

Chapter 5

Chinese-Dong bilingual education program

This chapter compares Chinese-Dong bilingual education program in Guizhou Province with the Dehong Dai program. It, first, introduces a general background of the Dong language and its bilingual education program. Later, it investigates whether the literacy subsystems of the Dong program support the principles of CALP development.

5.1 Background

According to the national census in 2000, the population of Dong minority nationality is estimated at 2,960,000. That is the twelfth largest population out of all 56 nationalities. It is also estimated that around 1,630,000 Dong people live in Guizhou Province. That means more than half of all Dong population live in Guizhou Province (Ou and Yi 2002:16-17). The Dong population is especially concentrated in the southeast part of the province, near to the borders of Guangxi Province and Hunan Province. The field research was conducted in Zaidang. It is a typical Dong village located in that area. Compared with Zhefang in the first case study, Zaidang is smaller in size and more remote.²¹

²¹ Zaidang has no direct bus from other towns of Rongjiang County, while Zhefang has a direct bus from Luxi, the capital city of Dehong Province.



Figure 16: Location of Zaidang, Guizhou Province (the map was modified from

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qiandongnan_Miao_and_Dong_Autonomous_Prefecture on 27 August 2009)

The Chinese-Dong bilingual education program has conducted a nine years pilot project at Zaidang Primary School since 2000. The first two years of the pilot project applied only to the preschool, which lasts for two years. At this stage, only Dong language classes were introduced.²² After this, the Chinese-Dong bilingual education in the primary school was fully implemented from 2002. The first batch of students from the project finished the curriculum in 2009. Therefore, this is a good time to conduct an evaluation to assess whether the pilot project was successful and decide if the project should be extended.

In 2002, the Zaidang pilot project impressed other Dong community leaders and it was extended to five other schools in Dong communities. However, the five schools only applied the Dong classes for preschools. Later in this chapter, it is pointed out that the government officials and educators in Guizhou Province often (mis)understand bilingual education as simply teaching minority language for two years in preschool and reverts to the normal national curriculum in primary school. That is why the program was extended to the other schools incompletely.

²² In remote areas where the communities cannot build a kindergarten, primary schools often provide one or two years preschool education for five to six years old children. However, preschool is not the main focus of this study.

One significant feature of the Chinese-Dong bilingual education program is that it is a cooperative program with SIL International (an international NGO) and the Guizhou University Southwest Minority Language and Culture Research Institute (formerly, named Social Science Research Institute). These two organizations supported the program from the very beginning through site selection, financing, printing textbooks and reading materials, and organizing teacher trainings. The works of these two organizations are recorded in the Rongjiang Minority Culture and Art Research Office (2004:181-184) and Pan (2004:190-191). In comparing the Dong program with the Dehong Dai program conducted by the government, this study compares an experimental NGOs initiated program with a standard government bilingual education program.

5.2 General results

The field research was conducted at Zaidang Primary School from June 24 to 30, 2008. The school used to be situated in two locations in Zaidang (one was in the upper village and the other was in the lower village). Hence, the pilot project was originally conducted in two locations. However, the school was later combined in one location, and that is where the field research was conducted.

In the field research, all nine teachers working in the school were interviewed. The nine interviewed teachers are all Dong nationality and speak Dong language as their native tongue. The interview was conducted in Chinese with one Chinese-Dong interpreter. The background information of the teachers is summarized in Table 38 below.

Table 38: Background information of the interviewees

Subjects No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sex	M	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M
Age	50yrs	28yrs	28yrs	31yrs	38yrs	28yrs	54yrs	32yrs	26yrs
L1	Dng	Dng	Dng	Dng	Dng	Dng	Dng	Dng	Dng
L2	Ch	Ch	Ch	Ch	Ch	Ch	Ch	Ch	Ch
Teaching Grades (before)	G1 (G1-6)	G5 (G3-6)	G4 (G1-5)	G6 (G3-6)	G6 (G1-6)	G4-6	G1-2 (G1-4)	G3 (G1-6)	G2-3 (G1-3)
Teaching subjects	Mt, Ch, Sc, PE, Art	Ch, Sc	Mt, Ch, MI, Sc, PE, Mc	Mt, Ch, Dng, Sc	Mt, Ch, Dng, PE, Mc	Mt, Ch, SS, PE, Mc, Art	Ch, Dng	Mt, Ch, Dng, MI, Sc, SS, PE, Mc, Art	Mt, Ch, Dng
Years of teaching	29yrs	4yrs	9yrs	> 10yrs	15yrs	7yrs	23yrs	12yrs	2yrs

F:female, M:male, L1:first language, L2: second language, Dng:Dong, Ch:Chinese, G:Grade, yr:year, yrs:years, Mt:Math, MI:Moral Education, SS:Social Studies, Sc:Science, PE:Physical Education, Mc:Music

This study also observed 17 classes (including one preschool class). To examine the age differences, the observed classes are twelve classes of lower grades (Grade 1 to 3 and preschool) and five classes of upper grades (Grade 5 to 6). The field research was conducted during the week before the final examinations. That was why many classes observed were reviewing lessons of what they learned over the semester. Subjects of the classes are Math, Chinese, and Dong (see Table 39).

