

Standardizing *Minzu*:

A Content Analysis of the Depiction of *Shaoshu Minzu* in Three Chinese Elementary Curriculum  
Standards and Textbooks

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2016

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Program Authorized to Offer Degree

Curriculum and Instruction

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**Abstract**

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This study analyzes the depictions of *shaoshu minzu*, or ethnic minority groups in China, in elementary curriculum standards and textbooks that are used in Chinese schools for three subjects—Moral Education and Life/ Society (MEL/S), Chinese Language (CL), and *Minzu* Solidarity Education (MSE). Previous studies of textbook representation of minority groups in culturally diverse societies indicate that these groups are often systematically excluded from the curriculum materials and that their depictions often reinforce the dominant ideologies and unequal power relationships between minority and majority social groups.

This study draws from the theoretical frameworks of critical studies of education and multicultural education, particularly the relationships between power and the knowledge construction process. Methodologically, this study uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis. A sample of 74 textbooks published by three different publishers and the national curriculum standards for the three subjects was selected for analysis. Two electronic coding instruments were used to quantitatively code the texts and visuals in the

textbooks and qualitative analysis was performed on all identified content that was related to the Chinese concepts of *minzu*.

Results of this study revealed that *shaoshu minzu* in these textbooks were not only underrepresented but also misrepresented and that the knowledge about these groups was often constructed from the perspective of the dominant Han Chinese. Content about *shaoshu minzu* usually focused on selected stereotypical *minzu* features, such as *minzu* cuisine, clothes, singing and dancing, and holidays and festivals. Several ideologies and discourses that were highlighted in relation to the *shaoshu minzu* content included patriotism, the *Zhonghua Minzu* (Chinese Nation) identity, and *minzu* solidarity. Individuals and groups of *shaoshu minzu* were depicted as patriotic citizens who are members of the *Zhonghua Minzu* community and maintain solidary relationships with each other and with the Han Chinese. *Shaoshu minzu*-related content canonized in this way prioritized political unity over cultural diversity and reproduced the ideologies of the party-state about *shaoshu minzu* issues. I concluded, based on the data that I analyzed, that the representations of *shaoshu minzu* in textbooks reflected a process of normalization and standardization of the knowledge production of *shaoshu minzu* in China. The depiction of *shaoshu minzu* in textbooks in China reproduce and reinforce the cultural and political contexts in which the exclusion and stereotyping of *shaoshu minzu* are legitimized. I discuss the implications of my findings for teaching about *shaoshu minzu*, teacher education, and further research.

## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, who always inspire me the most as a child and an adult.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to first thank my great mentors at the University of Washington (UW): James A. Banks for his incomparable mentorship and intellectual guidance. Geneva Gay for the generosity with which she gives her time, energy, and encouragement. Randal Beam for teaching me content analysis and guiding me through the whole process of developing and revising the coding instruments as an unofficial committee member. Stevan Harrell for his excellence in scholarship and deep commitment to *shaoshu minzu* issues in China. Walter Parker for his discerning comments as a reader and incredibly lucid writing style from which I benefit greatly. I could not have accomplished this challenge without the continued support of them throughout this process.

I am truly grateful to my friends and colleagues in the College of Education at the UW: Natalie White, Jenny Halpin, Tao Wang, Deborah Silvis, Alizer Fones, Huanshu Yuan, Winston Benjamin, Sunun Park, Anthony Longoria, Ziyang Bai, Hyerim Park, Nicole Barone, Suzie Hodges, Somin Yeon, MJ Kim, and Lin Wu for their support and encouragement as well as their critical comments and candid feedback when I presented earlier versions of this work at a variety of occasions. I also thank members and participants of the China Anthropology Group at the UW organized by Dr. Harrell, including Gladys Ge Jian, Jie Li, Xiang He, Xiaoshun Zeng, Juan Luo, and Lillian Prueher, A special thanks to W. Elizabeth Chapin for her feedback on earlier versions of the visual coding instrument and to Jessica Sijia Bao for helping me develop and pilot test the final coding instruments as a second coder.

I am also thankful to the great leadership and support of Kent Jewell, Martin Howell, Norah Fisher, and Paula Wetterhahn at the College of Education. I would not have been able to complete this task without their effort.

Finally, I would like to thank my girlfriend Weijia Wang for her days and nights of hard work in helping me prepare the most important and the best presentation I have ever given. There is no way for me to survive the most difficult time of my doctoral study without her trust, encouragement, and accompany.

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## List of Abbreviations

BNUP: Beijing Normal University Press

CPC: Communist Party of China

CESCLC: Compulsory Education Standards of Chinese Language Curricula

CL: Chinese Language

CMI: Curriculum Material Institute

JEPH: Jiangsu Education Publishing House

MEL/S: Moral Education and Life/ Society

MoE: Ministry of Education

MSE: Minzu Solidarity Education

PEP: People's Education Press

PLA: People's Liberation Army

PRC: People's Republic of China

## Chapter I

### Introduction and Background

#### Background of the Problem

In December 2012, *qiegao*, literally “sliced cake”, became a meme among Chinese netizens on Weibo (the Chinese equivalent of Twitter) and Renren (the Chinese equivalent of Facebook), as well as other major online forums. It was first triggered by a Weibo posted by the official Weibo account of the police department of Yueyang, a city in the Hunan province, reporting an altercation between a man and several *qiegao* street vendors that caused a mass brawl and ultimately led to the injury of two and a loss of about 160, 000 Yuan (\$ 25,000) worth of *qiegao*. The original Weibo post was soon deleted by the account owner and reported as a system error of Weibo, replaced by some clarifications and updates, including an explanation that the estimated 160, 000 Yuan included the cost of damaged *qiegao*, the hospital bills for the injured, and compensation for the destroyed motorcycles of the vendors. The correction from the officials did not end the resentment from the netizens, mostly Han Chinese. The acclaimed high price of *qiegao* soon swept the Chinese Internet and many commented under the post and elsewhere their experiences with the so-called “*qiegao* Party” and made fun of the absurdly high price of *qiegao*.

Aside from the seemingly accidental nature of this incident, *qiegao* and the people who sell it has long been controversial. *Qiegao* is a Xinjiang candy made of a variety of nuts, dried fruits, and glutinous rice and sold in thick chunks cut from the whole. In places outside Xinjiang, they are most often sold on the back of the tricycles by street vendors, who are primarily Xinjiang Uyghurs. Because of its high density, a small slice of *qiegao* may cost much more than what is expected by the customer, who often has to buy it all when a chunk is cut even when it

exceeds the amount being asked for. Many of the netizens who made comments online felt that they were cheated and were threatened by the *qiegao* vendors to buy. And the resentment quickly started targeting from *qiegao* itself to the people who sold it, the Uyghurs. Uyghur is a Chinese Muslim *minzu* (ethnic group) predominantly living in Northwest China and particularly the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China. Outside Xinjiang, and in particular in Han Chinese dominant areas, the Uyghurs are mostly seen selling *qiegao* and other Xinjiang food such as lamb kebab and raisins in interior cities, either individually or grouped with other Uyghurs. Among many Han Chinese, Uyghurs are known for forced trade and frequent violent conflicts with local people. Because the Xinjiang Uyghur vendors tend to hire and get hired by fellow Uyghurs and their unique ethnic, cultural, and religious habits, they are often known by the Han Chinese as “*Qiegao Party*”, referring to their somewhat mysterious, gang-like organization. This is another reason why many customers feel that they are “threatened” to pay for the incredibly high price when they are surrounded by a group of Uyghur vendors who are strange to them both physically and linguistically.

This “Extortionate-Price-*Qiegao* Incident”, as it was later named, is a good example of tensions between majority Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu* (ethnic minority groups) in contemporary China. Although the ethnic policies of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) aim to cultivate a mutual understanding and solidarity among all *minzu*, the reality is quite the opposite. The Uyghur *qiegao* vendors in the report and the stories shared by netizens represent the common impression of Uyghurs among Han Chinese as: violent or rough, easy to get into conflicts, and always associated with distinctive, exotic ethnic markers, such as *qiegao*, raisins, and lamb kebab, not to mention their easy-to-recognize physical appearance, such as their beards and clothes.

Although many *shaoshu minzu* in China are socioeconomically marginalized and institutionally excluded, few Han Chinese are sympathetic about their experiences. This is partly due to the perceivable preferential policies enjoyed by *shaoshu minzu*, such as a less-strict birth control policy for them and affirmative action in college admission, which cause many Han Chinese feel that they are the victims of so-called “reverse discrimination” as the majority in the country. As a result, members of *shaoshu minzu* are often accused of being ungrateful when they protest against their unfair treatment. Moreover, the geographic distribution of Han Chinese and many *shaoshu minzu*, which is exacerbated by the *minzu* autonomous administrative policy and the *hukou* system in the PRC, creates a de facto social segregation between these groups and gives them limit opportunities to know, let alone interact with, each other.

What is puzzling about this and other conflicts that are involved with *shaoshu minzu* is that these negative attitudes about *shaoshu minzu* among Han Chinese are quite different from official discourses about *shaoshu minzu* and *minzu* relations, such as the kindness and hospitality of *shaoshu minzu* individuals and *minzu* solidarity, as represented in traditional media and other popular and academic sources. One important question is: How could an institution that aims to foster *minzu* solidarity produce individuals who have such pejorative perceptions about people from other *minzu*? This study explores this question from the perspective of education by examining the image of *shaoshu minzu* in elementary textbooks. Specifically, it focuses on textbooks produced in Han Chinese language in order to understand what kind of information about *shaoshu minzu* and their cultures Han Chinese students learn from these textbooks. Unlike the presence of Uyghur and other *shaoshu minzu* individuals in media, which is often a response to a social event—such as the *qiegao* incident—the representation of these groups in textbooks and other educational materials is always an active part of the citizenship education project that

exposes students to the expectations of the nation, which publicly endorses *minzu* equality and solidarity and condemns *minzu*-based prejudice and discrimination. Therefore, it is compelling to examine whether or not and how these *minzu*-related discourses are presented in school curriculum standards and textbooks.

### **Statement of the Problem**

A curriculum is a comprehensive conceptual framework and action plan for mapping and implementing a program that is responsive to the learning and developmental needs of students. Almost all the definitions of the curriculum include four basic parts: objectives, content selection, learning experiences, and evaluation (Armstrong, 2003; Taba, 1962; Tyler, 2013/1949). Critical curriculum studies scholars have argued that curriculum is a contested site where a variety of interest groups compete for recognition and inclusion of knowledge, values, and beliefs of certain groups while at the same time excluding or denying those of others. By “mirroring” the knowledge and life experiences of the dominant interest groups in the curriculum, curriculum sometimes serve the hegemonic role of norming particular experiences as “common sense” (Gramsci, 1971). Therefore, in the process of the power struggle over who decides what is to be learned by students, the curriculum reproduces and reinforces the unequal power relations in the society of which education is a part (Apple, 2004). Those who hold political power are more likely to have their political and ideological interests presented in the school curriculum. This decision on what is to be included in the curriculum can also function in the other direction. That is, those who possess power can also determine what not to be present and taught in the classroom through the similar curriculum content selection process. Examples of such an omission include the missing of perspectives of particular groups or of some dark histories of the dominant groups in order to transmit a filtered image of the country and society.

Such a representational practice also reflects what kind of citizens the state wants to cultivate in educational institutions (Mitchell & Parker, 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). When certain values and knowledge prevail in the curriculum as legitimate knowledge, users of the curriculum, including both teachers and students, tend to confine certain groups of people and their cultures to the prescribed images.

This perspective on the relationships between power and the knowledge construction process provides important theoretical lens to examine the content about *shaoshu minzu* in curriculum materials in China. In this study, curriculum is understood as an educational/ cultural artifact as well as a nation-building tool employed by the government to expose its readers—school children—to deliberately selected and organized content and to consequently cultivate a set of civic values consistent with the interests of the government.

As one important manifestation of a curriculum, textbooks play a central role in the knowledge construction and transmission processes because teachers often rely on textbooks for lesson planning and classroom instruction (FitzGerald, 1979; Gay, 2010; Pratt, 1994), particularly in the elementary grades. Students from the majority groups—particularly in the lower grades—tend to have limited experiences with people whose cultures are different from their own. As a result, they often learn and accept the images that are presented in their textbooks, which are sources of ideas and attitudes that are shaped by textbooks producers' positions on these issues and expectations about their target audience (Anyon, 1978; 1979; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991).

By examining content in textbooks, a researcher can uncover what is valued or held as normal and legitimate in mainstream institutions, e.g., what is regarded by textbook producers as well as others in power as acceptable and what is not. Previous studies indicate that minority

groups are vulnerable to biases and stereotypes in this important educational domain in favor of the standpoint of the dominant groups and mainstream ideologies (Abdou, 2015; Al-Haj, 2005; Alridge, 2006; Hilburn & Fitchett, 2012; Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Su, 2007; Suh, An, & Forest, 2015). In China, in spite of the increasing emphasis on student- and activity-centered learning, many teachers still devote most of their time teaching textbooks and preparing students for standardized tests (To, Yang, & Helwig, 2014). As a result, school textbooks play a central role in Chinese students' schooling experiences and greatly influence what kind of knowledge students acquire in class. However, little attention has been given to what is taught and learned about ethnic minority groups in educational materials in China. Thus, a critical examination of how curriculum standards and textbook content deal with *shaoshu minzu* is timely and significant.

### **Research Questions**

This was undertaken to answer the following questions:

- What is the frequency of *shaoshu minzu*-related content covered in elementary Moral Education and Life/ Society (MEL/S) and Chinese Language (CL) curriculum standards in China?
- What is the frequency of *shaoshu minzu*-related content covered in elementary MEL/S and CL textbooks in China?
- What issues and characters associated with *shaoshu minzu* are represented in elementary MEL/S, CL, and *Minzu* Solidarity Education (MSE) curriculum standards and textbooks?
- How do MEL/S and CL textbooks of the three publishers compare in frequency and nature of the content about *shaoshu minzu*?

## **Research Design**

In order to answer the research questions, the study uses a mixed method content analysis of elementary textbooks and curriculum standards for three subjects. Two electronic coding instruments were developed to qualitatively and quantitatively analyze a total of 74 textbooks published by three publishers and the corresponding curriculum standards. The 74 textbooks belong to three different subjects that are currently taught in elementary schools in China: Moral Education and Life/ Society (MEL/S), Chinese Language (CL), and *Minzu* Solidarity Education (MSE). Details on the data sources, coding instruments, and data collection and analysis procedures are provided in Chapter IV.

## **Significance of the Study**

This study is one of the first to examine how ethnic and cultural diversity—in particular *shaoshu minzu* in China and their cultures—is addressed in Chinese elementary curriculum standards and textbooks. This research is important because schooling experiences, including textbooks, assist students in making sense of their world. What is especially important here is to determine by what means and to what degree the assumptions about the lives and cultures of *shaoshu minzu* people have been reproduced in China as the party-state casts its gaze on its relatively small yet strategically and ideologically significant *shaoshu minzu* population in its state-led education. The nature of educational materials thus provide insight, in a less direct way though, into the dilemmas China is facing as it seeks to deal with the perceived threats and uncertainties associated with cultural diversity. In this dissertation, I hope that the analysis of the representation of *shaoshu minzu* as a case study will help to reveal the politics of representation in schools and make explicit the ways in which knowledge is generated and reproduced.

Because *shaoshu minzu* are of strategic importance to China in viewing itself as an ethnically diverse country where each *minzu* enjoys equal political and cultural rights regardless of its population as long as its members are loyal citizens of the country, the results of this study will also contribute to an understanding of how important civic concepts— such as patriotism, national unity, and *minzu* solidarity— are constructed and transmitted in the textbooks, as well as the role of education in nation building.

This study builds knowledge related to the content of the elementary curriculum of Chinese education and may inform teacher education and professional development programs about how to help teachers critically examine the content in textbooks and other curriculum materials.

## Chapter II

### Literature Review

In this chapter, prior research and scholarship on the representation of marginalized social groups in textbooks and the representation of *shaoshu minzu* in China are reviewed and analyzed.

Many studies have been conducted to examine the content contained in textbooks and other curriculum and instructional materials with respect to race, ethnicity, social class, gender, religion, language, sexual orientation, dis/able-ness, among other issues. In this chapter, I will review studies on the treatment of marginalized groups with an emphasis on representations of racial and ethnic minority groups. Mass media are also important sources of curriculum content that often have powerful influences on students' perceptions and understanding of unfamiliar groups and social issues (Cortes, 2001; G. Gay, 2010; Jackson, 2010; Zhao & Postiglione, 2010). In this review, focus will be given to studies of textbooks although other studies with theoretical, substantive, or methodological significance will also be discussed. I will begin with studies conducted in the United States and other diverse societies before discussing studies that specifically examine textbooks used in China. Patterns and gaps in the reviewed research are discussed at the end of this chapter.

Educators teaching about minority groups and cultural diversity in pluralistic societies worldwide face a variety of challenges in helping students to attain accurate and balanced understandings of diverse groups. Previous studies indicate that minority groups are vulnerable to biases and stereotypes and tend to internalize the standpoint of the dominant groups and mainstream ideologies (Al-Haj, 2005; Alridge, 2006; Hilburn & Fitchett, 2012; Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Su, 2007). Therefore, it is one of the goals of educators and educational researchers to help

students and teachers understand and critically examine how underlying cultural norms, values, and perspectives shape the ways knowledge is constructed in textbooks and in other instructional materials (Banks, 2012b).

### **Textbook Content Analysis in the United States**

Textbook content analysis has been common in the United States, with the primary purposes of revealing the coverage of a variety of issues and groups in texts and visuals and analyzing the ways in which these issues and groups are treated in textbooks (Siler, 1987; Wade, 1993). Some textbook analysts also attempt to identify the causes of such representations and examine the potential impact of textbook content on teaching and learning (Wills, Lintz, & Mehan, 2004). A consensus among educational researchers indicates that high quality content analysis of textbooks informs other types of educational research and shed light on curriculum reform and textbook development and implementation (Wade, 1993).

As early as 1939, a pamphlet entitled *Anti-Negro Propaganda in School Textbooks* published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) uncovered the problem of minority groups being treated unfairly and inaccurately in textbooks. Ten years later, a report by the American Council on Education (1949) argued that instructional materials used in the United States were detrimental to intergroup relations and that a systematic analysis of content in textbooks was needed (as cited in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1980). The depiction of African Americans and related issues, such as slavery, Reconstruction, the Civil Rights Movement, and racial violence towards African Americans, have been the focus of numerous textbook content analyses since the 1960s. In general, curriculum scholars critiqued the information presented in textbooks that excluded or oversimplified the experiences of African Americans and contributed to perpetuating and reproducing the stereotypes and

prejudices towards the African Americans held by the dominant White society (Allen, 1971; Alridge, 2006; Banks, 1969; Brown & Brown, 2010; Garcia & Goebel, 1985; Gordy & Pritchard, 1995; Journell, 2008; Marcus, 1961; Stampp, 1964). For example, in his seminal study of the treatment of African Americans in 36 American history textbooks, Banks (1969) found that although textbooks did incorporate social problems related to African Americans, such as racism and discrimination, they failed to help students develop in-depth understandings of these issues. Banks (1969) thus called for including more authentic information about minority groups that might help to reduce racial prejudice. Gordy and Pritchard (1995) analyzed the ways in which slavery were presented in fifth grade social studies textbooks and found that the treatment of slaves and their lives was partial and that the perspectives of African Americans were marginalized. Alridge (2006) also found that the representations of African Americans in history textbooks tended to focus on heroic figures such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and often limited the accounts to what he called “master narratives” that featured King as a moderate leader while downplaying in narratives of his more radical critique of racial and social inequality.

In subsequent years other scholars joined this endeavor and expanded the landscape of textbook content analysis in the United States in terms of both the groups and issues examined and the methods used to collect and analyze data (Avery & Simmons, 2000; Field, Bauml, Wilhelm, & Jenkins, 2012; Garcia, 1980a, 1980b; Loewen, 2010; Morgan, 2008; Ogawa, 2004; Perlmutter, 1992, 1997; Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Tyack, 1999). Studies conducted by Sleeter and Grant (1991) and Avery and Simmons (2000) typically found that the accounts of the various minority groups were unbalanced in textbooks and that most attention was given to African Americans while few other minority groups, especially Latino and Asian Americans, were covered. More recent studies of textbooks, however, did find more groups in addition to the

African Americans, including Native Americans (Clark & Nunes, 2008; Sanchez, 1999, 2007), Asian Americans (Harada, 2000; Suh & An, 2013; Suh, An, & Forest, 2015), Hispanics/ Latinos (Cruz, 1994; Field et al., 2012), Muslims (Jackson, 2010; Morgan, 2008; Romanowski, 2009; Sensoy, 2004), labor and working class (Anyon, 1979; Sleeter & Grant, 1991), LGBT groups (Jennings & Macgillivray, 2011; Macgillivray & Jennings, 2008), people with disability (Sleeter & Grant, 1991), and gender bias (Clark, Allard, & Mahoney, 2004; Evans & Davies, 2000; Lee, 2014).

In spite of their differed interests and methods, studies of the representations of various non-White, non-mainstream, and non-middle class groups in textbooks were consistent with the critiques of earlier studies that these groups were not only disproportionately underrepresented but also misrepresented in a biased, stereotypic, and/ or White-centric fashion. For example, Kane (1970) found that none of the 15 high school history textbooks he analyzed gave complete or accurate accounts of minority groups in the United States. FitzGerald (1979) also noted a huge gap between the treatment of European and non-European ethnic groups in textbooks. Besides the limited descriptions and common marginalization of the values and experiences of minority groups, the information about minority groups that was contained in textbooks was often oversimplified and distorted and was minimally related to the lived experiences of the students from marginalized communities (Loewen, 2010; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Sleeter and Grant (1991) examined 47 mathematics, science, social studies, and English textbooks using a six-step analysis and found that White cultures were exclusively emphasized while the treatment of various marginalized groups was incomplete and biased to varied degrees. In their analysis of LGBT-related content in foundations of education textbooks for college students, Macgillivray

and Jennings (2008) found that the portrayal of LGBT groups and their perspectives were usually marginalized because of the ways in which textbook content was arranged and presented.

Studies on the depiction of marginalized social groups in textbooks also indicated that knowledge about these groups was often constructed and selected from the mainstream perspectives and dominant ideologies (Anyon, 1980, 1981; Apple, 1993; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Banks, 1996; Romanowski, 2009; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Anyon (1979) analyzed how labor history was addressed in 17 history textbooks and found that ideologically oriented descriptions were often presented as objective or neutral “facts” in order to serve the interests of certain groups while silencing those of others. She also found in the textbooks that poor people were often blamed for their own poverty while the powerful political and financial elites were given more empathy. In a more recent study, Loewen (2010) found that many U.S. history textbooks were filled with myths and distortions that sugar-coated and legitimized the domination and privilege of the European Americans. Romanowski (2009) examined how the September 11 attacks and related events were treated in nine U.S. history textbooks and found that this event and the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq were presented in limited perspectives that legitimized particular U.S. policies. Because the perspectives of diverse groups were missing, the knowledge students learned from textbooks reinforced and reproduced the unequal power relations and values and ideologies of those in power (Anyon, 1979; Apple, 2004).

Another common finding of the textbook analysts was that because of market concerns, textbook authors tended to oversimplify and/ or avoid controversial historical events and sociopolitical issues in order to circumvent state censorship and pressure from influential interest groups (Baranovitch, 2010; Barnard, 2001; Brown & Brown, 2010; Hess, Stoddard, & Murto, 2008; Perlmutter, 1997; Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Su, 2007). One example of this self-censorship

was that textbook narratives often attributed disastrous events, such as the Holocaust and the “Rape of Nanking”, to the safe, “acceptable” enemies, for example, the Nazis and Japanese encroachment, thus failing to present to students the more nuanced social complications or alternative perspectives that did not fit into such soft and safe interpretations (Barnard, 2001; Perlmutter, 1997). In addition, other difficult or controversial issues, such as racism and racial conflicts, were often presented in the textbooks in a “softer” tone that emphasized harmony and agreement rather than conflicts and challenges (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; G. Gay, 2010; Nieto, 2008). As a result, this ideology of consensus presented in the textbooks predisposed students to agreement and conformity and discouraged them from questioning or challenging with alternative interpretations (Apple, 2004).

### **Textbook Content Analysis in Other Nations**

Textbook analysis also have been conducted by researchers in other nations, especially those with high level of racial or ethnic diversity. Analyses of elementary and secondary textbooks in Hong Kong (Fairbrother, 2003), Hungary (Weninger & Williams, 2005), Egypt (Abdou, 2015), Israel (Al-Haj, 2005; Peled-Elhanan, 2012), Japan (Barnard, 2001; Lee, 2014), Northern Ireland (Terra, 2013), Pakistan (Ullah & Skelton, 2013), Taiwan (Su, 2007), Turkey (Ince, 2012), Uganda (Barton & Sakwa, 2012), and Ukraine (Janmaat, 2005, 2007) indicated similar results to those in the United States. The cultures and experiences of marginalized groups were typically both underrepresented and misrepresented in textbooks. The perspectives and interests of dominant groups were communicated and reproduced in textbooks, either around race, ethnicity, nationality, language, gender, or interpretation of historical events and current issues. Textbooks were often used to serve the state ideologies of cultivating the kind of citizens

desired by the state. In the next section of this chapter, relevant research on the representations of *shaoshu minzu* in textbooks and media in China are reviewed.

### **Representation of *Shaoshu Minzu* in Textbooks and Other Domains in China**

Research and scholarship on the textbooks used in the PRC, especially on the treatment of *shaoshu minzu*, has increased over the last three decades. Liu (2005a; 2005b) conducted critical discourse analyses of Chinese language textbooks and found that the knowledge and values presented in textbooks reflected the political and ideological interests of the government. In addition to language textbooks, Vickers (2006) examined the image of selected *shaoshu minzu* in secondary Chinese history textbooks and found that the representation of these groups depicted a homogeneous Chinese identity. Wang and Phillion (2010) conducted a study on the representation of *shaoshu minzu* in Chinese Language and social studies textbooks and found that the experiences and values of the Han Chinese were privileged in these textbooks. Baranovitch (2010) analyzed the representation of *shaoshu minzu* in Chinese high school history textbooks published from 1951 to 2003 and concluded that the changed representations of these groups from an earlier narrative of “non-Chinese others” to the recent emphasis of their belonging to the shared *Zhonghua Minzu* identity reflected the Chinese government’s intent to create an image of a unified, multi-ethnic country. These studies indicated that the representational practices that highlighted the otherness of *shaoshu minzu* had been at least partly replaced by discourses that emphasized their membership to an overarching, collective *Zhonghua Minzu* community.

Other studies examined the image of *shaoshu minzu* in textbooks written in minority languages for *shaoshu minzu* students or minority language learners. The textbooks examined were mostly used in *minzu* autonomous regions or *shaoshu minzu* schools or classes where

*shaoshu minzu* languages were used as the medium of instruction (Gao, 2015; Weber, 2014). Researchers have found that much of the content in these textbooks was either translated from the Han Chinese versions (Bass, 2008) or selected according to the perspectives of Han Chinese and/or dominant ideologies and policies of the party-state (Bangsbo 2008; Harrell & Bamo, 1998; Upton, 1999; Zhu 2007). For example, after analyzing six Uyghur language textbooks, Grose (2012) concluded that the representations of Uyghur in these textbooks varied according to the shift of state ideologies of the PRC towards the Uyghur. Gao (2015) also found that elementary Korean language textbooks used by Chinese Korean students emphasized the high status of Han Chinese language and represented the Korean minority culture in incomplete and inaccurate ways.

Researchers have also examined the images of *shaoshu minzu* in popular culture, mass media, and in society in general (Blum, 2001; Gladney, 1994; Hoddie & Lou, 2009; Kang, 2008; Schein, 1997, 2000; Yang, Ryan, & Zhang, 2013; Zhao & Postiglione, 2010). In their study of the representations of *shaoshu minzu* in China's university-run newspapers, Zhao and Postiglione (2010) found that members and cultures of *shaoshu minzu* were portrayed in a "dual image" as simultaneously "us" and "others", which reflected the nuance of the state ideologies towards *shaoshu minzu*. Both Gladney (1994, 1995) and Schein (1997), from an anthropological perspective, found that *shaoshu minzu* in China were often represented as exotic, backward, or primitive in contrast to the supposedly modern and advanced Han Chinese. Schein (1997) used the term "internal orientalism" to describe the exoticized image of *shaoshu minzu* "Other" in China and argued that this practice of representation reinforced the perception that rigidly depicted *shaoshu minzu* as distant and backward. Hoddie and Lou (2009) also documented a similar shift of the images of *shaoshu minzu* in the *People's Daily*, the Communist Party of

China (CPC)'s official media outlet, during the period from the 1950s to the early 2000s. This shift was from a generally negative one to a largely positive one that emphasized their belonging and development. These studies shed important light on the representation of *shaoshu minzu* in China and illustrate the contentious nature of the politics of representation.

### **Discussion of Prior Research**

Many textbook analysts listed uncovering the prejudiced and stereotypic content about marginalized groups in textbooks as one of their major goals and consequently argued for incorporating into textbooks and other instructional materials more complete, authentic, and accurate accounts of a variety of social groups. Researchers in general agree that information about marginalized groups has gained more visibility in textbooks in recent years (Brown & Brown, 2010; Clark et al., 2004; Ogawa, 2004; Su, 2007). For example, Clark et al. (2004) found that females gained steadily increasing representation in history textbooks from the 1970s to the 1990s. Researchers in the 1980s and 1990s have already found that, as a response to the criticism from educational researchers and practitioners, textbooks published in the 1970s had made progress in terms of the expanded coverage of ethnic minority groups and recognition of the contributions of a variety of ethnic minority groups and women (Glazer & Ueda, 1983; Leming, 1983; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Such an augmented coverage of marginalized groups in textbooks undoubtedly indicated a recognition of cultural differences and ethnic diversity in society (Fraser, 1996).

Despite this numerical improvement, multicultural education theorists such as Banks (2004; 2012a) and G. Gay (2004; 2010) point out that researchers need to critically examine the added content about marginalized groups in the textbooks because—without challenging the underlying assumptions of textbook writing and knowledge construction process—the added

diverse content is most likely to be selected according to mainstream ideologies and presented from the perspectives of the economically, politically, and culturally dominant groups (Banks, 2012a). Banks (2012a) asserts that many of the effort to integrate multicultural content into curricula stops at adding ethnic elements or ethnic themes and concepts that are consistent with mainstream perspectives while leaving the structure of the curriculum intact. Therefore, educational researchers should also turn a critical eye on what knowledge about marginalized groups is presented in the textbooks and how such knowledge is constructed and organized. Some textbook analysts (for example, Brown & Brown, 2010; Gordy & Pritchard, 1995; Ogawa, 2004; Sleeter & Grant, 1991) of the reviewed studies demonstrated such a critical or transformative consciousness in their analyses. They typically adopted multicultural education and/ or social justice education as the analytic framework and explicitly challenged the problematic process of knowledge construction and presentation. This multicultural disposition, however, was not always observed among other textbook analyses.

Another finding from the reviewed research is that visuals in textbooks are getting more attention in recent textbook analyses. The study by Hawkins (1978) was one of the earliest ones that investigated the visual representations of ethnic minorities and females in elementary social studies textbooks, which revealed that the images were predominantly White- and male-centered. J. Gay (1988) analyzed photographs in 18 introductory psychology textbooks published in the 1980s and found that the percentage of people of color shown in the visuals were disproportionately fewer than their share in the U.S. population. Perlmutter (1992, 1997) examined the visual representations of war and the Holocaust of European Jews in U.S. history textbooks. More recent studies include Sensoy's (2004) dissertation study in which she compared and contrasted the visual representations of Arabs and Muslims in textbooks and

newspapers in the United States and analyzed their roles in reinforcing and reproducing power relations. The study by Field et al. (2012) also gave a good account of the illustrations and photographs, as well as textual representations, of Mexico and Mexicans in U.S. textbooks. It seems that recent textbook analysts are more likely than earlier researchers to include both textual and visual content in their analyses. However, pictures and illustrations are in general missing from most of the existing analyses of Chinese textbooks with a few exceptions (see for example, Baranovitch, 2010; Chu, 2015). Few of the available studies of Chinese textbooks had any systematic examination of the visual content in the textbooks, though images of *shaoshu minzu* have been examined by scholars in other disciplines, for example, anthropology and cultural studies (for example, Blum, 2001; Gladney, 1995). The absence of the analysis of visual content is unfortunate because of the large amount of visual content in Chinese textbooks, especially those for lower grades.

The third finding from the literature relates to the methodology. The term “content analysis” is widely used among educational researchers yet there does not seem to be a consensus on what they mean by this term. This is indicated by the range of methods used by textbook analysts as well as by the varied efforts they have used to describe their analyzing procedures and validate their results. Traditionally, content analysis has been primarily viewed and used as a quantitative research method that is grounded in a post-positivist assumption that objective references could be drawn from systematic data collection and analysis (Neuendorf, 2002; Phillips & Burbules, 2000). The earlier textbook analyses reviewed in this chapter were dominated by such an orientation. In the last three decades, qualitative content analysis, however, has gained popularity as a response to some of the criticisms of conventional,

quantitative content analysis (George, 2009). This trend is also observed in the current review of research.

Most of the studies reviewed in this chapter adopted one or several qualitative approaches as their analytic methods—either qualitative content analysis (Field et al., 2012; Gordy & Pritchard, 1995; Ince, 2012; Ogawa, 2004; Romanowski, 2009; Ullah & Skelton, 2013) or variations of analyses that were qualitative in the nature, such as (critical) discourse analysis (Abdou, 2015; Baranovitch, 2010; Janmaat, 2007; Liu, 2005a, 2005b; Wang & Phillion, 2010; Zhao & Postiglione, 2010), literary and narrative analysis (Alridge, 2006; Brown & Brown, 2010; Terra, 2013), textual analysis (Anderson, 2012; Grose, 2012), or simply “textbook analysis” as described by the authors that falls into one or several of these methods (Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Su, 2007). The methods of some other researchers were either not clearly specified (Barnard, 2001; Hess et al., 2008) or were ambiguous (Jennings & Macgillivray, 2011; Weninger & Williams, 2005). Almost all the studies reported some findings that were presented in quantitative formats although they did not always quantify the textual or visual segments that were coded. The choice of qualitative over quantitative methods was justifiable because many of the studies reviewed in this chapter aimed to provide a more detailed description of the selected (often small amount of) texts instead of making generalizable and replicable inferences from the texts, which is typically an object of quantitative content analysis (George, 2009; Krippendorff, 2013). However, not all of the studies reviewed explicitly stated such a goal in their description of the research design. Nor was a rationale for the choice of method always presented in these studies.

Quantitative method was the preferred approach for many comparative textbook analyses (Bromley, Meyer, & Ramirez, 2011; Meyer, Bromley, & Ramirez, 2010; Moon, 2013). One

commonality of these studies is that they all considered a large amount—typically several hundreds— of textbooks that were produced during a relatively long period of time because one of the goals of such studies was to identify changes of representation over the time by locating a selected number of quantifiable variables that enabled the comparison at various levels.

The variations on methodology also was noticed by earlier reviews of textbook content analyses. Both Siler (1987) and Wade (1993) contended that many textbook analysts—most of whom employed a quantitative approach— failed to articulate the specific methods and procedures they used to select, sample, code, and interpret the texts, which severely reduced the persuasiveness of their results. Siler (1987) argued that although early textbook analyses added valuable substantive knowledge of the treatment of minority groups in textbooks, they made few contributions to the methodologies of conducting systematic, rigorous textbook analysis, which limited their value as guides for future textbook research. He found that most of the 14 studies he reviewed had flaws or limitations on sampling, definition, data analysis, and/ or results reporting (Siler, 1987). Wade (1993) also found that out of the 25 textbooks content analyses published in three prominent social studies journals from 1982 to 1992 , 44% did not list any categories for analysis and only slightly more than one third (36%) defined or validated their choice of categories. Also, the majority of these studies did not offer any information on unit of analysis (68%), system of enumeration (76%), or reliability (84%) (Wade, 1993). In addition, both Siler (1987) and Wade (1993) identified the problematic predominance of subjective judgment in these analyses and a lack of a structured method that would result in quantitative data or “thorough qualitative analysis” (Wade, 1993, p. 237).

The situation described above, unfortunately, was not significantly improved in later textbook content analyses. Not all of the studies reviewed in this chapter provided clear

definitions of terms or the sources of their definitions, which might threaten the validity (Krippendorff, 2013) or trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of their results. Reliability is another important concept in content analysis that is used to measure the agreement among independent analysts coding identical units of analysis (Krippendorff, 2004). The higher the reliability coefficient calculated from the agreement the more reliable the analysis is. In qualitative content analysis, the reliability is often conceptualized as part of the trustworthiness and warranted by some evaluative criteria (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Many researchers gave some statistics in their report, mostly the percentage of coverage of the issues of interest. However, an explanation of how these statistics were calculated was often missing. The coding instruments and their validity were almost never mentioned in the reviewed studies.

Several quantitative studies reviewed in this chapter did well in explicating the strategies and steps that were used for textbook selection, sampling, data collection and analysis, reporting findings, and for ensuring the credibility of the results (Banks, 1969; Evans & Davies, 2000; Powell & Garcia, 1985; Sanchez, 2007; Sensoy, 2004). For the qualitative content analyses I reviewed, other than a few exceptions (for example, Alridge, 2006; Brown & Brown, 2010), little information was provided on how the categories or themes were determined or what techniques were followed to ensure the rigorousness of the results. Also, none of the reviewed studies on Chinese textbooks provided a systematic account of how the content was coded quantitatively. Despite the shortcomings of pure quantitative analyses in answering the “how” question, as Barton and Sakwa (2012) declared and suggested by others, they are still worth doing in studying ethnic representations in textbooks, especially because such studies are rare in China. Only a few studies used both quantitative and qualitative analyses (for example, Barton & Sakwa, 2012). Such studies had the advantage of systematically examining the treatment of the

issues or groups in texts while obtaining an in-depth, rich description and analysis of the portrayals.

