

## Minority Education in Remote Regions of China

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**Abstract:** The aim of this study is to continue nineteen years of observations on minority education in China with a focus in three remote areas-Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and Heilongjiang and Hainan Provinces. Instruction for the first three years of primary school in these areas is generally in the native ethnic tongue after which instruction is in Mandarin Chinese. The vast majority of primary schools in these areas are in rural settings where the quality of education is generally much poorer than in urban settings. A nine-year compulsory education is being strongly promoted. A national examination is administered to students wishing to attend postsecondary institutions is generally adjusted downward for minority students. Until the mid 1990's students paid no tuition; now tuition accounts for 20 to 30% of operating costs. In most of the tertiary institutions studied, a year of preparatory study is required of minority students, the emphasis being on Mandarin Chinese, which is the language of instruction beyond the preparatory year. There are numerous postsecondary opportunities in the Xinjiang and Heilongjiang but only baccalaureate degrees in Hainan. As of 1998, instead of the government assigning all students to positions, graduates now have the opportunity to seek out their own position. Research in postsecondary institutions is commensurate with the institution's mission (e.g., preservation of minority language, agriculture, Chinese medicine). The Chinese government seems to be intent on Sincizing minority populations.

**Key words:** Uyghur, Han, Miao, Li, Minority education, Mandarin, preparatory year, national examination

### INTRODUCTION

**Three areas relatively neglected by comparative educationists:** During mid-April to mid-May, 1999, I was privileged to continue nineteen years of observations on education in the People's Republic of China (Kormondy, 1982, 1983, 1995, 2002). However, a number of personal and professional factors precluded preparing this report until this time. My three earliest publications were based on considerable travel throughout China, the 2002 publication focused on Tibet and Inner Mongolia, and this one focuses on Xinjiang Uyghur<sup>1</sup> Autonomous Region in the far northwest, Heilongjiang Province in the far northeast, and Hainan Province in the far southeast. Observations were made in eleven colleges and universities (Table 1) and one high school<sup>1</sup>. Three additional proposed visits in Heilongjiang Province were aborted when I was delayed in the Xinjiang area by severe dust storms that precluded flying.

The focus of my visits in 1993, 1997, and 1999 was to explore the education at all levels of China's ethnic minority nationalities. China's total population as of 2008 was 1,324, 681,000 of which, based on the most recent census (2000), slightly more than 112 million, or 8.47% belong to fifty-five recognized ethnic minority groups other than the predominate Han (91.53 percent or 1.2 billion) (TIME Almanac, 2010). The largest ethnic minority groups include the Zhuang (also spelled

Chuang), 17.2 million, Manchu (also known as Man) 11.4 million, Hui 10.5 million, Miao 954 thousand, and Uyghur 901 thousand. The latter group constitutes the majority ethnic minority population of Xinjiang, one of the areas of concern in this study. The smallest ethnic minority (1990 census) were the Lhoba in Tibet with a population of 2,300.

Whereas some regions of China are largely populated by given minority groups (e.g., Tibet, Inner Mongolia), some minorities are scattered more or less widely (e.g., Hui, Man, Miao), and yet others are found just in certain areas (e.g., Uyghur in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, Bai and Dai in Yunnan Province, and Li in Hainan Province).

The minority areas comprise more than 60% of the country's total area, including the politically sensitive zones in the west and north that face twelve neighboring countries. Presumably as a security measure, the government has managed a substantial migration of the majority Han into these minority autonomous regions, including Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and Xinjiang.

The intent of this study is to continue nineteen years of observations on minority education in China with a focus on three remote areas -Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in the far northwest, Heilongjiang Province in the northeast, and Hainan Province in the far southeast.

Table 1: Colleges and Universities visited in Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Regions (AR) and Heilongjiang and Hainan Provinces in 1991<sup>1</sup>

Institution	Location	Founding	Number of student/teacher	Percent minority students	minority	Predominant minority group	Percent minority faculty offered	Highest degree	Supervision
Xinjiang University*	Urumqi Xinjiang-Uyghur AR	1935	8545/1280	50		Uyghur, Hui, Kazak Mongolian	56	Ph.D.	Xinjiang-Uyghur AR
Xinjiang Agricultural University	Urumqi, Xinjiang-Uyghur AR	1952	4000/700	50		Uyghur, Kazak	33	Ph.D.	Xinjiang-Uyghur AR
Shihezi University	Shihezi, Xinjiang-Uyghur AR	1949**	11000/1000	18		Uyghur, Kazak Hui, Uzbek, Kirgiz Mongolian	4	Masters	Ministry of Agriculture
Xinjiang Medical University	Urumqi, Xinjiang-Uyghur AR	1956	5800/476	58		Uyghur, Kazak Mongolian, Hui	42	Ph.D.	Xinjiang-Uyghur AR
Xinjiang Normal University	Urumqi, Xinjiang-Uyghur AR	1978	4000/740	60		Uyghur, Kazak Hui, Mongolian Kirgiz	42	Masters	Xinjiang-Education Commission
Kashgar (Kashi) Teachers College	Kashgar (Kashi) Xinjiang-Uyghur AR	19624	265/458	69		Uyghur, Tibetan Uzbek, Kerkiz Kazak, Mongolian	57	Bachelors	Xinjiang Education Commission
Heilongjiang University	Harbin, Heilongjiang	1958	6200/840	6		Man, Korean Mongolian, Wei Daur	12	Ph.D.	Heilongjiang Education Commission
Heilongjiang University of Traditional Chinese Medicine	Harbin Heilongjiang Province	1959	2000/470	11		Korean, Daur Man	5	MD	Heilongjiang Education Commission
Harbin Normal University*	Harbin Heilongjiang Province	1951	5300/700	5		Korean, Man Mongolian, Hui Daur	5	Ph.D.	Heilongjiang Education Commission
Hainan Industrial College	Tongshi Hainan Province	1976	1600/97	30		Li, Miao, Bei	10	Bachelors	Hainan Industry Department
Qiongzhou University	Tongshi Hainan Province	1958***	3800/200	41		Li, Hui	10	Bachelors	Hainan Education Commission

<sup>1</sup>: Data obtained from interviews at the respective institutions; \*: Key University; \*\*: 1949 as Shihezi Medical School, 1996 named Shihezi University upon merger of four institutions. including the Medical School; \*\*\*: 1958 as Hainan Tongshi Teachers College; renamed to Qiongzhou University; †: Key Provincial University

## LITERATURE REVIEW

**Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region:** This, the largest province in China, covers some 1.66 million square meters, or 17% of China’s territory, and is bordered by Mongolia, Russia, and Kazakhstan to the north, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikstan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and India to the west, Tibet to the south, and China’s Qinghai and Gansu Provinces to the east. It is the size of California, Texas, Montana, and Colorado combined or of Britain, France, Germany, and Spain combined, and, were it a country, it would be the sixteenth largest in the world (Gifford, 2008). It was originally referred to as Chinese Central Asia, next as Chinese Turkestan, and received its current name in 1955. Much of the country is arid, cold in the north and hot in the south.

