

A multimodal approach to attitudes towards Tibet in Chinese language textbooks

Qi Zhang^{a*} and Ya Cuo^b

*^aSchool of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies, Dublin City University,
Dublin, Ireland; ^bFaculty of Social Science, University of Macau, Macau Special
Administrative Region.*

*Dr Qi Zhang
School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies
Glasnevin Campus, Dublin City University
Dublin, Ireland

Email: qizhang2004@gmail.com; qi.zhang@dcu.ie

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1061-4036>

Dr Qi Zhang is an Assistant Professor in the School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies at Dublin City University in Ireland. Her recent research interests are in the field of Chinese language education, including applied Chinese linguistics, language attitudes and pedagogy, and Chinese language study among ethnic minorities in China.

Dr Ya Cuo received her PhD from the Department of Sociology in the University of Macau. Her research interests are ethnic issues and ethnic policies, religion and society. She has done research on non-profit organisations and Buddhism in contemporary China. A Tibetan from Amdo Region, she has an MA in Public Management and Sociology from Beijing Normal University and is a fluent speaker of Tibetan, Mandarin Chinese and English.

A multimodal approach to attitudes towards Tibet in Chinese language textbooks

Drawing on an examination of Chinese language textbooks for Tibetan ethnic students in the Tibet Autonomous Region of mainland China, this study scrutinises the representation of Tibetan images and the official attitude towards Tibet embedded in the textbooks. Using multimodal discourse analysis (MDA), the paper investigates how government perceptions of Tibet are constructed through the co-deployment of visual and textual semiotic resources in Chinese language textbooks. This study suggests an overall positive attitude towards Tibet shown in the textbooks. However, the references to Tibet or Tibetans are usually situated as topics of the 'past', which indicates a sense of their being uncivilised or backwards. The positive yet stereotyped portrayal of Tibet is in line with national identity construction to ensure a unified nation-state. This study examines both text and image in textbooks in order to understand state ideologies and official attitudes towards a minority group.

Keywords: attitude, multimodal, Tibet, Chinese language

Introduction

As a multi-ethnic country, China consists of 56 ethnic groups with the Han being the majority. It has adopted ethnic policies based on Marxist-Leninist theory and used in the former USSR.¹ Generally, a region with concentrated minority communities is granted regional autonomy, with different ethnic groups classified according to the national ethnic identification projects. An autonomous region is offered preferential policies, including local interpretations of state policies and greater state subsidies,² while an ethnic minority entails a set of privileges for minorities in areas such as family planning, college admissions and even criminal justice.³

However, the worsening ethnic relations on China's ethnic frontiers, including violent riots in the TAR in 2008 and Xinjiang in 2009, have been among the factors

leading to concerns about and desire for change of the existing ethnic policies in China.⁴ There has been heated discussion in relation to policy review or even policy reform, in order to cope with the changing world and reinforce national cohesion.

Ma Rong⁵ and the two Hus⁶ have been the main scholars initiating such debates.⁷ The former calls for depoliticisation through changes such as eliminating minority status – which may contribute to avoiding ethnicity-based prejudice and discrimination – and a shift towards culturalisation, in order to strengthen national cultural identity among ethnic minorities. Hu and Hu (2011), who named their proposal “Second-Generation Ethnic Policy” to highlight the need for a major policy change, go further, suggesting the eradication of the division between the minority and the majority, as well as the dilution of ethnic consciousness and the encouragement of a shared sense of civic identity.

While radical change in the current ethnic policies remains unlikely, especially after the numerous critiques of terminating regional ethnic autonomy or minority preferential treatment, a gradual and prudent approach to ‘perfect’⁸ the existing policies may be underway. A number of high-ranking officials have hinted at policy innovation, including Zhu Weiqun (former Executive Vice Director of the Party’s United Front Work Department) in 2012⁹ and President Xi Jinping in 2014.¹⁰

Following up the Hu and Hu proposal to further implement the Law of the PRC on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language and to increase the use of Putonghua,¹¹ Zhu Weiqun advocates “pay[ing] close attention to promoting the spread of a common national language and writing system”.¹² As Leibold (2013) and Elliott (2015) point out, these small adjustments of existing policies indicate “the intensification of the study and use of China’s official Putonghua language and of

patriotic education”¹³ and “a harder line on the sensitive issue of control over education policies within the autonomous zones”.¹⁴

Although Putonghua is not specified in the Constitution as the official language of China, the First National Law on Language legislates for this de facto status by setting it (and standardised Chinese characters) as “the basic language in education and teaching in schools and other institutions of education, except where otherwise provided for in law” (Law of the PRC on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language, 2000). This language law also promotes Putonghua by specifying that it “shall be taught in schools and other institutions of education by means of the Chinese course”. On the other hand, it is also in line with the Constitution, which stresses that all ethnicities “shall have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages” (ibid; see also Liu, 2018; Pan, 2016).

Since then, regional regulations have been issued in order to implement the national language law in the local contexts for thirty-two areas –all of mainland China, but not Hong Kong and Macau.¹⁵ These regional measures were put forward to allow harmonious linguistic co-existence between Putonghua and local vernaculars such as Cantonese in Guangdong Province and Min dialect in Fujian Province, as well as ethnic minority languages such as Tibetan (ibid).

The Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) came into being in 1965 and is one of the five provincial-level autonomous regions with a dense population of ethnic minorities.¹⁶ It is in southwest China, with over 2.7 million (2,716,388) Tibetans accounting for around 90% of the overall Tibetan population in China, according to the 2010 population census.¹⁷ The TAR is therefore one of the most remote provincial-level autonomous regions with a relatively homogenous population.¹⁸

As Postiglione¹⁹ points out, national unity remains the central concern in Chinese education. For this purpose, there is a variety of top-down initiatives for Tibetan students, including a preparatory year of Chinese language classes in advance of a tertiary programme,²⁰ the development of *neidi* education (boarding schools and classrooms in inland cities for select high-achieving Tibetan children)²¹ and the introduction of Mandarin Chinese as the medium of instruction.²²

Tibetan, rather than Mandarin Chinese, is clearly the lingua franca in the TAR. The TAR People's Congress²³ issued Provisions of the Tibet Autonomous Region on the Study, Use, and Development of the Tibetan Language. This not only states that Tibetan is the standard spoken and written language in the region, but also that Tibetan, together with Putonghua and standard written Chinese, shall be used as the medium of instruction for compulsory education, which consists of six years of primary school and three years of junior high school (see also Resolution of the People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region to Revise "Some Provisions of the Tibet Autonomous Region on the Study, Use, and Development of the Spoken and Written Tibetan Language (Draft)", 2016).

With the introduction of bilingual education for ethnic minorities in China in the mid-1990s, two types of schooling system gradually took shape in the TAR, based on the medium of instruction.²⁴ One type is Tibetan-medium schools, with Chinese as a language subject; the other type employs Chinese as the instructional medium, with Tibetan as a compulsory course. Zhou²⁵ clarifies that the latter type of school can be further divided into pure Chinese-medium schools and schools in which the primary instructional medium is Chinese, but teaching is assisted by Tibetan language. Regardless of Tibetan medium or Chinese medium, we can see that Chinese is always one of the key subjects in compulsory education.

More than 95% of primary schools in the TAR belong to the Tibetan-medium schooling system, in which Chinese as a language subject is usually introduced in Year 3.²⁶ It is worth noting that this is not possible in practice in rural and nomadic areas.²⁷ Even in urban secondary schools, which typically adopt Chinese as the medium of instruction, variations can be found across schools based on local conditions, such as bilingual staffing resources and student language competence.²⁸ As a result, the majority of Tibetan students study Chinese as a second language within school curricula. The Chinese language course is therefore a fundamental component of TAR bilingual education.