### **Rationale for the Current Study**

The study conducted by Wang and Phillion (2010) is closest to the current study in terms of issues of interest and data sources. However, a serious defect is that it contains many factual errors that suggest the authors' limited knowledge of Chinese history, or at least an uncaredful reading of the textbooks, which placed the credibility of the analysis in doubt. In addition, almost all of the studies on Chinese textbooks examined only the version published by the People's Education Press (PEP), which is reasonable given its long history as the official publisher of textbooks and its high adoption rate nationwide. However, textbooks produced after the curriculum reform that decentralized the textbook development process and "local curriculum" policies and the more recent *minzu* solidarity education initiative might render the PEP version insufficient resources to understand the contemporary educational representations of *shaoshu minzu*. This study was designed to bridge this knowledge gap and contribute to a comprehensive understanding of content related to *shaoshu minzu* in selected current elementary textbooks in China. Also included are the curriculum standards that guide the production of the textbooks. Comparing these two types of official curricular materials can reveal how well the analyzed textbooks are aligned with the standards in terms of presenting *shaoshu minzu*-related content.

In addition, in this study, both textual and visual content in the textbooks are analyzed. Analyzing content presented in both formats will provide a more complete picture of the representation of *shaoshu minzu* in textbooks. Moreover, a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis provides the most accurate and detailed account on what knowledge

about *shaoshu minzu* is included and how such content is organized and presented in the textbooks. In the next chapter, the conceptual frameworks that I used to guide my analyses of the textbooks and the curriculum standards are discussed.

## Chapter III

### Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, the major concepts and theories used to examine the depiction of *shaoshu minzu* in Chinese textbooks and to frame the arguments presented in this study are discussed. This study addresses the assumed tension between unity and diversity in a culturally pluralistic society and the role of education in balancing national unity and ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity through the analysis of textbooks and curriculum standards. It is important for schools to help students to recognize the cultural diversity presented in society through textbooks and other educational materials. This is how multicultural education scholarship is brought into this study. Transforming and multiculturalizing curriculum materials necessitate a critical examination of how content about *shaoshu minzu* is currently presented in textbooks. Scholarship on critical studies of education also was used in the conceptualization and implementation of this study. This chapter begins with a discussion of how the Chinese concepts of *minzu* (“nationality” or “ethnic group”), *shaoshu minzu* (“minority nationality” or “ethnic minority group”), and *Zhonghua minzu* (“Chinese Nation”), all of which are essential to this dissertation, are conceptualized and practiced in the Chinese context.

#### Theorizing Minzu

Fifty-five *shaoshu minzu* in addition to the dominant Han Chinese constitute the 56 officially recognized *minzu* in the PRC. The population of the 55 *shaoshu minzu* makes up about 8.5% of the country’s total 1.34 billion population (National Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Though commonly used in the political and popular discourses of the PRC, the concept of “*minzu*” did not appear in the Chinese language until the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a neologism. It is believed that it was Liang Qichao (1873—1929), a late Qing Dynasty Han Chinese scholar, who first

translated the Japanese term “*minzoku*” into “*minzu*” in Chinese language (Harrell, 1996) under the context of the emergence of a nationalist consciousness among the Han Chinese as a result of the increasing presence of Western power and the anti-Manchu movement (Bulag, 2003; Gladney, 1994). This sense of a national crisis felt by many Han Chinese intellectuals was well captured by this new term, whose Japanese original was a translation of the Western notion of “nation”. Later a derivative term of *minzu*, *Zhonghua Minzu* was promoted by Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionary leader, under the political slogan “five groups under one union” that aimed to unite the five major ethnic groups of China, Han, Manchu, Mongol, Chinese Muslim, and Tibetan, into one nation—the Chinese Nation, or *Zhonghua Minzu*— and re-establish China as a modern nation-state based on the *Zhonghua Minzu* identity (Baranovitch, 2010; Harrell, 1996; Mackerras, 2004).

As a result, during the Republican era (1911—1949), the term “*minzu*” was understood simultaneously as *Zhonghua Minzu* and each smaller group that constituted this collective. This ambiguity and complexity of meanings did not change throughout the entire period of Republican China in spite of several unsuccessful attempts by the government to reserve the term “*minzu*” for *Zhonghua Minzu* only while treating the variety of ethnic groups as sub-groups of this one *minzu* (Barabantseva, 2008). Both terms remained powerful as consciousness-building discourses, especially during the anti-Japanese war in the 1930s and 1940s. However, at this time, *Zhonghua Minzu* was almost viewed as an equivalent of the Han Chinese due to their demographic, political, and cultural dominance.

When the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) took power in 1949, it inherited the same term of *minzu* and openly claimed the PRC as a country composed of multiple *minzu* (Baranovitch, 2010). It then launched a *Minzu* Identification project with a span of three decades

in order to identify and determine the membership of every *minzu* in the territory of the PRC. The *Minzu* Identification project, however, started with the goal of understanding the socioeconomic structures and class relationships within each *minzu* society (Baranovitch, 2010), which was congruent with the focus of orthodox Marxism (Guldin, 1988). Identification teams consisting of anthropologists, ethnologists, sociologists, and linguistics, as well as local cadres, were sent to *minzu* settlements to conduct the fieldwork. The result of this project was the identification of 55 *shaoshu minzu*, out of self-identification on the 1953 census from over 400 ethnic groups (Harrell & Bamo, 1998), leaving about 750,000 people as “yet-to-be classified-*minzu*” (Clothey, 2005; Mullaney, 2011) when the project officially ended in 1982. One result of the *Minzu* Identification project was that *minzu* identity and membership were fixed into a relatively rigid and limited ethnic taxonomy that reified *minzu* identifications and relationships, which had formerly been somewhat fluid and flexible in local contexts due to the long-term interaction between Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu* and between a variety of *shaoshu minzu* (Harrell, 1996). For example, many individuals in Yunnan Province who were “recognized” as Bai people in the 1950s did not even view themselves as a distinctive *minzu* before the *Minzu* Identification project (McCarthy, 2009). In other words, both the ideas of *minzu* and many of the 55 *shaoshu minzu* did not exist as they are understood today but rather were constructed as a result of political campaigns.

The criteria used to identify *minzu*, at least on paper, came from the writings of Joseph Stalin (Ma & Dai, 1988; McCarthy, 2009), who defined a nation as “a stable commonality formed through the course of history of people that have common language, hold a common region or territory, lead a common life, and possess common mental qualities that are expressed in terms of a common culture” (Ma & Dai, 1988, p. 83). In the Chinese context, in order to be

identified as a distinct *minzu*, a group has to be simultaneously culturally, linguistically, and socioeconomically different from the Han Chinese while at the same time residing in a bounded territory (Guldin, 1988). However, this definition of nation did not quite fit the *minzu* condition of China, so members of the identification teams found it difficult to follow strictly in the practice (Harrell, 2000; Mullaney, 2004). For example, the Zhuang, Hui, Manchu, and Chinese Korean are among the largest identified *minzu* in spite of the fact that they are all culturally similar to the Han Chinese and speak Chinese as a common language. In contrast, the Mosuo people in Sichuan Province were not recognized as a *minzu* but classified as members of the Naxi people even though the two groups were culturally distinct (Harrell, 2001). Thus, as Harrell (2000) argues, the ways in which *minzu* is conceptualized and practiced in China are distinct from both the Western concept of “ethnic group” and the Lenin-Stalin definition of “nation”. Therefore, in this study, *minzu*, *shaoshu minzu*, and *Zhonghua Minzu* were not translated but transliterated in pinyin—the official Romanization system for Standard Chinese in the PRC—and marked by italics. I did not change the font in direct quotes if the original words in the texts were not in italics. However, this practice by no means indicated my total acceptance of these concepts and the rationale underlying their creation, nor did it suggest that they were not problematic. This was simply a practical choice in order to avoid semantic ambiguity and confusion.

In addition to identifying the *shaoshu minzu* societies, another goal of the *Minzu* Identification project was to place every identified *minzu* into the hierarchical categories that correspond to five distinct stages of socioeconomic development, namely primitive, slave, feudalist, capitalist, and socialist. These categories were influenced by the social development theory of the American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (Harrell, 1995). The Han Chinese,

along with the Manchu, the Mongolian, the Chinese Korean, and the Hui were claimed, according to this framework, to have already been in the late feudalist or entering the capitalist society at the time the PRC was established. Other *minzu*, however, were labeled as still being in early feudalist or even slave and primitive societies because of their perceived less-advanced mode of production and supposedly lower level of civilization, such as lack of written languages (Liang, 1988; McCarthy, 2009).

The conceptual purity of this social evolutionary framework was often sacrificed for the practical convenience of categorizing (McCarthy, 2009). Nevertheless, this Marxist-Leninist sense of civilized vs. uncivilized/ backward and historical development was congruent with earlier Chinese models of cultured and uncultured peoples (Harrell, 1995), and thus became the basis on which *shaoshu minzu* were perceived—especially among the Han Chinese—and issues related to *shaoshu minzu* were addressed in the PRC, including education. For example, Yi (2007) found that members of *shaoshu minzu* and their cultures were viewed as backward and incompatible with the modernization of China by the dominant Han Chinese, who frequently attributed the alleged backwardness of the *shaoshu minzu* to their presumably less advanced modes of production. Therefore, the focus of many *minzu* policies in China is to improve the living conditions and advance the socioeconomic status of *shaoshu minzu* in various yet generally “less advanced” stages of social development as part of the “civilizing projects” (Harrell, 1995) under the socialist regime. This understanding of historical development of *minzu* also contributed to the idea of viewing all *minzu* as brothers and the elder brothers have the obligation to look after the younger ones (He, 2004). This discourse thus justified the leading role and responsibility of the Han Chinese—as the elder brother—in the constructed collective community of *Zhonghua Minzu*.

In the 1980s, Chinese scholars, facing the increasingly present *minzu*-related issues and problems, started to redefine *minzu* and related concepts. Fei Xiaotong, a prominent Chinese anthropologist and sociologist, reclaimed and advocated the idea of *Zhonghua Minzu* as the overarching identity supposedly shared by all 56 *minzu* in the PRC, which was claimed by the government as the political entity that embodied the *Zhonghua Minzu* identity. Fei later framed this as the *Zhonghua Minzu duoyuan yiti geju* (plurality and unity in the configuration of the Chinese Nation) (Leibold & Chen, 2014; Wan, 2004). Fei (1986) argued that diversity in contemporary China was the result of the cohabitation and interaction of different ethnic groups historically and currently living in the territory of China (PRC). Under this paradigm, all *shaoshu minzu*, however different from each other in terms of cultures and languages and regardless of the historical conflicts among them, are natural members of *Zhonghua Minzu*. This definition of *Zhonghua Minzu* resolves, at least to some extent, two important issues related to *minzu*. First, the claim of *Zhonghua Minzu* as the collective of all *minzu* in the territory of China helps to cope with the fact that several regimes in the history of China were ruled by non-Han Chinese; and second, the idea of *Zhonghua Minzu* as a whole rules out the legitimacy of any of the non-Han Chinese groups' claim for national independence. This discourse of *Zhonghua Minzu* thus serves the ideological need of the PRC to assure the political loyalty of its diverse population by “convinc[ing] them that they are citizens by virtue of their historical and cultural attachment to the nation and that this attachment is a long, glorious and immutable one” (Harrell, 1996, p.5).

Since the 1950s, the *minzu* policies of the PRC have been emphasizing national unity over ethnic diversity (Mullaney, 2011). Therefore, almost all official *minzu*-related discourses begin with a prerequisite that the cultures of the *shaoshu minzu* are fully respected and that *shaoshu minzu* individuals are protected as equal citizens of the PRC as long as they are not

pursuing political independence. Sometimes the extra requirement is added that they should go along with the “national condition” of China, which is always defined vaguely if not arbitrarily. The most recent example is the “four identifications” (*si ge re tong*) slogan: identification with the motherland; the *Zhonghua Minzu* identity; Chinese culture; and the socialist path with Chinese characteristics.

Such an emphasis on the identification with the *Zhonghua Minzu* identity from the party-state indicated that it is often the imagination of the people that in some sense makes the community real (Anderson, 1991). The *Zhonghua Minzu* discourse creates a paradox that this collective community is presented as an ancient or natural occurrence while at the same time it has to be maintained through the ongoing construction of discourses and narratives that boost the imagination of such a community. One of the most important concerns of the *minzu* policies of the party-state is to maintain the PRC as a unified, multi-*minzu* country and to keep a delicate balance between unity and diversity, mainly through the promotion of the *Zhonghua Minzu* identity. Subscribing to this shared identity, of which the PRC is the embodiment as a political entity, is viewed by the party-state as an indicator and a necessary condition of national unity. Therefore, membership in the *Zhonghua Minzu* is citizenship in a political sense rather than merely an ethno-cultural identification. For example, the principle of *minzu* equality in the Article 4 of the 1982 Constitution stated:

All *minzu* in the People’s Republic of China are equal. The state protects each *minzu*’s lawful rights and interests and upholds and develops a relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all *minzu* in China. Discrimination against and oppression of any *minzu* are prohibited.

Article 5 of the Compulsory Education Law of the PRC also stipulates that

All children who have reached the age of six should enroll in school to receive compulsory education for the prescribed number of years, regardless of gender, *minzu*, or race. Parents or other guardians must enroll their school-age children in school in time.

These provisions showed that in China, citizenship and citizenship rights were guaranteed by law and somewhat independent of one's *minzu* status. *Zhonghua Minzu* thus functions as the identity of the PRC and is imposed on the members of this community. This is why the clear, unambiguous identification of each *minzu* in the territory of the PRC and the claim that China is a multi-*minzu* country matter greatly. However, as we will see from the analysis of the textbooks in this study, the idea of *Zhonghua Minzu* is believed to have gone beyond the territorial boundaries and has been maintained through a sense of loyalty to certain cultural symbols and practices. In other words, a sense of cultural citizenship is also attached to this concept. The criteria that focus on cultural behavior and principles were consistent with the cultural understanding of being Chinese or a sense of "Chinese-ness". Therefore, Chinese-ness and *Zhonghua Minzu* entail both political citizenship and cultural designations.

One problem of the claims that China is a multi-*minzu* country and that the rights entailed to its people are *minzu*-neutral is that the CPC's seemingly socialist, equal ideologies contrast with Han-centric ideas and unequal relationships between the *shaoshu minzu* and the dominant Han Chinese. Similarly, the ostensibly revolutionary ideologies of Marx and Lenin and the development theory of Morgan could be used to justify policies that reinforce Han Chinese's political, economic, and cultural dominance of *shaoshu minzu*. The construction of a viewpoint

of Han Chinese as advanced inevitably parallels an image of *shaoshu minzu* as backward and compliant in the imagined community of *Zhonghua Minzu*.

A related problematic phenomenon is *minzu* being often labeled as a binary—in both spoken and written languages— of Han versus *shaoshu minzu*. Many times, such a binary understanding of *minzu* is suggested by explicitly declaring *shaoshu minzu* status by assuming that Han Chinese are the norm. Because Han Chinese are so dominant numerically and politically, they are almost regarded—by both Han Chinese and members of *shaoshu minzu*—as not being a *minzu* in China (Chu, 2015; Joniak-Lüthi, 2015), perhaps with the official identification, such as identification card and household information, as an exception where one’s *minzu* is printed as a major category. As a result, when the term *minzu* is used, it almost exclusively denotes non-Han Chinese as a marked category. One example that characterizes such an understanding of *minzu* is the English translation of the name of the PRC’s bureaucracy responsible for developing policies and dealing with affairs about *shaoshu minzu*: State Ethnic Affairs Commission (formerly the State Nationality Affairs Commission), where Han is clearly excluded from the word “ethnic”. In other words, *minzu* is also often used as a synonym for *shaoshu minzu*. As a result, not only do many foreign scholars equate Han with Chinese (Mullaney, 2011), but also many members of *shaoshu minzu* designate themselves simply as “*minzu*” opposed to the “normal” Han (Harrell, 2001). This further complicates the meaning and use of the word “*minzu*” in China, which will also be seen in the examples in the analyzed textbooks presented later in this study.

As a result of the *minzu* diversity of China, one of the goals of China’s education is to cultivate students’ identification with socialist China under the leadership of the PRC and promote national unity and social harmony (Wan, 2004). A priority of the state-controlled

education policies, practices, and materials, is cultivating in students a recognition of the *Zhonghua Minzu* identification and developing attitudes and dispositions that are consistent with the *minzu* ideologies of the party-state. In the next section of this chapter, the relationship between power and the construction and selection of school knowledge are discussed from perspectives of scholarship about critical studies in education.

### **Power and Knowledge Construction**

A main purpose of this study is to understand the representation of *shaoshu minzu* in elementary textbooks that are prepared primarily for Han Chinese students in China. Representation is the act of making a phenomenon present—building relationships between two objects— through forms of symbolic communication (Mitchell, 1990). Frequently, representation carries a set of ideas and ideologies and works as a lens through which the audience of the representation understand the represented object. In addition, representations of others often construct a binary frame by which the “self”—in addition to the represented “other”—is simultaneously known (Hall, 2003; Lacey, 1998). In other words, knowing what “they” are like immediately constructs an understanding of what “we” are like. In this study, the object to be represented is *shaoshu minzu* in China and their cultures while the material or medium used to represent them is the written and visual content in textbooks. Through reading these textbooks, Han Chinese students accumulate knowledge about the *shaoshu minzu* and construct an image of themselves, as well as the relationships between these groups.

The primary theoretical underpinning of this study is the relationships between power and the construction of knowledge, especially school knowledge as presented in curricular materials. Critical scholars and multicultural education scholars have argued that knowledge is a social construction that reflects and reinforces power relationships within and across social institutions

(Apple, 2004; Banks, 2004; G. Gay, 2010). Knowledge conceptualized in this way provides a suitable framework for critically examining the nature of the knowledge construction process and the often ignored role of school knowledge in reproducing power domination and social inequality (Apple, 2004; Young, 1971).

At the macro level, a curriculum outlines learning goals informed by various professional principles and national and local standards under which the curriculum is created. As a result, a curriculum inevitably has both political and professional dimensions because it reflects “what knowledge is of most worth” (Spencer, 1860, p. 21) and “what counts as valid knowledge” (Bernstein, 1973, p. 85) by academic and political authorities. A curriculum also provides teachers, at the micro level, with the guidelines on how to effectively engage students in learning activities in order to achieve these goals. In other words, a curriculum addresses both “what to teach” and “how to teach”.

Curriculum scholars have described how school knowledge is frequently constructed, selected, and presented according to the interests and values of dominant groups in society while ignoring or distorting those of marginalized groups, which reinforces and reproduces unequal power relations (Apple, 1993; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Banks, 1996; Young, 1971). Those who have the power to produce and institutionalize particular knowledge about themselves and marginalized groups are also in the position to benefit from maintaining and reproducing existing systems of power in society that privilege the values and beliefs of the dominant groups. For example, as a political institution, the Ministry of Education in China has the power to influence the organization and content of textbooks in order to deliver the political ideology of the party-state. Similarly, the concept of “*shaoshu minzu*” and related discourses associated with these groups by the party-state are likely to be promoted in the textbooks as

“truth” and “valid knowledge” because of the cultural power possessed by the majority Han Chinese. School knowledge presented in curricular resources and instructional materials is consequently a product of social power that operates in complex ways (Apple, 2004) as manifested in curriculum standards and textbooks.

As one of the most prominent components of a curriculum, textbooks serve the role of achieving the learning outcomes by collecting a series of teaching resources and activities that exemplify the principles of the curriculum. Curriculum scholars constantly find that textbooks are the main, sometimes even the sole, sources of school knowledge for students (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Banks, 1996; Roderick, 1970). It is estimated that up to 80% of school knowledge is transmitted through textbooks (G. Gay, 2010; Siler, 1987), which predominantly consist of mainstream academic knowledge (Banks, 1996). Many students believe that information contained in their textbooks is accurate and authentic and accept it without doubt (G. Gay, 2010). As a result, the deliberately selected school knowledge presented in textbooks usually predisposes students to accept—rather than questioning, let alone challenging and transforming—the existing social structures and institutional norms (Anyon, 1978, 1979; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991).

Textbooks also consist of hidden curriculum (Jackson, 1968) that is not openly taught but often learned by students through the transmission of cultural norms and dominant power structures embedded in the texts (Eisner, 2002; Martin, 1976). This is particularly so of textbooks for subjects that can be used in mobilizing citizens and shaping identities, such as language, and of the immediately identity-construction-related subjects, such as history and civics. These embedded social norms in the textbooks also reflect the expectations of the state for good citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). In other words, textbooks serve ideological as well

as pedagogical purposes. In China, as a medium for the transmission of party-state ideologies, the school textbook is tool of the state. As a result, the three subjects examined in this study could be viewed as components of citizenship education that is congruent with the ideologies of the CCP.

It is also not uncommon for a new government, after gaining power, to revise its textbooks to reflect its own understanding of history and society. Even if no new “facts” were added, the changed social and political contexts under which these new textbooks were produced would necessarily lead to a shift of discourses (Apple, 2004) in terms of how these facts were selected and presented and how they were connected to teachers and students. In this sense, textbooks also serve a legitimating function. By examining textbook content, a researcher can uncover what is valued or held as normal and legitimate in mainstream institutions, i.e., what is regarded as legitimate knowledge by policy makers and textbook authors and what is not under specific social contexts. For example, Baranovitch (2010) found that Chinese high school history textbooks published in the 1950s depicted a variety of *shaoshu minzu* as non-Chinese others or foreigners in order to foster the not-yet-firmly-established Han Chinese identity. However, textbooks published in the 2000s indicated a shift of discourse that emphasized *shaoshu minzu* as part of the *Zhonghua Minzu* community. This shift of representation is evidently consistent with the official promotion of the *Zhonghua Minzu* discourse by the Chinese government after the 1980s.

As Apple (2004) argues, it is not sufficient to simply teach students that knowledge is socially constructed. Instead, students should be encouraged to inquire why a specific set of values and perspectives is selected and maintained in the curriculum as objective and valid facts, as well as who benefits from such selection and organization of school knowledge. Therefore,

one of the goals of this study is to investigate “how a system of unequal power in society is maintained, and partly recreated, by means of the ‘transmission’ of culture” (Apple, 2004, p. 30). This is done by uncovering how various *minzu*-related ideologies are manifested in curriculum standards and textbooks and identifying the potential causes of the selection and organization of *shaoshu minzu*-related content.

Apple (2004) also contends that it is often the consensus rather than conflicts that are presented in the curriculum. As a result, students are taught a “consensus ideology that bears little resemblance to the complex nexus and contradictions surrounding the control and organization of social life” (p. 6). This practice of avoiding or simplifying controversial historical events and social issues in curriculum has been documented in studies of school curriculum and textbooks (Brown & Brown, 2010; Hess, Stoddard, & Murto, 2008; Perlmutter, 1997). This caution against the “consensus ideology” in textbooks is important for this study given the ideologies of *minzu* solidarity and social harmony that are pervasive in every sector in China (Postiglione, 2014). It is unlikely that conflicts and controversies between *minzu* in China, as shown by the incident in the beginning of this dissertation, will be found in textbooks. Missing content in the curriculum such as this denies students opportunities to gain more comprehensive and accurate understandings of *minzu* relations in China and thus contributes to misunderstandings between *shaoshu minzu* and Han Chinese.

### **Multicultural Education**

Another theoretical framework for this study is multicultural education. Banks (2012b) states that multicultural education is simultaneously an idea, an educational reform movement, and a process. As a concept, multicultural education builds on foundational principles of cultural pluralism, social justice, the significance of culture in teaching and learning, and educational

equity (Bennett, 2001). Multicultural education as an education reform movement in the United States has been manifested mainly by providing culturally and linguistically inclusive and responsive curriculum and instruction for diverse student populations (G. Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1995). In addition, the intent of multicultural education is to challenge social inequity and transform schools and other social institutions that deny equal access to certain groups of students by eliminating prejudices and discriminations and embracing racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, socioeconomic, gender, sexual orientation, exceptionalities, and national diversities so that all students can learn effectively (Banks, 2012b; Nieto, 2008; Sleeter & Grant, 2009). Thus, a major goal of multicultural educators is to prepare culturally competent citizens in pluralistic societies who are committed to diversity, equity, and social and political transformation (Banks, 2004a; Bennett, 2015; Nieto, 2008).

As numerous scholars have argued, multicultural education responds positively to all cultures in schools and provides high quality education for not only students from marginalized communities but also students from dominant groups (Banks, 2012b; G. Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Zirkel, 2008). All students will benefit from equal learning opportunities, high expectations for educational achievement, quality curriculum and instruction relevant to their experiences, and a school culture that empowers their academic and social development. In addition, a thorough understanding of a variety of cultures in the society and the world also will help students develop positive dispositions and competent skills that are essential to function effectively in culturally pluralistic societies in the global age (Banks, 2004a; 2008). Therefore, multicultural education is inclusive and comprehensive (G. Gay, 2010). Multicultural educators challenge the knowledge contained in textbooks and call for the inclusion of knowledge, culture,

and perspectives that reflect how a range of ethnic, cultural, and social groups have participated in the construction of the society (Banks, 2012a, 2012b; Grant & Sleeter, 2012).

Banks (1996) examines the ways in which a variety of values, ideologies, and perspectives influence the knowledge construction process. Banks (1996) distinguishes five types of knowledge, one of which is school knowledge that is presented in textbooks and other instructional materials. According to Banks, school knowledge is most likely to be directly influenced by mainstream academic knowledge and popular knowledge, which is based on the Western paradigms that are widely shared in both academia and society writ large. Banks (1996) further argues that teachers should introduce students to transformative knowledge that challenges the epistemological foundation of the knowledge construction process. In addition, teachers should encourage students to examine the “implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases within a discipline [that] influence[s] the ways in which knowledge is constructed” (Banks, 2012b, p. 17). The purpose of engaging students in these practices is to help them identify and critically examine their own assumptions and positions and create their own interpretations of historical events and current issues (Banks, 1996). This is the knowledge construction process dimension in Banks’ (2012b) knowledge construction typology.

Another important dimension of multicultural education is content integration, which involves integrating information, perspectives, and experiences about diverse cultural and ethnic groups into the curriculum (Banks, 2012b). Banks (2012a) proposes four approaches for integrating ethnic content and cultural knowledge into school curricula. These are the contributions approach; the additive approach; the transformation approach; and the social action approach. Banks (2012a) argues that the first two approaches are most frequently used by teachers because they involve the least effort and minimum change to the structure of the

curriculum while the latter two approaches require fundamental structural changes and perspective shifts in the curriculum. This is key to the investigation of the content of the curriculum, including the current study, because it is necessary to critically examine how content about ethnic groups is constructed in order to determine if it is consistent with or counter prevailing orientations of mainstream knowledge (Banks, 2012a). Earlier efforts to incorporate ethnic content into curriculum often fell into contributions and additive approaches and led to what Grant and Sleeter (2012) called “single-group studies”, which consist of adding superficial knowledge of a certain ethnic group into the curriculum. Therefore, Banks (2012a) strongly advocates the social action approach and encourages teachers to engage students in social change and civic action. In this study, the standards and textbooks are examined using these four approaches and attention is given to how knowledge about *shaoshu minzu* is constructed in these materials and how this content is shaped by and shapes the dominant ideologies of the CCP and the PRC.

Multicultural education is a proper framework for this study also because it is an ongoing process and transnational movement since many of its issues of concerns, such as racism, discrimination, and inequality, are persistent in the history of human beings and prevalent across cultures and nations, including China. In addition, multicultural education has been increasingly adopted by Chinese educational researchers and policy makers in the last decade (Teng, Yang, & Yang, 2014; Zhang & Chen, 2014). Many of them have examined the theories and practices of multicultural education within the context of socio-historical and cultural/-political conditions, especially the schooling system of the PRC (Huang, 2004). Multicultural education is considered by many educational scholars in China as a promising means to achieve national unity, ethnic

solidarity, and social harmony, which are among the top priorities of the Chinese governmental policies (Postiglione, 2014; Teng, Yang, & Yang, 2014; Teng & Zhu, 2012; Wan, 2004).

Multiculturalism and pluralism in China, however, are most often conceptualized from the “plurality and unity in the configuration of *Zhonghua Minzu*” framework of Fei Xiaotong (1986). Fei approaches the relationships between diversity and unity mainly from the perspective of inter-ethnic contacts and interactions of the majority Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu*. He suggests that an overarching and unifying *Zhonghua Minzu* identity that transcends all *minzu* is formed and developed as a result of long-term interaction between different *minzu* that historically and currently live in China (Fei, 1986). In this framework, the coexistence of unity and plurality is, at least theoretically, possible. However, as Zhou (2012) argues, the Han Chinese is believed to have played the key role in building this overarching *Zhonghua Minzu* identity by the dual-process of civilizing or Sinicizing *shaoshu minzu* and integrating a variety of *shaoshu minzu* cultures into its own culture. This understanding of the relationships between Han Chinese and *Zhonghua Minzu* is related to the unique understanding of culture in China.

In pre-modern China, ethnic differences were mostly approached on the basis of the level of civilization (Harrell, 1995), which permitted some space for flexibility and fluidity of ethnic identity. That is, an outsider in the cultural sense could be recognized or accepted as being a Chinese as long as he or she was able to act in accordance with the superior Chinese culture—in other words, to be civilized (Harrell, 2001). Therefore, the Han Chinese culture obtains a symbolic significance and mastering such a culture indicates one’s cultural level and the individual is consequently considered as “having culture”. This hierarchical and homogeneous understanding of culture, however, might make the idea of multiculturalism difficult for many Chinese, especially Han Chinese who typically view their own culture as superior to the cultures

of other *minzu* in China (Leibold, 2010). Even Fei (1986) believed that the Han Chinese was the “coagulate core” around which the various ethnic groups in the history blended and eventually produced the *Zhonghua Minzu* that has been taking the land of China since early times. This belief has been reinforced and somehow legitimized by the Morgan-Marxist “five-stage” social evolution framework that became the ideological canon since the establishment of the PRC. For example, Teng Xing, one of the earlier advocates of multicultural education in China, argues that *shaoshu minzu* students should be mainstreamed into the dominant culture and thus proposes a framework called “multicultural integration education” (Teng et al., 2014). This framework, however, is essentially assimilationist.

Similar to its counterpart in the U.S., multicultural education in China is primarily assumed as an alternative education agenda for *shaoshu minzu* students who are believed by dominant groups to have peculiar, if not inferior, cultures. Currently, multicultural education in China is usually equated with ethnic minority education (Teng & Zhu, 2012) and very little attention is given to multiculturalize the education of Han Chinese students (Zhang & Chen, 2014). Studies indicate that most Han Chinese teachers know little about *shaoshu minzu* cultures and that they are typically not effectively prepared to teach culturally diverse *shaoshu minzu* students (Qian, 2007; Upton, 1996; Zhu, 2007). Moreover, the unequal power relations between *shaoshu minzu* and Han Chinese have never been seriously challenged or even questioned by Chinese multicultural education scholars even if they generally agree on the gaps between *shaoshu minzu* and Han Chinese in terms of socioeconomic status and educational achievement (Bulag, 2012; Zhang & Chen, 2014).

I believe that it is essential to help Han Chinese students understand the lives and cultures of *shaoshu minzu* and develop dispositions of diversity and equity. This is needed because diversity is a democratic asset in general and an educational asset in particular and students have to learn and understand people who are different from themselves in order to become competent citizens in a pluralistic society (Parker, 2003). The *minzu* policies in the PRC, however, have always emphasized national unity over cultural diversity (Mullaney, 2011), especially in education (Postiglione, 2014). There has always been a suspicion among Han Chinese intellectual and party leaders who see the promotion of *shaoshu minzu* culture and *minzu* diversity as a potential threat to national unity. This narrow view of unity, as well as intolerance towards pluralism, are why multicultural education that puts both diversity and equality in its center is seriously needed in China. Unity and diversity are two sides of the same coin that should not be viewed as oppositional but interactive and reinforcing. Learning about *minzu* diversity will be an asset to Han Chinese students in China because it will not only contribute to expanding their understandings of the variety of *shaoshu minzu* cultures in China but also help them to view issues from multiple perspectives. This study is conceptualized based on this important assertion. In the next chapter, the design of this study and the procedures followed to collect and analyze its data are presented.

## **Chapter IV**

### **Methodology**

This study used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze the content of curriculum standards and textbooks for Chinese elementary MEL/S, CL, and MSE subjects. The methodological rationale, data sources, data collection instruments, coding procedures, and data analyses are presented in this chapter.

#### **Rationale for a Content Analysis**

Content analysis is chosen for this study because it is a useful technique for analyzing both written and visual forms of communication and is particularly useful for dealing with large amount of content (Krippendorff, 2013). This method has been widely used by educational researchers, whose primary purposes are to reveal the ways in which a variety of issues and social groups are represented in educational materials, including textbooks (Siler, 1987; Wade, 1993). A consensus exists among educational researchers that high quality content analysis of textbooks will inform other types of educational research and contribute to improving curriculum reform and textbook publishing (Wade, 1993).

The quantitative analysis enabled me to make a systematic and objective assessment of the frequency and characteristics of the representation of *shaoshu minzu* in the curriculum standards and textbooks using explicitly defined and replicable coding rules (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005). The qualitative analysis allowed me to acquire an in-depth understandings of the content and the contexts of the coded content (George, 2009; Schreier, 2012).

#### **Data Sources**

The content of elementary MEL/S, CL, and MSE textbooks was analyzed in this study. Curriculum standards related to these subjects were also analyzed. The three subjects were

chosen because they play significant roles in citizenship education in China and should be readily accessible to accommodating cultural diversity.

MEL/S in China serves the roles of “social studies” or “liberal studies” as used in other countries. Before the curriculum reform in 2001, the roles of MEL/S were fulfilled by several separate subjects at the elementary level, including Ideology and Moral Education, Nature, and Society. After the curriculum reform, Ideology and Moral Education was combined with Nature for first and second grades as MEL and with Society as MES for grades three to six. The nature of this subject is best suggested by its title, which is moral/ character education and civic development. The goals of MEL/S are described in the curriculum standards as fostering students’ socialist moral values such as patriotism, *minzu* pride, and collectivism, and preparing competent citizens in a socialist country (Ministry of Education, 2011a; 2011b). Compared with the original Ideology and Moral Education curriculum, the focus of the new curriculum shifts from an ideological and political indoctrination to moral development and civic education. However, the ideological role of this subject is still visible as we will see in the next chapter.

CL is an important component of Chinese education and is one of the three “core” subjects (the other two are mathematics and English) from elementary to high school. Although the focus of this subject is literacy, the articles included in the textbooks are found to be highly ideologically and politically oriented as a result of the state-controlled education in China (Liu, 2005a, 2005b). In this sense, literacy education and CL in China also can be viewed as a part of the broad civic education project that functions to cultivate the kind of citizens the party-state desires (Mitchell & Parker, 2008). The curriculum standards for both the MEL/S and CL subjects and three versions of textbooks for each of these two subjects were analyzed in this dissertation.

The first set of textbooks was the People's Education Press (PEP) version. The PEP used to be China's only textbook publisher and is still the leading education press in China. The Curriculum Materials Institute of the PEP is in charge of the development of textbooks. The same institute is also responsible for creating the curriculum standards that are mandated to be followed by all textbook publishers. The PEP textbooks are widely used in China due to its established history and perceived authority as the state-endorsed textbooks. In 2014, the PEP version accounted for more than half (56.6%) of the textbook market in China (State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film, and Television, 2015).

The second set of textbooks that were chosen for analysis were published by the Beijing Normal University Press (BNUP). At first, the BNUP version was prepared as local curriculum for Beijing and then expanded to other districts because of the high academic performance of the students in Beijing. This set of textbooks is unique because many of its editors are affiliated with the Faculties of Education at Beijing Normal University and East China Normal University, which are among the most prestigious universities in China and house China's top teacher education programs. The two editors-in-chief of the BNUP MEL/S textbooks also directed the national curriculum development committee for the MEL/S subjects.

The third set of textbooks that were analyzed was published by the Jiangsu Education Publishing House (JEPH). These publications also were originally developed as a part of local (Jiangsu Province) curriculum but have since been widely adopted across the country and used by more than 25% of all school districts in China.

Each set included 12 books for each subject, one for each semester from the first to the sixth grade, which made a total of 72 books. They were all written in Chinese and with Han Chinese students as the target audience.

The third subject that was examined was the MSE, which is a relatively new subject that was launched after the tragic events in Tibet in 2008 and, particularly, in Xinjiang in 2009 where conflicts between Han Chinese and Uyghurs led to riots in Urumqi, the capital city of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR). The MSE was then introduced as a nationwide initiative and is a mandatory subject from upper elementary to high school (including vocational school). The four textbooks that correspond to different grades are *Big Family of China* for grades 3 and 4; *Minzu Knowledge* for grades 5 and 6; *Knowledge of Minzu Policies* for grades 7 and 8; and *Knowledge of Minzu Theories* for grades 10 and 11. As the only subject that is designed exclusively to introduce students to *minzu*-related knowledge and policies in China, MSE reflects the latest *minzu* ideologies and discourses of the PRC and thus deserve an examination for the purpose of this study. Unlike the other two subjects, the production of MSE textbooks is entirely controlled by the Ministry of Education (MoE)—with the exception of XUAR, who produces its own MSE textbooks. Therefore, the only widely available textbook set for this subject is the PEP version and due to the scope of this study, only the first two books in the set were analyzed.

