
BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN AMDO - A CASE STUDY OF
KHRI KA NATIONALITIES BOARDING SCHOOL

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ABSTRACT

The state sponsored education of Tibetan children in Khri ka (Guide) County, Mtsho lho (Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, China, using Khri ka Nationalities Boarding School as a case study, is described. School history, the government rationale for closing village-based Tibetan primary schools, and the nationalities boarding schools operating in Khri ka in 2015 are introduced. Detailed descriptions of teachers; students; instructional materials; classes; language use; rules; punishments; home visiting; communication between students, parents, and teachers; school reports to the local authorities; and official local supervision and evaluation of Khri ka Nationalities Boarding School are also provided. An overall evaluation of this school concludes the paper.

KEYWORDS

boarding schools, Khri ka (Guide) County, Mtsho lho (Hainan) Prefecture, Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, Tibetan education

INTRODUCTION

I focus on Khri ka (Guide)¹ Nationalities Boarding School (KNBS) located in Khri ka County Town,² Mtsho lho (Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, China. KNBS was established in 2009, following the closure of fifty Tibetan primary schools in rural villages in Khri ka County. Generally, the primary schools had grades one to six, however, some schools had only grades one to two, or one to three, because the village population was small. In such cases, students who finished schooling in their own village enrolled in neighboring village schools to complete their elementary education. For example, children from Brag dmar nang Village where I was born and raised, were required to attend Sdong rgan thang (Dongguo tang) Village Primary School (about five kilometers away) after finishing grade two in Brag dmar nang Village Primary School. Moreover, there were no kindergartens in rural villages before 2009. I taught at KNBS from March 2012 to June 2013 and many of the details I provide are based on that experience, as well as interviews and conversations with school leaders and teachers.

Over eighty percent of Tibetan primary schools in Khri ka County were closed in 2009 by local government. At the age of seven, children were required to leave their families and live at KNBS for the stated purpose of providing better education to children living in rural Tibetan villages.

Given the lack of study this centralized education system has received, this paper provides a detailed description of KNBS in order to provide suggestions on how to improve bilingual³ education in Khri ka by pointing out advantages and disadvantages of the new system. I first describe school history and the official reasons for closing the village-based Tibetan primary schools, followed by a description of

¹ I give Tibetan and Chinese terms where both were used locally.

² Also known as Chu srib in Tibetan and Heyin in Chinese.

³ Bilingual education in this context refers to all subjects taught in the Tibetan language except for Chinese language classes, which were taught in the Chinese language.

nationalities boarding schools in Khri ka in 2015. I conclude with an overall evaluation of the school.

Numerous publications have been written on Tibetan education and Tibetan students. These include Bangsbo (2008) who described school conditions in Tibetan herding areas, employment opportunities for such students, and parents' perspectives on their children's schooling. Postiglione and Ben Jiao (2009) examined the origins and development of *neidi* 'inner China' schools for Tibetan students and the students' perspectives about their education. Baden Nima (1997) wrote about achievements in Tibetan education and the gap between Tibetan education and education in other regions of China. Zhu (2007) studied how state schooling affects the identity of Tibetan students based on a study of Changzhou Tibetan Middle School located in Jiangsu Province. However, to my knowledge, no study of a large, Tibetan centralized boarding school in Mtsho sngon has yet been published.

SCHOOL HISTORY

Khri ka County, located in southeastern Mtsho sngon Province, is about 114 kilometers from Zi ling (Xining) City, the capital of Mtsho sngon Province, and 158 kilometers from Chab cha (Qiabuqia) Town, the capital of Mtsho lho Prefecture. There are four towns, three townships, and 119 administrative villages in Khri ka. In 2013, the total county population was 108,700, with about thirty-four percent being Tibetan.¹

The creation of this central school was initiated by the Mtsho sngon provincial government and the subsequent plan was implemented in all five counties² in Mtsho lho Prefecture in 2009. The provincial government viewed the new centralized education system in

¹ <http://goo.gl/zjcObF>, accessed 4 March 2016.

² The five counties are Khri ka (Guide), Mang rdzong (Guinan), 'Ba' rdzong (Tongde), Gser chen (Gonghe), and Brag dkar (Xinghai).

Mtsho lho as a trial and, if it proved successful, it would be used in other prefectures in Mtsho sngon Province.¹

In early 2009, the Khri ka Education Bureau selected a committee and made an official plan - *Xuesheng zhuan yi fang'an* 'Student Transfer Plan' - stipulating that all village primary schools in Khri ka would be centralized. The plan was sent to local schools in Khri ka and listed relevant committee members who were all associated with the Khri ka Education Bureau.

The plan stipulated the closing of seventy-two primary and junior middle schools of the eighty-seven in Khri ka County, leaving only fifteen schools open. Of the eighty-seven primary schools in Khri ka County, fifty-four were bilingual schools where Tibetan language, Chinese language, mathematics, and physical education (PE) were taught. In schools where students' Tibetan language was better than their Chinese language ability, mathematics was taught in Tibetan. In others where students' Chinese was superior to their Tibetan language ability, mathematics was taught in Chinese. The fifty-four bilingual primary schools were located mostly in Tibetan villages. They were considered bilingual schools, because the Tibetan language was taught in these schools and in some schools, mathematics and PE were also taught in Tibetan.

The plan further stated that the Khri ka government would close fifty Tibetan primary schools located in Tibetan villages and centralize all Tibetan students in KNBS, Stong che (Dangche) Nationalities Boarding School, 'Phrang dmar (Changmu) Nationalities Boarding School, and La ze ba (Laxiwa) Nationalities Boarding School.

According to the *Student Transfer Plan*, eighty-four percent of the schools were to be closed, leaving only fifteen schools open in the county. The closed schools had been built mostly by the Khri ka County Government and education bureau during the previous decade.

¹ These prefectures are Mtsho byang (Haibei) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho nub (Haixi) Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Rmab lho (Huangnan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mgo log (Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, and Yul shul (Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

Several reasons were offered for closure, in addition to the provincial government directive. A former primary school headmaster told me there was a desire to equalize education quality between rural and town schools through better qualified teachers with BA and MA degrees teaching in the county town. Poorly qualified teachers generally worked in rural village schools. Consequently, the boarding schools in the township and county towns were seen as a way of providing new opportunities for rural children by providing better qualified teachers.

Second, local government wanted all children to access better library resources, computers, classrooms, and dining hall facilities. For example, before 2009, the education bureau bought one hundred computers for the primary school students, and then computers were allocated to several schools, with only a handful of students benefitting. Centralization, it was suggested, would result in such allocations directly benefitting more students.

Third, in the rural village schools, a shortage of teachers was a critical problem, mainly due to limited official teaching positions allocated to the County Education Bureau by higher level government. There was an especially serious lack of teachers who specialized in mathematics. Centralized schools meant that children would have teachers who specialized in a particular subject teaching that subject.

