Representing language, culture and citizenship to minoritised ethnic groups: the teaching of Mandarin Chinese to Mongolian learners as a second language in China since 1912

Jiaye (Jenny) Wu

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies

August 2021

Abstract

My PhD study investigates the under-researched history of teaching Mandarin Chinese as a second language to Mongolian learners within China since 1912, and its implications for the present day. This research makes a novel contribution to understanding how a national language and national identities are promulgated to a minoritised ethnic group over time. Mandarin teaching to Mongolian learners is revealed as a site where different representations of the Chinese nation contest and negotiate with one another, shaped by the power relations between Mongolian and Han.

I employ critical discourse analysis to examine a wide range of Mandarin Chinese language textbooks for Mongolian learners issued by the Republican (1912-1949) and People's Republic of China's governments (1949-present) to explore the changes in expectations of Chinese cultural knowledge and values to be taught, in particular in terms of Chinese history and citizenship. The findings show that the Chinese cultural knowledge and values conveyed through the textbooks is given different emphases at different times, but it frequently serves as a tool serving the interests of the governments to reproduce official understandings of Chinese national identities, with Mongolian cultural features being often neutralised and/or made subservient to Han-dominant Chinese national values.

In addition, to explore how the dominance of Han culture and values in the textbooks has been embraced and/or challenged by Mongolian elites in the early twentieth century and Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese in the present, two approaches are adopted. First, a historical linguistic analysis of how Mandarin Chinese pronunciation is presented to Mongolians in a dictionary compiled by a Mongolian official named Khaisan in 1917 is conducted, when the basis for a standard Chinese was still being debated. This part of the study reveals that the diverse linguistic sources that Khaisan drew on challenge the monolingual Han native speakership ideology. Second, the historical textual analysis is augmented by data from two months' field work in Hohhot, Inner Mongolia in 2018. There, I conducted semi-structured interviews, surveys and classroom observations of the Mongolians and Han

who work in the field of Mandarin teaching to Mongolian learners to explore their understandings of the Mandarin language and views on what cultural knowledge and values to teach. The data highlight how different views of Mandarin Chinese teaching, as a communicative tool, as linguistic and cultural capital, and as an identity marker, are negotiated by Mongolians today.

Looking into the past and present impact of Mandarin Chinese teaching on Mongolian ethnic identity, my work is the first to combine historical textbook analysis, historical linguistics, and ethnography. It makes an important contribution to the field of the History of Language Learning and Teaching, which has thus far been heavily skewed to the history of language education in Europe. Second, it addresses a gap in bilingual education studies, where little attention has been paid to the teaching of the majority language that Mongolians in the past and at present as the actors to define the knowledge of Chinese to teach. Third, my analysis of strategies for incorporating Mongolians into China are relevant to other non-Han studies such as Tibetans and Uyghurs and ethnic minority studies in different political and educational contexts.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I owe a debt of gratitude to my two supervisors, Professor Nicola McLelland and Professor Sarah Dauncey. Without your guidance, the completion of the doctoral research would not have been possible. I feel extremely grateful and lucky to have the 'dream team' of supervisors during the entirety of my PhD journey. To Professor McLelland, thank you for being extraordinary patient and supportive while also providing insightful and critical comments on my work. I am also deeply grateful to Professor Dauncey, who always amazed me with her broad knowledge and expertise in Chinese studies and brought many light bulb moments during my writing.

I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to the participants who took part in this research. Thank you so much for your trust and allowing me to step into your life. I am particularly grateful to Professor W and Mr G who gave their time and offered me help so generously during my fieldwork.

This study could not have been carried out without the financial support provided by the China Scholarship Council and the University of Nottingham. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Universities' China Committee in London for the generous support for the costs of my fieldwork in Hohhot, Inner Mongolia.

I am also indebted to my family for their love and support during my study. Thanks to my parents and my husband for emotional and practical support, especially during the last few months of my PhD.

A word of gratitude also goes to the MEITS project and all the staff and postgraduate researchers I have met in the School of Languages, Cultures and Area Studies. I want to express my gratitude to Annette, Louis, Katie, Emma, Ning Zhang, and Jing Li who gave me much intellectual assistance and accompany during the journey.

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Glossary of terms

'Chinese national identities' (*Zhongguo guojia shenfen*, 中国国家身份)

In this study, I discuss 'national identities' as a plural term to foreground the dynamic and multiplicity aspects of its construction *over time*. Following Duara (1997: 7), I use *identity* to refer to a subject position produced by representations in relation to other representations.

'Ethnicity' (*minzu*, 民族)

I use 'ethnicity' to translate the word *minzu* to indicate its political subordinate position to Chinese nationality in this thesis except in the Republican period when the *Wuzu gonghe* (五族共和) policy has been generally translated as 'Republic of five nationalities' (e.g. Duara, 2011; Mullaney, 2011). There has also been a change in the preferred English translation of the term *minzu* from nationality to ethnicity in policy documents since the early 1990s (Barabantseva, 2008).

'Ethnic minority', 'minoritised ethnic group' (*Shaoshu Minzu*, 少数民族)

I use the word 'minoritised' to translate the word *Shaoshu* to highlight its passiveness, which indicates how groups occupy the position of being a minority as the outcome of a socio-historical process.

'Mongolian identity' (*Mengguzu Shenfen Yishi*, 蒙古族身份意识)

'Middle school' (*Chuzhong*, 初中)

State-funded schools, providing education for children between the ages of 13 and 15, from Grade 7 to 9. In some places, middle schools can be four years, especially when the primary schools are five years.

'Mandarin Chinese' (*Hanyu/Putonghua/Guoyu/Huayu*, 汉语/普通话/国语/华语)

'People's Republic of China' (*Zhuanghu Renmin Gongheguo*, 中华人民共和国)

'Primary school' (*Xiaoxue*, 小学)

State-funded schools, providing education for children between the ages of 6 and 12. In the Republican period (1912-1949), primary school is divided as 'junior primary school' (*Chuxiao*, 初小) for Grade 1 to 4 students and 'senior primary school' (*Gaoxiao*, 高小) for Grade 5 and 6 students. In the PRC period (1949 - present), primary school also has six years of education while in some places, primary schools are five years.

'Republican China' (*Zhonghua Minguo*, 中华民国)

Chapter 1. Introduction

This thesis explores the under researched history of teaching Mandarin Chinese as a second language to Mongolian learners within the projects of Chinese nation building and its implications for the present day. It allows us to examine how a national language and national identity are promulgated within an ethnic minoritzed group over time, using Mongolian as a case study. According to 2010 census data (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010), the People's Republic of China (PRC) is home to the largest Mongolian population in the world. There are over four million Mongolians out of the total 24 million people living in North China's Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region.[1] This is more than the population of the independent country of Mongolia, which has a population of some 3.3 million (National Statistical Office, 2020: 4). Mongolian and Mandarin Chinese are the two official languages in Inner Mongolia, as regulated by the 'Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy' (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo minzu quyu zizhifa*, 中华人民共和国民族区域自治法) (National People's Congress, 2001). However, studies have shown a trend of language shift from Mongolian to Mandarin Chinese in recent years. Puthuval's (2017) survey of intergenerational language transmission in Mongolian families in Inner Mongolia, including over 600 Inner Mongolians born between 1922 and 2007, found Mandarin Chinese is widely spread among the Mongolians born between 1980 and later than previous generations. Bao's (2009) study revealed that 86.5 % of the Mongolian population has shifted to speak Mandarin Chinese in Ningcheng county of Inner Mongolia.

The linguistic landscape of Hohhot, the capital city of Inner Mongolia, reflects not just the trend of language shift, but also the power relations between Mongolian and Mandarin Chinese in the region. It is common to see Mongolian-Mandarin bilingual or even trilingual (Mongolian, Mandarin, English) signs wherever you go. For example, Figures 1.1 and 1.2 below (taken during my fieldwork in Hohhot, May – July 2018) show bilingual and trilingual signs in the

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[1] I use the term Mongolians rather than Mongols to refer Mongolian people in this thesis to avoid the connotation of Downs Syndrome that Mongols are related to.

city's Baita airport and main street. As required by the 'Regulation of the use of Mongolian and Chinese in the linguistic landscape of Inner Mongolia' (*Neimenggu Zizhiqu Shehui Menghan Liangzhong Wenzi Bingyong Guanli Banfa* 内蒙古自治区社会市面蒙汉两种文字并用管理办法), Mongolian is either on the left side of or at the top of Chinese on the public and commercial signs, which gives precedence to it and confirms its official status in the region.

Figure 1.1 A multilingual sign at the Baita airport (fieldwork note, 2018)

Figure 1.2 Bi-Multilingual signs in a Hohhot street (fieldwork note, 2018)

Despite the widespread usage of Mongolian in the street signs, however, a visual hierarchy of Mongolian, Chinese and English is often detectable in the multilingual signs of the city. For example, Figure 1.3 below shows a bank sign, in which the font size of Mongolian characters at the top is smallest while Chinese is featured at the central position and with the largest font size. The covert preference for Chinese and English suggests a divergence between language law and language vitality in the public space of Hohhot.[2]

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[2] The case of linguistic landscape in Hohhot chimes with Amos' (2017) study of the hidden hierarchies between French and Occitan in the city of Toulouse.

Figure 1.3 A multilingual sign of a bank in a Hohhot street (fieldwork note, 2018)

In addition to the covert subordination of written Mongolian to Chinese, the hegemony of Chinese is made clear by the overt code preference (linguistic choices between Mongolian and Chinese) for Chinese, which further supresses the visibility of Mongolian in the region. In April 2018, the Chinese Xinhua news agency reported on an older Mongolian woman missing her flight at Baita airport because the airport did not announce a boarding gate change in Mongolian (All-China's Journalists' Association, 2017). My anecdotal observations during my fieldwork also suggest that Mongolian does not have equal standing. While I was waiting for one participant of my study, a Mongolian security guard who chatted with me commented that 'there are so many errors in the Mongolian street signs that I just ignore them!', though with my limited knowledge of Mongolian, it was difficult for me to identify errors. During my two-month stay in Hohhot, my impression was that the language environment of the city was dominated by Mandarin Chinese. Except for bilingual or multilingual street signs, it was not common to see the Mongolian language in commercial discourses. For example,

menus provided by restaurants were written only in Mandarin Chinese, even in one Mongolian-style restaurant I visited. In a Carrefour supermarket I visited, although its sign was transliterated into Mongolian and Chinese as shown in Figure 1.2, product labels were written only in Chinese and English (see Figure 1.4). Against the background of market economy and globalisation, Mongolian seems to have less economic and social value than Chinese in the 'linguistic marketplace' (Bourdieu, 1992) of Hohhot. The apparent low practical value of Mongolian in the public space echoes Grey's (2017) study of the Zhuang case, which revealed the marginalisation of Zhuang through instrumentalist, marketised and hierarchic language ideologies.

Figure 1.4 A Chinese-English bilingual sign in a Carrefour supermarket in Hohhot (fieldwork note, 2018)

There is also evidence for the marginalising of Mongolian in the education field. Although both national and regional policy promotes ethnic minorities, there has been a dramatic decrease of Mongolian-medium primary schools in Inner Mongolia between 1980 and 2010, from nearly 4500 to under 500 (Tsung, 2014: 71). My fieldwork experience and reading of news coverage left me with the impression that a hegemony of Chinese language is growing strong in urban Inner Mongolia, shaped by a complex of political, social and economic factors, which are worthy of further investigation.

In contrast to the current increasing trend of Sinicization (*Hanhua*, 汉化),
Mongolians enjoyed far greater autonomy under Manchurian rule, being strong
allies and enjoying higher status within the Qing empire than other groups,
including Han Chinese, before the 20th century (Bulag, 2010b: 264; Han, 2013).[3]
It is in the 20th century that the marginalisation of Mongolian culture begins,
along with the transition of China from an empire to a modern nation state.
Historical studies have shown the Sinicization process in the region, such as land
reforms launched during 1900-1910, which enabled Han migrants to cultivate
Mongolian land, and the linguistic assimilation policy during the Maoist period
(1949-1976) which restricted the maintenance of the Mongolian language in
Inner Mongolia. With the continuing diminishing space for the Mongolian
pastoral society and more Mongolians losing their language nowadays, there
have been increasing concerns in Mongolian society about the prospect of the
survival of Mongolian language and culture in China (Bulag, 2003). The shifting
status of Mongolian from the Qing empire to modern China makes the 20th
century a key period through which to trace the power dynamics between
Mongolian and Han over the course of Chinese nation building.

As Mongolian lost status to Mandarin Chinese in Inner Mongolia, little is known
of how Mandarin was taught to Mongolians, which would help us understand
whether and to what extent the suppression of Mongolian by Mandarin Chinese
has been naturalised and/or disguised through the education system. This thesis
fills that gap, by investigating the history of Mandarin Chinese teaching to
Mongolian learners since the early 20th century, across the two sovereignties –
the Republic of China government (ROC) (1912 – 1949) and the People's
Republic of China government (PRC) (1949 – present) – to examine whether
and how power dynamics between Mongolian and Han are evident in the
promulgation of Mandarin language and cultural knowledge and value. More so
than with teaching Mandarin to foreign learners, Mandarin teaching to
Mongolian learners needs to be scrutinised within China's nation building

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[3] Sinicization means non-Han groups being assimilated to the Han-dominant Chinese culture
while losing their language and culture. See further discussion of this process see Rahman
(2005)

projects with the aim of integrating both Han and non-Han peoples within a shared sense of membership of the Chinese nation.

In the remainder of this introduction, I first set out the historical context of China's transition from an empire to a modern nation and the challenges it faced during the process. I then outline the historical context of standardising Mandarin and discuss the important role that Mandarin teaching plays in the process. I conclude with an overview of the thesis structure, its key findings and significance.

1.1 Chinese language teaching within the project of nation state building

The modern nation state – a form of political organization based on particularistic features of ethnic composition, language, or territorial boundaries, within which sovereignty is exercised by a government in the world system of modern nation states – was introduced into China after the Opium Wars of the mid-19th century. Throughout the centuries of the imperial period dating back to the Qin empire in 221 BC, the social and political culture of China was believed to comprise multiple distinct groups defined by status and ethnicity under the 'mandate of heaven' (*tianming* 天命). This perceived order predetermined the acceptance of a mono moral and socio-political arrangement, in which Confucianism as an overall philosophical and ethical guideline had been the ruling ideology in the Chinese empire for centuries (Bislev and Li, 2014: 23). In the Chinese endeavours during the modern nation-building process, the ideal of the western nation state framework itself posed difficulties for keeping hold of the various ethnic groups within the Chinese empire, as each had the potential to claim their right to be an independent nation. A strain of ethnic nationalism developed among some minorities after the collapse of the Qing Empire in 1911, particularly among the Mongolians, Tibetans and Uighurs, triggered by the Republican government's Han centred assimilation policy (Zhao, 2004: 172). Outer Mongolia claimed independence in 1911, and a series of independent movements led by Inner Mongolian nobles were launched during 1912-1913 seeking to join Outer Mongolia. In response to such movements, under the principle of keeping the territory of the Qing empire intact and seeking

legitimacy among the world of nations, China began the complicated journey of building a nation which incorporates the frontier territories of all its ethnic groups and combats the challenges of ethnic separatism.

The idea that standard languages foster national identity has been well studied in the histories of Chinese nation building. Scholars such as DeFrancis (1950) and Chen (2004) have explored how a series of efforts were made at official levels to standardise Mandarin in the early 20th century, regarding pronunciation, script, vocabulary, and syntax of its written prose. Since then, Mandarin Chinese, previously restricted to a narrow stratum of classically educated literati in the Ming (1368 – 1644 AD) and Qing dynasties (1644 – 1912 AD) began to be accessible to the general public through mass education and to play a role as the medium of perpetuating a shared national culture. Meanwhile, the notion of standard Mandarin also itself is heterogenous, andvaries in different social and political contexts. For example, standard Mandarin has been variously referred to as 'national language' (*guoyu* 国语), 'common speech' (*putonghua* 普通话) and 'Chinese language' (*huayu* 华语) since the 20th century.[4] Weng (2018: 2) examined the intellectual discourses underlying the different terms and pointed out that creation of standard Mandarin presupposes a particular vision of society: what it is for, what it does, and what kind of society it is supposed to serve.

Building on these foundations, this study looks at how language teaching promulgates a national language standard and national identity, transmitting different visions of the society into school knowledge. As critical curriculum studies have shown, any curriculum involves a process of power struggle over who decides what is to be learned by students. A dominant group would normalise their knowledge, values and beliefs as 'common sense' for all students to learn, while excluding those of others (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991). Defining what knowledge of Mandarin to teach can also be expected to not be free of the play of power. Previous studies have revealed Han chauvinism in the representation of Chinese national culture to the major Han and foreign audiences while the non-Han groups are underrepresented and misrepresented

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[4] *Guoyu* was used in the Republican period and is still used in Taiwan. *Putonghua* came into official use in the PRC in the mid-1950s to describe the standard Chinese spoken language. *Huayu* is mainly used in Singapore to refer to Mandarin.

(e.g. Fallon, 2015; Chu, 2016). With the exception of Gao's (2012) and Ren's (2014) studies, however, there is as yet little literature that considers how Chinese national identity is presented to non-Han audiences *within* China.

Against the backdrop, this thesis is concerned with the complex relationship between Chinese national identity and Mongolian ethnic identity in the teaching of Mandarin Chinese as a second language to Mongolian learners in China over the period of a century, looking in particular at the representation of the key recurrent themes of nationalist history and citizenship values in the government-issued Chinese language textbooks for Mongolian learners published between 1912 and 2016. It traces how the Republican and PRC governments balanced unity and diversity in the construction of Chinese language and cultural knowledge and value, especially how Mongolian identity is represented in relation to the Chinese national identity over time.

Of course, national identity is not singular and monolithic but rather something produced within a 'network of changing and often conflicting representations' (Duara, 1997: 7). National identity is open to different ways of cultural representations and interpretations. Although the state possesses the power to impose a 'unified' Chinese national Self to override other identities, such as ethnic identity, through government-issued textbooks, individuals simultaneously can negotiate their views of the nation which may either collude with or contest the state's narratives of the nation. Duara (1997) has explored how Chinese historical actors mobilise particular representations of nation against other representations and revealed the dynamic, and multiple nature of Chinese national identity through historical writings in the early 20th century. Tam (2020) has highlighted movements celebrating local languages, as signifiers of an idealised national past and present, that flourished alongside language standardisation campaigns throughout the Republican and Maoist periods. She argued that nationalism is defined by how different kinds of people understood, tethered themselves to, and excluded others from a putative nation. These works have challenged the premise that nation building forged a homogenous China.

Accepting the heterogeneity of Chinese national identity, this thesis investigates how Mongolians position themselves in the Chinese nation building. Employing

textbook analysis, Chinese historical linguistics, and ethnographic-informed fieldwork, this study explores how Mandarin Chinese language and cultural knowledge and value is defined from the Mongolian perspective in the early 20th century, when the linguistic standard was still under debate, to the present time. It reveals an aspect of the hidden history of multilingualism in Chinese language standardisation and highlights how different views of teaching Chinese, as a communicative tool, as linguistic and cultural capital, and as an identity marker, are negotiated by Mongolians today.

Following Duara (1997: 7), I use *identity* to refer to a subject position produced by representations in relation to other representations. A person's perception of self is 'constituted neither primordially nor monolithically but within a network of changing and often conflicting representations'. During the process of defining a national Self as the 'larger self', it subsumes hybrid forms of social identities, such as cultural, linguistic and ethnic identities. Here Others are simultaneously contained within the national Self but marked out as separate. Thus, the concept of Chinese national Self in this thesis is positioned in relation to the Other which is context-based and keeps changing over the course of time.

1.2 Thesis structure

This thesis has developed a tri-dimensional qualitative research method, adapting from Johnson and Johnson's (2015) model of language policy appropriation, which has enabled the first detailed analysis of the shifts in the reproduction of the Chinese imagined national Self to a non-Han audience, combining critical discourse analysis, historical linguistics and present-day ethnography to explore a wide range of data, from the past to the present. It traces how the complex narratives of 'Chinese Mongolians' have been created by the state and also how they have been embraced and redefined by Mongolian themselves. Mandarin teaching to Mongolian learners is revealed as a site where different representations of the Chinese nation contest and negotiate with one another.

Specifically, the thesis addresses the following research questions, which I expand on in Chapter 2:

(1) How have Chinese national identities been discursively constructed over time in textbooks for teaching Mandarin to Mongolian learners?

(2) How has Mongolian identity been negotiated over time in the representation of Chinese national identities in the textbooks?

(3) How have Mongolians defined what linguistic and cultural knowledge and value of Mandarin to teach, both in the past and at present?

Chapter 2 introduces the main theoretical frameworks used in this study, including national identity, cultural citizenship, and the production of standard and 'legitimate' language. It introduces existing research of power relations in education, including the cultural representation strategies of the Chinese nation in school textbooks, and sociolinguistic studies of the majority language hegemony over minoritised learners in the classroom. Lastly, it considers the minoritising and resisting strategies revealed in previous Mongolian studies. Chapter 3 sets out the research approach taken, the methods of data collection, and analysis. It details an innovative tri-dimensional qualitative research method, which combined critical discourse analysis, historical linguistics and ethnography to explore a wide range of sources in this study.

Chapters 4 and 5 of the thesis then focus on the construction of Chinese nationalist history and 'ideal' Chinese citizenship in Chinese language textbooks for Mongolian students to reveal the power relations between the 'majority' and 'minority' in the construction of Chinese national Self. Chapter 4 analyses Chinese language textbooks for Mongolian learners published during 1912 and 2016 from the perspective of representations of the Chinese nationalist history to the Mongolian audience, focusing the analysis specifically on the narration of imperial China's wars against non-Han peoples, specifically the Sino-Japanese wars and Sino-European wars. Chapter 5 then presents an analysis of shifts in representations of Chinese citizenship in textbooks, considering the ways in

which Mongolians are included and excluded from the 'ideal' of Chinese citizenship over time. It traces how Mongolians are positioned in the construction of Chinese national identities and reveals the dynamic boundary between in-group and out-group members *over time*.

Chapters 6 and 7 complement this thematic analysis of Mandarin language teaching materials with a focus on how the language and cultural knowledge and value of Mandarin Chinese is perceived by Mongolians. Chapter 6 offers an early case study of how a 'correct' Mandarin pronunciation was presented, by a Mongolian official, to Mongolian learners, in Khaisan's (1917) 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds of the Five Regions' (*Menghan Hebi Wufang Yuanyin* 蒙漢合璧五方元音), at a time when the standard of Chinese was still at the stage of debate. Chapter 7, based on my 2018 fieldwork in Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, explores how Mongolian and Han actors perceive the current Mandarin language and literature curriculum for Mongolian learners. I compare and contrast the views of Mongolians and Han actors to reveal the underlying power relations between the 'majority' and 'minority' groups in the field of Mandarin teaching to Mongolian learners.

In sum, this thesis makes a novel contribution to understanding how Chinese national identities are presented to non-Han audiences and how non-Han peoples redefine it by themselves, through exploring the case study of teaching Mandarin Chinese to Mongolian learners. We shall see that the Chinese cultural knowledge and value conveyed through the textbooks is given different emphases at different times, but it often serves the interests of the governments to reproduce official Chinese national identities, with Mongolian cultural features being commonly neutralised and/or made subservient to Han dominant Chinese national values. Meanwhile, Mongolians in the past and at the present time challenges the dominance of Han identity, culture and values through employing multilingual sources in the codification of the 'correct' Mandarin pronunciation in the 1910s. Different views of Mandarin Chinese teaching, as a communicative tool, as linguistic and cultural capital and as an identity marker are found to be negotiated by Mongolians today. The results of this study will help to reveal the politics of representation in schools and make explicit the ways in which

language and cultural knowledge and value is generated, reproduced and refuted shaped by the power dynamics between Mongolian and Han. This research will be of interest to a wide range of scholars in critical curriculum studies, ethnic minority studies, Chinese nation building and the history of language learning and teaching.

Chapter 2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Using the teaching of Chinese to Mongolians as a case study, this thesis examines how a minoritised ethnic group is integrated and/or marginalised in the project of Chinese nation building since the early 20th century. As background to the study, this chapter introduces relevant theories of national identity, cultural citizenship, language standardisation, as well as empirical studies of textbooks analysis and critical language policy studies. It then focuses on the notion of hegemony in the overlooked history of teaching Mandarin Chinese to Mongolian learners, looking particularly at the promulgation of Chinese linguistic and cultural values, in order to reveal the fluidity and complexity of the meanings of being 'Chinese Mongolians' since the early 20th century.

The chapter first provides a theoretical and analytical framework for elaborating how a state exerts control over the construction of national identity in nationalist histories (Section 2.2), then the formation of 'ideal' citizenship (Section 2.3) and the standardisation and production of a 'legitimate' language (Section 2.4), situating the nation state building as a hegemonic process, through which the dominant group obtains the privilege to impose the linguistic and cultural norms upon dominated groups. Section 2.5 moves to the ways in which unequal power relations are naturalised and reproduced through the medium of textbooks, especially reviewing the shifting meanings of 'ideal' Chinese citizenship and strategies of inclusion and exclusion of the minoritised ethnic group, from the representation of Chinese national in the Republican and PRC periods. Having revealed how school knowledge in textbooks serve the interests and values of a dominant group while distorting those of a marginalised group, Section 2.6 shows how the dominant position of the 'majority' group is manifested in language policy and planning. The section also provides a review of the role of local agency, especially the role of teachers, in adapting, negotiating and challenging the marginalizing power of language policy in teaching practice. Section 2.7 explores how the minoritising and resisting strategies, as discussed in the previous sections, are manifested in studies of Mongolians as a subordinated group in China. Section 2.8 summarises the major learnings from

the extant literature, highlights the research gaps and proposes associated research questions.

2.2 The construction of national identity in Chinese historiography

The importance of history in the construction of national identity has been widely acknowledged. From the perspective of ethno-symbolists such as John Armstrong and Anthony Smith, a nation is a 'named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members' (Smith, 1991: 447). Therefore, history is the precursor to modern nations, which form the *ethnie* or ethnic community and create a strong sense of group identity and past continuity. [5] From the perspective of modernists such as Eric Hobsbawm, Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson, a nation is constructed, invented and imagined as a consequence of industrialization. The nationalist history could be interpreted as being manufactured as a response to the political needs of forming a cohesive community within a certain state. Despite the different focus of the ethno-symbolists and modernists, they concur that the common themes that are typically combined to construct a nationalist history includes the glorification of a nation's past and demonization of its enemies (Coakley, 2012:100; Boia, 2001: 29). However, these theories of nationalism have also been criticised as deterministic and universal, as they explore the roots of nation and explain 'the rise of nationalism' as a single phenomenon (Sutherland, 2005: 186). As such, they tend to overlook the dynamic relationship between the imagined 'us' and 'them' in the myths, memories, values and symbols, and how they are internalised as 'truth' by subjects over time.

Hall (1996, 2000) looks at nation from a mental and cognitive perspective. For him, a nation is constructed discursively in literature, in the media and in everyday culture, and internalised as a common-sense view of national belonging or identity (Hall, 1996: 613). Hall has described nations not only as political formations but also as 'systems of cultural representations' with which people can identify (Hall, 1996: 612). National culture, including nationalist history, is a hegemonic discourse, which represents different social groups as

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[5] According to Smith (1986: 13), *ethnie* refers to the collective cultural units and sentiments of pre-modern eras.

belonging to the same great national family, unifying them as 'one people' through the exercise of different forms of cultural power, which elides its internal divisions and differences. Hall has pointed out that national identity is 'unified' through its relation to the Other, which is dynamic and involves 'the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries' subject to the strategic 'play' of difference (Hall, 2000: 17). Notions of Self and Other is never fixed; rather, they are 'produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies' (Hall, 2000: 18). Identities are thus a 'point of temporary attachment' to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us (Hall, 1996: 6). The meaning of Other in the representation of nationalist histories shifts within the play of power and exclusion in different periods.

The representations of warfare as a shared experience consisting of triumphs and defeats has been identified by Hall as a strategy of giving meaning to the nation in the national narrative (Hall, 1996: 613). Anthony Smith (1981: 78) has also noted the importance of war for national and ethnic identities, especially during times of war. Smith suggests four main reasons for why war has this effect: (1) the mobilization of men and resources creates social solidarity in the face of ethnic others; (2) war propaganda and the deployment of positive (us) and negative (the enemy) stereotypes sharpen such distinctions; (3) inter-state wars are usually fought over territory, tending to delineate and align spatial and social boundaries; (4) inter-state wars promote the centralization and institutionalization of power, requiring a 'distinctive internal ordering of its population, thus turning it into a community with a sense of its historic identity' (1981: 78). Warfare, therefore, is a significant event in the nation building process, making identities uniform by removing their complexities, marking the boundary between Self and Other.

Memory studies have also shown that the representation of historical wars as 'collective memory' can bring to light different visions of the nation. Zerubavel (2011: 238) has pointed out that the power of collective memory does not lie in its accurate, systematic, or sophisticated mapping of the past, but rather in establishing basic images that articulate and reinforce a particular ideological stance. Drawing upon selective criteria, collective memory provides an overall

sense of the group's development by offering a system of periodization that imposes a certain order on the past. How wars in different historical periods are narrated involves a dialogue between the past and present, which are reconstructed from a current ideological stance. Ernest Renan (1882; cited from Olick et al., 2011: 11) views shared remembering as well as shared forgetting as constitutive elements of national identity. Groups in the present can claim a continuous identity from the past through commemorating historical wars.

In Chinese national historiography, warfare has been found to play an important role in the construction of national identities since 1900. Chinese nationalism has been widely acknowledged to be based on the historical memory of a 'century of humiliation', 'victim mentality' and the 'determination of restoring China's national grandeur' after the invasion of China by Western and Japanese powers in the late nineteenth century (Zhao, 2004; Suzuki, 2004; Guang, 2005; Zarrow, 2015). Despite such advances in previous studies, what we do not yet know in the case of China is how the humiliation and pride discourse are promoted to minoritised ethnic audiences. As Hall (1996: 618) pointed out, national culture is only *represented* as 'unified', rather than this being a reality. Such representations are the means by which national cultures help to 'stich up' differences into one identity that are shaped by the power of the state.

2.3 The formation of 'ideal' citizenship

While the treatment of history and, in particular, of warfare, is one important theme for understanding the construction of national identity through the teaching of Chinese to minorities, another key theme is the representation of an 'ideal' or 'universal' citizenship, for this, too, is built upon a hierarchical relationship between 'majority' and 'minority' groups. This study draws on a Foucauldian-informed understanding of cultural citizenship, which focuses on the inclusionary and exclusionary aspects in examining the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. In this section, I shall review the development of cultural citizenship studies, starting from Marshall's foundational model of citizenship, to show how scholarly understandings of citizenship and belonging have changed over time.

To define citizenship, T. H. Marshall's (1950) model has been widely used in post-war Europe. Marshall first referred to citizenship as a status accorded to full members of a community: 'All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed' (Marshall, 1950: 149). Under this model, citizenship is identified as having three elements: civil, political and social citizenship, which correspond, respectively, to the jury system, parliament and the welfare state. Without all three kinds of rights, citizens are not full members of the state and instead are seen as second-class citizens. In emphasising full membership of a community as well as rights, Marshall represented an early attempt to synthesise two competing approaches of citizenship in Western thought: a liberal approach, which emphasises individual freedom and civil rights, combined with a so-called civic republican approach, which stresses community solidarity and direct participation.

More recently, scholars have expanded upon conventional notions of citizenship as not only a claim to rights but also a claim to full societal belonging. The connection of citizenship to cultural studies began in the 1980s against the background of globalisation and postmodernism. Inspired by social movements in respect of race and ethnicity, gender and sexuality, disability and others, and by the theoretical contributions of Michael Foucault, cultural citizenship studies are concerned with ways of deconstructing the normalizing, excluding and silencing dimensions of the notions of 'idealised' or 'universal' citizenship (Stevenson, 2001: 2). According to Foucault (1991), 'ideal' citizenship involves a normalizing gaze that assesses its object according to some hierarchical standard. As Solomos explains, 'Those in positions of power in a society can validate and impose their own definitions of normality and define boundaries for the purpose of excluding, enclosing or exploiting others' (Solomos, 2001: 199). Cultural difference is seen in relation to a normative centre, in which all other cultures are on the periphery (Beaman, 2016: 853). Marshall's formulation of citizenship has been criticised from this perspective for its very specific socio-political contextualisation (i.e. post-war Britain) and for referring only to rights ascribed to heterosexual White men in England (Turner, 1990: 212). In addition, Marshall's framework fails to articulate how citizenship as a status operates in

practice and creates and perpetuates social inequality and differential citizenship status (Beaman, 2016: 850).

Attention has been called to question of accessibility to citizenship for different social groups. Cultural citizenship studies, under the influence of Foucauldian deconstructionism, have therefore, switched the focus from seeking the truth-regimes of the human sciences to revealing how the subordinated positions of subject are discursively constructed through different discourses, including gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, age, disability and other differences. Feminist theories of citizenship, for example, have looked at the oppressive consequence of the dichotomy between public and private spheres. Founded by men, the modern state and its public realm of citizenship have been paraded as universal values, and norms were derived from specifically masculine experience (Young, 1990). As a shift in thinking, away from Carol Pateman's political analysis of the 'fraternal pact' that lies embedded within liberal democratic thought, new theories of gender and citizenship see the construction of female and male citizenship less as a status and more as an identity and a set of social relations which are discursively framed in particular historically specific periods (Arnot, 2009: 12). Arnot and Dillabough (2009) has identified three levels of political analysis of citizenship in the education field: (a) the study of civic spheres; (b) the study of national narratives of education; (c) the analysis of political identities, differences and subjectivities to reveal the normalisation and surveillance of the 'female child' and 'female teacher', the construction of a 'female citizen' that is in line with the rational discourses of citizenship.

Like women, non-whites are also oppressed by the 'civilised' *white* male bourgeoisie dominated public sphere in Western democracies. Backward-looking and uncultivated desires are often attributed to them and they are forced to adopt the norms defined by the privileged group in order to be included in the public sphere. Ong (1996) focused on everyday processes whereby people, especially immigrants, are made into subjects of a particular nation state. Comparing the experiences of rich and poor Asian immigrants to the United States, Ong argued that hierarchical schemes of racial and cultural difference intersect in a complex, contingent way to locate minorities of colour from different class background in defining who belongs or does not belong in

Western democracies. He identified two processes of normalization: dominant racial oppositions, and an assessment of cultural competence based on imputed human capital and consumer power in the minority subject. Ong found that institutionally dependent Cambodian Americans are 'blackened' while affluent jet-set Hong Kong and Taiwanese Chinese in California are 'whitened'. Similarly, in the context of Disability Studies, Dauncey (2020) has proposed the term 'para-citizenship' to describe particular forms of disabled citizenship. She argues that the peculiar precarity of bodily difference and the hegemonic nature of ableist discourses creates fundamental tensions as well as further opportunities for negotiating identity and belonging. Generally, these studies have revealed a range of 'othering' processes which are used by the gatekeepers or the dominant group of a particular community to indicate an individual or group's closeness to or distance from their 'ideal' (Ong, 1996: 751). The boundaries and criteria for allocating membership change depends on the social interests of the dominant group.

Many of these findings are echoed in the citizenship and ethnicity literature in the Chinese context. The theory of internal orientalism, which emanated from Said's (1978) Orientalism in the context of European colonialism, was first developed by Gladney (1994) and Schein (1997) to describe the different ways of representing Han and ethnic minorities: the 'majority' Han as the 'unmarked' or 'normal' 'Self' in contrast to its minoritised 'Others', who are 'marked' in a cultural sense, characterized by sensuality, colourfulness and exotic custom. The theory has become the dominant paradigm in the study of the representations of Han and non-Han peoples in the construction of Chinese citizenship. For example, Litzinger (2000: 25) put forward the concept of a 'developmental double bind' to reveal the conflicting roles assigned to non-Han peoples. They are required to submit to civilizing processes (at once social, cultural and economic), while also being required to adhere to traditional identities and practices that incorporate them into the socialist body politic as inferior to the majority Han. The tension facing ethnic minorities in the modernization discourse is that they are expected to be repositories of tradition, of culture, in contrast to the more modern Han. Meanwhile, recent academic literature has set its sights on deconstructing, dislocating and unpacking the imagined Han

identity. Friedman's (2004) research on Huidong (惠东) women in an Eastern Hui'an (惠安) village South-eastern China revealed that the boundary between the 'civilised' Han and 'un-civilised' non-Han is also found within the Han group. Although being officially identified as Han, Huidong women have been excluded from the domain of 'ideal' citizenship because of their perceived failure to embody the key qualities of civility and progress, due to the specific kinds of practices in which they have engaged, mainly dress and marriage customs. Friedman revealed a process of internal othering enacted by various groups within Hui'an village, with local cadres, educated men and young women with urban, progressive aspirations repeatedly displacing the markers of incivility onto others, particularly young women who continued to wear traditional attire. The maintenance of 'ideal' citizenship demands a 'civilised centre' which is fashioned in 'relational alterity', with its boundaries and its membership altering from one context to another (Leibold, 2012: 211).

Although the studies reviewed above have challenged the tendency to essentialise and reject any fixed meaning of 'ideal' Chinese citizenship, revealing its shifting boundaries in different contexts, few studies have yet explored how an 'ideal' Chinese citizenship has been presented to non-Han groups over time. Yet it is reasonable to expect that the 'othering' processes will have changed with the changing gatekeepers of the cultural centre from the Republican to the PRC periods. Meanwhile, the generalizability of the internal orientalism theory has also been questioned by China scholars. Wilcox (2016) examined state-sponsored minority dance in the early PRC (1949 – 54) and found that early PRC dance constructed Han and minority dance as parallel modes of ethnic performance categorised together as a new genre, 'Chinese folk dance'. Meanwhile, Bulag (2002: 64) argued that feminization of the minority discourse or eroticization of minorities as found in Gladney's (1994) and Schein's (1997) studies does not apply to the Mongolian case in northern China. He traced the development of Chinese discourse of interethnic solidarity, focusing on cases of interethnic marriage cases in Chinese history and their representation in the PRC's narrative. All of these leave us questioning, therefore, the extent to which, and how, Chinese citizenship is discursively constructed in Chinese language textbooks for Mongolians.

2.4 Language standardization and the production of a 'legitimate' language

Along with nationalist history and citizenship, standard languages have been linked with engendering and maintaining nation. Gellner (1983) and Anderson (2006) both stressed language as an important attribute to propagate a shared group membership of a nation among a community of persons within a given territory. Acknowledging the role of standardised languages as a means of creating national consciousness, this section focuses on the exercise of power in the process of language standardisation. Geeraerts (2003) identified two cultural models – a rationalist model and a romantic model – to describe the emancipatory *and* hegemonic sides of developing a standard language of a nation. The rationalist approach rests on the LANGUAGE AS A TOOL metaphor (Polzenhagen and René, 2008: 241), which highlights the benefits of language standardisation. Uniformity in standard language means the language can fulfil its function as a medium of communication, enhancing mutual understanding and free communication, which helps people to enjoy political participation, thus achieving political emancipation. A common standard language also enables people to gain access to higher culture through education, which likewise leads to social emancipation (Geeraerts, 2016: 3). Therefore, a standard language may reduce the power differential between social classes. From this perspective, language standardization can be seen as a civilizing process towards democracy (Elias, 2000, cited in Coupland & Kristiansen, 2011: 16).

Geeraaerts's romantic model of standardization is grounded on the LANGUAGE AS IDENTITY MARKER metaphor (Polzenhagen and Dirven, 2008: 241). Such a perspective emphasises the identity aspects of language standardization, often assuming that a nation state gains legitimacy from a single shared standard language. A preference for one language or language variety as the national standard rather than another can act as an instrument of oppression to marginalise speakers of other languages or dialects and as a threat to local identities. Geeraerts (2016: 6) points out the hegemonic nature of the making of a standard language, arguing that its starting point lies in the language of specific regions, specific groups of speakers, and specific domains and functions which are economically, culturally, and politically dominant. Geeraerts' (2003) two

models offer a way to conceptualise the power relationship between a standard language and other language varieties, as well as between a standard language and its users, but it fails to specify how a language norm is accepted by people through standardization.

Standard language ideology, as defined by James and Lesley Milroy (1985: 151), provides a framework of ideological analysis to explain standardization as a process of imposing uniformity in language structure. An important consequence of language standardization is the development of consciousness among speakers of a 'correct' or canonical form of language which is taken for granted as common sense (Milroy, 2007: 134). School plays an important role in imposing, maintaining, and conferring legitimacy on the standard language. A standard language is, as a result of such means of propagation, viewed as a cultural possession (Milroy, 2001: 538). Highlighting the role of educational systems in the promulgation of standard languages normalises the belief that the languages of the least politically and economically powerful social groups can be stigmatised as 'bad', 'incompressible', 'sloppy' and 'worse' (Milroy, 1985: 137).

Like Milroy and Milroy (1985), Bourdieu also viewed a standard language from sociological perspective. Language standardization is defined by Bourdieu (1992: 48) as the construction, legitimation, and imposition of an official language. Compared with Milroy and Milroy, who revealed how standardization shapes people's beliefs about language, Bourdieu focused on how social hierarchy is reproduced through the 'legitimate' competence in the standard language, as a form of capital in the linguistic market. The dominant class legitimises the established social order by establishing distinctions (hierarchies) and legitimizing these distinctions through imposing their language as the only 'legitimate' one in the formal markets, which leads to linguistic practices of all other groups being measured against the 'legitimate' practices of those who are dominant (Bourdieu, 1992: 45). A 'legitimate' speaker, in Bourdieu's sense, is not defined solely by linguistic competences but by the recognition that they receive from a group, which is the basis of authority. Investigating who the 'legitimate' speakers are during different periods can shed light on the power dynamics in a society.

This review of the conceptual understanding of the production and promulgation of standard and 'legitimate' language has provided theoretical frameworks for analysing how hierarchy between the dominant and dominated groups are transmitted in the language standardization process. However, these theories are somewhat Eurocentric, being predominantly based on linguistic history in the European context. For example, Milroy (2007: 134), discussing standard English, has suggested that standardization is assumed to apply to the written language, while there is no strict rule for pronunciation. In the Chinese context, however, at least since the turn of the 20th century, standardising pronunciation has been accorded the *same* importance as standardising the written form, with the aim of creating a unified speech community out of the linguistically disparate parts of a Chinese nation. Studies of Chinese language reforms from a sociological point of view have looked at the relationship between the creation of Mandarin Chinese and the kind of society it is supposed to serve. For example, Weng (2018) has explored the selection and promulgation of standard Mandarin Chinese pronunciation by the language reformers from the 1910s to the 1930s. He argues that the linguistic debates of that period represent a new ideal of organizing society in which all members are held to an explicitly defined set of rules for a standard language. Wang (2014) has pointed out the conflicting interests among Southern Mandarin supporters, Northern Mandarin supporters, and leftists (proletarian language supporters) in the selection of a standard Chinese pronunciation between 1910s and 1930s. Despite these advances in knowledge, we still know little about the relevance of ethnicity in the politics of standardising Mandarin in search of a way to support Chinese nation building. After the collapse of the Qing empire in 1911, promoting a new language standard in the complicated polyglot environments of China's borderlands was a great challenge, given the legacy of the multilingual language policy of the Qing dynasty (He, 2017). Investigating the challenge of teaching Mandarin Chinese to non-Han groups in these borderland regions therefore will help us to trace whether and how social structure shifts over time.

2.5 Textbooks in the Chinese nation building

Having reviewed the theories of power relations in the formation of a national Self through the themes of nationalist history, 'ideal' citizenship, and standard

language, we have seen that nation state building is perceived as an exclusionary process, which imposes the norms made by the dominant group as common sense on subordinated others. This section and the next (Section 2.6) now consider how the hegemony imposed by the state is reproduced in the education field.

Official curriculum documents-syllabus, textbooks, and other materials–define the objectives and goals of teaching and provide the basics or major part of the cultural knowledge and information for teaching and learning in schools (Westbury, 1990: 16). The production and distribution of school textbooks is a complex and long-term venture which necessitates large investments, the work of competent personnel, and forward planning and organization of the whole process, from the elaboration of manuscripts to their distribution to school (Seguin, 1989: 8). Therefore, power relations are involved in the production of textbooks because their production requires privileged access to scarce social resources, such as money and knowledge. Apple (1999: 62) points out the dominant groups in economic, political and cultural spheres attempts to 'control what counts as 'legitimate' knowledge in school for their own interests'. Textbooks codify what is 'known', or rather what is accepted knowledge, and they are highly selective, concentrating on the supposedly 'essential' knowledge for the learner (Issitt, 2004).

A number of studies of the history of cultural representations in textbooks have been undertaken from the perspective of the modern foreign language didactician (McLelland, 2015: 254). Risager (2007) discussed the cultural pedagogy of foreign language teaching in the USA, Canada and Europe from 1880s to 2000s. She traces a shift from a national paradigm towards a transnational cultural and language pedagogy. The development of national paradigm between 1880 and 1960 is found to nationalise language subjects and transmit the idea of a nationally structured view of the world. The national paradigm is built on two traditions: (a) the land-and-people 'realia' tradition, which is purely informative; and (b) an idealist and stereotyping interest in national-psychological traits. McLelland (2015) explored the representation of German culture and history in the German textbooks for English learners from 1500 to 2000, paying attention to different aspects at different points in history

including the role of images in the early part of the 20th century, teaching 'memory' after World War II and after re-unification, confronting stereotypes, and constructions of gender. Such studies can provide a nuanced historical survey of the changing images of a nation communicated via the medium of foreign language textbooks and reveal possible 'nodal points' (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) which are initially empty and filled with meaning by their context such as land, people and war, in representations of national identity. In the following sections, I review existing historical Chinese textbook studies, which examined textbooks published during the pre-1949 and post-1949 periods to show the different representation strategies of promulgating Chinese national cultures by the Republican and PRC governments.

2.5.1 Studies of Republican period Chinese textbooks (1912-1949)

Textbooks during the Republican period were marketed and sold like any other commodity, using common techniques of advertising, networks of suppliers, price cuts and kickbacks (Culp, 2007). According to Liu (2015), the Commercial Press (*Shangwu Yinshuguan* 商务印书馆) and Zhonghua Book Company (*Zhonghua Shuju* 中华书局) dominated the publishing of textbooks nationwide from 1920 to 1940. Textbook compilers who worked for the publishing companies had varying perspectives – they included former schoolteachers, prominent reformist intellectuals such as Cai Yuanpei (蔡元培, 1868-1940), Hu Shi (胡适, 1891-1962), Feng Zikai (丰子恺, 1898-1975) and Ye Shengtao (叶圣陶, 1894-1988), and Western-trained academics such as Gu Jiegang (顾颉刚, 1839-1980) and Tao Menghe (陶孟和, 1887-1960). After 1927, the Republican government exercised unprecedented control over textbooks, requiring the submission of textbooks for approval under detailed curriculum standards, regular review of textbooks, and increasing institutional oversight (Culp, 2007: 50). The review process led to the standardization of textbooks which has continued since then.

Regarding the specific case of textbooks for Mongolian students, three types of Chinese and Mongolian learning textbooks have been identified by Hashuntonglaga (2013): those compiled by Mongolians, those compiled by the Republican government, and those compiled by the Manchukuo government

(1932 – 1945). [6] Hashuntonglaga has provided a detailed list of Chinese and Mongolian language textbooks published during the Republican period in her review, and compared the underlying purposes of the different groups in compiling and publishing the textbooks. Hashuntonglaga (2013) argued that both the nationalist and Manchukuo governments used textbooks as political propaganda to legitimise their sovereignty, although she provided little evidence from the textbook contents. In contrast, the textbooks compiled by Mongolians were viewed as something to strengthen the building of the Mongolian group. This finding is echoed in Heuschert-Laage's (2019) study of the founding of the Eastern Mongolian publishing house in Mukden 1926/1927. Heuschert-Laage has pointed out that the Mongolian founders of the publishing house were fuelled by ideas of social Darwinism and saw competition not just on a global scale but also within the Chinese Republic. Their publishing project was meant to consolidate Mongols as a distinct, unitary group within the multi-national Chinese Republic. However, the relatively flexible publishing environment for the Mongolians during the early Republican period also changed after the 1930s. Under the trend of standardising textbooks by the Republican government mentioned above in relation to other regions in China, compiling and publishing textbooks for Mongolian students also began to be increasingly controlled by the Republican government (Cui, 2015: 124).

A number of studies of textbooks have explored the relationship between textbooks and the making of the modern Chinese nation state. Zarrow (2015) examined Chinese language readers, morality and civics textbooks, history textbooks, and geography textbooks published between 1902 and 1937, to reveal the subtle interplay of ideas and social forces in the making of modern Chinese culture, focusing on the divergences between the official curriculum and actual textbooks. Zarrow found that textbooks compilers represented a Republican ideology that was not too far off from official views: that China needed to survive in an international order of social Darwinian struggle; that a strong state needed a strong citizenry; that a citizenry needed to understand itself both as individuals with rights-and-duties vis-à-vis the state and as members of complex

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[6] Manchukuo was a puppet state of the Empire of Japan in Northeast China and Inner Mongolia from 1932 until 1945.

social orders; and that patriotism required strong minds and strong bodies (Zarrow, 2015: 10). Meanwhile, representations of Chinese citizenship were torn between competing views that variously emphasized the people's autonomous participation in the process of government and a citizenship that emphasized the individual's membership in a political society that was an organic whole.

Culp (2007) examined history, geography, and civics textbooks used in secondary schools in the lower Yangzi region (South-east China) between 1912 and 1937. For Culp, textbooks offer ideal images of a unified national community and a bounded, stable national territory, while also delineating threats to the coherence of the national people and geo-body, threats that served as the basis of rallying cries for action by citizens to realise the nation. Paired with this developmental nationalism were civics textbooks' images of society as a functional integrated organic body with citizens as the component cells. Culp's study revealed that Republican period nationalist education created the imperative for 'the people' to be constituted through political action: publicly oriented civic activism characteristic of civic republicanism was seen as more fundamental than individual rights of liberal democracy.

Wang (2013) focused on the history textbooks published in the late Qing period and early Republican era between 1895 and 1920. She traced the changing identities of the Self and Other through the three themes of the origin of the Chinese nation; the significance of *minzu* (民族) and the position of the Han vis-à-vis the *minzu*; and the role of minority groups in relation to the Han and to China as a whole. She notes a shift from highly exclusive Han-centred narratives to a more inclusive definition of the Chinese *minzu*, although the assumption of Han superiority in the social hierarchy of Chinese society was not fundamentally changed in the early Republican textbooks. Meanwhile, the growing importance of the link between the Chinese national Self, state, and territory was found to be evident in the changing narratives of the national origin, which emphasised the native-ness of the Chinese people and their historic link with the Chinese territory. However, it seems that Wang (2013) was not alert to considering how theories about *minzu* are exemplified as concrete behaviours and attitudes in the representation of Han and non-Han people in the textbooks, which would have

brought further nuance to her historical analysis, especially the tensions between the concrete cultural representations and the theories of *minzu*.

These studies of Republican textbooks have shown the ways of imagining China as a unified, bounded and historical state through portraying the relationship between people and the state, and how the Other is positioned in the process. They explored the nodal points of rights and duties, geo-body, and national origin in the Chinese nation building. Examining how these issues played out in relation to other audiences – including, in this present study, Mongolians – will offer a further insight into the reproduction of a Chinese national Self to the minoritised ethnic group.

2.5.2 Studies of PRC period Chinese textbooks (1949-present)

During the Maoist period, the compilation, publication, and distribution of textbooks were all tightly controlled by the central government. According to Cui (2015), primary and secondary schools nationwide all theoretically used the same textbook, and this situation continued up until the early 1980s. Since then, different versions of textbooks have been permitted by the government for use in regional schools, and the compilation of textbooks has now been localised. The local People's Education Press and universities are permitted to compile textbooks, but textbooks still need the approval of the 'National Primary and Secondary School Textbooks Review Committee' (*Quanguo Zhongxiaoxue Jiaocai Shencha Weiyuanhui* 全国中小学教材审查委员会) before being distributed to schools.

Textbooks for minoritised ethnic students also experienced the decentralizing trend, but with some particularities. Cui (2015) classified three stages: (1) 1949-1953; (2) 1953-1985; (3) 1985 onwards. During the first stage, textbooks of foreign countries were adopted or translated. For example, the Mongolian language textbooks of the Mongolian state were used for Mongolian students in China. Mathematics and science subject textbooks translated Soviet textbooks. During the second stage (1953 - 1985), textbooks used by Han students were translated into the minority languages for minority students to use. During the third stage, since 1985, textbooks for Han students were used as blueprints, but with more flexibility being given to adapt them to the ethnic cultures. Regarding

Chinese language textbooks and minority language textbooks, each ethnic minority autonomous region has been responsible for textbook compilation since the Maoist period; the textbooks need to be approved by the Department of Education of the corresponding autonomous region. Compared with the textbooks of other subjects, language textbooks seem to enjoy relatively more freedom in the compilation procedure.

Previous studies of textbooks during the PRC period have shown that the representation of China and 'Chinese-ness' is never divorced from the political of favouring certain dominant group. As the gatekeepers of the 'legitimate' knowledge' in textbooks have changed, from the previous Nationalist party to the Communist party, the cultural representation strategies have also shifted. Fairbrother's (2006) study of citizenship education in China in the 1950s and 1990s demonstrates that changes in national goals, priorities, and ideologies exert a shaping force on the civics education curriculum. Fairbrother found a change from the ideology of nationalism to that of Marxism in the political ideology textbooks of late 1950s. In addition to the transformation of citizens' consciousness, a parallel goal reflected in the textbooks is to support the 'the Great Leap Forward' and rapid industrialisation. [7] In the 1990s textbooks, Fairbrother found an increase in nationalist content, which includes the sub-themes of sacrificing to the nation, pride in Chinese traditions, and anti-foreignism (including details of China's recent battles against imperialism). Price (1980) examined two sets of Chinese language textbooks from the 1960s to 1970s. He found that in the late 1970s, textbooks increased the amount of content devoted to CCP leaders, instilling loyalty to the leadership through the legacy of Mao, and continued with the moral themes of self-sacrifice for the nation. The ideologies presented in the represented 'reality' of the textbooks attempt to rally the populace behind state goals through the construction of meanings given to the children (Fallon, 2015: 45).

Regarding the representation of ethnic minorities in the textbooks, many studies have focused on the othering of minority peoples. Wang and Phillion (2010)

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[7] The Great Leap Forward was an economic and social campaign led by the CCP from 1958 to 1962. The campaign was launched by Mao Zedong to reconstruct the country from an agrarian economy into a communist society through the formation of people's communes.

examined how the knowledge related to minority groups and how the knowledge related to the Han group are introduced and interpreted in elementary textbooks of Chinese language, moral education, and social studies published in the 2000s. They found that the sum of interests, values and findings that arise from the Han people's understanding and exploration of the world dominates the textbooks, while the culture of minoritised ethnic groups is under-represented and seen as backward. Chu (2015) came to a similar conclusion in his analysis of the depiction of minoritised ethnic groups, of the dominant Han group and of the interaction between ethnic minorities and Han in elementary textbooks of Chinese language (*Yuwen* 语文), moral education and life (*Pinde yu shenghuo* 品德与生活), and moral education and society (*Pinde yu shehui* 品德与社会). Chu suggested that the minority groups are largely marginalised and that knowledge about them is constructed and presented from the perspective of the Han people. In a later study, Chu (2017) investigated the visual representation of minoritised ethnic groups in Chinese elementary social studies textbooks, and revealed a binary understanding of 'minority' and 'majority', as the images of minoritised ethnic groups were limited to selected cultural markers. All these studies have shown Han hegemony in the cultural presentation of the 'minority' group. However, they seem to highlight the ways in which 'minority' people are marked *out,* without attending to the inclusive side of Chinese membership.

Baranovitch (2010), by contrast, traced the representation of non-Han peoples in Chinese high-school textbooks of premodern Chinese history published in China from 1951 to 2003. In the early 1950s textbooks, there was a clear dichotomy between the Han and ethnic minorities, who were viewed as foreign others. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the minority groups were totally incorporated into the Chinese historical self. The textbooks exhibited a clear shift from a Han-exclusivist vision of Chinese history to a more inclusive and multi-ethnic one, although the narration of the histories and cultures of the minorities was Han-centric. Similar to the findings of Baranovitch (2010), Vickers' (2006) analysis of 2000s history textbooks used in junior secondary school revealed that Chinggis Khan was depicted as a glorious Chinese hero, with the 'achievements' of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in promoting the 'assimilation' of China's different nationalities being celebrated. In contrast to the 'evolutionary' path from a

mono-ethnic Han to multi-ethnic historiography, as revealed in the above studies, Grose (2012) argued that the varyingly inclusive and exclusionary representation of Uyghurs in six Chinese-Uyghur bilingual language textbooks are linked to the alternate loosening and tightening of the Chinese Party-State's attitudes and actions towards the Uyghurs. A relaxed political environment is more conducive to a celebration of ethnic diversity, while Han chauvinism is more likely to be articulated during times of tightening (Grose, 2012: 370). Grose concluded that the way in which ethnic minorities are represented in textbooks tends to be closely related to the CCP's fluctuating ethnic policies.

So far, I have reviewed the studies of textbooks which are mainly intended for students within China. A few studies have also explored the portrayal of minorities in Chinese language textbooks for foreign learners. White (2008) found that Chinese as a Second Language (CSL) textbooks provide foreign students with an image of prototypical minorities that sing and dance, and are rural and silent. Some minority groups, like the Dai and Tibetans, received more attention than others, such as the Hui or the Zhuang, as their ethnic cultures tend to be perceived as being more interesting for foreign students. Similar to White's findings, Fallon's (2015) analysis of 1980s CSL textbooks also revealed that minority groups are included as colourful Others to show the attractive diversity of China's people. Comparing foreign student characters' family visits to Han and Uyghur homes, Fallon concluded that the texts symbolically produce the Han family as equal and similar to the foreign guests, while Uyghurs are gazed upon as Othered minorities. The CSL textbooks thus show a social ordering between Han and non-Han groups in the production of a Chinese national image in the global context.

