Steel Mountain Village, but have been met with resistance from the Provincial Education Bureau and County Education Offices. Even with the strong pleas from village leaders in Zaidang Village, Steel Mountain Village, and Bluebell Village to carry on, or bolster existing programs with previously developed culturally relevant and content-rich curriculum, county and prefecture level officials have outright ignored their requests without stating reasons. In these villages and others explored in this study the *status quo* carries on with frustrating results and officials clamoring for improvement in the test results of the beleaguered students and teachers. L1 is being outright dismissed as a viable means of educating young students, L2 is being taught as if it were L1 even though subjects such as archaic Tang Dynasty poems and glowing stories about communist leaders bear no immediate relevance to young Kam children when entering first grade, and English is being taught using pitiable methods through the medium of L2,

which participants in the study readily acknowledge that students have not yet mastered. The only conclusion that I can draw from this stark situation is that behind closed doors where the 'powers that be' gather to make decisions, there is systemic opposition to engaging in, experimenting with, and promoting a form of multilingual education that has a long history of success internationally, within other parts of China such as Korean speaking community in Yanbian (Zhang et.al, 2015) and among the Dai in Yunnan (Cobbey, 2000), and has even showed successful outcomes in the Kam speaking areas as well (Finifrock, 2010; Finifrock and Schilken, 2015). The most puzzling aspect of this realization is that even those that may promote Mandarin as the only language for education and want to increase minority students' Mandarin ability can have much greater success if they emulate the methods used in the Zaidang Pilot Project. Could it be that developing minority languages and cultures and reducing the marginalization of minority cultures is the face that is intentionally and systematically spited by the cutting off of the nose of improved academic results through using scientifically validated multilingual education methods? If so, it is my opinion that this approach will surely backfire and prolong the inefficacy of general education in minority language areas of Guizhou, sacrificing along with it the riches of cultural heritage and language that are still viable in minorities such as the Kam.

6.4.2.3   Language shift

Evidence presented in this study point to the direction of a language shift taking place as this generation of students is not allowed to use Kam even orally in schools, and though it is used in communication with students outside of the classroom feels 'unnatural' to use within its walls, Chinese is more prevalent in schools and increasingly in the home via media, and testing in Mandarin is the paramount goal and driving force of education. In future generations, without a vital L1 in the Kam speaking areas, multilingual education becomes less and less of a viable option, and Han cultural hegemony will likely leave several generations of Kam citizens marginalized and voiceless, and eventually assimilate all authentic and viable forms of Kam culture and language. Joshua Fishman states that in addition to outright opposition from competing or more powerful cultures such as the Kam face, "today the worldwide process of globalization of the economy, communication and entertainment media,…[and] consumerism as a way of life have threatened to sweep away everything locally authentic and different that may stand in their way (Fishman, 2001 p. xiii)." He theorizes that this onslaught leading to language

shift can be stalled or reversed by a systematic process that emphasizes the development of minority languages, especially through their inclusion and emphasis in the educational curriculum (Fishman, 1991; Fishman, 2001; Hornberger, 1998). Without measures such as Kam language curriculum, Kam as a language of communication within the classroom, potential for community literacy in Kam, and Kam language preschools in place, there is sure to be a free-fall through the levels of Fishman's (1991) GID, or Lewis and Simons' (2010) EGID scale as used in this thesis. The evidence presented in this study is foreboding in this regard.

6.5   Summary of Key Findings from Research

6.5.1   Language use practice: How much Kam, Mandarin, and English is used for communication in the school environment?

Research Question 1: What is the status quo for language use in Kam area schools, and in English classrooms for L1 Kam speakers, in Misty Mountain county?

Findings from this study suggest that in the Kam speaking areas of Guizhou, though the Kam language as L1 of Kam students is still relatively vital according to assesment on the EGID scale (See Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1), and English is promoted as an important L3, Mandarin Chinese, the L2, dominates the educational landscape.

During the visits to the school sites that I selected it was evident that Kam is vital and dominant in the lives of the students. The Kam language was heard in abundance in the towns and villages through which I walked, and participant teachers, who often served as my hosts used Kam in their interaction with acquainatnces on the street, in shops, or in their homes. Students used Kam while visiting with each other in the yards of the schools, in the hallways during breaks, and in the cafeteria. Kam was used in abundance between students and support staff at the schools I visited and between the support staff when they spoke with each other. Participants who taught primary school emphasized that Kam students only use Kam when conversing with one another, and prefer to use Kam to communicate with Kam teachers outside of the classroom. Most participants who taught junior secondary reported similar habits, though one emphasized that she uses Mandarin with all of her students outside of the classroom.

All of the participants in the study emphasised that the Kam language is used very little in their classrooms, however, and not at all in the classrooms of their colleagues who are not Kam speakers. The only exception to this rule is when a teacher uses Kam to

compare the pronunciation of an English word to something similar in Kam. There was evidence of this taking place during the lessons that I observed, and some participant teachers reported that they have used this method in their practice. Others, particularly teachers at upper grades of junior secondary school stated that they do not use Kam in any situation in their classroom. In other situations Kam is used, for instance when a student expresses a lack of understanding of the content and the Kam speaking teacher uses Kam to instruct the student. Yet, the instances of this happening are reported as becoming more and more rare, and were non-existent during the course of classroom observations that I conducted during this study. There appears to be a real and present stigma against using Kam in the classroom at all levels of the educational system. As Kam is stigmatized, and Mandarin is often not well developed, students are shy to ask questions or speak aloud in any language during class, with the exception of when they are responding to a prompt or repeat a phrase in chorus.

Written Kam was non-existent in the eight schools visited in this study, with the exception of Kam writing on the gate of two of the schools in Bluebell town. Participants reported that Kam was not used in written correspondence with parents, teachers, or students in their schools, including in the schools in Bluebell village, the only school where written Kam is taught in any form. Within the classrooms, hallways, offices, and grounds of the schools in the study written Kam was not evident. In the two schools in the study where Kam was taught, it was limited to one hour per week and focused on singing as a way of maintaining Kam cultural heritage. But, even these Kam language classes are taught through the medium of Mandarin.

Mandarin, which is seen overwhelmingly as the uncontested language of education, is spoken both by teachers and students in all aspects of the educational process. Unless prompted to use English in an English lesson, Mandarin is the only language spoken by students to inquire of their teacher or to answer a question that is asked by their teachers. During participant interviews, participants reported using Mandarin to conduct all of their lessons except for when they are teaching English. Mandarin is used as the language of instruction in all but a few remote schools from primary 1 onwards. It is generally assumed to be the only language suitable for educational purposes. Mandarin writing, or *Hanzi* is the only form of script visible on the walls of the schools within and outside of the classrooms. All correspondence within the school staff and students, all correspondence with education offices, and all correspondence with parents is written in *Hanzi*. In policy planning there is no provision made for any other medium of instruction,

and Mandarin was the only language observed and reported by participants as the medium of instruction in all of their subjects.

During English lessons, most participants reported using 60% to 80% English, and the remainder Mandarin Chinese, and the classroom observations bore this out. During the English lessons which I observed, I was struck by the repetitive nature of the utterances that the participant teachers were using and the rote nature of instruction. It was clearly evident that only few of the students were participating in the chorus responses and that the lessons were not structured to stimulate the type of thinking, language processing, and problem solving that have been shown to stimulate great gains in language learning (Asher, 1965; Krashen,1982). In addition there was no evidence of authentic materials in the language learning classroom such as books, articles, or multimedia aimed at lower levels of language ability that have been shown to increase student interest and promote success in language acquisition (Crossley et al., 2007; McGrath, 2008; Bovellan, 2014). The methods employed, which were used by all participant teachers in this study leave teachers feeling frustrated by their students' lack of progress, inability to converse in English, and dismal test results. Students also express exasperation at the difficulty of learning English and lose motivation to continue. Contrast this with the study carried out by Finifrock (2010) in Zaidang Village where total physical response was the main methodology of instruction for a total of seventy class-hours of instruction. By using TPR, Finifrock was able to model natural language use, stimulate the thinking of each student to internalize the language, and compel students to process the meaning and respond to the stimulus. Students were not expected to parrot the language, but rather to respond with a physical action. This allowed the instructor to immediately take stock of every student in the class. Students who did not understand the statement, question, or command were conspicuous through their inaction, allowing the instructor to have immediate feedback as to which students understood the stimulus and which ones did not. No testing was necessary to assess the student progress, and certainly not written testing which demands a high level of language mastery in order to simply sit for the exam.[19] The methodology employed in the

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[19] Testing was administered during the experiment to ascertain the differences between the two classes in the study. Testing was not necessary to ascertain student progress in relation to classroom content.

Zaidang study also allowed the students to progress in the most natural way of language learning: listening leading to understanding, speech only when their speech mechanisms were developed to the degree that they willfully chose to begin speaking, reading based on the vocabulary, phonology, and grammar that they had previously mastered, and lastly writing flowing out of their previously mastered linguistic abilities. Most children in both classes from the Zaidang study, who were unexposed to English prior to the 70 hours of instruction, were able to demonstrate adeptness in listening ability, confidence in speaking with native English speakers in embedded context situations, and beginning mastery of the English alphabet.

Six of the eight participants in this study had completed a two-year course at the Misty Mountain Language Center in oral English and English teaching using the same TPR and learner centered methodologies that I had used in the Zaidang study. Yet, in the classroom observations only one of the particpants (see section 5.4.2.4) used these methodologies as a foundational element of the lesson.

Naturally, this leads to the question: why the dispartiy between training and practice? The simple answer is that the participant teachers did not feel empowered to use the TPR and learner-centered methodologies in a wholesale manner, and fell back into the methodologies in which they were originally taught and trainined before the two-year intervention at the Misty Mountain Language Center. The pressures of evaluation forced them to return to the *status quo*. As teachers, they are measured on the results of their student exam scores at the end of the semester. The exam is based on the order and scope of content that is contained in the textbook. The content of each text is not in any way coordinated to the language level of the students, but rather is strictly assigned to their grade level. Thus, students in junior secondary 1 (seventh grade) who have studied English for as many as four years in their township primary school are given the same text as students in junior secondary 1 who have never studied Engilsh in their countryside primary school. Likewise, students in primary 5 at a school where English instruction starts at primary 3 are given the same text in their third year of studying English as students in a countryside school in primary 5 who only begin to study English in primary 5. The textbook is the master and the teacher is its slave, of no consequence is the efficacy of the course laid out within.

For a teacher on her own to incorporate methodology that does not directly correlate to the testing emphasis of the school and larger education system is a risky proposition. Teachers deem it necessary to 'teach to the test' in hopes that some students will master

the content, and forsake methodologies that lead to language mastery. It should be noted that even with such a widespread and dedicated effort to teach to the tests, student performance on these tests are dismal. As reported in the data analysis chapter of this study, participant 7 would be pleased if she could improve her test scores from the previous year so that more than 11% of her students would pass the semester final exam, as she would be the highest performing English teacher at her school.

6.5.2 Stakeholder perceptions: How do participants in the study view stakeholder attitudes towards language?

Question 2: How do the participants perceive that different stakeholders in minority education view the importance of L1 and L3, i.e., Kam and English, in relation to L2, Chinese?

6.5.2.1 Participants

The participants in this study shared their own attitudes towards the three languages in focus in this study. Obviously, each participant has had their own interaction with the languages and views them from the viewpoint of their own historical experiences and socially constructed point of view. All participants in the study shared a common love for their L1, Kam, and desire for it to remain vital and integral to their lives and to the life of their community. Participants were more divided on the value of written Kam. Most saw value in community members and students learning how to read and write in Kam, especially for cultural heritage preservation reasons, though some were strongly satisfied with Kam being an oral language, and one felt that transmission to the next generation was not of value to them. Only a few were literate in Kam themselves and saw value in promoting literacy for academic purposes. All were united in stating that ideally Kam could be used to teach students, even unlocking latent or stimulating academic talent, but practically speaking, their view was that it was impossible to find space for it in the current academic environment.

Participant teachers all emphasized the importance of L2, Mandarin, for their students to master and use in both their academic career and in life in general. They see it as valuable for being part of the larger Chinese society and for gaining valuable skills for careers in the workplace. None questioned the value of Chinese as a medium of instruction for all academic content, or the practice of Mandarin being carte blanche the

language of testing in their school system. Mandarin Chinese in their perception is the *sine qua non* of the education system.

English is a language that seven of the eight participants have invested significant time learning and developing as a professional skill. The eighth, a headmaster, studied less and is not proficient in its use. All participants perceived some value in English, L3, as a part of the education system in their county schools. They believe that English instruction is valuable as a means to expose students to a world language and to other ways of thinking. There are some differences in opinion between the participants as to whether English should be mandatory for all students, with some stating that it should be optional at higher grades for those who have the interest. At the time of the study, English was a tested subject on the *gaokao* (高考), or the college entrance exam, so participants accepted English as a viable part of the curriculum on that basis.