While there is resistance to learning Chinese, a number of Tibetans have demonstrated awareness of the linguistic capital of Chinese and willingness to learn it,²⁹ which is in line with the improvement of Chinese language proficiency encouraged by the central government with the aim of enhancing national unity.³⁰ Since the textbooks employed for the Chinese language course undoubtedly determine the content of Chinese language education offered to minority groups, it is worth investigating whether and how national cohesion is embedded in these textbooks.

Furthermore, school textbooks play a vital role in the process of cultivating the worldview of young citizens³¹. China has made great efforts to produce school textbooks in ethnic minority languages, including Tibetan,³² which has had a sophisticated written language for more than a thousand years,³³ as well as other languages that need standardisation or even the creation of a written script.³⁴

But issues with textbooks for Tibetans have also been identified. For instance, the content may over-emphasise political ideology – such as Chinese patriotism, Han-Tibetan relations and revolutionary traditions³⁵ – or hollow out Tibetan culture.³⁶ Bass

(2008) expresses her concerns with the implications of such education for the confidence of the next generation of Tibetans. Nevertheless, Postiglione (2012) notices that some aspects of Tibetan culture are visible in the new textbooks. It is therefore worth examining how changes – if there are any – are presented in Chinese language textbooks for Tibetan students, compared to pre-2008 textbooks.

Against that backdrop, this study sets out to examine Chinese language education for Tibetan students through the lens of six Chinese language textbooks used in TAR junior high schools. Derived from the theoretical framework of systemic functional linguistics,³⁷ multimodality usually refers to meaning-making through the complexity of different semiotic resources.³⁸ Previous research on the representation of ethnic minorities in textbooks has tended to treat visual elements independently from verbal elements, and has examined the visual content in relative isolation from the text.³⁹ Instead of analysing the representational meaning of text only or of pictures only, this study also employs intersemiotic complementarity to scrutinise the intermodal meaning constructed through the complexity of and connection between verbal resources and visual imagery. Specifically, appreciation, affect and judgement from the appraisal theory⁴⁰ are used to investigate the attitudes represented in the verbal and visual repositories of ideational meaning, while the visual content can be coded through Visual Message Elements (VMEs)⁴¹ to investigate its cohesive relations to the verbal content. Through an examination of attitudes towards Tibet embedded in textual and visual representations and their complementarity, the aim is to gain an in-depth understanding of the image of Tibet portrayed in textbooks published by a government-owned education press.

The establishment of a unified Chinese identity in the modern sense dates from the late 19th century, when the Manchu-ruled Qing empire was defeated by the

Western powers and the Han-dominated Nationalists initiated nation-building through the anti-Manchu movement.⁴² The traumatic encounter with foreign powers – both Japan and Western countries – further awoke a sense of national identity in the 1930s and 1940s. Despite attempts to promote an ideology of inclusive nationhood – Zhonghua minzu (meaning Chinese nation) – the Han-centric attitude and perceived superiority of Han culture can be observed in the Nationalist Party’s policies of promoting assimilation of non-Han ethnicities, and its related propaganda.⁴³

Since the rise in nationalism in the 1980s, a compound collective identity has been promoted, one that emphasises the history attached to the country and “a renaissance of Confucianism and other cultural attributes associated with the Han Chinese”.⁴⁴ This identity construction developed from the ‘duoyuan yiti’ concept proposed by Fei Xiaotong,⁴⁵ often translated into English as ‘pluralistic unity’.⁴⁶ Basically, this concept entails a single body of Chinese nationality composed of multiple origins. It puts the emphasis on the political sense of the word ‘minzu’ – a polysemy that can be translated as ‘nationality’, ‘minorities’ or even ‘nation-state’⁴⁷ – and “uses a ‘national civic identity’ to define ‘ethnic membership’”.⁴⁸ As Fei Xiaotong states:

I take *Zhonghua minzu* to refer to a billion people living within the territory of China and identifying with it. More than fifty ethnic units within it are pluralistic and *Zhonghua minzu* is one entity.

Quote in Ma⁴⁹

Ma later developed this concept into “political unity – cultural pluralism”.⁵⁰ On the one hand, Elliott⁵¹ indicates that the Chinese Constitution does not provide any clarity between Zhonghua minzu and Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo (People’s Republic of China). The definition of political unity therefore remains ambiguous,

especially when this term seems to be “used widely wherever [...] needed to refer to people who identify culturally as Chinese, regardless of citizenship or political persuasion”.⁵² Besides, if ‘culturally Chinese’ generally refers to the Han culture that dominates Chinese society nowadays, this virtually implies Han superiority.

On the other hand, the pluralistic unity concept of the Chinese nation is an attempt to maintain a balance between diversity and unity, which is manifested in multiculturalism. Multiculturalism essentially means acknowledging the cultural differences between ethnicities without moulding this diversity into one entity.⁵³ However, the integration of pluralistic unity and multiculturalism actually renders ethnic relations “the subjugation of ethnic minority identities to an overarching and honorable identity of the Chinese nation”.⁵⁴ Therefore, Leibold and Chen⁵⁵ also call it “multiculturalism with Chinese characteristics” or “plural monoculturalism”.

This overarching national identity can draw people’s attention towards political loyalty and consequently delegitimise any minority group’s claim for independence.⁵⁶ The shift away from politicisation in Ma’s proposal⁵⁷ reflects the idea of deterritorialisation, as Elliott⁵⁸ suggests.

An imaginary concept of national identity can indeed present a unified image of China differentiated from foreign ‘others’ who have not historically cohabitated or interacted in the current territory of China.⁵⁹ In other words, in the aftermath of the Western powers’ invasions of China and the Second Sino-Japanese War, a multi-ethnic yet unified Chinese identity seems to have been used in contrast to ‘foreign’ (‘yang’) others – regardless of whether they are Japanese (‘dongyang’, literally ‘eastern foreign’) or Westerners (‘xiyang’, literally ‘western foreign’). It emphasises the sense of belonging to one nation, “the perceived common blood and soil of the Chinese nation”, which implies that all people living in China derive from a single

race with a shared history. This Han-centric sentiment can still be traced despite the effort to construct a unified identity. It is therefore unsurprising to observe ethnic tensions, including resistance to such a hegemonic identity and assertion of ethnic identity.⁶⁰

In the context of purportedly promoting a single unified identity, ethnic minorities tend to be marginalised, under-represented or misrepresented in textbooks. Chu⁶¹ examines the portrayal of Han Chinese and ethnic minorities in both the pictures and the narratives in China's elementary school textbooks. The research indicates that minority groups are usually depicted as "distant, exotic, and primitive/traditional", contrasting with a normalised Han image.⁶² Two other studies, one examining only texts⁶³ and the other⁶⁴ mainly focusing on visuals, confirm this stereotypical representation of ethnic minorities. In a study of knowledge demonstrated in primary school textbooks in China, Wang and Phillion⁶⁵ maintain that the selective knowledge of ethnic minorities is used to suggest backwardness or lack of civilisation.

Instead of analysing school textbooks written for Han school-aged children perceiving multiple ethnicities as one entity, Grose⁶⁶ investigates Uyghur language textbooks for adult learners in Xinjiang. It is also notable that Uyghur language textbooks are the research focus in his study, differing from previous research usually comparing Chinese language textbooks with those of other subjects such as Moral Education. His research shows fluctuating attitudes towards the Uyghurs – more relaxed in the 1990s and tightening in the 2000s.

