Negotiating Contexts: A Case Study of a Tibetan Boarding Class

in Inland China from a Tibetan Learner's Perspective

by

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Abstract

This thesis presents a case study, exploring a Tibetan boarding class in inland China from a Tibetan learner's perspective. As one of a number of forms of Chinese minority education, Tibetan boarding schools/classes are little known internationally (Wang & Zhou, 2003). To respond to the need for more research in this area, this case study gives voice to a Tibetan learner who experienced the boarding class.

An attendee of a Tibetan boarding class in Jiahe served as the particular "case" in this study. Underpinned by a theoretical framework of language ecology, this study centers on a learner, considers the impacts of his referential contexts, and explores a particular Tibetan boarding class as an example of Chinese minority education in practice. Data collected through interviews, observations, and document review reveal that language learners constantly negotiate with multiple identities and interact with their referential contexts. Meanwhile, the multilayered and multifaceted referential contexts play an influential role in learners' experiences and learning outcomes. Tibetan Education, as exemplified by the Tibetan boarding class, facilitates and encourages minority learners to participate in the mainstream education and the majority cultural practice. However, Tibetan education also impedes the maintenance and preservation of their indigenous languages.

In conclusion, Chinese minority education endeavors to ensure that various ethnic and linguistic learners have educational opportunities and qualities to develop individuals' ability; to strengthen their competence; to upgrade their

social, educational, and economic situations; and to invest in what they define as worthwhile and valuable in a way that they view as effective. The present study is informed by multicultural education, a notion grounded and well studied in North American discourse. In addition, suggestions for further improvement of Tibetan boarding classes are also discussed. Yet in view of the variations between North American discourse and Chinese context, the notion of multicultural education can not be entirely applied to Chinese minority education. Therefore, future studies could aim to develop theories grounded in Chinese minority education context.

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Chapter One

Introduction & Literature Review

Authorial Location

Assisting my mother in organizing a national conference offered me an opportunity to get acquainted with a Tibetan lady. The objectives of the conference were to popularize the International Standards on manufacturing and global trade developed by the International Organization for Standardization, and enhance the national network that was already underway. This Tibetan lady attended the conference as the delegate of the Standard Institute in which she was working in the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR). This lady immediately attracted my attention because of the traditional Tibetan garment she was wearing, which, she told me later, was newly purchased for attending the conference. As a Han majority myself, I am very interested in the uniqueness of ethnic minorities, and the particular stories behind their diversity as part of their long history and prosperous culture. After the opening ceremony, this lady came up to me and asked if I could drive her to the school which her son was attending. I told her that I was very willing to do so.

On our way, this lady talked about her job and her son that she was very proud of. She said while Tibet was endeavoring to catch up with other regions in China, it broadened its eyes to view the world. She said her job was a good illustration. Even though the industrial standard was not very high in Tibet compared to other regions and countries, Tibetan manufacturers adopted the

same international standards as those in relatively prosperous regions of China and in developed countries. Talking about her son, this lady proudly told me that her son had been attending the school, which was a key secondary school in the city where I was living, after he finished his elementary education in TAR. The school offered a boarding class particularly for Tibetans to receive secondary education as preparation for higher education. She said it was very fortunate that her son could be selected, because the number of students whose parents wanted to send them to attend the boarding class exceeded the number that the class could afford to accommodate every year. Parents held the belief that after their children graduated, they could go to university, which would definitely ensure a better job and an upgraded living standard, and could contribute to the development of the Tibetan community.

On July 1, 2006, I flew back to China from New York City. When I landed in Beijing, a piece of news was running on almost every channel, reporting the successful initial operation of the Qinghai-Tibet railway. I talked about the railway with the Tibetan lady when I phoned her later, and she commented that it would be much more convenient for her son to visit home. After I hung up the phone, I began to think. Apart from the convenient transportation and improved mobility, what else would this new railway bring to Tibet and what would it mean to Tibetans and their community? Similarly, reflecting on the experience of the Tibetan son, I began to wonder. Besides living in a different environment, from the Tibetan plateau to a Han metropolis and learning the majority language, both spoken and written, what else would his experience bring to him, and how would

it influence his development? My interests in learning more about the Tibetan boarding class were boosted.

Introduction

China consists of 56 nationalities, 55 of which are officially recognized ethnic minorities with the other being the ethnic Han majority. This diversity is an indication that China is a multiethnic, multilingual, and multicultural country. Minorities, a key fundamental constitutive element of any multilingual and multicultural country, have impact on issues such as national unity and solidarity. As a result, issues related to minorities have been attracting intensive attention.

The increasing global research interest in multiethnic and multicultural education has largely overlooked China as evidenced by the dearth of studies on this topic undertaken in China (Postiglione, 1998). This statement coincides with the urgent need addressed by Becket and MacPherson (2005) who call for studies on minority and indigenous languages and their speakers in non-Western contexts, sites that are neglected in research. In particular, they point to the need to particularize studies of language and education in China where Western scholars too often rely on generalizations based on studies of the Han majority. In the past decade, issues of language and language learning in China have been rapidly and vastly problematized by the return of Hong Kong in 1997, the surge and increasing impact of globalization, and a series of significant events which put China onto the international stage and so introduced pressures to acquire English into the already severe and complicated linguistic battle. A great deal of attention has been paid to Hong Kong and the tension between the

Chinese and English languages there (Cheung, Mayes, & Randall, 2000; Choi, 2003; Nunan, 2003; Pennycook, 2002), whereas ethnic minorities and their indigenous languages in Mainland China are neglected. Indeed, ethnic minorities and indigenous languages are equally significant in research into language learning (Becket & MacPherson, 2005). Meanwhile, as a multilingual country consisting of multiple ethnic and linguistic communities, China serves as an important context for investigations and explorations in ethnic minority education, particularly language learning, about which a great deal remains to be learned (Postiglione, 1998).

Predominant attention has been paid to the enrolment and attainment of minorities in Chinese minority education through studies that offer statistical comparison and policy analyses (Postiglione, 1998; Wang & Zhou, 2003). Diminutive voice is heard from minorities, those who have not been extensively reached in inquiry. Given this reality, it is worthwhile to conduct various forms of research, such as ethnographic work whose number is rather limited on ethnic minority education (Postiglione, 1998). Various forms of research will enable us to hear voices from minorities, to understand the tensions they face and the conflicts they deal with, and to develop minority education programs as a response to their needs and aspirations.

Language Learning

Language has been the medium of inter- and intra-national communication from its very beginning; language learning is definitely not a new phenomenon. However, recently, the traditional definition of language learning as a process of

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mastering linguistic skills and developing communicative competence has been challenged. The notion of language learning is enriched and re-conceptualized by a number of researchers (Bron, 2002; Dörnyei, 2001; Gatbonton, Trofimovich, & Magid, 2005; Hawkins, 2005; Jia & Aaronson, 2003; Langman, 2003; Morita, 2004).

One development of this notion is marked by the identification of multiple elements involved in language learning. Drawing on Lave and Wenger's view of learning, Morita (2004) defines language learning as a "socially situated process by which newcomers gradually move toward fuller participation in a given community's activities by interacting with more experienced community members" (p. 576). As the definition indicates, language learning encompasses interactions between socially-defined novices and the more experienced within a particular context. In addition, embedded in a series of socially-situated interactive activities, language learning is also a developmental process in which learners' ideologies are internalized and identities are constructed. The internalized ideologies and constructed identities, in turn, will direct and shape the ways in which learners communicate with others (Dörnyei, 2001).

Another improvement in the notion of language learning is realized through identifying the significance of social context. Language learning is considered as a social practice encouraging students to strive for more possibilities and choices (Bron, 2002; MacPherson, 2005; Norton, 1997, 2000). Hence, in addition to its overt role as a communicative tool, more covertly yet importantly, language functions as a gatekeeper that grants or denies learners access to resources and

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approaches to probing into the world. Given the fact that language learning endows learners with the possibility and ability to make language choice and manipulate language behavior, learning a new language means acquiring a new role, a new identity, and a new set of attitudes through which learners refresh themselves with a new self-definition (Bron, 2002; MacPherson, 2005; Norton, 2000).

From this perspective, language learning, as its definition implies, has four characteristics. First, language learning takes place through a series of social interactions. In other words, learning is embedded and unfolded in social interactions. Second, the context in which language learning occurs is socially defined. Third, language learning consists of multiple parties, rather than single participants, engaging in and contributing to this process. It is often the case that plural parties involved in language learning come from a large variety of communities. And finally, language learning is a long-term, ongoing, and developmental process, rooting in learners' incremental participations (Hawkins, 2005; Langman, 2003; Morita, 2004).

Kaplan and Baldauf (2006) identify two primary issues related to language learning: attitudes of the community and effects of those attitudes on language choice. Jia and Aaronson (2003) begin with the idea that language learning is a complex linguistic and sociocultural process through which learners gain access to a new world. They suggest that language learning is a crucial and necessary constitution of language learners' adaptation to, and adjustment within, new communities. In conclusion, language is not only a means for inter- and intra-

national communication, but a key constitutive part of a community and a society, carrying and transmitting social meanings.

Language in Minority Education

As Paulston and Heidemann (2006) explicitly point out, in minority education, "language choice is one of the major problems" (p. 299). Language choice in minority education is far more complex than a selection of linguistic code; it is a decision which leads to further profound socio-cultural consequences. Therefore, probing into the issue of language choice in minority education requires adopting a broad and cohesive view, starting with the goal of education.

Goal of Education

A leading goal of education, in general, is to distribute and transmit essential knowledge and skills to learners, and to develop and cultivate their attitude and values. Examining education through a perspective of modernization theory, the primary goal of education is to equip learners with certain skills and values, and thus to shape them as potential workers who are expected to be more productive and more adaptable in the rapidly changing field of industry and technology (Clothey, 2001; McGovern, 1999). From another perspective, education is crucial to the growth of learners in a particular socio-cultural community, and significant both in the long and short run to the development of the community.

From the premise of the "*individual self*", Schmidt (2006) echoes with political theorist Kymlicka in affirming that, as the proper foundation for any just community, individuals must be granted the right to choose the worthwhile or the valuable that they define freely from inside selves. Following this tenet,

education is an individual right, a foundation or home within which individuals are able to interpret themselves and their lives actively. Also, on the personal side, from parents' perspectives, they would choose the education that could guarantee their children employability and social mobility (McGovern, 1999), and secure prosperity and availability of material and symbolic resources (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006).

On the institutional side, from a political perspective, education serves as an effective means of overcoming cultural differences, promoting wholesome relations among different ethnic groups, and encouraging diverse communities to participate in state's social, economic, and political institutions (McGovern, 1999). It is the state's responsibility to provide every individual with equal opportunities to take part in the society in the way one considers meaningful and effective (Schmidt, 2006). These equal opportunities, of course, include opportunities to receive and choose education. Given the fact that individual definition, evaluation, and choices are made within a cultural context, it is necessary and crucial for the community to provide the "context for choice" (Schmidt, 2006, p. 105). Linking the goals of education to minority education in multilingual states, in this study, I adopt the stance that the state must provide fairly equal education opportunities to ensure that individuals can freely define and choose the valuable, and provide supports to facilitate individuals to realize a good life in their own conception, in spite of their ethnical, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds (Schmidt, 2006).

Equal Education and Equity

As equal education was discussed previously, it is necessary to expand the notion here. According to Nieto (1996) who grounded and developed the notion of equal education in the context of America, equal education consists of two major elements. The first one is same educational resources and opportunities for all students, in spite of their diverse ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and economic backgrounds. The second element is interactions between students and teachers and schools. Viewing education as a two-way process, Nieto (1996) affirms that education contains impacts that teachers and schools bring to students; meanwhile, it includes diverse linguistic and cultural resources that students bring to schools. Therefore, equal education advocates that the foundation and the starting point for schooling is various skills, talents, and experiences that all students bring to education (Nieto, 1996).

At the same time, Nieto (1996) defines the notion of equity to differentiate it from equal education. According to Nieto (1996), equity is a more comprehensive notion which also contains two fundamental elements. Namely, they are "equal educational opportunities" and "fairness and real possibility of *equality of outcomes* (italics in the original) for a broader range of students" (p. 10). Nieto (1996) holds the belief that a fundamental means to achieve educational equity is multicultural education, an issue which will be discussed in following chapter. Drawing on Nieto's (1996) definitions, equal opportunity is a constructive element shared both by equal education and equity.

In terms of equal educational opportunity, McGovern (1999) defines it as "having access to formal schooling and being provided with a good quality education that imparts the knowledge and skills that allow one the chance to compete in terms of academic achievement and educational attainment" (p. 82). As its definition informs, two fundamental factors consisting of equal educational opportunity are: access to formal schooling and a good quality education. An issue relevant to equal opportunity is educational choices.

In the case studies of students with diverse backgrounds conducted by Nieto (1996) in America, participants agreed that they did have choices; however, they also articulated that the choices were very limited and defined them as poor, either assimilation or rejection. Moreover, relevant social and political conditions could make the choices less straightforward to students. Therefore, as Nieto (1996) concludes, what superficially seems appropriate indeed is not able to provide fair chance to all students. A potential result is that though students have choices, they possibly could still make less effective decisions (Nieto, 1996). Nieto's (1996) conclusion reinforces that educational choice should be made based on individuals' definition and evaluation to achieve equal education and equity. Regardless the fact that Nieto (1996) grounded the notions of equal education and equity and as well as conducted case studies in the American discourse, both the definitions and results have implications on and are applicable to minority education studies in other multilingual and multicultural contexts, such as China.

Minority Education

Multilingual countries are usually multiethnic and multicultural. The fact that "there are between 6,000 and 8,000 oral languages and only about 200 states in the world" suggests that "most states are multilingual – and multicultural – to varying degrees" (Ricento, 2006, p. 231). Education is a prerequisite for the growth and development of both nations and individuals. Particularly, education in a multiethnic and multilingual country takes on two primary responsibilities: preserving and reproducing ethnic minority cultures to support diversity, and at the same time, promoting and representing national culture to support unity (Postiglione, 1998). Therefore, in multilingual settings, education acts to support particular segments of the society and carries significant social responsibilities, such as to ensure that all ethnic and linguistic groups have equal education opportunities and qualities (Clothey, 2001). As a result, minority education is cast with more significance.

Taking the position that the socio-cultural context is a key element that determines the form, content, and outcome of ethnic minority education (Postiglione, 1998), a number of researchers examine and compare different types of schools in minority education in China. One type of school worth mentioning here is boarding schools. From a perspective of academic achievement, Clothey (2001) claims that in China, minority students enrolled in boarding schools achieve higher scores in standardized examinations than those who attend regular schools, drawing on a comparison conducted by Hansen. Wang and Zhou (2003), from a perspective of preserving indigenous culture,

argue against boarding schools for minorities in China because they can represent a displacement and may lack cultural sensitivity.

Another type of study has focused on the orientation towards the indigenous / mainstream culture. Luykx (2003) identifies three possible types of stances that schools adopt in minority education. The first stance is "acculturation", whose goal is the replacement of minority learners' first cultural practices with the mainstream. The second possibility is "accommodation", aiming at minority learners mastering mainstream practices while maintaining their own. Finally "negotiation", schools adopting this stance support the negotiations between mainstream and minority cultural practices in classroom (p. 9). According to Luykx (2003), among the three stances, in the sense of multicultural education, "negotiation" serves as the most promising approach (p. 9).

There is another body of literature that examines specific minorities and how their particular ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and social backgrounds and communities contribute to minority education; for example, Paulston and Hediemann (2006) point to the important role of various communities' unique ideologies and identities in minority education. These studies remind us that it is crucial to the wholesome growth of both the state and individuals that minorities are capable of actively making selections relevant to education, in whatever way they choose to define as good, worthwhile, and meaningful. In other words, equal opportunities should be offered to minorities, based on which they could they make educational choices according to their definitions. Given the

importance of minority education and its challenges, one primary decision at the heart of minority education is language selection.

Majority and Minority Language

In multilingual settings where several languages co-exist, the different roles and unequal status of languages tend to lead speakers to label them as majority or minority. Frequently, minority language speakers show enthusiasm in supporting, learning, and adopting the majority language, even at the expense of abandoning their first languages, even when the minority languages are already in a perilous situation (Geary & Pan, 2003).

Prior investigations identified a number of factors that drive minority language speakers to support, to learn, and to use a majority language. For example, majority language can appear to offer prestige. The majority language can be perceived as a vehicle transmitting modern development (Clothey, 2001; Ricento, 2006) and "a ticket to modernity" (Geary & Pan, 2003, p. 274). In other words, acquiring the majority language can avail speakers of access to modernity, which is typically linked to advanced levels of technology and skills, efficient modes of production, rational values and attitudes, and novel and creative thoughts (Clothey, 2001). In addition, majority language enjoys greater social, political, and economic recognition and opportunities, and offers access to material and symbolic resources. It is an effective instrument to enhance social mobility, to integrate into the mainstream, and to ascend on social ladders (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Cartwright, 2006; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006; Ricento, 2006). To conclude, in

multilingual contexts, these various social-, cultural-, and economic-oriented factors together contribute to the pursuit of majority language.

Majority and National Language

It is easy to mistake a majority language as the national language, or to assume that a national language is a majority language. Kaplan and Baldauf (2006) argue that the notion of majority language is defined on sheer statistical or numerical grounds, whereas a national language is defined by the role of its speakers who act as a power group in a state, rather than by the population of its speakers. In most cases, a national language is the language authorized to be taught and applied as the medium of instruction in education (Paulston & Heidemann, 2006). As a symbol or linguistic claim to citizenship, a national language is assumed to be widely spoken in a state, or even by every citizen in a state. It is also believed that citizens could exercise their civil rights through a national language (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006). Therefore, choosing the national language has significant implications and considerations for minority education (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006; Paulston & Heidemann, 2006).

In conclusion, in multiethnic and multilingual contexts, a key issue is minority education concerning language learning, which itself is an issue provoking concentrated attention and heated debate. Dörnyei (1994) portrays its uniqueness and convolution, describing language as "a communicative coding system that can be taught as a school subject", "an integral part of the individual's identity involved in almost all mental activities", and also "the most

important channel of social organization embedded in the culture of the community where it is used" (p. 274).

Minority Education in China

Ethnic minorities, both globally and locally, diversify and differ from each other regionally, linguistically, historically, culturally, and developmentally. Even within a single ethnic group, diversity is evident. So it is impossible to study and analyze minorities as a single entity. Therefore, studies of minorities as well as minority education must be located in and focused on particular ethnic communities (Postiglione, 1998). Hence, to gain an accurate understanding of one particular form of minority education situated in a given context, it is desirable to narrow our attention and to center on one specific context – China.

Ethnic Minority Education

Multicultural education. The notion of multicultural education is well studied in North America, to name a few works that are reviewed for this thesis, Banks' (2002, 2006) and Nieto's (1996) in America, and Magsino's (2000) and Young's (1979) in Canada. According to Banks (2002, 2006), multicultural education is a "reform movement" whose aim is to generate significant and meaningful changes in the educational development of students so that they could receive and experience educational equality, in spite of their racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural, and/or socio-economic backgrounds. Echoing Banks, Nieto (1996) also defines multicultural education as "a process of comprehensive school reform" as well as "basic education" for all students (p. 307). Developments in this area have led succeeding researchers to re-

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conceptualize the notion as "an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process". In terms of "educational reform", multicultural education views school as a social system and involves "changes in the total school or educational environment" (Banks, 2007, pp. 3-4).

As its definition informs, the essential goal of multicultural education is total school reform, which is referred to as the modification of the total educational environment, based on the view that school is a social system (Banks, 2006, 2007). To fulfill the goal, four approaches can be applied to create a multicultural school environment. Namely, they are "the contributions approach, the ethnic additive approach, the transformation approach, and the decision-making and social action approach" (Banks, 2006, p. 61). Nieto (1996) further enriches the notion by delineating seven fundamental characteristics of multicultural education: "antiracist education, basic education, important for all students, pervasive, education for social justice, process, and critical pedagogy" (p. 308).

In response to its multicultural components, Canada highlights multicultural education. According to Young (1979), the core issue of multicultural education is the relationship between cultural and structural pluralism. Cultural differences are reflected through structural forms, under the influence of economic and political as well as social rewards. Their critical relationship impacts the design and operation of educational programs (Young, 1979). Drawing on Gibson's identification, Young further delineates four approaches of multicultural education. They are "Education of Cultural Different, Education about Cultural Differences, Education for Cultural Pluralism, and Bicultural Education" (Young, 1979, p. 11),

with each having a particular objective. These four interrelated and overlapping

approaches are also embodiments of ethnic relations, which are listed as four

possible options that ethnic minorities face: "assimilation", "pluralism",

"secession", and "militancy" (Young, 1979, p. 7).

In his analysis of Canadian multicultural policy on the basis of the two

dimensions of multiculturalism – values/principles and programmatic plans for

implementation, Magsino (2000) examines the dynamics of multiculturalism in

relation to unity, equality, cultural retention, and cultural sharing. Both Young's

and Magsino's analyses provide fundamental theoretical and analytical

frameworks for examining Chinese ethnic minority education. Indeed, China and

Canada bear a certain amount of similarity in terms of their components of

multiple ethnic communities, and diverse linguistic and cultural groups.

Nonetheless, they differ and remain distinct from each other in regard to

education. Considering the fact that the educational situation of minorities falls

behind that of the majority Han, regarding both enrolment and attainment, China

emphasizes minority education.

Minority education. It is necessary to note that in the context of Chinese

education, minority education and multicultural education are not mutually

exclusive. Chinese minority education is practiced in cooperation with

multicultural education, as indicated by its underpinning assumption that "a

multicultural education can further improve understanding between Han Chinese

and other ethnic groups", and "increase minorities' participation in state

schooling" which will lead to social and economic development (Postiglione, 1998,

p. 5). In other words, multicultural education is a form of, a constructive element of, and is enveloped in Chinese minority education. With objectives to upgrade minorities' educational situation, and to enhance intra-ethnic relationship in the long run, ethnic minority education, featured by a series of preferential policies, is perceived as a particular measure taken to upgrade minorities' educational standards in China (Wang & Zhou, 2003).

The Education Law of the People's Republic of China was passed in 1995 "[to] protect the lawful rights and interests of the minority nationalities and uphold and develop a relationship of equality, unity, and mutual assistance among all of China's nationalities" (National People's Congress, 1999, p. 20). Drawing on the statements, two distinct characteristics of Chinese Education Law concerning minority education could be generalized. First of all, the *law* (rather than regulation) grants organs of self-government in national minority autonomous regions the legal right to administer educational and cultural affairs, including types and forms of schooling, language used as medium of instruction, and the contents of curriculum and the like (NPC, 1999; Wang & Zhou, 2003). The other characteristic is that the law implements five actions in order to improve minority education. These actions are: establishing a national structure of special administrative bodies and research institutes for minority education; providing financial assistance for minority education; increasing and developing teaching forces for minority schooling; implanting preferential policy to promote enrolment in minority schooling; and setting up and developing mechanisms to match assistance (Wang & Zhou, 2003).

Chinese Minority Education

As implied in the Law on Ethnic Minority Education, the primary goal of Chinese minority education is to produce and develop both ethnic and expert learners so that they are adaptable to changing and diverse environments, not only regional and national, but also international and global contexts (Postiglione, 1998). In relation to minority communities, effective minority education holds the promise of upgrading the conditions of these communities through improving their educational levels and living standards and situations (Clothey, 2001; Postiglione, 1998). In other words, with a view to upgrading their academic levels and economic conditions, minority education could fulfill minority communities' academic and economic needs.

In China, the 55 officially recognized ethnic minorities vary and differ dramatically. Each minority community has its unique historical, cultural, and developmental characteristics. In addition, most of the minorities have their own indigenous languages and some of them even have more than one language. Minority languages are mutually unintelligible with each other as well as with Mandarin Chinese. Thus, without exception, language becomes a fundamental challenge in Chinese minority education. Which language should be used and taught emerges as the primary question that needs to be answered cautiously (Clothey, 2001; Postiglione, 1998). Supported by government policies, Chinese ethnic minorities have the lawful right and are advocated to administer education autonomously using their indigenous languages (Postiglione, 1998), as the Article 12 reads "schools and other educational institutions in which ethnic

minority students predominate may conduct teaching in the spoken and written language(s) commonly used in the locality" (NPC, 1999, p. 27). Despite laws that favor educating minorities initially in their indigenous languages and research advocating mother tongue education, the enthusiasm for learning Chinese has never decreased in China (Geary & Pan, 2003). This phenomenon reinforces Postiglione's (2002) claim that "the link between policy and practice is an area that receives constant attention in educational research on ethnic minority education in all parts of the world" (p. 87). In other words, it is necessary to analyze education policy in relation to its practice.

Learning Chinese

In some cases, minorities leave the schools in which their first languages are the medium of instruction in minority regions and choose to enroll in schools outside of their communities and regions, the ones in which academic subjects – including Mandarin Chinese, both spoken and written – are taught through the Chinese language. There are a large number of causes driving minorities to learn Chinese and to attend schools which use Chinese as the medium of instruction.

To begin with, it needs to be acknowledged that in spite of the "official" equal status that the law grants minority languages with Chinese, as the majority, national, and official language, Chinese, the language of the dominant Han majority, is spoken by the largest population in China. It carries considerably more prestige than other languages in China, not only currently, but also historically (Geary & Pan, 2003). Second, the massive use in official

bureaucracies, government agencies, media, and daily communication attaches more importance to Chinese and enhances its utility (Badeng Nima, 2001; Clothey, 2001).

Third, the necessity to master Chinese derives from the use of the language in technological, economic, and educational development. For most of the time, advanced technology and novel messages are first accessible through Chinese (Postiglione, 1998; Roundtable, 2003). Finally, as pointed out above, most minorities have their own languages, some of them even have more than one language, and minority languages are mutually incomprehensible. As a consequence, Chinese emerges and functions as the main instrument for communications between and across different minority communities. To conclude, in response to wider communication – intra-national, intra-community, or even intra-regional at a national level, as well as the economic development of minority communities, Chinese is popularly favored and employed.

Indigenous, Bilingual, and Multilingual Education

Lambert initially generalizes and distinguishes two types of bilingualism: additive and subtractive (Baker, 2001). Addictive bilingualism is "a situation where a second language is learnt by an individual or a group without detracting from the maintenance and development of the first language" (Baker & Jones, 1998, p. 698). On the contrary, subtractive bilingualism is "a situation in which a second language is learnt at the expense of the first language, and gradually replaces the first language" (Baker & Jones, 1998, p. 706). In other words, addictive bilingualism advocates the juxtaposition of both the first language (L1)

and a second language (L2), whereas subtractive bilingualism emphasizes the replacement of L1 by L2. According to Baker (2001), it is possible that learning L2 which is a majority language may undermine L1 which is a minority language, resulting in a subtractive situation.

Specifying to ethnic minorities in China, L1 refers to indigenous languages and L2 refers to Chinese, the majority language. While considering the popularity and dominance of Chinese, it is worthwhile to reiterate the value of indigenous languages. Indigenous language bears, transmits, preserves, and develops a minority community's unique culture. It acts as a caregiver that provides novices with the easiest and most convenient way to gain the greatest amount of knowledge, and facilitates meaningful community integration and effective societal function (Badeng Nima, 2001; Tournadre, 2003). Tibetan, for example, is a mature language whose genesis is in Mal language which originated more than 5, 000 years ago (Badeng Nima, 2001). There is a particular need for Tibetans to develop and strengthen their language "because of their cultural identity in China" (Badeng Nima, 2001, p. 94). This need is increasingly urgent, given the reality that the Tibetan language is facing a threat of decline (Tournadre, 2003). Tournadre, a French expert on Tibetan linguistics, directly points out that "without the Tibetan language, it is clear that Tibet would not be Tibet any more" (Roundtable, 2003, p. 3).