6.5.2.2 *Officials*

Participants related that officials are generally opposed to L1, Kam, taking time and resources away from the main educational goals of schools in their jurisdiction. Officials are perceived by the participants to be favorable towards Kam in the community, but not in the schools. Participants in the study report that officials do not see value in teaching written Kam, because it cannot help the students on their exams or in life after school. It should be noted that officials are many and diverse, and that participants are simply relating their perception of their general feel from officials they know.

According to participant perspectives, education officials see Mandarin, L2, as being the unquestioned most-important language in education. They are of the mindset that more time exposed to Mandarin will improve the test scores of minority children, and are invested in making schools Mandarin only to the greatest extent possible. Some officials were perceived as believing that because they themselves worked hard to learn Mandarin only and are now government employees, that this is the best method for educating minority children. As testing in Mandarin is the manner by which officials evaluate the effectiveness of schools, and is in fact how officials are evaluated by their superiors, they are fully invested in maximizing Mandarin results. When questioned, participants do not perceive that officials are familiar with the benefits of L1 mother-tongue education, such as was implemented in Zaidang Village, for improving Mandarin results, and thus see

Mandarin-only-education as the only viable method for schools in their county. In addition, some participants related that because Mandarin use in education is a mandatory national policy[20] officials would naturally be supportive of its use as the only language of instruction.

Participants in general believed that education officials are indifferent towards the inclusion of English in the curriculum. Their perception was that since very few officials were proficient in English that they did not value it as an academic subject, and by nature of English results being rather poor in the county officials also are opposed to English being a medium of instruction in the schools.

6.5.2.3 Teachers

Participants in this study believe that their colleagues who are Kam have similar attitudes towards Kam as they themselves do, seeing value in the language as part of their culture, but not necessarily as an important part of the education system. However, they believe that their Han colleagues generally are opposed to Kam being used in the schools, and in some instances have forbidden its use in their classrooms. This is especially prevalent in their colleagues who have been posted to their schools from outside of the Kam-speaking areas of Guizhou. Such teachers are reported as not being opposed to Kam people or Kam culture, or even in some instances being taught to Kam students as a subject, but are simply opposed to the language being used in the schools, especially as a medium of instruction.

Mandarin is viewed by the colleagues of the participants in a very similar manner to the participants, namely as being the most significant content and only viable medium of education. However, whereas participant teachers could see the value of Kam language as a medium of instruction in a theoretical situation, their Han colleagues firmly promote Mandarin over any other language.

Participants believe that their colleagues in general are favorable towards English being taught in the schools if they have had learned English themselves, but indifferent or opposed if they had not. Most teachers, according to the participants, do not think too

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[20] This is a misunderstanding of national policy.

deeply about English, but because it is a part of the required curriculum they accept it as a part of the school experience.

6.5.2.4 Students

Participants in this study related that students in their purview have very favorable perceptions of their L1, Kam. Students naturally default to Kam in their homes, peer conversations, and even with Kam-speaking teachers outside of the classroom. They love to sing in Kam and would also love to learn in Kam because of their familiarity with it and its ease of use. Participants who have learned written Kam, or who work in schools where students are exposed to written Kam relate that the students truly enjoy the language and using it in the school setting. If it was offered as an option as a medium of instruction most participants perceive that students would be eager to us it and would be motivated by it.

Students perceptions of Mandarin, their L2, are varied as reported by the participants in this study. Most students have some exposure to Mandarin prior to arriving in school, and are eager to learn, however, many students, especially those who do not have parents who are literate in *Hanzi* are quickly lost in the fast pace of Mandarin education whose texts and lessons are designed for Mandarin as L1 students. Participants report that many students throughout primary school, and even some throughout junior secondary school are not confident in their Mandarin. These students then are reluctant to speak in class and often do not understand the class content. All participants estimated that some of their students have this lack of confidence in Mandarin, some estimating that perhaps 10% of Kam students do not understand Mandarin well enough to converse or learn content even in the third and final year of junior secondary school. Participants relate that most students engage sufficiently and appreciate the necessity of Mandarin, yet many would choose not to study it if the school authorities did not require it.

6.5.2.5 Parents

Participants overall had very little to say about parent perspectives on the languages involved in education. The overwhelming perspective of the participants is that parents do not feel empowered to express, or even to possess, opinions about the schools. Naturally the Kam parents and grandparents are delighted to see Kam in the school environment, especially elements of dance and storytelling that may be included in holiday performances. Because of historical elements relating to education touched upon

in the context section of this thesis, modern Kam parents associate education with Mandarin exclusively. Parents would likely support Kam language curriculum, participants said, if it would not interfere with Mandarin studies and the potential benefits that a Mandarin based education bring with it. Perspectives regarding English follow the same lines. They defer to education officials to make those decisions and do not generally formulate opinions or express them to the participant teachers.

6.5.3   Summary of findings vs. literature

Tucker's (1998) criteria for multilingual education evaluation shed light on the weaknesses in the Kam-speaking area education system that was in place at the time of this study. Tucker suggests, in concert with the claims of Cenoz (2009), Jessner (2008), Cummins (2000), Baker (2011), Hornberger (2002), Tsung (2014), and Finifrock (2010) that the development of L1 is foundational for cognitive development of the child and subsequent success in L2 and L3. However, in the schools that were involved in this study, L1 is undeveloped, and L2 and L3 show signs of weakness in the student population as one would expect, following from Tucker's claim. Parental and community support and involvement, says Tucker (1998), are also essential for a successful multilingual education program to take place. Parents in the Kam speaking area are quite certainly uninvolved in the education of their children whether it is by intent or by convention. Tucker also suggests that development of the first language is more important in the development of L2 and L3 than the academic time invested in these languages. The findings of this study show that L2 is given increasingly more time in the academic schedule at the expense of L1 and L3.

Adamson et al (2013, pp. 188-189) proposed three justifications for trilingual education that can be used as criteria for evaluating the efficacy of trilingual programs. The first is that a program fosters L1 literacy through learning the minority language, the second is that it cultivates a sense of national unity and provides opportunities for social and economic advancement as students develop Mandarin Chinese ability, and the third is that the program broadens the worldview and facilitates economic development by the promulgation of English. Evidence from this study indicate that multilingual education in the Kam-speaking areas of Guizhou only marginally meet the second criterion of developing Mandarin abilities in some of its students. The first criterion is not met at all.

L1 literacy is not fostered in the schools of the participants in this study or in the entire prefecture in question. Not only is L1 literacy not fostered, findings in this study indicate that in most schools it is purposefully omitted from the student experience in the classroom. According to Cummins (2001) *"When the message, implicit or explicit, communicated to children in the school is 'Leave your language and culture at the schoolhouse door', children also leave a central part of who they are—their identities—at the schoolhouse door. When they feel this rejection, they are much less likely to participate actively and confidently in classroom instruction* (paragraph 19). Thus, this omission in turn limits the ability of Kam students to better engage with L2 and L3.

The second criterion, a cultivating of national identity and skills that will lead to participation in the national economy by the learning of Mandarin Chinese is perhaps the only criterion that is attained in any manner in the Kam-speaking region. The question remains, even with the focused emphasis on this aspect, how effective is it really? Are students truly equipped by schools in this area to contribute to the Chinese economy with their Mandarin language skills, or are the results much less than aimed for? If, as reported by participants in this study, as many as 10% of junior secondary school students are unable to converse in Mandarin, and dropout rates resemble those reported by Finifrock and Schilken (2015) before finishing junior secondary school, the answer is clearly 'no'. Evidence exists that using an accretive model of trilingual education in the Kam-speaking areas would yield significantly better results than those that are currently attained (Finifrock, 2010; Finifrock and Schilken 2015) and thus would give Kam students increased political, cultural, and economic capital.

In terms of English instruction broadening the world-view of students and equipping them for participation in China's international interface the answer is again a resounding 'no, the criterion is not met'. Although broadening one's worldview is nearly impossible to measure, and certainly takes place to some degree simply by having forced exposure to a foreign language, students and teachers both report a frustration with the difficulty of learning English, test results are dismal, and only a very small percentage of students are able to converse in L3.

The *status quo* of trilingual education in the Kam-speaking areas of Guizhou show no correspondence to the characteristics of what Adamson and Feng (2015b) call *additive trilingualism*. Of their four models- *accretive, balanced, transitional,* and *depreciative,* the situation in the Kam-speaking areas of Guizhou most closely resemble the *depreciative* model, which completely sacrifices the development of L1 in favor of L2

and L3. L2 is taught as a subject and is used as the medium of instruction beginning in the first year of primary school, and L3 is introduced in some schools as early as primary 3, though due to lack of resources is not introduced in some schools until primary 4, 5, or 6, and in many of the county's 137 primary schools, especially those in more remote areas, not at all. In this regard, it could be concluded that Kam-speaking students at these schools are taking the full brunt of the assimilationist policies (Beckett and Postiglione, 2013) and that these programs are even worse for developing additive trilingualism than the one described by Feng and Adamson as the *depreciative* model.

6.6   Conclusions

The overall objectives of this study were to thoroughly understand the *status quo* of language use practice in the Kam-speaking areas of Guizhou and to assess stakeholder perceptions of the three languages in use in the area. The study was undertaken over the course of three and a half years living in the Kam-speaking area after I had already lived and worked and researched in the area for more than seven years. The study focused on the experiences, perceptions, and classroom observations of eight participant trilingual teachers with whom I had developed deep trust relationships over the years. The study used a multi-case study approach that combined ethnographic interviews and classroom observations of the eight participant teachers. Data was handled using the best practices of researching multilingually, with interviews being carefully transcribed, translated, and then analyzed using content analysis. This data was the main source of data for eliciting and evaluating the perceptions of stakeholders in multilingual education in the area. Observation data was transcribed, coded, and categorized according to the speaker, the language used, and the type of utterance. This data served as the foundational basis for discerning current language use practice in ELT classrooms in the study focus area. Throughout the study reflexive measures such as journaling and introspective questioning were used to keep me aware of my role in the study, reduce researcher bias, and to serve to maintain the focus of the research.

6.6.1   Context Related Findings

The main findings from the context of the research are summarized as follows:

- The historical context of education in minority areas of Guizhou is one in which educators have relied primarily on Mandarin as L2 as both the focus of education and medium of instruction.

- Type 3 language groups in Guizhou, such as the Kam, with recently developed orthographies have had very little opportunity to use their L1 in formal education.

- The Kam language is still vital and able to be transmitted inter-generationally in the focus area of the study.

- A type of loose and unscripted bilingual education, or *shuangyujiaoxue* 双语教学 that existed in the past in the Kam area, whereby bilingual teachers would use oral Kam to support L2 content and language instruction is being used less and less, and is frowned upon by teachers and officials in the current environment.

- L1 Kam is largely unsupported in the schools, and written Kam is completely undeveloped in the Kam speaking area of Guizhou, with the exception of a handful of schools that offer singing-based Kam literacy classes. These classes use Mandarin as the medium of instruction and develop transcription abilities in Kam. They are not designed or focused on developing reading or writing fluency.

- Pilot projects to develop literacy and fluency in Kam that were enacted in the 1980s, showed positive results on both the cultural heritage enhancement and academic enhancement fronts. These projects have gone unsupported since the 1990s and there are only two hold-overs from this era in the county of focus in this study.

- Guizhou province does not have prescribed policy for the inclusion of minority languages in their overall education plans in the manner that other provinces, such as the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region do.

- Guizhou DOE explicitly states in their policy documents that quickly increasing Mandarin ability in minority students is the 'important mission' of education in ethnic minority regions. There is no mention in the same documents of developing L1 in these communities.

- The only identifiable model of education in the Kam-speaking area of Guizhou is the *depreciative model* as outlined by Feng and Adamson (2015b).

6.6.2   RQ1 Related Findings

The main findings from the empirical research relating to RQ1 are as follows:

- Participant teachers have between two and four contact hours with students per week teaching English.

- Participants estimates for language use in the classroom ranged from approximately 0% to 70% of their time in English classes using English, ranged between 30% to 99% of their time using Mandarin, and range between 0% and 20% of their classroom instruction using Kam.

- Most participants report using Mandarin the vast majority of instructional time within the classroom while teaching subjects other than English.

- Participant teachers accounted for 60 percent of classroom utterances, with students accounting for the remaining 40 percent.

- Observation data showed that Participant teachers used Kam less than 1% of the time during the English lessons observed. They used Mandarin 36% of the time, and English 62% of the time. Utterances combining Mandarin and English accounted for 2% of the more than 5,000 utterances recorded during observations.

- All participants exclusively used Mandarin for instruction during the classroom observations. In the same lessons, English was used primarily for modeling, repeating, or reading aloud.

- Students accounted for 40% of the utterances in the classes observed, while participant teachers accounted for the remaining 60 % of the more than 5,000 utterances that occurred during the observations.

- Students speech during classroom observations consisted of 87% English, 11% Mandarin, and 2% Physical Response. English was primarily repetition of single syllables or words, single word responses to questions, or reading aloud from the text or blackboard. Students used only Mandarin to ask questions during the observations.