Although the focus of this study is textbooks and curriculum standards—which included a section on instructional suggestions—materials on the websites of the MoE and of the textbook publishers were also reviewed when available and applicable. These materials included sample lesson plans, recommended learning activities, and references for teachers. I examined all these materials and any content related to *shaoshu minzu*. Data collected from these sources were supplemented and triangulated with those directly obtained from curriculum standards and textbooks.

## **Textbook Coding Instruments**

I read each textbook page-by-page and coded both textual and visual content that addressed *shaoshu minzu* in China using two electronic coding instruments: one for textual content and the other for visual. The two coding instruments were developed after reviewing relevant scholarship on textbook analysis and *shaoshu minzu* in China over a period of three months and gone through several rounds of revision. The variables for analysis were developed under the direction of an expert in content analysis to make sure that the concepts were clearly defined and operationalized in the coding instruments. Because the focus of this study was the representation of *shaoshu minzu* in China and their cultures in textbooks, variables were created in the way that would capture maximum relevant information from the content while intentionally leaving less relevant information out. The coding protocols were then reviewed by a panel that consisted of experts in content analysis and *shaoshu minzu* in China who gave advice on their validities (Creswell, 2013).

Two pilot studies were conducted to test the coding instruments and perform the inter-coder reliability tests. A second coder who was not involved in the development of the coding instrument was recruited by the researcher to perform the reliability tests. This coder was a Han Chinese woman who was pursuing her undergraduate degree in engineering and had received her primary and part of her secondary education in China. Maximizing the degree of variance between the two coders was deliberate so that the decision could be made on whether the coding decisions made by the two coders were primarily a result of following the coding protocols or their own schema about the content being coded. She was trained by the researcher using the coding guides and a pre-test was conducted using 10 pages of a different textbook to make sure that she understood the coding rules and processes. Any confusions and questions about the

codes and coding procedures raised at this point were discussed and resolved before proceeding to the pilot studies. The coding instruments were then revised to reflect these changes.

For the first pilot test, both coders coded a sample of 26 pages of textbooks purposefully selected that were rich in both textual and visual content about *shaoshu minzu* in China. An initial reliability assessment was performed and inter-coder reliability coefficients were calculated using Krippendorff's Alpha. Results of the reliability test indicated that the two coders agreed on more than 90% of all variables and the Krippendorff's Alpha for all variables reached the 0.80 benchmark, which is generally acceptable for content analysis (Krippendorff, 2013; Neuendorf, 2002) and most variables were well above 0.90.

For the second pilot study, 20% of the pages of a different set of textbooks that were not used for this study were coded using a systematic probability sampling strategy. This created a sample of 395 pages of text and 260 visuals. The same two coders coded all the content. The inter-coder reliability was performed and the coefficients for the majority of the variables were well above the 0.80 benchmark. Specifically, for textual content, 65 out of 69 variables (94%) had coefficients higher than 0.80 with the lowest being 0.73, the other three were at 0.77 and 0.79. For visual content, 45 out of 54 variables (83%) had coefficients higher than 0.80 with the lowest being 0.66. The remaining ranged between 0.70 and 0.76. It was not unexpected that the inter-coder reliability for the visual content would be lower than that for the textual because textual content tended to be less ambiguous than visual content. After consultation with a university professor who teaches content analysis methods, I determined that the lower coefficients for these variables were attributed to the coding protocol being developed to capture as much information about *shaoshu minzu*-related content in textbooks as possible.

Consequently, this might have created some ambiguity when the non-*shaoshu minzu* content was coded.

## **Data Collection**

I collected data over a period of one- and-a half months. For the textual content, the coding unit was each page and all the texts on the same page were coded as one item in the coding sheet. For visual content, the coding unit was each individual visual and each visual was treated as one distinct item. Items that were coded included the textbook ID, page number, nature of the content (textual or visual), item number (for visual only), and the type of reference. If any human subjects were present in the texts or visuals, the *minzu* of the human subjects, as well as gender, dress, and physical environment and social context where the characters were positioned were also coded. Identifying a Han Chinese individual was not always possible, mostly because Han Chinese are often viewed as an unmarked, normal majority in Chinese society (Joniak-Lüthi, 2015) and consequently almost always regarded as not being a *minzu* (Chu, 2015). Therefore, this research followed a rather conservative standard of locating *minzu* indicators as they appeared in the textbooks and as textbook producers intended to reflect upon *minzu* in China. Specifically, any reference to a Chinese person whose *minzu* was not explicitly—either visually or textually—revealed was coded as “unmarked Chinese”. When multiple human characters were shown in the visual, information about their relative importance— for example, primary subject, minor role, or supporting role—was also recorded. If no human character was found on the page, the nature of the objects or events presented and their *minzu* affiliation, if any, were coded. The complete coding instruments for textual and visual content are presented in Appendix I and Appendix II. Key variables are explained and examples are given in Chapters V and VI when the findings are presented.

After the quantitative coding, all pages with *minzu* content were photocopied for further qualitative analysis. All the *minzu*-related texts were recorded electronically and translated into English for qualitative analysis. For the MSE textbooks, because almost all the pages contained *shaoshu minzu*-related content, all relevant texts were translated and saved in electronic copies for qualitative analysis.

### **Data Analysis**

The quantitative data collected using the electronic instruments were put into SPSS, a statistical software, for analysis. Descriptive statistics and Two-Way Contingency Table Analysis using Crosstabs were performed. Results of the quantitative analysis were primarily used to answer the second and fourth research questions.

Qualitative data, i.e., translated *minzu*-related texts, were imported to ATLAS.ti, a qualitative data analysis tool, to look for categories and themes addressing the ways in which *minzu*-related content was presented within and across subjects and versions of textbooks. The qualitative analysis focused on the discursive construction of the content as well as the context of the references. The identified categories were then tested and revised in an iterative fashion against the newly added content (George, 2009). These results were mainly used to answer the third research question and frame the discussion.

In addition, all pages with *shaoshu minzu*-related content were examined using Banks' (2012a) four-approach typology to determine which level(s) of integration they have reached. The four approaches are:

- Content featured fragmented information about *shaoshu minzu* heroes/ heroines or selected *shaoshu minzu* cultures and customs was coded as reaching the contributions stage of integration;
- Content was coded as being in the additive stage of integration if *shaoshu minzu* issues and themes were attached to the lessons as a separate section;
- Content was coded as reaching the transformation level of integration when it presented issues from the perspectives of the *shaoshu minzu*;
- In the social action level of integration, content was presented in a way that encouraged students to make decisions about and to act on issues related to *shaoshu minzu* in addition to the transformative perspectives.

When a page shows different levels of integration, all levels were recorded. In the next two chapters, the findings of the data analysis are presented.

## Chapter V

### Textual Findings

In this chapter and Chapter VI, the findings from the analyses of curriculum standards and textbooks are presented that were used to answer the research questions raised in Chapter I, which are listed below as a reminder:

- What is the frequency of *shaoshu minzu*-related content presented in elementary MEL/S and CL curriculum standards in China?
- What is the frequency of *shaoshu minzu*-related content presented in elementary MEL/S and CL textbooks in China?
- What issues and characters associated with *shaoshu minzu* are represented in elementary MEL/S, CL, and MSE curriculum standards and textbooks?
- How do MEL/S and CL textbooks of the three publishers compare in frequency and nature of the content about *shaoshu minzu*?

In this chapter, I present results from analyses of the textual content in the curriculum standards and textbooks for each of the three subjects—Moral Education and Life/ Society (MEL/S), Chinese Language (CL), and *Minzu* Solidarity Education (MSE). I begin with the presentation of results identified from the curriculum standards, followed by presentations of textual content for each of the three subjects in relation to their depiction of *shaoshu minzu* in China.

## Part I: Findings from the Curriculum Standards

Until very recently, curriculum development in China was controlled in a top-down fashion by the MoE, which oversaw the development of curricula for all subjects at all school levels (Law, 2014). All the textbooks were produced by the Curriculum Material Institute (CMI) at the PEP. Since the turn of the 21st century, there has been a minor effort to decentralize China's curricula. Some national and local publishers—in collaboration with education scholars—have joined the PEP to develop local curricula and publish textbooks (Huang, 2004). The MoE now stipulates that each prefecture-level administrative area can choose their own textbooks from the 4 to 5 that are pre-approved by the MoE and that schools can use up to 60% of self-developed curriculum materials (Chu, 2015; Xu & Wong, 2011). However, the MoE still has the ultimate power to create curricular guidelines and standards for all subjects at all school levels that have to be followed by the textbook publishers. Therefore, it is necessary to examine whether or not regulations in relation to *shaoshu minzu* are made in the curriculum standards for the MEL/S and CL subjects.

The curriculum standards for MEL/S, CL, and MSE at the elementary level were examined by the researcher. No *shaoshu minzu* related information was found in the MEL curriculum standard. In the curriculum standard of MES, students were expected to know the customs and habits of different *minzu* and understand and respect the culture of each *minzu*. However, in the corresponding instruction recommendations, *minzu* cultures were exclusively limited to “traditional festivals, songs, folklore, historical stories, clothing, architecture, and cuisine” (Ministry of Education, 2011b, p. 15).

In the 2011 version of the Compulsory Education Standards of Chinese Language Curricula (CESCLC) published by MoE, it is argued that CL is important to help students to “inherit and promote the great cultural and revolutionary tradition of the *Zhonghua Minzu*, strengthen *minzu* and cultural identification, and enhance *minzu* cohesiveness and creativity” (Ministry of Education, 2012, para.2). The only goal outlined in the CESCLC that is related to *minzu* knowledge is “Appreciating the richness and broadness of Chinese culture and learning from the wisdom of *minzu* culture. Paying attention to contemporary cultural life, respecting diverse cultures, absorbing the nutrition of the great culture of human beings, and enhancing cultural taste” (Ministry of Education, 2012, para. 3).

The CESCLC also provided suggestions for curriculum development. In this section, cultivating students’ patriotism and *minzu* dignity and identification, respect for diverse cultures, and correct worldview, attitudes towards life, and values are on the top of the list. Specifically, the third suggestion is: “the curriculum should focus on inheriting and developing the outstanding cultural and revolutionary tradition of *Zhonghua Minzu* and help students to strengthen their *minzu* dignity and sense of patriotism” (Ministry of Education, 2012, para. 77). This statement also suggested that the CL subject was designed to develop civic cultivation in addition to literacy education.

The MSE subject is the only one in Chinese education that focused exclusively on *shaoshu minzu* in China and *minzu* solidarity. For the elementary level, the objectives of the MSE were to:

...cultivate students thoughts and behavior that are aligned with the requirements of the party and the state, improve their identification with *Zhonghua Minzu* and understandings

of its history and culture, increase the mutual communication, inheriting, and promotion of the outstanding cultural tradition of 56 *minzu*, increase awareness of students from all *minzu* that the great history of the motherland is created by all *minzu*, and strengthen their sense of responsibility and consciousness on maintaining *minzu* solidarity and national unity and anti-secession... (Ministry of Education, 2008, para. 4)

In addition, elementary students were expected to “know correctly the characteristics of *Zhonghua Minzu* and each *minzu* in China and *minzu* knowledge and establish a consciousness of *minzu* solidarity” (Ministry of Education, 2008, para. 6). Specifically, third and fourth graders needed to:

1. Know that China is a multi-*minzu*, socialist country consisted of 56 *minzu*;
2. Understand that *Zhonghua Minzu* is a big family consisted of 56 *minzu* and is the collective name of 56 *minzu* in China;
3. Start to learn about the basic characteristics of 56 *minzu*;
4. Understand the distribution, population, language and scripts, and major cultural features and customs of their own *minzu*;
5. Establish the basic consciousness of *minzu* solidarity.

For fifth and sixth graders, the content they need to know included:

1. The distribution and living characteristics of 56 *minzu*;
2. The major customs and habits of each *minzu*;
3. The characteristics of language and scripts of 56 *minzu*;
4. Famous individuals of each *minzu*;

5. The cultural and technical characteristics and achievement of each *minzu*;
6. Understanding that members of *Zhonghua Minzu* collectively expand the territory and develop the economy and culture of the motherland with their diligence, grit, and intelligence;
7. Understanding that each *minzu* should treat each other equally and that people from each *minzu* need to coexist harmoniously and progress together;
8. Forming a basic understanding of the necessity of “improving *minzu* solidarity, maintaining national unity, and opposing *minzu* secession”.

Although the curriculum standards of the three subjects differed on the specific requirements of coverage of shaoshu minzu-related content, they all shared an emphasis on the cultures and customs of *shaoshu minzu* in China, *Zhonghua Minzu* identity, and the ideas of *minzu* equality and solidarity and national unity. This emphasis is consistent with the official positions of the CPC and PRC on *minzu* issues and *Zhonghua Minzu* discourse as indicated by the *minzu*-related policies and laws reviewed in Chapter III.

## **Part II: Textual Findings from MEL/S Textbooks**

### **Summary of Findings**

A total of 2637 pages in the 36 MEL/S textbooks were coded; 132 pages contained the Chinese word “*minzu*”, which was 5% of all the pages. These 132 pages were in 22 of the 36 books. Sixty-four of the 132 pages contained texts that made specific references to at least one of the 56 *minzu* in China, 35 of which only contained texts about one or multiple specific *minzu* while the rest 29 pages also contained texts that made generic references to *minzu* in China.

Fifty-seven of the 64 pages contained content related to *shaoshu minzu* in China while content about the Han Chinese appeared in 13 pages. Fifty-one out of the 57 pages had only *shaoshu minzu*-related content while six pages contained texts that were related to both *shaoshu minzu* and Han Chinese. In addition, five pages, though they did not show the name of any of the *shaoshu minzu* in China, contained texts related to *shaoshu minzu*.

In sum, 62 (2.35%) of the 2637 pages in the 36 MEL/S textbooks had texts that contained content about specific *shaoshu minzu* in China. Examples of these references to *shaoshu minzu* included “I know that the (Chinese) Korean aunts wear long dresses” and “This is a Dai village and there are many tropical plants” (BNUP, MEL/S, vol. 4, p. 46). The remainder of the 68 pages that had *minzu*-related texts did not contain information about any specific *minzu* in China or focused on a foreign context. These texts either contained the word “*minzu*” or the phrase “*Zhonghua Minzu*”. An example of such generic textual reference was: “This song indicates that our motherland is a unified big family of multiple *minzu*. In the 56 *minzu*, Han has the most population and the other fifty five *minzu* have less population and are often called *shaoshu minzu*.” (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 70).

In the 36 MEL/S textbooks, a total of 19 *shaoshu minzu* appeared at least once in the texts. Although little information was found about the remaining 36 *shaoshu minzu*, each version of the MEL/S textbooks contained a page that included illustrations or pictures of all 56 *minzu* in China, often accompanied by a short statement similar to: “Our country is a multi-*minzu* country and has fifty six *minzu*” (BNUP, MEL/S, vol. 4, p. 37). In the remainder of this section, the findings from the textual content related to *shaoshu minzu* in textbooks that describe the diverse aspects about these groups are presented.

## Physical Appearance

Not much textual information in the textbooks addressed the physical appearance of the *shaoshu minzu* in China beyond their *minzu* clothes, which will be discussed separately. Only two pages contained information about the physical appearance of *shaoshu minzu* in China in the 36 MEL/S textbooks. The example below was found in the JEPH version of the MES textbook:

In early Qing Dynasty, the Qing government forced Han Chinese men to follow the Manchu customs of having the front portion of the head shaven and wearing queues.

Otherwise, they would be beheaded. Chinese people abroad were often ridiculed by the foreigners for their queue (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 10, 74).

The narrative above meant to contrast the weak, old Chinese society with the new one after the revolution, which issued directives requiring men to cut their queues. Moreover, what is revealed by this statement was the backward custom of the Manchu people, which was stated as the reason Chinese people were mocked by foreigners.

This statement appeared in a unit entitled “In front of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum” that featured Sun Yat-sen, a revolutionary who played a key role in the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty and was the founding father of the Republic of China. Sun was also the creator of the famous political slogan of “Expelling the barbarians and reviving *Zhonghua*”. Although “*Zhonghua*” and “*Zhonghua Minzu*” were later understood as an inclusive identity of all ethnic groups of China, at that time they were almost exclusively used to refer the Han Chinese. Therefore, directives like this had to be understood as the Han Chinese’ resistance to the Manchu Qing ruling. The history of Han Chinese refusing to wear queue was much longer— since the

early years of the Qing Dynasty. For the Han Chinese, not wearing or cutting the queue indicated resistance to the Qing/ Manchu government. Therefore, although cutting the queue was widely viewed as progressive and revolutionary, this action also could be understood as a form of Han nationalism.

There was a story in volume nine of the BNUP MEL/S textbook about how a “Tibetan uncle” helped the author and the author’s mother, who were Han Chinese. In the story, the unnamed Tibetan man was described by the author as “tall and burly with black and red skin” (p. 74). This article, entitled *Sincere Help*, appeared in a unit titled “All Minzu as One Family”, which was a unit designated to introduce information about *shaoshu minzu* in China.

## **Food**

The *minzu* food or “traditional food” of *shaoshu minzu* were extensively featured in the *shaoshu minzu*-related texts in the examined textbooks. Nine pages were found that contained texts about the kind of food *shaoshu minzu* made or ate. Among the 19 *shaoshu minzu*, 12 of them had their *minzu* food featured. The excerpt below was an introduction to the Sisters Rice of the Miao people:

Around the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the third month on the Lunar Calendar, Miao girls go to the mountains to collect edible wild plants and use the plant juice to dye glutinous rice into a variety of colors. They then steam the rice and eat with their hands. It has a unique flavor. (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 6, p. 84)

Other examples included bamboo stuffed rice of the Dai, Naan and polu (a rice dish cooked with mutton, carrots, and raisins and eaten with bare hands) of the Uyghur, Kazakhs, and

Uzbeks, five-color glutinous rice of the Zhuang, Buyi, and Shui, naengmyeon (cold noodles) and kimchi (fermented vegetables) of the Korean, Eight Treasure Tea of the Hui, and Tsampa (roasted barley flour), Butter tea, and barley beer of the Tibetans. Many of the food items were presented with a sense of “exoticism”, which was suggested either by the ingredients or the ways in which the ingredients were obtained, such as collected from the mountains as in the example above, and the ways in which the dishes were served, for example, with bare hands.

### **Festivals and Holidays**

Five different festivals and holidays of seven *shaoshu minzu* were covered in 10 pages that contained *shaoshu minzu*-related texts in the examined 36 MEL/S textbooks. They were Songkran (Water Splashing Festival) of the Dai, Dutzie (Torch Festival) of the Yi and Bai, Eid al-Fitr (Breaking the Fast Feast) of the Hui and Uyghur, Double Third Festival (the third day of the third month of lunar calendar) of the Zhuang, and Naadam of the Mongols. The Songkran of the Dai and Dutzie of the Yi were each featured three times and twice, respectively, in the three versions of textbooks.

The Songkran of the Dai was the only holiday that was featured in all three versions of the MEL/S textbooks. The following narratives were included in the JEPH version:

The Dai is a minzu who loves water and respects water and views water as the symbol of cleanliness. Middle and late of the sixth month on the Dai Calendar is the New Year of the Dai people, which is also called the Songkran. The Songkran is the grandest festival of the Dai people and is the most influential and the most popular *shaoshu minzu* festival in Yunnan Province. (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 8, p. 40)

The Dutzie of the Yi and other groups also was featured in more than one version of the textbooks, with explanations such as: “Dutzie is a traditional festival of Yi people. During the holiday, Yi people gather and celebrate with activities like bullfighting, horseracing, beauty pageants, wrestling, and singing and dancing” (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 8, p. 40).

Naadam of the Mongols was introduced at length in the JEPH version textbook. It read: “Naadam is a traditional festival of the Mongols and it is commonly held around July or August each year. ‘Naadam’ means ‘entertainment’ or ‘games’ in Mongolian. It plays a significant role in the life of the Mongols.” (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 8, p. 40). Two other aspects of the *shaoshu minzu* life that were closely associated with and often accompanied content about festivals and holidays were singing and dancing and sports, which were described below.

### **Singing and Dancing**

A total of 12 pages contained texts about singing and dancing of *shaoshu minzu* in the MEL/S textbooks. Singing and dancing were described as very common activities *shaoshu minzu* people do in celebrating festivals and holidays. For example, the Yi people were described as engaging in singing and dancing performances to celebrate the Dutzie, and Zhuang people singing during the March 3<sup>rd</sup> Festival. In addition, six musical instruments and three specific kinds of dance were mentioned in the textbooks. They were nose flute, mouth bow, and *dingdong* board of the Li, elephant-foot-shape drum of the Dai, and morin khuur, or horsehead-shape fiddle of the Mongols; and bamboo dance of the Li, peacock dance of the Dai, and Guozhuang dance of the Tibetan.

Beyond the context of festive celebration, singing and dancing were described as integral to the life of a variety of *shaoshu minzu*. For example:

The Li people are good at singing and dancing and the bamboo dance is the most characteristic folk dance. Accompanied by the rhythm of joy, the dancers jump joyfully between bamboo poles and are able to integrate dancing and working out perfectly (BNUP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 72).

Moreover, two melodic modes, maqam of the Uyghur and long drawn song of the Mongols, were also introduced at length in the texts, such as the following:

Mongolian long song is a unique music type. It has long and smooth melody and each note is extended for a long duration with very few words. It expresses the feelings of the Mongolian people with the unique language of the people living in the prairie is a masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 85)

Each *shaoshu minzu* has created many dances accompanied with singing and musical instruments, such as the Maqam of the Uyghur people. Maqam has been listed in the UNESCO Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 85)

Both cases were introduced in the texts as examples of the civilization and cultural contributions of *shaoshu minzu* in China.

## **Sports**

Sports of the *shaoshu minzu* appeared in the texts on five pages of the MEL/S textbooks and many of them were also associated with festive celebration. Examples included the dragon

boat race of Dai during the Songkran, swinging of the Korean women during Dragon Boat Festival and Mid-Autumn Festival, and bullfighting, horse racing, and wrestling of the Yi during the Dutzie. In addition, some sport activities also were presented independent of any particular festival or holiday. For example:

The outstanding leader of the Mongolian, Genghis Khan placed a very high value on cultivating the virtues of bravery, wit, and tenaciousness and trained soldiers and civilians for horseback riding, archery, and wrestling. These three activities later became the main events of the minzu sports. (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 80)

Firework snatching (“firework” is a steel hoop wrapped with red cloth) is a sport activity enjoyed by the Dong and other shaoshu minzu. It is called “Chinese rugby” as it shares similar rules with rugby. Because firework snatching is loved by many shaoshu minzu, it can be practiced among different minzu (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 81)

The board-shoe running of the Zhuang people could be played by two persons, three persons, and even more. During the race, several people run together with long board shoes fixed to their feet and whichever team reach the end first wins. Board-shoe running reflects the charm of unity and wisdom of cooperation in full (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 81).

All three examples were found in Unit 4 of the 9<sup>th</sup> volume of the PEP MEL/S textbooks. The first lesson in that unit was designated to introduce *shaoshu minzu*-related knowledge while the second lesson focused on contact and solidarity among all *minzu*, especially the *shaoshu minzu* and Han Chinese. It was evident that such a selection and organization of the content were aligned very well with the requirements outlined in the MEL/S curriculum standards.

## **Clothing**

Clothes were another important category that appeared in the texts on nine pages in the MEL/S textbooks that contained information about *shaoshu minzu*. Cheongsam of the Manchu and Chuba of the Tibetan each appeared twice in the textbooks. Cheongsam of the Manchu was often used in the textbooks as an example of how *shaoshu minzu* culture has contributed to that of China because Cheongsam, which was originally the *minzu* clothes of the Manchu women, has become “one of the representative clothes of Zhonghua Minzu” (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 84).

In addition, the pleated skirt of the Miao, pencil skirts of the Li, and “long skirt” of the Koreans were also mentioned in the texts. In other cases, descriptions of clothes of the *shaoshu minzu* were suggested even though the name of the specific dress was not mentioned. For example: “You could learn how cold the place they live is by looking at the clothes of Oroqen children” and “The Bai people like the color of white and prefer clothes in light color, such as light green and light blue” (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 74). Both examples appeared in the same unit of the PEP textbook that was designated for *shaoshu minzu* content.

## **Architecture**

The architecture of five *shaoshu minzu* was featured in the texts of five pages of these MEL/S textbooks and all but one were *shaoshu minzu* traditional housings, such as the bamboo house of the Dai, round-roof house of the Mongols, stilt houses of the Miao, and traditional Buyi houses that were made of stone. For example:

The Miao people in Guizhou Province and other places live in stilt houses that are usually built on hillsides. The top floor is very low and thus used to store grain instead of living.

The first floor is used for miscellaneous stuff or as a barnyard. The middle level is the living place. Bamboo is the primary building material. (PEP, MEL/S, vol.8, p. 18)

The fifth case was a “building with minzu characteristics of the Uyghur” (PEP, MEL/S, vol.9, p. 73). There, however, was no further description of the characteristics it possessed.

### **Language and Script**

The languages and scripts of the *shaoshu minzu* in China appeared in the texts of six pages of the examined MEL/S textbooks. All three versions of the MEL/S textbooks recognized that many *shaoshu minzu* in China have their own languages and writing systems, for example, “In addition to Chinese script, 22 out of the 55 shaoshu minzu also have their own writing systems” (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 95). These texts also acknowledged the right for each *minzu* to use their language. However, the only script that was presented in meaningful length other than the language and characters of Han Chinese was the Dongba pictographic scripts of the Naxi. The excerpts below are from the JEPH version. The title of this passage was “Peculiar Naxi Dongba Scripts”:

A peculiar type of script called Naxi Dongba Scripts are used among the Naxi people living in Lijiang, Yunnan province. Compared to other scripts that are currently being used, it represents the most primitive form of scripts, thus being called by scientists the “living fossil of language”. This kind of scripts is written as frames of simple drawings and no one would have thought they were scripts if seen for the first time (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 95).

A similar paragraph on the Dongba scripts appeared in one of the BNUP MEL/S textbooks. However, this was yet another example of the “living fossil” discourse that had been frequently associated with *shaoshu minzu* people and their cultures. Other things that are often called “living fossils” in China include panda, Nautilus, and dove-tree. On one hand, the name of “living fossil” means the object of interest survives from its extinct contemporaries that could only be known from fossils and thus suggests a sense of rarity; on the other hand, calling something a “living fossil” also suggests a sense of primitiveness from an evolutionary perspective. In this case, the primitiveness of the Dongba scripts was suggested by its pictographic nature that retained many characteristics of earlier writing systems.

All other cases of specific references to *shaoshu minzu* languages appeared in texts where Han Chinese words and phrases of *shaoshu minzu* language origins were introduced. Examples included Naadam, which means “entertainment” and “games” in Mongolian language; Bogutu, a Mongolian name of a major city in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region called Baotou, which means “a place with deer”; the Chinese word “hutong”, which was a type of narrow streets or alleys, was a term of Mongolian origin meaning “water well”; and the Chinese name for Mount Everest, Chomolungma, which means “the third Goddess” in the Tibetan language.

## **Religion**

Although information about the religion of *shaoshu minzu* appeared in five pages of the MEL/S textbooks, the religious beliefs and practices of only two *shaoshu minzu* were explicitly mentioned in the texts, which were the Uyghur and Hui, the two major Muslim groups in China. For example: “We Uyghur are good at singing and dancing and famous for our handcrafts. We have our own language and character and many of us believe in Islam. Nowadays, our minzu

mainly live in Xinjiang” (PEP, MEL/S, vol.9, p. 73). The Islamic practices of the Hui and Uyghur were also mentioned in a description of the Eid al-Fitr (Breaking the Fast Feast) festival:

Eid al-Fitr is an important holiday of the Hui and Uyghur who believe in Islam. The day of Eid al-Fitr is the first day of the tenth month of the lunar Islamic calendar. On the day, people will take a shower, put on new clothes, and get together in the mosque to pray before they receive the guests, give food to each other, and engage in other celebrations (PEP, MEL/S, vol.9, p. 79).

It was also explained that the origin of the Songkran of the Dai people was related to the Buddhist ceremonies in India. However, no direct reference was made to the Theravada Buddhist belief of the Dai. Set in historical context, it was mentioned that Songtsen Gampo—the founder of the Tibetan Empire, was influenced by his Chinese wife, Princess Wencheng, and advocated Buddhism in Tibet. However, no reference was made to the Tibetan Buddhism that is practiced by most Tibetan people today.

## **Livelihood**

The livelihood of *shaoshu minzu* was featured in the texts of 12 pages of the examined MEL/S textbooks. The Mongols’ pastoral-nomadic lifestyle and the importance of yak as a working animal of the Tibetans were explicitly addressed in the texts. Growing barley and pea and raising livestock by the Tibetans were also suggested in the texts by referring to the food Tibetans eat.

Indirect references to the livelihood of other *shaoshu minzu* were also found in the textbooks. For example, the Dutzie (Torch Festival) of the Yi and Bai was explained as

originally being a ceremony in which torches were lit in order to “elicit the fire from underground to resist natural disasters, eliminate locusts, protect the crops, and look forward to a good harvest” (PEP, MEL/S, vol.9, p. 79). This statement suggested that these two groups engaged in cereal farming. The following example also suggested the livelihood of the indigenous people of Taiwan—or Gaoshan as they were called in China and the textbooks—in a rather nuanced way:

Three hundred years ago, after recapturing Taiwan, Zheng Chenggong established the prefectures and counties system in Taiwan. He not only distributed the army to a variety of locations to reclaim the land, but also recruited migrants from Fujian and Guangdong providences to reclaim uncultivated land. In addition, he sent people with farming tools and cattle to teach advanced agricultural production techniques (PEP, MEL/S, vol.9, p. 59).

Although the intent of this narrative was to show how Han Chinese migrants brought with them to Taiwan advanced farming techniques, it did suggest that the Taiwanese aborigines had been conducting some agricultural activities, though might be less “advanced” in agricultural techniques compared to the Han Chinese.

### **Advanced Achievement and Ideas**

In this category, two examples that suggested the advancement of *shaoshu minzu* in China. The only example in the MEL/S textbooks that explicitly stated the technical advancement of *shaoshu minzu* was a story about Huang Daopo, whose *minzu* was not revealed but was most likely Han Chinese. She “learned from the Li people advanced cotton textile

techniques” (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 10, p. 35). However, it was Huang Daopo, instead of the Li people, who was the primary character of this text as she

...went back to her hometown and taught fellow women the cotton textile techniques and revolutionized the cotton spinning machines and techniques, which increased the speed of spinning and contributed to the promotion of cotton cultivation and the fast development of the cotton textile industry (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 10, p. 35).

Similar to the highlight of the advanced technique of the Li, an “advanced” idea of the Tibetan in Shangri-Las was also featured at length in the narrative below:

I was told a moving story by a Tibetan girl with whom I shared the dorm after I came to go to school in Kunming. She came from the legendary Shangri-La and she disliked the most that fact that people threw plastic bags everywhere because in her hometown, Zhongdian County (Shangri-La), unrecyclable containers like plastic bags were banned since 2001. She told me vividly: “When you buy a chunk of meat, simply drill a hole on the meat and tie a rope across it then you can carry it home.” After hearing the story, I was more moved by the consciousness of people in Shangri-La than the wise policy of the county government, which was issued in other places. This may be an instinct: an instinct of painstakingly protecting the mystical face of Shangri-La and one of protesting against the de facto damage brought by unintentional tourists! (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 8, p. 34)

This was the only example of where *shaoshu minzu* people were explicitly described as having more advanced ideas, which was environmental protection here, than the Han Chinese, which

was the implicit contrast in the narrative. However, it is not hard to notice words like “legendary” and “mystical” used in the narratives, which are words that are commonly associated with *shaoshu minzu* in China. Although the act of not using plastic bags could be considered as environmentally friendly, which certainly gives it a sense of modernity, drilling a hole in meat and attaching it to a rope, ironically, simultaneously suggests a lack of civilization. What was revealed in this narrative was a desire, from the perspective of the Han Chinese people of course, to preserve the “legendary” and “mystical” image of Shangri-La, which itself was created in a British fiction, in the way as they have imagined.

### ***Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals**

Twenty-four pages contained texts that made references to *shaoshu minzu* people. However, only 14 pages contained textual content that had named *shaoshu minzu* individuals. A total of 24 distinct named individuals from six *shaoshu minzu* appeared in 8 of the 36 MEL/S textbooks. Tibetans topped the list by having seven named individuals, Mongols and Uyghur each had five. Hui and Manchu each had three and Dai had one. Fifteen of these 24 individuals were real figures, three legendary, and six were fictional. Among the 15 real individuals, four were female and 11 were male. Five of the 15 were historical individuals.

Tibetans and Mongols had five and four real individuals respectively while all five Uyghurs were fictional, out of the total of six of such. All six Hui and Manchu individuals were also real. The Tibetan, Mongols, and Dai each had one fictional individual. The 24 individuals and their *minzu*, gender, occupation, and period of activity are presented in Table 5.1.

Many of the narratives about *shaoshu minzu* individuals focused on how they sacrificed their own interests for the benefit of others or the public. For example, the narrative below features a Tibetan girl, Zou Wenying, who died in the 2008 earthquake in Wenchuan when she was helping her classmates to evacuate.

Zou Wenying was a beautiful Tibetan girl and was a fifth grade student in the Yingxiu Primary School of Wenchuan County. When the earthquake occurred, Zou Wenying, as the class monitor and captain of the Young Pioneers, helped teachers to coordinate student evacuation and stayed to the end (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 8, p. 17).

Zou sacrificed herself to help the teachers to save her classmates. A similar sacrifice discourse was presented about two other Tibetan individuals. These are Bsod Nams Dar Rgyas, who was a governmental official killed by poachers when he was on a Tibetan antelope protection duty; and Chen Dehua, who was a road maintenance worker who fainted during his shift due to long hours of work in freezing weather. A non-contemporary example of such a sacrifice was found in the story of Old Lady Ma, who was the mother of Ma Benzhai, a Hui anti-Japanese guerrilla leader during World War II:

Ma Benzhai was a well-known Hui Anti-Japanese hero of our country and the leader of Hui army that terrified the Japanese Army and contributed a great deal during the Anti-Japanese War. In order to defeat Ma, the despicable enemies surrounded Ma's hometown—Xin Village and attempted to capture Ma's mother to threaten Ma, who was very filial.

The Japanese army forced the whole village to get together and compelled them to tell who Ma’s mother was. However, none of the folks of the Xin Village would say anything. The frustrated and exasperated enemies killed several folks in a row and even scooped out the heart of a child with a bayonet. In order to protect the folks against the killing of the enemies, Old Lady Ma pushed forward badly. However, the folks grabbed the edges of her skirt so desperate to keep her from making it to the front of the crowd. Old Lady Ma had no way but to shout in the crowd: “Stop! I am Ma Benzhai’s mother.”

.....

The health of Old Lady Ma was getting worse but the enemies still did not let her go. Finally, Old Lady Ma fought the last battle with the enemies with strong determination—hunger strike. Three days later, this tenacious and unyielding lady closed her eyes forever. The last words she left to the folks were: “Tell Benzhai to fight the Japs mercilessly and revenge the folks...” (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 10, p. 106).

In this story, Old Lady Ma was featured as an exemplar who sacrificed herself not only for her people in the village but also for the entire country by showing her patriotism.

Table 5.1 Named *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in the Texts of the MEL/S Textbooks

Name	Minzu	Type of Individual	Gender	Occupation	Period of Activity	Books
Ma Benzhai	Hui	Real	Male	Military Leader	Modern	BNUP JEPH PEP
Chen Dehua	Tibetan	Real	Male	Road Maintenance Worker	Contemporary	BNUP
Gongbu	Tibetan	Real	Male	Mountaineer	Contemporary	BNUP
Songtsen Gampo	Tibetan	Real	Male	Tibetan Emperor	Historical	BNUP

Ayiguli	Uyghur	Fictional	Female	Student	Contemporary	BNUP
Keerkete	Uyghur	Fictional	Male	Student	Contemporary	BNUP
Grandma Telaqi	Uyghur	Fictional	Female	Not Mentioned	Contemporary	BNUP
Uncle Lasenbate	Uyghur	Fictional	Male	Not Mentioned	Contemporary	BNUP
Aunt Lasenbate	Uyghur	Fictional	Female	Not Mentioned	Contemporary	BNUP
Zou Wenying	Tibetan	Real	Female	Student	Contemporary	JEPH
Old Lady Ma	Hui	Real	Female	Not Mentioned	Modern	JEPH
Zhuoma	Tibetan	Fictional	Female	Student	Contemporary	JEPH
Bsod Nams Dar Rgyas	Tibetan	Real	Male	Governmental Official	Contemporary	JEPH
Zheng He	Hui	Real	Male	Mariner	Historical	JEPH
Nongxiang	Dai	Legendary	Female	Not Mentioned	Historical	PEP
Lao She	Manchu	Real	Male	Author	Contemporary	PEP
Nurhaci	Manchu	Real	Male	Founder of Qing Dynasty	Historical	PEP
Kangxi	Manchu	Real	Male	Emperor of Qing Dynasty	Historical	PEP
Suhe	Mongol	Legendary	Male	Herdsman	Historical	PEP
Prairie Heroic Little Sisters	Mongol	Real	Female	Not Mentioned	Contemporary	PEP
Li Siguang	Mongol	Real	Male	Geologist	Contemporary	PEP
Genghis Khan	Mongol	Real	Male	Mongol Emperor	Historical	PEP
King Gesar	Tibetan	Legendary	Male	King	Historical	PEP

The combination of sacrifice and patriotism discourses was also demonstrated by the untold story of the Heroic Little Sisters of the Prairie. In the texts, students were prompted to look up this story by themselves. The two Mongols sisters were Long Mei and Yu Rong, whose father was the shepherd of the production team. The two girls, who were 11 and 8 years old, encountered a very severe snowstorm and trudged 70 kilometers when they were taking care of a herd of sheep for their father. Both of them ended up having their legs or toes amputated due to long exposure to the freezing weather. However, their sacrifices were considered as heroic deeds as none of the production team's sheep was lost in the storm.