Facing the perilous decline of the Tibetan language, Tournadre (2003) generalizes three major causes, namely, political, educational, and linguistic. Badeng Nima (2001) approaches this issue from similar aspects. As he states,

from a political perspective, "for a long time, both Chinese and Tibetan officials have believed that advocating Tibetan language education in school would arouse feelings of local nationalism and would increase the chances of conflict" (Badeng Nima, 2001, p. 98). From an educational perspective, though minorities, in seeking admission to post-secondary education, have the options to take the national entrance exam in their indigenous languages, Mandarin still functions as the main medium of instruction in tertiary education. This situation leads Clothey (2001) to conclude that "Mandarin proficiency is still a prerequisite for a more esteemed education" (p. 21). From a linguistic perspective, different from traditional thought, Tibetan is in fact extremely varied dialectally with a wide range of speakers coming from different regions, and they are mutually unintelligible (Roundtable, 2003). Thus, Tibetan is a series of languages, rather than one language. As an unavoidable result, Tibetans from different areas with various incomprehensible dialects have to rely on Chinese as a means of communication (Roundtable, 2003).

In addition, the Tibetan language is well developed and mature in disciplines such as religion and philosophy, evidenced by its abundant vocabulary applied in those areas of study. However, it is relatively underdeveloped in science and modernity, as it has been less applied in those disciplines. Relatively few applications in some disciplines limit the social functions of the Tibetan language, what Badeng Nima (2001) terms "collision between 'traditional knowledge' and 'modern knowledge'" (p. 98). As a result, Tibetans need to learn Chinese to "live in modern society" (p. 100), and to "function well in modern society" (p. 101). In

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other words, learning Chinese enables Tibetans to keep the pace with the development of modern society, regarding language, culture, and lifestyle and the like. Furthermore, as Tibetan specialists point out at the Roundtable discussion, "to teach and learn either Tibetan or Chinese to the exclusion of the other will eventually present obstacles in the future" (p. 11). They also contend that the mastery of both Tibetan and Chinese is an asset to Tibetan communities, as with both languages, Tibetans could function effectively both in Tibetan and mainstream communities. In other words, it is vital to develop both languages harmoniously. Their comments imply that in Chinese minority education, bilingual education is a promising vehicle through which minorities are able to acquire and develop both indigenous language and Chinese.

The need for minorities to master both indigenous languages and Mandarin Chinese is problematized by the increasing impacts that English brings into China. English is gradually incorporated into the curriculum as a required course, and emerges as a prerequisite for higher education, more prestigious occupations, and promotions (Beckett & MacPherson, 2005). Consequently, bilingual education which only includes indigenous language and Mandarin Chinese no longer fulfills minorities' needs. Multilingual education incrementally reveals its importance in Chinese minority education. However, the role that English plays as well as the existing tension between English and Mandarin Chinese are beyond the scope of this thesis, and therefore, will not be developed extensively in the present analysis.

Tibetan Education

Studies of Chinese minority education could be carried out from various standpoints. A number of studies approach the issue from a theoretical stance (Clothey, 2001; Postiglione, 1998), while others are more empirically oriented (Geary & Pan, 2003; Kormondy, 2002). Some discussions view this issue generally from a broad perspective (Clothey, 2001; Postiglione, 1998), while some of them focus on particular ethnic groups (Geary & Pan, 2003; Kormondy, 2002; Roundtable, 2003; Wang & Zhou, 2003). As one ethnic minority, Tibetans, along with their education, have been the interest and priority of a number of research studies on Chinese minority education.

Largely due to the remoteness, environmental conditions, as well as insufficient formal educational provision and facilities, and lack of human resources in Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), Tibetan boarding schools/classes in Han metropolises outside of Tibet are set up in order to assist Tibetans to upgrade educational standards (Wang & Zhou, 2003). First established in 1984, Tibetan schools/classes experienced rapid development and improvement in the past two decades, evidenced by the increasing numbers of schools/classes and the accumulating enrolment. Up to 2000, there are in total 39 Tibetan schools and classes located in 18 provinces and 4 province-equivalent municipalities (Wang & Zhou, 2003).

However, as one of a number of forms of Chinese minority education, Tibetan boarding schools/classes are little known internationally (Wang & Zhou, 2003). In regard to boarding schools, diverse results have been yielded in

previous studies (Clothey, 2001; Wang & Zhou, 2003). For example, Clothey (2001) examined boarding schools through the measurement of students' academic achievement, and reached a conclusion that boarding schools could help students to obtain promising education outcomes. On the contrary, Wang and Zhou (2003) examined boarding schools through the lens of preserving indigenous languages and cultures and by examining relevant policies and curricula. They reached a result that boarding schools put indigenous languages and cultures into jeopardy. In spite of the contrasting results of Clothey's (2001) and Wang and Zhou's (2003) studies regarding boarding schools, prior studies mainly used statistical comparisons of students' scores on standardized examinations (Clothey, 2001), or focused on the historical development of Tibetan boarding schools (Wang & Zhou, 2003), both of which overlooked the voices of the Tibetan students themselves and their perceptions.

A salient characteristic of Goldstein's (2003) work is what she refers to as "a 'hybrid ethnographic text'" (p. xxi). Each chapter opens with an excerpt from the ethnographic study, which provides room for participants' voice to be heard not only by the researcher during the research, but also by the audience beyond the research. In addition, rather than borrowing the lens from the researcher, audiences have the opportunities to interpret and analyze what they "heard" from the study from their own perspectives and stances. Goldstein (2003) highlights voice to be heard from the participants; similarly, Chinese minority education should also be studied by and through hearing insiders' voice, those who are experiencing Chinese minority education.

In light of this current situation and the increasingly urgent need to conduct studies on minority and indigenous languages and their speakers in non-Western contexts (Becket & MacPherson, 2005), and given the increasing interest in multiethnic and multicultural education in regions like China, which remain underrepresented in scholarly research (Postiglione, 1998), a case study is designed and conducted. This study intends to focus on a Tibetan student as a language learner and explore his learning experiences as well as potential impacts on his experiences. Drawing on this particular example of a Tibetan student as a language learner, this study aims to obtain a perception of his educational experiences in Chinese minority education context and further to gain an understanding of Chinese minority education in practice. In other words, the purpose of this study is to use a particular case, to analyze Tibetan boarding class in particular and to describe Chinese minority education in general from Tibetans' perspectives.

With an intention to give voice to Tibetans themselves, those who are experiencing boarding schools/classes, this present study will focus on a Tibetan youth, a current attendee of a Tibetan boarding class. The three research questions are:

1. Through the lens of a Tibetan student's experiences as a language learner in a minority education context, what insights are offered about a particular boarding class for Tibetans in inland China?

2. How does the Tibetan student navigate between the two major contexts he is associated with, namely the home environment and the school environment?

3. How do the experiences of the Tibetan student inform an understanding of the practice of Chinese minority education?

Considering the fact that Tibetan boarding classes in inland China are little known internationally (Wang & Zhou, 2003), this study will contribute to the filed of studies on Tibetan education. At the same time, it will proffer a better understanding of Chinese minority education in general through the lens of Tibetan education, and will shed potential insights on its future development. Moreover, this study, serving as a knocker to open the door of academia, is my initial attempt to conduct a case study as an individual researcher. This case study, intended to probe a minority's perceptions, will undoubtedly deepen my understandings of Chinese minority education, and also bring meaningful implications and insights into my future studies.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework

Language Ecology

The previous chapter focused on and discussed the issues of language learning in relation to educational context. This present study employs language ecology as the primary underpinning theoretical framework in order to better understand language learners' learning experiences in particular contexts and to better interpret the relations among language, language learners, and their referential contexts, three parties that are intertwiningly involved in and considerably contribute to language learning. The notion of ecology, which is no longer constrained in biologically or physically-defined environmental spheres, has been re-conceptualized and enriched with developmental supplementary layers and facets from a large variety of perspectives and disciplines. The concept of language ecology offers one example.

Foreshadowed as early as in the beginning of 20th century, language ecology is definitely not a new notion. Haugen (1972) foregrounded the definition of language ecology as "the study of the interactions between any given language and its environment" (p. 325). Different from ecology of language which emphasizes the linguistic components of language, language ecology highlights the interrelated relationship between language and its referential context which is both naturally and socially defined (Haugen, 1972).

As the definition of language ecology infers, language is inescapably connected with its named context. However, their interrelated connection is not capable of identifying the units of the notion. Hence, at this point, elements composing language ecology are still not clearly and comprehensively identified (Spolsky, 2004). Despite the lack of a clear and consensual understanding of its units and elements, language ecology serves as an effective and crucial approach to exploring the issue of language learning and sheds contributive insights into this field of study (Mühlhäusler, 2002).

In the domain of language learning, language ecology pays a particular attention to relevant ecological variables and illuminates the interactions among language, language learners, and the learning environment (Haugen, 1972). Following the tenets, Spolsky (2004) proposes a new interpretation of language practice, in which both linguistic and non-linguistic variables are interrelated, interdependent, interacting, and interinfluential. From his standpoint, these inextricably intertwined variables conspire to form a "constant 'constructive interaction' with social environment, both human and natural" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 7).

In inquiry, language ecologists highlight the impact of contexts – geographical and extra-geographical – on language, and advocate comprehensive analyses. An evident advantage of language ecology over other conceptions is its broad utility, well-evidenced by its particularly extensive applicability to a wide range of practical tasks (Mühlhäusler, 2002). This advantage has its root in the capability of language ecology to account for a large number of parameters, which can be

applied in practical tasks such as second language acquisition, language socialization, language planning, and language revival and evolution (Kramsch, 2002; Mufwene, 2001; Mühlhäusler, 2002). Language ecology offers ample room for various multiple interacting elements to co-exist, and views and considers their diversified impacts on language as a valuable resource contributing to construct, preserve, and transmit the relationship between human beings and their referential world (Mühlhäusler, 2002).

Language ecology places people who learn, employ, and transmit language to others in its core, and views them as the primary determinant in relation to their natural and social world (Haugen, 1972). Following this line, the coming discussions will start from the core of language ecology – language learners, and later to be expanded to reach learners' referential contexts.

Learner Factors

As discussed above, language learning is a social practice. In the same token, language learners, other than being linguistically or educationally defined, are socially and contextually constructed (Norton, 1997, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995). As both human beings and social beings, language learners are vividly characterized by their multiple complex identities which are unfolded in their language choice and language ideology, leading to varying investment in language learning (Norton, 1997, 2000). Hence, the following sections will center on factors surrounding language learners, beginning with the most explicit – their language choice, progressing to the relatively implicit – their investment.

Language Choice

Language choice is not simply a selection of language, but embeds social meanings, and uncovers individual implications (Jia & Aaronson, 2003; Tannenbaum, 2003). The characteristics of language choice as a social phenomenon have long attracted researchers' attention. Their interests in exploring factors related to language choice are accelerated by the prevalent trends towards learning second languages.

Examinations of language choice, both spoken and written, indicate that a large variety of factors contribute to this phenomenon, both external and internal, both overt and covert, both explicit and implicit (Goldstein, 2003; Tannenbaum, 2003). Some concrete factors, to name a few, geographical region, social class, ethnicity, and gender, are discussed and illuminated in McKay's (2005) article. Prior inquiry indicates that the most overt drive of language choice comes from practical needs, demanded by the purposes of local or immediate communications in relation to both speakers' and interlocutors' linguistic competence (Goldstein, 2003; Jia & Aaronson, 2003; Khubchandani, 1998; Nair-Venugopal, 2000; Tannenbaum, 2003).

Other influential factors, more or less covert, are also extensively identified and examined respectively. For instance,

1. Social factors, referring to parents' and peers' influence (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002; Goldstein, 2003; Jia & Aaronson, 2003);

2. Setting-motivated factors, stemming from the local, (inter)national, cultural, and political atmosphere (Clankie, 2000; Gatbonton et al., 2005; Nair-Venugopal, 2000; Tannenbaum, 2003; Tardif, 1991);

3. "Institutional factors of identification", referring to language is the symbol of, as well as a means to gain identity, status, and prestige (Clankie, 2000; Gatbonton et al., 2005; Khubchandani, 1998; Nair-Venugopal, 2000; Tannenbaum, 2003; Tardif, 1991).

To synthesize, both speakers' characteristics and socially-endowed features constructively affect their language choices. Individual factors include speakers' and interlocutors' language proficiency and speakers' attitude towards certain languages and their interlocutors – a key component of their ideologies. Social features are generally contextualized factors, containing both the immediate and broader linguistic environment, as well as both physical and personal contexts, such as speech communities speakers are involved in and community members they associate with. In essence, language choice is function-oriented and context-conditioned (Paugh, 1999).

Language Ideology

Language choice is directed by language ideology; in turn, language choice unfolds and embodies language ideology (Blackledge, 2006). In other words, what seems to be a series of language behavior is, in reality, a reflection and illumination of language ideology, the monitor and director of language behavior. Frequently shown as a strong emotional stance, affective or hatred, approving or disapproving, language ideology is traditionally regarded as the attitude individual

language speakers or groups hold towards their language and other speakers, as well as the ways of using the language. Woolard (1998) conceptualizes language ideology as "representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world" (p. 3). This notion embraces language speakers' values, beliefs, and practices associated with language use, and the inclusion of contexts, both at (inter)national, local, immediate, and personal levels, in which their values and beliefs are constructed and practices are conditioned (Blackledge, 2006).

In the domain of second language learning, language ideology refers to language learners' attitudes towards the second language (L2), its speakers, and the community in which L2 is employed, as well as learning the language (Hoosain & Salili, 2005; Khubchandani, 1998). Recent studies continuously expand the scope of language ideology to incorporate direct contact with L2 speakers (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005), a resemblance to Dörnyei's (2001) term "interethnic contact" (p. 44). Consequently, language ideology is formed and shaped under the influence of the members of the L2 community by adopting their norms, beliefs, and values, resulting in obtaining a sense of expected and appropriate language behavior (Gatbonton et al., 2005; McKay, 2005).

It is true that language ideology is a highly complex and abstract notion. Its complexity offers ample room for various conceptualizations. Other researchers frame the notion in different terms, such as Bourdieu's "habitus", Schiffman's "linguistic culture", and Gee's "discourse" (Valdés, González, García, & Márquez, 2003; Young, 1999). Despite various titles and definitions, they all share same

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basis, the function of language ideology – monitoring and directly affecting individuals or communities in their language choices, as well as the interactions between individuals or communities and the language (Ager, 2005; Clankie, 2000; Valdés et al., 2003). In Spolsky's (2004) words, language ideologies "designate a speech community's consensus on what values to apply to each of the language variables or named language varieties that make up its repertoire" (p. 14).

In conclusion, language ideology is embodied and reflected in a series of taken-for-granted, acceptable, and ideal language behavior, according to a particular individual or group. Hence, examining language ideology greatly facilitates researchers to develop an enriched understanding of language choice that individuals or communities make, as well as their linguistic behavior.

Identity

Complex and dynamic as it is, the notion of identity is bound to be convoluted, illustrated by a wide range of varied definitions and categorizations. Appel and Muysken (1987) interpret identity as "everything that differentiates a group from another group" (p. 12), a notion that advocates uniqueness and distinctiveness. Ager (2005) refers to identity as people, belonging to a certain group, their sense and image of themselves, as well as the "social personality" they assign to the particular group they are involved in (p. 1041). Ager (2005) defines the notion as an embracement of both the ways of sensing oneself and the appraisal of surrounding contexts including both environmental and personal factors. Norton (1997) conceptualizes identity as individuals' perception of their relationship to

the social world, the construction of the relationship which is dynamic across time and place, and individuals' expectations of the future.

According to Ricento (2006), varied identities actually fall into two categories: achieved – the one defined and inhabited by individuals, and ascribed – the one appraised and ascribed by others. Similarly, Blackledge (2006) identifies and distinguishes three types of identities, respectively, "imposed", "assumed", and "negotiable" identities (p. 24). Other theorists and researchers categorize and specify identities as racial identity, linguistic identity, cultural identity, ethnolinguistic identity, and social identity and the like. Among various types of identities, social identity is the one which could best delineate the relationship between language and its social environment; therefore, is vastly employed in explorations (Norton, 1997, 2000).

Social identity. As a particular type of identity, social identity is also complex and dynamic. Tajfel (1978a, p. 63) defines social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership". Norton (1997) refers to social identity as "the relationship between the individual and the larger social world, as mediated through institutions" (p. 420).

Drawing on Tajfel's definition, Joseph (2004) outlines three characteristics of social identity. First, as traditionally defined, social identity is part of individuals' sense of themselves. Second, social identity has its genesis in individuals' identification of their membership of a particular community, either as in-groupers

or as out-groupers. Finally, a principal component of social identity is ideology

such as individuals' attitudes, values, and beliefs, integrating the ones

engendered for in-groupers themselves, and the ones they attach to out-

groupers.

Moreover, a large number of researchers affirm that social identity is shifting

and changing across time and space (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002; Chick,

2001; Langman, 2003; Norton, 1997, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995; Young, 1999).

Particularly, in light of the conception of social identity or subjectivity initially

grounded by Weedon, social identity is delineated as multiple, a site of struggle,

and changing over time (Chick, 2001; Norton, 1997, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995).

In the respect that social identity is a site of struggle, Norton Peirce (1995)

argues that social identity is constructed in a wide range of various social settings

relevant to different positions individuals take, according to the changes of sites

as well as their roles in each site. The shifting and changing characteristics of

social identity reinforce the importance of linking language learning and language

learner to their given contexts in inquiry (Norton, 1997, 2000; Norton Peirce,

1995).

In terms of the identity construction, Ager (2005) asserts that the construction

of social identity is also a process of socially comparing, evaluating, categorizing,

and positioning oneself as well as others. It is also a progressive and

developmental practice of gaining in-group membership in a particular

sociolinguistically organized community. The process is further specified by

Young (1999), who echoes with McNamara in affirming four processes of

constructing social identity, namely, "social categorization", "the formation of an awareness of social identity", " social comparison", and "a search for psychological distinctiveness" (p. 115). These four processes listed above outline the formation of social identity; meanwhile, it unfolds relevant factors – both social and ideological – come into play in the construction of social identity.

In conclusion, social identity is co-constructed partially by the positions individuals take and the positions they receive based on their relationship with others. Influx and dynamic as it is, social identity is subject to change throughout social interactions across time and space.

Language and identity. It is widely accepted that language is associated with identity (Morita, 2004; Norton, 1997, 2000; Pennycook, 2006). A large number of studies suggest that language is an embodiment, an act, and a linguistic claim of its speakers' identities (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Bron, 2002; Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002; Gatbonton et al., 2005; McKay, 2005; Nair-Venugopal, 2000; Norton, 1997, 2000; Tannenbaum, 2003; Taylor & Mendoza-Denton, 2005). Language conveys and visualizes information about speakers' origin, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, educational and social status, as well as their ideological situations, all of which are constructive elements of identity.

Apart from embodying and representing identity, language, as shown in accumulating research, could also be used as a medium to (re)construct and negotiate identity (Bron, 2002; Gatbonton et al., 2005; MacPherson, 2005; Norton, 1997, 2000; Ricento, 2006). Learning a new language endows learners with linguistic competence to enter another community and future contact with its

members. In addition, new language grants learners potential membership in a new community, leading to newly defined roles and newly grounded identities. This claim leads Pennycook (2006) to argue that though subjective, conflicting, and dynamic, language "*constitutes*" identity as a crucial factor (p. 70).

Norton's (1997) description of the relationship between language and identity could be utilized to advance the previous analyses to arrive at a theoretical level. Norton (1997) outlines five characteristics of the relationship between language and identity as "complex, contradictory, and multifaceted"; "dynamic across time and space"; "constructs and is constructed by language"; "situated in larger social processes that can be coercive or collaborative"; "linked with classroom practice" (p. 419). This description also implies the possibility of various identities existing simultaneously, in accordance with the change of socially-defined contexts and the variation of contextually-defined roles (Bron, 2002).

Proceeding from Norton's premise, MacPherson (2005) further details the patterns of language and identity on the basis of her ethnographic study of five Tibetan women. Her study documents the ways in which identity is (re)constructed, negotiated, and altered as a result of language learning. MacPherson (2005) concludes her study with an outcome illuminating five alternative patterns of identity and language negotiations: "rejection, assimilation, marginality, biculturalism, and interculturalism" (p. 592).

In conclusion, (re)locating within two communities and associating with their members, constant changes necessitate language learners' openness to (re)shape their life, to (re)conceptualize the meaning of "self", which means, to

(re)construct and refresh themselves, depending on the forces coming from the contexts. While the newly acquired language represents a novel identity, in return, the newly gained identity functions as a crucial monitor regulating and directing learners' language learning and use.

As illuminated above, in the process of identity construction through the mediation of language, individuals have the agency to choose and decide either to identify with or distinguish from certain speakers, which further impacts their efforts as well as the strength of their devoted endeavors in language learning – the investment.

Investment

The concept of investment is foregrounded by Norton Peirce (1995) to extend the scope of the traditional notion of motivation to cover the full spectrum of the complex relationship between language learning, learners' social identity, and socially defined learning context. Norton Peirce (1995) defines investment as an endeavor language learners make in the hope of rewarding a good return, such as obtaining participation and membership in a particular community, gaining access to more distributed material and symbolic resources, and increasing and enhancing the values of their cultural capital and social mobility, notions that are initially conceptualized by Bourdieu (1977).

Norton (1997) develops this conception and reframes it as "socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (p. 411). In the domain of investment, language learning is regarded as an incorporative process which

embraces contributions from both language learner and learning context. The language learner is perceived as a social being who has multiple identities and variable desires and motives, with the combination and the contribution of social and historical experiences (Norton, 1997, 2000).

Norton Peirce (1995) elaborates that overlapping but differing from instrumental motivation, investment is unfolded as multidimensional ways in which language learners constantly organize and reorganize their sense of themselves, and unceasingly define and interpret their relationship to the dynamic social world. The conception of investment, aiming to comprehensively capture and outline the relationship between language learner and the complex and shifting social world in which language learning takes place, emphasizes the inextricable association between language learning and language learners' multiple, changing, and contextualized social identity (Norton Peirce, 1995). As Norton (2000) articulates "an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity" (p. 11).

In conclusion, learners' identity may be conceptualized as a seed, rooted in their language ideologies, nurtured by their investment, and sprouting and flowering in given contexts which are both socially and culturally constructed.

Context

As discussed above, language learning is mediated through social interactions. Thus, it is desirable to pay attention to the interrelation between "local moments of interaction" and the "broader 'cultural' events" surrounding language learning (Zuengler & Cole, 2005, p. 302). This claim reinforces the

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notion that context determines the roles of language and shapes learners'

ideologies and identities (Paugh, 1999). Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo (1995)

proclaim that context and language behavior are not only interrelated and

interacting, but also "mutually causal" (p. 61).

Therefore, fostering a comprehensive understanding of language learning

can only be achieved in the presence of a holistic analysis of context (Csizér &

Dörnyei, 2005; Nair-Venugopal, 2000; Paugh, 1999; Pennycook, 2002; Watson-

Gegeo & Gegeo, 1995; Young, 1999). Drawing on language ecological theory

which argues that language should be examined and analyzed in relation to its

given referential context, in the coming sections I shall proceed to discuss the

notion of context, followed by three specific categories: language context, social

context, and environmental context.   In regard to the notion of "context",

diversified definitions and interpretations co-exist at this point. Spolsky (2004)

proposes that context is the site in which "sociological (macro-sociolinguistic)

factors" and "linguistic (micro-sociolinguistic) realizations" are effectively

connected (p. 42). Grin (2006) distinguishes context from three aspects: legal,

culturalist, and educational. Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1995) posit horizontal

and vertical context, in relation to context analyses. Diversified interpretations

lead Young (1999) to claim that there is no agreement on the definition of

"context", due to its complex, shifting, dynamic, and subjective nature.

Regardless of the lack of consensual definition, Young (1999) synthesizes

preceding studies and concludes that diverse types of interpretations actually fall

into two main streams. The first stream views "context" as pre-existing and pre-

determined and confined by the features of language speakers, for example, their gender, ethnic background, first language and culture, as well as their second language proficiency and the like. Thus, context is relatively static because some language speakers' features could not be changed or altered dramatically in a certain period of time. Though also acknowledging the influence of those features mentioned above, in contrast, the second stream believes that "context", dynamic and variable as it is, emerges in interactions and communications, and is negotiable in interactions.

Facing two contrasting perspectives and arousing ongoing debates, Goodwin and Duranti (1992, p. 3) generally note that "a focal event and a field of action within which that event is embedded" are two key components of context. It could be concluded that context embraces both the surrounding linguistic environment and social climate, both physical and personal components (Cartwright, 2006; Nair-Venugopal, 2000; Ricento, 2006). This conclusion resonates with Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo's categorization of the two types of contexts. According to Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1995), "horizontal" context consists of behavior, interactions, and events as they occur in time under the influence of their immediate occasions, whereas "vertical" context is composed by broader cultural and social climate surrounding the immediate context (p. 61). Both "horizontal" and "vertical" contexts condition and constrain language behavior enormously. Hence, as MacPhserson (2005) claims, extensive and comprehensive attention should be paid to sociocultural environments in the inquiry into language learning (p. 589).

To reinforce, context extends beyond geographical and regional regimes; consequently, the analyses of context should take social, cultural, and personal elements, as well as contents of context as cooperative and collaborative factors, into account (Bron, 2002; Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002; Duff, 2002; Jia & Aaronson, 2003; MacPherson, 2005; Nair-Venugopal, 2000; Norton, 1997, 2000).

Language Context

It would be meaningful to start the discussion of language context whose focus is on language itself with a review of the definition of language. Language is traditionally perceived as a means for communication and a representation of its speakers' understandings of the world they live in (Joseph, 2004, p. 15). Beyond the traditional view of language as a communicative tool and the purely linguistic view of language as a system of linguistic code, the notion of language is re-framed as a code with a large variety of forms, functions, and values (Ricento, 2006). Both theoretical analyses and empirical investigations demonstrate that language is, in fact, a social phenomenon, carrying social meanings, embedding social functions, and leading to social consequences.

Language Variety

Language variety, obvious as it is, is a salient characteristic of language. It "privileges" language speakers with the possibility and ability to make language choices. Hence, under the influences of social and political conditions, language speakers have the agency to choose a particular kind of language or a particular form of language they prefer, or the ones they consider as convenient and appropriate for the communication they engage in (Khubchandani, 1998; McKay,

2005). This phenomenon is more identifiable in the case of bilinguals who have the linguistic competence to transfer between two or even more languages freely.

McKay (2005) postulates that the phenomenon of language variety could be placed on two levels.   In a broad sense, language variety refers to the distinctions between different kinds of languages, such as English and Chinese. In a comparatively limited sense, it concerns the variations between different features of one particular language, for instance, differentiating pronunciation by stressing different syllables or applying different intonations and vocabulary items.