6.6.3   RQ2 Related Findings

The main findings from the empirical research relating to RQ2 are as follows:

- The vast majority of participants in the study, who are all fluent in Kam, Mandarin, and to varying degrees English, believe that Kam language is important and would like it to remain vital.

- All participants are convinced that mastery of Mandarin is the most important aspect of language education.

- Most participants expressed that the 'one size fits all' national testing system drives most decisions regarding language education in their schools.

- Some participants do not believe that there is adequate space for L1 Kam instruction in the current system. However, in a theoretical world Kam could be taught and could even serve as a language of instruction that would unlock creativity and potential in their students.

- Participants in general believe that English education is important, but most stress that other teachers, parents, and students are largely indifferent to English being taught in their schools.

- Most participants in this study stated that they believed that education officials were generally opposed to L1 Kam language instruction, and were indifferent to English L3 inclusion in the curriculum.

- Most participants believe that students quickly tire of studying English and cite the difficulty of increasing vocabulary, grammar, and testing as obstacles to learning English. Students feel obligated to study Mandarin, and would be eager to study Kam, and use Kam as a medium of instruction if it were possible.

6.7   Recommendations

The findings of this study reveal that there are many weaknesses in the system of education in the Kam-speaking area of Guizhou. The published research focusing on multilingual education that has been well developed over the course of the last fifty years, first internationally and now domestically within China, can improve the practice and results of education within the Kam-speaking area. At this point I would like to take the liberty to make recommendations for improvements based on the findings of this research and their relation to established multilingual education best practices.

6.7.1   Recommendations for educational authorities

6.7.1.1   *Guizhou DOE to develop comprehensive multilingual education program*
First, it is apparent that Guizhou Province Department of Education does not have in place policy that takes into account the diverse and multi-faceted needs of minority language students. Provinces such as Xinjiang and Jilin, have developed policies that make provisions for the minority language students to have implementational space within the basic curriculum to develop, foster, and utilize minority languages. This is a

glaring need in Guizhou with its large minority language student population. Developing clear policy would infuse the education system with knowledge and guidance formed from the best research and would provide a framework on which teachers in minority language areas could base their teaching methods, time, and energies.

6.7.1.2   Guizhou DOE to Develop Mandarin as L2 curriculum

Minority students are not Mandarin L1 students and should not be assumed by the silence of policy to be so. Leaving L1 undeveloped in the schools puts minority students at a disadvantage over their majority language peers. Forcing them to use curriculum that is not culturally or environmentally relevant, a script without proper pedagogical introduction, and eliminating L1 support for minority language students is simply unacceptable. It is unthinkable to expect minority language students to learn to read and write in Chinese without a thorough and proper introduction to oral Chinese and scaffolding techniques that are essential to build a bridge from L1 to L2. If the Guizhou DOE chooses to continue to promote Mandarin at the expense of developing L1, they must at least do so in a way that gives every possible advantage to the minority language student. To not do so will perpetuate the dismal performance of ethnic minority students in Mandarin language examinations and will require the continuation of preferential policies to compensate for improper educational practices.

6.7.1.3   Guizhou DOE to develop communicative L3 curriculum

Participant teachers in this study describe English language education as being frustrating to students and teachers and progressively difficult to the point of terminal exhaustion. Students are led to memorize unrelated vocabulary and grammar examples day after day, year after year, and leave the nine years of compulsory education with very few communicative English skills. If the desire of policymakers in promoting English language education is to produce the type of language skills in students that will allow them to enter the workforce and contribute to the national economy by using English, which should be the case from the point of view of language rights, the current methods and results are far off target. Such language capabilities must be developed with pedagogy that promotes interest in the target language, and learner-centered methods that give students self-confidence and bolsters interest in learning L3, and increasing communicative abilities that reward student and teacher efforts. Such programs exist, (see Finifrock, 2010; Finifrock and Schilken, 2015) and the Guizhou DOE must take the

initiative to learn from their successes in order to give their minority students the best possible advantage in learning English.

6.7.1.4   English not be taught at the expense of Kam

Students and teachers in the Kam speaking area of Guizhou are overwhelmed by the content that they are beholden to teach. In the current situation, Kam speaking students arrive at school in primary one and are confronted with learning via L2 Mandarin, which to them is a foreign language with cryptic symbols that they must memorize without having any literacy tools in their own language. In order to succeed in school they must memorize thousands of characters in L2 without having been taught to listen, speak, read, or write it in a systematic way designed for students with a minority language background. Through the medium of L2 they must learn all academic content immediately, without the requisite 2 to 3 years needed to develop Cognitive and Academic Language Proficiencies. On top of this they are then required to learn a language that they have had no prior exposure to, nor do they have any language context for this new language, their L3, English. Minority language students start their academic careers behind their Mandarin speaking peers, fall further behind year by year in studying basic curriculum due to natural language deficiencies, and finally learn an unrelated and arguably distant language through an undeveloped L2.

There is ample evidence, such as that presented by Tucker (1998) and Jessner (2008) that developing L1 leads to better results in learning subsequent languages and academic content. If, in the structures of the current system and the natural restrictions of available time in the academic calendar, there are only 2 to 4 hours a week of time that can be allotted to a language other than Mandarin, it would better serve the students, teachers, and society as a whole if Kam speaking students could use the available academic time to thoroughly develop L1 en lieu of spending that academic time studying L3 English. Of course in an ideal world, Kam students would thoroughly develop L1, then thoroughly develop L2 and move on to success in L3. However, in the harsh realities of the current environment that does not seem to allow room for all three languages, I would strongly promote using precious and scarce academic time to develop L1 over L3 for the following reasons: 1) L1 is accessible, natural, and non-threatening to young students when first arriving at school in primary one. 2) Students, being fluent in L1, can more easily grasp literacy concepts in their own language that can be readily transferred to L2, and can simultaneously learn significant amounts of academic content until which time

L2 is developed sufficiently to serve as a proper medium of instruction. 3) Human resources, namely Kam-speaking teachers, are abundant and motivated to maintain language vitality and cultural heritage. 4) Most Kam students will continue to live in the Kam-speaking areas into adulthood, and will benefit more from time spent developing L1 and L2 than they would benefit from developing L3.

In order for this change in academic focus from L3 to L1 to take root in Guizhou, and to maintain congruence with the current testing climate that is sure to persist into the future, education officials will need to allow for L1 testing of core academic subjects to be developed and accepted as viable means of evaluating students, teachers, and schools.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Guizhou Province Research Permission

贵州省外事办公室

黔外邀函 [2012] 20 号

关于同意美国籍 JACOB EVANS FINIFROCK
继续进行侗族语言文化考察研究的批复

贵州大学：

贵大呈 [2012] 131 号文悉。

同意美国籍 JACOB EVANS FINIFROCK（中文名：陈健凯）
先生携其妻子 MONICA MAY FINIFROCK，两名儿子 CREED
ALAN FINIFROCK、LINCOLN ELIAS FINIFROCK 及女儿
CHLOE NOEL FINIFROCK 在你校继续进行侗族语言文化考察
研究。时间从 2012 年 7 月 1 日至 2013 年 6 月 30 日，考察地
点在黔东南州 ███████████

请切实有效做好安全和管理。

二〇一二年九月十二日

（联系人 ███████████

主题词：外事　美国　研究　批复
抄送：省公安厅、省国安厅、省教育厅、贵阳市外办、
　　　贵阳市公安局、黔东南州公安局、黔东南州外办
贵州省外事办公室　　　　　　　　2012 年 9 月 12 日
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　共印 6 份

Appendix B: Ethics Committee Approval Letter

COLEG BUSNES, Y GYFRAITH, ADDYSG A GWYDDORAU CYMDEITHAS
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS, LAW, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

PRIFYSGOL
BANGOR
UNIVERSITY

9 Awst/August 2013

Annwyl/Dear Jacob

Trilingual Education in Guizhou : a study of languages roles in education in rural schools through the eyes of trilingual Kam teachers

Diolch am eich cais diweddar i Bwyllgor Ymchwil Moeseg CBLESS. Mae'r pwyllgor wedi ystyried eich cais, ac fe wyf yn awr mewn sefyllfa i roi caniatâd, ar ran Pwyllgor Ymchwil Moeseg CBLESS, i chi gychwyn eich prosiect ymchwil.

Dymunaf yn dda i chi gyda'ch ymchwil.

Thank you for your recent application to the CBLESS Research Ethics Committee. The committee has considered your application and I am now able to give permission, on behalf of the CBLESS Research Ethics Committee, for the commencement of your research project.

I wish you well with your research.

Yours sincerely/Yn gywir iawn

Diane Seddon
Cadair, Pwyllgor Ymchwil Moeseg CBLESS
Chair, CBLESS Research Ethics Committee

Appendix C: Participant Consent Form

COLEG BUSNES, Y GYFRAITH, ADDYSG A GWYDDORAU CYMDEITHAS
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS, LAW, EDUCATION & SOCIAL SCIENCES

YR YSGOL ADDYSG
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

同意书
Consent Form

为了研究少数民族地区英语教学，我们要收集侗族英语老师经验和想法的资料。这些资料以后将会用来写博士论文或者其他学术论文。

This data is being collected for conducting research into the experiences and attitudes of Kam English teachers. The data collected will be used in a PhD thesis or in the writing of other academic papers.

我们的研究完全尊重个人意愿，参与的人是自愿的，若您在参与当中突然不想继续，随时都可以停止参与。如果您对这个研究的目的或者方式有疑惑的地方，随时都可以提问。

We respect the wishes of all the participants in this research. Participation is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw at any time should you wish to do so. Any questions regarding the purpose or methodology of this study can be asked at any time.

为达到透彻了解内部信息的目的，将对进行的采访和课堂造访进行记录。所有的记录都是严格保密的，并在总结出研究结果后以予销毁。

Interviews and classroom visits will be recorded for the purpose of thoroughly understanding the information within. All recordings will be kept confidential, and will be destroyed after the research has concluded.

研究员：陈健凯
Researcher: Jacob Finifrock
研究单位：英国邦戈大学，贵州大学西南少数民族语言文化研究所合作
Research institution: Bangor University, UK, in partnership with Southwest Minorities' Languages and Culture Institute, Guizhou University

我完全明白以上所写的，并原意参与这个研究
I completely understand the above and agree to take part in the research of Jacob Finifrock

_____
（签名） (Signature)

_____
（日期） (Date)

Appendix D: Parent Guardian Consent Form

COLEG BUSNES, Y GYFRAITH, ADDYSG A GWYDDORAU CYMDEITHAS
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS, LAW, EDUCATION & SOCIAL SCIENCES

YR YSGOL ADDYSG
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

同意书

为了研究少数民族地区英语教学，我们要收集侗族英语老师经验和想法的资料。这些资料以后将会用来写博士论文或者其他学术论文。

我们的研究完全尊重个人意愿，参与的人是自愿的，您可以在任何时候停止您的孩子对此研究的参与。如果您对这个研究的目的或方式有疑惑的地方，随时都可以提问。

为达到透彻了解内部信息的目的，我们将对进行的采访和课堂造访进行记录。所有的记录都是严格保密的，并在总结出研究结果后以予销毁。

研究员：陈健凯

研究单位：英国邦戈大学，贵州大学西南少数民族语言文化研究所合作

我完全明白以上所写的，并愿意让我的孩子参与陈健凯的研究

———————————————

（签名）

———————————————

（日期）

Appendix E: Parent/Participant Information Sheet

COLEG BUSNES, Y GYFRAITH, ADDYSG A GWYDDORAU CYMDEITHAS
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS, LAW, EDUCATION & SOCIAL SCIENCES

YR YSGOL ADDYSG
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

调研参与者家长/监护人须知

贵州省三语现象调查

本人是英国威尔士班戈大学的博士生，在此盼望邀请您的孩子来参与本人的调研项目。首先，我希望您能够了解此调研项目的目的和您孩子的参与方式。请您细读以下资讯，如有任何疑问或需要更多讯息，欢迎您提出。同时，也请您酌定您参与的意愿。

目的

本研究的目的是要了解在贵州省的侗语地区所实行的的英语教学现况，特别是在黎平县。我的意向是要记录从三语的侗族教师的视角（像是您孩子英语老师）如何看英语教学的语言使用情况。我想要了解在英语教学里老师与学生的态度和课堂上的实践。

官方许可

为了能够进行这项调研工作，本人已从贵州省外专局，省教育厅，省民委，省公安厅，和贵州大学获得许可。此官方许可已在黎平县公安局备案：黔外邀函［2012］20号。如果您有任何疑问请联系黎平公安局，张江林先生，电话13310753595.