Based on the 1990 census, the largest ethnic minority groups in descending numerical order in the Xinjiang Region were: Hui, Uyghur, Mongolian, Kazak, Dongxiang, Kirgiz, Xibe, Tajek, Uzbek, Russian, and Tatar.

In 1949, there were about 300,000 Han Chinese out of a population of 4 or 5 million or about 6% of the population in Xinjiang. As a result of forced immigration of Han Chinese, the 2000 census showed the figure to be 7.5 million Han out of a population of 19.25 million; if

the armed forces are included, Han Chinese constitute just under 50% of the population in Xinjiang (Gifford, 2008).

Urumqi (“fine pasture” in Mongolian and spelled with umlauts over the u’s in Uyghur), situated in the north, is the capital of Xinjiang and is the most distant major city in the world from any ocean or saltwater sea. It lies 900 m above sea level and is the most modern city along the former northern Silk Routes (Bernstein, 2003). It has been transformed into a modern industrial city by Han Chinese who constitute some 75% of the city’s population.

The other major city, Kashgar (also known as Kashi), which I visited, is in the far west, and, unlike Urumqi, is largely populated by Uyghurs, as is much of southern Xinjiang, along with smaller numbers of Tajiks, Kyrgyrs, and Uzbecks. It experiences blistering hot summers even though it is 1290 m above sea level. Kashgar was a key center on the Silk Routes (Taylor *et al.*, 1996).

Like the people of neighboring Afghanistan, the Uyghurs are proud, volatile, and devoutly Muslim, the majority of which are from the moderate, mystical branch of Islam called Sufism (Gifford, 2008). They try to maintain their culture despite strict oversight (Mangier, 2006). They are also restive under what that they consider foreign domination (i.e., China) with the result that Uyghur-Han relations often result in sporadic violent

rioting throughout the region, as occurred as recently as 2009 (Demick, 2010).

**Heilongjiang province:** Heilongjiang is China's most northeastern Province, separated from Russia to the north and east by the Amur River, which is also called the Heilong (Black Dragon). It has one of the principal onshore oil fields in China. Foreign investment in Heilongjiang as well as in nearby Jilin and Liaoning Provinces is dominated by Japan (Starr, 1997). Historically, these three provinces have been known as Manchuria.

At the time of my visit, based on the 1990 census, the ethnic minority populations in descending numerical order were: Hui, Mongolian, Korean, Man, Daur, Russian, Hezhen, and Derung.

Harbin, the educational, cultural, and political center of the Province was but a fishing village until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is the northernmost city in China open to tourists. Its growth was spurred when the Tsarist government built a railway from Siberia to Vladivostok across Manchuria. Harbin's Russian community, swelled by refugees fleeing the Bolsheviks, remained in Harbin until the end of WWII (Starr, 1997). The Russian architectural influence is reflected in the flamboyant buildings they erected with yellow stucco, some featuring elaborately carved stone facades and large onion domes.

**Hainan province:** Hainan is a large tropical island just south of Guangdong Province of which it was a part until it became a Special Economic Zone and was established as China's newest province in 1988 (Starr, 1997). Hainan Province consists of Hainan Island and 260 islands, shoals, and reefs of the Xisha, Zhongsha, and Nansha islands and their waters in the South China Sea. The Province covers a land area of 33,900 sq. km and a sea water area of 2.10 million sq. km. The Island has been called 'the ends of the earth' even though it is but eleven nautical miles from Guangdong Province's Leizhou Peninsula. Hainan Island's coastline of 1,528 km is characterized by tropical mangroves and coral reefs.

The Miao and Li minorities, the original inhabitants of the Hainan Island, the Li being the first, live in the higher regions of the central mountain range. The Li probably settled on Hainan some 3,000 years ago after migrating from Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces; the Miao (Hmong) spread from southern China into Hainan as well as across Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand (Taylor *et al.*, 1996). The Hui have lived on the island for over 700 years and are distributed mainly in the southern tip of the Island. Along the coast are Han Chinese, descendants of those who migrated from the mainland a thousand years ago (Schwartz, 1985). At the time of my visit, the ethnic minority populations in descending numerical order were the Hui, Miao, and Li.

Haikou is the Island's political, economic, cultural, and communications center; it is the Island's biggest city and its capital but is poorer than most Chinese cities

(Pike, 2003). It lies on the north coastline and is a port town that handles most of the island's commerce from the mainland. In the town center are rows of original buildings with Sino-Portuguese influence that is also seen in Chinese colonies throughout South East Asia (Taylor *et al.*, 1996). Since its establishment as a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in 1988, urban construction has been substantial, and it is now the biggest SEZ. Haikou's southern part is 69.8 m above sea level, the northern part but 4 m.

The two universities I visited are located in Tongshi City (also spelled Tongzha), a three and a half hour drive from Haikou in the center of the Wuzhi Mountains. Its population at the time was about 100,000, 59% of which were of the Li nationality. It covers an area of 1,169 km<sup>2</sup>, nestled among hills and mountains some 500 to 600 m above sea level at an elevation of 328 m. It has a tropical mountainous climate, warm in winter and cool in summer.

**Demographics, economics and education in Xinjiang region and Heilongjiang and Hainan provinces:** Six years prior to the current study, Xie Jihuang, Deputy Director of the Education Department of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, indicated to me that the major issues in the education of the minority nationalities were that:

- Most were in more remote and rural areas, which have historically been far behind in education as compared to cities
- They had poorer economic conditions, which has limited both education and economic development

These conditions were discussed in my 1995 and 2002 publications; in the latter there was noted a sharp contrast between the economic vitality and urban character of Inner Mongolia and the still nascent economic development and rural character of Tibet. In the current study, the difference in economic development as reflected by the Gross Domestic Product is markedly in favor of the more industrialized Heilongjiang Province than in either Xingjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region or Hainan Province (Table 2). To some degree these differences are reflected in the illiteracy rates but not so markedly in the percentage of students enrolled in primary and secondary schools and higher education (Table 2).