Fourth, though not stated officially, but widely discussed among teachers and local villagers, was the idea that local government would save money. Centralization meant that fewer teachers were needed, which helped solve the problem of a teacher shortage. Before 2009, there were fifty-four Tibetan primary schools, each of which had grades one to five. Each school had teachers who taught Tibetan language, even if the number of students in the class was small. Centralization meant that several small classes were combined into one larger class that required only one teacher.

There were four bilingual primary schools in Khri ka in 2015. KNBS is in Chu srib Town. Stong che Nationalities Boarding School¹ is

¹ SNBS did not exist until established by the Association for International Solidarity in Asia. For more on this organization, see <http://goo.gl/HRqP9I>

located in Stong che Village, Chu nub (Hexi) Town in the west of Khri ka County, twenty-five kilometers from the county town. 'Phrang dmar Nationalities Boarding School is situated in 'Phrang dmar Town, which is in the east of Khri ka County, thirty-five kilometers from the county town. La ze ba Nationalities Boarding School is located in Lha khang thang (Laohan Tang) Village, La ze ba Town, which is twenty-seven kilometers north of the county town.

KNBS had nine grades. Grades one to six were primary school, and grades seven to nine were junior middle school. As of 2014, PNBS, LNBS, and SNBS had grades one to six.

INTRODUCTION: KHRI KA NATIONALITIES BOARDING SCHOOL

The government invested 43.25 million RMB in KNBS, which helped build three four-story buildings for classrooms, three four-story buildings for dormitories, a two-story canteen, a five-story building for teachers' offices, and a four-story building for teacher housing. The school had nine grades and fifty-seven classes, of which twenty-nine were for primary students and twenty-eight were for junior middle school students.

Staff consisted of full-time teachers, cooks, cleaners, child-care workers, daily-life administrators, a boiler operator, electricians, medical care personnel, librarians, and two gatekeepers.

Most of the students from grades one to three were aged seven to eleven, and had child-care workers (all women) assist them in their daily life. Each child-care worker was responsible for five dorm rooms, each of which accommodated eight students. In total, each child-care worker was responsible for forty students. They cleaned students' bedrooms and beds, mended their clothing, organized the students to bathe in the school bathrooms, made their beds, put them to bed, and woke them in the morning.

Most students from grades four to nine were eleven to eighteen years old, and did not require child-care workers. Instead, they had

(accessed 23 May 2016).

daily life administrators. On each floor of the dormitory building, there was a daily life administrator who asked the students to clean themselves and the dormitory rooms, and go to bed and wake up on time. They also helped deal with conflicts among the students.

Cooks prepared three free meals a day for both teachers and students, who could eat as much as they wanted. Teachers could choose to eat in the school canteen or elsewhere, while the students had no choice because they were required to stay on campus, except during the bimonthly holiday.¹ Students, teachers, and janitors did the cleaning in the school. Janitors cleaned the doors, corridors, stairways, and toilets of every building and all public places inside the buildings. Full-time teachers were required to clean their own offices and quarters. Students cleaned their own classrooms and dormitory rooms, and the school grounds. This duty was divided among all the classes with each class cleaning its assigned area once in the morning before breakfast and again in the evening before supper.

The electrician was responsible for electricity and its safety on campus. The boiler operator was responsible for supplying hot water for heating in winter and providing hot water for showers throughout the school year. There was a small clinic in the school with two medical care personnel. Students could buy basic medicine from the clinic for such minor complaints as colds.

The gatekeepers were mainly responsible for security on the campus, which was enclosed by three-meter high brick walls. Only students and staff were officially allowed to enter the school. No student was allowed to leave the school, and no staff was allowed to leave the school during working hours without written permission from the Jiaowu chu 'Dean's Office'.

In total, there were 298 teachers and staff of whom 208 were full-time teachers in 2015. Sixty percent of the teachers and staff were Tibetan. The other forty percent were Han Chinese.

There were 2,534 students in 2015. Ninety-five percent of the students were from rural Tibetan villages in Khri ka County, according

¹ The school had classes for eleven consecutive days and then a four-day holiday.

to a school brochure printed in early 2015. All the students were Tibetan and studied the Tibetan language in the school.

Most teachers who had taught in village primary schools before centralization in 2009 were required to teach in KNBS. This was because, according to the Khri ka Education Bureau, they had no record of violating rules and importantly, they had good relationships with leaders of both their schools and the education bureau. Most teachers who taught junior middle students at KNBS had taught at Khri ka Nationalities Middle School (KNMS). KNMS was located in Chu shar (Hedong) Township Town and had students at both the junior middle school and senior middle school levels. In 2009, KNMS was discontinued, after which junior middle school students studied in KNBS. Senior middle school students studied in Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School that had been newly established in Khri ka County Town. Teachers considered to be superior were selected to teach in Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School while those considered inferior were assigned to teach in KNMS.

The county government selected new teachers through a two-part examination. The first part consisted of a written section with questions related to major and non-major subjects (commonly known as *jichu zhishi* 'basic knowledge'), accounting for sixty percent and forty percent, respectively, of this part of the exam. The second part was an oral exam. Examinees were given a subject related to their major, given twenty minutes to prepare, and then had twenty minutes to give a sample teaching performance. The written and oral exams accounted for eighty and twenty percent, respectively, of the entire examination.

CURRICULUM

Six subjects were taught in grades one to three in primary school: Tibetan, Chinese, math, PE, music, and ideology and morality instruction. Nine subjects were taught in grades four to six: Tibetan,

Chinese, math, PE, music, ideology and morality instruction, English, science, and Information Technology (IT).

For grade seven (junior middle school), twelve subjects were taught: Tibetan, Chinese, English, math, politics, geography, history, biology, PE, music, art, and IT. For grade eight, thirteen subjects were taught: Tibetan, Chinese, English, math, politics, geography, history, biology, physics, PE, music, art, and IT. For grade nine, eleven subjects were taught: Tibetan, Chinese, English, math, politics, physics, chemistry, history, PE, art, and IT.

Until the early twenty-first century, all textbooks used in every school in PR China were selected by the Ministry of Education. Later, in the early years of this century, provincial and prefectural education bureaus were given permission to create textbooks according to strict rules and criteria set by the Ministry. Subsequently, the Qinghai jiaoyu ting jiaocai bianji chu 'Mtsho sngon Education Bureau Teaching Materials Department' created textbooks for schools in Mtsho sngon. Meanwhile, the Prefectural Education Bureau received permission to create their own Tibetan language textbooks. Consequently, the Mtsho lho Prefectural Education Bureau created their own Tibetan language textbooks in 2008.

All the textbooks for other subjects used in Tibetan schools in Mtsho sngon were the same, including the Tibetan language textbooks. KNBS was no exception. The Tibetan language textbooks were written and edited by the Mtsho lho khul gyi slob grwa chung 'bring gi bod yig slob deb sgrig rtsom tshogs pa 'Junior and Primary School Tibetan Textbook Editing Committee of Mtsho lho Prefecture'. There was a total of eighteen books with one book used for each term for nine years.