Indeed, the state-controlled education system plays a vital role in formulating a shared national culture.⁶⁷ The language textbooks designated within the system therefore both reflect and contribute to the construction of official knowledge that is

deliberately selected.⁶⁸ Despite previous research into the image of ethnic minorities in textbooks, little is known regarding the role of Chinese language textbooks in relation to the construction of national identity and state ideologies of minorities.

Therefore, this study uses six Chinese language textbooks written for Tibetan junior high school students, in order to explore state attitudes towards Tibet. Instead of content analysis or critical discourse analysis, this study employs multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) as the analytical framework to scrutinise the co-deployment of textual and visual resources in the textbooks. It examines the image of Tibet in Chinese language textbooks intended to improve the Putonghua proficiency of Tibetan students. This study then discusses how the construction of Chinese national identity – especially since the Second Generation of Ethnic Policy reforms were proposed – influences the portrayal of Tibet in textbooks, indicating state attitudes towards this ethnic group.

Multimodal discourse analysis of attitudes

Derived from the theoretical framework of systemic functional linguistics,⁶⁹ multimodality usually refers to meaning-making through the complexity of different semiotic resources.⁷⁰ The multimodal dimension of semiotics can be observed in language learning practice and material, especially with advancements in technology. Printed language textbooks, for example, generally contain linguistic and visual semiotics. Therefore, multimodal discourse analysis (hereafter MDA) tends to be employed to examine multi-semiotic phenomena.⁷¹ Indeed, the co-deployment of multi-semiotic resources can lead to variations in the interpretation of meaning.⁷²

MDA is therefore chosen to scrutinise the meaning developed through the complexity of verbal resources and visual imagery, allowing us to understand the central government attitudes towards Tibet embedded in Chinese language textbooks.

Attitude

The definition of attitude varies between disciplines. According to the appraisal theory in systematic functional linguistics, attitude encompasses three regions of feeling: affect, judgement and appreciation.⁷³ Affect refers to emotional reactions; judgement provides resources to evaluate behaviour; and appreciation is concerned with “resources for construing the value of things”.⁷⁴ Therefore, the examination of attitudes in this study focuses on the appreciation, affect and judgement manifested in multimodal semiotics.

Intersemiotic complementarity

Rather than being merely static presentation, language textbooks actively construct official knowledge through intentionally selected content.⁷⁵ Besides, the presence of multimodal semiotics does not necessarily contribute to a co-construction of meaning. It is therefore vital to explore whether and to what extent the verbal and visual contents complement each other – namely, the intersemiotic complementarity.⁷⁶ Of the three types of meaning in human language identified by Halliday,⁷⁷ the ideational metafunction refers to the representation of experience and the meaning in the sense of ‘content’ itself. Corresponding to this verbal semiotics, Royce⁷⁸ proposes the “represented participants” recognising “all elements or entities that are actually present in the visual” (see further details in Appendix 1).

Since this study is primarily concerned with the dynamic interpretation of the Tibetan image constructed in the co-deployment of words and images, the examination of intersemiotic complementarity primarily concentrates on the ideational metafunction and its represented participants purposefully chosen to be included in the books (as highlighted in Appendix 1). In other words, this study scrutinises what exists in the textbooks, rather than the interactivity between writer/illustrator and reader/viewer or the relevance of the textual and visual semiotics.

Royce⁷⁹ suggests that Visual Message Elements (henceforth VMEs) capture the visual components that “carry semantic properties, and these semantic properties or meanings are potentially realised by a variety of visual techniques”. Therefore, once VMEs are derived, they can be checked against the meanings expressed in the textual semiotics. Both the VMEs and the textual meanings can be coded through identification, activity, circumstances and attributes:

Identification: Represented participants, such as who or what is in the visual frame

Activity: Represented actions taking place

Circumstances: The context of situation, such as where, who with, by what means

Attributes: The qualities and characteristics of the participants

(Royce, 2013, pp. 67-70)

In order to evaluate the lexical items that are semantically related to the visual elements, the usage of Repetition, Synonymy, Antonymy, Meronymy, Hyponymy and Collocation is proposed, to scrutinise the cohesive relations between visual and

textual semiotics. The following graph summarises the analytic items to assess the ideational metafunction of the intersemiotic complementarity.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

In short, the multimodal semiotic resources in the textbooks are analysed from the perspectives of appreciation, affect and judgement. In addition, the intersemiotic complementarity is considered through the examination of the correlation between the meaning in the text and all elements in the image, in order for the study to be able to investigate whether the attitudes evident in appreciation, affect and judgement are cohesively interacted in both verbal and visual modes.

Data analyses

Since the issue of Notice of the General Office of the Ministry of Education in 2000,⁸⁰ Chinese Language textbooks in use in the TAR have all been published by the People's Education Press, which once enjoyed a monopoly of textbook publishing nationwide and is still China's leading educational publisher.⁸¹ These books are edited based on the curriculum standards of Chinese language for ethnic minorities stipulated by the Ministry of Education of the PRC⁸² and are generally used in Tibetan-medium schools with Chinese as a language subject.⁸³ There are usually two Chinese language textbooks for each year of secondary school – therefore six in total for junior high school. The first edition of these books came out in April 2010, and so all textbooks are published after 2010.

For data analysis, this study uses all six Chinese language textbooks used by Tibetan students. In total, 168 chapters of six textbooks are included in the analysis.

Each chapter usually consists of four parts: a main text, new vocabulary, sample sentences for selected words, and follow-up exercises.

The attitudinal analyses investigate all textual and visual semiotic resources referring to the TAR and anything related to it, including Tibetan people, customs, lifestyle and cultural artefacts, etc. In other words, any item with a direct or indirect reference to the TAR was considered under the umbrella term of ‘Tibet’ in the analysis. For example, although a picture of natural scenery typical of western China may be identified as a region bordering the TAR, such as Qinghai or Xinjiang, this still implicitly indicates its reference to Tibet, since the textbooks are intended for Tibetan students in the TAR. It is therefore included in the data analysis.

Each textbook was first read in detail and coded individually by two researchers. Their coding was then compared and compiled, in order to identify overall attitudes towards Tibet shown in the Chinese language textbooks, as well as the coherence of attitudes in both textual and visual modes.

An overall portrayal of Tibet

Situated in the MDA framework, this study codes instances when ethnic minority group(s) are referred to in both verbal and visual resources. As the textbooks are intended for Tibetan students, the vast majority of such instances are associated with Tibet, with some referring to other minority groups such as the Mongols or Uyghurs (see Table 1). The instances can be identified with Tibet through Tibetan names (e.g. for the characters or of a school, street or county) in written language, or ethnic costumes in visual imagery.

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

As clarified earlier, any references to Tibet include the place, people and other related aspects. For consistency, any references to Han Chinese include the regions, people, traditions, Confucianism-based culture, customs and traditions, and all related aspects. Interestingly, among a substantial number of instances of Tibet presented together with Han Chinese, two of them – one in Volume V and one in Volume VI – clearly use the phrase ‘Zhonghua minzu’.

黄河被称为中华民族的“母亲河”。

Huanghe bei chengwei Zhonghua minzu de “muqin he”.

Yellow River is called the “Mother River” of Zhonghua minzu. (Vol. V)

...与黄河一道，万全年来哺育了中华民族的文明。

... yu Huanghe yidao, wanquan nian lai buyu le Zhonghua minzu de wenming.