**Minority education in the Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region and Helongjiang and Hainan provinces:**

**Primary and secondary schools:** In the more remote areas of China, the language of instruction for the first three years of primary school is generally in the native ethnic tongue, after which instruction is almost entirely in Mandarin (Putanghua) Chinese, with English beginning in some schools in the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> grade (Kormondy, 1995, 2002). The particular patterns of the three regions under

Table 2: Demographics, Economics and Education in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, Heilongjiang Province, and Hainan Province as of the end of 1998

	Xinjiang	Heilongjiang	Hainan
Population <sup>1</sup>	17,470,000	37,730,000	1,475,000
Population density (km <sup>2</sup> )	10.5	82	43
Natural growth rate <sup>1</sup> (Nat'l Ave. 9.57)	12.8	6.4	12.9
Percentage of minorities <sup>1</sup>	61.4%	22.8%	50.0%
Number of cities <sup>1</sup>	19	31	9
Gross domestic product <sup>1</sup> (100 million yuan) (Nat'l. 79,395.7)	1116.7	2832.8	438.9
Illiteracy (5 years old +) <sup>1</sup>			
Males (Nat'l Ave. 4.5%)	4.7%	2.9%	3.7%
Females (Nat'l Ave. 11.3%)	5.9%	5.4%	8.9%
Students (6 years old+) <sup>1</sup>			
Primary school (Nat'l. Ave. 39.7%)	44.8%	35%	39.6%
Secondary school (Nat'l. Ave. 43.7%)	38.9%	52.0%	44.8%
Higher education (Nat'l. Ave. 2.7%)	5.7%	3.8%	2.9%
Regular secondary schools <sup>1</sup>	1763	2712	487
Specialized secondary schools <sup>1</sup>	115	115	33
Colleges and universities <sup>1</sup>	17	38	5
Minority students <sup>2</sup>	18-68%	6-11%	5-30%
Minority teachers <sup>2</sup>	4-57%	5-12%	10%
Teacher training programs <sup>1</sup>	5	7	2
Doctoral degree programs <sup>2</sup>	3	1	0
M.D. degree programs <sup>1</sup>	2	5	1

<sup>1</sup>: China Statistical Yearbook 1999 [No. 18]; <sup>2</sup>: Campus Interviews

consideration will be discussed in detail in the next sections. The differences and problems identified below regarding rural versus urban school settings are exacerbated by sheer numbers: as of the end of 1998 in the Xinjiang Region, there were 6,837 primary schools, 425 of which were in urban areas and 5,966 in rural areas; in Heilongjiang Province, there were 15,193 primary schools, of which 1,153 were in urban areas and 12,974 were in rural areas; and in Hainan Province, there were 4,249 primary schools, of which 127 were in urban areas and 3,993 were in rural areas (China Statistical Yearbook, 1999).

In addition to the usual secondary schools, as of the end of 1998, there were the following numbers of specialized secondary schools: 115 in the Xinjiang Region, of which 94 were devoted to technical training (e.g., engineering, agriculture, forestry) and 21 to secondary teacher training; 115 in Heilongjiang Province, of which 85 were devoted to technical training and 30 to secondary teacher training; 33 in Hainan Province, of which 25 were devoted to technical training and 8 to secondary teacher training (China Statistical Yearbook, 1999).

**Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region:** According to Qiang Jizhao, Director of Foreign Affairs at Kashgar (Kashi) Teachers College, in Xinjiang, the first two years of instruction in primary school is in Uyghur or the other predominant ethnic languages (e.g., Kirgiz) after which students begin to study Mandarin as a subject while other subjects are taught in the native language. Li Jui, Director

of Foreign Affairs at Xinjiang University, indicated that the mother language is the major mode of instruction in minority areas, especially the rural ones. As a result, he noted that secondary students lack a sufficient background particularly in mathematics and natural science but are somewhat better prepared in history and geography. That lack was also pointed out by the Vice Chancellor of Xinjiang Agricultural University, Qiu-jiang Luo, who noted that minority primary and secondary teachers are not well prepared in science and, hence, their students are not as well prepared as are Han students. He indicated that there were movements to recruiting teacher trained elsewhere but that this will take time, improvement having been still too slow these past few years. He also indicated that there is a move to teach solely in Mandarin.

Kiu Hua, Minister, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Education Commission, noted that a major problem in primary and secondary education is that there are thirteen different nationalities in the region (see above) thus compounding the preparation of students for life in a Mandarin-dominated language culture. He indicated that a nine-year compulsory education is being strongly promoted and that, to date, about half of the county class regions have reached that goal. He also pointed out that, compared to elsewhere, participation in primary and higher education are higher than the national average (Table 2). However, Kiu indicated that fewer minority students go from junior to senior middle school and that teaching in minority schools is of lower quality in part because of the difficulty in attracting good teachers

to go into rural areas. He also noted that 50% of high school students are in vocational schools.

**Heilongjiang province:** In Heilongjiang Province, according to Li Changshan, Director of Foreign Affairs at Harbin Normal University, instruction is in the native language (e.g., Korean, Mongolian), and Korean students do not begin the study of Chinese until middle school.

Gin Tse, President of Harbin First Korean High School, noted that this School is a key middle and high school for the Korean nationality. It was established in 1947 because of the large urban Korean population in the area; at that time, none of the children could speak English. The School now has 1,000 students, in twenty classes, and 108 teachers (all Korean) and staff. An additional fifty teachers are retired but are still on the payroll and are privileged to have their first choice when new buildings become available. As a result, stability is very high among the teachers. Eighty of the current teachers are younger than forty years of age, all are graduates of a university, and women outnumber men.

During the first three years (i.e., middle school), all courses are taught in Korean after which instruction is in English. Students are required to study one of the following languages: Mandarin, Korean, Japanese, or English. Students have the option of taking The National Examination (see below) in Korean or Mandarin.

There is no exam at the end of primary school but there is at the end of middle school; some 65-70% pass this exam and can enter high school. Those who don't pass are directed to "professional" (= vocational) schools. Of the students attending high school, the graduation rate is 100%, which is higher than from Chinese high schools. In 1995, one of the students got the highest grade on the National Examination.