Table 39: List of observations

Lesson	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Grade	G1	G1	G1	G1	G2	G2	G2	G5
Subject	Mt	Ch	Dng	Ch	Ch	Dng (Writing)	Ch	Mt (Exam)

9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
G6	G5	G5	G5	G3	P2	G1	G1	G5
Ch	Ch	Dng	Dng	Ch (Exam)	Dng	Ch	Ch	Mt

G:Grade, P:preschool, Ch:Chinese, Mt:Math, Dng:Dong

The library research was conducted in Guiyang, the capital of Guizhou Province, a week before the field research. A book edited by Guizhou Minority Language Office (2004) recorded almost all the bilingual education programs conducted in Guizhou Province today. This book also contains related governmental documents from the prefecture government. Two of these important documents announced in 2002 were: *Guizhou Educational Document No.(2002)16*; and *Guizhou Ethnic and Religious Document No.(2002)49*. In addition, the *Guizhou Provincial National Folk Culture Protection Law* (2002) also plays an important part in the bilingual programs.²³ An English research paper by Geary and Pan (2003) is considered as an important source in this study, since the authors were involved with the program planning for a long time. Other information was in unpublished and published papers from SIL International, such as Geary (2005, n.d.) and Cobbey (2007).

5.3 The literacy system of the Dong program

The collected data is summarized in the eleven subsystems below. The discussions in each subsystem follow the checklist (see Chapter 3 and Appendix 4).

5.3.1 Ideological subsystem

Bilingual education programs in Guizhou Province today are legally based on Article 30 of the *Guizhou Provincial National Folk Culture Protection Law* (2002). It states that the educational institutions in minority communities can use their minority

²³ The full text is available from www.gzwht.gov.cn (*Official Web of Guizhou Culture*) on 21 January 2010.

languages and carry out bilingual education. However, this law does not give any further details, such as the meaning and the purpose of bilingual education (see Table 40). On the other hand, two official documents announced in the same year implied the purpose of their bilingual education programs. The *Guizhou Educational Document No.(2002)16* suggests that bilingual education helps the students who are already able to communicate in minority languages to accomplish the Chinese curriculum smoothly. The *Guizhou Ethnic and Religious Document No.(2002)49* also points out that bilingual education could provide advantages to minority students because it develops the students' intelligence through their first language. Both documents are supportive of the concept of using two languages to boost minority students' academic success. That implies the ideological subsystem of the program supports the principles of CALP development. However, those two documents are not legally binding to the programs, as the titles of those documents are literary translated as 'suggestions' or 'opinions'. In these ways, the government policies for the Chinese-Dong bilingual education program do not legally set the expectations for the students' CALP development. However, they are still positively influential to the program ideologically because of the 'suggestions' provided.

Table 40: Extracted text from the *Guizhou Provincial National Folk Culture Protection Law* (translated by the author)

<p>Article 30</p> <p>Primary and secondary schools should integrate excellent national folk culture into the contents of quality education.</p> <p>Educational institutions in minority communities can use minority languages and carry out bilingual education.</p> <p>Qualified schools of higher education can design their own curriculum for national folk culture to develop their students into experts on the folk culture.</p>

On the other hand, the results of the interviews with the local teachers clearly show their ideological support to the students' CALP development (see Table 41). Out of nine teachers, seven teachers agreed that they should teach minority students in both languages. However, one of the seven stated that the practice should be limited only to the younger students. To the 'how long' question, two teachers answered that they should teach in both languages until Grade 6. The other teachers also answered that they should teach in both languages for two years at least. Those answers for both questions are all scaled higher than non-discriminative, since they ideologically follow the principles of CALP theory: 1) instructions in both languages and 2) a

long term transfer. Only two teachers who answered they should give instructions only in Chinese are scaled as prohibitive in the first question.