The main title of all Tibetan language textbooks for both primary and junior middle schools was *Mtsho lho khul gyi 'gan babs slob gso'i bod yig tshod lta'i slob deb 'Mtsho lho Prefecture Compulsory Education Trial Tibetan Textbook'*. The title of the primary school Tibetan textbooks was *Tibetan Language*, but each book clearly stated the target term and grade, for example, *Mtsho lho Prefecture Compulsory Education Trial Tibetan Textbook: Tibetan Language (First Term of Grade One)*. Junior middle school Tibetan

textbooks were *Vocabulary, Grammar, History, Philosophy, Poetry,* and *Literature*. These books were titled according to their content, e.g., during the second term of grade seven, the title of the textbook was *Tibetan Grammar*.

Besides Tibetan language class, Chinese, math, music, ideology and morality instruction, English, Science, and IT were also taught to primary school students. The titles of the textbooks were, respectively: *Compulsory Education Textbook-Chinese, Compulsory Education Textbook-Math, Compulsory Education Textbook-Music, Compulsory Education Textbook-Ideology and Morality Instruction, Compulsory Education Textbook-English, Compulsory Education Textbook-Science,* and *Compulsory Education Textbook-IT*. English, science, and IT were only taught to students from grades four to six of primary school.

Grade seven students had the Tibetan language class and Chinese, English, math, politics, geography, Chinese history, biology, music, art, and IT. The titles of the textbooks for these subjects followed the pattern given above.

Grade eight students had classes in Tibetan, Chinese, English, math, politics, geography, Chinese history, biology, physics, music, art, and IT. The titles of the textbooks for these subjects were as given above.

Grade nine students had classes in Tibetan, Chinese, English, math, politics, physics, chemistry, world history, art, and IT. The titles of the textbooks for these subjects were as given. There was no textbook for PE class during which students exercised and engaged in sports and physical activities on the school playground.

Teachers were forbidden to use their own materials during classes and thus only taught from the textbooks. This was in line with the general saying *kao shenme jiu jiao shenme* 'I teach what is on the test'. The school organized four exams to evaluate how well students had memorized materials, how well teachers used the textbooks, and how well teachers taught according to the syllabus. These exams consisted of two monthly exams, a mid-term exam, and a final exam. The first monthly exam was at the end of the first month of the term,

the mid-term exam was at the end of the second month of the term, the second monthly exam was at the end of the third month of the term, and the final exam was at the end of the term. Teachers were forbidden to prepare and give exams to their own class. For example, teacher A of class one made an exam for class two, and teacher B of class two made an exam for class one. The exams were based on the relevant textbooks. Using other material meant that students would probably do poorly on the exams.

CLASSES

From grades one to three, there were four classes per grade, with each class having about forty students. From grades four to six, there were nine classes per grade. This was because students from Stong che Nationalities Boarding School, 'Phrang dmar Nationalities Boarding School, and La ze ba Nationalities Boarding School joined KNBS after three years of study in those schools. In 2013, the local county government and the education bureau thought that KNBS was crowded with more than 3,000 students, and decided that Stong che Nationalities Boarding School, 'Phrang dmar Nationalities Boarding School, and La ze ba Nationalities Boarding School would have classes through grade six. From September 2013 to July 2014, there were only four classes for grade four in KNBS, because the other three schools kept their own students for grade four. From September 2014 to July 2015, there were four classes for both grade four and five. From September 2015, there were only four classes for grades one to six.

From grades seven to nine, there were nine classes for each grade with each class having about forty-five students. In 2014, another grade seven class was added. All the students in this class were from two villages in Nang chen (Nangqian) County, Yul shul (Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province.

Figure 1. Classes in KNBS

Grades	Class	Number of Students	Class Model	Total
Grade One	Class (1)	36	TL ¹	166
	Class (2)	43	TL	
	Class (3)	43	CL	
	Class (4)	44	CL	
Grade Two	Class (1)	35	TL	152
	Class (2)	37	TL	
	Class (3)	39	CL	
	Class (4)	41	CL	
Grade Three	Class (1)	38	TL	155
	Class (2)	38	TL	
	Class (3)	37	CL	
	Class (4)	42	CL	
Grade Four	Class (1)	42	TL	172
	Class (2)	42	TL	
	Class (3)	43	CL	
	Class (4)	45	CL	
Grade Five	Class (1)	49	TL	200
	Class (2)	51	TL	
	Class (3)	50	CL	
	Class (4)	50	CL	
Grade Six	Class (1)	43	TL	415
	Class (2)	45	TL	
	Class (3)	47	TL	
	Class (4)	45	TL	
	Class (5)	44	TL	
	Class (6)	45	CL	

¹ For the purpose of this paper, we use TL to signify 'Tibetan language class' and CL to signify 'Chinese language class'.

	Class (7)	47	CL	
	Class (8)	50	CL	
	Class (9)	49	CL	
Grade Seven	Class (1)	49	TL	434
	Class (2)	48	TL	
	Class (3)	46	TL	
	Class (4)	48	TL	
	Class (5)	48	TL	
	Class (6)	47	CL	
	Class (7)	50	CL	
	Class (8)	49	CL	
	Class (9)	49	CL	
	Class (10)	40	CL	
Grade Eight	Class (1)	50	TL	443
	Class (2)	51	TL	
	Class (3)	52	TL	
	Class (4)	52	TL	
	Class (5)	50	TL	
	Class (6)	51	CL	
	Class (7)	47	CL	
	Class (8)	45	CL	
	Class (9)	45	CL	
Grade Nine	Class (1)	43	TL	371
	Class (2)	40	TL	
	Class (3)	40	TL	
	Class (4)	40	TL	
	Class (5)	39	TL	
	Class (6)	42	CL	
	Class (7)	43	CL	
	Class (8)	42	CL	
	Class (9)	43	CL	

 CLASS DIVISION

The classes of each grade were divided between the *shuangyu ban* 'bilingual class' and the *putong ban* 'ordinary class'. The former meant that all subjects were taught in the Tibetan language except for the Chinese and English languages; and the latter meant that all classes were taught in the Chinese language except for the Tibetan language class. Class size varied from thirty-five to fifty students. Students chose the class they wanted to join. Students who chose to be in CL classes were considered to have Chinese that was better than their Tibetan. For TL classes, for grades one to four, two classes were TL classes and two classes were CL classes. For grades from five to nine, five classes were TL classes and four classes were CL classes.

'DZIN BDAG (BAN ZHUREN) CLASS HEADS

Every class in school had a class head, who was a teacher and who generally taught a subject to the same class. The class head was responsible for all class affairs. The class head held meetings after first notifying the students, solving such matters as conflicts between students, and contacting students' parents if necessary, e.g., if a student was sick.

According to the *Workbook of Mtsho lho Prefecture Primary and Middle School Class Heads*,¹ the class head had twelve responsibilities regarding educating students on political and moral thought as listed below:

- setting a plan for class activities and class goals, as well as class heads' own work plan;
- educating students to improve their studies;

¹ *Hainanzhou zhongxiaoxue banzhuren gongzuo shouce 'Workbook of Mtsho lho Prefecture Primary and Middle School Class Heads'* gives duties and responsibilities for class heads. Class heads were required to record class activities in this book.