While the findings discussed so far have shown how the subjects are aligned to national narratives through the production of 'realities' in textbooks, little research has been done on the Chinese textbooks for minoritised readers, who have been argued to be marginalised, othered and underrepresented in the Chinese national image. There are only two relevant studies. Gao (2012) examined twelve Chinese language textbooks for Korean-medium primary schools, published in 2008. She classified lessons related to civic and moral education into sixteen themes and calculated the percentage of the textbooks

devoted to each theme. Loving nature, family love and friendship, and patriotism emerged as the top three themes in the textbooks. Ren (2014) explored the representation of Mongolian culture in ten Chinese language textbooks for Mongolian-medium primary schools, published between 2008 and 2012. Ren's study found that Mongolian history, literature, arts, tradition, religion and cultural values are under-represented in the Chinese language textbooks, taking up just 8% of the total lessons, while 88% of the contents are about Han culture. However, Ren did not specify how Mongolian and Han culture were defined.

These studies have shown that a particular image of China is represented to minoritised learners, and that minorities are both under-represented and represented in stereotyped ways. To my knowledge, however, no studies have yet offered a detailed historical analysis of how the representation strategies of Chinese national culture in textbooks for minorities shift over a century in time. This thesis constitutes the first contribution to research in this area.

2.6 Sociolinguistic studies of bilingual language education

When analysing textbook contents, we must bear in mind the role of teachers as intermediaries between the student and the textbook, which means that textbooks may be used in different ways from those intended, and that meaning can also be negotiated through the teacher and the textbook (Fallon, 2015: 46). How teachers perceive and interpret the language and cultural knowledge as represented in the language textbook plays an important role in what children will learn, which may be in line with or diverge from what the government would like the content of childhood socialization to be (Price, 1980: 536). What does Mandarin Chinese mean for the Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese? What is the relationship between Chinese and Mongolian in the Chinese teaching practice? Here I consider how the 'majority' language hegemony is reinforced, questioned and rejected in recent sociolinguistic ethnography studies of the bilingual language education.

Language ideology has emerged as a central notion in sociolinguistic studies of language policy planning. A language ideology is a social, evaluative belief system related to languages and language practices (Mcgroarty, 2010) which can be 'recast as a socially derived intellectualised or behavioural ideology'

(Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994: 62). How languages are perceived is intertwined with the discourse of power. For example, Kudriavtseva (2020) conducted a survey among school pupils to evaluate the perceived roles of Ukrainian and Russian in Ukraine. She found that Ukrainian is associated with the 'language of the Ukrainian nation', as the marker of Ukrainian identity, while Russian is viewed merely as a 'language spoken by the majority of people where I live', as a communicative tool. The quantitative data from Kudriavtseva's study suggested a clear distancing in distinct ideological functions between Ukrainian and Russian. However, a quantitative approach risks missing the nuances of how language ideologies are constructed and contested in the situated context. Interaction analysis and ethnography are the two main qualitative approaches which are often combined to uncover how language ideologies are discursively constructed, using ethnographic interviews and classroom observation of teacher-student and student-student interactions. Recent sociolinguistic work dealing with bilingual and multilingual practices has applied the notion of 'translanguaging' to explore how teachers and students 'make use of their different linguistic knowledge and skills, personal histories, attitudes, beliefs and ideologies in the negotiation of meaning, power relations and identities' in classrooms with multilingual minoritised ethnic children (Li, 2014: 158). A study by Jaspal and Coyle (2010) may serve as an example of language ideology research carried out through interviews, exploring how a group of second generation British-born South Asians perceive the role played by English and Punjabi in their identity. Their semi-structured interviews revealed ambivalent responses to the perception of language norms, and various strategies were reported for dealing with dilemmatic situations and identity threat arising from bilingualism. Such studies served as model for the work reported in Chapter 7, examining language ideologies of Mandarin Chinese and Mongolian through ethnographic methods, including survey, interview and classroom observation.

Critical approaches to bilingual language policy are informed by critical theory, which highlights the importance of power relations in language policies and in institutions such as schools in creating and sustaining various forms of social inequality and in promoting the interest of the dominant social groups. Meanwhile, the agency of social actors and institutions in influencing,

reinterpreting, or thwarting language policy and planning is also stressed, which may reproduce or challenge the linguistic and social orders that language policy constructs (Grey, 2017: 150). The professional actors include local education authorities, head teachers, and teachers, and each group may represent different values and attitudes in the implementation of language policies. Focusing on the 'policymakers in practice' (Pollard and Filer, 1999: 31), studies have examined how language policies exert social control, emphasizing how power circulates within micro-level practices and discourses which naturalise particular ways of thinking, being, and educating, while concomitantly delimiting others. Liang (2015) examined the impact of teachers' attitudes towards Cantonese on students' learning in Guangzhou. Drawing on interviews with Chinese language teachers in a primary school, Liang revealed that Cantonese is perceived as a marker of local identity by teachers, while school is not thought as a place for dialect maintenance.

While studying teachers' language ideologies in Chinese language teaching is very under-researched in China, some other studies have been conducted outside China. For example, May (2000) examined the attitudes and responses of a cohort of Welsh teacher trainees to the legitimation and institutionalisation of Welsh in the public sphere. He found support at the general level of the bilingual policy, while more specific aspects of the policy remained openly contested, such as where it impinged on individual citizenship rights regarding public sector employment. Clark (2008) drew upon critical ethnography and discourse analysis to highlight the different conceptions of what being Canadian, multilingual and multicultural means to multi-generational Italian-Canadian youths and the ways in which they position themselves vis-à-vis the acquisition of French as the official language and their choices of becoming French teachers. Clark pointed out overlapping identities in being and becoming Canadian as a means to challenge or alter the status quo of an imagined homogenous Canadian national identity. Johnson (2011) combined critical discourse analysis with ethnography to examine bilingual language policy as multi-layered processes of creation, interpretation, and appropriation in the US context. He examined intertextual and interdiscursive links between bilingual language policy texts and discourses to uncover how the recontextualization of macro-level language

policy impacts bilingual education. Together, these studies have examined how beliefs about language education, research and parental pressure influence the interpretation and appropriation of bilingual language policy. They have also shown the agency of teachers, who may adapt and resist the implementation of language policies.

Regarding the power relations between majority and minority languages in the Chinese context, studies have criticised the Han-centric and hegemonic ideologies of minority language polices. For example, Harrell (1993), examining language policy of description, classification, standardization and teaching minoritised ethnic languages in the 1950s, revealed the Han-centred structural and ideological obstacles of the PRC government's then new project of creating a unified and multinational state. Zhou (2004) investigated the relationship between the PRC's minority language policy and the PRC's practice. Zhou identified a significant disparity between what the PRC Constitution guarantees and what the Chinese government has practised in the sphere of language rights and equality, noting the overuse of Chinese in government and in its institutions within minority communities. Grey (2017) investigated what language ideologies are produced and reproduced in official rights discourses and policies for the Zhuang minority group in China and how the social actors receive, resist, and reproduce these in practice through the lens of Zhuang in the linguistic landscape and in the education system.[8] Taking Bourdieu's 'linguistic market' perspective, Grey's study showed that 'official discourses of Zhuang language rights do not challenge the ascendant marketised and mobility-focused language ideologies which ascribe low value to Zhuang.'

All of these studies have shown how language policies are implemented in different ways, foregrounding the roles of social actors. Building on these understanding, this study will look at the hegemonic situation of teaching Mandarin Chinese to 'minority' learners, particularly from the perspective of teaching both language and literary culture.

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[8] See now also Grey (2021).

2.7 Mongolians as a minoritised ethnic group in China

Having reviewed approaches to nation, identity, language, and power relations which inform this study of teaching Chinese to minoritised learners, I conclude this chapter by focussing on the particular case study that is the focus of this thesis: Mongolians as a minoritised ethnic group in China. I shall first provide brief historical context on the status of Mongolian language and culture in the Qing dynasty, before reviewing the minoritising strategies of Mongolians within the project of Chinese nation-building in the Republican and in PRC period China.

Mongolian was a prestigious language in the Qing dynasty. In military alliance with the Manchu, Mongolian noblemen of the Eight Banner lineages were represented on all military councils, campaigns, and history projects.[9] Manchu princes learned Mongolian to better maintain intimate connections with the Mongolian nobility (Crossley, 2006: 26). Under the reign of Emperor Qianlong (1735-1796), policies to establish written Mongolian as the emblematic language of the Mongolians and cultivate Mongolian culture through translating the cultural indoctrination program for the Manchus into Mongolian were avidly enforced, all of which served to further legitimise Manchu rule over Mongolia (Crossley, 2006: 26).

With Qing expansion into Inner Asia from the middle of the seventeenth century onward, Mongolian also served as a lingua franca within the Junghar or Zunghar domains. [10] According to Brophy (2013), the establishment of Qing rulers' authority in Xinjiang relied on the Junghar Mongolian's relations with the Islamic world. Through ties with the Junghar Mongolians, Xinjing's local Muslim elites were sojourning in Beijing and worked as officials in the Mongolian Copying Office. They translated letters written in Turkic or Persian into Mongolian first then the Mongolian was translated into Manchu and submitted to the Qing emperor.

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[9] Eight banners were administrative and military divisions in the Qing dynasty into which Manchu households were placed.

[10] The Junghar nation developed in the early seventeenth century from nomadic tribes of Western Mongolians who had established a homeland beyond the Altai Mountains, astride the modern China-Kazakhstan border. The core of the Junghur domain is today part of northern Xinjiang.

During the last decade of the Qing dynasty, Manchu – Mongolian - Chinese trilingual education was promoted in Northeast China to strengthen the bond between Mongolian, Manchu and Han Chinese, who were facing invasion by both Japan and Russia (Liu, 2009: 109; Li, 2014: 74). Li (2014) discusses the origin, and dissemination of the first Manchu Mongolian Chinese textbook published in 1909, showing its influence for restoring the Qing Empire's authority in Mongolia and Manchuria. It can be seen, therefore, that Mongolian enjoyed increasingly high social and political status through the Qing dynasty.

Studies have explored the assimilation process of incorporating Mongolians as a 'minority' group within the Chinese nation state and how they have resisted Sinification since the early 20th century. Han (2013) and Bulag (2002) pointed out that the movement of Inner Mongolian national identity contestation peaked in the 1930s and 1940s, when the Mongolian Prince De attempted to claim independence and formed a series of Inner Mongolian autonomous governments with the support of Japan. However, it has been argued that Mongolians have progressively linked their ethnic identity to Chinese national identities and accepted the Chinese state sovereignty since the early years of the 20th century (Borchigud, 1996; Han, 2013). Han (2013) gave two reasons for the absence of a consistent movement of national identity contestation among the Mongolians in Inner Mongolia. First, Inner Mongolians perceived that they have a better economic life than their counterparts in (Outer) Mongolia. Second, after Japan's defeat in World War II, there was a lack of a clear external support for the Mongolians in China to claim independence.

In addition to the economic element, the representation of Mongolian language and culture have also been found to have been distorted by both the Republican and PRC governments in how they are integrated into Chinese history. For example, Bulag (2010) and Wang (2016) found that Chinggis Khan has been enshrined as a national icon of China in both the Republican and PRC periods, to foster a sense of belonging to China among the ethnic Mongolians and to sustain the uninterrupted national history of China, by depicting the Mongolian Empire as a dynasty rather than an alien regime of China. Bulag (2002) examined the portrayal of the history of Mongolian revolution in the post-1949 period, finding that supposed equality and ethnic friendship within China

became a substitute for self-determination, the original goal of the Mongolian revolution led by Mongolians such as Ulanhu (who joined the communist camp during the Republican era to seek Inner Mongolia autonomy). In later research, Bulag (2010b) explored the development and changing trajectory of the Mongolian nationality in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in the PRC period. Bulag argued that Inner Mongolians have been transformed from a group with a strong sense of nationality into a non-territorial, apolitical and cultural ethnic group through a number of interventions: the CCP's national programme of land reform, agricultural collectivisation and nationalisation of industry during the Maoist period; dismantling many traditional Mongolian leagues[11] and renaming them as Chinese municipalities in the 1980s and 1990s; and the monopoly of Chinese language and mass Han Chinese immigration into the region.

Borchigud (1994) examined the impact of urban ethnic education on modern Mongolian ethnicity between 1949 and 1966, before the Cultural Revolution. Based on the analysis of ethnic education guidelines and narrative history of urban Mongolians, Borchigud's findings showed that ethnic education in practice created a visible ethnic boundary and heightened Mongolian students' ethnic awareness. Factors implicated in creating the ethnic boundaries included the heavy emphasis on the use of Chinese for Mongolians, while the Han did not have to learn Mongolian; and the fact that the Chinese nationalism learnt in school was based on the traditions of the Han, which contradicted the mythical history of Mongolians learned at home. Bilik (2014) also pointed out the mono-cultural centrism in mainstream educational thinking in China, which could cause tensions between the Han and non-Han peoples. Based on his analysis of how the concepts of 'China' (*Zhongguo* 中国), 'ethnicity'(*Minzu* 民族), 'state' (*Guojia* 国家) and 'nation state' (*Minzu guojia* 民族国家) are expressed in Mongolian, Bilik argued that Mongolian notions of China do not necessarily accord with mainstream thinking. Mongolian speakers have different terms for

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[11] Leagues of Inner Mongolia are equivalent to prefectures in other provinces and autonomous regions.

China depending on where, when and to whom they are speaking (Bilik, 2014: 77).

Looking at language education in particular, work within the field of multilingualism studies has investigated Mongolian language as a primary marker of Mongolian ethnic identity, and its collaborative and antagonistic relationship with Mandarin Chinese. Dong et al. (2015) explored the implementation of trilingual education policy (Mandarin, Mongolian and English) and identified four types of Mongolian nationality schools in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, ranging from those that place a strong emphasis on Mongolian to those that neglect it. The authors concluded that various historical, demographic, sociolinguistic and other contextual factors influenced the choice of different models in different schools. Wei et al. (2019) examined the attitudes towards trilingualism of Mongolian students from four Chinese universities and found that regardless of their medium-of-instruction pre-tertiary education background, the participants held supportive attitudes toward 'strong models' of trilingualism (accretive and balanced models of trilingual education according to Adamson and Feng, 2015) as opposed to 'weaker models' (transitional and depreciative models, shifting attention from Mongolian to Chinese and English in this case). Meanwhile, it has been suggested that Mandarin Chinese is squeezing the space for Mongolian language development. The results of Puthuval's (2017) study of language shift in 20th-century Inner Mongolia show that bilingualism with Chinese has penetrated the entire Mongolian-speaking population, although it has not precipitated massive language shift. The finding chimes with that of Bao (2009), who also found a shift from Mongolian to Chinese and to Mongolian - Chinese bilingualism between generations. Regarding the reasons for language shift, Han (2013) identified two main factors: government education policies and economic interest. Mongolians who do not have a good command of Chinese language will not be accepted by higher education institutions outside Inner Mongolia. In addition, Mongolian students have to compete with the Han Chinese in the job market, which predominantly favours people who are proficient in Mandarin Chinese. The lower economic value of Mongolian in the linguistic market in Inner Mongolia echoes, therefore, Grey's (2017) findings in relation to the

Zhuang language in Guangxi. Maintaining the Mongolian language requires, therefore, political, social, and territorial enforcement to be meaningful (Bulag, 2003).

In short, previous studies have effectively shown the ways in which Mongolians have been marginalised as a 'minority' group in opposition to the 'majority' Han in China in terms of their language and culture. However, they have yet to capture the majority-minority dynamics in China and its promulgating process, leaving a significant lacuna that deserves further exploration.

2.8 Research gaps and questions

This chapter has reviewed the theoretical literature on the construction of a nationalist history (Hall, 1996, 2000), the formation of 'ideal' citizenship (Foucault, 1991), and language standardization (Geeraerts, 2003) and the production of a 'legitimate' language (Bourdieu, 1992). It has positioned the thesis in relation to theories that locate the building of a modern nation state as a hegemonic and minoritising process which imposes the language and culture of the dominant group as the norm and marginalises others. Meanwhile, the boundaries of in-group and out-group are dynamic subject to strategic 'play' of difference and involves internal divisions and contradictions. The inclusion and exclusion of Mongolians from Chinese nationalist history and 'ideal' citizenship is, therefore, likely to vary over time and depend on different contexts. We have seen that textbook studies can reveal how textbooks act as a vehicle for 'official knowledge' which (re)produces the state narratives and reveals the changing meanings of being Chinese for the 'majority' Han and foreign students in both Republican and PRC periods. We have also seen the critical approaches to language policy, with a focus on the professional actors, allow for uncovering how the actors reinterpret or challenge the language ideologies of official policy. Finally, we have identified the cultural and language assimilation strategies, resisting practices, and multilingual language attitudes of the Mongolians which are specific to the Inner Mongolian context, the focus of this thesis.

It is clear, however, that there remain significant gaps in our empirical and theoretical knowledge. First, there is a lack of textbook studies which examine how the Chinese national Self is represented to its non-Han audience. The studies

reviewed above have shown that the representation of Chinese national culture is context based, dynamic, and shaped by particular ideological stance of different times. Comparing representational strategies deployed to teach the Chinese national culture to Mongolian learners in the Republican and PRC periods therefore can reveal the nuances and tensions of constructing the Chinese national Self to the non-Han group. Second, the discursive construction of the boundary between the majority and minority groups in textbooks over time, especially under different polities, has been overlooked. Third, there is lack of attention paid to the linguistic and cultural knowledge of Chinese being viewed as 'correct' and 'good' from the 'minority' actor's perspective.

These research gaps will, therefore, be explored through the following research questions:

(1) How have Chinese national identities been discursively constructed over time in textbooks for teaching Mandarin to Mongolian learners?

(2) How has Mongolian identity been negotiated over time in the representation of Chinese national identities in the textbooks?

(3) How have Mongolians defined what linguistic and cultural knowledge and values of Mandarin to teach, both in the past and at present?

Drawing on Hall's conception of nation as 'a system of cultural representations' and Foucault's theory of cultural citizenship, Chapters 4 and 5 of this study explore Research Questions 1 and 2. The findings will help us to better examine the power relationship between Mongolian and Han, and to explore to what extent Mongolians are included or excluded from the Chinese national Self, in particular through representations of historical warfare, gender and ethnicity.

Meanwhile, studying the teaching of Mandarin Chinese by Mongolians, a non-Han group, in addition to the teaching through Chinese government-issued teaching materials can allow us to understand how non-Han groups position themselves and are positioned by the governments in the making of the Chinese national language. Building on Bourdieu's notion of 'legitimate' speakers and Geeraerts' cultural models of language standardisation, Chapters 6 and 7 address Research Question 3 through investigating how Mongolian elites in the past and

Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese today define the linguistic and cultural knowledge and values of Mandarin Chinese.

Before proceeding to the analysis, however, Chapter 3 outlines the methodologies adopted in this study.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2, I provided a review of the research context for this study, introducing theories of marginalising power in the making of a 'legitimate' language and national culture; considering the promulgation of the 'majority' vs. 'minority' hierarchy in the medium of textbooks; and noting the role of actors agents in the reinforcement of and/or resistance against such hegemonic power in teaching practice. With that in mind, this chapter now presents the rationale for my research approach and methods adopted, including data collection and analysis.

This study, as the first to investigate the history of teaching Mandarin Chinese to Mongolian learners, innovatively combines critical discourse analysis, historical linguistics, and ethnography to explore power relations through a wide range of sources, in order to reveal the multifaceted and complex representations of becoming a 'Chinese Mongolian' over the period of a century. The sources for this study are:

- Textbooks of Chinese for Mongolian learners, from 1912 to 2016. I take a critical discourse analysis approach to investigate the themes of nationalist history and 'ideal' citizenship in China, chosen for analysis because textbooks have been argued to serve as the medium of 'official knowledge' (Chapters 4 and 5)

- A Mongolian Chinese bilingual dictionary compiled by a Mongolian official named Khaisan from the early 20th century, when teaching of Mandarin to Mongolians was just beginning to be institutionalised, and at a crucial time in the standardization of Mandarin. The dictionary is examined in Chapter 6 as a case study of how the Chinese language has been represented to Mongolians.

- Contemporary ethnographically informed fieldwork. I employ semi-structured interviews and classroom observations of Mongolian teachers of Mandarin, as well as questionnaire data, in order to examine how Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese at the present define the Chinese language and cultural knowledge to teach (Chapter 7).

Before describing these sources of data in greater detail, Section 3.2 first provides the rationale for my research approach. Here I explain Bourdieu's and Foucault's theories of power in the nation state building. I also introduce the notion of the Mandarin Chinese teaching policy 'funnel', which I adapt from Johnson and Johnson's (2015) model of language policy appropriation, in order to visualise different layers of power flow in the Chinese teaching to Mongolian learners. Section 3.3 outlines the research method of historical analysis of power in the representation of Chinese knowledge in textbooks, looking particularly at Critical Discourse Analysis, together with the Chinese historical linguistic approach. In section 3.4, I introduce the research context for the fieldwork, including my access to a Mongolian school and research participants (3.4.1), data collection (3.4.2), methods of analysis (3.4.3) and researcher reflexivity and positionality (3.4.4).

3.2 Research approach: using a power relations lens to understand nation state building through teaching Chinese to Mongolians

This study examines the teaching of Mandarin Chinese to Mongolian speakers in the wider context of the place of minorities and relations of domination within the Chinese nation-state. In Chapter 2, I reviewed how and where power is exercised in the process of building a modern nation-state through the imposition of the dominant language and culture as legitimate, universal and valuable, in accord with the interests and values of the dominant group, while marginalising all others as subordinate. Here, I discuss the notion of power in terms of the *mechanism* of its circulation, adopting Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power and Foucault's thinking on power and resistance as a lens through which to examine the nature of power, which informs my research design.

To understand the connection between the macro-level of social structure and micro-level of individual identity, Bourdieu (1990: 54) introduced the notion of habitus, defined as the 'durably inculcated system of structured, structuring dispositions' to provide the mediating link between global features of social structure and cognitive and behavioural dispositions of individual agents. Habitus is a 'symbolic structure' within 'the social system which produces it' (Bourdieu, 1987: 816), yet it is also a 'structure of this world' upon which individuals base the 'schema of perception and judgement which are the origin

of our construction of the social world' (Bourdieu, 1987: 839). Habitus guides individuals to act, speak and think in ways that are linked to and reflect the social structure. Bourdieu's view of power also connects relations of domination to identifiable central agents as a top-down process – the symbolic power of the state here is rooted in the educational system (Bourdieu, 1994). Social orders, in the form of certain styles of living and thinking, are reproduced through education and internalised as the habitus of subjects. In my study, Mandarin Chinese teaching, and its textbooks might, therefore, be expected to internalise dominant language attitudes and cultural values as the habitus for Mongolian speakers; the Chinese Republican and PRC governments exert symbolic power over the Mongolians through the inculcation of a particular habitus in education.

Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power, however, has been criticised for its implied social determinism, and its monolithic and one-dimensional understanding of power (Everett, 2002: 76; Grey, 2017: 152). Social agents are treated as having little free will. Their actions are, in Bourdieu's theory, strictly guided by social structures, rules, and codes that 'lie beyond – or beneath – the control of consciousness and will' (Bourdieu, 1984: 466). But ethnographies of language planning and policy (LPP) have revealed that how LPP is practised is 'unpredictable from policy texts alone' (Hornberger, 2005), because policy is interpreted in different ways by social agents. Functioning as a complement to Bourdieu's work, Foucault's theory of power has highlighted such questions of practical consciousness, agency, and intentionality, and the power of social actors to reflect on their experiences and thus to perform consciously and knowledgeably in the conduct of their everyday lives. Foucault (1978: 92) describes power as 'the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens or reverses them.' Power is understood as embedded with resistance because resistance is part of what constitutes power relations. In addition, power is also dynamic, defined by Foucault (1978: 93) as 'the moving substrate of force relations which, by virtue of their inequality, constantly engender states of power, but the latter are always local and unstable.' Power cannot be seen as a monolithic whole, but as the articulation of localised and intentional process.

Following Foucault's view of power, individuals are constrained by the habitus which reflects the social structure, but they also have the agency to create counter-hegemonic discourse through consciously making choices and acting upon those choices to alter the social structure. Analysing power in texts such as policy documents and textbooks is, therefore, inseparable from exploring how it is appropriated and contested by local agents, as my fieldwork has done.

In this study, I adopt Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power and Foucault's thinking on power as my ontology to understand the inherent power relations between Mongolians and Han in the Chinese nation state building through teaching Chinese to Mongolians. Both the dominance from above and the agency of those within structural constraints will become evident in this study of Mongolians' experience of Chinese language education. Adapting Johnson and Johnson's (2015) model of language policy appropriation, I also view the flow of power as something that happens on multiple intersecting levels – macro, meso and micro, as outlined in further detail in 3.4 below. This thesis provides an exploration of how power is manifested in different ways in different kinds of data sources, among different social groups and at different periods. The various data sources used require a range of methodological approaches. In Chapter 4 and 5, I apply critical discourse analysis to examine the state-issued Chinese language textbooks for Mongolian learners published during 1912 and 2016. In Chapter 6, a Chinese historical linguistic approach is used to examine the presentation of 'correct' Mandarin pronunciation in the 1917 Mongolian Chinese dictionary compiled by the Mongolian official Khaisan. In Chapter 7, ethnographic methods – in this case, a questionnaire, interviews and classroom observations – are adopted to investigate the power relations between Mongolian and Han in the field of Mandarin teaching to Mongolian learners today. First, in Section 3.3., I present my textual sources – Chinese education policy and teaching materials–and introduce my approach of applying critical discourse analysis to explore the production of power in textual sources of language education policies and government-issued textbooks, focusing on the 'discursive formations' (Foucault, 1981) of the 'legitimate' knowledge in these textbooks from the early 20th century to the present.

3.3. Textual sources

3.3.1 Chinese language education policy documents and textbooks

Chinese education policy documents for minoritised ethnic learners were collected mainly to provide contextual information for textbook analysis. Based on Cui's (2015) study of textbook policies for minoritised ethnic students in China published since 1904, I collected the following policy documents: 'Guidelines for Implementing the Three People's Principle' (*Sanminzhuyi jiaoyu shishi yuanze* 三民主义教育实施原则) published by the Republican government in 1931, and 'Chinese Curriculum Guideline for Full-time Ethnic Minority Primary and Secondary Schools' (*Quanrizhi xuexiao minzu zhongxiaoxue hanyu kecheng biaozhun* 全日制学校民族中小学汉语文教学大纲; 全日制民族中小学汉语课程标准) published by the Ministry of Education of People's Republic China government in 1982, 1992, 2006 and 2014. There is a considerable gap between the 1940s and 1980s because no Chinese curriculum guidelines for ethnic minority students were produced during the Maoist period (Cui, 2015: 159). In addition, in Chapter 7, I draw on the curriculum guidelines published in 2006 and 2014 to show how they are interpreted by different social actors working in the field of teaching Mandarin Chinese to Mongolian learners nowadays.

Besides policy documents, textbooks are my primary data source to investigate the representation of Chinese national Self and its relationship with the Mongolian identity in Chinese language education over time. The most basic question to ask when compiling a corpus of textbooks is 'What is a textbook?'. Michael (1990) acknowledges that 'it is not easy to say when a work is a textbook', as any text which can be used for instructional purposes might be considered a textbook, and 'the decision whether or not to treat a publication as a textbook will have to be made for each work separately' (Michael, 1990 cited in Kirk, 2015: 31). Since this study concerns the teaching Mandarin Chinese to Mongolian learners, the question here is more narrowly 'What is a Chinese language learning textbook for Mongolian learners?' A broad definition of Chinese language learning textbooks was adopted at first, as 'any potential text which explicitly or implicitly illustrates the purpose of Mandarin Chinese

instruction and practice'. Textbooks with titles referring to *Guoyu* (国语), *Guowen* (国文), *Hanyuwen* (汉语文), *Hanyu* (汉语) were selected. This excluded textbooks which were not specifically intended for Mandarin Chinese language learning, such as history, civics and geography textbooks. In addition, one textbook published in 1932, during the Republican period, the title of which is 'Han-Mongolian short term primary school textbook' (*Han Meng hebi duanqi xiaoxue keben* 汉蒙合璧短期小学课本), was also included. Although none of the keywords mentioned above feature in its title, it includes a table of phonetic symbols to render Chinese sounds, presented after the preface of the textbook, indicating its intended purpose for language instruction. After this initial step, I then used prefaces and the presence of printed Mongolian annotations in the textbooks to confirm whether they were intended for Mongolian learners of Mandarin.

All the textbooks and Chinese education policy documents analysed were identified through research undertaken at libraries in the UK (Cambridge University Library) and China (National Library of China and Inner Mongolia library), and a second-hand book website (Kongfz.com). I began my search based on a pre-existing bibliography of 54 titles of textbooks published in the education section of the 'National Mongolian ancient books catalogue' (*Quanguo Mengwen gujiu tushu lianhe mulu* 全国蒙文古旧图书资料联合目录) published in 1979, which records the locations of 15 categories of Mongolian sources kept in nation-wide libraries in China, covering a wide time range from the 17th century to the first half of the 20th century. However, as the bibliography was published over 40 years ago, locations of some textbooks are no longer accurate. I therefore also drew on Hashuntonglaga's (2013) more up-to-date list of Mongolian and Mandarin language textbooks published during the Republican period.

Based on the 'National Mongolian ancient books catalogue' and Hashuntonglaga's (2013) list, I was able to collect five series of Mandarin textbooks for Mongolian learners (18 volumes in total) published in the pre-1949 period. One series of textbooks entitled 'Mongolian Han Mandarin Chinese textbooks' (*Han Meng hebi guowen jiaokeshu* 漢蒙合璧國文教科書), compiled

and published by Mongolians in 1919, was written in classical Chinese. The other four series are in vernacular Chinese and were issued by the Ministry of Education of the Republican government in the 1930s and 1940s. Although there is one series of textbook titled 'Chinese language for beginners' (*Chuji guowen jiaokeshu* 初級國文教科書) in 1928 with eight volumes, I was unable to locate a copy. All the textbooks of this period were intended for primary school Mongolian students. The textbooks in this period served the dual purposes of teaching both Mongolian and Mandarin, as stated for example in the prefaces of the first volume of the 'Han Mongolian Mandarin Chinese textbooks' in 1919, the first volume of the 'Han Mongolian Mandarin Chinese textbooks' in 1932 and the first volume of the 'Mongolian Chinese senior primary school Chinese language and general knowledge textbooks' (*Mengwen guowen duizhao chuji xiaoxue yuwen changshi keben* 蒙文國文對照初級小學語文常識課本) in 1947. Moreover, all these textbooks had parallel Mongolian translations alongside Chinese texts, as also required by the 1931 'Guidelines for Implementing the Three People's Principle'.

After the establishment of the PRC in 1949, textbooks were compiled specifically for Mongolian students to learn Mandarin. The 'Inner Mongolia Education Publishing House' (*Neimenggu jiaoyu chubanshe* 內蒙古教育出版), 'Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House' (*Neimenggu renmin chubanshe* 內蒙古人民出版社), and 'Jilin Education Publishing House' (*Jilin jiaoyu chubanshe* 吉林教育出版社) are the three main publishers of Chinese language textbooks for Mongolian learners living in Inner Mongolia and Jilin. In this study, I included only those textbooks published in Inner Mongolia, where 63% of the Mongolian population of China lives, accounting for over four million people according to 2010 census data (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010). In addition, the scope was limited to students from primary school to middle school, since Mandarin Chinese teaching at this level is within the period of compulsory education and therefore is most widespread. I collected twelve series of primary school textbooks (51 volumes) and twelve series of middle school textbooks (36 volumes) published between the 1960s and 2010s. I was not able to locate any Chinese language textbooks for Mongolian learners published in the 1950s; it

was not possible to locate copies of two series of textbooks entitled 'Chinese language textbook for Mongolian medium senior primary school' (*Mengguzu gaoji xiaoxue Hanyuwen keben* 蒙古族高级小学汉语文课本) and 'Chinese language textbooks for Mongolian medium middle school' (*Mengguzu chuji zhongxue keben Hanyuwen* 蒙古族初级中学课本汉语文), both published in 1958 according to Wu and Zhong's (2017) study. Each of the two 1958 series had three volumes. In total, the textbook corpus collected consists of 19 textbooks from the period 1912 to 1949, and 87 textbooks from 1949 to 2016, in total 106 textbooks. The full list of textbooks analysed can be found in Appendix 1. Each textbook is coded with the acronym of its Chinese title, which are used to refer to the textbooks in Chapters 4–7.

This research treats the compiling of Mandarin textbooks as a social practice of inscribing the ideas of standard Chinese pronunciation, Chinese culture, and the values and attitudes of being Chinese. It focuses on main texts (passages, rime tables[12]) and paratexts (pictures, prefaces, exercises, language variety, layout) in order to explore power dynamics in the representation of 'majority' Han and 'minority' Mongolians as the 'legitimate knowledge' of textbooks. Dynamic social knowledge has, as Noy (2007: 331) argues, emergent, contingent, interactive and heterogenous characteristics. Quantitative approaches allow us to measure such aspects of a text as the frequency of word use, or the amount of space allotted to a topic, but tell us 'nothing about vales and interpretation' (Pingel, 2010: 67), such as how particular themes were included or excluded. Consequently, my analysis of textbooks analysis is largely qualitative, allowing a nuanced approach to meaning and interpretation situated in a particular socio-political context. However, in common with other qualitative historical research, this textbook-based part of research also recognises the danger in selecting, representing, reconstructing and retelling (McLelland, 2015: 17). To counter the limitations, alongside qualitative discourse analysis, I also include some limited quantitative data, in particular counts of the frequency of particular themes in Chapters 4 and 5.

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[12] Rime tables categorise sounds of Chinese characters according to initial, rhyme and tone (Branner, 2006: 12). More details are given in Section 6.4 in Chapter 6.

Lastly, it is worth noting the considerable chronological gap between the case studies of Khaisan's 1917 dictionary as discussed in Chapter 6 and the contemporary fieldwork presented in Chapter 7. It was not possible to find equivalent pedagogical training materials compiled by Mongolians to teach Mandarin Chinese in the period between 1917 and the present day. Key scholars working in the field of teaching Mandarin Chinese to Mongolian learners confirmed this including Dr. Hashuntonglaga, who, as mentioned above, compiled a list of Chinese-Mongolian bilingual textbooks from the Republican period (Hashuntonglaga 2013).

3.3.2 Selection of textbooks and texts for analysis from the initial corpus

All the lessons of the 106 volumes of textbooks were examined to identify content relevant to the research questions. There are 40 to 50 lessons on average per volume in the Republican period textbooks, and 20 to 30 lessons on average per volume in the PRC period textbooks. I built two sub-corpora, one focused on the representation of wars in China and one focused on the representation of Chinese citizenship, as these two areas have been shown to be important in the production of Chinese national Self to the Han and foreign students (see Sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.5 above). Each lesson was first examined and coded Yes/No according to whether it dealt with either of the selected topic areas. In building the Chinese wars corpus, any lesson whose content was either closely or loosely connected with wars was included in the corpus, whether narrating battles of wars or having wars as the background for a narrative. For the corpus of Chinese citizenship, lessons which included the depiction of Han, Mongolians, or unmarked Chinese people (if no ethnic markers are provided) were selected, focusing on rights (social benefits, cultural traditions) and responsibilities (values and beliefs) towards the nation. The citizenship corpus excluded any lessons already included in the war corpus to avoid repetition in sampling. This selection procedure resulted in 32 lessons for the Republican period and 36 lessons for the PRC period in the Chinese war corpus, and 80 lessons for the Republican period and 140 lessons for the PRC period in the Chinese citizenship corpus. The full lists of lessons in the two corpora are recorded in Appendix 1.1 and 1.2.

Following McLelland's (2015) approach of historical textbook analysis, my selection of texts from the corpora for more detailed analysis was made on two main criteria: the most typical lessons which are included in the textbooks of different periods, such as a lesson entitled 'Eternal glory to the people's heroes', which I will discuss in section 4.3.4 of Chapter 4; and lessons that are illustrative of different ways of presenting historical wars and Chinese citizenship. For example, the lessons entitled 'Patriotism' and 'I wish to become a good child' are included for analysis in Section 5.2.1.2 of Chapter 5 because they demonstrate the transition from classical Chinese to vernacular Chinese and a shift to child-centred approach of teaching Chinese citizenship.

Regarding the periodisation of textbooks, I categorised them a priori into two major political periods, the Republican period (1912 – 1949) and PRC period (1949 – present), since previous studies such as Fairbrother (2006) have shown that cultural representation strategies of Chinese national Self shift with the change of the gatekeepers of the 'legitimate' knowledge in textbooks. Textbooks were therefore analysed under these two political periods and attention was paid to different aspects at different points in that history. However, textbooks can have a prolonged life after publication, especially for influential series. The time between textbook production and publication means that meanings arise from the writing period prior to its actual production and carry into later decades through extended textbook usage (Fallon, 2015: 52). I adopted a flexible approach to further divide periods within the two major political periods: these divisions were data-driven, i.e. driven by findings of textbooks. For the Republican period textbooks, Chapters 4 and 5 present the findings by decades, while for the PRC period, the textbooks are divided into two sub-periods: the Maoist period (1949-1976) and the period since China's reform and opening-up policy launched under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping in 1978 (1978 – 2016; hereafter the reform period). I did not present findings in PRC period by decade because the cultural representation strategies were found to mainly shift over the two sub-periods. Within the reform period, however, further thematic divisions were made, as detailed in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.3.3 Historical textbook analysis

To explore power relations in the construction of Chinese national Self to the Mongolian learners, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was adopted as a means to reveal how Chinese national Self intertwines with the Mongolian ethnic identity over time in Chapters 4 and 5. The notion of discourse is heavily influenced by Michel Foucault, who treated discourse as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1972: 49). A discourse can be seen as an invisible hand which guides a certain way of thinking, speaking and behaving towards a particular topic (Hall, 1990: 122). From this perspective, discourse is similar to Bourdieu's theory of habitus. In Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA), discourse is viewed as being discursively formed through a 'group of statements' (Brown and Cousins, 1980: 251). By being formed, discourse specifies the rules embedded in the statements that determines how the subject is to be positioned. Therefore, discourse in FDA is interpreted from a macro perspective, with the focus on the regulated practice (or the rules, social structure, context, other discourses) which shapes and constrains the construction of knowledge and the underlying power relations.

There is a lack of prescribed method and coherent theory in FDA. Its openness to a multiplicity of interpretation has been attractive to some (Thomas, 1997). However, simultaneously it has led others to consider the use of FDA as dangerous or leading to ambiguous research (Graham, 2005). 'Statements', considered to be the central building blocks of discourse in FDA, are somewhat ambiguously defined by Foucault. The groups of statements are not unities or totalities, but 'systems of dispersion' (Foucault, 1972: 41). The high level of abstraction may seem to imply that 'everything is discourse' (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008: 202). This ambiguity poses a problem when justifying whether something is (or is not) a statement and so can (or cannot) be used as data within discourse analysis (Garrity, 2010: 202).

Inheriting Foucault's explanation of discourse, critical discourse analysis (CDA), advanced by Norman Fairclough, also explores the role of discourse in the production of power relations within social structure, and the approach aims to provide an operational method of analysis. Fairclough (1992) mixes a Foucauldian perspective of social theory of discourse concerning power

relations with textually oriented analysis. He expanded Foucault's notion of discourse and took a further step by including the concrete representation procedures (text production and consumption) and the text itself. As Van Dijk (1993: 250) pointed out, critical discourse analysis emphasises the role of 'structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events'. This makes CDA more systematic and clearer than FDA, through drawing inferences from structural and linguistic features in texts.

For this study, Fairclough's (1992, 1995) framework of CDA was adopted as the basic model to distil the dynamic power relationship between Mongolian and Han in textbooks with an integral analysis of texts, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice at the local, institutional and societal levels. Analysis at the textual level involves linguistic analysis and analysis of textual organisation such as the choice of modality and narrative voice. Analysis of the discourse practice involves analysis of the process of text production and interpretation. It concerns discursive structures and strategies involved in the production of various structures of text and talk (Van Dijk, 1993: 259). In addition, for the historical focus of my research, I found the five basic questions identified by Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 88) for their Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to be helpful for tracing changes in the cultural representations of Chinese wars and Mongolian and Han or unmarked Chinese people in textbooks. They are (1) How are persons, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically in the discourse in question? (2) What characteristics or qualities are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions mentioned in the discourse? (3) What arguments are employed in discourse? (4) From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, arguments expressed? (5) Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they intensified or mitigated? These five basic questions helped inform the textual level and discourse practice level analysis, of Chapters 4 and 5, serving as the starting point to help uncover the discourse strategies that emerge from my texts.

In addition to the textual and discourse dimensions, the third dimension of Fairclough's framework, sociocultural practice, is concerned with wider economic, political and cultural context in the compilation of textbooks. My

study situated texts in their historical contexts and integrated available background information into textbook analysis. For the more recent and contemporary period, I was also able to undertake policy analysis of national curriculum guidelines for ethnic minority students published since the 2000s and drew on my interview with a textbook editor to reveal the sociocultural norms and conventions concerning the compilation of Chinese language textbooks for Mongolian learners in the contemporary period (see Chapter 7).

Note that discourse analysis can also incorporate the analysis of images as part of 'discourse'. According to Kress (2012: 38), power is involved in the making, recognition, and attribution of coherence of different modes in a text. Images also play an important role in conveying social meanings. As noted in Chapter 2, Baranovitch (2010) and Chu (2017) have shown how images may convey meanings which reflect the interest of Han hegemony. Image analysis is particularly relevant to the depiction of Han and Mongolian people, for example providing details of clothing and behaviour. Images are therefore also incorporated into my analysis in Chapters 4 and 5.

Meanwhile, in order to explore how Chinese linguistic knowledge has been defined by Mongolian speakers in the past, I undertook a case study from the start of the period covered by my study, examining a dictionary entitled 'Mongolian Han Original Sound of Five Regions', compiled by a Mongolian official named Khaisan in 1917 (Chapter 6), to explore the possible role of non-Han peoples in the history of Chinese standardisation, which might reinforce or contest our understandings of standard Chinese today. Historical linguistic analysis is applied to examine rime tables as presented in the dictionary, in order to reveal how Khaisan employed different varieties of linguistic sources to transcribe the 'correct' Mandarin pronunciation in his time.Rime tables emerged in the 12th century as one type of historical solution to the problem of representing speech sounds for logographic Chinese characters – the rime tables do this by categorising the sounds of the characters according to initial, rhyme and tone (Branner, 2006: 12). I followed Norman and Coblin's (1995) approach of making comparisons of rime tables with other related works to interpret the features of Mandarin pronunciation as presented in Khaisan's textbook. I draw on dictionaries compiled by Chinese language reformers in Khaisan's own time,

including Wang Zhao's 'A comparative dictionary of National pronunciation and Beijing pronunciation' (*Guoyin jingyin duizhaobiao* 國音京音对照表) published in 1921. In addition, Coblin's (2000, 2001, 2003) studies, which have explored 'standard' Mandarin pronunciation in the Yuan (1271 – 1368), Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1912) dynasties, provided useful context to help understand the reasons for Khaisan's choice of different forms of phonological variants.

3.4 Fieldwork in Hohhot, Inner Mongolia

Textbook and language education policy analysis provide insights into power relations between Mongolian and Han through the cultural and linguistic representation in texts. This may be different from *who* actually exercises power, however. As Pennycook (2002) has argued, power does not solely rest with the state, or within the policy text, but is enacted by educational practitioners through discursive practices that operate in relation to some authoritative criteria. The emergence of ethnography of language policy calls for the situated studies of roles of local actors. Thomas Ricento and Nancy Hornberger (1996: 417) used the metaphor of an 'onion' to describe the multiple contexts or layers through which language policy develops and moves and 'hint at the roles played by ideology, culture and ethnicity' in different layers (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996: 419-420). Hornberger and David Johnson (2007) adopted an ethnographic approach to slice through the 'LPP onion' and reveal agentive spaces in which local actors implement, interpret and resist policy initiative in varying and unique ways. They focused on how the national level of language policy is developed, interpreted and implemented in local schools, revealing how macro level policies relate to micro level educational practices, using methods of participant observation, recorded interviews, recorded naturally occurring conversation, historical legal analyses and textual analyses. David Johnson and Eric Johnson (2015) proposed a model which incorporated ethnographic data to analyse language policy at macro (state), meso (district) and micro (schools) levels. The model is intended to locate the language policy agents (teachers, administrators, policy makers etc.) at each level to understand how they exert their influence and why they make the decisions they make. Johnson and Johnson (2015) explored the power relations between different groups of social

agents, and differentiated the role of language policy *arbiters* from other actors. Arbiters are defined as having a disproportionate amount of impact on language policy and educational programs. While policy decisions are socially negotiated between multiple actors within and across levels, language arbiters tend to have singular power with regard to how a policy is interpreted and appropriated and all subsequent policy decisions in the policy process must funnel through them (Johnson and Johnson, 2015: 226). In this thesis, I regard actors as synonymous with agents. Borrowing from Johnson and Johnson's (2015) definition of arbiters, actors or agents can include arbiters, who have greater impact. From now on, I will use the term actor for consistency.

Inspired by the approach of language policy ethnography, I applied Johnson and Johnson's (2015) language policy model to explore the roles of language policy arbiters and actors in the case of Mandarin Chinese teaching to Mongolian learners. As shown in Figure 3.1, Chinese language education policy, especially curriculum guidelines, at the macro or national level are funnelled to the Mandarin Chinese textbooks for Mongolian speakers at the meso or regional level by arbiters (textbook compilers), who interpret and appropriate the guidelines in the compilation of textbooks. Textbooks are then distributed to local schools, where Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese play a key role in interpreting and appropriating the guidelines and textbooks in their teaching practice. Therefore, to enhance the critical analyses of power in historical texts (Chapters 4, 5 and 6), my ethnographic fieldwork in Hohhot, Inner Mongolia (May – July 2018) provides an additional perspective, presented in Chapter 7, on hegemony and resistance in Mandarin Chinese teaching, of the perspectives of editors and teachers nowadays. In Chapter 7, I combined critical disoucrse analysis with ethnography, which entails the examination of national curriculum guidelines, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews to explore the creation, interpretation and appropriation of the language teaching materials from the insider (emic) perspectives of the actors who are involved in the system of Mandarin teaching to Mongolian students.
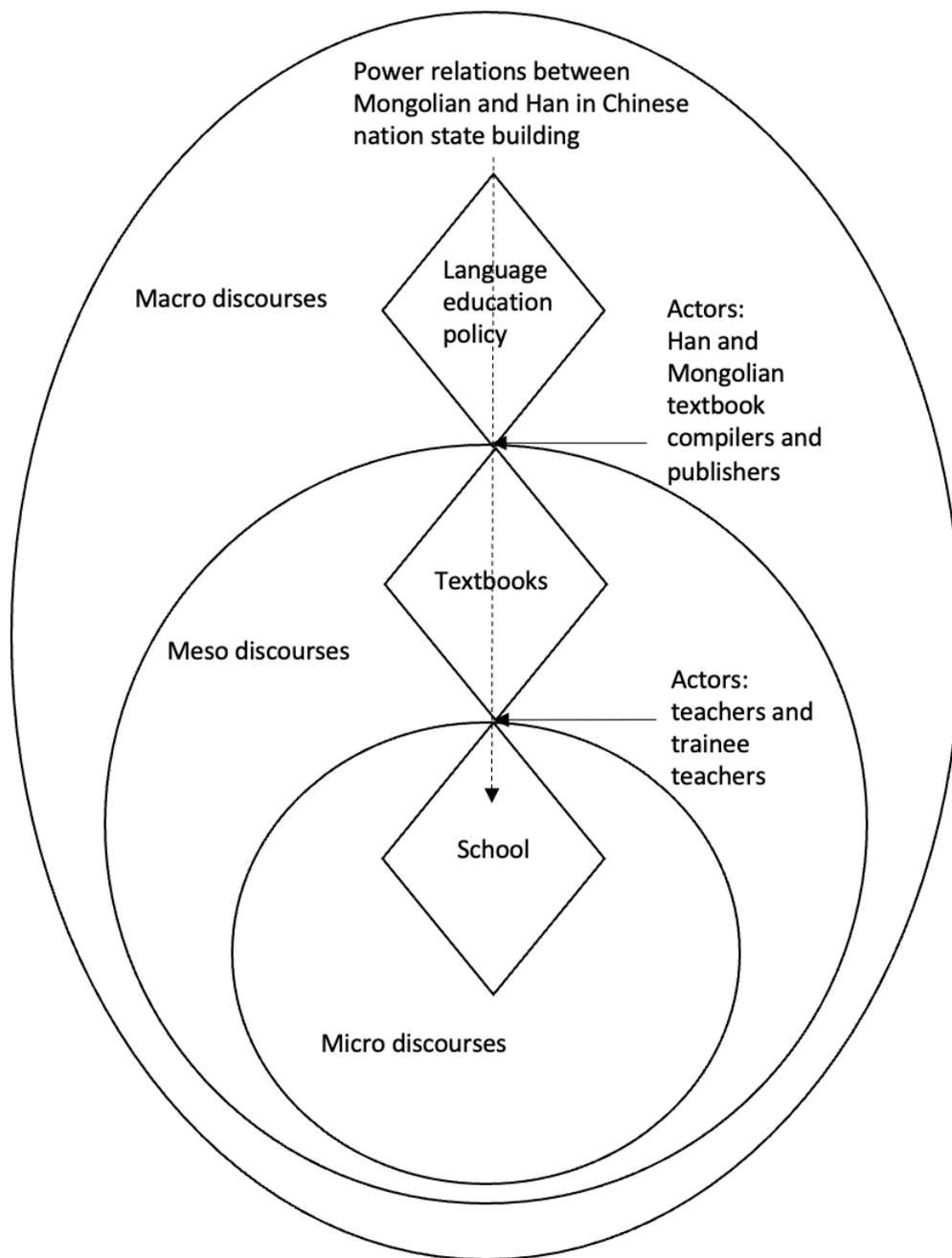
Figure 3.1. A model of power in teaching Mandarin Chinese to Mongolian learners (Adapted from Johnson and Johnson, 2015)

3.4.1 The Mongolian medium school and research participants

After obtaining ethics approval from the University of Nottingham, one of the important stages in the procedure of doing an ethnographic study is to get access to the research sites and participants. I began this process six months before my fieldwork started, initially by contacting a scholar working on Mandarin education to Mongolian learners at a university in Hohhot, who put me in touch with Mr G, a head Mandarin teacher in the middle-school section of a Mongolian medium school in Hohhot, who in turn helped me make contact with three relevant Mandarin teachers who teach Mongolian students in Grade 7, 8, 9.

Access to the primary school section of the same school was more difficult. I contacted Ms H, another teacher, after Mr G gave me her phone number. She orally agreed me to participate in my study and would help me to contact other Mandarin teachers at the primary school, but she needed an approval from the school headmaster. Permission of access to the school was finally achieved from the headmaster after presenting my letter to the headmaster, a letter of support from my supervisor and a fieldwork application letter from the school with which I was affiliated.

To explore the question of how Mandarin Chinese knowledge is defined by Mongolians at the present time, Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese were the main informants. Eight out of seventeen Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese at the school participated in my research. All eight teachers completed a questionnaire; I also observed seven teachers' classes and conducted semi-structured interviews with five teachers. Table 3.1 presents a summary of the eight teachers' profiles, based on their answers in the questionnaires.

		8 Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese							
		Middle school teachers				Primary school teachers			
		Mr G	Mr M	Ms U	Ms A	Ms H	Ms B	Ms D	Ms Q
Age		31-40	Above 50	21-30	31-40	31-40	21-30	31-40	31-40
Gender		M	M	F	F	F	F	F	F
Teaching situation at the time of my fieldwork		Grade 9 class	Grade 8 class	Grade 7 class	Grade 8 class	Grade 3 and 6 classes	Grade 2 and 5 classes	Grade 4 class	Grade 2 and 6 classes
Highest educational qualification		MA in comparative literature and world literature	BA Degree	BA in Mongolian -Chinese bilingual education	BA Mongolian -Chinese bilingual education	MA Degree	BA Degree	BA Degree	BA degree
Years of Chinese language teaching		10-15	15-20	5-10	10-15	5-10	1-4	1-4	5-10
Language repertoire	Mongolian	Very good	Very good	Very good	Sufficient	Excellent	Good	Very good	Very good
	Mandarin	Excellent (Better than Mongolian in all aspects)	Excellent (Better than Mongolian in terms of reading and writing)	Excellent (Better than Mongolian in term of speaking)	Sufficient (Same as Mongolian in all aspects)	Excellent	Good (Worse than Mongolian in terms of listening and speaking)	Very good (Like Mongolian, writing is rated slightly lower than other aspects)	Good (Worse than Mongolian in terms of speaking and writing)

Table 3.1 Profiles of Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese

All the participants reported themselves as Mongolian speakers with at least sufficient command of Mongolian. From Mr G, I learned that most teachers at the school were proficient in Mongolian as they were also taught through the Mongolian medium education system and had to pass Mongolian language exams in order to get employed. However, some older Mandarin teachers were Han Chinese or Mongolians who cannot speak or read Mongolian. These older Mandarin teachers did not participant in my study.

To enhance my ethnographic understanding of the meaning of Mandarin in relationship with Mongolian from the perspectives of trainee teachers as past Mandarin learners in school and as future teachers of Mandarin, I also included four Mongolian trainee teachers of Mandarin Chinese whom I was introduced to through my university contact. All were studying an MA degree in Chinese curriculum design and pedagogical theory and were aged between 20 and 25. All had received Mongolian-medium education for at least twelve years from primary school to high school in different areas of Inner Mongolia. The four trainee teachers had all come to Hohhot for their undergraduate studies and had lived in Hohhot for over four years. One of their career choices after completing their MA is to teach Mandarin in Mongolian schools. One, trainee teacher X, had an internship at the time to teach Mandarin Chinese to fifth-grade students in a Mongolian-medium school. Although they were not involved in the Mandarin teaching of the school in which I was doing the main data collection, their views could shape Mandarin teaching practice in the future. They also had the experience of studying in a Mongolian-dominant environment during their primary and secondary school education before studying with Han Chinese students for tertiary education. I hypothesised that these contrasting experiences would influence their attitudes towards Mandarin. I carried out a survey and group interview with the students before conducting fieldwork in the Mongolian school.

In addition to the eight Mongolian teachers and four trainee teachers, I also recruited two Han Chinese participants who had been working in the field of teaching Mandarin to Mongolian learners for over thirty years. Semi-structured interviews with them gave an insight into their understandings of Mandarin Chinese while compiling teaching materials for Mongolian learners, which

helped me to consider how Mongolian identity is negotiated by different groups of actors. The first of the Han Chinese participants was a so-called 'teacher researcher' (*jiaoyanyuan* 教研员), Ms Z, who has been responsible for producing middle school exam papers of Chinese and suggesting supplementary teaching materials for Mongolian teachers since 2012.[13] The second was Ms C, who took part in the compilation of Mandarin Chinese language textbooks for Grade 7 to 9 Mongolian students published in 2003, 2004 and 2016. Based on their working experience and their roles, Ms Z and Ms C can be regarded as the 'arbiters' according to Johnson and Johnson (2015), i.e. individuals who can exert strong influence on the interpretation of policy, in this case in the making of Mandarin teaching materials for Mongolian students.

3.4.2 Data collection and ethical considerations

Table 3.2 summarises the entire dataset collected from the research field.

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[13] A teacher researcher plays the key role in interpreting the curriculum guidelines and giving guidance to the schoolteachers in their teaching practice. According to the recruitment notice of teacher researchers in Inner Mongolia in 2021, a teacher researcher needs to have at least six years' experience of teaching the target subject.
(http://jyj.bynr.gov.cn/info/1004/4078.htm)

Type of data resources	Participants involved	Data collected
Questionnaire survey	8 Mongolian teachers 4 Mongolian trainee teachers on an MA degree in Chinese curriculum design and pedagogical theory	12 completed questionnaires
Classroom observations	7 Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese	6 hours 40 minutes audio-recordings of classroom interaction (each class lasts 40 minutes) Ms B: 1 class of second grade students Ms H: 2 classes of third grade students Ms D: 2 classes of fourth grade students Ms U: 1 class of seventh grade students Ms A: 2 classes of eighth grade students Mr M: 1 class of eighth grade students Mr G: 1 class of ninth grade students
Semi-structured Interviews	5 Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese 4 Mongolian trainee teachers on an MA degree in Chinese curriculum design and pedagogical theory 1 Han teacher of Mandarin Chinese 1 Han textbook compiler	4.75 hours in total of interview audio recordings of Mongolian teachers Mr G: 2 hours 20 minutes Mr M and Ms U: 1 hour (They requested to be interviewed together) Ms A: 1 hour 23 minutes Ms H: 1 hour (She refused recording her interview. I took interview notes instead.) Ms Z: 2 hours 30 minutes Ms C: 1 hour 20 minutes Group interview: 1 hour 40 minutes
Field notes (classroom observation)	7 Mongolian teachers	Handwritten field notes, including linguistic landscape of Hohhot (49 A4 pages)

Table 3.2 Summary of data collected during fieldwork

Below, I explain the questionnaire design, interview planning, and what I focused on during classroom observation.

3.4.2.1 Questionnaire

During my fieldwork I used a questionnaire (see Appendix 2 for a copy of the questionnaire used) with eight Mongolian teachers in order to explore their attitudes towards the Mandarin language and literature curriculum. A preliminary version of the questionnaire was first distributed to the four Mongolian trainee teachers; after modifying one question, the final version of the questionnaire was distributed to all the Mandarin teachers who taught Grade 2 to Grade 9 students on 21st May 2018 and collected from 31st May to 14th June 2018. [14]

The questionnaire was composed of an introduction followed by four parts. Part I elicited information on various social characteristics, including sex, age, level of education and linguistic background. Part II contained questions about teachers' instruction of language. Part III was designed to elicit respondents' attitudes towards the language textbooks and the national curriculum guideline. Part IV invited respondents to comment on the national curriculum guidelines and teaching materials used in the school.

The questionnaire was designed with ethical considerations in mind, in particular, the obtaining of informed consent: 'subjects must voluntarily agree to participate in the research and must know what their participation entails' (Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 79). The introduction explained that the questionnaire was being used as part of an academic study investigating the attitudes of teaching linguistic knowledge, language skills, cultural knowledge and emotions in the Mandarin Chinese teaching. The respondents were advised that the study was for purely scholarly purposes and that any personal information provided was

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[14] I changed the initial question of 'Which language-s do you think can better transmit Mongolian culture?' into 'Which language-s do you think can better transmit Chinese culture' for the schoolteachers' questionnaire because the focus of this study is about teaching Chinese language and culture rather than Mongolian.

confidential and would remain anonymous. The researcher's email address and university contact details were included.