Table 41: Results of the interviews (ideological subsystem)

	Promotive	Permissive	Non-discriminative	Tolerative	Prohibitive
What languages do teachers think should be used in class?	6	1			2
How long do the teachers think the students should have any special support by using both languages of LI and Chinese?	2	3	4		

The Dehong Dai program in the first case study has an ideological problem because many local teachers do not think two languages should be used in class. However, the local teachers in Dong program are positively supportive of the use of two languages. The results of the interviews are evident that the Dong program solved a problem in the ideological subsystem.

5.3.2 Policy and planning subsystem

The *Guizhou Provincial National Folk Culture Protection Law* (2002) announced that the government allows the schools to conduct bilingual education (see Table 40 above). However, the law does not state either which languages should be used in classroom as medium of instruction or how long these languages should be used. The other two official documents in 2002 suggest that bilingual education should be carried out in the preschools in minority communities. It is assumed that the government implies their support for Dong education to be conducted only for two years in preschool and switch to the national Chinese-only curriculum in primary school. This was a reason why the five schools in Dong communities applied only Dong classes in preschool in the name of bilingual education. However, the students' CALP development needs more than five years. Two years in preschool is definitely too short for the CALP development. Therefore, the program has some political weaknesses, especially in the 'long term' part. On the other hand, those government policies do not explicitly obstruct bilingual education in primary school. The policies can still have positive effects on the bilingual education program. In

fact, the Zaidang Primary School continues to use Dong language in the primary education.

The policies and planning at the local level are supportive to bilingual education with a longer-term transfer. Geary and Pan (2003:285) state that the Zaidang pilot project planned to use two languages until Grade 6. The teachers also answered that the school policies support using both languages, at least, for two years in primary school. Therefore all the answers in the interviews are scaled higher than non-discriminative (see Table 42).

Table 42: Results of the interviews (policy and planning subsystem)

	Promotive	Permissive	Non-discriminative	Tolerative	Prohibitive
Do the school policies state the use of two languages for instruction?	3	5	1		
How long do the school policies support the use of two languages in education?	6	2	1		

5.3.3 Institution building and organizational subsystem

As mentioned above, two non-governmental organizations (SIL International and Guizhou University) jointly conduct the program with the Guizhou (and Rongjiang Prefecture) government. Geary (2005) also states that the two organizations are involved in the five extended preschools in other Dong communities. In the interviews, many teachers mentioned that these organizations support them in teacher training, professional support, and evaluation. These effective supports strengthen all eleven subsystems and make the institution building and organizational subsystem of the program supportive to the CALP development.

The teachers thought that all eleven subsystems exist in their school program, except the seven teachers who could not think of anyone who provided professional support to them. That is similar to Zhefang. They do not sense the professional support.

However, the other two teachers were able to provide specific names of professionals from the organizations. The library research also identified some people and organizations supporting the program with professional knowledge of

bilingual education (Geary and Pan 2003). Therefore, this study concludes that the Dong program possesses all eleven subsystems.

For consistency over the whole literacy system, the Dehong Dai program is weak since the government and the local teachers are obviously different in their understandings of the CALP development. However, the literacy system of the Dong program is much more consistent. As discussed in the ideological subsystem and the policy and planning subsystem, there are slight differences between the understandings of the government and the local teachers in the Dong program as well. For example, the government does not clearly state which languages should be used for instruction (permissive), but the local teachers understand that they should use both languages (promotive). However, these differences are still in the same direction (promotive and permissive are both positive). Therefore, the whole system consistently supports the students' CALP development.

5.3.4 Mobilizational subsystem

According to Table 43 below, the teachers allowed the students to use both minority language and Chinese in class, except for one teacher who answered that it is only allowed for younger students. Six teachers also encouraged the students to read books in both languages. However, three teachers suggested the students should read only Chinese books (two of them said so only because there are no Dong books available in the library). These answers to the first two questions show that most of the teachers try to motivate the students to learn in two languages. On the other hand, not many teachers could find the benefits of learning in both languages for the students' CALP development. Most teachers consider that learning in Chinese is more important for the students than learning in minority languages. They answered that the minority languages can just help the students to learn Chinese. However, CALP theory insists that the students' CALP develop through either minority languages or Chinese, and it is more effective when both languages are used (see Section 2.2). The score is relatively lower on the third question because the teachers and students are not motivated to learn in both languages for the students' CALP development. Only one teacher answered that the students can develop their writing skills through learning in minority languages. This answer is scaled as permissive, since he understands that the language skills are developed through either minority language or Chinese. The last question shows the students' interests in learning both languages based on the teachers' answers.