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- supervising students' daily life and health;
 - educating students on working hard and fostering their work skills;
 - leading class committee work¹ and fostering class cadres, as well as supervising Youth League² work;
 - understanding students, and recording the students' moral thoughts, studies, and health;
 - taking responsibility for public equipment in the classroom and educating students to take good care of public equipment;
 - working hard to improve their own qualities as a teacher and conducting scientific research on moral education;
 - accumulating information on plans, summaries, themes of class meetings, attendance, marks, and activities;
 - coordinating all students matters with the school;
 - educating students on developing good conduct, and character-building

LANGUAGES

The school did not have strict rules about language use in classes. Teachers were expected to teach in the language they felt most comfortable speaking. All Tibetan teachers who taught Tibetan language as a subject used Tibetan in both TL and CL classes. All Chinese teachers who taught Chinese as a subject used Chinese in both TL and CL classes. The same textbooks that lacked Tibetan explanations were used. English teachers used either Chinese or Tibetan as a language of instruction to teach English. Han teachers who taught subjects other than English and Tibetan used Chinese in CL classes, and Tibetan teachers who taught other subjects than

¹ The class committee consisted of a general class monitor, the monitor in charge of studies, the PE monitor, and class labor monitor. The class head was responsible for assigning responsibilities to the committee and supervising their work.

² The Gong qing nian tuan 'Youth League' is an organization for youth between the ages of fourteen and twenty-eight. It is run by the Communist Party of China.

English and Chinese, used Tibetan in TL classes.

Tibetan teachers spoke Tibetan out of class among themselves and Chinese teachers spoke Chinese among themselves. Chinese was spoken when Tibetan and Chinese teachers communicated with one another, except for two or three Han teachers who spoke fluent Tibetan.

Chinese was spoken during general school faculty meetings. However, Tibetan was often spoken during Tibetan language teachers' meetings.

Language use during student meetings depended on who convened the meeting. All school leaders were Tibetan. If they held the meeting, Tibetan was usually spoken. If the meeting was held by departments other than the Tibetan Department, Chinese was commonly used because these departments had Chinese teachers who understood little Tibetan.

DISCIPLINE AND RULES

A significant portion of this paper is a listing of rules and punishments for violating these rules. While at first glance, this may seem an excessive use of space, they are important. KNBS was famous for its strict rules. The school leaders put more emphasis on enforcing school rules than on teaching. They held that adherence to rules meant teachers and students did their tasks well. Furthermore, local villagers tended to evaluate the school on the enforcement of school rules. For example, if parents knew that their child had to follow rigid rules, they considered the school to be good. Furthermore, they thought a requirement that teachers had to obey many strict rules translated into teachers teaching well. Local government also felt that unwanted issues with "social stability" were minimized through rule enforcement and that leaders who imposed such rules were superior leaders.

Based on student marks, the quality of education in KNBS outshone boarding schools in 'Ba' rdzong, Gser chen, and Brag dkar, supporting the notion that its strict rules were effective.

The school had a *xiaozhang* 'principal', a *shuji* 'Party Secretary',

and two *fu xiaozhang* 'vice-principals'. In addition, there were four management offices - the Dean's Office, Deyu chu 'Moral Education Management Department', Shenghuo guanli chu 'Daily-life Management Department', and Xiao Bangongshi 'General Administration Office'. One vice-principal and the Dean's Office were responsible for teaching, another vice-principal and the Daily-life Management Department were responsible for the students' and teachers' food and living quarters, and the Party Secretary directed the Moral Education Management Department, which was responsible for student and teacher discipline. The school principal was responsible for all school matters.

The Moral Education Management Department was responsible for educating, warning, inspecting, and punishing the students; maintaining student discipline; creating rules and passing them on to teachers and students; and punishing those who violated the rules.

Dormitory Management Rules¹

- Students could not take visiting parents or relatives to the dormitory room. Instead, students were required to meet them in the duty office when they did not have class and were not involved in school activities.
- Without permission, students could not exchange rooms and beds, duplicate keys, and handle others' belongings. Violators received *jinggao chufen*² 'warning punishment'.
- Boys could not enter girls' dorm rooms and vice versa at any time without permission.
- Students were expected to respect others when they rested and not play music, speak loudly, and throw garbage or other objects out

¹ I have translated these rules from Chinese as given in *Xuesheng sushe guanli zhidu* 'School Dormitory Management Rules' and printed as *Xuexiao houqin guanli tiaoli* 'School Logistics Management Rules'.

² The school officially warned students who violated school rules.

of windows. Violators received *jiguo chufen*¹ 'demerit punishments'. Those who injured others by throwing things out of windows were expected to take legal responsibility.

- Gambling was forbidden with punishments dependent on the seriousness of the infraction. A student could be expelled for a serious infraction, otherwise it was a demerit.
- It was strictly prohibited to climb windows, fight, cause trouble to others, and drink alcoholic beverages in the dorms. Violators were expelled for serious infractions, otherwise they received a demerit.
- The use of electric cookers, connecting wires to the electricity lines, using table lamps, and installing plugs in the dorm rooms were forbidden.
- Discarding garbage in the corridor, drains, or in the toilet was prohibited. The responsible party was expected to pay to have resultant problems fixed. If the violator was not identified, all the students in the concerned dorm were charged. Those who intentionally damaged communal facilities, such as those related to electricity and water, compensated for all losses, and were given a demerit.
- All dorm rooms were checked for sanitation. If a dorm room was found to be unclean, untidy, and if cobwebs were on the wall, dorm residents were told to clean it again. If there was no improvement, all residents of this dorm room were punished.
- All students took turns being on duty. Those who did not serve were punished.
- All dorm facilities belonged to the school and moving anything out of the dorm room was forbidden. Doing so was regarded as theft of school property.
- Students were required to park their bicycles in the parking area;

¹ This punishment was approved by the Moral Education Management Department, and was announced during a general student meeting. The punishment was also posted on notice boards in the school yard and was noted in student's personal records. If the violator behaved well afterwards, the school removed the demerit punishment from the student's personal records.

otherwise they received a demerit.

- Students who violated dormitory rules and ignored administrators' directions were punished and were liable for all the consequences of their violations.