Government support has increased over the past ten years and is from the city of Harbin, not Heilongjiang Province. The Harbin Education Commission also helped build some of the campus buildings. Parental support is very strong as indicated by the twice yearly parents' meeting at which all parents show up. Tuition for middle school is 50 yuan for six months and 250 yuan for six months for high school. Five students get scholarships from the South Korean government, and no students have been so poor that they couldn't afford to come, but the government would cover the costs if there were any.

**Hainan province:** According to Jiang Peifu, President of Hainan Industrial College, all instruction in primary and secondary schools is in Mandarin inasmuch as neither the Li or Miao groups have a written language; also, the Li language includes some ten different dialects. He also noted that the Li people have a different method of calculation, and thereby their children have more difficulty in learning mathematics. For example, the Li do not have a concept of 10,000 nor a decimal system, theirs being based on 6 rather than 10. Further compounding the

difficulty, Li pronunciation is inverted from Mandarin (thus zhu ro, the word for pork, becomes ro zhu).

**Colleges and universities:** The following descriptions of the colleges and universities visited are based largely on interviews with the institution's administrators, invariably with the director of the foreign affairs department along with other deans and directors and, in several instances, with the president. It is to be noted that Chinese colleges and universities are administered by a president and vice president who is a Chinese Communist Party secretary appointed by the government.

**Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region:**

**Xinjiang university:** Founded in 1935, Xinjiang Education Institute became Xinjiang University in 1960 from which date there have been some 42,000 graduates. Its president, Ibrahim Haliq, is a Uyghur and hence a role model for Uyghur students. In 1978, it was declared a Key University, a status that results in higher levels of funding and attracts the best teachers and students (Kormondy, 1995): it also facilitates students finding jobs after graduation. It was one of 100 universities selected by the SEdC (1996) (now Ministry of Education) to participate in the 2-1-1 project, "...an important measure taken by the Chinese government in its effort to facilitate the development of higher education in the context of the country's advancement in social and economic fields" (SEdC, 1996). This project infuses the selected universities with additional funds from the state (US \$2.5 million) as well as the respective sponsoring local, provincial, or autonomous regional governments (US \$125 million). The University had received some 100 million yuan at the time of my visit, which enabled improvements in the internet and facilities. In 1997, the University was appointed with six key teaching projects by the State Education Commission (e.g., Uyghur language and literature, whose aim is to convert oral heritage into print form, Xinjiang economic and technological research, Xinjiang resources and environmental problems). At the time of my visit, the University had two doctoral programs, twenty-seven masters programs, some fifteen departments offering about forty-five specialties in the sciences, liberal arts, engineering, law, and economics. There is also an Adult Education College. An arrangement with Oklahoma Baptist University in the United States brings ten students from there each summer, and Xinjiang University faculty go there; faculty have also gone to the United Kingdom, USA, Japan, Russia, Germany, and France. Research focuses on minority language and literature, economics and technology, environmental pollution, and communications and information technology.

**Xinjiang agricultural university:** Established in 1952 as August 1<sup>st</sup> Agricultural College, it was granted its present name in 1995, at which time there were more than 30,000

graduates. The University provides instruction in more than forty disciplines (e.g., Forestry, Plant Protection, Animal Husbandry, Veterinary Medicine, Water Hydrology, Agricultural Economy) and offers twenty-four Masters degrees and one doctoral degree in Grass Science. About one-third of the teachers are ethnic minorities, and of these some 75% are Uyghur; 50% of the faculty are 'home grown,' but the intention is to reduce this to about 33% by gradual adjustment. The University has developed a policy of "combining theory with practice, teaching with production." Its research laboratories, experimental farms, and workshops inside the campus and permanent experimental bases outside the campus offer the means of providing students not only with book theory but also the mastery of operating skills of agricultural production. Research focuses on agriculture, biology, medicine, building materials, and petroleum and food science. It has signed agreements with more than twenty universities in more than ten countries including the US, Japan, United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Australia. Several hundred faculty and staff have been visiting scholars in those countries, and a number of foreign experts and technicians have worked at the University.

**Shihezi university:** Shihezi University is located in an area about 100 miles east of Urumqi that was isolated with only about eight families some fifty years ago. In 1996, it was formed from four existing institutions: Shihezi Medical College (1949), Shihezi Agricultural College (1959), a normal school in Kuitun, and a School of Economics in Wuhiaqu. The Shihezi area is only about 3% minority but recruitment extends throughout the Xinjiang Region. It is a comprehensive institution that includes the study of agriculture (seven degrees), medicine (two degrees), economics (two degrees), and engineering (one degree). All instruction is in Mandarin, and graduates have two special abilities-mastery of knowledge and mastery of Chinese-and, according to President Zheng Guo Ying, they are 'welcomed by society.' The medical school has some 2,000 students of which 10% are ethnic minorities; these students come directly from middle school for a 3 year program primarily focused on western medicine with a small amount of Chinese medicine. The agriculture school, which has a 4 year program, has about 1,200 students of which about 32% are ethnic minorities.

**Xinjiang medical university:** The University opened in 1956 with 500 students and a 500 bed hospital with teachers coming from eleven neighboring provinces. In 1998, the Chinese Medical College, established in 1984, was merged with the University. Since its establishment there have been over 270,000 graduates many of whom remain as leaders in their subjects and in the hospitals in the Xinjiang Region with positive results (e.g., average life span has increased from 43 to 67, neonatal death rate

is near the UN level). There are five colleges: Clinical Medicine (Western), Pharmacology, Public Health, Adult Education, and Chinese Medicine with such teaching departments as Basic Medicine, Sports/Physical Fitness, Social Science/Arts, Acupuncture, Massage, and Chinese Medicine. There are twenty-seven majors, thirty masters and two doctoral programs. Students can 'major' in western or Chinese medicine but must also have training in the other of the two; students studying Chinese medicine spend a greater portion of their time in western medicine than vice versa. The move is to develop a new major that will be 50/50 western and Chinese medicine. The research institutes focus on cardiovascular diseases, oncology, Chinese medicine, and neonatal care.