Table 43: Results of the interviews (mobilizational subsystem)

	Promotive	Permissive	Non-discriminative	Tolerative	Prohibitive
Are the students allowed to use both languages in class?	8	1			
Do the teachers encourage the students to read books in both languages?	6		2	1	
Do the teachers find any benefits for the students' CALP development from learning in both languages?		1	6	2	
In which languages are the students interested in learning and how does it change in the long term?		5	3		1

The interview results are evident that the Dong program is more supportive in the mobilizational subsystem than the Dehong Dai program. One particular problem of the Dehong Dai program is that the students are not encouraged to use both languages in their learning activities. According to the results of the first two questions above, the Dong teachers try to encourage students to use both languages. Therefore, it is concluded that this is not a problem in the Dong program. As a result, the students are more positively interested to learn in both languages through the whole primary education. Although, there is a risk of not continuing if neither the teachers nor the students perceive the benefits of long-term bilingual study.

5.3.5 Professional support subsystem

Only two teachers could answer the questions under the professional support subsystem. Seven teachers who could not think of anyone that provides professional support are not counted in the results here, because the absence of professional support is an issue of institution building and organizational subsystem. The two teachers stated that professional support is provided by the Education Department (of Guizhou Province) and SIL International.

The Provincial Education Department conducted a study conference for bilingual education in April 2004 and invited officers and researchers from local education sectors, universities and publication houses. In the conference, the concept of the *Guizhou Provincial National Folk Culture Protection Law* was reconfirmed. The need to promote and encourage the bilingual education program in Guizhou Province was also reinforced.

However, the conference did not mention either what languages of instruction should be used in class or how long the languages should be used. In view of this, it is not clear as to why teachers still think that the professionals strongly suggest the use of both languages for instruction until Grade 6 in Table 44. One teacher explained that his answer is based on the suggestions by SIL International. SIL International fills the gap between the government and the local schools in the professional support subsystem.

Table 44: Results of the interviews (professional support subsystem)

	Promotive	Permissive	Non-discriminative	Tolerative	Prohibitive
What languages do the professionals tell the teachers to use for instruction?	2				
How long do the professionals tell the teachers to use both languages of L1 and Chinese?	2				

Geary and Pan (2003:185-187), who themselves represent professionals in the program, refer to Cummins' discussions as the academic foundation of the program. They say, "Thus, we have reason to expect that academic knowledge and skills will be transferred from Kam [Dong] to Chinese.... findings from bilingual education studies in other contexts are strongly supportive of the hypothesis that children in Zaidang will benefit significantly in their studies of Chinese from first studying their own Kam [Dong] language." Although their discussion tends to focus on the transfer from Dong to Chinese, it still implies the CALP development underlying the learning processes. The professional support of the program matches exactly with CALP theory.

5.3.6 Curriculum development and programming development subsystem

Geary and Pan (2003:285) state that “in the second semester (in a two-semester year) of Grade 1 of the pilot project, spoken Chinese is introduced, and this takes about 40% of the language timetable for that semester. During Grade 2, written Chinese will be introduced, although 50% of all classes will continue to be conducted in Kam [Dong]. From Grade 3 onwards, after basic literacy in Kam [Dong] has been secured, the majority of classes are conducted using Chinese, retaining around 15% in the language timetable for study of Kam [Dong].” It is important that the curriculum clearly mentions that all subjects for Grade 1 and 2 are conducted in both Dong language and Chinese. That means the curriculum positively supports the use of two languages for instruction. On the other hand, the curriculum implies that only Chinese should be used for instruction in the classes for older than Grade 3, except the Dong language classes. If the curriculum limits the use of two languages to only two years, it may have negative impacts on the program. This prevents it from following the principle of long term transfer process. However, the curriculum is evaluated positively in this study. That is because the curriculum tries to let the students have opportunities to use Dong languages through Dong language classes until Grade 6. It helps the students to develop their CALP through both languages. The curriculum of the program is also summarized in Table 45 below.

Table 45: Three phases of the Chinese-Dong bilingual education (n.d. document given by SIL International)

P1	<p><i>Phase 1: Preschool in Dong.</i></p> <p>Dong literacy, Math, Music, Art, PE</p>	<p><i>Phase 2: Learning Oral Chinese</i></p>
P2		
1	<p><i>Phase 3: Bilingual Education: Dong-Han [Chinese]</i></p>	
2	<p>Classes in: Chinese, Dong, Math, Morals, Science, Music, Art</p>	
3	<p>- Music, Morals and Dong are mainly taught through Dong</p>	
4	<p>- Math (Grade 1): Dong</p>	
5	<p>- Math (Grade 2-6): Chinese and Dong</p> <p>- Chinese and PE are taught through Chinese</p>	
6	<p>- All other subjects are taught through Dong and increasingly Chinese</p>	

PE: Physical Education

From Table 46 and Table 47, it is evident that the curriculum of Zaidang Primary school follows the curriculum recommended by Geary and Pan (2003). Both Grade 2 and Grade 5 allocate three to six hours for Dong language and related subjects.