Daily Management Rules¹

- Students were instructed to develop good habits of being polite when receiving things from others, giving things to others, speaking to others, and while being among others.
- Students were not to discard garbage randomly, draw graffiti on walls, damage public property, waste food, or damage flowers and lawns.
- Students were expected to use water economically. Violators had one to two points deducted from *banji kaopingfen* 'Class Assessment Points'.²
- Discarding paper, erasers, pencil stubs, and so on in toilets and wash basins resulted in violators compensating for losses if facilities were damaged or blocked.
- Students disconnecting or damaging pipes connected to the water tank were punished. Two to four points were deducted from their Class Assessment Points and they had to compensate for damages.
- Damage to heating pipes and heating equipment in the corridor and rooms resulted in two to four points deducted from their Class Assessment Points and compensating for resulting damage.
- Students were required to gently flush the toilet after defecation. One to three points were deducted from the Class Assessment Points and compensation paid for damage to flushing mechanisms.
- Classroom and dormitory doors were to be opened and closed gently and good care taken of the locks. One to five points were

¹ These rules were printed in *Xuexiao richang guanli zhidu* 'School Daily Management Rules' and released as *Guide minzu jisuzhi xuexiao zhidu huibian* 'Compilation of Guide Nationalities Boarding School Rules'.

² Each class received one hundred points at the beginning of the semester. Points were deducted when students violated school rules. At the end of the semester, the school rewarded the class with the most points.

deducted from Class Assessment Points and compensation paid for damage to doors and locks.

- Mops were to be rinsed in the mop basin, not in the toilet basin or wash basin, and then dried. Mops were not to be shaken, which dirtied and damaged the walls. One to five points were deducted from Class Assessment Points and compensation paid if walls were damaged.
- Carving, painting, or sticking pictures on desks and stools were forbidden. One to five points were deducted from Class Assessment Points and compensation was paid for violations.
- Moving fire extinguishers in the classrooms, dormitories, and canteen was forbidden. Violators were seriously punished and compensation was required.
- Climbing or jumping over stair railings and other dangerous facilities was forbidden and subject to one to three points being deducted from Class Assessment Points.
- Exit signs were not to be kicked or broken. Two to five points were deducted from Class Assessment Points. Violators had to compensate for damage.
- Students were required to stand in line for food in the canteen. Students could eat as much as they wanted, but should not waste food. Class heads were expected to educate students if they wasted food. The school gave demerits to violators, who could not receive honors in the year of the violation.
- In the dormitory, students had to obey administrators' directions. Students were not allowed to go to other dorm rooms, had to go to bed on time, and were required to turn off the room lights on time. Students who dirtied rooms lost two to five Class Assessment Points.
- Students had to clean the school. Rooms had to be cleaned once during lunch time and again after supper. Classroom corridors and walls were to be cleaned and protected. Yards had to be cleaned twice a day, and more than twice a day if it rained, snowed, or if there was strong wind. Teachers made random checks. If any of these places were found to be dirty, two to ten points were

deducted from Class Assessment Points.

- Students were prohibited to walk on lawns. Violators had one to five points deducted from Class Assessment Points.
- Damage to school property, including passageways, walls, dust bins, windows, glass panes, stair railings, switches, lights, curtains, cabinets, beds, desks, stools, projectors, and computers had to be compensated. Offenders received no honors that year and one to ten points were deducted from their Class Assessment Points.
- It was strictly prohibited to use personal electrical devices and charge any personal electric device in the classrooms and dormitories. Making a fire in the dormitory and classrooms was strictly prohibited. Violators received demerits and one to ten points were deducted from their Class Assessment Points.
- Students were not to eat and drink bad products that had expired, nor were they to eat junk food. Students were to exercise good eating habits and consume healthy food.
- Stealing was prohibited. Vacant rooms were to be properly locked and no one could enter a room through a window.
- Students were not to allow others to stay in the dormitories. Strangers found in a dormitory without permission were sent to the local police station.
- Combustibles, explosives, knives, and other items unrelated to study were not allowed on campus. Students were not to set off firecrackers. Throwing items and pouring water out of windows were forbidden. Violators were given a demerit and one to ten points were deducted from Class Assessment Points for breaking this rule.
- Students were required to go to their dorm rooms immediately after the final evening class.
- Students involved in disputes had to consult teachers and ask for mediation. Violators were given a demerit and one to ten points were deducted from their Class Assessment Points.
- It was strictly prohibited to go near the electricity distribution room and other potentially hazardous areas. Damage to wires and

the running water inspection well¹ were prohibited. Injuries incurred when violating these rules were the violator's responsibility.

- Two copies of leave permission were required when leaving school. The class head and gate keeper had to have a copy. The student had to be accompanied by a relative when leaving the school and had to return to the school on time as stipulated on the leave paper. The student was responsible for what happened while absent from school.
- Students were expected to supervise each other and report to teachers when students violated school rules. Such students were praised for their report.

Class Management Rules for Students²

- Students were required to come to class on time and were not allowed to leave during class without the teacher's consent.
- The class monitor was required to take attendance and keep a record of students who were absent and the reasons for the absence.
- Before and after class, the class monitor was to say "Stand up" when the teacher entered the classroom, and then "Sit down."
- During class, students were to listen attentively and not talk to others. Students were to raise their hand if they had questions. During class, all electronic devices were to be turned off.
- Students should erase the blackboard during breaks.
- Students were not to smoke or eat in the classrooms, which were to be kept clean and tidy.
- Graffiti and drawing stick pictures on window ledges, desks, and stools, and moving desks, stools, and other items in the classroom

¹ This well contained a valve that was turned off if the water pipes were blocked or damaged.

² *Xuesheng ketang guanli guize* 'Class Management Rules for Students' were released as *Guide minzu jisuzhi xuexiao zhidu huibian* 'Compilation of Guide Nationalities Boarding School Rules'.

were all forbidden.

- The last person to leave the classroom was to turn off the lights.
- Students were required to dress properly for class.
- Students violating any of the above rules were subject to punishment according to the seriousness of the infraction.

STUDENT PUNISHMENT

Punishments included oral warnings, serious warnings, recording demerits, and staying at home for a year under surveillance. Oral warnings were the least severe. The class head reported student infractions to the Dean's Office, which then gave permission to the class head to orally warn the student for their errors during class meetings.

Serious warnings required approval from the Moral Education Management Department, and the warning would be announced during a general student meeting. The warning was also posted on notice boards in the school yard. Serious warnings were noted in students' *dang'an*, 'personal records'.¹

Recording demerit punishments required approval by the Dean's Office and were then sent on to the principal. After his approval and signature, the Dean's Office was required to announce the demerit during a meeting of the entire school. Additionally, the punishment was posted on notice boards, and the student's parents were informed. Demerit punishments were recorded in the student's personal record.

If a student received a serious warning and did not rectify their behavior, a demerit was recorded. If the student did not subsequently correct their behavior, they were told to leave school and stay at home for a year under their parent's surveillance. This was also reported to the County Education Bureau. During the student's stay at home, the parents were expected to educate them.

¹ Personal records refer to files that recorded the achievements, rule violations, and marks received from the school, and accompanied the student throughout their lifetime.