Patriotism discourse was also found in other *shaoshu minzu* individuals, most prominently in Ma Benzhai, the son of the Old Lady Ma. Ma Benzhai was one of the only two *shaoshu minzu* individuals (the other was Zheng He) and the only non-historical *shaoshu minzu* who appeared in all three versions of the MEL/S textbooks. The following narrative is from the PEP version:

During the period of the Anti-Japanese War, there was a shaoshu minzu anti-Japanese army in the Hebei and Shandong areas—Hui People Detachment with Ma Benzhai as its commander. The Hui People Detachment fought valiantly against Japanese Imperialism, along with the Han people, and won one victory after another. The detachment made significant contributions in smashing the Japanese army’s mopping-up campaigns and consolidating the anti-Japan regime (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 86)

Apparently here Ma was presented as a patriotic hero who loved the country and fought against the foreign invasion. Other than that, little else was told about other aspects of his life or even his *minzu* community.

Li Siguang, a Mongol geologist who came back to China from Europe despite the threat from the National Party asking him to not recognize the PRC, was also described as a patriotic individual who contributed to the PRC. Lao She, a Manchu author, was called a “minzu star”, which was defined as “heroes, scientists, and writers, etc...” (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 87), who made contributions to the country. This “contribution of the *shaoshu minzu*” discourse was prominent in the textbooks and will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Gongbu was a Tibetan mountaineer who was a member of a three-person mountaineering team that first summited Mount Everest from the north side. His *minzu*, however, was not named in the text.

Among the five historical *shaoshu minzu* individuals, four of them, Genghis Khan, Songtsen Gampo, Nuahaci, and Kangxi, were emperors and Zheng He was a mariner and explorer—who was often compared to Columbus while his adventures predated Columbus’s—and he also lived in the relatively stronger period of the Ming Dynasty.

All but one of the fictional *shaoshu minzu* individuals were Uyghur and all five were from the same text. The text was a letter written by a Uyghur boy who suffered from an earthquake during the winter. The letter, however, was mainly about how PLA soldiers rescued the Uyghur boy and his neighbors and helped them to recover from the disaster. The girl to whom he was writing, Ayiguli, also appeared in the text of another JEPH book, which, coincidentally, involved letter writing as well. In that situation, her letter was from a boy she met in a summer camp. Similarly, Zhuoma was also created as a Tibetan girl who appeared twice in the JEPH MEL/S textbooks in cases where Tibet or the Tibetans were involved.

King Gesar was mentioned as the hero in the King Gesar Epic of the Tibetan. Suhe was described as the inventor of the horsehead-shape fiddle. Nongxiang was the heroine of a story about the origin of Songkran of the Dai.

### **Part III: Textual Findings from CL Textbooks**

#### **Summary of Findings**

A total of 4613 pages in the 36 CL textbooks were coded. The results revealed that 117 (2.5%) of the 4613 pages in 27 distinct books contained the Chinese word “*minzu*”. Sixty-five of these 117 pages contained textual content that made specific references to one or more of the 56 *minzu* in China and all of them contained information that was related to the 55 *shaoshu minzu* in

China while content about the Han Chinese appeared in 8 pages. In other words, 57 pages had only *shaoshu minzu*-related information and 8 had both *shaoshu minzu* and Han Chinese-related content. In addition, 37 pages, which did not contain the name of any of the *shaoshu minzu*, contained texts related to *shaoshu minzu* in China. In sum, 102 (2.21%) of the 4613 pages in the 36 CL textbooks had texts that were related to specific *shaoshu minzu* in China.

Five of the 65 pages also contained texts that made generic references to *minzu* in China and the remaining 52 pages that contained *minzu*-related content did not make any reference to any specific *minzu* in China or used the word “*minzu*” in a foreign context. Similar examples of such cases were given in the second part of this chapter when presenting results of the analysis of MEL/S textbooks and are not repeated here.

### ***Shaoshu Minzu*-related Articles**

The basic components of the CL textbooks were independent articles. The articles that shared similar or related topics or themes were grouped under the same unit. Twenty-seven articles in the 36 CL textbooks were primarily about *shaoshu minzu* cultures and individuals. However, many of them were the same articles that were selected by multiple versions of the textbooks with minor revisions. For example, an article entitled *The Prairie* by Lao She appeared in all three versions of the CL textbooks and one article about the Songkran of the Dai appeared almost identically in the BNUP and PEP versions and in the JEPH in a shortened format. One article about the Uyghur called *Grape Valley* also appeared in both BNUP and PEP versions. The BNUP version CL textbooks contained 11 articles that were related to *shaoshu minzu* in China, followed by the PEP (10) and JEPH (6). Table 5.2 shows the number and distribution of these *shaoshu minzu*-related articles in the three versions of the CL textbooks.

Eleven distinct *shaoshu minzu* were featured in these articles. The Tibetans had the most articles related to them, which was 6, followed by the Dai (5), Uyghur (4), Mongols (3), Evenks (3), Gaoshan (2), Kazakhs (2), and Miao (1). One article mentioned multiple *shaoshu minzu*, including the Dai, Jingpo, Achang, and Palaung.

These 27 articles contained the majority of the *shaoshu minzu*-related textual content in the CL textbooks. Therefore, although the textual findings were also presented within the identified aspects of the *shaoshu minzu* that were covered in the CL textbooks, similar to the Part II, for each theme presented below, a representative article is used as the major example while excerpts drawn from other relevant articles also are included.

Table 5.2 Distribution of *Shaoshu Minzu*-related Articles in CL Textbooks

Title	<i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> Covered	In Book
Song of the Bamboo Town	Dai	BNUP
Four plates of gifts	Gaoshan	BNUP
Grape Valley	Uyghur	BNUP
Spring Rain	Mongols	BNUP
Hunter Hailib	Mongols	BNUP
Prairie	Evenks	BNUP
Visiting Kashgar	Uyghur	BNUP
Songkran	Dai	BNUP
Skyroad	Tibetan	BNUP
Elementary School on the Horseback	Kazakhs	BNUP
Genghis Khan and Eagle	Mongols	BNUP
Kong Fansen	Tibetan	JEPH
Joyful Songkran	Dai	JEPH
Buddha Soldier	Tibetan	JEPH
A Letter	Kazakhs	JEPH
Prairie	Evenks	JEPH
Zheng Chenggong	Gaoshan	JEPH
Two Pieces of Diary	Miao	PEP
Unforgettable Songkran	Dai	PEP

Grape Valley	Uyghur	PEP
Our Minzu Elementary School	Dai/Jingpo/Achang/ Palaung	PEP
Princess Wencheng Going to Tibet	Tibetan	PEP
Prairie	Evenks	PEP
Old City Lhasa	Tibetan	PEP
Bamboo House of Dai	Dai	PEP
Tibetan Opera	Tibetan	PEP
Uyghur in Hotan	Uyghur	PEP

### Physical appearance

The texts on five pages of two articles contained information about how certain *shaoshu minzu* looked. Because many of the texts in the CL textbooks were relatively long narratives, they could incorporate detailed descriptions of *shaoshu minzu* individuals who appeared in the texts, including their physical appearance. The article that contained the most textual description of the appearance of any *shaoshu minzu* in the 36 books was *Visiting Kashgar* that appeared in volume 7 of the BNUP CL textbooks. The article is reproduced in Table 5.3:

Table 5.3 *Visiting Kashgar*

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In the National Day, one of my dad’s friends back in college, Tuohati, invited my family to Kashgar, Xinjiang. My mom was busy at work, so my dad and I went. We flew to Urumqi and transferred to the recently launched Southern Xinjiang railway that ran along the Tianshan Mountain and arrived in Kashgar the next day afternoon.

As soon as we stepped on the railway platform, an uncle with mustache wearing a Uyghur flower hat [Doppa] went up to us and gave my dad a tight hug. He then held me up and introduced me Ayixia, who wore a lot of braids, and Aji, who wore an embroidered shirt. Ayixia was one year older than me and Aji was one year younger. They both could speak Chinese and very soon we became good friends.

The streets were decorated with colorful flags and Uyghur music was heard all the time from the stores. The entire Kashgar was full of festive atmosphere. In the Bazaar, my eyes were kept fully occupied. All kinds of products were sold there, including local minzu clothes, home appliances and necessities manufactured in inland, and Arabic products imported from Central Asian countries. Among those selling their goods were

elders wearing beards and scarves and women wearing veils. They spoke Uyghur and Chinese and some even could speak English because many foreign visitors came here.

When we arrived Uncle Tuohati's home after visiting Bazaar, Ayixia and Aji's mom, Aunt Gulibaier had already been expecting us in front of the door for a while. She was wearing a silk skirt, tall and very beautiful. In the living room, my eyes were fully occupied again: elegant tapestry and Rubab were hung on the wall, the tea table in front of the sofa was full of grapes, cantaloupes, figs, and pomegranates, as well as shining silver tea set. Aunt Gulibaier served us milk tea, sister Ayixia brought me sangza, and Aji asked me to try the fig first. When we were talking and laughing, sound was heard at the door and a poet was coming to visit. Uncle Tuohati introduced my dad and me to the guest, who spoke in broken Chinese: "What a pleasure to have friends from afar..." He then laughed while tapping my dad and uncle Tuohati on their shoulders.

While the adults were talking and laughing, Ayixia and Aji led me to their room and had our own talk. Shortly, there was another sound in the living room, which turned out to be another group of guests. Ayixia told me that during the holiday, it was the custom for people from all minzu in Xinjiang to visit each other and that this morning their parents brought them to visit some family members after attending the worship in the mosque. If anything unpleasant happened between two people, they would also have to visit each other so that they would reconcile. I thought this was similar to the custom of our Han Chinese. Respecting the elders and caring the young, cherishing friendship, and getting along in harmony are all shared by Zhonghua Minzu.

After sending away all the guests, the living room quieted down and Aunt Gulibaier asked the three of us to wash hands and get ready for the dinner. The feast was extremely rich: there were lamb kebab, lamb stew, ququ, and many other dishes whose names I did not know. Aji taught me how to eat polu. My dad told the story how Uncle Tuohati took care of him for three days and nights when he was ill and hospitalized. The wine glasses on their hands clinked. After dinner, Aunt Gulibaier brought two delicate Doppas from the closet and put the small one on my head and gave the bigger one to my dad.

It was already late night when we passed the Id Kah Mosque and arrived at the People's Square and the National Day celebration performance was already over. However, the grand mass ball had just started. The entire square was brightly lit and people wearing festive costumes were dancing the Sama along with the joyful drum beat. The spectacular scene was like a surging sea filled with passion. Personally on the scene, my dad and I could not help but starting to dance. Around us, Aunt Gulibaier danced like running water and whirlwind and Uncle Tuohati's movement was grand and funny. Many people were singing and dancing around these two master dancers.

At the end of one song, people sat down to have a break while I took the precious time to learn from Ayixia the basic movement of Uyghur dances. Another climax began when the music started again. The night of Kashgar was indeed a carnival night. We did not leave until the dawn. (BNUP, CL, vol. 7, p. 27-29)

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This article was unique because it was one of the only two texts in the 72 examined MEL/S and CL textbooks for both subjects that gave such a detailed and vivid description of a variety of aspects of a *shaoshu minzu*. The physical appearance of the Uyghur was mentioned several times in this article, including the mustache of Uncle Tuohati; the braids of Ayixia; Aunt Gulibaier, who was tall and beautiful; and the elders who were wearing beards. Ironically, men wearing beards can no longer be seen in Kashgar because it, along with women wearing veils, is now viewed by the Chinese government as a form of religious extremism and strictly forbidden in Xinjiang. Nevertheless, the rich information provided in this article made it an exceptional case in terms of describing *shaoshu minzu* lives and cultures.

Another article that described the physical appearance of *shaoshu minzu* also was about the Uyghur. This article was entitled *The Uyghur in Hotan* and was found in volume 12 of the PEP CL textbook. The beauty of the Uyghur women was featured in this article that stated: “Uyghur girls are too pretty to look at directly. They have thick eyelashes, deep eyes, and charming smiles, just like flowers blooming in the desert” (PEP, CL, vol. 12, p. 39). The braids of the Uyghur women were mentioned in another article in one JEPH CL textbook as a metaphor for flowers of the pagoda tree, which was the topic of that article.

### **Singing and Dancing**

Singing and dancing were the most frequently featured aspects of *shaoshu minzu* culture in the examined CL textbooks. This type of content appeared on 22 pages of 12 articles. In other words, almost half of the 27 articles about *shaoshu minzu* made textual references to their singing and dancing practices. Many of these articles mentioned that these activities were

important to the lives of *shaoshu minzu*. For example, the Uyghur singing and dancing Sama, a traditional Uyghur dance that was popular in Southern Xinjiang at celebrative and festive occasions, was the focus of the second to the last paragraph of *Visiting Kashgar*.

Uyghur singing and dancing were also featured in the article *The Uyghur in Hotan* in the PEP textbook. One statement was:

Uyghur youth are not only pretty, but also good at singing and dancing. Singing and dancing complete the Uyghurs' life and have become an integral part of their everyday life. This kind of singing and dancing is free of the limits of who you are, where you are, or what time it is. They can dance whenever and wherever they want to dance (PEP, CL, vol. 12, p. 39)

If the singing and dancing described in *Visiting Kashgar* could be still viewed as a part of the holiday celebrations, then generalizing them to broader unspecific contexts seems absurd if taken literally. There is probably no way for people to sing and dance whenever and wherever they want to no matter how they like it. Another article that featured singing and dancing of the *shaoshu minzu* was *Lhamo* that appeared in the 12<sup>th</sup> volume of the PEP CL textbook. *Lhamo* means the Tibetan Opera and singing and dancing are basic components of the performance.

### **Festivals and Holidays**

Similar to the content of the MEL/S textbooks, celebrating festivals and holidays was also presented as a prominent aspect of the lives of the *shaoshu minzu* in the CL textbooks. Eleven pages of three articles contained information about *shaoshu minzu* festivals and holidays. However, all three articles were about the same festival: the Songkran (Water Splashing Festival

and New Year) of the Dai. The Songkran was also the only *shaoshu minzu* festival that was given any serious treatment in terms of length and richness of details in these CL textbooks. The excerpts below were taken from the BNUP version:

Table 5.4 *Unforgettable Water-Splashing Festival*

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The Dai people celebrate Songkran every year in the mid-April. Songkran is the grandest holiday of the Dai people and is the most important and most popular festive among shaoshu minzu in Yunnan.

Songkran lasts for three days. The first day people race dragon boats, fly kites, and perform. The second day is water splashing. The third day is goods exchange and the youth playing Dropping Pack.

In the morning of Songkran, people wear festive costumes and carry water to temples to bathe the Buddha and then splash water to people to wish each other luck and happiness. Courteous Dai girls speak blessing words while throwing water to people from bowls using bamboo leaves and branches. In a sudden, the sound of gongs and drums reached to the sky. The water with joy is splashed everywhere like a flying silver dragon. “The Dai people go wild when water blooms”. Bronze bowl, washbasin, water bottle, and even water bucket are tools for splashing water. People are chasing and playing on the streets and splashing water from the front and back. Everybody is wet from head to feet but very happy and laughter is heard everywhere. When done splashing water, people of all minzu, ages, and professions form a circle and dance accompanied with Mang gong and elephant-foot-shape drum and acclaim “water, water, water!” This is because the Dai people believe that water can dispel evil and illness and nourish everything and symbolizes sanctity, glory, and brightness.

There is a beautiful legend about the origin of the Songkran: a long time ago, an unscrupulous Fire Devil grabbed seven beautiful Dai girls. The youngest one of the seven, Nongxiang, knew the secret of killing the Fire Devil. She pulled the hair of the Fire Devil and strangled around his neck. The Fire Devil’s head fell down and became a fireball and everywhere it rolled was caught fire. The girls thus carried water to splash and finally extinguished the evil fire and the people started to have a peaceful and happy life. People then made that day as the New Year of the Dai people and set the custom of splashing water on that day.

April 1961, the fiery red flamboyant flowers blossomed and it was the time for Songkran. Respected Premier Zhou Enlai came to the beautiful peacock town—Jinghong in Sipsong Panna to celebrate the Songkran with people from all minzu in frontier region. The people were thrilled and spread the word. All people, old and young, carried flowers with them to the streets and welcomed the Premier in the dock. The ground was covered

with petals, dragon boats were racing on the river, and fireworks were set to the sky. People used the highest etiquette of their minzu to welcome the premier of the people.

Premier Zhou wore a button down white jacket of the Dai style and a vermilion Dai scarf. He took over an elephant-foot-shape drum with smile, beat the drum, and danced with the Dai people on the petal-covered ground. Later, the premier carried a silver bowl and splashed water to the crowd with a cypress branch. People were laughing and splashing water to Premier Zhou and wishing him health and longevity (BNUP, CL, vol. 8, p. 17)

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Similar to what was presented in *Visiting Kashgar*, in this article, singing and dancing was suggested as an integral and important part of celebrating the Songkran. In addition to describing the ways in which people celebrated this holiday, especially the water splashing activities, it also included its historical legend behind the holiday. Moreover, a Han Chinese who was one of the highest-ranking leaders of the party-state, Zhou Enlai, was depicted as participating in the celebration as an essential player, which strengthened its political significance.

Other *shaoshu minzu* festivals that were mentioned in the texts in the CL textbooks were the Naadam of the Mongols, Sho Dun Festival of the Tibetans, Dutzie of the Yi, Bai, Naxi, and Hani, and the Dragon Boat Festival that was celebrated by the Zhuang, Buyi, Dong, Tujia, and Gelao. No other information was provided about these festivals beyond merely naming them.

### **Clothes**

Clothes were another aspect of the *shaoshu minzu* that was widely covered in the textual content of the CL textbooks. Fourteen pages of 11 articles contained information about the clothes worn by the *shaoshu minzu*.

The clothes of the Uyghur and the Dai were described in both articles quoted above. However, similar to wearing beards, men wearing scarves and women wearing veils were also prohibited in Xinjiang for the same concern about religious extremism. Also ironic in the article about Songkran of the Dai cited above was that it was the Dai clothes that were worn by a Han Chinese individual—Premier Zhou Enlai—that were given detailed descriptions despite the fact that the Dai who danced with Zhou might have also worn similar clothing (which they did as indicated by the illustration on the next page). A slightly shorter version of the same article also appeared in the 4<sup>th</sup> volume of the PEP CL textbook. The revised article shifted the focus from the Songkran itself to Premier Zhou celebrating Songkran with the Dai. Although in this article Zhou was described as wearing similar clothes, it was not revealed in the texts that the jacket and scarf he wore were Dai clothes.

In addition, the Mongolian gown was mentioned in an article called *Spring Rain* and the “pointed hat” worn by Evenki girls was also mentioned in Lao She’s *Prairie*.

## **Food**

Eleven pages of eight articles of the CL textbooks contained information that referred to the food and cuisine of the *shaoshu minzu*. For example, several types of fruits and Uyghur dishes were mentioned in *Visiting Kashgar*. It also mentioned Uncle Tuohati drinking alcohol, which was forbidden in the Qur’an. However, the Uyghur in Xinjiang had a long history of drinking alcohol despite their Islamic belief. The Chinese government also considers forbidding drinking as a form of religious fundamentalism and deems it as incompatible with the Chinese conditions. The government consequently has adopted many interventions, including most

recently holding a beer festival in 2015 in Hotan, which is also in Southern Xinjiang and close to Kashgar.

Another two articles on Uyghur also had extensive narratives about their foods. The entire second paragraph of *The Uyghur in Hotan* was on the Uyghur food. It stated:

It is amazing how the Uyghur in Hotan love their land. If one had not seen it in person, who would have imagined that the golden and delicious doner kebab was roasted in a tandoor like a fort! Who would have ever thought the well-known daily food of the Uyghur—naan—was also baked in a tandoor. The Uyghur herdsmen also like to eat Goshnan cooked in ashes. They first dig a hole in the sand and light a fire in the hole using dried poplar branches. After the fire stops, they put meat-stuffed flat bread under the ashes until it is done. It is said that one will be energetic for the whole day after eating the Goshnan (PEP, CL, vol. 12, p. 37)

*Grape Valley*, which was the third article that described the Uyghur, also listed fruits for which Xinjiang is famous, including apricots, pears, peaches, crabapples, and grapes. In addition, the milk tea, quark, boiled mutton, and kumis of the Evenks were mentioned in *Prairie* and the bamboo stuffed rice of the Dai was also described in an article called *Song of the Bamboo Town* in the second volume of the BNUP CL textbooks.

### **Language and Scripts**

Information about the languages and scripts of *shaoshu minzu* appeared in four pages of two articles in the examined CL textbooks. In an article titled *The Sky of Lhasa*, one line stated that “Lhasa” means “the holy place” in the Tibetan language (JEPH, CL, vol. 5, p. 37). The

Uyghur language was mentioned in *Visiting Kashgar*. This article indicated that many Uyghur also speak English. As a matter of fact, many Uyghur would rather learn English than Chinese because of the perceived higher status of English and the social capital associated with English learning (Jian, 2013). Uyghur students also frequently receive top rewards in national English-speaking competition.

## **Religion**

Although no single article focused exclusively on the religion of any of the *shaoshu minzu*, a total of eight pages in six articles contained texts that referred to their religious beliefs of *shaoshu minzu* in China. The Islamic belief of the Uyghur and worship in mosques were mentioned in *Visit Kashgar*. The Theravada Buddhist belief of the Dai was also implicitly suggested in the *Songkran* cited above by mentioning that one of the activities in Songkran was bathing the Buddha. However, this detail was not mentioned in the other two versions of this article. Nor was the Dai's Theravada Buddhist belief mentioned in the texts.

The hero in the article entitled *Lhamo* was Thang Tong Gyalpo, who was a Tibetan Lama and considered the father of the Tibetan Opera. Another article that made references to the Buddhist belief of Tibetans was *Old City Lhasa*. Several religious symbols and buildings were described in the following text:

### Table 5.5 *Old City Lhasa*

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Entering Lhasa, the first thing you will see is the Tibetan houses with unique features. White houses with flat roof are one after another, black-framed windows are decorated with short pleated curtains, and colorful prayer flags are flying from the rooftop of every house. Houses in the city have unique architectural styles and bright colors, both of which are very impressive.

My dad once told me that putting the prayer flags on the top of the house was to wishing longevity and luck for the coming year. How interesting! Gazing afar from a height during the first month of the lunar year, brightly colorful prayer flags flying everywhere in the old city of Lhasa. The entire city is like a beautiful large fleet that is about to weigh anchor and the Potala Palace is the incomparable flagship.

The Jokhang Temple right in the heart of the old city stands out of the houses surrounding it. The Jokhang Temple is a typical Tibetan Buddhist monastery. Its magnificent and classic imposing manner is breathtaking. The shining golden dome on the top of the monastery, the gold gilded victory flags, the Xiangxiang birds unfolding their wings, peaceful deer flanking a Dharma wheel, the snarly crocodile heads, and the dark brown walls made of rammed earth all make the Jokhang Temple sacred and spectacular.

The Barkhor Street that surrounds the Jokhang Temple are like folded arms that encircle the monastery. The popular Barkhor is like a river of religion and life. Most of us Tibetans are devoted believers and life-loving people. To me, the Barkhor is more beautiful than any other streets in the world. Stores and stalls are spread all over the busy street, which creates a dialectical contradictory and coherent relationship with the solemn atmosphere inside the Jokhang Temple. The sound of chanting is mixed with the noisy bargaining, the smell of the incense is combined with that of foreign perfume, and the unsophisticated singing of Lhamo is mixed with the intense rhythm of disco...religion and secular, serenity and sound, nihilism and reality, all of which make the holy place Lhasa full of charm and make it the place of mystery, sacredness, and happiness in the mind of the people. (PEP, CL, vol. 10, p. 168-169)

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This article was the only one that gave a detailed account of a *shaoshu minzu* religion. However, the focus was mostly on religious architecture, symbols, and decorations but not the Buddhist practice itself.

## **Architecture**

The architecture was another frequently presented aspect of the *shaoshu minzu* and appeared in 17 pages of texts in 10 articles. This frequency was only second to singing and dancing. Tibetan architecture was one of the major subjects in the article *The Old City of Lhasa* cited above. Another *shaoshu minzu* that had their architecture depicted in detail was the Dai and

their bamboo houses. The following excerpts in Table 5.6 are drawn from the article entitled *The Bamboo House of the Dai People* in the 12<sup>th</sup> volume of PEP CL textbook:

Table 5.6 *The Bamboo House of the Dai People*

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The bamboo house is the traditional architectural style of the Dai people. The Dai people live in subtropical regions with high temperature. It is said that bamboo houses are helpful to prevent scorching heat and moisture. Therefore, the Dai people still have the habits of living in bamboo houses near the river.

The Dai village is often composed of from dozens to several hundreds of families living in stylish bamboo houses. Each village is surrounded by shelterbelt. And every bamboo house is surrounded by bamboo fences and flowers and plants are grown inside it. The ground under the bamboo house is the yard. Each bamboo house is in the square shape and has two floors: the second floor is for living while the first floor is used to keep cattle and firewood. The house is supported by 20 to 24 pillars, which are crossed inside the house by beams, many of which are decorated with patterns. The house is divided into two floors with slabs or bamboo strips at seven or eight Chinese feet from the ground. The roof was used to be covered by straw mats embroidered by grass or wood boards but recently by tiles.

If you visit a Dai family, after entering the bamboo fences, you will reach the hallway outside the house after climbing the ladder. The living room with a huge piece of bamboo mat is the center of the whole family and also the place to greet the guests. The bedrooms on the two sides are separated by wooden planks or bamboo strips and are not open to people outside the family. The structure of the Dai bamboo house is rather simple yet very spacious and stylish. Ventilation inside the house is also very good, sitting inside, the wind brings with it the smell of flower and fruit.

Building a bamboo house is a big event in the life of the Dai people. Traditionally, a place is chosen before laying the foundations and building the pillars and beams. The most important part of a house is the central pillars. There are eight central pillars. Picking the central pillars is grand and ceremonious. When they are delivered from the mountain to the village, everyone is going to receive them and throw water on them to bless. There is another custom among the Dai people: the whole village comes to help when one house is being built. When the new house is done, the Erecting the Bamboo House ceremony is performed. At that time, the whole village will come, just like celebrating a holiday. It is also the tradition to invite a Zan Ha (Dai word for “singer”) to sing Congratulating for the New House songs and it is believed that this will bring luck, safety, and prosperity to the family (p. 36).

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This excerpt above is another informative piece about the *shaoshu minzu* in the textbooks in terms of the richness of the details presented in the texts. In addition, this description integrated a variety of aspects of the Dai, including architecture, living environment, customs and ceremonies, and singing and dancing, and presented a relatively complete picture of this group.

### **Livelihood**

Similar to religion, the livelihood of the *shaoshu minzu* was not the focus of any of the *shaoshu minzu*-related articles, but 12 pages in seven articles did contain some information on how a variety of *shaoshu minzu* gathered and produced food. For example, the livelihood of the Gaoshan (indigenous people of Taiwan) was suggested in the article *Zheng Chenggong*, which was named after the primary subject in that article. The excerpts below were selected from this article:

Table 5.7: Excerpts from *Zheng Chenggong*

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The Taiwanese compatriots were thrilled when they heard the arrival of Zheng Chenggong's army. They sent grains, seafood, vegetables, and tea leaves to Zheng's troops. The Gaoshan tribe leader also brought deerskin and game meat to see Zheng Chenggong. Zheng Chenggong gave them back silk and tobacco to express gratitude. Fireworks were heard everywhere on the streets and people sang and danced to celebrate the victory.

After taking over Taiwan, Zheng Chenggong vigorously developed production. He sent people to give the Gaoshan brothers agricultural tools, such as plow, harrow, hoe, and sickle, used by the Han Chinese peasants. The Gaoshan brothers gradually learned new techniques for agricultural production and got their lives significantly improved. (JEPH, CL, vol. 11, p. 8)

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These excerpts quoted above suggest how the Gaoshan produced food by listing the kind of gifts they gave to Zheng’s troops—which involved a combination of farming, hunting, and fishing—and the last paragraph focused on how Zheng’s troops helped the Gaoshan people to improve their agricultural production by introducing advanced farming tools. Similar narrative also appeared in the MEL/S textbooks examined in this study.

Another article that mentioned the livelihood of the Tibetans was *Buddha Soldiers*, which was a story about how Zhu De, a People’s Liberation Army (PLA) leader, helped the “Tibetan compatriot” to farm. The article is reproduced in Table 5.8:

Table 5.8 *Buddha Soldiers*

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During the Long March, the Red Army arrived the Tibetan regions and prepared to take a rest for a while. The Tibetan compatriots had been suffering from the reactionary troops and had already hidden in the remote mountains when they heard another troop was approaching and nobody dared to show up. Commander in Chief Zhu was very concerned about this.

One day, comrade Zhu De reached out to the interpreter and said: “It has been days since the Tibetan compatriots being in the mountains. How can they bear it? We have to find ways to get them back!”

“I will go look for them.” The interpreter said to Commander in Chief Zhu.

The interpreter went to the mountains with a few soldiers and came back almost the end of the day. He told comrade Zhu De: “Well, their eyes must be covered by the dark clouds. Those Tibetan compatriots ran away immediately when they saw us. How muddled they are!”

Commander in Chief Zhu said: “This is not their fault. They are scared because of the suffering from the reactionary troops. It is the time for spring plowing. The weather waits for no man. We have to hurry up to help the Tibetan compatriots to farm the land.”

In the Spring Plowing mobilization meeting on the second day, comrade Zhu De said to everyone: “We cannot let the Tibetan compatriots starve next year. We will need to do our best to farm their lands as if we were farming our own lands. We need to let the seeds sowed by the Red Army germinate, root, bloom, and fruit...”

After the meeting, Commander in Chief Zhu led the people to start in full swing.

Several days later, the Tibetan compatriots knew about this and went back home quietly one by one. When they saw that the Red Army cleaned the courtyard and plowed the land, they all burst into tears with gratitude.

They said: “Never have we seen a Buddha-like commander and Buddha-like soldiers!” (JEPH, CL, vol. 6, p. 40-43)

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Farming was suggested in this article as the primary means the Tibetans used to produce food. In addition, animal husbandry of the Mongols, Kazakhs, and Evenks also was implied in the examined CL textbooks.

### ***Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals**

Forty-eight pages contained information about *shaoshu minzu* individuals. However, only 17 of these pages referred to *shaoshu minzu* individuals by specific names. A total of 23 named individuals from nine *shaoshu minzu* appeared in 13 out of the total of 36 CL textbooks. Uyghur, Tibetans, and Mongols had the most named individuals (five of each), followed by Manchu and Hui (two of each), and Miao, Dai, Gaoshan, and Yi each had one. However, among these 23 named individuals, only nine of them were real individuals. They are: Songtsen Gampo, Thang Tong Gyalpo, Quni, Quyin, and Gongsang, all Tibetan; Genghis Khan, a Mongol Emperor, and Li Siguang, a Mongol geologist; Zheng He, a Hui mariner and explorer; and Lao She, who was a Manchu writer. Songtsen Gampo, Thang Tong Gyalpo, Zheng He, and Genghis Khan were all historical individuals and all the others are contemporaries of the PRC. Li’s and Zheng’s *minzu*, however, were not revealed in the articles in which they were featured. All but two— Quni and Gongsang—of the real individuals were male. Nongxiang of Dai, Hailib of Mongol, and Ashima of Yi were legendary. The remaining 11 were all fictional individuals created either by the

authors of the articles or editors of the textbooks. The 23 figures and their *minzu*, gender, occupation, and period of activity are presented in Table 5.9:

Table 5.9 Distribution of Named *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in the Texts in CL Textbook

Name	<i>Minzu</i>	Type of Individual	Gender	Occupation	Period of Activity	In Books
A Xiang	Gaoshan	Fictional	Male	Tribe Leader	Historical	BNUP
Wuhanna	Mongols	Fictional	Female	Teacher	Contemporary	BNUP
Darma	Mongols	Fictional	Female	Student	Contemporary	BNUP
Hailib	Mongols	Legendary	Male	Hunter	Historical	BNUP
Ashima	Yi	Legendary	Female	Not mentioned	Historical	BNUP
Tuohati	Uyghur	Fictional	Male	Not Mentioned	Contemporary	BNUP
Ayixia	Uyghur	Fictional	Female	Not Mentioned	Contemporary	BNUP
Aji	Uyghur	Fictional	Male	Not Mentioned	Contemporary	BNUP
Gulibaier	Uyghur	Fictional	Female	Not Mentioned	Contemporary	BNUP
Nongxiang	Dai	Legendary	Female	Not Mentioned	Historical	BNUP
Genghis Khan	Mongols	Real	Male	Emperor	Historical	BNUP
Lao She	Manchu	Real	Male	Writer	Contemporary	BNUP
Gongsang	Tibetan	Real	Female	Student	Contemporary	JEPH
Quni	Tibetan	Real	Female	Student	Contemporary	JEPH
Quyín	Tibetan	Real	Male	Student	Contemporary	JEPH
Zheng He	Hui	Real	Male	Mariner	Historical	JEPH
A Ying	Miao	Fictional	Female	Student	Contemporary	PEP
Ma Ling	Hui	Fictional	Female	Not Mentioned	Contemporary	PEP
Chen Lin	Manchu	Fictional	Female	Not Mentioned	Contemporary	PEP
Li Siguang	Mongols	Real	Male	Geologist	Contemporary	PEP
Songtsen Gampo	Tibetan	Real	Male	Emperor	Historical	PEP
Maria	Uyghur	Fictional	Female	Student	Contemporary	PEP
Thang Tong Gyalpo	Tibetan	Real	Male	Lama	Historical	PEP

### Contact between *Shaoshu Minzu* and Han Chinese

In the 27 articles that were related to *shaoshu minzu*, 13 of them also had Han Chinese characters and one included multiple *shaoshu minzu*. In each of these articles, *minzu* solidarity, which meant almost exclusively the harmonious relationships between Han Chinese and the

*shaoshu minzu*, was the focus. I have described earlier in this dissertation that many of the 55 *shaoshu minzu* in China are viewed as being “primitive” and socioeconomically backward. Therefore, many of the articles that featured both Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu* focused on how the Han Chinese helped *shaoshu minzu* to improve their living conditions, both socioeconomically and culturally. In a previous publication, I called this model of representation “Han help ethnic minorities” (Chu, 2015). The articles *Princess Wencheng Going to Tibet* and *Two Pieces of A Diary* are good examples of this model in historical and contemporary contexts respectively.

Many of the articles that depicted contact between Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu* were involved Han Chinese officials. For example, the first premier of the PRC, Zhou Enlai, appeared in two articles about the Songkran of the Dai and Zhu De was the primary character in *Buddha Soldiers* that featured his contact with the “Tibetan compatriots”. Kong Fansen, who adopted and supported three Tibetan children, was a Han Chinese governmental official working in Tibet and the primary character in the article with his name. Two articles featured contact between Zheng Chenggong and the Gaoshan people (indigenous people in Taiwan). Zheng was a Ming Dynasty loyalist at the beginning of the Qing period who took Taiwan from the Dutch colonizers and was the primary character in both articles. All these articles also exemplified the “Han help ethnic minorities” paradigm.

This image of the *shaoshu minzu* as dependent and needing to be taken care of was also reinforced by suggestions of sacrifices or dedications Han Chinese make in helping the *shaoshu minzu*, which constructed an interesting juxtaposition with sacrifice made by *shaoshu minzu* that

were presented in the MEL/S textbooks that were presented in the second part. The excerpts in Table 5.10 were from *Kong Fansen*:

Table 5.10 *Kong Fansen*

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Kong Fansen was an outstanding aiding-Tibet cadre.

An earthquake happened near Lhasa in 1992. Three Tibetan children, Quni, Quyin, and Gongsang lost their families and became orphans. Kong Fansen took them with him and treated them as his own children.

One night, Kong Fansen quietly came to a hospital and asked to donate blood. The doctor would not approve because he was old and not in good health. The doctor finally reluctantly agreed after Kong implored repeatedly.

Kong Fansen used the nutrition compensation for donating blood to support these orphans to go to school. The Tibetan compatriots burst into tears when they learned about this. They sang affectionately:

The sun and the moon have the same mother whose name is brightness,

The Han and Tibetan have the same mother whose name is China. (JEPH, CL, vol. 3, p. 105)

---

In the article *Buddha Soldiers*, the Red Army also helped the “Tibetan compatriots” to farm their lands even though they were misunderstood and suspected at the beginning. One contemporary example was *Two Pieces of A Dairy* where the primary character, who was the author of the diary, sacrificed her interests, which was a skirt she wanted very much, in order to support a Miao girl:

Last night, I had another dream. In the dream, mom took me to buy that skirt. I did not let her buy it. I said that the money saved could buy a lot of books. In the dream I went to the Miao mountainous village with A Ying and saw a lot of Miao girls. I brought books

from my backpack and gave them and they danced happily around me (PEP, CL, vol. 3, p. 113).

*Visiting Kashgar* and *Prairie*, however, represented a different kind of narrative among the articles that featured contact between Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu* individuals. In both articles, the cultures of the featured *shaoshu minzu* were described in detail. The excerpts in Table 5.11 are from *Prairie*:

Table 5.11 Excerpts from *Prairie*

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Outside the Yurt, there were many horses and vehicles. Many of the people were riding horses and driving for miles to greet us. The hosts got off the horses and we got out of the cars. We spoke different languages but shared the heart. We shook hands, laughed, and talked, all about minzu solidarity and mutual help.