Functions of Language

Pervasively and deeply woven into individuals' daily lives, language serves dynamic and multiple roles. In accordance with its roles, researchers have identified various functions of language. The total functions exhibit as a spectrum, starting from the very overt function of fulfilling communicative needs, to a more complex role as an instrument employed to achieve certain personal goals, and to a further more complicated and covert role as an effective means to attain social, political, and educational aims. The developmental realization and identification of its functions prompts researchers to probe for deeper and cohesive understandings of language.

Gate-keeping. As illuminated in a large number of studies, language functions as a gatekeeper, granting and facilitating privilege to certain speakers, while at the same time, blocking some users from entering communities and accessing social and economic goods, as well as cultural resources (Goldstein, 2003; Ioannidou, 1999; Khubchandani, 1998; MacPherson, 2005; Norton, 1997,

2000; Paugh, 1999; Norton Pierce, 1995; Ting, 2003). The Tibetan women's

experiences in MacPherson's (2005) study vividly exemplify that English opens a

new window to them, from which they obtain a larger picture of the world they live

in; English also offers them an alternative way in which they view themselves

differently. With their newly learned language, they are able to reject and discard

traditional negative images of discrimination they bear. Moreover, language

endows them with the capabilities to seek valuable resources for future self-

development.

Goldstein's (2003) ethnographic study demonstrates the gate-keeping role

that different languages play respectively in specific contexts. On the same scale,

Ting's (2003) study vividly suggests that the same language functions differently

in various contexts, depending on the forces that come into play. Depending on

the roles language plays and the forces it brings, in some particular contexts,

language can serve as an effective means of gaining social, economic,

educational, and professional rewards.

Symbolizing. The symbolizing function of language presents itself in a

continuum, ranging from the broad sense as a symbol of a nation, or a particular

group, to the narrow sense as an indicator of language speakers.

In a general sense, on the national scale, language is viewed as "a particular

symbol of national unity", representing "ethnic tolerance" (Ting, 2003, p. 196, p.

197 & p. 201), or a "special kind of economic good", signaling speakers' newly

obtained additional status (Spolsky, 2004, p. 6). On the relatively limited

individual level, language is a label signaling its speakers' positions and status in

a society or in a community, indicating its speakers' uniqueness and distinctiveness, and representing its speakers' membership in a particular community, their ideologies and identities (Gatbonton et al., 2005; Goldstein, 2003).

To summarize, language indeed is a social phenomenon. Apparently, language is seemingly a linguistic door to wider communication; moreover, it is a significant ticket or permission to access to more material resources and more potential gains and haves. Furthermore, it symbolizes essential and crucial information about the speakers – representing who they are, revealing what they think, reflecting how they feel, and recording how they develop.

Potential functions. The breadth and depth of language study has rapidly expanded in the past few decades, witnessed by contributions from other disciplines and areas. Supplementary explorations progressively identified additional potential functions of language, and refreshed the concept of language.

To begin with, language is utilized implicitly as a standard to identify, to distinguish, and to measure its speakers. Because of language variety, language speakers are distinct and identifiable. The distinction and discrete identification further lead to boundaries drawn between/among different speakers, groups, and communities. Along with the boundaries, inevitably language includes certain speakers while it excludes others, thereby creating linguistic divisions (Gatbonton et al., 2005; McKay, 2005; Valdés et al., 2003). Moreover, given that speakers assign unequal values to languages, speakers use language as a measurement to position others at various levels and assign unequal amount of value to them.

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As a result, social distinctions and allegiances are created, viewed as social divisions (Ager, 2005; Appel & Muysken, 1987; Britain & Matsumoto, 2005; Gatbonton et al., 2005).

Second, language serves as a vehicle, carrying and conveying social meanings, transmitting and emphasizing attitudes, norms, and beliefs, and practicing and preserving culture and values (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Luykx, 2003; Roundtable, 2003). Drawing on his investigation of language learning in multicultural education, Luykx (2003) confirms that language is a crucial vehicle for cultural transmission, distribution, (re)production, and implementation; it is also an important marker referring to cultural, social, political, and economic status. Therefore, language is a cultural practice, with its own social dimensions.

Finally, even more covertly, language is an effective means applied to (re)construct and (re)negotiate identities. This view is anchored in the perception that language is a fundamental component of individuals' identities (Gatbonton et al., 2005; Goldstein, 2003; Ioannidou, 1999; Luyks, 2003; MacPherson, 2005; Norton, 1997, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995; Rymes & Anderson, 2004). Inextricably intertwined with its speakers' identities, speakers use language to state explicitly or implicitly who they are and which community they belong to (McKay, 2005). Their awareness of belonging straightly stems from language, a constitutive element of identity.

Evidently, increasing developmental findings keep refreshing our minds, broadening our views, deepening our understandings, and facilitating us to probe into the issue of language more clearly.

Nature of Language

A key insight obtained from prior analyses is that language, complex as it truly is, is in fact a particular social and cultural behavior in association with both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. As Ioannidou (1999) claims, language is a complex, value-laden, and power-related phenomenon, with the combination of and contribution from linguistic, ethnical, historical, social, political, and economic factors.

Language is bound not to be neutral and never will be because it contains sociolinguistic meanings and connotations, and distributes thoughts, beliefs, and values. The partiality or the prejudice that language inherits is reflected and embodied by the uneven roles it acts on specific occasions, unequal status and value it possesses in given contexts, and the unique ways it represents and (re)produces its speakers' ideologies and identities in particular communities (Gatbonton et al., 2005; Goldstein, 2003; Khubchandani, 1998; Martinovic-Zic, 1998; McKay, 2005; Norton, 1997, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995; Ting, 2003; Valdés et al., 2003). The unequal status and value language embeds is more prevailing and salient in multilingual contexts where two or more languages come into play, frequently in the form of a hierarchy. Therefore, comparisons, tensions, and competitions emerge between/among different languages as an embodiment of the different statuses and values that speakers accord to languages.

Status- and value-laden. As discussed above, the analyses of its functions suggest that language carries a certain scale of unequal value that speakers assign to them in its given context. Rooted in the unequal value,

language owns unequal status which is also the result of and an embodiment of the value. The status of language is defined as a perceived comparative position or standing of a language relative to other languages, usually associated with its social utility and value (Ager, 2005; Ricento, 2006). Following this line, in a particular community, languages have their own specific status which falls into two categories: high-status and low-status (Ager, 2005; Haugen, 1972; McKay, 2005). In daily practice, language with high status is frequently used in public and formal domains, whereas low-status language is often applied in domestic and informal situations.

A series of words used to describe languages in Khubchandani's (1998) article offers a vivid illumination. These contrasting words are "majority" and "minority", "developed" and "developing", "strong" and "weak", "rich" and "poor", and "big" and "small" (pp. 11-32). These adjectives, as descriptive titles of languages, indicate the unequal status languages possess in accordance with the amount of value speakers assign to them.

Ideology- and identity-embedded. Language embodies its speakers' ideologies and visualizes their identities. As noted in the previous discussion, speakers assign unequal value to languages, and label them either as superior or inferior. In other words, language speakers have a set of norms or standards to measure and weigh languages, which is a key component of their ideologies. Speakers' language ideologies decide their language choice in particular, and explain their linguistic behavior in general. In turn, their language choice and

linguistic behavior reveal and reflect speakers' language ideologies (Ioannidou, 1999; MacPherson, 2005; Martinovic-Zic, 1998; Spolsky, 2004).

Broadening the analytic lens and locating the review is the domain of identity, a complex issue which has always been related to language, as shown in the former discussions. Language symbolizes its speakers' identities; meanwhile, it facilitates them to (re)construct and (re)negotiate their identities, with the transformation of their ideologies (Ioannidou, 1999; MacPherson, 2005; Norton, 1997, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995; Roundtable, 2003; Spolsky, 2004; Ting, 2003).

Once again, the experiences of five Tibetan women in MacPherson's (2005) study offer an example. English implants modernist thoughts into their mind and provides them with a novel and alternative eye to re-view the world they are living in. Through the re-exploration of their life, they perceive themselves differently, position themselves differently, and define themselves differently. In other words, while abandoning traditional negative and discriminated images, they gain a whole new sense of themselves, an absolutely new identity.

Context-specific. One key point that needs to be emphasized here is the above discussions and analyses share a common condition; language is located in a given context which is socio-culturally defined and conditioned. This shared condition suggests that language is context-specific (Goldstein, 2003; Ioannidou, 1999; Martinovic-Zic, 1998; Ting, 2003). In other words, the functions a named language enables and the value it embeds are constrained by the particular given context in which it is applied. Resting on its contextuality, the functions and nature of language must be analyzed in the presence of its referential context.

To synthesize previous discussions, situated in a particular context, language displays itself as a linguistic hierarchy, a construct produced on the basis of the status and value speakers assign to language. This linguistic hierarchy, in turn, represents a social hierarchy along which speakers are positioned, depending on the value they receive from the language they employ (Ager, 2005; Gatbonton et al., 2005). Specific to multilingual contexts, multilingual settings indeed are complex sites in which two or more unequal languages compete for prestige, status, and value, leading to tensions, discrepancies, conflicts, and finally resulting in a hierarchy of languages (Goldstein, 2003; Ting, 2003). This is not only a linguistic battle, but more importantly, a social competition in which language speakers contest for more material resources, social gains and haves, and higher positions in the social hierarchy.

In conclusion, as a multilayered social phenomenon and a multifaceted cultural practice, language is bound to be complex.

Social Context

As previous discussions indicate, language, whose scope is no longer constrained in the realm of linguistics, has a rightful place in socio-cultural domains, specifically, social, political, cultural, and economic contexts (Pennycook, 2002). To cast language with political perspectives, investigations could focus on language policy and planning with reference to international, national, or regional climates (Ushioda, 2006). The following section will concentrate on issues of language policy and planning, with a particular eye on language-in-education planning.

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Language Policy

The traditional view of language policy refers to it as an official decision with a clear and definite aim to regulate people's language behavior. It is mistakenly believed that only the government or an official institution has the right or the agency to make such decisions. However, in reality, language policy – a political title for language selection and decision – could take place at various levels, in different forms. For instance, language policy could be promulgated by a "body with authority" (the government), a "socially defined group" (a particular community), or an "individual" (a language speaker or learner) (Spolsky, 2004, p. 217).

Intending to manage or regulate linguistic behavior or language practice (Spolsky, 2004), language policy is part of individuals' daily lives and prevalent among various sites such as families, schools, and workplace (Ricento, 2006). In daily practice, language policy is mainly mirrored in three ways: "linguistic behavior (language practice)", "ideology or beliefs about language", and "language management or planning decision[s]", which are also the three major components of language policy (Spolsky, 2004, p. 217). To specify in detail, Spolsky (2004) refers to linguistic behavior (language practice) as "the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire"; considers language beliefs or ideology as "the beliefs about language and language use"; and finally, views language management or planning decision, particularly specific efforts or endeavors, as "any kind of language intervention

planning or management", attempting to "modify or influence language practice" (p. 5).

Language policies, whether explicitly stated or latently adopted, are all set on the basis of individuals' beliefs about language (Spolsky, 2004). As Ricento (2006) asserts, "language behavior and social policy are ideologically encumbered" (p. 11). To summarize, language policy is shown as a continuum. At one end of the continuum, institutions with authority make a selection and devote efforts to regulating people's linguistic behavior, which potentially affect their language ideologies. Mid-continuum, depending on their members' language ideologies, socially defined speech communities choose to use a particular language, a practice which in turn impacts speakers' language beliefs. Lastly, at the other end of the continuum, this language decision is made by individuals, based on their attitude and perceptions towards a given language.

Examinations of its tripartite interdependent and interplaying components demonstrate a complex relationship among a large variety of contributive factors involved in language policy, both linguistic and extra-linguistic. Due to the tripartite and complex nature of language policy, it is desirable to venture an ecological and comprehensive method in inquiry. As language ecology theorists argue, an ecological approach would contribute considerably to a way in which relevant, interacting, and constructive components of language policy are extensively identified, examined, and analyzed with considerations of linguistic, ethnical, social, political, cultural, economic, and ideological factors (Ager, 2005; Pennycook, 2002; Spolsky, 2004).

In substance, adopting an ecological method of examining language policy comprehensively and holistically requires situating the issue in its particular named context, connecting it with both explicit and implicit factors, and approaching it from both broad and narrow angles.

Language Planning

Language planning whose basis is on a certain language policy is the reflection and realization of language policy (Appel & Muysken, 1987). In other words, language policy is operated in the form of language planning. Kaplan and Baldauf (2006) define language planning as "a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities" (p. 3). Ruíz initially identifies three orientations towards language planning: "language as a problem, language as right, and language as resource" (Kamhi-Stein, 2003, p. 39).

The enriched understanding shows that as a key component of language policy, language planning could also be carried out on different levels in various forms, depending on the context in which it unfolds (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Baldauf, 2005; Takala & Sajavaara, 2000). This developmental understanding inspires researchers to continuously identify and categorize levels and types of language planning. Takala and Sajavaara (2000) categorize language planning into three types in accordance with tripartite levels of language policy, identified by particular language goals set by individuals, communities, or nations respectively.

Incorporating contributive insights from prior researchers, Baldauf (2005) maps a comparatively detailed and improved categorization of language planning. According to Baldauf (2005), language planning could be classified into four types, namely, "status planning (about society)", "corpus planning (about language)", "language-in-Education (acquisition) planning (about learning)", and "prestige planning (about image)" (p. 959). Through language planning, the status of language is (re)formed and revealed, the ideology of language speakers is shaped and reflected, and their identity is (re)constructed and reinforced.

The categorizations of language planning imply that language planning indeed is a multilayered and multifaceted social planning, located in its socioculturally defined context (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Baldauf, 2005). It goes without saying that language planning is a combination and collaboration of various factors from multiple aspects and layers of a society. Therefore, to better fulfill the purpose of this particular study, it is necessary to take an ecological perspective in this study, which takes both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors into account in examining the issue of language planning (Ager, 2005; Freeman, 1994; Spolsky, 2004).

Studies suggest that language planning can be investigated from two lenses (Kamhi-Stein, 2003; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006). The macro-scale investigations emphasize national or international environments (Freeman, 1994), whereas micro-scale analyses highlight local communities or individuals. Investigations in the last few decades recorded the incremental research interest in micro-level

contexts, in particular, the contexts of individual language learners (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006).

Language-in-Education Planning

First proposed by Cooper, language-in-education planning consists of "productive activities" whose focus is on speakers' decisions related to language use (Baldauf, 2005, p. 962). From Kaplan and Baldauf's (2006) standpoint, language-in-education planning functions as a principal procedure of implementation, and stands as a "public face" of language planning (p. 122). Baldauf (2005), who maps the four-type-categorization of language planning argues that language-in-education planning affects the ways in which other three types of planning take place.

In terms of the interrelation between language-in-education planning and the other three types of planning, ideally, the former one is "an outcome of national language planning (i.e. status planning and corpus planning) with prestige planning contributing as a motivational factor" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006, p. 1013). However, in reality, language-in-education itself, solely, accomplishes the realization of language planning and fulfills its goal (Baldauf, 2005; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006). Kaplan and Baldauf (2006) refer to the independence of language-in-education planning as its "systematic discontinuities" (p. 1013). In spite of its inherent shortcoming, language-in-education planning, the most directly and overtly related to language learning, offers a formal educational setting in which language learning takes place.

The fact that language-in-education planning only touches one sector of the society – education, may raise challenges questioning its importance. But Kaplan and Baldauf (2006) point out that language-in-education plays an important and influential role in the society, apart from education sector. This claim is well exemplified in Cheung et al.'s (2000), Choi's (2003), and Pennycook's (2002) analyses of language policy and planning in Hong Kong. The importance and influence of language-in-education is rooted in the reality that education, crucial as it is as discussed above, has long been viewed as the "transmitter" and "perpetuator" of culture and directly relates to and influences individuals – a constitutive element of a society (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006). Therefore, like language planning, language-in-education planning is a form of "human resource development planning, which in turn contributes to community development" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006, p. 125-126). As a supplement, they admit that in addition to the contributions it makes to individuals and culture, education emphasizes the standard version of a language which symbolically represents a nation as a unity. In conclusion, language-in-education planning is inextricably linked with individuals and society and is crucial to their development.

Environmental Context

Speech community

As a fundamental component of context, community is a multidimensional social construct. The boundary of a community could be drawn variously in accordance with participants' ethnic, linguistic, cultural, social, and ideological traits (Khubchandani, 1998). Generally, there are two types of communities – "a

geographically peripheral and fragmented ethnolinguistic community" and "a more extensive and contiguous community" (Ricento, 2006, p. 132). This categorization indicates that criteria applied to draw boundaries between/among communities are geographically, ethnically, linguistically defined; and more covertly, socially defined. Therefore, community has its own geographical, linguistic, social, and cultural dimensions with constituents from various domains; therefore, it is possible to define and interpret community diversely with respective emphasis on specific aspects. A conception commonly and traditionally applied in research into language learning is speech community (McKay, 2005).

At this point, the most frequently cited and referred definition of speech community is proposed by Labov (1972). According to Labov (1972, pp. 102-121):

> The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.

Sociolinguists consider speech community as a collaboration and cooperation of a particular language, the role and status of the language, ideologies of its speakers, as well as their identities. These listed elements, altogether, contribute to the construction and identification of speech community (McKay, 2005).

Regarding the criteria for identifying and distinguishing multiple speech communities, it is argued that criteria are fluid and variable, ranging from

community members' personal, ethnical, and linguistic features to social, political, and economic factors (Khubchandani, 1998; McKay, 2005). Some researchers distinguish speech community based on its language environment and linguistics climate (Jia & Aaronson, 2003), while others draw on its participants' shared set of ideologies or beliefs (Britain & Matsumoto, 2005; Spolsky, 2004). McKay (2005) summarizes that a shared linguistic code referring to language, at minimum, and a shared set of norms regarding the use of the code define and feature a speech community. Following this definition, it could be concluded that members of a particular speech community are characterized by a shared set of language ideologies which is used to assess the speech of that community. In return, this shared set of language ideologies becomes the measurement of language speakers' membership of a particular community, the director of their language practices, and the monitor of their language management (Spolsky, 2004).

The abstract and variable criteria for speech community identification imply that speech communities in which individuals participate and gain their membership are in flux, overlapping, and subject to change and alternation (McKay, 2005). In addition, individuals could belong to multiple speech communities spontaneously; individuals also could shift from one speech community to another over time and space, depending on the ways in which they intend to and make efforts to identify with others (Khubchandani, 1998; McKay, 2005). Under the social and political conditions, individuals, agentive as they are, could select the speech community with whose members they wish to identify,

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and deny the speech community from whose members they intend to distinguish. And the most effective way to do so is through the manipulation of the language which is accepted and employed in the community (Britain & Matsumoto, 2005; Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002).

Classrooms and Schools

The importance of education has been highlighted in previous discussions. In educational settings, learners, both as human beings and social beings, are socialized and expected to acquire particular norms and values of the society and gain competence in that society. Therefore, educational settings indeed are the "microcosm of the larger social world" mirroring its "democratic and co-operative structures" (Ushioda, 2006, p. 159), which serve as an enriched site for explorations (Chick, 2001; Freeman, 1994; Hawkins, 2005; Hello, Scheepers, Vermulst, & Gerris, 2004; Jia & Aaronson, 2003; Paulston & Heidemann, 2006; Valdés et al., 2003; Zuengler & Cole, 2005).

Schools and classrooms, in fact, are particular sociolinguistically defined, socialculturally and ideologically driven contexts (Kubota, 2005; Morita, 2004). Hawkins (2005) refers to these particular changing, shifting, and dynamic contexts as "classroom-as-ecology" (p. 27). They are the places where social interactions take place between learners and themselves, between learners and peers, between learners and teachers, as well as between learners and contents, though may not be easily recognized (Duff, 2002; Morita, 2004). Throughout these social interactions, multiple and complex social identities are constructed, negotiated, changed, and maintained. These social identities have their genesis

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in the collaboration of a particular language, learners' sociocultural experiences, and the larger sociocultural settings (Chick, 2001; Freeman, 1994; Hawkins, 2005; Paulston & Heidemann, 2006). In essence, schools and classrooms are ecological patchworks, comprising factors from various domains collaboratively and cooperatively.

In the discussion of functions of schooling, Luykx (2003) adopts Fuller's notion of "the expressive function of schooling" – to build the state's legitimacy both on domestic and international scenes (pp. 3-4). From Luykx's (2003) viewpoint, when put into practice, the aim of schooling is to socialize learners through social interactions into linguistic, cultural, and social practices which are valued and favored by the dominant groups or communities. Hello et al. (2004) resonate with the view that schools are determinant sites where learners have great exposure to mainstream norms and values.

As a conclusion, schools and classrooms are the places where learners have intimate contact with the mainstream and the predominant of a society.

Physical Environment

Many Chinese ethnic minority communities are located in areas or regions which are characterized by remoteness, severe environmental conditions, and insufficient provision of social services (Wang & Zhou, 2003) Wang and Zhou (2003) adopt the terms "peripheral areas" and "peripheral syndrome", initially coined by Lofstedt, to label and describe those regions. Standing on the Roof of the World, Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) also faces the situations of remoteness, lack of social services, and insufficient education resources and

facilities, which inescapably impedes the development of formal education at

structure. One effective means to eliminate the impediments is to change the

environment in which education is carried out, as the Tibetan boarding

schools/classes are doing. From a high altitude plateau, Tibetans are re-located

in metropolises in lowland regions, physical environments in which education is

relatively more accessible and more convenient. Wang and Zhou (2003) believe

that the change of geographical placement unavoidably impacts the outcome of

minority education.

Chapter Three

Methodology

In general in the field of language learning and education, a number of research studies are predominantly conducted by means of qualitative methods, massively recorded as a promising instrument in inquiry (Baker, 2006; Young, 1999). In the explorations of functions and nature of language in relation to speakers' ideologies and identities, qualitative methods offer the opportunity to generate rich descriptions of interactions and detailed information from the insiders – the ones who could best define and describe themselves accurately. Thus, undoubtedly qualitative methods could facilitate researchers to settle down on the "grass-roots level" (Ricento, 2006, p. 130), to comprehend the "micro-level of interpersonal relationship, conversation, and everyday life" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 153), and to gain a better understanding of the roles of language in individual speaker's daily life.

In the domain of language policy and planning, qualitative methods also contribute substantially to the gathering of "grand narratives" and "objective models" (Ricento, 2006, p. 130). It is often the case that language policy and planning are operated on a macro level where the language relationship is not concrete and hard to predict. Therefore, it is essential to hear voices from the receivers who are under the impact of language policy and planning. Ethnography concerns individuals' as well as communities' own opinions and standpoints, and attempts to "enter into the flow of life of the community and

experience how language relationships are lived out by the members" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 156).

With respect to minority education, the vast increase of applications of qualitative methods demonstrates its importance and contributions (Postiglione, 1998). Qualitative methods could ensure voices directly heard from minorities themselves – the insiders of minority education, and offers an arena where minorities could tell their own stories, experiences, and feelings. Initially starting from research "on" minority language and its speakers, moving to research "with" them, and further shifting towards research "for" them (Blackledge, 2006, p. 23), qualitative studies on minority education unceasingly improve and enrich our understandings of minorities and issues related to minorities (Blackledge, 2006; Postiglione, 1998). In conclusion, only by exploring into minorities' real life, can we share their efforts while they are planting, and share their delight while they are harvesting.

Case Study

Definition

Tracing back to its initial appearance and tracking its development, case study research is primarily defined as a qualitative, interpretive, and contextual form of research, unfolded over time and in nature-occurring, real-existing contexts (van Lier, 2005). Stake (1995) refers to it as "the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances" (p. xi). As a particular type of qualitative study, case study is characterized as "holistic" – contextualized and case-oriented,

"empirical" – field-oriented and naturalistic, "interpretive" – intuition-dependent and interaction-focused, and "empathic" – emergent and responsively designed (Stake, 1995, pp. 47-48).

As its definition explicitly suggests, case study research concentrates on a particular case, settles down in the natural and real context of the case, provides rich and detailed information about the case, aims to grasp the complexity of the case, and ultimately gains a vivid and realistic picture of the case, including its characteristics, dynamics, roles, and functions in a named context (Stake, 1995; van Lier, 2005). Therefore, case study requires realistic descriptions and narrations to convey principal and crucial messages and information of the case to its intended audience (Stake, 1995; van Lier, 2005). The definition of case study calls the notion of "case" into question.

Selection

A case is a "specific", a "complex", and a "functioning" object, rather than a process (Stake, 1995, p. 2). Indeed, there exist various kinds of and a large number of cases that are interesting and worth exerting efforts to study and question. As van Lier (2005) suggests, a single person, for example, a second language learner could constitute a particular case for study. In the case of an individual, the primary goal of the study, then, is to hear and tell that individual's story of life experiences and to understand his/her roles and functions in the real context naturalistically (van Lier, 2005).

Focusing on one particular case is like a coin with two sides. While one particular case with detailed descriptions is valued, it is also criticized in regard to

its generalizability. Nevertheless, it is worth noting and clarifying that the

principal function or goal of case study is "*particularization*", rather than

"*generalization*" (emphasis original), both of which should be assigned with same

or equivalent importance (van Lier, 2005, p. 198). In other words, rather than

seeking differences through comparison, case study targets at understanding the

case meaningfully (Stake, 1995). Insights attained from a particular case are

also meaningful and valuable, which could be applied comparatively to other

cases with a wide variety and a broad range under the condition that contextual

differences are included, specified, and considered (van Lier, 2005).

Ethnography

Definition

Drawing on Watson-Gegeo's (1988) initial definition, Watson-Gegeo and

Gegeo (1995) develop the conception and display a relatively more holistic

picture of ethnography. According to Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, ethnography

focuses on people's behavior in "naturally occurring, ongoing settings", and

attempts to interpret behavior from a cultural perspective. The primary aim of

ethnography is to examine the relationship between behavior and interaction

both of which are socially and culturally organized and confined, and to explore

underlying social and cultural beliefs and values under the surface of behavior.

Thus, ethnography requires a meaningful "descriptive, interpretive, and

explanatory perspective to interpret behavior with reference to its context

(Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1995, p. 60).

During the process of data collection in a single ethnographic project, in order to obtain thick descriptions, various approaches could be applied such as: observations, interviews, documents, and historical accounts, depending on individual researchers and the goal of their particular studies (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1995). In the process of data analysis, ethnography also quests for thickness and richness, referring to thick interpretations and rich explanations (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1995). One salient characteristic of ethnography is that it is non-hypothesis-driven; in other words, it is free from the intervention of hypothesis. As Canagarajah (2006) puts, ethnographic researchers conduct their studies by collecting abundant "first-hand, naturalistic, well-contextualized" emic-oriented data, in the hope of "*generat[ing]* hypothesis *through* the fieldwork experience" (emphasis original), rather than "confirming" them (p. 155).

Application

Watson-Gegeo (1997) initially identifies four approaches to classroom ethnography: "ethnography of communication", "micro-ethnography", "discourse analysis", and "critical ethnography" (pp. 137-139). Among these four approaches, ethnography of communication which focuses on cross-cultural communications and encompasses considerations of community culture, ideologies, and interactive norms is the most comprehensive and ecological (Duff, 2002). In practice, data triangulation is frequently applied in order to secure voices directly heard from participants, to understand participants' senses of themselves and of their own cross-cultural communications (Duff, 2002).

