EDITED WORLD HERITAGE:
A STUDY ON THE ROLE OF TELEVISION REPRESENTATION IN THE COMMUNICATION OF A WORLD HERITAGE SITE IN CHINA

by

QING WANG

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Ironbridge International Institute of Cultural Heritage

School of History and Cultures

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

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ABSTRACT

The study addresses the mediation, through television, of a World Heritage Site: the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu, China. Previous studies have indicated that the exposure of heritage sites through both factual and fictional film and television programmes has resulted in an increase in the number of visitors, along with challenges for the management of these sites. The majority of studies have focused upon 'over-tourism' and the issues generated by the wide exposure of the heritage sites through film, within a framework of neo-liberal production and popular consumption. However, few studies, particularly in a Chinese context, have looked at the implications of representation for the heritage sites themselves, their management and the values and meanings they have for their wider communities. Moreover, there has been little emphasis on the way that World Heritage Sites are communicated through visual media, though there appears to be a common assumption that somehow their UNESCO designated status changes and privileges the ways in which they are represented.

In China, despite recent, rapid technological changes, television remains an important medium, both in terms of entertainment and education. This, together with the fact that the World Heritage Site of Qufu, because of its connections with Confucius, has a powerful resonance in Chinese culture, makes it an interesting case to explore in relation to how its meanings are communicated to a wider public in China and beyond. This brings into focus the relationships between media production and heritage and the issues surrounding the ways that heritage sites are portrayed.

In this thesis I examine the factual and fictional television programmes that have featured the World Heritage Site of Qufu. This involved de-constructing the visual imagery and the narratives of the programmes to identify their key messages and the selective production choices that they embody; choices that largely lie outside the managers of the site. Understanding the processes and motivations behind these programmes allowed me to

understand the disconnection that exists between an 'official', authorised representation of Qufu and the daily realities of its management as a heritage site with links to the local community.

Through interviews with key stakeholders engaged with site management, in addition to those engaged in the portrayal of Qufu through the medium of television, I explore how the media is bypassing the meanings of the place as a heritage site, along with the complexities of its conservation, visitor management and community engagement, in favour of an essentially historical narrative focusing mainly on the symbolism of Confucius. My findings highlight a rupture in the understandings between heritage and the media and raise questions regarding how these relationships are, and can be, shaped. In the case of Qufu, as with other World Heritage Sites, the power of the media is recognised but does yet appear to be effectively managed for mutual benefit. My work reveals limited media management on the part of the heritage site, partially as a function of the system of governance that shapes heritage-media relations. Particularly with the advent of social media and the co-production power of locals and visitors to represent heritage/World Heritage Sites, it is important to understand the evolving issue of media management and how this can be practised within different systems of governance.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
CCTV	China Central Television
ICOM	International Council on Monuments
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHS	World Heritage Site

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Genesis and Scope of This Research

In 2016 and 2017, there were two TV programmes on cultural heritage in China that caught my attention and interest. One was a documentary called *I Repair Cultural Relics in the Palace Museum*. The other was the cultural exploration programme *National Treasure*. Both programmes were produced and premiered by China Central Television (CCTV) and later aired on online platforms, where they have been popular and been warmly praised by young Chinese people. Due to the broadcasting of these two programmes, the words 'repairing cultural relics', which come from the area of cultural heritage, which is a relatively specialised topic, have become cultural buzzwords. According to Shan Jixiang, the director of the Palace Museum, the number of young people applying to repair cultural relics at the Palace Museum has increased rapidly since the programme was broadcast. In 2019, 88 new employees were recruited out of more than 40,000 applicants (Shan, 2019). And the programme *National Treasure* became popular overnight. The number of visitors to the Palace Museum and eight other national museums increased by 50% on average, and the slogan 'visiting a city because of a museum' became a new selling point of tourism (Song, Zhao, 2018). There is a large amount of news and comments on the two programmes on the internet that discuss the 'mutual benefit' of media and cultural heritage from various perspectives. On the one hand, media communication has increased the exposure of heritage sites, the number of tourists and the audience's attention and understanding of the sites. On the other hand, heritage itself has become popular content of media communication, which is one of the high-quality resources for media representation. In

fact, news that some cities or scenic spots have become hotspots through media communication is not uncommon. There is no doubt that the media is capable of spreading information. However, before these two programmes, there were many programmes about cultural heritage, but they did not get the attention or affirmation of the public. Heated discussions about these two programmes show their distinctiveness. These two programmes also attracted my attention and aroused my interest. In China, cultural heritage has always been one of the most popular features in TV programmes; nevertheless, it has rarely become a hot topic for the public. What is the reason behind this? How is cultural heritage represented by the media? How is the meaning of cultural heritage transmitted to the public? These are the topics that I want to explore.

Starting from this personal research interest, I selected the research object and determined the scope of this research. The object of my research is television representation of World Heritage Sites, and the case study is the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion, which was nominated as a World Heritage Site in 1994. I will explain how I chose the research object and its scope in terms of three aspects: television media, world heritage, and the specific study case.

First, as we know, TV has played a major role in promoting sites – almost unknowingly –in other parts of the world. There are many cases in which heritage tourism has been promoted by the dissemination of film and television: in many forms of media, Robin Hood, a fictional character, was used to develop local industries in Sherwood Forest in Nottinghamshire (Roy, 2010). In addition, news reports show that UK tourism figures have increased due to the worldwide success of *Downton Abbey* and *Harry Potter* (Mackenzie, 2013). Throughout China, there have also been examples of films and TV programmes that have increased tourism and the online buzz about cultural heritage sites. For instance, the two television programmes I

mentioned earlier, *I Repair Cultural Relics in the Palace Museum* and *National Treasure*, are good examples. In recent years, cultural relics, museums, and archaeology have become hot pieces of intellectual property for film, television, and animation production agencies to chase in China (Zhang, 2018). There are similar cases in both Western societies and China where films and television programmes proved to greatly benefit the visibility of heritage sites and boosted the number of visitors to the sites, which shows the potential for the mutual benefit between different media and heritage sites. This is the first reason why I chose television as my research subject. Moreover, apart from those cases in which television has produced an increased number of tourists, we still know very little about how heritage sites negotiate the ways in which they are represented through different media. A much smaller amount of public resources and less academic attention have been dedicated to heritage representation compared with the number of staff and the amount of money involved in traditional heritage management such as site protection and the curation of collections (Graham, Howard, 2008). As I will mention in the literature review chapter, there are few studies regarding how visual media portrays heritage.

Although TV has played a major role in promoting heritage sites, the rapid decline of television worldwide is a fact we can all relate to. Studies of television have been replaced in recent years by studies of social media and online media. I have still chosen television representation for my study for the following reasons: firstly, there are differences in the development of the television industry in Chinese and in Western societies, which will be introduced in detail in the context chapter. Although increasing attention is given to social media, television maintains its influential power in China. Television has profiled heritage sites since its early days. And in recent years, as I mentioned above, several heritage programmes are becoming popular with television audiences. Take the aforementioned TV programme *National Treasure*, for example; the audience rating for this programme meant that it was listed in the top ten in the prime-time

slot in China. This programme caused public interest and heated discussion about the cultural relics featured in the programme. Six days after the broadcast of the programme, the number of fans on its official Sina Weibo account had surpassed 130,000, and the programme's Douban score (one of the most influential movie and television rating websites in China) had reached 9.4 (Chen, 2017) and more than 50,000 people had commented on it. These programmes as pieces of evidence show that in China, the effect of television representation, which is a connection between audiences and heritage, cannot be ignored.

Secondly, although the network media is developing really fast, a lot of people, especially young people, don't watch TV programmes on TV screens, they still watch TV programmes online. Audiences watch TV programmes that they missed on TV and watch TV programmes online that are currently on air (Xin, 2017). What I am studying is not the 'TV screen' but 'programmes made by TV stations', whether they are broadcasted on TV, on computers or on smartphones.

The third reason why I focus on programmes made by television stations is because of the organisational structure and system of television in China. China's TV stations are state-owned/state-run broadcast TV organisations. State-owned/state-run television organisations are owned by the whole nation but are usually established, managed, and controlled directly by the government (or the ruling party). And they are funded by the government and also rely on advertising revenue. China's television industry is built on this model (Lu, Zhao, 2010). Therefore, through the analysis of TV programmes, we can see how government represents, interprets, and communicates a World Heritage Site to domestic audiences in a Chinese context. TV programmes provide us with a perspective to study how a social system affects the representation, interpretation, and dissemination of cultural heritage. Furthermore, there is criticism in the West that cultural heritage is dominated by elites and represents the interests of

elite groups. As Smith argues, "within the narrative of nation, the heritage discourse also explicitly promotes the experience and values of elite social classes" (Smith, 2006: 30). The phenomenon is different in China. Since there is no definite class structure in China, the contradiction between different class groups is not the principal one of the society. The two corresponding concepts in Chinese society are the individual and the collective. In such a social structure, which is different from that of Western society, what kind of problems and conflicts are presented in the representation of heritage as well as how to deal with Authorised Heritage Discourse in this context are also included in the content of this research. There is no doubt that the internet is changing society a lot, no matter where we are in the world. And sometimes it is changing the world in ways we have not expected. It will bring changes in the area of heritage sooner or later no matter which power is in charge and whether we like it or not. Studying the new media and finding out the differences between new media and TV will be one of the future research opportunities.

World heritage was chosen as the research object because I am aware that China wants more World Heritage Sites and the tourism they can generate. Since China's accession to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, the enthusiasm for applying for World Heritage Site status has been running high throughout China (Li, Kuang, 2011; Wang, 2008; Zhao, 2015). Chinese government departments at all levels have great enthusiasm for declarations about world heritage, which have almost become a must-do activity for many local officials during their tenures (Tang, 2013). A growing number of Chinese people have unprecedented enthusiasm for cultural heritage, which is mainly reflected in the areas of heritage tourism development, government work related to heritage, audiences' heated discussion on heritage television programmes and heated discussion of heritage in academia. However, in such a high-profile and rapidly evolving field, many problems have emerged. In response to these issues, there has been much discussion in Chinese

academic communities, and a series of terms such as ‘Cultural Heritage Application Fever’ and ‘Chinese-Style Cultural Heritage Application’ have emerged. Li and Kuang (2011) summarise the issue of ‘Chinese-Style Cultural Heritage Application’: being keen on cultural heritage application and utilisation and neglecting protection and management. The contrast between before and after the ‘cultural heritage request’ is striking (Li, Kuang, 2011:8). Most of these studies have focused on the management of heritage sites. It could be argued that the problems that exist in ‘Cultural Heritage Application Fever’ in China are not only found in the field of heritage management but also in the field of the dissemination of information about the sites. It is my intention to probe into the state of communication and representation of China’s World Heritage Sites, the communication results achieved, and the limitations that remain.

Furthermore, I would like to introduce the World Heritage Site in my study, the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion, and the reasons for choosing this site as the research object. This site is located in Qufu, in Shandong Province in China. Qufu covers 815 square kilometres and has an estimated population of 655,900 (Qufu statistics bureau, 2018). Qufu is a county-level city. In China, county level is a lower level than prefecture level in terms of the administrative level. According to its administrative ranks, size, and population, it’s not a big city. But it is a special city in China because of one man: Confucius. Confucius was a Chinese philosopher and educator and the founder of Confucianism. He was born in Qufu. His ideology performs a vital role in different cultures in China. His words are taught at school and printed in textbooks. Confucius has affected Chinese people deeply for more than 2,000 years. One author has commented that Confucianism has become the spiritual gene of the Chinese nation and has been integrated into the Chinese blood (Liang, 2017).



Figure 1.1 Map of China, with the Location of Qufu Marked with the Red Spot

The Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion are places that are commemorated for posterity and recall the sage Confucius. Moreover, they are the historical pieces of evidence which prove that China has been affected profoundly by Confucius and Confucianism (Cultural Heritage Bureau of Qufu City). The Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion became one of the first important heritage sites that was part of a batch that came under the protection of the state in 1961 because of its profound and rich cultural connotation and its uniqueness and integrity. In July 1993, the application for World Heritage Site status began. In May 1994, the World Heritage Committee sent experts to Qufu for an on-the-spot investigation and finally confirmed that the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion had ‘outstanding universal value’ and met the first, fourth and sixth selection criteria (Qufu Administration of Cultural Heritage, 2008). On 17th

December 1994, the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion were designated a World Heritage Site and were officially listed on the World Heritage List.

On the website of UNESCO (UNESCO, no data-a), there is a description of the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu:

> The temple, cemetery and family mansion of Confucius, the great philosopher, politician and educator of the 6th-5th centuries B.C., are located at Qufu, in Shandong Province. Built to commemorate Confucius in 478 B.C., the temple has been destroyed and reconstructed over the centuries; today it comprises more than 100 buildings. The cemetery contains Confucius' tomb and the remains of more than 100,000 of his descendants. The small house of the Kong family developed into a gigantic aristocratic residence, of which 152 buildings remain. The Qufu complex of monuments has retained its outstanding artistic and historic character due to the devotion of successive Chinese emperors over more than 2000 years.

There are several reasons why I have chosen this heritage site as a case study for my research. First, it has had a far-reaching impact on China and is of irreplaceable and inescapable importance in Chinese society. Second, it has been recognised as a World Heritage Site for quite a long time and has had a high chance of being represented on television as a World Heritage Site. Therefore, a large number of TV programmes are available as my research subjects, which makes it easier to gather research data for my research. Last but not least, the proximity of this heritage site to my hometown, as well as my early acquaintance with it and my familiarity with its surroundings and its culture, provided me with a good basis for my fieldwork. In the later analysis stage, the language and culture in the text are familiar to me, which is convenient and also ensures the accuracy of my analysis and reduces interpretative differences (Kuckartz, 2014).

1.2 Research Aim and Objectives

The section above elaborated the reasons for choosing TV media and world heritage as the research objects and introduced the reasons for choosing the World Heritage Site of Qufu as the case study. This section will discuss the research aim and objectives and elaborate why each objective is important and how it fits with/is necessary to the others and the overall aim. Heritage is alive, dynamic, and a process of cultural production. Many disciplines of heritage research and practice themselves are involved in the process of heritage meaning making (Smith, 2011). Among them, the representation of cultural heritage, through the reproduction of heritage, creates and spreads the meaning of heritage, becoming a research field that cannot be ignored. This research aims to examine the role of television in the representation of a World Heritage Site in China through a case study of the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu. In today's society, world heritage is represented and communicated through various media. In this process, the value of the World Heritage Site is created and disseminated, which in turn has an impact on all aspects of the heritage site, such as tourism, conservation, and management. Hence, in addition to exploring television representation, this study discusses the impact of television representation on heritage sites and the relationship between media production and heritage site management. The following objectives will make the answers to the research aim more comprehensive and in-depth.

1. To examine the current situation concerning television representation of World Heritage Sites;

2. To explore the influence of TV representations on World Heritage Sites;

3. To understand the relationships between media production and heritage site management.

The first objective will be pursued through analysis of TV programmes, including a discussion about the objects that are represented, the emphasis in representation and its absence, the mode of representation, and whether the television programme addresses the interaction with world

heritage. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted to analyse the reasons for these situations in terms of the social system, the media management mode, and the social structure. Through the analysis of TV programmes and in-depth interviews, the following questions will be answered: what content and value of the World Heritage Site has been represented and communicated by the television media to the public? What representation is omitted? Why does the media focus on these meanings to the exclusion of other meanings? What factors influence the meaning making of world heritage in the media? In addition, the representation of world heritage by TV media can also reveal the understanding of officials and the public of the value of world heritage.

The second objective will reveal the influence of TV representations on the heritage site, including both positive and negative effects. Some sites in the world have benefitted from exposure on TV – more tourists, more resources. Others have suffered with overtourism. This objective will attempt to answer the following questions: what are the impacts of television representations on the heritage site itself from the perspective of local managers, programme makers, local residents, and the general public? How do different stakeholders evaluate these impacts?

The last objective will present the relationships between the TV production process and the site management. The mechanism and power in the production process of TV programmes will be revealed. Furthermore, whether the power of media is effectively utilised in the case of Qufu will be viewed and the divergence of opinions that exist among different groups of people will be discussed to find out whether different groups, such as heritage managers, programme producers, and local residents, have a power struggle and room for negotiation in the process of TV programme shooting and production.

1.3 Overall Research Methodology

Based on the research aims and objectives stated above, an empirical study has been carried out that focuses on the case of the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong family mansion, a cultural World Heritage Site located in Qufu, China. The specific research methods will be discussed in detail in the fourth chapter. In this section, I will briefly introduce the research methods adopted in this study. This study followed an interpretive social science orientation, a qualitative research paradigm, and an inductive theory and case-based interpretive model to conduct pure research with the chief aim of understanding a particular social phenomenon. In addition, the specific research techniques used in this study included recording and collecting TV programmes, observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and text analysis.

In my fieldwork, the data for the later analysis were obtained through the collection of videos of TV programmes, non-participant observation, participant observation, and semi-structured in-depth interviews. The digital materials of television programmes, which can be news, documentaries, topical programmes, films, TV plays, animation, relating to the heritage site were collected from the local archives and publicity department of Qufu and the website. The non-participant observation involved focusing on observing the heritage site and its surroundings as a tourist. And participant observation involved observing part of the filming of the programme as a member of a topical television programme crew. Information obtained through observation was kept in the form of photographs and research notes. In-depth interviews were employed to collect information from government staff, scholars, local communities, tour guides, tour agencies, tourists, and the TV programme producers. The in-depth interviews were saved as audio recordings, which were translated into text during the analysis phase. In the analysis stage after the completion of the fieldwork, the thematic qualitative text analysis was carried out on the acquired data to find meaning in the text. In this study, the content that was qualitatively analysed is mainly divided into two parts: videos of

TV programmes and in-depth interviews. The two parts have different forms: one is the transcription of narration, subtitles, and television language (including how different camera lenses are used, the choice of scene) and the other is the text that has been transcribed from the interviewed recordings. However, the methods of analysis that were adopted were the same. I followed the phases of thematic qualitative text analysis summarised by Kuckartz (2014).

In terms of research ethics, this research follows the principles of 'voluntary participation' and 'no harm to subjects'. In accordance with the requirements of the University of Birmingham's Code of Practice for Research, I gave thorough consideration to the ethical aspects of the research prior to the fieldwork. I had written a Participant Information Sheet and a Consent Form (see Appendices 1 and 2) before my fieldwork began. Interview questions had been listed to examine whether the content of the interviews would cause harm to the research subjects. In addition, I promised to keep what I learned confidential and prepared anonymous coding for research subjects who wanted to preserve their privacy in order to protect them. In the process of the fieldwork, all work was done in strict accordance with the requirements of the ethical review.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

After this introductory chapter, the second chapter will introduce the literature related to my research, which is elaborated around the four themes of heritage, world heritage, representation and television media, presenting relevant concepts or various research perspectives and viewpoints on related issues. The premise of this study is to regard heritage as a cultural process of making meaning for the use of contemporary society. Therefore, the first section of this chapter will introduce the two shifts of heritage concept: one is the shift from a history-centred paradigm to a present-centred paradigm, and the other is the shift from material-focused perception to the perception of a cultural process of meaning-making. Through the discussion

of ‘Authorised Heritage Discourse’ and ‘dissonant heritage’, it will present the different viewpoints of the heritage issues including ‘the contention of different stakeholders for the ownership and meaning of heritage’ and ‘the use of heritage by power holders’. The second section of this chapter introduces the relevant academic controversies associated with world heritage, which mainly include ‘should heritage be national or universal’, ‘whether the status of World Heritage Sites has an impact on tourists and the representation of the heritage sites’. Representation is an important concept in this study. In addition to introducing the concept of representation and the characteristics of media representation, this chapter will summarise the researches on media representation of heritage. The last two sections of this chapter will focus mainly on television media, including the introduction of television language and the discussion of media and power. Because the background of my case study is Chinese society, after discussing the views of Western scholars on heritage-related issues, I will also introduce Chinese scholars’ discussions which is responses to and contrasts with Western theories. On the one hand, the literature review provides a theoretical basis for my research, and on the other hand, it provides references and comparisons for my analysis. In addition, by analysing the researches related to this study, the research gaps in the field of representation of heritage are presented.

The third chapter will introduce three aspects of the social background of the case study to help readers better understand the analysis of the study. First of all, this chapter will introduce basic information about the World Heritage Site of Qufu and the composition of its architectural complex. It will also introduce the history and influence of Confucianism which originated in Qufu and is closely related to the heritage site. The second section will introduce the development of China’s television industry, including the development status and the system of television in China. The development of the TV industry in China is quite different from that in Western countries in terms of its history and management system, which are bound to

affect how TV represents a subject. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the development of China's TV industry as a basis for understanding the analysis of this study. In addition, this chapter also introduces the development trend of the TV industry in view of the impact of the rapid development of new media. The content in this section can help readers understand why TV has been chosen as the research object despite the rapid development of internet media. The third section will introduce heritage and world heritage in China. It mainly focuses on the difference between Chinese and Western heritage concepts and the phenomenon of 'cultural heritage application fever' in China. The background information introduced in this chapter is closely related to this study and is the basis for understanding the phenomena mentioned in this study.

Chapter 4 will introduce the research methods that this research adopts. After a brief review of the research questions and objectives, the research paradigm is discussed to reveal the reason why this study followed an interpretive social science orientation, a qualitative research paradigm, and an inductive theory-based and case-based interpretive model. In addition, this chapter will introduce the specific research techniques used in this study, including collecting and filing TV programmes, observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and text analysis. Another important element of the content of this chapter is an introduction to the fieldwork, which is the process of data collection. Four aspects, selecting research subjects, video data collection, observation, and in-depth interviews, are introduced to explain the process of research data collection and to provide a summary of the content of the collected data. And then the process of analysing the collected data is described. The next section of the chapter reflects on the process of the fieldwork and puts forward the limitations of the research methods and the alternative research methods that could have been used. Finally, the ethical issues arising from the research and the position of the researcher as well as the relationship between the researcher and the research subject are expounded. As my analysis is inevitably influenced

by my perspective as an 'insider' up to a point, these kinds of bias are identified and declared at the end of the chapter.

The fifth chapter contains the analysis of TV programmes. Before the analysis, an overview of each programme analysed is introduced according to the three categories of documentaries and topical programmes, news, and fiction programmes. Then the TV programmes are de-constructed to identify their key messages and the mode of representation of the World Heritage Site used by TV media. The analysis applies a thematic approach and focuses on the different elements of the World Heritage Site to see how each is represented. Hence, this chapter analyses the TV programmes concerned in relation to three themes: the built environment, landscape and setting, and symbolism and contestation. Within each theme, the three categories of programmes – documentaries and topical programmes, news, and fiction programmes (TV drama, movie and cartoons) – are analysed. Different genres of programmes have different agendas and modes of representation. Hence, the focus of the analysis of each type of programme varies and some dominate the analysis more than others.

The sixth chapter explains the analysis of the in-depth interviews. Through analysing the in-depth interviews with government staff, scholars, local residents, tour guides, travel agencies, tourists, and programme producers, this chapter discusses how the representation of World Heritage Sites on TV media is managed, where the power lies, how various groups understand the value of World Heritage, and how they evaluate the representation of World Heritage in TV programmes. At the beginning of this chapter, the analysis of the interviews is divided into two parts: the selected representation and the omitted representation, showing how local managers, TV programme producers, and audiences consider the content of what the programme represents and whether there are rules about what is selected. The content of this section also reflects how the public understands the value of World Heritage in the context of

China. The following part discusses how local managers and TV programme makers cooperate and how the censorship of media communication is embodied. This chapter also discusses the evaluation of different groups of the communication effect of TV programmes as well as contradictions faced by the local management of television programme communication. The analysis of in-depth interviews in this chapter helped me understand the processes and motivations behind these programmes, which allowed me to understand the disconnection that exists between an 'official', authorised representation of Qufu and the daily realities of its management as a heritage site with links to the local community.

Chapter 7 is a further discussion of the findings in order to extract new understanding in the field of representation of cultural heritage. It begins with analyses of the dominant narratives of the TV programmes. This section examines selection and bias in television representation of cultural heritage and the ways in which World Heritage Sites are interpreted, revealing the fact that cultural heritage is the medium through which the national image is constructed and that the interpretation of cultural heritage in China is undiversified and solidified at present. It also analyses the social reasons why these phenomena are produced and difficult to change. In addition, following an analysis of the 'obscured reality' created by TV programme producers, the reason for this phenomenon is discussed. In the next section, the fact that there is a lack of information regarding Qufu as a designated World Heritage Site and the reason for this are analysed. In addition, an issue that arose post-designation of Qufu as a World Heritage Site regarding the communication of its recognised significance and specifically its 'Outstanding Universal Value' is pointed out. This is followed by analyses of the impact of television representation on heritage sites, as well as analyses of the relationships between media production and heritage site management. In the last section, the limitations of the study and the prospects and future opportunities for research are outlined.

CHAPTER 2 MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF WORLD HERITAGE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will introduce the literature related to my research. By sorting out various perspectives and viewpoints on relevant concepts or issues that are described in the literature, it provides, on the one hand, theoretical premises or references for my analysis. On the other hand, some research gaps in the field of representation of heritage are also presented. This research aims to examine the role of television in the representation of a World Heritage Site in China. Based on the research aim, this chapter mainly discusses the literature around heritage, world heritage, representation, and television media, and is divided into five sections. The first section introduces the two shifts in the heritage concept: one is the shift from a history-centred paradigm to a present-centred paradigm, and the other is the shift from a material-focused perception to the perception of a cultural process of meaning making. This study regards the representation of heritage as a process of reconstructing the meaning of heritage and discusses how the meaning of heritage is made in the process of representation. Therefore, the premise of this study is regarding heritage as a cultural process of making meaning that can be used by contemporary society. In addition, this section also introduces the concept of AHD proposed by Smith (2006), the concept of 'dissonant heritage' proposed by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), and the political implications of heritage. Through the discussion of these subjects, it presents the different viewpoints concerning heritage-related issues, including contentions of

different stakeholders about the ownership and meaning of heritage and the use of heritage by power holders. These discussions are based on the position in Western society. Because the background of my case study is Chinese society, after discussing the views of Western scholars on heritage-related issues, I also introduce Chinese scholars' discussions, which are basically responses to and contrasts with Western theories. It is found that there are differences in various aspects of heritage practice between Eastern and Western societies that are caused by the differences in social systems and cultures, and it is reasonable and easy to understand why this is the case. In fact, even within the same social system, the situation of different World Heritage Sites varies and cannot be generalised.

This study explores the representation of world heritage and analyses the phenomenon that consists of television representation mainly shaping the meaning at the national level and having little interaction with world heritage. Therefore, the second section of this chapter introduces the relevant academic controversies, which mainly include considering 'whether heritage should be national or universal' and 'whether the status of World Heritage Sites has an impact on tourists and the representation of the heritage sites'. Moreover, discussions among Asian scholars about the problems and the possibilities for solutions being found between international heritage standards established in the West and local heritage management are also introduced. In addition, a very important concept in this study is representation. Watson and Waterton (2010) argue that although representation has long been regarded as a core component of heritage research, especially based on the development of museology and interpretation research, as well as the critical study of heritage itself, few people have tried to use representation as the focus of academic research. Hence, in addition to introducing the concept of representation and the characteristics of media representation, this section summarises the research on media representation of heritage. There is a lot of research and there are many discussions on the media representation of heritage, and they have different

perspectives referring to different types of media and related issues, such as the democratisation of heritage representation, new media heritage representation, and the authenticity of heritage representation. By summarising this research, it is found that few studies, particularly in a Chinese context, have looked at the implications and management of representations of the heritage sites, and the values and meanings the heritage sites have for their wider communities. It is these elements that are significant in the research in this thesis.

The last two sections of this chapter focus mainly on television media. Compared with representations in other media such as newspapers and radio, television images seem closer to reality. Hence, the fact that television representations are subject to selection and manipulation is easier to ignore. Some scholars have reflected on this feature of television representation (Dyer, 1985; Fiske, 1987; McLuhan, 1994; McQueen, 1998; Seiter, 1992). Moreover, this study analyses the representation of TV programmes. I used Lasswell's (1948) 5W theory to determine what content need to be analysed. In addition, in the analysis of TV programmes, besides the analysis of the language used in the narration, the language of television also need to be analysed because it contains a lot of information, reflecting the intention of the TV programme makers. Therefore, this section introduces the characteristics of the language of televison. The fifth section introduces Western scholars' reflection on 'the role of television media in society' and 'the power of media'. Although the system of Chinese TV media is different from that of Western TV media, the reflection of these Western scholars still contains a certain level of inspiration for the management of Chinese TV's representation of heritage.

2.2 Heritage, AHD, and the Political Implications of Heritage

The concept of heritage has existed for a long time, while the concepts of 'cultural heritage', 'natural heritage', 'tangible cultural heritage', and 'intangible cultural heritage' appeared relatively late and are still under discussion and are controversial. In the process of discussing

the concept of heritage, the understanding and focus of heritage have changed, which will inevitably lead to differences in the understanding of its connotations and issues related to heritage. The following content will describe the two shifts in the concept of heritage: one is the shift from a history-centred paradigm to a present-centred paradigm, and the other is the shift from a material-focused perception to the perception of a cultural process of meaning making.

Heritage comes from the past and is related to history and memory. Heritage is inherited from our ancestors and is engraved with historical memories, which include both cultural traditions and artefacts (Hardy, 1988). As a legacy of the past, heritage carries the historical or collective memory of individuals, communities, ethnic groups, countries, and even the whole of humankind. Timothy and Boyd (2003) point out that because of the destructive power of the Second World War and rapid modernisation, people cherish the past and take comfort from the glory of their ancestors. The cultural homogenisation brought by globalisation also makes people yearn for multiple cultures and a heterogeneous culture. Timothy and Boyd (2003) argue that people need the past because the past provides them with self-identity and a sense of glory, as well as a psychological shelter for them to escape to from the pressure of modern society. Nevertheless, Lowenthal (1985) points out that the practice of protecting the past is not related to historical research, which is what people think. Conservation practice is often driven by economic and political interests rather than trying to get a better understanding of the past and history. Focusing on and protecting the past, in fact, are based on the interests of the present (Hewison,1987; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). That is to say, people choose heritage in order to use it for today's society. Hewison (1987) took the rural and industrial heritage landscape practices in the UK as examples, showing directly and clearly that heritage practices are closely related to the orientation of today's political and economic interests, and proposed the concept of a heritage industry.

Some scholars argue that heritage refers to those things that society wishes to inherit, which means that inheritance is selective (Ashworth, 1995; Cassia, 1999; Dicks, 2000; McCrone, 1995). Ashworth (1995) points out that that heritage is sifted through historical resources. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) argue that history is the past which is worthy of being recorded by historians and that heritage is the past that present society chooses to inherit. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:6) argue that "the present selects an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future". Cassia (1999) asserts that the purpose of history which is an academic activity is to excavate knowledge about the past, while heritage benefits from the knowledge. These views suggest that heritage does not equal history but is a creation which is based on the present and is related to our current experience. According to McCrone (1995), heritage is a modern concept that satisfies a cultural need. Dicks (2000:33) also asserts that "[h]eritage is part of a burgeoning new culture of display, in which a variety of different sites are transformed into sights to capitalise on new forms of cultural consumption". Such selectivity may be intentional or purposeful. Timothy and Boyd (2003) believe that society sifts heritage according to a certain value system. Undoubtedly, this kind of value system will change with the shift of time and space. Fowler (1989) believes that history itself is not emotional but that the parts of history that we call heritage are just the opposite. Without people being involved in history, it would be neither exciting nor boring and there would be no good or bad, or valuable or worthless history (Fowler, 1989). Because of the value of heritage, items of personal value are called personal heritage, while items of national or community value become our common heritage (Hall and McArthur, 1998).

In addition to the shift from a history-centred paradigm to a present-centred paradigm, the understanding of heritage also experienced a shift from material concerns to a view of heritage as a cultural process of meaning making. Heritage used to be considered as being only about the past and materials, which is questioned by many scholars (Graham and Howard, 2008;

Smith, 2006; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Waterton and Watson, 2010). Graham and Howard (2008:2) believe that "[h]eritage is less about tangible material artefacts of other intangible forms of the past than about the meanings placed upon them and the representations which are created from them". Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:8) emphasise that "the concept of heritage is culturally constructed, thus there is an almost infinite variety of possible heritages, each shaped for the requirements of specific consumer groups". Smith (2006:1) contends that heritage is "a process of engagement, an act of communication and an act of making meaning in and for the present". She claims that the value and meaning of the heritage are not inherent but depend on the present culture and environment. Waterton and Watson (2010) adopted Smith's (2006) ideas in their study of the visual representation of heritage. They point out that relocating the visual as "a social and cultural process" is the "essential and accessible theoretical orientation" when they discuss issues concerning heritage and representation (Waterton and Watson, 2010:27).

Many disciplines within heritage research and practice themselves are involved in the process of heritage meaning making (Smith, 2011). Among them, the representation of heritage, through the reproduction of heritage and recreating and spreading the meaning of heritage, is becoming a research field that cannot be ignored. When heritage is regarded as alive, dynamic, and a process of cultural production, the discussion about different issues concerning heritage becomes more complex, which involves the cultural background of the whole society. In terms of representation, issues related to power, identity, social groups, and a social system cannot be avoided. For instance, the research issues that concern this study are how are representations of heritage made and regulated, where does the power lie, how does a social system affect the representation of heritage.

Smith (2011) argues that the 1985 publication of David Lowenthal's book *The Past is a Foreign Country* marked the beginning of scholarly interest in heritage; "at least in the English speaking world", Smith (2011:10) added. In the period since then, there have been two understandings of the character of heritage in the West (Smith, 2011): regarding the first character, heritage management and conservation tend to be technically oriented and dominated by a discourse which Smith (2006:11) calls "Authorised Heritage Discourse" (AHD). The other character of heritage in the West has been described as "false history" (Smith, 2011:13), with which heritage was blatantly used in Britain back then to defend the socially and politically conservative notion that the past was better and that Western society should return to all those social and cultural values that had been forgotten in the past (Smith, 2011). Smith (2006) argues that people's views on heritage, like considering heritage as just monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites and buildings, are affected by a "hegemonic discourse" which motivate a sort of "Western elite cultural values" (Smith, 2006:11). This discourse of heritage is called "Authorised Heritage Discourse" (AHD) by Smith. The AHD of government and experts is based on judgements based on professional values and aesthetic values and the judgement of an elite class and a male group (Smith, 2006). Smith criticises AHD and concludes that AHD is powerful but not unchangeable. However, if people are not aware of the "ideological and political" basis of AHD, any attempt to change AHD will be circumscribed rather than fundamental (Smith, 2006:299). The reason why the concept of AHD proposed by Smith (2006) is cited in the literature review is that in terms of the representation of heritage, there are authorised heritage representations. Discourse and representation are the shaping and presentation of meaning. Through the analysis of both, we can see the manipulation and power behind the process of meaning shaping. Therefore, although the objects described by the two are different – one is authorised heritage discourse, the other is authorised heritage representation – the characteristics of the two are the same: they are

hegemonic with a single meaning and represent the interests of certain groups. Thus, discussing the concept of AHD here can serve as a reference for studying authorised heritage representation.

When discussing AHD, Smith (2006) mentions the different stakeholders of heritage. In the process of understanding and describing what is and what is not heritage, there are differences of opinion or disputes between different stakeholders who share the same heritage (Charlesworth, 1994; Graham, 1996; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) put forward a concept of "dissonant heritage". Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) describe a phenomenon that involves the meaning of the heritage changing constantly in the process of legalisation and commercialisation. In some cases, there are different opinions within the same community as to which aspects of the heritage should be emphasised and communicated to the public. In this process, certain social groups and ethnic minorities are excluded from the historical record, which is called 'disinheritance'. Altschull (1995) points out that if heritage does not highlight something, it will be hidden. In this way, heritage shapes an acceptable history by commemorating certain aspects of it and ignoring others (Lowenthal, 1996). Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge (2007:2) argue that even in the same environment, we should think of heritage as "plurals" not only because "heritage has many uses" but also in light of the "multiple producers" it has. This "dissonant heritage" is inevitable and is derived from the diversity of human beings, such as differences between "public-private, official-non-official, insider-outsider" and differences in cultures, nations, societies, and political ideologies (Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge, 2007:2; Ashworth and Graham, 2005). The two important features of "dissonant heritage" are intrinsic and universal, which is explained as follows:

> All heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's: the original meaning of an inheritance [from which 'heritage' derives] implies the existence of disinheritance and by extension any creation of heritage from the past disinherits someone completely or

> partially. This disinheritance may be unintentional, temporary, of trivial importance, limited in its effects and concealed; or it may be long-term, widespread, intentional, important and obvious.
>
> (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996:21)

The key factors' links to "dissonant heritage" are differences of scale and identity (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, 2000). Identity is related to gender, class, nationality, religion, and language, while scale is reflected in the level of that scale, such as local, national, or international. Waterton (et al., 2005, 2006, 2010) has carried out a series of in-depth studies on the main constituent of heritage, the community. She introduces the idea that the community plays a key role in the socially dynamic process of heritage. She advocates an equal dialogue about heritage to promote social integration. Nevertheless, in her study, community residents are considered to be a homogenous group and there is no discussion of the internal differences between them (Waterton, 2005). In addition, Timothy and Boyd (2003) argue that heritage and the determination of its status are essentially political issues. Marks (1996) believes that heritage is regarded as a political concept because the process of determining the status of heritage, heritage protection, and heritage interpretation is bound to involve authorisation and participation. Heritage, therefore, involves issues of power and ideology. Through the analysis of the TV representation of the World Heritage Site in Qufu, it is found that the TV representation of the heritage site avoids some periods of history, shapes the national image through heritage, and strengthens the ideology. This section will discuss two issues related to this: the history of exclusion and image shaping through heritage.