Before realizing, we entered the Yurt. Milk tea and quark was served, both the hosts and guests were sitting with their legs crossed. Everyone was polite but affectionate, not ill-at-ease at all. A little while later, the hospitable hosts brought large plates of boiled mutton and kumis. The cadres were toasting us and a seventy-year-old man was toasting us. We toasted back, the hosts toasted again, we toasted back again. At this time, Evenki girls who wore pointy hats were coming to sing folk songs for the guests. They were natural and poised but a little shy. Our singers joined them immediately. Singing seemed to be more loud and touching than any language. Whatever is sung, the listeners showed a knowing smile.

After the meal, the boys performed horse harnessing and wrestling and the girls performed minzu dances. The guests also danced and sang and even wanted to try to ride the Mongolian horses. Although it is almost sunset, no one was leaving. (JEPH, CL, vol. 11, p.59)

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In the excerpts, similar to *Visiting Kashgar*, it was not merely the *shaoshu minzu* singing and dancing or learning something from the Han Chinese. Instead, an extensive and equal interaction between the *shaoshu minzu* and the Han Chinese guests is described in the texts. However, both articles are written from the perspective of Han Chinese narrators who visited the *shaoshu minzu*

regions. This perspective also suggested that the expected readers of these textbooks are Han Chinese students.

#### **Part IV: Textual Findings from MSE textbooks**

*Big Family of China* is the MSE textbook for the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> grades. In this textbook, all 56 *minzu* in China are briefly introduced, in addition to an overview of the *minzu* condition in Lesson One, which is entitled “The Great *Zhonghua Minzu*”. Each of the 56 *minzu* in China had one paragraph in the texts that covered four basic aspects of that *minzu*, which are its geographic distribution, population, language and script, and major festivals. The livelihood of each of the 55 *shaoshu minzu* was also mentioned in the texts. In addition, other aspects that were presented for selected *minzu* included customs, clothing, religion, music (including dance), artifacts, architecture, food, and sports. Table 5.12 shows the distribution of the aspects presented for each *minzu* in the *Big Family of China* textbook. The order of *minzu* in the table followed the sequence in which they appeared in the textbook.

Information presented in Table 5.12 indicated that the issues about *shaoshu minzu* covered in the *Big Family of China* textbook overlapped with those in the MEL/S and CL textbooks. For each of the *minzu* introduced in the texts, a picture of an individual of that *minzu* was placed next to the texts.

Table 5.12 Coverage of *Minzu* in the *Big Family of China* textbook

Minzu	Distribution	Population	Language and Script	Festival	Livelihood	Clothes	Dance	Music	Artifact	Architecture	Food	Rite	Sports
Han	x	x	x	x							x		
Mongol	x	x	x	x	x			x		x			
Hui	x	x	x	x	x	x							
Tibet	x	x	x	x	x		x						
Uyghur	x	x	x	x	x		x						
Miao	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	
Yi	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x		x	
Zhuang	x	x	x	x	x				x		x		
Buyi	x	x	x	x	x					x	x		
Korean	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					
Manchu	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
Dong	x	x	x	x	x					x			
Yao	x	x	x	x	x		x	x					
Bai	x	x	x	x	x						x		
Tujia	x	x	x	x	x		x		x				
Hani	x	x	x	x	x					x			
Kazakhs	x	x	x	x	x	x			x				
Dai	x	x	x	x	x		x	x					
Li	x	x	x	x	x		x		x				
Lisu	x	x	x	x	x	x							
Wa	x	x	x	x	x		x	x				x	
She	x	x	x	x	x	x							
Gaoshan	x	x	x	x	x		x	x					x
Lahu	x	x	x	x	x								
Shui	x	x	x	x	x								x
Dongxiang	x	x	x	x	x								
Naxi	x	x	x	x	x								
Jingpo	x	x	x	x	x		x	x					
Kirgiz	x	x	x	x	x								
Tu	x	x	x	x	x								
Daur	x	x	x	x	x				x				x
Mulao	x	x	x	x	x								
Qiang	x	x	x	x	x					x			
Bulang	x	x	x	x	x		x	x					
Salar	x	x	x	x	x					x			
Maonan	x	x	x	x	x				x				x

Gelao	x	x	x	x	x			
Xibo	x	x	x	x	x			x
Achang	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Pumi	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Tajiks	x	x	x	x	x			
Nu	x	x	x	x	x			x
Uzbek	x	x	x	x	x			
Russians	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Evenk	x	x	x	x	x			
DeAng	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Boan	x	x	x	x	x			x
Yugu	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Jing	x	x	x	x	x			
Tatar	x	x	x	x	x			x
Dulong	x	x	x	x	x			x
Oroqen	x	x	x	x	x			
Hezhe	x	x	x	x	x			
Menba	x	x	x	x	x			x
Luoba	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Jinuo	x	x	x	x	x			

*General Knowledge of Minzu* is for 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> grades in the elementary school and is the second textbook in the MSE series. In this textbook, twelve lessons were organized under four units. The table of contents was translated and is reproduced below:

Unit I: A multi-*minzu* big family

- Lesson One: Fifty six *minzu* is one family
- Lesson Two: Beautiful and fertile *minzu* regions
- Lesson Three: Diverse languages and scripts

Unit II: Colorful *Zhonghua* family

- Lesson Four: Bright and colorful clothes
- Lesson Five: Houses of variety of styles
- Lesson Six: Cuisine of unique flavor

### Unit III: Splendid *minzu* culture

- Lesson Seven: Brilliant and glorious literature and arts
- Lesson Eight: Distinctive traditional sports
- Lesson Nine: Rich and colorful *minzu* festivals

### Unit IV: Understanding our *minzu* and loving our *Zhonghua*

- Lesson Ten: Diligent and brave people from all *minzu*
- Lesson Eleven: Famous *shaoshu minzu* individuals
- Lesson Twelve: Maintaining *minzu* solidarity

The themes around which the lessons were organized were consistent with emphases in the MEL/S, CL, and *Big Family of China* textbooks. Moreover, the specific aspects connected to each theme also overlapped with those of the other textbooks. For example, in Lesson Nine, the Torch Festival (Dutzie) of Yi and Southwestern *shaoshu minzu*, Songkran of the Dai, Naadam of the Mongol, Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha of the Muslim *shaoshu minzu*, Losar (Tibetan New Year), and 3-3 Festival of the Zhuang were featured. Almost all of these festivals were found in the MEL/S and CL textbooks. Similarly, the Mongol Yurt, Dai bamboo houses, and the stilt houses of the Miao were also highlighted in this textbook.

However, details of the examples provided for each of the lessons were more extensive than those covered in the MEL/S and CL textbooks. Admittedly, the richer examples provided students an opportunity to learn some components of the cultures of more *shaoshu minzu* in China. However, the limited range of cultural components in the MSE textbooks did not expand the frame of references existed in the MEL/S and CL textbooks. The organization and selection of *shaoshu minzu*-related content in MSE, MEL/S, and CL textbooks all reflected a “tourist

curriculum” (Derman-Sparks, 1989) where content about the *shaoshu minzu* cultures were not incorporated into the framework of the curriculum; rather, they were presented as something exotic and isolated from the rest of the curriculum. As a result, Han Chinese children “visit” *shaoshu minzu* cultures and then “go home” to the dominant Han Chinese culture. Yet, the limited range of coverage aligned very well with what was expected in the curriculum standards for the MSE subject at the upper elementary level.

In sum, analyses of the texts about *shaoshu minzu* in the MEL/S, CL, and MSE textbooks revealed that depictions of *shaoshu minzu* and their lives and cultures were limited—both in the quantity and depth of content and in the range of aspects that were presented. Textual content about *shaoshu minzu* was presented in a very small number of pages in the MEL/S and CL textbooks and was often separated from other parts of the textbooks. The textual depiction of *shaoshu minzu* for all three subjects concentrated on limited *minzu* cultural features, such as food, clothes, singing and dancing, and holidays. In next chapter, the findings of the analyses of the visuals in these textbooks are presented.

## Chapter VI

### Visual Findings

In this chapter, results from analyses of the visual content in the MEL/S and CL textbooks are presented. The findings for each subject will be presented as they are related to key variables coded for the visuals. The chapter concludes with a brief comparison of the results among the three subjects—Moral Education and Life/Society (MEL/S), Chinese Language (CL), and *Minzu* Solidarity Education (MSE)—that were examined in this study. A discussion of possible rationales for the differentiated representation of *shaoshu minzu* in these textbooks also is provided.

#### Part I: Visual Findings from MEL/S Textbooks

##### Summary of Findings

A total of 6075 visuals were coded in three versions of 36 MEL/S textbooks. These visuals included photographs, original illustrations, and reproduction of earlier works, such as a paintings or sculptures. The visuals were first coded based on whether or not human subjects were present and if they were, the number of human subjects. Visuals with only non-human objects were also coded. However, given the purpose of this study and results from the pilot study, further information was only recorded for visuals that contained built landscapes and human-made artifacts while others, for example, visuals with anthropomorphic animals or natural creatures were not coded.

One hundred and thirty-nine visuals were found in the 36 MEL/S textbooks that contained content related to *shaoshu minzu* in China—111 (79.9%) of them were pictures, 23

(16.5%) illustrations, and 4 (2.9%) reproductions of earlier artworks. One hundred and fourteen were visuals that contained *shaoshu minzu* individuals and 25 had *shaoshu minzu*-related built landscape or artifacts. They represented 2.29% of the total of 6075 visuals coded in these textbooks. The distribution of *shaoshu minzu*-related visuals within the three versions of MEL/S textbooks is presented in Table 6.1:

Table 6.1 Distribution of *Shaoshu Minzu*-related Visuals in MEL/S Textbooks

Textbook	Shaoshu Minzu-related Visuals	Total Visuals	Percentage
BNUP	66	2044	3.23%
JEPH	23	1713	1.34%
PEP	50	2318	2.16%
Total	139	6075	2.29%

The BNUP version had the highest total and percentage of visuals that were related to *shaoshu minzu* people and cultures in the three versions of MEL/S textbooks examined. Compared with the BNUP and PEP textbooks, the JEPH version MEL/S textbooks contained a significantly smaller number *shaoshu minzu*-related visuals. This was primarily due to the fact that, unlike the other two sets, the JEPH MEL/S textbooks did not seem to have a designated unit on or lesson about *shaoshu minzu*-related content.

These 139 visuals were found in 23 of the 36 books. Analysis of the distribution of visuals indicated that volume of the BNUP version contained 31.8% of all the *shaoshu minzu*-related visuals while volume 7 and volume 9 had approximately 20% each. In other words, these three books accounted for more than 70% of the *shaoshu minzu* visuals in the entire 12 books. Similarly, volume 8 and volume 11 of the JEPH version combined had more than 50% of all *shaoshu minzu*-related visuals in that set and the volume 9 of the PEP version contained 82% of

all *shaoshu minzu*-related visuals. Tables 6.2 to 6.4 shows the detailed distribution of these *shaoshu minzu*-related visuals in each of the three versions of MEL/S textbooks:

Table 6.2 Distribution of *Shaoshu Minzu*-related Visuals in BNUP MEL/S Textbooks

BNUP	Number of <i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> -Related Visuals	Percentage
Vol. 1	1	1.52%
Vol. 4	21	31.82%
Vol. 5	3	4.55%
Vol. 6	2	3.03%
Vol. 7	15	22.73%
Vol. 8	7	10.61%
Vol. 9	14	21.21%
Vol. 10	3	4.55%
Total	66	100.00%

Table: 6.3 Distribution of *Shaoshu Minzu*-related Visuals in JEPH MEL/S Textbooks

JEPH	Number of <i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> -Related Visuals	Percentage
Vol. 1	1	4.35%
Vol. 3	2	8.70%
Vol. 6	1	4.35%
Vol. 8	5	21.74%
Vol. 9	2	8.70%
Vol. 10	2	8.70%
Vol. 11	7	30.43%
Vol. 12	3	13.04%
Total	23	100.00%

Table 6.4 Distribution of *Shaoshu Minzu*-related Visuals in PEP MEL/S Textbooks

PEP	Number of <i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> -Related Visuals	Percentage
Vol. 1	1	2.00%
Vol. 2	1	2.00%
Vol. 4	1	2.00%
Vol. 5	1	2.00%
Vol. 8	3	6.00%
Vol. 9	41	82.00%
Vol. 10	2	4.00%
Total	50	100.00%

Seventeen distinct *shaoshu minzu* were depicted visually in these 36 MEL/S textbooks. The Tibetans had the most visuals in the textbooks, which was 26, followed by Uyghur (24), Mongol (16), Manchu (10), Dai (9), and Hui (8). Other *shaoshu minzu* were depicted in visuals less than five times in these textbooks. In 24 visuals, individuals from multiple *shaoshu minzu* were present and the specific *minzu* affiliation could not be determined. The frequencies of visuals of all seventeen *shaoshu minzu* are presented in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 Number of *Shaoshu Minzu*-related Visuals in MEL/S *Minzu*

<i>Minzu</i>	Number of Visuals	<i>Minzu</i>	Number of Visuals
Tibetan	26	Bai	2
Uyghur	24	Korean	2
Mongol	16	Naxi	2
Manchu	10	Buyi	1
Dai	9	Dong	1
Hui	8	Gaoshan	1
Yi	4	Oroqen	1
Miao	4	Li	1
Zhuang	3	Multiple	24

The remainder of the presentation of visual findings is divided into two parts, starting with visuals of human subjects and then of non-human visuals. The findings are presented as they are related to key variables coded in the data analyses.

### **Visuals with Human Subjects**

Human characters were found in 4159 (68.5%) of the 6075 visuals and 1236 visuals had only one human character. Thirty six (2.9%) of the 1236 visuals had *shaoshu minzu* individuals, 4 (0.3%) Han Chinese, 1076 (87.1%) unmarked Chinese, and 94 (7.6%) had foreign individuals. There were another 26 (2.1%) cases where the *minzu* information of the individuals was not clear. For all visuals coded in this study, the *minzu* identification of the human subjects was determined by explicit and definite information either in the visuals themselves or in the caption or surrounding texts when available. The majority of individuals in the visuals was coded as “unmarked Chinese” because no clear and definite information was available to determine their *minzu* status.

Among the 4159 visuals that included human characters in them, 2923 contained more than one human character. In 26 (0.89%) of them *shaoshu minzu* individuals were the primary subjects, 853 (29.18%) had non-*shaoshu minzu* individuals as the primary subjects, while 2044 (69.93%) did not have an identifiable primary subject. Thirteen of the 26 visuals that contained *shaoshu minzu* individuals as primary subjects also included non-*shaoshu minzu* characters: in 8 visuals the non-*shaoshu minzu* individuals also were primary subjects and in five instances they appeared in supporting or minor roles. In an additional eight cases, it was difficult to determine whether or not non-*shaoshu minzu* individuals were present.

Among the 853 visuals with non-*shaoshu minzu* as primary subjects, 2 had *shaoshu minzu* individuals in supporting roles and one illustrated *shaoshu minzu* individuals in the background. For the 2044 visuals where no definite primary subjects could be identified, 39 contained *shaoshu minzu* individuals only and 10 had mostly *shaoshu minzu* individuals while the rest had either only or mostly non-*shaoshu minzu* individuals.

For the visuals that contained mostly non-*shaoshu minzu* individuals, information was not recorded during quantitative coding regarding whether or not *shaoshu minzu* individuals also were present in these visuals. This determination was made because such cases were not found during the pilot studies and consequently information was not asked in the coding guide. Therefore, it was possible in theory that *shaoshu minzu* individuals were also present in some of these cases. However, no such instances were found in the qualitative analyses that followed. Cross-reference was also performed to ensure that no cases were missed. In sum, a total of 114 visuals in the three versions of MEL/S textbooks had *shaoshu minzu* individuals in them.

**Settings.** All the visuals that included human subjects were coded using two setting variables: geographic setting and physical setting. For the geographic setting, each visual was coded according to whether the human subjects were positioned in urban or rural environments. Markers of urban environments included tall buildings, industrial sectors, and urban infrastructure, such as traffic and paved streets. Other visuals that were coded as “urban” were identified through captions that indicated the setting as urban. Markers of rural settings included agricultural sectors and village scenes. For physical setting, each visual was coded according to whether the human subjects were placed in indoor or outdoor environments. Indoor settings included home, offices, restaurants, and shopping malls. Indicators included office and home

appliances, furniture, and indoor clothing, among others. Markers of outdoor environments included natural scenes, parks, and playgrounds. For both setting variables, when the setting was not clear, the code “Unable to tell” was used.

Of the 114 visuals that contained *shaoshu minzu* people, 48 (42.1%) of them located *shaoshu minzu* individuals in rural settings and 5 (4.4%) in urban, with 61 (53.5%) in which the setting could not be determined. Examples of visuals that placed *shaoshu minzu* individuals in urban settings and rural settings are given in Figures 6.1 and 6.2.

Figure 6.1 Examples of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in Urban Settings



Figures 6.2 Examples of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in Rural Settings



In addition, 73 (64%) of the visuals placed the *shaoshu minzu* individuals in outdoor settings and 12 (10.5%) indoor. The setting was not clear for 29 (25.4%) others. Examples of visuals that placed *shaoshu minzu* individuals in indoor settings and outdoor settings are given in

Figures 6.3 and 6.4. The distribution of the geographic and physical settings of the visuals are presented in Tables 6.6 and 6.7.

Figure 6.3 Examples of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in Indoor Settings



Figure 6.4 Examples of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in Outdoor Settings



Table 6.6 Distribution of Geographic Settings of *Shaoshu Minzu* Visuals in MEL/S

Textbooks

Textbook	Number of Visuals with <i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> Figures	Urban	Rural	Unable to Tell
BNUP	60	2 (3.3%)	28 (46.7%)	30 (50.0%)
JEPH	17	1 (5.9%)	8 (47.1%)	8 (47.1%)
PEP	37	2 (5.4%)	12 (32.4%)	23 (53.5%)

Table 6.7 Distribution of Physical Settings of *Shaoshu Minzu* Visuals in MEL/S

Textbooks

Textbook	Number of Visuals with <i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> Figures	Indoor	Outdoor	Unable to Tell
BNUP	60	3 (5.0%)	43 (71.7%)	14 (23.3%)
JEPH	17	3 (17.6%)	9 (52.9%)	5 (29.4%)
PEP	37	6 (16.2%)	21 (56.8%)	10 (27.0%)

The distribution of both variables revealed that *shaoshu minzu* individuals in all three versions of MEL/S textbooks were invariably depicted significantly more often in rural and outdoor settings.

Of all 4159 visuals with human subjects in the MEL/S textbooks, 1371 (33.0%) placed the human subjects in urban settings while 548 (13.2%) placed them in rural environments. Slightly more depicted human subjects in outdoor (43.7%) than indoor (40.6%) settings. The distribution of all visuals in terms of the geographic and physical settings are given in Tables 6.8 and 6.9.

Table 6.8 Distribution of Geographic Settings of all Visuals in MEL/S Textbooks

Textbook	Total	Urban	Rural	Unable to Tell
BNUP	1343	464 (34.5%)	213 (15.9%)	666 (49.6%)
JEPH	1124	492 (43.8%)	125 (11.1%)	507 (45.1%)
PEP	1692	415 (24.5%)	210 (12.4%)	1067 (63.1%)
Total	4159	1371 (33.0%)	548 (13.2%)	2240 (53.9%)

Table 6.9 Distribution of Physical Settings of all Visuals in MEL/S Textbooks

Textbook	Total	Indoor	Outdoor	Unable to Tell
BNUP	1343	523 (38.9%)	648 (48.3%)	172 (12.8%)
JEPH	1124	471 (41.9%)	459 (40.8%)	194 (17.3%)
PEP	1692	695 (41.1%)	712 (42.1%)	285 (16.8%)
Total	4159	1689 (40.6%)	1819 (43.7%)	651 (15.7%)

Although the visuals containing *shaoshu minzu* individuals shared the higher representation of human subjects in outdoor settings, the percentage of *shaoshu minzu* figures being placed in outdoor environments was much higher than that of the overall sample. *Shaoshu*

*minzu* individuals also were much more likely to be placed in rural settings than human subjects in the entire sample.

**Time.** For the time variable, each visual was coded as Historical (prior to 1911), Modern (1911-1949), Contemporary (post 1949), or Unable to Tell. This is the conventional and a somehow, admittedly, political way of dividing Chinese history that is commonly used in the PRC. This is because 1911 and 1949 were the years when the Republic of China and the People’s Republic of China, respectively, were created and were thus of importance in the political discourses of the PRC. The temporal information was obtained either directly from the visuals or the captions and texts on the immediate periphery of the visuals.

*Shaoshu minzu* individuals were presented in historical settings eight times (7.0%), modern once (0.9%), and in contemporary settings in 99 visuals (86.8%). In another six (5.3%) visuals, the temporal settings were not clear. As indicated in Table 6.10, all three versions of the textbooks consistently depicted most *shaoshu minzu* individuals in the PRC era:

Table 6.10 Distribution of Temporal Settings of *Shaoshu Minzu* Visuals in MEL/S

Textbooks

Textbook	Total	Historical	Modern	Contemporary	Unable to Tell
BNUP	60	4 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)	51 (85.0%)	5 (8.3%)
JEPH	17	2 (11.8%)	0 (5.6%)	14 (82.4%)	1 (5.9%)
PEP	37	2 (5.4%)	1 (2.7%)	34 (91.9%)	0 (0.0%)

The overrepresentation of visuals that were set in the post-1949 era was not surprising given the nature of the MEL/S curriculum. The higher percentage of visuals that were in contemporary times was also evident for the whole sample as shown in Table 6.11:

Table 6.11 Distribution of Temporal Settings of all Visuals in MEL/S Textbooks

Textbook	Total	Historical	Modern	Contemporary	Unable to Tell
BNUP	1343	72 (5.4%)	47 (3.5%)	1172 (87.3%)	52 (3.9%)
JEPH	1124	63 (5.6%)	37 (3.3%)	1002 (89.1%)	22 (2.0%)
PEP	1692	101 (6.0%)	37 (2.2%)	1545 (91.3%)	9 (0.5%)
Total	4159	236 (5.7%)	121 (2.9%)	3719 (89.4%)	83 (2.0%)

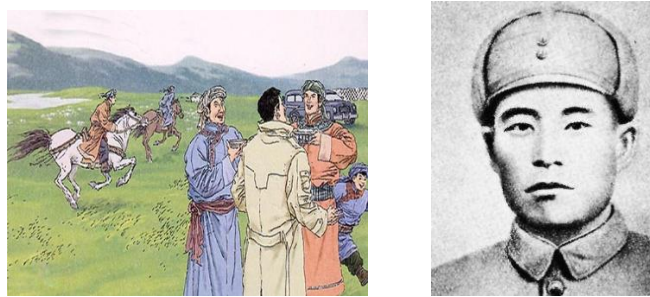
**Clothes style.** Another variable coded was the type of clothes worn by human subjects shown in the visuals. The two categories were Traditional Clothes and Western-Style Clothes. Traditional clothes are those garments worn at special events as well as in everyday occasions that are associated with specific cultural traditions and ethnic affiliations or identifications. Examples of Western-style clothes included suits and dresses, shirts and blouse, jackets, sweater, pants, skirts, and uniforms (school, military, workplace, sports).

One hundred (87.72%) of the visuals that contained *shaoshu minzu* individuals depicted them wearing traditional clothes, five (4.39%) in Western-style clothes, and five (4.39%) were mixed. In four (3.51%) visuals the style of clothing was not clear. Examples of *shaoshu minzu* individuals in traditional clothes and Western-style clothes are given in Figures 6.5 and 6.6. This pattern of depicting shaoshu minzu individuals in traditional clothes was also consistent across all three versions of MEL/S textbooks as indicated in Table 6.12.

Figure 6.5 Examples of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in Traditional Clothes



Figure 6.6 Examples of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in Western-style Clothes



Note: In the visual on the left, the man wearing the coat is Manchu; the visual on the right is a picture of Ma Benzhai, who is Hui.

Table 6.12 Distribution by Type of Dress of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in MEL/S

Textbooks

Textbook	Traditional	Western-Style	Unable to Tell	Mixed	Total
BNUP	53	0	3	4	60
JEPH	14	2	1	0	17
PEP	33	3	0	1	37
Total	100	5	4	5	114

Among the 4159 visuals that contained human subjects in the textbooks, only 487 (11.71%) of them contained individuals wearing traditional clothes while overwhelming majority

of them (82.66%) depicted human subjects in Western-style clothes. The distribution of type of dress for all individuals in the visuals in all three versions of textbooks is shown in Table 6.13.

Table 6.13 Distribution by Type of Dress of all Individuals in MEL/S Textbooks

Textbook	Traditional	Western-Style	Unable to Tell	Mixed	Total
BNUP	176	1059	85	23	1343
JEPH	119	960	37	8	1124
PEP	192	1419	69	12	1692
Total	487	3438	191	43	4159

**Gender.** Single-character visuals were coded for gender; and for those visuals that contained more than one individual, the gender distribution of the group was recorded. The data were combined and organized into the categories of All Male, All Female, Majority Male, Majority Female, and Balanced Gender Group. The balanced gender groups contained equal numbers of male and female individuals. When the gender of the individual(s) was difficult to determine, the code “Unable to tell” was used.

All female representations—including both single-female-individual visuals and all-female-group visuals—accounted for 40.35% (46 of 114) of visuals of *shaoshu minzu*, all male representations were 26.32% (30 of 114), and visuals of mixed gender groups were 18.42% (21), of which there were 11 majority-female and six majority-male groups. Overall, among all the visuals with *shaoshu minzu* figures, 44.74% had men and 58.77% had women. The gender distribution of the *shaoshu minzu* visuals in the three versions of MEL/S textbooks is represented in Table 6.14.

Table 6.14 Distribution by Gender of *Shaoshu Minzu* Figures in Visuals in MEL/S

Textbooks

Textbook	All Male	All Female	Majority Male	Majority Female	Balanced	Unable to tell	Total
BNUP	14	23	2	6	4	11	60
JEPH	6	7	1	0	0	3	17
PEP	10	16	3	5	0	3	37
Total	30	46	6	11	4	17	114

In all three versions of textbooks, *shaoshu minzu* women were represented more frequently than men. Again, when looking at all the visuals containing human subjects, 1613 (38.78%) of the visuals were all male representations in contrast to 908 (21.83%) of all female visuals. Overall, while males appeared in 2964 (71.27%) of all the visuals, females appeared in 2259 (54.32%) of all visuals in these textbooks. The gender distribution of human subjects in all visuals in the sample was presented in Table 6.15.

Table 6.15 Distribution by Gender of Human Subjects in all Visuals in MEL/S Textbooks

Textbook	All Male	All Female	Majority Male	Majority Female	Balanced	Unable to tell	Total
BNUP	523	241	185	111	163	120	1343
JEPH	442	259	89	86	194	54	1124
PEP	648	408	223	136	164	113	1692
Total	1613	908	497	333	521	287	4159

**Age.** The age of the human subjects presented in the visuals was also coded. I was particularly interested in whether or not children would be depicted in the visuals because a high percentage of children representations in the textbooks might suggest a high level of child-centeredness of the textbooks. Of the total 4159 visuals that had human subjects in them, 2711

(65.18%) contained children while 1334 (32.08%) did not. The detailed distribution is provided in Table 6.16.

Table 6.16: Distribution by Age of Human Subjects in all Visuals in MEL/S Textbooks

Textbook	Child	Non-Child	Unable to Tell	Total
BNUP	820	462	61	1343
JEPH	822	287	15	1124
PEP	1069	585	38	1692
Total	2711	1334	114	4159

The high percentage of visuals containing children was expected and is desirable because these textbooks are prepared for elementary students. However, when looking at only the 114 visuals with *shaoshu minzu* individuals, the percentage of child representation dropped racially to only 30 (26.32%) of those 114 visuals and 72 (63.16%) did not contain children. Table 6.17 presents this distribution within each version of textbooks with more details.

Table 6.17 Distribution of Age of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in MEL/S Textbooks

Textbook	Child	Non-Child	Unable to Tell	Total
BNUP	18	35	7	60
JEPH	3	12	2	17
PEP	9	25	3	37
Total	30	72	12	114

**Activity.** I was also interested in whether or not the human characters depicted in the visuals were engaged in any activities and if so, what kind of activities they were engaged in. In 70 (61.4%) of the 114 visuals, *shaoshu minzu* individuals were shown engaging in activities and in 37 (32.46%) they were inactive or sedentary. In another seven visuals (6.14%), it was difficult

to determine whether or not the *shaoshu minzu* individuals were engaging in any activity.

Examples of active and inactive shaoshu minzu individuals are given in Figures 6.7 and 6.8. For the entire dataset, in 2893 (69.56%) of the 4159 visuals, the human subjects were shown as being active while in 759 (18.25%) they were inactive or sedentary. In other words, the *shaoshu minzu* individuals were represented in both a lower level of activity and higher level of inactivity than the sample averages. Table 6.18 shows the distribution by type of activities the *shaoshu minzu* individuals were depicted as engaged in the visuals across the three versions of MEL/S textbooks.

Figure 6.7 Examples of Active *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals



Figure 6.8 Examples of Inactive *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals



Table 6.18 Distribution by Type of Activity of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in MEL/S

Textbooks

Textbook	Leisure/ Recreational	Daily	Livelihood	Work	Performance	Learning	Political	Religious	Other
BNUP	15	3	3	1	8	3	4	0	1
JEPH	5	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
PEP	15	2	0	0	3	1	1	1	0
Total	35 (50.00%)	7 (10.00%)	5 (7.14%)	1 (1.43%)	11 (15.71%)	4 (5.71%)	4 (7.14%)	1 (1.43%)	1 (1.43%)

It is clear that *shaoshu minzu* individuals were most frequently depicted as engaging in leisure or recreational and performance activities and least frequently in work or religion related activities.

Table 6.19 shows the distribution of activity by type in which human subjects were depicted as engaged in the visuals for the entire dataset.

Table 6.19 Distribution of Type of Activity in all Visuals in MEL/S Books

Textbook	Leisure/ Recreational	Daily	Livelihood	Work	Performance	Learning	Political	Religious	Other
BNUP	252	203	55	157	18	240	119	1	54
JEPH	237	195	27	54	5	150	60	5	29
PEP	294	226	80	110	30	132	114	4	42
	783	624	162	321		522	293	10	125
Total	(27.07%)	(21.57%)	(5.60%)	(11.10%)	53 (1.83%)	(18.04%)	(10.13%)	(0.35%)	(4.32%)

The data in Tables 6.18 and 6.19 indicate that the higher representation of leisure and recreational and the least representation of religion-related activities in the entire dataset are consistent with those of the *shaoshu minzu* individuals. However, a much higher percentage of representations of activities related to daily live, working, and learning and a lower representation of performance activities are found for the entire dataset.

**Interaction with technology.** All the visuals were also analyzed for the presence or absence of modern technology. Examples of modern technology included modern transport such as railway and automobiles, electric machines, home appliances and consumer electronics, cellphones, computers, and laptops. Modern technology was shown in only 11 (9.6%) of the 114 visuals involving the *shaoshu minzu* individuals. Modern technology was not shown in 99 (86.8%) visuals and in another 4 (3.5%) visuals, the presence of modern technology could not be determined. Table 6.20 shows how these 11 visuals were distributed across the three versions of MEL/S textbooks.

Table 6.20 Distribution of Modern Technology in *Shaoshu Minzu* Visual in MEL/S

Textbooks

Textbook	Number of Visuals with <i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> Figures	Presence of Modern Technology
BNUP	60	8 (13.3%)
JEPH	17	1 (5.9%)
PEP	37	2 (5.4%)

In four of the 11 visuals, *shaoshu minzu* individuals were also shown as being engaged in activities that involved technology. This was 5.71% of the 70 visuals that depicted *shaoshu minzu* individuals as active and 44.4% of the 9 visuals that contained both modern technology and active *shaoshu minzu* individuals.

Among the total 4159 visuals in the entire dataset, 700 (16.8%) contained modern technology. This distribution by textbook is presented in Table 6.21.

Table 6.21 Distribution of Modern Technology in all Visual in MEL/S Textbooks

Textbook	Number of Visuals	Presence of Modern Technology
BNUP	1343	276 (20.6%)
JEPH	1124	144 (12.8%)
PEP	1692	280 (16.5%)

Out of the 2893 visuals that contained active human subject, 376 (13.00%) depicted them as engaged in some activities involving modern technological tools. These 376 visuals accounted for 68.74% of the visuals that contained both modern technology and human activity. Compared with the overall sample, modern technology was less likely to be depicted in visuals containing

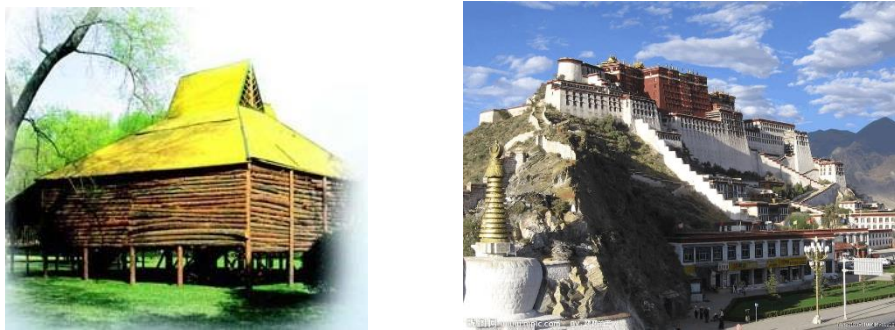
*shaoshu minzu* individuals and the *shaoshu minzu* were also less likely to be depicted engaging in activities that involved modern technological tools even when they were present in the visuals.

### **Non-human visuals**

No human subjects were present in 1915 visuals, of which 480 were human-created landscapes, such as buildings, villages, and parks, and 791 were human-made artifacts, such as computers, clothes, and artworks and handicrafts. Eighteen visuals on 14 pages in nine textbooks depicted *shaoshu minzu*-related landscapes and seven visuals on seven pages in five books included *shaoshu minzu*-related human-made artifacts.

**Landscape.** Eighteen visuals contained *shaoshu minzu*-related man-made landscapes, 10 of which were found in the PEP textbooks while the BNUP and JEPH version each had four. All but two of them were *shaoshu minzu* architecture. Examples of *shaoshu minzu* landscapes are provided in Figure 6.9.

Figure 6.9 Examples of *Shaoshu Minzu* Landscapes



The Potala Palace in Lhasa was featured in seven visuals in all three versions of the textbooks. The Mongolian Yurt and Bamboo house of the Dai were also featured twice in two

versions of the textbooks. Table 6.22 shows how these visuals were distributed in the three versions of textbooks.

Table 6.22 Distribution of *Shaoshu Minzu* Landscape Visuals in MEL/S Textbooks

Landscape	<i>Minzu</i> Attribute	Number of Visuals in		
		BNUP	JEPH	PEP
Potala Palace	Tibetan	2	2	3
Yurt	Mongolian		1	1
Bamboo House	Dai		1	1
Dai Village	Dai	1		
Stilt House	Miao			1
Stone House	Buyi			1
Mosque	Hui			1
Mosque	Uyghur			1
A Uyghur Building	Uyghur			1
A Shaoshu Minzu Community	Unknown			1
Total		3	4	11

**Artifacts.** Seven visuals in the examined MEL/S textbooks depicted *shaoshu minzu* artifacts. Two of them were a horsehead-shape fiddle of the Mongols and a picture of the Naxi Dongba scripts in the BNUP version. Two in the JEPH version were a picture of the Manchu Cheongsam and a picture of the Naxi Dongba scripts. Three in the PEP version were a Doppa (Uyghur hat), a brocade bag of the Zhuang people, and a board with the Uyghur characters. Examples of shaoshu minzu artifacts are provided in Figure 6.10.

Figure 6.10 Examples of *Shaoshu Minzu* Artifacts



## Part II: Visual Findings from CL Textbooks

### Summary of Findings

A total of 4057 visuals were coded in three versions of 36 CL textbooks. These visuals were also categorized into pictures, original illustrations, or reproduction of earlier works.

Seventy-seven visuals in the examined CL textbooks contained content related to *shaoshu minzu*. Thirty (39%) of them were pictures and 47 (61%) illustrations. Sixty-three (81.82%) of the 77 were visuals that contained *shaoshu minzu* individuals and 14 (18.18%) had *shaoshu minzu*-related landscapes or artifacts. These 77 visuals represented 1.90% of the total of 4057 coded visuals in the CL textbooks. The distribution of *shaoshu minzu*-related visuals within the three versions of CL textbooks is presented in Table 6.23.

Table 6.23 Distribution of *Shaoshu Minzu*-related Visuals in CL Textbooks

Textbook	Number of <i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> -related Visuals	Total Visuals	Percentage
BNUP	18	1067	1.69%
JEPH	22	1776	1.24%
PEP	37	1214	3.05%
Total	77	4057	1.90%

The PEP version of the CL textbooks had the most and the highest percentage (3.05%) of visuals that were related to *shaoshu minzu* people and cultures. However, this percentage was lower than the percentage of the *shaoshu minzu* population in China, which was 8.5% in the 2010 Census. This underrepresentation of *shaoshu minzu* people and their cultures were consistent across textbooks with the BNUP and JEPH versions, which also contained less than 2% of *shaoshu minzu*-related visuals.

These 77 visuals were found in 23 of the 36 books. Similar to what found in the MEL/S textbooks, the *shaoshu minzu*-related visuals in the CL textbooks also tended to concentrate in two or three books. Table 6.24 to Table 6.26 show the detailed distribution of these *shaoshu minzu*-related visuals for each of the three versions of CL textbooks.