PRIFYSGOL BANGOR
SAFLE'R NORMAL,
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BANGOR,
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MRS MAGI GOULD BAdd/ BEd
PENNAETH YR YSGOL ADDYSG
HEAD OF THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

FFÔN / TEL: (01248) 383053
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www.bangor.ac.uk   www.bangor.ac.uk/addysg

参与方式

在这个月之内，我将访问您小孩的英语课堂，观察老师的上课情形。我将以录像的方式记录课堂，以便我研究。在课堂上，您的小孩只需要按照平时上课的方式学习，不必要为此研究做任何与平时上课不同的事。我将会以静默的方式在教室后观察记录上课情形。您可以选择那天要不要让您的小孩出席这节课。**即使您现在同意参与此调研，您还是有权在任何时候、为任何目的退出这个调研工作并且无需表明原因。**

资料使用，保密，和资料清除

此调研所收集的资料是供本人博士论文所用。在这调研的过程中，我们将不会使用您孩子的的真名，也不会将您孩子的的姓名和他所提供的资料连上关系。本人会将所搜集的资料存放在安全的地方，其电子资料也会被以加密的方式储存在我的计算机和备用硬盘。我只会授权与另一个人来使用此资料，做录音转写的工作。但她不会知道您的真实姓名。在我的调研结束六个月后，我将删除所有课堂观察和访问的资料，完全删除计算机和备用硬盘的电子资料。在我的调研期间，没有其他任何人能有权取览这资料。

报酬

您将不会因您的小孩参与此调研项目而接受到任何金钱报酬。但是，我期望这个研究能够为贵州少数民族英语教学这门学问做贡献。也期望这些知识能有一天加强培训和教育的实践。

疑问

如果您有任何疑问或希望联系我，或是想在任何时间退出此调研工作，欢迎联系我，陈健凯。电话：18785500404，电子邮件：edp002@bangor.ac.uk.

贵州省基础教育课程改革义务教育课程计划（修订）

年级		一	二	三	四	五	六	七	八	九	总课时数	课时比例
品德	思品与生活	3	3								210	
	思品与社会			3	3	3	3				420	
	思想品德							3	2	2	245	
语文		8	8	7	6	6	6	5	5	5	1960	2
数学		4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	1470	
外语				2	2	2	2	4	4	4	700	
历史与	历史							2	2	2	210	
社会	地理							2	2		140	
科学	科学			2	2	2	2				280	
	生物							2	2		140	
	物理								2	3	175	
	化学									3	105	
体育		4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1015	
艺术	音乐	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	525	
	美术	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	525	
综合实践活动				3	3	3	3	3	3	3	735	
地方课程与学校课程		3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	735	
周总课时		26	26	30	30	30	30	34	34	34	274	
学年总课时		910	910	1050	1050	1050	1050	1190	1190	1190	9522	

说明：

1、本义务教育课程安排，系我省各地、校安排课程时的依据。须遵照执行

2、一至九年级可设置综合课-艺术课，也可以分科设置音乐、美术课，若选择综合课程，，其相应期课时数为音乐、美术课课时数之和；七至九年级可设置综和课程—历史与社会课科学课也可分科设置历史、地理、生物、物理、化学，若选用历史与社会课、科学课两门课程，其相应周课时为分课课时数之和；若选择科学、历史、地理，可相应减少自然地理内容；若选择历史与社会、生物、物理、化学，则应参照相关课程标准安排自然、地理的内容。

3、综合实践活动是国家规定的必修课，主要内容包括：信息技术教

育、研究性学习、社区服务与社会实践以及劳动与技术教育等，其具体内容由地方和学校根据教育部的有关要求自主开发选用。综合实践活动的课时可与地方、学校自主使用的课时结合在一起，可以分散安排，也可以集中安排，并按照《综合实践活动指导纲要》具体实施。

4、地方课课程可根据本地特色、结合西部大开发和本地经济发展的需要进行开发：学校课程应结合办学特色和优势、学生的兴趣和需要进行开发或选择。

5、有条件的农村中学可在地方课程和学校课程以及综合实践活动中，调剂出一定的课时，以保证试行"绿色证书"教育的有关学习不少于 250—300 学时。

6、一至六年级的语文课时中，含写字教育。各年级可每周设防课时的写字课，也可将其分散到语文课中进行，一、二年级每周设 1 课时说话课，三年级以上每周设作文课。

Appendix G: Participant 6 Observation Transcript

List of Abbreviations and notations:
T   Teacher
S   Student, gender unclear
FS   Female Student
MS   Male Student
FSMS   Multiple Students
CH   Chorus
{K}   Kam
{E}   English
{M}   Mandarin
/x/   Phonetic Transcription of Utterance
[x]   Translation of Utterance
[*x*]   Researcher Description
XX   Unintelligible Utterance

0:00
T: *standing* Good morning everyone how are you?
FSMS: *standing* I'm fine, /s/ank you, how are you?
T: I'm fine, thank you. Sit down please.

Students sit down, door opens, teacher moves towards door

0:14
T: [*walking towards door*] **{E}** Why are you late?
Outside FSMS: ….
T: [*raising one finger to lips*] [be quiet signal] **{E}** Speak in English!
Outside FSMS: ….
T: [*raising one finger to lips*] [be quiet signal] **{E}** Speak in English!
Outside FSMS: ….
T: {M} 说英文 ［＝speak English]
Outside FSMS: ….
T: *abruptly* {M}想进还是不想进？不想进就回家！想进还是不想进？
        [=Do you want to come in or not? If you don't want to come in then go home. Do
        you want to come in or not?]
Outside FSMS: ….
T: [*gently*] {M} 好。[=ok.]
T: ….{E} How do you say? {M} 怎么说？英文怎么说？
        [= how to say? English, how do you say?]
Outside FSMS:….
T: [*abruptly*] {E} Come in.
T: [*intensely*] {M} 说不说？能不能说进来我就关门了！
        [= Are you going to say it or not? Whether you can say it and come in or not I'm
        going to shut the door!]

1:10
Outside FSMS: XX
T: {E} OK! (motions quickly with hand indicating 'come in') Come in.

[*Other students are sitting quietly, Teacher motions with head to students outside of door one at a time and they come in.*

Inside FSMS: (muffled laughter)

5 male students enter shuffling feet, appearing nervous and laughing quietly. Teacher stands sternly at the door.]

T: {M} 想不想进？进来还是不想进？进来还是不想进？(tilts head, raises voice) 进来还是不想进？

        [= Do you want to come in or not? Do you want to come in or not? Do you want to come in or not? (tilts head, raises voice) Do you want to come in or not?]

1:45

T: {M}说 [=say it]

Outside S: xx

Teacher backs up, allows last student to enter and stares at him as sits down. Teacher closes door and moves to dais in front of room.

1:56

T: {E} Don't be late!.....next time….

T: {M} 下次别来迟到！[=next time don't come late]

T: {E} I don't like…..that.

T: {M} 我不喜欢你怎么做！[=I don't like it when you do that]

T: {M}…..懂不懂？[=Do you understand or not?]

Student looks away.

T: {M} 同学们懂不懂？上课迟到就是一种这样…..拖拉的表现，对吗？对不对？马马虎虎！

        [= Students do you understand or not? Coming late to class is that type of…..sluggish behavior, isn't it? Is it or not? (it is) very sloppy.]

T:{E} You are NOT serious about the class.

T:{M} 对上课不抱认真的态度 [= you don't take class seriously]

T:{E} You are so sloppy!

T:{M}非常的马虎！[= very sloppy]

T: [*shaking head in disapproval*] {E} Don't do that again, {M}别再能做嘛。

T: {E} Ok?

CH: Yes

T: {M}好吗？[= Ok?]

CH: {M}好。[Ok.]

T: {E}Today{M}今天…..{E}ehhhhh we have…..how do you say…..ehhhh a great guest.

T: {M} 一个好的客人，对不对，我们的 ehhhhhh 是我的老师。[= a good guest, right, our ehhhhh he is my teacher.]

T:{E} He's my teacher…..He's from American. He's an American. {M}他是来自美国的。

T: {M}大家一赞成欢迎我们的陈老师！[= Everybody warmly welcome our teacher Chen]

CH: [*applause*]

3:45

T: {E} Take out yours book…..{M} 请拿出你的课本。[*Students take out books.*]

T: {E} Turn to the page…..ten. [*raising 10 fingers.*] Page ten.

4:00

T: {E} Lesson three. [*Begins writing on blackboard.*]

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3. Have you got enough money?   P.10

a dictionary-一本字典   bookstore-书店   a dirty mark- 一个污点
 /ə dɪkʃənɛri/   /bʊkstɔː/   /ə dərti mɑːk/

useful
/jusfəl/
有用的

8:20 [*Teacher begins walking around classroom to ensure students have copied correctly.*]
8:48
T: {E} Are you finished?
MS: {E} Yes
T: {E} You say after me please. Look at the blackboard everyone would you please?
T: {M} 看黑板 xx. [= look at the blackboard]

9:15

T: [*pointing to the words 'a* dictionary' /ə dɪkʃənɛri /] How do you say? You know. I think you
    know you can say.
S: {E} / ə /
T: {M}对，怎么说？[yes, how do you say it?]
CH: {E} / ə /
T: {E}/ ə
CH: {E}/ ə /
T: {M}这个 [= this one] [*pointing to the syllable 'dic'*]
CH: {E} /dɪk/
T: {E} /dɪk/
T: [*Pointing to 'c'*]
CH: {E}/k/
T: [*Pointing to 'ʃ'*]
CH: /ʃ/
T: /ʃ/
CH: /ʃ/
T: /ʃə/
CH: /ʃə/
T: /ɛ/
CH: /ɛ/
T: /nɛ/
CH: /nɛ/
T: /i/
CH: /i/
T: /ri/

CH: /ri/
T: / ə dɪkʃən /
CH: / ə dɪkʃən /
T: / ə dɪkʃən /
CH: / ə dɪkʃən /
T: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /
CH: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /
T: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /
CH: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /
T: [*pointing to* /ə dɪkʃənɛri /] {M}这个比较长，啊，这个注音多一点就比较长，再来一遍。
       [= this is pretty long, ah, there are many phonetic symbols, so it's pretty long, one more
       time]
T: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /
CH: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /
T: /ə/
CH: /ə/
T: /dɪkʃənɛri /
CH: /dɪkʃənɛri /
T: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /
CH: /ə dɪkʃənɛri /

10:14

T: OK
T: [*pointing to* /bʊkstɔ:/] {M} 书店 [= bookstore]{E} How do you say?
T:….. /ʊ/
CH: /ʊ/
T: /ʊ/
CH: /ʊ/
T: /b/
CH: /b/
T: {M} 连起来 [= put them together]
CH: /bʊ/
T: /bʊk/
CH: /bʊk/
T: {E} Good! {M}很好![= very good]
FS: /bʊk/
FS: /bʊk/
FS: /bʊk/
FS: /bʊk/
T: /bʊk/
CH: /bʊk/
T: [*pointing to* /s/]
CH: /s/
T: [*pointing to* /t/] 这个改变的音，它不发'/t/'就发'/d/' [=This one the sound changes, you
      don't pronounce it '/t/' you pronounce it '/d/']
T: /d/
CH: /d/
T: /ɔ:/
CH: /ɔ:/
T: /d/
CH: /d/
T: {M}连起来 [= put it together]
CH: /dɔ:/

T: /dɔ:/
CH: /dɔ:/
T: {E}bookstore
CH: {E} bookstore
T: {E} Again
CH: {E} bookstore
T: [*louder, with emphasis*]{E} Again
CH: [*with more effort*] {E} bookstore
T: {E} louder
CH: [*more quietly, fewer students*] {E} bookstore
T: {M}大声一点 [= louder]
CH: [*shouting*] {E} bookstore
T: {E} bookstore
CH: {E} bookstore
T: [*with rising tone, as in a question*] {E} bookstore
CH: [*mimicking tone*] {E} bookstore
T: {E}good

10:58

T: [*moving to the right side of the blackboard, pointing to* 一个污点]{M} 一个污点 [= a dirty
　　　mark]
T: [*pointing to 'a dirty mark'*] {E} Let's say.
CH: [*nonresponsive*]
T: {L} 那样？下面是那样？[= What is it? This one below, what is it?]
T: *pointing to* /ə/ {L} 那样？看黑板！[= What is it? Look at the blackboard!]
CH: /ə/
T: {E} Good!
T: /ə/
CH: /ə/
T: /ə/
CH: /ə/
T: /ə/
CH: /ə/
T: /ə/
CH: /ə/
T: [*pointing to* /ə/] {M}这个不要说的太长，　不要 /ə ə ə/, 只要/ə/ [= this one you don't want to
　　　pronounce to long, you don't want /ə ə ə/, you want /ə/]
CH: /ə/
T: [*pointing to the* ə *in* dərti *in* /ə dərti mɑ:k/] {M}那这个是要发长以下/ə ə/ [= now this you
　　　want to draw out a bit /ə ə/]
CH：/ə ə/
T: [*pointing to* /d/] ｛M｝这个？ [= this?]
CH: /d/
T: {M} 连起来 [= put it together]
CH: /də:/
T: /də:/
CH: /də:/
T: /də:/
CH: /də:/
T: {M}不要发的怎么？/dei/ [= don't pronounce it how? /dei/]
CH: /də:/