Heritage is the embodiment of values and the construction of history and national identity from the perspective of ideology (Johnson, 1999; Norkunas, 1993). Which heritage can be preserved depends on the ideology of those in power (Ashworth, 1995). Hall (1997:95) points out that

what heritage embodies is the power of the winner. Timothy and Boyd (2003) believe that the heritage presented to tourists in many places reflects what some scholars called collective amnesia. Collective amnesia is when a society deliberately chooses to ignore, exclude, or deny some aspects of its history because they make people uncomfortable or embarrassed (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). Gawe and Meli (1990) believe that, according to their own ideological goals, the authorities can show the part of history they like to the public through education and can ignore the inconvenient or undesirable part of history. In addition, Timothy and Boyd (2003) point out that the incumbent government uses heritage in various ways to lead public opinion, stimulate national patriotism, and create images reflecting its political ideals. This is a common phenomenon. One of the typical practices is the manipulation of history and heritage. Heritage and its objects can be used as a means to affirm and reinforce national identity (Light, 2000; McLean, 1998; Rogers, 1996). Norkunas (1993) believes that the ruling class carefully controls the form and content of representational history and the tourist landscape and narrates history with its own social and cultural values, thus legitimising its rule.

Western studies on the deliberate forgetting or exclusion of certain histories have focused on race, social class, and gender, arguing that some social groups have become victims of heritage selection. For example, Waitt and McGuirk (1997) believe that this selection of heritage fully demonstrates a hegemonic historical concept of class, nation, and gender. Boniface and Fowler (1993) believe that it is common practice to present sites related to the royal family or other elites to tourists, while items reflecting the life of ordinary people are not seen by tourists. Hollishead (1992) believes that as tourists are increasingly aware of the important role played by ordinary people in the historical process, the role played by socially marginalised groups is also valued. However, the social context of concern about race, class, and gender is different from that of China. Although the television representation in this study also showed deliberate forgetting of some periods of history, the reasons for this, I think, are more consistent with

Labadi's (2013:71) view that "[t]raditions are important to associate the idea of the nation with that of symbolic stability. Different strategies have been used to identify the nominated property with such ideas of traditions and continuity." For example, China's Cultural Revolution is rarely portrayed in the television programmes, the reason for which does not involve issues concerning race, class, and gender that Western societies are usually concerned with. The Chinese government's current assessment of the Cultural Revolution is that it was completely wrong in theory and practice (Ren, 2016). The assessment was published in the People's Daily, the official newspaper of Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Therefore, the avoidance of this period of history is not because the government doesn't want the public to know about it or because this period of history can make people uncomfortable and embarrassed. Thus, in my opinion, omitting this period of history in television representation is a communication strategy which abandons the periods of history when interpretation of heritage was different, makes the interpretation of heritage continuous and stable, and strengthens how an undiversified interpretation is created. Another reason is that statements about the mistake are not the focus of the TV programmes.

It is Western societies and English-speaking countries to which Smith's (2011) research points, as she emphasises several times in her papers. Moreover, she also points out that it is important for critical heritage studies to play the role of a forum for the inclusion of critical heritage studies by authors, activists, and practitioners whose native language is not English. As for me, my research is inspired by the work of Western scholars. I am also aware of the differences between Chinese and Western societies. At the same time, I also analyse the research of some Chinese scholars. I found that there are differences in various aspects of heritage practice between eastern and Western societies that are caused by the differences in social systems, which is reasonable and easy to understand. In fact, even within the same social system, the situation of different World Heritage Sites varies and cannot be generalised. Therefore, with

the understanding of the Western concept of heritage as the starting point of the research, I also pay attention to the studies of Chinese heritage related to my research aim. The following section will introduce some studies and views of several scholars on the understanding of AHD and dissonant heritage in China, which present different phenomena and views from those in the West in many aspects.

Firstly, the role of residents and communities in China and the West when participating in heritage practices is different. Some Western scholars argue that residents and communities positively claim their local identities through their heritage knowledge, which presents the dynamic process and multiple complexity of heritage practice (Smith, 2008; Waterton, 2005; Crooke, 2010; Mydland, 2012). Nevertheless, according to Ji's (2013) study of the cultural identity of residents in China's intangible cultural reserves, he argues that in heritage sites in China, residents have no demand for a heritage cultural identity and lack the necessary knowledge structure to recognise the concept of heritage. Facing the strong culture of the other, their choice is often subject to utilitarianism. Ji (2013) points out that the cultural identity of the residents in the communities of heritage sites in China is very disturbing. In China, for the convenience of tourists, hotels, roads, and electricity systems were constructed in many originally closed intangible cultural heritage reserves, which suddenly entered the modern world and became global spaces for visitors from all over the world (Ji, 2003). Facing a strong alien culture, the first reaction of residents is not to confirm themselves in a mirror image of 'the other' but to have a sense of cultural inferiority through a huge contrast (Ji, 2013). When the cultural anthropologist Fang (2005) examines the Suoga Ecological Museum, she finds that the most respected people in the village can easily handle their affairs by using the familiar tradition of the transaction. However, when they face outside officials and experts, they lost all their courage and confidence and think they are inferior to pupils who come from another place and have only read books for a few years. Fang (2005) points out that they do not look up to

their own culture, nor do they cherish their own culture. All they want to do is to know how to break away from the shackles of this traditional culture, learn a new culture, and have the power of their own discourse.

To discuss 'whose heritage' it is, which is the basic question asked in heritage research in Western countries, Qu and Zhang (2016) collect pictures and text relating to village inns which are located in Yuanyang terraced fields in Yunnan province, China, from the online booking platform, and also interview the proprietors. They wanted to find differences between the local and foreign tour operators in terms of their identity and the way they understand heritage according to their respective discourses. Qu and Zhang's research shows that foreign tour operators with a middle-class identity consider that the display and transmission of heritage is multivariate and cross-cultural, and they attach importance to the display and transmission of the heritage which is theirs. However, from the perspective of 'home' and 'local', they believe that the heritage site is not their 'home'; they are only outsiders. From a 'national' and 'world' perspective, they believe that heritage belongs to all of us. On the contrary, the negative identity of farmers leads to the hiding and even the abandoning of heritage. Due to the benefits that arise from tourism, some local people want to display heritage. Heritage is not 'our' heritage in the eyes of local operators. However, from the perspective of 'home' and 'local', local operators believe that the heritage site is their home. At the same time, there is no obvious recognition of 'national' and 'world' heritage by local farmers. It can be seen from the research of the Chinese scholars above that the local residents of the heritage sites lack the necessary knowledge structure to recognise the concept of heritage, and they passively participate in the meaning making of their heritage rather than positively claiming their local identities through their heritage knowledge, as Western scholars point out. However, Qu and Zhang (2016) believe that with the rapid development of tourism at World Heritage Sites, the community

structure of heritage sites is increasingly diversified and people's understanding of 'whose heritage' it is will also be diversified.

In this study, the lack of interaction between TV programmes and world heritage is discussed, and the views of local managers and the public on the World Heritage Site are analysed. Wu (2021) has studied this topic and her study gives me some inspiration and reference. Wu (2021) studied the differences in community perceptions of the Migratory Bird Sanctuaries along the Coast of Yellow Sea-Bohai Gulf of China (Phase I). Wu (2021) points out that her research has exposed rifts between the local community and the heritage site. Wu's interviews with residents in surrounding communities were divided into two sections: urban residents and rural residents in four villages. For urban residents, on the whole, it can be seen that there is a certain sense of alienation for the surveyed communities from the World Heritage Site and matters that relate to applying for World Heritage Site status. However, most people's feedback is quite positive. The vast majority of people feel proud and happy after learning that the application for nomination as a World Heritage Site was successful, whereas for rural communities, there is not a strong will to participate in heritage protection and development. In addition, urban residents and villagers in the four villages have different attitudes towards the World Heritage Site. Wu (2021) believes that this phenomenon can be explained by residents' different interests. For example, for residents who do not have direct conflicts of interest with the heritage site, the honour won by a successful application can immediately deepen the sense of identity and sense of belonging of urban residents, thus prompting urban residents to give affirmation to the heritage site. However, some residents are faced with some difficulties as a result of the application to become a World Heritage Site, which is mainly reflected in the fact that they are required to make concessions to higher-level interests even though the basic survival interests are not fully realised. Their emotions are greatly damaged and they show negative attitudes in the interviews. This viewpoint of Wu (2021) is helpful for me when I am

analysing the question ‘why the residents of Qufu World Heritage Site do not show obvious disharmony’.

Secondly, some Chinese scholars have compared the Chinese heritage narrative with the AHD proposed by Smith (2006). Yan (2015) examined the official discourses of Tulou, a Chinese World Heritage Site in Fujian province, and compared them to the authorised heritage discourses defined by Smith. Yan (2015:69) found that “compared with authorised heritage discourse, the harmony discourse has certain specific Chinese characteristics”. When the Chinese government estimate the value of Tulou, it focuses on “local community and living tradition” (2015:70), which is markedly different from the AHD that is put forward in the West. However, although “the former is antithetical to the latter by emphasising the harmony between human habitat and nature, in practice it is as hegemonic as the Western authorised heritage discourse” (2015:65). … “The Chinese harmony discourse tends to provide a single narrative for the site’s value and privileges expert knowledge over local voices, while it empowers government by ignoring local residents’ capability within heritage conservation” (Yan, 2015:65). In addition, Yan (2015) argues that the harmony discourse for the purpose of maintaining a harmonious society has caused profound disharmony among residents. My response to Yan’s points of view will be discussed in sections 7.3 and 7.7.

Zhang (2016), a Chinese scholar, studied how Chinese officials have adapted to Western AHD. Zhang (2016:215) studied “how the Chinese government used the World Heritage ‘brand’ and policies to construct national and local narratives” based on her research on West Lake Cultural Landscape in Hangzhou, China. Zhang (2016:230) believes that “the way that the Chinese governments play the World Heritage game at a national level is still part of the Western authorised heritage discourse”. Zhang (2016:230) points out that “some Chinese values and ideologies often come into conflict with the Western AHD, and cannot fit into UNESCO World

Heritage criteria and policies". Hence, "the Chinese government modified the Chinese values (including the harmony discourse) to fit into the Western AHD during the World Heritage listing process, which was also a self-conscious and active process often referred to as being a 'game'" (Zhang, 2016:230).

As Zhan Guo, a Chinese world heritage expert, says, China's world heritage project began in the early days of China's reform and opening up. The concept of world heritage and the relevant rules and models of international cooperation provided China with a new philosophical way of thinking and sorting based on the international perspective (Qi, 2021). At the same time, the participation of China has enriched and completed the world heritage treasure house (Qi, 2021). By discussing the views and studies of Western and Chinese scholars, it is found that the situation of World Heritage Sites is very complicated. It is common to think that Chinese and Western research and theories are different because of their different cultural backgrounds and social systems. In fact, even under the same social system, with the same research issues, Chinese scholars have many different views on the research on World Heritage Sites in China, and these differences are worth further discussion.

2.3 Controversies Associated with World Heritage

In 1972, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) passed the Convention of Protection of World's Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO, 1972). The Convention provides for the definition of cultural and natural heritage and national and international protection policies for cultural and natural heritage (UNESCO, 1972). Musitelli (2002) believes that this Convention promoted the formation of the concept of world heritage. In 1976, the World Heritage Committee was established. In 1978, the first group of 12 heritage sites was included in the World Heritage List (UNESCO, no data-b). Through the world-class listing system, the cultural heritage of various countries and regions gained the

attention of the world. As of September 2021, a total of 1,154 sites (897 cultural sites, 218 natural sites and 39 mixed sites) in 167 State Parties have received World Heritage Site status because they are considered to have 'Outstanding Universal Value' (UNESCO, no data-c).

At the same time, the sovereignty, protection, development, and commerce of cultural heritage have always been controversial. Some scholars have explored whether cultural heritage belongs to all humankind or to a certain group (Gillman, 2010; Maddern, 2004; Moulin, 1991; Timothy, 1997). For example, Moulin (1991) believes that for many tourists, visiting world heritage sites is a way of learning about human civilisation, while Timothy (1997) argues that World Heritage Sites are a collection of carefully selected national heritage sites that can serve as symbols of national pride. Timothy (1997) points out that World Heritage Sites can attract a large number of tourists from all over the world, but while these heritage sites may inspire a sense of awe in tourists, they hardly inspire a personal attachment. Gillman (2010) presents the prominent contradiction in the debate on cultural heritage by discussing whether heritage should be regarded as a natural resource: cosmopolitans who support free trade agree that cultural heritage serves all humankind and that rights and freedoms should be better than state intervention, while particularists, on the other hand, believe that the spiritual character of the people is bound up with these cultural objects and that they express a particular culture and should be regarded as national resources. Maddern (2004) that there is a complex process of developing and depicting narratives of global significance. Maddern (2004) explored the tensions between World Cultural Heritage as both a universal heritage and a national heritage in relation to Ellis Island, a World Heritage Site that includes the Statue of Liberty. There have been plenty of debates there about the history of race, nation, and internationalism that have been recounted by the museum (e.g., the conflict between Irish Americans and African and Asian immigrants). She points out that a World Heritage Site like Ellis Island is meant to promote stories about world history rather than national identity and thereby encompass a wide

variety of immigrant stories (Maddern, 2004). This would, as Hitchcock (2004) argues, lead to a more confusing narrative than the concise, complete story currently presented at many world heritage sites.

There are two different views on whether the status of world heritage has an impact on tourists. One view is that global travellers in many countries target World Heritage Sites, just as Americans plan holidays around national parks (Wilkinson, 1996). Another view is that World Heritage Site status has little impact on visitors, partly because these heritage sites were already famous before they are designated (Rakic and Chambers, 2008). They note that it is evident from the responses in the interviews with tour guides and tourists that tourists tend to visit the site for 'history', 'education', and 'identity' reasons, whereas 'World Heritage Site' is not cited as being the principal reason for their visits. This confirms that the heritage site was deeply linked to local and national identities and ideologies before the concept of 'world heritage' emerged. It supports the point of view that "the concept of heritage is a modern construct" which is more strongly related to the construction of the state (Rakic and Chambers, 2008:147). In other words, "all heritage is essentially about the construction of particular localised identities rather than 'universal identities'" (Rakic and Chambers, 2008:147). Moreover, world heritage status may have a greater impact at lesser-known destinations (Banderin, 2004; Buckley, 2004; Hall and Piggin, 2001; Wilkinson, 1996). This phenomenon not only exists in the field of tourism but also affects the representation in TV programmes to a great extent. Rakic and Chambers (2008) believe that poor awareness of world heritage may be one of the reasons for the limited representation of them. There has been discussion about the lack of knowledge of World Cultural Heritage among site promoters by certain researchers (Beck, 2006). An initiative is underway at UNESCO to bridge this gap by introducing world heritage to tour operators. However, there is still work to be done (Hall and Piggin, 2001). Previous researchers have remarked on the general lack of a comprehensive narrative and promotional

materials for many World Heritage Sites (Hall and Piggin, 2001), which is the case because narrative devices would generate high manufacturing costs and it may be difficult for the site management authorities to be funded (Shackley, 1998). These Western studies provide some ideas that can be used in this study when analysing the reasons for the lack of influence of world heritage, but not all of these Western research conclusions can explain the phenomenon in this study.

For a long time, there has been controversy about whether Western heritage theories and approaches are applicable to other regions of the world (Winter, 2014). The Cultural Charter for Africa (1976), The Burra Charter (1979), and the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) are narratives that relate to this issue (Winter, 2014). One view is that different cultural, social, and economic backgrounds lead to different understandings of heritage, that there are differences in heritage theory between East and West, and that Western-centred theories bring about some problems. There is another view that on the basis of a full consideration of cultural diversity, the construction of heritage theories in different regions is not completely independent. Akagawa (2016:14) explores "how Japan's involvement in international heritage discourse played an important role in the development of a global understanding of heritage and what it constitutes" (2015:14). Akagawa (2016) argues that awareness of cultural diversity remains limited and there is no full recognition of deep-rooted religious beliefs in the social structures, practices, and attitudes associated with heritage. Otto (2015) discusses how two different heritage concepts developed in the same area over 50 years. He points out that the transformation of local heritage discourse is driven by local politics, local issues, and national and global development. Nagaoka (2015) points out that the mandatory use of world heritage standards when sites are nominated to be on the World Heritage List means that local governments are following European heritage values. This has hindered the transformation of

heritage management to include community participation and wider landscape conservation practices.

Some Chinese scholars argue that there is contradiction in and disconnection between Western theories and the practice of Chinese heritage (Fan,2014; Peng, 2012; Zhang, 2016; Zhu, 2015). As I mentioned above, Zhang (2016), a Chinese scholar, studied how Chinese officials adapted to Western AHD. Zhang (2016:230) points out that "some Chinese values and ideologies often come into conflict with the Western AHD, and cannot fit into UNESCO World Heritage criteria and policies". Hence, "the Chinese government modified the Chinese values (including the harmony discourse) to fit into the Western AHD during the World Heritage listing process, which was also a self-conscious and active process often referred to as being a 'game'" (Zhang, 2016:230). There are studies which suggest that the adoption of international principles is hampered by local social situations. Fan (2014) examines the community involvement in urban heritage conservation in China. He argues that China's heritage sector faces significant international pressure in terms of community involvement. Under the circumstances, even if the local government adopts an international approach, it is still unable to decentralise and devolve its power to communities, which results in extremely limited community participation. There are also studies that examine how the local people respond when the heritage practice takes Western theories as the standard. Zhu (2015:594) analyses "how the Chinese Government imposes the concept of authenticity on local heritage practices in the process of heritage nomination, conservation and management". The author points out that local Chinese communities do not passively accept the concept imposed by government but instead communicate, compete, and negotiate with the concepts in different ways. China's heritage practices create "space for dynamic negotiations between local and global value systems" (Zhu, 2015:594).

2.4 Media Representation of Heritage

In this study, representation is an important concept. Hall (1997:16) considers that "representation is the production of meaning through language". This definition has two meanings. First, to represent something is to describe it and present it in our mind through the description of imagination. Second, representation means a symbol as a sample or substitution for something. Or, to put it in another way, representation creates meanings of something in people's mind through language as a medium (Hall, 1997). Hall (1997) points out that participants in (producers and consumers of) the representation are involved in the struggle for meaning, which is conducted by discourse. The meaning cannot be merely personal; it is a kind of dialogue and the result of negotiation between the different groups. Meaning is always an unequal exchange, which implies a complex power relationship. All the parties in the process of representation are engaged in the struggle for meaning. Research on representation has penetrated many fields, including media research and heritage research. Hall's views on representation can be used for reference in studies of media representation and heritage representation. In modern society, visual media such as film and television carry a great many meanings. The producers of television programmes and films have special and detailed arrangements for the information in the text they intend to broadcast. In their opinion, if the decoders receive pre-planned, predetermined 'messages' and 'meanings', the 'mission' is accomplished successfully. Hall's (1997) view is instructive regarding this phenomenon: when decoding a cultural text, it is not desirable to only explore the original intention of the author; in contrast, the understanding and interpretation of the audience greatly restrict the realisation of the meaning of cultural texts. Regarding my research, when studying how TV programmes represent a heritage site, the content itself and the intention of TV programme makers need to be considered and audiences' interpretation of the programmes cannot be ignored.

Orgad (2012) points out that the difference between media representation and other representations is that its essential function is to represent. In other words, the main function of media representation is to generate meaning. According to Orgad (2012:17), "representation is an active process of meaning production, the products of which are media representations, that is, texts and images … When we talk about media representations we are referring to texts (in the broad sense, which includes images) that circulate in the media space and carry symbolic content: news photographs and articles, advertisements, radio programmes, YouTube videos, blogs, Facebook pages, etc." (Orgad, 2012:17). Orgad (2012) asserts that in today's globalised era, the understanding of media representation is inseparable from two concepts: globalisation and imagination. "[M]edia representations increasingly are dependent on and determined by networking of different social contexts and regions on a global scale" (Orgad, 2012:15). Nevertheless, the current studies on media representations are mainly carried out in the national context. In these studies, one part of the concept of representation involves national identity and culture, and the other part involves the dimensions of other identities, such as gender, race, class, and so forth. However, their analysis of the meaning of media texts and images is based on an implicit assumption that the state is the fundamental social and political form of the modern world. Even when empirical cases from all over the world are cited in the analysis, it tends to confer privilege on nation and national identity in the interpretation of meanings (Orgad, 2012). However, in the era of accelerated globalisation driven by economic, political, cultural, and technological forces, the state is no longer the only dominant background of media representation. Therefore (Orgad, 2012:15) argues that the study of media representation should take into account the complexity of communication and interaction in the context of globalisation. I do not deny the impact of globalisation on the world. However, the understanding of representational meaning cannot be separated from the specific context. Although globalisation has influenced media representation in some aspects and to some extent,

it cannot cover up or replace the influence of specific social contexts on representation. As Hall (1997) states, the meanings of symbols always change in different cultural contexts, and they are produced not only by the author of the cultural text but also by the receiver of the text. He describes it as follows: "[i]t is us – in society, within human culture – who make things meaningful, who signify. Meanings, consequently, will always change, from one culture or period to another" (Hall, 1997:61). Therefore, the understanding of representation is bound to be inseparable from the analysis of its cultural background, political system, and other social factors.

In the field of heritage research, the concept of representation involves vision and visual culture (Watson and Waterton, 2010). Watson and Waterton (2010:27) point out that we should consider the visual as "a social and cultural process" and not just as "a way of seeing". In Wu's (2012) opinion, 'watching' is produced in specific cultures, regimes, and social relations and also plays an important role in shaping ideology and power relations. Some scholars' understanding of the functions of vision/visual culture has provided some inspiration for the analysis in my research. One view is that visual technology is a tool for controlling society. It provides the public with (manipulated) information that is used to monitor the whole society. Foucault's (1991) theory of surveillance and discipline points out that modern society relies on discipline, and the omnipresent and piercing gaze and surveillance brought by visual technology is one of the important means of the discipline. Schirato and Webb (2010:21) argue that "if seeing is as much a social as a natural process, then how we see must be managed—like all social practices—both through self-regulation applied by individuals, and through the various mechanisms of control that, as Foucault has shown in this work on power and disciplinary practices, thread through society". Sontag's (1979) description of the social function of photography can also be applied to visual culture: a capitalist society requires a

culture that is based on images. It provides plenty of entertainment to stimulate consumption and to anesthetise the harm done by class, race, and gender. Moreover, it gathers unlimited information to increase productivity and maintain order. The dual capabilities of the camera – subjectivisation (control) and objectification (presentation) of reality – ideally meet both of these requirements. Cameras operate in two main ways to define reality: as a kind of performance (for the public) and as a monitoring tool (for rulers) (Sontag, 1979). Skrede, Hølleland, Risbøl, and Jerpåsen (2018) discuss the effectiveness of visualisation, criticism of its lack of 'objectivity', and the risks of manipulation.

Wu (2012) argues that the dual ability of visual culture to make reality subjective and objective corresponds to two metaphors of visual media – the mirror and the window. Mirrors help us to identify ourselves, while windows are used to see the world and touch others. Mirrors help us to connect with ourselves, and windows help us connect with society. Visual culture is a combination of mirrors and windows which provide vision and create constraints, provide knowledge, and disseminate illusion. Vision pursues comprehensiveness and wholeness, but visual culture often provides broken mirrors and twisted windows (Wu, 2012). Wu (2012) notes that being aware of this when we are studying issues related to visual culture can help us to establish a platform of cognition, interpretation, and understanding between the historical and the contemporary, reality and fiction, and the self and others. Wu (2012) also believes that humans need to live with our world in certain identities and that we notarise, question, or resist different identity options through constant searching, shaping, communicating, and reshaping. Wu (2012) believes that the central work of today's cultural production is to create or debate identities. Visual culture, with its intuitive language and attractive landscape, has become an important medium of identity.

There is a lot of research and there are many discussions on the media representation of heritage, which have different perspectives referring to different types of media and some related issues, such as the democratisation of heritage representation, new media heritage representation, and the authenticity of heritage representation. In this research, I explore the phenomenon of television representation having a certain disconnection with reality. There are already some studies exploring the relationship between heritage representation and the real world. Voase (2010) points out that images sometimes reproduce reality; however, in order to attract attention, images often simulate reality to varying degrees. He argues that "the result is beyond the real: it is a hyper-real" (Voase,2010:105). The pattern Voase (2010:105) explores is in cinema, which has the ability to "amplify" and "intensify" the historical reality. Voase (2010:105) argues that when heritages are represented with hyper-reality, the relationship between "heritage and conventional historicity" will be more strained. In this process, history has to be compromised due to the lack of historical scrutiny. Jones (2010:202) states that tourist attractions are represented through the 'formulae of television drama' which is called "hot authenticity" and makes representations of scenic spots make-believe. According to his observation, the relationship between the media industries and tourism is symbiotic. Many tourists are looking for hyper-real destinations where they can connect their experiences in real places with mythological characters, especially in places with cultural heritage. Therefore, cultural or mythological characters can be used to develop the local tourism industry. At the same time, Jones (2010) points out that it is necessary to consider how to integrate historical and mythological content into narrative and visual culture in local tourism.

In fact, the discussion of the democratisation of heritage representation is often combined with the media types of heritage representation. Some scholars believe that traditional media is not conducive to the democratisation of heritage, while online media and social media provide space for the diversification and democratisation of heritage. Losson (2017) points out that the

content presented in newspapers is in the interests of the government and experts. Purkis (2017) asserts that digital media provides space for the expression of diverse, unofficial narratives of personal history. Freeman (2010:352), similar to Purkis (2017), argues that that social media promotes public participation in cultural heritage. Meanwhile, he points out that such "socio-visual practices themselves" form part of the intangible cultural heritage. According to Pietrobruno's (2014) study, global media such as YouTube are documenting the dynamic legacy, whereas official videos freeze heritage. Lähdesmäki (2017) analyses promotional videos of heritage sites, showing that videos have a key role in meaning creation and promoting certain meanings of heritage. Nevertheless, there are some scholars who are not so optimistic about the role of new media technology. Aigner (2016) argues that new communication technologies are of limited help for the expression of ideas by analysing private and official websites. Brown (2006) argues that a richer multimedia does not mean better learning by analysing museum website design. Some scholars' views are more dialectical about the role of new media. Malpas (2008) claims that new media presents both opportunities and threats regarding representing heritage. According to Taylor and Gibson's (2017) study, in terms of conflict resolution and expression control, social media plays an active role. However, in terms of shaping preferences, social media strengthens Authorised Heritage Discourse.

Culture, Heritage and Representation, edited by Waterton and Watson (2010), is a combination of contributions of scholars that examine the trajectory that heritage portrays in the present, with visual culture as a key tool of the research. Watson and Waterton (2010) argue that although representation has long been regarded as a core component of heritage research, especially based on the development of museology and interpretation research, as well as the critical study of heritage itself, few people have tried to use representation as the focus of academic research. Waterton and Watson (2010:37) also point out that some issues such as "where and how is meaning constructed?", "where does power lie?", and "how is it represented"

are unstudied or not settled. Moreover, few studies have looked at the implications of representation for the heritage sites themselves, their management, and the values and meanings they have for their wider communities, it is these elements that are significant in the research in this thesis.

2.5 Television Representation and the Language of Television

Compared with representations in other media such as newspapers and radio, television images seem closer to reality. Hence, the fact that television representations are subject to selection and manipulation is easier to ignore. Some scholars have reflected on this feature of television representation (Dyer, 1985; Fiske, 1987; McLuhan, 1994; McQueen, 1998; Seiter, 1992). McLuhan (1994) argues that the dominant technological form and its forces are bound to be concealed, not seen by people in the culture. He points out that the change process of a media form is mainly a switch from the forms of visual symbols (a square, ceremony, carnival, etc.) to forms of text symbols (a book, newspaper, magazine, etc.), and then it finally comes back to the visual symbols that are supported by electronic technology (film, television, etc.). He argues that media technology has changed the human-perceivable form and social relations. Seiter (1992) argues that an advantage of TV media over text media lies in the sense of reality it brings to the audience, which is due to the relationship between the signifier and the signified in television images. In semiotics, words, pictures, and sounds are considered to be 'signs' and television uses all these three types of signs. Both newspapers and broadcasting use language signs to communicate. Therefore, from the perspective of semiotics, there is no essential difference between newspapers and broadcasting, because there is no similarity between the signifier and the signified no matter whether it is written or spoken language. Signs on television are different because the signifier and the signified of an image are very similar from a structural point of view (Seiter, 1992).

McQueen (1998), similar to Seiter (1992), points out that there's a long list of variables in TV images: camera position, picture, light, sound, music, background, gestures, body language, facial expressions, diction… All these elements are carefully arranged to maximise the impact on TV audiences (McQueen, 1998). McQueen (1998) believes that we can clearly see the representation of media through a given text. Sometimes things are represented as signs or 'words' on a page, which is not easily confused with the things themselves. However, those represented on tape, disc, film, and television are very close to the truth of our experience. A video of a wedding, for instance, looks like the wedding itself in many respects, which is naturally far better than some diary stuff that is described in words (although later we may find these diaries more 'faithful' to the occasion) (McQueen, 1998). The images on television are sifted from vast amounts of material, edited with extreme rigour and reduced to shorter audiovisual 'decoys'. All the recreated content is only a part of what has happened, all of which is carefully selected abstract objects (McQueen, 1998). Therefore, one part of the content of this study is deconstructing how the seemingly 'real' scenes in TV programmes are constructed and the reasons behind these construction patterns.

In addition, Dyer (1985) points out that there are four different connotations of the television-related term representation, which are worth thinking about in the analysis of television representation. The first is a re-expression of the world, which is subject to the selection made in television and the discipline of art and aesthetics. Secondly, it raises the question of stereotypes (Dyer,1985:45) that 'is the representation of women, children, race, and different classes on TV typical of these groups in society'. The third meaning of representation implies a concept of democracy that is referred to equally or is fairly represented. In light of this, the question of 'who is speaking for our interests' emerges here. Dyer made this point regarding a patriarchal media representation of women:

> For every image of a woman, it is important to ask who is speaking for women at that point. In the vast majority of cases, the answer would be a man. The same is true of other groups excluded from the mainstream of speech in our society. Television so often speaks on our behalf without letting us speak for ourselves.
>
> (Dyer,1985:45)

Finally, when considering representation, audience is also important because what the programme expresses to them is the important meaning of the text (McQueen, 1998). The question we need to ask any TV programme is, as Dyer says:

> What sense of the world is this programme making? What does it claim is typical of the world and what deviant? Who is really speaking? For whom? What does it represent to us, and why?
>
> (Dyer,1985:45)

This study analyses the representation of TV programmes, and Lasswell's (1948) 5W theory is used to determine what content need to be analysed. Lasswell (1948) put forward the 5W communication model, which refers to the communication process and its five basic elements, which are: who (i) said what (ii) to whom (iii)? Through what channel (iv) was it said? And what effect (v) did it achieve? The relationship between them is shown in Figure 2.1.

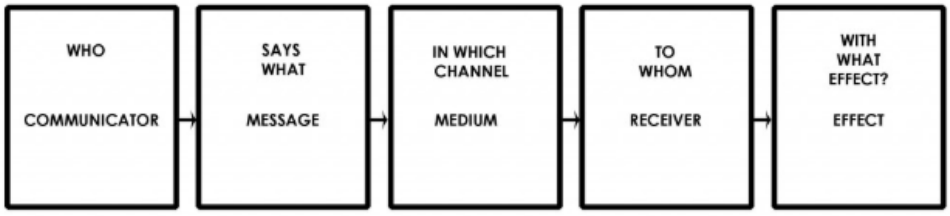


Figure 2.1 The 5W Communication Model (Lasswell, 1948)

This is the first study to establish a model method to analyse the communication activity of human society, and the communication process is broken down specifically into five links (Lasswell,1948). These five analyses cover the main areas of communication research and are closely interlinked. Moreover, each element cannot be analysed separately. For example, when we do content analysis, we need to consider the communicator medium and receiver. It is meaningless to study the content without the background (other elements). Emily (2018) argues that based on the historical environment and technical conditions at the time, this model focuses on the study of political communication and policy propaganda. It is believed that in the process of transmission, the communicator intends to influence the receiver and always obtained some effects. Therefore, the study doesn't attach great importance to the main characteristic of communication: the interactivity. On the contrary, it tends to think that communication is a one-way process of persuasion. Meanwhile, the influence of historical culture, the social system, and the external environment on communication activities is ignored (Emily, 2018). Although the 5W theory has its limitations, it is still worth using for reference when determining what content should be analysed.

In addition, in the analysis of TV programmes, besides the analysis of the narration language, the language of televison need also to be analysed, because the language of televison itself contains a lot of information, reflecting the intention of the TV programme makers. Therefore, this section will introduce the characteristics of the language of televison. Marshall and Werndly (2002:55) see "[t]elevision texts as polysemic". They argue that "[t]elevision programmes are characterised by polysemy which means that a text has potentially many meanings" (Marshall and Werndly, 2002:55). McQueen (1998) believes that TV can create visual and lexical meanings because of the use of complex codes of conduct and social customs signs. Unlike spoken language, morse code, or flag language that is transmitted in a linear fashion (a word or a sign followed by another word or sign), television can present signifiers

such as speech, music, sound effects, colours, gestures, facial expressions, and movements at the same time. The complexity and diversity of signs and codes used on television means that television is a highly polysemic medium. In other words, it is open to reading and interpretation. Because the meaning of any TV segment is potentially multiple and multi-layered, it is necessary to use various methods to anchor the meaning. The methods of fixing attempt to control and highlight the underlying meaning of the signs being used, which creates a particular interpretation and makes it clear to the audience. If other potential meanings are severely suppressed by the programme's producers, then the programme can be described as a closed text. News reports are, in general, "closed texts" (McQueen, 1998). 'Authority' is indicated by a series of codes including music, light, accent, costume, and so forth. and is constantly used, especially by newscasters, with a single interpretation of the images. In contrast, an open text does not choose any single interpretation. This strategy often appears in the music video (they often revel in the instability and the richness of the available signifier) (McQueen, 1998). Marshall and Werndly (2002:56) argue that "[t]he concept of polysemy is important because it implies that meanings are not imposed on an audience, they are preferred".

Television images seem closer to reality. In fact, television programme producers use some filming techniques to construct a particular 'realism'. Documentaries are named so because they try to 'document' certain features of the 'real' world. However, the documentary is a type of programme that is much more subjective than people usually imagine (McQueen,1998). The producers' points of view can either be successfully concealed or clearly revealed by the style of the documentary (McQueen,1998). Masterman (2006) and Fiske (1987) introduce forms of visual coding in the documentary that is conducive to constructing the particular 'realism' of such programmes. Fiske (1987) introduces a form of visual coding in the documentary that is conducive to constructing the particular 'realism' of such programmes:

> the documentary appears to use an objective, but recognised camera, and thus uses conventions like the hand-held camera, the cramped shot, and "natural" lighting, often supported by unclear or inaudible (and therefore "natural") sound. The documentary conventions are designed to give the impression that the camera has happened upon a piece of unpremeditated reality which it shows to us objectively and truthfully: the dramatic conventions, on the other hand, are designed to give the impression that we are watching a piece of unmediated reality directly, that the camera does not exist. (Fiske, 1987:30)

Masterman (2006) believes that the pattern in the 'real' programme is that the subject should be shot from the height of the human eye, and the angle can neither be tilted down nor up, because shooting from these two angles can cause ambiguity in the biased images. McQueen (1998) argues that the authenticity of the image can be used to emphasise rather subjective or unsubstantiated perceptions. The reporting or captioning is able to provide signification, while signification is able be obtained without them. In fact, as for documentaries and all other types of television programmes, it is possible to make a point without using verbal or written language, because the image itself can construct a point of view (McQueen, 1998).