Table 6.24 Distribution of *Shaoshu Minzu*-related Visuals in BNUP CL Textbooks

BNUP	Number of <i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> -Related Visuals	Percentage
Vol. 2	1	5.56%
Vol. 5	2	11.11%
Vol. 6	3	16.67%
Vol. 7	5	27.78%
Vol. 8	1	5.56%
Vol. 9	5	27.78%
Vol. 12	1	5.56%
Total	18	100.00%

Table 6.25 Distribution of *Shaoshu Minzu*-related Visuals in JEPH CL Textbooks

JEPH	Number of <i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> -Related Visuals	Percentage
Vol. 2	2	9.09%
Vol. 3	2	9.09%
Vol. 4	5	22.73%
Vol. 5	2	9.09%
Vol. 6	1	4.55%
Vol. 7	1	4.55%
Vol. 10	2	9.09%
Vol. 11	7	31.82%
Total	22	100.00%

Table 6.26 Distribution of *Shaoshu Minzu*-related Visuals in PEP CL Textbooks

PEP	Number of <i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> -Related Visuals	Percentage
Vol. 3	5	13.51%
Vol. 4	4	10.81%
Vol. 5	6	16.22%
Vol. 7	1	2.70%
Vol. 8	2	5.41%
Vol. 10	4	10.81%
Vol. 11	3	8.11%
Vol. 12	12	32.43%
Total	37	100.00%

Seventeen distinct *shaoshu minzu* were visually presented in these CL textbooks. There were 18 visuals of Tibetans, followed by 11 of Mongols, 9 of Uyghurs, and 7 of Dais. Other *shaoshu minzu* appeared less than three times in the visuals. In 13 visuals, individuals from multiple *shaoshu minzu* were present and the specific *minzu* affiliation could not be determined. Table 6.27 shows the frequency of visual coverage of all the 17 *shaoshu minzu* in the CL

textbooks. This distribution was similar to the MEL/S textbooks where the same four *shaoshu minzu* were also among the most frequently featured groups in the visuals.

Similar to Part I, the findings of the analysis of visuals with and without human subjects will be presented separately in the context of the key variables coded for the visuals.

Table 6.27 Number of *Shaoshu Minzu*-related Visuals in CL Textbooks

<i>Minzu</i>	Number of Visuals	<i>Minzu</i>	Number of Visuals
Tibetan	18	Yi	1
Mongol	11	A Chang	1
Uyghur	9	Bai	1
Dai	7	Gaoshan	1
Evenks	3	Jingpo	1
Kazakhs	3	Miao	1
Hui	2	Naxi	1
Manchu	2	Tujia	1
Li	1	Multiple	13

### Visuals with Human Subjects

At least one human character appeared in 2035 (50.2%) of the 4057 visuals. Eight hundred and three (39.5%) of the visuals had only one human character. Sixteen (2%) of them had *shaoshu minzu* individuals, 682 (84.9%) had unmarked Chinese, and 93 (11.6%) foreign individuals. No Han Chinese individuals were identified and the *minzu* in the remaining 12 (1.5%) visuals could not be identified.

More than one human character was contained in 1232 visuals. In seven of them *shaoshu minzu* individuals were primary subjects, 446 had non-*shaoshu minzu* individuals as the primary subjects, while the majority of them, 779, did not have an identifiable primary subject. Among

the 446 visuals with non-*shaoshu minzu* individuals as primary subjects, *shaoshu minzu* individuals were presented in supporting roles in nine of them. For the 779 visuals where no definite primary subjects could be identified, 24 contained *shaoshu minzu* individuals only and seven included mostly *shaoshu minzu* individuals while the remainder had either only or mostly non-*shaoshu minzu* individuals. Similarly, all the visuals that contained any information related to *shaoshu minzu* in the textbooks were photocopied for further analysis and cross-references were performed to ensure that no visuals that contained *shaoshu minzu* individuals were missed in the analyses. In sum, a total of 63 visuals in the three versions of CL textbooks had *shaoshu minzu* individuals in them.

**Setting.** All the visuals with human subjects in CL textbooks were also coded by two setting variables: geographic setting and physical setting. Markers and examples of both variables were explained in Part II and were not repeated here.

Of the 63 visuals containing *shaoshu minzu* individuals, 35 (55.6%) of them located *shaoshu minzu* individuals in rural settings and five (7.9%) in urban settings, with 23 (36.5%) of the visuals the geographic setting could not be determined. Fifty-six (88.9%) of the visuals placed the *shaoshu minzu* individuals in outdoor settings and only three (4.8%) in indoor settings, with the setting being unclear in four (6.3%) others. Tables 6.28 and 6.29 show how these visuals were distributed in the three versions of CL textbooks.

Table 6.28 Distribution of Geographic Settings of *Shaoshu Minzu* Visuals in CL

Textbooks

Textbook	Number of Visuals with <i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> Figures	Urban	Rural	Unable to Tell
BNUP	15	1 (6.7%)	9 (60%)	5 (33.3%)
JEPH	18	1 (5.6%)	9 (50%)	8 (44.4%)
PEP	30	3 (10%)	17 (56.7%)	10 (33.3%)
Total	63	5 (7.9%)	35 (55.6%)	23 (36.5%)

Table 6.29 Distribution of Physical Settings of *Shaoshu Minzu* Visuals in CL Textbooks

Textbook	Number of Visuals with <i>Shaoshu Minzu</i> Figures	Indoor	Outdoor	Unable to Tell
BNUP	15	1 (6.7%)	14 (93.3%)	0 (0.0%)
JEPH	18	0 (0.0%)	18 (100%)	0 (0.0%)
PEP	30	2 (6.7%)	24 (80.0%)	4 (13.3%)
Total	63	3 (4.8%)	56 (88.9%)	4 (6.3%)

The distribution of both variables reveal that *shaoshu minzu* figures were more likely to be placed in rural and outdoor settings. This representational pattern was consistent across all three versions of CL textbooks and consistent with what was found from the MEL/S textbooks.

In all 2035 visuals that included human subjects, slightly more visuals placed them in urban (23.1%) than rural settings (20.6%) while an overrepresentation of outdoor settings (54.3%) was also found. The distribution of all visuals by the geographic and physical settings are given in Tables 6.30 and 6.31.

Table 6.30 Distribution by Geographic Settings of all Visuals in CL Textbooks

Textbook	Total	Urban	Rural	Unable to Tell
BNUP	552	88(15.9%)	120 (21.7%)	344(62.3%)
JEPH	922	215(23.3%)	141 (15.3%)	566(61.4%)
PEP	561	167(29.8%)	159 (28.3%)	235(41.9%)
Total	2035	470(23.1%)	420(20.6%)	1145(56.3%)

Table 6.31 Distribution by Physical Settings of all Visuals in CL Textbooks

Textbook	Total	Indoor	Outdoor	Unable to Tell
BNUP	552	152 (27.5%)	331 (60%)	69 (12.5%)
JEPH	922	350 (38.0%)	438 (47.5%)	134 (14.5%)
PEP	561	165 (29.4%)	335 (59.7%)	61 (10.9%)
Total	2035	667 (32.8%)	1104 (54.3%)	264 (13.0%)

Although the visuals that contained *shaoshu minzu* individuals shared the higher representation of human subjects in outdoor settings, the percentage of *shaoshu minzu* individuals who were placed in outdoor environments (88.9%) was much higher than that of the overall sample (54.3%). In addition, the percentage of *shaoshu minzu* individuals who were placed in rural settings was inconsistent with the overall relatively equal distribution of rural and urban settings in all visuals.

**Time.** Similarly, each visual was coded as Historical (prior 1911), Modern (1911-1949), Contemporary (post 1949), or Unable to Tell. *Shaoshu minzu* individuals were presented in historical settings seven times (11.1%), modern once (1.6%), and contemporary settings in 55 visuals (87.3%). The detailed distribution is presented in Table 6.32.

Table 6.32 Distribution of Temporal Settings of *Shaoshu Minzu* Visuals in CL Textbooks

Textbook	Total	Historical	Modern	Contemporary
BNUP	15	3 (20%)	0 (0.0%)	12 (80%)
JEPH	18	1 (5.6%)	1 (5.6%)	16 (88.9%)
PEP	30	3 (10%)	0 (0.0%)	27 (90%)
Total	63	7 (11.1%)	1 (1.6%)	55 (87.3%)

The data in Table 6.32 indicate that all three versions of CL textbooks consistently featured *shaoshu minzu* individuals in contemporary (post 1949) settings. The higher percentage of visuals that presented human subjects in contemporary settings was also true for the entire sample as shown in Table 6.33.

Table 6.33 Distribution of Temporal Settings of all Visuals in CL Textbooks

Textbook	Total	Historical	Modern	Contemporary	Unable to Tell
BNUP	552	137 (24.8%)	33 (6.0%)	343 (62.1%)	39 (7.1%)
JEPH	922	184 (20.0%)	31 (3.4%)	692 (75.1%)	15 (1.6%)
PEP	561	132 (23.5%)	37 (6.6%)	333(59.4%)	59 (10.5%)
Total	2035	453 (22.3%)	101 (5.0%)	1368 (67.2%)	113 (5.6%)

**Clothing style.** The clothes worn by the human subjects in the visuals were also coded on whether they were traditional clothes or Western-style clothes. *Shaoshu minzu* individuals in 54 (85.71%) visuals were depicted as wearing traditional clothes, 3 (4.76%) were in Western-style clothes, and 3 (4.76%) were mixed. In three (4.76%) of the visuals the clothing style was not clear. These results are similar to those in the MEL/S textbooks. This pattern of depicting *shaoshu minzu* people in traditional clothes was also consistent across all three versions of CL textbooks as shown in Table 6.34.

Table 6.34 Distribution by Type of Dress of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in CL Textbooks

Textbook	Traditional	Western-Style	Unable to Tell	Mixed
BNUP	12	1	1	1
JEPH	13	2	2	1
PEP	29	0	0	1
Total	54	3	3	3

However, for the total sample of 2035 visuals, only 546 (26.83%) contained individuals wearing traditional clothes and 1406 (69.10%) in Western-style clothes. The distribution of type of dress for all individuals in the visuals of all versions of CL textbooks is presented in Table 6.35.

Table 6.35 Distribution by Type of Dress Worn by all Figures in CL Textbooks

Textbook	Total	Traditional	Western-Style	Unable to Tell	Mixed
BNUP	552	152	380	14	6
JEPH	922	204	686	26	6
PEP	561	190	340	25	6
Total	2035	546	1406	65	18

**Gender.** The gender of the human subjects presented in the visuals was also coded. For the single-person visuals, the gender of the characters was coded and for visuals contained more than one individual, the gender distribution of the group was recorded. The data were congregated and organized in the five categories of All Male, All Female, Majority Male, Majority Female, and Balanced Gender Group.

All female representations—including both single female individuals and all female groups— accounted for 25.4% (16 of 63) of visuals of *shaoshu minzu*, all male representations

were 28.57% (18 of 63), and visuals of mixed gender groups were 31.75% (20), of which majority-female and majority-male groups each had 9 visuals. Two visuals contained an equal number of male and female characters. Overall, men and women appeared in 60.32% and 57.14% respectively of the visuals with *shaoshu minzu* in the CL textbooks. The gender distribution of the *shaoshu minzu* visuals in the three versions of CL textbooks is presented in Table 6.36.

Table 6.36 Distribution by Gender of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in Visuals in CL Textbooks

Textbook	All Male	All Female	Majority Male	Majority Female	Balanced	Unable to tell
BNUP	6	4	2	2	0	1
JEPH	5	3	3	3	1	3
PEP	7	9	4	4	1	5
Total	18	16	9	9	2	9

Table 6.36 shows that *shaoshu minzu* individuals of both genders were equally represented in the visuals and this pattern was consistently across all three versions of CL textbooks. However, when looking at the overall distribution of gender in the visuals in these CL textbooks, 1031 (50.66%) of the visuals were all male representations compared to 403 (19.8%) all female visuals. The gender distribution of human subjects in all visuals in the CL textbooks is presented in Table 6.37.

Table 6.37 Distribution by Gender of Human Subjects in all Visuals in CL Textbooks

Textbook	All Male	All Female	Majority Male	Majority Female	Balanced	Unable to tell	Total
BNUP	309	87	66	22	57	11	552
JEPH	420	221	47	63	147	24	922

PEP	302	95	46	29	73	16	561
Total	1031	403	159	114	277	51	2035

Overall, while males appeared in 1581 (77.69%) of all the visuals, females only appeared in less than half (46.83%) of all visuals in these textbooks. In other words, although the visual representations of *shaoshu minzu* males and females were relatively equal, *shaoshu minzu* women were overrepresented compared to all gender distributions for all visuals.

**Age.** Children were included in 1255 (61.67%) of the 2035 visuals while not in the remaining 760 (37.35%). The detailed distribution was given in Table 6.38:

Table 6.38: Distribution of Age of Human Subjects in all Visuals in CL Textbooks

Textbook	Child	Non-Child	Unable to Tell	Total
BNUP	336	215	1	552
JEPH	586	322	14	922
PEP	333	223	5	561
Total	1255	760	20	2035

When looking at only the visuals with *shaoshu minzu* individuals, the percentage was almost the reverse because 24 (38.10%) of the 63 visuals had children in them and 33 (52.38%) did not contain children. Table 6.39 shows the detailed distribution within each version of the CL textbooks.

Table 6.39 Distribution of Age of *Shaoshu Minzu* Figures in CL Textbooks

Textbook	Child	Non-Child	Unable to Tell	Total
BNUP	7	8	0	15
JEPH	7	7	4	18
PEP	10	18	2	30
Total	24	33	6	63

**Activity.** I was interested whether the human characters depicted in the visuals were engaged in any activities and if so, what kind of activities. In 42 (66.67%) of the 63 visuals, *shaoshu minzu* individuals were shown engaging in activities and in 14 (22.22%) they were inactive or sedentary. In another seven visuals (11.11%), it was difficult to determine whether or not the *shaoshu minzu* individuals were engaging in any activities. These results were consistent with the overall sample where people were shown engaging in activities in 66.09% of the time (1345 visuals) and in 494 (24.28%) they were inactive or sedentary.

Table 6.40 shows the distribution of the types of activities in which *shaoshu minzu* individuals were depicted in the visuals across the three versions of CL textbooks.

Table 6.40 Distribution by Type of Activity of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in CL

Textbooks

Textbook	Leisure/							
	Recreational	Daily	Livelihood	Work	Performance	Learning	Political	Other
BNUP	4	1	2	1	1	1	0	0
JEPH	6	3	2	0	0	0	0	0
PEP	8	0	4	0	5	1	2	1
Total	18 (42.86%)	4 (9.52%)	8 (19.05)	1 (2.38)	6 (14.29%)	2 (4.76%)	2 (4.76%)	1 (2.38%)

The data indicate in Table 6.40 that *shaoshu minzu* people were most frequently depicted in leisure or recreational activities and least frequently in work related activities. Table 6.41 shows the distribution of the types of activities in which all human subjects were depicted in the visuals in the entire dataset.

Table 6.41 Distribution by Type of Activity in all Visuals in CL Textbooks

Textbook	Leisure/ Recreational	Daily	Livelihood	Work	Performance	Learning	Political	Religious	Other
BNUP	114	63	21	27	4	50	34	0	18
JEPH	195	99	30	51	19	142	43	0	36
PEP	135	87	31	25	17	29	43	1	31
	444	249	82	103		221	120	1	85
Total	(33.01%)	(18.51%)	(6.10%)	(7.66%)	40 (2.97%)	(16.43%)	(8.92%)	(0.07%)	(6.32%)

A comparison of the data in Table 6.40 and Table 6.41 indicates that the percentages of *shaoshu minzu* individuals being shown engaged in leisure or recreational, livelihood, and performance activities were higher than the overall sample while lower in other categories.

**Interaction with technology.** All visuals also were coded regarding the presence or absence of modern technology. Examples of modern technology were given in Part II. Modern technology was shown in only two (3.2%) of the 63 visuals that included *shaoshu minzu* individuals and none of the *shaoshu minzu* individuals was depicted interacting with technology in the visuals. However, 159 (7.8%) of the 2035 visuals in the overall sample contained modern technology and 83 (6.17%) of the 1345 visuals showed human subjects engaging in activity involved modern technological tools.

## Non-human Visuals

Non-human subjects were found in 2,022 visuals, 251 of which featured human-made landscape and 427 human-made artifacts. Eleven visuals featured *shaoshu minzu*-related built landscapes and three visuals depicted *shaoshu minzu*-related artifacts.

**Landscape.** All except one of the 11 visuals containing *shaoshu minzu*-related human-made landscapes were architecture. The Potala Palace was depicted three times in the JEPH CL textbooks, once in the Article *Kong Fansen* and two times in the article *The Sky of Lhasa*. The bamboo house of the Dai also appeared once in each of the three versions of the CL textbooks. Pictures of the Mongolian Yurt, Tibetan-style architecture, and the stilt house of the Miao were shown in the PEP version. The raisin drying room of the Uyghur was shown in the BNUP version and a *minzu* elementary school was illustrated in the PEP version. The coverage of the visuals in terms of both *minzu* and buildings paralleled with those found in the MEL/S textbooks. Table 6.42 shows how these visuals were distributed in the three versions of CL textbooks:

Table 6.42 Distribution of *Shaoshu Minzu* Landscape Visuals in CL Textbooks

Landscape	Minzu Attribute	Number of Visuals in		
		BNUP	JEPH	PEP
Potala Palace	Tibetan		3	
Yurt	Mongolian			1
Bamboo House	Dai	1	1	1
Tibetan-style Architecture	Tibetan			1
Raisin Dying Room	Uyghur	1		
A Minzu Elementary School	Multiple			1
A Tibetan Market	Tibetan			1
Total		2	4	5

**Artifacts.** Three visuals depicted *shaoshu minzu* artifacts. They were a Tibetan knife and a horsehead-shape fiddle of the Mongols, both of which appeared in one BNUP textbook and statues of Lhamo (Tibetan Opera).

### Part III: Visual Findings from MSE Textbooks

In the *Big Family of China* textbook, the narratives introducing each *minzu* were accompanied by a photograph of individuals of that *minzu*. All the *minzu* individuals were presented wearing traditional *minzu* clothes and all but five of the individuals in the photographs were females. This overrepresentation of women was also consistent with what was found in the MEL/S and CL textbooks. All the female individuals were young women. All the photos seemed to be posed ones and none of the individuals in these photos were shown engaging in any activities. Examples of these photos are provided in Figure 6.11.

Figure 6.11 Examples of Photos of *Shaoshu Minzu* Individuals in *Big Family of China*



In addition to these 56 photos, this textbook also included pictures of *shaoshu minzu* individuals and human-made landscapes and artifacts. These pictures were mostly visual representations of the *minzu* information introduced in the narratives. A total of 70 visuals were coded for this study and 50 of them included *shaoshu minzu* individuals engaging in activities. The majority of pictures depicted *shaoshu minzu* individuals singing and dancing (20, 38.46%), followed by livelihood related activities (13, 25%), festival and holiday celebrations (8, 15.38%), sports activities (7, 13.46%), and leisure activities (2, 3.85%). One of the pictures depicted the Kirgiz people celebrating Eid al-Adha, which is a major Muslim holiday. The emphases on leisure and recreational activities, including singing and dancing, sports, and celebrating holidays, and livelihood activities were consistent with findings in the MEL/S and CL textbooks.

Seven pictures contained *shaoshu minzu* architecture. They are stilt houses of Miao, flat-roofed adobe houses of Yi, Yurt of Mongols, terrace rice fields and mushroom houses of Hani, a bridge of Dong, a house of Sala, and a village of Qiang. Three pictures depicted *shaoshu minzu* artifacts. They are a photo of hulusi, or cucurbit flute, of Dai, Achang, Wa, DeAng, and Bulang, a photo of knives of the Baoan, and a picture of the Dongba pictographic scripts of Naxi. Another two pictures depicted two *shaoshu minzu* food items. They are wrapped sticky rice of Zhuang and three-course tea of Bai.

In the exercise of each lesson, stamps featuring the *minzu* introduced in the lesson were presented to help student review some of the information included in the lessons. In each of these stamps, a male and female member of the *minzu* introduced were depicted engaging in activities. All but one of these activities were *minzu* singing and dancing and the only exception was two Dongxiang persons who were feeding sheep. Examples of the stamps are given in Figure 6.12.

Figure 6.12 Examples of *Shaoshu Minzu* Stamps in *Big Family of China*



For this study, 80 pictures were coded in the *General Knowledge of Minzu* textbook for the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> grades. These pictures were mostly accompanying narratives introducing *minzu* information. Because this textbook was organized by themes of information about *minzu* in China, pictures that appeared in each unit were also around the knowledge taught in that unit. For instance, 19 pictures depicted *shaoshu minzu* individuals wearing their *minzu* clothes and all the individuals in these pictures were females. *Minzu* architecture was present in eight pictures, *shaoshu minzu* food items were depicted in five pictures, and *shaoshu minzu* artifacts were shown in three pictures. *Shaoshu minzu* individuals were shown engaging in activities in 18 pictures, including four (22.22%) about singing and dancing, five (27.78%) about sports activities, five (27.78%) on celebrating holidays and festivals, two (11.11%) about political activities, and two (11.11%) other activities. The two pictures showing *shaoshu minzu*

individuals engaging in political activities are ones of *shaoshu minzu* members of the National People's Congress—the national legislature of the PRC—and Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, a political advisory body in the PRC. In addition, five *shaoshu minzu* individuals were visually depicted in this textbook. They are Gada Meiren, a Mongolian leader of struggles against nobles and warlords; Genghis Khan; Hai Rui, a Hui official of the Ming Dynasty; Deng Enming, a communist movement leader who is Shui; and Ma Benzhai.

### Summary of Findings

An analysis of the elementary MEL/S and CL curriculum standards revealed that content about *shaoshu minzu* in China was only briefly mentioned in the documents and that *minzu* cultures were limited to “traditional festivals, songs, folklore, historical stories, clothing, architecture, and cuisine” (Ministry of Education, 2011b, p. 15) in the MES standard. For the MSE subject, the curriculum standard emphasized cultivating in students a *Zhonghua Minzu* identity and an awareness of maintaining *minzu* solidarity and national unity and encouraging students to appreciate and develop the outstanding culture of the 56 *minzu* in China (Ministry of Education, 2008).

The analysis of 72 of three different versions of MEL/S and CL textbooks revealed that on average 2.35% and 2.21% of all the pages in the MEL/S and CL textbooks contained any textual content about *shaoshu minzu* in China and similarly only 2.29% and 1.90% of all the visuals in the MEL/S and CL textbooks contained *shaoshu minzu* individuals or objects. These percentages were much lower than their proportion in the national population, which is 8.5%. In addition, an overrepresentation of *shaoshu minzu* females was found in the visuals in the textbooks for all three subjects.

In both textual and visual content, aspects of the lives and cultures of the *shaoshu minzu* that had the highest coverage included food, festivals and holidays, singing and dancing, clothes, architecture, and livelihood. This pattern of representation was consistent across the three versions of textbooks and was strongly aligned with how *shaoshu minzu* cultures are defined in the curriculum standards.

The ways in which *shaoshu minzu* and their cultures are represented in the textbooks were influenced by the purpose and nature of the subjects examined. Although all three subjects could be viewed as parts of the state-led citizenship education in China, they differed on the specific objectives they served and on the organization of the content in the textbooks. The MEL/S and MSE were more explicit than CL in their intention to help students cultivate a set of civic values endorsed by the party-state, including but not limited to patriotism, law-abiding, national unity, *minzu* equality and solidarity. Comparatively, the CL prioritizes helping students gain literacy skills and promotes similar values in a more tacit way through the strategic selection and organization of the articles included in the textbooks.

Significantly fewer *shaoshu minzu*-related visuals are present in the CL textbooks than in the MEL/S textbooks. This was primarily due to the fact that in the MEL/S textbooks visuals are major content delivery tools while in the CL textbooks the visuals often accompanied the articles. The high reliance on visuals as instructional media was especially true for MEL/S textbooks for the lower grades where only small numbers of transitional and interpretive texts were found on pages that were primarily composed of illustrations and pictures.

Because most of the visuals in the CL textbooks were accompaniments to the articles, the individuals and objects presented in the texts and visuals in the CL textbooks overlapped a lot.

This produced less diversity and fewer number of *shaoshu minzu* cultural artifacts and individuals compared to those in the MEL/S textbooks where both texts and visuals were relatively independent in content delivery. However, analyzed holistically, the range of aspects of *shaoshu minzu* lives and cultures presented in the MEL/S textbooks were not significantly greater than that in the CL. The data analyzed indicated that the range of aspects related to the *shaoshu minzu* in China covered in MEL/S and CL textbooks overlapped. Nevertheless, because of the different nature and pedagogical roles these two subjects took, the ways in which *shaoshu minzu*-related content was presented in these textbooks differed in the two subjects even they were pretty much covering the same issues. For example, *shaoshu minzu* content presented in the MEL/S textbooks tended to be organized by different topics covered in specific lessons or units. As a result, coverage of some the phenomena, such as clothes, in the MEL/S textbooks was more focused and detailed than that in the CL textbooks where the description of the clothes of the *shaoshu minzu* figures might be brief. However, the relatively longer articles in the CL textbooks typically enabled them to cover multiple aspects of the *shaoshu minzu* people and their cultures. In other words, in the CL textbooks, the multiple aspects of the *shaoshu minzu* people and cultures were more likely to be included in the same articles and presented with more contextual information, which made the depictions less fragmented than they were in the MEL/S textbooks.

Moreover, only 29 of the 55 *shaoshu minzu* in China were presented in any detail in the 72 MEL/S and CL textbooks. The 29 *shaoshu minzu* that were covered in the MEL/S and CL textbooks are listed in Table 6.43:

Table 6.43 List of *Shaoshu Minzu* Appeared in MEL/S and CL Textbooks

<i>Minzu</i>	Covered in Books	<i>Minzu</i>	Covered in Books	<i>Minzu</i>	Covered in Books
A Chang	CL	Hui	MEL/S, CL	Palaung	CL
Bai	MEL/S, CL	Jingpo	CL	Qiang	MEL/S
Buyi	MEL/S	Kazakhs	CL	Shui	MEL/S
Dai	MEL/S, CL	Korean	MEL/S	Tibetan	MEL/S, CL
Dong	MEL/S	Li	MEL/S, CL	Tujia	CL
Deang	CL	Manchu	MEL/S, CL	Uyghur	MEL/S, CL
Evenks	CL	Miao	MEL/S, CL	Uzbeks	MEL/S
Gaoshan	MEL/S, CL	Mongols	MEL/S, CL	Yi	MEL/S, CL
Gelao	CL	Naxi	MEL/S, CL	Zhuang	MEL/S
Hani	CL	Oroqen	MEL/S		

Tibetans, Uyghurs, Dais, and Mongols were most frequently presented in the texts and visuals combined in both MEL/S and CL textbooks. Except for the Uyghur, none of the other three *shaoshu minzu* are among the largest five *shaoshu minzu* of China in terms of population and the Dai is only the 18<sup>th</sup> largest *shaoshu minzu* in China. In contrast, some of the largest *shaoshu minzu* in China, for example, the Zhuang, Hui, Manchu, and Tujia, were not as frequently covered as some much smaller *minzu*. McCarthy (2009) offered a possible explanation by classifying *shaoshu minzu* in China into a two-dimensional schema. The two ends of the horizontal axis are “exotic” and “assimilated” that describe the level of cultural distinctiveness possessed by a *shaoshu minzu* compared with the Han Chinese. The two ends of the vertical axis are “docile” and “restive” that indicate how a *shaoshu minzu* responds to the state control. This schema can be illustrated with the four-cell matrix shown in Table 6.44.

Table 6.44 Categorization of *Shaoshu Minzu* in China

	Exotic	Assimilated
Docile	<b>Dai</b> Mongol Korean	<b>Bai</b> Zhuang Tujia Manchu
Restive	<b>Tibetan</b> <b>Uyghur</b> Dongxiang	<b>Hui</b>

Adapted from McCarthy (2009, p. 13).

The *minzu* in bold face in Table 6.44 are examples given by McCarthy (2009); the other examples emerged from this study. As indicated in Table 6.44, the four *shaoshu minzu* that had the most coverage in the textbooks are in the “Exotic” column, which means that they displayed a high level of cultural distinctiveness compared with the supposedly “normative” Han Chinese. This “exotic” nature was indicated by markers such as *minzu* clothes, food, songs and dances, and architecture, which were the focus of *shaoshu minzu*-related content in the textbooks. Related stereotypes in the textbooks, such as “traditional” hunting-and-gathering and nomadic lifestyles, overrepresentation of rural life, and lack of progress (“living fossils”), all suggested a sense of exoticness and backwardness. When examined from the lens of presumed civilization, the “exotic” cultural features presented a contrast with the Han Chinese who are assumed to be the “norm” whose cultural characteristics were not distinguishable. In other words, when the Han Chinese was viewed as the more civilized group, merely presenting *shaoshu minzu* individuals wearing *minzu* clothes and living in traditional houses suggested their lower level of civilization. This preference of “exotic” *minzu* characteristics might explain why there was very little content in the textbooks about the Zhuang, who are perceived as culturally assimilated—which means a lower level of cultural uniqueness, despite the fact that they are the largest *shaoshu minzu* in

China. The fact that the Tibetans and Uyghurs were considered as “restive” also provided the strategic reason to have a relatively extensive coverage of these groups in the textbooks.

In next chapter, the findings are discussed according to themes that were related to the construction of knowledge about *shaoshu minzu* in textbooks. Implications for theory, teaching and teacher education practice, and future research also are provided.

## Chapter VII

### Discussion, Conclusions, and Implications

In this chapter, patterns of textbook representation of *shaoshu minzu* revealed from the data analysis are discussed. The chapter begins with a discussion of how the Chinese terms of *minzu* and *Zhonghua Minzu* were used in the textbooks in general. Then the ways in which content about *shaoshu minzu* in China were constructed and themes that were frequently associated with the depiction of *shaoshu minzu* in these textbooks are explained. The chapter concludes with some final thoughts, limitations of this study, and implications for theory, practice, and future research.

#### *Minzu and Zhonghua Minzu*

The initial intent of this study was to analyze primarily the representation of *shaoshu minzu* and *minzu*-related content in textbooks used in China. The coding instruments were designed to capture only *minzu*-related information in the Chinese context. However, as the coding progressed, I began to realize that the term “*minzu*” was used in the analyzed textbooks in complex ways and that it was also used to refer to groups of people and issues outside the Chinese context. Consequently, a discussion of the complex ways in which the terms of “*minzu*” and “*Zhonghua Minzu*” were used in the textbooks can contribute to a better understanding of how the depiction of *shaoshu minzu* in the textbooks was connected to the broader citizenship education project. Therefore, I decided to incorporate them for the qualitative analysis. In this section, I discuss how terms of *minzu* and *Zhonghua Minzu* were used in the textbooks in general before I move to a discussion of the themes that were specifically related to *shaoshu minzu*.

**Minzu.** As discussed in Chapter III, as a neologism in Chinese language, the meaning of the word “*minzu*” can be ambiguous and ambivalent and can vary to different contexts and for different purposes. In the examined textbooks, the word “*minzu*” was most frequently used in the five different ways summarized below.

***Minzu as “minzu in China”.*** Because “*minzu*” is commonly understood in the PRC as a classifying category for groups of people, similar to social categories such as gender and occupation that are typically used for demographic purposes, it is most commonly used as a generic term for ethnic groups that are officially recognized by the PRC in the *Minzu Shibie* project described in Chapter III. This understanding of *minzu* was supported by the examined textbooks and some signals of this usage are: “Our country is very large and has a large number of population and *minzu*” (BNUP, MEL/S, vol. 7) “Today, different *minzu* in different regions of China still have rich and varied habits and customs about drinking tea” (BNUP, MEL/S, vol. 8) and “Many *minzu* live in harmony in China and each *minzu* has its own cultural customs” (BNUP, CL, vol. 7, p. 30). In these instances, *minzu* was used to refer to people belonging to the variety of ethnic groups living in China.

*Minzu* also was used as a collective term in the sense of categorizing groups of people in China, which has a clear and fixed semantic boundary. When “*minzu*” was used in this way, it referred to either one specific ethnic group or all of the 56 ethnic groups that are officially recognized in China. It also set the territorial boundary that excluded ethnic groups not living in China.

***Minzu as “shaoshu minzu in China”.*** Related to but quite different from and contradictory to the first meaning, in these textbooks, *minzu* was often used interchangeably with

*shaoshu minzu* or as an abbreviation of the latter. An example of using *minzu* and *shaoshu minzu* interchangeably is:

Uncle Xiaoguang, who is a neighbor of Xiaowen, is a journalist. He has been travelling to many places and took a lot of photos of minzu customs. When Xiaowen turned to him, he enthusiastically took out his album and told Xiaowen stories behind each photo and from his interviews. Inspired by Uncle Xiaoguang, Xiaowen made an album of shaoshu minzu customs using photos found from newspapers and magazines and words he looked up (BNUP, MEL/S, vol.9, p. 72).

In this example, the text started with the impression that the photos taken by Uncle Xiaoguang could have been about both Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu*, which fell into the first meaning of *minzu* identified above. However, the rest of the text indicated that the first *minzu* was supposed to mean *shaoshu minzu*. This connotation was also supported by the broad context of the lesson from which the quote was taken, which was one of the lessons that were designated to teach information about *shaoshu minzu* in China. Also, pictures of *shaoshu minzu* individuals were placed on the same page where the texts appeared. The excerpt below is from the beginning of this lesson entitled “*A Big Family of Minzu*”:

When seeing uncles and aunts wearing colorful minzu clothes and hearing the joyful singing of “fifty six constellations, fifty six flowers”, we all will think of shaoshu minzu with different elegant demeanors. Maybe some of your classmates and friends are compatriots from different minzu. You must be very curious about their unique languages and want to know their customs and habits and understand their history and life. Let’s enter the big family of minzu to discover the amazing charm of different minzu with wise

eyes, hear their attractive songs with smart ears, and feel the good emotions of loving the motherland shared by all minzu brothers and sisters with pure hearts. (BNUP, MEL/S, vol.9, p. 68)

The shifting between *minzu* and *shaoshu minzu* is evident in this paragraph. Throughout the unit, no information about Han Chinese is mentioned. Nor is any explanation given for how this equivalence between *minzu* and *shaoshu minzu* was made and why this was accurate.

This use of *minzu* as an equivalent of *shaoshu minzu* was most manifest—and problematic—when all the examples followed a statement that contained the word *minzu*, as if it was used as an inclusive category, were actually about *shaoshu minzu*. For example: “Speaking of festivals, many would think of Spring Festival, Lantern Festival, and Mid-Autumn Festival. What minzu festivals do you also know?” (PEP, MEL/S, vol.9, p. 78) In the texts that followed, all the festivals introduced were primarily associated with *shaoshu minzu*, including Songkran of the Dai, Dutzie of the Yi and Bai, and Eid al-Fitr (Breaking the Fast Feast) of the Hui and Uyghur, which was in contrast with the examples listed in the prompt: none of them is primarily associated with any of the *shaoshu minzu* in China—although some of them are observed by some *shaoshu minzu*, nor are they labeled “*minzu* festival”.

Numerous other examples of *minzu* being used as a synonym for *shaoshu minzu* in China were found in the textbooks examined for all three subjects, such as *minzu* songs, *minzu* dances, *minzu* clothes, and *minzu* food. As a matter of fact, 40.28% of the time when *minzu* was used as an adjective in the examined textbooks, it was short for *shaoshu minzu* and suggested a sense of exoticness and uniqueness of *shaoshu minzu* cultures and lives. In all these instances, Han Chinese are clearly excluded from this modifying term of “*minzu*” despite the fact that they are

the largest *minzu* in China. When *minzu* is used as an abbreviation of *shaoshu minzu*, it not only normalizes cultures and experiences of the Han Chinese as non-*minzu* but also singles out those of the *shaoshu minzu* as *minzu*-only.

***Minzu as “Zhonghua Minzu”***. In addition to being used as a generic, categorical term that could be any or all *minzu* in China and being used exclusively to refer to *shaoshu minzu*, the term “*minzu*” was also frequently used as a synonym for “*Zhonghua Minzu*”. For example:

When Zhonghua Minzu came to the most dangerous moment, the Communist Party of China appealed to the National Party to stop the civil war and fight against outside together and proposed to build the National Anti-Japanese Minzu United Front. The entire country set off an anti-Japanese tide (BNUP, MEL/S, vol. 10, p.74).

Similar to the cases discussed in the last section where the two terms “*minzu*” and “*shaoshu minzu*” are being used in the same sentence or paragraph interchangeably as if they were the same, this strategy was also used in this example with a tacit shift of words.

When *minzu* was used in this sense, it also implied that *Zhonghua Minzu* is one distinct, concrete *minzu* instead of a compound collective of all *minzu* in China and one overarching identity, as it was officially defined and understood. For example, “Since ancient times, *Zhonghua Minzu* is a peace-loving *minzu*” (BNUP, MEL/S, vol.11, p. 82) “We, the *Zhonghua Minzu*, have been working and living in this land since ancient times and have created splendid civilization with our wisdom and hands and formed our unique customs and cultures” (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 8, p. 35). These two statements not only suggested that *Zhonghua Minzu* was one distinct *minzu* but also legitimized such a claim by suggesting that *Zhonghua Minzu* has been a

*minzu* since ancient times with a shared homeland, history, custom, and culture. This perception almost qualifies it for the Stalin's definition of nationality, from which the Chinese definition of *minzu* was developed.