**Xinjiang normal university:** Established in 1978, the focus of the institution is preparing teachers to teach basic subjects in Uyghur and/or Chinese; there is little to no research conducted. Although there are ten different ethnic minorities represented, 60% of the students are Uyghur; instruction is in Uyghur or Mandarin Chinese. The philosophy of teaching in the native tongue is based on the fact that the graduates will go out to teach in Uyghur regions. The University has the only Mongolian Language Department in all of Xinjiang, the enrollment in which is quite small (some fifty students). In addition to the undergraduate programs there are some 3,200 adult students. Some 55-60% minority students are recruited each year. In addition to the three languages, there are nineteen majors (e.g., Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Art, Geography); students spend 50% of their time in their major, 30% in common courses, and 20% in optional courses. As of 1999, students are required to take computer courses, and either music/art or psychology courses. The masters program is quite small (39 students) with options in Anatomy, Botany, Geography, Ancient Literature, Mathematics, Chinese Language and Literature, and Mongol Language and Literature. Although scientific and technical textbooks are in Chinese, the students are taught in Uyghur, the tongue they will encounter in largely rural Xinjiang.

**Kashgar (kashi) teacher's college:** Established in 1962 as Kashgar Teachers Secondary School and located at a river site that was the hub of the ancient southern silk road, the institution was renamed Kashgar Teachers College in 1978. The focus is on teacher training primarily for the southern portions of Xinjiang. It is the only higher education normal school in south Xinjiang. There are seven departments (Chinese, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Sports, Politics, and History) and twenty-three majors (e.g., English, Russian, Marxism, Computer Science, Geography). In addition to undergraduate programs, there is a night college, adult education college, and a high school. Almost all of the students come from southwest Xinjiang, the majority being Uyghur. Continuing education for teachers is also

a major goal with some 580 teachers having been sent to inland schools for further training and thirty having been sent abroad. A computer science center enables teachers to learn more about technology to use in their classrooms. As of my visit, the College has had thirty-eight visiting scholars of whom eleven have visited more than once for lectures and consultation. The College has published some journals on Uyghur pedagogical research to make textbooks practical for Uyghur students. Also some of the teachers have had publications on Uyghur language and literature in the popular press, and thirteen have had their theses published, some in international publications. As of the date of my visit, the College had graduated 13,210 students of whom some 8,772 had been trained as high school teachers for south Xinjiang. The College has requested permission to develop a masters program but had not received approval at the time of my visit.

#### **Heilongjiang province:**

**Heilongjiang university:** The University was established in 1958 but had a number of predecessors beginning as early as 1941 with a foreign language school bearing the title "Russian Brigade of the Third Branch School of People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, Yan'an." It moved from Yan'an to Harbin in 1946. It is a comprehensive institution offering baccalaureate, masters, and doctoral degrees. At the undergraduate level, there are eight colleges (e.g., Economics, Law, Tourism, History) that offer three and 4 year degree programs (e.g., Finance, Japanese, Applied Chemistry, Journalism) and eight departments (e.g., Mathematics, Computer Science, Biological Engineering) that also offer 3 and 4 year programs (e.g., Philosophy, Library Science, Office Automatization) for a total of thirty-seven 4 year programs and seventeen 3 year programs. There are 29 masters programs (e.g., Russian Language and Literature, Organic Chemistry, Chinese Ancient History), five doctoral programs (e.g., Marxist Philosophy, Computer Application, Russian Language and Literature), and one post-doctoral program in Foreign Language and Literature. Financial support comes from the Provincial government (50%), tuition (30%), and University businesses (e.g., its hotel) (20%). Among the 6,200 students, 600 attend part-time. The University has agreements with some thirty foreign institutions and has about 200 foreign students in addition to students from Japan and North and South Korea who come for one to two months mostly to study Chinese.

**Heilongjiang university of traditional Chinese medicine:** Established in 1959 as the Heilongjiang College of Traditional Chinese Medicine, the institution acquired its current name by action of the SEDC (1996). Undergraduate courses include Traditional Chinese Medicine, Acupuncture and Moxibustion (= burning of herbs), and Chinese Materia Medica. There are sixteen masters programs (e.g., Basic Theory of Traditional

Chinese Medicine, Herbal Prescriptions, Chemistry) including four clinical programs that integrate Traditional Chinese Medicine and Western Medicine (e.g., Internal Medicine, Orthopedics). There are six doctoral programs (e.g., History of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Herbal Prescriptions, Gynecology). Students are admitted directly from secondary school for the 5 year baccalaureate program; the first two and half years are spent in traditional Chinese medicine theory, 1/2 year observing patients in hospitals, one year in clinical courses, and the 5<sup>th</sup> year practicing in hospitals under supervision. The masters program is three years and has some forty students from Korea, Singapore, and elsewhere. The doctoral program, which had about fifty students, is taught almost entirely in Chinese. There is also a Nursing program with about ninety students, mostly Han Chinese, that includes both traditional Chinese and Western medicine. The total staff of 2,100 includes hospital-affiliated doctors. There are two affiliated hospitals with 800 beds, one on campus, the other in the city, and seventeen teaching hospitals. The University has a pharmaceutical factory that is another source of income, and it produces. The Clinical Journal of Acupuncture and Moxibustion that is widely distributed. As of the time of my visit, the University had graduated some 8,000 students including 380 post graduates and eighty PhDs. There is also an adult education program with students mostly from the countryside with scores too low to gain admission to the regular degree programs.

**Harbin normal university:** Also known as Harbin Teachers University, the institution was established in 1951 as Harbin Teachers Training School and assumed its present name in 1980; it is recognized as a key provincial university, thereby being the recipient of extra funding. It is the center for teacher education in the province, training teachers for middle school and high school. There are three colleges and twenty departments in addition to nineteen research centers, an affiliated middle school, and an adult training department for current middle school teachers that enrolled some 4,700 teachers. The University focuses on moral education, knowledge enrichment, and teacher preparation with forty-one specialities in the 3 year (e.g., Economic Administration, Business English, Modern Accounting) and 4 year (e.g., Educational Administration, Political Education, Fine Arts) programs and 82 specialities in adult education. The master's program, which currently had about 500 students, offers eighteen specialities (e.g., Ancient Chinese Literature, Scientific Socialism, Philosophy of Science and Technology). In the 4 year program, students begin practice teaching in the first semester of the fourth year. The doctoral program was only one year old and had only four students enrolled. The University publishes ten periodicals (e.g., The Northern Forum, Research and Studies in Higher Education in Heilongjiang Province) that are widely distributed. There are national and

international exchanges with more than 40 universities and business groups in the United States, Japan, Russia, South Korea, and other countries; more than 200 teachers have made exchange visits, and 35 scholars from abroad have served as consultants or part-time professors. The research focus is on pedagogy with emphasis on application of new theories and techniques and exploitation of new fields or specialities.