MANAGEMENT RULES FOR TEACHERS¹

- Teachers were expected to follow various management rules. Teaching assessment was partly based on how well these rules were followed.
- During class, teachers were forbidden to use phones, play music, leave early, meet friends, and come to class late. They were also required to dress properly and to stand during class. They were expected to keep the class neat and tidy.
- Teachers were required to teach according to a syllabus and scheduled plan. Absences and exchanging classes with others without permission from the Dean's Office were prohibited. After class in the afternoon, teachers were required to ask the students to clean the classroom, close the windows and doors, and turn off the lights.
- Teachers were to take attendance before class started and report absences and the reasons for those absences to the Dean's Office.
- Student safety was first in the case of, for example, earthquakes and fires. Teachers were required to address problems wisely and report all student injuries to the school leaders in an emergency.
- Teachers were to have well-prepared lesson plans and actively communicate and listen to the leaders' suggestions.
- Teachers were to punctually attend meetings arranged by the school, take notes, and not make phone calls or talk idly to their neighbors.
- Teachers were forbidden to leave school when they had no classes because school leaders might look for them and assign tasks. If a teacher was absent for more than forty-five minutes, it was recorded as being absent for the whole day.
- Teachers were expected to speak Mandarin in Chinese classes, and maintain classroom control.
- Incidents such as disputes between students were to be properly dealt with. Students were never to be punished physically and were

¹ These rules - *Jiaoshi guanli zhidu 'Teachers' Management Rules'* - were posted on a wall of every office.

to be given moral education.

- Surfing the internet, playing games, and sleeping in the office were forbidden.
- Class heads were to closely observe students and report to school leaders and the student's parents if a student was absent or violated rules.
- Teacher achievement was directly related to the students' marks. Two exams were given to the students per term. Teachers were expected to take full responsibility if the students' marks did not increase.
- Teachers' performance was evaluated monthly. Those who failed were required to observe other teachers' classes and write a plan on how to improve.

PUNISHMENT FOR TEACHERS

Teachers who violated rules were fined by the headmasters and the deans, and instructed to change their behavior. If they were uncooperative, school leaders reported this to the education bureau and requested that these teachers be sent to rural schools.¹

FACULTY MANAGEMENT RULES²

- All teachers were to be at school no later than eight-thirty AM and leave at five-thirty PM. Written leave permission from the Dean's Office was necessary if a teacher could not report to work or had

¹ In 2016, there were three Tibetan boarding schools in the county. Two were located in township towns and one was located in a village. These sites had relatively few people and transportation was inconvenient. Teachers did not want to work there.

² These rules, originally in Chinese, were known as *Xuexiao jiaozhigong guanli zhidu* 'School Faculty Members Management Rules' and were printed as *Xuexiao houqin guanli tiaoli* 'School Logistics Management Rules'.

to leave school during work hours. Violators were fined fifty RMB.

- Cleaners, child-care workers, and daily-life administrators were expected to keep their rooms and the school yard clean, and clean them twice a day. If leaders found unclean areas, they were fined twenty RMB.
- Child-care workers, daily-life administrators, and gatekeepers were expected to speak to the students' parents politely, otherwise, they were fined thirty RMB.
- All faculty members were required to stay in the office and work. They were not to chat, surf the internet, watch movies, play games, or engage in activities unrelated to their official work. Violators were subject to a fine of twenty RMB.
- Printers, photocopy machines, and cars were not to be used for private matters. Violators were fined twenty to 200 RMB.
- School facilities, including computers, were to be used in a way that did not result in damage.
- Documents provided by the school leaders or the government could not be discarded. To do so resulted in fines of one hundred RMB.
- After work, all lights and other electrical equipment were to be turned off, and all windows and doors closed. Violators were fined twenty RMB.

PARENTS' VISITS TO STUDENTS

From March 2009 to January 2015, students had twenty-two days consecutively (including weekends) of classes and then had an eight- or nine-day break. When the break began, parents were required to come to school and escort their children home. When the holiday ended, parents had to escort their children back to school.

Figure 3. First Term Monthly Holidays, 2015.

Month	Weekends Accumulated	Official Holidays	Days Off	Dates at School	Days at School	Holiday Start	Holiday End
Sept	8	1 day for Mid-Autumn Festival ¹	9	1-25 Sept	25	25 Sept	5 Oct
Oct	8	3 days for National Day	11	5-27 Oct	22	27 Oct	7 Nov
Nov	10	0	10	7-29 Nov	22	29 Nov	8 Dec
Dec	8	0	8	8-30 Dec	22	30 Dec	8 Jan
Jan	4	0	4	1-15 Jan	7	17 Jan	1 March
Sept	8	1 day for Mid-Autumn Festival ²	9	1-25 Sept	25	25 Sept	5 Oct
Oct	8	3 days for National Day	11	5-27 Oct	22	27 Oct	7 Nov
Nov	10	0	10	7-29 Nov	22	29 Nov	8 Dec
Dec	8	0	8	8-30 Dec	22	30 Dec	8 Jan
Jan	4	0	4	1-15 Jan	7	17 Jan	1 March

¹ Zhongqiu jie 'Mid-Autumn Festival' is a harvest festival celebrated by Chinese.

² Zhongqiu jie 'Mid-Autumn Festival' is a harvest festival celebrated by Chinese.

Figure 4. Monthly Holidays for the Second Term, 2015.

Month	Weekends Accumulated	Official Holidays	Days Off	Dates at School	Days at School	Holiday Start	Holiday End
March	10	0	10	1-22 Mar	22	23 March	2 April
April	8	2 days for Tomb Sweeping Day ¹ and Labor Day ²	10	2-23 Apr	22	24 April	4 May
May	9	0	9	4-25 May	22	26 May	4 June
June	9	0	10	4-25 June	22	26 June	5 July
July	6	0	6	5-15 July	11	15 July	1 Sept

Parents could visit their children at school once a month on a day the school determined and announced when the parents came to take their children home. On visiting day, parents could enter the school to meet their children. Parents could not take their children out of school unless they were sick, a relative was very ill, or the family was holding an important event, such as a wedding or, for girls, a coming of age ritual.³ In such cases, parents sought permission from the school by giving clear reasons orally, otherwise the gatekeeper would not allow a child to leave the school. If the parents simply took the child away, the school punished the gatekeeper. During the day parents visited, they could bring bread, fruit, meat, noodles, dumplings, and so on and eat with their children on the school sports ground. They were also allowed to leave food for their children. Parents were told not to bring

¹ Qingming jie 'Tomb Sweeping Day' generally falls in the fourth lunar month on the fifteenth day after the Spring Equinox and is a day Chinese offer sacrifices to their ancestors.

² Laodong jie 'Labor Day' is observed on May First.

³ For example, see Tshe dpal rdo rje et al. (2009).

instant noodles, beverages such as Coca-Cola and Sprite, and junk food such as cookies, chips, and candy.

In March 2015, the holiday system changed as indicated below:

Figure 5. March-July Holidays, March 2015.

Month	Weekends Accumulated	Official Holidays	Days Off	Days at School	Holiday Start	Holiday End
March	4	0	4	10.5	11 March PM	
March	5	0	5	10.5	26 March PM	1 April
April	4	1 day for Tomb Sweeping Day	5	10.5	11 April PM	April 17
April	4	0	4	10.5	27 April PM	May 2
May	6	1 day for Labor Day	6	10.5	May 12 PM	May 19
May	5	0	5	10.5	May 30 PM	June 5
June	4	0	4	10.5	June 16 PM	June 21
June	5	0	5	10.5	July 1 PM	July 7
July	4	0	4	14.0	July 21	1 Sept

Figure 6. September-January Holidays, 2015.