The questionnaire questions were written in Chinese, and consisted of multiple-choice questions, attitude-rating scales, and four open-ended questions. Multiple-choice questions were mainly used in Part I. The attitude scales used were based upon attitude statements, single sentences that express 'a point of view, a belief, a preference, a judgement, an emotional feeling, a position for or against something' (Oppenheim, 1992: 174). Attitude-rating scales yield a single score that indicates the direction of a person's attitude and the intensity of this attitude. Each item in the scale differentiates those respondents with a favourable attitude from those with an unfavourable attitude (Henerson, Morris & Fitz-Gibbon 1987: 84). Therefore, rating scales were adopted in Part II to allow respondents to rate their competence in Mandarin and Mongolian in terms of listening, speaking, pronunciation, reading and writing, from insufficient to excellent. Knowing the (self-reported) linguistic profiles of my respondents helped me to interpret their language ideologies and identities. In Part III, attitude-rating scales were applied, with 13 sub-questions included under the theme of attitudes towards cultural contents and linguistic knowledge presented in Mandarin textbooks; the questions were designed based on my literature readings and preliminary analysis of the textbooks. Four open-ended questions asked the respondents about language of instruction they used in class, their views of the national curriculum outline, and suggestions for textbook compilation. The questionnaire data provided useful biographical information of the participants, their attitudes towards textbooks, as well as interesting commentaries which gave an insight into the kinds of Mandarin Chinese linguistic and cultural knowledge advocated by Mongolian speakers.

3.4.2.2 Audio-recorded classroom observation

I organised observations of seven Mongolian teachers' Mandarin classes. As Hornberger (1994: 688-689) points out, ethnographic observation allows ethnographers to see what people do in a given context, which can be further compared and contrasted with what people say, in order to get a realistic and multi-layered description of a given social practice.

As already noted, I went through the University of Nottingham's ethical approval procedure for all the fieldwork. For the classroom observation, in response to feedback from the Faculty of Arts ethics committee, I adjusted my initial plan of an opt-out approach to obtain parent consent from the students into an opt-in approach. Parent information sheet and consent forms (See Appendix 3.4 for a sample) were collected from nine classes with the help of the Mandarin teachers, who assigned it as homework for the students to take the form home for their parents to read and complete. Students who did not return the form were considered as not giving consent to take part of the research. Only 32 out of 405 students in total did not return the forms. They were seated at the other side of classroom opposed to where I did observation to ensure that their voices were not accidently recorded.

The timetable of classroom observations of both primary and middle-school sections was arranged by the lead teachers Ms H (for the primary school) and Mr G (for the middle school). When I approached some teachers individually, they insisted that I follow the arrangements of the two teachers. I later realised that this seemed to be a strategy for them to avoid embarrassment if they refused me in person. For example, I once asked one middle school teacher whether she would allow me to observe her classroom for two consecutive days and she gave me permission in our conversation. However, Mr G later suggested it would be better to observe another teacher. From then on, I therefore followed arrangements made by Ms H and Mr G and tried to minimise 'pressure' on my participants considering they had a much closer relationship with the schoolteachers than I did. Information sheets and consent forms for teachers are attached in Appendix 3.3.

During the observation, I made audio-recordings and wrote field notes with the goal to 'describe and analyse the complexity of social event comprehensively' (Blommaert, 2007: 682). I paid particular attention to teachers' and students' writings on blackboard and textbooks, handouts, and supplementary teaching materials used in the classroom, as such kinds of information could not be captured by my recorder.

3.4.2.3 Semi-structured interviews

Eleven semi-structured interviews were conducted to identify participants' perceptions of Mandarin and Mongolian based on their interpretations of Mandarin linguistic and cultural knowledge presented in the national curriculum guidelines and textbooks. I designed a set of 'guide questions' (Blommaert and Dong, 2010) to cover the main topics while allowing me to have flexibility to pursue topics that arose in the course of talk. Interview guides for the textbook editor and teachers are presented in Appendix 4. Interviews with all participants were in Mandarin and followed the themes of general knowledge of Mandarin textbooks; Mandarin linguistic knowledge; Mandarin language skills; and relationship between Chinese national identity and Mongolian identity. The interviews' semi-structured nature allowed for further dynamism as we actively 'co-constructed talk' (Seale, 1998), following the reflexive science approach, and I allowed the interviews to adapt to particular participants' knowledge and interests. Questions for the textbook editor focused on the approach of selecting materials during the process of textbook compilation, while questions for the Mongolian teachers focussed on how they used textbooks and other materials in their teaching practice. Consent forms were signed by participants before interviews (See Appendix 3.1 and 3.2 for samples). For the purposes of anonymization, all the participants were asked at the beginning of the interviews what kind of description they were comfortable with me using to refer to them. They decided to be referred to by the first or second letter of their surnames.

Individual interviews were carried out with six of the eight Mongolian teachers individually after doing my classroom observations; Ms U and Mr M, who shared the same office, asked to be interviewed jointly. Interviews with the four middle school Mandarin teachers were audio-recorded, while Ms H the primary school teacher did not give consent for me to record her talk. Therefore, I took notes during her interview. Interviews with the teacher researcher Ms Z and textbook editor Ms C were also audio-recorded and conducted individually.

The audio-recorded group interview with the four Mongolian trainee teachers took place in a café. This meeting was initially planned to get feedback on my questionnaire design, but during the meeting, the trainee teachers did not comment much on the design of my questionnaire. It turned out to be an informal

chat in a relaxing environment. I asked them about their past Mandarin learning experience in primary and secondary schools; their feelings of studying in Hohhot; their attitudes towards the future of Mongolian; their daily language practices; and their network of friends.

3.4.3 Analysis of fieldwork data

In order to bring into focus the heterogeneous views about Mandarin linguistic and cultural knowledge teaching in the Mongolian context, I categorised my collected fieldwork data into three groups: Mongolian teachers; Mongolian trainee teachers; and Han participants. I examined the language ideologies and identities of the participants by combining thematic analysis with critical discourse analysis. The thematic analysis of my study entails coding and naming the themes that emerge from my interview transcript. As Marks and Yardley (2004) have pointed out, what one chooses to code depends upon the purpose of the study. Codes need to flow from the principles that underpin the research, and the specific questions one seeks to answer. I first used predefined theoretical high-level categories for deductive coding, such as theories of language ideology (see Section 2.4), and then inductively constructed coding categories which distinguish between subcategories of language ideology in different contexts.

I did not transcribe all the recorded interviews. Instead I listened to them for at least five times individually during the whole process of data analysis. I focused on particular fragments in these audio-recordings which appeared to be highly relevant to the themes identified in textbooks and language education policy documents, and then cut them into short audio data pieces for transcriptions. My data analysis began with the Mongolian teachers, as the key participants involved in Mandarin teaching practice. I looked at all types of data including the audio-recordings of their Mandarin classes, my interviews with each of them, questionnaires, and field notes to interpret their views through 'cross-check[ing] information collected from different sources' to increase 'the validity of my findings' (Waston-Gegeo, 1988: 584). The recurrent themes relevant to my textbook and language education policy analysis were identified as follows: language skills of Mandarin; modern and classical Chinese literature; Mongolian culture; language of instruction. Next, I excerpted interview data containing the

themes for detailed analysis, translating them into English and interpreting the data in the light of the questionnaire and observation data.

When I came to the analysis of the Mongolian trainee teachers' and Han participants' data, the recurrent themes already identified in the Mongolian teachers' data were used as the starting point to see if there were any narrative data relating to each theme. This approach helped me to detect the small stories, opinions and commentaries around research themes. After allocating data extracts under different themes, I conducted detailed analysis of each theme, uncovering both the convergent and divergent points of different groups of participants.

As outlined in Section 3.3.3, the goal of the critical discourse analysis was to deconstruct the power concealed in the school knowledge. As for the textbook and education policy analysis, I looked at how Mandarin and Mongolian were represented by the participants and I identified three recurrent discourses in the discussion of the meanings of Mandarin and Mongolian: a discourse of language as an instrument; discourse of language as linguistic and cultural capital; and discourse of language as a marker of identity. I then drew interdiscursive relationships between the discourses in the participants' data with that in the textbooks and education policy to consider how the participants embrace and challenge the social order embedded in the texts.

3.4.4 Researcher reflexivity and positionality

The importance of reflexivity has been widely recognised in stages of collecting and interpreting data in qualitative research. As Tusting and Maybin (2007: 578) note, the researcher is inevitably part of the research that is being produced. The subjectivity of a researcher is entangled in 'a range of techniques for sorting, organizing and indexing qualitative data' (Mason, 1996: 7). Following Mauthner and Doucet (2003), my research includes reflection on my social location and emotional responses to my participants. As a Han native Mandarin speaker who grew up in the Chinese education system, I am both an insider of Chinese linguistic and cultural knowledge and outsider of the Mongolian community in this study. During the initial stage of textbook analysis, I held an emic (insider) view of the presented Chinese nationalist history and citizenship values. Critical

theories of Bourdieu and Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis served as my ontology of taking an etic (outsider) perspective to 'make the familiar strange', with the role of describing and interpreting the knowledge under wider socio-historical conditions. When I undertook the fieldwork in Hohhot, I was positioned as an insider by my participants, in that we shared Chinese nationality, but I was also as an outsider in terms of being a southerner and Han Chinese. In addition, my doctoral study experience as a Chinese student in the UK also somewhat deepened my emic understanding of the life of being an ethnic minority in a different majority culture. I kept balancing my etic and emic perspectives during the different stages of my research. The different types of data – audio-recordings of classroom observations, interviews, field notes, photos, teaching materials – are brought together for understanding the complexity of Mandarin teaching to Mongolian students from different groups of participants.

There are some limitations linked to my positionality as a researcher. First, during the fieldwork in Hohhot, all communications with my participants were in Mandarin. As the Mongolian participants worked or studied in the field of Mandarin teaching, they were fluent Mandarin speakers. Some of them reported in the questionnaire that their Mandarin was better than their Mongolian. This enabled me to have deep Mandarin conversations with them. Nevertheless, if I had had sufficient competence in Mongolian, I could have analysed richer data such as understanding Mongolian conversations among my participants. To counter my limitation in Mongolian, I did some self-study before doing fieldwork and attended a one-on-one Mongolian class in Hohhot for three weeks. I learnt the basic rules of reading traditional Mongolian scripts. This training especially enabled to analyse the Mongolian transliterations in the Mongolian Han dictionary in 1917, which are discussed in Chapter 6. Second, the relatively short duration of my fieldwork was determined by the scope and funding of my PhD; the ethnographic data therefore mainly serves to complement the textbook analysis. However, my data could have been further enriched if, for example, it had been possible to gain more insights into the decision-making process of choosing Mandarin teaching materials and producing exam papers, by attending the meetings among the Mongolian teachers or with the Han Chinese teacher

researcher Ms Z. This would have required more time to build a closer and more trusting relationship with the participants. Third, the requirements of ethical research according to UK University norms at times in fact caused anxiety among some of my participants. During my fieldwork, the editor Ms C, the teacher researcher Ms Z, and the Mongolian teacher of Mandarin Chinese Ms H were all at first reluctant to sign the ethical form, fearing that their personal information would be leaked. After I explained the ethical procedure in the UK and reassured them about data protection, they agreed to sign the forms, but Ms H still refused consent to record her interview. The expectations of research ethics in the UK thus perhaps hindered some of my participants from expressing their opinions openly on culturally and politically sensitive topics, rather than reassuring them.

This chapter has presented the overarching analytical framework of power relations and introduced the combination of analytic methods residing in the qualitative research paradigm to explore the construction of the 'majority' Han and 'minority' Mongolians in the teaching of Mandarin since the early 20th century China. Chapters 4 to 7 now present the results of the analysis undertaken.

Chapter 4. The construction of Chinese national identities in textbooks for Mongolian learners of Chinese through national history, 1912-2016

4.1 Introduction

Taking Hall's (2000: 17) view of the formation of national identities as a dynamic process involving 'the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries' subject to the strategic 'play' of difference, this chapter explores how the indeterminacy of relations between national Self and Other is represented to the Mongolian learners through the teaching of Chinese national history. We shall see that analysis of the Chinese wars corpus, consisting of 32 lessons from Republican period textbooks and 36 lessons from the PRC period (described in Section 3.3; see Appendix 1.1 for a full list of lessons), suggests that the Republican period constructs a Han-centered Chinese national identity based on Confucian values, while the PRC period presents the war history as a universal national experience which integrates both the Han and non-Han people through the mobilization of emotions towards the past.

In the study of Chinese historiography, scholars such as Callahan (2004) and Wang (2008) have argued that Chinese national identities are based on what is perceived as past humiliation. The period from the 1840s to 1940s in China has been labelled as 'a century of humiliation' by both the Republican and PRC governments. The national crises came after China's defeat by the British during the First Opium War in 1840-42 and the subsequent humiliation at the hands of Western imperialist powers, who imposed a variety of 'unfair treaties' (Scott, 2008). Starting around the turn of twentieth century with the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the main enemy shifted from Western imperialism to Japanese imperialism. After a series of Japanese invasions culminating in the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), the 'century of humiliation' (1840s-1940s) ended with the victory over Japan.

The promulgation of such a discourse of national humiliation has been revealed to serve Chinese governments' cultural governance, as parts of nation building projects. According to Zarrow (2015) and Callahan (2006), themes of patriotism and national humiliation already appeared in Republican period history

textbooks in the early twentieth century. Callahan (2006) pointed out that the national humiliation discourse in the Republican era sought to create the proper Chinese nation, as a modern entity ruled by the Nationalist party, out of the clashes between the Qing dynasty, northern warlords and foreign empires. By contrast, it has been suggested that the propaganda campaigns of the Maoist period drop this humiliation narrative, in favour of a narrative of class struggle (e.g. Zhao, 2004; Coble, 2007). In the representation of Sino-Japanese Wars, Riep's (2008) study of literary works revealed a trend of heroic victory narratives in Maoist and early-post-Mao China. Riep argued that in literary works, writers tended to stress the triumph of healthy and able-bodied proletarian heroes against the Japanese aggressors, and landlords and Nationalist collaborator henchmen. The discourse of national humiliation has been reinforced more recently by the CCP's national 'Patriotic Education Campaign', launched in 1991 shortly after (and possibly in response to) the Tiananmen movement. Wang (2008) and Callahan (2004) argued that the CCP utilised the narrative of a humiliating past to promote social cohesion in opposition to the foreign Other, which in turn redirected criticism from domestic corruption to imperialist aggression. Thus, how the major western imperialist and Japanese enemies are portrayed can be seen to shift over time and be manipulated by the ruling elites to serve political purposes.

The discourse of national humiliation in more modern times is also found to be intertwined with a discourse of a glorious imperial past. Wang (2012) proposed the existence of a Chosenness-Myths-Trauma complex in defining Chinese national identity. A sense of Chinese cultural superiority, past victories in battle, and great accomplishments of a technical or artistic nature have served as the primordial base of Chinese nationalism since the 'century of humiliation' when China was brought to the nation-state system in the mid-nineteenth century. Callahan (2004: 214) pointed out that restoring China's past glory and regaining the rightful place of China on the world stage continually informs domestic discourse and Chinese foreign policy. The two-fold legacy of the 'century of humiliation' – the immediate past of humiliation and older Middle Kingdom glories (Scott, 2008: 294) – has been found to be mobilised by both the

Republican and PRC governments to bolster their claims to legitimacy to rule China.

As noted in Chapter 2, the representation of the relationship between the Han and non-Han peoples in China's past, Baranovitch's (2010) study of Chinese history textbooks published in China between 1951 and 2003 found that the non-Han peoples are treated as non-Chinese others in the 1950s but are totally incorporated into the Chinese historical Self by the beginning of the 21st century. The boundary between Chinese historical Self and Other in the understanding of its imperial past is dynamic. Meanwhile, studies have also argued that in the writing of a Chinese national history, the Han Chinese are represented as a homogenous group who dominate the narration of the past with their experience and values as the norm, while the voice of the non-Han peoples are marginalised (Gladney, 1994; Leibold, 2006). The construction of Chinese national history is thus shaped by the power relations between the Han and non-Han groups.

Textbooks can be considered as a revealing site for how history is disseminated (Callahan, 2006: 183). For example, Sino-Japanese relations are regularly soured by the 'issue of history' with the 'textbook controversy' as the most famous case. [15] Government-issued textbooks therefore can act to diffuse and shape subjects with concrete historical beliefs. They are part of what Michel Foucault (1991: 92) calls governmentality: those relations that regulate the conduct of subjects as a population and as individuals in the interests of ensuring the security and prosperity of the nation state. The content of Chinese national history presented in the Mandarin learning textbooks can therefore help us to better understand the power relationship between Mongolian and Han, specifically to what extent Mongolians learning Mandarin-as the Chinese national language-are included or excluded from the Chinese historical Self over a century.

I examine the portrayal of three types of wars which previous studies, noted above and in Chapter 2, have shown to be closely related to the discourses of national humiliation and glory. They are the imperial China Wars (pre-1839)

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[15] The debates surround the treatment – essentially the non-coverage – of Japanese wartime behaviour in Japan's history textbooks (Schneider, 2008: 108).

which focuses on the conflict between Han and non-Han groups during wars of dynastic transition; the Sino-Japanese Wars (First Sino-Japanese War: 1894-1895, Second Sino-Japanese War: 1937-1945); and Sino-European Wars (First Opium War: 1839 – 1842, Second Opium War: 1856 – 1860, the Sino-French War: 1884-1885, Siege of the International Legations: 1900). One caveat I shall note is that other wars are also featured in the textbooks, including the civil war between the Communist party and Nationalist party (1945-1949), the Korean War (1950-1953), and the Vietnam War (1955-1975). While it would also have been interesting to examine the treatment of these more recent wars in the PRC period, they all post-date the Republican period textbooks, so that comparison over the century is not possible. The research question guiding my analysis is to show how textbooks issued by different governments differ in their treatment of the same event in the construction of Chinese national identities. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 below discuss the cultural representations of the imperial China Wars, Sino-European Wars and Sino-Japanese Wars in the Republican period (Section 4.2) and PRC period textbooks (Section 4.3).

4.2 The invention of Han ethnic identity in Republican period textbooks

Nine textbooks during the Republican period included 32 lessons dealing with wars. They are from three textbook series: the 'Han Mongolian bilingual Mandarin Chinese textbook' (*Han Meng hebi guowen jiaokeshu* 漢蒙合璧國文教科書, henceforth HMHGWJ) published in 1919 for Grade 1 to 4 primary school Mongolian students by the 'Han Mongolian Translation Guohua Printing House' (*Han Meng fanyi guohua shuju* 漢蒙翻譯國華書局) in Zhangjiakou in northern China; the 'Han Mongolian Mandarin Chinese textbook' (*Han Meng hebi guoyu jiaokeshu* 汉蒙国语教科书, henceforth HMHGYJ) published in 1932 for Grade 1 to 2 primary school Mongolian students by the 'Mongolian publishing house' (*Mengwen shushe*, 蒙文書社); and the 1944 textbook series entitled 'Mongolian Han bilingual senior primary school reading books' (*Meng Han hebi gaoxiao guoyu duben* 蒙漢合璧高校國語讀本, henceforth MHHGGD) for Grade 4 to 6 primary school Mongolian students distributed by the government of Alashan Huoshuote League. Figure 4.1 summarises the distribution of different wars in lessons from the 1910s, 1930s and 1940s (Note

that was I unable to locate any Mandarin language textbooks for Mongolian learners from the 1920s; see Section 3.3.2). The total lessons here are all the lessons of the Republican period textbooks I examined in the national history corpus (Appendix 1.1). The imperial China Wars and Sino-European Wars are the wars most frequently dealt with in the 1910s textbooks. China's defeat by Japan in the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 is not included in textbooks until the 1930s. The coverage of the imperial China Wars and Sino-Japanese Wars peaks in the 1940s. As the following Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.3 show, the inclusion of the imperial China Wars and Sino-Japanese Wars in the 1940s textbooks serves as war propaganda to mobilise students when China was at war with Japan between 1937 and 1945.
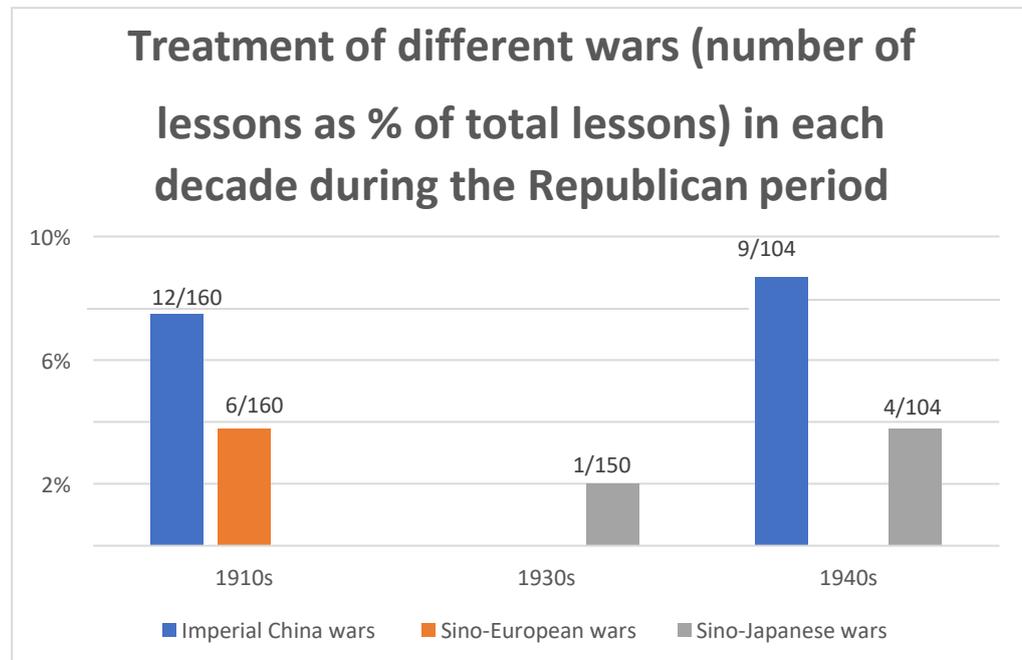
Figure 4.1 Percentage of wars in every decade textbooks during the Republican period textbooks

4.2.1 Imperial China Wars: Han as the superior group in Republican period textbooks

Twelve lessons of imperial China Wars of different dynasties are identified in the depiction of Chinese national history in the 1919 textbook series (HMHGWJ, Vol. 5, 6, 7, 8, 1919). Emperors and famous generals are the main characters in

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the narration of the wars. In traditional Chinese historiography, Chinese dynastic histories were divided into separate units such as annals and biographies (Zarrow, 2015: 151). The 1919 textbooks show a break with this traditional historiography, as they present dynastic wars chronologically to make up the national history of China, presenting China as a linear continuity. The change works in tandem with the reform in the history curriculum by the Republican government which proclaimed the goals of making students understand of the progress of the Chinese nation (Zarrow, 2015: 153). There are three lessons in the 1919 series titled 'The outline of national history' (国史大概) in the textbook for the Grade 4 Mongolian students, as exemplified in the extract below:

> Extract 1: 我國開化最早 火食始於燧人 畜牧始於伏羲 稼墻醫藥 始於神農 及黃帝以甲子紀年 年數始可考 傳至今日蓋四千六百 余年矣 帝作兵器 以平苗族 武功最盛 乃創文字 建宮室 製衣裳文 化大備
>
> Our country's civilization was the earliest to develop. Using fire for cooking began with Suiren. Herding began with Fuxi. Developing agriculture and medicine began with Shennong. Up to the period of the Yellow emperor, *jiazi* [16] was used to document time and the number of years of Chinese history can be calculated. Up to now there have been over four thousand and six hundred years. The Yellow emperor made weapons to suppress the Miao group and he had the greatest military strength. He invented scripts, built palaces, made clothes, and this provided a great cultural foundation (to the country). (HMHGWJ, Vol. 8, 1919: 3-4)

The history of China is presented as beginning with the Yellow Emperor and having lasted more than four thousand six hundred years since then. The topoi of military strength and civilization play significant roles to legitimise the Yellow Emperor as the founder of the Chinese nation. As shown in the extract, before the Yellow Emperor, there were primitive tribes with some skills such as using fire, herding, and agriculture, but not a unified people. After he became

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[16] Jiazi is the first year of the sixty-year cycle in traditional Chinese timing

emperor, he invented arrows, vehicles, clothes, a script and built palaces, from which his descendants benefitted. All these markers of civilization are concentrated on the figure of the Yellow Emperor, which further justifies viewing him as the founder of the Chinese nation. According to Leibold (2006: 193) the myth of the Yellow Emperor as the origin of Chinese nation was established by the late Qing anti-Manchuists, such as Zhang Binglin (章炳麟, 1869-1936), Chen Tianhua (陈天华 , 1875-1905), making him the ancestor of the Han group, in order to transform the Han into a biological descent group which purposely excluded Manchus from the nation (Leibold, 2006: 193). It was only after the founding of ROC in 1912 that the intellectuals stretched the boundaries of the myth of common origin to explicitly include the Manchu and other frontier minorities of the former Qing dynasty (Leibold, 2003: 381-94). In Extract 2, the Yellow Emperor, who is considered as the ancestor of Han, is likewise promoted as the superordinate ancestor of the *whole* nation, downplaying the ethnic diversity within it.

> Extract 2: 秦始皇滅六國 廢封建 置郡縣 中國乃統於一 漢高祖伐秦為皇帝 傳至武帝 征匈奴 服西域 威震四方 其後王莽篡之 光武中興 謂之東漢 其季世 魏蜀吳三國鼎立 至晉復合為一 未幾 五胡亂華 晉室東徙割據中原者 先後十六國 及北魏興 遂分為南北朝 至隋又合為一 唐初曾滅高麗 征吐蕃突厥天竺諸國 所向有功 境土日開 及季世 藩鎮擅權 分為五代十國 至宋始合為一 […] 元由蒙古人入主中國 兵威強盛 奄有朝鮮俄羅斯諸地 而日耳曼印度及南洋群島 亦被侵略 明太祖以平民起兵 滅元而代之 及其季世 有流寇之亂 滿洲乘之遂入關而有中國 是為清 近者革命軍起 清帝退位 遂建立中華民國

> (After the first emperor of Qin defeated the six kingdoms, abolished feudalism and set up counties, China began to be unified. The emperor Gaozu of Han replaced the Emperor of Qin after defeating him and passed the throne to the Emperor Wu of Han. He conquered the Xiongnu and calmed the Western Region, achieving universal

fame. After him, Wang Mang seized the throne and the emperor Guangwu made another prosperous dynasty, which was named the Eastern Han. Afterwards, there were three kingdoms Wei, Shu, Wu, which were unified until the Jin dynasty. Shortly after, the uprisings of the five barbarians saw the invasion of the central plain region and the Jin court had to move eastwards, which created sixteen Kingdoms. With the rise of the Northern Wei, the country was divided into the Southern and Northern dynasties. It was only reunited under the Sui dynasty […] At the beginning of the Tang dynasty, the kingdom of Goguryeo was defeated, and the Tang empire expanded its territory through the conquest of the Tubo empire, the Turkic Khaganate and Tianzhu kingdom.[17] Afterwards, the country was divided into ten kingdoms and was not re-unified until the Song dynasty […] The Mongolians occupied China during the Yuan dynasty with a strong military army; they invaded Korea and Russia as well as areas occupied by Germanic peoples, India and South Pacific islands. The first emperor of the Ming launched uprisings and replaced the Yuan dynasty. Afterwards, there were riots and Manchurians took the opportunity to invade, and occupied China, naming it the Qing dynasty. Recently, the revolutionary army overturned the Qing and founded the Republic of China.) (HMHGWJ, Vol. 8, 1919: 4-6)

As represented in Extract 2 above, Chinese history follows a pattern of division and unification. What makes historical writing nationalistic is often the viewpoint, particularly how the boundary between the in-group and out-group is marked (Coakley, 2012: 101-111). The periodisation of Chinese history given here seems to take the rise of and fall of the Han race as the basis. The Han-ruled dynasties such as Qin, Jin, Sui and Song mark the unification of China, while the non-Han peoples are depicted as invaders threatening to divide China, with the exception of the Mongolian-ruled Yuan and Manchu-ruled Qing dynasties. Mongolians and the Manchu are presented as 'taking command of China'. Their Yuan and Qing dynasties are not presented as part of an oppression discourse. Instead, the Yuan dynasty is categorised as a golden age with great military

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[17] Regions approximating modern-day Tibet, Xinjiang and India, respectively.

power, so great that the Mongolians even conquered some lands of Europe. Mongolians and the Manchu are presented as belonging to the in-group in terms of their contributions to the Chinese territory and continuity of Chinese history.

Although the Yuan and Qing dynasties are, as we have seen, presented as part of Chinese national history, they are nevertheless backgrounded in the 1919 HMHGWJ textbook series. Three lessons devoted to the history of the Qing dynasty are collectively titled 'The failure of Qing diplomacy' (清外交之失敗), (see Section 4.2.2 below). Only one lesson covers the history of the Yuan dynasty, and that whole lesson depicts the defeat of the Mongolian emperor Toghon Temür (Emperor Shun) by Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋), the first emperor of the Ming dynasty. The lesson begins with the context of turmoil after the failed Mongolian sovereignty in the Yuan dynasty:

> Extract 3: 時元室失政 豪傑蜂起 太祖從郭子興起兵 子興死 遂領其眾 既定吉慶 召官吏父老語之曰 我來為民除亂耳 […] 民大悅
>
> (When the Yuan court lost its power, many brave and courageous figures appeared [to compete for the throne]. The first emperor joined the rebel army led by Guo Zixing. When Zixing died, the first emperor led the army to conquer Jiqing. He addressed the local officers and commoners 'I am going to bring peace to your life […]' The people were very happy.) (HMHGWJ, Vol. 7, 1919: 7)

As every dynasty has its peak and weak times, this lesson presents the weak time of the Yuan dynasty as a foil in order to show the greatness of the later Ming emperor, portrayed as the hero to lead the people out of turmoil. At the end of the lesson, the Ming emperor defeats the Mongolian emperor and replaces the Yuan with the Ming:

> Extract 4: 太祖初號吳王 及克山東河南 乃稱帝 國號明 命徐達常遇春取元都 元順帝聞明兵至 大怯 夜半率後妃太子北走 元亡
>
> (The founder of the Ming dynasty was initially titled the King of Wu. After conquering Shandong and Henan, he proclaimed himself emperor and named the state the Ming. He commanded Xu Yun and

Chang Yuchun to occupy the Yuan capital. The Emperor Shun of the Yuan heard the Ming army was approaching. He was terrified. At midnight, he led his empress and crown prince and fled north. The Yuan dynasty ended.) (HHGWJ, Vol. 7, 1919: 9)

The mental adjective 'terrified' and the temporal adverb 'midnight' are used to depict the weakness of the emperor Shun when he heard of the approaching Ming army and fled late in the night without offering any resistance, so that the Yuan dynasty ended. However, the Mongolian emperor was not as weak as he is portrayed in the textbook, for he is known to have fled northward to his summer base at the 'Upper Capital' (*Shangdu* 上都)[18] where he continued to hold power until Zhu Yuanzhang launched a decisive second northern expedition shortly after (Zhang, 2015: 77). It is thus clear that, this historical lesson is narrated for the self-enhancement of the Han at the expense of non-Han groups.

In contrast, the history of the Mongolian empire is highlighted in a 1923 Mongolian language textbook series titled 'Mongolian textbooks' (*Mengwen jiaokeshu* 蒙文教科书, henceforth MWJ) published by the Mongolian publisher 'South Desert Jingxin publishing house'[19] (*Monan jingxinshe* 漠南景新社), intended for Mongolians (and probably Han Chinese) to learn Mongolian, and supplied with Mongolian and paralleled Chinese translations. The first volume is intended for teaching Mongolian orthography. The lessons of the remaining seven volumes are nearly identical with the 1919 HMHGWJ textbook series already discussed, with only minor changes. In the seventh and eighth volumes of the Mongolian textbooks in 1923, five lessons about the Mongolian emperors Chinggis Khan, Kublai Khan and Timur Khan are included. Chinggis Khan is portrayed as the founder of the Mongolian empire, and his legacy is inherited by his descendants to expand the Mongolian territory.

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[18] The Upper Capital of the Mongolian empire (commonly known as Xanadu) was located in the present-day Zhenglan Banner, Inner Mongolia, China

[19] The *South Desert Jingxin publishing house* was established by a Mongolian named Temenggetu in Beijing in 1920

Extract 5: 至元十六年殲宋一統中國凡滿洲內外蒙古中國本部青海西藏及中亞細亞皆為所領高麗交趾緬甸安南占城瓜哇等國亦為所羈縻疆域之廣前所未有

(In the sixteenth year of the Yuan dynasty, emperor Kublai Khan overthrew the Song and unified China. [From then on] Manchuria, Inner and Outer Mongolia, inner China, Qinghai, Tibet and central Asia were all ruled by him. Goguryeo, Giao Chỉ, Myanmar, Annam, Champa and Java also came under his control. [20] The territory had never been larger. (MWJ, Vol.8, 1923: 15)

The Mongolian emperor Kublai Khan is presented in Extract 5 as the unifier of China, and China is part of the Mongolian empire. We saw above that in the Han-compiled 1919 HMHGWJ textbooks, the Mongolian-ruled Yuan dynasty is incorporated into the Chinese national history. Here, the Yuan dynasty is narrated as the history of the Mongolian empire in the 1923 MWJ. According to Rupen (1958: 158), the general and ultimate aim of the various indigenous Mongolian leaders and groups in the early twentieth century was the recreation of a unified Mongolia on the model of the Empire of Chinggis Khan. The narration of the Mongolian history would serve as the primordial base for Mongolian nationalism.

Therefore, in the 1919 HMHGWJ textbooks, the presentation of Chinese history helps the construction of China as a nation from the primordialist view, presenting it as a linear temporal continuity. However, there is a bias in the presentation of the dynasties ruled by the Han and non-Han emperors. The Mongolians and Manchus, in these Han-compiled materials, either rule China badly or are defeated, to show the greatness of the Han. From this perspective, the writing of Chinese national history is Han-centred with the non-Han group being othered from the Chinese in-group.

Imperial wars reappear in the third and fourth volumes of the 1944 textbook series MHHGGD. In contrast to the 1919 HMHGWJ textbooks, which are in

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[20] Giao Chỉ is today's northern Vietnam. Annam is today's central Vietnam. Champa is today's central and southern Vietnam.

classical Chinese, the MHHGGD textbooks from 1944 are in vernacular Chinese. While the wars mainly feature in the 1919 textbooks to celebrate victories, the 1944 textbooks also include the lost wars led by the General Zhang Xun (张巡, 708-757 A.D.) in the Tang dynasty and by General Zong Ze (宗泽, 1060-1128 A.D.) in the Song dynasty. Both are said to fight bravely but are overcome by the superior numbers of the non-Han enemies and at last sacrifice their lives in the defence of the territory of the Tang and Song sovereignties. Considering that 1944 is the year when China was at war with Japan, including these lessons of glorious defeats may have served as war propaganda to promulgate to learners the spirit of fighting for the nation till death.

Compared with the 1919 HMHGWJ textbooks, which express the boundary between the Han and non-Han through a Han-centred narrative point of view, in the 1944 MHHGGD textbooks, victories over the non-Han in history are mobilised to construct Han ethnicl identity. For example, the label of 'Han race' (*Hanzu* 汉族) is assigned to the Eastern Han dynasty military general Ban Chao in the narration of the wars he led against Xiongnu, [21] the forebears of the Mongolians.

> Extract 6: 他越思越想越難忍受，猛然把手中的羊毛筆向地下一扔，他說：“大丈夫竟無大誌，也應該撞到邊外去立點功勛，豈可以長久在筆硯上討生活，辜負我寶貴的光陰！”[…] 那靖邊保國的功勞更是漢族的榮光。到如今改朝換代山河在，班定遠精神不死美名揚。

> (The more he [Ban Chao] dwelt on it, the more difficult he found it to bear and, all of a sudden, he threw the woollen brush pen to the ground and said: "A man cannot live without ambition. I **should** go to the frontier to achieve something. How can I while away my valuable life earning a living as a secretary!" […] The deeds of calming the (riots) of the (West) frontier and protecting the country is furthermore the honour of the Han race. Although many years have

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[21] The Xiongnu were a Proto-Mongol or proto-Turkic group.

passed, Ban Chao's spirit will live forever.) (MHHGGD, Vol. 4, 1944: 370-371)

In the speech of Ban Chao, the modal verb 'should' (应该, in bold above) prescribes belief to the males that becoming a soldier is honourable and helps to boost self-worth, even though the enemies that Ban Chao will fight are Mongolian forebears. Presenting Ban Chao as a Han hero would be intended to encourage the Mongolian learners to follow the Han model. However, the term 'Han race' (汉族) could also make the Mongolians feel excluded. This contradiction could be partly because the MHHGGD textbooks are based on an existing textbook for the Han majority entitled the 'Rejuvenation textbooks' (*Fuxing jiaokeshu* 复兴教科书) published by the 'Commercial Press' (*Shangwu yinshuguan* 商务印书馆) in 1933, as stated in the preface of the fifth volume of the 1944 textbook series.

Mongolians are further othered in the narration of the first emperor of Ming, Zhu Yuanzhang. Another label, 'ethnicity' (*Minzu* 民族),[22] is used to describe the Ming emperor as the 'hero of ethnic revolution' in the 1944 MHHGGD textbook which narrates the history of his defeat over the Mongolian Shun emperor of Yuan in the name of 'ethnic revolution' (*Minzu geming* 民族革命).

> Extract 7: 明太祖是一個民族革命的英雄… 公元 1368 年，明太祖以民族革命的大義下令北伐。元順帝倉皇出奔。後來元順帝 的後妃和孫子，都被明軍俘獲，送到南京。明太祖以為元人既 然交還統治權，便也不念舊惡，撥一所很大的住宅，給他們住。又知道他們生長北地，一向食肉飲酪，恐怕受不住南方的突暑， 吃不慣南方的膳食，所以特地吩咐：「好好照顧他們，供給他們，使飲食起居，都很適意。」並且說如果他們要回去，就送他們回去。

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[22] I use 'ethnicity' to translate the word *minzu* to indicate its political subordinate position to Chinese nationality in this thesis.

(The First Emperor of the Ming is a hero of ethnic revolution. In 1368, the Emperor commanded that the North be conquered in the name of national revolution. Emperor Shun of the Yuan fled in haste. Afterwards the empresses of the Emperor Shun and his grandsons were all captured by the Ming army and were sent to Nanjing. The first emperor of the Ming thought the Mongolians had handed over their sovereignty and therefore did not bother about their past enmity. He gave the Mongolians a big house to live in. He also knew they grew crops in the North and used to eat meat and drink milk and so was afraid that the Mongolians would not be able to bear the heat in the South and accustom themselves to the diet there. Therefore, he gave specific instructions; 'Take good care of them, provide them with food and make them comfortable here.' He also said if they wanted to go back, send them back.) (MHHGGD, Vol. 4, 1944: 84-86)

Although the passage does not make clear whose ethnicity the Ming emperor represents, the Han specifically or China as a whole, the Mongolians are positioned as the out-group: the illegitimate rulers of China. The othering of Mongolians is also manifested in the repetitive use of the third person pronoun 'they' and diet difference 'eat meat and drink milk' in the 1944 MHHGGD textbook. The practice of using diet as a marker of Mongolian ethnicity seems to be a common practice for the Chinese, who have always regarded the nomadic populations living on the northern frontiers on a diet of meat and dairy products, not only as uncivilised barbarians but also as exuding a rank smell (Ceresa, 2004:2). In other words, dairy farming and milk consumption was a means of distinguishing the nomadic population, viewed as culturally inferior, from the Chinese (Ceresa, 2004: 4). In addition, after defeating the Mongolians, the Emperor Ming is presented as being merciful to the Mongolian captives by taking good care of them. This also suggests that the Han or Chinese are a civilised group, treating captives humanely.

To sum up, in the 1944 MHHGGD textbooks, the presentation of ancient Chinese history plays a role in constructing the Han ethnic identity and building China as a nation, while very little effort is made to allow for the Mongolian

perspective. The historical figures are labelled as Han or Chinese national heroes who expel the non-Han from the Chinese territory. In addition, the Han Chinese are portrayed as being more militarily powerful and civilised, thus superior to the Mongolians and other non-Han groups. The Han centrism in the textbooks reinforces with the self-categorization for the Han Chinese and at the same time it would also create a boundary from the non-Han group.

4.2.2 Sino-European Wars: the relationship between China and the world in Republican period textbooks

As already noted in 4.2.1, six cases of wars with Europe are included in the pre-1949 textbooks, specifically in the sixth, seventh and eighth volumes of the HMHGWJ textbooks published in 1919. The wars are narrated surrounding the theme of lost territory due to the incursions faced by the late Qing. Three lessons titled 'The failure of Qing diplomacy' focus on the Qing government's loss of territory and repaying military costs in the context of a series of wars with Europe, beginning with the first Opium War (1839-1842), followed by the second Opium War (1856-1860), the Sino-French War (1884-1885), the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), and the Siege of the International legations (1900).

> Extract 8: 中國自元初 侵略歐洲 歐亞之往來始繁 然多遵陸而行 道途險遠 及明季世 葡萄牙初由海盜至澳門 荷蘭英法繼之 涉自 此日盛 清宣宗時 林則徐禁鴉片 英人不服 遣兵犯江浙 道光二十 二年 與英議合割香港 償兵費 是為外交失敗之始 清鹹豐七年 粵 史捕盜於英艦 粵民又殺法教士 越三年 英法聯軍逼都城 乃以九 龍租於英 許英法人入內地傳教 俄人亦取黑龍江地 以為酬謝。
>
> (China had been invading Europe since the Yuan dynasty. Transport communication between Europe and Asia had started to increase. However, it all followed the roads on land, which were long and dangerous. By the Ming dynasty, Portuguese pirates had arrived in Macau, followed by Britain and France. Since then, interactions had flourished. During the reign of Emperor Xuanzong of the Qing, Lin Zexu banned opium. The British refused to accept this and sent an

army to invade Jiangsu and Zhejiang. During the twenty-second year of the Daoguang period, [China] negotiated peace with Britain, ceded Hong Kong, and repaid military costs. This marked the beginnings of failed diplomacy. During the seventh year of the Xianfeng period, Cantonese officials caught pirates on a British ship. The Cantonese people also killed a French missionary. Three years later, British and French forces overran the capital. Jiulong (Kowloon) was ceded to Britain and British and French missionaries were permitted to preach in the interior. The Russians also got Heilongjiang as a reward.) (HMHGWJ, Vol. 7, 1919: 34-35)

The narration in Extract 8 begins with the Yuan dynasty, when China is depicted as invading Europe and opening communication between Europe and Asia, putting China in a superior and advantaged position compared to Europe. However, the Qing dynasty marks the transition of China from an advantaged position to a disadvantaged position, being invaded *by* Europe. The listing of the ceded places 'Hong Kong', 'Kowloon' and 'Heilongjiang' not only shapes China's understanding of its borders but also casts doubt on the legitimacy of the Qing sovereignty to govern China as it lost territories continuously.

There is also a change in the presentation of the relationship between people and government in the extract. The individuals – Lin Zexu, Cantonese officers and commoners – are presented as initiating resistance to the western powers by themselves. By contrast, in other lessons of the 1919 HMHGWJ narrating the battles or wars of the previous dynasties, historical figures such as Ban Chao (HMHGWJ, Vol. 6: 16), Zhu Geliang (HMHGWJ, Vol. 6: 17) and Yue Fei (HMHGWJ, Vol. 7: 7) are all depicted as being loyal to emperors, being appointed or commanded by emperors. These lessons reflect the Confucian principle of governance, which maintains a paternalistic order where people are the passive subjects of the emperor and follow the emperor's command in order to maintain the harmony of society (Chan and Young, 2012: 17). In contrast, as shown in Extract 8, in the late Qing period, people are portrayed as active subjects, while the Qing government is the weak commander, who only carries out diplomatic negotiations after resistance is initially raised by the people. This contrast implies the Qing government is weak and incapable of maintaining the

paternalistic order of society and governing the people. Through the presentation of the changing position of China in the world and the relationship between the Chinese people and the government, the Qing government is marked out as an exception to the glorious Chinese history.

Two lessons entitled 'Shanghai' (HMHGWJ, Vol. 6: 21) and 'Tianjin' (HMHGWJ, Vol.7: 33) are related to the foreign-governed International Settlements after the loss of wars against the Europe. In contrast to the national humiliation discourse in the PRC period textbooks (see section 4.3.2 below), the early Republican period textbooks use the foreign concessions as proof of the progress that the Republican government has achieved.

> Extract 9: 近者我邦官商就租借南北經營市場 又將城墻拆除 以利交通 異時繁盛 當不遜於租界也。
>
> (Recently our country's government officials and businessmen run markets in the southern and northern sides of the foreign concession in Shanghai. The city walls were also removed to benefit traffic. The prosperity of the markets is not inferior to that of the concession area.)
> (HMHGWJ, Vol. 6, 1919: 21)

By comparing the markets run by the Chinese officials and businessmen with the concession area run by the foreigners in Shanghai, this extract suggests that the new Chinese government can govern its territory as well as the foreign powers, who are presented as the benchmark of prosperity. The foreign concession here does not give rise to any irredentism (policy of reclaiming lost territory) as in the PRC period. The main aim seems to be to legitimise the rule of the new government.

A cosmopolitan approach is also adopted in the display of the relationship between Chinese people and foreigners during the war. In Extract 10, the lives of all humanity which transcend state boundaries are emphasised in the lesson entitled 'the way which we should treat foreigners' (待外国人之道).

> Extract 10: 及交通既盛 文明大啟 始知同為人類 則無論膚色如何 程度如何 皆當待之以道 即不幸兩國開戰 互相攻伐 然僑寓之商

民 宜保護之 被傷之俘虜 宜療治之 夫兩國開戰之時 而國人之互相待遇 猶宜如此。

(Nowadays transport is well developed, which boosts civilization. People begin to realise we are all human beings. Therefore, no matter how different our skin colours are, we should treat each other properly. Even if the two countries are at war and attack each other, the businessmen of the confronted country should be protected. The injured captives should receive treatment. Therefore, during the war time, people of the same country should treat each other especially like this.) (HMHGWJ, Vol. 8, 1919: 40-41)

This call for a cosmopolitan and transcendental humanity could be influenced by Confucianism, which portrayed a 'One World', or 'the great harmony' as an ideal world in which boundaries between nations and races are progressively abolished (Callahan, 2004: 573). Most of Extract 10 adopts an outward looking view, which breaks down the division between Chinese and foreigners. However, the last sentence of the extract pulls us back from the world into looking inward to the nation. Treating foreigners well serves as the springboard to support the notion of fraternity among people of the same nation.

To conclude, the portrayal of the Sino-European Wars in the early Republican period textbooks serve to suggest the weakness of the Qing government which lost Chinese territory, in contrast with the new Republican government which is catching up with the advanced western powers. In addition, Mongolian students are nourished with the Confucianism value of 'the great harmony' to understand their relationship with other Chinese people and foreigners.

4.2.3 Sino-Japanese Wars: Confucian nationalism in Republican period textbooks

Five lessons dealing with the Sino-Japanese wars are presented in the 1930s and 1940s textbooks, surrounding the themes of justice and peace, with the purpose of fighting being highlighted. A lesson entitled 'Chinese and Japanese' (中国人和日本人) in the HMHGYJ primary school textbook for Grade 2 Mongolian

students in 1932 compares the reactions of the Chinese with those of the Japanese when each country suffers from natural disasters:

> Extract 11: 記得民國十二年，日本大地震的消息，傳到中國，我們中國人，大家捐出錢來，救濟日本的災民，又記得民國二十年，我國發生大水災，日本人乘這個時候，出兵東三省，殺死我們同胞，占據我們的土地，日本人和中國人，為什麼這樣不同呢？
>
> (Remember that in the twelfth year of the Republic, the news of an earthquake in Japan spread to China. We Chinese donated money to help the Japanese victims. Also remember that in the twentieth year of the Republic, when our country had floods, the Japanese seized this opportunity to send troops to the three Eastern provinces, to kill our compatriots, and to occupy our lands. Japanese and Chinese, why are they so different?) (HMHGYJ, Vol. 4, 1932: 80-82)

My reading of Extract 11 suggests that the Chinese are compared favourably with the Japanese in terms of their understanding of the Confucius moral value of 'benevolence' (*ren* 仁). The Chinese people are portrayed as donating money to help the Japanese when they suffered an earthquake, while the Japanese people killed Chinese and invaded Chinese land when China suffered flooding. Therefore, the Chinese are shown to be morally superior to the Japanese. Using the Confucius moral value to create the boundary between Chinese and Japanese suggests the Confucian form of nationalism–a commitment to Confucian values and an aspiration to a nation-state that expresses those values.

Confucian nationalism is also reflected in the 1944 MHHGGD textbook for Grade 2 Mongolian students. Two lessons are about calling for joining the military service: Lesson 24 is a letter written by a son who persuades his mother to support him to join the army and defend the country; it is followed in Lesson 25 by a reply from his mother. As Chan and Young (2012: 8) have pointed out, Confucian philosophy places considerable emphasis on the family as the microcosm of society, and the importance of 'filial piety' (*xiao* 孝) as the pinnacle of a person's morality. An individual's responsibilities are primarily

toward the family rather than to a political entity, and hence are incompatible with special commitment to the nation (Bell, 2015: 37). However, the two lessons use the most important relationship in Confucian ethics – mother-son – as the starting point to advocate extending such moral duties to the level of the nation:

> Extract 12: 不過，不幸而中國亡了，讓無數的青年去受異族的欺淩與虐待，那慘酷更千萬倍於戰死。到時候，您將無法來愛您的兒子，只得眼看著自己的骨肉在別人鐵蹄之下宛轉呻吟。
>
> (However, if China unfortunately is destroyed, innumerable youths will suffer bullying and abuse from the foreign races. That cruelty is more than a thousand times worse compared with dying in battles. At that time, you will not be able to love your son and can only see your child groaning under others' feet) (MHHGGD, Vol.3, 1944: 252-253)

Confucianism values the caring and commitment of face-to-face relationships and devalues commitment to 'abstract' entities like the nation or the political community (Bell, 2015: 37), but in the extract, the scenario of China losing the war is imagined, to suggest that family and nation are interrelated. If the nation is conquered by others, the family will also break up. Therefore, the abstract notion of nation becomes concrete.

In the mother's reply, the relationship between a young man and his family, society, country and human beings is illustrated:

> Extract 13: 一个青年，并不属于父母和家庭，应该属于社会，属于国家，乃至属于全人类。你此番不但是爱国，而且是为了全人类的正义而战。
>
> (A young man **does not belong to** parents and family. He **should** belong to society, country and even all human beings. What you do is not only out of love for your country, it is also a fight for justice for all human beings.) (MHHGGD, Vol.3, 1944: 256)

The logic of starting from the closest family relationship to the widest relationship of human beings in the narration indicates the influence of

Confucian thinking, which argued for graduated love for people. Hence, obligations weaken as they extend from the family to the nation, and in cases of conflict, the former have priority (Bell, 2015: 38). Encouraging young men to fight for the country could cause a conflict of interest with the family from the perspective of Confucian thinking, because men's commitments to the family may not be fulfilled if they lose their lives. Through the negation 'does not belong to', a young man is dissociated from his parents and family and associated with society, country and human beings, and the action of joining the army is associated with fighting for human justice. The modal verb 'should' (*yinggai* 应该) emphasises making contributions outside the family circle as a moral obligation. Thus, the Chinese national identity is promulgated in the lesson through negating the Confucian thinking of family commitment as superior and calling instead for people's devotion to the country. Meanwhile, fighting for justice for all human beings is presented as vitally important. This also reflects a cosmopolitan thinking, as already discussed in section 4.2.2 above. China's resistance against Japan contributes to improving the entire world.

To summarise, in the presentation of Sino-Japanese wars in the Republican period textbooks, a boundary is constructed between the Chinese in-group and Japanese out-group. The Chinese follow the principle of benevolence in Confucius ethics and therefore are morally superior to their Japanese counterparts. Meanwhile, the priority of commitment to family members in Confucian ethics is replaced with commitment to the nation. The Confucius principle of filial piety are used to teach that individual, family and the nation are mutually dependent on each other. At last, the justice of all humanity is presented to justify China fighting against Japan, indicating China's place in the world.

4.3 The invention of a 'unified' Chinese national identity for Mongolians in PRC period textbooks

Twenty-six textbooks from the PRC period have been identified which, between them, include thirty-three lessons of wars. The number of the wars are measured against the total lessons of the textbooks which I examined in each decade (See Appendix 1.1). As shown in Figure 4.2 below, Sino-Japanese Wars are included in all decades of the PRC textbooks from the 1960s onwards while the imperial

China Wars only appear in the 1960s textbooks (As a reminder, it was not possible to locate any relevant textbooks published in the 1950s). Sino-European Wars begin to be included into the textbooks from 1980s. A new type of commemorative discourse is included in the 1970s for the first time and experiences a big increase in 2000s. Wars are commemorated through ceremonies, monuments and architecture. As Pierre Nora (1989, cited in Winter, 2008: 61) pointed out, these elements provide 'sites of memory' which engage people in the present to recall the past. Presenting war history in this materialised form can invest the history with 'enduring and emotive symbolic significance' in the present (Tallentire, 2001: 203), as we shall see in in section 4.3.4.
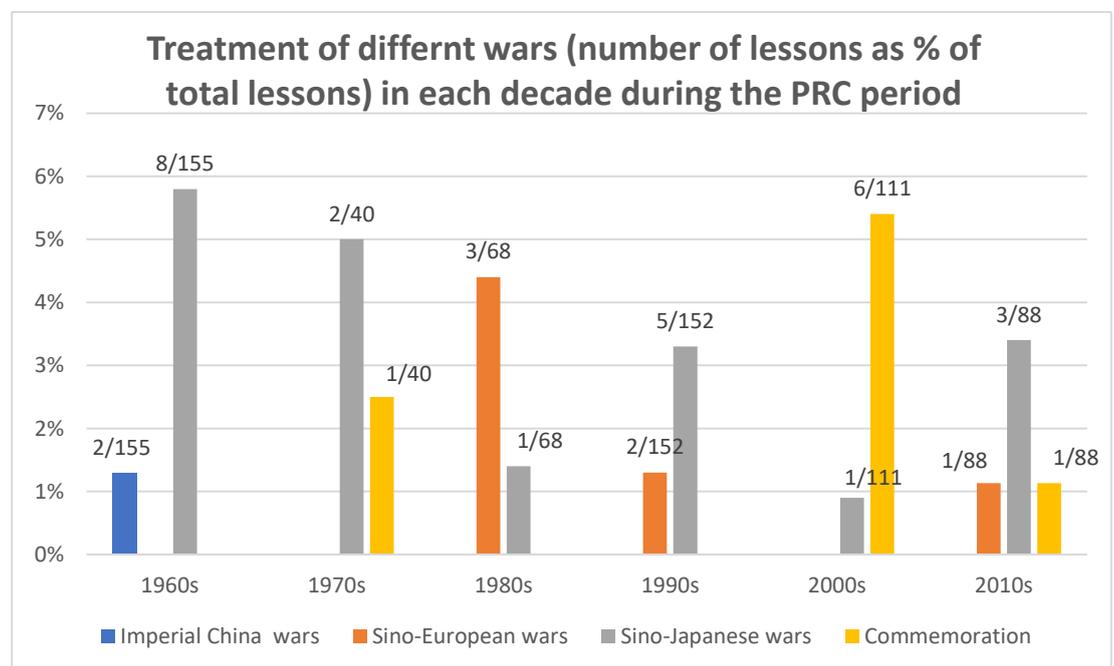
Figure 4.2. Percentage of wars in every decade textbooks during the PRC period textbooks

4.3.1 Imperial China Wars: The non-Han group as enemies no longer

Only two lessons dealing with imperial China wars were found, in two textbooks from the 1960s, unlike the Republican period, whose textbooks offered a total of 21 lessons about imperial China Wars, clearly outnumbering the two other wars. The contrast may reflect the influence of Marxist historiography, especially in the Maoist period, when the period before 19th century China was regarded as feudal and therefore leaving little scope to be utilised for pedagogical purposes under Communism. For example, Hu in 1965, the year prior to the Cultural

Revolution (1966-1976), reviewed history teaching in China from primary school through post-graduate institutes from 1949 to the 1960s. Hu advocated that all pre-Communist historical works should be re-evaluated from the standpoint of the proletariat. The historical works of the past were criticised by Hu (1965: 9) as 'not history at all since they ignore the most important ingredient of history-the masses'. Wang has pointed out the strong influence of such radical revolutionary views from 1959 until the end of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in the historiography of ancient China. According to Wang (2011: 14), the radicals during the Maoist period argued that the roots of the 'long-term stagnation of China's feudal society' lay in the landlord class's oppression and exploitation of people. Therefore, peasant rebellions have since 1949 been a popular topic, following Mao Zedong's judgement in 1939 that the 'class struggle of the peasants – the peasant uprisings and peasant wars – alone formed the real motive force of development in China's feudal society' (from the English translation of Mao's words is from the 1954 New York edition: Mao Tse-tung (2), 3: 76 cited in Liu, 1981: 303).

The two lessons dealing with wars in Imperial China are included in the 'Mongolian medium middle school Mandarin Chinese textbook' (*Mengguzu Chuji Zhongxue Hanyuwen*, 蒙古族初级中学汉语文, henceforth MCZH) in 1962 and 'Mongolian medium middle school Mandarin Chinese textbook Version A' (*Mengguzu Chuji Zhongxue Hanyuwen Jialei Keben*, 蒙古族初级中学汉语文甲类课本) published in 1962. The two lessons are about Li Zicheng (李自成 1606-1645), a Chinese peasant rebel leader who overthrew the Ming dynasty in 1644. The storylines of the two lessons are similar. Li Zicheng is portrayed as a hero who fights against the ruthless feudal class (the Ming emperor, officials and landlords) and gains support from the commoners (On the theme of class struggle, see discussion in section 5.3.1.4.). The presentation of Li Zicheng's peasant war chimes with radical communist revolutionary historiography of the time, while the effectiveness of the peasant war to promote social progress is ignored, something which was debated in the historical circle from 1959 until the launch of the Cultural Revolution, according to Wang (2012: 14).