Masterman (2006) believes that the process of producing a programme demonstrates the result of a consecutive selection by programme producers. The act of choice is an evaluation in itself. The media can prove that certain characters or events are more important than others simply by reporting them (Masterman, 2006). The way in which the media achieves their important ideological function is through the reporting of 'facts' that are often perceived as unrelated to ideology (Masterman, 2006). Hall (1986) points out that since constructing the meaning of the world can be conducted in many different or even opposing ways, what and who are represented matters, and how things, people, and relationships are represented has an equal

degree of importance. Thus, the analysis in this study is about what is represented in the TV programmes, as well as how the programmes represent these things, events, and characters.

2.6 Media and Power

This section will introduce Western scholars' reflections on 'the role of television media in society' and 'the power of media'. Although the system of Chinese TV media is different from that of Western TV media, the reflection of these Western scholars still has certain inspirations for the management of Chinese TV's representation of heritage. There is a view that the medium is inevitably influenced by the elements of power. According to Altschull (1995), not all media are independent but are tools to control society. Thompson (1990) also points out that the circulation and transmission of symbolic forms by means of media and other carriers are the basis of the construction of the unequal power governance relationship that is ideology. Althusser (2014) criticises the media as the ideological state machine. In his opinion, the main characteristic of the ideological state machine is that it claims to be neutral and fair to the weak and powerful. But in fact, it unconsciously adopts the will of the ruling class. Hall (1997) argues that issues concerning communication of meaning are bound to involve the issue of power. Who has the power, through what channels, and what meaning is communicated to whom? Issues of power are always included in the question of representation. However, depending on the social context, the subject, object, and operating mechanism of power may have completely different forms of expression.

Curran (2002) argues that according to the traditional theory of liberalism, the media should conduct overall supervision of the behaviour of the state and the government, acting as the 'watchdog', which prevails over any other function of it in importance. Once the media is regulated by national authorities, it loses its attack force as the 'watchdog'. Kelley and Donway (1990) suggest that any form of media, no matter how likeable it is, is unacceptable if it comes

at the expense of the watchdog function; if it does so, there is inevitably a price to be paid. The reason for this is that if the media is regulated, managed by licensing or franchising, then it is bound to succumb to political pressure when dealing with matters that would affect the interests of those in power. Stepp (1990) expresses the same concern: he cannot imagine any form of content regulation – no matter how indirect it may be. Such regulation would certainly put governments in a position where they can choose the information and opinions they prefer. These regulations would give the government an intolerable role of 'super watchdog'. These theories above obviously suggest that it is dangerous for the government to become the watchdog.

However, Curran (2002) notes that the perspective of watchdog theory has limitations. According to the traditional theory of liberalism, the government is the only object of media supervision. At the time as this idea was born, people generally believed that the government would sit tight on the 'throne' of power. This traditional view fails to take into account the economic power exercised by shareholders and managers. So-called 'market freedom' is not genuine freedom that is independent of any form of power. It can be stated that no media is completely independent of power, but the media always tends to yield to it. Media neutrality is an ideal status but not a reality. At the same time, Curran (2002) proposes a corrective comment in which he argues that activist media research is troubled by a simplified 'system logic'. The so-called 'system logic' makes the following assumptions: government-controlled media does serve the government; enterprise-controlled media does serve the enterprise. In fact, these assumptions have ignored or underrated the inverse effects of the following: in order to make money, private media need to maintain audience interest; they also need to maintain their public legitimacy to avoid social censure; they are influenced by the professionalism of their practitioners as well. All of these factors could potentially facilitate private media not to bend to the political obligations and economic interests of their shareholders.

Katz (1996) believes that the flood of television channels has led to the division and fragmentation of the public. Kats argues that television is no longer a public space and, except for occasional media events, that the entire country no longer gets together. Besides, Katz (1996) points out that the public radio and television industry has to bend under some restrictive forces, such as new media technologies, neoliberalism, political and economic burdens on public radio and television, and the temptation of multinational corporations. In this regard, Curran (2002) believes that despite the decline of public television, the phenomenon of fragmentation and globalisation proposed by some scholars has not yet appeared. Meanwhile, Curran (2002) points out that public service television is a product of the nation-state, which is vulnerable to 'hijacking' by national and ethnic planning. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that public service television should be completely free from the state's influence. This is because the state is the primary domain where individuals seek their senses of identity and belonging. However, this type of state-centred public service television also brings about certain problems. For example, the 'national' orientation is not able to fully reflect the diversity of views and perspectives. The 'national perspective' weakens the link with 'foreigners' as well. The 'national mission' that public service television has emphasised for a long time has prevented it from adapting more proactively to the more diverse, global environment.

In fact, although China and the Western countries have different social backgrounds, their TV industries confront similar problems (Guo, 2010). TV programmes with obvious political labels are special styles of TV products in the context of Chinese culture. Chinese television enterprise as an integral part of the state apparatus is constructed and invested in by the state. Conveying the voice of the Party and the government, educating the people is its fundamental purposes (Guo, 2010). Under this TV system, China's TV industry needs to think about how to not always focus on playing a political role and carrying out a national mission but to pay more attention to the audience market and to present more diversified viewpoints.

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the literature related to this study is elaborated around the four themes of heritage, world heritage, representation, and television media, presenting relevant concepts or various research perspectives and viewpoints on related issues. On the one hand, the literature review provides a theoretical basis for my research, and on the other hand, it provides a reference and comparison for my analysis. In addition, by analysing the research related to this study, the research gaps in the field of representation of heritage are presented. The Chinese scholar Peng (2012) points out that Western countries play a leading role in establishing the concept, definition, and classification of heritage, which is worthy of reference. Although my study case is the World Heritage Site in Qufu, China, the theories used for reference are mainly Western ones. Although I have also discussed the research undertaken in China and opinions of Chinese scholars, the literature basically consists of responses to and contrasts with Western theories. However, at the same time, the cultural and social context of a heritage site is critical to the construction of its meaning. Meaning cannot be explored without consideration of the social context, as Hall argues: "[i]t is us –In society, within human culture – who make things meaningful, who signify. Meanings, consequently, will always change, from one culture or period to another" (Hall, 1997:61). Therefore, in the next chapter, the context of the case study will be introduced, which mainly includes information about the World Heritage Site in Qufu, China, and the television system in China. By understanding this information, we can better understand the phenomenon described in this study and the reasonableness of the analysis in the research.

CHAPTER 3 THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE OF QUFU AND THE TELEVISION SYSTEM IN CHINA

3.1 Introduction

The analysis of TV programmes and in-depth interviews in this study cannot be separated from the understanding of the context of the objects. Hall (1997:2) points out that "culture is concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings … between the members of a society or group". If two people are said to come from the same culture, it means that they both interpret the world almost in the same way and that they are able to express themselves and their thoughts or feelings about the world in ways which are mutually understandable for the two. This also means that the interpretation and analysis of mass media texts and mass media content in culture is a way of understanding a culture and, indirectly, of understanding a society and humanity itself (Berger, 1997). All analysis and explanations can only be reasonable and valid in a specific context. Therefore, this chapter introduces three aspects of the social background of the case study to help readers understand the analysis in the study. These three aspects are: the specific World Heritage Site, the historical development and the present situation of TV media in China, and issues related to World Heritage Sites in China. The following section will elaborate the content of each of the three aspects.

First of all, the first section introduces the specific World Heritage Site of this study: the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion. In addition to the basic information about the site, such as its location, history, and the composition of the buildings, the influence of the heritage site on China and the significance of the site will also be introduced.

Through the introduction of this part of the content, readers can understand the impact of this heritage site and Confucianism, which is closely related to this heritage site, on Chinese society and their profound influence on the public. This content can help readers to comprehend the views of the interviewees in Chapter 5 and the representations of the heritage site in TV programmes in Chapter 6.

The second section discusses the development of TV media in China. China's TV industry, unlike that of Western society, started relatively late and still plays an important role in Chinese society. It went through four stages of development, according to Lu and Zhao's classification method (2010). Furthermore, the management system of the television industry in China is different from that in the West. The introduction of China's television management system can help the reader understand how management systems affect the representation of the heritage site. In addition, this part presents the development prospects of TV media and the development of new media in China, which shows the reason why this research still chooses TV media as the research object despite the impact of the rapid development of new media.

The third part introduces the status of world heritage in China, focusing on the phenomenon of 'world heritage application fever' in Chinese society. In China, many scholars have discussed this phenomenon, whose main problem is that local governments actively apply for World Heritage Site status, taking the application as a work task and a reflection of political achievements. However, after a site becomes a 'World Heritage Site', the value and protection of the world heritage are not recognised enough, leading to the emergence of various problems. In the analysis stage of this study, it is found that the local managers and the public have little concern for world heritage. In the process of the representing the World Heritage Site, there is very little interaction between a programme's content and world heritage. This is a supplementary discussion to the discussion about the phenomenon of 'world heritage

application fever' in China from the perspective of the communication of world heritage. Through the three parts mentioned above, readers can gain more information about the research object and a better understanding of the analysis in this research and the phenomena discussed in it.

3.2 The World Heritage Site of Qufu

3.2.1 Basic Facts of the World Heritage Site of Qufu

The Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion are the places that posterity commemorates, and they recall the sage Confucius. Moreover, they are the historical pieces of evidence which show that China has been affected profoundly by Confucius and Confucianism (Qufu Cultural Relics Administration Bureau, 2008). The Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion became one of the first batches of important heritage sites under the protection of the state in 1961 because of its profound and rich cultural connotation and its uniqueness and integrity. In July 1993, the application to become a World Heritage Site began. In May 1994, the World Heritage Committee dispatched experts to Qufu for an on-the-spot investigation, and finally confirmed that the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion had 'Outstanding Universal Value' and met the first, fourth, and sixth selection criteria (Qufu Cultural Relics Administration Bureau, 2008). On 17th December 1994, the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion were designated a World Heritage Site and were officially listed on the World Heritage List.

On the website of UNESCO (UNESCO, no date-a), there is a description of the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu:

> The temple, cemetery and family mansion of Confucius, the great philosopher, politician and educator of the 6th-5th centuries BC, are located at Qufu, in Shandong Province. Built to

> commemorate Confucius in 478 BC, the temple has been destroyed and reconstructed over the centuries; today it comprises more than 100 buildings. The cemetery contains Confucius' tomb and the remains of more than 100,000 of his descendants. The small house of the Kong family developed into a gigantic aristocratic residence, of which 152 buildings remain. The Qufu complex of monuments has retained its outstanding artistic and historic character due to the devotion of successive Chinese emperors over more than 2,000 years.

This World Heritage Site is located in Qufu. Qufu is a county-level city which is located in the southwest of Shandong province in China (see Figure 3.1); it covers 815 square kilometres and has an estimated population of 655,900 (Qufu statistics bureau, 2018). Qufu is a county-level city, which means that its local departments are in a lower-level administrative position. Its administrative areas belong to Jining City, which is a prefecture-level city. Qufu has a long history, numerous cultural relics, and a rich cultural heritage. In 1982, Qufu was announced by the state council as one of the first batch of 24 famous historical and cultural cities in China. In 1998, Qufu was named as China's outstanding tourist city (Jiang, 2018). Confucius, the Chinese philosopher and educator and the founder of Confucianism, was born in Qufu.



Figure 3.1 Map of China, with the Location of Qufu Marked with the Red Spot

The Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion have a close relationship with Confucius, who established Confucianism. The core of Confucianism is benevolence. Confucius's ideology still performs a vital role in different cultures in China. Chinese people agree that Confucius is the holiest ancestor. Confucianism has become the spiritual gene of the Chinese nation and is integrated into Chinese blood (Liang, 2017).

This World Heritage Site is divided into three parts: the temple of Confucius, the Kong family mansion, and the cemetery of Confucius. Among them, the Confucius temple and the Kong family mansion are located within the ancient Ming Dynasty city of Qufu (the ancient Ming Dynasty city of Qufu is the part of the city that was just inside the ancient city wall which we can still see today). The ancient Ming Dynasty city of Qufu was built in the Ming Dynasty to protect the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion (Kong and Peng,

2012). The Kong family mansion is located to the east of the Confucius temple, and the cemetery of Confucius is two kilometres north of the ancient Ming Dynasty city of Qufu.

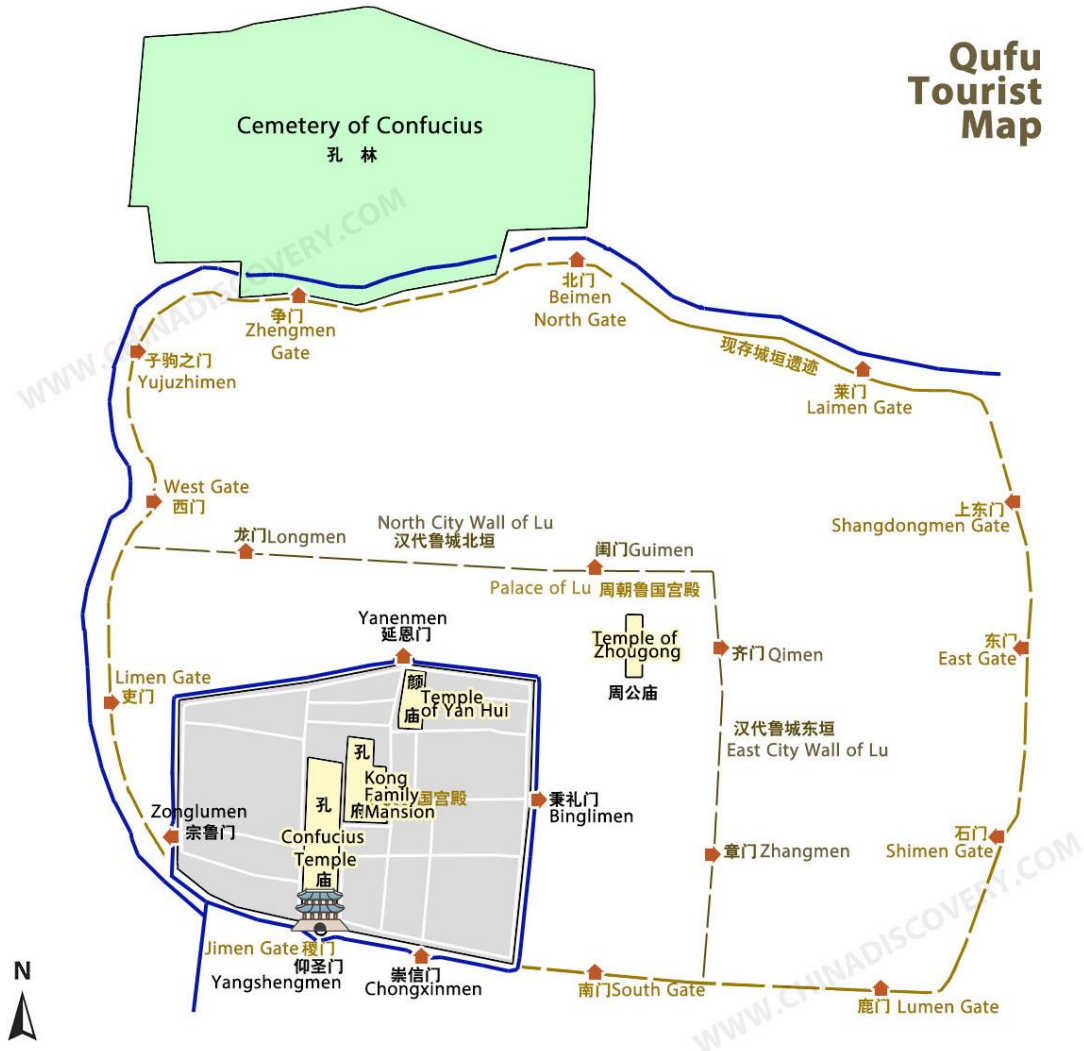


Figure 3.2 Tourist Map of 'the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion' in Qufu (Source: internet. https://www.chinadiscovery.com/shandong/qufu/confucius-temple.html, accessed: 16/06/2021)

The temple of Confucius in Qufu is a memorial and sacrificial temple built on the former residence of Confucius. In the second year after his death (478 BC), the former residence of

Confucius was changed into a temple. Although it was damaged frequently due to wars and natural disasters, it was rebuilt soon after the destruction, and the scale got larger and larger. According to the existing data, before 1911, more than 60 major maintenance projects were recorded, and the general plan of the temple was constantly changing during the developments. Although this phenomenon also existed in other ancient buildings, the temple of Confucius in Qufu had the longest history, was the most frequently repaired and reconstructed, and has the most abundant literature records (Qufu Cultural Relics Administration Bureau, 2008).

Covering an area of about 140,000 square metres, the temple has more than 100 buildings and 466 rooms of the Jin, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties and is well known as one of China's three ancient buildings, including the Forbidden City in Beijing and the Mountain Resort in Chengde. The temple of Confucius in Qufu adopts the traditional court-style architectural form of ancient China and retains a number of Confucius' sites which have both the royal temple features and family temple worship features. It is a unique architectural form in ancient Chinese buildings (Qufu Cultural Relics Administration Bureau, 2008). The temple of Confucius, as a kind of ritual architecture to sacrifice Confucius, has spread from Qufu to all parts of China, reaching more than 2,000 temples at its peak, and extending to Vietnam, Japan, and the Korean peninsula. Some of the Confucius temples are called Wenmiao and some are called Xuegong. However, temples as local cultural education centres are never changed. Therefore, the Confucius temple has become the most widely distributed and representative ancient architecture group in China. The temple of Confucius in Qufu is the ancestral temple of all Confucius temples (Qufu Cultural Relics Administration Bureau, 2008). The Confucius memorial ceremony that takes place in the temple of Confucius in Qufu has never been interrupted in the feudal history of more than 2,000 years. With the improvement in Confucius' status, the ceremony became more and more complete and grand, and the standard became

more and more strict, forming a unique culture of worship (Qufu Cultural Relics Administration Bureau, 2008).

The cemetery of Confucius is the family cemetery of Confucius and his descendants. The existing cemetery of Confucius covers an area of more than 200,0000 square metres, with over 100,000 tombs, more than 40,000 trees of various types, more than 4,000 inscriptions, and a wall which is eight kilometres long. It is known as the family cemetery with the longest duration and the largest scale in the world. The development of the cemetery of Confucius to today's scale, similar to the situation of the temple of Confucius, is the result of the feudal dynasties' worship of Confucius, and it has undergone a process of continuous expansion. The overall layout is that the cemetery of Confucius is built around the tomb of Confucius, and the forest, the cemetery, and various buildings constitute the main part of it (Qufu Cultural Relics Administration Bureau, 2008).

The Kong family mansion was the residence and office of Confucius. It is one of the few typical buildings of the Ming Dynasty in that the office and residence are in the same place. The Kong family mansion has more than 480 existing halls, with a building area of about 12,740,000 square metres. The building itself and the name of the building are restricted and influenced by Confucian etiquette and Confucianism. After more than one thousand years of accumulation, the Kong family mansion has become the largest private collection in China, collecting tens of thousands of cultural relics. Among them, the archives of the Kong family mansion are the most abundant, oldest private archives in China. They are also first-hand materials that can be used for an analysis of the Kong family mansion and are of great value for the study of political, economic, and cultural life in the feudal era of China (Qufu Cultural Relics Administration Bureau, 2008).

3.2.2 The Influence and Significance of the World Heritage Site of Qufu

Confucius was born in 550 BC in the Spring and Autumn Period in the Lu State. He advocated emperors ruling the country with benevolence. The emperor of the Lu State did not adopt his ideology. He travelled around several states with his disciples to persuade emperors to accept his thought. But he continued to fail to achieve his political ideal until he passed away. However, his disciples succeeded in carrying forward his ideology after he died. His thought was adopted by Emperor Wu (156 BC–87 BC) of the Han Period. From then on, almost all the emperors attach importance to Confucianism, which was infiltrated into all aspects of society gradually and has become the fundamental paradigm of Chinese traditional culture. Furthermore, Confucius has transcended his original identity as a symbol; the role has been given a new connotation and what has previously been signified has been given new significance according to the demands of Chinese society at different times (Sui, 2014). The following content will expound the influence and significance of the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion in relation to the following aspects: the relationship between the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion and Confucianism, the influence of the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion on the ruling class and the common people, the fact that the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion were questioned in history, and the relationship between the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion and today's Chinese society.

Confucian culture is one of the characteristics of Chinese culture, and the temple of Confucius is the material carrier of Confucianism (Kong, 2006). From the reign of emperor Wudi of the Han dynasty to the collapse of the Qing dynasty, although Confucianism was sometimes frustrated, it kept rising and consolidating generally and became the mainstream of Chinese traditional culture (Tian, 2011). In a thousand years of history, Confucian culture has been integrated into the Chinese ideology and code of conduct. It has had a very profound impact on the formation of the Chinese national spirit (Kong, 2006). As Professor Mu from Princeton

University said, no one has had such a lasting influence on or made such a contribution to a civilisation as Confucius (Shen, 1996). Tian (2011) argues that if we want to study Chinese traditional culture, we can't do that without studying Confucius and Confucianism. Besides, the temple of Confucius is the ritual architecture and material carrier of the Confucian spirit. Therefore, the study of the temple of Confucius is of great significance to fully understanding Chinese traditional culture (Tian, 2011). During the cultural integration in China that occurred for more than two thousand years, the function of the temple of Confucius has gone far beyond the meaning of memorial architecture and has become the symbol of Chinese multi-ethnic culture (Kong, 2006). The temple of Confucius is an ancient museum of architecture, sculpture, painting, calligraphy, and other achievements. It is not only the historical witness of the rulers' worship of Confucianism and Confucius but also the carrier of Chinese traditional ideology and culture and the wisdom of crowds (Kong, 2006).

After the western Han dynasty, the status of Confucius increased day by day. In 195 BC, Liu Bang, Emperor Gaozu of the Han dynasty, went to Qufu in person. He was the first emperor to worship Confucius. In 153 AD, Emperor Huan of the eastern Han ordered the construction of the temple of Confucius and appointed a special person to manage it. From then on, the temple of Confucius in Qufu evolved from a family temple to a national temple, and it initially established the position of the temple in national politics. Chinese emperors and generals in history prostrated themselves in worship to the temple of Confucius. There were 12 emperors in history who offered sacrifices in the temple of Confucius, which showed their admiration for Confucius (Cultural Heritage Bureau of Qufu City). The existing Kong family mansion was primarily built under the command of the Hongwu Emperor, the founding emperor of the Ming Dynasty. It was built at one time with an area of more than 133,000 square metres. By the time of the Qing dynasty, Confucius and Confucianism were in a high position in politics (Kong, 2006). The Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion not only form

an ancient building complex but have also witnessed the devotion of successive Chinese emperors (Qufu Administration of Cultural Heritage). Because of the respect received from the emperors, the temple, cemetery, and family mansion of Confucius have become precious historical legacies which are architectonic, grandiose, and self-contained (Cultural Heritage Bureau of Qufu City). Kong (2006) believes that the political absorption of Confucianism has occurred to establish an orderly society and to realise an autocratic rule.

As a carrier of Confucian culture and an important educational place in ancient times, the temple of Confucius was not only valued by the ruling class but also benefited from the fact that Confucius and Confucianism were closely related to the lives of ordinary people in past dynasties. The 56 ethnic groups in China considered Confucius to be 'the first sage' and 'the first teacher'. Kong (2006) argues that in its history of more than two thousand years, Confucian culture has alleviated ethnic conflicts and promoted the continuous unification of all ethnic groups. Confucian culture has standardised the moral norms and codes of conduct of all levels of the Chinese nation (Kong, 2006). Moreover, with the worship of Confucius in the past dynasties, the temple of Confucius developed from a family temple to a state temple and then temples of Confucius were built all over China. During the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties, temples of Confucius were set up in all administrative region above the county level. According to the statistics, by the end of the Qing dynasty, there were more than 1,560 temples of Confucius in China (Zhang, 2002). Temples of Confucius, as places for worshipping Confucius, were built throughout the country and become one of the characteristics of Chinese culture. Furthermore, the system of the unity of temple and school made the literati accept the influence of Confucianism. Studying Confucian classics has become an important part of school education (Kong, 2006), and this has become an important basis from which Confucianism exerts its influence in Chinese society.

Confucius has been questioned at certain points in history, which has affected the communication of Confucianism severely. The most typical examples are the New Culture Movement, which happened in China between 1915 and 1923, and the Great Cultural Revolution, which occurred from 1966 to 1976. The New Culture Movement overthrew the dominant position of Confucianism and had a war cry of anti-tradition, anti-Confucianism, and anti-classical Chinese. In this movement, Confucianism was deemed to be the foundation of the maintenance of feudal autocracy (Li, 2012). During the Great Cultural Revolution, not only was Confucianism was rejected, but also thousands of precious relics were destroyed and ransacked. The stone tablets and statues in the temple and mansion of Confucius were pulled down and smashed, the tomb of Confucius was excavated, and the relics in the grave were sacked. This was the only time in history that the tomb of Confucius was destroyed. Later, the experts lamented that the damage could not be repaired for hundreds of years (Zhang, 2012).

Although Confucianism was resisted during the periods of the New Culture Movement and the Great Cultural Revolution, some scholars, who were called Modern neo-Confucians, stood up to and responded to the queries of New Culture School. They thought the New Culture School looked at the issue in a formalistic way and could not treat Chinese cultural heritage properly (Li, 2012). They were firmly convinced that Chinese traditional culture was still valuable to China and that Chinese conventional philosophy contains modern ideas such as democracy and science. The Analects of Confucius, one of the classics of the Confucian School that records the words and deeds of Confucius and his disciples, is the primary spiritual resource that helped Chinese people affirm their cultural identity by way of Modern neo-Confucianism. Modern neo-Confucians not only rationalised the controversial Confucius sayings in the Analects but also believed that the concept of ‘modernity’ was already contained in the Analects of Confucius (Li, 2012).

Since the reform and opening up, local government has gradually paid attention to the repair and reconstruction of the Confucius temple, partially restoring its architecture and layout (Tian, 2011). Kong (2006) points out that for a long time, the temple of Confucius, with its unique culture, has exerted a profound influence on Chinese society. In the socialist modernisation of today, it still has value in terms of research and development (Kong, 2006). At present, with the combination of post-modern thought, cultural consumption, and media intervention, contemporary scholars have more diverse views on the text orientation and different ideas about the Analects of Confucius (Li, 2012). Modern scholars believe that Confucius' political thoughts not only had a massive impact on culture and politics in Chinese history but also provide essential inspiration for and have a guiding significance on contemporary political views. From their viewpoint, it is important for modern politics to study the new relevance and to realise the modern value of Confucius' political thought (Zhuang, 2013).

3.2.3 Tourism at the World Heritage Site of Qufu

According to the Qufu yearbook (Kong, 1988), since the reform and opening up in 1979, the number of tourists in Qufu has increased year by year. In 1986, the city received 1.5 million tourists, including more than 10,000 foreign guests and Chinese tourists come from Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan. The total annual income of Qufu's tourism industry was 25.55 million yuan. Comparing the data in recent years, which is shown on the website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the People's Republic of China (2018), the gross national product (GNP) of Qufu, where the temple, cemetery, and mansion of Confucius are located, was 41.6 billion yuan in 2016, of which the total consumption of tourism reached 17.9 billion yuan. The number of jobs in the area of tourism was close to 130,000 in Qufu, which accounts for 35% of urban employment. Also in 2016, the city received 11 million visitors, which was 16 times the resident population and about 7.5 times the tourists in 1986. It can be said that the tourism

industry has become the pillar industry of the city, among which the temple, cemetery, and mansion of Confucius are the key scenic spots of Qufu tourism. In 2017, number of tourists from outside the province who went to see the temple, cemetery, and mansion of the Confucian scenic spot was the highest in Shandong province and 11th in China (Li, 2018).

In terms of the dissemination of information about the scenic spots, in 2017, Qufu planned activities on major festivals such as the Nishan Spring Festival, the day of the museum, the day of cultural and natural heritage, and the Confucius cultural festival, and released various pieces of detailed information to society through blogs, WeChat, the official website, and other media. Information about scenic spots and various cultural relics is sent to newspapers such as China Cultural Relics Daily, China Culture Daily, and Public Daily, as well as websites such as People's Daily, Xinhua Net, and Guangming.com. More than 840 pieces of news were reported by the media at all levels throughout the year to broadcast information about Confucian culture and the resources of cultural relics in Qufu (Li,2018). The main form of the tourism in the temple, cemetery, and mansion of Confucius is sightseeing tourism that concerns the cultural relics and historic sites. Meanwhile, local tourism departments have developed a variety of special tourism projects with local unique cultural resources, including a Chinese New Year's Eve tour in the hometown of Confucius, a study tour in Confucius' hometown, a cuisine tour in the mansion of Confucius and so forth (Yin, 2006).

Nevertheless, Yin (2006) points out that compared with the current rapid development of China's tourism industry, the development of tourism in Qufu is stalling. Experts and scholars have analysed the causes, which are mainly limited space for tourism resources, the lack of other leisure vacation resources in the city, the destruction of tourism resources, environmental pollution, and the static nature of resources when there is not enough participation (Yin, 2006). Song and Zhu (2007) use a questionnaire survey in their study for tourists visiting the temple,

cemetery, and mansion of Confucius. It is found that the attraction of cultural heritage is the strongest factor, and the local historic buildings are the second most attractive. The least attractive factor is the local folk customs. Furthermore, the survey of tourist satisfaction shows that tourists are most satisfied with the core heritage attractions. In contrast, tourists are least satisfied with related products outside of the tour. According to the results of the survey, the heritage resources do indeed give tourists a satisfactory experience. However, the extension of heritage development and the local service system are unsatisfactory (Song and Zhu, 2007).

Regarding the aspect of tourism development, Qufu's local government is highly motivated to develop the tourism of the temple, cemetery, and mansion of Confucius, and introduced economic, political, and cultural measures to support it vigorously. For example, from 1st to 7th May 2013, Qufu's municipal government proposed an activity: tourists who can recite 30 quotations from the Analects of Confucius in 10 minutes can visit the temple, cemetery, and mansion of Confucius for free. This event attracted more tourists to Qufu in the 'golden travelling week of the national day' (Gong, 2015). The improvement of the Beijing–Shanghai high-speed railway and the expressway network makes it more convenient to travel in and out of Qufu. Moreover, the link between tourism and the internet makes online payment and online map navigation possible. All of these factors are new opportunities for the development of the temple, cemetery, and mansion of Confucius' tourism (Gong, 2015).

In recent years, Qufu launched the study tour model, which has been recognised and promoted by the state. In 2016, the China National Tourism Administration issued 'the announcement of the first batch of China's study tour destination and the national study tour demonstration base', and Qufu won the title of the first batch of 'China's study tour destinations' and became one of the first ten cities in China to receive this title (Zhai, 2016). Qufu has launched a series of travel routes, such as a 'pilgrimage tour', a 'study tour', a study-planning summer camp, and

other products, favoured by students and parents. The number of tourists who want an in-depth experience of Confucian culture received by all kinds of study tour programmes increased by more than 30% (Chen, 2018).

3.3 How the Television System Works in China

3.3.1 The Development Status of Television in China

The medium of television started late in China compared with in Western countries but has developed rapidly in scale and has become one of the most popular mass media in China. According to Lu and Zhao (2010), the development status of television in China can be divided into four stages: the initial stage (1958–1965), the period of setback (1966–1976), the period of recovery (1977–1999), and the period of rapid growth (2000-time of writing). These four stages will be introduced in the following sections.

The first stage is the initial stage (1958–1965). After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Chinese government began to consider the development of television. In 1953, China sent ten technicians to Czechoslovakia to learn about television technology. In 1954, the then-chairman Mao Zedong proposed setting up a TV station. The actual preparation work for Chinese TV began in 1957 (Lu and Zhao, 2010). The first television station in China, Beijing Television Station (predecessor of China Central Television Station), broadcasted on 1st May 1958. Although only some parts of the Beijing area could be covered when broadcasting started, the Beijing Television Station was considered to be a national television station which had the responsibility of dissemination throughout the country. At that time, there were only about 50 TV sets in Beijing (Qin, 2002).

On 29th April 1958, in a report to the publicity department of the central committee and the central government, the state administration for radio and

television pointed out that the mission of Beijing TV was to spread politics, disseminate knowledge, and enrich people's cultural life. Because of the small number of TV sets, most TV viewers at that time bought tickets to watch TV programmes in public places (Qin, 2002). At that time, many people in China did not have the opportunity to see a real TV. They knew television through film. Therefore, in that period it was impossible for TV to become a mass media with a wide influence (Lu and Zhao, 2010). During this period, the method of producing programmes was to perform directly in the studio, and the TV signal could not be retained after a broadcast. As a result there is no video material from this period. (Lu and Zhao, 2010).

The second stage is the period of setback (1966–1976). From 1966 to 1976, there was a movement called the Great Cultural Revolution in China, which prohibited the development of television. Many of the fledgling local television stations were shut down because they did not comply with the orders to rebroadcast the programmes made by Beijing Television Station (Xiong, 2017). On 2nd January 1967, Beijing Television Station issued a notice that from the next day, except for major political moments and important programmes, general TV programmes would be suspended for a certain period (Lu and Zhao, 2010). On 12th December 1967, the central broadcasting bureau was under military rule and strengthened the administration of political publicity on radio and television (Lu and Zhao, 2010).

During the cultural revolution, the construction and improvement of the television industry were not of great significance. Politics was at the centre of everything (Qin, 2002). Beijing TV devoted its usual political zeal to the publicity of the 'cultural revolution' (Qin, 2002). During the cultural revolution, television was seen as a 'tool of class struggle' and was mainly used to broadcast public meetings that criticised and denounced people (Lu and Zhao, 2010). The

content of the programmes was full of concepts and slogans. There are only a few songs, eight 'revolution model operas', and three films which were entertainment programmes (Xie, 1986).

In this period, television coverage in China was very low and TV was still a weak media. According to the statistics of the China broadcasting bureau, by the end of 1975, there were 463,000 TV sets in China, among which 68% were distributed in cities. According to the population at that time, there was only one TV set for every 1,600 people (Lu and Zhao, 2010). In terms of the theory and comprehensive development of television, China's television industry made almost no achievements during the cultural revolution and even suffered serious setbacks. However, some progress was made in the field of technology, such as the limited use of video equipment which allows the preservation of television images, the establishment of a national television microwave transmission coverage network, and the transition from black and white to colour TV (Lu and Zhao, 2010).

The third stage is the period of recovery (1977–1999). After the Great Cultural Revolution, especially after the reform and opening-up policy was put forward in 1979, the television industry in China entered a period of vigorous development. In the 1980s, imported TV sets gradually became the most popular household appliances. Television ownership grew rapidly from 4,850,000 in 1979 to 27,610,000 in 1982. Although the number owned was a bit small compared to the population of China (1,015,900,000 at the end of 1982), television sets become very important equipment that every family wanted to have (Xiong, 2017). On 1st May 1978, Beijing television was officially renamed 'China central television' and positioned as China's national television (Lu and Zhao, 2010). In 1983, there was a policy which said that television stations can be established at four levels: national, provincial, municipal, and county levels. The number of TV stations increased, and the number and variety of TV programmes expanded (Xiong, 2017). In the 1990s, satellite TV, cable TV, and digital TV, as new communication

technologies and methods, stepped into the daily life of Chinese citizens. In the meantime, the new economic development policy brought prosperity to Chinese TV programmes (Qin, 2002).

The fourth stage is the period of rapid growth (2000–now). By the end of 2000, there were 354 TV stations which broadcast 1,206 programmes daily, with an average of 83,373 hours per week in China (Zhao, 2001). There were 84,760,000 families using cable TV (Wang, 2002). At the end of 2000, the television coverage was 93.65% in China, forming the world's largest TV market (Zhao, 2001). In 2001, the average time that Chinese audiences watched TV was 185 minutes per day, more than 3 hours. This result was very close to the data collected in 1999 and 2000, which suggested that the time that Chinese audiences spent watching TV was relatively stable (Liu, 2003). In 2014, there were 190,000,000 families using cable TV. In addition to providing the essential service of digital TV, the cable television networks also offer high-definition TV, 3D TV, interactive TV, and multiple information services, like e-government systems, cultural education, and information that is needed for daily life. TV sets gradually became multimedia information terminals (Y.Zhao, 2015).