In taking the position of advocating richness and thickness in data analysis,

collected data could be categorized and interpreted on two levels: micro and

macro (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1995; Zuengler & Cole, 2005), or etic and emic

(Blackledge, 2006; Duff, 2002). However, these two levels are comparative and

relative, and only gain their sense in their application in a given context (Watson-

Gegeo & Gegeo, 1995). To specify in detail, macro-level analysis centers on the

account of broad social, cultural, and political contexts for language learning,

such as regional and (inter)national, historical and contemporary atmosphere,

whereas micro-level analysis focuses on immediate interactions and

communications, such as in-classroom activities and practices. Etic analysis

portrays the relation and tension prevailing in the broad sociolinguistic world,

while emic analysis depicts learners' own perspectives of the practices they

participate in.

Methods of Data Collection

Observation, interview, and document review are the three main effective

approaches employed in the process of collecting data in qualitative studies

(Stake, 1995). To begin with, observation, pertaining to the case but focused on

key events, allows researchers to keep a detailed record and a realistic

description of the context, the occasion, and the background for subsequent

analysis and interpretation. One point worth highlighting is that the description of

contexts should integrate the fundamental physical context and other potential,

covert but crucial, contexts. When the case is an individual, it is usually

important to take home and family into account (Stake, 1995).

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A second effective approach is interview. As Stake (1995) remarks, the aim of an interview is to hear a unique story or special experiences from the interviewees themselves. Although sharing the same aim to be informed of a case, or of an event, observation is usually out of the researchers' control, but follows the flow of the event. In contrast, interview is under the control of interviewers through their manipulations of the open-ended questions that are covered and the ways they ask the questions. Parallel with observation, interview also "seeks to aggregate perceptions or knowledge over multiple respondents" (Stake, 1995, p. 65).

Finally, document review is conducted in the manner of studying and analyzing related documents (Skate, 1995). In some cases, documents serve as key repositories or measures, but they should be reviewed frequently. In general, documents could be used as a main substitution to observation and interview, especially when data are not accessible through observation and interview.

As evidenced theoretically and empirically, qualitative studies, particularly ethnography and case study serve as effective devices, facilitating researchers to probe into interested and complex phenomena and gain better understandings of them.

Present Study

Underpinned by a language ecology framework, the present study is intended to investigate a particular Tibetan boarding class from a Tibetan youth's perspective by following the line of his own stories and life experiences, both in Tibet and in inland China. Three research questions were:

1. Through the lens of a Tibetan student's experiences as a language learner in a minority education context, what insights are offered about a particular boarding class for Tibetans in inland China?

2. How does the Tibetan student navigate between the two major contexts he is associated with, namely the home environment and the school environment?

3. How do the experiences of the Tibetan student inform an understanding of the practice of Chinese minority education?

To seek answers to these questions, initially approval and permission were obtained from the University of Manitoba Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board and the school administration of the Tibetan boarding class respectively. At the outset of this case study, document review was conducted to gather fundamental information about the Tibetan boarding class, in order to gain a better understanding of it and to lay a solid foundation for the present study. Once this foundation was established, both interviews and observations were employed to collect naturalistic and descriptive data to ensure voices were heard directly from the Tibetan student, his classmates and parents, as well as teachers of Tibetan students, all of who were insiders profoundly engaged in Tibetan education.

At this point, it is necessary to explain and clarify the notion of "class" as used in the title of "Tibetan boarding schools/classes" to describe the educational settings established in inland China for Tibetans. The educational settings are categorized either as "Tibetan boarding schools" or "Tibetan boarding classes".

The former ones are independent schools which have their own campus, while the latter ones are affiliated with local mainstream secondary schools, and some of them share campuses with the local schools. Although entitled as "classes" and affiliated with local schools, the Tibetan boarding classes are operated as independently and individually as Tibetan boarding schools, both of which have their own groups of administrative and academic staff. The differences only exist in terms of the number and sources of recruited students. Taking the particular Tibetan boarding class selected for this study as an example, although it is affiliated with a local secondary school in Jiahe, it has its own campus as well as own administrative and academic staff. In addition, it offers complete secondary education, including three grades in junior secondary education and three grades in senior secondary education, and each grade consists of two specific classes of Tibetan students.

Participants

A 16-year-old male adolescent Tibetan, Phuntsog (a pseudonym), was selected to participate in this case study project, serving as the particular case. While his parents were still working in Lhasa, Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), Phuntsog was enrolled in a Tibetan boarding class in Jiahe (a pseudonym), a provincial capital city located in the central area of China where Mandarin Chinese (hereafter Chinese) was extensively employed as the medium of daily communication. Phuntsog came to Jiahe to attend the boarding class at the age of 12, after he completed his elementary education in Tibet. Before this study, Phuntsog had already spent 3 years in Jiahe, during which he completed his

three-year junior secondary education in the same Tibetan boarding class. During the period of data collection, Phuntsog was enrolled in Senior Grade 1, which is equivalent to Grade 10 in Canada. The boarding class that Phuntsog was attending was settled in a key secondary school, predominantly composed of Han, the majority nationality in China.

At this point, it is necessary and would be helpful to clarify the term "Chinese" and outline its extent in this thesis. As a contrast to the Tibetan language, "Chinese" is applied to refer to the *language* which encompasses the largest population, the widest application, and the recognition as the majority and the official language of China. Here in the present thesis, this term was not used to refer to the *descendants* of natives of China. The term "Han", the name of the ethnic majority of China, was employed to differentiate from Tibetans, a particular ethnic minority group.

Centering on Phuntsog as the main participant, the present study also included Phuntsog's parents and his teachers as additional participants to secure various sources of information and broad scopes of perspectives, with a view to enhancing the triangulation of the study. Phuntsog's mother was an acquaintance of my mother. I had opportunities to communicate with both Phuntsog and his mother prior to this study, securing the access to their personal perspectives. Meanwhile, rapport with teachers was also built upon meaningful interactions prior to data collection, during which teachers could express themselves freely and candidly.

To maintain participants' confidentiality, pseudonyms were assigned to all of them as well as to the location of the particular Tibetan boarding class featured in this study. This case study did not involve deception or risk; participants were informed about the purpose and scope of the study from the outset. Moreover, approval was issued by the University of Manitoba Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board. Given that in-classroom observations were also embedded in the design of the present study, a letter of request was initially submitted to the administrator of the Tibetan boarding class, attached to the thesis as Appendix A, accompanied by its Chinese translation. After approval was issued by the school administrator, letters of consent were additionally sent out to and then obtained in writing from all the participants, as well as all the students in classroom and their guardian. Written letters of consent, both in English and Chinese, for the main and additional participants (Appendix B), for the teachers (Appendix C), and also for the guardian of Tibetan students (Appendix D), are attached to this thesis respectively. Finally, before data analysis, transcriptions were returned and reported to participants for member-checking.

Procedures

Rather than being hypothesis-orientated, this case study was designed to follow the flow of the main participant's life experiences, both in Tibet and in inland China. Therefore, the main roles of the researcher were a listener and an observer. However, at this point, it is necessary to point out that the researcher is a member of the Han majority and in a position of privilege as a graduate student at a Western university. As a result, the stance of the researcher could

potentially influence the comments that participants made in the interviews. Yet based on the rapport built with participants prior to this study, the researcher made every effort to minimize the influence of her own stance throughout the study. In this present study, three main qualitative research methods were employed: document review, interview, and observation.

Document Review. At the outset of the study, document review was conducted in order to better understand the particular Tibetan boarding class that Phuntsog was attending, to collect historical background information about the class, and to gather descriptions of its previous performance and the present development. Reviewed documents included the Introduction of the Tibetan Boarding Class and the Introduction of the Secondary School, materials on historical development of the Tibetan boarding class and descriptions concerning its present regulations. The documents were compiled by the administrative department of the Tibetan boarding class, based on previous annual reports on the Tibetan boarding class, and they were presented at its 20th anniversary in 2005.

Interviews. Apart from document review, interview was also employed. Two face-to-face interviews with Phuntsog, were conducted in the students' lounge and his dormitory, both of which were familiar and friendly environments. The first interview lasted 1 hour and 36 minutes, and second one lasted 1 hour and 5 minutes. Furthermore, Phuntsog's parents were interviewed as additional participants in this study. The 2-hour interview with Phuntsog's father was conducted during his visit to the boarding class in Jiahe in a private dining room

of a restaurant. The 56-minute interview with Phuntsog's mother, who was in Tibet during the period of data collection, was arranged via telephone since I could not communicate with her in person. They all were asked questions regarding their perspectives of Phuntsog's experiences of attending boarding class outside of Tibet, reflections of his attitude towards life and study, expectations of Phuntsog's future life, and perceptions of his experiences. The questions asked in interviews with Phuntsog and his parents are listed in Appendix E and F, including both English and Chinese versions.

Additionally, in this case study, three of Phuntsog's teachers who taught English, Chinese, and Math were also interviewed in their offices, and each interview lasted around 1 hour and 15 minutes. They were selected based on the criteria that they were main subject teachers, and each of them had salient characteristics. Specifically, among the three teachers, Zhang and Jia who taught English and Math were experienced teachers who had received awards as Provincial Outstanding teachers, and Li, the Chinese teacher, although relatively young, was active in teaching, and had graduated from East China Normal University four years ago. Questions asked in the interviews with these teachers centered on the following aspects: Tibetan students' academic performance and development, teachers' perspectives on teaching and learning, and Tibetan students' present life and study in teachers' view. Specific questions, both in English and Chinese, are listed in Appendix G.

All the interviews were conducted in Chinese and tape-recorded. After each interview, it was immediately transcribed and faithfully translated word for word for future interpretations and analyses.

Observations. Besides interviews, observation was undertaken, mainly inside of the classroom focusing on teaching and learning, and outside of the classroom focusing on the school environment. In-classroom observations were conducted according to the observation protocol, attached as Appendix H, and concentrating on in-classroom teaching and learning activities and practices. Outside-of-classroom observations were focused on campus environment which was an essential component of Phuntsog's physical environment. Both in-classroom and outside-of-classroom observations represented Phuntsog's academic learning and daily life as a residential student. The tripartite research methods functioning as triangulation ensured naturalist and thick descriptions of the case selected for this study, and established the credibility of this study.

To summarize, following the flow of Phuntsog's life experiences, this case study was designed and conducted with an intention to explore a particular Tibetan boarding class from a Tibetan youth's perspective, and to hear voices from Tibetan attendees, parents, and teachers of Tibetan students, the insiders who were profoundly involved in Tibetan education, a crucial component of Chinese minority education.

Throughout the process of data collection, data collected through interviews were immediately transcribed and faithfully translated word-for-word; data collected through observations were recorded; data collected through document

review were also faithfully translated into English, according to the original documents in Chinese. With all the collected data, language ecology, the underpinning theoretical framework, was revisit. Besides establishing the theoretical foundation for the present study, language ecology also provided a guideline for categorizing collected data into two major theme groups: learner factors and contexts, according to which data were analyzed and reported in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

Findings

Language ecology, the theoretical framework underpinning the present study, places the learner in its core as the primary determinant, and highlights the impacts of referential context that the learner is associated with. Following the tenets, in this research study, analyzed data are reported starting from learner factors and moving forward to contexts.

Learner Factors

At the outset of data analyses, this section centers on learner factors, the core of the language ecological framework, specifically examining Phuntsog's language choice and use, reviewing his language ideology and identity embedded in his language choice and use, and considering his investment reflected by his language ideology and identity. Phuntsog, both as a human being and a social being, was vividly characterized by his multiple complex identities, continuous investment in language learning and academic development, and constant negotiations between/among multiple identities. In this section, main sources of informative data include Phuntsog's self-identifications, parents' descriptions, and teachers' perceptions, all of which were obtained through interviews. In addition, serving as supplementary resources, data collected through observations will also be employed and considered in the analyses of learner factors.

Language Choice and Use

Language choice. Chinese was the very language that Phuntsog chose to use both at home and at school. Phuntsog himself and his parents described in interviews that at home, Chinese was the main communicative instrument employed in daily interactions between parents and children, as well as between Phuntsog and his younger brother. This is the setting in which Phuntsog had his initial contact with Chinese. As Phuntsog expressed in the interview, "I began to use Chinese when I was little. At home, I use Chinese to talk to my parents, and I feel comfortable using Chinese" (I 1: 2/11/2007[1], p. 3).

Although both parents were fluent in Tibetan which was their first language, they adopted Chinese to communicate with their children at home. "I use Chinese to talk to my sons, sometimes I add a little Tibetan, like a couple of words in a sentence. But mostly we talk in Chinese because they like to speak Chinese" (I 2: 2/25/2007[2], p.2). "My Tibetan proficiency is very high, and I am very fluent in Tibetan, so is Phuntsog's mother. But we use Chinese at home because we hoped our sons could learn Chinese when they were little" (I 3: 3/2/2007[3], p. 4). Parents' language choice inescapably led Phuntsog to choose Chinese as his main communicative tool at home. Moreover, according to Phuntsog's mother, Phuntsog himself preferred to speak Chinese at home.

At school, Chinese played a major role in Phuntsog's communications with his teachers and peers, as well as in his interactions with his academic studies.

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[1] I 1: Translated interview with Phuntsog.
[2] I 2: Translated interview with Phuntsog's mother.
[3] I 3: Translated interview with Phuntsog's father.

This is the setting in which Phuntsog learned Chinese formally, both spoken and written forms. Though Phuntsog attended an elementary school in Tibet, he was enrolled in a Han class where Chinese was employed as the medium of instruction, and was taught as a major required subject. In addition, as its name indicated, Han class was predominantly composed of Han students who were unable to speak or write Tibetan. As Phuntsog himself recalled, "most of my friends in Tibet were Han. They couldn't speak Tibetan, and their parents couldn't, either. Their parents were not born in Tibet; they just came to work there. We all used Chinese at school" (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 2, p. 3). This particular situation required and supported Phuntsog to choose and use Chinese at school.

In Phuntsog's secondary education in inland China, Chinese continuously served as the medium of instruction, as well as a major required subject. Furthermore, all of his subject teachers were Han who were proficient in Chinese rather than in Tibetan. In addition, the inhabitants of the metropolis where Phuntsog's inland boarding class was located were predominantly Chinese speakers. Data collected both through interviews with Phuntsog and observations in classroom and on campus indicated that Chinese unavoidably emerged as Phuntsog's language choice at school in inland China.

Influential factors. Exploring Phuntsog's language choice indicated that a number of factors contributed to his language choice, for instance, immediate communication needs, parents', peers', and teachers' influence, as well as the local and national linguistic atmosphere. These factors coincided with the results yielded in previous studies, which identified and categorized influential factors

into social factors and setting-motivated factors (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002; Clankie, 2000; Gatbonton et al., 2005; Goldstein, 2003; Jia & Aaronson, 2003; Nair-Venugopal, 2000; Tannenbaum, 2003; Tardif, 1991).

In relation to the needs stemming from immediate communications, both Phuntsog's and interlocutors' linguistic competence and proficiency contributed to Phuntsog's language choice. As Phuntsog himself identified, he was more fluent in Chinese than in Tibetan. Phuntsog's imbalanced linguistic competence was vividly evidenced by the fact that he was unable to write in Tibetan, but proficient in both spoken and written Chinese. Besides Phuntsog's own linguistic competence, that of his interlocutors such as parents at home and peers and teachers at school also impacted on Phuntsog's language choice. Phuntsog's experience demonstrated that an individual learner's language choice depended on both the speaker's and interlocutors' linguistic competence, and was influenced by social factors such as parents', peers', and teachers' language choice.

In addition, as Phuntsog's selection exemplified, setting-motivated factors such as the local and national atmosphere also impacted on his language choice. Both the local and national linguistic atmospheres that Phuntsog was involved in were predominantly Chinese. On the local level, Chinese was vastly employed in school and also in the metropolis in which Phuntsog's Tibetan boarding class was located. On the national level, Chinese was the majority and the official language in China. Both setting-motivated factors encouraged Phuntsog to choose and use Chinese. However, another influential factor identified in

previous studies, "institutional factors of identification" was less directly expressed by Phuntsog's language choice, but more by his parents' language choice.

As discussed previously, "institutional factors of identification" referred to language as the symbol of and a means to gain identity, status, and prestige (Clankie, 2000; Gatbonton et al., 2005; Khubchandani, 1998; Nair-Venugopal, 2000; Tannenbaum, 2003; Tardif, 1991). From Phuntsog's perspective, the major drives of his language choice were the demands of immediate communications and influences of parents, peers, and teachers, rather than aims of gaining identity, status, and prestige. "Institutional factors of identification" were not straightforwardly expressed by Phuntsog's language choice, yet were exemplified by his parents' language choice.

> *Phuntsog's mother*: Nowadays, I use Chinese more than Tibetan, especially at work, almost all the interactions are in Chinese, only, only few in Tibetan. All my colleagues use Chinese, and also all the documents from head department and office are in Chinese. You know, my job is related to international standard, and usually the documents are first directly translated into Chinese and distributed to us (I 2: 2/25/2007, pp. 21-22).

> *Phuntsog's father:* Basically, at work, we all use Chinese, only little Tibetan. For me, Tibetan is only used at home talking to Phuntsog's mother, and sometimes when we visit small counties, we use Tibetan to talk with the local inhabitants (I 3: 3/2/2007, p. 3).

> *Phuntsog's father*: As I said before, I am very fluent in Tibetan, and actually I learned Tibetan before Chinese, but I want my children to learn Chinese. My experience told me… you heavily invested in

learning Tibetan… Once you entered the society, and you started your life and work in the real world, you realized you did not need Tibetan at all (I 3: 3/2/2007, p. 4)!

Phuntsog's father: If I couldn't speak Chinese, how can I work in my department? If I couldn't speak Chinese, I couldn't communicate with my colleagues because most of them speak Chinese (I 3: 3/2/2007, p. 4).

Inferred from their expressions, the parents' language choice was mainly derived from their assessment that Chinese was more useful and more profitable than Tibetan. In other words, a major motivation of using Chinese at home was the perceived benefits such as greater utility, better job opportunities, higher social status and prestige, and enhanced social mobility, all of which both parents gained from their choice of learning and using Chinese. Therefore, they anticipated that their children could also receive similar benefits by choosing to learn and use Chinese.

As discussed in Chapter 2, language policy could be promulgated by a "body with authority" (the government), a "socially defined group" (a particular community), or an "individual" (a language speaker or learner) (Spolsky, 2004, p. 217). Applying this phenomenon to the present study, it could be concluded that on an individual level, the language policy that Phuntsog adopted supported the use of Chinese. Viewing Phuntsog's family as a particular community consists of his parents, his younger brother, and himself, this socially defined group also adopted the language policy which was in favor of using Chinese. As a realization of language policy, language planning was also conducted on three levels (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006). Therefore, on

community and individual level, choosing and using Chinese both in Phuntsog's family and by Phuntsog himself were their particular forms of language planning.

With regard to choice, including both language choice and educational choice as discussed above, a deeper insight can be offered through further analysis. In the previous discussion on choices with relation to equal educational opportunity, Nieto (1996) argues that what superficially seems appropriate indeed is not able to provide fair chance to all students. A potential result is that despite the fact that students have choices, they possibly could still make less effective decisions. Therefore, it is significant that choices are made by the individual self (Schmidt, 2006). In the case of Phuntsog, he had choices regarding language and schooling. Specifically, he could choose Tibetan and/or Chinese, Han class or Tibetan class in elementary education, and secondary school in Tibet or inland boarding school. A key point is whether his choices are effective and beneficial to his development. According to the above parents' comments, they held the view that the decisions they made concerning language and schooling choices for Phuntsog were useful and effective.

Language Ideology

As discussed in Chapter 2, language ideology is unfolded in language choice; meanwhile, language ideology is a crucial constitutive element of the language learner's identity. In accordance with his language choice, Phuntsog held an approving attitude towards Chinese, learning and using Chinese, and interacting with Chinese speakers. As he stated in the interview, "I feel comfortable using Chinese… I feel the local people are friendly and easy-going. I never met

any … any bad people here… Most of my friends are Han" (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 1, p. 2, p. 3)".

During the process whereby his language ideology was formed and shaped, Phuntsog received influences from other Chinese speakers, for instance, his peers in elementary school in Tibet, subject teachers in the Tibetan boarding class in inland China, as well as mainstream Han students who used to share the same campus with Tibetan residential students. Consequently, through adopting their language, habits, norms, and values, Phuntsog obtained a sense of expected, appropriate, and accepted behavior, which constructed his language ideology. The following statement about Tibetan traditional garments that Phuntsog made in the interview revealed that he has gained a sense of belonging to the Chinese community by adopting some habits, norms, and values that Chinese speakers have come to value.

> *Tian*:   Do you often wear traditional Tibetan clothes?
> *Phuntsog*: No. Usually we just wear regular clothes, like sports clothes, T-shirts, jeans....
> *Tian*:   Do you wear traditional clothes for some particular festivals, like Tibetan New Year?
> *Phuntsog*: No, no one wears those.
> *Tian*:   Where did you buy your clothes?
> *Phuntsog*: Some clothes are provided by our school (the Tibetan boarding class), and they are all sports kind.
> Sometimes I buy some clothes I like. And my parents often mail new clothes to me.
> *Tian*:   What kind of clothes do they mail to you?
> *Phuntsog*: I told them what I want and what I like, and then they buy the clothes and mail them to me.
> *Tian*:   What kind?
> *Phuntsog*: Jeans, shirts, sweaters, and the like (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 5).

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Identity

As indicated above, Phuntsog has adopted some Chinese speakers' habits, norms, and values, and has gained an awareness of expected and appropriate behavior, including language behavior, and also a sense of belongingness to the Chinese community. However, it did not signify that Phuntsog's Tibetan identity has been totally replaced by Han identity through learning Chinese and shaping his language ideology; neither did it indicate that Phuntsog has been absolutely socialized into a Han or has obtained mono-Han identity. In fact, similar to other language learners examined in previous studies (MacPherson, 2005; Norton, 1997, 2000), Phuntsog developmentally obtained multiple identities, and constantly negotiated among these identities. Among Phuntsog's multiple identities, ethnic identity and social identity were two major ones which played an important role in Phuntsog's life and study.

Ethnic identity. Born into a family composed by native Tibetans, Phuntsog obtained his first identity – ethnic identity – as a Tibetan. Although attending a secondary school in inland China, Phuntsog still maintained his Tibetan name, a symbolization of his Tibetan identity. In the interview, Phuntsog excitedly explained the origin and meaning of his Tibetan name, and how his grandfather named him (I 1: 2/11/2007). As another symbolic representation of Phuntsog's Tibetan root and a constitutive element of his Tibetan identity, Tibetan New Year carried particular and significant meanings.

> *Tian*:　　Do you know what the festival was on February 18 this
> 　　　　year?
> *Phuntsog*:　Yes, that's *our* Tibetan New Year (Italics added to
> 　　　　emphasize).

Tian:	Do you know when the Chinese New Year was this year?
Phuntsog:	I heard it was on February 18, too. Was it?
Tian:	Yes. So which New Year did you celebrate?
Phuntsog:	Of course, *our* Tibetan New Year (Italics added to emphasize).
Tian:	So how did you celebrate it?
Phuntsog:	Our school and teachers organized some activities and made lots of traditional Tibetan food for us. I called my parents to wish them Happy New Year, but sadly I couldn't go to my grandparents' and celebrate the New Year with them. Usually in *our* tradition, on the first day *we* will go to the eldest person's place and spend the New Year there. And then on the followings days, *we* will go to other relatives' homes, according to their ages in the family… Usually, various celebrations of *our* New Year will last over ten days in *our* place (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 6) (Italics added to emphasize).

As the pronouns that Phuntsog used such as "we" and "our" indicated, it was very revealing that Phuntsog was deeply influenced by and highly valued his Tibetan roots and his Tibetan identity, as he cast considerably essential light on them. Phuntsog viewed his Tibetan roots and identity as his particular and salient characteristics that distinguished himself from the interviewer who was a Han. Yet ethnic identity was not the single identity that Phuntsog obtained. As discussed previously, correspondent with preceding categorization, multifaceted identity could be specified into various kinds, among which social identity was the one that could best delineate the relationship between language learner and social environment (Norton, 1997, 2000).

Social identity. Besides his ethnic identity, Phuntsog additionally formed and shaped his social identity as a member of the Chinese community.

Phuntsog:	I feel here, Jiahe is bigger than Lhasa, much bigger…the city is bigger and more prosperous than Lhasa. I feel the local people are friendly and easy-

going. I never met any … any bad people here. And here, the environment is more convenient for study. I like this environment, and I like studying here… I came here (Jiahe) when I was 12, and I have been living here for five years already. Sometimes I feel here is my second hometown because I know the city well, and I feel I am one of the locals already (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 1).

As Phuntsog's evaluation revealed, Phuntsog held a favorable attitude towards Jiahe, the location of Chinese community; towards the local residents, members of the Chinese community, and his interactions with members of the Chinese community, which were defined as "interethnic contact" (Dörnyei, 2001, p. 44). Yet it also revealed that Phuntsog had some negative expectation before he came to Jiahe. His experience of schooling in Jiahe offered an opportunity to Phuntsog to gain a better understanding of Jiahe and its residents, and to refresh his attitude. Moreover, Phuntsog sensed himself as a member of the Chinese community, and identified his membership in and belongingness to the Chinese community.

Phuntsog's experiences demonstrated that though not originally belonging to a particular community, as a language learner, he could enter and further gain a degree of in-group membership of the community through a series of social comparison, evaluation, categorization, and position oneself and others, a process whereby social identity was formed and shaped. In view of both ethnic and social identity, a point worth highlighting was that two kinds of identities were not mutually exclusive, or clearly distinguished from each other. In fact, they were inextricably related to and interacting with each other, which was exemplified by Phuntsog's constant negotiations between his two major identities.

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> *Phuntsog*: Sometimes I feel here is my second hometown because I know the city well, and I feel I am one of the locals already. But when others ask me, my first reaction is I am a Tibetan, and I always have the feeling that I am different from most of the local inhabitants here. … So I feel I am still more Tibetan than Han (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 16).

As his Phuntsog's comment demonstrated, despite his adoption of many symbols of the Han majority, such as Chinese, clothing, and living situations, Phuntsog still considered himself to be fundamentally Tibetan, maintaining his Tibetan identity and preserving his Tibetan roots. At the same time, Phuntsog's constant negotiations also embodied a salient characteristic of social identity as shifting and changing across time and space (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002; Chick, 2001; Langman, 2003; Norton, 1997, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995; Young, 1999).

Investment

With relation to his constant negotiations between/among multiple identities, repeatedly sensing and positioning himself in a socially defined context, Phuntsog devoted himself to his study in hope of realizing his "Tsinghua dream" – to enter Tsinghua University for his post-secondary education. Starting from elementary education in a Han class to his inland secondary education, Phuntsog put effort into learning and using Chinese in his life and study. Accompanying his Chinese learning, Phuntsog endeavored to achieve a satisfying outcome in the National Entrance Examination (NEE), which he would take in Chinese, and through which he could qualify to enter Tsinghua University. From Phuntsog's perspective, entering Tsinghua University for post-secondary

education would set a solid foundation for him to realize his broader dream – to become an administrator as his future occupation.   In other words, being educated in Tsinghua University, the top university, could further equip, qualify, and guarantee him "a bright future" (I 1: 3/3/2007, p. 18).