... together with the Yellow River, [the glacier of the Geladaindong Peak] cultivates the civilisation of Zhonghua minzu. (Vol. VI)

Both examples mention the Yellow River. As it originates in the Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture and flows eastward across regions populated by Han Chinese, it is likely to symbolise the integration of Tibetan and Han into a single multi-ethnic nation. Fei⁸⁴ suggests that the Yellow River civilisation plays an important role in the formation of the Chinese nation’s pluralistic unity. The Yellow River basin, also called Zhongyuan (Central Plain), is where the ancient Qiang ethnic group was based.⁸⁵ Since ethnicities including Han Chinese and Tibetan can trace their origins from the Qiang, the Yellow River tends to be seen as a good symbol of ethnic amalgamation. It suggests that the TAR belongs to Zhonghua minzu – a unified national identity – through emphasising that the Yellow River is shared by both Tibetan and Han. It is worth noting that these textbooks are for the subject of Chinese language, which Han students do not need to study. The reference to Zhonghua minzu

is therefore obviously used to promote the integration of Tibetan identity in a unitary Chinese identity.

The preface of each book outlines the topics which the chapters cover – nature, folk stories, school or family life, popular science, etc. These topics are also used in the MDA to contextualise the references to ethnic minorities (see Table 2). As textbooks for school students, the content is usually based on the immediate environment, namely family (N=3) and school life (N=7).

[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]

Interestingly, 17 instances relate to humans and nature, including the landscape and natural scenery of western China, where the TAR is located, as well as animals and plants native to or commonly seen in western China. Five instances suggest specifically Tibetan folk customs, such as an introduction to butter tea, mani stones and Jiaju Tibetan village. In contrast, little reference is made to those things Tibetan in the context of modernity, such as contemporary life (N=2) and popular science (N=1). The image of Tibet seems to usually be linked with the past or a backwardness which is distant from modern civilisation.

Take one reference to contemporary life as an example: a song lyric presented in Textbook II entitled ‘Look Forward to the Sacred Eagle’ (Xiangwang Shenyong). The lyrics make an analogy between the sacred eagle and the airplane, glamorising modern technology and implying its significant impact on primitive life in the TAR. The image in close proximity further consolidates this contrast by depicting an airplane over the snowy mountains. There are two female flight attendants in the upper left corner, while in the lower right corner five Tibetans – a middle-aged

couple, an elderly woman and two young girls, all wearing traditional Tibetan dresses and ornaments – look up at them with admiration.

Attitudes in multimodal semiotics

This study examines attitudes towards the Tibetans embedded in the textbooks from the aspects of affect, judgement and appreciation. Following the practice in the previous section, the attitudinal examination concentrates on instances when a Tibetan is mentioned in both the text and accompanying pictures.

Table 3 below shows the instances of textual and visual semiotics according to three categories of attitude. In terms of the textual semiotics, (a) any use of words such as ‘happy’, ‘exciting’ or ‘unbelievable’ is categorised as Positive Affection, while words with the opposite meaning are categorised as Negative Affection; (b) textual instances such as ‘adorable’, ‘look forward to’ and ‘reliable’ are categorised as Praise/Admiration within Judgement, and their opposites as Criticism/Condemnation; (c) the Aesthetics category under Appreciation consists of texts with aesthetic descriptions, such as of the Tibetan natural world or of real-life events (e.g. customs).

When examining the attitudes in the visual semiotics, the classification of instances becomes relatively simple: (a) all Positive Affection is shown through smiling faces on the characters depicted in a picture, while negative facial expressions can be found and categorised as Negative Affection; (b) drawings that show admiration or praise from the eyes or body language of characters in a picture are categorised accordingly; (c) Aesthetics in the category of Appreciation refers to occasions when authentic photos are used in close proximity to the text and depict the beauty of an object, such as a nature scene, a dance or architectural heritage.

[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]

As this table shows, the vast majority of images and texts are used in the textbooks to show an overall positive attitude towards things Tibetan. The limited instances of Negative Affection or Criticism/Condemnation are mainly expressed between Tibetan characters in the textbooks. For example, a lesson in Textbook Volume VI tells the story of a Tibetan student who is completely confused when learning the use of a new word and expresses this to Tibetan classmates. The only instance of Negative Affection from a Han Chinese towards Tibet is about the symptoms of altitude sickness when climbing the Geladaindong Peak.

Ideational intersemiotic complementarity

This section focuses on one multimodal instance found in the textbooks, in order to exemplify the analysis of ideational intersemiotic complementarity in the study. This instance contains both Positive and Negative Affection, as well as Praise and Condemnation. Besides, this example is a Tibetan folk story – relating to the past rather than the modern life – and is one of very few instances that expresses Negative Affective between Tibetan characters. It therefore serves as a good example for such analysis.

The text in question describes a rich but unhappy man and a poor but happy young girl who expresses her joy through singing. When the rich man leaves some money in the girl's house, she becomes very unsettled and disconcerted in taking the money as her own, and from then on no longer sings. However, the image in close proximity mainly portrays the beginning – rather than the entirety – of the story.

As stated in section 3.2, the starting point for an analysis of ideational intersemiotic complementarity involves the detection of VMEs in the visual

semiotics. Using Identification, Activity, Circumstances and Attributes, the following elements in Table 5 were derived from the image.

[INSERT TABLE 4 HERE]

The next step is to use the VMEs identified above to check against the overlapping meanings – or semantically related lexical items – in the textual mode. Following the classifications of Repetition (R), Synonymy (S), Antonymy (A), Hyponymy (H), Meronymy (M) and Collocation (C), the list of lexical items is compiled in Table 5.

[INSERT TABLE 5 HERE]

As shown in Tables 4 and 5, despite the picture portraying only part of the story, substantial evidence for the intersemiotic complementarity can be seen between the visual and textual modes. In other words, the chosen multisemiotic instances demonstrate that the visual and textual aspects are integrated to coherently show the same topic. Although this paper cannot go through all multimodal semiotics in six textbooks, the analysis of this example clearly shows that the visual and textual contents complement each other very well. That is to say, the attitudes identified in sections 4.1 and 4.2 can be derived from both the meanings of a text and elements of an image, due to the coherent intersemiotic complementarity.

Discussion

The findings seem to suggest a very positive attitude towards Tibet, based on the analyses of multimodal semiotics and their intersemiotic complementarity. However, the situation is complicated if this positivity is examined together with the overall

representation of Tibet in the Chinese language textbooks. The majority of instances referring to Tibet are linked with the past – in contrast to the modern – which indicates that Tibet is portrayed as backward and marginalised. This stereotypical view of ethnic minorities is not exclusive to Chinese language textbooks. Previous studies reveal that the backward minority stereotype can also be found, for example, in the construction of ethnic tourism in Shangri-La⁸⁶, in officials' and cadres' perception of minorities in remote regions,⁸⁷ in the views of university administrators,⁸⁸ in state discourse⁸⁹ and in university media.⁹⁰

The backward minority stereotype can probably be traced back to Marxism-Leninism, which China's form of Communist government is based on. The Marxist-Leninist ideology of unilinear social evolution⁹¹ considers that "different ethnocultural communities proceed from a state of barbarism to Communist utopia at their own pace, and it is the responsibility of the Communist vanguard to protect and promote the independent development of 'backward' ethnic minority groups".⁹² Even though the classification of a person's ethnicity is not based on this social evolutionary theory, the almost innate Han sense of superiority perceives the Han as more progressive in this unilinear scale and so imposes prejudice against minorities.⁹³ In this sense, minority education is often used to transform the 'backward' cultures of China's minorities into a modern yet unified socialist culture.⁹⁴ White⁹⁵ points out that this socialist modernity can be achieved through advancements in science and technology.