Month	Weekends Accumulated	Official Holidays	Days Off	Days at School	Holiday Starts	Holiday Ends
Sept	3	0	3	11	16 Sept	20 Sept
Sept	4	3 days for National Holiday	7	11	30 Sept	8 Oct
Oct	5		5	11	18 Oct	23 Oct
Oct	4	1 day for Mid-Autumn Festival	5	11	2 Nov	8 Nov

Nov	5		5	11	18 Nov	24 Nov
Nov	4		5	11	4 Dec	9 Dec
Dec	4		4	11	19 Dec	23 Dec
Dec	4		5	11	2 Jan	7Jan
January	4		4	9	15 Jan	

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

Parents who came to take their children home or escorted them to school were required to find and inform the student's class head. These were the only times that parents met their child's class head. During the meeting, parents might have asked the class head about their children's behavior and study. Parents seldom met other teachers. When other teachers wanted to meet a student's parents, they first needed to discuss it with the student's class head. Afterwards, the class head discussed the issue with the student's parents when they met in the school.

TEACHERS' VISITS TO PARENTS

Home visitation was a school activity aimed at improving the relationship between students and teachers by helping teachers better understand the students and their family background. The school began to organize such visits in about 2009. Teachers were told to visit students' homes in groups of three to four and spend ten days visiting as many homes as possible. During the visit, they discussed the student's studies and general behavior at school, the family's economic conditions (e.g., parents' jobs), how they earned cash income, and what students did at home. These questions sought to elicit information that would allow the teachers and school to better understand the students' family condition and background. Teachers were required to take notes while talking to the parents or relatives at their homes and complete the form below. From 2009 to 2015, teachers visited 1,600 rural homes.

Figure 7. Khri ka Nationalities Boarding School Form Completed by Visiting Teachers During Winter Holiday Home Visits.

Student Name	Class	Parents' Names
Name of Visitor	Name of visited student	Relationship between the student and their guardian
Parents' Phone Number	How did you visit? By car, by bus - specify.	Visit date
Student's Home address		
What did you discuss?		
Parents' opinions and suggestions.	Signature:	

SCHOOL LEADERS' REPORT TO THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Every term, the school reported to the local education bureau on how students' marks improved, how well both students and teachers adhered to the rules, and the achievements the students, teachers, and school had realized during the term. If the school principals had a good relationship with the Education Bureau leaders, there were generally no problems with evaluation.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES' SUPERVISION OF SCHOOL LEADERS

The education bureaus of both Khri ka County and Mtsho lho Prefecture supervised the school leaders. Staff from the prefecture bureau visited the school at least once a year, while county bureau staff visited at least once a term. The school principal supervised other school leaders and had the authority to change them as he thought best. He, in turn, was closely supervised by the local education bureau. He was expected to deal with all issues "correctly," particularly political issues. For example, in December 2014, the principal invited a well-known monk scholar to give a speech to students, their parents, and teachers at the school. Later, the government concluded that the speech was politically sensitive and the principal was fired.

SCHOOL EVALUATION

Several government departments evaluated the school each term. The County Education Bureau evaluated teaching, mainly on the basis of how well students performed on exams, especially the Senior High School Entrance Examination. Guide xian weisheng ju 'Public Health Bureau of Khri ka County' evaluated sanitation in the school canteen. Staff from Guide xian xiaofang dadui 'Khri ka County Fire Station' inspected potential fire dangers in the school. Guide xian shipin yaopin jiandu guanli ju 'Khri ka County Food and Drug Supervision Administration' checked food quality. Guide xian gong'an ju 'Khri ka County Public Security Bureau' was responsible for political issues, and visited, especially during politically sensitive periods to ensure social stability. Staff from the listed government departments came to the school to inspect at least once a term.

TEACHER EVALUATION

School principals and deans evaluated the teachers. A former KNBS principal told me that teachers were evaluated monthly based on how diligently they checked students' homework, the marks the teachers' students received, how well the teacher observed school rules, the number of observations a teacher made of other teachers' classes, and political study. For the latter point, teachers were assigned reading materials related to politics and told to take notes that were subsequently handed in to school leaders for inspection. School leaders were then required to give them a mark.

Teachers were also expected to obey school leaders. Teachers generally passed the evaluation, and marks given could be "fail," "pass," or "good." The school principals and deans then examined the results of the above evaluations and gave teachers a mark. If a teacher failed the evaluation, the local Education Bureau might have assigned them to rural areas to teach the next semester. Evaluation was thus taken very seriously by every teacher.

CONCLUSION

Khri ka Nationalities Boarding School had 2,500 students and faculty members in 2015. This may have made it one of the largest boarding schools in Asia. Local government built KNBS, in theory, to provide better education to rural children with better facilities and to optimize resources. In my opinion, however, its disadvantages far outweighed its advantages.

Firstly, primary school students were too young to leave home and live at the school without the care of parents and/or other closely related, concerned elders. Constantly thinking about their parents made it difficult for the children to concentrate on study. Many children were so homesick that they often wept. For example, a grade three student (b. 2002) told me, "I cried many times at school because I missed my home and parents."

Importantly, children received less exposure to traditional family values from their relatives and community while at school. Such values stress moral behavior e.g., not stealing, respect for elders, and obedience to parents. Local Tibetans stressed the benefits of traditional family education by pointing out that Tibetan children raised in cities lacked such an education and, therefore, "Do not behave like Tibetans," e.g., lacked respect for elders and their parents and sometimes changed their religious beliefs. Local Tibetan villagers also commented that local government did not want children to grow up and be like their elders or Tibetans, which they felt was a key reason for the closure of village primary schools. There was also a widely-held belief among local Tibetans that the school was built to benefit local government by reducing the number of teachers teaching in primary schools and thus reducing educational expenditures.

Village Tibetans also complained that the new schooling system adversely affected their cash earning activities because they were compelled to come to the county town twice a month to take their children home and then escort them back to school. Sending a child to a village school would have allowed elders in the child's family to care for them. Conversely, sending a child to school in the county town meant an adult had to stay at home all year to care for the children.

As an example of the real expenses and time involved, I will describe a family that I know well. The father (b. 1976) and the mother (b. 1977) had three children whom they had to escort to and from the boarding school in Khri ka County Town. Consequently, a parent had to stay at home all year because the children's grandparents were too old to travel comfortably. Each month, one parent had to make two round trips to the county town to pick up and then return their children. Approximate expense for one round trip for this family was about one hundred RMB. One adult working outside the home earned 8,000 to 10,000 RMB annually. Total expenses, including lost income, for placing their children in KNBS were thus approximately 10,800 RMB per year.