The effort that Phuntsog made in language learning and academic development vividly exemplified the notion of investment, foregrounded by Norton Peirce's (1995). According to Norton Peirce (1995), investment is an endeavor language learners make in the hope of being rewarded a good return. Phuntsog heavily invested in learning Chinese and in mainstream schooling as he expected to realize his "Tsinghua dream" as well as his broader dream, what he viewed as "a bright future" – a reward of his endeavors.

As a conclusion, Phuntsog's experiences of learning Chinese was also an incorporative process whereby he unceasingly interacted with a dynamic socially-defined context and the various components of the context, continuously organized and re-organized a sense of himself, constantly constructed and re-constructed, negotiated and re-negotiated among multiple complex identities. Through this process to which he devoted effort, Phuntsog adopted the habits, norms, and values of the Chinese community, gained in-group membership of the Chinese community, and constructed his social identity, all of which would facilitate him to realize his anticipations as a reward of his endeavors and effort. Meanwhile, also in this process, despite the emphasis placed on the benefits of integrating into the mainstream, such as learning Chinese and receiving

mainstream form of schooling, Phuntsog retained his Tibetan identity and valued his Tibetan roots.

Context

In addition to learner factors, language ecological theory pays particular attention to another crucial ecological variable, learners' referential context. As a valuable resource, learners' referential context considerably impacts on learners themselves, remarkably contributes to their learning experiences, and determines the outcome of learning. Moreover, as discussed earlier, the notion of context is characterized by its multiple components and diversified interpretations. Therefore, the multi-layered and multi-faceted context should be analyzed by particularizing to a specific study. Following this line, in the present study, in the case of Phuntsog, his various kinds of referential contexts were categorized into three sub-groups, namely, sociolinguistic context, academic context, and environmental context. In the following analyses of Phuntsog's contexts, each sub-group is analyzed specifically. The major sources of data on which following analyses are based include observations, interviews with Phuntsog, his parents, and teachers, as well as document review.

Sociolinguistic Context

In general, two major settings significantly contributing to Phuntsog's learning experiences were Tibet and inland China. These two settings were not simply geographically defined, but more importantly, each of them embedded sociolinguistic dimensions, essentially consisting of the sociolinguistic context that Phuntsog was associated with.

Tibetan Context

The Tibetan context, in which Phuntsog's family was located and his elementary education was completed, was the very first context that Phuntsog was profoundly involved in. Drawing on Phuntsog's experiences, the Tibetan context could be further specified into home and Han class in his elementary education.

At home. As introduced previously, at home, his parents employed Chinese, occasionally combined with Tibetan, to communicate with Phuntsog. In addition, they registered Phuntsog in a Han class, rather than a Tibetan class, for his elementary education. In Han class, Chinese severed as the medium of instruction, and was taught formally as a required subject. The parents' language choice and class selection were made on the basis of their belief that Chinese was more useful, profitable, and would bring more possibilities to Phuntsog. As Phuntsog's father commented in the interview:

> You are heavily invested in learning Tibetan… Once you entered the society, and you started your life and work in the real world, you realized you did not need Tibetan at all! Then you had the feeling that all the time and energy were kind of wasted, or at least, you did not receive what you deserved. So at that time, I told Phuntsog to enroll in Han class in which Tibetan was not a required course. In this way, his tasks and burdens were lessened and lightened. If necessary, such as some basic Tibetan frequently used in common interactions, either I or his mother could teach him at home (I 3: 3/2/2007, p. 4).

Phuntsog's father's perception echoed his mother's, as she also stated in the interview that the use of Chinese heavily surpassed that of Tibetan, and Chinese played an important and major role both in her life and work (I 2: 2/25/2007). From the parents' perspective, using Chinese was more rewarding than using

Tibetan. The former enjoyed larger utility in the "society" and the "real world",
whereas the latter had relatively limited application basically in home setting,
under the condition of "if necessary". In addition, Phuntsog's father selected Han
class for Phuntsog in consideration of his study, as he estimated that Phuntsog's
tasks and burdens would be lightened when the required subjects were lessened.
In Han class, Tibetan was not a mandatory subject.

In addition, Phuntsog's father offered what he perceived to be a limitation of
the Tibetan language in the interview.

> *Phuntsog's father*: Before Phuntsog transferred to Han class, I
> compared Han class with Tibetan class. I
> found in Tibetan class, teachers used Tibetan
> to teach Math, but the problem was when
> reaching certain stages, Tibetan, the language,
> was no longer broad enough, which means it
> did not contain some vocabulary, especially
> some terms. Therefore, teachers had to find
> correspondent words in Chinese to substitute
> them, and then added a series of explanations
> in Tibetan. It seems there is a direct way to
> your destination, but you give it up, but choose
> a way that contains a lot of corners and curls.
> In Han class, Math was taught in Chinese from
> the very beginning, so students had a direct
> contact with the terms and the subject contents
> from the very beginning. In this case, students
> would not need to spend extra time to translate
> previous knowledge from Tibetan to Chinese in
> their future studies. And also, students in Han
> class were not required to study Tibetan, so the
> burden was much lighter (I 3: 3/2/2007, pp. 4-
> 5).

Therefore, it could be concluded that both social and linguistic factors
contributed to this parent's language choice at home and class selection for
Phuntsog. Parents' language choice and class selection partly constructed the

sociolinguistic context in which Phuntsog participated, which impacted on his language choice, learning experiences, and learning outcome.

A point that needs to be raised here is that in multilingual education, indigenous language is generally perceived as the caregiver that provides novices with the easiest and most convenient way to gain the greatest amount of knowledge, and facilitates meaningful community integration and effective societal function (Badeng Nima, 2001; Tournadre, 2003). In other words, multilingual education highlights the significant role of learners' first language (L1) and advocates the central position of L1. Yet the view that Phuntsog's father expressed contrasted the findings from multilingual approaches, a phenomenon which demonstrated the impacts of the sociolinguistic context in which Phuntsog participated.

In Han class. Another crucial constitutive element of the Tibetan context was the Han class in Phuntsog's elementary education which was conducted in Tibet, as mentioned above. In Han class, Chinese was taught officially and formally as a required subject. Because the major component of Han class was Han students who were re-located in Tibet at certain ages, Phuntsog's peers at school were mostly Han, a group of students who had little contact with the Tibetan language. Most of Phuntsog's Han peers at school were not able to either speak or write Tibetan, a particular situation which required and supported Chinese application, both inside and outside of classroom.

Furthermore, surrounded by Han peers and constantly interacting with them, Phuntsog quickly became accustomed to contact with Han. As he said in the interview,

Tian:	How did you perceive… how did you feel when you communicate with Han?
Phuntsog:	I didn't feel anything special. They were just my classmates.
Tian:	Did your classmates say anything about you when they saw you were studying in Han class?
Phuntsog:	No, they saw a lot of Tibetans everyday, you know, they were living in Tibet. And I saw a lot of Han everyday, too. Most of my friends are Han (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 2).

It could be concluded that Han class, a particular sociolinguistic context in which Phuntsog generated a sense of comfort from associating with Han and using Chinese at school, further led to a sense of belonging to the Chinese community. In other words, in Han class, Phuntsog had already familiarized himself with contacting Han and using Chinese. Both the comfort and sense of belonging resulted in Phuntsog's approving attitude towards Chinese, its speakers, as well as interacting with Chinese speakers, a crucial element which contributed to his language choice, ideology formation, and identity construction.

In the Tibetan context, both at home and in Han class, Chinese was frequently and extensively applied, which directly resulted in Phuntsog being more proficient in Chinese than in Tibetan. However, in another respect, Phuntsog's experiences in Tibetan context prepared him for studying in an inland boarding class where he would have a large amount of contact with Han, the ethnic majority, and Chinese, the official and the majority language. Besides Tibetan students, this particular boarding class also provided secondary

education for students, who came from Tibet yet were Han majority. The parents of these Han students were originally from inland China, but went to Tibet and contributed to its development. Therefore, the boarding class also offered opportunity for their children to receive education in inland China. And these Han students served as another source from which Phuntsog had contact with Han majority, in addition to his teachers. Given that the attendees of this particular boarding class included both Tibetan and Han students and the majority of the teachers were Han, Chinese was frequently used in this boarding class. Moreover, Chinese was employed as the medium of instruction. Thus, in this boarding class, Phuntsog has a large amount of contact with Chinese, the majority language.

In conclusion, consisting of two particular settings, Tibetan context which was socio-linguistically defined significantly contributed to Phuntsog's language choice, linguistic proficiency, and identity construction, influenced his learning experiences, and impacted on his learning outcomes.

Inland Context

In the case of Phuntsog, sequentially connected to his Tibetan context was the inland context, a setting in which he was re-located and his secondary education was conducted. Similar to the Tibetan context, the inland context carried both sociolinguistic and educational meanings, based on yet further beyond its geographical definition.

The metropolis. At the age of 12, Phuntsog came to Jiahe, a provincial capital in inland China, to attend a Tibetan boarding class. This particular

Tibetan boarding class was embedded in a complete secondary school, but operated individually and independently, as it had its own academic and administrative personnel. Systematically, the Tibetan boarding class was defined as a *class*, whereas in reality it operated as a *school* which offered both junior and senior secondary education for Tibetans. In this boarding class, Phuntsog completed his junior secondary education. During the period of data collection, Phuntsog was still registered in the same boarding class, yet in a higher level of secondary education, referred to as senior grade one which was equivalent to grade ten in Canada.

In Jiahe, Chinese acted as the main communicative instrument and was vastly and prevalently employed by its local inhabitants, most of whom were Han, Chinese speakers. In the particular Tibetan boarding class that Phuntsog was attending, Chinese served as the medium of instruction and was taught formally as a required and major subject. Moreover, with regard to its status as a required subject, Chinese was also an essential subject tested in the National Entrance Examination (NEE) which was a requisite for post-secondary education. All of the above mentioned factors emphasized and highlighted the importance of Chinese, both as a communicative instrument and as a course subject. Hence, in the inland context, Phuntsog employed Chinese more frequently than Tibetan, a situation inescapably resulting in his uneven development of the two languages. As Phuntsog recalled in the interview,

> *Tian*: After living and studying in Jiahe for three years, the last time you went home, what language did you use to talk to your family and friends?
>
> *Phuntsog*: Chinese, but as before, we often added some Tibetan

words in sentences.

Tian: So how did you feel about using or adding Tibetan in your expressions?

Phuntsog: Some of the words, I didn't remember how to use them because I forgot their meanings. And there were some Tibetan words my friends used that I didn't know the meanings. I almost forgot how to use some Tibetan words (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 4).

In conclusion, if it was the case that the Tibetan context was the setting where Phuntsog's imbalanced language proficiency between Chinese and Tibetan originated, the inland context was the setting in which the existing imbalance was magnified and further developed. In other words, while upholding Phuntsog's Chinese acquisition and development, the inland context impeded his Tibetan maintenance and growth. In Chapter 1, two types of bilingualism, additive and subtractive, were discussed (Baker, 2001; Baker & Jones, 1998). Relating the above conclusion to the two types, it could be concluded that Phuntsog's situation trended towards subtractive bilingualism.

The Tibetan boarding class. Narrowing down the analytical lens to particularly view the Tibetan boarding class, it was very evident that the boarding class purposively endeavoured to create a strong Tibetan atmosphere for its students. This whole campus was extensively and predominantly characterized by Tibetan features. As such, representations of Tibetan landscapes, Tibetans, and Tibetan culture and traditions were prevailingly spread in the school yard. Slogans of propagating and emphasizing merits of Tibetans presented themselves as an eye-catching feature of the campus (O 1: 2/3/2007[4]). Surely the strong Tibetan atmosphere created a supportive ideological context in which

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[4] O 1: Observations conducted on campus.

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Phuntsog developmentally constituted and favourably enhanced his Tibetan identity and ethnic self-esteem, evidenced by his self-definition as Tibetan more than Han.

However, the broad sociolinguistic atmosphere created by the metropolis and its inhabitants was predominantly Han, in which the Tibetan atmosphere created by the Tibetan boarding class was embedded.   Therefore, it could not be denied that compared with Han atmosphere, the Tibetan atmosphere prevailed on a relatively small scale. The different weights that the two kinds of atmospheres carried were embodied by Phuntsog's perception regarding the celebrations of Tibetan New Year in inland, a series of activities and programs organized by his boarding class and teachers.

> *Tian*: So what did you do on the New Year?
> *Phuntsog*: Well, I got up very late in the morning, then I surfed on line for a while, and then I called my parents to wish them Happy New Year. In the afternoon, I put on my new clothes, and went to join the program.
> *Tian*: Celebration activities?
> *Phuntsog*: Yeah, our school and teachers organized programs and activities to celebrate Tibetan New Year with us. And they also cooked lots of, lots of traditional Tibetan food for us.
> *Tian*: So how did you feel about all the celebrations?
> *Phuntsog*: The celebrations were good, and they were fun. But still I feel… here, in inland, it's not enough… the atmosphere was not strong, not authentic enough. I didn't feel like it was the New Year (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 6).

Celebrations of Tibetan New Year in inland were defined as "fun", yet "not authentic enough". The major cause was the discrepancy between the Tibetan-dominated atmosphere created by the boarding class and Han-overshadowed atmosphere of the metropolis.

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In terms of the development of two languages in inland context, the vast application of Chinese both outside and inside of the inland context potentially risked Phuntsog's Tibetan maintenance. Yet, though dominated by a Han atmosphere, the inland context also embedded a site in which Phuntsog could potentially maintain and strengthen his Tibetan identity, ideology, as well as his ethnic self-esteem. It would be more promising and could better satisfy Tibetan student's anticipation if the Tibetan atmosphere could be increased and magnified.

Academic Context

It was relatively effortless to grasp a general sense of Phuntsog's life in the inland Tibetan boarding class, as its contents were straightforwardly delineated in the life schedule. The life schedule was outlined by the school administrative personnel, and applicable to all Tibetan students in Phuntsog's grade. Through document review (DR: 2/4/2007[5]), the life schedule was summarized and presented in Table 1 in Appendix I. Apparently as the life schedule indicated, the life of Tibetan residential students in Phuntsog's grade was intensively organized, as one activity tightly and immediately followed another. More importantly, students spent a large portion of their daytime in the classroom, given that the majority of their activities took place in the classroom, such as classes and self-studies. Therefore, in order to better understand Phuntsog's experiences in the boarding class, it was necessary to explore in-classroom activities, for example,

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[5] DR: Document review.

teaching and learning which were crucial constitutive elements of the academic context.

Related to teaching and learning, in this particular case study, analysis of the academic context will additionally include and consider the Arts-Science division, a significant and consequential event which took place at the interval of two semesters, during the period of data collection. Potential impacts of this event on Phuntsog's experiences and development will be discussed. Finally, the analyses of academic context will embrace the assessment of Phuntsog's academic performance, and a discussion on assessment with relation to its criteria will be presented.

Teaching and Learning

Characteristics. In spite of the inherent differences among different subjects, a number of characteristics of subject teaching and learning could be summarized, drawing on the data collected through in-classroom observations. The salient characteristics were technology-supported, form-varied, textbook-led, and NEE-oriented and -emphasized.

Data collected through observations focusing on the in-classroom environment indicated that multimedia equipments installed in classroom allowed teachers to utilize various techniques and methods in lecturing and instructing; therefore, they opened the possibility for a large variety of teaching and learning activities in different forms (O 2: 2/5/2007[6]). Meanwhile, a large number of visual illustrations and supports were offered, all of which made teaching and learning

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[6] O 2: Observations conducted in classroom.

more student-friendly. From one teacher's side, "with the equipments, it becomes very handy and convenient for us to verify the forms of teaching and activate the learning atmosphere in class" (I 4: 3/12/2007[7], p. 5).

In Physics class, the teacher used PowerPoint to visualize a series of motions of an item which was described purely literally in a question. The visualization clearly simplified and concretely re-exhibited the question graphically, which made the question more straightforward and easier for students to comprehend and then answer (O 2: 2/7/2007). In Chinese class, the teacher provided a video clip which was produced based on a fiction, the content of the class. As the teacher expected, the video clip introduced the referential background of the fiction, portrayed distinctive features of its major characters. This teaching method helped students to better understand the content of teaching. In essence, multiple activities and various forms of teaching drew the learning contents closer to the students, and made the contents more accessible, more comprehensible, and more acquirable (O 2: 3/4/2007).

Aside from focusing on the multimedia equipments and technological supports, in-classroom observations centering on subject teaching and learning were also conducted, based on which the following analyses will be undertaken. Relevant data were approached from two aspects of teaching and learning: contents and forms, according to which the subsequent analyses will be reported and presented.

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[7] I 4: Interview with the Mr. Zhang who taught English.

Contents. In terms of contents, each subject teaching and learning was organized and conducted based on and firmly in accordance with the contents of the textbooks applied in each subject course. In other words, teaching and learning were directed and led by textbooks; the contents of teaching and learning were a resemblance of the contents of textbooks. All the textbooks applied in Phuntsog's class were published by People's Education Press, a strongly authoritative textbook publisher in China. A review of textbooks which were employed in English, Chinese, History, and Politics course was undertaken and briefly itemized in Table 2 to Table 7 respectively, included in Appendix I. Drawing on the topics and themes embedded in the textbooks, as well as their components, each of which had a specific target or aim, it could be concluded that the intension of each subject teaching and learning was to inform the students of fundamental information, essential skills, and practical technology, and to popularize contemporary developments at regional, national, and international levels (DR: 2/3/2007).

However, though the contents of the textbooks contained some information and knowledge on Tibetan culture or Tibetan community, the amount was not large. In other words, the academic contents that Tibetan students were interacting with were not multicultural or multiethnic. Therefore, it could be inferred that the textbooks applied in Tibetan boarding class were not purposively or particularly designed for Tibetan students. As a conclusion, the textbooks were seemingly devoted to promoting Han viewpoints and values rather than those of Tibetan. In other words, it could not be denied that the implicit in-

classroom academic content did not match the explicit physical content on campus, which was created to promote Tibetan culture on the surface. Parallel to the formerly discussed context which was Tibetan-representation-dominated, teaching and learning produced an ideological context which was overshadowed by the mainstream. In conclusion, a discrepancy existed between the two contexts that Phuntsog was participating in, which was another cause of Phuntsog's perception that his surrounding atmosphere was "not authentic enough" (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 6).

Forms. In terms of forms, in-classroom teaching and learning were remarkably characterized as NEE-oriented and -emphasized. All the three teachers consensually expressed in interviews that they have been devoting to students' academic development, with a view to fully equipping students to achieve satisfying scores in NEE in two years. In Chinese educational context, all secondary students who intended to enter colleges and universities were required to take National Entrance Examination (NEE), through which the admission into higher education was gained. Consequently, in the Chinese educational context, NEE became the focus and the ultimate goal of secondary education. As the Chinese teacher's description of students' academic performance revealed, "It appears that students are on the right track; maintaining this development trend, students will be fully equipped for the NEE in two years" (I 5: 3/13/2007[8], p.1).

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[8] I 5: Interview with Mr. Li who taught Chinese.

Setting NEE as the ultimate goal, which also emerged as the measurement of assessing students' academic performance, in-classroom teaching was inevitably oriented by and focused on NEE. Throughout teaching, teachers repeatedly referred to and emphasized NEE, which itself served as the means that teachers employed to build a connection between the knowledge points taught in class and future applications beyond class. Accordingly, this emphasis led to Phuntsog's learning being partially NEE motivated. He commented on the subjects that he was less interested in and less good at,

> *Tian*: What is your favorite subject?
> *Phuntsog*: Math. I like Math, and compared with other subjects, I think I am good at Math.
> *Tian*: Is there any subject that you think you are not very good at?
> *Phuntsog*: English... Among all the scores I got in the finals, English was the lowest. I try very hard, but I just cannot learn it very well... I like Chinese in general, but I am not very interested in classical Chinese. But I have to learn it because I know there will be a section in NEE asking you to read a passage in classical Chinese, and then you need to answer questions based on your comprehension (I 1: 3/3/2007, p. 11).

Stemming from NEE-oriented and NEE-emphasized form of teaching, NEE-motivated learning, in return, further impacted on teaching. Teachers stated in interviews that while taking students' personal interests and development into account, the fundamental goal of their effort was to facilitate students to achieve a satisfying outcome in NEE. In essence, the form of in-classroom teaching and learning was NEE-oriented and –emphasized. As the Math teacher, Jia, commented, "This form of teaching might seem too heavily focused on NEE, but NEE is the target for students at this stage of study. And previous students'

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outcomes evidenced that the teaching was effective, so it persuaded us to continue teaching in this way" (I 6: 3/13/2007[9], p. 5).

As the teacher expressed in the interview, in-classroom teaching and learning was evaluated as effective, taking students' expected performance in NEE into account. Indeed, the contents of teaching and learning were insufficiently multicultural, multiethnic, or at least, not Tibetan focused; the forms of teaching and learning seemed diversified and various, yet heavily and rigidly NEE-emphasized. However, from another aspect, the contents were able to effectively transmit essential knowledge to students and furnish them with intellectual and informative recourses, and the forms were able to reinforce the knowledge points through practices and familiarize students with the knowledge points through applications. Therefore, it could be concluded that the contents could fulfill the goal of education, which is to equip learners with certain skills and values, and thus to shape them as potential workers who are expected to be more productive and more adaptable in the rapidly changing field of industry and technology (Clothey, 2001; McGovern, 1999).

Taking both contents and forms into consideration, they functioned cooperatively and harmoniously, both of which contributed to students' competence and improved students' accomplishment in NEE. In conclusion, in-classroom teaching and learning was appraised as suitable and beneficial for Tibetan students to effectively achieve their goals of inland secondary education.

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[9] I 6: Interview with Mr. Jia who taught Math.

Arts-Science Division

During the period of data collection, in the interval of two academic semesters, two original classes were re-arranged and students were re-assigned, an event which was generally referred to as Arts-Science division. The division was commonly applied to all secondary schools in Jiahe. Consequently, students were re-assigned into classes based on their choices, and entered particular streams of study, either Arts or Science class. On account of his personal interests, Phuntsog chose the Science, as he described it, "I like Science more than Arts, and I study Science better than Arts" (I 1: 3/3/2007, p. 11). After the division, Phuntsog's Science class was composed of different students, some of whom were originally in the other class, and courses were re-scheduled for Phuntsog's class. To facilitate further analyses, two course schedules outlined and applied to Phuntsog's class, both before and after Arts-Science division, are listed and tabled in Appendix I (Table 8 and Table 9).

Furthermore, a comparison of the two schedules is presented in Table 10, according to the subject courses offered and taught per week. The comparison of two course schedules in Table 10 indicated that resulted from Arts-Science division, the operations of particular subject courses were dramatically varied. Specifying to the Science class which Phuntsog chose, Biology, a subject belonging to the stream of Science study, was additionally offered, whereas History, Politics, and Geography, belonging to the stream of Arts study, were exclusively removed. Besides the change of courses, one point that needs to be highlighted is that, although commonly shared with other secondary students, the

Arts-Science division for Tibetan students was brought one academic semester forward. Both teachers and Phuntsog himself expressed their perceptions towards the impacts of the division.

Potential impacts. Apparently, locating students into particular streams of study, the division removed some subjects from their study. In the case of Phuntsog, entering the stream of Science meant that History, Politics, and Geography were excluded from this curriculum. Consequently, Phuntsog had fewer opportunities to learn or even no contact with the subjects out of his stream of study. As he stated in the interview conducted after the Arts-Science division, "now I don't learn them (History, Politics, and Geography) at all" (I 1: 3/3/2007, p. 12).

In a sense, the division denied Phuntsog's access to the resources related to the subjects belonging to Arts. For example, he did not purchase the textbooks applied in those subject courses, and seldom communicated with the academic staff who taught those subjects. Therefore, a potential impact on Phuntsog was that he had more opportunities to learn Science-related subjects intensively and deeply; meanwhile, he was less likely to master the contents of Arts-related subjects skillfully and effectively. Taking a step forward, this potential impact would risk Phuntsog's overall well-balanced extension of his knowledge. As a result, it might violate and harm the operation and development of the relatively new form of education named "education aiming at students' high quality (*su zhi jiao yu*)" (I 5: 3/13/2007, p. 7; DR: 2/3/2007), which educational specialists, administrators, and teachers have been advocating and endeavoring.

Teachers' and Phuntsog's perceptions. While acknowledging the possible limits and potential restrictions that the Arts-Science division brought to students, teachers also viewed the division from another side. In view of the tasks and pressures of study that Tibetan students were facing, and on account of their expected performance in NEE in two years, this division, which was conducted one semester earlier than the mainstream Han students, was interpreted as beneficial for students.

In the short run, Arts-Science division minimized students' tasks and pressures. Specifically, drawing on his observations in the first semester, the English teacher noticed that in addition to the learning objectives embedded in each class, students also confronted a large number of tasks after the class. As such, assignments from each subject occupied most of the students' self-study time after the class. Data obtained from researcher's observations also demonstrated this point. Everyday the monitor of Phuntsog's class listed all the assignments from each subject on the blackboard as a reminder, and for most of the time, the list took up a large portion of the blackboard (O 2: 2/3/2007-2/15/2007). Evidently, before the Arts-Science division, students were facing a large number of assignments, and were taking a considerable scale of burdens, both in and out of classroom.

> *Tian*:   I saw in your course schedule that now, after the division, the number of subject courses like Physics and Chemistry are larger than before. How do you feel?
>
> *Phuntsog*:   It's OK. But I feel the assignments are fewer than before because I don't need to do assignments from History or Politics (courses). Before the division, there was a lot of homework to do everyday. I had a lot of

> questions and I couldn't do the assignments independently, so I had to ask for help from others, usually from my desk-mate. Others explained my questions to me and then I started to do my assignments, and usually it took a long time for me to finish all of them. I always felt in a rush to finish all the assignments. But now (after the division), I find I could finish them very quickly, maybe because the number of assignments is smaller this semester (I 1: 3/3/2007, p. 9).

As Phuntsog's experience showed, in respect of the pressures from study, Arts-Science division which eliminated some subjects also reduced the number of assignments and tasks, and lessened the scale of burdens that students were facing.

In the long run, the division offered ample room for students' individual academic development. As Li, the Chinese teacher, commented,

> After the division, the targets of study are more specific and distinct; therefore, students could devote more time and effort to particular subjects, either as a preparation geared for NEE or as a development of personal academic interests. Another situation is that compared with mainstream Han students, Tibetan students owned a relatively fragile foundation of study. This particular situation requires Tibetan students to put more effort in learning, if they want to achieve good results in NEE (I 5: 3/13/2007, p. 7).

Based on the performance in exams and tests, the teacher evaluated that compared with mainstream Han students, Tibetan students were less well-equipped or -prepared in elementary education for future studies. Therefore, it was more time-consuming for Tibetan students to skillfully master the learning contents. Therefore, it could be assumed that it also required a larger amount of time for Tibetan students to fully equip themselves for NEE. On account of students' situation, after the division, students were able to allocate their time and

effort more purposively and effectively, to compensate the inept and to enhance the proficient. And the one-semester-advanced division offered a semester for Tibetan students to familiarize themselves with and prepare themselves for the forthcoming subject-specific studies. Hence, this particular semester was also defined as a "preparatory period" (I 4: 3/12/2007, p. 5). Therefore, in this particular circumstance, the Arts-Science division was evaluated as profitable for Tibetan students.