However, traditional Tibetan customs and the 'primitive' habits of ethnic minorities are likely to be seen as an obstacle to socio-economic progression,⁹⁶ in contrast to the more advanced and civilised Han Chinese culture based on Confucianism.⁹⁷ Indeed, Ma indicates that Han Chinese cultural superiority lies in the

traditional Chinese cultural norms, which leads to Han Chinese being viewed as more advanced and minorities seen as “barbarians”.⁹⁸ As shown in this study, the textbooks portray the ‘backward’ Tibetan lifestyle with extremely rare references to contemporary science and technology. The image of Tibet is likely to be characterised by agriculture and animal husbandry, as well as persistence of ethnic dress, customs and beliefs. These frequent representations of primitive and traditional Tibet can be found in the textbooks to indicate its backwardness.

In other words, this portrayal of Tibet could indicate a twofold meaning. First, a level of arrogance can be found, since Putonghua and Han Chinese culture are considered more advanced or developed. Second, the backwardness of the minority language and culture seems to be tolerated through an apparently positive attitude in the textbooks, so that the Han culture, perceived as more advanced, can remould ‘primitive’ Tibetan historic and religious traditions⁹⁹ in order to construct a unitary national identity.

In addition, as shown in section 4.1, the majority of topics in the textbooks relate to nature, folklore and traditional customs. Importantly, Tibet is presented in a non-religious and apolitical way. Therefore, this positive attitude is actually towards selective objects that only partially represent Tibet. The question remains of official attitudes towards Tibetan Buddhism, a key feature of Tibetan culture in the past and present. In other words, rather than hollowing out Tibetan culture,¹⁰⁰ the Chinese language textbooks published after 2010 indeed contain elements – though limited and selective – of ethnic minority culture. This might be a sign of inching along the way to culturalisation, as Ma proposed in 2007.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, the partial representation of a minority’s culture still leads to a question of “harmonious multiculturalism”.¹⁰²

Furthermore, the rare instances of Negative Attitude are almost exclusively expressed by Tibetan characters, which shows that the textbooks manage Tibetan-Han Chinese relations with a great level of sensitivity. The absence of politically sensitive topics and components in Chinese language textbooks is obviously a political choice, which to some extent reveals that ethnic issues remain inherently political, as Elliott also identifies.¹⁰³ Before even asking *how to* attain it, it is questionable if the depoliticisation proposed in the discussion of the Second-Generation ethnic policy is even attainable.

While religious knowledge is absent from Chinese language textbooks for Tibetan students, there is a severe discrepancy between the content of Chinese language textbooks and Tibetan students' life experience and existing knowledge of Tibet within Tibetan-Chinese bilingual education.¹⁰⁴ There have been calls for a revised curriculum relevant to the local community¹⁰⁵ and a school-based curriculum that can integrate local and ethnic knowledge for the inheritance of ethnic minority culture,¹⁰⁶ though this is beyond the scope of this research.

Previous research¹⁰⁷ suggests that in minority education there is a tendency to situate ethnic minority heritage in a Chinese cultural context, in order to legitimise a pluralistic version of nationhood ideology. This is also evident in this study. For example, when butter tea is described as an aspect of Tibetan heritage in a Volume I lesson, it is also mentioned that the tea market was established by a Han official during the Northern Song Dynasty. In other words, Tibetan folk customs are portrayed as attached to a common Chinese cultural heritage.

Indeed, the textbooks revised and edited since the beginning of this century downplay any conflicts between Han and minority groups; instead, they usually highlight cooperation and peaceful exchanges for the purpose of emphasising 'ethnic

merging' ('minzu ronghe').¹⁰⁸ The multimodal discourse analysed in this study does not show any explicit emphasis on patriotism or any of the revolutionary traditions evident in earlier textbooks.¹⁰⁹ While this could be an attempt to make textbooks apolitical, the way in which the content stresses ethnic integration becomes subtle and implicit. The selective representation of Tibet and the absence of Han Chinese showing any Negative Affection in the Chinese language textbooks exemplify the aim of underscoring ethnic unity and ensuring political stability.

Conclusion

Although the qualitative nature of this study makes it small in scale, it is one of the first to employ a multimodal approach to scrutinise both visual and textual semiotics in textbooks, in order to investigate attitudes towards an ethnic minority in China. The examination of six Chinese language textbooks finds that the image of Tibet tends to be portrayed positively through depictions mainly focusing on its natural scenery, folk customs and traditions. Consistent with previous research of representations of minorities in textbooks, the image of Tibet is also likely to be stereotyped as backward and primitive, suggesting its marginalisation in the progress of socio-economic development and the establishment of a unified national identity.

In the context of the multi-ethnic nation-building project, the positive attitude towards Tibet is embedded in an apolitical manner. The portrayal of Tibetan heritage as part of common Chinese culture indeed highlights a shared national narrative which Tibetan identity also belongs to.

The primary focus of this study is Chinese language textbooks for Tibetan students. Textbooks for other subjects, especially Moral Education, are worth

investigating in the future. Issues such as attitudes towards Tibetan religion and Tibetan cultural inheritance can therefore be explored.

(Word Count: 9422)

Notes:

1. Wu and He, "Ethnic Autonomy and Inequality"; Ma, "A New Perspective"; Postiglione, "Ethnic Minority Identity".
2. Sautman, "Paved with Good Intentions"; Wu and He, "Ethnic Autonomy and Inequality"; Postiglione, "Ethnic Minority Identity".
3. Sautman, "Paved with Good Intentions"; Wu and He, "Ethnic Autonomy and Inequality"; Postiglione, "Ethnic Minority Identity".
4. Elliott, "The Missing Indigene".
5. Ma, "A New Perspective"; Ma, "Reflections on the Debate"; Ma, "The Crux and Way".
6. Hu and Hu, "Second-Generation Ethnic Policy".
7. Leibold, *Ethnic Policy in China*; Elliott, "The Missing Indigene"; Sautman, "Paved with Good Intentions".
8. Leibold, *Ethnic Policy in China*, 23–24.
9. Elliott, "The Missing Indigene"; Leibold, *Ethnic Policy in China*.
10. Elliott, "The Missing Indigene".
11. Hu and Hu, "Second-Generation Ethnic Policy".
12. Elliott, "The Missing Indigene", 196.
13. Leibold, *Ethnic Policy in China*, 51.
14. Elliott, "The Missing Indigene", 196.
15. Pan, "Chinese Language Law".
16. Cherng et al., "China".
17. National Bureau of Statistics of China, "2010 Population Census".
18. Postiglione, "Making Tibetans in China".
19. Postiglione, "Ethnic Minority Identity".
20. Postiglione, Jiao, and Gyatso, "Household Perspectives on Attendance".
21. Postiglione, Jiao, and Xiaoliang, "Education Change and Development"; Postiglione and Jiao, "Tibet's Relocated Schooling".
22. Postiglione, "Making Tibetans in China".
23. TAR People's Congress, "Provisions on Tibetan Language".
24. Nima, "Languages in Tibetan"; Xiao and Higgins, "When English Meets Chinese".
25. Zhou, "Developments of Tibetan Language".
26. Ma, "Bilingual Education in Tibet"; Zhou, "The Tibetan Language Policies".
27. Postiglione, "Making Tibetans in China"; Postiglione, Jiao, and Xiaoliang, "Education Change and Development".
28. Ma, "Bilingual Education in Tibet"; Nima, "Bilingual Education in Tibet"; Xiao and Higgins, "When English Meets Chinese".
29. Upton, "Modern School Based Education"; Li and Zhang, "Tibetan CSL Learners".
30. Tsung, *Minority Languages*; Zhang and Yang, "Medium of Instruction Xinjiang".
31. Wang and Phillion, "Whose Knowledge Is Valued".
32. Postiglione, Jiao, and Xiaoliang, "Education Change and Development".
33. Postiglione, "Making Tibetans in China".
34. Harrell, *Ways of Being Ethnic in Southwest China*, 46.
35. Postiglione and Jiao, "Tibet's Relocated Schooling".
36. Bass, "Tibetan Primary Curriculum"; Nima, "The Way Out".
37. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*.
38. Iedema, "Multimodality, Resemiotization"; Poyas and Eilam, "Construction of Common Interpretive".
39. Wenginger, "Multimodality in Critical Language Textbook Analysis".
40. Martin and White, *The Language of Evaluation*.
41. Royce, "Intersemiotic Complementarity".