**Hainan province:**

**Hainan industrial college:** Established in 1976 as the Agricultural Machinery School, the name was changed in 1980 to the Industrial and Communication School; the current name was assumed in 1989. It is the only school of science and technology in the Province. The College offers fourteen 4 year specialities (e.g., Electronics, Welding, Auto Repair, Environmental Measurement-the latter established for Hainan to be an ecological leader for the country). It is anticipated that the number of specialties will increase as the economy of Hainan improves. Teachers of such specialties as Computer Science are ethnic minorities who were educated on the mainland. Three factors that have hindered the development of the College are its short history, limited transportation, and the economy of Tongshi, one of the backward cities of China according to College officials. The College is cooperating with the Canada Federation of Colleges on environmental protection, with Peking University on long-distance education, and with the Foreign Trade School in Haikou on other projects.

**Qiongzhou university:** The predecessor institutions to the University include Hainan Tongshi Teachers College, which was established in 1958, and the Tongshi College of Education, established in 1981. The present name was approved in July 1993. Its main purpose is to serve minority areas of Hainan Province by training qualified middle school teachers, administrative cadres, and professional personnel for the whole Province. The University has eight departments (e.g., Tourism Administration, Politics and History, Physical Culture) with fourteen specialties for teacher training and six for vocational training (e.g., Tourism Administration, Public Relations, Computer Accounting). There is also a college of adult education that enables current teachers to enhance their skills. The precursor institutions had graduated more than 8,600 students, and, since 1993, nearly 6,000 more students have graduated and are reported as being excellent teachers. In 1998, the University received a grant from the World Fund for research on minority languages and exploring the cross-cultural ties among the Li and Han nationalities. The University has agreements with the Central University for Nationalities in Beijing and Simon Fraser University in Canada and was actively pursuing other arrangements in Australia, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. In addition to active scholarship in

educational research, the University publishes the Journal of Qiongzhou University, which is distributed throughout China.

**The national examination, admissions, and tuition and fees:** As noted in my earlier study (Kormondy, 1995), the passing score, which is 500 on the national examination, is generally adjusted downward by twenty or more points for minority students, with some institutions (e.g., those in Tibet and Inner Mongolia), dropping the score by up to 200 points (Kormondy, 2002). At Xinjiang University, to reach a 60% level of minority students, the passing score is much lower but, as was pointed out, this has the adverse effect on some students who think they will be admitted easily so they don't study; last year only 300 of 9,000 were deemed inadmissible based on the national examination. At Xinjiang Agricultural University, scores on the national examination are quite poor so the passing score is lowered as the institution attempts to keep the ratio of minority students equal to that in the region, namely 60%. At Shihezi University, students come directly from middle school for the 5 year program, but the institution selects the better minority students based on the national examination and facility with Mandarin Chinese; preferential admission is given to orphaned children and those in poverty. At Xinjiang Medical University, minority students take the national examination in their native language with some downward adjustment made in the passing level. At Xinjiang Normal University, Uyghur and Han students take the national examination in their native language; the passing level is about the same. At Heilongjiang University, minority students take the national examination in their native language, and the passing score is lowered by five to ten points. At Heilongjiang University of Traditional Chinese Medicine, the entrance examination is in Mandarin Chinese. At Harbin Normal University, no adjustment is made on the national examination. Hainan Industrial College does not use the national examination but instead uses a provincial examination; also about 10% of the students engaged in self study enter without the any examination. At Qiongzhou University, the national examination is required of all students with some downward adjustment made for minority students

Until the early to mid-1990s, students in Chinese colleges and universities paid no tuition and received free room, medical care, and the equivalent of about US \$10 to \$15 a month for books and personal effects (Kormondy, 1982, 1995); also, at that time, students in agriculture and teacher preparation programs did not pay tuition. At the various institutions included in this study, tuition accounts for 20 to 30% of the total operating costs. At Xinjiang University, some 30% of the collected tuition supports the large population of what are termed "poverty students." Several other institutions noted the availability

of financial support, including scholarships, for such students, such funds coming from the provincial government, central government, and overseas Chinese. In the agricultural and most teacher preparation institutions, tuition is now charged but in the agricultural programs the level of tuition is about half that for programs in art and medicine; the exception is Harbin Normal University, which does not charge tuition for future teachers and even for prospective music teachers but does charge tuition for music majors. Typically the tuition includes a fee for lodging but several institutions (e.g., Harbin Normal University, Qiongzhou University) do not charge for lodging.

**Preparatory year:** In all but two of the institutions visited, namely Harbin Normal University and Hainan Industrial College, a year of preparatory study is required of minority-speaking students. The emphasis in the preparatory year is on Mandarin Chinese and often includes strengthening backgrounds in science and mathematics, which as noted above, are often poorly taught particularly in more rural regions; generally, the minority students' backgrounds in history and geography are stronger. The reason for the preparatory year in Mandarin Chinese is that, in virtually all cases, instruction beyond the preparatory year is in Mandarin Chinese. Heilongjiang University has a preparatory year in English and Russian as well as Mandarin Chinese. Heilongjiang University of Traditional Chinese Medicine holds a preparatory year for Korean-speaking students. Two of the institutions (Xinjiang Normal University and Kashgar Teachers College) noted the introduction in 1999 of a Chinese proficiency examination, titled HSK, at the end of the preparatory year. At Xinjiang Normal University, over 95% of the preparatory year students passed the examination the first time; those that didn't are required to take an additional year of preparatory study.

A note of comparison regarding the poor background of some minority students in science and mathematics is a recent finding of the U.S. Department of Education, namely that nearly 30% of entering college students in the United States needed remedial courses in science and mathematics (Leshner *et al.*, 2010).

**Undergraduate academic programs:** In my earlier publications, I noted that ethnic education is an important task for the colleges and universities visited, notably in Inner Mongolia and Tibet. This emphasis is consonant with the concerns of the central government and the 1982 Chinese constitution that provides minority nationalities with the right to preserve their culture and be assisted in economic development and to have the freedom to use and develop their own language and script (Kormondy, 2002).

Based on information gathered in this visit, there is a marked de-emphasis on preserving students' native language. As noted above, beginning with the Preparatory

Year, the emphasis is on learning Mandarin Chinese, and subsequently in some institutions all instruction is in that language except for courses in native languages and literature. The normal schools and universities tend to teach upper level courses in the native language since many of their students will teach in rural areas where the native language predominates.