The conflicts between the Han and non-Han peoples are not treated at all in post-1949 Mandarin language textbooks. In contrast, Baranovitch (2010), who examined the representation of non-Han peoples in Chinese history textbooks for Han students published between 1951 and 2003, found that the non-Han peoples were treated as non-Chinese others and were referred to as 'foreigners' until 2003, when they were totally incorporated into the Chinese historical self through a new narrative claiming that they had *always* been Chinese. This difference in coverage of the relationship between the Han and non-Han peoples in the language textbooks of my corpus compared to Baronovitch's history textbook corpus is arguably because the Mandarin language textbooks for 'minority' learners are intended to serve as a tool of 'strengthening interethnic communication' in the building of a 'unified multi-ethnic socialist nation', as explicitly stated in the national curriculum guideline of Mandarin for ethnic minority learners in 1982, 1992 and 1999. Promoting interethnic cohesion therefore becomes a primary goal in the Chinese language teaching to minoritised learners. It is also worth noting from my fieldwork (see Chapter 7) that an interview with a textbook compiler Ms C of Chinese language textbooks for Mongolian learners since the 2000s revealed that ancient Chinese history is rated by her editorial team as a sensitive period, because it involves conflicts between the Han and non-Han groups. Therefore, the selection of texts about this period is made with 'extra caution' as 'the ethnic issue is a big thing!' 'Any contentious national heroes' will not be selected, in order to 'not hurt the feelings of minority students' unintentionally (Ms C, interview). Promoting a harmonious relationship between the Han and non-Han groups is accorded great importance in the post-1949 Mandarin language textbooks.

4.3.2 Sino-European Wars: Emotional ties towards the nation

The post-1949 textbooks present the Sino-European wars as a humiliating period in Chinese history, particularly as they resulted in territory loss. By contrast with the pre-1949 textbooks, which focused on the governance of the Qing and Republican governments and cultivated a cosmopolitan value, the post-1949 textbooks adopt a nationalistic approach to present the war history as different life stories. The figures in the stories include both famous figures – Zhou Enlai (周恩来), Song Qingling (宋庆龄), and Zheng Zhenduo (郑振铎) – and also

commoners. There are six cases, found in six textbooks. [23] Most stories are narrated in the first-person, creating a sense of intimacy with the reader. The plots all allow the negative presentation of foreigners who look down upon and bully the Chinese people in the pre-1949 period, to mobilise xenophobic emotions in its readers. For example, Lesson 6, titled 'The Chinese people have stood up' (中国人民站起来了) in 'Mongolian medium middle school Mandarin Chinese textbook' (*Mengguzu Chuji Zhongxue Keben Hanyuwen* 蒙古族初级中学课本汉语文, henceforth MCZKH) published in 1987 for Grade 9 Mongolian students, relates the life of a sailor in Dalian Harbour before and after liberation. In the pre-1949 period, Dalian harbour was occupied by Japan.[24] Extract 14, set in this period, narrates the experience of a Chinese sailor bullied by foreigners before liberation:

> Extract 14: 有一次，一个外国引水员要到堤外的商船上去，就叫我拿椅子给他坐，我看着他那副样子，非常气愤，装作没听见，他就用最难听的话骂了我一顿。当小火轮靠上商船的时候，他又命令我扶他上梯子，我刚要伸手，他却狠狠地打了我一拳，险些把我推到海里。每逢碰到这些事情，我的痛苦真是无法形容，我多么盼望能有个独立自主的祖国啊！

> (One time, a foreign pilot was going to a merchant ship outside the bank. He commanded me to bring a chair for him to sit on. I was outraged by his behaviour and pretended not to hear it. He used the coarsest words to scold me. When the little steamer reached the business ship, he commanded me again to support him as he climbed up the ladder. I was about to reach out my hands, but he punched me heavily and I was nearly pushed into the sea. Every time I encounter

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[23] The full list is: 'The musician Nie Er' (音乐家聂耳, MXXKH, Vol. 5, 1986: 54-55); 'Goodbye, my beloved China' (别了，我爱的中国, MCZKH, Vol. 5, 1987: 31-34; YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 6, 1995: 67-68); 'Chinese people have stood up' (中国人民站起来了, MCZKH, Vol. 5, 1987: 35-41); 'I cannot forget my motherland' (我不能忘掉祖国, YJMXJSH, Vol. 6, 1995: 101-104); 'Studying for China's rise' (为中华之崛起而读书, YJMXJH, Vol.1, 2016: 7-9).

[24] Dalian harbour was first occupied by Russia and then by Japan after Japan won the Russian Japanese war.

things such as this, my sorrow is indescribable, and I yearn for an independent country!) (MCZKH, Vol. 5, 1987: 35)

In this extract, foreigners are associated only with aggressive actions: the foreign pilot 'commanded', 'scolded' and 'punched' the Chinese sailor. The actions of the foreigners are used to provoke reactions of the Chinese sailor. Using emotional state verbs, the sailor is portrayed as living in sorrow before liberation. Depicting the sailor's physical and mental sufferings, caused by the territory loss of the nation, links individuals with the nation as a whole. When the nation's sovereignty is threatened by others, so are the individuals who identify with it.

After liberation presents a clear contrast. The sailor is treated, as a pilot, with the same respect as the foreign captain and 'living happily and blessed every day' in the PRC period.

Extract 15: 解放以后，帝国主义的一切特权都被取消了。我每天都在愉快、幸福之中生活着。

(After liberation, all imperial privileges of the foreigners are cancelled. I live happily and blessed every day.)

每次领外国船只进港，我总是站在船长的位置上，我所发出的每一个操纵命令，都由站在旁边的船长向下传达，船上各个岗位的工作人员都必须服从。

(Every time I lead foreign ships into the harbour, I always stand at the captain's place. Every command I make is delivered to the subordinates by the accompanying captain. Every sailor on the ship must obey my order.)

我上了外国船，船上的驾驶员都在甲板上列队相迎，船长亲自出来接待。我完成了任务，船长和船员都列队相送。这是因为我身上穿着中华人民共和国引水员的制服，头上戴有中华人民共和国国徽的制帽，所以受到这样的尊敬。

(Having boarded the foreign ship, the helmsmen on board welcome me in a line and the captain hosts me in person. Having finished the

task, the captain and sailors see me off in a line. This is because I am dressed in the sailor uniform of the PRC and wear the hat with the national emblem of PRC. That's why I can receive such respect.) (MCZKH, Vol. 5, 1987: 36)

Such comparisons encourage specific responses by giving the readers a particular view, which justifies the assertion that the Communist government is better than the previous Nationalist government because peoples' lives have been greatly improved since the founding of the PRC. Comparing the sailor's life in the Republican period and the PRC strengthens the reader's attachment to the Communist party governing China. The last sentence in Extract 15 directly attributes the respect that the sailor receives from the foreigners to the national emblem of the PRC. In other words, the sailor is respected not as an individual but as belonging to the PRC state that he represents. This implies that individuals' self-respect is closely tied to respect for their nation.

Being a Chinese national not only means enjoying the rights granted by the nation but also means fulfilling duties to it, which suggests a more 'civic republican citizenship' (Honohan, 2017) (also see Chapter 5). A lesson titled 'Goodbye, my dear motherland' (别了，我爱的中国), included in the fifth and sixth volumes of the MCZKH textbooks published in 1987 and 1995 respectively, contains a passage written by the famous Communist Party writer Zheng Zhenduo in 1927, when he fled from China to Europe in order to escape persecution by the Nationalist Party. The lesson is about his feelings on the ship to Europe:

> Extract 16: 许多亲爱的勇士正在用他的血和汗建设着新的中国，正在以满腔热情工作着，战斗着。我这样不负责任地离开中国，真是一个罪人！
>
> (Many dear comrades are shedding their blood and sweat to build a new China and working and fighting with all their heart. I leave China without bearing any responsibility. I am a sinner!) (MCZKH, Vol. 6, 1995: 68)

The writer expresses his feeling of guilt towards China as his fellows are making contributions to the nation. The writer's feeling of guilt implies that devoting oneself to the nation is understood to be a group norm for its members. The narrator's in-group identity as Chinese is also strengthened through his pledge to the nation when he sees foreign ships occupying the Chinese sea territory on the trip, in Extract 17 below.

> Extract 17: 当我归来的时候，我希望这些帝国主义的军舰都不见了 […] 如果他们那时候还没有退出中国海，还没有被我们赶出去，那么，来，勇士们，我将加入你们的队伍，以更勇猛的力量，去驱逐它们，毁灭它们！这是我的誓言！
>
> (When I come back, I hope those imperialist ships have all disappeared […] If they have not left the Chinese sea and have not been expelled by us, then, come, comrades, I will join your group with greater strength to expel them and destroy them! This is my pledge!) (MCZKH, Vol. 6, 1995: 68)

In the narrator's pledge, the boundary between the out-group and in-group becomes clear. The out-group is the imperialist power referred to with the third-person pronoun 'they', while the in-group members are united by a common collective goal, to expel the out-group from the territory and defend national sovereignty. By pledging to resist the imperialist power, the narrator claims his Chinese national identity.

To sum up, through adopting a first-person narrator and depicting feelings of sorrow, pride and guilt towards the nation, the PRC lessons dealing with Sino-European wars suggest to readers what the concept of territorial integrity means for individuals in real life, thus connecting individuals to the nation.

4.3.3 Sino-Japanese Wars: CCP as the leader

In the post-1949 textbooks, the CCP and the Chinese commoners become the main force of fighting against the Japanese enemies. Nineteen cases were identified, in thirteen textbooks. [25] The Japanese are demonised by different

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[25] The full list is: 'Collecting coats' (领棉衣, MSXH, Vol.1, 1962: 15-17); 'Guerrilla's song' (游击队歌, MSXH, Vol. 1, 1962: 19; MSXH, Vol.1, 1962: 21-22); Lesson 21 'Little hammer' (小铁锤,

kinds of names, including 'dog bandits' (狗强盗), 'devils' (鬼子) and 'invaders' (日寇), which by themselves indicate hatred and indignation. Suzuki (2007), in her examination of the role that Japan plays in the process of China's national identity formation in elite- and popular-level literature of the 1980s and 2000s, concluded that Japan plays an important othering role which enhances China's self-image as a victim. In my textbook analysis, the victimhood identity is further used to legitimise the leadership of the CCP through the description of its heroic resistance.

As portrayed in different lessons over different phases of the PRC period – the Maoist period (1949 - 1978) and the reform period (1978 – present) – the Communist party always effectively leads people to fight against the Japanese. Its members are willing to sacrifice their lives to protect the Chinese people. For example, in a lesson titled 'Big success at the battle of Pingxingguan' (平型关大捷) from the eighth volume of 'Mongolian medium primary school Mandarin Chinese textbook' (*Mengguzu Xiaoxue Hanyuwen* 蒙古族小学汉语文, henceforth MXH) published in 1962, the Communist Party army is presented as the leader of the victory:

> Extract 18: 当时在前线的国民党军队充满着失败情绪，往往没看见日寇就往后跑，一跑就是几百里。他们这么退退退，简直一点儿也不抵抗了。
>
> (At that time, the front-line Nationalist party army was filled with defeatism. They often fled even though they had not even seen the

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MCZHYKS, Vol. 4, 1961: 51-55); 'Big success of the battle' (平型关大捷, MXH, Vol. 8, 1962: 23-27); 'Anti-Japanese poems on the street' (抗日街头诗, MXH, Vol. 8, 1962: 29-30); 'Make the enemy listen to our order' (叫敌人听指挥, MXH, Vol. 2, 1962: 22-24; MCHJK, Vol. 3, 1962:11-15); 'Blizzard in Daqing mountains' (大青山的风雪, MXH, Vol. 2, 1962: 26-28); 'Situation after the victory of the anti-Japanese war and our strategies' (抗日战争胜利后的时局和我们的方针, NZZSKH, Vol. 2, 1973: 54-55); 'Yanling team' (雁翎队, NZZSKH, Vol. 2, 1973: 59-60); 'Little eighth route solider' (小八路, MCZKH, Vol. 2, 1993: 83-84); 'Little Wang Erxiao' (王二小, MCZKH, Vol.2, 1993: 100-101); 'Five heroes of Langya mountain' (狼牙山五壮士, YJMXJSH, Vol. 4, 1994: 59-62); 'Tunnel warfare in Jinzhong' (冀中地道战, MCZKH, Vol. 5, 1995: 142-145); 'Serve the people' (为人民服务, MCZKH, Vol. 6, 1995: 51-53; YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 6, 2001: 133-135); 'Stone lions on the Marco Polo Bridge' (卢沟桥的狮子, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 3, 2001: 6-7); 'Fire of the Marco Polo Bridge' (卢沟桥的烽火, YJMXJH, Vol.1, 2010: 31-33).

Japanese invaders and ran for hundreds of miles. They retreated in this way, rarely putting up any resistance.)

为了保卫祖国，为了挽救华北战场危急的形势，我们从陕西渡过黄河，开入山西，赶上前线

(In order to protect the country and save the critical situation of the North China battlefield, we crossed the Yellow River from Shanxi, marched into Shanxi and went to the front-line)

我军冲上前去，肉搏开始了。战士们扭住敌人，用刺刀刺，用拳头打，用脚踢，用口咬，抱着在地上打滚

(Our army dashed forward. The hand-to-hand fight began. Soldiers collared the enemy and stabbed them with knives, punched them with fists, kicked them with feet, bit them with teeth and tumbled with them on the ground.)

附近的老百姓听到八路军打了胜仗，纷纷跑来帮助搬战利品。

(The people in the nearby area heard the victorious battle of the Eighth Route Army and ran to help move the trophies of battle.)

(MXH, Vol. 8, 1962: 23-27)

In the text, the Communist party army (the 'Eighth route army') is referred to in the first-person pronoun 'we', in contrast to the Nationalist party army, referred to as 'they'. This externalises the Nationalist army as the out-group. Meanwhile, the Nationalist party army is presented negatively as having 'fled from the frontline' and 'not resisting' compared with the Eighth Route Army, who 'marched a long way to the front-line'. Details of the fight using verbs such as 'collared', 'stabbed' and 'punched' show the heroics of the Eighth Route Army. After the Eight Route Army's success, the local people came to help to move spoils of war. These contrasts foreground the bravery of the Communist party's army, which in turn wins support from the people. Presenting how the Communist party army fearlessly fights against the Japanese in the battle and the reactions of the local people after the victory, the passage implies the Communist party army is accepted as an in-group member by the Chinese people, which

further legitimises its leadership role. In the reform period textbooks, the contributions of the Nationalist party army, by contrast with the Maoist period, are acknowledged, such as in Lesson 5, entitled 'The fire at the Marco Polo Bridge' (卢沟桥烽火) of the 'compulsory education Mongolian medium school Mandarin Chinese textbook' (*Yiwu Jiaoyu Mengguwu Xuexiao Jiaokeshu Hanyu* 义务教育蒙古族学校教科书汉语，henceforth YJMXJH) for Grade 9 Mongolian students in 2010. The resistance of the Nationalist party army is included in the lesson, but the Communist party army still plays the leading role, calling for the 'solidarity of people all over the country' to drive the Japanese out (YJMXJH, Vol.1, 2010: 33).

In addition to the depiction of heroic victories prevalent in the Maoist period textbooks, the theme of death is included in the reform period, especially in 1990s textbooks. Three out of five cases in this period narrate the stories of martyrs who sacrifice their lives to fight against the Japanese enemy: a young boy named 'Wang Erxiao' (MCZKH, Vol.2, 1993: 100-101), 'Five heroes of Langya Mountain' (YJMXJSH, Vol. 4, 1994: 59-62); and 'Serve the people' (MCZKH, Vol. 6, 1995: 51-53; YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 6, 2001: 133-135). The focus on death not only reflects the brutality of the Japanese army but also foregrounds the significance of the resistance. For example, the lesson 'Serve the people' is from a speech by Mao to commemorate the death of a Communist soldier named Zhang Side (张思德 1915-1944) in 1944.[26]

> Extract 19: 中国人民正在受难，我们有责任解救他们，我们要努力奋斗。要奋斗就会有牺牲，死人的事是经常发生的。但是我们想到人民的利益，想到大多数人民的痛苦，我们为人民而死，便是死得其所。
>
> (Chinese people are suffering. We have duty to save them. We must fight for the Chinese people. The fight involves sacrifice, so death is very common. But when we think about the interest of the people and

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[26] https://www.marxists.org/chinese/maozedong/marxist.org-chinese-mao-19440908.htm

the sorrow of most people, our death for the people is valuable)
(MCZKH, Vol. 6, 1995: 51-53)

In the extract, the Communist party is positioned as the saviour of the oppressed Chinese people, even at the cost of their lives. By associating dying in war with the goal of serving the people, the Communist party legitimises itself as a better representative of the Chinese people's interests than the Nationalist party, even at the expense of their lives. This is in contrast with the Republican period textbooks, where death in the war against Japan is for family, nation and world peace, reflecting Confucius values. The post-1949 counterpart sets the Chinese people in a comparatively passive position, needing to be saved by the Communist party.

4.3.4 The history of war as a universal national experience inclusive of minoritised ethnic groups

In textbooks from the 2000s onwards, the narration of wars takes on a new form, presenting a discourse of commemoration. Rather than focusing on the depiction of a particular battle, the lessons commemorate the war history since 1840 and emphasise it as the experiences of the entire nation and its people, both in the past and in the present. There are seven cases, found in six textbooks.[27] For example, the textbook series 'Compulsory education four years Mongolian medium middle school Mandarin Chinese textbook (on trial)' (*Yiwu Jiaoyu Sinianzhi Mengguzu Chuji Zhongxue Jiaokeshu Shiyongben Hanyu* 义务教育四年制蒙古族初级中学教科书试用本汉语, henceforth YJSMCZJSH) includes lessons of the description of the founding ceremony of the PRC in 1949 (YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 1, 2001: 74-77) and the Hong Kong handover ceremony in 1997 (YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 1, 2001: 80-83), which celebrate the new glories in China under the leadership of the Communist party, which are compared with

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[27] 'Proclamation of the PRC' (开国大典, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 1, 2001: 74-77); 'The solemn moment' (庄严时刻, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 1, 2001: 80-83); 'Stone lions on the Marco Polo Bridge'(卢沟桥的狮子, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 3, 2001: 6-7); 'Dragon' (龙, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 7, 2004: 13-15); 'The Hong Kong handover ceremony' (中英香港政权交接仪式在港隆重举行, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 8, 2004: 7-11); 'Monument of People's heroes' (人民英雄纪念碑, YJSMCZJSH, vol. 8, 2004: 74-77); 'Zhonghua juveniles' (中华少年, YJMXJH, Vol. B, 2016: 43-45).

the old traumatic war history. The Monument to the People's Heroes in Beijing commemorates the Chinese martyrs in the war history (YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 8, 2004: 74-77). The Marco Polo Bridge in the 2001 textbook is described as 'an architecture with unforgettable meaning for the Chinese people', which marks the invasion of the Japanese army in 1937 (YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 3, 2001: 6-7). [28] These 'sites of memory' are intended for the Mongolian learners to learn of the traumatic and glorious moments related to the war history as their own history.

Ethnic identity is also foregrounded in the presentation of the war history since the 2000s. In the lessons entitled 'Eternal glory to the people's heroes – revering the monument to the people's heroes' (人民英雄永垂不朽——瞻仰首都人民英雄纪念碑) from YJSMCZJSH textbook in 2004, the key moments in revolutionary history presented in the panels of the monument are described in the textbook. Compared with the previous version in 'Inner Mongolian autonomous region full time ten years Mongolian medium middle school Mandarin Chinese textbook version A' (*Neimenggu Zizhiqu Quanrizhi Shiyinianzhi Mengguzu Xuexiao Chuzhong Jialei Keben* 内蒙古自治区全日制十年制蒙古族学校初中甲类课本, henceforth NZQMXCJ) in 1979, ethnicity is addressed in the narration of the peasant led 'Jintian Uprising' in 1851 in the 2004 textbook. The heroes who participate in the rebellion are referred to as the 'descendants of Han and Zhuang ethnic groups', as in Extract 20:

> Extract 20: 一群拿着大刀，梭镖，锄头，扛着土炮起义的汉族壮族人民的儿女，正从山坡冲下来，革命的旌旗在迎风飘扬。
>
> (A crowd of people who are descendants of Han and Zhuang groups hold swords, spears, hoes and carry cannon and dash down the hill with the flag of revolution waving in the wind.) (YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 8, 2004: 77)

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[28]   Japan used the Marco Polo Bridge Incident as a starting point for launching an all-out offensive against China. The Japanese troops occupied Marco Polo Bridge, the gateway from Beijing to the hinterland, and surrounded the city of Beiping (known today as Beijing) on 7 July, 1937 (Li, 2011: 142).

My reading of the text suggests that the Zhuang here functions as a generic minority model, placeholders for all the other non-Han groups such as the Mongolians, to show that the minorities are also part of the people's heroes of China. The history is reconstructed to be more inclusive to the non-Han groups, stressing that they contribute to the Chinese national history no less than their Han counterparts.

In addition to highlighting the role of minoritised ethnic group in the Chinese national history, the term *Zhonghua* (中华) reappears in the remembrance of war history (see for example YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 7, 2004: 13-15; YJMXJH, Vol. B, 2016: 43-44). *Zhonghua*, literally means 'Central Florescence' and is often used in the phrase *Zhonghua Minzu* to refer to 'the Chinese nation'. A neologism created by Liang Qichao in the late Qing period, was aimed at bridging the space between the Han people and all the other ethnic groups living within the borders of the empire (Elliot, 2015: 201; Leibold, 2007: 82). It was adopted by the Republican and PRC governments as a cultural term to unite the ethnic minorities, by 'convincing 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, 1995: 5). During the Republican period, *Zhonghua* is described as 'the home of our compatriots', with the 'longest history and most developed culture in the world' in the fifth volume of 1947 textbook 'Mongolian Chinese senior primary school Chinese language and general knowledge textbook' (*Mengguzu Guowen Duizhao Chuji Xiaoxue Yuwen Changshi Keben* 蒙文國文對照初級小學語文常識課本). The bond between individuals and nation is marked by the word 'compatriot' (tongbao 同胞) and created by the shared history and culture, which, according to Smith (1986: 15), are the ethnic foundations and roots of modern nations. In the PRC period, the ethnic bond is further strengthened through the war history, which is intermingled with myths of origins and cultures.

> Extract 21: 炎黄子孙，中华儿女，黑眼睛黄皮肤，不改的容颜。五月端阳，心随龙舟把诗魂追赶，八月中秋，借皎皎圆月遥寄思念。敖包会上，射箭摔跤，尽显小牧民的强悍；手捧哈达，欢歌劲舞，献给朋友美好的祝愿。东方之美滋养着龙的传人，五千年文化植根在

我们心田。我们铭记中华母亲的功德，更不忘她承受的千灾百难。黄河纤夫拉不直问号般的身躯，长城的古砖挡不住洋炮的弹片 [...] 今天，历史和未来将由我们焊接，时代的接力棒 靠我们相传，站在新的起跑线上响亮回答：少年要谱写中华更璀璨的诗篇！

(We are descendants of Emperors Yan and Huang, and children of *Zhonghua*, our black eyes and yellow skin marked our invariable looks. At Dragon-boat Festival in May, our hearts follow dragon-boats in chasing after spirits of poetry. At Mid-Autumn Festival in August, the sight of the white moon brings back longing memories from afar. In the Aobao Gathering, archery and wrestling showcase toughness of a small herdsman.[29] Along with singing and dancing, Hada silk gifts are presented to friends as a gesture of good wishes.[30] The beauty of the east is nurturing descendants of the dragon, and five-thousand years of culture is deep-rooted in our hearts. Contributions of 'mother *Zhonghua*' are long remembered in our minds, and don't forget the burdens of sufferings she has endured. Boat-towers cannot pull straight question-mark-shaped bent human bodies, and ancient bricks of the Great Wall cannot defend against bombshells fired from foreign cannons […] Today, we are the ones to connect history with the future. We are counted upon to pass on the baton of modern times, and to answer loudly in standing on the new starting line. Young people must write more poetry about the brilliance of China!) (YJMXJH, Vol. B, 2016: 43-44)

Extract 21 is a poem from the lesson entitled 'Zhonghua juveniles' in a 2016 textbook for Grade 8 students (age 14-15). Both the Han and non-Han peoples are described as the 'descendants of Emperors Yan and Huang' and 'children of mother Zhonghua' with shared racial markers, which implies the fusion of racial bloodlines. As in the early Republican textbooks, China is here also presented as a primordial entity existing for long history of 'five thousand years'. However,

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[29] Aobao, which means pile or hill, is the traditional worship festival of the Evenki ethnic minority and takes place from April to June of each lunar year. Aobao worship involves praying for good weather and safety for both humans and livestock.

[30] Hada is a traditional ceremonial scarf in Tibetan Buddhism. It symbolises purity and compassion and is worn or presented with license at many ceremonial occasions, including births, weddings, funerals, graduations and the arrival or departure of guests.

rather than showcasing the conquests and defeats between the Han and non-Han in the formation of Chinese national history during the Republican period (as discussed in section 4.2.1), this 2016 textbook focuses on displaying the rich Chinese ethnic culture, composed of both Han and non-Han festivals such as the Han Mid-Autumn festival and Mongolian Aobao gathering, which are both nurtured by the 'mother Zhonghua'. The Zhonghua motherhood here serves as the crucible for a multi-ethnic China. Meanwhile, a shared myth of victimisation is created through the war history in the modern time, indicated by 'bombshells fired from foreign cannons' which is depicted as the 'burdens of sufferings' of the 'mother Zhonghua'. This calls on the Han and non-Han, as children of the 'mother Zhonghua', to fulfil their duty to make a better China in the future. The cultural and war history are presented are presented as forming the *ethnie* of the Chinese nation, which legitimises the aspirations for a destiny shared by the Han and non-Han, through emphasising a common past for its members.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined how historical wars have been an integral part of the construction of Chinese national identities for the Mongolian audience of textbooks of Mandarin Chinese since 1912, to address the first research question of the study, asking how Chinese national identities have been discursively constructed over time in textbooks for teaching Mandarin to Mongolian learners. It has shown that representation of Chinese national identities undergoes a process of change and transformation regarding the contents of nationalism and the roles played by those portrayed as non-Chinese Others. As Duara (1997) has argued, narrative of history asserts a deliberate mobilisation within a network of cultural representations toward a particular object of identification, which is multifaceted and will change in time. The analysis presented in this chapter, comparing how imperial China wars, Sino-European wars and Sino-Japanese wars are represented in textbooks under the Republican and PRC governments over a century, has indeed shown that the boundaries between the national Self and Other are not rigid, but change over time and are shaped by the privileged cultural representation at a particular time.

In the Republican period textbooks, the Chinese nation is imagined from a primordialist perspective, with the imperial China wars showing the historical

formation of the Chinese land by both the Han and non-Han groups. However, the way in which national history imagined reflects Han Chauvinism. The defeat of Mongolians and other non-Han groups in the textbooks' treatment of imperial wars is presented as a glorious past in order to build the Han ethnic identity, presenting the Han as the superior group with its military strength. Therefore, the relationship between the Han and Mongolians is one of competition. Mongolians are othered, to boost Han ethnic awareness, while the voice of Mongolians is muted in the construction of Chinese national identity. In terms of the content of Chinese national identity, Confucian values of great harmony, benevolence, and justice mark the boundary between Chinese and foreign others. Chinese national history is constructed through Han-centred nationalism and Confucius cultural values. At the same time, the cosmopolitan thinking embedded in Confucian values suggest that in the Republican period, the Chinese nation is not constructed as a particularly closed or xenophobic entity.

In the PRC period textbooks, the history of war against foreign imperialist powers provides a source for a shared myth of victimisation and heroic resistance which serves to unify the Chinese people, echoing Callahan's (2004: 202) argument that Chinese nationalism is not just about celebrating the glories of Chinese civilisation but also commemorates China's weakness. The Chinese national identity is promulgated in textbooks for Mongolian learners through the mobilisation of emotions such as pride, guilt, sorrow and hatred to show how the Chinese nation feels. Meanwhile, the non-Han peoples are no longer enemies in the presentation of the Chinese history in the PRC period. Since the 2000s, the contributions of the non-Han (for example, the Zhuang) are foregrounded in the narration of war history. Their relationship with the Han is now one of collaborators. The traumatic past is also integrated with ethnic culture, which serves as the primordial base of a multi-ethnic Chinese nation. Japan and the West serve as the Other, while internal conflicts between the Han and non-Han in Chinese national history are elided.

The shift from Confucian morality in the Republican period to emotive nationalism in the PRC period can be explained with Gries' (1999: 67) concept of 'face nationalism'. Gries argued that the emotional and instrumental motivations of Chinese nationalist politics in the PRC period is centred on

images and perceptions presented to other nations. Textbooks in my study serve as a tool for instilling in Mongolian students the 'correct' feelings towards the Chinese national Self and the foreign Other. If the nation is defeated by the foreign Others, as shown in the representation of Sino-European wars, its people's feelings are presented as being hurt. Therefore, people become emotionally attached to the national Self.

As Hall (2000: 17) pointed out, the concept of identity is not an essential but a strategic and positional one. The examples presented in this chapter show how over the course of a century, China's war history is reconstructed, in the textbooks for teaching Chinese to Mongolians, within the specific modalities of power of the governments of the time, in different ways at different times, but always to serve as a tool of unifying a national group by marking difference and exclusion of the Other. Understanding the evolving construction of national identities with the focus on the changing relationship between the historical Self and Other since the early twentieth century has implications for the inclusionary and exclusionary aspects in the representation of the 'ideal' Chinese citizenship, which I examine next, in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5. The representation of Mongolians in the construction of 'ideal' Chinese citizenship in textbooks 1912- 2016

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the second of two examining textbooks for teaching Mandarin to Mongolian learners in the 20th century, I explore how Chinese citizenship is discursively constructed in the textbooks. To do so, I draw on the framework of Foucauldian informed cultural citizenship, viewing citizenship as a dynamic and exclusionary concept. I trace how the 'ideals' of Chinese citizenship are presented to Mongolians over time by examining the recurrent themes of rights (social benefits, cultural traditions) and responsibilities (values and beliefs) towards the nation. Drawing on a corpus of 83 lessons for the Republican period and 143 lessons for the PRC period (see Appendix 1.2 for a full list of all relevant lessons), I uncover the hegemonic nature of Chinese citizenship through textual and visual representations of gendered and ethnic social practices, looking at how Han men and women are presented vis-à-vis Mongolian men and women.

We shall see that in the Republican period, Chinese citizenship is presented more as a gendered concept than from an ethnic perspective. Women are included in citizenship by dint of motherhood, serving as the cultivators of future Chinese citizens, while men are presented as taking active part in the public sphere and serving as models of behaviour and morality. Mongolians are presented according to the same model of Chinese citizenship as their Han counterparts, and their Mongolian identities are understated. In the PRC period, by contrast, the ethnic dimension of Chinese citizenship becomes foregrounded. Mongolian-Han interactions in the Mongolian grassland become a key theme which integrates Mongolians into China to a greater degree, through a discourse of socialist transformation during the Maoist period and, subsequently, through ethnic tourism during the reform period.

During the last years of the Qing dynasty the concept of citizenship and hence the content of European political ideas became increasingly accessible in China through translations into Japanese and Chinese of the works of German, French and English philosophers and social scientists (Harris, 2002: 186). Being

exposed to these major debates between the liberals and the communitarians in western discussions of citizenship, Chinese scholars and intellectuals began exploring the meanings of Chinese citizenship in the late nineteenth century, with the aim of building a modern state and transforming the Chinese people from subjects of an emperor into modern citizens of the state. In modern Chinese language, 'citizenship' has been translated using several Chinese terms including *guomin* ('nation-state people' 国民), *renmin* ('the people' 人民), *gongmin* ('public people' 公民) and *shimin* ('city people' 市民), each with 'its own intricate etymology and specific connotations' (Feng, 2006: 87). *Guomin* has a close relationship with state nationalism, which became an important part of political discourse during the Republican period. Sun Yat-sen chose to use the term to name his party *Guomindang* ('the Nationalist Party'). *Guomin* was dismissed from the political language after the Nationalist Party ended its rule in mainland China in 1949, being replaced by *renmin* and *gongmin* during the PRC period. *Renmin* is 'highly politicised' in the political language of the CCP, particularly in the class struggle movements from the Maoist period to the end of the 1970s and is still used in the name of almost every official institution, from the army to the government and the court at various levels today (Feng, 2006: 89). According to Harris (2002), the concept of *gongmin* has become paramount in public discourse since the reform era (1978 – present). Chen (2018), examining CCP national congress reports from 1987 to 2012, found that *gongmin* became more than a legal term and began to be directly associated with morality and political participation under Jiang Zemin's leadership from 1997. These shifts in terminology are evidence that citizenship is not a fixed constant, rather something whose underlying ideals can be expected to change with the political gatekeepers who obtain the power to define its meanings.

Approaches of Chinese citizenship education have also been found to change with shifting official rhetoric. Drawing on moral-political education directives from the late Qing period to the early 21st century. Fairbrother and Zhao (2016) pointed out that all regimes from the Qing onward promoted the shaping of people's subjective qualities: their values, attitudes, character, emotions, morals, and thinking. They showed that changes in the cultivation of spiritual livelihood corresponded with shifting definitions and specifications of orthodoxy, from

Confucianism to the Three People's Principles, to Marxism-Leninism and its Chinese developments. Law (2013) traced the trajectory of China's approaches in its education and citizenship curricula since the late 19th century. Four historical approaches were identified: the late Qing dynasty's supplementary approach (Confucian classics in moral cultivation, supplemented by the introduction of Western-style vocational and technical education), the Republican synthesis approach (merged Confucian values and Western ideas), Mao's rejection approach (replacing China's traditional culture with socialism) and Deng's post-Mao pragmatism (which emphasised science and technology in education). Studies of Fairbrother and Zhao, and Law revealed how Chinese citizenship education handled the complex relationship between traditional Chinese political-cultural rules of governance and foreign influence.

Against this background, the present chapter focuses on the role of the state as gatekeeper to allocate membership to the citizenship. Citizenship is explored from a cultural perspective, being viewed less as a status and more as an identity. As Harrell (1995) states, although the status of being 'civilised' is attainable by all, there is an inherent hierarchy between those at the 'civilised centre' and those on the periphery. Minoritised ethnic groups tend to be stigmatised as backward, uncivilised, dirty, stupid and so forth by dint of their ethnic culture, while the politically and economically dominant group at the centre holds the cultural superiority. Thus, the construction of 'ideal' citizenship involves a peripheral Other. I will investigate how Mongolians are incorporated into and excluded from the Han dominant 'civilised centre' in textbooks over time. The result of the analysis of Republican period textbooks are presented under three themes: approaches to teaching the notion of Chinese citizenship (section 5.2.1); gendered citizenship (section 5.2.2); and the representation of Mongolian culture (section 5.2.3). For the PRC period, however, since Mongolian culture is included across the *whole* period, my discussion of PRC textbooks proceeds in simple chronological order, discussing first: the Maoist period (section 5.3.1) and then the reform period (section 5.3.2).

5.2 The construction of Chinese citizenship in Republican period textbooks

5.2.1 Approaches to teaching the notion of Chinese citizenship in the Republican period textbooks

After the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, the idea of a 'Republic of Five Nationalities' (*Wuzugonghe* 五族共和) – Han, Zang (Tibetan), Meng (Mongolian), Hui (Muslim), and Man (Manchu) became the basis of Chinese citizenship. Drawing on the discourse of the Nationalist party leaders Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai Shek, Harrell (2001: 30) and Fiskesjo (2006: 4) have observed that although the existence of the four non-Han groups was acknowledged, eventual assimilation became the explicit policy of the Republican government. With that in mind, this section examines how an abstract vision of Chinese citizenship is conveyed to the Mongolian students. It will become clear that a passive relationship between citizens and the state dominates the citizenship discourse in the Republican period textbooks, emphasizing the commitment of citizens to the interests of the Chinese nation. My analysis reveals that diverse approaches are employed to make the abstract notion of Chinese citizenship comprehensible for young Mongolian students (Grade 1 – 6), focusing on the major approach specific to different periods.

5.2.1.1 Setting the boundaries of the state: 1919 textbooks

In the 1919 HMHGWJ textbook series, the geography of China is the most prominent theme which fosters national spirit, through presenting geographical knowledge of the Chinese territory. There are twelve lessons, in five textbooks, which describe the major cities, rivers, mountains and natural resources of China.[31] Maps are used to create a sense of China existing within a defined territorial space. For example, a map of China, like the example shown in Figure 5.1 is included in three separate lessons (HMHGWJ, Vol.4, 1919: 4; HMHGWJ, Vol.5, 1919: 21; HMHGWJ, Vol. 7, 1919: 32-33). Taiwan is not included on the map, which suggests that textbook authors under the early Republican

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[31] The full list is: 'Our country' (我国, HMHGWJ, Vol. 4, 1919: 3); 'map' (地图, HMHGWJ, Vol. 5, 1919: 21); 'Yangtze river' (长江, HMHGWJ, Vol. 6: 18); 'Yellow river' (黄河, HMHGWJ, Vol. 6: 19); 'Shanghai' (上海, HMHGWJ, Vol. 6: 21); 'Beijing' (北京, HMHGWJ, Vol. 6: 38); 'Our country's territory' (我国疆域, HMHGWJ, Vol. 7: 32); 'Tianjin' (天津, HMHGWJ, Vol. 7: 33); 'Pearl river' (珠江, HMHGWJ, Vol. 7: 38-39); 'canal' (运河, HMHGWJ, Vol. 7: 39-40);

'Mountains' (大山, HMHGWJ, Vol. 8: 29-30); 'Rivers'(大湖, HMHGWJ, Vol. 8: 29-30).

government acknowledge the loss of Taiwan by the Qing government. Mongolia is included on the map, even though the north of Mongolia had claimed independence in 1911. The map clarifies a notion of Chinese national territory for the Mongolian learners, emphasizing in a visual way that they are members of the Chinese nation. Meanwhile, like Xinjiang and Tibet, Mongolia is marked by a 'caterpillar-like' borderline with Heilongjiang, Chahar and Suiyuan, suggesting it is the borderland of China.[32]

Figure 5.1 A map of China (HMHGWJ, Vol. 5, 1919: 21)

The concept of *guomin* ('people of the nation-state') is first presented in the eighth volume of the 1919 HMHGWJ textbook series for Grade 4 Mongolian students. In a lesson entitled 'patriotism' (爱国), the state is described as a 'ship',

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[32] Chahar was a province of the Republican China in existence from 1912 to 193652, mostly covering territory in what is part of Eastern Inner Mongolia. Suiyuan was a historical province of China, which covers today's prefecture-level cities of Hohhot, Baotou, Wuhai, Ordos, Bayan Nur and parts of Ulaan Chab.

its people as 'passengers on board' and its leader as 'steersman', as can be seen in Extract 1:

Extract 1: 爱国: 國以民立 民以國存 無民則國何由成 無國則民何所庇 故國民必愛國 舟行大海中 卒遇風濤 則舉舟之人 不問種族 不問職業 其相救也 如左右手 何者舟為眾人所讬命 生死共之也 國者載民之舟也 國之利害 即民之休戚 若人人各顧其私 不以國事為重 或且從而破壞之 其國鮮有能幸存者 西諺曰 叛祖國 猶舟人自穴其舟也 不可戒哉

(A state is founded by its people. People's existences depend on the state, and vice versa. If there are no people, how could a state be built? If there is no state, how could people be protected? Therefore, citizens (*guomin*) must love their state. A ship sails in the sea and suddenly encounters a storm. The steersman will save passengers on board without asking their ethnicities and occupations. They [cooperate with each other so well] like left and right hands. A ship is trusted by people, who will live or die with it. A state is like a ship with people on board. People's lives will rely on a state's interest. If everyone cares about their personal benefits, and does not give top priority to the state, or even impairs it, their states will rarely survive. A western proverb says: 'Betraying the state is like passengers on board carving a hole in their ship, which must be forbidden.')
(HMHGWJ, Vol. 8, 1919: 13-14)

In the traditional Confucius notion of *tianxia* ('all under heaven'), there is no clear demarcation of territory. Juxtaposing the abstract concept of 'state' with the concrete object 'ship' may help young learners understand the state has a boundary. According to Charteris-Black (2006) and Chilton (1994), the container schema features in metaphorical constructions of the nation/state across various discourses, such as immigration discourse. The container schema in the immigration discourse denotes insiders versus outsiders. For example, conceptualising the nation/state as a house allows immigrants to be portrayed as intruders (Hart, 2007: 19). Similarly, using the 'ship' as the metaphor of the state

and 'passengers' of its people implies the notion of social contract in citizenship. The 'ship' is a container that carries its 'passengers' to their destinies and protecting them from drowning in the sea, while 'passengers' need to follow the rules on ship and not damage it. The interdependence between citizen and the state is strengthened through setting the 'ship' in a dangerous situation (caught in a storm), suggesting that if the state is in turmoil, the 'steersman' (ruling party) will save 'passengers' (citizens) regardless of their 'ethnicities and occupations'. In order to survive, citizens also need to abandon the pursuit of private interests for the common good. This reflects the concept of civic republican citizenship which denotes a practice that prioritizes the interests of the wider society (Honohan, 2017: 2). Ethnic and class differences among citizens are downplayed, with the emphasis on the action of citizens for the nation's welfare. In addition, imagining people in a dangerous rather than safe situation also highlights the need to cooperate in order to survive, by contrast with the emphasis on individual freedom in the liberal democratic model of citizenship (Honohan, 2017: 2-3).

The 'ship of state' metaphor originates in the Greek philosopher Plato's *Republic*, which is alluded to at the end of the text as 'a western proverb'. According to Keyt (2006), Plato describes a true and a false 'steersman' on the ship. The 'steersman' is chosen by the 'shipowner', who symbolizes the citizens. A 'true steersman' achieves authority from his knowledge of steersmanship and must 'pay attention to year and seasons and sky and stars and winds and all that belongs to his art' (Plato's *Republic* VI.488d5-7, quoted from Keyt, 2006: 197). In contrast, a 'false steersman' is a person who is ignorant of steersmanship but is good at the art of persuading the 'shipowner' to let them rule. Plato used his Ship of State analogy to criticise Greek democracy in general and Athenian democracy in particular. In the 1919 HMHGWJ Chinese textbook, however, there is no mention of how the steersman is chosen; rather, the obedient and cooperative role of the people on board is highlighted. I would argue that the use of the metaphor suggests that the government allows only partial citizenship to the Chinese people – the Mongolians learners in this context – who are encouraged to fulfil their duties to construct the country but are not invited to reflect on the legitimacy of the government.

To summarise, in the 1919 HMHGWJ series of textbooks, the abstract concept of citizenship is made concrete through the presentation of geographical knowledge, through which Mongolians are integrated visually on a map as in-group members of Chinese citizenship, and through the state of ship metaphor, which address the boundary of the state and an active responsibility of citizens to the wider community.

5.2.1.2 Children-centred approach of citizenship: 1930s textbooks

It was not possible to identify any textbooks of Chinese for Mongolian learners in the 1920s, as noted in Section3.3.1. I turn, then, from the 1919 series to the 1930s. The 1932 HMHGYJ, in vernacular Chinese, is intended for Mongolian students from Grade 1 to Grade 2. Children for the first time in the corpus appear on the front cover of the textbooks, suggesting a child-centred focus, and they are the main characters in the books.

The notion of Chinese citizenship is implicit in the conveying of behaviour norms in the 1930s textbooks, such as learning the national language (HMHGYJ, Vol.1, 1932: 37), and bowing to the national and the Nationalist party's flags (HMHGYJ, Vol.1, 1932: 57-58). The first-person narration using 'I' and 'we' is frequently found in the texts in order to be engaging to the young Mongolian students. In addition to positioning children as actors in texts, the speeches and behaviours presented in the textbooks seem to be didactic and standardised, evident in the use of verbs expressing modality and repetition.

In Extract 2, Lesson 24 of the 1932 textbook series for Grade 2 students lists norms to be a good child:

> Extract 2: 我願做個好小孩，身體潔淨，性情爽快：無論走到那裏，使得人人愛。我願做個好小孩，舉動文雅，說話和藹：無論走到那裏，使得人人愛。我願做個好小孩，讀書認真，做事不懶：無論走到那裏，使得人人愛。我願做個好小孩，誠實勇敢，有過能改：無論走到那裏，使得人人愛。
>
> (**I wish to become a good child**, to keep my body clean and have an outgoing personality: no matter where I go, I will make everyone love me. **I wish to become a good child** to be well behaved and

speak politely: no matter where I go, I will make everyone love me.
I wish to become a good child to study diligently and not be lazy to do things: wherever I go, I will make everyone love me. **I wish to become a good child** to be honest and brave, and able to correct my mistakes: wherever I go, I will make everyone love me.) (HMHGYJ, Vol. 4, 1932: 76-79)

The extract mainly consists of aim and duties. The oft-repeated aim is 'to become a good child'. The duties to achieve the aim are associated with personal physical, personal, behaviour, and moral expectations. There is also a duty to make oneself be loved and accepted by others, implying a duty towards others. All these duties aim to cultivate the young Mongolian students to be self-regulated and duty-bound individuals, preparing them to become adult citizens working for the 'greater good'. Meanwhile, the repetitive sentences throughout the extract reinforce the value of being a good a child and being loveable to others. Repetition is a notable feature in nursery rhymes (Briggs, 1973), and considering the young age of the students, the repetition in the extract may similarly accommodate the limited attention span of the young students and help them develop literacy in Chinese.

Thus, the textbooks published in 1930s adopt a child-centred approach to citizenship education. The abstract concept of citizenship is simplified into specific behaviours for students to obey in daily life. The child-centred approach echoes Wang's (2015) study of vernacular literature in Chinese language textbooks in first language education during the late Qing and Republican period. Wang noted that children's literature became mainstream feature of 1920s and 1930s primary school textbooks.

5.2.1.3 Keeping healthy as a duty to the nation: 1940s textbooks

Textbooks published in the 1940s appeared at a time when China was at war with Japan (1937-1945). Military training was greatly intensified during the period in concert with the New Life Movement, which was initiated by the Nationalist Party government starting in 1934. These civic training programmes sought to 'manage bodies' (Culp, 2006: 529) with the introduction of the military management methods to regulate students' public behaviours, especially a

concern with hygiene and physical fitness (Dirlik, 1975: 956; Harris, 2006: 530; Zarrow, 2015: 139).

As in the textbooks of 1919 and the 1930s, geographical knowledge and children's behaviours are also the focus in the 1940s textbooks, but now with a stronger influence of nationalism. For example, in the 1947 textbook entitled 'Mongolian Chinese senior primary school Chinese language and general knowledge textbook' (*Mengwen Guowen Duizhao Chuji Xiaoxue Yuwen Changshi Keben* 蒙文國文對照初級小學語文常識課本, henceforth MGDCXYCK), the Chinese map includes Taiwan in its territory, which makes the loss of Taiwan to Japan invalid and implies the value of retaking the lost territory and protecting the territory integrity (MGDCXYCK, Vol. 6, 1947: 130). Meanwhile, an individual's devotion to the nation is emphasised in the depiction of managing bodies and behaviours. For example, students are taught ways to support the state army, such as sewing army uniforms and making donations. Keeping healthy is strengthened with sixteen lessons on this topic being included in six textbooks during this period. [33] Similar to the 1930s textbooks, modal verbs 'should' (要) and 'can' (能) are also frequently used, but, rather than the child-centred first-person narrative, here authority figures such as intellectuals and famous generals in history are included to make the point more persuasive to the students. For example, there is a lesson entitled 'The nation's vitality' (民族的生命力) from the 1944 MHHGGD textbook series. The lesson is an extract from a letter written by Zhu Guangqian (朱光潜, 1897-1986), one of the founders of the study of aesthetics in 20th century China. Zhu used his own experience to urge the Chinese youth to keep fit.

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[33] The full list is: 'Ten little friends' (十个小朋友, MHHGGD, Vol. 5, 1944: 72-75); 'Cutting nails' (剪指甲, MGDCXYCK, Vol. 3, 1947: 7); 'Clean-ness of clothes' (衣服的卫生, MGDCXYCK, Vol. 3, 1947: 47-48); 'Three types of exercises' (锻炼身体三件事, MGDCXYCK, Vol. 5, 1947: 15); 'Politeness and hygiene' (行的礼貌和卫生, MGDCXYCK, Vol. 4, 1947: 50-51); 'Hygiene in summer' (夏天的卫生, MGDCXYCK, Vol. 4, 1947: 87-88); 'Our autonomous committee' (我们的自治会, MGDCXYCK, Vol.5, 1947: 9-10); 'public health' (公共卫生, MGDCXYCK, Vol.5, 1947: 18-20); 'Tao kan' (陶侃, MGDCXYCK, Vol. 5, 1947: 23-24); 'New Life Movement' (新生活运动, MGDCXYCK, Vol. 5, 1947: 117-122); 'The caring of a nurse' (护士的仁爱, MGDCXYCK, Vol. 6, 1947: 85-87).

Extract 3: 身體羸弱的禍害與苦楚，對於我是切膚之痛。我從我的失敗中得到壹個極深刻的教訓：身體好，什麼事都有辦法：身體不好，什麼事都做不好。小而個人的成功，大而民族的復興，都要從身體健康下手 [...] 我敬祝全國青年從今日起，設法多作強健身體的運動，為中國民族多培養壹些生命力。

(The harm and distress of being physically weak is a keenly felt pain for me. I have learnt a hard lesson from my failure: if you are physically fit, everything can be solved; if you are not physically well, nothing can be done well. From personal success to national rejuvenation, it both **should** begin from physical health [...] I ask that youths across the nation from now on to try to do as much physical exercise as possible in order to nurture more vitality for the Chinese nation.) (MHHGGD, Vol. 4, 1944: 108-109)

In the extract, the importance of health is presented as a 'life lesson' shared with the students. Health appears like a panacea which will help both individuals' success and a nation's rejuvenation. Linking health to revitalizing the nation also implies that the individual's body is integrated with the nation. In other words, the body is nationalised. Keeping physically fit is presented as a marker of Chinese citizenship, and the point is supported by images in the 1947 MGDCXYCK textbook series, such as in Figure 5.2 below. The model Mongolian child is presented as doing regular exercise.

However, texts and images of Republican period textbooks focus on the able body, while the welfare benefits for vulnerable groups such as disabled people, older and poor people, which, as we shall see below (in Section 5.3.4.), are one of the main themes of citizenship in the Maoist period, are not mentioned. Overall, in the 1940s textbooks, keeping healthy is presented more as an individual duty to the state rather than as a right provided by the state.
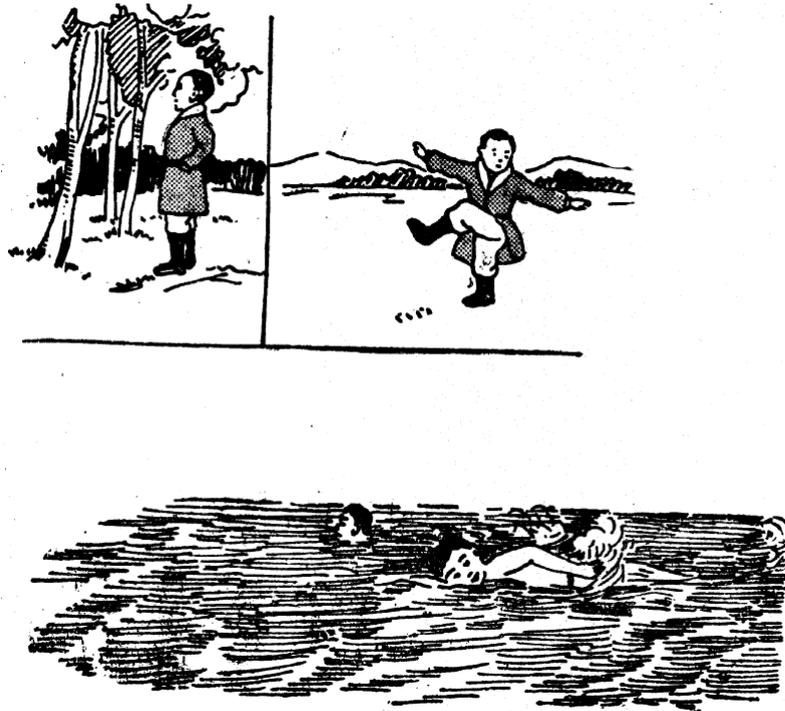
Figure 5.2 Doing daily exercise from the lesson 'Three types of exercises' (锻炼身体三件事) (MGDCXYCK, Vol. 5, 1947: 15)

To conclude, the national aspect of citizenship education appears to be strengthened over the period from 1919 to the 1940s. Students are cultivated to be citizens committed to the nation through managing their daily behaviours. A civic republican citizenship approach is adopted which emphasizes individuals' duties over rights. This coincides with the findings of studies of citizenship education during the Republican period (e.g. Goldmen and Perry, 2002; Zarrow, 2015; Culp, 2007). Students are taught in the textbooks to be obedient nationals rather than critical citizens.

5.2.2 Gendered citizenship

Having outlined the shifting focus of citizenship in the textbooks in the first half of the twentieth century, I now want to move on to examine how citizenship is constructed in terms of gender and ethnicity. The Republican period textbooks present a male dominated society. There is a separation of male public spheres and female private spheres. In the textbooks, adult men are associated with diverse occupations including politicians, soldiers, teachers, doctors, vets, policemen, businessmen, engineers, bank clerks and farmers. Adult women are mainly presented as housewives. However, in the 1947 MGDCXYCK textbooks,

women have opportunities to participate more fully in the public sphere: they are shown in images working as nurses (MGDCXYCK, Vol. 6, 1947: 85), and women replace men as schoolteachers in the images (MGDCXYCK, Vol. 1, 1947: 26; MGDCXYCK, Vol. 1, 1947: 27; MGDCXYCK, Vol. 2, 1947: 33; MGDCXYCK, Vol.3, 1947: 7), such as in Figures 5.3 and 5.4 below. This shift highlights women's caring role and positions them as the cultivators of future citizens.

Figure 5.3 A woman teacher with her students from the lesson 'Cutting nails' (剪指甲) (MGDCXYCK, Vol. 3, 1947: 7)

Figure 5.4 A women teacher with her students from the lesson 'Excursion' (远足) (MGDCXYCK, Vol. 2, 1947: 33)

The role of adult women as mothers of citizens is a key theme especially in the 1947 textbook series. There are five cases, in three textbooks from 1947, which depict adult women as regulating the behaviours of their children, especially sons, teaching them moral virtues and inculcating in them the values of becoming good patriots, such as undertaking military service (see Section 4.2.3).[34] The mother-son relationship is the main representation of filial piety in the textbooks. Filial piety, in Confucius thinking, is the root of virtue, which begins with serving one's parents and continues with the serving of the prince. Its modern application also places emphasis on individuals fulfilling obligations to serve to harmonise the groups of which the individual is a member, from the family up through society as a whole (Wilson, 1993: 107). Therefore, people of different social backgrounds all need to fulfil their filial duty to their parents. We can find lessons which narrate how an ordinary peasant son serves his elderly mother food or how Sun Yat-sen helps his parents with housework in his childhood (HMHGYJ, Vol.1, 1932: 34-35; MGDCXYCK, Vol.2, 1947: 16). The Mongolian ancestor Chinggis Khan is also shown as a filial son to his mother (MGDCXYCK, Vol.3, 1947: 58). Therefore, children, especially boys, are presented with a model of social responsibility by fulfilling their filial duty to their mothers as the first step.

Mothers also play the role of conflict moderator in a Mongolian family. Two versions of a traditional Mongolian 'arrow scene' story are included in the 1932 and 1947 textbook series for Grade 2 students. Chinggis Khan and his brothers are the main characters in the 1932 textbook (Extract 4), while in 1947 the story is attached to his distant ancestors.

> Extract 4: 太祖和兄弟們漸漸的長大了，有一天，為了打獵的事，兄弟間起了沖突，因此吵鬧起來。母親額訶侖夫人憂愁的了不得，把孩子們都叫了來，站在一塊兒。他在也速該將軍的裝箭撒帶裏取出五枝箭，叫他們五個人把箭併在一起，輪流着折。

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[34] The full list is: 'Drink hygiene' (饮的卫生, MGDCX, Vol. 2, 1947: 55-56); 'Cutting nails' (剪指甲, MGDCX, Vol. 3, 1947: 7); 'The ways of sewing clothes' (做衣服的用途, MGDCX, Vol.3, 1947: 49-50); 'The hard life' (艰苦的生活, MGDCX, Vol. 4, 1947: 164-168); 'Leave the sweet fruit for my mum' (甜的给妈妈吃, MGDCX, Vol. 4, 1947: 32-34); 'Hygiene in summer' (夏天的卫生, MGDCX, Vol. 4, 1947: 87-88)

他們誰都沒有能折斷。母親再把箭分開，每人給一枝叫他們折。
他們都會弄折了。於是額訶侖夫人教育他的兒子們說：[我兒呀！
你們瞧。一樣的箭，合在一起、就很堅固。分開就不牢了！妳
們兄弟五人能夠和好，就似五枝箭併在一起一樣，是不容易折
斷的。你們要是分離了，那就是單獨的人了，誰也會把妳們戰
勝的。] [...] 從此兄弟五人，彼此團結，到底報了父仇，創下古今
罕有的事業。

((Yuan) Taizu[35] gradually grew up with his brothers. One day, they came into conflict because of hunting and had a fight. Their mother Hoelun was very worried. She asked her five sons to come and stand together. She picked five arrow shafts from the bag of General Yesugei[36] and asked her five children to tie the arrow shafts in a bundle and then break the bundle one by one. None of them was able to break it. The mother then split up the arrow shafts and gave each of them an arrow shaft. They all broke their shaft. After this, Hoelun educated her sons, saying "My sons! Look, the same arrow shafts, when tied together, they are very strong. When they are split up, each single arrow shaft is not as strong as the bundle! If you five brothers can remain together, like the bound arrow shaft, you are unbreakable. If you split up and become alone, anyone can defeat you" [....] Since then, the five brothers united with each other. They took revenge for their father and did exceptionally great deeds.) (HMHGYJ, Vol. 4, 1932: 164-168)

The story begins with a conflict between Chinggis Khan and his brothers. It is followed by their mother Hoelun teaching them the importance of solidarity and ends with the five brothers making peace with each other and achieve success by working together. The mother's wise teaching of the future founder of Mongolian empire links the private and public spheres. At the same time, the sons are obedient, heeding their mother's word. The mother and son presented

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[35] *Taizu* literally means 'grand progenitor', an imperial temple name typically used for Chinese emperors who founded a particular dynasty.
[36] Yesugei is the father of Chinggis Khan.

in this text implies a leader and follower relationship, even if, in reality, neither Chinggis Khan nor his distant ancestors can be said to have remembered the message of family unity in the story (Marzluf, 2013: 1; Mose, 1987: 66). The traditional Mongolian story included in the textbooks foregrounds the wisdom and leadership of mother in family.