T: {M}不要发的这样，这样发的是错误的啊。[= don't pronounce it that way, that pronunciation is a mistake]
T: /də:/
CH: /də:/
T: /də:/
CH: /də:/
T: /ə/
CH: /ə/
T: /də:/
CH: /də:/
T: /ti/
CH: /ti/
T: [*pointing to /i/*]
CH: /i/
T: [*pointing to /t/ /t/*]
CH: /t/
T: /ti/
CH: /ti/
T: [*pointing back to 'a dirty'*]
CH: a dirty
T: dirty
T: [*pointing to 'a' in /ma:k/, pauses… /ɑ/*]
CH: /ɑ/
T: [*pointing to 'm' in /ma:k/ /m/*]
CH: /m/
T: {M} 连起来。[= put them together]
CH: /mɑ/
T: /mɑ/
CH: /mɑ/
T: {M}这个/mɑ/就是汉语里面的名句了，是吗。[= this /mɑ/ is like the 'ma' so often heard in Chinese, isn't it.]
T: /mɑ/
CH: /mɑ/
T: [*pointing to /k/*] {M}这个呢？[= and this one?]
S: /k/
T: {E} Good! {M}非常好！[= very good]
T: [*pointing to /ma:k/*]
CH: /mɑ:k/
T: {E} Good! [*shouting*] {M}看黑板！[= look at the blackboard!] *pointing to* /mɑ:k/
CH: /mɑ:k/
T: {M}连起来。[= put them together] [*pointing to* /ə dərti mɑ:k/]
T/CH: /ə dərti mɑ:k/
T: {E} Good! A dirty mark.
CH: {E} A dirty mark.
T: {E} Good!
T: {E} A dirty mark.
CH: {E}A dirty mark.
T: {E} A dirty mark.
CH: {E}A dirty mark.
T: {E} Good, Again. {M}再来一遍啊。[= once again] [*pointing to 'a dictionary'*]
T: {E}Ready?
CH: {E}Yes.

T: {M}注意。[= pay attention]{E} Attention please. [*Shouting*] {M}注意！[= pay attention] [*irritated tone*] {E} Look at my board! {M}看黑板！[= look at the blackboard]{E} Don't get your mind somewhere else!

12:40

T: {E}A dictionary
CH: {E}A dictionary
T: {E}A dictionary
CH: {E}A dictionary
T: {E}bookstore
CH: {E}bookstore
T: {E}bookstore
CH: {E}bookstore
T: {E}a dirty mark
CH: {E}a dirty mark
T: {E}a dirty mark
CH: {E}a dirty mark
T: {E}a dirty mark
CH: {E}a dirty mark
T: [*pointing to 'useful'*]{M} 这里有一个…../u/
CH: /u/
T: /j/
CH: /j/
T: /ju/
CH: /ju/
T: /s/
CH: /s/
T: /jus/
CH: /jus/
T: /ə/
CH: /ə/
T: /f/
CH: /f/
T: /fəl/
CH: /fəl/
T: /jusfəl/
CH: /jusfəl/
T: /jusfəl/
CH: /jusfəl/
T: /jusfəl/
CH: /jusfəl/
T: {E}Ok, now, its your turn. {M}到你们了。[= its your turn] {E}Ready?
CH: {E}Yes.
T: [*points to 'a dictionary'*]
CH: {E} A dictionary.
T: {E}Speak louder!
CH: [*louder*] A dictionary.
T: {E}Great. {M}太棒了！[= too good!}
T: [*pointing to 'bookstore'*]
CH: {E}bookstore
T: {E}Again!
CH: {E}bookstore
T: {E}Good!

CH: {E}book| [*teacher raises hand to stop, students laugh*]
T: [*pointing to 'a dirty mark'*]
CH: [*scattered and slow responses*] {E} a dirty mark
T: {E}a dirty mark
CH: {E}a dirty mark
T: {E}Again
CH: {E}a dirty mark
T: {E}mark [*sounding more like 'mock'*]
CH: {E}mark [*imitating 'mock'*]
T: {E} mark
CH: {E} mark
T: {E} a dirty mark
CH: {E} a dirty mark {E}
T: {E} Last one. {M}最后一个[=last one] [*pointing at 'useful'*]
CH: {E} useful
T: {E} Great! {M}太棒了！[= too good!]{E}Again.
CH: {E} useful
T: {E} useful
CH: {E} useful
T: {E} useful
CH: {E} useful

14:10

T: {E} Good, ok, now…..I want to pick some student to, ehhh, do the words I will point it. {M}ehhh 我说你你就上来说出来我指过的单词, [student name] {E}can you? [= when I say your name please stand up and speak out the word I have pointed to] [*pointing to 'useful' then to* /jusfəl/]

FS1: {E} useful
T: {E} Again.
FS1: {E}useful
T: Eh speak louder
FS1: useful
T: {E} Good! [*Turning to class.*] Yes or no?
CH: {E} Yes!
T: {E} Great, sit down. [student name] can you? [*Pointing to 'a dirty mark' then to* /ə dərti mɑːk/]
MS1: …..[7 sec.] xx
T: [*smiling*] {E} How do you say? [*Moves off of dais and towards student.*]
MS1: a dirty mark
T: [*leaning over and approaching student's face with his face*] /dir/
MS1: /dir/
T: dirty
MS1: dirty
T: a dirty mark
MS1: a dirty mark
T: [*standing up*]{E} Good. Great. Sit down. You are brave. {M}你很勇敢。[= you are brave]

15:06

T: [*pointing to 'a dictionary'*]{E} [student name] can you?
FS2: {E}a dictionary
T: {E}Good, speak louder and clearly.
FS2: {E}a dictionary

T: {E}a dictionary, good, sit down please.

T: {E}ehhh[student name] can you? [*points to 'a bookstore and then to a student'*] Can you? [*student stands*] {K} Ol [= yes]
FS3: ….. [10 sec.]
T: {E} How do you say?
FS3….. [5 sec]
T: [*moving on and looking at another student*] {E}[student name] can you?
FS4: {E} bookstore
T: {E} Again. [*Moving towards student who is seated in the back of the classroom.*]
FS4: {E} bookstore
T: {E} bookstore
FS4: {E} bookstore
T: {E} Good. [student name] can you?
MS2: xx
T: {E} Speak louder. Bookstore.
MS2: bookstore
T: {E} bookstore
MS2: {E} bookstore
T: {E}Yeah, great. Sit down. Bookstore. [*walks to the front of the room and points to board*] Ok, let's say it again. Repeat after me. {M}再来一遍。 [= once more] {E} Ok?
CH: {E}Yes.
T: {E} Just last one ehhh last time! {M}最后一次啊。 [=the last time].
T: {E} A dictionary
CH: {E} A dictionary
T: {E} A dictionary [*with rising, questioning tone*]
CH: {E} A dictionary [*with rising, questioning tone*]
T: {E} bookstore
CH: {E} bookstore
T: {E} bookstore [*with rising, questioning tone*]
CH: {E} bookstore [*with rising, questioning tone*]
T: {E} a dirty mark
CH: {E} a dirty mark
T: {E} a dirty mark [*with rising, questioning tone*]
CH: {E} a dirty mark [*with rising, questioning tone*]
T: {E} useful
CH: {E} useful
T: {E} useful [*with rising, questioning tone*]
CH: {E} useful [*with rising, questioning tone*]
T: {E} Ok. [*begins to erase the lower part of the blackboard*] Now I am cleaning…the words on the blackboard…..I am cleaning.

17:15
[*current blackboard*]

3. Have you got enough money?   P.10

T: {E} Class, let's read the title, twice, look at my board. [*raising two fingers*] Look at my board. {M} 看
黑板。 [= Look at the blackboard] Twice. Are you ready?

CH: {E}Yes.

T: [*pointing to 'have'*] Can you say?

FSMS: {E} Have

T: {E} Yes.

CH: {E} Have

T: [*points to you and got respectively*]

CH: {E} You

CH: {E} /goat/

T: {E}/got/

CH: {E} got

T: {E} got

CH{E} got

T: {E} Have you got?

CH:{E}Have you got?

T: [*pointing to 'enough'*] {E} How do you say?

CH: {E} How do you say?

T: {E} How do you s…s…s…s…s Wow! [*smiling*] {M}我说的是'怎么说呢？'你们都是回答的'怎么说呢？'你们不会 xx 怎么说呢，好的？你们很聪明啊,我问'How do you say'你们不会说就问老师'how do you say'。[= I said 'how do you say' and you all answered 'how do you say'. You shouldn't say that, ok? You are all very bright, when I ask 'How do you say?' you don't know how to say you can just ask the teacher 'how do you say.' Yes or no?

CH: {E}Yes

T: {E} Ok…[*pointing to 'enough'*] enough

CH: {E} Enough

T: {E} Enough

CH: {E} Enough

T: {E} Listen Carefully

S: {E} Lis|…

T: {E} Enough

CH: {E} Enough

T: {E} Enough

CH: {E} Enough

T: {E} [*pointing to 'money'*] How do you say?

CH: {E} How do you say

T: {E} [*teacher pauses and smiles*]

CH: {E}[*students begin to laugh*]

T: {E} How do you say? [*no response from students*]

T: {E} How do you say?

CH: {E} Money

T: {E} Money

CH: {E} Money

T: {E} Money

CH: {E} Money

T: {E} Money

CH: {E} Money

T: [*walks to center of classroom while pulling wallet from coat pocket…smiling*] {k} O…{E} Do you want some money? [*showing 100RMB note to students*] How do you say?

T: {E} Money

CH: {E} Money

T: {E} Money?

CH: {E} Money?

T: {E} Say it again.

FSMS: {E} Money.

T: {E} [*loudly*] Money!

CH: {E} Money!

T: {E} Money.

CH: {E} Money.

T: {E} Money?

CH: {E} Money?

T: {E} Money.

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CH: {E} Money.
T: {E} Again. 123 go.
CH: {E} Money.
T: {E} Good. How much?
T: {M} 怎么说？ [=How do you say]
T: {M} 怎么说？[=How do you say]
FSMS: {E} Money
T: {M} 好多？ [=how much]
FSMS: {M} 一百 [=one hundred]
T: {E} [*loudly*] One Hundred!
CH: {E} One Hundred.
T: {E} One Hundred
CH: {E} One Hundred.
T: {E} One Hundred
CH: {E} One Hundred.
T: {M} 好多？ [=how much]
T: {E} 一百， 一百 no? 一百元 [=one hundred, one hundred, no? One hundred yuan]
T: [*walking backwards towards blackboard while inserting wallet into coat pocket, smiling broadly*] {E}
        Now I will…put it…into my pocket.
T: {E} Ok, now it's your turn. One…here we go let's do read it [*loud voice*] together.
T: {M} [*soft voice*] 我们一起来读。 [= let's read it together]
T:{E} OK?
CH: {E}Yes.
T/CH: {E} [*spaced apart word*] Have…you…got…enough…money?
T: {E} Money.
CH: {E} Money.
T: [*writing upward arrow on blackboard next to the word 'money'*] {M} 调子要什么？s 升起来。[= the
        tone should what? Go up.]
T: {K} O! [= yes] {E} Great! {M} 太棒了！ [= too good]
T: {M} 哇我们再来做一遍,你们自己 xx 说， 你们自己想做以下吗？
T: {E} Can you read it by yourself, ready…1,2,3 go! [*pointing in the air and smiling*]
CH: [*slowly*] Have…you…got…enough…money?
T:{E} [*emphasizing each word…some students sporadically match his pace*] Have you got enough money?
        1,2,3,Go!
CH:{E} [*students speak while teacher mouths words*] Have you got enough money?
T: {E} Enough money?
CH: {E} Enough money?
T: {M}在中文怎么说？ [= in Chinese how to say]{E} How do you say in Chinese?
T: {M} 你…有…[= you…have]
CH: {M} 多少钱？[= how much money]
T: {M}[*quizzically*] 多少钱吗？[= how much money (yes or no question marker)]
T: {M} 不对了! [*underlining the word 'enough' on the blackboard*] {E} This is a mistake.
T: {E} Enough {M}是那样？[= is what]
S: {M} 足够 [=Enough]
T: {M} 足够！对！你刚刚说对了， 你知道。[= Enough! Right! You said it right just now, you know!]
T: [*Writing 足够的 under 'enough' on board.*]
T: {M} 现在你们讲的中文怎么说？[Now, in the Chinese you speak, how do you say?]
T: {E} How do you say?
T: {M} 怎么问他？[= how do you ask him?]
CH: {M} [*slowly*] 你有足够的钱吗？[= do you have enough money?]
T: {M} 哇太磅了！[= too good!] [*Teacher claps hands and crosses arms proudly*]
T: {E} Mr. Chen ehhhh want to come to L.E. [place name] and maybe you want to buy something, right?
T: {M} 陈老师来我们 L.E.他想卖东西， 对吗？[= Mr. Chen comes to our L.E. and wants to buy
        something, right? [*asking students who don't respond*] 对不对呀？[= right?]
FSMS: {E} Yes.
T: {M} 欠款的东西呀， 你买…你想买东西你给他…你可以问他怎么了？[= he owes money for the
        things…you buy…you want to buy things… you give him…you could ask him what?]