The range of subjects in which students can concentrate in the comprehensive institutions, as noted above in the descriptions of the institutions, is more or less comparable to the situation in the United States, that is majors are offered in Mathematics, Biology, Chemistry, Economics, various languages and their literature, etc.

**Teacher training:** In my earlier study (Kormondy, 1995), I noted that, in general, institutions denoted as universities, institutes and/or colleges prepare teachers for junior and/or senior middle schools, admitting graduates of senior middle school, whereas primary teachers are prepared in 'schools' after completing only junior middle school. This is the case in Hainan Province in Qiongzhou University but not so in the universities in either Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region nor Heilongjiang Province. In the latter two, teacher preparation occurs in the Normal or Teachers Colleges.

The major goal of Xinjiang Normal University is to train teachers in basic subjects such as Physics, Chemistry, Geography, and Art; as of 1999, all students are required to take courses in Computer Science, Psychology, and either Music or Art. Students learn to teach in their native tongue (Uyghur, Mongolian, Mandarin) since they will teach in areas predominated by one of those languages. Almost all graduates go to middle schools and, through 1998, they were assigned to their jobs; as of 1999, students are on their own in finding a position but it was anticipated some would still be assigned to meet the needs of rural areas.

The focus for teacher training in Kashgar Teachers College is southern Xinjiang such that more attention is given to subjects bearing on ethnic needs (e.g., Uyghur language and literature, history of Middle Asia). More than 70% of courses are taught in Uyghur, and most of the students practice teach in the immediate area. Graduates were usually assigned to high schools, some to middle schools, but none to primary schools through 1998, but as elsewhere, as of 1999 graduates will have the opportunity to find their own positions. Continuing education is also a major goal, some 580 teachers having been sent to inland schools for further training.

At Harbin Normal University, the emphasis is on English, Computer Science, Chemistry, and Mathematics, these being the greatest need in the region. Students begin practice teaching in the first semester of the 4<sup>th</sup> year. Interestingly, schools in need of teachers come to the University in March to interview students, most of whom

want to teach in cities rather than the countryside. If students are unsuccessful in selecting or being selected, the government will assign them according to need.

As noted above, Qiongzhou University has a comprehensive program for preparing middle school teachers, administrators and cadres. It has recently added Music Education and Environmental Protection to the curriculum that includes Chinese, Politics, English, Mathematics, and other subjects.

**Professional postsecondary education:** Unlike the situation in Tibet where no advanced academic degrees were available at the time of my visit in October 1997 (Kormondy, 2002), there are numerous postsecondary opportunities available in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and Heilongjiang and Hainan Provinces. This includes baccalaureate, masters, doctoral, and medical degrees in Xinjiang and Heilongjiang but only baccalaureate degrees in Hainan. As noted in the foregoing descriptions of the universities, there are advanced opportunities in the more or less traditional disciplines (e.g., Physics, Language and Literature, Economics) as well as in agricultural disciplines (e.g., Forestry, Plant Protection, Veterinary Medicine) along with such fields as Computer Science, Law, Engineering, Electronics and Information Systems, and Tourism Management. Both Xinjiang and Heilongjiang have medical schools that offer more or less pure Chinese Medicine or some combinations with western medical practices. Hainan lacks a medical school but provides a considerable array of baccalaureate offerings including Tourism Administration, Journalism, Computer Applications, and Industrial Electronics in Qiongzhou University and more job-oriented programs such as Auto Repair and Maintenance in Hainan Industrial College. If there is a drawback in Xinjiang, it is that the advanced opportunities are all found in the far western part of the Region perhaps being a drawback for the more rural southern and eastern regions.

**Fate of graduates:** Although as early as 1993, the government policy of assigning graduates was changed to allow students much more freedom in selecting a position (Kormondy, 2002), all of the institutions visited in 1999 noted that this change became effective at the end of 1998. Regardless, as has been noted above, students now have to opportunity to seek out their positions but some may be assigned by the government to meet specific needs, largely in the more rural areas. Also as noted above, most students prefer employment in cities rather than rural settings, and substantial numbers return to their home communities; this trend is the case elsewhere in China (Kormondy, 1995). As I noted earlier (Kormondy, 2002), the very best graduates advance to major universities elsewhere in China to pursue further graduate

work; many of these students return to their undergraduate institution as members of the faculty. In the case of the 400 yearly graduates of the Heilongjiang University of Traditional Chinese Medicine, 50% from the countryside go back to county hospitals, and the Korean graduates return to Korea.

## RESEARCH

As might be anticipated, the kind and level of research in postsecondary institutions in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Province and Heilongjiang and Hainan Provinces is commensurate with the institution's mission. In Xinjiang University, the emphasis is directed to Uyghur language and literature and includes publishing books in Uyghur, converting oral history into print, and comparative study of languages. In Xinjiang Agricultural University, research centers on various aspects of agriculture, including developing new species of maize and finer sheep wool, as well as in Biology, Medicine, Building Materials, Petroleum, and Food Sciences. One aspect of research in Shihezi University is developing new varieties of seed and using airplanes for seeding. Xinjiang Medical University conducts research on cardiovascular diseases, oncology, Chinese medicine, and neonatal care to address the major medical problems of epidemic diseases, thyroid (due to low iodine), cardiovascular diseases, and cancer of the mouth, esophagus, stomach, lung, and uterus. Kashgar Teachers College conducts research on Uyghur pedagogy and publishes these studies in its own journal.

In Heilongjiang University of Traditional Chinese Medicine the research focus is on the major medical problems in the Province with a focus on internal medicine, gynecology, acupuncture, moxibustion, and pharmacology. Harbin Normal University focuses on research on higher education and, unusual for a teacher-training institution, on natural science, classical Chinese Literature, Border Economy, and Physical Chemistry.

Given the two major minority groups in Hainan Province, the Li and Hui, Qiongzhou University emphasizes research on minority language, economy, culture, and cross cultural aspects of those two minority groups.

**Impediments to learning:** As discussed in various places above, the major impediment for minority students is the generally poor preparation in mathematics and science owing to inadequate text materials in the native language compounded by often poorly prepared teachers. Most of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region university administrators with whom I talked noted that, for the most part, Uyghur students do quite well following a preparatory year that stresses Mandarin Chinese inasmuch as the remaining curriculum is taught in that language. The rate of failure to graduate was said to be between 1 and 5% in most of the institutions visited.