Table 46: Class schedule of Grade 2 at Zaidang Primary School (sketched by the author)

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Chinese	Dong (Writing)	Dong (Writing)	Chinese	Math
Exercise					
2	Math	Chinese	Math	Art	Dong (Writing)
3	Chinese	Chinese	Dong (Writing)	Chinese	Math
Lunch Time					
4	Art	Math	Math	Chinese	Dong Music
Meditation					
5	Work	Moral	Chinese	Physical Education	Home Room
6	Chinese		Dong		After Class Activities

Table 47: Class schedule of Grade 5 at Zaidang Primary School (sketched by the author)

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Chinese	Math	Math	Math	Chinese
Exercise					
2	Math	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Math
3	Chinese	Chinese	Dong	Science	Dong
Lunch Time					
4	Art	Physical Education	Chinese	Physical Education	Math
Meditation					
5	Work	Music	Math	Social Studies	Home Room
6	Math		Chinese		Dong

On the other hand, according to the interview results, the teachers seem to have two different attitudes to the curriculum (see Table 48). One group finds that the curriculum is supportive of students' learning in both languages. They are scaled as promotive and permissive. The other group finds that the curriculum does not

support the use of two languages at all. They are scaled as tolerative. It is assumed that the difference is caused by the teachers' different ideas of who makes decisions on the curriculum. Some teachers answered “the government” and other teachers said “SIL International”. Some teachers added that “the government (or SIL International) just gives suggestions, but the school (or the teachers themselves) makes decisions on the curriculum in the end.” The program is a cooperative program between the government and SIL International. Hence, the curriculum proposed by both organizations should be the same. However, in reality, the local school teachers have no chance to communicate directly with the people from the government. This caused the teachers to form the wrong impression from the textbooks and other teaching materials. It appears to them that the government curriculum is different from what SIL International tells them. That is because the national textbooks provided by the government are written only in Chinese. For example, one of the teachers who gave a tolerative answer mentioned that the government makes decisions on the curriculum.²⁴ This gap in communication between the local teachers and the government is a complex problem. It exists in many educational programs in China today.

Table 48: Results of the interviews (curriculum development and program development subsystem)

	Promotive	Permissive	Non-discriminative	Tolerative	Prohibitive
How much do the teachers think the curriculum helps the students to learn in both languages?	4	1		2	

5.3.7 Media and materials subsystem

The pilot project printed textbooks in Dong language. According to Geary (2005), over 30 textbooks written in Dong language, including reading materials, were printed for the pilot project by 2005. There were plans to print more books for Grade 4 to 6 later on. In the bookshelves in Guizhou University, there are some textbooks which are translated from the national textbooks in Chinese and other textbooks which are originally developed for the project. They are all written in Dong language. The teachers in the interview also mentioned that they have separate

²⁴ The other one who gave a tolerative answer mentioned that the teachers themselves make decisions on the curriculum. She is also the only one who answered the teachers should use only Chinese in class for the ideological question.

textbooks for most subjects in both Dong language and Chinese. The project chose not to print the new bilingual (using two languages in one book) textbooks. The bilingual classes must use both Chinese textbooks and Dong textbooks. However, since the government provides the students with Chinese textbooks for free, this method of printing two languages separately helps to cut costs for the program.

On the other hand, during the observation, it was found that the Dong textbooks were seldom used in classes, except in the Dong language classes. According to the teachers, in the interviews, the Dong textbooks are still used occasionally. However, when a program uses such textbooks, it is possible that only one textbook is mainly used in class. One teacher who teaches upper grades answered that the Dong textbooks are no longer used in his classes. In addition, as Pan (2004) mentions, editing the Dong textbooks is still an issue to be discussed. The national curriculum is changed after every few years, so the Chinese textbooks must also be revised. It requires a lot of effort to revise the Dong textbooks every few years just for one school. At this moment the teachers found positive support from the textbooks for the students' CALP development, so that the answers are scaled promotive, permissive, and non-discriminative (see Table 49). Some teachers added that the students could find help from the Dong textbooks when they study at home, although they are not used in class.