In addition, similar to the case of the term *Zhonghua Minzu*, which will be discussed separately later, when *minzu* was used equivalently to *Zhonghua Minzu*, it immediately became a synonym for "China" or "Chinese people". This conversion of meaning was, of course, achieved by the political connotations embedded in the concept of *Zhonghua Minzu*. For example:

No matter how brutal the people who set the fire were, burning down the Old Summer Palace did not burn the bones of *Zhonghua Minzu*! The wealth could be looted but the pride of Chinese people could never be looted. As long as the bones and pride exist, we will not fall down and we will still be able to create: our *minzu* is one rich in creativity in its nature! (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 10, p. 60)

The parallel structure of the first two sentences made it clear that *Zhonghua Minzu*, which was also "our *minzu*", meant to be the same thing as the Chinese people. The following excerpt from a story about Mao Zedong in one of the BNUP version MEL/S textbooks also illustrated this equivalency:

...The whole book was of stories about great men in modern western history who fought for the independence and prosperity of their countries. While Mao Zedong was reading, he was also thinking. In addition to admiring their historic contributions, he also hoped that China would have its own figures to save the *minzu* from peril. He thus circled on

the book the names of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Napoleon, and Peter the Great. (BNUP, MEL/S, vol. 10, p. 69)

In this example, the word “*minzu*” could have been replaced by “*Zhonghua Minzu*”, which could have been further replaced by China, as suggested by the context. This is another example that suggested the equal status and somehow interchangeable nature of the words “*minzu*” and “country”. However, it would be problematic to think of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln as fighting for a “*minzu*” as this term was understood in the Chinese context despite the fact that the expression “American *Minzu*” does exist in Chinese language, which will be the focus of the next two sections where *minzu* being used outside the Chinese context being discussed.

Another term that is related to *minzu* being used to mean *Zhonghua Minzu* is the Chinese term “*minzu hero*”. Among the numerous individuals—both of Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu*—who appeared in these textbooks, two and only two of them had the privilege to be granted the designation of “*minzu hero*” and both of them appeared in all three versions of the textbooks. One of them was Ma Benzhai, a Hui military guerilla leader fighting against the Japan army during World War II and the other one was Zheng Chenggong, a Han Chinese general in the Ming Dynasty who took over Taiwan from the Dutch colonizers and ruled instead. Both of these individuals were military leaders who were fighting against a foreign, invading colonial force from outside the “current territory of China” (Fei, 1986). Therefore, the *minzu* used in “*minzu hero*” meant neither Han Chinese nor *shaoshu minzu*, but *Zhonghua Minzu*. It thus confirmed the observation of *Zhonghua Minzu* as the cultural alias for China. In other words, Ma Benzhai was not a hero of the Hui People, nor was Zheng Chenggong a hero of the Han Chinese.

Instead, they are heroes of China and their title of “*minzu* hero” was in fact independent of their specific *minzu*. Therefore, “*minzu* hero” as an identifier suggests a sense of nationalism—nation in the sense of country not nationality, which was suggested by the foreign enemies, and patriotism. Of course, these two examples are not absolutely sufficient to conclude that fighting against a foreign enemy is a sufficient condition for someone to be called a “*minzu* hero”. It did, however, seem to be a necessary condition in the materials analyzed in this study given they were the only two such cases in all 74 textbooks.

***Minzu as “non-Chinese people”.*** There also were cases in the textbooks analyzed in this study where *minzu* was used outside the Chinese context. When *minzu* was used in this way, it could be viewed as a categorical term similar to terms like “race” “ethnicity” or “groups of people”. However, the semantic boundary was clear because it referred only to people living outside the territory of China. For example:

Noodles is one of the favorite food of Chinese people...The noodles invented by the working people in ancient China were taken abroad from early on. Today, many *minzu* in the world like to eat noodles and have created noodles with their own distinct features (BNUP, MEL/S, vol. 10, p. 28)

In this example, the word “*minzu*” could be replaced by “groups of people” or simply “people”. This is close to the first meaning of *minzu* discussed above, referring to all ethnic groups in China. However, they are different in the sense that in the latter case the boundary of *minzu* is clearly fixed, which is the 56 *minzu* in China. When *minzu* is used outside the Chinese context, it also resembled the meaning of the English word “ethnicity”. For example:

In the opening ceremony of the Sydney Olympic Games in 2000, when athletes from North Korea and South Korea entered the stadium together wearing the same *minzu* clothes while singing Arirang, the audience immediately burst into long cheers. People were cheering for peace and pride in the charm of the Olympic Games (BNUP, MEL/S, vol. 12, p. 30)

In this example, “*minzu* clothes” meant Hanbok worn by the ethnic Koreans. As a matter of fact, when *minzu* is used as an adjective, as in the case of “*minzu* clothes”, in addition to denoting the uniqueness of the object to the *minzu* of interest, it often also suggests a sense of “traditionality” as opposed to modernity. For example, although Hanbok were indeed *minzu* clothes as they were unique to the ethnic Koreans, or the Korean *minzu*, they were also “traditional” in contrast to Western-style sportswear. In these two examples, the use of *minzu* is relatively unambiguous and close to the ways this term is used within the Chinese context. Other examples, however, are more complicated and problematic. A case in point is a quote of Hu Jintao, the former President of China, included in a textbook section introducing Egypt. Hu is quoted saying: “The Egyptian *minzu* is a great *minzu* and makes historic contributions to world civilization...” (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 11, p. 71). Egyptians are anything but a cohesive *minzu* even according to the very essentializing definition used in China. Saying that the Egyptians are a *minzu* is similar to claiming that all Americans belong to one *minzu*. Below is a similar example:

All *minzu* in the world have religions and legends, but not every one of them has a philosophy. Among the ancient civilizations, only China, India, and Greece created relatively systematic philosophies. In addition, the philosophy of the three *minzu* all appeared in a relatively similar historical period (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 11, p.77).

Clearly, in this quote, China, India, and Greece each are presented as one cohesive *minzu*. However, just about 16 pages earlier in the same book, the following statement was made that: “India is one of the most populous countries in the world and has more than one billion population. *India has numerous minzu* and has a strong religious atmosphere. In addition, India is also a country full of magical customs” (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 11, p.61, emphasis added). Here, the author correctly stated that India as a country has a variety of *minzu* (ethnic groups) instead of being a *minzu* itself. Nevertheless, these two examples make clear the ambivalent use of the term *minzu* in the textbooks. This example and the expression of “Egyptian *minzu*” also indicated the tendency in Chinese language to use the format of “country name + *minzu*” to refer to the dominant ethnic group of that country or the country itself. For the latter case, when *minzu* was used in this way, it was often accompanied by the term “country” and formed the expression “country and *minzu*”. That I insist using “*Zhonghua Minzu*” instead of “Chinese *minzu*” in this dissertation is partly due to the reasons “*Zhonghua Minzu*” being used in Chinese language as a collective concept for all *minzu* in China—as opposed to Han Chinese—moreover, neither “China *minzu*” nor “Chinese *minzu*” exists in the Chinese language.

***Minzu as “groups both in and outside China”.*** Similarly, in some cases, the term *minzu* was simply used to designate a “group of people” whose national or territorial belonging was not explicitly delineated. For instance:

From the examples of Spring Festival and Christmas, we can see that people in different countries and of different *minzu* celebrate different festivals and have different customs during these festivals. However, they both share the good wishes of people. (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 11, p. 104)

Almost all minzu have a shared principle: Never impose on others what you would not chose for yourself. That means, you should treat other people the same ways you want to be treated by them. It is called the “Golden Rule” (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 5, p. 13)

In these cases, *minzu* was apparently used as a universal category that transcended national boundaries. Thus, it can be applied to people living both in and outside China.

An example in the CL textbooks also suggested the problematic use of the word “*minzu*” in the Chinese context. In a poem entitled “We love you, China”, the ending stanzas said: “You are among the strong ones of the minzu of the world, we love you, China!” Apparently “*minzu*” here was analogous to “nation-state” or “country”. This was close to the meaning of “*minzu*” as “*Zhonghua Minzu*”, which was understood as the embodiment of China.

**Complicated cases.** The semantic boundaries of *minzu* as they were used in the textbooks analyzed in this study were further complicated when *minzu* simultaneously meant more than one thing in the narratives. This was illustrated by the following quote from one of the MEL/S textbooks:

A foreign friend who teaches in a Chinese university says: I like Chinese culture a lot. I am a frequent visitor of folk culture villages. I learn a lot of fun cultures of shaoshu minzu in China by watching the minzu performance there. For us foreigners, the more characteristics about Zhonghua Minzu, the more we are interested. (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 10, p. 90)

This is a good example of how the different meanings and intents of the word “*minzu*” have been applied. It seemed that the “*minzu*” mentioned was meant to be “*shaoshu minzu*” used in this

example yet the last sentence also suggested that the “*minzu* performance” represented the distinct cultural characteristics of *Zhonghua Minzu*. This impression that the *shaoshu minzu* preserved the essence of the culture and tradition of China is shared by many Han Chinese (Gladney, 1994) who do not consider themselves culturally distinct.

**Zhonghua Minzu.** I separated *minzu*, *shaoshu minzu*, and *Zhonghua Minzu*, albeit their share of the word root “*minzu*” or “*zu*” because each of them has distinct—yet ambiguous and overlapping—meanings and because the complicated use of each term in the textbooks. *Zhonghua Minzu*, for example, has been used in the political discourse in China as the overarching identity supposedly shared by people from all *minzu* in China. This usage reflects Fei’s (1986) idea of “unity out of diversity”. This idea was stated in one textbooks as: “Our country is one with a variety of *minzu* and each *minzu* has its own unique customs. They are the beautiful flowers in the trove of *Zhonghua Minzu*” (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 8, p. 35). Statements like this indicated that, ideologically and metaphorically, *Zhonghua Minzu* is seen as a collective consisting of the variety of *minzu* in China, which is the third meaning of *minzu* discussed above. Also noticed in this example is that “*minzu*” here fell under the first meaning as each *minzu* in China.

However, in many other instances in the textbooks, *Zhonghua Minzu* was used as if it were itself a *minzu* developed out of the 56 *minzu* in China. This was illustrated in statements like: “The founding of the People’s Republic of China was the beginning of the great rejuvenation of *Zhonghua Minzu*” (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 10, p. 119) “In addition to the Four Great Inventions, our ancestors had a series of creations and inventions that as well contributed to the advancement of civilization of human beings and showed the wisdom of *Zhonghua Minzu*”

(JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 90) and “In A.D. 105, Cai Lun of the East Han Dynasty made revolutionary innovations on early forms of paper and invented paper that were relatively high in quality and low in cost. The invention of papermaking was an outstanding contribution of Zhonghua Minzu to world civilization” (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 7, p. 71). In all of these examples, “*Zhonghua Minzu*” could be replaced with “Chinese people” as a unified *minzu*.

I have mentioned in Chapter III that the concept of *Zhonghua Minzu* was in essence a political idea that was developed in order to unite all ethnic groups, or at least, the major ethnic groups, in China. The political dimension of the term *Zhonghua Minzu* was also reflected in the fact that it was often used as a synonym for China in the textbooks. The three excerpts below illustrate this tendency:

Culture is the characteristic that distinguishes one *minzu* from another. In speaking of Spain, you might think of bullfighter; when mentioning Brazil, you might think of soccer. What would you think when speaking to others about our China? Let us first have some basic understanding of the culture of Zhonghua Minzu. (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 10, p. 61)

Everyone has his or her past, present, and future. So does a country. People always say “forgetting the past means betraying”. We cannot forget the past, especially the humiliation Zhonghua Minzu has suffered, the fight of our ancestors in resisting invasion, and those people with lofty ideals who explored and struggled for the prosperity of the motherland (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 11, p. 29)

Sun Yat-sen devoted his entire life to the great cause of the independence, liberation, and prosperity of Zhonghua Minzu and he symbolized the wake and political progress of the

minzu. Overseas Chinese build statues of Sun Yat-sen in Chinatowns to show admiration to the ancestors and their sincere attention and expectation of the minzu rejuvenation (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 93)

In all three excerpts, the term “*Zhonghua Minzu*” could be replaced by “China” without changing the meaning. The first two excerpts, especially, used the terms “China” and “*Zhonghua Minzu*” interchangeably in the texts. This use of *Zhonghua Minzu* as a synonym for Chinese people and China is similar to the earlier discussion about “Egyptian *minzu*” about saying the India as a *minzu*.

Many of the usage of *Zhonghua Minzu* in the textbooks examined in this study were in the contexts of the Anti-Japanese War in the 1930s and 1940s, as indicated in examples above when *minzu* was used as an abbreviation of *Zhonghua Minzu*. Two examples from the CL textbooks are provided here:

The day after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, CPC appealed to the whole country: “Beijing and Tianjin are in danger! North China is in danger! *Zhonghua Minzu* is in danger!” and asked the army and citizens to unite to get the Japanese invaders out of China (JEPH, CL, vol. 12, p. 27)

He [General Nie] even wrote a personal letter to Japanese soldiers, saying: “The Chinese people would never treat Japanese soldiers and people as enemies...Our Eighth Route Army—holding the spirit of internationalism—are gracious to justice and will fight for the survival of *Zhonghua Minzu* and the lasting peace of human beings to the end” (JEPH, CL, vol. 12, p. 35)

However, Japan was not the only created enemy when *Zhonghua Minzu* was used in this context as the following statement attested:

When Five-star Red Flag rose in the sky of Hong Kong, when the entire country was elated for the successful bid of the 2008 Olympic Games, we would not forget the nightmare in modern Chinese history that lasted more than a hundred years. That was a period when *Zhonghua Minzu* suffered all kinds of humiliation. That was also a history of Chinese people fighting bravely (PEP, CL, vol.9, p. 114)

The narratives that followed started with the Siege of the International Legations, or the Eight-Country Alliance as called in China, that occurred in 1900. The prompt that followed immediately after the quote above was “We need to feel with heart the minzu spirit and the spirit of patriotism filled between the lines when reading this set of articles” (PEP, CL, vol.9, p. 114). Apparently, the patriotism of the students was expected to be mobilized by feeling this sense of humiliation. Here is another example from a MES textbook: “In retrospect, *Zhonghua Minzu* has suffered many humiliations. Our land was either forcedly rented by foreign powers or usurped by them” (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 11, p. 30). This discourse of humiliation was a major theme of the texts where *Zhonghua Minzu* appeared. The humiliation theme was most obvious when *Zhonghua Minzu* was used as a synonym for China, which was then contrasted with foreign invading forces, as shown above.

In addition to humiliation, another theme that was frequently found in the construction of *Zhonghua Minzu* identity in the textbooks was the splendid civilization of *Zhonghua Minzu* since ancient times. Civilization is of special importance in how culture is understood historically in China, especially for people who lived in the so-called “China proper” and their understanding of

the relationships with a variety of ethnic groups who were in the periphery of China proper, or the Central Kingdom, both geographically and culturally (Harrell, 1995). Members of the ethnic minority groups or even barbarian groups could be considered Chinese or as “having culture” once they were civilized by Chinese culture. Examples of the discourse of the superb civilization of *Zhonghua Minzu* found in the textbooks included:

The Yangtze River and Yellow River...have nurtured generations of the descendants of Zhonghua Minzu who are diligent, wise, and brave. They are the Mother Rivers of Zhonghua Minzu. The drainage basins of the Yangtze River and Yellow River are the cradle of Zhonghua Minzu and important origins of civilization in the world. (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 82)

Our Zhonghua Minzu have been working and living in this land since ancient times, have created splendid civilization with our wisdom and hands and formed our own unique customs and cultures (JEPH, MEL/S, vol. 8, p. 35).

In these examples, *Zhonghua Minzu* was described as one with a long history of fine civilization, which was supposed to arouse students’ sense of pride in the country, which is a prominent feature of the curriculum standards for all three subjects.

A very important aspect of *Zhonghua Minzu* civilization that was featured in the textbooks was scientific and technological achievement. Ancient examples included papermaking, compass, gunpowder, and typography, i.e., the so-called Four Great Inventions, as well as traditional Chinese medicine. Contemporary examples of such included the development of hybrid rice by Yuan Longping, an agricultural scientist who is known as the Father of Hybrid

Rice, and Shenzhou 5, China's first human spaceflight mission. Related excerpts from the CL textbooks declared:

Yuan Longping was awarded eight major international awards, included the Top Invention Award, World Intellectual Property Organization Invention Award, and UNESCO Science Prize. This is the glory of Yuan Longping. This is the pride of Zhonghua Minzu. Yuan Longping is hailed "Contemporary Divine Farmer" (BNUP, CL, vol. 12, p. 79)

...This was the first human spaceflight launched by our country, indicating the historic, significant breakthrough of China's human spaceflight mission, thus made China the third country in the world that is able to independently send humans into space. The successful launch of Shenzhou 5 space shuttle achieved the dream of exploring the space of Zhonghua Minzu for thousands of years and have made our country's aerospace industry entered a new stage (BNUP, CL, vol. 8, p. 71).

In both examples, the sense of pride in the country as a result of the scientific advancement was attached to *Zhonghua Minzu* identity.

The two discourses of humiliation and civilization might seem contradictory, especially in textbook content such as that about the Terracotta Warriors and Horses, a collection of terracotta sculptures buried with the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty. It said:

The Terracotta Warriors and Horses vividly imitated the arrangement of the army and reflected the great momentum of the Qin army that was equipped with millions of soldiers and thousands of chariots. They vividly showed the powerful force and heroic

spirit of *Zhonghua Minzu* and have been the only one of such in the history of sculpture in the world of all times (JEPH, CL, vol. 10, p. 80)

In the excerpts above, a sense of pride was tied to the military power of the Qin Dynasty, which would be a sharp contrast to the humiliation China experienced that was primarily due to its weak military power and disadvantage in the weaponry industry. Yes, in many cases, these two discourses were entwined in the content of the textbooks, such as the following:

With the iron heels of trampling powers, numerous famous gardens and historical sites in China instantly turned into ruins. Tens of thousands of precious antiques were plundered out of the country. This was not only a humiliation of *Zhonghua Minzu* but also an unprecedented catastrophe in the history of human civilization. (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 11, p. 32)

In this statement, the sense of humiliation increased as the superb cultural achievements of *Zhonghua Minzu* were destroyed by foreign invaders and the regret at the ruin of the great cultural accomplishment. A sense of patriotism was also reinforced by the humiliation brought by the invading forces. In other words, the humiliation discourse was helpful in fostering a sense of pride and patriotism stimulated by a shared humiliating history and memory of the past. Both discourses thus contributed to nurturing and solidifying the *Zhonghua Minzu* identity.

Three objects that were most frequently associated with the concept of “*Zhonghua Minzu*” in the textbooks were the Great Wall, Yangtze River, and Yellow River. For example:

The Yellow River is the second longest river in China, at the length of 5500 kilometers. The Yellow River basin used to have one of the most advantageous natural conditions in

China in terms of climate, vegetation, and soil and has been the oldest farming area of our country. The Yellow River basin is world known as one of the birthplaces of ancient civilization and is the cradle of *Zhonghua Minzu*. (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 55)

Ironically, the Yangtze River and Yellow River and the farming benefited from them constitute the basis of Han Chinese civilization so distinct from that of many *shaoshu minzu* who primarily relied on nomad and gathering as the main ways of production or those who historically lived outside these areas. Thus, the symbols used to solidify a sense of shared identity were in fact historically associated with Han Chinese' distinction with or, as in the case of the Great Wall, exclusion of *shaoshu minzu*.

Statements like “The Great Wall is a symbol of *Zhonghua Minzu*. It is the pride of the Chinese people” (BNUP, CL, vol.5, p. 31) also appeared several times in the textbooks examined. However, the Great Wall was built as fortifications to protect the Chinese states in history against the invasions of nomadic groups in the North, many of whom are now seen as ancestors of contemporary *shaoshu minzu*. The purpose of the Great Wall was thus to exclude these “barbarian” groups from entering the “civilized” regions. Therefore, although the term *Zhonghua Minzu* was meant to be constructed as an inclusive category and identity, the way it was used in the textbooks analyzed in this study suggested exactly the exact opposite.

The problematic nature of the use of the term “*minzu*” was also evident in an article introducing the Han Chinese characters. It began with the statement: “Why did *Zhonghua Minzu* become a *minzu* with a tradition of poetry? It is because of these beautiful and charming characters.” (PEP, CL, vol. 9, p. 89). Because the connotation of *Zhonghua Minzu* is quite clear and unambiguous, this sentence in fact devalued the language of all other *minzu* in China in

terms of their contributions to Chinese poetry, which is true looking historically since even *shaoshu minzu* poets in history would not be recognized and known in the intellectual community if they did not write in the language of Han Chinese despite the fact that an epic written in *shaoshu minzu* language, King Gesar of Tibetans, was mentioned in one PEP MEL/S textbook. However, this suggestion was in opposition with the cultural contributions of the *shaoshu minzu* that were intentionally presented in the textbooks.

Through the discussion above, it is not difficult to conclude that civilization is at the center of the Chinese understanding of *minzu* and distinctions made about people from different *minzu*. The civilization and cultural and scientific achievements of ancient and contemporary China as well as the sense of humiliation due to the damage of such a civilization by foreign forces are also closely associated with the *Zhonghua Minzu* identity.

### **Contributions and Additive Approaches in Depicting Shaoshu Minzu**

Adopting Banks's (2012a) four-approach paradigm for multiculturalizing curriculum, all the content related to *shaoshu minzu* in China found in the textbooks was examined in terms of which levels of content integration they had reached. It is not difficult to conclude from data presented in Chapters V and VI that most of the content about the *shaoshu minzu* in these textbooks used the contributions and additive approaches in which *shaoshu minzu* holidays and heroes and fragmented information about *shaoshu minzu* people and their cultures were incorporated into the textbooks without changing any structures and assumptions of the curriculum. The disproportionate focus on selected *shaoshu minzu* who possess the most distinguishable features also embodied the single-group studies approach identified by Grant and

Sleeter (2012), by which they meant simply adding superficial knowledge of certain ethnic groups to the curriculum.

**Contributions of *shaoshu minzu*.** The contribution approach is the first and lowest level of multiculturalizing curriculum in Banks' (2012a) framework. Almost all the *shaoshu minzu* individuals who appeared in the textbooks were framed as having contributed in different ways to the unity and prosperity of China and the cultures of *Zhonghua Minzu*. The patriotic deeds of the *shaoshu minzu* were framed as one of the most important contributions of these groups. However, even framing the patriotism of the *shaoshu minzu* as a contribution revealed the deep-rooted suspicions of the Han Chinese towards the *shaoshu minzu* so that being loyal to the party-state is viewed as a merit that worth praising. In other words, the *shaoshu minzu* people are expected to be docile and compliant to the *Zhonghua Minzu* identity and the PRC as its embodiment.

The contributions of the *shaoshu minzu* in other aspects were also highlighted in the textbooks examined in this study, especially in the MEL/S and MSE textbooks. For example, the achievement of the *shaoshu minzu* in arts and science and the *shaoshu minzu* clothes and cuisine were often framed as a contribution to Chinese civilization or *Zhonghua Minzu* as shown in Chapters V and VI. However, most of the contributions of *shaoshu minzu* that were featured in the textbooks were either foods, clothes, architecture, or historical achievements in science and technology while few contemporary contributions in science and technology were mentioned. Since technological development was frequently associated with the rising status of China and the pride of *Zhonghua Minzu* under the leadership of the CPC, such a representation might leave students with the idea that the contribution of *shaoshu minzu* to Chinese culture is trivial.

For both types of contributions—contributions of being loyal to the country and contributions to Chinese civilization, the entity to which the *shaoshu minzu* are contributing is China or *Zhonghua Minzu* and it is fair to say that their contributions are explicitly recognized in the textbooks. However, the *shaoshu minzu* identity of these individuals was minimized by a *shaoshu minzu* label. When *shaoshu minzu* individuals were only appreciated for contributing to mainstream Chinese (sometimes framed as *Zhonghua Minzu*) culture and society, their own cultural significance was de-emphasized or ignored. To illustrate, a statement in volume 5 of the PEP version MEL/S textbooks stated that: “the flute we are playing today is developed from a Qiang instrument, the Qiang Flute” (p. 85). Qiang is a *shaoshu minzu* primarily living in Sichuan province of China. Here, “we” clearly referred to students who used the textbooks, whose *minzu* might vary but would be primarily Han Chinese. It strongly suggested that the Qiang flute was worth mentioning only as a prototype of the “normal”—indicated by the omission of adjective or *minzu* marker—flute. By highlighting the contribution discourse, the cultural significance and artistic value of Qiang flute was trivialized and its own virtue as a musical instrument was essentialized as merely contributing to the normed “Chinese” culture. This limited frame of reference was also found in the content about other aspects of *shaoshu minzu* cultures. This discourse of contribution risked of leaving the students with the impression that the legitimacy of the presence of *shaoshu minzu* is contingent on them being patriotic and making contributions.

**The additive approach.** The overrepresentation of superficial coverage of stereotypical aspects of the *shaoshu minzu* represents what Banks (2012a) calls the additive approach. This inclusion of stereotypical information in textbooks is consistent with findings in prior research on the representation of *shaoshu minzu* groups in China and of minority groups in other countries. Applying Fraser’s (1996) framework of recognition and redistribution, this approach

at most represents a limited recognition and a lack of redistribution of economic and cultural resources, nor an acknowledgement of the unequal power relationships that are reinforced and reproduced in the process of knowledge construction (Apple, 2004; Banks, 2009).

The additive approach towards *shaoshu minzu*-related content isolated *shaoshu minzu* and their cultures in these textbooks by placing *shaoshu minzu*-related content in selected units or lessons that were designated for teaching about *shaoshu minzu*. As a result, students only learn about *shaoshu minzu* in those “special” lessons while *shaoshu minzu* content is virtually missing in other parts of the book or in other books. As a result, the cultures of *shaoshu minzu* were not viewed as complete and organic wholes, but only as additions to the “core” Han Chinese culture. This additive approach reflects a form of conservative multiculturalism (McLaren, 1995) in which diversity is included but marginalized. Therefore, the textbooks were likely to be perceived by students as having two distinct parts and purposes: the “normal” or “core” content (of Han) and content about *shaoshu minzu*.

Another problem of the additive approach is that materials presented in these sections of the textbooks were selected and interpreted from the perspectives of the dominant Han Chinese. Unequal power relations between Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu* and inequalities experienced by *shaoshu minzu* people were not addressed. Instead, when the additive approach was combined with the understanding that the Han Chinese as the majority *minzu* in China and are more advanced in terms of socioeconomic and cultural development, this serves to support the dominance of the Han perspectives and the marginalization of the *shaoshu minzu* content in the textbooks, as *shaoshu minzu* are considered as culturally peripheral if not inferior to the Han Chinese.

Few examples were found in these textbooks that went beyond the contributions or additive approaches. Although these two approaches to delivery did acknowledge the contributions of significant individuals and cultural aspects of selected *shaoshu minzu*, students were not given the opportunities to learn about the complex nature of *shaoshu minzu* and the critical roles they played in Chinese society beyond a superficial level. Consequently, the addition of *shaoshu minzu* culture was tokenistic and presented to students as an exotic gallery of “*minzu* customs” yet made little connection to the lives of the students. Moreover, when *shaoshu minzu* content was presented from a contributions approach, any information that did not fit into the contributive paradigm—for example, *minzu* tensions and conflicts and the struggles of *shaoshu minzu* against the Han’s oppression—was excluded from the textbooks. This superficial and stereotypical approach to *shaoshu minzu* content was even present in the MSE textbooks, which were supposed to include a more comprehensive knowledge about *shaoshu minzu* in China.

### ***Shaoshu minzu* as patriotic citizens**

Curriculum scholars have pointed out that curriculum is ideological and that schooling often predisposes students to accept the mainstream ideologies and power relations implicit in the curriculum (Anyon, 1979; Apple, 2004). This is also the case in China where textbooks and other educational materials are regarded by the government as important propaganda tools for promoting ideologies of the party-state. One of the ideological tasks of China’s state-controlled education is to cultivate students’ identification with socialist China under the leadership of the CPC (Wan, 2004). Cultivating and strengthening students’ sense of patriotism are essential to Chinese education, including the three examined subjects as indicated in their respective curriculum standards. For example, the curriculum standard of MES stipulates that the content of

the curriculum should focus on patriotism, collectivism, socialist education, history and culture, conditions of the country, *Zhonghua minzu* identity and pride, and *minzu* solidarity among others (Ministry of Education, 2011b). Maintaining national unity and strengthening students' sense of *minzu* pride are also integral to the MSE, which is understood as a part of patriotic education (Ministry of Education, 2008). These emphases are particularly attractive to the CPC and PRC when it comes to issues related to *shaoshu minzu* because patriotism means “loving the country” and it has the capability to bind people from all *minzu* together and strengthen the anti-foreign mentality. As a result, it was not surprising that the *Zhonghua Minzu* identity was heavily emphasized in the textbooks as the cultural embodiment of China and Chinese values and experiences.

Zhao (1998) argued that a state-led patriotic education campaign had been aggressively promoted by the Chinese government since the early 1990s as a response to the Tiananmen incident in 1989. The goal of this patriotic education campaign is to replace the unpopular—among average people—communism with patriotism in order to reclaim and reinforce the legitimacy of the party-state by positioning the CPC as the embodiment of China and *Zhonghua Minzu* (Zhao, 1998). Zhao (2004) contended that the state-led patriotic education included four components: “China’s unique national condition” “linking between the communist state and China’s noncommunist past” “the communist state as the defender of China’s national interests” and “national unity as the theme against ethnic nationalism” (p. 223-234). The patriotic image of *shaoshu minzu* found in the textbooks explicitly indicated the last point and implied the other three.

Many of the *shaoshu minzu* individuals in the textbooks were framed as patriotic citizens of China, either historically or contemporarily. For example, the Hui military guerilla leader Ma

Benzhai and his patriotic deeds during the Anti-Japanese War/ World War II was featured in all three versions of the MEL/S textbooks and the MSE textbook. His mother's patriotic deeds were also given extensive coverage in one of the JEPH MEL/S textbooks. Other patriotic *shaoshu minzu* figures included the Prairie Heroic Little Sisters and Li Siguang. Connecting patriotism to *Zhonghua Minzu* and its members also was present in other places of the MEL/S textbooks. For example:

People from each minzu collectively created the Chinese civilization. In addition, when the country was in crisis and minzu was in danger, all minzu united together to resist the foreign invasion and composed numerous moving heroic poems. After the founding of the new China, people from all minzu energetically devoted themselves to the development of the motherland and made contributions in different arenas (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 86).

The first, third, and fourth mentions of “minzu” in this excerpt were all used in the first meaning of *minzu* discussed earlier in this chapter, while the second one meant the *Zhonghua Minzu*. This was another case where the multiple meanings of *minzu* were enacted simultaneously in the same narrative. Similar to the contributions approach, *shaoshu minzu* were of value only as members of the “imagined community” (Anderson, 1991) of *Zhonghua Minzu*. In other words, although diverse aspects of the lives and cultures of *shaoshu minzu* were introduced in the textbooks, they were always presented under the single master narrative of *Zhonghua Minzu*, of which the *shaoshu minzu* were claimed to be integral members under the “diversity and unity in the configuration of the *Zhonghua Minzu*” discourse. These multiple and differentiated depictions of *shaoshu minzu* found in the textbooks analyzed complicate Baranovitch's (2010) conclusion that

high school history textbooks tend to emphasize *shaoshu minzu*'s belonging to the constructed *Zhonghua Minzu* community.

Although patriotism was also a prominent theme in the CL textbooks, it was less likely to be directly associated with any particular *shaoshu minzu*. Still, *shaoshu minzu* were frequently framed as an indispensable and integral part of China when a sense of pride of the country was called for in the CL textbooks. For example, the following excerpts were selected from a poem in one of the JEPH CL textbooks entitled *We love you, China*:

We love you—  
The water-like moonlight in front of the Dai bamboo house  
The glorious Potala Palace on the rim of the world  
The grapes from Turpan and melons from Hami  
The sheep herds on the prairie and camels on the desert.  
.....  
We are proud, we are honored,  
We struggle, we explore,  
You are among the strong ones in the minzu of the world  
We love you, China!

The bamboo house of the Dai, the Potala Palace (of the Tibetans), and the fruit (that Xinjiang Uyghur is famous for) all represented in this poem the objects for which the Chinese people should be proud of their country. These recognizable *shaoshu minzu* objects also were apparently used to represent all *shaoshu minzu* groups in China, who are strategically highlighted in the poem as indispensable members of China. A song called *Loving Our China* was featured 5 times in different versions of the textbooks for all three subjects. The song was written for the Fourth

National Shaoshu Minzu Games and “reflected the emotion of ‘loving our China’ shared by people from all minzu in the country” (MSE, vol.1, p. 2). In other words, patriotism was suggested as a civic duty of political loyalty among all PRC citizens regardless of their *minzu*.

Although patriotism was not explicitly mentioned in the article *Four Plates of Gift*, the fact that Zheng Chenggong was one of only two individuals who were given the title “minzu hero” in all examined textbooks made the patriotic connotation of this article very clear because “*minzu*” here meant *Zhonghua Minzu*. At the end of the article, the patriotism of the “Gaoshan people” was also implied by the statement that: “[T]he story of ‘four plates of gifts’ was spread in every village in Taiwan. Everyone vied to work for Zheng’s troops and contributed to expelling the Dutch invaders and recapturing Taiwan” (BNUP, CL, vol. 5, p. 30). The last sentence is very important because patriotism as well as a sense of nationhood in the Chinese context is primarily originated from the humiliation that resulted from foreign invasions as discussed in Chapters V and VI.

### ***Minzu Solidarity***

In addition to picturing *shaoshu minzu* as patriotic citizens and the *Zhonghua Minzu* ideology, *minzu* solidarity was another important theme of the content about *shaoshu minzu* in the examined textbooks. I have mentioned in Chapter III that many of the *shaoshu minzu* in China are perceived as being “backward” –both socioeconomically and culturally. This understanding of *shaoshu minzu* life and culture as “primitive” was somehow “confirmed” and reinforced when almost all the *shaoshu minzu* individuals shown in the visuals in the textbooks were wearing traditional clothes and the majority of them were depicted in non-urban environments. Consequently, one of the most important themes found in depictions of *shaoshu minzu* in the examined textbooks was solidarity between them and Han Chinese, especially as

expressed through the benevolence of the Han Chinese. The story below was about how a Han Chinese doctor provided services to *shaoshu minzu* people:

Under the beautiful Tian Mountain, Han doctor Wu Dengyu devotes himself to improving medical care in minzu areas. Over the past 30 years, Dr. Wu has donated blood more than 30 times, accounting for over 7000 ml. He once removed 13 pieces of his own skin and transplanted them to a Kazakh boy who suffered from severe burns (PEP, MEL/S, vol.9, p. 89).

This story was part of a section featuring the friendly contact between a variety of *minzu* and *minzu* solidarity and doctor Wu, along with Kong Fansen, was presented as an exemplar of Han Chinese people caring for *shaoshu minzu* compatriots. In addition to highlighting the medical aid provided by doctor Wu, this narrative vividly described how Dr. Wu sacrificed himself—primarily literally but also metaphorically as he chose to stay in a place with less desirable working and living conditions—to promote the interests of the Kazakh people he served. A similar message of sacrifice was conveyed by Kong Fansen as discussed in Chapter V. This sacrifice discourse, of course, has to be understood in combination with the patriotism discourse, suggesting that individuals are prepared to sacrifice their own interests for those of the country, which should not be surprising in state-sponsored citizenship education.

A story about Songtsan Gampo, the founder and king of the Tibetan Empire (Tubo) between 629 to 649 CE, and his wife, Princess Wencheng of the Tang Dynasty, was given a page before the story of Dr. Wu as an ancient example of *minzu* solidarity:

Princess Wencheng brought grain seeds and vegetable seeds from the interior and taught Tibetan people farming and other techniques, such as flour-milling and vintage. The barley grown by the Tibetans is a variant of wheat. Princess Wencheng also introduced

into Tibet the carriage, horse, mule, and camel, production technologies, and medical books. All these advanced the social progress of Tubo (PEP, MEL/S, vol. 9, p. 88).

In addition to emphasizing the assistance provided by the Han Chinese that helped the social development of Tibet, this narrative also implied a Han-centric orientation as it suggested the inferior civilization of the Tibetans in contrast to the superiority of the Han culture—despite the fact that Tibetans started cereal farming at least 4000 years ago. This narrative thus legitimizes the categorizing “backward” connotation associated with *shaoshu minzu*. The missing of the point of view of Tibetans was also evident from the use of the word “interior”, which in the text referred to the area inhabited by the Han Chinese. Historically, Han Chinese used to call the place in which they lived “Central Kingdom” and consequently labeled other groups geographically from this vantage point. Yet, readers of these textbooks were told nothing about how the Tibetan people perceived their location relative to the Han Chinese. Also missing from the text are the experiences and interpretations of Tibetans of this important encounter, which are likely to be different, and even contradictory, from those of the regime. Because the histories of the Han and *shaoshu minzu* are tightly interconnected in many *minzu* regions, it is impossible for Han students to fully understand the interactions and relationships between Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu*, such as Tibetans, from a single perspective of the Han Chinese. Yes, this tendency is consistent with contribution and additive approaches to teaching content about minority groups.

*Minzu* solidarity was also the theme of *Prairie*, which was explicitly mentioned by the author in the texts. Another example of the *minzu* solidarity was a story about the Qinghai-Tibet Railway in the BNUP CL textbook. It read, in part:

The building of the Qinghai-Tibet Railway connects Tibet and Qinghai with the interior and has strategic significance. This railroad completely solved the problems of entering and coming out of Tibet and will powerfully improve the contact and friendship between the Tibetan people and people from other minzu and the economic prosperity and social development of Tibet. Therefore, this railroad is also credited by people from all minzu as a road of solidarity, development, and happiness (BNUP, CL, vol.8, p. 83).