42. Irgengioro, "China's National Identity"; Yan and Vickers, "Portraying 'Minorities'".
43. Irgengioro, "China's National Identity"; Harrell, *Ways of Being Ethnic*, 26–30.
44. Irgengioro, "China's National Identity", 322.
45. Fei, "Chinese Pluralistic Unity Structure".
46. Leibold and Chen, *Minority Education in China*; Ma, "Studies of Ethnic Issues".
47. Bilik, "'China' in Mongolian".
48. Ma, "Studies of Ethnic Issues", 13.
49. Ibid.
50. Ma, "A New Perspective", 215.
51. Elliott, "The Missing Indigene".
52. Ibid., 201.
53. Zhao and Postiglione, "Ethnic Minorities University Media".
54. Ibid., 319.
55. Leibold and Chen, *Minority Education in China*, 14.
56. Chu, "Constructing *Minzu*".
57. Ma, "A New Perspective".
58. Elliott, "The Missing Indigene".
59. Irgengioro, "China's National Identity".
60. Grose, "Uyghur Language Textbooks"; Irgengioro, "China's National Identity".
61. "The Power of Knowledge".
62. Ibid., 483.
63. Chu, "Constructing *Minzu*".
64. Chu, "Visualizing Minority".
65. Wang and Phillion, "Whose Knowledge Is Valued".
66. Grose, "Uyghur Language Textbooks".
67. Borchigud, "Urban Ethnic Education".
68. Grose, "Uyghur Language Textbooks".
69. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*.
70. Iedema, "Multimodality, Resemiotization"; Poyas and Eilam, "Construction of Common Interpretive".
71. O'Halloran, "Multimodal Discourse Analysis".
72. Ajayi, "How Deploy Multimodal Textbooks".
73. Martin and White, *The Language of Evaluation*.
74. Ibid., 36; see also Chen, "Semiotic Construal of Goals".
75. Grose, "Uyghur Language Textbooks".
76. Royce, "Intersemiotic Complementarity".
77. Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*.
78. Royce, "Intersemiotic Complementarity", 66.
79. Ibid., 70.
80. Ministry of Education, "Notice of the General Office of the Ministry of Education on the Chinese Language Textbooks".
81. Chu, "Constructing *Minzu*"; Yan and Vickers, "Portraying 'Minorities'".
82. Ministry of Education, "Notice of Ministry of Education on the Issue of 'Curriculum Standards of Chinese Language for Ethnic Minorities"; Ministry of Education, "Notice of Ministry of Education on 'Curriculum Standards of Chinese Language"; Tie, "Survey on Problems of PEP 'Chinese' Textbooks".
83. Ministry of Education, "Notice of Ministry of Education on 'Curriculum Standards of Chinese Language"; Tie, "Survey on Problems of PEP 'Chinese' Textbooks".
84. Fei, "Chinese Pluralistic Unity Structure".
85. Ge, "Connection Tibetan Chinese Civilisation".
86. Hillman, "Paradise under Construction".
87. Tenzint, "A Grassroots Association".
88. Yu, "How Administrators View Minority".
89. White, "State Discourses, Minority Policies".
90. Zhao and Postiglione, "Ethnic Minorities University Media".
91. White, "State Discourses, Minority Policies".
92. Leibold and Chen, *Minority Education in China*, 6.
93. Harrell, "Introduction: Civilizing Projects".
94. Bass, "Tibetan Primary Curriculum".

95. White, "State Discourses, Minority Policies".
96. Gao, "Identity and Multilingualism".
97. Harrell, *Ways of Being Ethnic*, 31; Leibold and Chen, *Minority Education in China*; White, "State Discourses, Minority Policies".
98. Ma, "A New Perspective", 203.
99. Bass, "Tibetan Primary Curriculum".
100. Ibid.; Nima, "The Way Out".
101. Ma, "A New Perspective".
102. Postiglione, "Ethnic Minority Identity".
103. Elliott, "The Missing Indigene".
104. Lv and Zhang, "Difficulties and Countermeasures".
105. Postiglione, Jiao, and Gyatso, "Household Perspectives on Attendance".
106. Lv and Zhang, "Difficulties and Countermeasures".
107. Bass, "Tibetan Primary Curriculum"; Borchigud, "Urban Ethnic Education"; Irgengioro, "China's National Identity".
108. Baranovitch, "Others No More".
109. Postiglione and Jiao, "Tibet's Relocated Schooling".

Bibliography

- Ajayi, Lasisi. 'How Teachers Deploy Multimodal Textbooks to Enhance English Language Learning'. *TESOL Journal* 6 (2012): 16–35.
- Baranovitch, Nimrod. 'Others No More: The Changing Representation of Non-Han Peoples in Chinese History Textbooks, 1951-2003'. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69, no. 1 (2010): 85–122.
- Bass, Catriona. 'Tibetan Primary Curriculum and Its Role in Nation Building'. *Educational Review* 60, no. 1 (February 2008): 39–50.
doi:10.1080/00131910701794515.
- Bilik, Naran. 'How Do You Say "China" in Mongolian? Toward a Deeper Understanding of Multicultural Education in China'. In *Minority Education in China: Balancing Unity and Diversity in an Era of Critical Pluralism*, edited by James Leibold and Yangbin Chen, 65–82. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013.
- Borchigud, Wurlig. 'The Impact of Urban Ethnic Education on Modern Mongolian Ethnicity, 1949–1966'. In *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, edited by STEVAN HARRELL, 278–300. University of Washington Press, 1995. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvbtzm9s.12>.
- Chen, Yumin. 'The Semiotic Construal of Attitudinal Curriculum Goals: Evidence from EFL Textbooks in China'. *Linguistics and Education* 21, no. 1 (March 2010): 60–74. doi:10.1016/j.linged.2009.12.005.
- Cherng, Hua-Yu Sebastian, Emily Hannum, Chunping Lu, Peggy A. Kong, and Xiaoran Yu. 'China: Sociological Perspectives on Ethnicity and Education: Views from Chinese and English Literatures'. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education*, edited by Peter A.J. Stevens and A. Gary Dworkin, 301–44. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-94724-2_8.
- Chu, Yiting. 'Constructing Minzu: The Representation of Minzu and Zhonghua Minzu in Chinese Elementary Textbooks'. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 39, no. 6 (2 November 2018): 941–53. doi:10.1080/01596306.2017.1310715.