Table 49: Results of the interviews (media and materials subsystem)

	Promotive	Permissive	Non-discriminative	Tolerative	Prohibitive
How beneficial are the textbooks in helping the students to learn in both languages according to the teachers?	3	4	2		

5.3.8 Orientation and training subsystem

Four week-long teacher training seminars for the seven potential bilingual teachers from Zaidang Primary School was convened in March and August 2000. According to Geary (2005), the first training spent most of the time in developing the teachers' Dong literacy skills. However, the second training, which was organized by SIL International and Guizhou University, focused on teaching methods. According to

the Rongjiang Minority Culture and Art Research Office (2004), teacher training continued to be conducted during every summer and winter break in 2001 and 2002. Most of the teachers, in the interviews, answered that the teacher training promoted, or at least allowed, them to use both languages for instruction until Grade 6 (see Table 50). A few answers are scaled as non-discriminative and tolerative. The answers are given by the teachers who are relatively new to the school. It is supposed that the new teachers did not join the teacher training from 2000 to 2002. It may be a good opportunity to have another training session for the teachers and reinforce the principles of CALP theory once again.

Table 50: Results of the interviews (orientation and training subsystem)

	Promotive	Permissive	Non-discriminative	Tolerative	Prohibitive
What languages does the training tell the teachers to use for instruction?	3	5		1	
According to the training, how much time should teachers use both languages of L1 and Chinese?	7		2		

5.3.9 Teaching-learning subsystem

In the interviews, three teachers answered that they actually use both Dong language and Chinese equally in class. These results are considered fully supportive to the principle of instructions in two languages. Two other teachers answered that they use Chinese more than Dong language and three teachers answered that they use Dong only a little. These five teachers positively support the CALP development because they at least use both languages in class. On the other hand, interestingly, most teachers answered that the students use Chinese more often than Dong language in class. It appears that the students communicate better in Chinese than in their first language. This is despite the fact that their Chinese communication skills are undeveloped. This is a misconception. It is caused by the school culture in which the teachers mainly give lectures to the students and the students can only speak out when the teachers ask them questions. The teachers ask questions which are usually written on the Chinese textbooks so the questions are automatically in Chinese. The

students answer in Chinese because the questions are asked in Chinese. In this way, the students in class apparently use Chinese more often than Dong language. However, this does not mean that the students are comfortable communicating in Chinese only.²⁵

Results of the interviews are summarized in Table 51 below. The first two questions are already discussed. They are scaled higher than non-discriminative, except for one prohibitive. Since the teachers and students use at least both languages in some amount in class, the students' CALP can be developed through both languages. For the third question, the teachers also show their positive attitude to the long term transfer. Six teachers answered that they actually give the students some special support by using both languages until Grade 6.

Table 51: Results of the interviews (teaching-learning subsystem)

	Promotive	Permissive	Non-discriminative	Tolerative	Prohibitive
What languages do the teachers use for instruction?	3	2	3		1
What languages do the students use in class?		7	2		
How long do the teachers give the students any special support by using both languages?	6	1	2		

5.3.10 Post-literacy subsystem

The teachers mentioned that there are about 300 books of outside curriculum reading materials on a bookshelf in the school. Some teachers call it a library, but others teachers stated that no public or school library existed in the village. Some teachers also mentioned that few Dong books are available on the bookshelf. However, when the researcher checked the bookshelf, none of the books were in Dong. All 300 books were in Chinese. According to Geary (2005), 1000 stories, including 260

²⁵ The researcher observed that the students mainly communicate with their peers in Dong language when they were outside of class. It is assumed that the students are more comfortable communicating in Dong language with their friends at least.

extra-curricular stories, in Dong language were about to print in 2005. However, the books were still not available for the students in Zaidang Primary School in 2008.

Other teachers mentioned the Dong newspaper. The newspaper is published every two months by SIL International and Guizhou University especially for the students of Zaidang Primary School. The contents are folk tales, songs, and some puzzles in which the students may be interested. The newspaper is distributed to every student in school. Geary (2005) also mentions the fact that a VCD was produced in November 2001 showing Zaidang Preschool children performing.

Table 52 below contains the results of the conducted interview. A majority of the teachers show positive attitude towards the use of post-literacy in providing students with leaning opportunities in both languages. The teachers seem to attach great value to the newspaper and the VCD. However, it is hoped that more reading materials will be published soon.