3.3.2 The Organisational Structure and System of Television in China

In the process of representing cultural heritage on television, the issue of 'who has the power' is closely related to the system of Chinese television, which makes it necessary to look at the current situation of the Chinese television industry. Overall, like other mass media, television doesn't exist in isolation. It is not only restricted and influenced by various factors in the social system, but also has an impact on the social system. In different social environments, different management systems and organisational structures of radio and television have been formed worldwide due to different national systems and policies. Wiio (1983) points out that no mode could be applied to all media systems in the world, and he divided the four quadrants by taking 'media management mode' and 'media ownership' as two vectors:

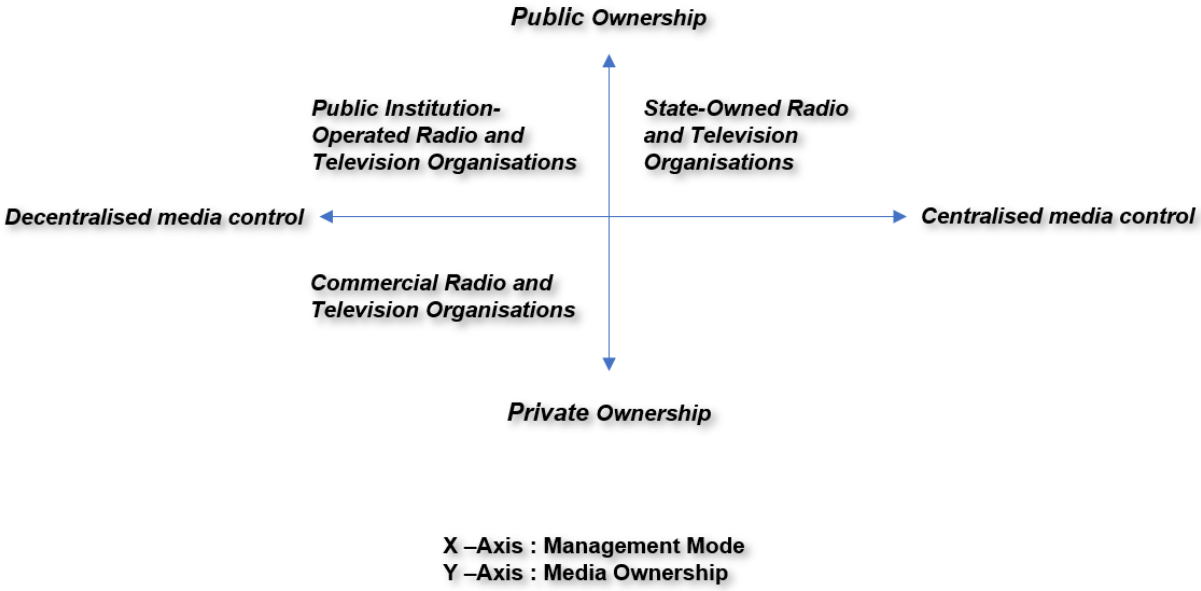


Figure 3.3 Contingency Model of Communication (Wiio, 1983, p.85-94 cited in Lu and Zhao 2010, p.355)

According to this classification, China's TV stations belong to state-owned/state-run broadcast TV. State-owned/state-run television organisations are owned by the whole nation but are usually established, managed, and controlled directly by the government (or the ruling party). State-owned/state-run radio and television organisations are usually directly funded by the government, representing the official position and assuming the responsibility for disseminating news, guiding public opinion, and serving audiences; they are largely funded by the government and rely on a small amount of advertising revenue. China's television industry is built on this model (Lu and Zhao, 2010).

This kind of TV station is usually a non-profit institution, and all the expenses needed for its operation are allocated by state finance. This kind of television station does not sell programmes. The same was true of television in China before the 1980s (Lu and Zhao, 2010). However, since the 1980s, a market mechanism has been brought into the operation of those

television stations. The needs of the audience are changing all the time along with the development of the television industry, and it is getting harder for the government to provide direct funds to meet the needs of the development of radio and television. Bi (2007) believes that it has become an irresistible trend of the development of the radio and television industry to make a success out of radio and television stations as the chief task and to realise the scale operation and collectivisation of the media industry with capital as the connecting link. At present, China's television industry is largely dependent on advertising revenue. According to China's 2017 radio and television yearbook, the total amount of TV advertising business in 2016 reached 123.9 billion yuan. This is an increase of 8.05% compared with 2015 (Liu, Zhao, and Ren, 2017). In 2016, among the four traditional media, TV still had the largest proportion of advertisements and it is still the preferred channel for advertisers in various industries (Liu, Zhao, and Ren, 2017). Lu and Zhao argue that how to expand TV advertising revenue while still offering socialist journalism and adhering to the correct guidance of public opinion is a new task for China's TV industry (Lu and Zhao, 2010).

Zhao (2006) states his opinion about the positioning of Chinese television stations: it is generally recognised that in the socialist market economy, radio and television serve as the mouthpieces of the Party, the government, and the people and are also the tools that guide public opinion and publicity, which lead to the fact that radio and television work should always make publicity its central task and follow the 'correct direction' of public opinion; however, the radio and television industry is also an industry with many unique advantages. With these advantages in terms of resources, radio and television organisations not only have a certain production capacity but can also obtain a large income through a variety of related services provided by themselves. Therefore, since the 1990s, China's radio and television industry has been on the road towards industrialisation.

The Outline of the Report Concerning Radio and Television Work of 1983 specified that the relationship between radio and television organisations at different levels in China shall be subject to the following leadership system: the provincial, autonomous regions', and municipal radio and television departments (bureaus) shall be under the dual leadership of the people's governments and the Ministry of Radio and Television of such provinces, autonomous regions, and cities and dominated by the government leadership at the same level. Meanwhile, the publicity work of the provincial, autonomous regions', and municipal radio and television departments (bureaus) shall be under the guidance of the Party committees as well as the Ministry of Radio and Television of such provinces, autonomous regions and cities; and its undertakings shall be under the dual leadership of the people's governments and the Ministry of Radio and Television of such provinces, autonomous regions and cities and dominated by the government leadership at the same level (Bi, 2007) In order to guide local radio and television publicity work, the Ministry of Radio and Television also set up local publicity bureaus which are responsible for communicating the instructions and spirit of publicity work of the Party Central Committee and the opinions on publicity work of the Ministry of Radio and Television to local radio and television departments. The vertical structure guarantees a rapid local arrangement when there are major or urgent publicity tasks (Bi, 2007) However, this dual vertical structure complicates the distribution of power. The lower the administrative level that the staff are on, the more restrictions are imposed on them. The figure below shows the administrative structure of the system of China's radio and television industry:

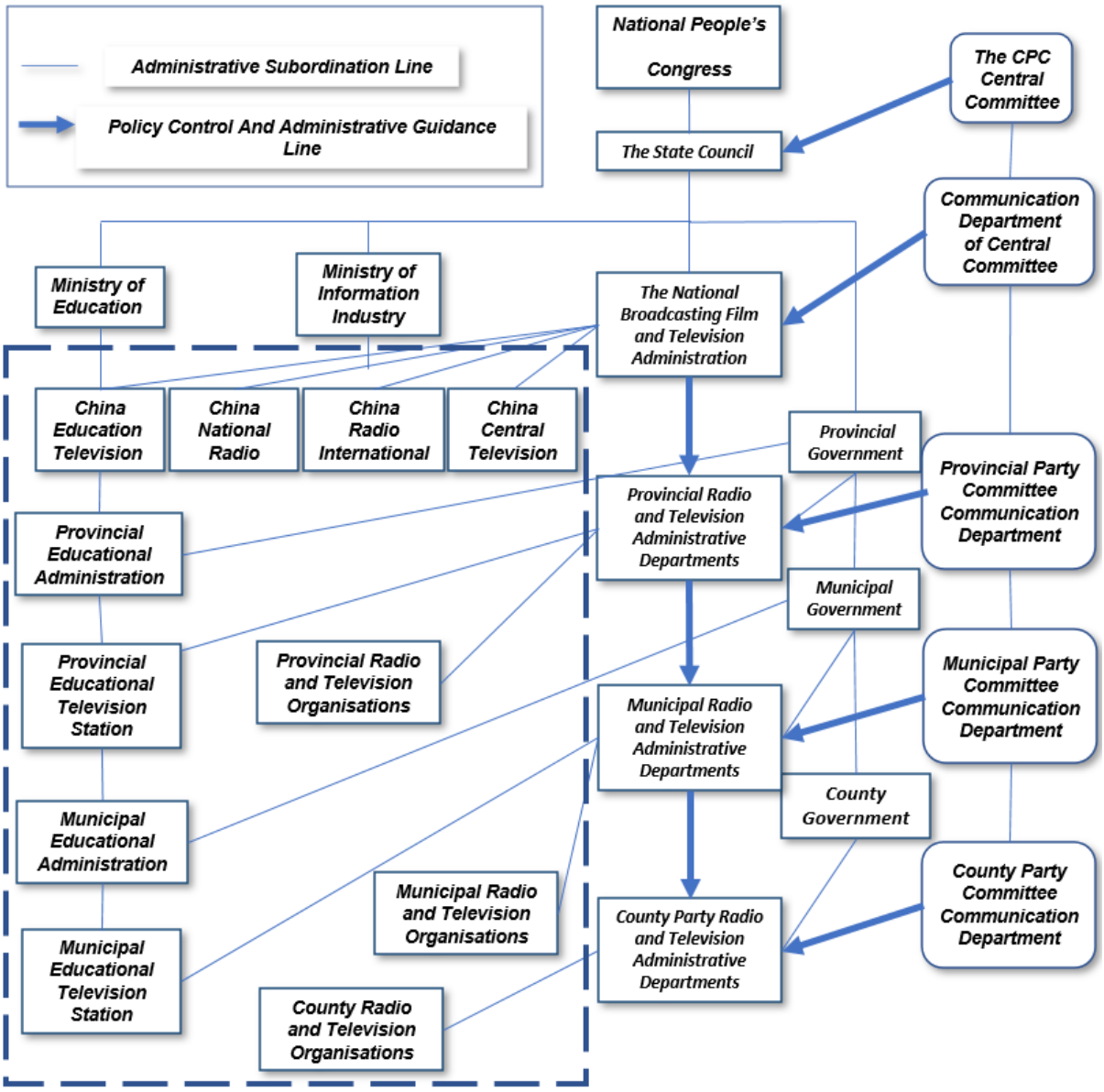


Figure 3.4 The Administrative Structure of the System of China's Radio and Television Industry

(Bi, 2007)

Bi (2007) believes that there are some limitations when practising the management model of 'dual leadership'. He argues that 'dual leadership' is conducive to maintaining local power, which exercises some restraints upon the upper-level departments' leadership over the lower-level ones in the radio and television system. These features of locally dividing and loose management do not fit into the modernisation of radio and television (Bi, 2007). Bi makes

another statement: the over-detailed and over-strict management of the radio and television work by the leaders of publicity departments has stifled the vitality of the staff working in television stations (Bi, 2007).

In terms of the nature and functions of radio and television organisations, the Outline of the Report Concerning Radio and Television Work released by the Party Group of the Ministry of Radio and Television in 1983 pointed out that the central and local radio and television organisations at all levels are both news and publicity departments and management departments with publicity as their primary work. Radio and television media are essential parts of news and publicity and the mouthpieces of the Party and the state, and the central work of radio and television departments is publicity (Bi, 2007). From this statement, it is easy to conclude that the local staff and programme producers who seemingly hold the power just implement the government's requirements. The actual owner of these powers is the government. Therefore, it is understandable why grassroots staff, as the actual executors of these powers, feel that they are powerless.

3.3.3 Television Viewing Figures and Audience Characteristics in China

At present, China's household television penetration is basically stable. According to the basic research data concerning Chinese radio and television of Sofres media research (CSM) in 2016, the household television penetration rate in China reached 97.0%, and the proportion of households with two or more TV sets reached 27.3%. On average, there were 132.1 television sets per 100 households (Qu, 2017). In 2016, the number of Chinese TV audiences reached 1.284 billion, a slight increase compared with the number in 2015. After the realisation of rural wireless in 2008, the government introduced policies 'bringing domestic appliances to the countryside' and an 'old-for-new service' and vigorously promoted the transformation to digital television. Driven by a number of policies, the scale of the television audience has been

growing for many years in China. However, due to the impact of new media and other factors, China's television ratings have also suffered. In 2013, the size of the TV audience declined for the first time, and then recovered slightly from 2014. In 2015, the size of the TV audience in China increased slightly compared with that in 2014. In 2016, this trend continued. The size of the national TV audience increased slightly compared with that in 2015. According to the basic research data of the CSM media research network, in 2016, the number of people in the TV audience in China aged four and over reached 1.284 billion, accounting for 97.8% of the national population aged four and over (Xu, 2017).

Young and middle-aged people and the middle- and lower-education groups are the main audience groups. The urban audience's education level is significantly higher than that of the rural audience. The occupational composition of the urban audience and the rural audience is obviously different. The overall composition of the national TV audience in 2016 shows that people who are 35–44 years old and those who are 15–24 years old account for 19.1% and 17.7% of all TV viewers respectively, and their combined proportion is more than one third. Those aged 25–34 and 45–54 ranked third and fourth, accounting for 15.6% and 14.5% respectively (Qu, 2017). In terms of audience behaviour, the average viewing time of television audiences in China in 2016 was 152 minutes, which was lower than that in 2015. From 2010, the average viewing time of the Chinese TV audience basically showed a trend of continuous decline. Although it recovered briefly in 2012, it was still hard to hide its 'declining trend'. In addition, from the perspective of viewing time, the average daily viewing time of people aged 65 and above was 281 minutes, and the average daily viewing time of such people increased continuously for four years. In 2016, the average daily TV viewing time for people aged 4 to 14 ,15–24 and 25–34 was 124 minutes, 83 minutes, and 103 minutes respectively, showing a trend of continuous decline for four years. Teenagers are the 'natives' of the internet and mobile phones and have little dependence on TV (Xu, 2017).

In terms of the viewing of all types of programmes, TV series, news/current affairs, and variety shows are far ahead. The viewings of these three types of programmes are 29.6%, 13.8%, and 13.7% respectively (Qu, 2017). Life service programmes and feature programmes gained a total viewing share of 14% in 2016. The audience share of youth programmes, movies, and sports programmes increased to a certain extent. Among them, youth programmes and movies saw the largest increase (Qu, 2017).

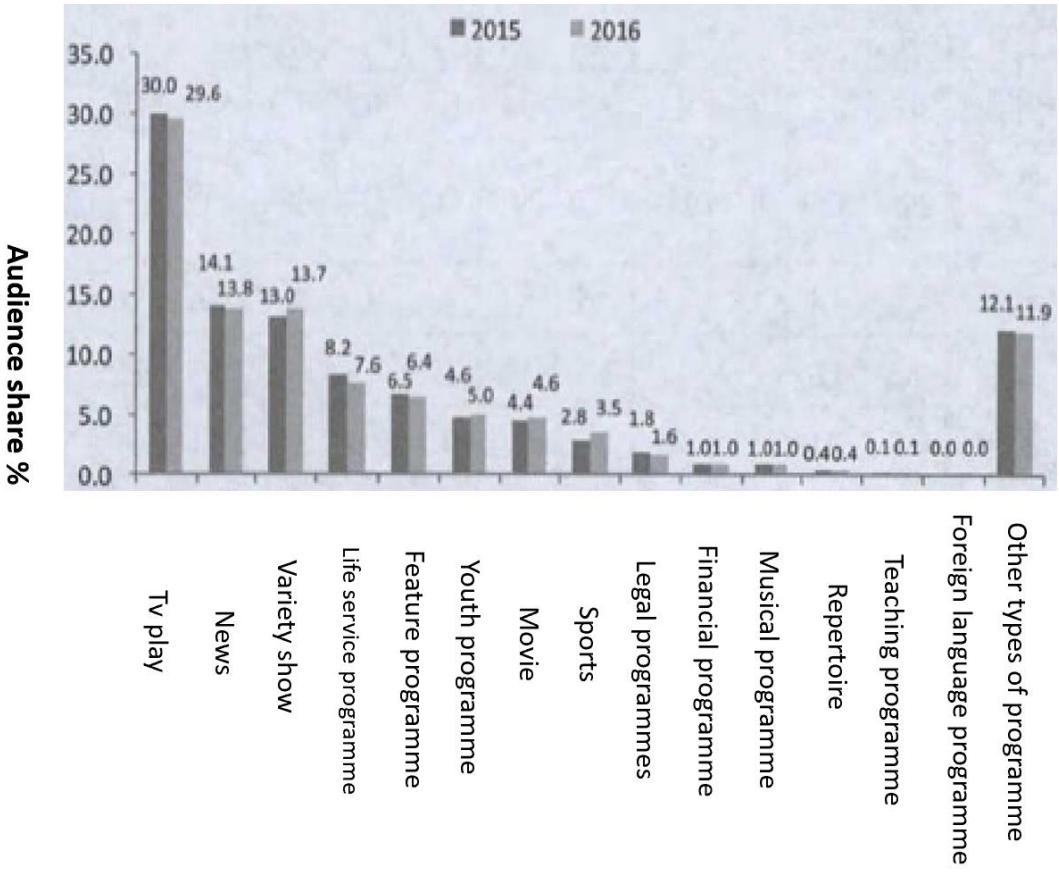


Figure 3.5 Audience Share of All Kinds of TV Programmes in China in 2015 and 2016

Source: CSM media research (Qu, 2017)

Relying on its powerful resources and special status, China Central Television, as a national channel, still maintains a great advantage across the whole country. According to the basic

research data of the CSM media research network in 2016, there are eight China Central Television channels among the top ten channels in terms of the coverage rate in China (Qu, 2017).

3.3.4 The Future of Television in China

The medium of television is only one of the means of power. Some scholars are concerned about the prospects of television and believe that the television industry has already started to decline (Curran, 2002). It is undeniable that some clues about this kind of prediction can be found in reality: in 2014, the number of customers of online videos was 439,000,000 in China. The scale of the market keeps growing fast (Y.Zhao,2015). According to the data in the China's Audiovisual New Media Development Report released by the National Radio and Television Administration in 2014, in 2013, taking Beijing as an example, the television turn-on rate dropped to 30%, the lowest level recorded, and the ageing of the population started to emerge in the audience's age structure; online dramas made by internet platforms proliferated. 'No elderly characters, only young characters' is the common feature of these dramas (Tang, 2014). As far as 2017 is concerned, online variety shows reached record heights in terms of both the quantity of the programmes and the number of views by audience online.

There is no doubt that in recent years, traditional TV has been facing the challenge of social media and has had to make a change. Some people have a very negative attitude towards the future of television and believe that TV will lose its vitality, like newspapers and radio, and will eventually be abandoned. However, there are many development opportunities for the medium of TV, one of which is media convergence. As a new form of media with a broad market prospect, internet television, which is based on public internet and TV terminals, has developed rapidly. Internet television's advantage lies in the close integration of radio, television, and internet technology, which provide customers with better experiences. All parts

of society participate in it with a high level of enthusiasm. The scale of the industry is expanding continuously (Y. Zhao, 2015).

The connection between television and the internet is getting closer and closer. Xin (2017) calls the audiences who are exposed to both TV and the internet every day as 'heavy audiences' and takes this group as the research object and analyses it. According to CSM'S media research, 'Basic research on audience rating of TV and broadcast', between 2014 and 2016, the scale of the heavy audiences increased year by year. In 2014, heavy audiences accounted for 39.75% of all audiences. In 2016, the proportion rose to 45.89%. Heavy audiences are generally young, highly educated, and have a high income (Xin, 2017). The reason why heavy audiences watch videos online is mostly directly related to TV programmes. 'Basic research on audience rating of TV and broadcast' shows that while heavy audiences watch video online, the factor which is directly related to TV programmes has the greatest impact on the audience. Heavy audiences 'watching TV programmes that they missed on TV' and 'watching TV programmes that are currently on air' accounted for 31.98% and 27.72% respectively, ranked first and second. It can be seen that heavy audiences have an obvious intention to 'make up' TV content with online video (Xin, 2017). In other words, although the network media is developing really fast, a lot of people, especially young people, still watch TV programmes online. It can be said that at present, television still plays an important role and deserves substantial attention in China.

Traditional media practitioners are also actively seeking solutions to the impact. Ma (2017) argues that strengthening cross-screen interactions and symbiotic relationships could be the future development direction of TV media. In the process of the development and expansion of the new form of media (online audio-visual media), the mainstream media have developed their online media and accelerated the pace of media convergence. By the end of 2014, 28 television stations (at or above the provincial level) obtained permission to found network TV

stations, and 24 city television stations could establish city network television stations (Y.Zhao,2015). In 2020, the *Proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Formulating the 14th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development and the Long-Term Goals for 2035* proposed the in-depth integration of various media. In the past few years, radio and television stations at all levels have set up combined media centres. Combined media centres take the advantages of TV stations, radio stations, and new media groups and integrate channel resources such as radio and TV stations, websites, WeiBo, WeChat official accounts and mobile clients, and then one-click publishing can be implemented through unified management (CNR News, 2018).

One reason why I focus on programmes made by television stations is because of the organisational structure and system of television in China. As mentioned before, China's TV stations are state-owned/state-run broadcast TV organisations. State-owned/state-run television organisations are owned by the whole nation but are usually established, managed, and controlled directly by the government (or the ruling party). And they are funded by the government and also rely on advertising revenue. China's television industry is built on this model (Lu and Zhao, 2010). Therefore, through the analysis of TV programmes, we can see how government represents, interprets, and communicates information about a World Heritage Site to domestic audiences in a Chinese context. TV programmes provide us with a perspective from which to study how a social system affects the representation, interpretation, and dissemination of information about cultural heritage.

3.4 Heritage and World Heritage in China

Since China's accession to The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1985, the enthusiasm for applying for World Heritage Site status has

been running high throughout China (Li and Kuang, 2011; Wang, 2008; Y. Zhao, 2015). In 1986, China submitted applications for the Great Wall, the Forbidden City, and other items as the first batch of World Heritage Site applications to UNESCO, which were approved at the Annual Meeting of the World Heritage Committee held in India in December 1987 (L. Zhao, 2015). In July 2021, China's project 'Quanzhou: Emporium of the World in Song-Yuan China' was inscribed on the World Heritage List. Thus, the total number of World Heritage Sites in China has risen to 56 (Xu, 2021). Zhan Guo, a Chinese world heritage expert, says that China's world heritage project began in the early days of China's reform and opening up. The concept of world heritage and the relevant rules and models of international cooperation provided China with a new philosophical way of thinking and sorting based on the international perspective. This, combined with the traditional Chinese cultural heritage protection system, has indeed promoted and enhanced heritage protection in China. For example, there is new attention and emphasis on authenticity, integrity, and the principle of 'minimum intervention' in cultural heritage protection; there are also principles of identification and reversibility in maintenance work as well as an emphasis on the heritage environment (Qi, 2021). At the same time, the participation of China has enriched and completed the world heritage treasure house (Qi, 2021).

For more than 30 years, China has been enthusiastic about applying for World Heritage Site status, and many places have spared no expense regarding material and financial resources to strive for the title of World Heritage Site (L. Zhao, 2015). As of 2013, there are more than 200 projects intend to make applications for World Heritage Sites in China, among which more than 60 have been included in the Tentative List of World Heritage. According to the provisions of UNESCO, it will take at least a century for China to complete these applications (Tang, 2013). In the process, many problems have emerged. In response to these issues, there has been much discussion in Chinese academic communities, and a series of terms such as 'overheated application' and 'Chinese-style cultural heritage application' have emerged. Li and Kuang

(2011) summarise the issue of the 'Chinese-style cultural heritage application': Chinese governments at all levels put forward an application for World Heritage Site status for economic benefits, paying lip service to the protection of World Heritage Site properties while actually seeking huge economic returns (Li and Kuang, 2011:8). Its core is summarised as follows: keen on the cultural heritage application and utilisation but neglect protection and management. The contrast between before and after the 'cultural heritage request' is striking (Li and Kuang, 2011:8). L. Zhao (2015) believes that there are two main reasons why Chinese people are so keen on applying for World Heritage Site status besides the great honour of having World Heritage Sites. One reason is the promotion of the popularity of the heritage site that is brought about by the success of the application. Another reason is the huge economic benefit that is gained from the increased visibility. L. Zhao (2015) argues that it is people's eagerness to use their own culture for instant benefits that is behind the 'overheated application' and that this has caused harm to culture. It is not conducive to the dissemination and inheritance of culture and the cultivation of people's respect for their own culture. Tang (2013) argues that compared with a general lack of awareness of heritage protection decades ago, the current craze for applying for World Heritage Site status in China at least shows that local governments have realised the urgency of heritage protection and are trying to make heritage protection work within the universally recognised 'rules of the game'. In 2013, the National Cultural Heritage Administration of China promulgated *The Procedures for The Declaration of World Cultural Heritage*, standardising the principles and procedures that should be followed if somewhere is to be declared a World Heritage Site. It is clearly stated in the regulations that the World Heritage Site application should be based on the national conditions, respect reasonable historical evolution, accurately interpret and grasp international concepts, rules, and application standards, be thrifty, and avoid extravagance and waste, excessive demolition and stakeholder disputes. Tang (2013) believes that these rules can effectively regulate the chaos

in the ‘overheated application’ by establishing rules and regulations for local governments. Li (2013) points out that the ‘overheated application’ not only reflects people’s recognition of heritage protection and inheritance but also highlights countries’ growing emphasis on cultural soft power. However, Li (2013) notes, people should not forget the original intention of applying for World Heritage List – protection.

Social contexts in China, such as the political system, economic development, and public policy, have their particularities. From the perspective of cultural heritage, the theoretical study of cultural heritage in China started relatively late and the practice of protecting heritage also has unique characteristics due to the particularity of the social development level and the social system. In this section, heritage in China will be introduced in terms of the following aspects: the heritage system, the disconnection between the Western theories and the practice of Chinese heritage, and how residents understand cultural heritage in today’s Chinese society.

Peng (2012) points out that China has not yet established its own heritage system, which should be established and have the following aspects: a concept system, a classification system, a naming system, a knowledge system, a practice system, and a protection system. Peng (2012) argues that when a conceptual system is established there are two considerations: on the one hand, the concept system of heritage should have Chinese characteristics, and the application and borrowing of foreign concepts and terms cannot objectively show the whole picture of Chinese heritage; on the other hand, it should also be consistent with the conventions and articles promulgated by UNESCO and other authoritative international organisations, so as to maintain consistency in the application for international designation and other issues. Regarding the establishment of a heritage protection system, ancient China has a unique and complete system in terms of the harmonious coexistence between humans and nature and the

friendly relationship between traditional agricultural ethics and the natural environment, which needs to be summarised (Peng, 2012).

Some Chinese scholars consider that there is disconnection between Western theories and the practice of Chinese heritage. They discuss the adaptability of Western theories in China in the area of heritage. The following are some related points of view. Some studies suggest that the adoption of international principles is hampered by local social situations. Fan (2014) examines the community involvement in urban heritage conservation in China. The article argues that China's heritage sector faces significant international pressure in terms of community involvement. Under the circumstances, even if the local government adopts an international approach, it is still unable to decentralise or share power, which results in extremely limited community participation. Zhu (2015:594) analyses "how the Chinese Government imposes the concept of authenticity on local heritage practices in the process of heritage nomination, conservation and management". The author points out that Chinese local communities do not passively accept the concepts imposed by government but communicates, competes, and negotiates with the concepts in different ways. China's heritage practices create "space for dynamic negotiations between local and global value systems" (Zhu, 2015:594).

In the process of social development, China is indeed faced with some special situations that have many opportunities, challenges, and contradictions. The same is true from the perspective of cultural heritage. Some scholars believe that China has not established its own heritage system. When a heritage system is established, it is hoped that it will coordinate with the conventions and articles promulgated by authoritative international organisations and maintain Chinese characteristics at the same time. In the meantime, Chinese scholars try to extract suitable theory for today's social development from the traditional theory and practice of heritage. Some Chinese scholars consider that there is disconnection between Western theories

and the practice of Chinese heritage. Some Western theories negotiate with the Chinese system and develop new ways of practising. In the process of social development, residents' understanding about cultural heritage shows contradiction and diversification.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter mainly introduces three aspects of the social background of the case study to help readers better understand the analysis of the study. First of all, this chapter introduces basic information about the World Heritage Site of Qufu and the composition of its architectural complex. It also introduces the history and influence of Confucianism which originated in Qufu and is closely related to the heritage site. The second section introduces the development of China's television industry, including the development status and the system of television in China. The development of the TV industry in China is quite different from that in Western countries in terms of its history and management system, which are bound to affect how TV represents a subject. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the development of China's TV industry as a basis for understanding the analysis of this study. In addition, this part also introduces the development trend of the TV industry in view of the impact of the rapid development of new media. The content in this part can help readers understand why TV has been chosen as the research object despite the rapid development of internet media. The third section introduces heritage and world heritage in China. It mainly focuses on the difference between Chinese and Western heritage concepts and the phenomenon of 'cultural heritage application fever' in China. The background information introduced in this chapter is closely related to this study and is the basis for understanding the phenomena mentioned in this study. After introducing the background information, the next chapter will introduce the research methods selected in this research and explain the rationale for the choices. In addition, it will

introduce the process of the fieldwork and the process of analysing data in the later stage of the study, as well as the reflection on research methods.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will introduce the research methods I adopted, the whole process of my fieldwork and the rationale behind the data collection and analysis. Silverman (2017) suggests what researchers should do when they comment on their research methods. He includes the following suggestions:

> Give an honest account of the conduct of the research; provide full descriptions of what was actually done in regard to choosing your case(s) to study, choosing your method(s), collecting and analysing data; explain and justify each of your decisions; discuss the strengths and weaknesses of what you did; be open about what helped you and held you back.
>
> (Silverman, 2017:902, adapted from Spencer et al., 2003:76)

I address the points that Silverman (2017:902) lists in this chapter. The rationale behind all research methods is based on specific research questions. Therefore, at the beginning of this chapter, I will first briefly review the research questions and objectives. In the next section, I will discuss the research paradigms. This section will reveal the reason why this study followed an interpretive social science orientation, a qualitative research paradigm, and an inductive theory-based and case-based interpretive model to conduct pure research with the chief aim of understanding a particular phenomenon. In addition, this chapter will introduce the specific research techniques used in this study, including observation, text analysis, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and recording and collecting TV programmes.

Another important element of the content of this chapter is the introduction to the fieldwork, which is the process of data collection. In this section, I will introduce the methods I adopted to select research subjects, explain the rationale of several sampling methods and evaluate the effects of using different methods in the actual fieldwork. In addition, I will introduce the process of collecting data through observation, interviews, and video data collection in the fieldwork, as well as the specific content of the collected data. The chapter will also include an evaluation of the data collected during the fieldwork. Furthermore, this chapter will introduce the 'thematic qualitative text analysis' adopted at the data analysis stage. In this study, the content that was qualitatively analysed is mainly divided into two parts: in-depth interviews and videos of TV programmes. The two parts have different forms: one is the text transcribed from interviewed recordings and the other is the transcription of TV programme footage, narration, subtitles, etc. However, the methods of analysis that are adopted are the same. I followed the phases of 'thematic qualitative text analysis' summarised by Kuckartz (2014). The seven phases of the analysis will be explained in detail.

The following section will be my reflection on the limitations of the research and alternative methods. In my opinion, the limitations of this study mainly lie in the time constraint on the fieldwork and in the several limitations of the qualitative content analysis method adopted. In addition, how I deal with these limitations and what alternative methods can be used in future research will be introduced. At the end of this chapter, I will introduce my view of the ethical issues that are relevant to the research as well as the position of the researcher and the relationship between the researcher and the research subject. The ethical considerations mainly include the rules regarding 'voluntary participation', 'no harm to subjects', confidentiality, and anonymous coding, which protect the privacy and rights of respondents. In the section on positioning and rapport, I will reflect on the impact that my position as an 'insider' had on this research.

4.2 Research Aim and Objectives

Evaluating the success of a study hinges on whether the chosen method is sufficiently rigorous and appropriate for the research question. Typically, the approach chosen has to be appropriate for the question being studied, and this question is what defines the approach (Rudestam and Newton, 2007). Therefore, this section will present a brief review of the research aim and objectives before exploring the research approaches. This research aims to examine the role of television in the representation of a World Heritage Site in China through a case study of the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu. In today's society, world heritage is represented and communicated through various media. In this process, the value of the World Heritage Site is created and disseminated, which in turn has an impact on all aspects of the heritage site, such as tourism, conservation, and management. Hence, in addition to exploring television representation, this study discusses the impact of television representation on heritage sites and the relationship between media production and heritage site management. Achieving the following objectives will result in in-depth, comprehensive answers to the research aim:

1. To examine the current situation concerning television representation of World Heritage Sites;

2. To explore the influence of TV representations on World Heritage Sites;

3. To understand the relationships between media production and heritage site management.

The above are the research aim and objectives of this research. The following sections will elaborate on the research paradigms, the research approaches, the fieldwork process, the data analysis methods.

4.3 Research Paradigms

4.3.1 The Interpretive Social Science Orientation

This section will address the characteristics of different research paradigms, present which research paradigm has been selected for this study around the research objectives detailed in the previous section, and provide reasons for this selection. A research paradigm refers to the basic orientation towards theory and research. According to Neuman (2014), there are three categories of social research orientation: positivism, interpretive social science, and critical social science. Positivism is a paradigm in which all knowledge is derived from first-hand observation and logical inferences that are based on the results of first-hand observation (Rudestam and Newton, 2007). Positivists argue that it is imperative that the same approaches be used for both the social sciences and the natural sciences (Neuman, 2014).

On the other hand, an opposing trend in social science research – the interpretive social science orientation – calls for the shunning of narrowness in experimental research (Rudestam and Newton, 2007). The interpretive social science orientation claims that there are two completely different types of science: natural science and human science. The former is based on abstract interpretation, while the latter is about understanding people who are living in a particular historical context (Neuman, 2014). Weber (1981) asserts that it is necessary for social science to study meaningful social action rather than merely external, observable human behaviours. He argues that we have to gain knowledge of the motivations that shape the inner emotions of individuals that guide them to act in a particular way. Participant observation and field studies are often used by interpretive researchers. A meticulous approach is taken by them to gather a wealth of detailed qualitative information in order to develop a deep understanding of the ways in which people create meaning in their daily lives (Neuman, 2014). The interpretive social science orientation is often referred to as the qualitative approach to research. Qualitative

methods commonly used in contemporary social science papers are phenomenological research, ethnographic investigation, grounded theory, and narrative research (Rudestam and Newton, 2007).

The critical social science orientation agrees with many of the criticisms of positivism made by those who favour the interpretive studies orientation, but in some cases it doesn't approve the claims of interpretive social science. This research orientation is one that is often taken up by community action groups, political organisations, and social movements. What distinguishes critical researchers from those with other orientations is not the research technique they use but how they approach a research question, the types of questions they ask, and the purposes for which they conduct research (Neuman, 2014).

The research aim and objectives indicate that the chief purpose of this study is to observe the performance of social behaviour and the motivation for such behaviour and to explore the significance behind it. The findings of the study might reflect the current state of society and have the potential to make a difference in terms of improving it to some extent. That is not the intention or the priority of the study, however. Hence, this study adopts an interpretive social science orientation.

4.3.2 Dialectical Relationships in Social Research

Babbie (2007) proposes the following dialectical relationships in social research: qualitative and quantitative research, inductive and deductive theories, idiographic and nomothetic explanations, and pure and applied research. What follows is a further explanation of the research paradigm, the research approaches, and how these aspects relate to these four sets of dialectical relationships.

The first dialectical relationship in social research is between qualitative and quantitative research. In social research, both qualitative and quantitative methods are practical and reasonable. The choice to do either qualitative or quantitative research depends on the research context and topic. There is a substantial difference between quantitative and qualitative information in social research; they use, respectively, 'numerical and nonnumerical data' (Babbie, 2007:23). Quantification often provides greater clarity to our observations and makes it easier to compile or compare data or to draw conclusions from them (Bryman, 2012; Klein, 2007). On the other hand, quantitative data also come with shortcomings in the numbers themselves, including a potential loss of meaningful richness. Qualitative research places a greater emphasis on process and meaning than on measures of quantity, intensity, frequency, etc. (Denzin, 2008). Qualitative data are richer in meaning than quantitative data (Babbie, 2007).

Apart from leading to a richness of meaning, qualitative research has the following advantages: it is integrated, in depth, and documents in a real context. All of these characteristics of qualitative research are more in line with the research orientation of this study than quantitative research. Rudestam and Newton (2007) argue that qualitative research is a more integral approach and aims to understand the psychological richness and depth of a person, project, or situation through the exploration of a complete phenomenon. A qualitative approach tends to comprehend life experiences from the perspective of the participants as they live their real lives (Rudestam and Newton, 2007). Qualitative data are empirical. They involve the documentation of real events, the recording of what people have said (in terms of words, expression, and tone), the observation of specific behaviours, and the study of written documents, or the examination of images, all of which are concrete dimensions of the world (Neuman, 2014). Furthermore, qualitative researchers who are concerned with the subjectivity of the participants do not view the uniqueness of the participants as an 'error' to be eliminated or minimised, but rather as an

aspect of the research environment that deserves attention (Rudestam and Newton, 2007). Because this study's purpose is focused on depiction, exploration, and the search for meaning, the course of the study has been more oriented towards discovery in real-world settings. The objectivity of the study and the distance between the researcher and the participant were not concerns of the study. As Filipucci (2009:320) puts it, "the use of qualitative methods of investigation is a corollary of this way of conceptualising heritage, as qualitative methods are used to document and analyse perceptions, attitudes and motivations of those involved in the heritage process". Therefore, qualitative research was considered better suited as the research paradigm for the study.