Regarding the gender presentation of children, boys are presented more frequently than girls in the images of the 1932 and 1947 textbook series. They act as models of behaviour and morals, such as keeping fit, being polite, staying hygienic, and showing filial piety to parents in the 1947 textbook series. When they are with girls, boys often act as leaders. Figure 5.5 below from the 1947 MGDCXYCK textbook series for Grade 2 students shows a group of Mongolian children, to judge by their dress. The Mongolian boy standing at the front of table is chairing a meeting, while the two Mongolian girls appearing to be passive listeners in the meeting. In other lessons, girls are never portrayed with the active role of chairing or giving speech in the classroom as boys do. As public speaking would be an important quality of political participation, the lack of portrayal of girls in such roles indicates that they are not expected to be fully incorporated into the public sphere.

Figure 5.5 A student meeting from the lesson 'Grade 2 students meeting' (二年级级会) (MGDCXYCK, Vol. 3, 1947: 3)

In sum, the citizenship education in the Republican period textbooks is male-oriented. Females can be seen to participate more fully in the public domain over time, especially through recognising their familial contribution to citizenship and society *via* motherhood rather than through active participation in male-dominated careers and spheres.

5.2.3 Representations of Mongolian culture

In addition to providing parallel Mongolian translations for Chinese texts, as in the 1919 textbooks, the 1932 textbook series begins to include Mongolian cultural content. For example, in two lessons of the second volume for Grade 1 students, Mongolians are shown wearing traditional Mongolian dress (Figure 5.6 and 5.7 below). Arguably the two figures show two groups of Mongolians: nomadic Mongolians (packing up to move in Figure 5.6) and Sinicised Mongolians (farming in Figure 5.7). According to Bulag (2010b: 269), the Chinese settler colonization of Mongolian land since the end of Qing dynasty led to the Sinicization of some Mongolians, who settled down and took up farming, intermixing with growing numbers of Chinese settlers and quickly losing their language, becoming Chinese speakers. Such marking of Mongolian identity through their traditional dress is limited, with three cases in the 1932 textbook series. Elsewhere in the 1932 textbooks, Mongolian culture is represented more by the pastoral landscape, with five cases (HMHGYJ, Vol.1, 1932: 14, 23-24, 61; Vol.2, 1932: 125; Vol. 3, 1932: 51). For example, the 1932 book cover shown in Figure 5.8 employs the nomadic elements of yurts, herds and grassland to show it is intended for Mongolian students. However, of the two boys reading books, one is apparently in westernised dress with long socks and the other in traditional Chinese (not Mongolian!) dress.

Figure 5.6. A Mongolian boy packing up for moving (HMHGYJ, Vol. 2, 1932: 25)

Figure 5.7. A Mongolian boy and his grandfather in a farmland (HMHGYJ, Vol.2, 1932: 107)
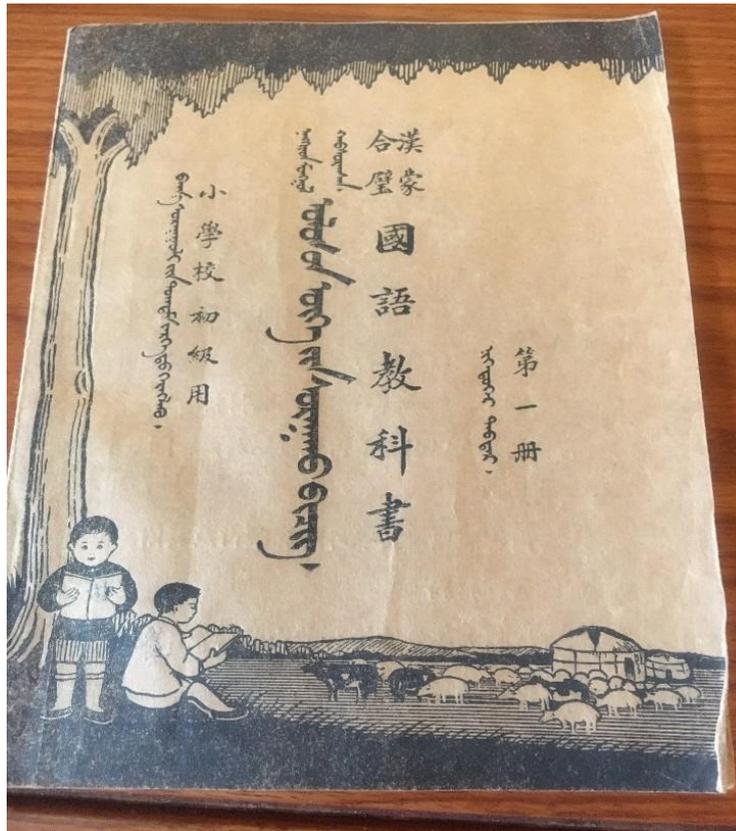
Figure 5.8. The front cover of the 'Han Mongolian bilingual Chinese textbook' (HMHDXK, Vol.1, 1932: cover page)

In the textbook series published in 1947, Mongolian identity becomes more prominent compared to the previous period. Mongolians wearing Mongolian dress, as shown in Figure 5.5 above, become the main characters in the textbooks. However, there is an unequal representation of nomadic Mongolians and Sinicised Mongolians in the textbooks, mainly differentiated by the use on Mongolian or Chinese names. In the three volumes of the 1947 textbooks, three nomadic Mongolians are named, versus sixteen Sinicised Mongolians. [37]The nomadic Mongolians are associated with the Mongolian diet and herding while the Sinicized Mongolians are more active in civic participation. For example, Lesson 4, entitled 'Minsheng's diary' (闽生日记), in the fifth volume of the 1947 MGDCXYCK textbook, narrates a community leader election:

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[37] The three nomadic Mongolians are named as 格尔乐 (Geerle) while the sixteen Sinicised Mongolians are named as 小寿 (Xiaoshou), 小华 (Xiaohua), 小明 (Xiaoming), 顺儿 (Shuner), 小英 (Xiaoying)

Extract 5: 佐領報告工作後，第四保的代表提議訂立衛生公約，大家都很贊成。他便拿出壹張衛生公約的草案來，交給主席請大家討論衛生公約，壹條條修改通過。接著就選舉新佐領，第四保的代表史文明以十票當選。

(After the leader's reports, the representative of the fourth-grade students proposed to draft a health regulation. Everyone agreed to it. He then brought a draft of the health regulation and handed it to the president. He asked everyone to discuss the regulation, make modifications and pass each item. After this, we voted for the new leader. The representative of the fourth-grade students Shi Wenming won the position with ten votes.) (MGDCXYCK, Vol.5, 1947: 14)

The narrator of the extract is a pupil named Minsheng who attends a school meeting to discuss a proposal of hygiene regulation and to vote for a new student leader, Shi Wenming. This extract presents how democracy works in the school context, with students proposing and discussing issues that affect lives in their communities and electing their community leader. However, both the names Minsheng and Shi Wenming are Chinese names, suggesting that they are at least Sinicised Mongolians or Han Chinese. However, nomadic Mongolians are not shown in this aspect of citizenship.

The representation of Chinese citizenship to Mongolians also involves moulding Mongolian culture to Chinese ideals. In Extract 6, the Confucian principle of 'propriety' (*li*, 礼), which relates to civilised behaviour in the New Life Movement, is also imposed on Mongolian wrestling, a traditional sport for Mongolian men:

Extract 6: 你在東我在西，大家相對來角力 先向觀眾敬個禮，開始比賽爭勝利。你撲我，我撲你，扭在一團比力氣。東西兩組高歌起，都希望對方倒下去。勝的把敗的扶起，原來角力要有禮

(You are at the east and I am at the west. We face each other to wrestle. First, we **salute** the audience and begin to compete to win the match.

You attack me and I attack you. We twist each other to see who is stronger. Audiences of the east and west sides sing songs and hope the wrestler of the other side will be beaten down. The winner will help the defeated up. So that is because wrestling needs to have **propriety**) (MGDCXYCK, Vol. 4, 1947: 53)

Here, the value of Mongolian wrestling as a marker of cultural identity is made secondary to promulgating behaviour norms. In the text, wrestling is narrated as a series of procedures with a beginning, a middle and an ending. Mongolian wrestling is deeply related to the Mongolian spiritual world, and its practice plays a role in celebrating Mongolian culture and strengthening the ethnic bond (Tomikawa, 2006: 103). Before and after the wrestling match, dances are performed by wrestlers, but these are merely presented as a 'salute' in the textbook. In the dances, wrestlers represent beasts, birds of prey, but also domesticated herds, in their body movements to celebrate the nomadic culture (Tomikawa, 2006: 104). However, the cultural meaning of each step is erased in the depiction here, such that Mongolian wrestling appears no different from other types of wrestling. The fierceness embedded in the Mongolian wrestling culture is masked by the principle of propriety, marked by the word *li* being repeated at the beginning and end of the extract. This suggests that the government-approved textbook employs the Confucian principle of propriety to exert control over the Mongolian culture, to erase its cultural specificity, and so to make it less threatening to a unified China.

To sum up, Sinicization of Mongolian culture is found in the Republican period textbooks, shaped by the dominant political discourse. Some Mongolians are presented with values of Chinese citizenship that are detached from Mongolian cultural roots – even where a Mongolian cultural feature is discussed, as with wrestling, it is culturally neutralised, and made subservient to a Chinese ideal of propriety. In addition, Sinicised Mongolians are presented as the ideal, suggesting that the closer Mongolians are to being like Han Chinese, the more inclusive Chinese citizenship can be obtained.

5.3 The construction of Chinese citizenship during the PRC period

5.3.1 Downplaying the boundaries between Mongolian and Han: the Maoist period (1949-1976)

The term *renmin* ('the people') is widespread in the Maoist period textbooks. Both Han and non-Han group are referred to as *gezu renmin* ('peoples of different ethnicities'), indicating a shift from the previous *guomin* discourse. Mongolians are also named as a member of the fifty-five *shaoshu minzu* ('ethnic minorities') by the Communist party, rather than being one of the 'five nationalities' in the Republican period. An ethnic identification project was launched in 1950s to categorise ethnic minorities in China and finished in 1979. The project adopted Stalin's model, which determined the level of socio-economic and cultural development, or rather underdevelopment, of the ethnic minorities, and categorized the minoritised ethnic groups with fixed 'special characteristics' such as political and economic backwardness (Barabantseva, 2008: 579). As this section will reveal, in the Maoist period textbooks, Mongolians are predominately represented by herders or nomadic Mongols living in remote grasslands of Inner Mongolia, with rare contact with towns and cities. The Mongolian living spaces are also frequently explicitly linked with the word 'grassland' (*caoyuan*, 草原) in the textbook series entitled 'Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Mongolian medium primary school Mandarin Chinese textbook (on trial' (*Neimenggu Zizhiqu Xiaoxue Shiyong Keben Hanyuwen* 内蒙古自治区小学试用课本汉语文, henceforth NZXSKH), such as in the lessons entitled 'The grassland hydroelectric power plant'(草原水电站) (NZXSKH, Vol.3, 1972: 32), 'Heroic sisters in the grassland' (草原英雄小姐妹) (NZXSKH, Vol. 3, 1973: 39) and 'Grassland children love to sing' (草原儿童爱唱歌) (NZXSKH, Vol.6, 1975: 88). As I shall also show below, the foregrounding of grassland culture in the textbooks serves to downplay the boundary between Mongolian and Han in the Maoist period. This needs to be seen in the context of a massive influx of Han Chinese immigrants coming to Inner Mongolia as a result of land reform and collectivisation to cultivate the Mongolian land in the late 1950s and 1960s (Bulag, 2004: 92). Based on an examination of 59 lessons from 20 textbooks from the Maoist period, the

analysis below is presented under the headings of the most frequent themes identified: socialist construction (5.3.1.1); interethnic unity (5.3.1.2); allegiance to Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party (5.3.1.3); and class struggle and gratitude to Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party (5.3.1.4).

5.3.1.1 Socialist construction

From the 1950s onwards, the socialist construction programme of land reform, agricultural collectivization and nationalization of industry proceeded throughout China, including Inner Mongolia (Bulag, 2010b: 268). State farms, machine tractor stations, centres supplying improved tools, and experimental collective farms were organised (Barnett, 1953: 188). In the 1960s textbooks, Mongolians are accordingly presented as dedicated, cooperative, and happy workers of communal pastures, like their Han counterparts. For example, textbook series entitled 'Mongolian medium eleven years school Mandarin Chinese textbook' (*Mengguzu Shiyinianzhi Xuexiao Hanyuwen* 蒙古族十一年制学校汉语文, henceforth MSXH) in 1960 and 'Mongolian medium middle school Mandarin Chinese textbook version A' (*Mengguzu Chuji Zhongxue Hanyuwen Jialei Keben* 蒙古族初级中学汉语文甲类课本, henceforth MCZHJK) in 1962 include lessons 'Production in the pasture' (牧场上的生产, MSXH, Vol. 3, 1960: 11-12) and 'Pastoral scene' (牧场小景, MCZHJK, Vol.1, 1962: 5). Mongolians are depicted to supply milk for daily collection by communal drivers and receive guidance on raising cows and sheep. However, the mobile stock-herding which is the key component of traditional Mongolian culture (Jagchid and Hyer, 1979: 56; Pasternak and Salaff, 1993: 170-97) is not represented in Maoist period textbooks. The freedom of nomadic lifestyle is thus downplayed in the post-1949 textbooks by presenting Mongolians as communal pasture workers whose pastoral productions are collectivised. [38]

The textbooks valorise Mongolians who change their nomadic lifestyle to carry out agricultural production. Although in the Republican period textbooks, there

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[38] The practice of erasing Mongolian mobility through nomadic settlement is not peculiar to China. An extensive range of studies on colonial discourse have revealed forced sedentarism as a strategy of control by the dominant group, such as Quicke and Green's (2018) research of indigenous group in Australia which explored tensions between mobile cultures and sedentarism policy parameters.

are also lessons about Sinicised Mongolians growing crops and raising pigs (e.g. 'Pig' 猪 , MGDCXYCK, Vol. 4, 1947: 69-70), it is in the PRC period that textbooks also associate nomadic Mongolian herders with livestock farming, for example in a lesson entitled 'Pigs are a ready source of money' (猪是摇钱树) in the 1960 textbook for Grade 3 students:

> Extract 7: 草原上的牧民，向来不养猪。有的人嫌猪脏，有的人认为只要养好牛羊就行了… 公社党委向牧民积极宣传养猪的好处，牧民高兴地参加了养猪活动 […] "牧民不能养猪"的迷信，从此被打破了。牧民们说："猪是摇钱树，利国又利民。"

> (The herders in grassland never raise pigs. Some people think pigs are dirty and some others think raising only cows and sheep are enough […] The Communal party committee actively promulgate the benefits of raising pigs to the herders. The herders happily take part in the activity of raising pigs. The superstition that 'herders cannot raise pigs' has been debunked since then. The herders say: 'Pigs are a ready source of money; they are of benefit to the country and its people.') (MSXH, Vol. 3, 1960: 28-29)

The belief that 'herders cannot raise pigs' is portrayed as an outdated superstition. With the help of the communal party committee, the herders happily accept raising pigs. At the end of the text, the herders' direct quote functions as a personalised testimony that raising pigs does improve their lives and also make contributions to the country.

Mongolian children are also inculcated with the belief in the value of being farmers. A lesson entitled 'I wish to be a farmer' (我要做个庄稼汉) is included in both the 1961 and 1963 textbooks for Grade 4 students:

> Extract 8: 我是四年级小学生，将来要做个庄稼汉。沙漠变成了良田，荒山变成了果园，拖拉机不再用人驾驶，播种收割样样都自动地干。这些预言一定要实现，庄稼汉的前途是多么光辉灿烂！我一定要好好学习，好好劳动，争取做个新时代的庄稼汉。

(I am a fourth-grade student and wish to be a farmer in the future. Deserts will be transformed into fertile lands and barren hills into orchards. Tractors will not be driven by people. They scatter seeds and harvest crops automatically. These predictions **must** come true. The future of farmers is so bright! I **must** study hard, work hard and try my best to become a farmer of the new age.) (MXH, Vol. 4, 1961: 60-61; MXHJK, Vol. 4, 1964: 62-63)

Farming is depicted as a promising occupation, and the deontic modal verb 'must' (一定要) shows the student's determination and sense of obligation to fulfil the goal of being a farmer. We also find that farming is shown to involve modern technology, transforming wasteland, with even, in future, perhaps a self-driving tractor. By contrast, no lessons in the textbooks link modern technology to grazing or herding. The contrast suggests that arable farming is presented as superior to nomadic grazing. Meanwhile, promulgating the idea of being a farmer to the Mongolian students also instils a view of land use from the Han perspective, which clashes with Mongolian nomadic spatial identity. In the text, turning desert and barren hills into fertile farmlands and orchards is looked upon by Han author as 'opening up wasteland', while according to Williams (1996: 676), the same activity is traditionally viewed by Mongolian herders in strongly negative terms, as 'shattering the land', because the cultural land use preferences of Mongolian herders are rooted in mobility to ensure the greatest access to a variety of key resources. Therefore, the Han belief about land use is transmitted to Mongolian students through the positive presentation of farming from the Han perspective.

The Han belief in intensive farming and cultivating wastelands is also projected on to Mongolian land use. Deserts in Inner Mongolia are depicted negatively in the textbooks, while the Communist party helps the Mongolians to transform the deserts. For example, in a 1962 textbook entitled 'Mongolian medium school Mandarin Chinese textbook Version A' (*Mengguzu Chuji Zhongxue Hanyuwen Jialei Keben* 蒙古族初级中学汉语文甲类课本, henceforth MCZHJK), the Tengri desert is associated with 'sandstorm disasters' and 'suffering' before the rule of the Communist party. Mongolian people appreciate the Communist party

using modern technology to afforest the desert ('Planes circle over the Tengri desert' 银燕在腾格里沙漠上盘旋, MCZHJK, Vol.2, 1962: 17-18). Mongolians are also presented as taking active part in developing deserts. For example, Lesson 9 entitled 'An "Iron man" who turns desert into oasis' ('钢老汉'治沙) in a 1973 textbook for Grade 4 students narrates a story of a Mongolian man named Aersilang who converts the desert into productive lands:

> Extract 9: 而今学大寨，牵起骆驼沙浪穿 […] 草籽怀中揣，树苗扛在肩，定叫这儿，红花开的艳，定叫这儿，五畜跳得欢！栽下冬青十里翠，撒下牧草百花鲜。春风跟他脚步走，沙漠千里绿浪翻！

> (Nowadays he learns from Dazhai and walks camels across deserts […] hold grass seeds tightly and carries tree seedlings on the shoulder. **He must make this place** bloom with red flowers. **He must make this place** crowded with cows, dogs, sheep, pigs and chickens! Plant hollies to make the land look green for ten miles. Scatter grass seeds to the land and hundreds of flowers will pop up. Spring wind follows his steps, which brings green tides to the desert over a thousand miles!) (NZXSKH, Vol. 6, 1973: 44-45)

Aersilang is depicted in the text as learning from the Dazhai model to cultivate the barren desert into a fertile land. Dazhai, a small Han village in the Shanxi Province, came to prominence in 1964 for its spirit of self-reliance, hard struggle and collectivism. Dazhai came to embody the battle against nature and the hegemony of mankind (Zhao and Woudstra, 2007: 171). In the same year, Mao Zedong issued the slogan 'Learn from Dazhai in agriculture', which set up Dazhai as the model for agricultural production throughout China during the 1960s and 1970s. The idea of conquering nature for the betterment of humankind is also applied in the Mongolian case. The phrase 'he must make this place' appears twice in Extract 9. The deontic modal verb 'must' suggests that the Mongolian man Aersilang is fully committed to changing nature. In addition, the repetition of the pronoun 'he' as the actor and the repetition of 'this place' as the verbal complement highlights the active role of humans to act on nature as the passive object. However, in traditional Mongolian ecological identity, rather than transforming the land, conforming to the land is the key. The very essence

of herding is characterised by mobility and mutability, paying acute attention to and adapting to landscape details (Williams, 2002: 67). The text thus serves to encourage erasure of traditional Mongolian belief of land use through presenting the Han agricultural model from which Mongolians should learn.

In short, the socialist production discourse is based upon the premise that the Han possess an advanced model of production which Mongolians lack. In the textbooks, the Han agrarian lifestyle is presented as the economical, modern and advancing model for Mongolians to learn from. The Han-centred sedentary and intensive land use is imposed upon Mongolians, erasing the mobility and mutability of the Mongolian nomadic lifestyle. These representations of land use tend to normalise the Han-centred colonialism policy to the Mongolians, so as to regulate them to engage in fixed cultivation and to live in permanent settlements.

5.3.1.2 Interethnic unity

Mongolian-Han interaction is rarely depicted in Mongolia during the Republican period textbooks. However, after the independence of (Outer) Mongolia in 1945 and the founding of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in 1947, Mongolians are not presented as the dominant ethnic group in Inner Mongolia in the Maoist period textbooks. Instead, Inner Mongolia is constructed as a multi-ethnic region, in which Han and other minoritised ethnic groups reside, and interethnic unity is emphasised. For example, in 1962, there is for the first time a lesson entitled 'interethnic unity' (*Minzu tuanjie* 民族团结), found in 'Mongolian medium primary school Mandarin Chinese textbook Version B (on trial)' (*Mengguzu Xiaoxue Hanyuwen Yilei Keben Shiyongben* 蒙古族小学汉语文乙类课本试用本, henceforth MXHYK) for Grade 2 primary school Mongolian students:

> Extract 10: 你是什么人？我是蒙古人。他是什么人？他是汉人。我们内蒙古自治区还有哪些民族？还有回族、满族、达斡尔族、朝鲜族等。各民族人民应该怎样？各族人民应当亲密团结，共同劳动，建设社会主义。
>
> (Who are you? I am a Mongolian. Who is he? He is a Han. How many ethnic groups are there in our Inner Mongolia autonomous region? It also

has Hui, Manchu, Daur, Korean and other ethnic groups. What **should** people of all ethnic groups do? People of all ethnic groups **should** unify, work together and construct socialist society.) (MXHYK, Vol. 2, 1962: 85-87)

Such an ideology of interethnic unity is realised through the catechistic question-answer sequences in the text. The deontic modal verb 'should' (应当) intensifies the deontic force of the sentence, presenting a normative expectation of interethnic unity for living in the region. The same question 'what must people of all ethnic groups do?' is also repeated in the exercise part of the same lesson, where the expected correct answer is 'interethnic unity'. Interethnic unity consolidated by the shared goal of socialist construction (5.3.1.1) at the end of the extract would unify Inner Mongolia as a multi-ethnic region.

The interethnic unity discourse also legitimises Han development of Mongolian land. The Han are positioned as helpers in modernizing Mongolian grassland, while Mongolians welcome and provide support to the Han modernization drive in their regions. The hierarchical relationship between Han and Mongolians is manifested through stories which celebrate Mongolian-Han friendship. Mongolians are referred to by Han people as 'relatives' and 'brothers' to suggest an intimate relationship. Two lessons celebrating Mongolian-Han friendship are found in the Maoist period textbooks. A lesson entitled 'To send coal during snow' (雪中送炭),[39] in a 1960 textbook for Grade 3 students, narrates how Mongolian herders help a mechanical road construction team in an extremely difficult situation:

Extract 11: 这件事发生在二连。纷纷大雪一直下个不停…机械筑路队的煤烧完了，粮食也快吃光了。工人们正在这非常困难的时候，忽然，两个牧民代表来到了工棚。原来，他们冒着风雪，赶了一百多里路，给工人们送来了一骆驼牛奶，一骆驼牛粪 […] 工人们怀着感激的心情说："牧民兄弟对我们太关心了！这才真是'雪里送炭'呢！"

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[39] The implied meaning of this Chinese idiom or chengyu is 'timely help'.

(This event happened in the second company. The heavy snow kept on falling […] The mechanical road construction team had run out of coal and had almost run out of food. At this very difficult time for the workers, two herder representatives came to the shed. It turned out that they had walked over a hundred miles in blizzard to bring workers milk and cow manure as fuel […] The workers said in great gratitude: "The herder brothers treat us so well! This is really 'to send coal during snow'!") (MSXH, Vol. 3, 1960: 51-52)

The first sentence of the extract tells us that the construction workers belong to the second company, a unit of the Chinese military. Their task is to build roads, which is often linked to helping the economic development of the grassland. In reality, studies have shown that the penetration of railroads and highways into Mongolia has been challenging the pastoral lifestyles and causing resistances from Mongolian herders (Williams, 2002: 1-2). In the textbooks, the economic and cultural complications behind the modernization project are ignored, with Mongolian herders simply being presented as warm-hearted and determined supporters of road construction work, who 'walk over a hundred miles in a blizzard' to bring workers milk and cow manure. Here, interethnic unity is celebrated in the fraternal brotherhood between male Han and Mongolians, as the Han workers call the Mongolian herders 'brothers' (兄弟). However, no sisterhood between Han and Mongolian women is presented in any Maoist era textbooks. The contrast suggests that interethnic unity discourse is male-oriented with men as active actors to create the bond.

5.3.1.3 Allegiance to Mao and the Chinese Communist Party

In the Maoist period textbooks, allegiance to the Communist party, its leader Mao Zedong, and the idea of the state's socialist revolution is emphasised. The Maoist cultism is intensified during the proletarian Cultural Revolution period textbooks (1966-1976), a ten-year period marked by the hyperbolic application of the class struggle principle in all areas of Chinese society and by the promotion of the cult of Mao as the supreme leader of China with unchallenged authority. In the textbooks published between 1970 and 1976, Mongolian students learn poems, quotations and stories of Mao Zedong. Lessons about Mao Zedong take up 89.4% (17/19), 78% (14/18), and 56% (11/20) respectively of

the total lessons in the 1973 textbooks for Grade 3, Grade 4, and Grade 5 students (NZXSKH, Vol. 3, 1971; NZXSKH, Vol. 4, 1972; NZXSKH, Vol. 5, 1973). Mongolian students, like Han students, are presented in the textbooks as Red Guards, a mass student-led paramilitary social movement mobilised and guided by Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, and other Communist Party leaders during the Cultural Revolution, serving as the 'instruments of destruction' (Heaslet, 1972). In the textbooks, Mongolians vow their loyalty to Mao Zedong and yearn for Beijing, the power base of Mao. For example, Extract 12 is from a lesson entitled 'Grassland red guards meet Chairman Mao' (草原上的红卫兵见到了毛主席) from the 1973 NZXSKH textbook for Grade 5 students:

> Extract 12: 我们是毛主席的红卫兵，从草原来到天安门。无边的旗海红似火，战斗的歌声响入云。伟大的领袖毛主席，领导我们闹革命。敬爱的毛主席，不落的红太阳，草原上人民忠于您，永远革命志不 移。红彤彤太阳从东方升起，金色的阳光普照大地。为什么太阳这 样暖？为什么幸福热泪流不息？因为我们见到了毛主席，毛主席和 我们在一起。敬爱的毛主席，不落的红太阳，草原上的人民歌唱您， 万岁万岁毛主席。

> (We are **Chairman Mao's** Red Guard and come from the **grassland** to Tiananmen Square. The endless flag sea is red like fire, the battle songs are loud enough to reach the clouds. Great leader **Chairman Mao**. You lead us to make revolution. Respected **Chairman Mao**, the red sun that forever shines. The **grassland** people are loyal to you and never shake the determination of making revolution. The red sun rises from the east and the golden sunshine brightens the land. Why is the sun so warm? Why can we not stop crying with happiness? It is because we see **Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao** is always with us. Respected **Chairman Mao,** the red sun that forever shines. The **grassland** people sing for you. Long live long live **Chairman Mao.**) (NZXSKH, Vol. 6, 1973: 8-9)

The label Chairman Mao is repeated every few sentences of the text, being modified with the adjectives 'great' and 'respected', suggesting the dominant position of Mao. The Mongolians pledge allegiance to Mao, stating they are 'his

red guards', 'loyal to him', 'sing for him' and chanting the slogan 'long live long Chairman Mao'. In the text, Mongols are referred to as 'grassland people' rather than 'Mongolian people'. As grassland nomadic culture is an important ethnic identity marker for the Mongolians, a pledge of allegiance to Mao by these so-called grassland people implies the subordination of the Mongolian nomadic culture to Maoist thought, while erasing their distinct ethnic identity. In addition, vowing loyalty to Mao is mingled with the emotion of exhilaration. Mongolians are portrayed as being unable to 'stop crying with happiness' after seeing Mao. There is also a thrilling description of revolution. Red, the symbol of revolutionary valour, appears throughout the text, being collocated with 'flag', 'fire' and 'sun', to invoke the visual the excitement of the scene. The reference to loud battle songs suggests a similarly exciting soundscape. The emotions of Mongolian students reading this text are being appealed to in the text, to be mobilised to support the Cultural Revolution led by Mao. Compared with the Republican period textbooks, which exhort Mongolian students to take care of their bodies to devote themselves to the Chinese nation, the Maoist period textbooks seem to focus on managing their minds to internalise Maoist revolutionary thoughts. In expressing first allegiance to Chairman Mao and the CCP, these texts relegate Mongolian ethnic identification to secondary place.

5.3.1.4 Class struggle and gratitude to Mao and the Chinese Communist Party

Mao's 1962 edict, 'never forget class struggle', quickly became the guiding principle of socialist China (Lu, 1999: 495). Drawing upon Marxist theory of class struggle, the proletarian and bourgeois classes are seen as social enemies with antithetical economic goals and opposing ideological interests. In the 1970s textbooks, during the Cultural Revolution, a quotation of Mao Zedong which calls for proletarian-based education is included in all the prefaces (e.g. NZXSKH, Vol.4, 1971: 1). Students are urged to 'not only acquire knowledge, but also to learn from the masses of workers, peasants, and People and the Liberation Army, and to fight against the bourgeois classes' ('学生即不但学文，也要学工、学农、学军，也要批判资产阶级'). Both Han and Mongolian people are referred to through the epithets 'poor peasants' (贫农) and 'poor herders' (贫牧), which reflect their assigned identities as members of the

proletariat class, as opposed to the bourgeois class enemies such as 'landlords' (地主) and 'pasture owners' (牧主).

There are eight representations of Mongolian class struggle and six cases of Han class struggle, found in seven textbooks, from the period 1962 to 1975. [40] Mongolian and Han women and men are all shown participating in the meetings of 'speaking bitterness' of their past and expressing indignation at class enemies.[41] For example, Extract 13 is from a lesson entitled 'My childhood' (我的童年) from the textbook for Grade 3 students in 1975.

> Extract 13: 解放前，我的阿爸给牧主当奴隶，因为丢了一只羊，被牧主打死了。我十岁的时候，牧主又把我拉去当奴隶，过着牛马不如的生活…我恨透了牧主，我恨透了旧社会。
>
> (Before liberation, my father was the slave of a pasture owner. Because he lost a sheep, he was beaten to death by the pasture owner. When I was ten, the pasture owner also made me become his slave and I lived a life worse than cows and horses […] **I detest** the pasture owner. **I detest** the old society.) (NZXSKH, Vol. 2, 1975: 65)

In the text, the pasture owner is depicted as an inhumane evil, who enslaves poor Mongolians whose human rights are severely trampled on. At the end of the text, the narrator expresses indignation at the pasture owner and the old society. By repeating the phrase "I detest […]", the evil pasture owner is linked to the old

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[40] The full list is: Mongolian class struggle: 'Grandpa Nasitu' (那斯图老爷爷, MSXH, Vol. 3, 1960: 27-28); 'Footprint' (脚印, NZXSKH, Vol. 3, 1972: 52-53); 'The song of Mongolian fiddle player' (马头琴手的歌 , MXH, Vol. 4, 1962: 1; NZXSKH, Vol. 4, 1979: 13); 'Following the Communist Party forever' (永远跟着共产党走 , MCZHYKS, Vol. 1, 1962: 30-31); 'A poor herder father teaches a lesson' (贫牧阿爸来上课, NZXSKH, Vol. 1, 1971: 39-40); 'A meeting of recalling bitterness in the past and appreciating the happiness in the present time' (忆苦思甜报告会, NZXSKH, Vol. 6, 1975: 45-46); 'My childhood' (我的童年, NZXSKH, Vol. 2, 1975: 65-66)

Han class struggle: 'Where is our happy life from' (幸福生活是怎么来的, MXH, Vol. 8, 1962: 80 -83); 'Two generations of father and son' (父子两代, MCHJK, Vol. 1, 1962: 48-50; NZXSKH, Vol. 6, 1973: 32-34); 'The sound of abacus' (算盘响, NZXSKH, Vol. 2, 1975: 60-61); 'At the rent collection courtyard' (在泥塑"收租院"里, NZXSKH, Vol. 6, 1973: 26-27; NZXSKH, Vol. 6, 1975: 50-52)

[41] 'Speaking bitterness' is a particular practice during the Cultural Revolution period to mobilise all individuals in the oppressed classes to personalise their victimisation and produce the emotion of indignation (Liu, 2010: 337).

society. Such a negative presentation of the past encourages Mongolian children to detach themselves from it.

Indignation against class enemies is also instigated through images in the textbooks. The image in Figure 5.9 is from a lesson entitled 'A Poor herder father teaches a lesson' (贫牧阿爸来上课) from a 1971 textbook for Grade 3 students.

Figure 5.9 The image from the lesson 'A poor herder father teaches a story'
(贫牧阿爸来上课) (NZXSKH, Vol.1, 1971: 39)

At the centre of the image sits an elderly Mongolian man, who is the 'poor herder father'. His right hand holds the Little Red book of Mao Zedong. Behind him a blackboard bears the slogan 'Don't forget class bitterness. Remember blood and tears hatred'. This sets the scene of class struggle propaganda. The Mongolian children sit around the Mongolian herder and gaze at him, indicating their attentive listening. The facial expressions of the children are similar, with frowning eyebrows to express their indignation, which seems to show the Mongolian students the correct attitude towards class enemies. In addition, while the elderly Mongolian herder and some Mongolian children in the image wear traditional Mongolian dress, some others are in the Red Guard outfit. The dress difference suggests a friendship between peasant herders and the politically conscious proletariat, although elsewhere in the textbooks, Mongolians are usually shown wearing traditional Mongolian dress.

The proletariat's oppressed past in the class struggle discourse is commonly compared with life in the PRC period to legitimate the Communist Party's rule. The past and present comparisons concern the topic of social welfare, especially health and education. The poor proletarian people, regardless of gender and ethnicity, are presented as benefiting from the socialist welfare system, which guarantees the right to freedom from oppression, from poverty and from violence. There are ten such cases including three cases of health welfare and three cases of education welfare in the textbooks from the period 1962 to 1975. [42] For example, a lesson entitled 'A meeting recalling bitterness in the past and

appreciating happiness in the present time' (忆苦思甜报告会) in a 1975 textbook for Grade 5 students narrates the life of a poor elderly Mongolian woman herder named Badama before and after the Communist party's rule:

> Extract 14: 老贫牧老大娘又指着一只瞎眼说: "在旧社会，我得了眼病，还得带病给牧主干活，稍微慢点就遭毒打。我这只眼就是被牧主打瞎的。解放后，我也得过眼病，咱们的医生给我治好了。这都是社会主义制度的优越性啊！"

> (The poor old woman herder points at her one blind eye, saying: "**In the old society**, I contracted an eye disease, but I still had to work for the pasture owner. When I worked slightly slower than usual, I would be beaten heavily. This eye of mine was beaten to blindness by the pasture owner. **After liberation**, I also contracted an eye disease, but our doctors cure it. This is the superiority of the socialist system!") (NZXSKH, Vol. 6, 1975: 46)

We have seen that in the Republican textbooks, staying healthy was presented as a duty for young people towards the nation (see Section 5.2.1.3). Being physically fit was one of the characteristics of an 'ideal' citizenship. By contrast,

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[42] Health welfare: 'Grandpa Nasitu' (那斯图老爷爷, MSXH, Vol. 3, 1960: 27-28); 'A meeting of recalling bitterness in the past and appreciating the happiness in the present time' (忆苦思甜报告会, NZXSKH, Vol. 6, 1975: 45-46); 'New footprint' (新的脚印, NZXSKH, Vol. 6, 1973: 48-49)

Education welfare: 'Sister becomes an electric welder' (姐姐当了电焊工, MSXH, Vol. 3, 1960: 64); 'A speech of Li Chunhua' (李春花的话, MXH, 1962: 50-51); 'Two generations of father and son' (父子两代, MCHJK, Vol. 1, 1962: 48-50; NZXSKH, Vol. 6, 1973: 32-34).

the PRC textbooks switch the focus to the poor and elderly. Health is presented as a social benefit, particularly to vulnerable groups, who were under-represented in the Republican textbooks. In contrast to the nationalist approach of the Republican government, health welfare now serves as a topic of propaganda for the Communist party government. In Extract 14, the pre-liberation period is presented as causing disability among the poor, while the post-liberation period foregrounds the curing and rehabilitation of the disabled group. The contrasts suggest that disabled people can attain full citizenship thanks to the benefits of the socialist system. The narrative here which constructs the role of disability within the Maoist Revolutionary Thought echoes Dauncey's (2020) study of the representation of disability in the Mao era.

In addition to health welfare, educational opportunity is also presented as a social benefit targeting the proletarian class. In the textbooks of the PRC period, both Han men and women from poor peasant families are shown receiving education and learning skills. For example, a lesson entitled 'Li Chunhua's speech' (李春华的话) is included in 1962 and 1963 textbooks for Grade 4 students:

> Extract 15: 有一天，妈说送我上学，我听了高兴地跳起来。想起从前，学校里尽是地主家的孩子，我哪里能上学呢！解放了，我有书读了，我多高兴啊！ [...] 公社成立了，我学会了开拖拉机，当了拖拉机手。我真感谢党和毛主席，我一定要积极劳动，努力生产。"

> (One day, mother told me that she would send me to school. After hearing it, I jumped happily. I remember in the past, only children of landlord families could go to school. How can I go to school! After liberation, I can go to school. How happy I am! [...] After the building of People's communes, I have learnt how to drive tractors and become a tractor driver. I am very grateful to the Communist party and Chairman Mao. I must work hard for production.) (MXH, Vol.3, 1962: 50-51)

Receiving education is presented here as having been the preserve of the landlord class in the Republican period. It is only in socialist China that peasants can receive an education. In addition, women, who mainly play the mothering role in the Republican textbooks, can train to become workers like men in the PRC

period. In the text, the Han girl Li Chunhua is given the opportunity to learn to drive a tractor. However, her educational opportunity is depicted not so much as a right but as a blessing, which makes her indebted to the Communist party and Chairman Mao. In return, she pledges to work hard to express her gratitude through actions. As opposed to their Han counterparts, Mongolians are not shown as the beneficiaries of learning skills such as tractor-driving in the textbooks, perhaps because Mongolians are viewed as backward compared to the Han (see Section 5.3.1.1 above), and as othered from modernity, of which tractors, associated with advancing productivity, are a marker in the Maoist period.

To conclude Section 5.3, compared with the Republican textbooks, the boundary between Mongolians and Han in the Maoist period is narrowed through the intrusion of the Han into the Mongolian space. The Han are presented as the advancing group who grasp modern technology and help Mongolians to develop their land, but based on the Han belief of land use, neglecting and/or erasing the mobility and mutability of Mongolian nomadic identity. The Mongolian herders are presented as obedient in changing their traditional nomadic lifestyle to follow the Han model. In the process, a fraternal Mongolian-Han friendship is celebrated. The cultural differences between Mongolians and Han are further erased through both groups pledging allegiance and expressing gratitude to the CCP. Both Mongolians and Han are encouraged to devote themselves to the socialist construction.

5.3.2 The representations of Mongolians and Han in the reform period (1978 – present)

In the late 1970s, China began to reform its economic system and opened its doors to the outside world. Studies of citizenship education during this period, such as Tse (2011), have shown a shift in the period from a narrow and limited focus on ideological-political indoctrination towards a citizenship with growing emphasis on individual rights and global elements. Meanwhile, an increase in global citizenship is coupled with an emphasis on national culture and traditions in order to strengthen national identity as a response to intensified international encounters. Law (2013) pointed out that the Chinese primary and secondary school curriculum issued by the Ministry of Education in 2011 is more Sino-

centric than its 2001 counterpart, stressing the importance of learning Chinese cultural traditions and achievements. These themes of individual values, global citizenship, and Chinese cultural traditions are also present in my corpus of Mandarin language textbooks for Mongolian learners, particularly since the 2000s. For example, a lesson entitled 'I am very important'（我很重要）is included twice in Grade 9 textbooks (YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 7, 2004: 98-102; YJMXJH, Vol. 2, 2010: 126-131), highlights the importance of individual values. Lessons about environmental protection cultivate the value of global citizenship, such as the lesson 'We only have one world' (我们只有一个地球), which makes protecting natural resources as civic responsibilities in the global community, included in a 2016 Grade 8 textbook (YJMXJH, Vol.2, 2016: 81-82). Chinese traditional culture such as 'Spring Festival' (YJSMCZJSH, Vol.7, 2001: 8-11), calligraphy (YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 2, 2010: 82), and the Mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor (YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 2, 2008: 120-122) are also included in textbooks since 2000s. I have not, however, explored these themes in greater detail, as they are not directly relevant to focus of my study on the representation of Mongolians and Han. Below, I therefore focus on the analysis of just two themes, which are directly related to ethnicity in the narration: science and technology, and ethnic tourism.

5.3.2.1 *Mongolians in pursuit of science and technology: the 1980s textbooks*

Science and technology reform was put forward in 1980s with the slogan 'Building the nation with science and education', orienting education and scientific research to the needs of modern society and market economy (Liu, 2005: 304). Science and technology were perceived as productive forces to counteract the challenges brought by the economic reform, to promote economic growth and ease environmental problems during the transforming process (Liu, 2005: 305). In the textbooks of my corpus, both Chinese (e.g. Zhan Tianyou 詹天佑, 1861-1919; Qian Xuesen 钱学森, 1947-2009) and foreign scientists are presented as exemplars (e.g. Alfred Nobel, Marie Curie) for the students to learn the virtues of diligence and persistence in order to tackle scientific problems. China's achievements in space technology (e.g. rockets, satellites) and engineering (e.g. Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge) are presented to encourage

students' affiliation to and pride in modern China. Studying modern technology is depicted as an 'Honourable duty to the nation and its people' for Chinese young people (e.g. NZQMXCJ, Vol.1, 1979: 14). Mongolians, previously excluded from technology learning and featured only as its beneficiaries in the Maoist period textbooks, are now at times presented as actorswho are keen on science and technology,[43] like their Han counterparts. For example, Lesson 9 entitled 'Looking at the sky' (望星空) from a 1986 textbook entitled 'Mongolian medium primary school Mandarin Chinese textbook' (Mengguzu Xuexiao Xiaoxue Keben 蒙古族学校小学课本汉语文, henceforth MXXKH) for Grade 4 students narrates a Mongolian child's interest in space technology:

> Extract 16: 我怀着神秘的心情数着天上的星星，一颗，两颗，三颗 […] 突然，有人叫道: "卫星！" 原来，是阿爸来到了我的身边。我按照他的指点，看见了从空中缓缓运行过去的人造卫星 […] 我想，有朝一日，我这个草原上的孩子，也会登上神通更大的人造卫星，运行在太空，去统领所有的星星。
>
> (I count the stars in the sky feeling mysterious, one, two, three […] Suddenly, someone called out: 'Satellite!' Oh, it is my father who walks towards me. I follow his instruction and see a satellite moving slowly in the sky […] I think, one day, I the child from grassland, will also board a more powerful satellite, travel the universe and rule all the stars.) (MXXKH, Vol.4, 1986: 46-47)

The first-person pronoun 'I' in the text is not specified for gender, so is inclusive of both Mongolian boys and girls, representing the Mongolian children's voice. At the end of the text, the Mongolian child expresses their wish to explore the universe, and the adverb 'also' implies an equality with all those involved in modern technology. The phrase 'the child from grassland', standing in attribution to the pronoun 'I', marks the traditional Mongolian cultural identity used in the context of modern technology. This contrast suggests that the Mongolians, while late in mastering modern technology, now also have access

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[43] For another example, see also lesson 12 铁木烈的追踪 'Tiemulie's trace' (MCZKH, Vol. 5: 95-97).

to it. Mongolians are here included in the pro-science and technology discourse, but remain a distinct group, separate from the social (Han) group in the field of science and technology with their Mongolian cultural identity being foregrounded.

5.3.2.2 *Rural Mongolians vs. urban Han in ethnic tourism in 1990s-2010s textbooks*

With the inclusion of the term *gongmin* in the CCP national congress report in 1987, the legal status and rights of Chinese citizenship were strengthened (Chen, 2018: 50). Economic development has also been seen as the main solution to ethnic strife (Jakimów and Barabantseva, 2015: 8). Ethnic tourism has been promoted by the state since the reform, as a means to achieve economic development and growth in the ethnic minority autonomous regions. As we might expect, then, in the reform period textbooks, the class struggle discourse found in Maoist era textbooks is replaced by an ethnic tourism discourse with a focus on presenting host-tourist relations between Mongolians and Han in the Mongolian landscape. There are eleven such cases of Mongolian-Han interaction, in the eleven textbooks for Mongolian learners of my corpus published since the 1990s, all of which involve Mongolian herders hosting Han guests at their home in the remote grassland.[44] Mongolian herders are portrayed as hospitable and exotic, and willing to perform traditional Mongolian culture for the Han tourist audience. Their cultural behaviours are standardised, typically with Mongolian young women singing and dancing, young men doing horse training and racing, elderly women serving guests with traditional Mongolian food, and elderly men playing the horse fiddle. Two lessons entitled 'The remote grassland is my home' (草原深处是我家), and 'Please come to our grassland' (请到我们草原来), using a first-person narrative ('my' and 'our'), promulgate 'correct' ethnic behaviours of hosting Han guests to the Mongolian students using their voice.

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[44] The full list is: 'Grassland' (草原, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 5, 1995: 30-32; YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 1, 2001: 43-45; YJMXJH, Vol. 2, 2016: 24-26); 'Deep in grassland is my home' (草原深处是我家, YJMXJSH, Vol. 5, 1995: 39-41; YJWMXJSH, Vol. 8, 2004: 94-96); 'Folkways in Horqin' (科尔沁风情, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 4, 1994: 131-133); 'A scene in grassland' (草原小景, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 6, 1995: 182-185); 'Observing horses' (看马, YJSMCZJSH, Vol.1, 2001: 119-121); 'Please come to our grassland' (请 到 我 们 草 原 来 , YJSMCZJSH, Vol.1, 2001: 124-126); 'Being guests at a Mongolian yurt' (蒙古包里做客, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 2, 2001: 35-37); 'Grassland in autumn' (秋日草原, YJMXJH, Vol.1, 2010: 15-19)

For example, the lesson 'The remote grassland is my home', included in a 1995 textbook for Grade 4 students and a 2004 textbook for Grade 5 students, describes the Horqin grassland in terms of its scenery, the Mongolian yurts, horses and Mongolian people.

> Extract 17: 蒙古人的热情好客是出了名的。不管您是熟人还是没见过面的，只要您来到我们这里，我们就会把您迎进暖和的蒙古包里，用新熬的奶茶和鲜嫩的奶食品来招待您。接着，我们还会为您唱起动听的祝酒歌，把洁白的哈达献给您。那哈达是友谊的象征 [...] 来吧，朋友们，欢迎您到"家"里来！

> (Mongolians are famous for hospitality. No matter whether you are an acquaintance or a stranger, as long as you come here, we will welcome you into the warm Mongolian yurt and host you with freshly brewed milk tea and dairy produce. Then, we will sing toasting songs to you and present Hada to you. Hada is the symbol of friendship […] Come here, friends, welcome to your "home"!) (YJWMXJSH, Vol. 8, 2004: 95; YJMXJSH, Vol. 5, 1995: 40)

In the text, guests and Mongolians are referred to using the pronouns 'you' (guests) and 'we' (Mongolian hosts). Here the text producer unites the Mongolian student readers with the Mongolians exemplars in the text into a single interest group with the inclusive pronoun 'we', while the pronoun 'you' suggests the potential audience of Han and other guests. The text presents cultural rituals as a collective identity marker of Mongols, manifested through the words 'famous for', 'as long as', 'we will'. The ethnic stereotype is strengthened through inscribing on the Mongolians the fixed cultural behaviours that are intended for attracting and serving tourists.

An urban-rural division and modern-traditional division in the presentation of Han and Mongolians is also found in the textbooks, reflecting the 'internal orientalism' identified by Gladney (1994) and Schein (1997). Han visitors are referred to by Mongolians as 'city people' (YJMXJH, Vol.2, 2016: 37). In comparison, the Han peasants and workers, groups included prominently in Maoist period textbooks, are absent from the reform period textbooks. This

contrast implies that Mongolians are now cast back into the role of the peripheral rural Other, contrasted with the urbanization progress that the Han have already achieved since the open and reform policy.

Examining images of Mongolian-Han interaction in textbooks from this period, it is striking that the depiction of the Han changes over time, while that of Mongols remain static. Figures 5.10 and 5.11 below are images from a lesson entitled 'Grassland' (草原) from the textbooks for Grade 7 students in 2001 and 2016.

Figure 5.10 Mongols performing Mongolian culture (YJSMCZJSH, Vol.1, 2001:1)

Figure 5.11 Mongolians welcome Han visitors to the grassland (YJMXJH, Vol. 1, 2016: 25)

The lesson, narrated by a well-known Chinese novelist and dramalist Lao She (老舍, 1899-1966), reports a visit to Chenbahuer League in north-eastern Inner Mongolia. The 2001 version presents the grassland as a showcase of Mongolian ethnic culture, represented by the Mongolian bowl dance, wrestling, and horse taming. In Figure 5.10, Mongolian ethnic culture is gazed upon by Mongolians themselves, by domestic Han (at the centre of the image), and by foreign tourists (on the right of the image), presenting a multicultural grassland open to the world. The Han are represented by two males wearing blue working class uniform, suggesting they are Han workers. In the 2016 version in Figure 5.11, the portrayal of Han-Mongolian relationship becomes the focus. The Han men now all wear Western-style suits, in contrast with the Mongolians still wearing colourful ethnic costumes. This shift people in the representation of the Han from workers to urban could be interpreted with the post-Mao socialist spiritual civilisation campaigns which favour urban residents over rural residents to serve as the model of 'high' quality (e.g. behaviour, ways of speaking, personal attributes). The Han are shown to be progressive after the economic reform, while the Mongolians are static, rural, and tied to the past. Such a binary display of essentialising Han as 'modern' and non-Han as 'backward' chimes with Friedman's (2004) suggestion that the maintenance of civilised citizenship requires boundaries. No modern representations of Mongols similar to those of

the Han are found in the textbooks, a fact which normalises the Han group as the 'civilised centre'.

Meanwhile, it is notable too that the Han are represented only by males in the images. Han males are also the dominant narrator of Mongolian culture, as indicated by the named authors of the lessons of the textbooks. No Han woman is presented in the Mongolian-Han interactions, as in the Maoist period (Section 5.3.1.2). Han males implicitly act as gatekeepers of defining Mongolian culture and as the 'ideal' Han when interacting with Mongolians. Compared with the Republican period, when men and women were differentiated in terms of citizenship (Section 5.2.2), in the reform period textbooks, gender is intersected with ethnicity to construct Han males as the 'civilised centre.'

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has traced changes in the representation of 'ideal' Chinese citizenship to Mongolian learners in Mandarin language textbooks published since 1912, to address the second research question of this study: how Mongolian identity has been negotiated over time in the representation of Chinese national identities in the textbooks. My findings show that Mongolians are integrated into Chinese citizenship in different ways at different times, in ways that are influenced by the political ideologies of the time. In the Republican period textbooks, a civic republican approach is adopted which seeks to cultivate in Mongolian students the value of devoting themselves, just like their Han counterparts, to the Chinese nation, while their rights are weakened. Chinese citizenship during this period is differentiated more from a gender perspective than by ethnicity. Males dominate the public sphere while females are related to the private sphere. Females are provided with the opportunity of greater access to Chinese citizenship, by being positioned as the cultivators of future citizens. The importance of family to transmit civic values is stressed. This suggests that the Republican period textbooks' model of Chinese citizenship is influenced by Confucianism which considers family as the basis and the prototype for all social relationships (Lee, 1991).

In dealing with Mongolian identity, the textbooks reflect the assimilation strategy adopted by the Republican government. Mongolian culture is ignored

in the 1919 textbook series. By contrast, in the 1930s and 1940s textbooks, ethnic markers such as Mongolian traditional dress, nomadic lifestyle and Mongolian ancestors are included. However, the voice of Mongolians is muted, and Mongolian cultural elements are repurposed in ways that seek to promulgate the values of Chinese citizenship rather than to develop Mongolian identity. Compared with nomadic Mongolians, Sinicised Mongolians – identifiable by their Chinese names – are portrayed as more active in the claiming of Chinese citizenship, such as through civic participation and serving as models in the New Life Movement. The contrast reflects the Han chauvinism of the Republican period (Leibold, 2009: 43). Mongolians who are more assimilated to Han are equated with achieving fuller Chinese citizenship.

With the regional autonomy policy being implemented in the PRC China, Mongolian culture receives more attention than in the Republican period. Nomadic Mongolians serve as the model citizen under the CCP's new project of creating a unified and multi-ethnic state. However, regional autonomy is not represented in the textbooks with Mongolians being made subservient to the Han in different ways and having weak claim to the development of the Mongolian land. During the Maoist period, although Mongolian identity is addressed, the aim seems to be to play down difference with the Han through the promulgation of what are presented as shared socialist values. The 'ideal' Mongolians are presented in this period as productive socialist workers, followers of Mao Zedong and the CCP, and building fraternal relationships with the Han. Mongolian mobility is erased in favour of sedentarism, with the Han's faith in agrarian land use being projected as the superior model for Mongolians to adopt. Whereas in the Republican period, the Mongolian-Han unification discourse was manifested through the shared value of Chinese citizenship, during the Maoist period, Mongolian-Han interaction is stressed. The Han are positioned as the helpers of Mongolians in developing their land, and Mongolians provide support to the Han, naturalising the control of Mongolian land by the Han. This shift can be seen as reflecting the socialist transformation policy of the Maoist period, which was strengthened during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Mongolians, like other non-Han groups, are required to abandon their old

customs and traditions to accept socialist values. The Han group acts as the 'advanced' group to facilitate the assimilation process in the Mongolian region.

In the reform period textbooks, the theme of class struggle, prominent in the Maoist period, is played down, with economic development being the new focus. Mongolians are inculcated with the value of pursuing modern technology like their Han counterparts. Meanwhile, the assimilation strategies from the previous periods yield to a pluralist strategy which, in places, foregrounds Mongolian culture through the lens of ethnic tourism. The 'ideal' Mongolians in this period now serve Han travellers and perform their culture for consumption by the Han, in accord with government policy of promoting economic development of ethnic minority regions through tourism. However, the marking of Mongolian culture reinforces urban vs. rural and modern vs. traditional divisions between the Han and Mongolians. The 'ideal' Han has changed from the working class to the urban class, the modernised centre, but Mongolians remain the rural peripheral other. In both the Republican and PRC periods, Mongolian cultural features are being frequently neutralised and/or made subservient to Han dominant Chinese national values.

Chapter 6. Teaching Mandarin pronunciation to Mongolian learners in early Republican China: the case of Khaisan's (1917) *Mongolian Han Original Sounds of the Five Regions*

6.1 Introduction

Chapters 4 and 5 examined the representation of nationalist history and citizenship in the Chinese language textbooks to Mongolian learners issued by the Republican and PRC governments. My analysis revealed a consistent Han-dominant view in the teaching of Chinese cultural knowledge, but with shifting ways of integrating Mongolians into the Chinese national Self over time. In Chapters 6 and 7, I now widen the focus, to examine, from two quite different perspectives, to what extent the Han-centric power relations in the field of teaching Mandarin learners may be appropriated or contested by Mongolian actors, in the past and at the present, and so address research question 3. Chapter 7 explores the role of both Mongolian and Han actors in mediating between the linguistic and cultural knowledge and values presented in textbooks and the reality of teaching in the present day. Here in Chapter 6, the focus remains historical, as I present a case study of how one early 20th century Mongolian textbook author negotiated presenting the pronunciation of Mandarin Chinese to Mongolians.

The text in question is a Mongolian Chinese dictionary entitled 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds of the Five Regions' (*Meng Han Hebi Wufang Yuanyin* 蒙漢合璧五方元音), which was compiled by a Mongolian official named Khaisan in 1917, at a time when the basis of the Mandarin standard was still being debated. As we shall see, Khaisan glosses Mandarin pronunciation in a way that suggests his model was a literary reading pronunciation used by the educated elite at the time, mainly based on the Beijing-based northern Mandarin, but with some features from Nanjing-based Southern Mandarin, and some forms influenced by Manchurian transcriptions. This indicates a multilingual influence in his codification of Mandarin Chinese pronunciation rather than a monolingual model based on Han native speakership. With this analysis of a rhyme dictionary written for Mongolian learners of Mandarin Chinese, this chapter thus makes a

significant contribution to uncovering the 'hidden history' of multilingualism (Vogl, 2012: 27) in Chinese language standardisation, showing both the existence of a standard language ideology and the persistence of multilingualism, evident in the ways in which Khaisan codified Mandarin pronunciation informed by his own multilingual linguistic repertoire.

Chinese language standardisation, beginning at the turn of the 20th century, was initiated in tandem with nationalism, but, in contrast with language standardization in the European history, standardising pronunciation was accorded the same importance as the written form. The process begins with the phonetic Chinese movement (1892-1900) and simplified characters movement (1900-1911), launched by the reformers and intellectuals who called for an alphabetical writing system in order to increase the national literacy rate. The logographicity of the writing system in all its complexity was associated by reformers of the time with the backwardness of the country, compared with the phonetic alphabets of Western countries (Chen, 1999: 194).