Although nine-year compulsory education was represented as "free," villagers' expenses related to their children's education

increased after centralization due to transportation costs and other expenses. For example, parents generally ate in restaurants, and felt compelled to buy snacks for their children in town when they visited. In fact, expenses for students after centralization were more than double the expenses for students before centralization.

The school had classes for ten and a half days consecutively. Consequently, children were often exhausted and lacked motivation to learn. Young students truly disliked the school because they could not stay with their family members, especially their parents. Staying in school without the company of family members made it hard for them to focus on study. Young, homesick students were so emotionally distraught that they found it very difficult to concentrate on study and yearned to stay in the village schools so that they could be with their family. A teacher at KNBS said, "When the school just started, both parents and their children were crying, because they missed each other. Later, we continued to observe many children crying because they missed their homes and parents."

A villager confided that his son started grade one in KNBS in 2013 and that every time he visited his son at school, his son cried because he missed home. "It is a very sad situation, but we have no choice," he concluded.

Teachers also disliked the school system, complaining that their burden was heavy because they had too much work and responsibility, and too little time to rest. In addition to teaching (including on weekends), they had to ensure the students went to bed and that the children ate regularly.

Furthermore, Wang et al. (2016) raise serious questions about nutrition, health, and education in boarding schools after conducting research in fifty-nine counties in Shaanxi, Gansu, Qinghai, and Guizhou provinces; and the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. Their survey of 37,181 students aged eight to fifteen, compared the nutrition, health, and educational outcomes of students in boarding school students to those not in boarding school. They concluded that students in boarding school had poorer nutrition and health than those who were not, and also performed at lower academic levels.

Collectively, these challenges strongly suggest that students at KNBS were unable to learn well. I recommend keeping children in village schools until they finish grade three. Students at this age still need their parents and relatives to care for them.

Unquestionably, education quality at KNBS would be better if class size was reduced and classes were *not* held for ten and a half consecutive days followed by a four-day holiday.

Reopening village schools seems unlikely. Local government invested a great deal in building this school and represented it as so successful that other areas should emulate it. In addition, the millions of RMB and political capital invested in KNBS have surely influenced the provincial government to advocate that other county governments should copy this school system model in the near future in order to demonstrate their desire to positively reform the education system in Mtsho sngon.

The ultimate goal of education is to empower people, their families, their communities, and the nation with the new knowledge and skills that they learn. In the best of worlds, education should be a teaching and learning process through which people learn skills and new knowledge enabling them to think critically, to easily learn new skills, and thus be better prepared for future tasks in a modern, rapidly changing world. A school is, therefore, not only a place to score high on examinations and not violate many rules, but ideally an important site for the transmission of new skills and new knowledge.

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

- 'ba' rdzong འབའ་རྫོང་། (Tongde 同德),
 'dzin dbag འཛིན་བདག་། (Ban zhuren 班主任)
 'phrang dmar འཕྲང་དམར་། (Changmu 常牧)
banji kaopingfen 班级考评分
 brag dkar བྲག་དཀར་། (Xinghai 兴海)
 brag dmar nang བྲག་དམར་ནང་། (Zheme ang 者么昂)
 chab cha ཆབ་ཇ། (Qiabuqia 恰不恰)
 Changzhou 常州
 chu nub ལྷུ་ལུ་། (Hexi 河西)
 chu shar ལྷུ་ཤར་། (Hedong 河东)
 chu srib ལྷུ་སྲིབ་། (Heyin 河阴)
 Deyu chu 德育处

Fu Xiaozhang 副校长

Gong qing nian tuan 共青团

gser chen གསེར་ཆེན། (Gonghe 共和)

Guide minzu jisuzhi xuexiao zhidu huibian 贵德民族寄宿制学校制度
汇编

Guide xian gong'an ju 贵德县公安局

Guide xian shipin yaopin guanli ju 贵德县食品药品监督管理局

Guide xian weisheng ju 贵德县卫生局

Guide xian xiaofang dadui 贵德县消防大队

Hainan zhou zhong xiaoxue banzhuren gongzuo shouce 海南州中小学
班主任工作手册

Jiangsu 江苏

Jiaoshi guanli zhidu 教师管理制度

Jiaowu chu 教务处

Jichu zhishi 基础知识

Jingao chufen 警告处分

kao shenme jiu jiao shenme 考什么就教什么

khri ka ཁྲི་ཀ། (Guide 贵德)

la ze ba ལ་ཙེ་བ། (Laxiwa 拉西瓦)

laodong jie 劳动节

mang rdzong མང་རྫོང། (Guinan 贵南)

mgo log མགོ་ལོག། (Guoluo 果洛)

mtsho byang མཚོ་བྱང། (Haibei 海北)

mtsho lho khul gyi 'gan babs slob gso'i bod yig tshod lta'i slob deb མཚོ་
སྟོ་ལུ་གྱི་འགན་བབས་སློབ་གསལ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚད་ལྡན་སློབ་དེབ། (Hainanzhou yiwu
jiaoyu zangyuwen shiyong jiaocai 海南州义务教育藏语文试用
教材)

mtsho lho khul gyi slob grwa chung 'bring gi bod yig slob deb sgrig
rtsom tshogs pa མཚོ་སྟོ་ལུ་གྱི་སློབ་གྲྭ་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་འབྲིང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་སློབ་དེབ་སློབ་ཚུལ་ཚོགས་
པ། Hainan zhou zhongxiaoxue zangyuwen jiaocai bianxie
weiyuanhui 海南州中小学藏语文教材编写委员会

mtsho lho མཚོ་སྟོ། (Hainan 海南)

mtsho nub མཚོ་ལྔ། (Haixi 海西)

mtsho sngon མཚོ་སྟོན། (Qinghai 青海)

nang chen རན་ཆེན། (Nangqian 囊谦)

neidi 内地

Padan Nima, dpal ldan nyi ma དཔལ་ལྷན་ཉི་མ།

putong ban 普通班

Qinghai sheng jiaoyu ting jiaocai bianji chu 青海省教育厅教材编辑部

qingming jie 清明节

rmab lho མ་ལོ། (Huangnan 黄南)

sdong rgan thang སྡོང་རྒན་ཐང། (Dongguo tang 东果堂)

shuangyu ban 双语班

Shenghuo guanli chu 生活管理处

shuji 书记

stong che སྟོང་ཚེ། (Dangche 当车)

tshe dpal rdo rje ཚེ་དཔལ་རྡོ་རྗེ།

xiaozhang 校长

Xuesheng ketang guanli guize 学生课堂管理规则

Xuesheng sushe guanli zhidu 学生宿舍管理制度

Xuesheng zhuan yi fang'an 学生转移方案

Xuexiao houqin guanli tiaoli 学校后勤管理条例

Xuexiao jiaozhigong guanli zhidu 学校教职工管理制度

Xuexiao richang guanli zhidu 学校日常管理制度

yul shul ཡུལ་ལུ། (Yushu 玉树)

zi ling ཟླ་ལིང། (Xining 西宁)