Relating this phenomenon to the notion of equity discussed previously, it could be concluded that the one-semester-advanced division served as a means to achieve equity to some extent. Nieto (1996) delineated two fundamental elements of equity, namely, "equal educational opportunities" and "fairness and real possibility of *equality of outcomes* (italics in the original) for a broader range of students" (p. 10). In view of their backgrounds, one-semester-advanced division could be employed to achieve fairness and equality of outcomes for Tibetan students, specifically, their performance in NEE. However, in terms of equal educational opportunities, including access to formal schooling McGovern (1999), the division partly denied students' access to some subjects, educational resources.

After comparing his study before and after the division, Phuntsog expressed his opinion, echoing his teachers' perception. From Phuntsog's perspective, advanced division lightened the tasks he used to take; meanwhile, it also opened the possibilities for him to choose for his own needs and interests.

> *Phuntsog*: Now, I feel…after the division, I feel it takes less time to finish the assignments, not as much time as last

semester. Maybe because it's only the beginning of a
new semester, but I feel I have time to read other
books. Last semester I always felt time was not
enough. I had lots of questions left from class, so I
needed others to explain them so that I could do the
assignments. So when the self-study finished, I found I
didn't do many assignments, but this semester is
different.

Tian: You said "other books"? What kind of books?

Phuntsog: I mean study materials, additional materials guiding
you how to review each chapter and checking the key
points in each unit, published by other secondary
schools.

Tian: Supplementary materials?

Phuntsog: Yes.

Tian: Are these materials required?

Phuntsog: No, but I feel I need to improve my study… like
English. In all subjects, I didn't do very well in English.
So I feel I need to improve it so that it won't pull down
my overall performance in NEE (I 1: 3/3/2007, p. 10).

In conclusion, the accelerated Arts-Science division for Phuntsog's class

lightened students' tasks and pressures. Yet more importantly, it could facilitate

students to train and equip themselves to achieve a satisfactory performance

NEE in two years, an outcome that they expected and endeavored to accomplish.

Therefore, as an influential event which was also an essential element

constructing the academic context, the advanced Arts-Science division was

evaluated as beneficial, and was favorably welcomed both by teachers and by

Tibetan students. However, a potential influence was while aiming to achieve

fairness and real possibility of equality of outcomes for Tibetan students, the

division also partly denied their access to some educational resources.

Assessment

Until this point, as the above analyses indicates, NEE was a strong emphasis

in the academic context. As a requisite producing access to higher education,

NEE additionally functioned as a measurement and a crucial means of assessment in evaluating students who wish to proceed to higher education and their academic performance and educational outcome. This particular kind of assessment, which was determined in a manner of adopting NEE as its measurement, was concretized and exemplified on three scales: individual student, teachers, and the administration of Tibetan boarding class.

Individual student. In answering the question about the subject(s) that he was less good at, Phuntsog articulated that "English... Among all the scores I got in the finals, English was the lowest. I try very hard, but just cannot learn it very well" (I 1: 3/3/2007, p. 11). In explaining the reasons for choosing Science class, Phuntsog expressed that "I like Science more than Arts, and I study Science better than Arts… like the scores I obtained in Math and Physics were much higher than in History" (I 1: 3/3/2007, p. 11). Apparently as Phuntsog's expressions demonstrated, the choice of Science class was made based on his performance. In addition, the scale that Phuntsog employed to measure his performance in each subject study was the score that he obtained in the finals, rather than the amount of effort each subject study demanded or he devoted to it. Therefore, results obtained in exams served as the main measurement for Phuntsog to assess his academic performance and achievement.

With relation to individual students' assessment, an additional point worth mentioning here was when evaluating inland boarding schools/classes, Tibetan parents also adopted the same measurement. Given that neither of Phuntsog's parents had the opportunity to visit the boarding class personally before sending

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Phuntsog there, the major source from which they gathered information about the boarding class was previous students' outstanding academic performance, especially their achievement in NEE which was the most significant among all kinds of exams. As Phuntsog's father said, "I heard in this boarding class (the one in Jiahe), the ratio of its students entering top universities is highest among all inland Tibetan boarding schools/classes. The scores that previous students obtained in NEE were very excellent" (I 3: 3/2/2007, p. 8). Therefore, on account of the importance of NEE which granted students the permission for higher education, NEE surely served as the essential evaluative instrument for parents to assess inland Tibetan boarding schools/classes.

Teachers. In interviews with Phuntsog's teachers who taught English, Chinese, and Math, all of them assessed students' academic performance drawing on the scores that students attained in the finals from last semester. Echoing Phuntsog's self-evaluation, his English teacher appraised in interview that "he (Phuntsog) indeed worked very hard, but his score in the final was not very satisfying" (I 4: 3/12/2007, p. 2). Acknowledging Phuntsog's effort, this teacher's emphasis, still, was on the results gained in exams.

Besides assessing students' learning outcome, teachers also employed students' achievement in exams as the evaluative standard to measure, guide, and conclude their own teaching. The Chinese teacher appraised students' performance in classical Chinese as relatively poor, a phenomenon which resonated with the reluctance students exhibited in learning classical Chinese. Consequently, the teacher re-structured the organization of the textbook and

taught modern and classical Chinese alternately. As he concluded, "by doing this (verifying the organization of the textbook), students' interests were boosted, and the atmosphere of the class was more active. This certainly will improve their learning outcomes" (I 5: 3/13/2007, p. 7). In conclusion, teachers utilized the outcome that students achieved in exams to assess both teaching and learning.

School administration. The measurement that the school administration of Tibetan boarding class adopted was comparatively covert, as it was not explicitly stated. Instead, it was implicitly expressed in the document entitled *Introduction of Tibetan Boarding Class* (2005) (DR: 2/2/2007). This document, reviewed for the present study, stated that among all the Tibetan boarding schools/classes in inland China, this particular boarding class continuously ranked at the top. The promising performance of this boarding class was achieved with considerable contributions of its students' outstanding academic performance, which was evidenced and reinforced by the proportion of students entering top universities after graduating from this boarding class. Thus, it could be concluded that students' outstanding performance was appraised on the basis of their attainment in NEE. In other words, students' educational outcome and achievement were assessed by NEE. In conclusion, school administration of the Tibetan boarding class also employed NEE to assess students' academic achievement and educational outcome, and at the same time, to measure its own performance and attainment.

Major causes. Serving as a crucial evaluative instrument, the scores that students achieved in exams, particularly the expected outcomes of NEE, cast significant light on various kinds of assessment on different scales. To explore the causes of this phenomenon, three major causes could be generalized. To begin with, scores obtained in exams were the most straightforward statement of students' academic performance and development. Outcomes students achieved in exams explicitly recorded and reported the attainment of teaching and learning; therefore, certainly they became the main resource for assessment.

Secondly, on account of the importance of the NEE in the Chinese educational context, students' performance in NEE highly drew students', parents', teachers', and the school administration's attention, and certainly developed and was used as the evaluative measurement. In other words, the main goal of this Tibetan class was to help Tibetan students succeed in the NEE. Finally, as discussed above, teachers of Tibetan students estimated that students owned a relatively fragile foundation of learning, a situation which was resulted from the restrictions and limitations of students' elementary education in Tibet (I 4: 3/12/2007). Once again, in order to highlight the importance of NEE and best motivate students, using outcomes of exams as the measurement could not be denied as an effective method. In conclusion, consistent with the forms of teaching and learning which was NEE-oriented, NEE-emphasized assessment exhibited the root of and explained the shape of teaching and learning.

Preliminarily targeting at the NEE, the assessment, in a sense, might blur students' academic performance, and might partially misstate students' academic

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development. However, at the same time, it has to be acknowledged that in the Chinese educational context, NEE-emphasized assessment functioned effectively in evaluating teaching and learning outcomes, and in advancing and enhancing students' performance in NEE which would open the possibilities for higher education. Meanwhile, higher education itself, indeed, was the pragmatic goal of education from individual students', parents', and teachers' perspectives. Therefore, it could be concluded that, to some extent, the NEE-emphasized assessment was suitable for the broad academic and educational atmosphere, and was able to meet individuals' and parents' needs and fulfill parents' and teachers' anticipations of students' performance in the NEE.

Connecting to Goals of Minority Education

As discussed previously, education in a multiethnic and multilingual country takes on two primary responsibilities: preserving and reproducing ethnic minority cultures to support diversity, and at the same time, promoting and representing national culture to support unity (Postiglione, 1998). Connecting the above analysis of academic context to the two primary responsibilities, it could be concluded that this particular form of Tibetan education indeed well promoted and represented national culture, thus, supported unity. Yet in terms of supporting diversity, through preserving and reproducing ethnic minority cultures, it was less well-performed.

Specifying to Chinese minority education, the primary goal was to produce and develop both ethnic and expert learners so that they are adaptable to changing and diverse environments, not only regional and national, but also

international and global contexts (Postiglione, 1998). The above analysis indicated that the Tibetan boarding class was able to equip its students with the knowledge and ability to adapt to national and international contexts, yet it would be more beneficial if it could also enhance the emphasis on regional context, particularly Tibetan context.

In addition, some other specific goals of Chinese minority education are: to increase minorities' participation in state schooling (Postiglione, 1998), to upgrade minorities' educational situation (Clothey, 2001; Postiglione, 1998; Wang & Zhou, 2003), and to improve understanding between Han Chinese and other ethnic groups (Postiglione, 1998). This particular boarding class offered the opportunity for Tibetan students to participate in state schooling. Moreover, it was devoted to NEE with a view to opening the possibilities for Tibetan students to progress to higher education, which would further increase their participation in state schooling and chances of economic success. Through the increased participation in educational settings, the Tibetan educational level could be improved and the educational situation could be upgraded. But at this point, in this study, due to the limited time, there is not sufficient data indicating the improved understanding between Han majority and minorities.

Environmental Context

As previous discussion on environmental context showed, community is a key constructive element of context. Two types of communities are "a geographically peripheral and fragmented ethnolinguistic community" and "a more extensive and contiguous community" (Ricento, 2006, p. 132). In this study,

the two major communities that Phuntsog was involved in were Tibetan community, which was geographically and ethnolinguistically defined, and mainstream Han community, which was more extensive, contiguous and socially defined.   Moreover, the influential role of context has been repeatedly exemplified in previous studies (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Haugen, 1972; Nair-Venugopal, 2000; Paugh, 1999; Pennycook, 2002; Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1995; Young, 1999).   The impacts that context demonstrated on learners were magnified when learners experienced alternations of the contexts they participated in, a result reflected and demonstrated by Phuntsog's experiences in this study.   As fluid as the context was, the environmental context that Phuntsog experienced was exemplified by three major changes.   These changes were derived from the alternations of Phuntsog's locations and situations, specifically, moving to inland boarding class, transferring to a new campus, and proceeding to a higher level of study.   In accordance with the three changes, the following analyses of environmental context are presented.

From Tibetan Plateau to Inland China

> *Phuntsog*: I've never been out of Tibet, before I came here
> (Jiahe), before I came to this boarding class… I had
> no idea about places outside of Tibet… I came here
> with my mom, and I didn't know where to go and what
> to do… There were so many people and so many cars
> busily running on the street, and a lot of things I had
> never seen before… I feel here, Jiahe is bigger, much
> bigger than Lhasa, and more exciting (I 1: 2/11/2007,
> p. 1).

Phuntsog's description revealed both excitement and bewilderment when he first came to inland China. Having no experience of and no opinion about the

inland, Phuntsog was immediately occupied by a sense of alienation and fear, along with excitement when he initially entered his new context. Regardless of the fact that his educational experiences in Tibet had equipped him with the linguistic capability, a sense of comfort in interacting with Han, and familiarity with the curriculum applied in inland schools, Phuntsog still encountered some challenges in adjustment. As he depicted in the interview,

> *Phuntsog*: I didn't get sick, luckily, wasn't like some of my classmates. But after my mom left, sometimes I felt scared…because I didn't know the people I saw, my teachers and classmates, at least, not familiar with them yet … And also, at that time, I didn't know how to do laundry… we did have washing machines, but I didn't know how to use it, and I didn't want to ask our life teacher. So there was a time I had a lot of … a lot of dirty clothes. So I feel… I feel in Tibet, around my parents, I didn't need to do many things because my parents would take care of them, all of them. After I came here, suddenly I felt all the things, everything was on my shoulders. I realized couldn't rely on my parents any more…
>
> *Tian*: What about your study?
>
> *Phuntsog*: Entering secondary study, suddenly the number of subjects was bigger, and I felt quite busy everyday. But things were fine after a while, after I got used to them (I 1: 2/11/2007, pp. 2-3).

Phuntsog's experiences exemplified that when first re-located in inland, adaptations to the new environment contained multiple facets, including adjustment made on academic, emotional, psychological, and physical aspects, and on various scales. From the school side, the boarding class did offer some resources to help students to adapt into the new environment, such as life teachers and washing machines. Yet Phuntsog's experiences demonstrated that the resources were not effectively used. Therefore, an implication would be in

addition to availability, the effectiveness of the supporting and facilitating resources should be enhanced.

From the Old to the New Campus

In this particular boarding class, Tibetan residential students and mainstream Han students used to share a common campus, which was located in an urban area. Yet in the year of 2006, Tibetan residential students transferred to a newly constructed campus which was particularly designed for them. Two major characteristics differentiated the present campus from the previous one, namely, surrounding conditions and accessibility to the other group of students.

Surrounding conditions. Concerning the surrounding conditions, the present campus was located in a suburban area, whereas the previous one was situated in an urban area. Situated in one of the most prosperous districts, the old campus was crowded and surrounded by various sorts of entertainments, not all of which were suitable for students. When Tibetan students first came to inland, to a new environment, the freshness might boost their curiosities and interests, and intrigue them to experience what was seemingly attractive and interesting. As the teacher recalled, "To them, it seemed everything was new, everything was different from what they were used to, and attracted their attention" (I 6: 3/13/2007, p. 9).

However, as young teenagers at that time, students were not mature or sensitive enough to distinguish the appropriate from the inappropriate. Therefore, the old campus was described as disruptive, which in teachers' words was "noisy and not quiet enough for study" (I 5: 3/13/2007, p. 6). On the new campus,

whose surrounding conditions were still under development, students were facing

fewer interruptions and distractions from the outside. Therefore, this condition

was more suitable for students to concentrate on academic studies

wholeheartedly. In this respect, both teachers and students were in favor of the

new campus.

Accessibility. Tibetan residential students and mainstream Han students

were the two groups of students comprising the secondary school. Regarding

accessibility, on the old campus, both mainstream Han students and Tibetan

students studied together, and Han residential students and Tibetan students

lived as neighbors. Though not necessarily residing in the same classrooms or

in the same dormitory, it was very likely that both groups of students were able to

frequently interact with each other, as they were visually and physically

accessible. After completing the construction of the new campus, purposively

purchased and designed for Tibetan residential students, all the Tibetan students

moved to their new campus, whereas mainstream Han students remained on the

old one.

> *Tian*: So the Han students are still using the old campus?
> *Zhang*: Yes, *they* stayed there. Only *we* moved here (Italics
> added to emphasize).
> *Tian*: Tibetan students and teachers?
> *Zhang*: And also their life teachers and the school administration.
> *Tian*: So how do think about this new campus?
> *Zhang*: Of course, it is better than the old one, as you can see
> everything is new, advanced, and very convenient. All the
> classrooms are newly decorated and several sets of
> equipment are installed, which make teaching more
> convenient. Students like it, too, because it is quieter
> here. And they could see more representations of their
> home, like the painting of Potala Palace, sculptures of
> Tibetans, and pictures… things that students are very

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familiar with…

Tian: Do Han students come to this campus?

Zhang: Not very often. All of their activities are conducted on the old campus, except the sports meetings. Because here we have a bigger sports yard and courts, usually they come to join the sports meeting. And sometimes some Han students come to join some festival celebrations and activities (I 4: 3/12/2007, p. 12).

Indeed, as the school administration expected and intended, the new campus upgraded Tibetan students' living and studying environment, and at the same time, created a stronger and more supportive atmosphere for students to explore their Tibetan identity and construct their ethnic self-esteem. Yet from another aspect, it discontinued the connections between mainstream Han and Tibetan students. The new campus not only obstructed Tibetan students' accessibility to Han students, but also impeded Han students' accessibility to Tibetan students. In other words, to some extent, Tibetan residential students and mainstream Han students were mutually disconnected.

Phuntsog: Before we moved here, on the old campus, I used to play basketball with my classmates and some Han students. And often we had basketball competitions, not formal ones, just organized by ourselves. But now, on the new campus, I don't have as many friends as before who like to play basketball, so now we have fewer competitions (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 5).

Phuntsog's experience demonstrated that with respect to exchanges and interactions between Tibetan students and mainstream Han students, the disadvantages that the new campus presented surpassed the advantages. Taking one step further to relate the conclusion to a goal of Chinese minority education – to improve understanding between Han Chinese and other ethnic groups (Postiglione, 1998), this disconnected exchanges and interactions had

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the potential to hinder the understanding and development of the inter-ethnic relations between Han and Tibetan.

From One to a Higher Stage

Based on his experiences, Phuntsog's academic development could be chronologically categorized into three sequential stages. Specifically, they included the preparatory stage at which Phuntsog finished his elementary education in Tibet; the junior stage where he completed junior secondary education in the inland boarding class; and finally, the senior stage where he was receiving his senior secondary education in the same boarding class. During the period of data collection, Phuntsog was at his senior stage, which was also the final stage before higher education.

As analyzed above, when initially located in the inland boarding class, transferring from his preparatory to junior stage of secondary education, Phuntsog experienced a series of adjustments, physically, emotionally, and academically. When transferring from junior to his senior stage of secondary education, Phuntsog entered a similar physical environment yet an entirely different academic atmosphere. Similarly, Phuntsog also went through a period of perplexity and unfitness, and a process of struggling and adjusting. Differently, the adjustment Phuntsog made was more devoted to academic study, which outweighed the adaptation he made to accustom himself to the living environment. As Phuntsog himself defined in the interview, "I felt all the courses suddenly became very hard, even some courses I learned before, like Physics

and English, and you need to study very hard, very, very hard… At that time, I had no idea about study and how to study" (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 10).

After a semester's adjustment, at this point, Phuntsog himself estimated that he had become accustomed to his present academic studies and requirements. But later in the interview, he commented that the numbers of subjects and the intensity of study, as such, were still somewhat challenging and demanding (I 1: 3/3/2007, p. 17). In conclusion, though that Phuntsog had experiences of living and studying in the same boarding class before, he still spent some time and effort in re-entering the context for a higher level of study. In essence, the same boarding class and senior stage of secondary education, seen as a combination of a similar physical environment yet a different academic environment, collaboratively constructed a portion of Phuntsog's environmental context, surrounding and influencing his development.

Prior analyses demonstrated that the referential context that Phuntsog was associated with had multiple facets and dimensions. Various kinds of referential and influential contexts collaboratively impacted on and considerably contributed to the development of Phuntsog, both as a human being and a social being, who was vividly characterized by his particular language choices, ideology, complex identities, and investment.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

In the previous chapter, data collected through document review, interview, and observation were analyzed, following the tenets of a language ecology theoretical framework. In this chapter, grounded on previous thematic analyses, three research questions guiding the present study will be re-visited with a view to seeking answers and reporting the results of the study. Before advancing to provide answers and results, it would be functional to re-state the three research questions, as it would beneficially clarify the organization of the following reports and consequently make them more accessible. So the three questions leading both the present study and the forthcoming reports were:

1. Through the lens of a Tibetan student's experiences as a language learner in a minority education context, what insights are offered about a particular boarding class for Tibetans in inland China?

2. How does the Tibetan student navigate between the two major contexts he is associated with, namely the home environment and the school environment?

3. How do the experiences of the Tibetan student inform an understanding of the practice of Chinese minority education?

This case study, whose process whereby the researcher intended to probe for answers to the three research questions, introduced a particular Tibetan boarding class through insiders' perspectives, furnished the researcher with a better understanding of language ecology theoretical framework through

application, and further brought implications to Chinese minority education, especially Tibetan education in practice.

A Particular Tibetan Boarding Class

As reinforced by the first question, the explorations of this particular Tibetan boarding class in inland China were conducted from its attendee, a Tibetan student's perspective and rooted in his experiences. Accordingly, the focus of the following reports will initially start with the Tibetan student, and later shift to the particular boarding class he was attending.

The Tibetan Student

In previous studies, researchers approached the issue of language choice, and generalized three major causes specifically driving Tibetans to choose Chinese: political, educational, and linguistic (Badeng Nima, 2001; Tournadre, 2003). Informed and underpinned by their generalization, in this study, explorations of Phuntsog's experiences reflected and demonstrated that three influential factors contributed to his choice of learning and using Chinese. Namely, they were linguistic, educational, and potential contextual factors.

Linguistic factor. The restricted application of Tibetan language in some disciplines impacted on Phuntsog's language choice. A particular situation of Tibetan language was that it was relatively less extensive in modern technology and subject-specific terminology, an issue which was also raised and discussed by Badeng Nima (2001). The example of Phuntsog's elementary education, which Phuntsog's father offered, about teaching Math through Tibetan was teachers had to substitute Tibetan with Chinese to introduce terms, and then

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reverted to Tibetan to explain the terms. Firmly following the trail of teaching, students' learning also constantly transferred between two languages, closely in accordance with the switch of languages in teaching. Constant substitutions and switches between languages made learning and acquisition less straightforward. This phenomenon vividly concretized and explained Badeng Nima's (2001) term of "collision between 'traditional knowledge' and 'modern knowledge'" of Tibetan language (p. 98). As a result of the limitations of Tibetan language itself, the function of Tibetan language was restricted, a factor motivating Phuntsog to choose Chinese in schooling.

Educational factor. In educational settings, Chinese was a major required subject taught formally, and it also was a main subject tested in NEE through which permission to tertiary education was obtained. Moreover, Chinese served as the medium of instruction, through which all subject teaching and learning were conducted. All of the above mentioned factors constructed and enhanced the significance of Chinese in educational settings at all levels, including elementary, secondary, and tertiary education. As the foundation of Phuntsog's long-term expectations, his goal in the short term was to enter Tsinghua University for higher education, which Phuntsog defined as his "Tsinghua dream". The importance of NEE as a requisite in Chinese educational context and the status of Chinese as a required subject tested in NEE, to realize his "Tsinghua dream" required Phuntsog to learn Chinese and achieve a certain level of proficiency. Phuntsog's experiences reinforced that Chinese, indeed, was still a prerequisite for a "more esteemed education" (Clothey, 2001, p. 21). Under the

influence of the educational factors, in order to achieve an outstanding

educational attainment, Chinese surely emerged as the first choice.

Potential contextual factor. In addition to overt contextual factors such as

influences of parents' and peers' language choice, discussed in the preceding

chapter, other contextual factors also contributed to Phuntsog's language choice.

Both as the majority and the official language in China, Chinese enjoyed larger

utility and greater social recognition. Therefore, it opened more opportunities

and offered more possibilities to its speakers to access resources that they

defined as useful, profitable, and valuable. Both Phuntsog's parents and

Phuntsog himself depicted the role of Chinese in Phuntsog's life and study, with

relation to anticipations toward Phuntsog's future.

> *Phuntsog's mother*: I think Chinese plays a major role in Phuntsog's life, you see, at home he uses Chinese, and at school, he still uses Chinese, and his peers all use Chinese (I 2: 2/25/2007, p. 4). As a mother, I just hope my son could grow up healthily and happily, and hopefully he could achieve his goal as a reward of his hard work… I know he wants to go to Tsinghua University. I don't set very high requirement for Phuntsog, I just hope he could go to the university he likes (p. 8).

> *Phuntsog's father*: Phuntsog uses Chinese for most of the time (I 3: 3/2/2007, p. 8). My personal opinion is now the requirements of the society are increasing, so individual capabilities are more and more valued. As you can see, education has been gradually emphasized. So I hope Phuntsog could achieve a degree as high as possible, so that he could gain the capability and employability in the competitive society (p. 10).

> *Phuntsog*: It (Chinese) plays a main role, and I think it's very important to me. Interacting with others

and in my study, I use Chinese. And I feel in the future, I will have lots of contact with Han, so of course Chinese will be used frequently. Chinese is still the main communicative tool… I hope I could go to Tsinghua (University)… that's my dream. In the future, I want to be an administrator or do some job like that… I want to live and work in big cities where there are a lot of opportunities (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 21).

Both Phuntsog's parents and Phuntsog defined Chinese as the major communicative tool in Phuntsog's life and study. Furthermore, all of them highlighted the importance of education, which itself created a particular context in which Chinese played a crucial role. Their expressions and opinions indicated that Chinese was used to achieve educational goals, to strengthen an individual's capability and employability. In other words, Chinese was an effective tool to achieve their anticipations and fulfill their needs. Their perception resonated with and demonstrated the belief that language was an effective instrument to enhance social mobility, to integrate into the mainstream, and to ascend social ladders (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Cartwright, 2006; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006; Ricento, 2006).

Evidently, these contextual factors had their genesis in the status and value of Chinese as the majority and the official language of China. Though comparatively covert, other contextual factors which stemmed from the uneven roles of languages used, uneven status they owned, and uneven values they carried in Chinese context also impacted on Phuntsog's language choice. This conclusion resonated with the results yielded in previous studies on language that languages had their own specific status, either high-status or low-status, and

carried different amount of values in particular contexts (Ager, 2005; Haugen, 1972; McKay, 2005). Under the high-status category, Chinese, the majority language, enjoys a larger amount of value, greater social, political, and economic recognition, and offers more access to material and symbolic resources (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Cartwright, 2006; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006; Ricento, 2006).

Previous studies reached the conclusion that learners' identity was multiple, complex, and dynamic (Chick, 2001; Norton, 1997, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995). In the present study, Phuntsog's experiences exemplified that, indeed, various kinds of identities co-existed and contributed to his development, such as his ethnic and social identity. Specifically, Phuntsog's two major identities are his Tibetan identity and his social identity as a member of the mainstream Han community, both of which contribute to his growth in the home and the school context. Moreover, learners constantly negotiate and re-negotiate among multiple and dynamic identities, and recurrently define and re-define themselves as well as their relationship with the contexts they are associated with (Chick, 2001; MacPherson, 2005; Norton, 1997, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995). In addition, it is likely that constant negotiations might lead to a sense of perplexity and a series of struggles, as learners endeavor to adapt into a new context and adjust to their new membership and roles, all of which are gained through language learning. As Phuntsog's experiences demonstrated, learning Chinese allowed Phuntsog to study in an inland secondary school and further establish his membership and roles in the mainstream Han community. Both the new context itself and the new roles in the context required adjustment. Furthermore, during

the process of adjusting Phuntsog experienced struggles and perplexity, as he endeavored to position himself in the new context and for new roles.

As Phuntsog's experiences additionally reflected, adaptations and adjustments were made on various aspects and on various scales when he initially entered a new context. The process whereby Phuntsog accustomed himself to his new context as a novice was referred to as the "transitional period" whose duration was temporary (I 4: 3/12/2007, p. 7). Regardless of the fact that the "transitional period" was temporary, it presented itself as an obstacle on the way of his development, leading to a series of physical and emotional challenges, and further demanding effort and investment to overcome all the challenges. Therefore, it is important and would have been beneficial if Phuntsog could have received supports which could facilitate him to go through the transitional period more fluently, smoothly, and speedily.