- . ‘The Power of Knowledge: A Critical Analysis of the Depiction of Ethnic Minorities in China’s Elementary Textbooks’. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 18, no. 4 (4 July 2015): 469–87. doi:10.1080/13613324.2015.1013460.
- . ‘Visualizing Minority: Images of Ethnic Minority Groups in Chinese Elementary Social Studies Textbooks’. *The Journal of Social Studies Research* 42, no. 2 (April 2018): 135–47. doi:10.1016/j.jssr.2017.05.005.
- Elliott, Mark. ‘The Case of the Missing Indigene: Debate Over a “Second-Generation” Ethnic Policy’. *The China Journal* 73 (January 2015): 186–213. doi:10.1086/679274.
- Fei, Xiaotong. ‘The Chinese Nation’s Pluralistic Unity Structure [Zhonghua Minzu de Duoyuan Yiti Geju]’. *Journal of Peking University (Philosophy and Social Science) [Biejing Dacue Xuebao (Zhaxue Shehui Kexue Ban)]* 4 (1989): 1–19.
- Gao, Feng. ‘Identity and Multilingualism: Negotiating Multiculturalism among Ethnic Korean Teachers in China’. In *Minority Education in China : Balancing Unity and Diversity in an Era of Critical Pluralism*, edited by James Leibold and Yangbin Chen. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013.
- Ge, Le. ‘A Brief Discussion of the Historical Connection between Ancient Tibetan Culture and Chinese National Civilisation [Luelun Zangzu Gudai Wenhua Yu Zhonghua Minzu Wenhua de Lishi Yuanyuan Guanxi]’. *China Tibetology* 4 (2002): 6–21.
- Grose, Timothy. ‘Uyghur Language Textbooks: Competing Images of a Multi-Ethnic China’. *Asian Studies Review* 36, no. 3 (September 2012): 369–89. doi:10.1080/10357823.2012.711809.
- Halliday, Michael A. K. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold, 1985.
- . *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. London: Edward Arnold, 1978.
- Harrell, Stevan. ‘Introduction: Civilizing Projects and the Reaction to Them’. In *Cultural Encounters on China’s Ethnic Frontiers*, edited by Stevan Harrell, 3–36. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1995.
- . *Ways of Being Ethnic in Southwest China*. Studies on Ethnic Groups in China. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.
- Hillman, Ben. ‘Paradise Under Construction: Minorities, Myths and Modernity in Northwest Yunnan’. *Asian Ethnicity* 4, no. 2 (June 2003): 175–88. doi:10.1080/14631360301654.
- Hu, Angang, and Lianhe Hu. ‘A Second-Generation Ethnic Policy: Advancing a Single Body of Ethnic Integration and Prosperity [Di’erdai Minzu Zhengce: Cujin Minzu Jiaorong Yiti He Fanrong Yiti]’. *Journal of Xinjiang Normal University [Xinjiang Shifan Daxue Xuebao]* 35, no. 5 (September 2011). http://www.shehui.pku.edu.cn/upload/editor/file/20180626/20180626195224_5647.pdf.
- Iedema, Rick. ‘Multimodality, Resemiotization: Extending the Analysis of Discourse as Multi-Semiotic Practice’. *Visual Communication* 2, no. 1 (February 2003): 29–57. doi:10.1177/1470357203002001751.
- Irgengioro, John. ‘China’s National Identity and the Root Causes of China’s Ethnic Tensions’. *East Asia* 35, no. 4 (December 2018): 317–46. doi:10.1007/s12140-018-9297-2.

- Leibold, James. *Ethnic Policy in China: Is Reform Inevitable?* Honolulu: East-West Centre, 2013.
- Leibold, James, and Yangbin Chen, eds. *Minority Education in China: Balancing Unity and Diversity in an Era of Critical Pluralism*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013.
- Li, Ming, and Lubei Zhang. 'Tibetan CSL Learners' L2 Motivational Self System and L2 Achievement'. *System* 97 (April 2021): 102436.
doi:10.1016/j.system.2020.102436.
- Liu, Qing. 'Reflections on Mother Tongue Education in National and Provincial Policies in Mainland China'. Master, The University of Turku, 2018.
<https://www.utupub.fi/handle/10024/146578>.
- Lv, Xiaojuan, and Xiaowen Zhang. 'Difficulties and Countermeasures of Tibetan-Chinese Bilingual Students' Learning [Zanghan Shuangyu Xuesheng Xuexi Kunjing Yu Duice]'. *Research on Higher Education of Nationalities* 7, no. 4 (2019): 43–51.
- Ma, Rong. 'A New Perspective in Guiding Ethnic Relations in the Twenty-First Century: "De-Politicization" of Ethnicity in China'. *Asian Ethnicity* 8, no. 3 (October 2007): 199–217. doi:10.1080/14631360701594950.
- . 'Bilingual Education and Social Development in Tibet [Xizang Shehui Fazhan Yu Shuangyu Jiaoyu]'. *China Tibetology* 2 (2011): 108–39.
- . 'Reflections on the Debate on China's Ethnic Policy: My Reform Proposals and Their Critics'. *Asian Ethnicity* 15, no. 2 (3 April 2014): 237–46.
doi:10.1080/14631369.2013.868205.
- . 'Studies of Ethnic Issues of Professor Fei Xiaotong'. *Northwest Journal of Ethnology [Xibei Minzu Yanjiu]* 4 (2016): 5–18.
- . 'The Crux and Way out of China's Ethnic Problems [Dangqian Zhongguo Minzu Wenti de Zhengjie Yu Chulu]'. *Lingdao* 26, no. February (February 2009): 81–89.
- Martin, J. R., and Peter White. *The Language of Evaluation – Appraisal in English*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
<http://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9781403904096>.
- Ministry of Education. 'Notice of Ministry of Education on "Curriculum Standards of Chinese Language for Ethnic Minorities in Primary and Secondary Schools (Compulsory Education)" [Jiaoyubu Guanyu Yinfa "Minzu Zhongxiaoxue Hanyu Kecheng Biao zhun (Yiwu Jiaoyu)" de Tongzhi]', 2 January 2014.
http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A09/s7046/201401/t20140102_162461.html.
- . 'Notice of Ministry of Education on the Issue of "Curriculum Standards of Chinese Language for Ethnic Minorities in Full-Time Primary and Secondary Schools (Pilot)" [Jiaoyubu Guanyu Yinfa "Quanrizhi Minzu Zhongxiaoxue Hanyu Kecheng Biao zhun (Shixing)" de Tongzhi]', 10 October 2006.
http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A09/moe_750/200610/t20061010_77841.html.
- . 'Notice of the General Office of the Ministry of Education on the Chinese Language Textbooks for the Primary and Secondary Schools in TAR Edited by People's Education Press [Jiaoyubu Bangongting Guanyu Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe Wei Wushengqu Bianxie Zangzu Zhongxiaoxue