Within the attempts to develop new Chinese phonetic characters in the early 20th century, a number of problems were confronted by scholars trying to deal with the task. The first problem was the diversity of the Chinese language: what was the 'standard' Chinese pronunciation upon which it should be based? Was it to be a single dialect or a number of representative dialects integrated in a comprehensive fashion, as an ecumenical standard (a term borrowed from Weng, 2018)? Until the 20th century, the concept of a standard pronunciation in China was rather vague, since the standard was more of an attitudinal stance on what was supposed to be the standard language in a refined society, or a koine for practical purposes of interdialectal communication (Chen, 1999: 12). Meanwhile, the making of a national linguistic standard was faced with another challenge, given the legacy of the multilingual language policy of the Qing dynasty in the borderland regions. As He (2017: 5) argued, the difficulties facing language reformists in the Republican period were not just in applying new linguistic methodologies, but also in attempting to establish the authority of the Chinese national language over what now became 'minority' languages such as Manchu, Mongolian, Muslim and Tibetan. Thus, there is also a complicated relationship between standardising Mandarin Chinese and multilingualism in the borderland

regions.

Despite this recognition, to my knowledge, no studies have yet explored how standard Mandarin pronunciation was presented in materials for 'minority' learners. This study seeks to help fill that gap, therefore, by analysing how the 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds of the Five Regions' modified Fan Tengfeng's (樊腾凤 1601-1664) rhyme dictionary 'the Original Sounds of the Five Regions' (*Wufang Yuanyin*, 五方元音), originally compiled between 1654 and 1664, to suit the needs of Mongolian learners of Mandarin Chinese, and in doing so adapted the traditional so-called 'cut-and-splice quasi spelling' (*fanqie,* 反切) (based on the term translated by Mair, 1992), to a second-language learning context. The text is of particular interest as it was produced shortly after a series of linguistic standardization efforts regarding pronunciation at the governmental level has been launched in 1913 (Weng, 2018: 12). In the following analysis, I examine Khaisan's Mongolian transliterations of the Chinese characters, specifically considering the following questions:

1. What was presented to Mongolian learners as 'correct' Mandarin pronunciation?
2. How did Khaisan choose between the Beijing-based northern Mandarin as the potential lingua franca of his time and the prestigious Nanjing-based southern Mandarin?
3. How was Mandarin pronunciation transcribed, using the Mongolian transliteration alphabet?

In section 6.2, I provide the historical background of codifying Mandarin pronunciation. In section 6.3, I present the details of the dictionary 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds of the Five Regions'. I discuss the method of analysing the rime tables in Khaisan's dictionary in section 6.4. Section 6.5 then examines Khaisan's Mongolian transliterations of Chinese characters and sounds. I present my analysis of the Mongolian transliterations in terms of initials (section 6.5.1), finals (section 6.5.2) and tones (6.5.3)

6.2 The history codifying Mandarin pronunciation

In the history of Mandarin Chinese, there are two main different pronunciation 'standards' for different purposes: the literary reading pronunciation for poetic reasons in civic exams, and a vernacular spoken pronunciation for practical official communication since the Ming dynasty (1368 – 1644 AD) (Kaske, 2008: 47). The Mandarin rhyme dictionaries, a tradition dating back to ancient China (ca. 601AD), provided a guide to the literary reading pronunciation. In their codification of how to pronounce the characters in these dictionaries, compilers needed to consider both temporal differences (continuity with previous influential rhyme dictionaries) and regional differences (southern Mandarin versus northern Mandarin). Therefore, the literary reading pronunciation as recorded in the rhyme dictionaries is actually a mixed 'standard'. In terms of the vernacular spoken pronunciation, Coblin (2000: 33) pointed out that the phonological basis of Mandarin shifted from Nanjing-based southern Mandarin to the Beijing-based northern Mandarin from the mid-1800s, 430 years after the move of the political centre from the old capital Nanjing in the Jiang-Huai area to the northern capital, Beijing. The British diplomat and sinologist Herbert A. Giles, in his Chinese-English dictionary published in 1892, for example, defined Mandarin as 'the language of the district in which the court is situated; in former times, that of Nanking; in modern times, that of Beijing' (p6). However, the Nanjing-based Jiang-Huai Mandarin still remained a prestigious southern Mandarin dialect. Even in 1907, the customs officer and scholar Karl Hemeling (1878-1925) commented that Nanjing Mandarin was 'no longer a serious rival for supremacy of that of Peking', but 'retains a certain superiority over its sister "Mandarin" dialects, on account of, in some respects, purer and more consistent preservation of the old Chinese pronunciation' (Hemeling, 1907: 2 cited in Kaske, 2008: 415).

Aside from the choice of norm, a second problem was how to present the sounds to language learners. Should the traditional so-called 'cut-and-splice quasi spelling' be adopted, a method which defined any character's pronunciation by matching it to two other, reference characters, one with the same initial sound

and one with the same final?[45] Should they borrow the Romanization system being developed by Western missionaries? Should they render Chinese pronunciation using transliterations of other alphabetic writing systems such as Manchu and Mongolian? All of these approaches had their advantages and disadvantages. One major weakness in the home-grown *fanqie* approach was that it could not dictate the exact sound of each character, but rather only the degrees of similarity between abstract categories of character rhymes. While this was helpful in composing rhyming poetry, it remained ineffective for teaching oral communication (Weng, 2018: 620). This limitation had become clear as early as the 16th century, when Western missionaries began to operate in China and the learning and teaching of Chinese became a major priority for them, as they sought to transmit Christianity and Western knowledge. Efforts to Romanise Chinese scripts were made, instead, using the spelling conventions of languages such as Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and French. The British missionary Robert Morrison (1782-1834) first devised an orthographically English-based system to transcribe spoken Chinese. Coblin (2003b) examined the system in Morrison's dictionary (Morrison, 1815-23), focusing on syllable initials, finals and tones, seeking clues about the pronunciation of early 19th century standard Chinese. Coblin concluded that the type of Chinese pronunciation Morrison used as his point of reference was that of a Nanjing dialect (Southern China).

In fact, transcribing the Chinese language into alphabetic writing systems has a longer tradition than these Western Romanization systems. Already in 1269, the Yuan emperor Kublai Khan had thought to charge the Tibetan Lama 'Phags-pa with creating a script that could be implemented as an official system to render Chinese and other major languages of the Mongolian empire into one and the

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[45] A Mandarin syllable consists of an initial and a final. The final of a syllable can itself have up to three parts, the 'head' (*yuntou* 韵头) (or the 'medial' *jieyin* 介音), which may be variations of the three glides [i], [u], [y], the 'middle' (*yunfu* 韵腹) and the 'tail' (*yunwei* 韵尾). See Lin (2001: 31). The *fanqie* spelling first appeared in the late 2nd century (Zhang, 2008: 107; Branner, 2000: 3; Pulleyblank, 1984: 105). It was for the first time used in rime tables from the composition of the rhyme dictionary 'Segmenting rhymes' (*Qieyun* 切韵) (601 AD) and was expanded in the so-called 'Broad rhymes' (*Guangyun* 广韵) (1008 AD). The officially sanctioned rhyme dictionaries published later were all deeply indebted to the *Qieyun* and the *Guangyun*, which flourished during the Tang (618 AD – 906 AD) and Song eras (960 AD – 1279 AD) (Kaske, 2008: 42).

same script (Cassel, 2015: 38). In the Qing dynasty (1636-1912), the Manchu alphabet was the major imperial form used to transliterate Chinese characters. Based on Wade and Hillier's (1886) textbook for English-speaking learners, Cassel (2015) has shown that the Wade-Giles system, the first to Romanise Chinese based on the Beijing vernacular, has a Manchu origin, because forms of Manchu transliterations can be seen to have been borrowed in the English counterpart. For example, in the preface, Wade (1886: 6) stated 'In the final *ao* I have followed the Manchu spelling, against Morrison and Williams, who write aou, áu'. With this wider history of codifying Mandarin pronunciation in mind, the following sections now turn to examine how the Mongolian official Khaisan coped with the problems of transcribing Mandarin pronunciation with Mongolian letters in his dictionary 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds of the Five Regions'.

6.3 The 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds of the Five Regions', its author, its purpose, and its source
6.3.1 A profile of Khaisan (1862/63 – 1917)

The 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds of the Five Regions' was published in 1917 in Beijing. Its compiler, Khaisan was born around 1862 in Kharchin, Inner Mongolia, to a wealthy Mongolian family (Onon & Pritchatt, 1989: 120; Tatsuo, 1980: 108); a photographic portrait of him can be seen in Figure 6.1. Later in his life, he worked as the Kharchin 'Right banner'[46] official in north-eastern Inner Mongolia and representative of the Khalkh (the largest Mongolian group in Mongolia), stationed in Beijing. Little is known about Khaisan's own Chinese learning experience, though rather more is known about his leading role in the Mongolian independence movement in 1911 (e.g Tatsuo, 1980; Onon and Pritchatt, 1989). In other words, he is more frequently studied as a Mongolian nationalist than as a linguist or a language educator. However, these studies can still provide some clues to the linguistic background of Khaisan. According to the memoir of the Mongolian revolutionary writer G. Navaannamjil (1968) (cited in Onon and Pritchatt's (1989: 122) study of the 1911 Mongolian independence revolution), Khaisan became the right-hand man of Da Lam

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[46] *Right banner* is an administrative division in Inner Mongolia, corresponding to the county level.

Tserenchimed in planning the task of achieving Mongolian independence from the Manchu empire, because he had mastered political affairs but also because he knew the Manchu, Chinese and Mongolian languages fluently. Khaisan reported in his own work that he had learned Chinese for 14 years and followed eight teachers (see Khaisan 1917: 8). In later life, Khaisan was made Vice-President of the Bureau of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs and granted the high rank of *beise* [47] (贝 子) by President Yuan Shikai in 1915 but passed away two years later in Beijing.

Figure 6.1 Portrait of Khaisan (from the inside front cover of 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds of the Five Regions')

When Khaisan was appointmented as the Vice-President of the Bureau of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs in 1915, the Mongolian Prince Gungsungnorbu had been the President of the Bureau from 1912 to 1922. This new Bureau replaced the Qing dynasty Lifanyuan as the institute responsible for dealing with affairs concerning Mongolian and Tibetan lands and peoples, within the context

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[47] *Beise* is a Manchurian word, referring to the fourth rank of the eight privileges in the Qing dynasty, entitling the bearer to participate in state councils and share the spoils of war.

of the independence of Outer Mongolia and growing power of Russia, Japan and Britain in the border regions of China. The Bureau was under the direct supervision of President Yuan Shikai in 1914 and was intended to help the Beijing government to retain control over Inner Mongolia (Lan, 2018: 339). One important means of achieving this goal was through education to familiarise Mongolians with the idea of a Republic. The Mongolian Tibetan school, approved by the Gungsungnorbu-headed bureau, was built in Beijing in 1913 and provided stipends for Mongolian and Tibetan students to study there. According to Black et al. (1991: 151), a number of students from this school achieved prominence in Inner Mongolian politics in the ensuing decades.

Contemporary evidence from the time suggests that Khaisan's 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds of the Five Regions' was a very important Mandarin learning textbook for Mongolian learners in the Republican period. A preface by Prince Gungsungnorbu precedes Khaisan's own preface to the work. In his preface (Khaisan, 1917: 1-2), Gungsungnorbu commended the dictionary highly to Mongolian learners of Chinese. At the time of its publication in 1917 Khaisan had taken on the role of Vice-President of the Bureau of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs. It could be inferred from this that the dictionary was likely used in the Mongolian Tibetan school in Beijing and probably in schools in Inner Mongolia. The dictionary was still being advertised in 1932 on the front-end paper of the fourth volume of a Han-Mongolian bilingual textbook series issued by the Ministry of Education for primary school Mongolian students (and included in the analysis presented Chapter 5) (HMHDXK, Vol. 4, 1932). This indicates that the dictionary was at least still in print two decades after its first publication, although we have no information about how large the print run was.

6.3.2 The purpose of compiling the 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds of the Five Regions'

The paratextual materials to the dictionary prove useful in uncovering the reasons for learning Chinese from the Mongolian perspective. Besides the preface by Khaisan himself, there are three prefaces to the dictionary, written by three members of the Mongolian elite: Prince Gungsungnorbu of Kharchin, Prince Gumbojabu of Josotu and Prince Gunchukesulong of Jirim. All of them were from the Eastern Inner Mongolia region.

As shown in Extracts 1-3 below, learning Chinese is associated with enlightening Mongolians and meeting the call of the government to promote education by Prince Gumbojabu and Khaisan.

Extract 1: 凡我蒙古初學 苟得是書 日置案頭 手披目覽 則字義自識 文理漸通 以仰副國家興學至意 （卓索圖盟西土默棍布紮布）

(If all our Mongolian beginners get this book, put it on the desk and read it, they will self-learn the meanings of characters and understand the grammar in literary writing. This will meet the demand of promoting education by the state.) (Prince Gumbojabu of Josotu) (Khaisan, 1917: 4)

Extract 2: 讀書必先識字 故音韻之學尚焉 儒者於六書興旨 偏旁義類 窮年累世 莫殫莫究 夫豈易易哉（哲理木盟寶圖親王）

(Reading must begin from knowing characters, and learning rhymes is also good for this purpose. Confucian scholars studied Chinese characters on the basis of the *Six Styles* [a traditional Chinese lexicography which divided characters into six categories.] It required a long time for them to grasp radicals and the relevant meanings. How can it be easy to learn?) (Prince Gunchukesulong of Jirim) (Khaisan, 1917: 5)

Extract 3: 惟漢文淵深 講解甚繁 文理字義 亦極精奧 若彼同言同文 之漢人子弟 尚慮驟難窮殫 況我異言異文之蒙古幼童 何能依限精通 夫振興教育 固為立憲基礎 而譯書啟蒙 亦系興學要綱 （海山）

(Chinese is obscure and complex to teach. The grammar in literary writing and meanings of Chinese characters are also extremely sophisticated. For the Han children who share the same speaking and writing systems, they still find it very hard to grasp. How can our Mongolian young children of different speaking and writing systems be proficient in it? Promoting education is the foundation of the constitution. Translating books also meets the demand of building schools.) (Khaisan) (Khaisan, 1917: 7)

The learning of Chinese by Mongolians is regarded here as implementing the

government education policy, suggesting that the Mongolian elites' political stance is that Mongolians are members of the Chinese state. Regarding the Chinese knowledge that needs to be learnt, the Mongolians quoted here emphasize the acquisition of the grammar in literary writing and meanings of Chinese characters (*wenli ziyi*, 文理字义). Chinese language is said by Khaisan to be sophisticated and difficult, requiring strenuous efforts to become proficient in it. In addition, Khaisan pointed out in his preface that Chinese is also difficult for Han people, who also require education to grasp it, despite sharing the same speaking and writing systems. These Mongolians take an elite view of Chinese language and represent it from the upper-class perspective, as the literary aspect of Chinese is emphasised over its vernacular counterpart. This emphasis on the acquisition of literary knowledge of Chinese reflects the language situation in imperial period China. Classical Chinese, the official language used in the civil service examinations, was only accessible to a small elite in society. Knowledge of the literary written language served as the prerequisite for elite status (Harrell, 1993: 99). Although the Mongolian elite preface authors acknowledge the need to make Chinese to be more accessible through promoting education and building schools, they still take a conservative and elitist view regarding the kind of Chinese knowledge that should be taught. In the following analysis, I discuss how the relative importance of communicative and literary aspects are weighted in Khaisan's codification of the Mandarin Chinese pronunciation.

6.3.3 The source of Khaisan's 'Mongolian Han Original Sound of the Five Regions'

As Khaisan wrote in his preface, his dictionary was based on Fan Tengfeng's 'Original Sounds of the Five Regions', which in turn had modified Lan Mao's (兰茂 1397-1470) 1442 rhyme dictionary titled 'An Introduction to Phonology' (*Yunlue yitong*, 韵略易通). Fan's dictionary itself had been expanded by following generations over the period 1700 through 1949 in eight further versions (Li, 2008). Studies of the phonology base of Fan's 'Original Sounds of the Five Regions' concur that it represents northern Mandarin of the mid-17th century (e.g. Li, 2008; Wang, 1981). Fan categorised the initials of Chinese characters into 20 categories (Table 6.1) and finals into 12 categories (Table 6.2).

See Table 6.1 and 6.2 below for more details of the phonetic values of initials and finals given following Li's (2008) study.

The initials of Fan's 'Original Sounds of the Five Regions' (1841-1913)	
Initial (with pinyin transliteration)	**Phonetic value**
梆 b(ang)	[p]
匏 p(ao)	[pʰ]
木 m(u)	[m]
風 f(eng)	[f]
斗 d(ou)	[t]
土 t(u)	[tʰ]
鳥 n(iao)	[n]
雷 l(ei)	[l]
竹 zh(u)	[tʂ]
虫 ch(ong)	[tʂʰ]
石 sh(i)	[ʂ]
日 r(i)	[ʐ]
剪 j(ian)	[ts]
鵲 q(ue)	[tsʰ]
系 x(i)	[s]
雲 y(un)	zero initial
金 j(in)	[k]
橋 q(iao)	[kʰ]
火 h(uo)	[x]
蛙 w(a)	zero initial

Table 6.1 List of 20 initials of Fan's 'Original Sounds of the Five Regions' (source: Li, 2008: 81-82)

The finals of Fan's 'Original Sounds of the Five Regions' (1841-1913)	
Finals (with pinyin transliteration)	**Phonetic value**
天(t)ian	**[an], [ian], [uan], [yan]**
人 (r)en	**[ən], [in], [un], [yn]**
龍 (l)ong	**[əŋ], [iŋ], [uŋ], [yŋ]**
羊 (y)ang	**[aŋ], [iaŋ], [uaŋ]**
牛 (n)iu	**[ou], [iou]**
獒 ao	**[au], [iau]**
虎 (h)u	**[u]**
駝 (t)uo	**[o], [io], [uo]**
蛇 (sh)e	**[iɛ], [yɛ]**
馬 (m)a	**[a], [ia], [ua]**
豺 (ch)ai	**[ai], [iai], [uai]**
地 (d)i	**[ɿ], [i], [uei], [y]**

Table 6.2 List of 12 finals of Fan's 'Original Sounds of the Five Regions' (Source: Li, 2008: 85-86)

The 20 initials and 12 finals generate 12 rime tables of final groups in Fan's dictionary, further subdivided into four groups (Lin, 2001: 31):

▪ 'Open-mouth finals' (*kaikouhu* 开 口 呼) which begin with a non-high vowel (i.e., a, e, o) or in other words they have no [i], [u], [y] in their finals. An example is the character 'to look' (*kan* 看).

▪ 'Close-teeth finals' (*qichihu* 齐齿呼) which begin with the high front unrounded vowel [i], such as the character 'sky' (*tian* 天).

▪ 'Close-mouth finals' (*hekouhu* 合 口 呼) which begin with the high back rounded vowel [u] such as the character 'happy' (*huan* 欢)

▪ 'Tense-lip finals' (*cuokouhu* 撮口呼) which begin with the high front rounded vowel [y] such as the character 'blood' (*xue* 血)

Compared to the 1728 edition of Fan's dictionary, Khaisan strictly followed Fan's groupings and character segmentations, but with a few changes. Some characters in Fan's version were substituted with other characters of the same pronunciation. For example, the character for 'to lie' (*pian*, 騙) in Fan's dictionary is replaced by Khaisan with the character for 'piece' (*pian*, 片), although we do not know why this substitution was made. One of Khaisan's own innovations was to provide written Mongolian transliterations below each character segmentation to help Mongolian learners with the exact Chinese pronunciation (see Row E and Row K in Figure 6.2). Within the 12 rime tables, the Chinese characters with the same segmentation share the same Mongolian transliteration, even if their tones are different, as there is no tone system in Mongolian. For example, the four characters 'bias' (*pian*, 偏), 'convenient' (*pian*, 便), 'to lie/cheat' (*pian*, 騙) and 'piece' (*pian*, 片), in squares A3 to D3, belong to the 匏 *p(ao)* initial group and 天 *(t)ian* final group and hence are all pronounced as 'p+ian = pian' and share the Mongolian script ᠫᠢᠶᠠᠨ (piyan, phonemically /pijan/). The above examples show that Khaisan presented Mandarin pronunciation in a way that would better support the Mongolian learners with the Mongolian transliterations.

Figure 6.2 The 天 (t)ian final group; the characters heading the first ten initial groups (of twenty in total) can be seen along the top (Source: Khaisan, 1917:12)

6.4 Chinese rime table analysis

Norman and Coblin (1995) pointed out that there are two models of interpreting sounds presented in rime tables. The traditional model developed by Bernhard Karlgren (1954), makes vertical comparisons of rime tables of later periods with early surviving rime tables *Qieyun* (切韻) and *Yunjing* (韻鏡) in 12th century to trace the development of Chinese phonological system over time.

The new model, proposed by Norman and Coblin (1995), called for comparing Chinese dialects with other closely related forms, rather than the alleged ancestral form found in philological sources. They argued that the regular relationship that a large number of Chinese dialects can be shown in relationship to the *Qieyun* system, does not necessarily mean it is the origin of the modern

Chinese dialects. Coblin (2003a) applied the new model to examine the transition in the standard language base of Mandarin Chinese during the 18th century, by examining the Manchu-Chinese dialogue section of the famous Manchu language textbooks, 'An Introduction to Manchu' (*Qingwen qimeng,* 清文启蒙) published in 1730, compiled by Uge Seoping (Wu-ge shouping, 舞格寿平) (1633-1690). He compared the language of the dialogues with the standard form of spoken Nanjing-based southern Mandarin, as represented in the European missionary records of the early 18th century, and Beijing-based northern Mandarin as represented in the European grammars and dictionaries of the mid to late 19th century. Coblin found that the Chinese presented in the textbook is a 'general' Mandarin, which is a mixture of the standard southern Ming/Qing Mandarin (based on Nanjing pronunciation), received northern koine varieties, and local northern dialects of Beijing (Coblin, 2003a: 239).

Here, I follow Norman and Coblin's (1995) approach of making comparisons of rime tables with other related works, to interpret the features of Mandarin pronunciation in Khaisan's textbook. Khaisan's work was published in the early 20th century, when the Mandarin Chinese sound system and grammar had been described in considerable detail in a series of grammars, dictionaries and chrestomathies by European missionaries since the 16th century. Meanwhile, a series of efforts had been made to develop alphabetic notation of Chinese characters since the late 19th century. Dictionaries compiled by Chinese language reformers in Khaisan's own time transcribed the pronunciation of different varieties of Mandarin Chinese with phonetic symbols, as in Wang Zhao's 'A comparative dictionary of National pronunciation and Beijing pronunciation' (*Guoyin jingyin duizhaobiao* 國音京音对照表) published in 1921. In addition, previous studies which have explored 'standard' Mandarin pronunciation in the Yuan (1271 - 1368), Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1912) dynasties (e.g. Coblin, 2000, 2001, 2003) also help us to better contextualise and explain the reasons for Khaisan's choice of different forms of phonological variants.

6.5 Khaisan's Mongolian transliterations of Chinese characters and sounds

One of the major challenges facing Khaisan was the transliteration of Mandarin

pronunciation. He chose to do this using classical Mongolian script, today also known as the 'Old Script'. An adaption of the Semitic script used by the Ancient Uighurs in the 13th century, it still serves as an official script in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in China.[48] Generally, written Mongolian from the early 20th century can be viewed as modern Mongolian, although some slight changes, including standardizing orthographical and morphological simplifications, have been made since 1949 (Bao, 1980: 77).[49] Mongolian script has a fully alphabetic system of writing, with separate letters for both consonants and vowels, and is written vertically from top to bottom. However, because of the diversity of Mongolian dialects, the actual pronunciation by native Mongolian speakers varies. For example, ᠴᠠᠭᠠᠨ ('white') could be transliterated as *chagan*, but variously pronounced as [tsaga:n] in Khalkha, [tʃaga:n] in Inner Mongolia, and [saga:n] in Buryat (Bayasgalan, 2016: 31).

Khaisan's Mongolian transliterations function in a similar way to Romanization systems developed by missionaries. Xiao (2011) transcribed Khaisan's Mongolian transliterations into pinyin. However, for the purposes of phonological analysis here, I have transcribed the Mongolian using the Romanization conventions widely used in linguistic works on Mongolian (e.g. Svantesson et al., 2005:41, Qinggeertai et al., 1999: 27). Qinggeertai et al.'s (1999) Mongolian-Han dictionary served as my reference for the transcriptions; the corresponding IPA transcription is given between slashes //.

Before proceeding to the detailed phonological analysis, one caveat needs to be stated. The IPA transcriptions are at the level of underlying phonemic representation rather than the surface phonetic representation, because we lack the details of how to pronounce the Mongolian scripts in textbooks. For example, the Mongolian word ᠮᠣᠷᠢ ('horse') can be transliterated as <mori> and spoken as [mœr] in Khorchin dialect in Inner Mongolia (Bayasgalan, 2016: 32). That is, while the Mongolian letter ᠣ *o* is transcribed phonemically as /o/, the actual spoken sound may vary regionally.

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[48] By contrast, Khalkha Cyrillic orthography, known as the 'New Script', has been the official written form of Mongolian in Mongolia since the 1940s.

[49] For example, specific characters, such as ᠸ (w or e), ᠹ (f), ᠺ (k), ᠽ (ts), ᠾ (h), ᠿ (zh), ᠼ (ch), ᠲ (ž), were standardised to transliterate foreign words.

In the following subsections, I present a detailed analysis of Khaisan's Mongolian transliterations. I show where Khaisan's transliterations diverge from Fan's original categorization, and highlight key differences between the Beijing-based northern Mandarin and Nanjing-based southern Mandarin in Khaisan's time. I first examine how Khaisan treats syllable initials, looking in particular at the cases of zero initial, retroflex fricatives and affricates, and palatalization. I then examine finals and, lastly, tones. The analysis shows that Khaisan seems to follow a mixed literary reading pronunciation, mainly based on Beijing-based northern Mandarin, but with some features of Nanjing-based southern Mandarin and with influence from some Manchurian spellings of Mandarin.

6.5.1 Variation in initials

6.5.1.1 Zero initial vs. velar nasal initial

The list of Mandarin initials and Khaisan's transcription of them in Mongolian included shown in Appendix 5.1. Khaisan seems to have followed Beijing Mandarin to transcribe some characters of the 蛙 w(a) initial group, which originally also have open-mouth vowels in Middle Chinese during the Sui (591-619) and Tang (618-907) dynasties, with initial zero, such as ᠠᠢ ai/ai/ (love, *ai*, 愛), ᠡ e/ə/ (hungry, *e*, 餓), ᠣᠸᠣ eo/əo/ (I, *wo*, 我). They present similar pronunciation to Beijing Mandarin, as presented in Wang's (1921) dictionary, published within a few years of Khaisan's 1917 dictionary. In contrast, corresponding readings of /ai/, /ə/, /əo/ in Southern Mandarin have a velar nasal initial ŋ. For example, according to Coblin (2003b: 345), Morrison's 1815 textbook which follows a southern Mandarin pronunciation based loosely in the Nanjing area, glossed the character for 'hungry' (餓) as /ŋɔ/. Today, velar nasal initial ŋ is still used in Southern dialects of China, including Wu, Canton and Hakka (e.g. Shen, 2006: 85). But it should also be noted that there is no obvious Mongolian letter to transcribe an initial nasal, since the Mongolian nasal ᠩ ng /ŋ/ can only be used in the finals of Mongolian syllables.

6.5.1.2 Retroflex fricatives and affricates

If we turn to examine the retroflex sounds, we can see that Khaisan also followed Beijing Mandarin. For the retroflex Mandarin sounds /tʂ/, /tʂʰ/, /ʂ/ of the groups

竹 zh(u), 虫 ch(ong), 石 sh(i) respectively, as listed in Table 6.3, Khaisan used the native Mongolian postalveolar affricates ᠵ ǰ /dʒ/, ᠴ č /tʃ/ and fricative ᠱ š /ʃ/ as the Mongolian equivalents, as in ᠵᠧᠩ ǰeng /dʒəŋ/ ('quarrel', *zheng*, 争), ᠴᠤ č u /tʃu/ ('initial', *chu*, 初) and ᠱᠢ ši /ʃi/ ('teacher', *shi*, 师). In several cases, Khaisan used the non-native Mongolian letters ᠊ and ᠊ but strictly followed the rule that they are used only when followed by /i/, as in ᠊ zhi /tʂi/ (know, 知) ᠊ chi /tʂʰi/ (eat,吃). According to Coblin (2003a), the three characters 'quarrel' (*zheng*, 争), 'initial' (*chu*, 初), 'teacher' (*shi*, 师) were presented with the initials of /tʂ/, /tʂʰ/, /ʂ/ respectively in the Beijing Mandarin textbook for English speakers compiled by Edkins (1864) and Parker's materials (dating from 1870; cited from Coblin, 2003a: 200), and we find the same in Wang's (1921) dictionary of Beijing Mandarin. However, the same words had been transcribed with dental sibilants initials /ts/, /tsʰ/ and /s/ in southern Mandarin based textbooks compiled by Varo (1703), Prémare (1730) and Morrison (1815-23). Similarly, the corresponding Mandarin initials in the imperially commissioned Manchu primer 'An Introduction to Manchu' (1730) are transcribed as *dz, ts, s* or *š*, following the southern readings of the eighteenth century (Coblin, 2003a: 200). However, no dental sibilant equivalents are found in Khaisan's Mongolian transcription of the three groups under discussion. Therefore, it seems more likely that Khaisan follows the retroflex of Beijing-based Mandarin, rather than the sibilant counterpart in southern Mandarin. Both /dʒ/, /tʃ/, /ʃ/ and retroflex /tʂ/, /tʂʰ/, ʂ involve articulation in the postalveolar place, and no dental sibilants are included in the corresponding Mongolian transcription.

Initial	Khaisan's Mongolian transliteration	Romanised Mongolian transliteration	IPA
[tʂ] as in 竹 zh(u)	ᠵ	ǰ	/dʒ/
	᠊	zh	/tʂ/
[tʂʰ] as in 虫 ch(ong)	ᠴ	č	/tʃ/
	᠊	ch	/tʂʰ/
[ʂ] as in 石 sh(i)	ᠱ	š	/ʃ/

Table 6.3 List of initial retroflex sounds and Khaisan's transliterations

6.5.1.3 Palatalisation

In the area of palatalization, Khaisan included linguistic features from both Beijing Mandarin *and* Nanjing Mandarin. Both the originally sibilant initials /ts, tsʰ, s/ and the originally velar-laryngeal initials /k, kʰ, x/have been palatalised by their following vowels /i/, /y/ into /tɕ, tɕʰ, ɕ/ in modern standard Mandarin. However, the distinction between sibilant and velar initials is maintained in the artificial phonology of Beijing opera and in many southern dialects of Chinese, including Nanjing Mandarin (Branner, 2006:220). For example, 'arrow' (*jian*, 箭) and 'sword' (*jian*, 剑), which are today pronounced with the same initial /tɕ/ in the Beijing based standard Mandarin, are pronounced differently in Nanjing based Mandarin, with the sibilant /ts/ and velar /k/ as initials respectively. In literary composition, as in Beijing opera, the distinction between sibilant and velar initials not only has an aesthetic function but also helps differentiate words when reciting, given the very succinct, elliptical style of poetry compared with the spoken language. According to Li (2008: 54), the distinction between sibilant and velar initials has been blurred in most northern dialects in China at least since the 18ᵗʰ century. Indeed, the imperially commissioned dictionary 'Correct Pronunciation of Sibilant and Velar Initials' (*Yuanyin zhengkao* 圆音正考), published in 1743, was intended to help Manchu learners of Mandarin to distinguish the two types of sounds.

In Khaisan's 1917 dictionary, characters with originally sibilant initials appear under the initial groups of 剪/(ts)ian/ 鹊/(tsʰ)yə/ 系/(s)i/. Their contrasting velar initials come under the groups of 金/(k)in/ 橋 /(kʰ)iau/ 火/(x)uə/. This follows the original arrangement of Fan, but Khaisan's Mongolian transcription presents some differences. The Mandarin sibilant affricate initials /ts/ and /tsʰ/ are spelled with Mongolian palatals letters ǰ /dʒ/, č /tʃ/. The fricative initial /s/ is spelled using the Mongolian sibilant letter s /s/. Meanwhile, all three Mandarin sibilant initials can also be spelled using Mongolian gutturals g /g/, k /k/, h /x/. The Mandarin velar initials /k/, / kʰ/, /x/ follow the same pattern as the sibilant initial counterpart, where /k/ and /kʰ/ are spelled using Mongolian palatals ǰ /dʒ/,č /tʃ/. The Mandarin /x/ is spelled with the Mongolian sibilant s /s/. The Mongolian gutturals g /g/, k /k/, h /x/ also gloss all the Mandarin velar

initials. More details can be found in Appendices 5.3 and 5.4.

Although Fan distinguished the sibilant and velar initials, Khaisan's use of Mongolian palatals in both sibilant and velar initials categories reflects the trend of palatalization in northern Mandarin. However, the use of Mongolian gutturals to transcribe both the Mandarin sibilant and velar initials seems peculiar, as the sibilant and velar initials either remain distinct or palatalised into /tɕ, tɕʰ, ɕ/. From this perspective, Khaisan does not follow Beijing-based Northern Mandarin, because in his transcription the distinction between the sibilant and velar initials is merged into palatal initials. On the other hand, it is also not purely Nanjing-based Southern Mandarin, since both sibilant and velar groups are spelled by Khaisan with a mixture of Mongolian sibilants, gutturals and palatals. Interestingly, a similar pattern was found by Coblin (2003a) in his study of the 1761 Manchu textbook for Chinese readers *Qingwen qimeng,* where Manchu palatals *j* and *c* and gutturals *g*, *k*, *h* both appear in sibilant and velar initial group. By contrast, in Wang's 1921 dictionary of Beijing pronunciation, all the characters of the sibilant and velar groups are to be pronounced as palatals /tɕ, tɕʰ, ɕ/. The considerable similarity between Khaisan's Mongolian transcription and the Manchu counterpart may suggest that Khaisan chose a Manchu-Chinese pronunciation as his model and may even have used this Manchu textbook for Chinese learners, which enjoyed great popularity and saw numerous printings.[50] We know that he himself spoke fluent Manchu.

6.5.2 Finals

I turn now to how Khaisan dealt with the finals, the second element used to describe the pronunciation of a character and categorised by Khaisan into 12 groups (see Appendix 5.2 for details). Like his treatment of velar and sibilant initials, Khaisan's Mongolian spellings of Mandarin finals shows some similarities with Manchurian spellings of Mandarin. For the /y/ vowel in Mandarin, there is no corresponding letter in Mongolian, and Khaisan uses the Mongolian letters ᠵᡠ ju /jʊ/, ᡳᡠ iu /iʊ/ and ᠶᠣᠢ ioi /iɔi/ to transcribe it. He uses *jü* /iʊ/ for the sound in the initial or medial of a syllable, as in 'use' (*yong*, 用), 'roll'

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[50] This book was the first comprehensive grammatical introduction to Manchu written for Chinese readers. The Harvard Yenching library owns six copies, published by three different houses, all in Liulichang (Elliot & Bosson, 2003:85).

(*juan*, 卷). The form /iɔi/ is used as the final of a syllable such as 'orange' (*ju*, 橘), a form parallel to the Manchurian spelling of /y/ (Coblin, 2003a: 214).

Approximants such as 'w' and 'j' are frequently inserted by Khaisan between two vowels in Mongolian transliterations, as a pronunciation aid, as in ᠊ᡠᠸᠠ uwa /uwa/ and ᡳᠶᠠ iya /ija/ for the diphthongs /ua/ and /ia/. For example, the Chinese character 'side' (*bian*,邊) is pronounced monosyllabically in Mandarin as [pⁱæn] but transcribed di-syllabically by Khaisan as ᠪᡳᠶᠠᠨ biyan /bijan/. Equivalent 'vowel-approximant-vowel' (e.g. V-w-V and V-j-V) transcriptions also appeared in the Manchu transcription of Chinese pronunciation in the 1761 bilingual Manchu-Chinese textbook *Qingwen qimeng* (Coblin, 2003a: 205-206), as in <kiyang> for 'powerful' (*qiang*, 强), <kiowei> 'lack' (*que*, 缺), and in the 1743 Manchu-Chinese dictionary *Correct pronunciation of sibilant and velar initials* such as <siowan> in 'lofty' (*xuan*, 軒) (Luo, 2014: 19). Considering the widespread influence of those Manchurian learning materials (see Footnote 6 above)*,* the Manchu transliterations may have left a mark on Khaisan's Mongolian transliteration.

As noted above, Khaisan's transcription of Mandarin sibilant and velar initials departs from Fan's original groupings. The same is true of the vowel finals. Whereas Fan had followed the categories in the *Guangyun* and grouped them separately, Khaisan merged the finals of the characters under the 蛇 (sh)e group, such as 'borrow' (*jie*, 借), 'and' (*qie*, 且) and 'thank' (*xie*, 謝), with the counterparts 'solve' (*jie*, 解), 'tree' (*jie*, 楷), 'shoes' (*xie*, 鞋) of the 豺 (ch)ai group into ᡳᠶᡝᡳ iyei /ijəi/. This merger is in accord with Beijing Mandarin, where the finals of the two groups have also been merged into /iʒ/ (Ye, 2017: 189), as already in the Beijing Mandarin presented in Wang's (1921) dictionary. By contrast, in Morrison's (1815-1823) Nanjing Mandarin based dictionary, the characters of the 蛇 (sh)e and 豺(ch)ai groups are transcribed with different finals, as 'EAY' and 'EAE' respectively.

Likewise, the historical distinction of the finals for the characters belonging to the 駝 (t)uo and 蛇 (sh)e groups also disappear in Khaisan's Mongolian transcription, again in contrast to Fan (Li, 2008: 108-109), all sharing the final

ᠬᠦᠢᡝᡳ iuei /iʊəi/ in Mongolian spelling. All are /yɛ/in Beijing Mandarin, but are spelled differently in Morrison's dictionary of Nanjing Mandarin, with finals 'EO' for the characters of the 蛇 (sh)e group and 'UE' for those of the 駝 (t)uo group. It could be concluded that Khaisan followed the new Beijing pronunciation in his time, thus diverging from Fan's original version, which followed Nanjing Mandarin.

The Mongolian spellings of the Mandarin velar nasal finals also differs from Fan's categories. The characters with initials /p-/, /m-/, /f-/, as in 'cook' (*peng*, 烹), 'cover' (*meng*, 蒙), 'wind' (*feng*, 風) with close-mouth final as /uŋ/ in Fan's dictionary (Li, 2008:100), are transcribed by Khaisan with open-mouth final ᠊ᠩ /əŋ/, as in Beijing Mandarin. In contrast, the pronunciation of these characters in Nanjing-based southern Mandarin remained the close-mouth final /uŋ/, to judge by Morrison's (1815) textbook and Coblin's (2003b: 214) study of Samuel Wells Williams' (1896) syllabic dictionary of the Chinese language. Here too it seems Khaisan followed Beijing Mandarin pronunciation.

In yet other regards, Khaisan's transcription accords with Fan's version. Khaisan follows Fan by transcribing 'drag' (*tuo*, 拖), 'many' (*duo*, 多), 'rub' (*cuo*, 搓) with open finals: ᠊ to /tɔ/, ᠊ do /dɔ/, ᠊ tso /tsɔ/. In contrast, the corresponding new Beijing pronunciation has the close-mouth final 'uo' (Ye, 2017:189). In Morrison's (1815-1823) Nanjing Mandarin based English - Chinese dictionary, all three characters are still spelled with 'o'. In this instance, then, Khaisan's Mongolian spelling agrees with the Nanjing Mandarin variety.

To summarise, although Khaisan mainly followed the more communicative Beijing Mandarin pronunciation, he also included several linguistic features of the more literary Nanjing Mandarin pronunciation in his presentation of both initials and finals. This suggests that 'correct' Mandarin pronunciation in Khaisan's eyes addressed both communicative *and* literary aspects.

6.5.3 Tones

Let us turn lastly to Khaisan's discussion of tones. Like Manchu and many Western languages, Mongolian lacks a tone system, so Khaisan was faced with a challenge which others had faced before him. Like Fan, Khaisan identified four

tones in his introduction: 'level tone' (*ping* 平), 'falling-rising tone' (*shang* 上), 'falling tone' (*qu* 去) and 'entering tone' (*ru* 入) (now lost in standard Mandarin). In his rime tables, characters are grouped by their tones. For example, in Figure 6.3, we can see that the characters in Row B and C have level tone, which can be further divided into the categories of high-level tone (in Row B) and low-level tone (today's rising tone) (in Row C). Characters in Rows D, E, F have falling-rising tone, falling tone, and entering tone, respectively. The only explicit treatment of tones in Khaisna's work is in a 'pronunciation tip' (*duyinjue* 讀 音 訣) adapted from the Ming period Buddhist monk Shi Zhenkong (释真空), titled 'Jade Key in a Versified Formula' (*yuyaoshi gejue* 玉钥匙歌诀), with parallel Mongolian translation. The Chinese version is as follows:

平聲平道莫低昂

上聲高呼猛烈強

去聲哀哀音漸遠

入聲短促急收藏

('Level tone is flat and should not be low. Falling-rising tone is high-loud and strong. Falling tone is gentle and slowly released. Entering tone is short and ends with an abrupt closure.') (Khaisan, 1917: 11).

Figure 6.3 The characters of initial groups of 梆 b(ang), 匏 p(ao), 木 m(u) (Source: Khaisan, 1917: 12)

In Fan's work, the tones are presented using a traditional palm mnemonic dating from the Ming dynasty (See Figure 6.4), which was essentially a reminder of how to mark each of the four tones by placing a circle at one of the four corners of a character. It shows the level tone in the lower left; falling-rising tone in the upper left; falling tone in the upper right; and the entering tone in the lower right. In comparison, the description of tones in Khaisan omits the palm mnemonic, but, in using Shi Zhenkong's verse, gives more detail of pronouncing the tones, even if the terms used – such as 'flat', 'high-loud', 'gentle' and 'short' – remain imprecise.

Figure 6.4 The palm mnemonic for marking the four tones

(Source: Fan, 1841-1913: 3)

It is striking that the so-called entering tone (actually a final voiceless stop of a syllable, ending in /-p, -t, -k/) is included in Khaisan's dictionary, despite the fact that it is believed to have already merged with the other three tones in Beijing-based Northern Mandarin since Fan's dictionary was compiled in mid-17th century. Indeed, already in Fan's work, the entering tones were only intended to help Northern Mandarin learners composing rhyming proems (Li, 2008: 30). In Wade and Hillier's (1886: 8) textbook, the entering tone is 'now ignored in the practice of the spoken language of Beijing'. In contrast, the entering tone

remains in Nanjing-based southern Mandarin to the present day, despite the fact that the original conditioning syllable-final consonants /-p, -t, -k/ have merged into a glottal stop /-ʔ/ since the late 17th century (Ye, 2017: 123).[51] However, no further details are included in Khaisan's dictionary about pronouncing the entering tone besides the pronunciation tip. In describing the tones, then, it seems Khaisan does not simply follow the Beijing-based northern Mandarin, but, like Fan before him, also takes into account the literary purpose that information about the entering tone serves. Again, this would imply that Khaisan perceives Mandarin not only as a tool of vernacular communication, but also as a way to serve its important literary purpose.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined an early example of a guide to spoken Mandarin Chinese for Mongolian learners, contemporary with the earliest textbooks examined in Chapters 4 and 5 (and still being advertised in one of them in 1932). While a single case study, it is of particular interest because it appeared at a time when standard Mandarin Chinese was still emerging, and at a time when methods for promulgating a spoken standard, in line with nationalist aspirations, were still the subject of debate. It is in that context that I have examined both what Khaisan presents, and how he does so. The Mandarin pronunciation that Khaisan transcribes seems to follow an eclectic literary reading pronunciation, chiefly based on the Beijing-based northern Mandarin, but with some features from Nanjing-based southern Mandarin. Compared with Fan's rhyme dictionary, Khaisan's Mongolian transcription includes more vernacular Beijing Mandarin features, reflecting both the communicative purpose of his approach and a shift away from a Nanjing Mandarin influenced pronunciation that was the norm in Fan's time. There is evidence of the northern pronunciation in four aspects of pronunciation as transcribed by Khaisan: i. not including nasal initial, ii. clearly differentiating retroflex from sibilant initials, and iii. Open-mouth nasal finals after initials /p-/, /m-/, /f-/. iv. shared finals /ijəi/ and /iʊəi/ for certain originally distinct characters of the 蛇 (sh)e, 豺 (ch)ai, and 駝 (t)uo groups. This finding is

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[51] Accordingly, Morrison (1815) transcribes Nanjing-based southern Mandarin with /-ʔ/ in these contexts, a feature that demonstrate its difference from Beijing-based Mandarin (see Coblin, 2003: 354).

not surprising, given that Mongolia is in the north of China and that the book was perhaps intended for, and used in, a Beijing school. However, Khaisan also included some southern pronunciation features. First, he retains the entering tone and differentiates between the sibilant and velar initials, two features which had disappeared in most northern Mandarin by his time but which remained in southern Mandarin. Second, he transcribes certain characters of the 駝 (t)uo group, which had the close-mouth final 'uo' in Beijing Mandarin, with the southern, older open-mouth final 'o'. These southern Mandarin features are arguably relevant to rhyming in literary composition, which is also the tradition that rhyme dictionaries served.

It is likely that Manchurian transcriptions of Mandarin also influenced Khaisan in some regards: i. spelling Mandarin sibilant initials with Mongolian velars, which, as Coblin (2003a) has shown, are absent in southern Mandarin, as is the case for the Manchurian spellings of Mandarin pronunciation; ii. spelling the Mandarin /y/ as /iɔi/; iii. inserting /w/, /j/ between Mandarin vowels to help indicate diphthongs.[52] It suggests that the Mandarin learning materials compiled by the previous Manchu rulers [53] and the variety of Mandarin spoken by Manchus might have also served as a model for Khaisan. Therefore, the correct Mandarin pronunciation in the Mongolian perspective appears not to be owned solely by the Han group. The multilingual sources that Khaisan employed brings to light that 'multilingualism is a red thread running through the entire history of language standardisation' (McLelland, 2021).

Although Khaisan's dictionary was intended for Mongolian beginners of Mandarin as a second language, it is noteworthy that he still chose to transcribe a literary reading pronunciation rather than an entirely vernacular spoken

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[52] We cannot of course exclude the possibility that other factors might also be relevant to explaining some aspects of Khaisan's Mongolian transcription, including the possible influence of local dialects in the inner Mongolia region. However, to consider this goes beyond the scope of this study.

[53] Although the Manchu-ruled Qing dynasty had been replaced by the Republican China under the Han nationalist slogan 'Expel Tatar barbarians, revive Zhonghua' (1911), the Manchus seem still to have had an influence on the Mongolian nobleman Khaisan's attitude to correct pronunciation. In future research, it would be interesting to compare these findings with the presentation of Mandarin pronunciation in other materials for Mongolian learners authorised by the Han dominant Republican government in the same period and later, to trace the underlying competition between the old and new regimes.

counterpart. This suggests that the literary aspect still outweighed the communicative aspect in his perception of 'correct' Mandarin pronunciation to teach. It suggests that Khaisan took an elite view of Mandarin, since the high culture that the literary pronunciation entails meets the interests of a very narrow subset of population in society, to which Khaisan belonged. The 'legitimate' speakership of Mandarin pronunciation from the perspective of this Mongolian official in the early 20th century, as this case study shows, is represented by the educated elite. That literary focus is in line with the government-issued textbooks of the similar period. As Chapters 4 and 5 showed, the 1919 textbook series presented Chinese national values with written classical Chinese. However, the different varieties of linguistic sources that Khaisan drew on arguably challenged the Han dominance in representation of Chinse of cultural knowledge in the government-issued textbooks. Meanwhile, Khaisan's embracing of both literary and communicative aspects in the teaching of Chinese linguistic knowledge to Mongolian learners also provide an interesting starting point to be compared with the attitudes of Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese in the present (Chapter 7).

Chapter 7. Perceptions of Mandarin Chinese by Mongolians and the Han Chinese in the field of teaching Chinese to Mongolians today

7.1 Introduction

Having examined an early 20th century case study of teaching linguistic knowledge of Chinese to Mongolians in the previous chapter, I now turn to the present day. Using data from fieldwork conducted in Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, in 2018, I continue to address the third major research question of this study but this time in relation to the contemporary period: how have Mongolians defined what Mandarin linguistic and cultural knowledge to teach? Based on the Mandarin Chinese teaching policy 'funnel' (see Figure 3.1), the chapter explores how and why particular levels of Mandarin Chinese (in terms of both linguistic and cultural knowledge) are taught by Mongolians and shows how these decisions and desires have converged and/or competed with the norms as set by the government (curriculum guidelines and textbooks). The chapter thus focuses on the language ideologies of the 'majority' Mandarin and 'minority' Mongolian and their tension points in the Mandarin teaching to Mongolian learners, drawing on a range of informants who can be seen as actors (Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese) and more powerful arbiters (a Han textbook compiler and a Han teacher researcher) who have strong influence on the making of Mandarin teaching materials for Mongolian students (in the terms of Johnson and Johnson 2015; see Section 3.4 above). Together with Chapter 6 which has explored the 'correct' Mandarin pronunciation from the perspective of a Mongolian arbiter Khaisan in 1910s, the findings of this chapter will help us trace how the linguistic and cultural knowledge of Mandarin Chinese change over time and its underlying causes.

To ascertain the views of Mongolian participants, I conducted a survey with eight Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese for Grade 2 to 9 students and four Mongolian trainee teachers who were enrolled on an MA degree in Chinese curriculum design and pedagogical theory. The survey was accompanied by four semi-structured interviews with the Mongolian teachers and one group interview with the trainee students. To better uncover the role Mongolian identity plays in

the perception of Mandarin knowledge to teach among the Mongolian participants, I examined the role of Han educators working in the field of teaching Mandarin to Mongolian learners as well by interviewing a compiler of a Chinese language textbooks series for Grade 7 to 9 Mongolian students published in 2003, 2004 and 2016, and one teacher researcher who has been responsible for producing middle school exam papers of Chinese and suggesting supplementary teaching materials for Mongolian teachers since 2012 (For full details of the methodology and process of data collection, see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2, above.)

The making of the norm of the 'majority' or official language of a nation through language standardisation is shaped by different powers. As noted in Section 2.4 above, Bourdieu (1989: 20-21) argued that standardisation can grant privileged 'legitimate' speakership to those speakers who have access to the power of legitimising their language for others to accept imperceptibly through symbolic violence such as the education system. Therefore, linguistic norms are closely tied to a particular social group. Native speakers are aften viewed as the authentic embodiment of the standard language (Kramsch, 1998). Meanwhile, the native speakership construct has also been criticised before being built on the assumption of a homogenous linguistic group, which naturalises the competence in the standard language by the first language speakers and marginalises second language speakers with assumed lack of language expertise. For example, Okubo's (2009) ethnographic research problematises the association of native speaker status with the ethnic backgrounds of individuals and assumptions that non-Japanese immigrants cannot become native speakers of the Japanese language, even though those immigrant children imagine themselves to be Japanese. The native speakership notion imposes a binary distinction on individuals, emphasising expertise in a language by virtue of their birth and upbringing, and presenting the non-native speakers as deficient forms of native users.

In the context of Mandarin teaching to 'minority' learners, a dichotomy of native and non-native speakers is also found in the Mandarin curricula for Han and non-Han groups. The Mandarin curriculum for non-Han students has been differentiated from that for their Han counterparts since the post-1949 period.

According to Wu and Zhong (2017), compiling Mandarin language textbooks for Mongolian learners has always involved the practice of lowering the level of Mandarin knowledge learnt by the Han students, particularly during the Maoist period. This means the Mandarin knowledge presented in the textbook for the eighth-grade Mongolian students would be similar to the one for the Grade 6 Han students. Since the 1980s, Mandarin has been positioned in the field of second language teaching and has undergone a series of reforms which will be detailed in section 7.2. A binary distinction between the Han as native speakers and Mongolians as non-native speakers appears to have existed at least throughout the PRC period.

Previous studies have uncovered both the collaborative and antagonistic relationship between Mongolian and Mandarin languages within the field of multilingual studies (see Section 2.7 above), but few have examined the construction of the native/non-native dichotomy in teaching Mandarin to Mongolian learners and the ways in which Mongolians contest and/or utilise such a binary. This chapter, therefore, seeks to help fill the gap by examining how Han and Mongolian actors working in the field of teaching Mandarin Chinese to Mongolian learners have perceived the Mandarin language and literature curricula since 2000s and its relationship with the Mongolian identity. To address the overarching question of what linguistic and cultural knowledge is presented to Mongolian learners, and how that is determined, I explore the following sub-questions:

1. How is Mandarin Chinese presented in the national curriculum guideline for minority students?
2. How do the Han educators interpret the Mandarin language and literature curriculum to their Mongolian students?
3. How do Mongolian teachers and Mongolian trainee teachers view the Mandarin language and literature curriculum, based on their teaching and learning experience?

Chapter 2 introduced Geeraerts's (2003) theorization of language standardisation, which posits a rationalist model, viewing languages as detachable from cultural identity, since language is just a means of enabling

understanding; and a romantic model, which suggests that languages are equated with cultures. Drawing on Geeraerts' (2003) rationalist model (language as a tool) and romantic model (language as identity marker) of language standardisation, I examine the power relationship between Mandarin and Mongolian languages, as well as between standard Mandarin and its users. First, in Section 7.2, I present a critical discourse analysis of the national curriculum guidelines for teaching Mandarin Chinese to ethnic minority learners in 2006 and 2014 to uncover how Mongolians are positioned to access the 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1992) of Mandarin, and their exposure to opportunities to develop competence in Mandarin. I then combine this approach with ethnography. In section 7.3, I consider the Mongolian-medium school as a multilingual space allowing the negotiations of ideologies, identities and power relations between Mandarin and Mongolian. In section 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6, I compare and contrast the views of the 'majority' and 'minority' groups to reveal the convergent and divergent points between Han Chinese and Mongolians' approaches to the themes of classical Chinese literature, modern Chinese literature and Mongolian culture. I argue that Mongolians appear to adopt a rationalist view of modern Chinese literature, perceiving it as linguistic and cultural capital for Mongolian students in the Han-dominant linguistic market, while at the same time holding a romantic view of classical Chinese literature, perceiving it as a marker of Han ethnic identity. We shall see that the Mongolian teachers in my study claimed allegiance to the Mongolian linguistic identity to mark a boundary from the Han Chinese when it comes to the teaching of classical Chinese literature and Mongolian culture.

7.2 National curriculum guidelines of teaching Mandarin to minority students (2006, 2014)

In March 1999, the national curriculum guideline for ethnic minority learners first begins to distinguish between teaching Mandarin Chinese to minority students and teaching to their Han counterparts, in terms of teaching both language and literary culture. The subject name for minority learners became *Hanyu* (汉语) rather than the previous label *Hanyuwen* (汉语文) (Jin, 2006: 24; Xu, 2014: 29). *Wen* ('literary culture') was eliminated from the term, thus differentiating it from *Yuwen* (语文) for Han learners, and switching the focus

to *Yu* ('language'), teaching Mandarin as the second language for minority students (Wang, 2006). Communicative competence is thus given primacy, partly influenced by a world-wide trend of communicative language teaching methods, developed in foreign language teaching globally since the late 1970s (Spada, 2007: 271), first in North America and Europe, and reaching China from the 1980s (Yu, 2001). A dichotomy of native and non-native speakers is reinforced, with the emphasis on the notion of second language teaching of Chinese to minoritised learners.

In the 2006 curriculum guideline, Mandarin teaching is defined in terms of 'instrumentality' (*gongjuxing* 工具性) and 'humanity' (*renwenxing* 人文性). The notion of instrumentality refers to communicative competence in Mandarin, while humanity relates to the cultural dimension of language teaching, including sociocultural knowledge of Mandarin and developing multicultural awareness (Ministry of Education, 2006: 13). Being positioned as a second language, the instrumental aspect of Mandarin is emphasised over the humanistic aspect. In Extract 1, communicative skills, especially speaking, are made the priority for minority students to grasp.

> Extract 1: 汉语是母语非汉语的少数民族的第二语言课程，是一门基础课程。作为第二语言教学，汉语课程的首要性质是工具性，同时兼顾人文性，这是汉语课程的基本特点 […] 汉语教学的主要任务是帮助学生获得汉语知识，培养学生应用汉语的能力，尤其是口语交际的能力。

> (Hanyu is a Chinese language course for ethnic minority students whose first language is not Chinese and is a foundation course. As second language teaching, a Chinese language course should firstly emphasise communicative knowledge and then take care of literary knowledge. This is the basic characteristic of the Chinese language course […] The main task of Chinese teaching is to help students with acquiring Chinese knowledge and cultivating the application of language skills in real life, especially communicative competence in speaking.) (Ministry of education, 2006: 2)

The issuing of the 2006 curriculum guideline gave rise to a new body of Chinese research literature which examined the relationship between instrumentality and humanity. It was generally acknowledged in this research that the humanistic aspect differentiates first language teaching from second language teaching. For example, Xu (2009: 28) and Jin (2006: 25) argued that appreciating literary culture and developing deeper awareness of authors' concerns and attitudes is perceived as the main task in reading literary works as part of first language education in China. By contrast, it was assumed that culture pedagogy for minoritised students in second language teaching needs to be oriented towards communication. The main purpose of teaching cultural knowledge was seen as being to assist students with the acquisition of language knowledge, such as understanding words and contents of the literary works (Chang, 2008: 116). Because of the 'communicative' focus in the 2006 curriculum guideline, it seems that the poetic, aesthetic and critical analysis of literary works is downplayed in favour of the instrumental perspective. This implies a rationalist view of Mandarin Chinese which sees language as detachable from cultural identity.