To conclude, prior analyses of language choice from learners' perspective suggest that, in Chinese context, learners chose Chinese not only because they hoped to "live in a modern society" (Badeng Nima, 2001, p. 100), but also or even more significantly because they longed to "function well in modern society" (p. 101). As Phuntsog's experiences demonstrated, besides being able to live in Jiahe or other inland metropolises, the mainstream Han community, Phuntsog as well as his parents also expected that he could function effectively in the mainstream Han community. For example, Phuntsog and his parents hoped Phuntsog would attend Tsinghua University for his higher education, which would lead to an occupation that they defined as satisfying. In order to "function well in

modern society", learners need to learn the language applied in modern society, and they need to devote effort and investment to adjust to the multiple roles they take on in the modern society, as Phuntsog constantly negotiated with his Tibetan identity and social identity as a Han. As an expected reward, learners anticipated that they could act appropriately, acceptably, and expectedly.

The Tibetan Boarding Class

Prior researchers affirmed that it was crucial to the wholesome growth of both the state and individuals that minorities were capable of actively making selections relevant to education, in whatever way they chose to define as good, worthwhile, and meaningful (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2006; Schmidt, 2006). Therefore, in multilingual and multicultural settings, the state should provide "context for choice" (Schmidt, 2006, p. 105). This particular context offered various education opportunities and equal qualities, so that learners could choose what they defined as valuable and beneficial. Moreover, the context provided supports to facilitate learners to realize a good life according to their own conception. Specifying the case to Phuntsog, a particular individual Tibetan learner, the Tibetan boarding school in inland China he was attending served as his "context for choice".

Tian: How do you feel the boarding class you are attending?
Phuntsog: I feel here, the school administration is strict and the management is tight. The environment is good and the surroundings are convenient. And here, teachers are excellent, and they are good at teaching. So of course, studying here, I could learn more than in Tibet. Sometimes I feel it's very competitive here because there are so many good students who perform very well in study, but I know it's good for me because it encourages and inspires me to study hard (I 1: 3/3/2007, p. 19).

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Besides Phuntsog's opinion, the following comments that Phuntsog's parents made indicated the criteria that parents employed to select the form of education. Parents would choose the education which they defined as profitable, and viewed as having promising quality and potential to benefit their children, to upgrade their children's ability, and to enhance their children's employability.

Phuntsog's father: Of course, the outcome of graduating from this inland Tibetan boarding class would be different; students' achievement would be better. I'm not sure if you know this: this boarding class is the best among all the inland Tibetan schools and classes. In terms of its students' academic performance, scores obtained in NEE, and the school administration. This boarding class in Jiahe, I heard, has been the best for a couple of years. So students studying in this boarding class potentially could perform better, as they could build a solid foundation of learning. So in this case, students could achieve outstanding attainment in NEE, and go to top universities… In top universities, students could continue to develop and enhance their individual abilities. So after graduation, wherever they go, they don't need to worry about their jobs because they are just the kind of individuals that the society really needs (I 3: 3/2/2007, p. 8).

Phuntsog's mother: His dad and I…we felt very hard to make such a decision (sending Phuntsog to inland Tibetan boarding class), because he was only 12 at that time. But thinking about his future, we felt it would benefit him in the long run… My thought at that time was inland schools offered better education quality, and the natural environmental conditions were much better. And living in boarding schools/classes, students could become very independent. So in the future, they have the ability to fit into the society better (I 2: 2/25/2007, p. 6).

The statements that both Phuntsog's parents made embodied and exemplified Kaplan and Badlauf's (2006) conclusion that from parents' perspective, they would choose the education that could guarantee their children employability, and secure prosperity and availability of material and symbolic resources. In conclusion, this particular Tibetan boarding class offered the room for individuals to choose the education that they valued as profitable, serving as the particular "context for choice".

As two essential components of the Tibetan boarding class, the particular context that a Tibetan learner chose, its physical environment and academic atmosphere also played a key role in the educational experience. Previous analyses reached a conclusion that a discrepancy existed between the physical environment and the academic atmosphere, both of which were created by and were prevalent in the boarding class. As such, the physical environment was Tibetan dominated, whereas the academic atmosphere was mainstream characterized. It was likely that the discrepancy might lead to a sense of perplexity, as students constantly navigated and negotiated between two distinctive contexts characterized by two different kinds of culture. Yet from another aspect, in view of students' two major identities, specifically, their ethnic identity as Tibetans and social identity as members of the mainstream community, the boarding class produced an ideological context which was able to contribute to the development of both identities. In their physical environment, the availability of Tibetan representations could facilitate students to enhance their ethnic self-esteem and their positive ethnic ideology; in their academic

atmosphere, the accessibility to the mainstream culture could facilitate students to strengthen their competence to function effectively in the mainstream society. Indeed, school was the place where learners had intimate contact with and great exposure to the mainstream (Luykx, 2003; Hello et al., 2004).

Drawing on the physical environment and the academic atmosphere, the stance that the boarding class adopted could be generalized, following the line of Luykx's (2003) identification.   As discussed in the previous chapter, Luykx (2003) categorized three possible types of stances that schools adopted in minority education: "acculturation", "accommodation", and "negotiation", each of which had unique goals, aims, and manners of operation. Applying Luykx's (2003) categorization to the case of this particular Tibetan boarding class, it was difficult to situate its stance within any of the three above-mentioned types, as it did not exactly match any of them. The reality was the Tibetan boarding class facilitated Tibetan students' master of the mainstream practices, which was also its primary aim. At the same time, though not notably prevailing, the boarding class also supported negotiations between mainstream and Tibetan cultural practices in school. Therefore, a definite line could hardly be drawn between "accommodation" and "negotiation". Hence, it could be concluded that the stance the boarding class adopted was located in-between "accommodation" and "negotiation", but more inclined to "accommodation".

Home and School Environment

Phuntsog's experiences demonstrated that both his home environment and school environment, two major environments he was profoundly involved in,

played crucial and influential roles in his growth. Both environments were marked by their own salient and distinct features, yet inextricably related to and intertwined with each other, collaboratively nourishing Phuntsog's development. Therefore, it was useful to gain a sense of how Phuntsog's home and school environment related to each other, and how he navigated between his two major referential contexts. Both analyses could further bring implications to other and prospective Tibetan students in inland boarding schools/classes.

Relationship between Two Environments

Because of their multiple physical, socioeconomic, linguistic, and cultural components, both home and school environments were multi-faceted and multi-layered. In view of their multiple dimensions, interpretations of the relationship between the two environments should be conducted on the basis of comparison and contrast.

Physical and socioeconomic contents. Previous researchers portrayed the physical and socioeconomic conditions of Tibet as remote and severe, with insufficient educational provision and facilities and lack of human resources, all of which Wang and Zhou (2003) referred as "peripheral syndrome". As a result, Tibet was situated under the categorization of "peripheral areas" (Wang & Zhou, 2003). This point was also touched on by Phuntsog's parents in interviews, as they commented that inland enjoyed abundant human resources and technological availability. The deviations, which Phuntsog's parents perceived, between the physical and socioeconomic conditions of two environments, led them and encouraged them to send Phuntsog to an inland Tibetan boarding

class. In their opinion, in inland Tibetan boarding class, Phuntsog could enjoy a better natural environment, improved social services and provisions, and larger numbers and more kinds of resources, all of which Phuntsog could make good use of to strengthen his development. Echoing previous researchers and Phuntsog's parents, teachers who had experiences of living in both Tibet and inland also expressed the existing differences between two environments.

Due to the deviations between the two environments, Phuntsog went through a process whereby he attempted to fit himself into his new location, when he initially transferred from his home environment on the Tibetan plateau to a school environment in an inland metropolis. Taking one step forward to view Tibetan students who had similar experiences of transferring between two environments, they also encountered challenges and demands to adapt to a new environment, a process which teachers of Tibetan students referred as the "transitional period" (I 4: 3/12/2007, p. 7). During the "transitional period", it was often the case that students suffered from sickness, and were occupied by homesickness and a sense of fear.

In view of this "transitional period", the Tibetan class offered supports and resources for students to overcome all the challenges they encountered. For instance, particular staff, whom students referred as their life teachers, were assigned to each class to help students to get familiar with the boarding class as well as with Jiahe. All the life teachers had experiences of living both in Tibet and inland China. Though he did not suffer from illness, Phuntsog went through a period of time when he was dominated by homesickness, an awareness of

alienation, and a sense of demandingness of his study. Fortunately, with the supports and assistance from the school, all of the above-listed senses gradually decreased with expansion of Phuntsog's residence in inland Tibetan boarding class. In conclusion, due to the deviations between geographic and physical contents of two environments, Tibetan students went though a process whereby they attempted to seek a suitable position for themselves in their new context.

Linguistic and cultural contents. With regard to the linguistic contents of both environments, Phuntsog's parents employed Chinese as the main communicative tool at home, which was also the very language applied in Phuntsog's school environment. Therefore, the two environments resonated with each in terms of their linguistic focus, a situation which demanded little effort for Phuntsog to fit into his school environment. In terms of the cultural contents of two environments, apparently, the primary cultural atmosphere of the home environment was Tibetan, whereas Han culture dominated the school environment. However, in reality, each environment was a combination of both kinds of culture, yet they carried uneven weights on different scales.

In the home environment, Phuntsog's parents still kept their traditional Tibetan norms, beliefs, values, habits, and cultural practices; at the same time, they also incorporated mainstream Han practices and ways of living into their life, such as language use and festival celebrations. Hence, Phuntsog was not alienated from the mainstream Han culture and practices. In the school environment, in addition to the indigenous culture that Tibetan students brought, the boarding class also attempted to create a strong and supportive Tibetan

atmosphere for its students, evidenced by prevailing Tibetan representations on campus and slogans highlighting the merits of Tibetans. Furthermore, facilities such as phones and computers were provided, through which Phuntsog kept in touch with his families who were still in Tibet. Therefore, even though not physically residing in Tibet, Phuntsog still had access to Tibetan representations and cultural practices in inland boarding class. Though the broad atmosphere outside of the boarding class was predominantly Han, on campus in his school environment, Phuntsog still could find a place which could remind him of his Tibetan roots and enhance his ethnic identity and pride.

In conclusion, concerning linguistic and cultural influences, the home and school environments, in fact, embraced two languages, both Tibetan and Chinese, and combined two kinds of culture, both Tibetan and Han.

Navigating between Two Environments

As interpreted above, Phuntsog's two major environments were not mutually exclusive. Overtly, the two environments were remarkably different from one other, as they were in different locations and enjoyed different physical and socioeconomic conditions. Yet covertly, in view of their linguistic and cultural contents and components, the two environments resembled each other to some extent. In reality, they received and embraced influences from each other, and they were intricately interwoven, intensively interacting with each other, and considerably impacting on each other as well. In each environment, Phuntsog had access to both Tibetan and Han culture and practices; meanwhile, he

functioned as the principal agent, constantly navigating and negotiating between the two environments.

In accordance with his constant navigations between the two environments and between Tibetan and Han culture, as the principal agent, Phuntsog recurrently negotiated between his ethnic identity as a Tibetan and his social identity as a member of the mainstream community. This is demonstrated by the fact that Phuntsog described himself both as "one of the locals" and "still more Tibetan", and sensed himself "different from most of the local inhabitants" (I 1: 2/11/2007, p. 16). It could, therefore, be inferred that constant navigations and negotiations could possibly lead to a sense of confusion and perplexity. Yet on the other hand, in view of his particular ethnic background, constant negotiations would facilitate the maintenance of his indigenous root while effectively functioning in mainstream socio-cultural practices. Specifically, as a human being born into a Tibetan family, Phuntsog's ethnic identity as a Tibetan was an asset and an essential component of him, and granted him membership in the Tibetan community. At the same time, as a social being functioning in a Han-prevalent society, Phuntsog's social identity as a member of Han community was also a valuable possession and contributed to his achievement in the mainstream community.

As a conclusion, navigations and negotiations between two environments, between two cultures, and between two identities should be reviewed from two sides. In consideration of Phuntsog's indigenous ethnic background, aside from possible senses of confusion and perplexity, constant negotiations could help

minority learners to function well and effectively, both as human beings and social beings, both in indigenous and in mainstream communities.

Chinese Minority Education in Practice

In the present study, Chinese minority education in practice was reviewed through the lens of education for Tibetans, while Chinese minority education for Tibetans in practice was examined through the lens of a Tibetan student in an inland Tibetan boarding class. In answering the last research question posed in the present study, the discussion starts from Tibetan education in particular, and then approaches Chinese minority education in general.

Tibetan Education

The foregoing analyses and interpretations offered some insights into Chinese minority education for Tibetans in practice. These insights could be classified into three categories or levels, namely, national level, community level, and individual level, which concretely exhibited themselves as three parties: China, Tibetan community, and Tibetan learners. In addition, the three parties were also the three essential elements engaged in Tibetan education. Consequently, as the goal of the Tibetan boarding class " to enhance stability, high quality, and academic excellence" indicated, the operation of Tibetan education was targeting at the three parties, in order to benefit the three parties (IOTBC, 2005) (DR: 2/2/2007). Accordingly, the outcomes of education for Tibetans was also reflected and demonstrated on three scales and on the three parties.

As introduced in Chapter 3, documents reviewed for this study were compiled by the administrative department of the Tibetan boarding class, and were presented at its 20th anniversary in the year of 2005. Drawing on the data collected through document review, both the school administration and provincial government officials evaluated that the Tibetan boarding class significantly contributed to the improvement of minority education, the enhancement of national unity, the development of Tibet, and the enrichment of human resources (IOSS, 2005) (DR: 2/2/2007). To begin with, on the very large scale, national unity and stability were strengthened, intra-ethnic relations were further improved, development was enhanced, and progressing pace was accelerated.

On the medium scale, Tibetan education cultivated and enriched the local human resources for the Tibetan community. Due to Tibet's severe physical conditions, limited economic resources, and insufficient social and educational services and provision (Wang & Zhou, 2003), inland boarding class as a particular form of Tibetan education could be immediately used to compensate the limitations. While Tibet endeavored to upgrade its local situations, inland Tibetan boarding class served as a substitute to cultivate human resources for the Tibetan community so that its academic needs could be fulfilled without lapse of time at this point (DR: 2/2/2007). Moreover, during the recruitment, Tibetan students and their parents were informed that as a commitment, graduates from inland Tibetan boarding class should return to Tibet to assist the local community and enhance its progress (IOTBC, 2005) (DR: 2/2/2007). In other words, after graduation, Tibetan students need to fulfill their commitment through guarantee

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careers in Tibet. Through education for Tibetans in inland China, the local human resources of the Tibetan community were enriched, the educational level was upgraded, and the economic conditions would be improved, and the local development would be enhanced in the long term.

Finally, on the very small scale, with regard to individual learners, their educational attainments were developmentally accomplished. In the second interview with Phuntsog, he compared his academic performance with his counterparts who received their secondary education in Tibet, and evaluated himself as more competitive in NEE (I 1: 2/11/2007). Phuntsog's perception echoed his parents', as they predicted that it was more possible for Phuntsog to enter top universities than other secondary students in Tibet, which was also a factor motivated the parents to choose inland boarding class for Phuntsog (I 2: 2/25/2007; I 3: 3/2/2007). Therefore, it can be concluded that through Tibetan education, Tibetan learners grasped fundamental knowledge and obtained essential skills. Through Tibetan education, Tibetan learners were shaped as potential and productive social beings who were adaptable in the modern society, and were able to effectively function in the mainstream community.

However, from another aspect, while minority learners were developing their capability and enhancing their competence in the mainstream community, the development and maintenance of their indigenous languages were interrupted. As Phuntsog's experience exemplified, his Chinese proficiency was considerably higher than that of Tibetan. Enrolled in inland Tibetan boarding class where Chinese played a significant role, Phuntsog developmentally acquired Chinese.

Through Chinese, Phuntsog was able to participate in the mainstream cultural practice and develop his qualification for higher education, both of which strengthened his competence in the mainstream community. Yet at the same time, the development of his competence in the mainstream community put the maintenance of Tibetan into jeopardy.

Furthermore, residing in boarding class, Tibetan learners cultivated independence and formed outstanding habits of living, as well as a profitable ability to solve problems individually, all of which would contribute to their competence. Phuntsog's parents joyfully noticed that their son became more mature and developed a strong ability of self-management, after Phuntsog spent three years in the boarding class (I 2: 2/25/2007; I 3: 3/2/2007). As a conclusion, thought it was unlikely to help minority learners to maintain their indigenous languages, to some extent, Tibetan education had the potential to fulfill individuals' expectations and meet their pragmatic needs.

Therefore, it can be concluded that echoing Postiglione (1998), through Tibetan students' participation in state schooling, national, Tibetan community, and individual learners achieved educational, social, and economic development. In essence, profoundly involved in Tibetan education, China, Tibetan community, and Tibetan learners were the three principal agents, acting as the major investors as well as the main beneficiations, contributing to and harvesting from Chinese minority education for Tibetans.

Chinese Minority Education

The previous chapters discussed the goals and responsibilities of Chinese minority education. In a broad sense, education in a multiethnic and multilingual country carries two fundamental responsibilities: preserving and reproducing ethnic minority cultures to support diversity, and at the same time, promoting and representing national culture to support unity (Postiglione, 1998). Particularizing to the context of China, the primary aim of Chinese minority education is to produce and develop both ethnic and expert learners so that they are adaptable to the changing and diverse environment, not only regional and national, but also international and global (Postiglione, 1998).

Take the better understanding of Chinese minority education in practice gained through the case study, the notions of bilingualism and multicultural education were revisited. Both notions were introduced and expanded in Chapter 1, as constitutive elements to establish the foundation for this study. As discussed in Chapter 4, as a form of Chinese minority education in practice, Tibetan education tended towards subtractive bilingualism, leading to the result that minority learners' indigenous languages were likely to be replaced by the mainstream language. Same as the analysis conducted above, this situation would harm and jeopardize the preservation and development of indigenous languages in China.

Relating to multicultural education, a notion grounded and well studied in North American discourse, Chinese minority education and multicultural education represented a certain amount of similarity. Both Chinese minority

education and multicultural education aimed to provide learners the opportunity to receive and experience educational equality, in spite of their ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds. Chinese minority education, as previous analysis indicated, endeavored to offer same educational resources to minority learners in China and opportunities to participate in the state schooling. Therefore, it opened the possibilities for them to achieve the educational outcomes that they anticipated.

A point worth mentioning was that the main goal of Tibetan boarding class was to provide Tibetan learners in China the access to the mainstream education as well as the mainstream cultural practice, if learners themselves defined the mainstream education as valuable and were willing to receive it. Through the mainstream education and the participation in the mainstream cultural practice, minority learners could realize their anticipations to participate in the mainstream education, and fulfill their needs to enhance their social mobility and upgrade their economic situation. To highlight the condition, the design and conduct of Chinese minority education was based on individual learners' interpretation of value, and according to their definition of "needs".

Holding the promise of increasing ethnic minorities' participation in schooling and improving their educational standards, Chinese minority education offered various and alternative forms of education and opened the door for minorities to choose the one that would effectively meet individuals' needs and fulfill their anticipations. As analyzed before, upgraded educational standards would potentially lead to social and economic development of minority communities in

the long run, and finally result in an improved intra-ethnic understandings and relations, and enhanced national unity and stability. In conclusion, Chinese minority education endeavored to ensure that various ethnic and linguistic learners have equal education opportunities and qualities to develop individuals' ability; to strengthen their competence, to upgrade their social, educational, and economic situations; and to invest in what they define as worthwhile and valuable in a way that they viewed as effective, in spite of learners' ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds.

Drawing on the experiences of a Tibetan learner, this case study explored and examined a particular Tibetan boarding class in inland China as a form of minority education, through the lens of its insider who was directly and profoundly involved in and associated with Chinese minority education. Results yielded in this research project contribute to studies on Chinese minority education in general and inland Tibetan boarding schools/classes in particular. This case study opened the opportunity and possibility for the researcher to undertake a case study as a novice and individual researcher. Experience and insights gained from this study will shed light on the researcher's professional development in the future.

In addition, in this research study, the researcher was a member of the majority group and in a position of privilege as a graduate student at a Western university, whereas the participant was a visible ethnic minority and in a position as a novice at a boarding class in inland China. This situation is similar with the roles of teachers and learners in the classrooms and other educational settings in

multilingual contexts. Specifically, teachers act as more experienced members of the mainstream community, whereas learners act as the apprentices, particularly those learners who have not gained a sense of belonging to the mainstream community. Therefore, insights gained from this study will contribute to the researcher's future development as an in-classroom teacher and encourage her to become a sincere listener hearing voice from the learners themselves.

For future studies, possible foci include other forms of Chinese minority education whose emphasis is on the preservation and maintenance of indigenous languages, particular forms of education provided for other ethnic minority groups in China, or the comparison between minority education and multicultural education in different contexts, and the like. To conclusion the present study, it furnished the researcher with an enriched understanding of applying language ecology theoretical framework to account for issues related to language learning, and brought fertilized implications to Chinese minority education, especially Tibetan education in practice. As the final conclusion, this study, whose process taught me and trained me to be more mature in studies on minority education, contributively shed meaningful and insightful light on my future studies, greatly enhanced my research interests, and inspired me to continuously develop myself on the path towards becoming a professional researcher.

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Appendix A

Letter of Request

Dear Sir or Madam,

My name is Tian Jin, a graduate student currently enrolled in Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba, Canada. I have successfully completed my coursework by April, 2006. To obtain my Master's degree in Education, besides coursework, a written thesis is also required as another partial fulfillment. As an international student originally from China, as well as a language learner myself, I have been interested in issues related to language learning in general, how learners in China, especially minority learners deal with language learning in particular.

Results yield in the past 21 years have demonstrated the success of Tibetan Boarding Class offered and operated by your school, witnessed by Tibetan students' academic excellence in the national entrance examination. However, Tibetan students themselves have fewer opportunities to share their feelings regarding their experiences. In order to better understand their perspectives, I proposed a research study with a view to hearing voices directly from Tibetan students themselves.

My research study, entitled *Negotiating Contexts: A Case Study of a Tibetan Boarding Class in Inland China from a Tibetan Learner's Perspective*, will be conducted through interviews and observations. All the observations will be conducted on campus, mainly in classroom, centering on students' academic

learning. This research study will offer Tibetan students an opportunity to share their perspectives, which, in some respects, are their reflections on the Boarding Class they are currently attending. In turn, their reflections could be employed to further improve the Tibetan Boarding Class to achieve better attainment.

This research study has obtained approval from my committee after my proposal defense, which demonstrates that it is theoretically feasible. Meanwhile, it has been approved by Research Ethics Board. No risk will be involved in this research study. The findings of this study could be employed to improve the Tibetan Boarding Class, so that Tibetan students' needs could be better fulfilled. Therefore, I sincerely hope that I could conduct observations in your school, and complete my research study.

Sincerely Yours,

Tian Jin

(Translated Letter of Request)

申请

尊敬的校领导：

我叫金天，是一名在读研究生，现就读于加拿大曼尼托巴大学教育学院。截至到 2006 年 4 月我已顺利完成所有的课程。此外，我还需完成一篇论文，从而获得硕士学位。作为一个来自中国的留学生，同时也是一位语言的学习者，我一直对语言学习的相关问题十分关注。尤其是中国少数民族的语言学习，他们是如何看待和处理语言学习的。

在过去的 21 年里，藏班学生在国家高考中取得的优异成绩充分记录和证明了贵校藏班的成长和成功。但是相对来说，在藏班就学的学生没有充分的机会来分享他们个人的所见，所闻和所想。于是，我计划开展此次调研，旨在听取藏班学生的看法和观点。

此次科学调研的题目为：*与环境的对话：一个藏族学生眼中的内地藏班*。此次调研将采用采访和观察等方法。所有观察将会在贵校校园内进行，主要是在教室，在课堂教学进程中展开。此次调研将会为藏班学生提供一次分享其所感的机会。从

某种意义上说，这也是他们对其自身经历的一些感受和感悟。与此同时，他们的所

感、所想也可用来进一步发展和提高藏班，从而取得更优异的成绩。

此次调研已通过论文委员小组成员的批准并得到其认同，也就是说，此次调研

有充分的理论支持。同时，此次调研还通过了科研道德审查委员会的批准，不涉及

任何危险。此次调研的结果可用来进一步提高藏班的教学质量，更好的满足藏班学

生的需求。我真诚的希望我的申请可以得到您的批准，在贵校展开调研学习。

此致

敬礼

金天

2007 年 1 月

Appendix B

Letter of Consent for the Main and Additional Participants

Dear participants:

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

This research, entitled *Negotiating Contexts: A Case Study of a Tibetan Boarding Class in Inland China from a Tibetan Learner's Perspective*, is conducted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for my Master's Degree in Education. The purpose of the study is to explore Tibetans' personal perspectives on their experiences of living and studying Chinese outside of their minority communities.

If you are interested in this study and decide to participate in it, you will join in interviews and observations conducted by Tian Jin. The study will last around one month in which you will be asked several questions about your own or your child's experiences of living and studying Chinese outside of Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR). All your comments will be translated into English by the researcher for further analysis. No risk is involved in this study and it will be arranged at your convenience.

All the interviews will be tape-recorded and later transcribed by the researcher, and all the observations will be audio-taped for future interpretations and analyses. After the study is completed (approximately March, 2007), all the materials will be destroyed. I will try my best to maintain the confidentiality of your participation. The transcription, interpretation, and written analyses of interviews and observations, as well as the final report of this study will be shared with my advisor and two committee members at University of Manitoba, Canada after pseudonyms are assigned to you.

After all the interviews and observations are completed and analyzed, and the final report is finished, I am very willing to share the findings of this study by emailing and calling you, or providing you with a hard copy of my thesis with a Chinese version, directly and faithfully translated from English by the researcher, or we could arrange a face-to-face talk about this study in detail next time when I visit China. I am really grateful for your participation in this study.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a participant. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and what you need to do is to inform the researcher that you want to discontinue your participation. In addition, you are free to refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence, and the only thing you need to do is to tell the researcher that you do not want to answer the

question(s). Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation. You could reach the researcher, Tian Jin at (001) xxx-xxx-xxxx or email xxxxxxxx@hotmail.com.

This research study has been approved by the Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact the above-named person or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or email margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

_____   _____

(Participant's Signature)   (Date)

_____   _____

(Researcher's Signature)   (Date)

Yours sincerely,

Tian Jin

(Translated Letter of Consent for the Main and Additional Participants)

协议书

尊敬的参与者：

作为您授予准许的一部分，您将会收到此协议书的复印件一份以备参考。此协议书旨在提供给您此次科学调查研究的相关基本内容，以及您参与方式的相关信息。如您需要更多更详细的信息，欢迎您提出疑问。请您仔细阅读此协议书，了解以下内容。

此次科学调研的题目为：*与环境的对话：一个藏族学生眼中的内地藏班*。此次调研是我作为硕士研究生学习的一项必要要求，其目的是探求西藏同学如何看待自己生活和学习的经历。

如果您决定参加此次调研，您将会参与由金天组织开展的采访以及观察活动。此次调研预计持续大约一个月，其间我将会问您一些关于您或您孩子在西藏自治区以外生活、学习的经历。您的所有观点及评论将由我翻译成英文。此次调研不涉及任何危险，在您方便的时候开展。

我会全程录制所有采访并将其打印出来，我还将拍摄记录所有观察活动，以便日后分析。不过在调研完成之后（大约于 2007 年 3 月），我将会销毁所有相关资

料。我将尽我全力为您保密。此次调研均采用署名，所有记录、解释、分析以及最终总结报告将会提交给我的导师及两位加拿大曼尼托巴大学教授，他们同时也是我论文委员小组成员。

在采访、观察结束以及总结报告完成之后，我十分乐意与您分享我此次调研的所得。我们可以通过电话、电子邮件的方式讨论我调研所得出的结论，我还可以为您准备一份我论文的复印件以及中文翻译。或者在我下次回国其间，我们可以安排一次面对面的交谈。我十分感谢你的参与。

您在此协议书上的签名代表您已完全了解调研的相关内容，并同意参与此次调研。您的参与不会影响您的合法权力，同时也不会免除调研开展者、赞助方以及相关机构所应履行的职责和义务。在调研过程中，您有权随时终止您的参与，您只需要通知调查者想终止您的参与。同时，您也有权拒绝回答不愿意回答的问题，绝不会有偏见或不良后果，您只需要提出不想回答此问题。 在您参与的过程中，如您有任何疑问或不明白，欢迎您对我直接提出疑问。我的联系方式如下：电话：

（001）xxx-xxx-xxxx，电子邮件地址：xxxxxxxx@hotmail.com.