The second dialectical relationship in social research is between inductive and deductive theories. It is through the logical methods of 'deduction' and 'induction' that theory and research are linked in the social sciences. Both induction and deduction are ways of thinking that are present in people's daily lives. They illustrate an important difference in social research (Babbie, 2007). Deduction leads from a theory to an expected result or hypothesis. In contrast, induction is the development of generalised rules from specific observations (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). Inductive reasoning starts from the individuals in order to reach generality, and from a specific set of observations, a pattern is identified that represents, to some extent, the order of all given events (Babbie, 2007). Quantitative studies tend to be designed to follow a 'hypothesis-deduction' logic, where the details of variables and hypotheses are specified before data are collected. In contrast, qualitative studies begin with observations in which the researcher neither assume some organisational structure nor makes any assumptions about the interrelationships between the data (Mason, 2017). This study started from the observation of a specific case, with concrete observations, and moved gradually towards finding general rules that apply to similar cases, mainly through inductive theory. However, it is important to note

that this does not suggest a lack of thorough planning prior to the study (Rudestam and Newton, 2007).

In social research, there is another dialectical relationship, namely between idiographic and nomothetic explanations. When using an idiographic interpretation, we may feel fully aware of all the factors that make a case happen. At the same time, however, our vision is limited to that very case. Perhaps the interpretation of a particular case can be applied to other situations on some occasions, but the intention is to be able to fully interpret a certain case (Babbie, 2007). As Anderson et al. (2002:9) put it, "the case study is not a local application of an abstract model, or a 'micro' statement of a 'macro' series of events. Rather, case studies are passionate evocations of the world and engagement in it". A nomothetic explanation, on the contrary, attempts to interpret a certain type of situation or thing, rather than a particular case. This kind of interpretation is highly 'economical' because it uses only one or a few interpretive factors. It only interprets part of the situation or thing, not all of it. Babbie (2007) argues that qualitative research tends to be more integrated with idiographic interpretation models, while quantitative research is more likely to lead to a nomothetic explanation. This study has used an idiographic explanation; the case study was examined in detail using appropriate methods. It started from a research aim with several different research objectives, ultimately reaching the fullest possible understanding of the subject being studied.

Social scientists have two entirely different types of motivation: 'understanding' and 'application' (Babbie, 2007:26). "On the one hand", Babbie (2007:26) points out, "they are fascinated by the nature of human life and are driven to interpret it", to discover its meaning through the presentations of all the hustle and bustle of life. At the same time, social scientists may also be motivated by their research objectives to demonstrate what they have learned and to put their knowledge about society into action. Both types of motivation are valid and

important for social research (Babbie, 2007). Because this study's purpose is focused on depiction, exploration, and the search for meaning, its findings might reflect the current state of society and have the potential to make a difference by improving it to some extent. However, that is not the intention or the priority of this study. In conclusion, given the research objective and the research context, this study has an interpretive social science orientation and has used a qualitative research paradigm and an inductive theory-based and case-based interpretive model to conduct pure research with the chief aim of understanding of the subject that has been studied.

4.4 Research Approaches

Qualitative data are empirical. They involve the documentation of real events, the recording of what people have said (in terms of words, expression and tone), the observation of specific behaviours, the study of written documents, or the examination of images, all of which are concrete dimensions of the world (Neuman, 2014). According to Denzin (2008), those who are keen on qualitative studies do not have a set of approaches that are truly their own. They may use interviews, text analysis, surveys, participant observation, or even statistical methods. Silverman (2017) points out that researchers are expected to ask themselves which information is best suited to the needs of the research question and then decide which type of data they will use. Silverman (2017) also argues that qualitative studies can be highly structured and that it is better to make early decisions about the preferred method. In this regard, the types of data that will be collected during the fieldwork and the methods that will be used for data collection have been planned prior to the fieldwork starting.

Silverman (2017) points out that researchers use multiple methods because there are times when they expect to see multiple facets of a phenomenon, and a diverse approach seems to be capable of delivering a richer picture. However, he also says that having access to multiple

sources means that the researcher has to learn more data analysis skills. He suggests that the data collection process be made as simple and easy as possible so that the time devoted to the much more important analysis phase will not be considered totally inadequate (Silverman, 2017). In accordance with this recommendation by Silverman (2017), and in view of the research question and objectives, this study uses the following research approaches to collect research data: observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and recording and filing TV programmes.

Observation is of fundamental importance for qualitative research. The field researcher observes the field environment with a high level of scrutiny, watching and listening attentively to the details that may reveal 'what is happening' in order to understand the environment. In addition to observing the field setting, the researcher observes the people in the field and their actions. Researchers record details of these observations because they may disclose something important. Keen observation and good quality records are vital at all times (Neuman, 2014). In one sense, field research is simply going to the place where the behaviour is taking place to observe and listen.

In addition, a more active type of research behaviour can be incorporated into field studies, and it is sometimes appropriate to ask questions and record people's answers. Structured questions are usually used in questionnaires, while unstructured questions are more appropriate for field studies. In contrast to survey interviews, qualitative interviews use a set of topics to conduct in-depth interviews rather than standardised questions. Babbie (2007: 464) points out that "[a] qualitative interview is an interaction between an interviewer and a respondent in which the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry but not a specific set of questions that must be asked in particular words and in a particular order". Neuman (2014) classifies questions used in fieldwork into three types: descriptive, structured, and controlled questions. While all types of

questions are asked together, some types of questions are asked more frequently at certain stages of the research process. The researcher's purpose in asking descriptive questions is to understand the context of the place that the research is concerned with and to obtain information about the members who are in that place. According to Neuman (2014), in the early stages of research, researchers ask mainly descriptive questions. It is only after the researcher has been in the field for some time that he or she begins to use structural questions, especially when doing thematic analysis. The controlled questioning builds on an analysis that has already been validated by structural questions. As the researcher asks members to identify similarities and differences, the questions are centred on the similarities or differences between the parts within the same type of theme. Controlled questions would emerge during the middle of the fieldwork and would continue to appear until the end of the fieldwork. Drawing on Neuman's (2014) perspective, the interview questions in this study were planned prior to the fieldwork by listing some of them to form a semi-structured interview plan.

In terms of recording, Rudestam and Newton (2007) recommend audio recording interviews and not relying too much on field notes. The use of diaries or journals for the recording of feelings, reactions, and other important events that occur during the data collection phase is also recommended as a way to provide useful supplementary information (Rudestam and Newton, 2007). Both of these recording methods were used during my fieldwork.

4.5 Fieldwork and Data Collection

The fieldwork was carried out in two cities, Beijing and Qufu, from June to September 2019. Most of the activities took place in Qufu. The information obtained through the fieldwork involves five elements of the transmission of TV programmes: who (i) said what (ii) to whom (iii)? Through what channel (iv) was it said? And what effect (v) did it achieve? (Lasswell, 1948). By considering these five elements, it became clear that the final data obtained through

the fieldwork consists of two parts: the first part is the data from the views of different groups, including heritage site managers, TV programme producers, local residents, tourism practitioners, and tourists, to learn about the role of each group during the production and communication process of TV programmes. That is, who says what to whom during this process and how various groups evaluate the dissemination of information about World Heritage Sites (what effect this achieves). The other part consists of collecting TV programmes to understand 'what is said' in TV programmes about cultural heritage, which means finding out how the final media products represent cultural heritage. To obtain these data, the fieldwork involves three kinds of activities: in-depth interviews, video data collection, and observation. These data sources jointly helped me achieve my research objectives. At the beginning of my fieldwork, I collected video data to get an initial impression of the television representation of Qufu. After arriving in Qufu, I first made a non-participant observation to learn about the heritage site and the surrounding environment and joined in participant observation to observe how the TV staff filmed the programme. The information I got before the in-depth interview enabled me to have a general understanding of the heritage site and its TV representation. In this process, I began to have more queries. I prepared some questions that I thought were interesting and worth exploring. In the in-depth interview, I took my perception and curiosity to explore answers. At the same time, the information obtained from in-depth interviews also enabled me to explain some phenomena and modes in TV programmes when analysing them. Therefore, the data obtained through these three methods complement each other to jointly answer my research question and ensure the integrity of my research. The later analysis mainly focuses on in-depth interviews and TV programmes, and the data of observation is analysed as supplementary content. The next sections will explain in detail the four aspects of the process of the fieldwork: selecting the research subjects, video data collection, non-participant and participant observation, and in-depth interviews.

4.5.1 Selecting Research Subjects

Qualitative researchers do not pay much attention to the representativeness of samples and the technical details of extracting a probability sample. Instead, they focus on how samples, small units, individual cases, or collections of actions reveal social life. Qualitative researchers focus on the discovery of cases in order to improve researchers' understanding of the social life process in terms of specific content. For this reason, qualitative researchers tend to use non-probability sampling to obtain study data (Neuman, 2014). There are many methods of non-probability sampling, such as haphazard sampling, quota sampling, purposive sampling, snowball sampling, and so on. This study used purposive sampling, haphazard sampling, and snowball sampling depending on which interview group it was dealing with.

For the selection of interviewees, this study first adopted the approach of purposive sampling. In the planning stage of the fieldwork, I divided the interviewees into several groups: interest groups relating to cultural heritage and different groups involved in the production of TV programmes. The groups include heritage site managers, practitioners working in businesses connected to heritage sites (tour guides, travel agencies, B&B operators, etc.), tourists, local residents, and TV programme producers. The roles of the interviewees overlapped at times. For example, tourists, residents, tour guides, and others are also TV programme audiences, while TV programme producers may also be residents. However, the overlapping of roles did not negatively affect the collection of interview data or the later analysis, as it was easy to identify what role the interviewees were presenting at this time through the content of their discourse. For instance, the role that television programme producers had as residents was not apparent at all when programme producers were talking about the process associated with the production of a programme. In addition, tourists only commented on a programme from the viewer's perspective when asked about the programme, and otherwise described the tourist

experience from the perspective of the average tourist. Therefore, the overlapping roles did not harm the interview process. Instead, grouping the interviewees made the data collection and the later analysis more feasible and more convenient. Neuman (2014) points out that purposive sampling can be used by researchers to select unique cases that are particularly informative. Babbie (2007) believes that when some subsets within a larger population are to be studied and the components of the subsets are easily identified but it is impossible to enumerate them all, data should be collected in accordance with the purpose of the study. Therefore, it is reasonable to group interviewees by using purposive sampling.

After grouping the interviewees, different sampling methods were used for different groups. The main sampling method used was snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is employed to get in touch with individual cases from a network of samples. It starts with one or a few people or individual cases and then expands on the basis of an association with the original case (Neuman, 2014). At the beginning of the fieldwork, I contacted two Confucius Institute staff members through the contact information on the website. After I interviewed and consulted them, one of them introduced me to a journalist from the Qufu TV station. In the following days, I discovered that this journalist had been doing a wide variety of media reception work for a long time and was very familiar with the staff from various local departments. He introduced me to many of the people I interviewed later. Another researcher from the Confucius Institute also helped me by introducing me to his classmate, who agreed to be interviewed. His classmate and his family have lived next door to the heritage site for generations, and I interviewed them as local residents. This researcher also provided me with information about some activities that are related to the research of the Confucius Institute, during which I met more people, some of whom became interviewees. The snowball sampling method makes the process of fieldwork very efficient. Moreover, because interviewees are introduced by intermediaries, their trust is gained more quickly than might otherwise be the case. Interviewees

have little concern and open up quickly. During the interviews, after it has been confirmed that the purpose of the interview is to gain information for academic research, the interviewees' attitude is candid, which is conducive to the acquisition of research data and the validity of that data.

The haphazard sampling method was mainly adopted regarding the interviews of tourists. Both Babbie (2007) and Neuman (2014) believe that haphazard sampling is a risky sampling method which may produce invalid and unrepresentative samples. Using this sampling method is justified only if the purpose of the study is to understand some of the characteristics of people passing through the sampling site at a certain time, or if using a less risky sampling method is not possible (Babbie, 2007). The presence of visitors was random and large in terms of numbers. And the selection of visitors was not intentionally directed towards a particular group, such as young people or people with a deep knowledge of the heritage site. If there is such a specific group, the interview data will not reflect the true situation. Therefore, the choice of visitors was subject to greater randomness. Babbie (2007) reminds us that samples obtained using this approach can provide useful views but we need to be careful not to draw excessive inferences from them. The later data analysis showed that tourists formed only a very small part of the interviewed group. Therefore, it was feasible to adopt the haphazard sampling method to collect the visitor sample.

Although using all three sampling methods mentioned above was feasible, haphazard sampling is not as effective in the actual process of fieldwork. The number of visitors to the heritage site indicated that it would be easy to find interviewees using this method. However, the reality was not ideal, for several reasons. The first reason is that tourists often arrived and left in a hurry and were reluctant to stop for interviews, leading to the selection of tourists for interviews who were resting and waiting at heritage sites. The second reason is that even if visitors were

informed of the identity of the researcher and the purpose of the interview, it was still difficult to build trust in such a short period. In addition, even if the visitors were willing to be interviewed, it was obvious that, unlike the answers of the interviewees who were introduced by the intermediaries, their answers were briefer and they did not want to give a longer explanation. This, coupled with the noisy surroundings, made it difficult for the interviewees to open up and answer questions calmly. In contrast, another method, snowball sampling, is much more effective.

4.5.2 Video Data Collection

The first part of the data collected by the fieldwork consists of videos of television programmes to understand how this particular World Heritage Site is represented. Berger (2005) has summarised the advantages of content analysis: it does not cost much; it is usually easy to find information; it does not get in the way of other people, and it can deal with present-day or past time. The acquisition of video material for TV programmes does have these advantages. Many TV programmes in recent years have been put on the web, which makes it much easier to access videos of TV programmes. However, this also poses the problem that, in the face of a large amount of video material, it is impossible to analyse it all and a selection needs to be made. As Jewitt (2012:19) puts it, "choice is an essential part of video analysis and it is important to make clear what choices are made, using what criteria, and for what purpose/rationale". Therefore, the collection of video data needs to be planned and managed to avoid collecting unnecessary information that there is no time to analyse later (Jewitt, 2012). In this section, I will explain how I selected the TV programmes to be analysed and how I found the videos of the TV programmes I was interested in studying.

First of all, I needed a database of television programmes. In this stage, I collected as many TV programmes about this heritage site of the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong

Family Mansion in Qufu as possible. I obtained information about relevant television programmes from three main sources. First, I searched the internet for information about programmes related to the heritage site, including films, television series, and press releases for documentaries, news about the filming of programmes at heritage sites, and video footage of the programmes. Second, during the fieldwork, the interviewees gave me some relevant information about TV programmes. For example, they told me which programmes had been filmed at the heritage site and which programmes they were involved in. Furthermore, the official website of the Qufu City Culture and Tourism Bureau had some videos of TV programmes about the heritage site. I compiled a table of programmes with this information. After that, I selected the appropriate programmes for analysis from this table.

In the video data collection stage, I adopted the method of purposive sampling. The programmes I had collected were categorised according to their type and were divided into fictional and non-fictional ones. Non-fiction TV programmes included documentaries/topical programmes and news, while fictional TV programmes included TV series, movies, and cartoons. Each programme was complete. It might be an episode of a series, or a complete news item in a news programme, a complete episode of a TV series, or a movie. Because television programmes can be updated frequently, I tried to select the most recent programmes for analysis to reflect the latest situation. As Jewitt (2012:18) points out, "there is no universal 'right amount' of video data to collect rather the amount of video data required needs to be determined by the research approach, aim and questions of a study and pragmatic questions of time and resource". Because the method of qualitative analysis was used, I did not select a large number of TV programmes for analysis. The number of programmes analysed was two to three from each genre. This number allows for cross-referencing and supplementation between programmes without making the analysis too voluminous to complete. The programmes eventually chosen for analysis were filmed and produced by CCTV or Shandong TV. Only one

of the documentaries was made by CCTV in cooperation with a British media company. This is because almost all of the relevant TV programmes that can be found on the internet were filmed by these two stations. This made the study somewhat limited. I take this issue into account later in the discussion of alternative methods. The use of comparative studies could be increased in subsequent studies to make the findings more comprehensive. The TV programmes analysed in this study are shown in the table below:

TV programme genres	**Name of the programme**	**Year of the first broadcast**	**Broadcast channel**	**Author /Producer**
Documentaries and topical programmes	*World Heritage in China* (Episode 17: *Temple, Cemetery and Mansion of Confucius in Qufu*)	2008	China Central Television (CCTV) and network platforms	CCTV
	Confucius (International)	2016	CCTV and network platforms	CCTV, China International Television Corporation, Lion Television in the UK, and the Shandong Dazhong Newspaper Group
	Remember the Nostalgia (Episodes 34 and 35), *Ancient City Qufu* (Part I and Part II in Season 6)	2020	CCTV and network platforms	CCTV, Shandong TV station
	Our Festivals 2018 Chinese New Year Special (The 6th story in the programme – the section of *Spring*	2018	CCTV Science and Technology Education Channel and	CCTV

	Festival Couplets in the Confucius Mansion)		network platforms	
News	*China News: Shandong Qufu: the hundred-year-old plum tree in Confucius mansion blooms*	2019	CCTV International Channel and network platforms	CCTV
	Live News: *News Anchor Returns to Hometown for the New Year: Another Style of Chinese New Year in Confucius' Hometown*	2019	CCTV News Channel and network platforms	CCTV
	Shandong News Broadcast: *the 2016 Confucius Memorial Ceremony was held at the Confucius Temple in Qufu*, aired in September, 2016	2016	Shandong TV Synthetical Channel and network platforms	Shandong TV station
	Shandong News Broadcast: *Qufu held the 2018 Nishan Confucius Memorial Ceremony in Spring*	2018	Shandong TV Synthetical Channel and network platforms	Shandong TV station
	Shandong News Broadcast: *the 2018 Confucius Memorial Ceremony was held at the Confucius Temple in Qufu*	2018	Shandong TV Synthetical Channel and network platforms	Shandong TV station
Fiction programmes – movie, TV drama, cartoon	The TV series *Confucius*	2010	Shandong TV, Beautiful Life Television in Taiwan, China TV in Korea and network platforms	The Foshan Media Group Corporation, Foshan TV and China Confucius Foundation

	The film *Confucius*	2010	Cinema, CCTV movie channel and network platforms	China Film Group Corporation, Dadi Times Culture Communication (Beijing)
	The animated series *Confucius*	2009	CCTV comprehensive channel, CCTV children's channel and network platforms	Shenzhen Chongde Animation Ltd. Co.

Table 4.1 TV Programmes Collected and Analysed in This Research

When collecting the videos of the programmes, in addition to the video materials themselves, I collected information about the history of the video, the context in which it was made, the original purpose and audience, and how these factors were embedded in the videos (Jewitt, 2012). This background information was of great importance for the subsequent analysis as well.

4.5.3 Non-Participant and Participant Observation

Qualitative researchers' first choice of research method is observation (Rudestam and Newton, 2007). Regarding the use of field research methods, the role played as an observer and the relationship between the researcher and the subject of observation need to be taken into account (Babbie, 2007). As Marshall and Catherine (2015) point out,

> the researcher may plan to have a role that entails varying degrees of participantness—that is, the degree of actual participation in daily life. At one extreme is the full participant, who goes

> about ordinary life in a role or set of roles constructed in the setting. At the other is the complete observer, who does not engage in social interaction and may even shun involvement in the world being studied. Of course, all possible complementary mixes of these roles along the continuum are available to the researcher.
>
> （Marshall and Catherine, 2015:119）

Observation methods used in fieldwork are classified as participant observation and non-participant observation depending on the level of involvement of the researcher. The non-participant observation involved focusing on observing the heritage site and its surroundings as a tourist. The observations included behaviours of tourists and managers at heritage sites, the interpretations of tour guides, the conservation of heritage sites, the activities in and around the sites, the business management, the behaviour of residents and tourism practitioners, the number of tourists at heritage sites, the number and organisation of tour groups, and so on. Non-participant observation methods were used throughout the fieldwork. Methods of recording included taking photographs, making audio and video recordings, and making observation notes.

Participant observation involved observing part of the programme filming as a member of a topical television programme crew. Journalist Shizhong Hu of the Qufu TV station, in addition to filming local news programmes, often interacts and cooperates with the staff of other TV stations when shooting some programmes. He offered me the opportunity to shadow a TV crew that was filming a programme. The programme being filmed by this crew was the topical programme *Nostalgia in Mind* made by China Central Television. The filming I participated in consisted of a field reporter touring the Confucius Cemetery with the director of the Confucius Cemetery Protection Centre and interviewing the director during the tour. Before the participant observation, this journalist introduced me to the programme crew and told them the

purpose of my participation; they gladly agreed to my participation and invited me to take a tour bus with the field reporter and the cemetery manager and to participate in the entire filming process. There was no impact on the process of the shoot because of my visit. While I was there, how the director's crew planned the details of the shoot and how the scenes were shot, the conversations between the crew members, and the interactions and conversations between the field reporter and the site manager were major parts of my observations. In between filming, the journalist also explained the filming habits of the crew to me, as well as the various considerations made during filming. By observing all this, I was able to recognise how the programme makers chose the focus of their filming as they represented the World Heritage Site, what types of content would not be presented in the programme, and the reasons behind these decisions.



Figure 4.1: Shooting a Scene of the Topical Programme Nostalgia in Mind. This picture shows the field reporter (in the centre) and the director of Confucius Cemetery Protection Center (on the left) being filmed. Source: The Author.



Figure 4.2: Shooting a Scene of the Topical Programme Nostalgia in Mind. In this picture, two of the crew members of the programme are looking back at the footage. Source: The Author.



Figure 4.3: Shooting a Scene of the Topical Programme Nostalgia in Mind. Source: The Author.

4.5.4 In-Depth Interviews

In my fieldwork, in addition to video data collection and observations, in-depth interviews were conducted. Silverman (2017) notes that before choosing interviews as a tool to obtain information, it is essential to think about whether the interview information will indeed be helpful for the study. Although employing interviewing techniques will result in faster data collection, it is still necessary to consider the legitimacy of using such techniques. Observing the heritage site and its surroundings, as well as participating in the process of filming the programme, gave me partial information about the tour, the management, and the business practices of tourists, managers, local residents, and tourism practitioners at the heritage sites, as well as information concerning how TV programme producers choose the focus of their filming and the reasons behind this choice when they are making programmes about World Heritage Sites. However, answers to questions about aspects such as the role of different groups in the communication about and representation of heritage sites, their interactions with each other, and their views of television representations of heritage site are not available through observation. The most effective and feasible way to obtain such information is through in-depth interviews with various groups.

During the fieldwork, I interviewed people from six groups: officials (local managers), tourism practitioners, TV programme producers, individual members of local communities, tourists, and scholars. Among them, there are six local managers who work for the Qufu Culture and Tourism Bureau and the Communication Department of Qufu Municipal Committee; six tourism practitioners, including one manager of a travel agency, one B&B operator and four tour guides; two TV programme producers (the Qufu TV station); two local residents; several tourists; and four scholars from the Confucius Institute. As mentioned in section 4.5.1, the interviewees were divided into different groups for interview. Because different groups have different background knowledge and interests, it is reasonable to interview people from different groups separately. Separate interviews also make it easier to obtain different views,

which is beneficial for the later data analysis. At least two people from each group were selected as interviewees, which also made the interview content more comprehensive and diversified. The table below shows the respondents in this study:

Group	Name	Status
Officials	Shuguang Chen	A staff member of the Communication Department of Qufu Municipal Committee
	Yan Zhang	A staff member of the Communication Department of Qufu Municipal Committee
	Jinying Zhang	A staff member of the Qufu Culture and Tourism Bureau
	Li Zhu	A staff member of the Qufu Culture and Tourism Bureau
	Huiyin Jiang	A staff member of the Qufu Culture and Tourism Bureau
	Zaibin Sun	A staff member of the Qufu Culture and Tourism Bureau
Tourism practitioners	Mr Lin	A manager of a B&B which is located next to the Confucius temple (his family has lived there for generations and he started operating the B&B in early 2019)
	Feng Liu	A manager of a travel agency in Qufu
	Mr Kong	A tour guide, a descendant of Confucius
	Ms Wang (a)	A tour guide
	Ms Li	A tour guide
	Ms Wang (b)	A tour guide
Programme producers	Shizhong Hu	A journalist from the Qufu TV station (in June 2019, the Qufu TV station was regrouped and renamed as the Qufu Convergence Media Center)

	Yunrui Tang	A journalist from the Qufu TV station
Individual members of local communities	Mr Lin	Mr Lin and the other individual I interviewed, Yue Lin, are father and son. The Lin family have lived in Qufu for generations. The Lin family's ancestors once saved the descendants of Confucius, and they are respected by the Confucius family.
	Yue Lin	See the introduction above
Tourists	The name is unknown	Tourists who are from Beijing, Yunnan, Jiangxi, Hebei, and Shandong provinces
Scholars	Yong Kong	A staff member who works in the Liaison Department of the Confucius Institute (he is a descendant of Confucius, 73rd generation)
	Wei Fang	A scholar who works in the Academic Exchange Department of the Confucius Institute
	Ji-hsiang Li	A scholar from Taiwan (professor of sinology, Fo Guang University of Taiwan, distinguished professor of the Confucius Institute)
	Xiaoxia Liu	A scholar who works in the Academic Exchange Department of the Confucius Institute

Table 4.2 The Respondents Interviewed in This Study

I expected to acquire two different types of information from the in-depth interviews: certain external realities (e.g., facts, events) and internal experiences (e.g., feelings, meanings). External realities included the work content and work procedures of the managers and programmers, the tour guides' narration, and the business situation of the tourism industry. In contrast, internal experiences included the various perspectives of managers and programmers on the content of their work, the judgements of various groups on television programmes about the heritage site, the experiences of visitors on tours, and the perceptions of various groups on the value of World Heritage Sites.

Most qualitative interviewers begin with a general plan for the research rather than a formal, specific set of questions (Rudestam and Newton, 2007). The method I adopted was the semi-structured interview. During the preparatory stage before the fieldwork, I listed several interview questions for each group. I designed questions for each group based on their roles and backgrounds (indicative questions, see appendix 3). To compare the different perspectives of each group, I also listed the same questions for different groups. During the actual interview sessions, the structure of the interviews was loose and flexible. However, as the interviews progressed, changes and extensions were made to the questions prepared beforehand (Brinkman, 2014; Rudestam and Newton, 2007). In the initial interview, the questions listed during the preparatory stage are the main body of the interview. I was able to discover what was of interest in the interviewees' answers, and I continued to ask in-depth questions about them, leading to the further development of the interview. In the middle and late stages, I added more comparative questions into the interview. I repeated the content I found interesting in the interviews and added it to the subsequent interviews to create a contrast between the views of different interviewees.

As Breakwell (1990: 81) points out, “the interview approach relies heavily upon respondents being able and willing to give accurate information”. In section 4.5.1, I have mentioned that the haphazard sampling method is much less effective than snowball sampling. The haphazard sampling method was mainly used to interview tourists, and I have made a causal analysis in that section. Fortunately, the interviews with tourists were brief, so they had limited impact on the later data analysis. The interviewees reached by snowball sampling, after they understood the reason for the interview and the background of the researcher, quickly dispelled their worries and opened up. Most of them were frank in their conversation. They did not resist or avoid any questions asked by the researcher. And the interviews were successful. At least two of these interviewees were very proactive in providing their perspectives after learning that the interviews were being used as academic research, believing that academic research could summarise the problems encountered in the field of communication at the heritage site and could improve the current situation. The snowball sampling method and the very similar geo-cultural background of the researcher and the interviewee enabled in-depth interviews to be carried out smoothly during the fieldwork.

4.6 Analysing the Collected Data

During the analysis stage of this study, thematic qualitative text analysis, also known as thematic qualitative content analysis, was adopted. Kuckartz (2014) believes that in English-speaking countries, ‘content analysis’ is often associated with quantitative paradigms. To avoid misunderstanding, he uses qualitative text analysis instead. Qualitative content analysis and qualitative text analysis are essentially the same. Content analysis originates from the analysis of communication and media and focuses on the analysis of articles or broadcast content in newspapers and magazines. However, content analysis is not limited to the analysis of existing data from mass media but can also be applied to data collected by researchers themselves, such

as interviews, observation reports, etc. (Kuckartz, 2014). In this study, the content of the qualitative analysis is divided into two parts: in-depth interviews and videos of TV programmes. Before doing the analysis, I transcribed the recordings of the in-depth interviews. All interviews were conducted in Mandarin, and transcripts were typed in Chinese. In the TV programmes, the main objects of the analysis are the shots, the dialogue, the narrations and the captions. The analysis content of the in-depth interviews and the videos is different in form. However, the research methods and stages taken are the same. I followed the process of thematic qualitative text analysis as summarised by Kuckartz (2014). He divides the analysis into seven phases. The following is a description of the analysis process of this study.

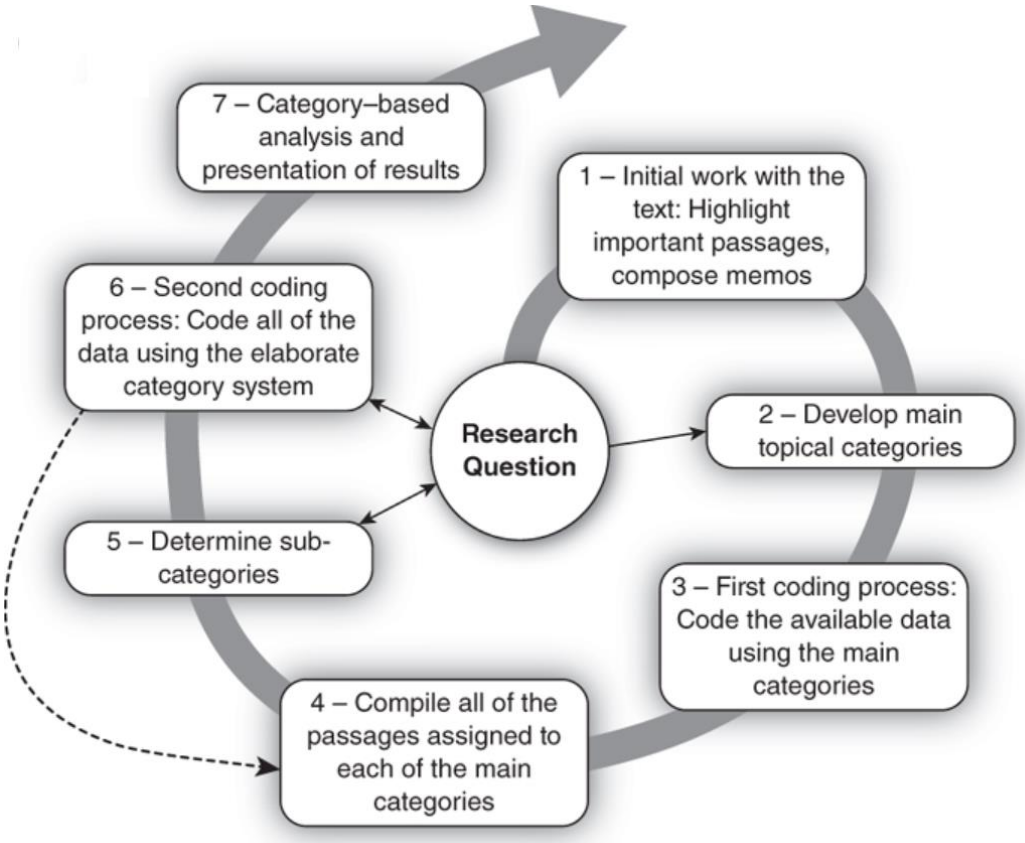


Figure 4.4 The Seven Phases of Thematic Qualitative Text Analysis (Kuckartz, 2014:70)

Before starting text analysis, I reviewed the aim and objectives of the research to understand what I wanted to find out, what I was interested in, what I would focus on, what associations I wanted to study, etc. (Kuckartz, 2014). With the research aim and objectives in mind, I started the first step of qualitative data analysis and read the text carefully. I listened to the recordings of every in-depth interview and translated all the audio into text in Chinese. I marked passages that I thought were important, wrote comments and noted information that I thought was interesting or relevant (Kuckartz, 2014). Starting with the first line of the text, I read the sentences in sequence and got an overall understanding of the text and related it to the research objectives. As for the themes I focused on at the beginning of the study, on the one hand, I tried to answer the questions raised before I started the fieldwork when reading the text (Kuckartz, 2014). On the other hand, I re-evaluated these themes to see if changes were needed and looked for new evidence (Neuman, 2014).

The second phase in data analysis is to establish subject categories, which is achieved by coding. In this stage, I used inductive category construction and deductive category construction methods (Kuckartz, 2014). Developing categories based only on empirical data is often called inductive category construction; it allows categories to be created by summarising and abstracting the original data. I employed inductive category construction with the in-depth interviews. Reading through the interview transcripts, I extracted the same and similar topics from the transcripts to form a category. Finally, the categories of the in-depth interviews were constructed through induction. Another category construction method is creating categories based on existing theories and assumptions related to the research topic, which is usually called deductive category construction. At the beginning of the TV programme analysis, I adopted deductive category construction. Before coding, I divided the subjects represented in the TV programmes into three themes: the built environment, the landscape and setting, and characters and story plot. Following the establishment of the categories, I started transcribing the video

data. As Jewitt (2012:20) points out, “the use of video recording in social research raises methodological questions about transcription”. One question that need to be considered is how the content of a video can be transcribed. The data in the videos was encoded under certain theme categories, which provided a focus and basis for transcoding the content of the videos. McNeil (1990:112) defines content analysis as a “method of analysing the contents of documents or other non-statistical material in such a way that it is possible to make statistical comparisons between them”. I asked each group questions based on their roles and backgrounds. To compare the different perspectives of each group, I also asked different groups the same or similar questions. For example, I asked TV programme producers the question “What restrictions will television face in its communication of this site?” and I asked officials “Does your department supervise and guide the media’s reports? What are the guidelines and procedures?”. I coded the questions and answers within the topic ‘censorship’. At least two people from each group were selected as interviewees, which allowed me to compare interviewees’ responses.

The next steps are the third and fourth phases: coding all the data using the main categories. I read the text from beginning to end and grouped the text segments into the appropriate categories. Then I compiled all of the passages assigned to each of the main categories. The fifth phase is creating subcategories generically from the data. The initial codes usually forms relatively general main categories. This stage involves further reading of the text and summarising it, adjusting the main categories, and determining subcategories. Kuckartz (2014) argues that deductive category construction and inductive category construction do not conflict in qualitative text analysis. After developing the TV programme analysis into three categories by using deductive category construction, further analysis led to the category of ‘character and story plot’ being adjusted to ‘symbolism and contestation’ by means of inductive category construction. Subcategories were created under each main category. The sixth phase is the

process of secondary coding. After adjusting the main categories and developing subcategories, all the data is coded again using the exhaustive category system.

The last phase is to do the analysis based on categories and present the research results. The results of the study return to the original research questions. Kuckartz (2014) lists the following questions for the researchers to consider at this stage: did the study adequately answer the research questions? Have all the assumptions been proven or not? What questions do the data fail to answer? What are the flaws in this whole study? What questions does the study raise? What new problems or events occurred during the study? These questions run through my writing of analysis chapters and the conclusion chapter as well as through the whole writing process during the later stage of the thesis.

4.7 Research Limitations and Alternative Methods

There are several limitations to this study. The first limitation is that the time spent doing fieldwork was short; it began in June 2019 and ended in early September 2019. The reason why it ended so soon is that my daughter started primary school in the UK in September 2019. I wanted to be with her during the adaptation period when she had just started school, so I finished the fieldwork in September. To make the fieldwork more efficient, I carried out full planning and preparation in advance. At the same time, back-up planning was also done: if the fieldwork process was not very smooth, a second period of fieldwork would be conducted later. In the interviews, many interviewees said that if there were other questions at a later stage, they would be willing to be contacted by telephone or WeChat for a supplementary interview. Moreover, the materials I needed were mainly observations, interviews, and videos of TV programmes. Observations and interviews had to be conducted at the heritage site, but video materials relating to television programme could be collected at any location. Therefore, I spent

months focusing on observations and interviews when I was in China. In the end, the fieldwork was successful and I collected all the information I needed.