Inasmuch as Mandarin Chinese is the norm in Heilongjiang Province, most students do not study Chinese in the preparatory year but instead concentrate on strengthening their mathematics and science skills. In Harbin Normal University there is no preparatory program, minority students not being treated differently from Han students.

As noted above, Li students are handicapped in the study of science and mathematics because of their different methods of calculation, inversion of pronunciation, lack of a concept of 10,000, lack of a decimal system, and, most importantly, the lack of written script. With diligence, these students overcome these handicaps and are successful in their studies.

**Education and cultural preservation:** Consistent with constitutional provisions protecting “the lawful rights and interests of the minority nationalities” and providing that “citizens of all nationalities have the right to use the spoken and written languages of their own nationalities,” instruction for the first two of three years of primary school is in the native tongue. However, controverting these constitutional provisions, Mandarin Chinese typically becomes the mode of instruction beginning in the third grade except in the some or the more rural schools, notably in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Province. At the university level, instruction is largely in Mandarin except for courses in minority language and literature. Although Mandarin is the language of social and economic discourse throughout China, this dichotomy in language instruction does not enhance the preservation of that aspect of such minority cultures as the Uyghurs, Li, and Hui as well as numerous others.

In contrast to this language homogenization at all educational levels, there are significant and substantial efforts in the universities to preserve Uyghur, Li, and Hui cultures. The Uyghur language and literature project in Xinjiang University publishes books in Uyghur and is converting oral history into print. Administrators at Xinjiang Agricultural University noted that popular science magazines are translated from Chinese into Uyghur and that dictionaries are updated frequently. At Kasghar Teachers College, there is considerable attention paid to subjects bearing on ethnic needs such as Uyghur language and literature and the history of Middle Asia; the College issues publications on Uyghur pedagogy and develops reference books for Uyghur high school students. The Director of Foreign Affairs, Qiang Jizhao, indicated that the Uyghur tradition is not getting weaker since it must be maintained by constitutional guarantee. He also opined that Uyghur and Han people have influenced each other throughout history.

Vice Minister Zhuang Wenju of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Education Commission that there are forty-seven nationalities in the Region, thirteen of which are major ones, also known as ancient nationalities. He related that in the previous year, China’s President Jiang

Zemin visited the Commission and encouraged the region to build up as an economic hub for the next century; to that end the central government has been allocating additional funds to enable this to happen. In describing the on-going literacy project, Zhuang noted that in 1959, 95% of the population was illiterate and that the current target is those born after 1949; its success has been remarkable in that 98.9% of the population is now considered literate (literacy in Mandarin Chinese is knowing 4,200 characters). Although the most difficult groups are women and older people, the reason for the remarkable success is that Uyghur is easier to learn than Chinese, and the literacy effort has been a consolidated one. He noted that Region now has seventeen universities with 42,000 students of which 51% are of minority ethnicity. Zhuang also discussed at length the considerable efforts made in adult higher education directed to “practical intellectuals” with more emphasis on theory to complement their practical experience to serve the economy of the region. Some 85% of the students in adult education are in rural areas.

Chen Shutao, Vice President of Harbin Normal University, indicated that some nationalities want to be more like the Han and that in 100 years there may well be more amalgamation and loss of ethnic identity, but the ethnic spirit will remain strong. He noted that the language of commerce in big cities is Mandarin but that on special occasions in the more remote areas the native language is used. He also noted that the Province plans to develop a minority museum.

Jiang Peifu, President of Hainan Industrial College, underscored the difficulty in preserving Li and Hui language and customs because neither has a written language. The main purpose of Qiongzhou University, according to President Li Zhenru, is to serve minority groups with stress on their economy and culture. Professor Chen, Director of the Institute for Minority Research, indicated that the Li people have a long history, a fine culture including a strong influence in brocade/embroidery all over that world, and that they have their own unique music and dance.

All of the above notwithstanding, based on my observations during my several trips to China during the past nineteen years, I am not alone in positing that, in spite of constitutional provisions to the contrary, the Chinese government is intent on Sincizing, or more specifically “Han-izing,” if not all of its minority nationalities then particularly those in such highly restive areas such as Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. The goal would appear to be to minimize if not destroy the many unique cultural groups and to homogenize the entire population into the mode, thought, and culture of the predominant Han. Tibet, Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang are, without doubt, the focus of this process as can be witnessed by the very substantial immigration (forced?) of Han Chinese into these areas in particular. As I noted above in the description of Xinjiang,

in 1949 there were about 300,000 Han out of a population of 4 or 5 million, or about 6% of the population; the 2000 census showed this figure to be 7.5 million Han out of a population of 19.25 million, or about 38% of the population.

### CONCLUSION

This study complements and reinforces the findings of two of my earlier ones on minority education in China (Kormondy, 1995, 2002). Among the salient consistent findings are the following: instruction for the first two or 3 years of primary school is generally in the native ethnic tongue after which instruction is in Mandarin Chinese; primary and secondary schools are largely in rural settings with the result that students are less well prepared in mathematics and science; the passing score on the national examination, which is prerequisite for entry into postsecondary institutions, is lowered for minority students; a preparatory year stressing Mandarin Chinese is mandatory of minority student in postsecondary institutions; opportunities for postsecondary education vary in direct relationship with economic conditions in the region; research in postsecondary institutions is commensurate with an institution's mission; the intent of the Chinese government appears to be on Sincizing minorities through forced migration of Han Chinese into restive areas such as Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and allowing use of the native tongue only through the third grade.

Two major changes from the earlier studies are: tuition is now charged in postsecondary institutions and accounts for 20 to 30% of total operating costs; and postsecondary graduates can now pursue their own choice of a career instead of being assigned by the government.

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### End note:

- 1 There are various spellings including Uyghur along with such variants as Uigur, Uighur. For consistency in the text, I will use the most cited version, Uyghur. Whatever spelling is used, the pronunciation is the equivalent of "we were."
- 2 The success of this visit would not have been possible without the kind invitation from Mr. Li Tao, then President of the Chinese Education Association for International Exchange (CEAIE) in Beijing, and the excellent arrangements made by Peng Zhen, then Senior Program Officer, Division of International Programs of CEAIE. I am also deeply indebted to my local hosts and the many government, university, college, and high school personnel who gave so generously of their time on my behalf.