In the article *Our Minzu Elementary School*, the discourses of patriotism and solidarity was intertwined:

In the morning, from the hills came a lot of elementary school students. Some were Dai, Jingpo, Achang and De'ang, and Han. They wore different clothes and spoke different languages but all became friends at schools. The colorful minzu clothes decorated the school even more beautifully. The students said hello to the little birds singing on the campus, greeted the dear teachers, and saluted the national flag flying in the sky (PEP, CL, vol.5, p. 2).

In addition to depicting a harmonious picture of students from different *minzu* studying in the same school, saluting the national flag is a practice in many schools in China in the morning and is perceived as an integral part of patriotic education.

Curriculum scholars recommend the critical examination of the content about marginalized groups in textbooks. Without challenging the underlying assumptions of textbook writing and knowledge construction process, simply adding diversity content is most likely to be in accordance with mainstream criteria and presented from the perspectives of the economically, politically, and culturally dominant groups (Apple, 2004; Banks, 2012a; G. Gay, 2010). In the case of China, because the absolute majority and dominant status of Han Chinese, content about

*shaoshu minzu* in textbooks was often constructed by members of and from the regime's Han-centric viewpoint. This Han Chinese perspective was revealed by both the examined content and the *minzu* of the authors and editors of these textbooks, especially the MEL/S and CL textbooks where very few authors and editors were *shaoshu minzu*.

In order to portray China as a harmonious, multi-*minzu* country, the institutionalized discrimination experienced by many *shaoshu minzu* and their dissidents never made their way into the textbooks. Another significant missing element in the textbooks was the conflicts between members of Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu* that have occurred throughout the history of China (contemporary incidents include the Tibetan unrest in 2008, violent riots in Urumqi in 2009, and most recently the 2014 attack in Kunming). Baranovitch (2010) also found that conflicts between ethnic groups were downplayed in Chinese high school history textbooks. Consequently, when such conflicts arise, Han people would habitually turn to what they have learned at schools for references and thus attribute the causes of the conflicts to the violence and ungratefulness of the *shaoshu minzu*. The frustration shared by many Han people facing the increasingly frequent and fierce *minzu* conflicts is best shown by this quote: “why do they hate us so much after we have done so many good things to them?” (Bulag, 2012, p. 108). The textbooks examined in this study, however, provided few opportunities for Han students to know, let alone deliberate on, reasons that caused the unequal treatment of *shaoshu minzu* in China.

### ***Shaoshu minzu* and civilization**

The content related to *shaoshu minzu* in the textbooks examined created an intriguing and ambivalent image of the civilization of *shaoshu minzu*. On one hand, it was emphasized that members of the *shaoshu minzu* have made significant contributions to the civilization of

*Zhonghua Minzu*. On the other hand, the un-modern, “primitive” lifestyles of the *shaoshu minzu* were also often suggested in the narratives and visuals in the textbooks. For example, *shaoshu minzu* groups in the examined textbooks were frequently positioned in remote, rural areas—often grasslands and mountainous regions—engaged in “traditional” ways of life. In China, these places are typically associated with backwardness and poverty. These views of *shaoshu minzu* are consistent with and reproducing the imaginary of *shaoshu minzu* among the Han Chinese, who often view *shaoshu minzu* as “primitive” and “uncivilized” (Yi, 2007), as opposed to the supposedly modern ways of life of the Han Chinese. The lack of “modernity” of *shaoshu minzu* is often used to justify the need for assistance from the Han Chinese “big brothers” for the *shaoshu minzu*.

The primitiveness of the *shaoshu minzu* was also suggested by the fact that most of the *shaoshu minzu* individuals in the textbooks were depicted as wearing traditional *minzu* clothes. In contrast, the majority of the non-*shaoshu minzu* people in the sample were shown wearing Western-style clothes. Depicting *shaoshu minzu* individuals in traditional dress was problematic not because *shaoshu minzu* people do not wear them at all. This representational practice became problematic when the visuals suggested and reinforced the existing standardized assumptions that they were the standard dress worn by *shaoshu minzu* people. This essentialized image of *shaoshu minzu* also strengthened the constructed dichotomy between *shaoshu minzu* and Han Chinese because the latter was simply suggested as lacking such “unique” *minzu* features and consequently perceived as “normal”. Such a standardized misrepresentation became even more troublesome when the clothes were all described as “traditional”, which suggested a contrast with the modernity embodied by the Western-style clothes.

Because Chinese characters have such a privileged status in Chinese culture, they are also used as a symbol of one's literacy status. Whether or not a *minzu* has its own writing system is often considered a very important criterion of its social development. This is partly why the party-state helped many *shaoshu minzu* create their own writing systems during the *Minzu* Identification project in order to convey the ideology that each and all *minzu* are equal in China, thus each *minzu* deserves its own writing system. However, this practice of helping *shaoshu minzu* develop writing systems can also be viewed by students as evidence of *shaoshu minzu*'s lower level of civilization—though the connection between civilization and writing system might itself be a constructed one.

The overrepresentation of females found in visuals in different versions of textbooks for all three subjects is consistent with the findings by previous scholars that the body of *shaoshu minzu* women are used to represent the primitiveness and a lack of civilization of the *shaoshu minzu* groups (Gladney, 1994; Mann, 2011; Schein, 1997). However, in contrast to the general overrepresentation of *shaoshu minzu* females, almost all the real *shaoshu minzu* figures appeared in the textbooks were males. Such an unequal representation between *shaoshu minzu* males and females also was evident in narratives that meant to show *minzu* solidarity, such as this excerpt:

Since Emperor Taizong (reigned 626-649), emperors of the Tang Dynasty adopted the Peace Marriage policy that had been used since the Han Dynasty and frequently married princesses to shaoshu minzu leaders in order to eliminate estrangement between minzu and inject fresh minzu blood into the Tang Dynasty. This practice reflected the spirit of “The World is One Family”. There were many shaoshu minzu officials in the court and members from other minzu who stayed or were naturalized could maintain their own

minzu cultures. Therefore, many Han Chinese took shaoshu minzu women as wives and the friendly contact between minzu reached a climax (BNUP, MEL/S, vol. 10, p. 42)

Peace Marriage, or *Heqin*, was a policy that was practiced by many dynasties in ancient China as an appeasement strategy with powerful neighboring states ruled by non-Han Chinese. Princess Wencheng was one of the most famous *Heqin* princesses. Because of the Hua-Yi distinction (Harrell, 1995) that viewed non-Han Chinese states as uncivilized barbarians, the *Heqin* policy was practiced with a condescending attitude and in many cases the sent brides were not even real princesses but daughters of minor branches of the royal family. This perceived—from the perspectives of the Han Chinese— lower level of civilization of non-Han Chinese people also was suggested by the last sentence of the above quote that while *shaoshu minzu* females were marriageable to Han Chinese men the opposite was not the case.

The emphasis on contributions of *shaoshu minzu* and the selected, stereotypical *minzu* markers, such as clothes, festivals, and food as well as the construction of *shaoshu minzu* individuals as patriotic citizens who are maintaining harmonious, solidary relationships with the Han Chinese all contributed to the construction of a standardized image of *shaoshu minzu* in the textbooks that students are expected to accept. The roles of citizenship education in cultivating patriotic citizens were achieved through this practice of representing *shaoshu minzu* individuals as patriotic and compliant citizens and their cultures as integral to the collective Chinese culture and *Zhonghua Minzu*. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Han Chinese are shocked and challenged to understand when events such as the *qiegao* incident described in Chapter I happened, which did not fit into such as a standardized presentation of *shaoshu minzu* people as docile and unconditionally friendly.

## Summary

The results of an analysis of the depiction of *shaoshu minzu* in Chinese elementary curriculum standards and textbooks for three subjects showed that the cultures and lives of *shaoshu minzu* in China are essentialized in curriculum standards and textbooks into selected stereotypical aspects. These curricular materials also failed to present issues and events associated with *shaoshu minzu* and *minzu* relations from indigenous perspectives. This study also revealed that these standardized textbooks were all vulnerable to ideological uniformity even though they were produced by different publishers. Discourses of *shaoshu minzu* as patriotic members of and making contributions to *Zhonghua minzu* dominated the reviewed curriculum standards and textbooks. In the textbooks, members of *shaoshu minzu* and their cultures were both distinguished as “Other” and incorporated as indispensable members of *Zhonghua minzu*. On one hand, the sense of modernity and normality of the Han has to be achieved at the expense of the “backwardness” and “uniqueness” of *shaoshu minzu* and on the other hand, the powerful *Zhonghua minzu* ideology sets a tight boundary for such exhibits of cultural diversity. It was under the dominant “diversity and unity in the configuration of the *Zhonghua minzu*” ideology that this contradictory image of *shaoshu minzu* has become the standard canon. In other words, the cultural diversity of *shaoshu minzu* is allowed in textbooks as long as it serves political unity. In this way, the textbooks legitimate and transmit the standardized, governmental positions on the *shaoshu minzu* and *minzu* relations in China, which is incomplete at least. These approaches to teaching about *shaoshu minzu* fall short of acknowledging the *minzu* tensions that exist in Chinese society and partly contribute to the misunderstandings of *shaoshu minzu* among the Han Chinese.

Textbooks should dispel, not perpetuate, stereotypes against *shaoshu minzu* groups and provide more complete and accurate representations of Chinese history and society. As the primary mechanism for disseminating school knowledge, limiting the experiences of *shaoshu minzu* groups to the confines of the selected discourses and ideologies distorts the historical and contemporary realities members of *shaoshu minzu* have experienced. This standardized representation also denies students opportunities to develop accurate knowledge about each *minzu* and *minzu* relations in China and to reflect and act upon existing inequalities between Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu*. Thus, these textbooks risk alienating *shaoshu minzu* students through the essentialized portrayals and limiting civic engagement of youth from both majority and minority groups.

### **Limitations**

The first limitation of this study is a conceptual one and is associated with the choice of terms. I explained in Chapter III that the decision to use the terms “*minzu*”, “*shaoshu minzu*”, and “*Zhonghua Minzu*” in this dissertation was due to convenience but not necessarily an endorsement of these terms. Given the vast number of groups included and complexity within the convenient term *shaoshu minzu*, analyzing these groups’ representations in school textbooks involved risks of (1) suggesting a sense of homogeneity—as they are often perceived by Han Chinese people—as if they all belonged to a single group called *shaoshu minzu* as opposed to the Han Chinese; (2) ignoring historical and political contexts associated with the identification and categorization of the so-called *shaoshu minzu* by adopting the “56-*minzu*” discourse; and (3) perpetuating stereotypes that Han Chinese has come to associate with *shaoshu minzu*. Therefore, there could be a fundamental challenge of conducting research even by adopting these terms and calling these groups “*shaoshu minzu*” in the first place. Hopefully, this study contributed to

dispelling some of the misconceptions around these groups in China by revealing the complicated and troublesome nature of their representations in Chinese textbooks.

Another limitation of this study was related to sampling. All three versions of textbooks that were selected for analysis, especially the BNUP and JEPH versions, were developed in relatively developed areas in China. This is part of the reasons why students from these two areas—Beijing and Jiangsu Province—perform higher than the national averages and thus made these two versions of textbooks particularly popular nation-wide. After the curriculum reform, many local publishers have developed their own textbooks that have been used fairly extensively locally. An example of such local textbooks are the ones published by the Southwest University Press that have been used in the Southwestern part of China, including Chongqing and Sichuan. These areas also are places where many *shaoshu minzu* people live. Therefore, the content about *shaoshu minzu* presented in textbooks like this may be different from what was found in this study. However, since all textbooks have to strictly follow guidelines outlined in the curriculum standards, which provide a very limited scope of coverage of *shaoshu minzu* and their cultures in the first place, no significantly different content may exist in other versions of textbooks. Nevertheless, including a more diverse sample might help to strengthen the findings of this study.

### **Implications for Theory, Practice, and Future Research**

This study examined the interactions between two kinds of knowledge—official knowledge (Apple, 1993) and school knowledge (Banks, 1996). It described the ways in which components of official knowledge about *shaoshu minzu* in China are presented in curriculum standards and textbooks as forms of school knowledge. In so doing this study contributes to

identifying mechanisms through which mainstream ideologies are sustained and reproduced in educational institutions. These ideologies influence how *shaoshu minzu* are identified, described, expected, and responded to and create the conditions under which specific beliefs and values endure in a variety of social spaces, including schools. The knowledge about *shaoshu minzu* presented in textbooks not only normalizes and standardizes the unquestioned official narratives about *shaoshu minzu* of the party-state but also helps to legitimate and sustain the institutional and social contexts in which the unequal power relationships between the Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu* are created. This study thus helps to theorize how the official curriculum can circulate and normalize positions and experiences of marginalized groups in culturally diverse societies.

Another related implication of this study is that it helps to reveal the problematic nature of the content that is presented in textbooks as authoritative knowledge. The results can be used to encourage teachers to use textbooks more critically as only one of many possible instructional materials and to identify supplemental resources that are accurate and relevant to the students' lives. It is important for teachers to help their students understand that multiple perspectives exist on most human issues and events and consequently should help students uncover and respect alternative points of view. Teachers can use multiple reading materials related to *shaoshu minzu* in China in their curriculum and instruction and expose students to a variety of perspectives, values, and experiences so that students can obtain a more complete and complex understanding of *shaoshu minzu* and *minzu* relationships in China and develop critical thinking skills. Diversifying teaching and learning resources also can have positive pedagogical implications to enhance and enrich students' learning opportunities. Professional pre- and in-service teacher

education programs should also prepare teachers who are thoughtful “consumers” of textbooks in their lesson planning and instruction and to develop the knowledge and skills needed to teach with multiple sources.

As a case study of Chinese textbooks, results of this study can enable international comparison regarding cultural diversity in education since textbook content analyses have been widely used by educational researchers in many pluralistic societies. Comparative studies of the representations of marginalized groups in textbooks in culturally diverse societies may lead to important understandings of how national ideologies and discourses are constructed and circulated within different political and educational contexts.

The knowledge presented in textbooks and other educational materials is by no means the only way Chinese students are exposed to the *shaoshu minzu*. For example, students also gain knowledge about social issues from their families, communities, media, and popular culture (Banks, 2004). It is also not accurate to assume that the party-state and Han Chinese are the only creators of representations of *shaoshu minzu* in China. Studies indicate that members of *shaoshu minzu* have been engaging in the production of knowledge (in the broad sense) about themselves in a variety of ways in both in-school (Clothey & McKinlay, 2015) and out-of-school settings such as in the tourism industry (Chio, 2014). How these different sources of knowledge contribute to Chinese students’ understandings of *minzu* and *minzu* relationships in China merits follow-up studies. In addition, content analyses such as this study should be used with empirical studies in classrooms in order to understand the influences that textbook teaching and learning have on students. For instance, further studies can explore the ways in which students and teachers—both Han Chinese and *shaoshu minzu*—interact with textbooks in classroom and the

ways in which the images that are presented in textbooks influence students' sense of citizenship in relation to members of other *minzu* and their interpretations of *minzu*-related issues and events.

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## Text coding guide-1103

Please read the texts on the page carefully and answer the following questions accordingly.

Please only look at the text of one paragraph or more that conveys a complete account about an issue, event, an individual or a group of human characters, or artifact that could be understood independently.

\* Required

### 1. Textbook ID \*

.....

### 2. Page Number \*

.....

### 3. Key words \*

Does any of the text on the page contain any of the following words or phrases: ethnic/ ethnicity, Chinese Nation, ethnic minority, name of any of the 56 ethnic groups in China, or a character whose ethnicity is revealed or identifiable in the text ?

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

*Skip to question 107.*

## Approach

### 4. Contributions approach \*

Information about ethnic heroes/ heroines, holidays, and discrete cultural elements

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

### 5. Additive approach \*

Ethnic content, themes, and issues are added into the textbooks without changing its structure

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

### 6. Transformation approach \*

The structure of the textbook is changed to enable students to view ethnic events, issues, and themes from the perspectives of diverse ethnic groups

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**7. Social action approach \***

All elements of transformation approach, but adds components that require students to make decision and take actions related to the issue or concept studied in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**Type of references**

Please first indicate if the texts on the page contain any information specific to any of the 56 ethnic groups in China. That is, if the name of any of the groups appears in the texts. Please use information contained only in the text and when there are conflicts between texts and surrounding information (photograph, table, figure, etc.), record the information in the text only.

**8. Is there any specific information? \***

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No *Skip to question 94.*

**Specific information-Han Chinese****9. Han Chinese \***

Please indicate if Han Chinese is featured in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No *Skip to question 51.*

**Specific Han**

Please indicate if any of the following topics/ issues about Han Chinese are covered in the texts

**10. Physical appearance \***

Please indicate if there is any description of the physical appearance of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**11. Population \***

Please indicate if there is any introduction about the population of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**12. History \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the history of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**13. Livelihood \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the livelihood of the Han Chinese in the text, e.g., how they get food, shelter, make use of resources, etc.

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**14. Politics/ Civics \***

Please indicate if there is any information in the text about the political and/ or civic organizations or the political/ civic engagement of the Han Chinese

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**15. Science/ Technology \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the scientific or technological achievement of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**16. Education \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the education of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**17. Clothing \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the clothes and headdresses of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**18. Food \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the food of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**19. Festival/ Holiday \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the festivals or holidays of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**20. Religion/ Rite \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the religious or ritual ceremonies of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**21. Architecture \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the architecture of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**22. Sports \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the sports of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**23. Music \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the music (song and dance, musical instrument) of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**24. Artifacts \***

Please indicate if there is any introduction of any artifacts of the Han Chinese in the text

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**25. Other \***

Please indicate if there is any information about other aspects of the Han Chinese in the text that is not covered in previous questions

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**26. People \***

Please indicate if any of the texts make direct references to the people of the Han Chinese. Please note that this reference to people does not have to be about any specific, named individual.

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No *Skip to question 51.*

## Reference to HC people

### 27. Gender \*

Are both male and female mentioned in the texts?

*Mark only one oval.*

- Male only
- Female only
- Both
- Neither

### 28. Children \*

Are children mentioned in any of the texts with people in it?

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No

### 29. Named Character \*

Does any of the text feature specific human characters whose names are revealed?

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No *Skip to question 35.*

## Named HC character

Please indicate if any of the following types of human characters are featured in the text

### 30. Fictional figure \*

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No

### 31. Legendary figure \*

Legendary figures refer to those who are featured in Chinese legends, e.g., Yellow Empire, Yu the Great, Nvwa.

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No

### 32. Real-Historical \*

Those characters whose main activities occurred before 1911

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No

**33. Real-Modern \***

Those characters whose main activities occurred between 1911 and 1949  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**34. Real-Contemporary \***

Those characters whose main activities occurred after 1949  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

## Occupation-HC

Please indicate the types of occupation that are represented by these characters

**35. Student \***

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**36. Professional \***

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**37. Industrial \***

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**38. Agricultural \***

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**39. Governmental \***

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**40. Military \***

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

**41. Corporate \***

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

**42. Family \***

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

**43. No occupation mentioned \***

Select "Yes" only when no information about the occupation of the characters in the text is mentioned. Don't select "Yes" if the represented occupation does not fall in any of the above options  
Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

## Activity-HC

---

Please indicate if the characters are engaged in any of the following activities

**44. Political/ Civic \***

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

**45. Working related \***

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

**46. Learning or school related \***

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

**47. Daily life \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**48. Religious \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**49. Leisure/ Recreational \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**50. No Activity \***

Select "Yes" only when no information about the activity of the characters in the text is mentioned. Don't select "Yes" if the represented activity does not fall in any of the options above.  
Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

## Specific Information-Ethnic Minority

**51. Ethnic Minority \***

Please indicate if any of the ethnic minority groups is featured in the text. If "Yes" is selected, please in a separate sheet record which group(s) is featured in the text.  
Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No     *Skip to question 93.*

## Specific Ethnic Minority

Please indicate if any of the following topics/ issues about Chinese ethnic minority are covered in the text

**52. Physical appearance \***

Please indicate if there is any description of the physical appearance of the ethnic minority group featured in the text  
Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**53. Population \***

Please indicate if there is any introduction about the population of the ethnic minority in the text  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**54. History \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the history of the ethnic minority groups in the text  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**55. Livelihood \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the livelihood of the ethnic minority in the text, e.g., how they get food, shelter, make use of resources, etc.  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**56. Politics/ Civics \***

Please indicate if there is any information in the text about the political and/ or civic organizations or the political/ civic engagement of the ethnic minority groups  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**57. Science/ Technology \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the scientific or technological achievement of the ethnic minority groups in the text  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**58. Education \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the education of the ethnic minority groups in the text  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**59. Clothing \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the clothes and/ or headdresses of the ethnic minority groups in the text  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**60. Food \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the food of the ethnic minority groups in the text  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**61. Festival/ Holiday \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the festivals or holidays of the ethnic minority groups in the text  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**62. Religion/ Rite \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the religious or ritual ceremonies of the ethnic minority groups in the text  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**63. Architecture \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the architecture of the ethnic minority groups in the text  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**64. Sports \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the sports of the ethnic minority groups in the text  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**65. Music \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the music (song and dance, musical instrument) of the ethnic minority groups in the text  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**66. Artifacts \***

Please indicate if there is any information of any artifact of the ethnic minority groups in the texts  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes  
 No

**67. Other \***

Please indicate if there is any other information about any aspect of the ethnic minority groups in the text that is not covered in previous questions

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**68. People \***

Please indicate if any of the texts make direct reference to the people of the ethnic minority group. Please note that this reference to people does not have to be about any specific, named individuals

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No *Skip to question 93.*

## Reference to EM People

**69. Gender \***

Are both male and female mentioned in the text?

*Mark only one oval.*

Male only

Female only

Both

Neither

**70. Children \***

Are children mentioned in any of the text with people in it?

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**71. Named Character \***

Does any of the text feature specific human characters whose names are revealed?

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No *Skip to question 77.*

## Named EM Character

Please indicate if any of the following types of human characters are featured in the texts

**72. Fictional figure \***

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**73. Legendary figure \***

Legendary figures refer to those who are featured in Chinese legends, e.g., Yellow Empire, Yu the Great, etc.

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**74. Real-Historical \***

Those characters whose main activities are featured as occurring before 1911

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**75. Real-Modern \***

Those characters whose main activities are featured as occurring between 1911 and 1949

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**76. Real-Contemporary \***

Those characters whose main activities are featured as occurring after 1949

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

## Occupation-EM

Please indicate the types of occupation that are represented by these figures

**77. Student \***

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**78. Professional \***

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**79. Industrial \***

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**80. Agricultural \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**81. Governmental \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**82. Military \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**83. Corporate \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**84. Family \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**85. No Occupation Mentioned \***

Select "Yes" only when no information about the occupation of the characters in the text is mentioned. Don't select "Yes" if the represented occupation does not fall in any of the above options  
Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

## Activity-EM

---

Please indicate if the characters are engaged in any of the following activities

**86. Political/ Civic \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**87. Working related \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**88. Learning or school related \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**89. Daily life \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**90. Religious \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**91. Leisure/ Recreational \***

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

**92. No Activity \***

Select "Yes" only when no information about the activity of the characters in the text is mentioned. Don't select "Yes" if the represented activity does not fall in any of the options above

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

Skip to question 93.

## How about generic

**93. Generic References \***

Please indicate if there is any text containing generic information about ethnicity or ethnic groups in China, i.e., no specific naming of any of the group.

Mark only one oval.

- Yes      *Skip to question 94.*  
 No      *Stop filling out this form.*

## Generic

Read the generic texts carefully and record if any of the following topics/ issues are present in the texts

**94. Politics/ Civics \***

Please indicate if there is any information in the text about the political and/ or civic organizations or the political/ civic engagement of ethnic groups in China

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**95. Religion/ Rite \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the religious/ ritual ceremonies of ethnic groups in China

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**96. Livelihood \***

Please indicate if there is any livelihood information, e.g., how people get food, shelter, make use of resources, etc.

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**97. History \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the history of ethnic groups in China

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**98. Education \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the education of ethnic groups in China

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**99. Sports \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the sports of ethnic groups in China

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**100. Architecture \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the architecture of ethnic groups in China

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**101. Science/ Technology \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the scientific/ technological achievement of ethnic groups in China  
*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**102. Festival/ Holiday \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the festivals and/or holidays ethnic groups in China  
*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**103. Clothing \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the clothes and/ or headdresses of ethnic groups in China  
*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**104. Food \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the food of ethnic groups in China  
*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**105. Music \***

Please indicate if there is any information about the music, including songs, dance, and musical instrument, of ethnic groups in China  
*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**106. Other \***

Please indicate if there is any information about other aspects of ethnic groups in China that is not covered by previous questions  
*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

*Stop filling out this form.*

**No Keywords**

When none of the key words was found in the texts, please still read the texts and record if the texts contain any information about the following groups.

**107. Chinese ethnic minority \***

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**108. Han Chinese \***

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**109. Unmarked Chinese \***

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

**110. Foreign \***

*Mark only one oval.*

Yes

No

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# Visual Coding

\* Required

## 1. Textbook ID \*

Please indicate the textbook ID

.....

## 2. Page Number \*

Please record the page number

.....

## 3. Item ID \*

Please record information of up to four visuals in the same page  
*Mark only one oval.*

- V1
- V2
- V3
- V4

# Visual Content

## 4. Visual Type \*

Please indicate if the visual is a  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Photograph
- Original drawing and painting
- Reproduction of an earlier work
- Other

## 5. Human Character \*

Does the visual have human character in it?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No *Skip to question 50.*

# Visual-Human Character

**6. Time \***

What is the time era in which the character (s) is positioned?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Historical (~1911)
- Modern (1911~1949)
- Contemporary (1949~Present)
- Unable to tell

**7. Geographic Setting \***

What is the geographic setting, if shown, where the character (s) is positioned? Markers of urban environments include but not limited to urban infrastructure, tall buildings, crowd size, factories, and industrial sectors  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Urban
- Rural
- Unable to tell

**8. Physical Setting \***

What is the physical setting, if shown, where the character (s) is positioned?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Indoor
- Outdoor
- Unable to tell

**9. Modern Technology \***

Is any modern technology present in the visual? Note: Modern technology includes but not limits to, train, electronic devices, home appliances, etc.  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No
- Unable to tell

**10. Number of Characters \***

How many human characters are shown in the visual?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- One
- Small group (2-5)      *Skip to question 19.*
- Large group (6-10)      *Skip to question 19.*
- Crowd (>10)      *Skip to question 19.*

**Visual-HC-One**

**11. Ethnicity \***

What is the ethnicity of the character?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Chinese ethnic minority
- Han Chinese
- Unmarked Chinese
- Foreign
- Unable to tell

**12. Gender \***

What is the gender of the character?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Male
- Female
- Unable to tell

**13. Age \***

What is the age group of the character? (some description of the age group; what to do when there is ambiguity)  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Child
- Adult
- Senior
- Unable to tell

**14. Dress \***

What is the dress style of the character?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Traditional/ Folk Clothes
- Western-style Dress
- Unable to tell

**15. Activity \***

Is the character engaged in any activity? That is, is the character in the state of being active  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No     *Stop filling out this form.*
- Unable to tell     *Stop filling out this form.*

## Visual-HC-One-Activity

**16. Type of Activity \***

What type of activity is the character engaged in? When more than one choice applies, please choose the category that the activity primarily fits in; Choose "Other" if none of the options captures the nature of the presented activity.

*Mark only one oval.*

- Learning or school related activity
- Working or occupation related activity
- Leisure or recreational activity
- Daily life
- Livelihood
- Political or civic activity
- Religious activity
- Performance activity
- Other

**17. Ethnic Attribute \***

Ethnic attribute means whether or not the shown activity is closely associated with any of the following ethnic groups/ cultures; Select "Not Apply" if the shown activity has no ethnic affiliation

*Mark only one oval.*

- Chinese Ethnic Minority
- Han Chinese
- Unmarked Chinese
- Foreign
- Not Apply

**18. Activity-Modern Technology \***

Is the character interacting with any modern technology during the activity?

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No
- Unable to tell

*Stop filling out this form.*

**Visual-HC-Groups****19. EM Primary Subjects \***

Look carefully at all the primary subjects in the visual, does any of them belong to any of the Chinese ethnic minority group? Primary subjects are those who are depicted alone, apart from others or the crowd, or in a close-up

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes      *Skip to question 20.*
- No      *Skip to question 31.*
- No primary subjects      *Skip to question 42.*
- Unable to tell      *Skip to question 42.*

## Visual-groups-Minority PS

Please answer the following questions based on the minority primary subjects (MPS) in the visual

### 20. Gender-MPS \*

What is the gender of the minority primary subjects?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- All Males
- All Females
- Majority Males
- Majority Females
- Balanced Gender Group
- Unable to tell

### 21. Dress-MPS \*

What is the dress style of the minority primary subjects?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- All Traditional/ Folk Clothes
- All Western-style Dress
- Majority Traditional/ Folk Clothes
- Majority Western-style Dress
- Unable to tell

### 22. Child-MPS \*

Is any of the minority primary subjects a child?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No
- Unable to tell

### 23. Child-Other \*

Is a child present in other parts of the visual?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No
- Unable to tell

### 24. Non-M S \*

Is there any non-minority subject in the visual?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- No *Skip to question 27.*
- Yes-Primary Subjects
- Yes-Non-Primary Subjects
- Unable to Tell *Skip to question 27.*

## Non-Minority Subjects

Please answer the following questions based on the non-minority subjects (NMS) in the visual.

### 25. Ethnicity-NMS \*

What is the ethnicity of the non-minority subject?

*Mark only one oval.*

- Han Chinese
- Majority Han Chinese
- Unmarked Chinese
- Majority Unmarked Chinese
- Foreign
- Majority Foreign
- Unable to tell

### 26. Gender-NMS \*

What is the gender of the non-minority subjects

*Mark only one oval.*

- All Males
- All Females
- Majority Males
- Majority Females
- Balanced Gender Group
- Unable to tell

## Untitled Page

### 27. Activity-MPS \*

Is the minority primary subject(s) engaged in any activity?

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No     *Stop filling out this form.*
- Unable to tell     *Stop filling out this form.*

## Visual-Groups-Minority PS-Activity

**28. Type of Activity-MPS \***

What type of activity is the character engaged in? When more than one choice applies, please choose the category that the activity primarily fits in; Choose "Other" if none of the options captures the nature of the activity presented in the visual

*Mark only one oval.*

- Learning or school related activity
- Working or occupation related activity
- Daily life
- Livelihood
- Leisure or recreational activity
- Political or civic activity
- Religious activity
- Performance Activity
- Other

**29. Ethnic Attribute-MPS**

Ethnic attribute means whether or not the shown activity is closely associated with any of the following ethnic groups/ cultures; Select "Not Apply" if the shown activity has no ethnic affiliation

*Mark only one oval.*

- Chinese Ethnic Minority
- Han Chinese
- Unmarked Chinese
- Foreign
- Not Apply

**30. Modern Technology-MPS \***

Is the character interacting with any modern technology during the activity?

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No
- Unable to tell

*Stop filling out this form.*

**Visual groups-Non-Minority PS**

Please answer the following questions based on the non-minority primary subjects (NMPS) in the visual

**31. Ethnicity-NMPS \***

What is the ethnicity of the primary subjects?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- All Han Chinese
- Majority Han Chinese
- All Unmarked Chinese
- Majority Unmarked Chinese
- All Foreign
- Majority Foreign
- Unable to tell

**32. Gender-NMPS \***

What is the gender of the primary subjects?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- All Males
- Majority Males
- All Females
- Majority Females
- Balanced Gender Group
- Unable to tell

**33. Child-NMPS \***

Is any of the primary subjects child?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No
- Unable to tell

**34. Dress-NMPS \***

What is the dress style of the primary subjects?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- All Traditional/ Folk Clothes
- All Western-style Dress
- Majority Traditional/ Folk Clothes
- Majority Western-style Dress
- Unable to tell

**35. Minority Subjects \***

Is there any minority subject in the visual?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- No *Skip to question 38.*
- Yes-Support Role
- Yes-Minor Role
- Yes-Illustration Only
- Unable to tell *Skip to question 38.*

**Minority-Non-Primary Subjects**

Please answer the following questions based on the minority non-primary subjects (MNPS) in the visual

**36. Gender-MNPS \***

What is the gender of the minority subjects  
*Mark only one oval.*

- All Males
- All Females
- Majority Males
- Majority Females
- Balanced Gender Group
- Unable to tell

**37. Child-MNPS \***

Is any of the minority subjects a child?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No
- Unable to tell

**Untitled Page2****38. Activity-PS \***

Is the primary subject(s) engaged in any activity?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No *Stop filling out this form.*
- Unable to tell *Stop filling out this form.*

**Visual-Groups-No-Minority PS-Activity**

**39. Type of Activity-NMPS \***

What type of activity is the primary subject(s) engaged in? When more than one choice applies, please choose the category that the activity primarily fits in; Choose "Other" if none of the options captures the nature of the activity shown in the visual

*Mark only one oval.*

- Learning or school related activity
- Working or occupation related activity
- Daily life
- Livelihood
- Leisure or recreational activity
- Political or civic activity
- Religious activity
- Performance Activity
- Other

**40. Ethnic Attribute-NMPS \***

What is the ethnic attribute of the activity? Ethnic attribute means whether or not the shown activity is closely associated with any of the following ethnic groups/ cultures; Select "Not Apply" if the shown activity has no ethnic affiliation

*Mark only one oval.*

- Chinese Ethnic Minority
- Han Chinese
- Unmarked Chinese
- Foreign
- Not Apply

**41. Modern Technology-NMPS \***

Is the character(s) interacting with any modern technology during the activity?

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No
- Unable to tell

*Stop filling out this form.*

**Visual-Group-No PS**

Please answer the following questions based on the visual with no primary subjects (NPS)

**42. Ethnicity-NPS \***

What is the ethnicity distribution of the group?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- All Chinese Ethnic Minority
- Majority Chinese Ethnic Minority
- All Han Chinese
- Majority Han Chinese
- All Unmarked Chinese
- Majority Unmarked Chinese
- All Foreign
- Majority Foreign
- Unable to tell

**43. Gender-NPS \***

What is the gender distribution of the group?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- All Males
- Majority Males
- All Females
- Majority Females
- Balanced Gender Group
- Unable to tell

**44. Child-NPS \***

Is there any child in the visual?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No
- Unable to tell

**45. Dress-NPS \***

What is the dress style of the primary subjects?  
*Mark only one oval.*

- All Traditional/ Folk Clothes
- All Western-style Dress
- Majority Traditional/ Folk Clothes
- Majority Western-style Dress
- Unable to tell

**46. Activity-NPS \***

Is the group as a whole engaged in any activity?  
 Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No     *Stop filling out this form.*
- Unable to tell     *Stop filling out this form.*

**Visual-Group-No PS-Activity****47. Type of Activity-NPS \***

What type of activity is the group engaged in? When more than one choice applies, please choose the category that the activity primarily fits in; Choose "Other" if none of the options captures the nature of the activity shown in the visual  
 Mark only one oval.

- Learning or school related activity
- Working or occupation related activity
- Daily life
- Livelihood
- Leisure or recreational activity
- Political or civic activity
- Religious activity
- Performance Activity
- Other

**48. Ethnic Attribute-NPS \***

Ethnic attribute means whether or not the shown activity is closely associated with any of the following ethnic groups/ cultures; Select "Not Apply" if the shown activity has no ethnic affiliation  
 Mark only one oval.

- Chinese Ethnic Minority
- Han Chinese
- Unmarked Chinese
- Foreign
- Not Apply

**49. Modern Technology-NPS \***

Is the group interacting with any modern technology during the activity?  
 Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No
- Unable to tell

*Stop filling out this form.*

**Visual-Non HC**

Please indicate what the visual with no human characters (NHC) is about

**50. Visual-NHC \***

Please indicate the visual is a  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Landscape with Human Artifacts      *Skip to question 51.*
- Man-made artifact      *Skip to question 55.*
- All others      *Stop filling out this form.*

## Landscape

**51. Ethnic Attribute-Landscape \***

What is the ethnic attribute of the landscape shown in the visual? Ethnic attribute means whether or not the shown landscape is closed associated with any of the following ethnic groups/ cultures; Select "Not Apply" if the shown landscape has no ethnic affiliation  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Chinese Ethnic Minority
- Han Chinese
- Unmarked Chinese
- Foreign
- Not Apply
- Unable to tell

**52. Geographic Setting-Landscape \***

What is the geographic setting of the visual? Markers of urban environments include but not limited to urban infrastructure, tall buildings, crowd size, factories, and industrial sectors  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Urban
- Rural
- Unable to tell

**53. Function-Landscape \***

What is its primary function of the shown landscape? When multiple functions apply, use the information in the caption or adjunct texts to decide its primary function in the context  
*Mark only one oval.*

- Educational
- Religious
- Recreational
- Decorative
- Commercial
- Residential
- Other

**54. Modern Technology-Landscape \***

Is modern technology present in the visual?

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No
- Unable to tell

*Stop filling out this form.*

**Artifact****55. Ethnic Attribute-Artifact \***

What is the ethnic attribute of the artifact shown in the visual? Ethnic attribute means whether or not the shown artifact is closely associated with any of the following ethnic groups/ cultures; Select "Not Apply" if the shown artifact has no ethnic affiliation

*Mark only one oval.*

- Ethnic Minority
- Han Chinese
- Unmarked Chinese
- Foreign
- Not Apply
- Unable to tell

**56. Function-Artifact \***

What is its primary function of the shown artifact? When multiple functions apply, use the information in the caption or adjunct texts to decide its primary function in the context

*Mark only one oval.*

- Educational
- Religious
- Recreational
- Decorative
- Commercial
- Residential
- Scientific
- Other

**57. Modern Technology-Artifact \***

(some key attributes of the technology, e.g., the power source) Does the shown artifact belong to modern technology, including but not limited to cell phones, computers, trains, etc.

*Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No
- Unable to tell