In addition to temporal limitations, the qualitative content analysis approach taken in this study faced two other limitations. The first one was that it was difficult to determine that the sample studied was representative (Berger, 2005). Although two or three interviewees from each group and two or three from each of the different TV programme genres were selected for analysis to make the data more diverse, the small sample size of the qualitative study compared to the quantitative study made it difficult to determine to what extent the sampling was representative. Moreover, the main method used to obtain respondents was snowball sampling. Hence, the respondents were confined to the local area of Qufu. People may think alike in the context of the same culture, environment, and workplace. Also, when selecting TV programmes, the main ones chosen for analysis were those made by CCTV and Shandong TV. The small sample size of the in-depth interviews and television programmes caused the diversity of research perspectives to be impaired to some extent. In future studies, viewpoints of different levels of management, managers, and TV programmer producers in different regions and analysis of TV programmes in other countries and regions could be added to make the data used in the study more comprehensive to a certain degree. The second limitation faced by qualitative content analysis is that inferences based on content analysis cannot be proved (Berger, 2005), which is a limitation imposed by the chosen research method itself.

In terms of alternative approaches, I think I could conduct a series of comparative studies in future research that compare Qufu's World Heritage Site with other World Heritage Sites in China (such as the Forbidden City, which is popular nowadays among young people) or with World Heritage Sites in other countries. The similarities and differences between them could make the study more rich and solid.

4.8 Ethics in the Research

In terms of research ethics, this study followed the rules of 'voluntary participation' and 'no harm to subjects'. In accordance with the requirements of the University of Birmingham's Code of Practice for Research, I gave thorough consideration to the ethical aspects of the research prior to the fieldwork. I had written a Participant Information Sheet and a Consent Form (see Appendices 1 and 2) before my fieldwork began. Interview questions had been listed to examine whether the content of the interview would cause harm to the research subjects. In addition, I promised to keep what I learned confidential and prepared anonymous coding of research subjects who want to preserve their privacy in order to protect them. The following is a detailed description of the ethical considerations of the research and how they have been implemented.

Babbie (2007) points out that one of the basic guidelines of social research is that participants must be voluntary. The interviews were conducted after the Participant Information Sheet had been presented to the research subjects beforehand so that the research participants were informed about the study and the interview, and the Consent Form of the interviewee was obtained and signed before their interview. Furthermore, the Participant Information Sheet made it clear that within three months of the interview, if the interviewee wanted to cancel the interview and withdraw the data, he or she could notify the researcher and withdraw them entirely. The withdrawal would have no effect on the interviewees. Because the research aim and objectives in this study do not address any private or sensitive topics and the researcher would describe the study clearly to the interviewees, no information was withheld in the research process.

Babbie (2007) notes that the foremost ethical guideline for social research is that it must not do any harm to the subjects. I have taken this into account since I started planning the study.

In terms of the content of the study, it was clear that neither the observations nor the interviews would embarrass the study subjects, endanger their family members, friends, work, etc., or cause psychological harm to them. Although the interview sessions might confront the research subjects with issues that they would not normally be likely to consider, the content of the interviews would definitely not become a source of stress or trigger distress for the research participants. In addition to this, the interviewees were over the age of 18, with no special groups involved, so no vulnerable groups were exposed to any conditions that left them unprotected (Sieber, 1992). The locations of engagement with the study participants were the World Heritage Sites, so this would not place them in any unusual or unnecessary situation of risk. For these reasons, after taking all aspects into consideration, I could confirm that the content of the observations and interviews were not harmful to the subjects.

Furthermore, I promised to keep my knowledge confidential out of respect for the privacy of the research participants. If an interviewee chose to be interviewed but wished to remain anonymous, this was allowed. However, in this research, not all participants will be anonymous. Some of the participants, such as officials and directors of TV programmes, are easy to identify due to their job title or position, which it is very important to describe in my writing. There was a reminder for the interviewee in the information sheet about the possibility that their identity could be speculated about, although kept anonymous, because the sheet had their job description on it. In order not to cause harm, this information was communicated in advance in the Participant Information Sheet. This ensured the participants' voluntary participation in the study after they had been informed about this and had evaluated their position. Behaviours and discourses observed mainly included the places and durations of their visits, tour guides' introductions to scenic spots, tourist groups' responses, and the scene selection for the shooting of the TV programmes. Tourist group observation would take the form of crowd observation where all involved would be anonymous, and any images would be pixelated to maintain

confidentiality. Tourist guides would be informed in advance of the observation and their consent to be observed would be obtained verbally.

4.9 Positioning and Rapport

Special considerations for qualitative research are the position of the researcher and the relationship between the researcher and the research subject, as these will greatly affect the "trustworthiness of the representation of data" (Pitard, 2016:34). Traditional social scientists emphasise the objectivity of field research, taking an 'outside' perspective and keeping their distance from the subjects' points of view. They also acknowledge the benefits of taking an 'inside' perspective, trusting the subjects' points of view. Lofland and Lofland (1995:61) refer to this situation as the understanding of the 'insider'. Babbie (2007) argues that unless researchers believe that the subjects' opinions are correct (even if only temporarily), they will never be able to understand their thoughts and actions. It is not completely contradictory to adopt the perspective of an 'insider' or 'outsider'. In research, it is possible to adopt both strategies at the same time and change views as one wishes (Babbie, 2007).

The city I conducted the fieldwork in, Qufu, and my hometown, Jinan, are in the same province. There are only about 150 kilometres between the two cities and there are great similarities in culture, language, and other aspects. Therefore, during the fieldwork, I gained various advantages through my identity as an 'insider'. In the early stage of the fieldwork, when I was interviewing a tour guide, I simply told him that I was a PhD student from the University of Birmingham in the UK, and then I started the interview. I noticed that the tour guide was defensive and gave very formal answers rather than really personal opinions. This affects the authenticity and accuracy of the data. I adjusted my strategy and gave him some background information about myself while asking him questions, and he relaxed a bit. In subsequent interviews, I took this situation into consideration. In addition to introducing my identity as a

researcher, I usually told interviewees about other aspects of my background. For example, I told them the name of my hometown and sometimes briefly introduced my previous study and work experience. As soon as they knew my background, I could clearly feel that they began to regard me as one of their own and looked more relaxed. In the interview, they were candid about shooting taboos (see section 6.3). Other than the question that one of the interviewees raised about whether the interview was only being used for research, there was not much concern. The interviewees were confident enough that these behaviours could be fully understood by the interviewer, who is from the same province and has the same cultural background. Therefore, the identity of 'insider' makes the data obtained more reliable and valid. Moreover, in the interviews, I asked more questions about what I was interested in but I did not comment on their responses, nor did I suggest what was 'normal' or 'right'. This ensured that the interviewees would not be affected by my opinions or hints, which then ensured the objectivity and authenticity of the data. The position of being local gave me a great advantage in my research, which was also reflected in my familiarity with the language and culture. In the stages of observation, looking for interviewees, and collecting video data, my familiarity with language and culture was the basis for the success of fieldwork.

When it comes to data analysis, I tried to put aside the 'insider' perspective and adopt a more objective perspective. However, as Hamersley and Atkinson (1994: 15) state,

> the concept of reflexivity acknowledges that the orientations of researchers will be shaped by their socio-historical locations, including the values and interests that these locations confer upon them. What this represents is a rejection of the idea that social research is, or can be, carried out in some autonomous realm that is insulated from the wider society and from the biography of the researcher, in such a way that is findings can be unaffected by social processes and personal characteristics.
>
> Hamersley and Atkinson (1994: 15)

My position inevitably affects my analysis. As Jones (2001:2) points out, in qualitative research "'bias' must not be excluded, but must be identified and declared to enable the researcher to engage in reflective reflexivity in the generation of the so-called 'critical spirit'". In addition to having the same background as the interviewees, my study background also had a particular influence on my research. I had majored in radio and TV language communication in China previously and had done TV programme analysis during my studies. Inevitably, these learning experiences provided me with the basic technique that I used for my analysis of TV programmes in this research. However, at the same time, the previous experience also left me with some analytical habits. The perspective of cultural heritage is a new perspective for me, though, and it made me set aside my expectations and assumptions to some extent. But I believe that my analysis is definitely marked as being that of an 'insider' up to a point and will be different from the analysis of an 'outsider'.

4.10 Conclusion

Starting with the research aim and objectives, this chapter introduced the research paradigms and research methods adopted and explained the rationality of the selected research methods. Given the research objectives and the research context, this study has followed an interpretive social science orientation, a qualitative research paradigm, and an inductive theory-based and case-based interpretive model to conduct research with the chief aim of understanding a particular phenomenon. The next part of the chapter described the process of the fieldwork, from the preliminary planning to the completion of the whole process. Four aspects, selecting research subjects, video data collection, observation, and in-depth interviews, were introduced to explain the process of research data collection and the content summary of collected data. The process of analysing the collected data was also described. The next section of the chapter reflected on the process of fieldwork and put forward the limitations of the research methods

and the alternative research methods. Finally, the ethical issues of the research and the position of the researcher as well as the relationship between the researcher and the research subject were expounded. As my analysis is inevitably influenced by my perspective of an 'insider' up to a point, these kinds of 'bias' are 'identified' and 'declared' at the end of the chapter. The next two chapters present a qualitative analysis of the data collected during the fieldwork. The material collected in this research will be divided into two parts for analysis because it consists of two different types of data: TV programmes (Chapter 5: The Representation of the World Heritage Site of Qufu on Television) and in-depth interviews (Chapter 6: Analysis of In-Depth Interviews).

CHAPTER 5 THE REPRESENTATION OF THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE OF QUFU ON TELEVISION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to an analysis of the representation of the Qufu World Heritage Site in television programmes. The development of Chinese television has been relatively late compared with that of Western countries, which is introduced in the context chapter. The first television station in China broadcasted in 1958 (Qin, 2002). It experienced a period of setback (1966–1976) and a period of recovery (1977–1999) and entered a period of rapid growth until 2000 (Lu, Zhao, 2010). Different societies have different cultures, which also applies to the area of television. TV programmes in China have shown some characteristics during their development over the past decades. The process of producing a programme demonstrates the result of a consecutive selection by programme producers. Both the content and the methods of representation in a programme represent the choices made by programme makers. The act of choice is an evaluation in itself. As Masterman (2006) points out, the media can prove that certain characters or events are more important than others simply by reporting them. Hall (1986) also points out that since constructing the meaning of the world can be conducted in many different or even opposing ways, what and who is represented matters, and how things, people, and relationships are represented has an equal degree of importance. Thus, the analysis in this chapter is about who and what is represented in the TV programmes and how the programmes represent these things, events, and characters. The analysis will apply a thematic

approach and focus on the elements of the World Heritage Site to see how each is represented. Hence, this chapter will analyse the TV programmes concerned in three themes: the built environment, the landscape and setting, and symbolism and contestation. Within each theme, the three categories of programmes, – documentaries and topical programmes; news; and fiction programmes, that is, a TV drama, a movie, and some cartoons – will be analysed. Different genres of programmes have different agendas and modes of representation. Hence, the focus of the analysis of each type of programme varies and some agendas will dominate the analysis more than others.

Before the analysis, an overview of each programme analysed is introduced according to the three categories of documentaries and topical programmes, news, and fiction programmes. The reason why documentaries and topical programmes are analysed together is that the difference between the two is not easily defined in China (Zhu, 1998). It has also been found in the programme analysis that the two categories exhibit many identical characteristics. Therefore, the two categories are discussed side by side here.

In the section concerning the built environment, the analysis is centred on those pieces of architecture that are highlighted in the programme. In the category of news, the architecture is not a key object of representation, while fictional programmes primarily focus on the life stories of Confucius. Because the heritage sites were built after Confucius' demise, the architecture of the site is not an object of representation either in fiction programmes. Therefore, regarding the architecture, the analysis will focus on the representation of architecture in documentaries and topical programmes. In the section concerning landscape and setting, how the World Heritage Site is situated in TV programmes will be analysed. The content of this section will describe how the site is linked with Qufu city and the local communities on the screen. The site meets criteria 6 as well as 1 and 4. The section concerning symbolism and contestation will discuss

the primacy given to Confucius in the narrative. How the pilgrimage-related and sacred qualities have been dramatised and constructed in the stories will be analysed.

The analysis of the content of the programmes is inseparable from the understanding of the context. Confucius, for example, has transcended his original identity as a symbol; the role has been given a new connotation and what has previously been signified has been given new significance according to the demands of Chinese society at different times (Sui, 2014). Hall (1997:2) points out that "culture is concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings … between the members of a society or group". If two people are said to come from the same culture, it means that they both interpret the world almost in the same way and that they are able to express themselves and their thoughts or feelings about the world in ways which are mutually understandable for the two; things are not bestowed with fixed meanings in themselves. This also means that the interpretation and analysis of mass media texts and mass media contents in a particular culture is a way of understanding a culture and, indirectly, of understanding a society and humanity itself (Berger, 1997). The analysis of the TV programmes in this chapter will provide a perspective for understanding China's approach to how it seeks to represent world heritage and cultural heritage in general to the wider domestic public.

5.2 Overview of the TV Programmes Analysed in This Study

This section presents the overviews of each of the programmes analysed according to three categories: documentaries and topical programmes, news, and fictional programmes. In the category of documentary and topical programme are *World Heritage in China*, *Confucius (International)*, *Remember the Nostalgia*, and *Our Festivals – Spring Festival Couplets in the Confucius Mansion*; news programmes include CCTV and Shandong TV news reports on this heritage site in 2016, 2018, and 2019; and fictional programmes include *Confucius* the TV

series, *Confucius* the movie, and *Confucius* the animation. What follows are the overviews of each of these programmes.

World Heritage in China is a 38-episode documentary series produced by CCTV, which took seven years to make and was first aired in 2008. Each episode is approximately 31 minutes long. The programme presents 33 natural, cultural, and intangible heritage sites in China that were on the UNESCO World Heritage List before 2008. The programme analysed in this thesis is Episode 17 of the series – *Temple, Cemetery and Mansion of Confucius in Qufu*. The ratings and target audience information for this documentary are not available on the internet. Zhao (2009) argues that from the 1990s onwards, documentaries that believed in elite culture, when combined with the medium of television, have gone down the path of industrialisation and turned into mass media products in China. However, judging from the general condition of Chinese documentaries, the ratings of documentaries on TV still face the problem of being 'successful in terms of artistic value but not of box office' (Zhao, 2009). Regarding the ratings of this documentary, only a description can be found as "the response after the programme was aired has been overwhelming" (Globe, 2018), which shows that when it was broadcasted on television, this documentary shared the same fate as similar programmes with poor ratings. However, surprisingly, after Bilibili.com was authorised to broadcast the documentary in 2016, the online hits soared and it received heated reviews as well as full-screen pop-up comments (Global, 2018). Bilibili.com is currently China's top-ranking cultural community for the young generation, where the world of 'two dimensions' (animation, online games) plays the leading role. And in recent years, documentaries, which are considered incompatible with the 'Two Dimensions', have dominated the Bilibili.com and become a rising trend with more and more viewers (Globe, 2018). This is a trend that suggests that documentaries are being added to young people's watch lists through the internet, which is a new phenomenon that has just emerged in recent years. Regarding the theme of this documentary, the director, Guan Hui,

says: “The documentary aims to arouse the viewers’ awareness of conservation of the world heritage, not only limit them to the appreciation towards China’s world heritage, but also lead them to devote more attention and care to the conservation of them as well as other scenic spots” (Guan, 2008). The other two documentaries, *Confucius (International)* and *Remember the Nostalgia*, which was also produced by CCTV, however, have very different programme themes, resulting in these documentaries presenting different representational characteristics.

The documentary *Confucius (International)* is a co-production between CCTV and Lion Television in the UK, which is 90 minutes long and premiered in 2016. Li Ting, deputy editor-in-chief of China Central Television, said that the production of the documentary *Confucius* aims to enhance the world’s understanding of Chinese culture and deepen the exchange between as well as the integration of Chinese and Western cultures. The programme takes audiences around the world on a journey through the life of Confucius and his times, unlocking the mysteries of Confucianism from an international perspective (Li, 2017). The purpose of the co-production of *Confucius* with the UK is to explore how to tell China’s story to the world through international narratives and communicational platforms to bring Confucius, the Chinese thinker, philosopher, and educator, to the world. Hiring experts from both China and abroad, especially foreign experts, to interpret Confucius and Confucianism is another feature and strength of the documentary (Yan, 2017). Yang (2016) argues that many overseas sinologists, owing to their own historical and cultural backgrounds, may observe things which are so common in China that a Chinese person doesn’t even notice their existence. In addition to being broadcast on Chinese television, the documentary *Confucius* was also aired on the French cultural television channel ARTE in 2016 (CCTV website, 2016). The theme of an expectation that there will be a better global understanding of Chinese culture, not only for domestic Chinese viewers but also for foreign audiences, makes this documentary stand out when compared with other documentaries.

Remember the Nostalgia is a documentary series initiated by the Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China, the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television of the People's Republic of China, and the National Cultural Heritage Administration, and it was filmed and produced by CCTV. The documentary tells stories of Chinese folklore and explores the outstanding traditional culture of the Chinese people by recounting family traditions and ancestral doctrines for thousands of years (Xiao, 2014). *Remember the Nostalgia* has aired six seasons so far, with 60 episodes per season. The first season premiered in 2015, with the sixth season airing in 2020. The programmes analysed in this thesis are Episodes 34 and 35, *Ancient City Qufu* (Part I and Part II), from Season 6. Each episode is about 30 minutes long. The sixth season of *Remember the Nostalgia* focuses on the ancient cities, narrating the cities' rise and fall in history, unveiling the origin and development of traditional Chinese culture in those cities, and showing the inheritance of culture in the new era in each home town (CCTV *Remember the Nostalgia* official website, 2020). The programme records ancient but vibrant cities through the form of storytelling. It preserves the memory of the city and makes people feel nostalgic by referring to episodes from the past that occurred in the home town (CCTV *Remember the Nostalgia* official website, 2020).

The *Our Festivals 2018 Chinese New Year Special* was aired on the CCTV Science and Technology Education Channel during the Chinese New Year holiday. The 90-minute programme has four sections, *Homecoming*, *Reunion*, *Inheritance*, and *Hope*, featuring the Chinese New Year stories of nine ordinary Chinese people from different fields, which show the new look of Chinese New Year in the new era (CCTV website, 2020). This thesis analyses the sixth story in the programme – the section called *Spring Festival Couplets in the Confucius Mansion*, which takes up 9 minutes of the programme (from minute 49 to minute 58).

Five news items are analysed in this thesis: first, the news programme *China News* of the CCTV International Channel, aired a piece of news in February 2019 titled *Shandong Qufu: The Hundred-Year-Old Plum Tree in Confucius Mansion Blooms*. This piece of new is 27 seconds long. Second, CCTV News Channel's *Live News* aired a piece of news in February 2019 titled *News Anchor Returns to Hometown for the New Year: Another Style of Chinese New Year in Confucius' Hometown*. This piece of news is 6 minutes and 38 seconds long. Third, Shandong TV Synthetical Channel's *Shandong News Broadcast*: *the 2016 Confucius Memorial Ceremony was held at the Confucius Temple in Qufu* aired in September, 2016. This piece of new is 35 seconds long. Fourth, Shandong TV Synthetical Channel's *Shandong News Broadcast*: *Qufu held the 2018 Nishan Confucius Memorial Ceremony in Spring* aired in April, 2018. This piece of new is 21 seconds long. Fifth, Shandong TV Synthetical Channel's *Shandong News Broadcast*: *the 2018 Confucius Memorial Ceremony was held at the Confucius Temple in Qufu* aired in September, 2018. This piece of new is 72 seconds long.

The fiction programmes analysed include the TV series *Confucius*, the film *Confucius*, and the animated series *Confucius*. The TV series *Confucius* is a production made in 2010 by the Foshan Media Group Corporation. The series tells the story of Mei Yan, a female student studying in the United States who returns to China to work on a doctoral thesis on Confucius, which unfolds the two story lines of the programme: one is the life story of Confucius and his main thoughts; the other is the different sides of contemporary life that surround Mei Yan in the course of her research on Confucius and her reflections on the thoughts of Confucius. Han Gang, a professor at the Beijing Film Academy and the director of *Confucius*, explained why the form of 'time travel' has been adopted: "It's about seeing Confucius through the lens of modern youth, and embodying the core of Confucius' most valuable ideas on screen through the reflection of the young" (Xing, 2014). The programme first aired on China TV in Korea in 2011 and on Beautiful Life Television in Taiwan in April 2014. It was aired on Shandong TV

in September 2014. The programme was invested in by Foshan Media Group and produced by Foshan TV and the China Confucius Foundation as a tribute to the 2,565th anniversary of Confucius' birth (Wen,2014).

The 125-minute film *Confucius* is a historical biography which was released in 2010. It tells the story of the end of the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, when the vassals fought each other over territory. Confucius travelled around the states to try to share his ideals, struggling alone against the era and hoping to impact the course of history of the spring and autumn periods and the states with his thoughts. The film Confucius was released on January 22, 2010, and by February 11, 2010, its box office revenue reached 100 million RMB (Shao, 2010). According to the statistics of Chinese Film Box Office in 2010, released by the National Radio and Television Administration of China, the film *Confucius* did not enter the top ten box office hits of Chinese domestic films. The box office revenue of the number one domestic film in 2010 reached over 670 million RMB (National Radio and Television Administration of China, 2011). In terms of box office receipts, *Confucius* is not a very popular film with audiences. In addition to being broadcast in cinemas, *Confucius* has also been broadcast later on CCTV's film channel and online video platforms. As for the film's theme, director Hu Mei said in an interview: "I hope that through this movie, more young viewers and Chinese who don't know Confucius much are able to study Confucius more intensively."

The animated series *Confucius* tells an inspirational story of Confucius' growth from a poor boy to a teacher of all ages, depicting the three phases of Confucius' life: young boy, young man, and middle-aged and old man (CCTV website). It was produced by Shenzhen Chongde Animation Ltd. Co. and first aired on CCTV with 104 episodes in September 2009. Each episode lasts about 10 minutes.

The above is an overview of the programmes which will be analysed in the next sections according to three themes: the built environment, the landscape and setting, and symbolism and contestation.

5.3 The Built Environment Represented in the TV Programmes

5.3.1 The Pieces of Architecture Represented

The representation of architecture is a key element of the documentary. There are many pieces of architecture that are represented in the programme, some of which are only given a few seconds of footage while others are explained in detail. In this thesis, the analysis is centred on those pieces of architecture that are highlighted in the programme. Because the heritage sites were built after Confucius's demise, the architecture of the site is not an object of representation in fictional programmes. And the architecture is not a key object of representation in news. Therefore, regarding the architecture, the analysis will focus on the representation of architecture in documentaries and topical programmes.

The architecture represented in the programme *World Heritage in China* is the Da Cheng Hall, the Yang Sheng Gate, the Sheng Fu Gate, the Confucius Tombstone, the Da Zhong Gate, the Tong Wen Gate, the Chamber of Golden Sound and Jade Vibration, the Sheng Shi Gate, the Hong Dao Gate, the Apricot Altar, the Thirteen Stele Pavilion, and the Da Cheng Gate. Most of the architecture explained in detail is associated with Confucius' thoughts and life, such as the Yang Sheng Gate, the Apricot Altar, and the Thirteen Stele Pavilion.

Here is the description of the Yang Sheng Gate in the programme's narrative:

> The Yang Sheng Gate, which is the outer gate of the Temple of Confucius, has four characters inscribed above the palace wall – "wàn rèn gōng qiáng" – a metaphor for Confucius' unreachable knowledge.

The programme *World Heritage in China* introduces the Apricot Altar in the following way:

> The Apricot Altar is said to be the place where Confucius used to give lectures. It was built in the eleventh century, and is twelve meters high, with double-layered yellow-tile eaves and a splendid hall with sunk panels and painted dragons. The stone incense burner in front of the Apricot Altar, created in the Jin Dynasty, is unadorned but refined, with smoke wafting from inside the burner for a thousand years, reminding the visitors of the scene of Confucius as a teacher over two thousand years ago.

Next, the programme recounts the life of Confucius that he spent giving lectures to his students through re-enactments of the scenes.

The Thirteen Stele Pavilion is introduced as follows:

> The Thirteen Stele Pavilion is a courtyard where the reverence of successive Chinese emperors and rulers for Confucius was most directly expressed. It was built over 557 years from A.D. 1191 to A.D. 1748, housing 533 stone tablets erected during more than a thousand years throughout the Tang, Song, Jin, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties and the Republic of China. The inscriptions are essentially texts that express the veneration and worship toward Confucius. Each pavilion is a wooden structure, square in shape, and the stone tablet stands on the body of this monster which looks like a tortoise named Bi Xi – one of the sons of the Dragon in Chinese mythology, who is adept in bearing weight, and only the stone tablet built by an emperor can be set up on the body of Bi Xi.

The narration with respect to the three pieces of architecture shows that the stress of the presentation is not on the buildings themselves but on the evaluation of Confucius' knowledge, his lecturing career, and the reverence in which he was held by the emperors of the past.

In this programme, the only architecture that is described and explained just because of the characteristics of the building itself is the Da Cheng Gate:

> The Da Cheng Gate is the last gate of the Temple of Confucius. The gate top is covered with yellow glazed tiles, which is resplendent and magnificent, imposing with glamour. Both its east and west corners are intertwined with the double eave roofs of the two pavilions, creating a structure of staggered double-hipped roof (Figure 5.1, Figure 5.2). This is one of the great wonders of ancient Chinese architecture.

This is the only architecture highlighted in this 31-minute documentary episode that is represented because of its characteristics.



Figure 5.1: A screenshot of Dacheng Gate in the TV programme World Heritage in China *(*Episode 17, *The Temple, Cemetery and Mansion of Confucius in Qufu).* Inside the circle is what is described in the programme – the structure of the staggered double-hipped roof.



Figure 5.2: A screenshot of Dacheng Gate in the TV programme World Heritage in China *(*Episode 17, *The Temple, Cemetery and Mansion of Confucius in Qufu)*. This photo shows the structure of the staggered double-hipped roof in detail.

Similarly, in the programme *Remember the Nostalgia*, the focus of the architectural representations is not placed on the buildings themselves. For example, the descriptions of the major representations of the Yang Sheng Gate, the memorial archway of Golden Sound and Jade Vibration, the Da Cheng Hall, the Lu Wall, and the Apricot Altar are as follows.

The introduction of the outer gate of the Confucius Temple (Yang Sheng Gate) is as follows:

> The end of Que Li Street is the south gate of Qufu Ming Old City (Figure 5.3). The stone wall above the Gate is engraved with the four characters given by Qianlong Emperor – "wàn rèn gōng qiáng" (a palace wall of ten thousand "rèn"s). Among them, "rèn" is an ancient measuring unit of about 160 centimetres. "Wàn rèn" not only describes the profound knowledge of Confucius, but also represents the supremacy of Confucianism founded by Confucius.



Figure 5.3: The screenshot of the outer gate of Confucius Temple (Yang Sheng Gate) in the Topical Programme *Nostalgia in Mind*.

The layout of the Confucius Temple is introduced as follows:

> The Confucius Temple has nine courtyards from front to rear which are arranged on the north-south axis of the ancient city. The pieces of architecture are of traditional Chinese symmetrical layout, which is also the embodiment of the Confucian doctrine of the mean.

Also, here are the descriptions of the memorial archway of Golden Sound and Jade Vibration (jīn shēng yù zhèn):

> The four characters of 'jīn shēng yù zhèn' has come from Mencius, which refers to the perfection of Confucian thought all the way.

The Da Cheng Hall and the Lu Wall are introduced as follows:

> The Da Cheng Hall is the main building of the Confucius Temple, and is also the primary site to go to pilgrimage. It is known that twelve emperors have visited Qufu 20 times in history to worship Confucius.

> On the East Road of the Confucius Temple, there is an ancient wall shaped as a screen wall facing the gate of a house. Compared with the impressive-looking Confucius Temple architectural complex, this ancient wall, which is about 3 metres high and 15 metres long, is neither grand nor tall, but it has played a great role in the inheritance of Confucian culture.

The programme then spends two minutes telling the story of how Confucian classics, such as *The Analects of Confucius*, were hidden inside this wall during the period when the First Emperor of Qin ordered Confucian classics to be burned and Confucian scholars to be buried alive and how they were luckily spared and then passed on to the world.

With same narrative structure, the Apricot Altar is described and this is followed by a three-minute introduction to Confucius' ideas on education:

> In front of the Da Cheng Hall at the Confucius Temple is the Apricot Altar, a symbol of Confucius' brilliance on education. In AD 1018, to commemorate the opening of Confucius' lecture hall, Emperor Song Zhen Zong built an earthen platform with apricot trees planted around it and named it "the Apricot Altar".

The programme's representation of architecture reveals that the architecture, as the object of representation, is not what is being emphasised or the purpose of the representation and that history, the life of Confucius, Confucianism, and the influence of Confucianism on Chinese people are at the core of the representation.

5.3.2 An Open Text or a Closed Text?

A large amount of explanatory language directly clarifies the meaning of the site through the representations of the pieces of architecture. Even though a point of view can be constructed by using the images themselves, a great deal of narrative language is adopted in the programme

to illustrate the images or to state an idea or meaning directly. However, the usage of narrative language reduces the objectivity of the programme.

The authenticity of the image can be used to emphasise rather subjective or unsubstantiated perceptions. As McQueen (1998) argues, television represents things that are so close to the reality of our experience that it makes a video of a wedding look like the wedding itself, although perhaps a diary records the occasion more honestly. "All representations contain only a fraction of what could have been presented, thus all are selective abstractions" (McQueen, 1998:140). The reporting or captioning is able to provide signification, but signification can be obtained without it. In fact, in documentaries and all other types of television programmes, it is possible to make a point without using verbal or written language. The image itself can construct a point of view (McQueen, 1998). Stronger subjectivities are presented in the programmes analysed in this section. These subjectivities are not only hidden in images but also in the explicit languages.

For example, in the TV programme *World Heritage in China (Episode 17, The Temple, Cemetery and Mansion of Confucius in Qufu)*, the introduction of Da Cheng Gate goes like this:

> The last gate of Confucius Temple is covered with yellow glazed tiles, which is splendid and magnificent, extraordinary and spectacular.

The inner chamber of the Confucius Mansion is described as follows:

> It has four courtyards, whose architectural style is widely different from that of the feudal offices. The various buildings in these inner chambers reflect the luxurious and elegant aesthetic taste of the ancient Chinese noble residences.

There are many subjective judgements involved in the language of these descriptions. In terms of the words that have been chosen, the trend is to use positive words such as “fine”, “noble”, “sublime”, and “magnificent” but not to include negative vocabulary or even words that reflect the ordinary reality. Here’s a description from the TV programme *World Heritage in China (Episode 17, The Temple, Cemetery and Mansion of Confucius in Qufu)*:

> This door is a quite special form of ancient Chinese architecture with four columns supporting a brightly painted and beautifully coloured roof. There are eight upside-down wooden flower buds hanging from the front and back. Hence the name ‘door of hanging flower’.

In contrast, the picture corresponding to the “beautifully bright-coloured roof” in the narration shows cracks caused by erosion over time (Figure 5.4). Perhaps it can be imagined that the roof was beautifully bright-coloured at the beginning of the restoration, but after so many years of exposure to wind and sunlight, its real appearance is not bright-coloured any more but riddled with cracks. But the narrators have shut their eyes to these cracks and have not mentioned them at all, using the ‘ideal word’ – “bright-coloured” – to describe this door. Such narrations have created a positive image that is in fact separated from reality.



Figure 5.4: A screenshot of the 'door of hanging flower' in the TV programme World Heritage in China *(Episode 17, The Temple, Cemetery and Mansion of Confucius in Qufu).* The arrow points to cracks that have eroded over time. The underlined Chinese subtitles in this picture mean "bright-coloured".

In addition to the narrative language that is used to describe the picture, a large amount is used to directly clarify 'Confucian thought', 'meaning', or 'value', which is evident in the previous section (5.3.1 The pieces of architecture represented). Buildings of special significance are often introduced in the programme.

In the programme *World Heritage in China*, there is such a summary about the architecture of the Confucius Temple and the Confucius Mansion:

> The architecture of Confucius Temple and Confucius Mansion reflects the spatial treatment of the architectural style and overall layout, which is not only about architecture itself, but also the idea of the harmonious coexistence of universe in Confucian thought.

In these cases, it can be concluded that TV programmes have a strong tendency to give a sense of meaning to this heritage site.

In semiotic analysis, an open text allows the reader to make multiple interpretations, whereas a closed text makes the reader arrive at a definite interpretation. From this point of view, it is found that the programmes use a large number of closed texts. The meaning of the heritage is determined with pictures and words, leaving no room for the audience to interpret independently.

5.3.3 A Fantasy Heritage

In the programmes analysed, representations of architecture are often made from a hyper-real perspective that goes beyond the visitor's perspective and intends to create a fantasy heritage. Whether this is done via operation of the lens or operation of the camera or the choice of colour, they are all signifiers that contribute to interpreting the programme (Berger, 1997). The employment of different types of lenses displays different aesthetic effects on the screen. Fiske (1987) has introduced a form of visual coding in the documentary that is conducive to constructing the particular 'realism' of such a programme:

> the documentary appears to use an objective, but recognized camera, and thus uses conventions like the hand-held camera, the cramped shot, and "natural" lighting, often supported by unclear or inaudible (and therefore "natural") sound.
>
> (Fiske, 1987:30)

It is clear from the analysis that almost none of these techniques are used in the programmes analysed in this chapter, and they even exhibit characteristics which are considered to be quite the opposite. For example, in the documentaries, there are many beautiful scenes that can only

be presented under a special light. It is difficult for ordinary tourists to see the same scenes during their tour (Figures 5.5, 5.6, 5.7).



Figure 5.5: A screenshot of the architecture at sunset or sunrise in the programme *Nostalgia in Mind*.



Figure 5.6: A screenshot of the architecture at sunset or sunrise in the programme *Archives of the Kong Family Mansion*.



Figure 5.7: A screenshot of a side room beside Dacheng Hall in the Temple of Confucius in the TV programme World Heritage in China *(Episode 17, The Temple, Cemetery and Mansion of Confucius in Qufu)*. There are no tourists in the picture, and there are particular lights and shadows, which are difficult for ordinary tourists to see during their tour.

Besides, in the documentaries and topical programmes analysed, there is a great deal of usage of low-angle shots and high-angle shots as well as panoramas (Figure 5.8, Figure 5.9, and Figure 5.10). Figure 5.10 shows a screenshot of the Chongguang Gate at the Kong Family Mansion in the programme *Nostalgia in Mind*. This picture is shot from a low angle, which is often used to show power and stateliness (Berger, 1997). Contrast that with Figure 5.10, Figure 5.11 shows the Chongguang Gate at the Kong Family Mansion on the UNESCO website. In comparison, the low-angle shot used in Figure 5.10 brings more meaning to the picture. Masterman (2006) believes that the pattern in the 'real' programme is that the subject should be shot from the height of the human eye and that the angle can neither be tilted down nor up because shooting from these two angles can cause ambiguity and biased images. The fact that there are a large number of 'hyper-real' shots in the documentaries and topical programmes

illustrates that ‘reality’ and ‘ordinariness’ are not the goals pursued by programme producers, which also confirms the views of the audience of the programme in the interviews that the programmes do not reflect everyday life and are not related to reality (the TV programme producers’ and audience’s points of view relating to this topic will be presented in chapter that analyses the in-depth interviews).



Figure 5.8: A screenshot of the Temple of Confucius and the street in front of it, which is shot as a high-angle panorama in the programme *Nostalgia in Mind*.



Figure 5.9: A screenshot of the Temple of Confucius, which is shot as a high-angle panorama in the programme *Nostalgia in Mind*.



Figure 5.10: A screenshot of the Chongguang Gate at the Kong Family Mansion in the programme *Nostalgia in Mind*.