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CH: [*sit silently*]

T: {M} [*speaking slowly, some students join*] 你有足够的钱吗？[= do you have enough money?]

T: {M} 哈你们试一试这句话他就知道了，你是售货员，对吧，买的东西什么小饮食啊。他喜欢吃我们的现在，什么…ehhhhh…当地的美食，对吧。尝试以下，如果你在一遍卖，第二…又一吃…他又来了，你又碰到他，你卖东西，你怎么跟他说呢？你有足够的钱吗？怎么说呢？我们在来复习以下，[louder] 怎么说呢？[= you can try out this sentence and he'll know. Say you are the clerk, right? You are selling some small snack, He likes to eat our…now…what? Ehhhhh…local delicacies, right? Try it out if you sell him something another time, the second…he eats it again…he comes again, you run into him again. You sell him something, what should you say? Do you have enough money? How do you say it? We will review once again. How to say it?]

CH: [*with teacher prompting*] {E} Do you have enough money?

T: {K} O {M} 对，有一点慢. 放快一点的速度正常自然一点的？[= Yes, Yes, a little slow. How about if you make it normal and a little more natural?]

T: {E} [*faster*] Have you got enough money?

CH：[*same slow pace*] Have you got enough money?

T: {E} [*Louder*] Have you got enough money?

CH: {E} Have you got enough money?

T: {M} 对，哇你们太棒了. [= correct, wow, you are too good!]

END OF SECTION. 22:20

Appendix H: Participant 1 Interview Transcription

Item	Researcher Question	English Gloss	Participant Answer	English Gloss	Recording time signature
1	问：好的，那你可以跟我说一下，说到你小孩的时候，学习的那个情况，条件。你可以跟我说，如果你有，一些清楚的印象，关于上课还有学习中文还有英文？	Can you tell me a bit about your earliest memories about school, what were the situation and the conditions? Can you speak about any clear impressions you have regarding studying Chinese or English?	答：我小时候成绩都一直很好，因我的性格比较内向，不爱说话，很多时候都静下来看书，所以成绩就稍微好些，但在口语方面由于不太外向，所以不怎么活波，小时候印象深刻的没有什么特别的。	When I was young my school results were always good, because my nature is more introverted and I don't love to talk I would spend a lot of time reading books, so my grades were a little better (than most). But, because I wasn't too outgoing I didn't participate in class so much. I don't have any memories that really stand out	0m 3s
2	问：你是不是在这里上课的？	Is it true that you studied at this school?	答：对，小时候在这里读书的，这是我的母校，因为我家就在这里。	Yes, I studied here, this is my 'mother school' because this is my family home.	1m 22s
3	问：那你的父母他们对你的学习的过程他们怎么样？	What was your parents' approach to your studies?	答：小时候父母也没有什么多少的文化，也就是让我自己随便怎么学，有时候父亲特别严格要求，你要多读书，没什么。	when I was young my parents didn't have a lot of 'culture' (education), so I was allowed to do whatever I wanted in terms of my studies, my parents didn't have any strict expectations about how much I should study.	1m 30s
4	问：你说他们没有高的文化？	So you're saying they weren't especially well educated?	答：他们也教不了我，只有靠我自己在学校自己读书。	They didn't really have the ability to teach me, I relied on myself in school and my studies.	1m 53s
5	问：你跟你父母基本上都说侗话？	What language did you use to speak with your parents?	答：是的，全部都是侗话。	Yes, entirely in Kam	2m 3s
6	问：你还记得你小的时候你跟你的爸爸妈妈在一起的时候，经常交流吗？	Do you still remember, as a child, when you were with your parents did you often have conversations with them?	答：交流什么呢？	What kind of interaction?	2m 9s
7	问：就是我跟你说，他们经常跟你说话，教你，就是比如你们在外面爬山等等？	Well, did they often speak with you, teach you, for example if you were together in the forest etc?	答：没有。在我小的时候，由于那个时候经济很落后，父母都没空陪子女在一起，把孩子放在学校，他们都上山去做工了。	No, when I was young, because we were pretty poor, my father never had time to be with us kids, they just put us in school and went off to the mountains to work by themselves.	2m 25s
8	问：你有没有对你有印象的一些老师？	Were there any teachers that had a big impact on you?	答：有呀，语文老师？	Yes, you mean my Language Arts Teacher?	2m 55s
9	问：对，你读小学的时候？	yes, when you were in primary school.	答：有，几乎教过我的老师，我都记得住。	Yes, the one who mainly taught me, and I can remember them all.	3m 10s
10	问：你上一年级用什么语言？	In first grade what language was spoken in class?	答：侗话	Kam	3m 22s
11	问：全部都是侗话吗？	It was completely Kam then?	答：一年级是我叔叔教我的，今天他去XX做客了。现在他也还在这里教书，一年级是他，三年级也是他，还有二年级是刚才那个杨老师，三年级的是	In first grade my uncle was my teacher (today he went to XX to visit friends). He still teaches at this school. He was my first and third grade teacher.	3m 28s

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			他，四年级是一个退休的老师，五年级是外地来的老师了，从四年级开始就用普通话教，在三年级之前大部分都是用侗话教。	Second grade was Mr. Yang, the guy you just met. Fourth grade, that teacher has retired, and fifth grade was a teacher from another place. From fourth grade, having teachers from other places, we were taught in Mandarin Chinese. Third grade and earlier was primarily Kam.	
12	问：你小的时候写什么字？	What writing system did you use in your younger school years?	答：写汉字。	Chinese Characters	**4m 15s**
13	问：你跟我说那个过程，你还记得一开始的时候你感觉怎么样？	Will you explain that process to me? Do you remember from the beginning how you felt when you were learning?	答：开始写汉字？记不起了。开始我读学前班的时候，我还记得我还能背一些学前班的歌呀，课文呀，但是写字没多大印象了。	When I first started to learn? I can't really recall. I can remember in preschool learning some songs, and some lessons from the text, but I don't really have memories of learning to write.	**4m 32s**
14	问：在上课以外，你小时候有没有机会用汉话？	When you were outside of school did you have opportunities to use Chinese?	答：有呀，就是到高年级和外地的老师交流，一般都是用汉话。	There were some, like when I would speak with the upper grade teachers we would only use Chinese.	**4m 57s**
15	问：从几岁开始用汉话交流？	From what age did you start to use Chinese to converse?	答：四年级，大概是11-12岁左右。	Fourth grade, about 1ll to 12 years old.	**5m 13s**
16	问：那时候你很容易用汉话说话吗？	At that time was it easy for you to speak in Chinese?	答：可能开始也不太容易，就是试探性的说一点，因为这些老师他也懂侗话，有的时候也讲侗话。	Maybe at the beginning it wasn't that easy, it was kind of like exploring how to speak. Because those (same) teachers (from other places) could also understand Kam, I would sometimes speak to them in Kam.	**5m 20s**
17	问：我还记得我开始学汉话的时候，我已经是成人，我记得自己有一点奇怪，因为我大脑里想的就是我的母语，然后用另外的语言表达出来，自己有一点不自然，你还记得这样的经验吗？	I remember first learning Chinese, I was already an adult, I remember feeling a little strange because I was thinking in my first language then using another language to express myself. It felt a little unnatural. Do you remember having this same type of experience?	答：开始不敢说，肯定你第一次和别人讲普通话，我们讲的客话（汉话）很害羞，到了不得已的时候才说呀，被逼出来的，	At first I wasn't brave enough to speak, for sure your first time speaking to someone in Chinese, we spoke their language (Chinese), [I was] very nervous, I would wait until there was no alternative but to speak, I spoke only when forced to.	**5m 45s**
18	问：然后呢，你是不是去XX读初中？	Later on then, didn't you go to Misty Mountain to study Junior Secondary school?	答：对，1990年。	Yes, in 1990.	**6m 39s**
19	问：在那个时候你觉得你的普通话已经怎么样？	At that time how did you think your Chinese was?	答：那已经够用了。因为在那全部是讲汉话的，没有讲侗语的，就是我的同学，因为在XX读初中的时候都是来自全县各地平困家庭的，所以大部分也还讲侗话，有的讲苗话，在XX我读一中的时候，我读那个班的是民族班，有几个都是从全县，那一年考	Then it was already enough to use. Because all the classes were in Chinese and Kam wasn't spoken at all, except with some classmates. Because when I was studying Junior Secondary in Misty Mountain the majority of my	**6m 45s**

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			得最好的各各区的前三名，我是我们这一片的第一名，所以读出去了。	classmates came from poor families from all over the county, so most of them could speak Kam, some Miao, I studied in the ethnic minority class and students came from the whole county. That year I was in the top three of the entire county, I was the top ranked student from this area, so I left home to study.	
20	问：然后你有这个机会去XX读书？	So then you had the chance to study in Misty Mountain, right?	答：对。	Yes.	7m 35s
21	问：你是说跟你的同学基本上都说汉话还是侗话，那时候？答：对	Are you saying you spoke with your classmates primarily in Chinese or in Kam?	问：在XX？在XX和会讲侗话的同学一般都会讲侗话，和不懂侗话的同学不讲侗话。	In Misty Mountain? In Misty Mountain I spoke with my classmates who understood Kam primarily in Kam, and with those that didn't understand Kam I didn't speak Kam.	7m 40s
22	问：那你什么时候开始学英语？	When did you start to study English?	答：就是读初中那一年—1990年，初一。	It was when I started junior secondary school, 1990, in 7th grade.	8m 0s
23	问：你还记得你对英语的想法怎么样？那时候？	Do you have any memories regarding your thoughts towards learning English at the time?	答：因为当初我在这里学侗语的时候是我叔叔教的，那时我侗语成绩特别好，他说侗语和汉语拼音好了对今后学习英语很有帮助，所以我就一直带着这个期望去学英语。开始成绩还很好，但是后来记的单词量任务太多了就有点跟不上。	Well, at first when I was here [at the village school] my uncle taught us the Kam language, (I was pretty good at Kam studies), He said that knowing the Kam alphabet and Chinese Pinyin should help with English studies in the future, so, I always carried that hope forward towards my English studies. So, at first my English results were pretty good, but later I the vocabulary memorization tasks were too much and I couldn't keep up.	8m 11s
24	问：你们的英语老师（基本上）是用什么方法教你们？	What methods did your teachers mainly use to teach you English?	答：就教我们读呀，跟着读，一直读，也背。	They just taught us to read, read aloud after them, always reading, and memorizing	8m 49s
25	问：看懂了吗？	Did you understand what you read?	答：看懂，因为那课文很短，就是背课文上的。	Yes, I understood, because the lessons were short. We would memorize the lesson content.	9m 6s
26	问：然后你学师范在那里没有[英文]？	Later when you studied in Teacher's college there wasn't any English?	答：停了三年。	[right] I didn't study for three years.	9m 18s
27	问：那如果你有机会回去你小的时候改变你学习的过程的一些条件你会选择什么要改变的事情有没有？就是从小的时候到现在，你的学习的过程或者一些方法。我的问题就是你对	So, if you had an opportunity to return to your youth and change anything in your study experience would you? From your youth to now,	答：我觉得也没什么要改变，就是这样走过来的，也觉得没有什么地方不对。如果有可能的话，就多活波一点，我觉得小时候太自闭了，不爱活动，个子小，身体也不太好，	I think there isn't really anything to change, It is the path I walked, I also don't think there was anything incorrect about it. If there was a possibility, maybe I would be a little more	9m 30s