此次调研以通过教育及护理科研道德委员会的审查，并取得认同。如果您想

了解具体细节，或您有不满意的地方，您可以与上述联系人取得联系，您还可以致

电秘书。　她的电话是 474-7122，　电子邮件地址是：

margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca.　此协议书的复印件已提供给您以备您参考。

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿　　　　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿

（参与者签名）　　　　　　　　　　　　　（日期）

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿　　　　　　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿

（调研者签名）　　　　　　　　　　　　　（日期）

此致

敬礼

金天

2007 年 1 月

Appendix C

Letter of Consent for Teachers in the Classroom

Dear Sir or Madam:

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

This research, entitled *Negotiating Contexts: A Case Study of a Tibetan Boarding Class in Inland China from a Tibetan Learner's Perspective*, is conducted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for my Master's Degree in Education. The purpose of the study is to explore Tibetans' personal perspectives on their experiences of living and studying Chinese outside of their minority communities.

If you are interested in this study and decide to participate in it, you will join in observations and interviews conducted by Tian Jin. Observations will last around one month in which you will be observed during the class while you are teaching. All the observations will be conducted during the class time, specifically, four classes in the morning, from 8:10 a.m. to 12:00 a.m., and three classes in the afternoon, from 2:30 p.m. to 5:05 p.m. No risk is involved in this study and it will be arranged at your convenience.

All the observations will be audio-taped for future interpretations and analyses, and all the interviews will be tape-recorded and later transcribed by the researcher. After the study is completed (approximately March, 2007), all the materials will be destroyed. I will try my best to maintain the confidentiality of your participation. The interpretation and written analyses of observations, as well as the final report of this study will be shared with my advisor and two committee members at University of Manitoba, Canada after pseudonyms are assigned to you.

After all the observations and interviews are completed and analyzed, and the final report is finished, I am very willing to share the findings of this study by emailing and calling you, or providing you with a hard copy of my thesis with a Chinese version, directly and faithfully translated from English by the researcher, or we could arrange a face-to-face talk about this study in detail next time when I visit China. I am really grateful for your participation in this study.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a participant. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and what you need to do is to inform the researcher that you want to discontinue your participation. In addition, you are free to refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence, and the only thing you need to do is to tell the researcher that you do not want to answer the

question(s). Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial

consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information

throughout your participation. You could reach the researcher, Tian Jin at (001)

xxx-xxx-xxxx or email xxxxxxxx@hotmail.com.

   This research study has been approved by the Education and Nursing

Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this

project you may contact the above-named person or the Human Ethics

Secretariat at 474-7122, or email margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of

this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

_____   _____

(Participant's Signature)   (Date)

_____   _____

(Researcher's Signature)   (Date)

Yours sincerely,

Tian Jin

(Translated Letter of Consent for Teachers in the Classroom)

协议书

尊敬的参与者：

作为授予您准许的一部分，您将会收到此协议书的复印件一份以备参考。 此协议书旨在提供给您此次科学调查研究的相关基本内容，以及您参与方式的相关信息。如您需要更多更详细的信息，欢迎您提出疑问。请您仔细阅读此协议书， 了解以下内容。

此次科学调研的题目为：*与环境的对话：一个藏族学生眼中的内地藏班*。此次调研是我作为硕士研究生学习的一项必要要求，其目的是探求西藏同学如何看待自己生活和学习的经历。

如果您决定参加此次调研，您将会参与由金天组织开展的观察活动以及采访。此次调研预计持续一个月，其间我将会观察并记录下您的教学活动。所有观察将会在课堂期间展开，具体安排是，上午 4 节课，8 点 10 分至 12 点，下午 3 节课，2 点 30 分至 5 点 5 分。此次调研不涉及任何危险，在您方便的时候开展。

我将会拍摄记录所有观察活动，我还会全程录制所有采访并将其打印出来，以便日后分析。不过在调研完成之后（大约于 2007 年 3 月），我将会销毁所有相关

资料。我将尽我全力为您保密。此次调研均采用署名，所有解释、分析以及最终总结报告将会提交给我的导师及两位加拿大曼尼托巴大学教授，他们同时也是我论文委员小组成员。

在观察结束以及总结报告完成之后，我十分乐意与您分享我此次调研的所得。我们可以通过电话、电子邮件的方式讨论我调研所得出的结论，我还可以为您准备一份我论文的复印件以及汉语翻译。或者在我下次回国其间，我们可以安排一次面对面的交谈。我十分感谢你的参与。

您在此协议书上的签名代表您已完全了解调研的相关内容，并同意参与此次调研。您的参与不会影响您的合法权力，也不会免除调研开展者、赞助方以及相关机构所应履行的职责和义务。在调研过程中，您有权随时终止您的参与，您只需要通知调查者想终止您的参与。同时，您也有权拒绝回答不愿意回答的问题，绝不会有偏见或不良后果，您只需要提出不想回答此问题。在您参与的过程中，如您有任何疑问或不明白，欢迎您对我直接提出疑问。我的联系方式如下：电话：（001）xxx-xxxx-xxxx， 电子邮件地址：xxxxxxxx@hotmail.com

此次调研以通过教育及护理科研道德委员会的审查，并取得认同。如果您想了解具体细节，或您有不满意的地方，您可以与上述联系人取得联系，您还可以致电秘书。她的电话是 474-7122，电子邮件地址是：

margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. 此协议书的复印件已提供给您以备您参考。

_____   _____

(参与者签名)   （日期）

_____   _____

(调研者签名)   （日期）

此致

敬礼

金天

2007 年 1 月

Appendix D

Letter of Consent for the Guardian of the Students

Dear Sir or Madam:

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your children's participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

This research, entitled *Negotiating Contexts: A Case Study of a Tibetan Boarding Class in Inland China from a Tibetan Learner's Perspective*, is conducted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for my Master's Degree in Education. The purpose of the study is to explore Tibetans' personal perspectives on their experiences of living and studying Chinese outside of their minority communities.

If you and your children are interested in this study and decide to participate in it, your children will join in observations conducted by Tian Jin. Observations will last around one month in which your children will be observed in the classroom while having class. All the observations will be conducted during the class time, specifically, four classes in the morning, from 8:10 a.m. to 12:00 a.m., and three classes in the afternoon, from 2:30 p.m. to 5:05 p.m. No risk is involved in this study and it will be arranged at your convenience.

All the observations will be audio-taped for future interpretations and analyses. After the study is completed (approximately March, 2007), all the materials will be destroyed. I will try my best to maintain the confidentiality of your children's participation. The interpretation and written analyses of observations, as well as the final report of this study will be shared with my advisor and two committee members at University of Manitoba, Canada after pseudonyms are assigned to your children.

After all the observations are completed and analyzed, and the final report is finished, I am very willing to share the findings of this study by emailing and calling you, or providing you and your children with a hard copy of my thesis with a Chinese version, directly and faithfully translated from English by the researcher, or we could arrange a face-to-face talk about this study in detail next time when I visit China. I am really grateful for your permission and your children's participation in this study.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your children's participation in the research project and agree to allow your children to participate as participants. In no way does this waive your and your children's legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. Your children are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and what they need to do is to inform the researcher that they want to discontinue their participation. In addition, your children are free to refrain from answering any questions they prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence, and the only

thing they need to do is to tell the researcher that they do not want to answer the question(s). Your children's continued participation should be as informed as your and your children's initial consent, so you and your children should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout their participation. You and your children could reach the researcher, Tian Jin at (001) xxx-xxx-xxxx or email xxxxxxxx@hotmail.com.

This research study has been approved by the Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board. If you and/or students have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact the above-named person or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or email margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

_____   _____

(Participant's Signature)   (Date)

_____   _____

(Researcher's Signature)   (Date)

Yours sincerely,

Tian Jin

(Translated Letter of Consent for the Guardian of the Students)

协议书

尊敬的参与者：

作为授予您准许的一部分，您将会收到此协议书的复印件一份以备参考。 此协议书旨在提供给您此次科学调查研究的相关基本内容，以及您与您的子女参与方式的相关信息。如您需要更多更详细的信息，欢迎您提出疑问。请您仔细阅读此协议书，了解以下内容。

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如果您和您的子女决定参加此次调研，您的子女将会参与由金天组织开展的观察活动。此次调研预计持续一个月，其间我将会记录下课堂教学进程。所有观察将会在课堂期间展开，具体安排是，上午 4 节课，8 点 10 分至 12 点，下午 3 节课，2 点 30 分至 5 点 5 分。此次调研不涉及任何危险，在您方便的时候开展。

我将会拍摄记录所有观察活动，以便日后分析。不过在调研完成之后（大约于 2007 年 3 月），我将会销毁所有相关资料。我将尽我全力为您和您的子女保密。

此次调研均采用署名，所有解释、分析以及最终总结报告将会提交给我的导师及两位加拿大曼尼托巴大学教授，他们同时也是我论文委员小组成员。

在观察结束以及总结报告完成之后，我十分乐意与您和您的子女分享我此次调研的所得。我们可以通过电话、电子邮件的方式讨论我调研所得出的结论，我还可以为您和您的子女准备一份我论文的复印件以及中文翻译。或者在我下次回国其间，我们可以安排一次面对面的交谈。我十分感谢您和您的子女的参与。

您在此协议书上的签名代表您已完全了解调研的相关内容，并同意和允许您的子女参与此次调研。您和您子女的参与不会影响你们的合法权力，也不会免除调研开展者、赞助方以及相关机构所应履行的职责和义务。在调研过程中，您的子女有权随时终止他们的参与，他们只需要通知调查者想终止他们的参与。同时，您的子女也有权拒绝回答不愿意回答的问题，绝不会有偏见或不良后果，他们只需要提出不想回答此问题。在您和您的子女参与的过程中，如您或者是您的子女有任何疑问或不明白，欢迎你们对我直接提出疑问。我的联系方式如下：电话：（001）xxx-xxx-xxxx， 电子邮件地址：xxxxxxxx@hotmail.com.

此次调研以通过教育及护理科研道德委员会的审查，并取得认同。如果您想了解具体细节，或您和您的子女有不满意的地方，您可以与上述联系人取得联系，您还可以致电秘书。她的电话是 474-7122，电子邮件地址是：margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. 此协议书的复印件已提供给您以备您参考。

_____ 　　　　　_____

（参与者签名）　　　　　　　　　　　（日期）

_____ 　　　　　_____

（调研者签名）　　　　　　　　　　　（日期）

　　　　此致

　　　　　　　　敬礼

　　　　　　　　　　　金天

　　　　　　　　　　2007 年 1 月

Appendix E

Questions Used in Interviews with the Main Participant

The main participant was asked the following designed questions in open-ended interviews. He was free to choose to answer or not to answer any of the following questions:

1. When did you come to Zhengzhou? How old were you at that time?

2. Which places have you visited before you came to Zhengzhou? What is your impression of them?

3. What is your opinion about Zhengzhou? How is it different from Lhasa?

4. Which school did you attend in Tibet before you came to Zhengzhou?

5. Where did you learn Chinese and how long have you been learning it?

6. What does your name mean in Tibetan? Is the same name you are using at school now?

7. What language do you use most frequently to talk with your families and friends when you are at home?

8. Please tell me something about your family.

9. What is your relationship with your family before attending boarding class? What is your relationship now?

10. What did you do when you were at home?

11. What did you and your mom talked about when you called her last time?

12. Please tell me something about your peers in Tibet.

13. What has your interactions been with your peers here? Tell me something about them.

14. When is the Tibetan Spring Festive this year? How do/did you celebrate it?

15. Please tell me something about the tradition of Tibetan Spring Festive.

16. Where did you learn the traditions?

17. What other festivals do you celebrate?

18. What are your understandings of the differences?

19. Please describe a typical day of your present life.

20. What kind of communities are you involved in?

21. What languages do you use in different communities that you are part of?

22. What do you learn at school?

23. Which is your favorite subject?

24. What are the successes and challenges in your study?

25. What rules does your school have about language use?

26. Please describe one of your favorite teachers.

27. Which university do you want to go to?

28. What do you want to do in the future?

29. Where do you want to live in the future?

30. What is the role of Chinese in your future?

31. Please describe your dream for your future.

(Translated Interview Questions for the Main Participant)

采访中问询主要参与者的问题

此次调研问询其主要参与者以下一些问题。此次采访完全属于开放式，没有标准或正确答案。接受采访者有权选择或拒绝回答以下问题。

1. 你什么时候来的郑州？你当时几岁？

2. 你来郑州之前去过那些地方？你对那些地方印象如何？

3. 你对郑州印象如何？郑州和拉萨有什么不同吗？

4. 你来郑州之前，在西藏哪一所学校上学？

5. 你什么时候开始学习汉语的？你学习汉语多长时间了？

6. 你的名字在藏语里是什么意思？你现在在学校用的是你的藏族名字吗？

7. 你在家里和家人、朋友常用什么语言交谈？

8. 能谈谈你的家人吗？

9. 在你来郑州上学之前和家人是一种什么样的关系？现在和家人关系怎样？

10. 你回家一般每天都是怎么安排的？

11.你上次给你母亲打电话都谈了一些什么？

12.能谈谈你在西藏的朋友吗？

13.你在这边有朋友吗？和他们关系怎样？

14.今年藏历新年是哪一天？你们都是怎样庆祝新年的?

15.你知道藏历新年的传统习俗吗？

16.你是怎么知道这些传统习俗的？

17.除了藏历新年，你们还庆祝哪些节日？

18.这些节日和藏历新年有什么不同吗？

19.能不能描述一下你的生活通常是怎么安排的？

20.你有没有参加一些社团或者课外活动？

21.在你参加的社团或活动中,你都用什么语言和别人交谈？

22.学校都开设了什么课程？

23.你最喜欢什么科目？

24.所有科目中,你哪一门成绩最好? 哪一门你觉得的比较难？

25.关于语言的使用，学校有什么要求吗？

26. 能谈谈你最喜欢的老师吗？

27. 你希望自己能上哪一所大学？

28. 你将来希望做什么？

29. 你希望将来在什么地方生活？

30. 你觉得在你未来的生活学习中，汉语会充当什么样的角色？

31. 能谈谈你对未来的梦想和打算吗？

Appendix F

Questions Used in Interviews with Additional Participants

Both parents were asked the following designed questions in open-ended interviews. Both interviewees were free to choose to answer or not to answer any of the following questions:

1. Which places have you visited in China? What is your impression of them?

2. Have you ever lived in any cities outside of Tibet? If yes, for how long and for what purpose?

3. Please briefly describe your experiences of growing up in Tibet.

4. Where did you attend school? Which school? What is your highest degree?

5. Please describe your experiences of schooling.

6. Where did you learn Chinese? How long have you learned it?

7. Why did you learn Chinese?

8. Can you read or write in Chinese? Do you use Chinese frequently in your daily life?

9. What language do you use at home with your parents, with your spouse, and with Phuntsog?

10. Please tell me something about your family.

11. What is the relationship between you and Phuntsog before he attended the boarding class? What is the relationship now?

12. Please tell me something about your work experiences.

13. When did you hear about the Tibetan boarding class? What was your

opinion?

14. What were the reasons for sending Phuntsog to the boarding class?

15. Who was involved in the decision?

16. Why did you choose *this* class in *this* city? Did you consider other

schools/classes in other cities?

17. What is your opinion about schools in different places?

18. Had you had opportunities to visit the boarding class before you made the

decision?

19. Why do you want Phuntsog to learn Chinese?

20. What were your expectations about Phuntsog's life and study before he

attended the boarding class?

21. Is there any difference between your expectation and his present life?

22. How do you consider the class Phuntsog is attending?

23. How often do you contact Phuntsog?

24. What do you usually talk about?

25. How often does Phuntsog come home?

26. What does Phuntsog usually do when he is at home?

27. Have you had opportunities to visit Phuntsog at school?

28. What is your impression of Phuntsog's physical environment, the academic

environment, and the social environment?

29. What are your goals for Phuntsog?

30. What is the role of Chinese in Phuntsog's future in your opinion?

31. What are your expectations about Phuntsog's future?

(Translated Interview Questions for Additional Participants)

采访中问询其他参与者的问题

此次调研问询其他参与者以下一些问题。此次采访完全属于开放式，没有标准或正确答案。接受采访者有权选择或拒绝回答以下问题。

1. 您曾经走访过中国的哪些地方？您对这些地方的印象如何？

2. 除了西藏之外，您是否曾经在别的城市生活过？如果是，请问您在那里生活了多久？原因是什么？

3. 请您简要描述一下您在西藏生活的经历。

4. 您在那里就学？在哪所学校？您的最高的学历是什么？

5. 请您描述一下您受教育的经历。

6. 您在哪里学习的汉语？您学习汉语多长时间了？

7. 您为什么要学习汉语？

8. 您认识汉字吗？您会写汉字吗？在您的日常生活中，您经常使用汉语吗？

9. 在家里，您用什么语言和您的父母交谈，和您的配偶您又是使用什么样的语

言？和蒲松呢？

10. 您能描述一下您的家庭和家人吗？

11. 在蒲松去郑州读书之前，他与您的关系如何？您和他现在的关系是怎样的？

12. 您可不可以介绍一下您的工作经历。

13. 您什么时候听说的藏班？您当时是如何看待藏班的？

14. 您为什么要送蒲松去藏班学习？

15. 是谁做出的决定要送蒲松去藏班学习？

16. 您为什么要选择这个城市的藏班？您是否考虑过别的城市，别的藏班或者藏

    校？

17. 您如何看待别的藏班或者藏校？

18. 在您做出选择之前，您是否有机会去实地考察、了解藏班？

19. 您为什么希望蒲松学习汉语？

20. 在蒲松去藏班学习之前，您对他的期望是什么？

21. 您对蒲松的期望与他现在的生活一致吗？

22. 您如何看待蒲松现在就读的藏班？

23.您多长时间与蒲松联系一次？

24.您与蒲松常谈些什么？

25.蒲松多长时间回家一次？

26.蒲松回家后的生后常常是怎么安排的？

27.您是否去学校探访过蒲松？

28.您对蒲松学习、生活的环境印象如何？您如何看待蒲松生活的学习氛围？社

会环境如何？

29.您对蒲松的目标是什么？

30.在您看来，汉语在蒲松将来的生活中会扮演什么样的角色？

31.您对蒲松的未来有什么样的期盼？

Appendix G

Questions Used in Interviews with Teachers

Three teachers, teaching English, Chinese, and Math respectively were asked the following designed questions in open-ended interviews. All the interviewees were free to choose to answer or not to answer any of the following questions:

1. Could you please describe students' academic performance in the past semester (From September 2006 to January 2007)?
2. Could you please tell me your years of teaching and the years of teaching Tibetan students?
3. How do you view the Arts-Science division which is one semester earlier than that of mainstream schools?
4. What are your perspectives of boarding class in general, characterized by students living and studying on campus, relocated in Han metropolis inland China?
5. Please describe your personal feelings about Tibetan students. What are the features of Tibetan students' compared with mainstream Han students?
6. What are your personal feelings about teaching Tibetan students?

(Translated Interview Questions for Teachers)

采访中问询老师的问题

此次调研问询三位老师，分别是英语老师、语文老师，以及数学老师以下一些问题。此次采访完全属于开放式，没有标准或正确答案。接受采访者有权选择或拒绝回答以下问题。

1. 您能描述一下藏班学生上个学期的学习情况吗（从 2006 年 9 月至 2007 年 1 月）？

2. 您能告诉我您教学多少年头了吗？教藏班学生有多少年了？

3. 您是如何看待文理分班的？藏班比别的学校提前了一个学期。

4. 您是如何看待寄宿学校的？学生生活学习在一个内地大城市的校园里。

5. 您个人是如何看待藏班学生的？跟汉族学生相比，他们有哪些特点呢？

6. 您教藏班学生有什么感触？

Appendix H

In-Classroom Observation Protocol

Date:
Location:
Subject: describe the contents of the class

Time	Focus	Observable Behavior (What can I see? What can I hear?)
Time of	Whole class? Pair? Individual?	Describe the sequence of events/activities in class, focusing on and recording behaviors related to language use, for example: • Language employed in interactions between students and teachers; • Language applied in peer interactions; • Interactions with the main participant at centre; • Critical incident. When possible, write verbatim what participants say

Post-Observation Reflection (Done by the researcher after each observation):

Inquiry	Interpretation
①What am I thinking? ②What am I feeling? ③What am I wondering about? ④What connections can I make? ⑤What patterns do I see? ⑥What are the discrepancies between data from different resources (interview/observation) can I perceive?	①How do I interpret the data? ②What do the data mean to me? ③What more do I need to know? ④How do the data match with the data collected in interviews, as well as with the data gathered in previous observations? ⑤Insights ⑥Description and Analysis (*This column may best be filled out after the observation session)

Adapted from Dr. Clea Schmidt's *Observation Protocol for IET Advisory Committee Meetings.*

Appendix I

Table 1

Life Schedule for Tibetan Residential Students in Senior Grades

Getting up	6:20 a.m.
Morning exercise	6:40 a.m.
Reading	6:55 a.m. – 7:25 a.m.
Breakfast	7:30 a.m. – 8:00 a.m.
1st class	8:10 a.m. – 8:55 a.m.
2nd class	9:05 a.m. – 9:50 a.m.
Recess exercise	9:50 a.m. – 10:20 a.m.
3rd class	10:20 a.m. – 11:05 a.m.
4th class	11:15 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.
Lunch	12:00 p.m.
Noon break	12:40 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.
5th class	2:30 p.m. – 3:15 p.m.
6th class	3:25 p.m. – 4:10 p.m.
7th class	4:20 p.m. – 5:05 p.m.
Activities	5:05 p.m. – 5:40 p.m.
Self-study (Individual)	5:40 p.m. – 6:10 p.m.
	6:20 p.m. – 6:50 p.m.
Dinner	7:00 p.m. – 7:30 p.m.
Self-study (based on tutoring schedule)	7:40 p.m. – 8:25 p.m.
	8:35 p.m. – 9:20 p.m.
Going to bed	10:20 p.m.
Turning off light	10:30 p.m.

Table 2

Topic of Each Unit in English Textbook 1A

Unit	Topic
1 Good friends	Friendship
2 English around the world	Communication
3 Going places	Travel
4 Unforgettable experiences	Memories
5 The silver screen	The media: film
6 Good manners	Good manners
7 Cultural relies	Protecting cultural relies
8 Sports	Sports
9 Technology	High-tech
10 The world around us	The environment
11 The sounds of the world	Music
12 Art and literature	Art & literature

Table 3

Topic of Each Unit in English Textbook 1B

Unit	Topic
13 Healthy eating	Healthy eating
14 Festivals	Festivals
15 The necklace	A play
16 Scientists at work	Science and scientists
17 Great women	Great women
18 New Zealand	New Zealand
19 Modern agriculture	The science of farming
20 Humor	Humor
21 Body language	Body language
22 A world of fun	Leisure and entertainment

Table 4

*Components of **Reading** Section in Chinese Textbook 1A and 1B*

Unit	Textbook 1A	Textbook 1B
1	Chinese modern and contemporary poems; Foreign poems	Chinese modern and contemporary fictions; Foreign fictions
2	Chinese modern and contemporary prose; Foreign prose	Essays
3	Speeches	Scientific articles
4	Prefaces	Informal essays
5	Classical Chinese – Historical prose before Qin Dynasty	Classical Chinese – Prose in Han, Wei, and Jin Dynasty
6	Classical Chinese – Other prose before Qin Dynasty	Classical Chinese – Prose in Tang Dynasty

Table 5

*Components of **Writing & Oral Communication** Section in Chinese Textbook 1A and 1B*

Unit	Textbook 1A	Textbook 1B
1	Perceptions & Reflections; Speaking out courageously	Describing features of characters'; Listening attentively
2	Imagination & Association; Courtesy & Appropriateness	Describing processes of events; Responding
3	Re-expression & Manifestation	Depicting items logically and clearly
4	Distinctiveness & Creativeness	Portraying items vividly
5	Individual writing practice	Individual writing practice

Table 6

*Components of **Comprehensive Study** Section in Chinese Textbook 1A and 1B*

Unit	Textbook 1A	Textbook 1B
1	Poetry – the pride of Literature	Various comprehension and perception of literary works
2	Folk culture of inhabitation	Culture of calligraphy

Table 7

Topic of Each Unit in Politics Textbook

Unit	Topic
1	Commodity & Commodity economy
2	Economic systems in early stages of Socialist society; Market economy in Socialist society
3	Enterprise & Enterprisers
4	Industries & Labor

Table 8

Course Schedule for the 1st Academic Semester (before the Arts-Science Division)

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Morning	Physics	Math	English	Chinese	Math	Math
	Chinese	Geography	Math	Math	English	Math
	Phys. Ed.	Chinese	Physics	Phys. Ed.	Chemistry	English
	English	Chinese	Chemistry	English	Geography	English
Afternoon	Chemistry	Politics	Music/Arts*	History	Chinese	Chinese
	Computer	English	Geography	Physics	Meeting	Physics
	Math	History	History	Politics	Meeting	Chemistry
Self-study	Chinese	Math	English	Physics	Chemistry	
Tutoring	Chinese	Math	English	Physics	Chemistry	
	Physics	English	Chemistry	Chinese	Math	

*Music and Arts are alternate every week.

Table 9

Course Schedule for the 2nd Academic Semester (after the Arts-Science Division)

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Morning	Chinese	Chemistry	Chinese	Chinese	Math	English
	Physics	Math	Chemistry	Math	English	English
	English	Chinese	Math	Physics	Chinese	Math
	Phys. Ed.	Chinese	Math	Phys. Ed.	Biology	Math
Afternoon	Chemistry	English	Music/Arts*	English	Physics	Chinese
	Computer	Physics	English	Chemistry	Meeting	Chemistry
	Math	Biology	English	Chemistry	Meeting	Physics
Self-study	Math	English	Chemistry	Chinese	Physics	
Tutoring	Chemistry	English	Chemistry	Chinese	Math	
	Physics	Math	English	Chinese	Physics	

*Music and Arts are alternate every week.

Table 10

Comparison between Subject Courses Weekly Offered in Two Separate

Academic Semesters

Subjects	Number of Subject Courses Offered per Week	
	1ˢᵗ Semester	*2ⁿᵈ Semester*
Chinese	6	7
English	7	8
Math	7	8
Physics	4	5
Chemistry	4	6
Phys. Ed.	2	2
Computer	1	1
Music/Arts	1	1
History	3	Not offered
Politics	2	Not offered
Geography	3	Not offered
Biology	Not offered	2