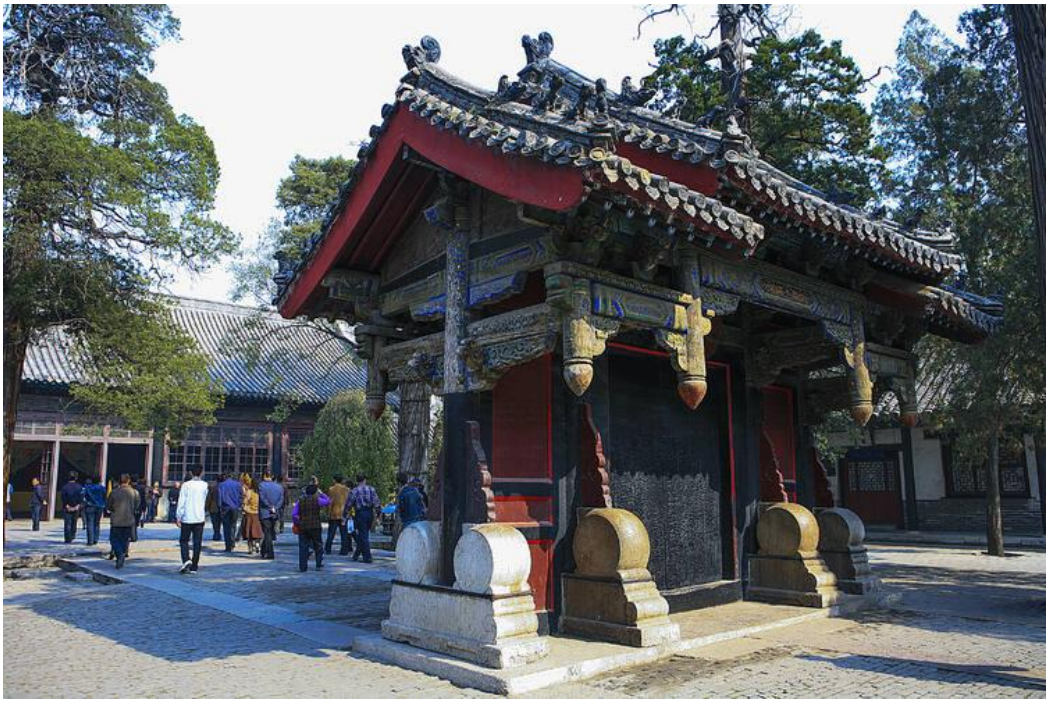


Figure 5.11: The Chongguang Gate at the Kong Family Mansion on the UNESCO website. (Source: internet. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/704/, accessed: 10/06/2021)

In addition to the use of television language, in the representation of heritage, some of the history or events are hidden. As mentioned earlier, deciding what to represent involves making a choice. "All representations contain only a fraction of what could have been presented, thus all are selective abstractions" (McQueen, 1998:140). Such selective representation is also a way of shaping the 'fantasy heritage'. For example, the Thirteen Stele Pavilion in the programme *World Heritage in China* is introduced as follows, which is also mentioned above:

> The Thirteen Stele Pavilion is a courtyard where the reverence of successive Chinese emperors and rulers for Confucius was most directly expressed. It was built over 557 years from AD 1191 to AD 1748, housing 533 stone tablets erected during more than a thousand years throughout the Tang, Song, Jin, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties and the Republic of China. The inscriptions are essentially texts that express the veneration and worship toward Confucius. Each pavilion is a wooden structure, square in shape, and

the stone tablet stands on the body of this monster which looks like a tortoise named Bi Xi – one of the sons of the Dragon in Chinese mythology, who is adept in bearing weight, and only the stone tablet built by an emperor can be set up on the body of Bi Xi.

In fact, in an interview conducted in the fieldwork, tour guide Mrs Liu mentioned that the Thirteen Stele Pavilion is a popular attraction. Many tourists are interested in this scenic spot because in the Cultural Revolution, many stone tablets were smashed here (Figure 5.12). The stone tablets have now been restored and many cracks can be seen on them. Many visitors are interested in this period of history. However, when the Thirteen Stele Pavilion is mentioned in the programme, these facts are hidden, and the focus of the representation is on the reverence of emperors and rulers for Confucius (Figure 5.13, Figure 5.14).



Figure 5.12: This picture depicts a scene in which the Red Guards are pushing a stone tablet inside the Confucian Temple during the Cultural Revolution. (Source: internet. http://news.ifeng.com/history/vp/200903/0325_5626_1076333_2.shtml, accessed: 15/06/2020)



Figure 5.13: A screenshot of the Thirteen Stele Pavilion in the Temple of Confucius in the TV programme World Heritage in China *(Episode 17, The Temple, Cemetery and Mansion of Confucius in Qufu)*. The programme does not present the cracks on the stone tablet. However, it emphasises that the stone tablets are carried by Bi Xi to show the respect given to Confucius. In this picture, the stone carving is of Bi Xi.



Figure 5.14: A screenshot of the Thirteen Stele Pavilion in the Temple of Confucius in the TV programme World Heritage in China *(Episode 17, The Temple, Cemetery and Mansion of Confucius in Qufu)*. This picture shows the stone tablet represented in the programme, which does not present the cracks on the stone tablet.

In conclusion, the representation of the tangible heritage does not focus on the issues concerning heritage, such as aesthetics, construction, restoration, and the use of heritage. On the contrary, the representations of the heritage are closely related to the meaning of Confucianism. These representations are selective and the text is relatively closed, and this is intended to create a fantasy heritage with a definite meaning.

Besides, in the programme, content that directly mentions the label 'World Heritage' is rarely found. In the programme *World Heritage in China*, it only appears in the final subtitle of the programme:

> Confucius Temple, Cemetery and Mansion in Qufu had made the World Heritage List in December 1994.

In the programme *Archives of the Kong Family Mansion*, there is only one sentence as well:

> In 1994, Confucius Temple, Cemetery and Mansion were listed on the World Heritage List by the United Nations.

In programme *Nostalgia in Mind*, there is also only one sentence about it:

> Today's Qufu is not only a national historical and cultural city, but also a world-famous tourist attraction.

The above cases are consistent with the interview results from the fieldwork: the label is more like a 'certification' and has little other meaning beyond that. Several tour guides mentioned a phenomenon: when they told tourists that this site was a 'world cultural heritage' and a '5A-level scenic spot', tourists generally showed more interests in the latter tag and felt that the '5A-level scenic spot' was worth the ticket price. Little attention was paid to the 'World Heritage Site' label. According to local residents, they are proud of this heritage site. They all know that it is rated as a world cultural heritage site, but they don't know much about 'world cultural heritage' except that they are proud of this 'label', which makes them feel proud of being 'certified'. When the label of World Heritage Site was mentioned, they took the initiative to mention other tags, like '5A-level scenic spot' and 'national clean city'. In their opinion, the meaning of these labels for the city is almost the same. They even focus more on the label 'national clean city', because they think that in order to get this label, the government made great efforts to clean up the environment and their living conditions became better as a result. The contradiction between the above situation and the status quo of Chinese cultural attractions actively applying for World Heritage Site status has been shown, and it is a topic that is brought out in the next chapter (see section 6.5).

5.4 Landscape and Setting in the TV Programmes

5.4.1 Moral Narration

The documentaries and topical programmes represent a large number of signifiers with positive elements to shape positive meanings. The activities represented by the programmes include worship, pilgrimage, sightseeing, educational activities, publicity activities concerning Confucianism, protection and restoration of cultural relics, the work of staff, business activities of local residents, entertainment, and daily life. The atmospheres conveyed by the representations of these activities are positive; for example, some are lively and festive and some are respectful and calm. The content of this section will describe how the site is linked with Qufu city and the local communities on the screen.

The activities represented in the programme are often combined with morality and Confucianism. For example, the programme *Nostalgia in Mind* shows some of the local residents' economic activities. When interviewing local residents who sell souvenirs, it shows them reciting a speech by Confucius: "The gentleman sees righteousness; the petty man sees profit" and giving an explanation of it. When it depicts local residents carving seals and selling them on the internet, the narrator in the programme comments:

> A seal is as a credit certificate. In ancient times, seals were used as letters of credit. Up to now, the cultural connotation of the seal has been passed down.

The protection and inheritance of traditional culture and Confucianism is a common theme that is represented in the programme. The theme appears in almost every non-fiction programme longer than 10 minutes. Many of the narrations directly address the theme of conservation and inheritance. There are also several scenes that indirectly express the same theme. For example, children and elderly people are often shown in some programmes, which reflects the significance of inheritance. In the 60-minute programme *Nostalgia in Mind*, there are at least seven scenes in which elderly people and children are the main characters (Figure 5.15 and

Figure 5.16). There are also scenes of children running and playing, with the narrator speaking in the background:

> In the routine and ordinary life of Qufu, the children there are feel the influence of Confucian culture on the city, and are unconsciously growing into people like their parents and grandparents. (Figure 5.17)

Such content represents the same theme of inheritance.



Figure 5.15: A screenshot of the scene in which elderly people and children are the main characters in the programme *Nostalgia in Mind*.



Figure 5.16: A screenshot of the scene in which elderly people and children are the main characters in the programme Nostalgia in Mind. In this picture, the old man on the left is saying clapper talk (a traditional Chinese folk art) while the other people around him, including the young girl sitting in the centre, are the audience.



Figure 5.17: A screenshot of the scene that shows children running and playing in the programme Nostalgia in Mind. The narration of this scene is: "In the routine and ordinary life of Qufu, the children

there are feel the influence of Confucian culture on the city, and are unconsciously growing into people like their parents and grandparents."

While the arrangement of daily news items appears to be subject to change, the principles underlying news selection and news presentation are stable and are often referred to as 'journalistic values', which include the following features: personalisation, negativity, regionality, timeliness, imagery and simplicity (McQueen, 1998). A classic value used in news selection is 'negativity, which, when combined with 'timeliness', often reveals a series of terrible things in the world that do not seem to make any sense (Goodwin, 1990). Goodwin (1990) calls this phenomenon "unconscious bias" in news production. In contrast to these views, the news related to heritage sites analysed in this chapter is completely opposite to the journalistic value of 'negativity'. All elements of these news presentations are 'positive'. This apparent tendency also constitutes an unconscious bias.

The news about this site is all positive, and most of the news is related to Confucius and Confucianism. Even a piece of 35-second-long news, after a brief introduction about the 2018 Confucius Memorial Ceremony held at the Confucius Temple in Qufu, concludes in the last sentence of the programme:

> [the Ceremony] has expressed the idea that 'benevolent people love others' and 'educate people with propriety' through music and dance.

Of all the programmes about this heritage site, there is only one short piece of news which reports from an objective perspective, about the blossoming of the hundred-year-old plum tree in the heritage site, without referring to the thoughts of Confucius or giving meaning to it. However, the whole piece of the news represents beautiful, positive elements.

McQueen (1998) argues that despite the many issues associated with accuracy, objectivity, and balance, critics generally agree that fairness in the sense of 'equality of presentation' is a principle worth upholding in television news. According to Goodwin (1990), an inclination is not the antithesis of truth: the real issue is whether the inclination expressed in television news is fair. In other words, whether it can adequately reflect the views held by the public. It has been argued from the media's point of view that according to Zhao's theory (2006) on the positioning of Chinese television, it is the mouthpiece of the Party, the government, and the people. A similar statement also appears in certain textbooks for the Chinese media profession: Chinese radio and television is socialist radio and television in nature owned by the Chinese people and led by the Communist Party of China, the purpose of which is to serve the people (The Institute of Broadcasting and Hosting Arts, Communication University of China, 2015). Such statements classify television stations and their audience, the government, and the public into groups with the same position and perspective. In this way, it is not possible to "judge the impartiality of the tendency of television news by whether it adequately reflects the views held by the public".

The audience members interviewed commented on the tendency of the programme to be biased towards having only 'positive' elements: there were no questions about the programme's tendency. None of the interviewees expressed dissatisfaction or questioned the 'positive' nature of the programme. Tourists and residents were not aware of the tendency either. Although the government and television staff were able to recognise the tendentious nature of the programme's content, they did not question it. Their ideas about the programme's innovation are reflected in other aspects, such as adding stories of ordinary people's lives and not just presenting history and architecture. In the next chapter, through interviews with various groups of people, it is found that everyone, no matter whether they are heritage site managers, tourists,

media practitioners, or audiences, has the same understanding of heritage: heritage is always positive (see section 6.2).

5.4.2 Harmonious or Contested Narratives?

There are few elements of questioning and conflict in the programme. Even if there is a conflict, the conflict itself is not the focus or aim of the representation. There are four programmes that present elements of 'conflict' and 'questioning'. *Nostalgia in Mind* mentions the history of the 'burning of books and the burying of Confucian scholars' by the First Emperor of Qin; its main purpose is not to explain the criticism of Confucianism but to describe how Confucianism is protected and inherited. The second instance is the destruction of heritage sites during the Cultural Revolution just being referred to in the documentary *Confucius (International)*. After a brief presentation of the history, the programme returns to the discussion about combining Confucianism with modern society. Another conflict appears in the programme *Thank you, my family*, in which Confucius' 77th grandson, Kong Deyong, is interviewed and tells the story of his youth. He has refused to be bound by the rules of the Confucius family and 'rebelled' to learn music. The result of the conflict was that he eventually gave up music and took on the family job. At the end of the programme, he draws a conclusion:

> You can rebel as you like or be yourself all your life, but you must take over the baton in the relay race of history. When you shoulder the responsibility of passing on, when you stop racing and look back, you will find that the reason why you have come so far in a hurry for decades is that you always have a family to go back to.

In the programme, the pursuit of hobbies is defined as 'rebellion', and the conflict with Confucian family rules eventually turned into responsibility, a mission, family, and tenderness. In the programme *Archives of the Kong Family Mansion*, there is only one reference to the heritage site during the section about the Cultural Revolution:

> In 1966, the Confucius Temple, Cemetery and Mansion were severely damaged. From 1970 to 1979, the Temple, Cemetery and Mansion of Confucius were restored one after another.

Despite the mentioning of destruction, hardly any conflict is presented. Apart from this narration, only one photograph from the Cultural Revolution is shown (see Figure 5.18).



Figure 5.18: A screenshot of the photo showing the attack on Confucianism during the Cultural Revolution in the programme Archives of the Kong Family Mansion. The writing on the sign is that (we are going to) 'dig up the grave of Confucius and completely destroy Confucianism'. The words '孔坟' (the grave of Confucius) and '孔家店' (Confucianism) is upside down, showing the protesters criticism of and hostility towards Confucius.

In addition to judging themes and meanings by the things and characters that are represented, the values of the programme can also be judged in reverse by which events or characters are not represented. In terms of history, this heritage site is most frequently represented by the events of the time in which Confucius lived, veneration towards him, and the reconstruction of the heritage site by successive emperors. However, criticism of Confucianism in history

(see section 3.2.2) is rarely mentioned. Only three programmes refer to the historical periods in which Confucianism was criticised, among which, the history of the "burning of books and the burying of Confucian scholars" by the First Emperor of Qin is addressed in the programme *Nostalgia in Mind*, with 2 out of the 60 minutes of the programme allocated to describing it. Also, the point of this part is not to show how Confucianism has been criticised but to describe how it has been preserved and passed down. Other than this, the destruction of this heritage site during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s in China is only mentioned in the documentary *Confucius (International)*, taking up 3 out of nearly 90 minutes. This is how the programme describes this period of history:

> Confucianism's emphasis on hierarchy, tradition and ancient etiquette has made it the focus of numerous attacks from alternative schools of thought – both during his own lifetime and in the many centuries after his death. In the 20th century, imperial traditions were often blamed for China's poverty and lack of development. Given that Confucianism was the mainstream tradition, it became a principal target, and by the late 1960s, Confucius was included in what was called the Four Olds: old culture, old ideology, old customs and old habits. At the height of this period, because of Confucius' deep association with China's feudal imperial past, his legacy was dismantled – nowhere more so than in his hometown of Qufu, where the three Confucian sites had to be put under state protection. (Yan, 2017:117)

The interviewee Gao Jinghong, the former director of Qufu's cultural relics protection institute, says in this programme:

> We buried some of the most precious cultural relics from the Shang and Zhou dynasties in the ground. The cultural relics are irreplaceable. They are our treasures. Like our former premier Zhou Enlai said, 'Once you ruin them, you will never know their

> historical value'. I held this thought at that time, so I never joined the rebels. (Yan, 2017:119)

This is the explanation that follows in the programme:

> Over the past 40 years, as China has modernised, it has embraced its ancient traditions with renewed pride. (Yan, 2017:119)

The interviewee Feng Zhe, director of the Sihai Confucius Academy, said in this programme:

> We've started to look for our spiritual home, and Confucius has risen again. We need to rise up spiritually, so we need to reintroduce Confucius and let him live in our hearts. (Yan, 2017:121)

It can be seen from these parts of the programme that although there is no definite judgement of the Cultural Revolution, one can still feel the negation towards it from the interviewees' words. After a brief discussion of the segment of history, the programme turns back to the integration of Confucianism and modern society. The programme explains the reasons for the attack on Confucianism during the Cultural Revolution and the advocating of Confucianism in modern society. These explanations are brief, superficial, and conclusive. There is no in-depth discussion.

Except for the above-mentioned programmes, most of the programmes describe the process of the development and inheritance of Confucianism as being in a continuous state for two thousand years. For example, in the programme *Nostalgia in Mind*, there is the following description:

> As a great thinker, Confucius had a difficult life of preaching and suffered all kinds of hardships. Since the beginning of Emperor Wu of Western Han's 'honouring

> Confucianism only period', Confucianism was gradually respected by emperors and scholars, on the basis of which Confucianism has gradually become the mainstream thought of Chinese traditional culture for more than two thousand years.

In addition, the programme *World Heritage in China* comments: "Confucius has been honoured by Chinese dynasties for two thousand years." The historical periods when Confucianism was criticised and questioned (see section 3.2.2) are largely hidden in the programmes.

None of the problems, even potentially controversial elements, are represented in the programmes. In my fieldwork, two interviewees, Shuguang Chen, who works at the Communication Department of Qufu Municipal Committee, and a journalist, Shizhong Hu, from the Qufu TV station, mentioned that in the Kong Family Mansion, there is an area in which tourists can pay to burn joss sticks, which is a source of income for the scenic spot.

> The media had better not film this in programmes because it is a type of business." "In the TV programmes about this heritage site, anything related to money should not be shown.

In fact, some of the programmes refer to the local residents' business activities, and these money-related activities are associated with the thoughts of Confucius, presenting the theme of 'gaining profit out of righteousness'. The operation of this attraction itself has never been addressed. For example, the scene of burning incense in the Kong Family Mansion is shown in the programme *World Heritage in China*, whose description is as follows:

> The stone incense burner in front of the apricot altar is made in the Jin Dynasty and is simple and elegant. The smoke which has been curling upwards from the incense burner for thousands of years brings back memories of Confucius as a teacher more than two

thousand years ago. (Figure 5.19)

The incense burner is used by the programme to build up an appropriate atmosphere, while the actual incense burner is the place where tourists can pay to burn joss sticks. However, such a scene of reality is absent from the programme.



Figure 5.19: A screenshot of 'the stone incense burner in front of the Apricot Altar' in the programme *World Heritage in China*.

5.5 Symbolism and Contestation Represented in the TV Programmes

The site meets criteria 6 as well as 1 and 4. This section will discuss the primacy given to Confucius in the narrative. How the pilgrimage-related and sacred qualities have been dramatised and constructed in the stories will be analysed.

The focus of the analysis in this section is the presentation of the characters and the setting of the plot. Just like the representation of the heritage site, the representation of Confucius is mostly in the form of a conclusion, with subjective comments mixed in with the objective description. Nearly half of the programmes express the logic of understanding China through

Confucius and Chinese society through Confucianism. In some ways, those programmes portray Confucius as a spokesman for China and Chinese society. There is some narration at the beginning of the documentary *Confucius (International)*:

> To understand China, one must understand Confucius and the ideological and cultural legacy he left behind.

Similarly, at the beginning of the programme *World Heritage in China*, the description is as follows:

> ... People at that time never thought that this new born boy would bring about great changes in Chinese society later. That boy was Confucius.

The programme also addresses the profound impact of Confucianism on Chinese society: individuals, families, society, and the state are intertwined through Confucianism. For example, there is the following narration in the documentary *Confucius (International)*:

> Confucius firmly believed that 'propriety' is the key to the stability of the family and the country, and this idea has been spreading over all aspects of Chinese society, ranging from the national ceremony to the family, which is the smallest core unit of social life.

The programme *Nostalgia in Mind* discusses it like this:

> Confucius lived in an era of 'propriety disintegration'. In order to restore social order, he attempted to coordinate social relations with traditional ethics. It was from then on that Confucian classics and their moral codes became the tradition of the Confucius family and were passed down from generation to generation, influencing the formation of the cultural atmosphere in Qufu and even the whole land of Qilu (Shandong Province) … The rules of the Confucius family not only form the family traditions of

> one fifth of the Qufu population, but also set a good example for the Qufu people. 'Forming a literary family and passing down the tradition of the Confucian doctrine' has also become the pursuit of thousands of families in the land of China.

Similarly, the expression of these ideas in the programme *World Heritage in China* is set out like this:

> Whenever the Chinese society tends to be stable, the thoughts of Confucius are the preferred policy for rulers to govern the country, and Confucius' political views are conducive to the consolidation of centralized power while his thoughts of ethics are the golden rules that guide the common people to ensure a stable social foundation for the country.

Some of these comments are narrations and some are made through interviews with experts, tourists, Confucius' descendants. However, no matter what form they take, the comments about Confucius are consistent in terms of the words that are chosen, which are positive, affirmative, and eulogistic. There is not a single negative comment or even a questioning voice, which shapes the thoughts of Confucius into a truth-like existence. In the programme *Nostalgia in Mind*, Confucianism is described as follows:

> As for cultivating one's morality, Confucius advocated 'not to do to others what he does not want others to do to him' and 'be generous to others and sincere to help others'; When it comes to governing the country, Confucius advocated 'benevolent governance' and establishing an order and a system with morality and ethics; if it is about the economics, Confucius believed in 'refusing to succumb to the temptations of greed'; regarding world peace, Confucius advocated 'good neighbourliness and harmony among all nations'.

The programme portrays Confucianism as a moral standard that applies to universal values, and it avoids voicing any doubt about him. This is consistent with what the interviewees said in my fieldwork. Yong Kong, who works at the Confucius Academy, said:

> China is promoting the revival of its traditional culture. However, there are some opinions among the people who oppose the Confucian culture and folks who hold different ideas towards the Mansion, Temple and Cemetery of Confucius. The state media would certainly not promote those negative opinions.

In terms of setting the story, the documentaries *World Heritage in China*, *Confucius (International)*, and *Remember the Nostalgia*, the animated series *Confucius*, and the film *Confucius* share a very similar narrative: in a turbulent era when the moral degeneration of society was escalating, Confucius, born into a declining aristocratic family, wished to rescue society with his 'extraordinary wisdom'. However, no one understood him. Confucius travelled around the states to try to share his ideals, fighting alone against an entire era and hoping to change the direction of the historical process of development of the society with his ideas and wisdom. Although the ruler of his day failed to follow his advice, Confucius was able to educate students, pioneer education for the common people, and spread his ideas. Confucianism was passed down, and eventually Confucius became the model teacher of all time.

The movie *Confucius* tells this story continuously and completely, while the story line is intermittent in the documentary. The scriptwriter of the TV series Confucius was a little innovative and used 'time travel' to divide the content of the TV drama into two parts: one presents the life story of Confucius and his main ideas; the other shows the different sides of contemporary life that surround Mei Yan in the course of her research on Confucius and her reflections on the thoughts of Confucius. Although the TV series has adopted some innovative methods in its writing, its core and theme are still the interpretation and dissemination of

Confucianism in modern society. Han Gang, professor at the Beijing Film Academy and the director of *Confucius*, explained why the form of 'time travel' was adopted: "It's about seeing Confucius through the lens of modern youth, and embodying the core of Confucius' most valuable ideas on screen through the reflection of the young" (Xing, 2014).

The animated series *Confucius* builds its own plot based on the story line mentioned in the last paragraph; however, it adds some stories that have a mythological twist. These stories are also built around the ideas of Confucius. For example, in the first episode of *Confucius (Animation)*, when the TV picture shows an orchid, a flower with a noble character in Chinese culture, Confucius' mother says to him:

> The orchid, whether it grows in the wilderness or in the temple, will give off the same fragrance. They are equally noble … You should be friends with orchids and as noble as orchids ... You're a man and you'll grow to be a man with purpose.

Through such representation, the animation portrays Confucius as a moral model and a sage with noble qualities. Hence, the story lines of the documentary and fiction programmes are the same but the details that are presented are different. These details create a relatively consistent image of Confucius. When 'unconventional' details come up, they often tend to be questioned by the community, the audiences, or other media. For example, a scene in the movie *Confucius*, in which Confucius resorted to fire and other combat tactics when commanding a battle, was questioned by audiences, because they think such tactics were too cruel for Confucius, who always advocated his idea that 'the benevolent has love for others'. In response, the director Mei Hu said in CCTV's programme *Movie News*:

> These scenes are just made up because there haven't been any records in history regarding the details of the battle. The conditions under which people lived 2,500 years ago were different from those of modern times, and the definition of cruelty was

different 2,500 years ago.

The programme *Movie News* also notes that the film *Confucius*, because it was about the extraordinary life of a saint, became a controversial film ever since it was filmed... This film *Confucius* tends to give a fuller picture of a saint. The controversy surrounding the film and the views expressed in the programme *Movie News* uncover that the image of Confucius as a 'saint' is stereotyped in Chinese society, which makes any deviation from the stereotypical representation of a 'saint' controversial.

In terms of depicting characters, the tendency to depict them as a specific image is obvious. As mentioned above, Confucius, as a symbol, has been detached from his original identity but his role has been constantly endowed with a new connotation and a new meaning to fit with the requirements of different times in China. In TV programmes, the characters represented are not only Confucius but also his descendants and disciples. The appearance of these characters is also used for the purpose of illustrating the thoughts of Confucius by contrast or for providing further explanation. In TV series and movies, there is a special and controversial character, Nanzi. Nanzi is a real figure in history. According to *The Analects of Confucius*, Confucius went to the state of Wei during his travels around various states. At that time, the actual ruler of Wei was the wife of Duke Ling – Nanzi. Nanzi was seductively charming and had a bad reputation. She admired Confucius' ability and morality. When she knew Confucius was coming, she respectfully asked him to meet her. According to historical records, Nanzi is a character whom even Confucius' students loathed. However, she frequently appears in TV series and movies, and even becomes the lead female character in the programme. Some programmes portray Nanzi as a person who has ambiguous feelings for Confucius. Han Gang, director of the TV series *Confucius*, said:

Many audiences don't accept love scenes related with Confucius. I would not increase

> scenes about beautiful women to boost viewership, and I would not create a non-existent woman out of thin air. (Liu, 2009)

Qian Ning, the writer of the TV series *Confucius*, also said there was no privately compiled history in the TV series.

> We don't need women to attract attention. Confucius himself is a man with a lot of interesting stories to catch the eye. (Liu, 2009)

However, the image of Confucius, which is different from the one portrayed in other programmes, has been subjected to a lot of criticism. Kong Jian, a writer and also a grandson of the 75th generation of Confucius, said that the excessive attention paid to Nanzi for the sake of catering to the market belittles Confucius.

> What Confucius had in his mind was benevolence and the whole world. Nanzi occupied less than a millesimal time in Confucius' life. Why should we pay attention to her? (Wang, 2009)

And he issued a 'strongly-worded' written statement to the cast of the TV series *Confucius*, demanding three major changes to the programme: try to use the original words of Confucius recorded in historical books; delete the implicitly romantic dialogue between Confucius and Nanzi, which obviously lacked historical evidence and seriously damaged the image of a sage; cut down the scenes of excessive martial arts and war in the programme, and focus more on the benevolence and sanctity elements (Guo, 2009). Because TV and other media have portrayed Confucius as a sage, the representation that does not reflect his noble qualities can easily arise social disputes.

5.6 Conclusion

From the above analysis, it can be concluded that the programmes do not deal with issues concerning world heritage. They focus on selective history rather than heritage. The site is frozen in time by the media but attention is given to tradition within local communities. The substance of most programmes is the dissemination and inheritance of Confucianism. Almost all representations are established around this core, from the choice of objects that are represented to the explanations, narration, and the operation of the camera, which all convey the recognition of Confucius' thought and the purpose of spreading Confucianism. There is very little openness in the texts of the programme, and the significance of the programme is relatively straightforward and clear and does not have to be summarised by the audience themselves. Early screen theorists argue that when the audience's discourse collides with that of the screen, the viewer's social interests will be subordinated to those of the programme's text (Fiske, 1987). However, Hodge and Tripp (1986) hold an opposite view. They believe "non-television meanings are powerful enough to swamp television meanings" (Hodge and Tripp 1986: 144). If a TV programme does not offer enough space to these non-TV meanings, it is unlikely that they will become popular. And in order to be enjoyed by different levels of audience, television not only need to inspire audiences to produce meanings and pleasure but also need to "provide the textual space for these meanings and pleasures to be articulated with the social interests of the readers" (Fiske, 1987:83). On the contrary, the programmes analysed in this thesis, most of whose audiences are Chinese, are almost an extension of Chinese schooling and a reaffirmation of Chinese schooling values. The programmes do not inspire viewers to produce meanings and pleasure by watching, which can lead to audiences finding them correct but boring. This will be presented and responded to in the next chapter. Also in the next chapter, the in-depth interviews with each group will be analysed in order to look at the realities of the site and its management. The main content includes the consideration of local officials and programme producers of what is selected to be represented in TV

programmes, the interaction between heritage site managers and media, the evaluation of various groups of people of the effect of what is communicated on TV, as well as the communication management contradictions faced by local officials.

CHAPTER 6 RESPONCES TO THE TV REPRESENTATION OF THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE OF QUFU

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter analysed how television represents the World Heritage Site in Qufu. This chapter will analyse the in-depth interviews to help understand the processes and motivations behind these TV programmes. The interviews allowed me to understand the disconnection that exists between an 'official', authorised representation of Qufu and the daily realities of its management as a heritage site with links to the local community. The discussion in this chapter is divided into four parts.

The first section analyses the view of local managers, TV programme producers, and the public on the selection of the content represented by TV programmes, such as what content should be represented and what content cannot be represented. Through the analysis of their points of view, we can understand the reasons behind the choice of what is represented in a TV programme and how managers, television programme producers, and the public perceive world heritage and how it is communicated.

The second section discusses how local officials manage the media communication of the World Heritage Site and how managers and television media cooperate and work together. By examining these issues, we can find out how the communication of the World Heritage Site is

regulated and what roles the market and the government play in the process of communication. In addition, this section explores the reason for the issue that although local managers have implemented regulation, they believe that such regulation is passive and looks like a formality. Through the analysis of this phenomenon, we can see the influence of the government's management system on the management of cultural heritage communication.

The third section analyses the evaluation of various groups of the TV representation of the World Heritage Site, which is divided into two parts: an evaluation of the communication effect and the evaluation of the programme content. From the analysis in this section, it can be seen that the effect of communicating on TV about the World Heritage Site is not good, and most of the audiences express their dissatisfaction with the content of TV programmes. In addition, this part analyses the reasons behind this. The interviewed groups put forward many ideas to improve the content of TV programmes, but these ideas cannot break through the limitations of local managers' and the public's understanding of the value of world heritage and the dissemination of information about it.

The last section of this chapter analyses the impact of the World Heritage Site nomination on Qufu and the pressure that nominations put on local managers. By analysing the responses of various groups to the question about 'the impact of the nomination of a World Heritage Site', we can understand why there is a lack of interaction between the TV programmes' representation and the World Heritage Site. In addition, this section discusses the pressure placed on local management by the designation of a World Heritage Site, which leads to more conservative management which then further affects the communication effect of the heritage site. This is one of the reasons why the content and form of TV programmes representing the World Heritage Site are conservative and lack innovation.

Overall, the analysis of the in-depth interviews in this chapter echoes the analysis of TV programmes in the previous chapter, explaining the reasons behind the phenomena shown in TV programmes. This chapter also analyses how the government's management system and local managers' and the public's understanding of world heritage affects the communication of information about world heritage in certain social contexts

6.2 Selective Representation of the World Heritage Site

Through the analysis of TV programmes in the previous chapter, it was found that TV programmes are selective in their representation of world heritage. In the programmes, some elements are represented and others are omitted. For example, the programmes focus on selective history rather than on heritage. The substance of most programmes is the dissemination and inheritance of Confucianism and almost all representations are established around this core. In addition, the programmes include little dissonant or contested content that is inconsistent with the mainstream. In this section, the interview analysis will be divided into two topics: selected representation and omitted representation, showing how local managers, TV programme producers, and the public evaluate the content of representation and whether there is a rule to decide whether it is appropriate for the content to be represented on TV.

In the interviews, the interviewees talked about the content that should be represented in TV programmes or has been represented in existing programmes. On this topic, various groups have presented their views from different perspectives, which reflects the awareness of local managers, TV programme producers, and the public about world heritage and how information about it is disseminated. In this section, the views of the respondents are divided into four parts: heritage is positive; the core of heritage representation is cultural connotations; the value of heritage is reflected at the national level; heritage is a serious subject.

First, in terms of respondents' perceptions of world heritage represented on television, one of the prominent views of interviewees is that heritage is positive and the representation of heritage sites should be positive. This view is very consistent among all groups of people. For example, Ms Wang, a tour guide said:

> I think communicating Confucius is spreading positive energy. As tour guides, we are spreading this culture, which is also spreading positive energy.

Yunrui Tang, a journalist from the Qufu TV station, expressed a similar view:

> I have known since middle school that Confucius belongs to the world, there is only one Confucius in the world, and Qufu is designated as one of the first twenty-four National Historical and Cultural Cities. I think this heritage site is good since I was young.

In addition to seeing the heritage itself as positive, Yunrui Tang believes that the publicity about the heritage also needs to be positive. She said:

> When I think about Qufu, I think because it is influenced by public opinion, I will definitely shoot some programmes or some news, ensuring not only the reality of the footage and events, but also positive publicity.

In the interviews mentioned above, adjectives like 'positive' and 'good' were used. In other interviews, these adjectives were not used but you can see the positive attitude that the interviewees had in their evaluation of the heritage based on their statements. For example, in the interviews presented on the second point, 'the core of heritage representation is cultural connotations', which will be discussed later, the words 'positive' and 'good' are not directly used, but people's understanding of heritage is still very positive. Rather than focusing on the problems heritage issues faced, each group pays more attention to the positive meaning represented by heritage. In particular regarding how heritage is communicated, it is generally

agreed that the 'positive' part of the heritage should be presented. Although people are not satisfied with the content and effect of how the heritage site is communicated on TV, which will be discussed in section 6.4, the view that the TV programmes should present positive themes and content concerning world heritage is very consistent.

In addition to presenting positive content, Yunrui Tang mentioned the pursuit of 'beauty' and the artistic quality of TV programmes:

> When you make a topical programme, you need to ensure it is authentic and at the same time, you have to pay attention to its artistic quality. … I hope to make the programme more artistic and have visual appeal. … For example, the crew of the programme *Remember the Nostalgia* took the scenery shot very seriously. In order to shoot light and shadow, they will wait for the [suitable] time, and the picture will be beautiful.

Yunrui Tang mentioned more than once in the interview that TV programmes pursue 'authenticity' and 'naturalness'. She believes that authenticity makes people feel programmes are natural. There are also many times when she talked about her pursuit of 'beauty' and artistic quality in TV programmes. In the analysis of the programme, as discussed in section 5.3.3, it is shown that the TV programmes present some scenes that are hard to see from the perspective of ordinary tourists, which to some extent is beyond the reality that ordinary tourists can reach. This is probably one of the manifestations of the TV programme producers' pursuit of 'beauty' and artistic quality. In the interview, Yunrui Tang said that she does not think that the pursuit of 'authenticity' and artistic quality in practice is contradictory. With this kind of understanding, Yunrui Tang and other TV programme makers make the programme present their ideal state as much as possible. Such selection shows an occupational habit of media practitioners. In the field of heritage, which includes items such as heritage site brochures, and in the field of non-heritage, which includes elements such as Hollywood movies, there are media practitioners

trying to make their works more ‘beautiful’, which is due to their professional habits. But in this study, not all of the selection of positive aspects of heritage was due to occupational habits. More often, as mentioned earlier, it was a reflection of public’s perception of world heritage.

The second major view is that the core of heritage representation is cultural connotations. In terms of the content of TV programmes, many interviewees believe that for the heritage site of Qufu, the representation should focus on cultural connotations and cultural feelings, which are based on Confucianism. When talking about the content and communication purpose of TV programmes, Zaibin Sun, who works at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, said:

> When we were promoting Qufu, it is emphasised as the hometown of Confucius and the birthplace of Confucianism. Moreover, the World Heritage Site is the core of communication. The promotions mainly talk about some buildings of the Kong family mansion as well as some characters and culture, which are attractive to tourists.

Zaibin Sun is in charge of tourism at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, and he thinks about communication content from the point of view of attracting tourists. Huiyin Jiang, who is responsible for the publicity work at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, talked about the content and communication purpose of TV programmes as follows:

> Most TV programmes highlight Qufu as the birthplace of Confucian culture and a city with ancient culture in China, which focus on culture. The core of the programmes is the World Heritage Site. There are few programmes that leave aside the heritage site but go deep into the streets and alleys of Qufu to film the people living there.…… A lot of tourists are starting to ask in-depth questions. Besides taking a look at the magnificent building, they also want to learn about the traditional culture, such as Confucius’ thoughts and Confucius’ personal story.