In the 2014 curriculum guideline for minoritised learners of Mandarin, however, the humanistic aspect occupies an equal position alongside the instrumental aspect. The humanistic aspect is specified in terms of culture, values, character and identity:

> Extract 2: 汉语课程是一门学习运用国家通用语言文字的基础性、实践性课程，具有工具性和人文性双重性质。汉语课程的主要任务是培养学生的汉语应用能力，使学生基本学会用普通话和规范汉字进行交流沟通。汉语课程应使学生吸收古今中外优秀文化，提高思想文化修养，逐步形成良好个性和健全人格，树立祖国意识和民族团结意识。工具性和人文性统一的汉语课程有利于为学生的终身发展奠定基础。
>
> (The Chinese language course is a basic and practical course of learning and applying the national commonly used language and script. It should focus on both communicative knowledge and literary knowledge. The main task of a Chinese course is to equip students with applied skills in Chinese

in order to have students grasp *Putonghua* and standard characters to carry out basic communication. The Chinese language course should make students learn the excellent culture from ancient times to the present, improve ideological and cultural competence, gradually form good character, and build up the awareness of the motherland and interethnic unity. Integrating instrumentality with humanity in the Mandarin teaching will be beneficial for the lifelong developments of the students) (Ministry of education, 2014: 2)

Giving instrumentality and humanity equal prominence in Mandarin Chinese teaching implies an expansion from the previous rationalist view to also encompass a romantic ideology of language in Geeraerts' (2013) terms, which links Mandarin to Chinese national identity ('build up awareness of the motherland'). However, this change took place after 15 years during which the literary cultural aspect had been downplayed in Mandarin teaching to minority students, differentiating them from Han students (reflected in eliminating *Wen* from the subject name from 1999 onwards). How would the social actors involved in Mandarin teaching to Mongolian students respond to this change? In the following analysis, I focus on the teaching of Chinese literature as a case study to critically analyse the aspects of instrumentality and humanity in classical and modern Chinese literature. Compared with the literary focus in the teaching of Mandarin linguistic knowledge and modelling it against the educated elite class in Khaisan's time, we shall see that the Mongolian teachers and trainee teachers who were my informants in 2018 feel marginalised by their different access to the literary culture of modern Chinese compared to their Han counterparts. For the Mongolian groups in the early 20th century and at the present time, Mandarin Chinese is not viewed as just a communicative tool. In contrast, less exposure to the classical Chinese literature curriculum compared to that of the Han students is welcomed by the contemporary Mongolian participants in my study to mark out their Mongolian identity.

7.3 The Mongolian-medium school in Hohhot, Inner Mongolia

The Mongolian-medium school where I carried out most of my fieldwork is a complete school including primary school (six years), middle school (three years)

and high school (three years) serving students from Grade 1 (6-7 years olds students) to Grade 12. It is accredited as a model Mongolian school in the Inner Mongolia autonomous region. There are over 1600 registered students in 40 classes. All students are Mongolians whose first language is Mongolian. They come mainly from different areas of Inner Mongolia, including both urban and rural areas; some are from other provinces of northwest China such as Xinjiang, Qinghai and Gansu. Over 1200 students remain in residence during school terms, returning home at weekends or during holidays. There are 194 full time teachers in the school. The school can be classified as adhering to the 'strong model' of trilingual education (Adamson and Feng, 2015; see discussion in Section 2.7). Mongolian is the medium of instruction in all classes except Mandarin Chinese and English, where Chinese and/or English is used. The school offers Mandarin Chinese classes from the second grade of primary school, with five classes each week (40 minutes for each class). In general, the school is a dynamic social space within which Mongolian students and teachers of different backgrounds interact and negotiate all kinds of social meaning.

The language policy of the school follows the explicit principle of 'proficient in Mongolian, good at Mandarin Chinese, know English well' (精通母语, 用好汉语, 学好英语), as stated in the school website. Mongolian is the language of priority, and is used for all kinds of communication. I saw Mongolian notices on walls and heard teachers and students talking to each other in Mongolian. The Mongolian school presented itself as a site of preserving Mongolian language and culture against the Chinese-dominant language environment in Hohhot. A Mongolian-Chinese bilingual notice of 'purifying language environment and standardising the use of Mongolian' (关于优化语言环境, 规范使用蒙古语的决定) was issued by the school in October 2018, three months after I finished my fieldwork. It pointed out that the status of Mongolian as the sole medium of instruction was being adversely affected by accelerating urbanisation. The Chinese version of the statement runs as follows:

> Extract 3: 近年来，随着城市化进程的加快，社会上蒙汉夹杂使用的现象日益增多，并渗透至校园，蒙古语授课语言环境日趋弱化，学生交流中将其它语种不规范的夹杂在蒙古语当中使用的现象普遍存

在，不仅破坏了蒙古语言的规范化使用环境，也直接影响了学生的学业成绩 [...] 严禁教师蒙汉混合授课。加强家长联系通过家长会，致家长信等方式，给学生营造纯蒙古语环境。

(In recent years, with the acceleration of urbanisation, the phenomenon of mixing Mongolian with Mandarin Chinese gradually increases and penetrates our school. The environment of using Mongolian as a medium of instruction has worsened over time. It is commonly found that students mistakenly mix Mongolian with other languages in their communications. This type of act not only damages the standard Mongolian environment and also directly impacts students' academic performance […] Teachers are forbidden to mix Mongolian and Mandarin Chinese to teach classes. We will strengthen the contact with parents through meetings and letters in order to create a pure Mongolian environment for our students.) (October 2018)

It is interesting to note that urbanisation is perceived as the cause of mixing Mongolian and Mandarin Chinese, seen as further polluting the 'pure' Mongolian environment of the school. Mongolian is assigned a position which is seen to be in opposition to urbanisation. The notice prohibits teachers from using Mandarin Chinese in the Mongolian instructed classes and calls for parents to speak Mongolian to their children. The ideology of linguistic purism is also reflected in Baioud's (2021b) study of Mongolian wedding speech genres in urban Inner Mongolia. She also pointed out fears and contestation of Mongolian Chinese hybrid speech among urban Mongolians.

Despite the mandated status of Mongolian as sole language of instruction, the school is also a multicultural site where Chinese national culture intermingles with Mongolian culture. Figure 7.1 below shows a flag raising ceremony in the school. These ceremonies are held weekly during the school term. In the picture, a group of students wearing navy traditional Mongolian clothes are waiting for the order to raise the national flag of China. Near the flagpole stand two Mongolian yurts, which symbolise the Mongolian nomadic lifestyle. Having the Chinese national flag as the political symbol of China beside the Mongolian yurts as the marker of Mongolian culture arguably suggests the state has all the

authority that implies. Mongolian culture is presented as part of China, which distinguishes itself from the Mongolia State.

Figure 7.1. Flag raising ceremony in the Mongolian-medium school (fieldwork note, 2018)

Thus, the school provides a space that allows the negotiation of ideologies, identities and power relations between Mandarin Chinese and Mongolian in both visual and written forms and in both animated and static ways. Conducting ethnographic fieldwork in the school was therefore vital for understanding how Mongolian teachers of Mandarin position Mandarin teaching in relation to Mongolian.

7.4 Classical Chinese literature: Mandarin as a communicative tool, Mongolian as the identity marker

Historically, great importance was attached to classical Chinese literature in the intellectual training and spiritual sustenance of Chinese scholar-officials (Hsia, 1988: 134). However, classical Chinese literature lost its primacy in the 1920s, when vernacular written Chinese replaced classical literary Chinese as the dominant language in education, journalism and creative writing (Chen, 2004: 72). The advocates of classical Chinese at that time argued for the need to study the ancient classics in order to preserve the national essence and highlight China's cultural uniqueness (Hon, 2003: 258). Despite classical Chinese losing

its historical as the instrument of official written communication, classical Chinese literature education was still included in secondary school Chinese literature pedagogy in the Republican period. It came under great attack during the Cultural Revolution, when it was denounced as part of a feudal culture (Hsia, 1988: 136). Since the opening and reform period, Confucian tradition has revived with governmental support, to serve the party's political needs such as 'Building a harmonious society' under Hu Jintao's leadership, and promotes soft power abroad under the current president Xi Jinping's 'Chinese dream' (Zhou and Luk, 2016).

Classical Chinese literature, which mainly consists of classical literary writings and classical poetry, is an important part of the Chinese literature curriculum for Han students. For example, in the Chinese exam paper of the 2019 university entrance examination in Beijing, the score in classical Chinese literature appreciation accounts for 46 out of 150 total marks available. In the Chinese proficiency test for minority students (MHK), by contrast, classical Chinese literature is not included as part of the assessment. However, my analysis of my corpus reveals that in the Chinese textbooks for Mongolian students, classical Chinese poetry began to be included in the middle school textbooks in the 1970s. The amount of classical Chinese poetry more than doubled from five poems per volume in the 1990s and 2000s up to 12 poems per volume in the 2010s middle school textbooks. This trend chimes with the strengthening of the humanistic aspects of Chinese teaching in the 2014 curriculum guideline. In this context, I was interested to understand how the Han and Mongolian informants perceived classical Chinese literature, which is widely recognised to have a higher cultural value than any communicative function.

During the interviews with the Han textbook compiler and Han teacher researcher who are arbiters who have strong impact on the interpretation of government policy, both of them linked classical Chinese literature to the humanistic aspect of the curriculum guideline. They considered it the essence of traditional Chinese culture, to which Mongolian students need to gain access. The teacher researcher, Ms Z, is a strong advocate of classical Chinese literature. She became a Mandarin Chinese teacher in the school over twenty years ago and was promoted to the rank of teacher researcher in 2012. During my interview,

Ms Z was very chatty, so that my planned one-hour interview lasted two and a half hours. I also noticed that she had the habit of imposing her ideas on others. At some points in the interview, such as when discussing the importance for Mongolian students to learn Mandarin Chinese, she said to me 'You should include it in your writing'. She complained to me about the Mongolian teachers 'being too lazy' to implement her instruction of using classical Chinese literature as supplementary teaching materials. From her point of view, Mongolian students will be disadvantaged if they do not get enough input of classical Chinese, as her comments in Extract 4 show:

Extract 4:

Z: 还有一个学生给我的刺激是什么呢，她上了大二的时候，她回来和我说老师我最近心情不好。我问为啥，她说上了大学合寝的时候，她说汉授的学生古诗文（听不清）。那一瞬间你知道嘛，我觉得特 别对不起孩子们。就是因为如果我早点入手，最起码我现在要求你 起码注明了这个句子，他能听懂。我不会用但我能听懂，我知道你 在说什么。

(Z: A case from another student was striking. When she was in her second year of university, she came back to school to see me and said to me, teacher I have been feeling a bit down recently. I asked why and she said that when she lived with Han students, she said students receiving Chinese-medium education know classical Chinese literature [unclear voice], at that moment you know, I felt really sorry for the kids. If I had taught them earlier. At least nowadays I require them to understand it with the help of annotations. This way you can understand it although not be able to use it and I know what you are talking about.)

Ms Z felt a responsibility to transmit a knowledge of classical Chinese literature as linguistic and cultural capital to Mongolian students, in order for them to feel equal to the Han students at university. Her comments reveal a rationalist ideology of language, which focuses on the ideal of equal social participation through the promotion of the majority language to all citizens (Geeraerts, 2016: 3). The Han native speakers' knowledge of classical Chinese literature here acts

as a model for the ultimate attainment among the non-native Mongolian learners. Therefore, the Mongolian teachers who are reluctant to teach students classical Chinese literature are 'lazy' in the eyes of Ms Z. However, Ms Z was criticised by the Mongolian teacher Mr G as stubborn and unwilling to listen to the idea of Mongolian teachers.

A different understanding of the role of classical Chinese literature was taken by the Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese, by contrast. While they welcomed classical Chinese literature being introduced to students as an extra-curricular activity, they felt that it was unnecessary to undertake literary analysis of the kind required of Han students. Three out of the five Mongolian teachers I interviewed stressed that the instrumental aspect is the focus of Chinese teaching to Mongolian students. Ms U cited the goal of Chinese teaching in the 2006 curriculum guideline to justify her view that acquiring communicative competence in Chinese is enough for Mongolian students. She associated the learning of classical literature with the mother tongue:

> Extract 5:
>
> Teacher U: 对于蒙授学生，我们汉语总目标好像就是汉语是我们的一种交际工具，交际的时候我们能说能写就行了。我们蒙语里面有古诗古文，我们蒙语是我们的母语嘛，汉语只是一个交际工具，我们不强调深入研究古诗古文 […] 因为只是一个交际工具，我们平时也不说文言文。
>
> (Teacher U: For Mongolian students, our general goal of teaching appears to be Chinese simply as our communicative tool. As long as we can speak and write it for communication purposes this is fine. Our Mongolian language has classical literature, our Mongolian is our mother tongue; Chinese is just a communicative tool. We do not emphasise a deeper analysis of classical Chinese literature […] Because it is simply a communicative tool, we do not speak classical Chinese in daily life.)

Ms U mentioned the communicative aspect of Chinese four times to emphasise its difference from Mongolian as her first language, suggesting that Chinese is merely an instrument of communication. It is notable that this Mongolian teacher

discussed Chinese classical literature teaching in the bilingual cultural context, in contrast to the Han teacher researcher, who talked about it only in the Chinese learning context. Ms U highlighted the classical Mongolian literature against the communicative function of Chinese. Appreciating classical Mongolian literature (rather than Chinese literature) seems to be perceived as a marker of Mongolian identity by Ms U. There is a dichotomy between Mongolian as an identity marker and Chinese as a communicative tool.

Similarly, Mr G also highlighted Chinese as a communicative tool, as opposed to a marker of identity. He wanted his students to learn Mongolian at a deeper level and to develop an intrinsic attachment to the Mongolian language. He illustrated his stance using the history of the Chinese script as an example:

> Extract 6:
>
> Teacher G: 汉字这个语言因为是表意文字嘛，其实我们更应该讲一讲它的由来，但是我们之所以没有融入加入这个程序是因为主要也是考虑到想让他们停留在这个工具上这个层面，还是希望他们多说蒙语，多理解蒙语只把汉语当一种工具，你要是说真正热爱这门语言的话就变成汉族了。
>
> (Teacher G: Chinese script is logographic, actually it would be better to talk about its historical development, but the reason for us not to teach it is because I just want my students to learn Chinese as an instrument. I want them to speak more Mongolian and understand Mongolian better, and just treat Chinese as tool. If you love this language, you are going to be a Han.)

Mr G chose not to teach the history of Chinese script for fear of the Mongolian students developing a love of the Chinese language. In his opinion, the linguistic history of Chinese is linked to the Han ethnic identity. His stance is at odds with the 2014 curriculum guideline for minorities, in which 'equipping students with the love to the national commonly used language' and 'teaching the history of Chinese script' were added as part of the cultural pedagogy (Chinese curriculum guideline for ethnic minority learners, 2014: 2, 14). Mr G claimed allegiance to the Mongolian language through resisting teaching the history of the Chinese script, to maintain a boundary between the Han and the Mongolians.

According to Smith (2009: 118), language, along with memories, myths, values and traditions are the symbolic components of the ethnic 'myth-symbol complexes' that serve to mark out and guard the boundaries of *ethnies*. Ms U and Mr G seem to perceive classical Chinese literature and the history of the Chinese script as a cultural tradition that demarcates Han ethnic identity, from which they as members of the Mongolian group want to be differentiated. From this perspective, the two Mongolian teachers tend to hold a romantic view of classical Chinese literature, regarding it as a marker of Han ethnic identity. Meanwhile, they can also be argued to display a rationalist attitude towards classical Chinese literature, stressing the instrumental aspect of Chinese teaching to secure their Mongolian identity.

7.5 Modern Chinese literature: vernacular Chinese vs. literary Chinese

According to Bourdieu (1992), literary canons can be defined as work produced by establishment writers who have achieved the social recognition of possessing linguistic excellence in a society. As outlined in Chapter 2 and 3, government-approved textbooks play a vital part in constructing the 'legitimate' language by selecting the literary works and incorporating into the 'legitimate' competence through mass education (Bourdieu, 1992: 58). The production of a new literary canon of modern Chinese vernacular literature can be traced back to the first four decades of the 20th century. Culp (2008) has revealed how the different kinds of reforming intellectuals, such as leading language reform advocates, literary figures, and professionalised editors, used textbooks as one tool in their ongoing project of creating a modern Chinese culture. During this process, the May Fourth intellectuals [54] legitimised their works as the representative model of modern Chinese literature by drafting curricula and compiling textbooks in vernacular written Chinese for secondary school students (Culp, 2008: 6). In the government approved secondary school Chinese language textbooks of the 1920s and 1930s, short fiction, poetry and expository prose by May Fourth writers such as Lu Xun (鲁迅, 1881-1936), Bing Xin (冰心, 1900-1999), Ye

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[54] May Fourth intellectuals were the leading figures in the New Literary Movement in China in the 1910s and 1920s which promoted vernacular literature and highlighted the democratic aspect of the New Literature.

Shengtao (叶圣陶, 1894-1988), Hu Shi (胡适, 1891-1962), Zhu Ziqing (朱自清，1898-1948), and Lao She（老舍，1899-1966) were canonised and continuously took up a significant proportion in the textbooks during the Republican period (Culp, 2008).

With the dawn of the 1949 period, the grammar of modern standard Chinese was formally defined in 1956 as 'look[ing] to exemplary modern works in vernacular literary language for its grammatical norms' (以典范的现代白话文著作为语法规范), following the Symposium on the Standardisation of Modern Chinese in 1955 (Chen, 2004: 24). As noted in Section 7.2 above, Chinese teaching to minoritised students was positioned by the 2006 guideline as a second language context, with the instrumental goal being stressed. It seems that the separation of the instrumental and literary culture in the 2006 guideline accords with a hierarchy between vernacular Chinese and literary Chinese perceived by the Mongolian teachers and trainee teachers, who view the modern Chinese literary canon as the sources to which they should pay most attention as models of 'good' Chinese.

7.5.1 The textbook compiler: linguistic standard and ideological correctness as the key criteria

I conducted an interview with the very experienced textbook compiler Ms C, as a key arbiter in the Mandarin teaching to Mongolian learners, who was involved in the compilation of Mandarin Chinese language textbooks for Grade 7 to 9 Mongolian students published in 2003, 2004 and 2016. During the interview, linguistic standard, ideological correctness and comprehension ability emerge as the three main factors to consider in the opinion of Ms C:

> Extract 7: 因为我们选材的时候首先是那个，首先是那个文质兼美，是吧，适应孩子现阶段心理特点还有他们这个那个接受能力，然后另一个呢，就是嗯，语言比较规范，像我们实文可能你读一下可能就过去了是吧，但你真正要入选到教材当中它必须还是经过沉淀确实大家认为都可以，嗯，就是千挑万选觉得它确实经得起推敲，无论从语言典范性上，那个思想方面，就是那个什么方面。

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(Because when we select texts, we focus on the perfect combination of literature and ideology, well, also to suit the comprehension ability of the students at the current stage. Another thing, well, erm, language usage needs to be relatively standard. Like the texts, you may just read it, but for a text to be selected into the textbooks, it must be agreed by everyone. Erm, it means the text must be carefully selected with regard to the point of view of language standard and ideological aspect, you know.)

An inter discursive link can be found between Ms C's statement and the criteria of selecting literary works and the goals of Chinese teaching as expressed in the 2006 and 2014 curriculum guidelines, namely the need to cultivate the competence of using standard Chinese in communication and the need to foster sound moral values and national awareness. This suggests that Ms C positioned herself as the strict arbiter of the curriculum guidelines. Meanwhile, she described a collective decision-making process with other Han textbook compilers in the selection of literary texts, which requires consensus being reached on each text. During the interview, Ms C frequently used the pronoun 'we' rather than 'I' to talk about textbook compilation.

Standard language is perceived by Ms C as being particularly important for minoritised ethnic students. This is perhaps unsurprising. Hall (2005: 47), in a study of literature in English language education, also noted that linguistic elements tend to be the focus in discussions of literature in second language teaching situations where language is required more for immediate communication, while literary features are played down. Ms C regarded language usage as a major criterion for selecting literary works. After I asked her about the recent decreasing number of Lu Xun's works that I had observed in the textbooks, Ms C explained that the language used in some of Lu Xun's works is too obscure and difficult for Mongolian students to comprehend, while the works of Zhu Ziqing (1898-1948), another prominent writer in Lu Xun's time, are selected because of his aesthetic, poetic uses of language:

Extract 8:

Textbook compiler C: 像那个鲁迅的文章，我们是初中原先里头有那个《从百草园到三味书屋》 […] 就这一类，但是那个太深奥比较隐晦的那种我们尽量是避免了，因为一个孩子可能不好特别理解，特定时代背景 […]删减隐晦，晦涩和现在语言习惯有差距的，但是真正需要的还是会有。

Researcher W: 所以现在挑选文章特别要求语言规范？

Textbook compiler C: 哦，对，尤其对于我们第二语言的学生来说，也和老师们交流，传统优秀经典篇目需要保留，比如朱自清，就是语言特别优美的，可能个别词汇和现在表达习惯不一样。

(Textbook compiler C: Like Lu Xun's writings, we used to have *From Baicao Garden to Sanwei Bookstore* […] that kind of writings, but we tried to avoid the ones which are too difficult and obscure, because students may not be able to understand it well, as the writings were created against a specific social background […] we deleted his writings with obscure and archaic language usage, but we will select what are really needed.

Researcher W: So when you select writings nowadays, you really pay attention to whether the language is standard or not?

Textbook compiler C: Oh, yes, especially for second language students, I also communicated with teachers, classic writings still need to be kept, for example, Zhu Ziqing's works, the ones with aesthetic language usage, maybe there are few word usages which are different from the present time.)

However, it seems that Ms C's attitude to language usage of literary works is influenced by the literature curriculum for Han students. Lu Xun is widely regarded as the preeminent modern writer and social critic during the Republican period. As his works of the early decades of the 20th century sharply exposed the ills, impotence, and inhumanity of Chinese society of that time, the CCP depicted him as drawing the blueprint of the communist future (Goldman, 1982: 446). Lu Xun's works are listed as part of the literary canon in Chinese textbooks for Han

students from 1949 onwards, but after 1990, the amount of his works included in textbooks decreased in the face of criticism of his archaic language (Shi, 2012: 117). In Chinese textbooks for Mongolian students, we can find three of Lu Xun's writings in 1990s middle school textbooks: 'From Baicao Garden to Sanwei Bookstore' (从百草园到三味书屋, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 2, 1993: 144-148), 'Juvenile Runtu' (少年闰土, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 6, 1995: 149-155), and 'A Letter to Yan Limin' (给颜黎明的一封信, YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 6, 1995: 114-119), while only one of his writings, entitled 'Mr. Fujino' (藤野先生), is included in the 2004 Chinese textbook for the Grade 9 students in (YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 7, 2004: 32-40) since 2000. However, all of those passages mentioned above are extracted from Lu Xun's short novel 'My Old Home' (故乡) and memoir 'Dawn Blossoms Plucked at Dusk' (朝花夕拾), written in vernacular Chinese, rather than his social critical essays, which use a mixture of classical and vernacular Chinese, and which are found in the textbooks for Han students (Sun, 2015). Furthermore, some Mongolian teachers in my interviews recommended the inclusion of Lu Xun's works for their students to read and made no complaints about the language issue (see section 7.5.2 below). I would argue that the selection of literary works for Mongolian students by this Han textbook compiler Ms C as a key arbiter follow closely the trend in choices made for Han students, indicating a Han-centred literature curriculum.

7.5.2 Mongolian teachers and trainee teachers: modern Chinese literature as the linguistic and cultural capital

In contrast to the textbook compiler (and thus key arbiter) Ms C, who sees modern Chinese literature from the perspective of language needs and ideological requirements, the Mongolian teachers of Mandarin Chinese and Mongolian trainee teachers (as actors and future actors, in the sense of Johnson and Johnson 2015) tend to perceive modern Chinese literature as a linguistic and cultural capital to be acquired in order for Mongolians to hold their own alongside their Han peers. The Mongolian teachers and trainee teachers considered the literary works in their middle school textbooks to be shallow, believing them to be texts studied by Han students at the primary school level:

Extract 9:

Teacher M: 像那初中有些课文进来的是有点太浅显了，比如说《只有一个地球》初二的内容，内容没有深度，稍微深一点要好一点。你看还有《鹿和狼的故事》，这样的课文应该是在汉校小学三年级学得课文是吧，进入初中的孩子思维就有点浅了是吧。

(Teacher M: Like some texts for the middle school students are too simple. For example, 'We only have one earth' is for Grade 8 students, the contents lack difficulty and I think increasing the level of difficulty would be better. You see another text *The story of deer and wolf* should be for Grade 3 students in Han school, it is too shallow for our middle school students.)

Extract 10:

Teacher A: 有时候自己会加一些其他内容，会借一些汉校的教材的一些内容，会稍微简单得讲一些，或者是经典的篇目，我们会讲，比如说这一单元，譬如说我们有一个单元内容讲的是故乡的，我就把鲁迅《故乡》的找来跟学生再讲一讲。

(Teacher A: Sometimes I have added other materials by myself. I selected some texts from the textbooks for Han schools and talked about it in general terms, or some classic writings, we will teach it, for example in this unit, for example we have one unit with the theme of hometown, I will select Lu Xun's 'Hometown' to teach students.)

反正就是希望能稍微小一点吧，尽量能小一点算一点，因为本来是差距很大我们，我们现在在初二初三，但是等于汉校小学五六年级的水平孩子们才，其实很可怜的，靠这个年龄可能能学得更深一点。

(I just want to reduce the gap with the Han students, the closer the better, because we have a big gap, our Grade 8 and 9 students only have the competence in Chinese equivalent to Grade 5 and 6 students in Han schooling. Actually, it is a shame, at this age, students can learn things more deeply.)

Extract 11:

Trainee teacher X: 蒙古族学生汉语教学内容比较浅显，以至于导致蒙古族汉语听说读写水平差，以至于不太懂汉语文化，加大了汉族人民对蒙古族学生汉语水平差的印象。蒙古族学生的汉语教材应加深内容，跟汉族学校的语文书的内容差不多比较合适。

(Trainee teacher X: The Chinese teaching content for Mongolian is too shallow, so that Mongolians have poor competence in listening, speaking, reading and writing, so they do not understand Han culture, which exacerbates the impression of Han people that Mongolian students have poor Chinese competence. Textbooks for Mongolian students should increase the difficulty. The difficulty level needs to be similar to that for Han students.)

The perceived gap between Mongolian and Han students' attainment causes resentment from the Mongolian teachers and trainee teachers. The Chinese textbooks are perceived as disadvantaging Mongolian students, whose knowledge is compared with the Chinese knowledge learnt by the Han students. In this comparison, the Han students are positioned as the 'ideal' group, those who can legitimately claim competence in Chinese. For example, Ms A mentioned that she referred to the Han textbooks as supplementary materials in her teaching practice, something which Ms Z, the teacher researcher, also thought was a good idea. It seems that Ms A plays the active role as an actor in the selection of teaching materials rather than sticking to the government-issued textbooks. In addition, we could interpret Ms A's teaching practice with Bourdieu's notion of habitus, which naturalises the imposition of Chinese as the 'majority' language over the Mongolian group. The construction of a Chinese-dominant linguistic habitus has been pointed out in Bao's (2008) study of language shift in Ningcheng county, Inner Mongolia, which found that language shift from Mongolian to Mandarin Chinese takes place faster in urban areas than in rural areas. This same habitus is also evident in the language policy of the Mongolian medium school in section 7.3 above, where the policy can be seen as a reaction against the Chinese dominant language environment is acknowledged in the school policy.

Meanwhile, using Bourdieu's (1992: 17) notion of the 'linguistic market', it can argued that the strengthening status of the Chinese language in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region over the years has shaped the belief, particularly among the urban Mongolian group, that Chinese language and culture represent the cultural capital needed in order to acquire symbolic capital (e.g. prestige) in the Chinese-dominant linguistic market of Inner Mongolia. Ms X, a Mongolian trainee teacher, commented in her interview and questionnaire that she worried that the textbooks used in Mongolian-medium schools would 'strengthen the stereotype held by the Han group that Mongolians are bad at Chinese' (加大了汉族人民对蒙古族学生汉语水平差的印象). Such a lower level of competence in Chinese is regarded by this Mongolian trainee teacher as an unpleasant stereotype that needs to be contested. Meanwhile, the differing levels of Chinese knowledge expected of Mongolian and Han students also reinforce the hierarchical social relationships between the 'native' and 'non-native' speakers (Pennycook, 1994: 175). The Han are perceived here as a homogenous linguistic group representing the linguistic 'ideal' – they are the only ones who can demonstrate the ideal level of competence in Chinese. These factors lead the Mongolian teachers and trainee teachers to collude with the hegemony of Han native speakership by measuring the Chinese knowledge learnt by the Mongolian students against the Han students. They therefore play their role as actors, endeavouring to teach Chinese at a higher level than is required in the government issued textbooks, with the aim of enabling their students to reach the same or similar level as the Han group do.

In contrast to the Chinese textbook compiler who commented that Lu Xun's language was too obscure for Mongolian students to understand, the work of May Fourth writers that form part of the modern Chinese literary canon were highly valued by Mongolian teachers, who believed that they represent, in the terms of Bourdieu (1992: 60), 'linguistic excellence' characterised by distinction and correctness, which differ from the most frequently used 'common' language. They would like more canonical work by prominent writers such as Lu Xun, Lao She and Zhu Ziqing to be included in the textbooks. A hierarchy between vernacular language and literary language is evident in the interviews with these teachers. The vernacular language is devalued by the Mongolian teachers as not

being suitable for the level of middle school students, while literary language is considered important:

Extract 12:

Teacher M: 像一些这个老作家的作品还是进来的比较好，像初中，像鲁迅的文章呀，这个这个这个老舍的作品，我觉得它经典还是经典。

Teacher U: 把浅显的课文拿掉，引入作家名篇，然后学生也能从名篇中学到更多内容，不管是内容上，还是语法上就是有讲头呗。

(Teacher M: Like the writings of famous writers are better to be included, like for middle school students, Lu Xun's works, Lao She's works, I think they are classics.

Teacher U: Leave out the simple texts, introduce famous writings, well, the students can learn more things from the famous writings, regarding the contents aspect and also the grammar is worthy of teaching.)

Extract 13:

Teacher G: 初中生不应该读这样的东西。他应该更加深入地理解汉文化…比方说《荷塘月色》，《春》比较经典的散文应该更早地让学生认识 […] 只是我们选的时候总是选那些平淡和语句不够优美的，大白话多的文章 。

(Teacher G: Middle school students should not read such writings with colloquial language use. They should understand Han culture in more depth. For example, Zhu Ziqing's *Moonlight* in the *Lotus pond* and *Spring*, such classic expository prose should be introduced earlier for students […] well when selecting texts for use, always select ones with plain, non-aesthetic and more colloquial language use.)

According to Hall (2004: 47), literature is more likely to be integrated into a communicative curriculum in the field of second language teaching than in first language teaching, which stresses the instrumental use of languages. As is evident in the curriculum guidelines discussed in Section 7.2 above, giving students applied skills in Chinese is also the major goal of Chinese teaching to

minority students. In contrast, the way that the Mongolian teachers view modern Chinese literature seems to follow the first language teaching situation where the communicative aspect of language is the basic requirement, while its literariness receives more attention. The devaluing of vernacular or colloquial language as opposed to the literary language by the Mongolian teachers could be interpreted with Bourdieu's (1992) notion of 'profit of distinction', where value derives in part from the scarcity of the products. Modern literary canons are generally perceived as representing the 'legitimate' competence in modern Chinese. They secure a profit of distinction in the linguistic market through deviation from the most frequent and widespread knowledge. Compared with their views of classical Chinese literature, Ms U and Mr G also hold rationalist value of modern Chinese literature, but here more than for communicative purposes, perceiving it as a linguistic and cultural capital that Mongolian students should acquire.

To sum up, the Mongolian teachers and trainee teachers in my study play their role as actors as what they advocated for teaching modern Chinese literature sometimes deviated from the knowledge as presented in textbooks. They positioned themselves as being in a single linguistic market with their Han counterparts, who are perceived to hold the 'legitimate' competence of Chinese. Through teaching modern Chinese literary canons, the Mongolians endeavour to equip themselves and their students with the linguistic and cultural capital which the Han Chinese have in the Han-dominant linguistic market.

7.5.3 The subordinate place of Chinese language literature written by Mongolian writers

Since the 1990s, Chinese language writings by several Mongolian writers have been included in middle school textbooks for Mongolian learners. For example, Aodesier's（敖德斯尔）(1924-2013) work entitled 'Recalling childhood's writing' is included in Grade 8 textbooks in 2001 and 2016 (YJSMCZJSH, Vol. 5, 2001: 61-63; YJMXJH, Vol.1, 2016: 13-14). In the story, which tells of the influence of a childhood in the grassland on the author's writing career, Aodesier appears to reflect the government rhetoric of grassland identity as poor and backward. During her interview, the textbook compiler Ms C explained that the reason her editorial team selected the works of Mongolian writers was to cater to the ethnic identity of the Mongolian students:

Extract 14:

Textbook compiler C: 因为我们是给蒙古族学生编这个汉语教材，它还有一些民族特色的一些东西，所以这个我们就是在教材当中更多地体现是在乡土篇目上，比如我们蒙古族作家用汉语创作的一些作品，像那个巴布林贝赫呀，还有那个席慕蓉，这些都会选进来。

(Textbook compiler C: Because we are compiling Chinese textbooks for Mongolian students, they need to address their culture, this is embodied in the selection of texts which reflect regional culture, for example, we choose the Chinese writings of Mongolian writers, like Burinbeki, and also Xi Murong.)

On the one hand, this practice acknowledges Mongolian writers as having 'legitimate' competence in Chinese, counteracting the hegemonic ideology that only Han Chinese writers represent the ideal model of Chinese, and presenting more equal power relations between Mongolian and Han. However, associating such works specifically with Mongolian students assumes that the Mongolian writers' works are not for Han students to study. Highlighting the writer's Mongolian ethnic identity reveals the textbook compiler's assumption that the 'legitimate' Chinese writers for the mainstream are still Han people.

In his comments on Mongolian writers, the Mongolian teacher Mr G stressed Mongolian language competence. He mentioned Burinbeki (巴布林贝赫, 1928 - 2009) and Baoerji Yuanye (鲍尔吉. 原野, 1958 - present) as exemplars, both of whom speak Mongolian as their first language and have Mongolian names. Unlike the textbook compiler Ms C, Mr G did not mention Xi Murong (席慕蓉, 1943 - present), a Taiwanese writer and painter originally from Inner Mongolia, possibly because Xi Murong does not speak Mongolian.[55] Mr G praised the inclusion of Burinbeki's published Chinese translations of his works written in Mongolian. The emphasis on Mongolian suggests Mr G's understanding of Mongolian linguistic identity: he views competence in Mongolian as the key

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[55] In an interview, Xi Murong expressed her shame at forgetting her mother tongue Mongolian (http://news.sina.com.cn/c/p/2005-07-03/17247118513.shtml).

characteristic of being a Mongolian writer: merely living in Mongolia does not qualify.

Extract 15:

Teacher G: 有些人，有些巴布林贝赫他写的一篇文章是什么白塔什么的，这是他本人从他的蒙语作品翻译过来的，那就比较好，还有那个鲍尔基原野，这个人你应该听说过，他的作品在读者的杂志上用得最多，他是我们，不能说蒙古族的水平，他是整个中国大陆最有名的散文家之一，他写得文章就是很有这个汉人的特点。

(Teacher G: Some people, some of Buirinbeki's writings, one entitled *The white tower*, it is translated from the Mongolian by himself, which is good. Also Baoerji Yuanye, you may have heard of him, his works are frequently included in the 'Reader' [a magazine similar in format to 'Reader's Digest'], he not only represents the Chinese competence of Mongolians, he is also one of the most famous expository prose writers in mainland China; his writing style is very like that of a Han.)

In contrast to the Han textbook compiler, who confined the Mongolian writers' readership within the Mongolian group, Mr G described Baoerji Yuanye as one of the most famous expository prose writers in mainland China, indicating the Mongolian writer represents the model of linguistic excellence not only for Mongolians but also for Han people. Mr G cited 'Reader' (读者) magazine, which is among the most widely circulated and leading magazines in the PRC, to demonstrate that the Mongolian writer has achieved wider social recognition, with his works being frequently included in this, the most well-known Chinese literature magazine. However, at the end of the excerpt, Mr G commented that Baoerji Yuanye's writing style is like that of Han people. This implies Mr. G's belief that Han people still represent the benchmark. Mongolians can achieve similar status only if they write Chinese in a way like Han do.

To conclude, the contrasting ways in which the Han textbook compiler and the Mongolian teacher define Mongolian writers reveals that Mongolian language is a marker of Mongolian identity for the Mongolian teacher in a way that it is not for the non-Mongolian-speaking textbook compiler. However, both collude with

the Han hegemony of representing the ideal competence of Chinese. The Mongolian teacher seems to view the 'legitimate' Chinese competence from a linguistic perspective, while the textbook compiler's stance implies that the 'legitimate' Chinese is an ethnically pertinent category, restricting Mongolian writers' readership to the Mongolian group.

7.6 Presenting Mongolian culture in textbooks: can Mandarin Chinese carry Mongolian culture?

In Chapter 5, I discussed how Mongolian traditional culture is framed in the Han-centred narrative over the course of the Republican and the PRC periods. In this section, I now examine how the presentation of Mongolian culture in the textbooks is viewed by both Han and Mongolian participants today.

The 'plurality in unity' discourse proposed by the eminent sociologist Fei Xiaotong in 1988, which stresses the multiple origins of the composition of the Chinese people, seems to exert a tight control over both Han and Mongolian groups. The Han textbook compiler Ms C became uncomfortable when I talked about the Mongolian culture and Chinese (*Zhonghua*) culture as two groups in my question.

> Extract 16:
>
> Researcher W: 我们聊一下蒙古族文化和中华文化吧。
>
> Textbook compiler C: 这个说得还是有点我觉得(.)[56]你继续说。
>
> Researcher W: 我就想问问您在教科书编选过程中如何呈现这个。
>
> Textbook compiler C: 哦，首先我先说一下，其实，无论蒙古族还是其他少数民族包括汉族都是中华文化不可分割一部分，也就是说我们在教材当中，我们肯定就是那个，传统文化肯定是要那个渗透的…包括就像我们名胜古迹也有，然后这个里头就是把蒙古族的成陵我们纳入到这个里头，在那个里面也注意了传承蒙古族文化也会注意到。

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[56] (.) means a micropause here

(Researcher W: Let's talk about Mongolian culture and Chinese culture

Textbook compiler C: The way you talk about it (.) You go on talking.

Researcher W: I just want to ask, how do you present it when you compile textbooks?

Textbook compiler C: Oh, first of all, in fact, Mongolian and other minority groups, including the Han group, are an inseparable part of Chinese culture, so in our textbooks, we definitely will include traditional culture…and that also includes famous sites. And here, we also selected the shrine of Chinggis Khan for Mongolian people and paid attention to inherited Mongolian culture.)

Ms C corrected my wording of separating Mongolian culture from Chinese culture, stating that Mongolian and Han groups are all members of the Chinese culture, the implication being that such a political ideology required the inclusion of both the traditional culture of Han and Mongols in the textbooks. Ms C used a reading text about the shrine of Chinggis Khan as an example of incorporating Mongolian culture as a way of being inclusive to Mongolian learners. What the textbook compiler wanted to stress is that Chinese culture is inclusive of *both* Han and Mongolian groups.

Most of the Mongolian participants in my study also supported the practice of including traditional Mongolian culture in the Chinese textbooks. In the questionnaire, 8 out of 12 participants expressed agreement with the statement 'textbooks should include more Mongolian history and culture', three were neutral, and only one [57] showed strong disagreement. In the focus group interview among the Mongolian MA students, we can also find strong influence of political ideology.

Extract 17:

Researcher W: 所以你们觉得应该，汉语教科书里还是应该包括一些蒙古族文化?

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[57] The participant unfortunately refused my interview invitation during my fieldwork.

Trainee teacher L: 主要是汉文化我 [觉得][58]

Trainee teacher H: [嗯]

Trainee teacher Ms X: [不，它俩] 一定要持平比较好我觉得，并不是说上了汉语课要忘了蒙古族文化，界限不要太清楚，我觉得太清楚了反而会出一些政治问题。

(Researcher W: So you think, Chinese textbooks should include more Mongolian culture?

Trainee teacher L: Mainly Han culture [I think]

Trainee teacher H: [en]

Trainee teacher X: [No, they should] be in equal proportion. It is not like when you have Chinese class, you should forget Mongolian culture, the boundary should not be too clear, otherwise, I think it will cause some political problems.)

The four Mongolian trainee teachers in the group discussion held varying opinions about the proportion of Mongolian culture in the Chinese textbooks. Trainee teachers Ms L and Mr H thought Han culture should be the main concern. For them, Chinese cultural knowledge is representative of the Han culture. Before trainee teacher Ms L finished her sentence, however, trainee teacher Ms X chipped in to express her disagreement. The wording of Ms X's expression of her view about the presentation of cultural knowledge seems to almost quote the government ethnic policy. She called for an equal proportion of Mongolian and Han cultures in the Chinese textbooks, which could be interpreted as following the political principle of interethnic equality. Like the textbook compiler Ms C, she further argued against drawing too firm a boundary between Mongolian culture and Han culture, seeming to suggest that they are both an integral part of the Chinese culture.

The divergent opinions on the inclusion of Mongolian culture in textbooks are also reflected in the Mongolian teachers' interviews. All five Mongolian

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[58] [] here means overlapping talk.

teachers in my interviews supported having Mongolian culture in the Chinese textbooks, but they differed regarding the proportion and the way of presenting Mongolian culture. Three Mongolian teachers called for including more lessons of Mongolian culture to reinforce its equality and solidarity with the Han culture. However, two middle school teachers expressed their concern that the way that Mongolian culture is presented in the Chinese language classes may not be appropriate. Mr G attached great importance to the role of the Mongolian language in transmitting the authentic Mongolian culture.

Extract 18:

Teacher G: 这跟老师个人有关系，因为好像很多老师确实可能不是太懂…像张老师这样的，阿老师这样的。

Researcher W: 张老师是汉族?

Teacher G: 对，根本就用不着讲这个。

Researcher W: 阿老师是汉授?

Teacher G: 汉授，但是蒙古人，能说蒙语。但怎么说呢，一个真正不熟悉这个民族，没有学习这个语言和文字的人，他是只能大概讲一下，没办法真正深入了解这个文化…你要想给学生真正，真正想让学生了解我们这个民族我们这个文化，你就必须得用蒙语。

(Teacher G: This depends on teachers. Because many teachers do not understand it…like Ms Zhang and Ms E.

Researcher W: Ms Zhang is a Han?

Teacher G: Yes, no need for her to teach the Mongolian culture.

Researcher W: Ms E received Chinese-medium education?

Teacher G: Chinese medium education, but she is a Mongol and can speak Mongolian. But a person who is not familiar with the ethnic culture, has not learned its language and script, she can only talk about it generally and not be able to understand the culture deeply. If you want to help students to understand our culture our ethnicity, you must use Mongolian.)

In Mr G's thinking, competence in Mongolian is bound up with Mongolian culture, indicating the 'romantic' view of Mongolian, in Geeraerts' (2003) terms. An ethnic boundary between Han and Mongolians is revealed when he excludes the Han teacher Ms Zhang from teaching Mongolian culture to students. For him, only the Mongolians who have received education using Mongolian as the medium of instruction are qualified to claim ownership of Mongolian culture. Stressing the relationship between the level of Mongolian literacy and Mongolian culture, Mr G expresses his strong personal attachment to the Mongolian language. He expresses the view that a 'legitimate' member of the Mongolian group needs not only to speak Mongolian but also to be able to know its written language and script through education. His strict requirement of Mongolian proficiency as the gatekeeper of authentic Mongolian culture indicates that for him, language is the distinctive marker of ethnic identity to differentiate Mongolians from the outgroup.

Regarding the portrayal of Mongolian culture in the textbooks, Ms A voiced a criticism that the contents are too general, using the lesson of Mongolian traditional clothes as an example.

Extract 19:

Teacher A: 以前旧教材里面有一篇文章叫蒙古族服饰，因为我们蒙古族它分为八个盟市，八个盟市之间我们的蒙古袍的样式都不一样，课文就简单地说了我们蒙古族服饰是比如说头饰，然后，嗯，然后简单说有哪些，它没有区分那什么，哪个服饰哪个地方的人会穿哪样，课文压根没有区分过，没有讲过 … 我们再去做大量工作去补充一些。

Researcher W: 那您觉得可以在这基础上进行一些增加吗？

Teacher A: 我觉得没必要，因为蒙语课上他们会讲一些关于民族啊这些。

(Teacher A: In the past in a textbook there was a text entitled *Mongolian traditional clothing*. Because our Mongols live in eight Leagues, [59] Mongols in different counties have different styles of clothing. The text simply talks about our clothing, like headwear, then, erm, then simply introduces what are they but does not distinguish that Mongols in different regions dress differently, the text does not specify this … we have to do a lot of work to supplement it.

Researcher W: Do you think more details should be added in the textbooks [of Chinese]?

Teacher A: I don't think so, because Mongolian language classes will talk about ethnic culture.)

The homogenised representation of Mongolian traditional clothing is criticised by Ms A without specifying the regional variances embedded within it. Such a practice of cultural homogenization could be interpreted in line with Gal and Irvine's (1995) notion of erasure, an essentializing process in which the ideology of imagining the 'other' social group as homogenous renders some persons or activities invisible. Here the narration of Mongolian traditional clothing in this context is totalised as a whole, an erasure of the heterogeneity within the Mongolian group. Interestingly, Ms A rejected my proposal of increasing more cultural details, despite pointing out the homogenizing issue. She thought that learning Mongolian culture is the main task of Mongolian language classes, echoing Mr G's linking of Mongolian culture to the Mongolian language.

The inclusion of Mongolian culture in the Chinese textbooks from the point of view of some Mongolians appears, therefore, to reinforce the political view that Mongolian culture is simply part of Chinese culture, while the Mongolian teachers and trainee teachers do not expect it to play a role in the construction of Mongolian ethnic identity. Others go further and argue that Chinese language materials cannot and should not be expected to be the disseminator of authentic

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[59] Leagues are the prefectures of Inner Mongolia. The name comes from a Mongolian administrative unit used during the Qing dynasty.

Mongolian culture because Mongolian culture is so closely tied up with the Mongolian language.

7.7 Conclusion

To conclude, the separation of instrumental and humanistic aspects in the Mandarin Chinese guideline for ethnic minority students since 2006 is linked to the different views of Chinese teaching (as a tool of communication, a form of linguistic and cultural capital, and an identity marker). The Han textbook compiler and Han teacher researcher as key arbiters in my study tended to view the Chinese literature from a Han-centred perspective, with a lack of awareness of Mongolian linguistic identity. The textbook compiler closely follows the Chinese curriculum for the Han students in selecting literary texts for Mongolian students. The Han teacher-researcher also calls for Mongolian students to study similar Chinese literature to their Han counterparts, and does not address the resistance from Mongolian teachers. Both of these Han informants discuss the Chinese literature curriculum for Mongolian students following the Han native-speakership model which measures Mongolian students' proficiency in Chinese as their second language against the Han as the monolingual first language users.

The Mongolian actors also appear to pine for the Han native-speakership model, positioning the Han as the ideal group with the 'legitimate' competence in Chinese regarding the teaching of modern Chinese literature. They call for reducing the gap between Mongolians and Han by including more of the Chinese literary canon in literature teaching, making reference to Chinese textbooks for Han students as points of comparison. Modern Chinese literature is treated as linguistic and cultural capital for Mongolian students in the Han-dominant linguistic market, not just for communicative purpose to help model Chinese language. There thus seems to be a mismatch between the curriculum guideline and the linguistic market. Although Chinese is presented as a second language for Mongols in the curriculum guideline, the Mongolian actors call for learning Chinese knowledge beyond what is currently required in the guideline, seeing themselves in a single linguistic market with the Han native speakers. This reflects the hegemony of Chinese in the linguistic market in Hohhot and beyond, where Chinese tends to be associated with high economic value. The oppressive power of Chinese is also found in the presentation of Mongolian culture in

Chinese textbooks. The Mongolian actors support the inclusion of Mongolian culture in the Chinese textbooks, even where the narration is thought to homogenise their culture, erase its diversity, and not reflect their own voice.

When it comes to the teaching of classical Chinese literature, some Mongolian actors view it as a marker of Han ethnic identity. They stress the instrumental aspect of Chinese to distinguish themselves from their Han counterparts and claim allegiance to the Mongolian language through calling for learning Mongolian culture at a deeper level through studying classical Mongolian texts. This implies that Chinese teaching is perceived by Mongolians more from the instrumental perspective than as a marker of identity. Mongolian language serves as the marker of identity to transmit Mongolian traditional culture and mark out the boundary with the Han. The ideology of linking Mongolian language closely with Mongolian culture is echoed by Baioud's (2021b) study of Mongolian wedding speech genres, in which she pointed out that mixture of Chinese with Mongolian in the traditional wedding speech is perceived by urban Mongolians in Inner Mongolia as a Chinese cultural infiltration.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

'Our language is Mongolian, and our homeland is Mongolia forever! Our mother tongue is Mongolian, and we will die for our mother tongue!' [60] shouted students at a protest in 2020 against a new policy of gradually replacing textbooks used in Mongolian-medium schools with national standard textbooks in Chinese by 2022. The new policy captures the momentum of the government's assimilation policy to further suppress the minoritised ethnic language education in the near future. Two of my Mongolian informants also expressed their worries to me in 2018, fearing 'Inner Mongolia will be the next Xinjiang'. This recent protest in Inner Mongolia can therefore be understood within the wider context of the tensions between the Han and non-Han caused by a series of Chinese language policies implemented in different ethnic autonomous regions in China.[61] In multi-ethnic states like China, the stability of the country quite often depends on the system of relations woven among its different ethnic groups. This becomes more complicated when different ethnic minority groups speak different languages, leading to policies which often marginalise minoritised languages as part of the way in which a state consolidates and preserves power and stability. This thesis has increased our understanding of how the hegemonic discourse of Chinese language policy is circulated in the field of Chinese language teaching to minoritised learners, helping uncover the language ideologies to which the groups are responding in the protests – here specifically Mongolians – in China.

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[60] 'Rare rallies in China over Mongolian language curb' BBC report, September 1, 2020: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-53981100

[61] In 2004 the Xinjiang regional government promulgated a regional directive asserting that Mandarin Chinese should be used as the primary or sole language of instruction of all primary and secondary schools in Xinjiang (Schluessel, 2007: 257-258). As far as the Tibetan case is concerned, based on fieldwork notes between 1997 and 2007, Postiglione (2008: 9) pointed out bilingual education (Tibetan and Chinese) is generally available in urban areas, but after the primary school Grade 3, there is a shift toward Chinese as the medium of instruction, with only language and literature courses taught in the Tibetan language. The implementation of the policies was accompanied by a series of protests such as among Tibetans (https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/tibetan-students-campaign-defend-tibetan-language-schools-tibet-and-china-2010) and Uighurs (https://hongkongfp.com/2019/06/18/language-attack-chinas-campaign-sever-uighur-tongue/).

Informed by Johnson and Johnson's (2015) model of incorporating ethnographic data to analyse language policy at macro, meso, and micro levels, this thesis has explored the teaching of Mandarin Chinese to Mongolian learners at three levels: the macro level of language education policy, the meso level of textbooks, and the micro level of teaching practice in school. In addition to the three-level analysis, a tri-dimensional qualitative research method – combining critical discourse analysis, historical linguistics, and present-day ethnography to explore a wide range of data, past and present – has enabled the first detailed analysis of the changing meanings of being 'Chinese Mongolians' in language education since the early 20th century. In particular, it has shown the value of combining historical analysis with analysis of the contemporary situation. This innovative approach has opened up new ground for researchers of China's ethnic minority policy, propaganda, nationalism, and citizenship, by examining Chinese language textbooks for minoritised learners to reveal how discourses of unity and diversity are balanced in the representations of the Chinese cultural knowledge and values. In this conclusion, I draw out what we have learned that answers the study's overarching research questions (Section 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4). In Section 8.5, I explore implications of this research and suggest a few directions of future research in section 8.6.

8.2 How have Chinese national identities been discursively constructed over time in textbooks of Chinese for Mongolian learners?

My study has demonstrated the dynamic and complicated process of creating and reproducing Chinese national identities for a Mongolian audience in state-issued Mandarin Chinese language textbooks for Mongolian learners since 1912. Chapter 4 traced the shift in representation strategies of Chinese historical wars over time. My analysis suggests that the construction of the Chinese national identities in these textbooks passes through the states of what a nation is to how a nation feels. It has shown that during the Republican period, a Han-centred and Confucian value-based Chinese national identity was promulgated to Mongolians. The Confucian values of great harmony, benevolence, and justice mark the boundary between the Chinese national Self and Others. The Confucian ethical value of filial piety is used to teach that individual, family and the nation are mutually dependent on each other.

Compared with the Republican period, the PRC period textbooks foreground how a nation feels in the creation of the Chinese national Self. Chapter 4 revealed that Chinese national identity is constructed through the narration of the Chinese struggle against Japanese and European imperialist powers, focusing on the mobilisation of emotions such as hatred, guilt, and pride, and suggesting that the remembrance of the history is a duty for both Han and non-Han Chinese citizens, especially since the 2000s.

Reflecting on the boundaries between the Chinese national Self and Other, Hall (2000: 17) pointed out that national identity is 'unified' through the relation to the Other, which is dynamic and involves 'the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries' subject to the strategic 'play' of difference. This study has shown how different wars in Chinese history are mobilised by Chinese governments at different times to mark Self and Other in the construction of Chinese national identities. As Chapter 4 showed, during the Republican period Mongolians are othered in the presentation of imperial China wars, in order to legitimate the Han group as the privileged and civilised group who defeat the non-Han in Chinese imperial history. In the PRC period, Mongolians are incorporated into the Chinese national Self with the Japanese and western imperialist powers serving as the Other to elide the internal divisions and contradictions between the different ethnic groups and to promote social cohesion. Thus, historical wars can be seen to have been an integral part of the construction of Chinese national identities in the textbooks of both the Republican and PRC periods, but the way in which wars are used to help to 'unify' a Chinese nation has varied.

8.3 How has Mongolian identity been negotiated over time in the representation of Chinese national identities in the textbooks?

When it comes to the representation of a Mongolian identity, Chapter 5 demonstrated that Mongolian cultural features are frequently neutralised and/or made subservient to the Chinese national values and ideals defined by the Han-dominant governments. Harrell (1995) observed that although the status of being 'civilised' is attainable to all, there is an inherent hierarchy between those at the 'civilised centre' and those on the periphery. The Han group is found to be represented as the 'civilised centre' at all times. In the Republican period, some Mongolians are represented as being assimilated to the Han Chinese. These

Sinicised Mongolians are then presented as having more opportunities to access Chinese citizenship than nomadic Mongolians; they serve as moral and behaviour models and participate in civic life (e.g. community leader elections). Model Mongolian citizens are portrayed as sharing the same Confucian-based values of Chinese citizenship (the principle of propriety and filial piety) as their Han counterparts, while their Mongolian identity is backgrounded.

In the PRC period, by contrast, nomadic Mongolian culture is foregrounded for the first time, but is still devalued. In the Mongolian-Han interactions represented in the textbooks, the oppositions of civilised–rude, developed–backward of an internal orientalism discourse are evident. Han males are first positioned, during the Maoist period, as the superior group who possess the advanced model of production to help Mongolians develop their land, and then as urban travellers who consume Mongolian culture during the reform period. Rather than associating Mongolian land closely with Mongolians, as in the Republican period, the PRC period textbooks highlight the role of the Han people in Inner Mongolia. Mongolians are incorporated into the Chinese nation to a higher degree than in the previous Republican period, through highlighting Mongolian-Han interactions in the development of Mongolian land. The cultural content of the PRC period textbooks thus appears to serve a goal of helping break down the boundary between Mongolian and Han, and of weakening Mongolian claims over the Mongolian territory.

Looking at the construction of Chinese national culture over a century, Chapter 4 and 5 have shown that textbooks serve as a form of 'governmentality' (Foucault, 1991), which transmits Chinese national histories and citizenship values to Mongolian students in the interests of ensuring the security and prosperity of a 'unified' Chinese nation. The Chinese nation is consistently imagined to be composed of *one* people, *one* culture or ethnicity from the past to the present, which leaves little room for the development of a separate Mongolian identity. The representation strategies relating to the Mongolian identity articulate Han-centred narratives of the Chinese nation, while excluding other possible ways of constructing a separate Mongolian identity from the Mongolian perspective. This is at odds with the Republican government's 'republic of five nationalities' and PRC government's 'plurality in unity'

policies, which pay lip-service to ethnic diversity. Moreover, the regional ethnic autonomy, as granted by the PRC government since 1949, is also not reflected in textbooks. As mentioned above, Mongolians are represented as having weak claims to the development of Mongolian land without interactions with the Han group. The findings have thus revealed that the Chinese cultural knowledge and values represented in Chinese textbooks for Mongolian learners are not normatively determined by state policies that appear to recognise minority identity and autonomy.

8.4 How have Mongolians defined the Mandarin linguistic and cultural knowledge and values of Mandarin to teach in the past and at present?

In addition to government-issued textbooks, examined in Chapters 4 and 5, this study has also explored how both Mongolian elites and teachers negotiate their Mongolian identities in the field of Chinese teaching, in the past and present. This is particularly important when the production and distribution of school textbooks are controlled by both the Republican and PRC governments. Examining these questions from a Mongolian perspective can thus provide an alternative space of redefining the 'official' Chinese linguistic and cultural knowledge and values. Although there are few sources which document how Mongolians taught Mandarin Chinese in the past, in Chapter 6 I used an early 20th century Mongolian Chinese bilingual dictionary compiled by a Mongolian official named Khaisan as an innovative case study to reveal the challenges involved in teaching Mandarin to minoritised ethnic learners. The Chapter showed how Khaisan presented a 'correct' Mandarin pronunciation to Mongolian learners as both a literary and elitist norm rather than just a norm for communication, at a time when there were competing variants of the standard Mandarin pronunciation. There is also evidence of multilingual influence in Khaisan's codification, as he borrowed from some Manchurian transcriptions for his own Mongolian transcriptions of Mandarin pronunciation.

The diverse linguistic sources that Khaisan drew on challenged the monolingual Han native speakership ideology, and this is echoed in my fieldwork a century later in contemporary Inner Mongolia in 2018 with Mongolian actors (Mongolian schoolteachers of Mandarin, Mongolian trainee teachers) and Han

arbiters (a Han Chinese textbook compiler and teacher researcher). Chapter 7 explored the agency of the Mongolian actors and Han arbiters and found that they both appear to collude with the Han native speakership model, regarding the Han as a homogenous group who possess the ideal competence in Chinese. All Mongolian actors view modern Chinese literature as linguistic and cultural capital to equip Mongolian students to thrive in the Han-dominant linguistic market. The hegemonic power of the Han is also reflected in the Mongolian actors' support for including Mongolian culture in the Chinese textbooks even if the narration is thought to not reflect their voice. However, some Mongolian actors contest the Han native speakership model when it comes to the teaching of classical Chinese literature. Their views encompass a romantic ideology of language in Geeraerts' (2013) terms, associating Mongolian culture closely with the Mongolian language and calling for learning classical Mongolian texts rather than classical Chinese, to enable students to understand Mongolian culture at a deeper level, to differentiate themselves from the Han students, thus perceiving Mongolian as their identity marker.