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	你学习的过程满意了吗？如果你可以做梦来改变你的经历，你改变什么？	anything in the process of study or methods? So, Im asking if you are satisfied with the way you were educated? If you could make a wish and change something, what would it be?	就是动的少了，有可能的话要多动一点，少坐在一个地方看死书，成书呆子。	outgoing, I think I was too closed off to myself, I didn't like sports, I was short and kind of sickly, I wasn't very active, so maybe I would be a bit more active, spend less time just sitting and reading [to death] turning into a bookworm.	
28	问：如果问到你的老师教你的方法在那个方面，你会不会改变？	What about the methods your teachers used to teach you, would you change anything?	答：老师教我的，怎么教我的都没什么印象了，好像我靠自学的，我自学的能力比较强，靠自学的比较多，很多老师教的我都不再听，我在做我自己的。特别印象深刻的到了我读五六年级的时候，我的老师，由于我的成绩好，所以他对我比较宽松，随便我做什么，有时候他在上课，我自己在看书，读小说。	About the way I was taught, whatever they did never had an impact. It seems like I relied on myself to learn, I was strongly self-sufficient in my studies, relied on myself a lot. So much of what the teachers taught I never listened to, I taught myself. I have a vivid memory from the fifth or sixth grade, because my grades were always good, my teacher was very liberal with me, he let me do whatever I wanted, sometimes during class I would just read a novel.	11m 5s
29	问：看什么样的书？	What kind of books?	答：故事书。	story books	11m 53s
30	问：然后我知道你对电脑比较熟悉？你从什么时候开始对电脑有兴趣？	I know that later on you became very adept with computers. When did you start do develop that interest in computers?	答：读师范的时候，也是自学的没有人教。读师范的时候，我在市场上看到一本书说，21世纪不会电脑的人将会是新世纪的文盲，所以我对新的东西非常感兴趣，自己找书来看、学，因为那时候没有电脑，就自己画一些键盘来练指法，还有背字根，所以我读师范的时候就已经会打字了，可以盲打了，闭着眼睛打了。就是兴趣，兴趣就是最好的老师。	During teacher's college, also self-taught, no one taught me. When I was in the market one day I saw a book that said that in the 21st century people who don't know how to use computers will be the illiterates in the new century, so I am pretty interested in new things, so I found books to read, study, because at that time there weren't computers [here], I just drew some keyboards and would practice keyboarding, and would memorize character components. So by the time I went to teacher's college I already knew how to type, 'blindly' with my eyes closed. It was just my interest, and interest is the best teacher!	12m 0s
31	问：在这里教孩子的时候，不关是什么课题，一般是用什么语言教孩子？现在。	Now, at this school, without regard to which subject, normally what language is used to teach?	答：现在我们这里说普通话的多，一年级都很少讲侗话，孩子在学校大部分都说普通话，因为上面越来越要求特别对这些老师的事，你如说侗话(影响水平)，就说你要用普通话教学。但有的地方，像我上四年级，有的地方用汉	Now we speak Mandarin Chinese mostly, even in first grade we seldom speak Kam, at the school children mostly speak Mandarin. It's because the authorities require it more and more and emphasize that we don't speak Kam, if we	13m 15s

			语讲不清楚我就用侗话说，他就一下子就明白了。	speak Kam it will have a negative influence, they tell us to speak more Mandarin to teach. But, there are times, for instance when I am teaching 4th grade that students cant understand clearly in Mandarin, I use Kam to teach them, then in just a few words they understand.	
32	问：你估计一节课以内百分多少是用汉语，百分多少是用侗话？	Can you estimate during a class period what percentage of the spoken language is Mandarin, and what percentage is Kam?	答：80% 的汉语，20% 有时候还不到用侗话。	80% Mandarin and 20% Kam	**14m 3s**
33	问：就是语文课是吗？	In language arts class, right?	答：语文课。	Language arts class	**14m 20s**
34	问：你教英语课是一样吗？	Is it the same when you teach English?	答：英语课讲英语。英语课解释的时候讲汉语，尽量讲英语，不懂的，没办法了或者有的时候也用到一些侗语。	I speak English in English class. In English class I only use Mandarin to explain things, but as much as possible I speak English, what they don't understand, tough luck, or sometimes I might use some Kam.	**14m 25s**
35	问：这里的孩子到一年级的时候，他们普通话水平怎么样？	When a student at this school enters first grade what is their Mandarin level like?	答：普通话还不太好，有的时候他想和别的朋友讲普通话，一般说到一半的时候不知道怎么说，所以他就用侗话来代替，就像我们说的（Chinglish）	Their Mandarin is still not very good, sometimes when they want to speak in Mandarin with a friend, mostly they only know half of what to say, so they mix in Kam, like when we speak 'Chinglish'	**14m 48s**
36	问：孩子们在课上里面交流的时候一般都用什么语言？	What language do the students usually speak when they are in class?	答：他们自己大部分都用侗话，和老师在课上也用侗话，下课一般也用侗话，低年级的学生用侗话的多，课上用汉话的多。	Most of them would choose themselves to speak Kam, and with the teacher they also will speak Kam, same as when they are out of class, But younger students use Kam more, and in class will use Mandarin more.	**15m 18s**
37	问：问老师问题呢，孩子们基本用什么语言？	What about when they ask questions of the teacher, what language will they mostly use?	答：用汉语。因为老师要求必须要讲汉语，不知道哪一年之前大部分都用侗话，但是后来有些外地老师来了，就说这个不好，不听讲侗话了。所以现在就改变了，很多尽量讲汉话。	Mandarin, because the teacher's demand it, I don't know exactly what year in the past it was mostly Kam, but later there were a few teachers from other places that came and said 'this isn't good', 'Don't let me hear you speak Kam,' So, now it has changed, mostly, if at all possible, [we] speak Mandarin.	**15m 42s**
38	问：你觉得呢，你觉得他们在课上说侗话怎么样？	What do you think about speaking Kam in the classroom?	答：现在倒觉得说侗话不怎么自然了，不像那么一回事，因为大家都讲汉语了，你又讲一点侗话不相称，不和谐。	Now we all think teaching in Kam seems unnatural, it doesn't really matter, Because everyone speaks Mandarin, so if you	**16m 15s**

				speak in Kam it seems out of place, a little incompatible.	
39	问：因为你说有外地老师来说上课的时候说侗话不好？	So it was some teachers from the outside that said speaking Kam wasn't good?	答：因为有的不会说侗话，是一个问题。他们又觉得个个说侗话对语言的学习，学汗语学习语言不好，所以就要求改。	Because some of them couldn't speak Kam, it's a problem. They also believe everyone speaking Kam isn't good for studying mandarin and language, so they required a change.	16m 44s
40	问：这是他们的想法，你的想法呢？	So that's their opinion, what's yours?	答：但后来我也觉得用侗话也很好，如到高年级尽量讲他们的话（汉语），低年级还可以讲侗话。	But later I felt that using Kam is also very good, in older years the students can use Mandarin, younger students should still be able to use Kam.	17m 14s
41	问：然后你小的时候学侗文是吗？	So then, when you were young you learned to read and write Kam, right?	答：嗯，三年级的时候我学侗文，我叔叔教的。	Yes, when I was in 3rd grade I studied Kam, my uncle taught it.	17m 39s
42	问：一二年级没有学侗文？	So in first and second grade you didn't study Kam?	答：嗯没有学侗文，那时候还没有，八几年。	Yes, we didn't study Kam [in first and second grade], at that time there wasn't Kam instruction [in those grades], in the 80's.	17m 50s
43	问：现在呢？这里的学校。	How about now, at this school	答：现在没有开设侗文课，但是听说下个学期开始。	Now there isn't Kam language class. but I heard that maybe next semester it will be taught.	17m 57s
44	问：你觉得教这里的孩子侗文对他们的学习过程会有什么影响？会有好的影响，或是不好的？	What do you think the impact would be if you taught Kam language to the children at this school? Good or bad influence?	答：我觉得会有好的影响，因为侗文的音比较宽，音调比较丰富，特别对今后学习英语很有帮助，像很多声调汉语里没有，但是侗语里有，我的亲身经历就是这样，我小时候汉语拼音也比较好，侗文学得也比较好，所以后来我学英语也有了一定的基础，也很感兴趣。	I think it would be a good impact, because Kam the sounds are rather 'wide', the tones are rather robust, especially for studying English in the future it should help, like may tones Chinese doesn't have, but Kam has them, this is my firsthand experience. When I was young my Chinese Pinyin was pretty good, Kam writing also was pretty good, so later when I studied English I also had some foundation, also pretty interested (in it).	18m 10s
45	问：你小时候，你的叔叔告诉你学侗文再学英文会有帮助？	When you were young your uncle told you that your Kam studies would help with your English studies, right?	答：嗯，	yes	18m 56s
46	问：后来你学了两种语言，你觉得你叔叔说的是对的吗？	Later, you studied two additional languages, do you think your uncle was correct?	答：嗯，我觉得他说的是对的。	Yes, I think he was right.	19m 8s
47	问：为什么？你可以说吗？	Why? Can you speak to that a bit?	答：因为首先他们（侗文和英文）都是英文符号，都是字母来写的，这个呢有个共同点，也就特别在写法上。开始我学英语的时候，有的单词我不会读，我就可以用侗语写，	Because, first off, both Kam and English use English symbols [roman alphabet], both use letters to write, this is a common point. Especially having to do with writing. When I	19m 20s

			而且写来读出来是一样的。但是如我用汉语写，那读出来那声音就不准。	first started to study English, there were some words I wasn't able to read, but I could just use Kam letters to write them. Furthermore reading them aloud is the same. But if I were to use Chinese to write them, when reading aloud the sounds are not correct.	
48	问：其他的老师在这里，他们小的时候没学过侗文？	Did the other teachers here at this school study Kam when they were young?	答：嗯，很少。	yes, but quite few	**20m 3s**
49	问：你觉得他们对侗文英文的想法怎么样？	Do you think they have any thoughts about the use of English or Kam?	答：现在我觉得这些老师都不爱学习了，所以他们无所谓。我对这些侗族的文化特别感兴趣，比如歌曲呀，谚语呀这些，所以我小的时候我就找这些书来看，自己跟前辈们找这些书来看，把他们用汉字写的歌呀，用侗文写下来，也喜欢去收集去听，现在有的我都还发到网上去，是很好的一个资料。	I now think that these teachers here don't really like to study, so they don'r really care. I am particularly interested in Kam culture, like song lyrics for example, proverbs etc., so when I was young I really looked for these kind of books, I went to the older generation myself to find these books to read, had them use Chinese characters to write [Kam] song lyrics, and would write them down in Kam. I also liked to go collect songs to listen to. Now I have taken them all and uploaded them on the web, it is very good material.	**20m 11s**
50	问：你看这边的小孩，他们会不会有对侗文有那个兴趣？	When you observe the children here, do they have that type of interest in Kam language?	答：应该会有，他们自己的语言肯定会有兴趣我觉得。	There should be some, They for sure should be interested in their own language, I think.	**21m 2s**
51	问：你小时候，你说一到三年级基本上老师都用侗话跟你说是吗？现在不一样了？	You said that when you were young, first through third grade, teachers primarily spoke to you in Kam, now it different?	答：是的，现在不一样了，变了。	Yes, now it is different, it has changed.	**21m 24s**
52	问：你觉得这个改变对孩子有没有影响？	Do you think this change has any influence on the students?	答：有影响。	Yes, there is an influence.	**21m 40s**
53	问：什么样的影响？	What kind of influence?	答：就是对本民族自己的语言掌握越来越少了，很多话都不会说了，很多名词都不会念了，不知道侗话怎么说，像那天我上一首古诗，其中有个"蓑衣"他们不知道，我讲"siip"用侗话我们叫"siip"，还有比我们老人都知道，现在这些小孩都没见过这东西就不知道是什么，现在没有这个蓑衣了，现在只有雨衣。所以就是受到汉族文化的冲击，少数民族的文化越来越淡了，也逐渐消失了，	Just that towards our own ethnic language they are grasping less and less, they are unable to articulate many things, can't remember many nouns, don't know how to speak well in Kam, like that day I presented a poem, within was a 'suoyi'(chinese word suoyi, meaning a cape made of rushes to protect from rain) they didn't know. I said 'siip' using Kam we call it 'siip', our old people still know what	**21m 49s**

			很可惜的。	it is, now there isn't this type of 'suoyi' (rain cape) now there is only a raincoat. So having received such a barrage from Han Chinese culture, minority language has become increasingly bland, it is also gradually disappearing, it's a real pity.	
54	问：你今天跟孩子在上课的时候，用两个语音在一个句子里说话吗？	Today when you were teaching, did you use two languages in the same sentences when you were teaching?	答：有呀，就是他还没会说，特别是刚从外地转来的学生，还不会说汉语或还不会说侗语，它就掺杂了。	Yes, when they still can't say something, especially students who just transferred here from somewhere else, they still can't speak Chinese, or can't yet speak Kam, it [the utterance]is mixed up.	22m 42s
55	问：他们这样子的时候，老师对这个情况怎么样？他们有什么想法？你听其他的老师说到这个情况吗？	When it is this way, how do the teachers feel about it? Do they have any opinion? Have you heard other teachers talk about this situation?	答：没有注意到，就是笑，他们只是觉得很好笑。	I haven't noticed, they only smile, they think it is funny.	23m 22s
56	问：然后那个你的英语学生，你碰到的情况，他们用英语说话吗？	then, your English students, have you encountered that situation, do they use English to speak?	答：汉语，现在都是汉语了。	No, Chinese. now everything is in Chinese.	23m 50s
57	问：你可以估计六年级的学生，就从这个学校毕业的时候，他们三个语言的水平你估计怎么样？比如那个侗语口语、汉语口语、那个汉字、英语口语等？	Can you give me an estimate of the sixth grade students' levels in three languages when they leave this school? For example, spoken Kam, spoken Chinese, spoken English?	答：最好的就是侗语，然后汉语，最后就是英语。	Their best language is Kam, then Chinese, then English.	24m 14s
58	问：就是口语丰富的还是侗话？	so the most flourishing spoken language is Kam?	答：嗯，最好的就是侗话，其次是汉语，也可以交流了，英语呢就只会一些简单的句型，一些单词呀，要是交流还不行。	yes, the best is Kam, next is Chinese, in which they can converse, And English, they can only say a few words and sentence patterns, a few vocabulary words, but fluency still isn't good.	24m 40s
59	问：那在这里，你说这个学校他们不参加六年级的英语考试？	so, in this place, you said that this school they still participate in the sixth grade English exam?	答：对，各各年级都不参加（英语考试）。	yes, each grade level still participates.	25m 5s
60	问：比如茅贡中心学校，那个学生对英语的区别有没有？	for example Maogong central school, those students, regarding English,Is there a difference or not?	答:可能他们那的英语要好一点，因为那里重视，安排的课时都要多一点，就像我们这里不怎么重视，有时候课时不够了就可以用别的代替了。	Perhaps their English is a bit better, because there they attach more importance to it, they arrange more English class periods, like here, we don't attach so much importance to it, sometimes there aren't enough class periods, so we can replace them [the English periods] with something else.	25m 19s
61	问：你可以帮我了解这里的学生对英语的想法如何？现在。	Can you help me understand what this school's students' attitudes are towards English, now?	答：今后还是现在？对英语的想法，他们都说这英语太难学了，所以兴趣也不是很好，也许他们这个年龄段还接受不了，接受	In the future, or now? Regarding English, they all say it's too difficult to learn, so the interest in it isn't really	25m 57s