Table 52: Results of the interviews (post-literacy subsystem)

	Promotive	Permissive	Non-discriminative	Tolerative	Prohibitive
How much do the teachers think the books help the students learning in both languages?	3	2		1	

5.3.11 Evaluation subsystem

During the interviews, the teachers stated that the government, SIL International, and teachers from other schools evaluated their classes and their language of instruction. Some teachers mentioned that the evaluators were supportive of the class using both languages. Another teacher mentioned that the government officials support learning only in Chinese, but they did not object to using Dong language in class. These statements can be scaled as permissive, because the evaluations target the language of instruction and allowed the teachers to use both languages. The other school teachers who observed the classes may be the teachers from the five extended schools. That means they also had positive impressions of the pilot project, since the program was extended to these schools.

With regards to which languages the students are being evaluated in, the entrance exams to middle schools and high schools are all conducted in Chinese. Pan

(2004:193) also mentions that the pilot project itself is evaluated according to how much the students improve in Chinese. This is not supportive of the use of two languages. If the program could establish an evaluation system where the minority students were evaluated in both minority languages and Chinese, the students in the program may be more motivated to practice both languages. It would encourage the students to develop their CALP more effectively. In the study conference for bilingual education by the Provincial Education Department in 2004, there were no records of discussions on the ways of evaluation. It is recommended that this issue be discussed in the near future.

In the pilot project, the students took the exam in Dong language for the Dong language classes. However, the other subjects use only Chinese. It was found that one teacher, during the observations, gave some instructions in Dong language when the students asked questions about the Chinese exam. At this moment, it depends on the teachers whether such support in both languages is given to the students during an evaluation.

5.4 Summary

Similar to the first case study, the information from library research and the interview results are scaled by 1 to 5, and the average of each subsystem is calculated. The scores are summarized in the graph below.

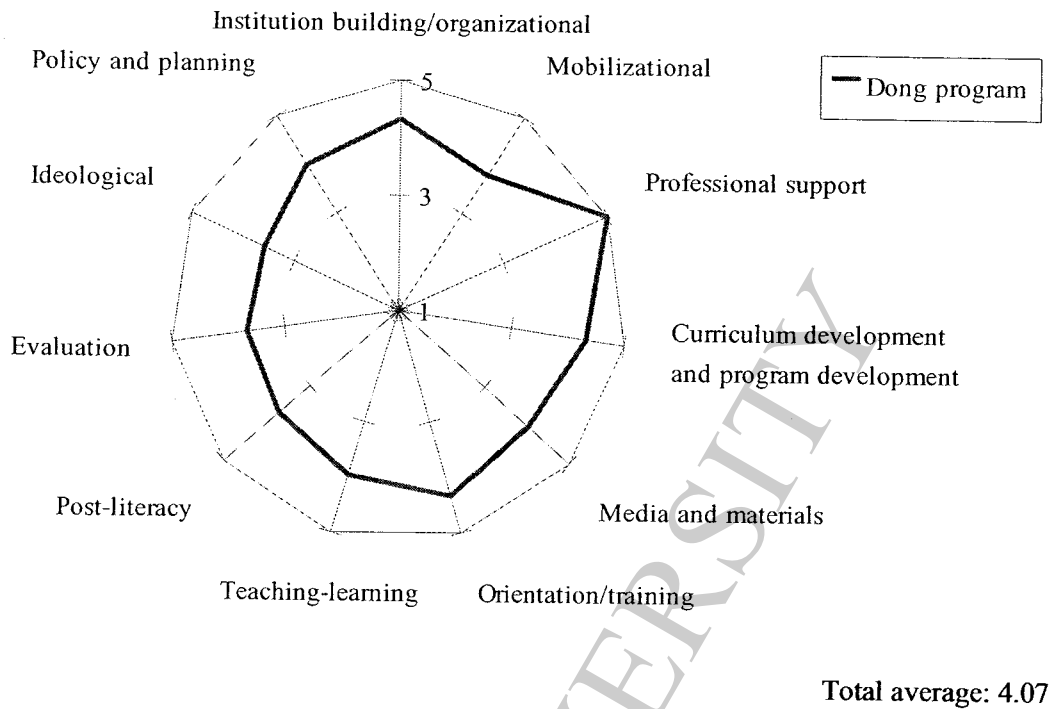


Figure 17: The literacy system of Chinese-Dong bilingual education program

Compared to the first case, this program scores higher in all the eleven subsystems. The total average of all the subsystems is over 4.00 (permissive). This study concludes that the literacy system of Chinese-Dong bilingual education program is supportive to the students' CALP development.