In both the early twentieth century and the present day, then, Mongolians at different times all put a high value on the literary aspect of Chinese knowledge, treating it as capital that Mongolians should acquire rather than merely for communication. This is in contrast with the government practice of eliminating 'literary culture' from the subject name of Chinese from 1999 and prioritising the communicative focus of language teaching to minoritised learners in the 2006 curriculum guideline.

As Bourdieu (1992: 167) writes, 'the dominant culture […] contributes to the legitimation of the established order by establishing distinctions (hierarchies) and legitimating these distinctions'. All other groups or subcultures define their positions within the social order by measuring their distance to the dominant group. In Khaisan's time, a few Mongolian elites modelled the 'correct' Mandarin Chinese pronunciation against the educated elite class, while the Mongolians I interviewed feel marginalised by their differential access to the Chinese literary knowledge compared to that of the Han Chinese. Based on the evidence presented in Chapter 6 and 7, it seems that the 'legitimate' speakership of Mandarin Chinese is represented by the educated elite class in the early

twentieth century but, today, it has shifted to the *whole* Han group. This attitudinal shift would appear to confirm that textbook knowledge, as revealed in the historical analysis of Chapters 4 and 5, has normalised a Han-centric 'symbolic structure' which is now shared among some Mongolians nowadays.

8.5 The implications of this study

This work makes an important contribution to the history of language learning and teaching, which has thus far been heavily skewed to the history of language education in Europe, with a few exceptions such as Chang's (2011) study of the history of English language education in Asian countries. Meanwhile, as Smith (2016) has pointed out, there is a lack of attention paid to the contextualisation of ideas or theories in relation to contemporary practice and assessments of the impact of ideas on practice in the field of history of language learning and teaching. My study has therefore adopted a model of tri-dimensional analysis of the flow of power in the Mandarin Chinese teaching for Mongolian learners, distinguishing between what is stated in policy documents, what is actually presented in textbooks, and what is implemented in teaching practice. In addition, using this approach has also revealed the role of Mongolian actors and Han arbiters in the making of linguistic and cultural knowledge for Mongolian learners, past and present. Such a tri-dimensional analysis has made it possible to situate and analyse educational policy and theory in particular contexts of practice and to ascertain their impact on practice, showing how a pedagogical theory is presented in textbook design and implemented in teaching practice at different times. Meanwhile, the approach also helps to reveal how power as manifested in policy documents and textbooks flows across time and how it is appropriated and contested by different groups of actors. These findings have significant implications for understanding the dynamic process of incorporating non-Han peoples into the Chinese national Self and also for understanding how non-Han peoples position themselves during the process. Teaching Mandarin Chinese to Mongolian learners is positioned within the project of nation state building, where power is negotiated by different social groups.

First, the results of my analysis add a new perspective to the study of ethnic minorities in China, in which internal orientalism has become the dominant paradigm for analysing the cultural representation of minoritised ethnic groups.

I argue that the theory of internal orientalism needs to be applied with more historical and geographical focus, understood as being situated in particular marginalising practices. Historical textbook analysis helps us to find where, when and how Mongolians are incorporated into and excluded from the Han dominant 'civilised centre' over time. This is important because the shifting boundaries can reveal nuances in the historical construction of the Chinese national Self and unpack the underlying meanings of the making of ethnic minority policy.

The strategies identified here for reproducing the Chinese national Self to the Mongolian audience of Mandarin language learners provide an innovative framework for the study of other marginalised groups such as Tibetans and Uyghurs and other non-Han groups, both separately as well as in comparison. For example, Chapter 5 revealed that Han males are constructed as the 'civilised centre' in the interaction with Mongolian in the PRC period textbooks, acting as the developers of Mongolian land in the Maoist period and as urban travellers to consume Mongolian culture in the reform period. The masculinisation of the Han group suggests a different form of internal orientalist representation compared to the feminised and eroticised presentation of minoritised ethnic groups, especially that of the Dai and Maio in south-western China as found in Gladney's (1994) and Schein's (1997) studies. My findings chime with Bulag (2002), Wilcox (2016) and Baioud (2021a), who have argued that the ways in which minoritised ethnic groups are represented and utilised by the PRC government is diverse and specific.

Second, despite academic interest in critical bilingual language policy studies which have uncovered the Han-centric language ideologies focusing on the language and cultural rights of the minoritised ethnic groups (e.g. Dong, et al., 2015; Grey, 2017), there are few studies to date on the Mandarin Chinese knowledge that is especially defined from the minoritised ethnic group's perspective. The findings reported in Chapter 7 thus shed new light on the ways of teaching Chinese as a second language with a sociolinguistic focus, showing how power relations shapes the attitudes of both Mongolian and Han groups towards what Chinese knowledge should be taught, and its relationship with Mongolian identity. The evidence from my ethnographic fieldwork suggests that

there is a mismatch between the Chinese linguistic and literary knowledge that is required by the government and the knowledge that Mongolians want to teach and/or learn. Although Chinese has been positioned as a second language for Mongolian learners in national curriculum guidelines since the 2000s, my Mongolian informants call for teaching modern Chinese literature at a level closer to that for the Han first language speakers and view themselves in the same linguistic market as the Han Chinese. This finding aligns with earlier work on education of minoritised ethnic groups in China. Zenz (2013: 203) pointed out problems facing students who choose a Tibetan-medium education path when they attend universities and seek jobs. The Tibetan students in Zenz's research considered that their competence in Chinese put them at a disadvantage in a Han-dominant society. It seems that studying Chinese is perceived by minoritised ethnic groups as important not just for communicative purposes but also to compete against the Han group for opportunities.

Lastly, by looking at how Mandarin pronunciation is codified by the Mongolian official Khaisan in the early twentieth century, Chapter 6 provides insights for the key role of second language learning in codification, which helps to bring to light the 'hidden multilingualism' (Vogl, 2012: 27) that plays a part in language standardisation in the Asian context. It has shown 'multilingualism is a red thread running through the entire history of language standardisation' (McLelland, 2021).

8.6 Limitations and future directions

Some of the inevitable limitations to the present study leave scope for further historical critical studies of Chinese language textbooks for minoritised learners. For example, in this study, I largely conducted qualitative critical discourse analysis to explore how Mongolians, Han and Chinese people are portrayed in textbooks, with only very limited use of quantitative data. If in future such a textbooks corpus can be made digitally searchable, my findings could be complemented with additional quantitative analysis, which may reveal further aspects of the processes in which the boundary between the Han and non-Han group is manifested. Some quantitative analysis of the representation of minoritised ethnic peoples in textbooks for Han students has been conducted to show a binary understanding of minority and majority by limiting the images of

minoritised ethnic groups to selected cultural markers (Chu, 2017). However, that study looked only at visual representation, without including textual analysis.

Second, such a corpus linguistic approach could be used to help triangulate the findings of textbook analysis, providing a general 'pattern map' of the data, mainly in terms of frequencies, keywords/clusters and collocations as well as their diachronic development (Baker, et al., 2008: 295-296). For example, future study could examine collocations with keywords such as 'Mongolians', 'Chinese' or 'I' and 'we' to investigate aspects of wider context surrounding Chinese national identity and Mongolian ethnic identity in textbooks. Third, the ethnographic element of this study was necessarily limited both in time and scope, focusing on the teachers' perspective in the transmission of Chinese knowledge as presented in Chinese language textbooks, and in an urban setting. The findings would be enriched with additional data encompassing students' views and also views of students from rural and nomadic areas, in order to understand how the teaching of Mandarin is viewed by different groups of Mongolians and in different social contexts.

As Tam (2020) has demonstrated in her book about the evolving debate over the role of dialects in Chinese nation building from 1860 to 1960, historical analysis can guide us in imagining what is possible through unpacking how the underlying meanings behind language performance were constructed in the past. If we return to the recent textbook policy for Mongolian-medium schools in China mentioned at the start of this concluding chapter, the use of Chinese in the teaching of history, and politics and morality subjects rather than Mongolian suggests a strengthening role of Chinese in the state-governed construction of Chinese national identity. My historical analysis in Chapter 4 demonstrated that the assimilation strategy can already be traced back to the Republican period textbooks when the Z*honghua* bloodline is first imagined showing ethnic fusion into a mono-ethnic Chinese nation. There is a resurgence of the concept *Zhonghua* such as in the construction of *Zhonghua* motherhood through the Chinese war history narration in 2000s textbooks. In addition, highlighting both the instrumental and identity aspects of Chinese teaching to minoritised learners in the 2014 curriculum guideline provides further evidence of the trend of building a unified Chinese national identity through Chinese language education.

The future status of minoritised languages in China will be shaped by how strong the discourse of mono-ethnic Chinese nation remains.

Moreover, the adoption of national standard textbooks for the Chinese language subject implies that the PRC government intends to promote equal access to Chinese as linguistic and cultural capital for both Han and non-Han students, a concern raised by the Mongolian teachers and trainee teachers in my study. However, what the policy seems to neglect is the belief that Mongolian language is a marker of Mongolian identity, a belief widely shared among my Mongolian informants. Although they yearn to teach a similar level of Chinese competence to that of the Han students, they do not want this to be at the expense of their Mongolian language. During the interviews, the Mongolian informants commented that their Mongolian competence needs to be as good as or better than Chinese, not the other way around. Therefore, it is questionable whether the new policy will help with the social cohesion among the Mongolians in wider Chinese society. My study has revealed Chinese teaching to Mongolian learners as a site where different representations of the Chinese nation contest and negotiate with one another. I would argue that giving more voice to Mongolians in the compilation of such teaching materials and acknowledging the pluralistic ways of being Chinese would better serve to promote their sense of belonging to the Chinese nation than simply imposing standardised textbooks.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Complete list of textbooks and curriculum guidelines consulted

Textbooks (Listed chronologically)

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Appendix 1.1 National history corpus

Decade	Code	Lessons	Total lessons	Volumes
1910s	HMHGWJ	Lesson 4: 黄帝 Lesson 14: 汤武	40 lessons	Vol. 5
		Lesson 8: 秦始皇 Lesson 9: 万里长城 Lesson 15: 汉武帝 Lesson 20: 班超 Lesson 21: 诸葛亮 Lesson 28: 上海 Lesson 34: 唐太宗	40 lessons	Vol. 6
		Lesson 5: 岳飞 Lesson 6: 明太祖 Lesson 34: 天津 Lesson 35 – 37: 清外交之失败	40 lessons	Vol. 7
		Lesson 1 – 3: 国史大概 Lesson 38: 待外国人之道	40 lessons	Vol. 8
1930s	HMHGYJ	Lesson 25: 中国人和日本人	50 lessons	Vol. 4
1940s	MHHGGD	Lesson 1: 张巡（一） Lesson 2: 张巡（二） Lesson 23: 宗爷爷 Lesson 24: 爱国儿子的一封信 Lesson 25: 爱国母亲的一封信	36 lessons	Vol. 3
		Lesson 17: 明太祖的轶事 Lesson 32: 班超定西域鼓词（一） Lesson 33: 班超定西域鼓词（二） Lesson 34: 班超定西域鼓词（三）	36 lessons	Vol. 4
		Lesson 10: 一个面生的人 Lesson 15: 火药的发明	32 lessons	Vol. 5
	MGDCXYCK	Lesson 11: 陈老师的演说	32 lessons	Vol. 6
1960s	MSXH	Lesson 6: 领棉衣 Lesson 7: 游击队歌 Lesson 8: 一个粗瓷大碗	20 lessons	Vol. 1
	MCZHJK	Lesson 14: 李闯王渡黄河	20 lessons	Vol. 1
	MCZHYKS	Lesson 21: 小铁锤	25 lessons	Vol. 4
	MXH	Lesson 18: 李自成	25 lessons	Vol. 6

		Lesson 7: 平型关大捷 Lesson 8: 抗日街头诗	25 lessons	Vol. 8
		Lesson 6: 叫敌人听指挥 Lesson 9: 大青山的风雪	20 lessons	Vol. 2
	MCHJK	Lesson 6: 叫敌人听指挥	20 lessons	Vol. 3
1970s	NZZSKH	Lesson 14: 抗日战争胜利后的时局和我们的方针（节选） Lesson 15: 雁领队	19 lessons	Vol.2
	NZQMXCJ	Lesson 12: 人民英雄纪念碑	21 lessons	Vol. 3
1980s	MXXKH	Lesson 10: 音乐家聂耳	24 lessons	Vol. 5
	MCZKH	Lesson 5: 别了，我爱的中国 Lesson 6: 中国人民站起来了	22 lessons	Vol. 5
	MCZKH	Lesson 1: 为人民服务	22 lessons	Vol. 6
1990s	MCZKH	Lesson 18: 小八路 Lesson 21: 王二小	25 lessons	Vol.2
	YJMXJSH	Lesson 13: 我不能忘掉祖国	18 lessons	Vol. 6
		Lesson 9: 狼牙山五壮士	26 lessons	Vol. 4
	MCZKH	Lesson 17: 冀中地道战	27 lessons	Vol. 5
		Lesson 8: 为人民服务 Lesson 11: 别了，我爱的祖国	27 lessons	Vol. 6
2000s	YJSMCZJSH	Lesson 12: 开国大典 Lesson 13: 庄严时刻	26 lessons	Vol. 1
		Lesson 2: 卢沟桥的狮子	22 lessons	Vol. 3
		Lesson 19: 为人民服务	24 lessons	Vol. 6
		Lesson 3: 龙	21 lessons	Vol. 7
		Lesson 2: 中英香港政权交接仪式在港隆重举行 Lesson 10: 人民英雄纪念碑	18 lessons	Vol. 8
2010s	YJMXJH	Lesson 2: 为中华之崛起而读书	24 lessons	Grade 7, Vol. 1
		Lesson 8: 中华少年	24 lessons	Grade 8, Vol. 2
		Lesson 5: 卢沟桥的烽火	24 lessons	Grade 9, Vol. 1
	YJMXKBSJH	Lesson 7: 王二小	16 lessons	Grade 3, Vol. 2

Appendix 1.2 Chinese citizenship corpus

Decade	Code	Lessons	Total lessons	Volumes
1910s	**HMHGWJ**	**Lesson 1: 我国**	**40 lessons**	**Vol. 4**
		Lesson 27: 地图 **Lesson 32: 孟母**	**40 lessons**	**Vol. 5**
		Lesson 22: 长江 **Lesson 23: 黄河** **Lesson 38: 北京**	**40 lessons**	**Vol. 6**
		Lesson 13: 种茶 **Lesson 31: 矿物** **Lesson 33: 我国疆域** **Lesson 39: 珠江** **Lesson 40: 运河**	**40 lessons**	**Vol. 7**
		Lesson 11: 爱国 **Lesson 15: 分业之利益** **Lesson 22: 通商** **Lesson 24: 军人** **Lesson 27: 大山** **Lesson 28: 大湖**	**40 lessons**	**Vol. 8**
1930s	**HMHGYJ**	**Lesson 1: 国旗**	**50 lessons**	**Vol. 1**
		Lesson 17: 中山先生幼年时	**50 lessons**	**Vol. 3**
		Lesson 13: 搬到别出去 **Lesson 17: 初次来蒙古的小孩** **Lesson 24: 我愿做个好小孩** **Lesson 48: 太祖的父亲** **Lesson 49: 太祖的母亲**	**50 lessons**	**Vol. 4**
	HMHDXK	**Lesson 2: 我们都是中国人** **Lesson 10: 中国有多少人** **Lesson 34: 要用中国布** **Lesson 35: 砍柴养母** **Lesson 37: 大家学国语** **Lesson 38: 好国民** **Lesson 40: 吃自己的饭** **Lesson 49: 中华民国的国父** **Lesson 50: 双十节** **Lesson 51: 党旗国旗** **Lesson 52: 人人都平等**	**70 lessons**	**Vol. 1**

		Lesson 68: 何老太太		
1940s	**MHHGGD**	**Lesson 7: 衣服和气候的关系** **Lesson 36: 揭孙中山先生陵墓**	**36 lessons**	**Vol. 3**
		Lesson 16: 七十二烈士 **Lesson 20: 民族的生命力**	**36 lessons**	**Vol. 4**
		Lesson 17: 双十节的故事 **Lesson 32: 十个小朋友**	**44 lessons**	**Vol. 5**
	MGDCXYCK	**Lesson 5: 国旗** **Lesson 8: 我们的国父** **Lesson 14: 远足** **Lesson 19: 这是我的家** **Lesson 21: 国货** **Lesson 23: 饮的卫生**	**28 lessons**	**Vol. 2**
		Lesson 2: 二年级级会 **Lesson 3: 剪指甲** **Lesson 17: 衣服的卫生** **Lesson 18: 做衣服的用途** **Lesson 22: 艰苦的生活** **Lesson 25: 盐和糖** **Lesson 27: 蒙古的饮食**	**28 lessons**	**Vol. 3**
		Lesson 1: 爸爸的来信 **Leeson 4: 锻炼身体三件事** **Lesson 11: 甜的给妈妈吃** **Lesson 16: 行的礼貌和卫生** **Lesson 17: 摔跤** **Lesson 28: 夏天的卫生**	**28 lessons**	**Vol. 4**
		Lesson 1: 国父 **Lesson 2: 蒙古盟旗组织** **Lesson 3: 我们的自治会** **Lesson 4: 闽生日记** **Lesson 5: 公共卫生** **Lesson 6: 陶侃** **Lesson 9: 我们的邻居** **Lesson 12: 警察是好朋友** **Lesson 13: 兵的种类** **Lesson 20: 中国的酱油** **Lesson 26: 爸爸的军装** **Lesson 29: 孔子** **Lesson30: 新生活运动**	**32 lessons**	**Vol. 5**
		Lesson 1: 我国的首都和陪都	**32 lessons**	**Vol. 6**

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		Lesson 2: 我们的矿产 Lesson 4: 我国的文字 Lesson 12: 长城和运河 Lesson 16: 让我们来做水泥吧 Lesson 18: 桐油和漆 Lesson 21: 护士的仁爱 Lesson 31: 画地图 Lesson 32: 我国的气候		
1960s	MSXH	Lesson 1: 啊，祖国多么美好 Lesson 2: 可爱的内蒙古自治区 Lesson 3: 盐湖 Lesson 5: 全民皆兵歌 Lesson 8: 牧场上的生产 Lesson 11: 世界上什么东西最宝贵 Lesson 12: 大跃进的人唱大跃进的歌 Lesson 22: 那斯图老爷爷 Lesson 23: 猪是摇钱树 Lesson 37: 中国人多英雄多 Lesson 40: 雪里送炭 Lesson 47: 姐姐当了电焊工	50 lessons	Vol. 3
	MXH	Lesson 10: 白云鄂博颂 Lesson 18: 可爱的祖国	25 lessons	Vol. 2
		Lesson 23: 李春花的话	25 lessons	Vol. 3
		Lesson 1: 马头琴手的歌 Lesson 24: 我要做个庄稼汉 Lesson 25: 祖国颂歌	25 lessons	Vol. 4
		Lesson 3: 草原之歌 Lesson 4: 迷路的故事 Lesson 13: 暴风雪中护牛羊	25 lessons	Vol. 6
		Lesson 5: 山村水电站 Lesson 21: 幸福生活是怎么来的	25 lessons	Vol. 8
	MXHJK	Lesson 3: 蒙汉人民是一家 Lesson 9: 内蒙古呀好地方	10 lessons	Vol. 1

	MXHYK	**Lesson 17: 民族团结** **Lesson 18: 内蒙古呀好地方**	**10 lessons**	**Vol. 2**
	MCZHJK	**Lesson 2: 山村水电站** **Lesson 3: 牧场小景** **Lesson 18: 父子两代** **Lesson 19: 猎人海海力布**	**20 lessons**	**Vol. 1**
		Lesson 1: 各族人民的歌 **Lesson 6: 银燕在腾格里沙漠上盘旋**	**20 lessons**	**Vol. 2**
		Lesson 4: 黄沙绿海	**20 lessons**	**Vol. 3**
	MCZHYKS	**Lesson 4: 草原之歌** **Lesson 5: 鄂伦春人跨上铁马** **Lesson 11: 永远跟着共产党走**	**20 lessons**	**Vol. 1**
1970s	**NZXSKH**	**Lesson 13: 贫牧阿爸来上课**	**19 lessons**	**Vol. 1**
		Lesson 1: 春天来到草原 **Lesson 19: 我选我**	**19 lessons**	**Vol. 2 (1979)**
		Lesson 17: 红小兵学校 **Lesson 19: 算盘响** **Lesson 20: 我的童年**	**19 lessons**	**Vol. 2 (1975)**
		Lesson 1: 大海航行靠舵手 **Lesson 10: 草原英雄小姐妹** **Lesson 11: 雪夜接羔** **Lesson 15: 脚印**	**19 lessons**	**Vol. 3**
		Lesson 9: 林彪副主席指示 **Lesson 10: 她俩结成了一对红**	**19 lessons**	**Vol. 4 (1971)**
		Lesson 3: 马头琴手的歌	**19 lessons**	**Vol. 4 (1979)**
		Lesson 3: 草原上的红卫兵见到了毛主席 **Lesson 6: 在泥塑"收租院"里** **Lesson 7: 父子两代** **Lesson 8: 草原水电站** **Lesson 9: "钢老汉"治沙** **Lesson 10: 新的脚印** **Lesson 18: 草原儿童爱唱歌**	**20 lessons**	**Vol. 6 (1973)**

		Lesson 10: 忆苦思甜报告会 Lesson 11: 在泥塑"收租院"里	19 lessons	Vol. 6 (1975)
	NZQSMXXYK	Lesson 5: 可爱的内蒙古 Lesson 6: 盐湖	25 lessons	Vol. 6
	NZQMXCJ	Lesson 5: 给青少年的一封信 Lesson 7: 我的名字叫知识	17 lessons	Vol. 1
	NZQSMXCY	Lesson 11: 我们的牧场	18 lessons	Vol. 3
1980s	QMXXKH	Lesson 2: 草原之歌 Lesson 20: 草原英雄小姐妹	20 lessons	Vol. 5
	MXXKH	Lesson 2: 草原 Lesson 15: 祖国多么伟大	22 lessons	Vol. 2
		Lesson 3: 草原春雨 Lesson 6: 呼伦湖和贝尔湖 Lesson 9: 望星空 Lesson 14: 六月的草原	24 lessons	Vol. 4
		Lesson 1: 草原之歌 Lesson2: 骆驼王国 Lesson 4: 小城风光 Lesson 17: 夜营	24 lessons	Vol. 5
		Lesson1: 我们的祖国 Lesson 2: 首都北京 Lesson 3: 内蒙古自治区 Lesson 4: 飞速发展的呼和浩特	24 lessons	Vol. 6
	MCZKH	Lesson 4: 阿尔山矿泉 Lesson 5: 美丽的青城	22 lessons	Vol. 3
		Lesson 3: 诗两首 Lesson 4: 草原钢城 Lesson14: 飞吧，内蒙古草原	22 lessons	Vol. 4
		Lesson 12: 铁木烈跟踪 Lesson 16: 草原	22 lessons	Vol. 5
		Lesson 12: 看日出 Lesson 14: 六月的草原	24 lessons	Vol. 6 (1986)
		Lesson 10: 山城扎兰屯 Lesson 13: 好客的主人 Lesson 14: 玛希娜	22 lessons	Vol. 6 （1987）
1990s	YJMXJSH	Lesson 4: 草原 Lesson 5: 祖国多么广大	25 lessons	Vol. 2

		Lesson 8: 草原春雨 **Lesson 9: 看日出**	**24 lessons**	**Vol. 4**
		Lesson 6: 草原深处是我家	**20 lessons**	**Vol. 5**
	YJSMCZJSH	**Lesson 11: 鹰** **Lesson 13: 草原上流过的一条小河** **Lesson 15: 达赉湖**	**22 lessons**	**Vol. 1 (1991)**
		Lesson 7: 美丽的草原我的家 **Lesson 15: 家乡的桦树林** **Lesson 21: 我爱西山** **Lesson 22: 鹰**	**26 lessons**	**Vol. 1 (1993)**
		Lesson 18: 灌木礼赞 **Lesson 27: 猎人海力布**	**27 lessons**	**Vol. 2**
		Lesson 1: 牧民姑娘 **Lesson 4: 草原上的鹰**	**26 lessons**	**Vol. 3**
		Lesson 3: 春风请到草原来 **Lesson 18: 科尔沁风情**	**26 lessons**	**Vol. 4**
		Lesson 3: 我走向大草原 **Lesson 4: 林海** **Lesson 5: 草原**	**26 lessons**	**Vol. 5**
		Lesson 22: 美丽的达赉湖 **Lesson 23: 草原小景** **Lesson 26: 敢向天穹挂"新星"**	**27 lessons**	**Vol. 6**
2000s	**YJWMXJSH**	**Lesson 9: 我的家乡在草原**	**16 lessons**	**Vol. 1**
		Lesson 3: 草原母亲 **Lesson 18: 草原上的鹰**	**20 lessons**	**Vol. 4**
		Lesson 16: 草原上的云	**24 lessons**	**Vol. 7**
		Lesson 13: 草原深处是我家	**20 lessons**	**Vol. 8**
	YJSMCZJSH	**Lesson 7: 草原** **Lesson18: 看马** **Lesson 19: 请到我们草原来**	**26 lessons**	**Vol. 1**
		Lesson 8: 蒙古包里做客	**29 lessons**	**Vol. 2**
		Lesson 3: 达里湖 **Lesson 9: 美丽的草原我的家**	**22 lessons**	**Vol. 3**
		Lesson 6: 草原上的花	**22 lessons**	**Vol. 4**

		Lesson 10: 忆童年时写作文 Lesson 16: 野马群	23 lessons	Vol. 5
		Lesson 22: 蒙古族的门神	24 lessons	Vol. 6
2010s	YJMXKBSJH	Lesson 3: 美丽的呼伦湖	16 lessons	Grade 3, Vol. 2
		Lesson 14: 锡林郭勒大草原	24 lessons	Grade 4, Vol. 2
		Lesson 4: 奇丽的索伦河谷 Lesson 13: 草原上的家园——蒙古包	20 lessons	Grade 6, Vol. 2
	YJMXJH	Lesson 1: 我们爱你，中国 Lesson 2: 为中华崛起而读书 Lesson 5: 草原	24 lessons	Grade 7, Vol. 2
		Lesson 3: 忆童年时写作文	24 lessons	Grade 8, Vol. 1
		Lesson 8: 中华少年	24 lessons	Grade 8, Vol. 2
		Lesson 2: 索溪谷的野 Lesson 4: 秋日草原	24 lessons	Grade 9, Vol. 1
		Lesson 1: 敖鲁古雅风情	21 lessons	Grade 9, Vol. 2

Appendix 2 Questionnaire of an investigation of Chinese language teachers' attitudes of Chinese language teaching

教师调查问卷

尊敬的老师：

您好！欢迎参加本次调查。通过本次调查，我希望能够更深入得了解少数民族汉语教学中教师关于教授蒙古族学生语言知识、语言技能、文化意识以及情感态度的看法。您的参与完全基于自愿原则。问题调查将不超过 10 分钟。请您自愿、自主表达您的个人意见和观点。 您的参与记录是完全保密的，我承诺在任何时候、任何情况下都不会透露您的个人信息或所在单位。作为调查参与者，您可以在问卷末尾自愿留下电子邮箱地址，用于后期访谈以及获得调查结果。如果您对此次调查有任何问题，请首先与负责本研究的研究员联系: 吴家晔（jiaye.wu@nottingham.ac.uk）或微信号（jennyfishwu）导师: Nicola McLelland (Nicola.McLelland@nottingham.ac.uk), Sarah Dauncey (sarah.dauncey@nottingham.ac.uk)。如果通过以上方式，问题仍得不到解决，请联系英国诺丁汉大学现代语言文化区域研究院学术研究伦理负责人 Rui Miranda (Rui.Miranda@nottingham.ac.uk)。

知情同意书：

本问卷是为了一个有关蒙古族汉语教育发展历程探究的博士项目而设计的。您的参与完全是基于自愿原则。问题调查将不超过 10 分钟。您可以拒绝回答问卷中的任一问题。您的名字和身份将不会被公开，任何调查结果中与身份相关的信息也会被抹去。您提供的信息将成为我学术成果的一部分，这个学术成果将有发表的可能。所有数据将仅被保存七年。当您填完并上交这份问卷，表示您已了解并接受以上的条件。调查回复的质量对于我而言非常重要。感谢您的坦诚回答！

姓名：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿　　民族：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿　　任教学段：＿＿＿＿＿＿

1. 您的性别?

A. 男

B. 女

C. 不方便透露

2. 您的年龄?

A. 21-30

B. 31-40

C. 41-50

D. 50 岁以上

3. 您的教龄?

A. 1-4 年

B. 5-10 年

C. 10-15 年

D. 15-20 年

E. 大于 20 年

4. 您的民族成分是什么?

5. 您的最高学历/学位?

A. 中专

B. 大专

C. 本科

D. 硕士

E. 博士

F. 其他

请简述:

6. 您之前是否在其他学校工作过?

A. 是

B. 否

7. 如果您的回答为"是",请问是那种类型的学校?

A. 少数民族学校

B. 非少数民族学校

C. 民汉学生合校

D. 其他

请简述:

8. 您如何评价您的蒙古语水平？

（1=尚不具备，2=基本掌握，3=好，4=非常好，5=优秀）

	1	2	3	4	5
听					
说（流利度）					
发音					
阅读					
写作					

9. 您如何评价您的汉语水平？

（1=尚不具备，2=基本掌握，3=好，4=非常好，5=优秀）

	1	2	3	4	5
听					
说（流利度）					
发音					
阅读					
写作					

10.请简述您现阶段汉语课堂教学中的语言使用情况，请参考回答以下问题。

(您的主要教学用语是什么？您何时切换不同语言？您在教低年级和高年级学生时，使用的教学语言有哪些区别？）

12. 根据您对于汉语教学中使用的《汉语》教材，您如何看待以下观点？ （1= 非常不同意，2=不同意，3=中立，4=同意，5=非常同意）

	1	2	3	4	5
1. 教材中蒙文翻译注释的数量符合现阶段学生需要。					
2. 教材中蒙文翻译注释的位置符合现阶段学生需要。					
3. 教材应该包括蒙文-中文翻译练习					
4. 教材应该包括中文-蒙文翻译练习					
5. 教材中每课的生词数量适合学生					
6. 教材中的关于语言知识的例子精确并且具有代表性					
7. 教材中的练习有效地帮助学生巩固复习教学重点					
8. 教材的课文内容符合学生兴趣					
9. 教材的课文内容大汉族主义					
10. 教材的课文内容以汉族教材为蓝本					
11. 教材缺乏对于蒙族学生的针对性					
12. 教材应该包括更多关于蒙古族历史文化的内容					
13. 教材对于交际型语言教学有帮助					

13. 您对于现阶段实施的《民族中小学汉语课程标准（义务教育）》大纲满意吗？

A. 非常满意　**B.** 满意　　**C.** 一般　**D.** 不满意　**E.** 很不满意

请简述原因

14. 您对于学校使用的汉语教学材料有哪些建议。请简述

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15. 您是否愿意参加之后的访谈？请留下您的联系方式

16. 您是否愿意知道本次调研的结果？请留下您的联系方式

谢谢参与！

Hello! Thank you for participating in my research.

I am a PhD student at the University of Nottingham in the school of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies. This research project aims to investigate the teaching of Mandarin Chinese as a second language to Mongols within China across the twentieth century and its implications to the present day. I am interested in your attitudes towards the linguistic knowledge and cultural contents in the Chinese language teaching. Your answers will be used as valuable research data for my doctoral studies. I am interested in your personal views. Please give your answers sincerely as only this will guarantee the success of the investigation.

The contents of this questionnaire are **absolutely confidential**. No information that can identify the respondent will be disclosed under any circumstances. Only the researcher and supervisors will have the access to the data collected. The data will be kept on password protected devices and will be destroyed seven years after publication. If you provide your contact details (eg. email; address), please rest assured that these contact details will only be used for further interview and for sending the summary findings.

If you are willing to participate in this study after reading this sheet, please complete this questionnaire. The whole questionnaire may take you 10 mins to complete. Your participation is absolutely voluntary and you have the right to drop out of this study any time without having to provide reasons.

I hope that this research will make a contribution to literature on the teaching of Mandarin Chinese to minority students from both historical and present perspectives and provide some insights into the future language teaching and language planning policy. If you have any questions about the study, you can contact me at Jiaye.wu@nottingham.ac.uk or my WeChat jennyfishwu38 and CLAS Ethics Officer of University of Nottingham Rui Miranda at Rui.Miranda@nottingham.ac.uk.

1. **Gender**

A. **Female**

B. **Male**

C. **Prefer not to say**

2. **Age**

A. **21 – 30**

B. **31 – 40**

C. **41 – 50**

D. **Above 50**

3. **How long have you worked as a Chinese language teacher?**

A. **1 – 4 years**

B. **5 – 10 years**

C. **10 – 15 years**

D. **15 – 20 years**

E. **Above 20 years**

4. **What is your ethnicity?**

5. **What is your highest educational qualification?**

A. **Secondary school**

B. **Bachelor degree**

C. **Master degree**

D. **PhD**

6. **Have you worked in other schools before?**

A. **Yes**

B. **No**

7. **If you answer 'yes', which type of school was it?**

A. **School for ethnic minority students**

B. **School for non-ethnic minority students**

C. **School for both ethnic minority and non ethnic minority students**
D. **Other**

8. **How would you rate your Mongolian for academic and professional purposes? (1=insufficient, 2=sufficient, 3=good, 4=very good, 5=excellent)**

	1	2	3	4	5
Listening					
Speaking (fluency)					
Pronunciation					
Reading					
Writing					

9. **How would you rate your Chinese for academic and professional purpose? (1=insufficient, 2=sufficient, 3=good, 4=very good, 5=excellent) Please don't select more than one answer per row.**

	1	2	3	4	5
Listening					
Speaking (fluency)					
Pronunciation					
Reading					
Writing					

10. **What language-s do you use in your teaching? Pease specify details below.**

11. **What language-s do you think can better transmit Chinese culture? Please specify details below.**

12. Based on the Chinese textbooks used in the school, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1=strongly disagree, 2=agree, 3=Neither agree nor disagree, 4=disagree, 5=strongly disagree)

|	1	2	3	4	5
1. The Chinese textbooks for Mongolian learners should include Mongolian annotations					
2. The Chinese textbooks for Mongolian learners should include Mongolian – Chinese translation tasks					
3. The Chinese textbooks for Mongolian learners should include Chinese – Mongolian translation tasks					
4. The Chinese textbooks for Mongolian learners should focus more on linguistic knowledge teaching than the Han students do					
5. The Chinese textbooks for Mongolian learners should focus more on language skills teaching than the Han students do					
6. The Chinese textbooks for Mongolian learners should include less and lower level of ancient Chinese literature than the Han students do					
7. The Chinese textbooks for Mongolian learners should include more contents of Chinese history and culture					
8. The Chinese textbooks for Mongolian learners should include more contents of Mongolian history and culture					
9. The contents of Chinese textbooks for Mongolian learners are Han-centric					
10. The Chinese textbooks for Mongolian learners are based on the textbooks for Han students as blueprint					
11. The Chinese textbooks do not address the needs of Mongolian learners					
12. The Chinese textbooks					

should include more contents of Mongolian history and culture					
13. The Chinese textbooks for Mongolian learners are helpful for teaching					

13. **Are you satisfied with the current national curriculum for full-time ethnic minority students?**

A. Very satisfied B. Satisfied C. OK D. Dissatisfied E. Very dissatisfied

Please specify below

14. **What improvements do you think that the current Chinese teaching materials used in this school can make? Please leave your comments below.**

15. **Are you happy to take part in interviews? If so, please leave your contact details.**

16. **Are you happy to know the findings of the investigation? If so, please leave your contact details.**

Thank you!

Appendix 3. Ethical consent forms (Ethics approval granted by the University of Nottingham on 13 May 2018)

Appendix 3.1 Research information sheet and consent form for teachers' interviews

教师访谈知情同意书

尊敬的教师：

　　您好！

　　我是英国诺丁汉大学现代语言文化与区域研究学院的博士二年级研究生，目前正在进行关于题为**《20 世纪蒙古族汉语教学发展历程以及对现世的启示》**项目研究，其属于 **MEITS** 总项目的一部分 **(http://www.meits.org/)**，已获得英国诺丁汉大学以及英中协会的赞助。

　　该项目将从多角度揭示蒙古族汉语教学语言知识、教学法的发展以及语言教育如何处理国民身份塑造以及蒙古族民族身份传承之间的关系，旨在从历史的角度开看待蒙古族汉语教学的发展历程，以古鉴今，更好地服务于未来的少数民族汉语教学以及国家语言教育政策制定。

　　为了能够更好得了解现今蒙古族的汉语教学情况，在此访谈中您将首先提供一些个人信息，主要包括您的教学经历。之后您会回答一些关于语言知识、语言技能教授以及如何传递中华文化以及其与蒙古族文化的关系的看法，《汉语》教材将使主要讨论对象。访谈将花费 **45-60** 分钟。

　　您的参与完全是基于自愿原则，您可以拒绝回答任一问题，您也可以随时中止。所有调研数据将被严格加密保存。您的名字和个人信息将不会被公开，任何调研结果中与其相关的信息会被抹去。您提供的其他信息将成为我学术成果的一部分，这个学术成果将有发表的可能，所有数据将仅被保存七年。

　　如果您对此次调查有任何问题，请首先与负责本研究的研究员联系：吴家晔 **(jiaye.wu@nottingham.ac.uk)** 或微信号（**jennyfishwu**）。
导师：Nicola McLelland (Nicola.McLelland@nottingham.ac.uk), Sarah Dauncey (Sarah.dauncey@nottingham.ac.uk)。

　　如果通过以上方式，问题仍得不到解决，请联系英国诺丁汉大学现代语言文化区域研究院学术研究伦理负责人：**Rui Miranda (Rui.Miranda@nottingham.ac.uk)**

　　非常感谢！

请打钩形式确认以下声明：

1. 我确认我已阅读并且了解以上的知情书的内容并且有机会进行提问 ☐

2. 我了解我的参与是自愿的并且我可以无条件随时退出。我了解如果我中途退出了，之前提供的信息也许仍然会纳入分析 ☐

3. 我了解访谈将被录音。 ☐

4. 我了解任何采集的数据将被匿名保存，研究结果将通常以成组的形式呈现。任何个人数据将完全匿名展示，以确保个人身份不被识别。 ☐

5. 我了解研究所采集的数据将被用于分析、发表以及会议展示。 ☐

6. 我同意参加上述研究 ☐

教师签名_____   日期_____

研究员签名_____   日期_____

Research Information Sheet for teachers' interviews

I am a PhD student at the University of Nottingham in the school of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies. This research project aims to investigate the teaching of Mandarin Chinese as a second language to Mongols within China across the twentieth century and its implications to the present day.

In this interview, you will initially be asked to provide some information about yourself and your teaching experience. This will then be followed by a more general conversation about issues regarding the teaching of linguistic knowledge of Mandarin Chinese, the dealing with national and Mongolian ethnic identity in language teaching and gaps between teaching requirements and teaching practices. Each interview should take approximately 30 – 45 minutes.

Your participation in this study is voluntary, and you are able to withdraw at any time and without any negative consequences. The data collected from these interviews will be kept **strictly confidential**, stored on a password protected database and will only be accessible to those involved in the research (researcher, supervisors). Any information about you will be anonymized and a unique code will be used so that your children cannot be recognised from it. Your personal data (address, telephone number) will be kept for 2 years after the end of the study so that we are able to contact you about the findings of the study *and possible follow-up studies* (unless you advise us that you do not wish to be contacted). All research data will be kept securely for 7 years. After this time it will be disposed of securely. There is a chance that the data collected will be used by the researcher in future publications, such as books and articles.

I hope that this research will make a contribution to literature on the teaching of Mandarin Chinese to minority students from historical perspective and provide some insights into the future language teaching and language planning policy. If you have any questions about the study, you can contact me at Jiaye.wu@nottingham.ac.uk or my WeChat jennyfishwu38 and CLAS Ethics Officer of University of Nottingham Rui Miranda at Rui.Miranda@nottingham.ac.uk, my 1st supervisor Nicola McLelland at Nicola.McLelland@nottingham.ac.uk, my 2nd supervisor Sarah Dauncey at Sarah.Dauncey@nottingham.ac.uk.

CONSENT FORM

Please tick the initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

   ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without my legal rights being affected. I understand that should I withdraw then the information collected so far may not be able to be extracted and erased and that this information may still be used in the project analysis.

   ☐

3. I understand that my interview will be recorded.

   ☐

4. I understand that interview data will be stored anonymously and anonymous direct quotes from the interviews may be used in study reports to ensure that personal information will not be identified.

   ☐

5. I understand the data collected in this study will be analysed, published and used in conference presentations

   ☐

6. I agree to take part in the above study.

   ☐

_____ _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____ _____   _____

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

2 copies: 1 for the participant, 1 for the project file

Appendix 3.2 Research information sheet and consent form for textbook compiler's interview

教科书编辑知情同意书

尊敬的编辑部老师：

　　您好！

　　我是英国诺丁汉大学现代语言文化与区域研究学院的博士二年级研究生，目前正在进行关于题为《**20 世纪蒙古族汉语教学发展历程以及对现世的启示**》项目研究，其属于 **MEITS** 总项目的一部分 (**http://www.meits.org/**)，已获得英国诺丁汉大学以及英中协会的赞助。

　　该项目将从多角度揭示蒙古族汉语教学语言知识、教学法的发展以及语言教育如何处理国民身份塑造以及蒙古族民族身份传承之间的关系，旨在从历史的角度开看待蒙古族汉语教学的发展历程，以古鉴今，更好地服务于未来的少数民族汉语教学以及国家语言教育政策制定。

　　为了能够更好得了解现今蒙古族的汉语教学情况，在此访谈中您将首先提供一些个人信息，主要包括您的教科书编辑经历。之后您会回答在编辑《汉语》教材中一些关于语言知识、语言技能以及如何展现中华文化、蒙古族文化以及两者关系的看法，《汉语》教材将是主要讨论对象。访谈将花费 **45-60** 分钟。

　　您的参与完全是基于自愿原则，您可以拒绝回答任一问题，您也可以随时中止。所有调研数据将被严格加密保存。您的名字和个人信息将不会被公开，任何调研结果中与其相关的信息会被抹去。您提供的其他信息将成为我学术成果的一部分，这个学术成果将有发表的可能，所有数据将仅被保存七年。

　　如果您对此次调查有任何问题，请首先与负责本研究的研究员联系：吴家晔 (**jiaye.wu@nottingham.ac.uk**) 或微信号（**jennyfishwu**）。
导师：Nicola McLelland (Nicola.McLelland@nottingham.ac.uk), Sarah Dauncey (Sarah.dauncey@nottingham.ac.uk)。

　　如果通过以上方式，问题仍得不到解决，请联系英国诺丁汉大学现代语言文化区域研究院学术研究伦理负责人：**Rui Miranda (Rui.Miranda@nottingham.ac.uk)**

　　非常感谢！

请打钩形式确认以下声明：

1. 我确认我已阅读并且了解以上的知情书的内容并且有机会进行提问 ☐

2. 我了解我的参与是自愿的并且我可以无条件随时退出。我了解如果我中途退出了，之前提供的信息也许仍然会纳入分析 ☐

3. 我了解访谈将被录音。 ☐

4. 我了解任何采集的数据将被匿名保存，研究结果将通常以成组的形式呈现。任何个人数据将完全匿名展示，以确保个人身份不被识别。 ☐

5. 我了解研究所采集的数据将被用于分析、发表以及会议展示。 ☐

6. 我同意参加上述研究 ☐

教师签名_____ 日期_____

研究员签名_____ 日期_____

Research Information Sheet for teachers' interviews

I am a PhD student at the University of Nottingham in the school of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies. This research project aims to investigate the teaching of Mandarin Chinese as a second language to Mongols within China across the twentieth century and its implications to the present day.

In this interview, you will initially be asked to provide some information about yourself and your editing experience. This will then be followed by a more general conversation about issues regarding the teaching material editing in terms of the linguistic knowledge of Mandarin Chinese, the dealing with Chinese national and Mongolian ethnic identity and comments about current Chinese teaching materials. Each interview should take approximately 30 – 45 minutes.

Your participation in this study is voluntary, and you are able to withdraw at any time and without any negative consequences. The data collected from these interviews will be kept **strictly confidential**, stored on a password protected database and will only be accessible to those involved in the research (researcher, supervisors). Any information about you will be anonymised and a unique code will be used so that your children cannot be recognised from it. Your personal data (address, telephone number) will be kept for 2 years after the end of the study so that we are able to contact you about the findings of the study *and possible follow-up studies* (unless you advise us that you do not wish to be contacted). All research data will be kept securely for 7 years. After this time it will be disposed of securely. There is a chance that the data collected will be used by the researcher in future publications, such as books and articles.

I hope that this research will make a contribution to literature on the teaching of Mandarin Chinese to minority students from historical perspective and provide some insights into the future language teaching and language planning policy. If you have any questions about the study, you can contact me at Jiaye.wu@nottingham.ac.uk or my WeChat jennyfishwu38 and CLAS Ethics Officer of University of Nottingham Rui Miranda at Rui.Miranda@nottingham.ac.uk, my 1st supervisor Nicola McLelland at Nicola.McLelland@nottingham.ac.uk, my 2nd supervisor Sarah Dauncey at Sarah.Dauncey@nottingham.ac.uk.

CONSENT FORM

Please tick the initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without my legal rights being affected. I understand that should I withdraw then the information collected so far may not be able to be extracted and erased and that this information may still be used in the project analysis.

3. I understand that my interview will be recorded.

4. I understand that interview data will be stored anonymously and anonymous direct quotes from the interviews may be used in study reports to ensure that personal information will not be identified.

5. I understand the data collected in this study will be analysed, published and used in conference presentations

6. I agree to take part in the above study.

_____ _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____ _____   _____

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

2 copies: 1 for the participant, 1 for the project file

Appendix 3.3 Research information sheet for teachers' classroom observations

Appendix 3.4 Research information sheet for parents and children for classroom observations

Appendix 4 Interview guides

Appendix 4.1 Interview guide for teachers

• **Background information**

- When did you start to teach at this school? Did you teach at any other school previously? If so, which type?

- Where is your hometown?

- Did you also attend ethnic minority school in the past? When?

• **General knowledge of Chinese teaching practice**

- What are/were the ethnicity backgrounds of the students in your classroom?

- What are/were the differences with Chinese language teaching from low grade to high grade?

- What do you think are/were the similarities and differences for teaching ethnic minority students Chinese compared with the Han students?

- What do you think are/were any changes in the Chinese language teaching paradigm (e.g. approach, contents)?

• **Perception of what kind of Chinese to teach**

- What are/were the relationship among listening, speaking, reading and writing skills in each grade?

- How do you think about the use of Mongolian in the Chinese teaching classroom?

- How do/did you treat the Mongolian annotations and Chinese-Mongolian translations in the textbooks? Are they necessary?

- How do you think about the teaching of ancient literature to the students?

• **Relationship between teaching Chinese national identity and Mongol's ethnic identity**

- How do you think about the relationship between Chinese national identity and Mongol's ethnic identity in the language teaching?

- How do/did you represent the Chinese nation and Chinese people to the students?

- How do/did you treat the teaching of Mongolian culture in the Chinese language classroom?

• **Gaps between language policy and language teaching practice**

- Which parts of the textbooks do you think are the most difficult to teach to the students and why?

- What improvements do you think could be made to the current Chinese learning textbooks and why?

- How would you evaluate the textbooks against the requirements of the national curriculum?

Closing question: Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix 4.2 Interview guide fort textbook compiler

• **Background information**

- When did you start the editing career?

- Before you become an editor, did you work as a language teacher? If so, what type of school did you work at? How long did you teach there?

- Where is your hometown?

• **General knowledge of Chinese teaching practice**

- What do you think are the similarities and differences between the Chinese learning textbooks for the minority students and Han students?

- What do you think are any changes in the Chinese language teaching paradigm (e.g. approach, contents)?

• **Perception of what kind of Chinese to teach**

- What varieties of Chinese are chosen as a point of departure in language teaching (reading, listening, speaking and writing)?

- What are the relationship among listening, speaking, reading and writing skills in each grade?

- How do you think about the editing of ancient Chinese literature in minority students textbooks?

- How do you edit the Mongolian annotations and Chinese-Mongolian translations tasks in the textbooks?

• **Relationship between teaching Chinese national identity and Mongol's ethnic identity**

- How do you think about the relationship between Chinese national identity and Mongol's ethnic identity in the language teaching?

- What are the editing requirements of representing the Chinese nation and Chinese people in the textbooks?

- What are the editing requirements of representing Mongolian people and their culture in the textbooks?

• **Comments of Chinese teaching materials**

- What improvements do you think could be made to the current Chinese teaching textbook for Mongolian speakers and why?

- What improvements do you think could be made to the current National language curriculum and why?

Closing question: Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix 5: Initials and finals in Khaisan's 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds'

Appendix 5.1: List of initials in Khaisan's 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds'

Initial	Khaisan's Mongolian transliteration	Romanised Mongolian transliteration	IPA
[p] as in 梆 b(ang)	ᠪ	b	/b/
[pʰ] as in 匏 p(ao)	ᠫ	p	/p/
木 m(u)	ᠮ	m	/m/
風 f(eng)	ᠹ	f	/f/
[t] as in 斗 d(ou)	ᠳ	d	/d/
[tʰ] as in 土 t(u)	ᠲ	t	/t/
鳥 n(iao)	ᠨ	n	/n/
雷 l(ei)	ᠯ	l	/l/
[tʂ] as in 竹 zh(u)	ᠵ	ǰ	/dʒ/
	ᠷ (It is only used when followed by /i/)	zh	/tʂ/
[tʂʰ] as in 虫 ch(ong)	ᠴ	č	/tʃ/
	ᠼ (It is only used when followed by /i/)	ch	/tʂʰ/
[ʂ] as in 石 sh(i)	ᠱ	š	/ʃ/
[r] as in 日 r(i)	ᠿ	r	/r/
	ᠺ	ž	/ʐ/
[ts] as in 剪 j(ian)	ᠵ	ǰ	/dʒ/
	ᠽ	z	/dz/
[tsʰ] as in 鵲 q(ue)	ᠴ	č	/tʃ/

	ᠼ	ts	/ts/
[s] as in 系 x(i)	ᠰ	s	/s/
雲 y(un)	ᠶ	y	/j/
[k] as in 金 j(in)	ᠵ	ǰ	/dʒ/
	ᠺ (ᠺ and ᠻ below are originally used for transcribing foreign words, which are consistently adopted by Khaisan when they are followed by *a*. The same case also applies to the 橋 q(iao) group)	k	/k/
	ᠻ	kʰ	/kʰ/
	ᠭ (It is used before non-pharyngeal vowels: *e, i, ö,* ü)	g	/g/
	ᠬ (It is used before the pharyngeal vowels *u, o*)	γ	/g/
[kʰ] as in 橋 q(iao)	ᠻ	kʰ	/kʰ/
	ᠺ	k	/k/
	ᠭ (It is used by Khaisan in the groups of 金 j(in), 橋 q(iao), 火 h(uo). As /g/ and /x/ sounds share the form ᠭ in modern Mongolian before non-pharyngeal vowels, it is tentatively identified also as /k/ in Khaisan's transliteration.)	k	/k/
	ᠴ	č	/tʃ/

[x] as in 火 h(uo)	ᠬ (It is originally used for transliterating foreign words, is adopted before a, e, i by Khaisan)	h	/x/
	ᠬ (It is used before pharyngeal vowels: *o, u* while ᠬ is used before non-pharyngeal vowels: *ö, ü* by Khaisan)	q	/x/
	ᠬ	k	/x/
	ᠰ	s	/s/
蛙 w(a)	ᠸ, zero initial	w	/w/

Appendix 5.2: List of finals in Khaisan's 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds'

Final	Khaisan's Mongolian transliteration	Romanised Mongolian transliteration	IPA
天(t)ian	ᠠᠨ	an	/an/
	ᠢᠶᠠᠨ	iyan	/ijan/
	ᠦᠸᠡᠨ	üwen	/uwən/
	ᠢᠦᠸᠠᠨ	iuwan	/iʊwan/
人 (r)en	ᠡᠨ	en	/ən/
	ᠢᠨ	in	/in/
	ᠤᠨ	un	/ʊn/
	ᠦᠨ	ün	/un/
	ᠢᠶᠦᠨ	iyün	/ijʊn/
龍 (l)ong	ᠡᠩ	eng	/əŋ/
	ᠢᠩ	ing	/iŋ/
	ᠦᠩ	üng	/uŋ/
	ᠢᠦᠩ	iung	/iʊŋ/
	ᠤᠩ	ong	/ɔŋ/
羊 (y)ang	ᠠᠩ	ang	/aŋ/
	ᠢᠶᠠᠩ	iyang	/ijaŋ/
	ᠦᠸᠡᠩ	üweng	/uwəŋ/
牛 (n)iu	ᠧᠦ	eü	/əu/
	ᠢᠥ	iö	/io/
	ᠤᠥ	oo	/ɔ:/
	ᠢᠶᠣᠥ	iyoo	/ijɔ:/

獒 ao	ꡂ	au	/au/
虎 (h)u	ꡟ	ü	/u/
駝(t)uo	ꡡ	ö	/o/
	ꡠ	e	/ə/
	ꡢ	eü	/əu/
	ꡲꡦ	iuwai	/iʊwai/
蛇 (sh)e	ꡣꡦ	Iyei	/ijəi/
	ꡠ	e	/ə/
	ꡲꡦ	iuwei	/iʊwəi/
馬(m)a	ꡝ	a	/a/
	ꡤꡝ	üwa	/uwa/
	ꡣꡝ	iya	/ija/
豺 (ch)ai	ꡡ	ai	/ai/
	ꡣꡦ	iyei	/ijəi/
	ꡤꡦ	üwei	/uwəi/
地 (d)i	ꡠ	i	/i/
	ꡠ	e	/ə/
	ꡠ	ei	/əi/
	ꡧ	ui	/ʊi/
	ꡧꡦ	üi	/ui/
	ꡧꡦ	ioi	/iɔi/

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Appendix 5.3: List of Mongolian transliterations of characters with Mandarin sibilant initials in Khaisan's 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds'

	Mandarin sibilant initial /ts/	Mandarin sibilant initial /tsʰ/	Mandarin sibilant initial /s/
Mongolian sibilants	None	None	先 ᠰᠢᠶᠠᠨ siyan /sijan/, 宣 ᠰᠢᠤᠸᠠᠨ siowan /sijʊwan/, 信 ᠰᠢᠨ sin /sin/, 旬 ᠰᠢᠶᠤᠨ siyun /sijun/, 星 ᠰᠢᠩ sing /siŋ/, 相 ᠰᠢᠶᠠᠩ siyang /sijaŋ/, 羞 ᠰᠢᠤ siu /siu/, 消 ᠰᠢᠶᠤᠣ siyuo/sijʊo/, 些 ᠰᠢᠶᠧ siyei/sijəi/, 西 ᠰᠢ si/si/
Mongolian palatals	煎 ᠵᠢᠶᠠᠨ ǰiyan /dʒijan/, 浸 ᠵᠢᠨ ǰin /dʒin/, 精 ᠵᠢᠩ ǰing /dʒiŋ/, 將 ᠵᠢᠶᠠᠩ ǰiang/dʒiaŋ/, 酒 ᠵᠢᠤ ǰiu/dʒiu/, 焦 ᠵᠢᠶᠤᠣ ǰiyuo /ijɔ:/, 借 ᠵᠢᠶᠧ ǰiyei /dʒijəi/	千 ᠴᠢᠶᠠᠨ čian /tʃian/, 親 ᠴᠢᠨ čin /tʃin/, 青 ᠴᠢᠩ čing/tʃiŋ/, 槍 ᠴᠢᠶᠠᠩ čiyang/tʃijaŋ/, 秋 ᠴᠢᠤ čio /tʃio/, 俏 ᠴᠢᠶᠤᠣ čiuo /tʃiɔ:/, 切 ᠴᠢᠶᠧ čiyei /tʃijəi/, 沏 ᠴᠢ či/ tʃi/	None
Mongolian gutturals	爵 ᠭᠢᠤᠸᠧ giuwei /giuwəi/ 沮 ᠭᠢᠤ giui /giui/	碏 ᠺᠢᠤᠸᠧ kiuwei /kiuwəi/, 取 ᠺᠢᠤ kiui /kiui/	削 ᠬᠢᠤᠸᠧ hiuwei /hiʊwəi/, 雪 ᠬᠢᠤᠸᠧ hiuwei /hiʊwəi/, 徐 ᠬᠢᠤ hiui /hiʊi/

Appendix 5.4: List of Mongolian transliterations of characters with Mandarin velar initials in Khaisan's 'Mongolian Han Original Sounds'

	Mandarin velar initial /k/	**Mandarin velar initial /kʰ/**	**Mandarin velar initial /x/**
Mongolian sibilants	None	None	熏 siyun /sijun/, 向 siyang /sijaŋ/, 學 siuwei /siʊwəi/, 鞋 siyei /sijəi/, 虛 siui /siui/
Mongolian palatals	角 ǰiuwei /dʒiuwəi/, 皆 ǰiyei /dʒijəi/, 居 ǰiui /dʒiui/	羣 čiyun /tʃijun/, 腔 čiyang /tʃijaŋ/, 却 čiuwei /tʃiuwəi/, 闕 čuwei /tʃuwəi/, 揩 čiyei /tʃijəi/, 去 čiui /tʃiʊi/	None
Mongolian gutturals	間 giyan /gijan/, 娟 giuwan /giʊwan/, 巾 gin /gin/, 京 ging /giŋ/, 鳩 giu /giu/, 交 giuo /giɔ:/, 結 giyei /gijəi/, 加 giya /gija/, 幾 gi /gi/	欠 kiyan /kijan/, 圈 kiowan /kiʊwan/, 禽 kin /kin/, 卿 king /kiŋ/, 傾 kiung /kiʊŋ/, 丘 kiu /kiu/, 敲 kiyuo /kijɔ:/, 茄 kiyei /kijəi/, 恰 kiya /kija/, 溪 ki /ki/	軒 hiyan /xijan/, 喧 hiuyan /xiʊjan/, 欣 hin /xin/, 幸 hing /xiŋ/, 兄 hiong /xiɔŋ/, 休 hio /xio/, 孝 hiyuo /xijɔ:/, 頡 hiyei /xijəi/, 霞 hiya /xija/, 希 hi /xi/