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			水平不够，但是到初中就跟不上了，所以这是个难题不知道怎么解决。	good, perhaps they at this grade aren't able to receive it, their 'receiving level' isn't sufficient, but when they get to junior secondary school they can't keep up, so this is a difficult issue I don't know how to solve.	
62	问：你可以跟我解释一下这里学英语的，教英语的方法和过程？	Can you explain to me the process used here for studying and teaching English?	答：我自己吗？那我教，首先是让他们熟悉会认识这几个单词，然后会读，最后还要会写，所以在课上叫他们多练读、记，没有什么了。	My own process, well, I teach, first is, let them become familiar with recognizing a few new vocabulary words, then they can read, then have them be able to write, so, when in class I teach them to practice reading a lot, to remember, that's about it.	26m 47s
63	问：在你的想法哪一个最重要，有听力，有说话，有那个进度，还有写字，在英语里？	In your thinking, which is more important? There is listening, there is speaking, there is reading, and there is writing in English learning.	答：按理来说，能够说出来是最好的，但是为了今后他们要考试，所以比较要会写，在读呢，我们这里英语阅读材料基本上没有，也没有很好的重视，我觉得目前最现实的就是让他们会说，就是最好的了，不一定要去追求什么记、写，只要能够说出来，培养语感那就是最好的了。但是一般他们都没有那个兴趣，可能没有那个学习的氛围，并没有压力了，考试的竞争没有动力，所以大家都不怎么感兴趣。	Speaking according to reason, to be able to speak out loud is the best, but because in the future they are going to take tests, so I want them to be able to write. regarding reading, here we don't really have any broader English reading materials, and we don't place appropriate importance on it, I think now the most practical is to have them be able to speak, I think that's the most important, not necessarily require them to pursue memorization or writing, just to be able to speak aloud, train in them the intrinsic feel for the language is best. But usually none of them have that interest, maybe there isn't that academic atmosphere, and there isn't that pressure, the competition from testing doesn't have any motivation, so no one really has any interest.	27m 30s
64	问：在教育方面有很多人参加，有孩子参加，有老师参加，家长也可以说参加，因为他们送他们孩子去学校，在那个中学和高中都要付那个学费等，还有那个领导也参加，那些人在中文里有没有个说法，他们都跟那个教育有关系. 有没有这个我不知道，在英语里面我们有一个特别的说法，叫（stakeholders）就是我们都合作在这个教育或教	There are many people involved in education, there are children involved, teachers involved, parents one could say are involved because they are concerned with their children going to school, and for middle and high school they have to pay tuition. Also there are officials who are involved. All these people, in	答：我觉得这些老师可能不会重视，但是家长可能比较同意，因为他们觉得是在学自己的文化很好，但是老师觉得这个又不考，又不重要，没必要去学，甚至搞不好还影响汉语成绩，所以不怎么提倡。但是我不这么认为，我希望他们能够学会也好。	I think these teachers don't attach any importance to it, but perhaps parents would mostly agree to it, because they think to study ones own culture is good, but teachers think that if it isn't tested, it isn't important, there is no need to study it, even to the point of wrongly influencing Chinese language results, so, they don't really	28m 44s

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	育的情况会者影响我们，我们跟这个事情有关系。我是想问到这边的那些人，他们对学侗语，在学校里专门学侗语有什么想法？比如那个学生、家长、老师、领导。	Chinese, what would they be called, all these people who are related to education? I'm not sure if there is such an idea. In English we have a specific term called 'stakeholders' that is to say we all cooperate in education, or education has some influence on us, we are all connected somehow to this thing. So I'd like to ask about those sorts of people here, in regards to studying Kam, what do they think about purposefully studying Kam in school? So I am referring to students, parents, teachers, and leaders collectively.		advocate it. But as for me, I don't think this way, I hope that if they can master it it is good.	
65	问：那个领导呢？	What about officials?	答：领导也是如此，也和一些老师一样，因为上面教育局也只看你的语文、数学的成绩，，对于侗语这些只是一个试验，并不怎么重视，只要你会多会少，只学一些就行了，因为下面就是为了应付上面的检查，但是老百姓呢他们就觉得学好也好，对自己有用。	Leaders are the same way, like those teachers, because the upper education officials only look at Chinese Language and Math results, towards Kam stuff they view it only as an experiment, they don't at all place any importance on it, no matter if you know a lot or a little, just if you study a little it's fine. Its because down here we just look for a way to cope with the upper (government) inspection, but the common people, they think to study it well is also good, it's useful for themselves	30m 50s
66	问：那关于英语呢？	And towards English?	答：英语，英语他们只是注重中心校，特别在农村这里，父母都不会，辅导不了，他们说你们爱怎么学就怎么学吧，也放任自流。	English, English, they only pay attention to the central school, here in the countryside especially, parents don't know it, don't have the ability to tutor their kids, they say 'just study the way you like' and let things drift along.	31m 31s
67	问：你觉得家长觉得英语重要吗？	Do you think parents value English?	答：家长他们没有意识到重要不重要，他们也不关心自己的子女，他只问学校里考不考这个，你考得好了吗？如不考，也不知道你学得好不好。	Parents aren't conscious of it or otherwise don't think it is important, they don't even concern themselves about their own children, they only ask 'is this tested in the school, or not?' 'Did you do well on the test?' If it is not tested, they don't know if you have learned	31m 53s

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				well or not.	
68	问：还有那个老师呢？我今天听到老师说到一些英语，而且我也听你说在村学校如不考就不太重视是吗？你可以帮我了解老师对英语学习的想法？	And also, um, teachers? I heard some teachers make some comments today about English, and I also heard you say that at the village school if it isn't tested then it isn't important, right? Can you help me understand what the teacher's think about English?	答：我觉得懂英语的人就觉得这个重要，他不会英语的那个没意思，也没什么重要的，就是这样。因为我们这的英语也不考，学也不会，也觉得浪费时间。	I think that people who understand English think English is important, those who don't know English aren't interested, and don't think its important, that's how it is. And because we don't test English here, and can't study it well, they think it is wasting time.	**32m 15s**
69	问：你自己认为，在学校里面有侗话，会不会浪费时间？	In your own thinking, if Kam is taught in school, is it a waste of time?	答：不会，倒觉得节约时间，我觉得，因为学生都懂了侗话，但是为了提高汉语水平不得不讲汉语，其实讲自己的母语帮助理解，也加快理解。	No, it's not, in fact I think it saves time, I think, because students all understand Kam, but for the purpose of increasing Chinese levels there is no choice but to speak Chinese, actually speaking one's own mother tongue helps with comprehension, also accelerates comprehension.	**35m 28s**
70	问：家长呢，他们自己不会侗文？还有现在大概百分之多少个家长对汉字识字	And parents, they can't read and write Kam themselves, right? And about what percentage are literate in Chinese?	答：不会，很少。家长对汉字识字的水平中等。但是会写侗文的太少了，几乎没有几个人，他们有时候写自己的侗话，他们就用汉字写，但是那个音不太像，变了，变调了。	They can't read Kam, very few. About 50% of the parents are literate in Chinese. But there are too few who can write Kam, almost none, they sometimes write their own 'Kam' using Characters, but that writing isn't similar enough, it changes, changes the tones.	**36m 2s**
71	问：你可以帮我了解孩子学生的那个想法，对那个语言，我要给你一个例子，比如说这瓶水里面，那个水是在学校里学的内容，然后你可以用不同的方法喝这个水，可以用侗语、汉语、国际英语来把这些内容放到他们的大脑里面去，这是我的意思，如果是小孩子他们自己的选择，你估计他们会选择那一种？	Can you help me understand the students's thinking in terms of language? I'd like to give you an example [holding a bottle of water] take for example this water in the bottle, the water is like the content that is taught at school, and then there are different ways to drink the 'water'.You could use Kam, Chinese or English to get this content to go into the students' brain, this is what I mean. If it is the students who could choose which method, what do you think they would choose?	答：侗语，因为比较容易，是他们经常用的语言，是很容易。	Kam, because it is easy, it the language they always use, it is very easy.	**36m 54s**
72	问：在课本上的内容你帮我了解，除了英语以外，比如说数学、历史、科学、品德、美术等等，百分之多少可以用侗语教孩子？	The content in the text books, help me understand, apart from English, so lets say Math, history, science, morals, art, etc, what percentage of those could you	答：几乎都可以，可以说是百分之百，也都能用母语解释，但是有时候为了标准答案，就是死记硬背的汉字。	Almost all, you could say it is 100%, and everyone could use their mother tongue to figure it out, but sometimes for the sake of the standard answer, they just mechanically	**38m 2s**

			use Kam to teach?			memorize Chinese.	
73	问：在村子里的孩子，从这里毕业之后，去读初中然后高中，你估计百分之多少读完初中？其他孩子呢？	After the village students graduate from primary school and go on to junior secondary school and then senior secondary school, can you estimate how many complete junior secondary? And what about the other kids?	答：现在是百分之六十左右吧。要不就打工，有的中途就不读了。	Now it is about 60%, the others go *dagong*, there are some who quit studying halfway.	39m 45s
74	问：这是什么原因，他们的学习不好的原因或者没有兴趣的原因？	What is the cause of that? They are poor students, or they don't have any intersest in school?	答：学习不好的原因，有的是家庭的原因，有的也是受到这个网络的影响，不爱学习了。他觉得学习不好玩，有的是家庭困难读不下去了，就这些。	Mostly they are poor students, some because of their parents, some because they love to surf the web and it has influenced them negatively and they don't love to study. They think studying isn't any fun, some because of their family's struggles can't continue to study, just these reasons.	40m 19s
75	问：还有高中的学生多不多？	And the senior secondary students, are there a lot?	答：不多，不太多。这几年要多一点，以前就很少很少了。	not a lot, not too many, these past few years it has increased somewhat, but before very very few.	40m 44s
76	问：你小的时候，最附近的高中是在哪里？	When you were small, where was the nearest senior secondary school?	答：XX，就XX。	In Misty Mountain, just in Misty Mountain.	40m 55s
77	问：XX那时候也有高中？	At that time there was a senior secondary school?	答：嗯，有高中，一中有高中部、初中部，还有二中这两个。像我爸爸妈妈那时候好像XX还有一个。现在都没有了，都到县城里去了。	Yes, there was a senior secondary school, The number one High school had a high school section and a junior secondary section, and there was the number 2 high school, two of them. I think in my parents era even XX had one, now they don't, they have all gone to the county seat.	41m 6s
78	问：现在全县就是XX县城里？	In the whole county, only in Misty Mountain county seat?	答：嗯，一中、三中	yes, number one and number three highschools.	41m 21s
79	问：那你对这个题目有其它的想法吗？我没有其它的问题，我就是想我们在说话的那个过程里面，你想到其它的要表达的事情吗？	So do you have any other comments?	interruption...ended discussion		41m 37s

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Checklist

	Item
☐	Passport
☐	Passport Copy
☐	Piwen Copies
☐	Driver's License
☐	1000 Yuan
☐	Consent forms
☐	Participant Info Sheets
☐	Observation form
☐	Interview guide
☐	Digital Recorder/ power cord
☐	8 AA batteries
☐	Blank Mini SD Card + Backup
☐	Audio Tripod
☐	Camera/ power cord
☐	Camera Battery
☐	Camera SD Card
☐	Phone / charger
☐	Glasses & Sunglasses
☐	Clipboard/paper/pens
☐	Clothes/ boots/ toiletries
☐	Umbrella
☐	sleeping bag
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