- Hanyu Jiaocai de Tongzhi]', 27 June 2000.
http://www.moe.gov.cn/s78/A09/mzs_left/moe_750/tnull_1004.html.
- National Bureau of Statistics of China. 'Tabulation on the 2010 Population Census of the P.R.C.', 2011.
<http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/pcsj/rkpc/6rp/indexch.htm>.
- Nima, Baden. 'The Way Out for Tibetan Education'. *Chinese Education & Society* 30, no. 4 (July 1997): 7–20. doi:10.2753/CED1061-193230047.
- Nima, Badeng. 'Problems Related to Bilingual Education in Tibet'. *Chinese Education & Society* 34, no. 2 (March 2001): 91–102.
 doi:10.2753/CED1061-1932340291.
- . 'The Choice of Languages in Tibetan School Education Revisited'. *Chinese Education & Society* 41, no. 6 (November 2008): 50–60.
 doi:10.2753/CED1061-1932410605.
- O'Halloran, Kay L. 'Multimodal Discourse Analysis'. In *Companion to Discourse*, edited by K. Hyland and B. Paltridge. London and New York: Continuum, 2011.
- Pan, Haiying. 'An Overview of Chinese Language Law and Regulation'. *Chinese Law & Government* 48, no. 4 (4 July 2016): 271–74.
 doi:10.1080/00094609.2016.1118306.
- Postiglione, G A. 'Ethnic Minority Identity and Educational Outcomes in a Rising China'. In *International Encyclopedia of Education*, edited by Penelope Peterson, Eva Baker, and Barry McGaw, 3rd Edition., 616–22. Oxford: Elsevier, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-044894-7.00119-6>.
- Postiglione, Gerard A. 'Making Tibetans in China: The Educational Challenges of Harmonious Multiculturalism'. *Educational Review* 60, no. 1 (February 2008): 1–20. doi:10.1080/00131910701794481.
- Postiglione, Gerard A., and Ben Jiao. 'Tibet's Relocated Schooling: Popularization Reconsidered'. *Asian Survey* 49, no. 5 (1 September 2009): 895–914.
 doi:10.1525/as.2009.49.5.895.
- Postiglione, Gerard, Ben Jiao, and Sonam Gyatso. 'Household Perspectives on School Attendance in Rural Tibet'. *Educational Review* 58, no. 3 (August 2006): 317–37. doi:10.1080/00131910600748331.
- Postiglione, Gerard, Ben Jiao, and Li Xiaoliang. 'Education Change and Development in Nomadic Communities of the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR)'. *International Journal of Chinese Education* 1, no. 1 (January 2012): 89–105. doi:10.1163/221258612X644575.
- Poyas, Yael, and Billie Eilam. 'Construction of Common Interpretive Spaces through Intertextual Loops – How Teachers Interpret Multimodal Learning Materials'. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 28, no. 1 (January 2012): 89–100. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2011.08.002.
- 'Resolution of the People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region to Revise "Some Provisions of the Tibet Autonomous Region on the Study, Use, and Development of the Spoken and Written Tibetan Language (Draft)". *Chinese Law & Government* 48, no. 4 (4 July 2016): 279–81.
 doi:10.1080/00094609.2016.1118308.
- Royce, Terry D. 'Intersemiotic Complementarity: A Framework for Multimodal Discourse Analysis'. In *New Directions in the Analysis of Multimodal Discourse*, edited by Terry D. Royce and Wendy L. Bowcher, 63–109. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2013.

- Sautman, Barry. 'Paved with Good Intentions: Proposals to Curb Minority Rights and Their Consequences for China'. *Modern China* 38, no. 1 (January 2012): 10–39. doi:10.1177/0097700411424563.
- Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Law of the PRC on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language, CLI.1.31465 § (2000). http://www.gov.cn/ziliao/flfg/2005-08/31/content_27920.htm.
- TAR People's Congress. 'Provisions of the Tibet Autonomous Region on the Study, Use, and Development of the Tibetan Language [Xizang Zizhiqu Xuexi, Shiyong He Fazhan Zang Yuwen de Ruogan Guiding (Shixing)]', 22 May 2002. [http://pkulaw.cn/\(S\(pvgj1x45wuwnwm5555df4e55\)\)/fulltext_form.aspx?Db=lar&Gid=55336c23f07f3dfe513831170d83d932bdfb](http://pkulaw.cn/(S(pvgj1x45wuwnwm5555df4e55))/fulltext_form.aspx?Db=lar&Gid=55336c23f07f3dfe513831170d83d932bdfb).
- Tenzint, Jinba. 'A Grassroots Association on the Sino-Tibetan Border: The Role, Agendas and Beyond', 2014, 99–102.
- Tie, Shenglan. 'Survey on Problems of PEP "Chinese" Textbooks – Used in the Tibetan Nationality [Renjiaoban "Hanyu" (Zangzu Diqu Shiyong) Jiaocai Wenti Diaocha Yanjiu]'. *Journal of Qinghai Normal University (Philosophy and Social Science)* 38, no. 2 (March 2016): 159–64.
- Tsung, Linda. *Minority Languages, Education and Communities in China*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Upton, Janet L. 'The Development of Modern School Based Language Education in the PRC.' In *China's National Minority Education: Culture, Schooling, and Development*, 281–342. New York: Falmer Press, 1999.
- Wang, Yuxiang, and JoAnn Phillion. 'Whose Knowledge Is Valued: A Critical Study of Knowledge in Elementary School Textbooks in China'. *Intercultural Education* 21, no. 6 (December 2010): 567–80. doi:10.1080/14675986.2010.533037.
- Weninger, Csilla. 'Multimodality in Critical Language Textbook Analysis'. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 34, no. 2 (3 April 2021): 133–46. doi:10.1080/07908318.2020.1797083.
- White, Sydney D. 'State Discourses, Minority Policies, and the Politics of Identity in the Lijiang Naxi People's Autonomous County'. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 4, no. 1–2 (March 1998): 9–27. doi:10.1080/13537119808428526.
- Wu, Xiaogang, and Guangye He. 'Ethnic Autonomy and Ethnic Inequality: An Empirical Assessment of Ethnic Policy in Urban China'. *The China Review* 18, no. 2 (2018): 185–215.
- Xiao, ZhiMin, and Steve Higgins. 'When English Meets Chinese in Tibetan Schools: Towards an Understanding of Multilingual Education in Tibet'. In *Trilingualism in Education in China: Models and Challenges*, edited by Anwei Feng and Bob Adamson, 12:22. Multilingual Education. Dordrecht: Springer, 2015.
- Yan, Fei, and Edward Vickers. 'Portraying "Minorities" in Chinese History Textbooks of the 1990s and 2000s: The Advance and Retreat of Ethnocultural Inclusivity'. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 39, no. 2 (3 April 2019): 190–208. doi:10.1080/02188791.2019.1621800.
- Yu, Haibo. 'How University Administrators View Ethnic Minority Students'. In *Minority Education in China: Balancing Unity and Diversity in an Era of*

Critical Pluralism, edited by James Leibold and Yangbin Chen. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013.

- Zhang, Qi, and Ting Yang. 'Reflections on the Medium of Instruction for Ethnic Minorities in Xinjiang: The Case of Bilingual Schools in Urumqi'. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 26 February 2018, 1–22. doi:10.1080/13670050.2018.1442409.
- Zhao, Zhenzhou, and Gerard A. Postiglione. 'Representations of Ethnic Minorities in China's University Media'. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 31, no. 3 (July 2010): 319–34. doi:10.1080/01596301003786928.
- Zhou, Wei. 'The Developments of Tibetan Language Policies and Tibetan Language Education [Zang Yuwen Zhengce Yu Zang Yuwen Jiaoyu de Fazhan]'. *Journal of Tibet University* 22, no. 4 (November 2007): 75–81.

Appendix 1. Three types of metafunctions in verbal and visual modes

Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (1985)		Royce's intersemiotic complementarity (2013)	
Ideational metafunction	The representation of experience and the meaning in the sense of 'content' itself	Represented participants	All elements or entities that are actually present in the visual
Interpersonal metafunction	The resource for meaning as a form of action; the functions of a speech or text being recognised by the listener or speaker	Interactive participants	Those interacting with each other in the act of reading a visual, such as the drawer or visual designer on one end and the viewer or reader on the other end
Textual metafunction	The relevance of a text to the preceding or following text, as well as the context in which the text is situated	Visual compositional features	The ways elements in a visual or a text are arranged to give a sense of structural coherence
(Adapted from Halliday (1985) and Royce (2013))			