In the previous chapter, the literacy system of the Dehong Dai program is shaped like a misshapen circle because of the lack of communications between the government and the local teachers (see Section 4.4). On the other hand, the Dong program achieves a good score throughout the whole system and is shaped mostly like a balanced circle. As discussed in this chapter, it is an advantage of the experimental cooperation with non-governmental organizations. The Chinese-Dong bilingual education program is a joint program with the government and two non-governmental organizations. Such cooperation makes the program significantly strong in its institutional and organizational subsystem. Table 53 below shows that the Dong program avoids some problems found in the Dehong Dai institution building and organizational subsystem.

Table 53: Summary of the institution building and organizational subsystem of Chinese-Dong bilingual education program in comparison with the Dehong Dai program

Subsystems	The Dehong Dai program	The Dong program
(3) Institution building and organizational subsystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gap of ideologies and policies between the government and the school/teachers. - Lack of professional support and training specialized in bilingual education for ethnic minority students. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The program has all eleven subsystems and is strong in the institution building and organizational subsystem. - The whole literacy system of Dong program is much more consistent than Dehong Dai program.

The institution building and organizational subsystem clearly has an impact on other subsystems. For example, even though the government policies for the Dong program do not set clear goals for the students' CALP development, the ideological subsystem still achieves a good score. This is because of the supportive attitudes of the local teachers. Moreover, the two organizations also provide an effective support in many aspects of the program and make impacts on each subsystem in more direct ways. For example, SIL International and Guizhou University convened several teacher training programs (orientation and training subsystem) and edited Dong textbooks (media and material subsystem). These works met the needs of some crucial issues in each subsystem.

On the other hand, it is also shown that the local school teachers often misunderstand the government attitude. Even though the Dong program presents a great consistency over the whole program, answers from the local teachers often fell into two categories. This was also more obvious when the teachers were asked about the government's attitude towards the program, such as curriculum development (see Section 5.3.6). Since the program could solve many problems which are found in another program, this subtle difference became more remarkable. In other words, the problem of the institution building and organizational subsystem surfaces easily in Chinese bilingual education programs. There is a risk that the Dong program will also fail in this subsystem without continuous communication and support in the future. This could be a crucial reason why most bilingual programs since the 1980s, inclusive of the Dehong Dai program in the first case, have slowed down today.

Other results of the Dong program are summarized in Table 54 below.

Table 54: Summary of the eleven subsystems of Chinese-Dong bilingual education program

Subsystems	The Dong program
(1) Ideological subsystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The government policies for the program do not clearly set the purpose on the students' CALP development. - The local teachers show their ideological support to students' CALP development clearly.
(2) Policy and planning subsystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The policies and planning in the local level are supportive to bilingual education with long term transfer. - However, the government policies of the program have some weaknesses especially in the 'long term' part. The program might need more effort in the policy and planning subsystem.
(3) Institution building and organizational subsystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The program has all eleven subsystems and is strong in the institution building and organizational subsystem. - The whole literacy system of the Dong program is much more consistent than the Dehong Dai program.
(4) Mobilizational subsystem	<p>The teachers allowed the students to use both minority languages and Chinese, They also encourage the students to read books in both languages. However not many teachers could articulate the benefits of learning in both languages for the students' CALP development.</p>
(5) Professional support subsystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The teachers think that the professionals strongly recommend the use of both languages until Grade 6. - The professional support of the program matches exactly with the CALP theory and the concept of CALP development. - However, many teachers were not aware of the professional support available.
(6) Curriculum development and programming development subsystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The curriculum is positively supportive to the principle of instructions in both languages. It tries to let the students have opportunities to use Dong in Dong language classes until Grade 6. - The teachers seem to split into two different groups about attitudes toward the curriculum.

(7) Media and materials subsystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The pilot project prepared the textbooks in Dong language for their bilingual education. - During the observation, it was found that the Dong textbooks are rarely used in classes.
(8) Orientation and training subsystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teacher training was convened by the government and SIL. - The teacher training suggested that the teachers should use both languages until Grade 6.
(9) Teaching-learning subsystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The teachers are positively supportive to the principle because they at least use both languages in class. - The teachers also show their positive attitude to long term transfer. - However, the communication context in class (lectures/books/questions) lead students to use Chinese more than Dong.
(10) Post-literacy subsystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Dong newspaper is published every two months and a VCD was produced in November 2001. - The teachers mostly show positive feedback to the post-literacy which provides students with learning in both languages. - However the books in the school library are all in Chinese.
(11) Evaluation subsystem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The evaluation subsystem can be scaled permissive. - In Guizhou Province the entrance exams to middle and high schools are all conducted in Chinese. - In the pilot project, the students take exams in Dong at least for Dong language classes.