Although responsible for the tourism and publicity work respectively, Zaibin Sun and Huiyin Jiang expressed similar views: Qufu, as the birthplace of Confucianism, has cultural connotations as one of the core elements of what it communicates.

In addition to local officials, Yunrui Tang, a journalist from the Qufu TV station, also said she considers content that can improve moral sense and cultural literacy when she plans programmes. Mr Lin, the operator of a B&B, believes that if you film this heritage site, the Kong Family Mansion should be shot because it embodies family culture, which is the culture passed down through the family. He said:

> A lot of people now live in apartment buildings. When celebrating Chinese New Year, people only put up the Chinese character 'fú' on the door [which means good fortune arriving] and do nothing else. Chinese traditional culture has been lost. Only recoding it can let them know that there's a big family [Kong family] here representing traditional culture.

The cultural connotations of Qufu, as the birthplace of Confucian culture, often mentioned during interviews. All respondents, whether they are local managers, TV programme producers, or local residents, believe that TV representations of this World Heritage Site should be centred on the cultural connotations of Qufu. In TV representation, architecture, history, and human activities are all carriers of cultural connotations. This is consistent with the analysis of TV programmes in the previous chapter.

The third main view is that the value of heritage is reflected at the national level. In the interviews, only one respondent thought that TV communication of the World Heritage Site can reflect the value of the region, while the others thought it mainly serves a national purpose. None of the respondents mentioned that TV programmes reflect the Outstanding Universal Value of the World Heritage Site. Yunrui Tang, a journalist from the Qufu TV station,

mentioned the regional value of Qufu as a World Heritage Site while introducing her experience filming a programme:

> The theme of the 2019 CCTV live Mid-Autumn Festival gala is Reunion, and the gala was held and filmed in Qufu. Before the gala we made a programme with the theme of Qufu, as the host, welcoming people from all over the world to join this party. At that time, as the programme planner, I just had one question in mind: why is the Mid-Autumn Festival gala being held in Qufu, which is only a county-level city? I think Qufu symbolises Chinese culture and self-identity. I hoped that people who watch this programme can understand that Qufu is not only the hometown of Confucius, but also a place that is welcoming and that is surrounded by a cultural atmosphere. I hope that everyone can better understand the true meaning of cultural confidence.

Yunrui Tang is the only respondent who takes the view that the representation of a World Heritage Site can reflect regional value. Meanwhile, Yunrui Tang did not deny the political and national significance of the programme. When asked how she balances the educational and entertainment functions of the programme, she said she took more political implications into account when shooting news and promotional programmes. In the interviews, more respondents believe that the publicity given to the World Heritage Site by TV programmes serves purposes on the national level. Jinying Zhang, who works at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, said:

> CCTV programmes shot in Qufu mainly served national purposes rather than the local development. They [CCTV programmes] are not that down-to-earth and are not influential to Qufu. Even if the programmes focused on traditional cultures and emphasised the core status of Qufu, they still pose more influence and impact on the national level.

Shuguang Chen, who works at Communication Department of Qufu Municipal Committee, holds similar views to Jinying Zhang. He believes that few TV programmes that introduce this heritage site focus on the World Heritage Site itself and that the programmes mainly show Chinese traditional culture, that is to say, mainly serve purpose on the national level:

> There is not much publicity about its universal value as a World Heritage Site. ……They [the TV programme maker] probably wouldn't have chosen it as the filming location if it wasn't a World Heritage Site. ……Ninety per cent of the programmes do not talk about the World Heritage Site itself in detail. Except for programmes about relics, the other programmes are all about showing traditional Chinese culture through the objects.

Mr Lin, who was born and lives in Qufu and runs a B&B, believes that the importance of the heritage site to local residents and the local government is mainly because of the financial revenue and the other aspects of it have little impact. He thinks he did not benefit from the title of the World Heritage Site before he ran the business. But when it comes to the significance of the heritage site, Mr. Lin believes that Confucianism and the title of a World Heritage Site are important to the country. It can be seen from the interviewees' understanding of how the World Heritage Site is communicated via TV that local officials, programme producers, and local residents believe that this communication mainly serves purposes on the national level. Little consideration is given to the regional significance and no one considers the universal value of the World Heritage Site.

The fourth view is that heritage is a serious and heavy subject. As mentioned earlier, the interviewees believe that the main focus of the representation of this heritage site is the cultural connotations of Confucianism and that the value of the heritage site is reflected more at the national level. Therefore, the local managers responsible for publicity think that heritage sites

are serious subjects and not suitable for combining with entertainment. Huiyin Jiang, who works at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, stated as follows:

> Most programmes currently focus on the function of education and cultural dissemination rather than entertainment. One reason is that this city is culturally and historically rich and it is not easy to make the programmes about this heritage entertaining. There are many entertainment programmes in China at present, among which there are few filmed in Qufu. Maybe people think that this is a town rich in culture and with a long history and not suitable for entertainment shows. Otherwise, negative things maybe happen. If we do some entertainment programmes, both our locals and the media that came to shoot programmes will be worried. The purpose of promoting and spreading the culture in the form of entertainment is good. However, we are not sure about what will happen. … Although the Spring Festival Gala of 2018 is also an entertainment show, after all it is held by a national media [it's serious and less entertaining].

In section 6.3, I will also mention that local officials have a lot of concerns about entertainment programmes. (Entertainment programmes in China include variety shows, musical programmes, opera and folk art programmes, game shows, TV plays, movies, reality shows, etc. (Lu, Zhao, 2010; Huang, 2017; Zhang, 2011).) The respondents felt it was natural to combine heritage with elements such as culture and education. However, there are a lot of difficulties and concerns for local managers regarding combining heritage with entertainment elements. Although there are local officials who believe that entertainment elements may lead to a better communication effect, very few attempts to introduce them have been made up to the time of writing. Through the analysis of the interviews, it can be seen that different groups of people hold similar views on the representation of world heritage. Moreover, the findings

from the analysis of interviews are consistent with the analysis of the TV programmes in the previous chapter. The following section will discuss what kind of content is omitted by television programmes.

In the interviews, the respondents not only talked about the themes and content that should be represented in TV programmes or have been represented in existing programmes, but also talked about some of the content that should not be represented in TV programmes. Through the interviews, it was found that in the process of filming TV programmes, requirements and restrictions are imposed on the programme makers. Both local officials and TV programme producers mentioned some shooting taboos. For instance, in the Kong family mansion, there is an area in which tourists can pay to burn joss sticks, which is a source of income for the scenic spot. Shuguang Chen, who works at the Communication Department of Qufu Municipal Committee, described these taboos as follows:

> The media had better not film this in programmes because it is a type of business. We let the media know that shooting it [tourists paying to burn joss sticks] is against the rule. In spite of its existence, it may be controversial if it is filmed in the programmes. Just tell the media staff and they will stop filming this.

Journalist Shizhong Hu from the Qufu TV station said:

> This kind of business [making a commercial charge for items] can be seen in all tourist attractions across the country. In fact, this site has the fewest commercial projects. However, the media had better not show it in programmes.

Shuguang Chen added:

> In the TV programmes about this heritage site, anything related to money should not be shown. As a World Heritage Site, it is well-known and with high standards. However, it

also has more restrictions than other scenic spots. As you can see, commercial activity is quite rare in this.

From the statements of the interviewees, we can see the attitude to world heritage on the part of the officials: they do not think people should make money from heritage. The local government is very concerned about the number of visitors. As Zaibin Sun, who is a deputy director of the Qufu City Culture and Tourism Bureau said, they always focused on how to attract tourists. Thanks to the reputation and recognition of this World Heritage Site and Confucian culture, there are quite a few local research and study bases, which receive those who came to Qufu for a study trip, that are top money earners. On the one hand, the officials pay a lot of attention to the number of tourists and the revenue from local tourism; on the other hand, regarding the representation of world heritage, they are reluctant to present any connection with money, which is a contradiction connected directly to the way in which the officials look at these World Heritage Sites. There are a number of ancient Chinese sayings about money, for example, “Gentlemen love fortune, they make money in a proper way” and “To me, wealth attained through immoral means is as vain as floating clouds”. People would also use the term “stink of copper cash” to refer to a mercenary, etc., which all reveal one moral value: morality is loftier, and the status of morality and other noble things is far higher, than money. In Chinese society, honour and money are sometimes a pair of opposites. There is a subtle sense of immorality behind the pursuit of money. Therefore, in a representation of heritage, the officials are more willing to deliberately ignore the element of money and distance it from the ‘lofty’ cultural heritage.

In addition to the taboo of filming anything related to money, it can be found from the answers of the interviewees that negative elements that would make the heritage site or local

government look “embarrassing”, such as the term “messy”, which one interviewee mentioned, were also taboos. Journalist Shizhong Hu from the Qufu TV station said:

> To be honest, many aspects can’t be exposed on TV, such as inadequate facilities in some areas. You see, this area looks rather messy [it shouldn’t be shown on TV].

Shizhong Hu also mentioned that he mainly reported news in the local area and he thought more about political significance of the TV programmes when he was working. He said that from the perspective of Qufu, they need to ensure that the programme conveys positive publicity. Moreover, content containing conflicts or likely to cause controversies is also excluded from TV programmes. Yong Kong, who works at the Confucius Academy said:

> China is promoting the revival of its traditional culture. However, there are some opinions among the people who oppose the Confucian culture and folks who hold different ideas towards the Mansion, Temple and Cemetery of Confucius. The state media would certainly not promote those negative opinions.

Through the analysis in the previous chapter, it was found that TV programmes represent selective history; this means that negative, conflicting, and disharmonious factors are not presented in the programmes, which is consistent with the findings from the in-depth interviews. This is the consensus of local managers and TV programme producers, and even some scholars, as well as the whole of society. Through the discussion about the selected representation and the omitted representation, it is observed that at present, heritage managers, TV programme producers, and the public hold similar ideas: heritage is positive, cultural connotations are at the core of heritage representation, the value of world heritage is reflected at the national level, and heritage is a serious subject. Meanwhile, elements which are negative and disharmonious should not be represented.

The representation of cultural heritage in TV programmes is the result of a choice, which may be constrained by technology or may be effected by the way in which heritage sites are managed. On the one hand, television representation is limited by technology and cannot reproduce the real world itself in any possible way. “The medium is the message”, as noted by McLuhan (1994), is indeed a fundamental feature of contemporary society. No matter how real the image is, it is really just a substitute for real life. As McQueen (1998) argues, camera position, picture, light, sound, music, background, gestures, body language, facial expressions, and diction, are all relevant … in fact, there’s a long list of variables. All these elements are carefully arranged to maximise the impact on TV audiences (McQueen, 1998). On the other hand, people who utilise TV media also have behaviours that are manipulative, which strengthen the non-authenticity of TV programme representation. In the case study of Qufu, we can see that the representation of cultural heritage in TV programmes is the result of selection. This selection involves several factors: public awareness of the heritage, local officials’ consideration of political factors, and the occupational habits of programme producers, which all affect the television representation of world heritage to some extent. In the next section, the following questions will be discussed: how do local officials manage how information about the World Heritage Site is communicated by the media and how do officials and television programme producers cooperate? By discussing these questions, we can find out how the TV programmes about the World Heritage Site are regulated and what roles the market and the government play in it.

6.3 The Censorship of Television Programmes of the World Heritage Site

Through in-depth interviews and participant observation, I learned about the filming process of TV programmes about the World Heritage Site and the role each group plays in the dissemination of information about world heritage. The previous section presented the

selection of the representation of TV programmes. This section will discuss how local managers and TV programme producer cooperate and how the rights of management and the censorship of media communication is embodied.

The analysis of the in-depth interviews shows that the production of TV programmes at the World Heritage Site is, in many cases, not market oriented towards a particular audience. Compared with programmes that are market oriented towards a particular audience, TV programmes about the heritage site of Qufu are more guided and regulated by the government. In addition to being cautious about the selection and management of programme content, the local staff are rather prudent about the programmes they accept. Programme producers who are not known and approved by the government cannot get permission to enter the scenic spots. No matter whether it is China Central Television or overseas TV stations, all the programmes filmed at this heritage site are welcomed and assisted by the local government and local TV stations. Journalist Shizhong Hu of the Qufu TV station said:

> Media without permission are not allowed to shoot programmes in the heritage site. Even CCTV has to contact us [local government sectors and TV stations] to get permission. You [I think he means organisations rather than individuals] can't just enter the scenic spot with cameras and start shooting whenever you want.

As for the supervision of programme shooting, Huiyin Jiang, who works at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, said:

> The media need to sign contracts on the preservation of cultural relics, which mainly focus on security and prohibition of certain shooting actions. For example, large pieces of equipment and aerial photography are not allowed.

It is obvious from the filming taboos, the preference for TV programme types (see section 6.2), and the signing of filming contracts that the officials have comparatively strict supervision of the publicity of heritage sites. In the interviews, several local officials mentioned their cautious approach to media communication regarding this heritage site. Local staff admit the power of the media. They also worry about the difficulty of controlling public opinion. Zaibin Sun, who is a deputy director of the Qufu City Culture and Tourism Bureau, said:

> Public opinion is difficult to control. The media is a double-edged sword. Properly promoting the heritage site is certainly a good thing. However, if there is a problem in the media's communication, it will have a bad influence.

Although controlling the spread of information in this age is almost impossible, the local officials took certain measures to control the distribution of information on the internet. Yong Kong, who works at the Confucius Academy, said:

> We are cautious. In 2016, the Academy opened a WeChat official account instead of Weibo because the negative comments on Weibo cannot be deleted or controlled. We are a government department. Anything small in Qufu will evolve into something big. If there is something negative on Weibo, it is shameful and you can't control it…… China is promoting the revival of its traditional culture. However, there are some opinions among the people who oppose the Confucian culture and folks who hold different ideas towards the Mansion, Temple and Cemetery of Confucius. The state media would not promote those negative opinions. However, people can see that whoever has the strongest opposition toward Confucius would be the moderator or the leader of the Confucian Forum in Baidu Tieba [a well-known Chinese internet forum]. They are attacking Confucius and calling people like us Confucinsects [Confucian+insects]. For such people, the publicity from the scenic spots and TV stations is not so useful, if they

come to us (the research institute), I think it might make a difference.

Few people know about the anti-Confucius remarks mentioned by the interviewee because the anti-Confucius group is a non-mainstream one. State and official media coverage and schooling are mainstream and have wider influences. Even in the interviews, the various groups of people were rarely able to specify the titles of television programmes about this site they had watched, but there was a strong consensus on the reverence towards and importance of this heritage. Because of the neglect of TV programme producers, the anti-Confucius remarks of these minority groups are rarely accepted by the audience. As pointed out by Curran (2002), radio and TV practitioners internalise the dominant culture in unintended ways, so that such mainstream culture appears to represent the whole society.

Some scholars hold the view that the media is inevitably influenced by the elements of power (Althusser, 2014; Altsshull, 1994; Thompson,1990). Hall (1997) argues that issues concerning the communication of meaning are bound to involve the issue of power. However, depending on the social context, the subject, object, and operating mechanism of power may have completely different forms of expression. In the process of representing cultural heritage on television, the issue of 'who has the power' is closely related to the system of Chinese television, which makes it necessary to look at the current situation of the Chinese television industry. As mentioned in the context chapter, in China, all television stations are state-owned. The television stations in China are controlled by the Party and government and are also affected by the market (see section 3.3.2). During the development of the television industry, there are some contradictions that arise between the government and the market. Both cultural heritage and media representation serve modern society and are selected and utilised by a certain group in modern society. They are not free, neutral, truth-like elements but more like tools and carriers of expectation for our needs. In the specific social background in China, the authorities and the

operation of rights for cultural heritage and television media run parallel: the power 'struggle' between the government and the market are intertwined. For the moment, while the market brings in an income for the media and cultural heritage, the power of the government is challenged; this results in the fact that the authority of the government cannot be ignored, on the basis of which the government is willing to follow certain market rules and make appropriate compromises.

Curran (2002) notes that according to the traditional theory of liberalism, the media should have overall supervision of the behaviour of the state and the government, acting as the 'watchdog', which prevails over any other function of it in terms of importance. Some scholars have expressed concerns about the media losing its strength of attack as a 'watchdog' (Curran, 2002; Kelley & Donway, 1990; Stepp, 1990). Nevertheless, Curran (2002) notes that the perspective of watchdog theory has limitations. It can be stated that no media is completely independent of power and that the media always tends to yield to it. Media neutrality is an ideal status but not a reality (Curran, 2002). At the same time, Curran (2002) proposes a corrective comment in which he argues that activist media research is troubled by a simplified 'system logic'. The so-called 'system logic' makes the following assumptions: government-controlled media does serve the government; enterprise-controlled media does serve the enterprise. In fact, these assumptions have ignored or underrated the inverse effects of the following: in order to make money, private media need to maintain audience interest; they also need to maintain their public legitimacy to avoid social censure; they are influenced by the professionalism of their practitioners as well. All of the above factors could potentially facilitate the private media not to bend to the political obligations and economic interests of its shareholders. From this point of view, the representation of cultural heritage of the television media in China is more complicated because of government control, market influence, and public scrutiny as well as practitioners' belief in professionalism. It can be concluded from the analysis of these

interviews that all the influencing factors are built under the premise that the government has the power, while other factors will only be effective when they are not in conflict with the power of the government.

As mentioned above, Qufu's local functionaries and television programme producers actually exercise the powers of censorship: a shooting agreement should be signed before filming; they tell the media about the shooting restrictions; they have preference for certain TV programme types; and all of the media need to get permission to enter the scenic spots, etc. Nevertheless, according to their descriptions, both the local functionaries and the television programme producers seemed unaware of their power. Instead, they characterised their work as just being an act of receiving, believing that they had no interference in the content of the shoot, and that their post-censorship of the TV programmes is nominal. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, their answers were very candid and they were not attempting to hide anything. They exercised power but they didn't realise they were doing so. The local staff think they don't determine the themes of the programme and don't have any real function of review. Journalist Shizhong Hu of the Qufu TV station stated as follows:

> It is a shame that as a local of Qufu, I haven't made many programmes about this heritage site. We usually produce programmes of local news, shooting public officials' attendance in activities. Besides, we also cooperate with other media in shooting some programmes. Personally, I mainly serve the role as a service coordinator. For example, visitors who come to Qufu don't know whom to contact. I will help them get in touch with relevant departments. They are in charge of shooting programmes. I simply wait here to receive them.

In addition to the local TV station, the Communication Department and the Culture and Tourism Bureau are also responsible for receiving the media. They have similar narratives.

Here is what Li Zhu, who works at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, described the situation:

> The local staff don't intervene a lot except recommending appropriate objects of shooting. We are local people and know more about the city. They don't know much about local conditions and whom to seek for help. Sometimes we contact some experts for them, recommend some key scenic spots and give them some reasonable suggestions. Usually, the themes are generally determined before the media contacting with us. The media have scripts in their mind already, and they just follow their own scripts.

As well as having no say in the programmes' content, local TV stations and government sectors don't have any real function of review. Huiyin Jiang, who works at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, said:

> Sometimes the media work with the provincial department of culture and tourism. So the provincial department approves of the plans for them. Afterwards, we, as the local staff, just roughly review programmes after the shooting process, which has no real effect.

According to the interviews, we can see a contradictory phenomenon: they actually exercise the power of censorship; however, they believed that their work was passive, cooperative work with no voice. This is clearly a contradiction. However, it does not arise from concealment or because they do not want people to think of them in such a way. People involved in the communication of information about this World Heritage Site appear to be following a 'consensus' that has allowed them to coordinate their censorship work without any resistance. This makes their 'censorship' look like a formality. This 'consensus' and the fact that they are unchallenged by media staff may be the reason why the power holders ignore the power they have.

From what they said, there is some self-regulation of behaviour at the site in order to avoid some consequences. Although they don't explain what would happen if that is not the case, nor are these consequences necessarily written into the rules, few people who serve in the government system are willing to make any attempt to break the rules. Following those rules of the system is a no-brainer for those working in the system. Although the representation is monitored, as mentioned before, in interviews and during the observation of the programme filming, there was not a trace of strictness or a tense atmosphere. It's like a red thread hanging in a space that no one wants to touch it and no one feels the need to do so. Although the requirements are relatively strict, everyone spontaneously stays away from the thread and knows how to avoid touching it. And there is no need or desire to touch it.

In addition, the relatively complex structure of the administrative system is also a reason that causes local staff to feel powerless about making decisions at work. Many interviewees mentioned the decision-making power of 'higher administrative ranks'. However, it is not confirmed which specific level or department is the decision-making power. The departments and levels mentioned include the municipal level, the provincial level, the national level, and the international level; the tourism sector, the cultural relics department, television stations, and UNESCO, etc. Because they are in lower administrative ranks, local staff have no say in many cases. Zaibin Sun, who is a deputy director of the Qufu City Culture and Tourism Bureau, said:

> Qufu municipal cultural relics and key protection units are under the administration of Qufu City. If we have to repair some cultural relics in Jining [a city with a higher administrative rank than Qufu], we need to submit reports to the municipal government of Jining. To do something about the Temple, Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion, we have to submit reports to the higher levels of administration.

Huiyin Jiang, who works at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, also mentioned the limitations of their work as local managers:

> Qufu, as a county-level city, has many things that are restricted. For example, in terms of statistical survey, the province does special statistical investigations and Jining city may also do that. At the county level, our job's function is relatively weakened. We basically cooperate with the superiors when they come to Qufu and do sample surveys. After their surveys, sometimes they give us feedback about specific analysis of the situation in Qufu and the situations of their analyses, sometimes they do not give us this feedback. So we are relatively passive.

For the local departments, any department higher than them has more power than them. But they thought they only performed the role of cooperation, reception, and execution and did not have much power. Having a lower administrative rank may be one reason why they feel passive and powerless. As shown in the context chapter, the structure of the administrative system of China's radio and television industry is subject to the following leadership system: the provincial, autonomous regions' and municipal radio and television departments (bureaus) are under the dual leadership of the people's governments and the Ministry of Radio and Television (Bi, 2007). In order to guide local radio and television publicity work, the Ministry of Radio and Television also set up local publicity bureaus which are responsible for communicating the instructions for and spirit of publicity work from the Party Central Committee and the opinions on publicity work of the Ministry of Radio and Television to local radio and television departments. However, this dual vertical structure complicates the distribution of power. The lower administrative levels of the staff have more restrictions imposed on them.

Bi (2007) believes that there some limitations exist regarding practising the management model of 'dual leadership'. He argues that the 'dual leadership' is conducive to local power, which

exercises some restraints upon the upper-level departments' leadership over the lower-level ones in the radio and television system. These features of locally dividing power and lax organisation do not fit into the modernisation of radio and television (Bi, 2007). The results obtained through the interviews, however, show the opposite of this. It is not the leadership of the superiors that is restricted. Instead, it is the grassroots staff who are in a passive position because they have no say. This is consistent with another statement Bi makes: the over-detailed and over-strict management of the radio and television work by the leaders of publicity departments has stifled the vitality of the staff working in television stations (Bi, 2007), which is consistent with the conclusions obtained through the interviews and the observations made in this study.

In terms of the nature and functions of radio and television organisations, *the Outline of the Report Concerning Radio and Television Work*, released by the Party Group of the Ministry of Radio and Television in 1983, pointed out that the radio and television media is the mouthpiece of the Party and the state and that the central work of the radio and television departments is publicity (Bi, 2007). From this statement, it is easy to conclude that the local staff and programme producers who seemingly hold the power actually just implement the government's requirements within the system. Therefore, it is understandable why grassroots staff, as the actual executors of these powers, feel that they are powerless. To some extent, the work of local managers and TV programme producers is limited by the management system, leading to their lack of initiative. Therefore, the TV programmes they make cannot meet the needs of the public and the market, which can be demonstrated by the discussions in the next section, which discusses the evaluation of different groups of people of the communication effect of TV programmes.

6.4 The Evaluation on the Communication Effect of TV Programmes Representing the World Heritage Site

Nearly half of the respondents mentioned that they realised that current TV programmes did not match social development and fell behind the needs of the public, and they were looking for solutions. Some of the interviewees are satisfied with the status of the publicity relating to the heritage site, but most people are not. Dissatisfaction with communication is reflected in the evaluation of the communication effect on the one hand and in the evaluation of programmes' content on the other hand.

In terms of the communication effect, although there are many TV programmes about this heritage site and almost all the respondents said they had heard or watched TV programmes about the heritage site, half of the respondents could not recall even one TV programme that had left a deep impression on them. This reflects the fact that the communication effect of TV programmes about this heritage site is not good. Local managers directly expressed their dissatisfaction with the effect of TV programmes, believing that the return-on-investment ratio for making TV programmes is relatively low. Zaibin Sun and Li Zhu, who work at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, were interviewed at the same time. Zaibin Sun said:

> Qufu was communicated on CCTV, Shandong TV, The Public Daily and other media. In the past two years, we are doing less publicity because the publicity effect is not good, while the cost is relatively high.

Zaibin Sun believes that the effect of TV communication cannot reach the expected return-on-investment ratio. Li Zhu gave an example:

> Once, Qufu was represented in a programme *China Village Tour* on CCTV Agriculture and Science Channel. It was shot for several days in Qufu, but there was no reaction

[attention, discussion or else] after the broadcast.

In terms of the content of TV programmes, some of the respondents said that some programmes were well shot. For example, Ms Wang, a tour guide, thought the movie *Confucius* was good and that the performance of the leading actor were impressive. Ms Kong, a local resident, said that the live TV specials of the Qufu Confucius Ceremony shot by CCTV were good shows.TV journalists Yunrui Tang and Shizhong Hu said that some of the documentaries shot by CCTV have incomparable advantages over local TV stations in terms of technology, equipment, and funds. The pictures they shoot are more beautiful and more sophisticated. Despite these positive comments, respondents made significantly more negative comments about TV programmes. Regarding how to evaluate the programmes about the heritage site, Shuguang Chen, who works at the Communication Department of Qufu Municipal Committee, said many people don't watch them. He doesn't think these programmes satisfy the needs of the audience. He points out the following:

> TV programmes, especially documentaries, have shown history more than real life. They prefer to tell stories that are very old and long ago. The combination of the programmes with modern life is not flexible.

He mentioned that there used to be a professor named Dan Yu who was popular about 10 years ago. He thinks the reason why Dan Yu was so popular at that time is that she brought Confucian culture into our lives:

> If a TV programme can present storytelling and easy-to-accept content, it will not only attract wider audiences but also not undermine its seriousness, and it doesn't make much sense to introduce the historical origins of the heritage site as they are already shown in the history books.

Shuguang Chen is responsible for the publicity work of Qufu Municipal Committee. He has a lot of thoughts about the publicity for this World Heritage Site. He pointed out that the communication of information about the heritage site is conservative and old-fashioned and need to be innovative, and puts forward many innovative ideas. Shuguang Chen believes that the media should not only focus on the 'most important' and 'most famous' cultural heritage, but should expand the scope of the subjects that are represented. He has put forward a point of view which argues that the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion are equivalent to the moon in Qufu. He wished there were more "stars" to match the "moon". He described this as follows:

> It is the only one in the world and attracts many medias to come. However, even if its influence is so large that people all over the world know it, it is still only one point and it is only an ancient cultural heritage. It is even a modern heritage based on ancient times. Actually, the beauty of Qufu is more than just the heritage site. Since last year, I have tried to recommend to some of the media companies that they explore some of the less famous aspects of Qufu. The purpose is to let them come to Qufu, rather than just ask to go to the WHS to have a look, but to discover more points and give me feedback: something new has been found in some places, can we combine it with this WHS? It is hoped that the media presents to the public a comprehensive Qufu, rather than discovering that Qufu only relies on this WHS. Now when many of my friends coming from the south of China talk about Qufu, and they only know this WHS and don't know anything else about this city. They have a point of view that I have argued with for a long time: Qufu seems to be famous, but in fact nobody wants to visit it.

In addition to local managers, tour guides and home stay operators have also expressed dissatisfaction with the content of existing TV programmes. Ms Wang, a tour guide, made the following comment:

> The documentaries were too rigid. ... At least it should speak everyday language. ... Speaking in official words, common people do not understand.

Mr Lin, a B&B manager, said:

> Generally speaking, the content of the programme is ok, but still too simple for tourists. For example, there is a ceremony of opening the city gate in Qufu, you can take a closer look at what's in the ceremony [TV programmes can represent this]. The content of current TV programmes is too simple and monotonous.

According to these statements, in terms of both the effect and the content of TV programmes, the power of the TV media does not appear to be effectively managed for mutual benefit. In addition to respondents' dissatisfaction with the programmes, local managers and TV programme producers also talked about how they are seeking ways to change the communication situation. TV programme producers have the desire to change. Yunrui Tang has been in the media industry for less than 2 years and has made some programmes on this heritage site. In the interview, she mentioned the word creativity many times. She said that at the beginning they made the programme about the Ceremony for Confucius and only filmed the grand scene and interviewed tourists. But for the ceremony in 2018, they began to change. They interviewed performers, asking them questions like "why do you choose this kind of dance? what is special about it?". In addition, they filmed and introduced the preparations before the ritual ceremony at 9 o'clock in the morning, including explaining how to place sacrifices, the reasons for giving the sacrifices, their origin, and their special features. The host and the guest of the programme walked while introducing information and telling some stories

about the Ceremony. Because their team members are relatively young, they hoped that they would not be confined to the old model but could learn and draw on good ideas from other high-quality programmes. From her description, it can be seen that she and her colleagues try to seek changes through elements such as ‘details’, an ‘intimate attitude’, and ‘personal modes of communication’. The staff of Qufu TV station present two different working attitudes: one is like that of Yunrui Tang and the team she mentioned, who have a positive attitude, seeking innovation, and the other is a negative attitude, which repeats the existing pattern during the work. The reasons for these two different attitudes may be related to factors such as age, number of years worked, education level, and whether or not a staff member has received any professional education in media.

Local officials, in addition to TV programme producers, also mentioned some ideas concerning how to make innovative TV programmes about the heritage site. The ideas regarding making changes are mainly as follows: transform the attention from architectures to culture and people; do not just tell the history but also combine it with real life, combine it with entertainment factors, and build a comprehensive representation of this city by digging up things besides the World Heritage Site. Some of these goals are relatively easy to achieve, such as shooting more real-life elements rather than history. However, there are also some ideas which are not easy to implement at present due to the constraints of the management system. Although audiences welcome original and diverse forms and content, in the short term, in the field of cultural heritage in China, the public does not think it is a good option to present conflicts and content that is different from the mainstream. This is consistent with the public perception of the heritage (see section 6.2).

I think there are four reasons for the fact that, as the interviewees said, the representations of cultural heritage on television media are unsatisfactory. First of all, it seems that there is a

wealth of channels, rich content, and many forms of media. However, the statements made in TV programmes are basically identical and the perspectives and content are not rich, which may account for the poor communication effect. Ms Kong, a local resident, mentioned that she watched the live TV special of the Qufu Confucius Ceremony shot by CCTV in 2017, which she thought was very good, but she stopped watching the live TV special of Qufu Confucius Ceremony in 2018. She said that it is the same every year and she doesn't want to repeat watching them. In reference to the homogeneous character of TV programmes, Huiyin Jiang who works at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, said:

> In terms of homogeneity, about 50 per cent of TV programmes are homogenous. No matter how TV programmes are shot, the World Heritage Site is the core of the programme. They may be different in the way of expression, in the mode of editing, or in the thread of narrative, but they cannot move away from the core of the World Heritage Site.

The homogeneous character is one of the reasons for the poor communication effect of TV programmes. In light of the previous analysis of the interviews, it can be seen that television stations are obviously not independent of the government and that the process of the media's representation of cultural heritage is relatively clearly dominated by the mainstream. These phenomena have confirmed the assertion held by Curran (2002): although public television has declined, the fragmentation proposed by some scholars has not yet appeared. Katz (1996) believes that the flood of television channels has led to the division and fragmentation of the public. Kats argues that television is no longer a public space, and except for in relation to occasional media events, the entire country no longer gets together. In this regard, Curran (2002) believes that despite the decline of public television, the phenomenon of fragmentation proposed by some scholars has not yet appeared. Judging from the status quo in China, even

with a large number of television stations, the output of each television station is virtually the same and the public is not yet fragmented. The 'state mission' that public service television has emphasised has prevented it from adapting to the diversified environment which is needed for its healthy operation.

Secondly, the needs of the audience have changed, and television programmes have failed to adapt in time to meet the requirements of the audience. Unlike in the 1980s and 1990s, Chinese people nowadays have greater desires for freedom and diversity (Dychtwald, 2018), which is described as an increase in demands for cultural pluralism in the past decade. Dychtwald (2018) describes "freedom in China" like this:

> Freedom was in many ways a buzzword that cropped up in all my conversations, friendships, travels, adventures, meetings, and even dates in China. Young people craved freedom…… The freedom most young Chinese people craved was …… freedom from an impossibly demanding set of cultural traditions and expectations, as well as the freedom to determine their own fate.
>
> (Dychtwald, 2018:252-253)

Evidently, the television system inherited from an era that advocated quotas and patriarchal management can no longer keep up with the 'new era' (Hall, 1988b; Hall & Jacques, 1989; McRobbie, 2003; Curran, 2002). Huiyin Jiang, who works at the Qufu Culture and Tourism Bureau, believes that along with the development of the tourism industry over the last decade or so, tourists' requirements of tourism have changed:

> Besides taking a look at the magnificent buildings, they also want to learn about the traditional culture, such as Confucius' thoughts and Confucius' personal story. Although it is hard, I hopes that the media could innovate as much as they can. If there

> is not any change, it might have a limited audience. Because if most programmes are documentary and news, not all the audiences like these kinds of programmes. Films and variety shows have wider audiences, which I think programme producers can have a try at.

Through interviews, it was found that most of the groups of people were dissatisfied with the content of TV programmes. In other words, the current TV programmes can no longer meet the needs of the audience.

Thirdly, this heritage site was well known before it was represented on television, which may be one of the reasons why TV programmes are not actively improving. According to the interviews, the influence of television media is not dominant among all means of representation. In this case, it can be seen that the dominant power is the network system of school education, rather than any kind of media. Huiyin Jiang, who works at the Qufu Culture and Tourism Bureau, mentioned that a strong foundation is made by basic education (there is content about Confucianism in the textbooks used by Chinese primary schools and middle schools) even without efforts to promote it.

In the interviews, some of the local staff expressed a negative attitude towards the publicity regarding Qufu. When asked whether the Qufu Culture and Tourism Bureau had considered online promotion, Zaibin Sun, who is a deputy director of the Qufu City Culture and Tourism Bureau, replied “no”, and said:

> According to the opinion of the municipal leaders, this heritage site basically does not need to be publicised, and its fame has already been great.

This World Heritage Site had already been famous before it was represented on television, and, coupled with the low return-on-investment ratio of filming this heritage site as well as the

restrictions of the TV media system, the communication of information about this WHS on television naturally become less dynamic and was slow to change. And this phenomenon creates a vicious circle.

Finally, due to the management system of TV media, many TV programmes are shot not to meet the needs of the market, a particular audience, but to complete tasks. This has also become one of the reasons why local managers and TV programme producers do not seek breakthroughs in television communication. Almost all of the interviewees who work at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, the Publicity Department of Qufu Municipal Committee, and the Qufu television station mentioned that a lot of programmes are related to government tasks. The impulse to embed an external meaning into the heritage site and the intention to sing the praises of traditional culture can be found in the interviews and in the TV representation of the cultural heritage, which aims to shape the national and ethnic identity but not the cultural identity of a certain group, such as young people who are active on social media. As Curran (2002) points out, from the perspective of the development of the British newspaper industry, commercial newspapers actively shape the social identity of the middle class while radical newspapers establish the class identity of the working class. Acquiring the approval of a certain group means acquiring influence over it (Curran, 2002). In recent years, several TV programmes on cultural heritage have been successful in China, largely because they have been produced to fit the preferences and cultural identity of the youth, such as *National Treasure*, *Masters in Forbidden City*, and *The Great Wall* (Jiang, Li, 2016; Zhang, 2017). In contrast, the TV representation of the World Heritage Site in Qufu focuses more on the identity of the country and the nation. The shaping of group identity isn't paid enough attention, which is one of the reasons why those TV programmes received a low level of attention.

The above-mentioned points are the reasons for the unsatisfactory TV representation of cultural heritage. Despite the phenomena described above, TV representation is yet to end in China. In this case study, in the area of cultural heritage, the internet, as a new media, has not had the vitality that people expected. Curran (2002) holds the view that the internet provides enormous opportunities and serves to complement television programmes with more in-depth and more detailed information and concurrently supplies audiences with new forms of exposure to the media and interaction with it. Nevertheless, in this case study, the internet has not shown the same vigour in the field of representing cultural heritage as in other fields. Few interviewees, no matter which group they belong to, mentioned using the internet to obtain information about heritage sites. The television stations are just a form of existence. If the power behind them and the mechanism that operates their power remain unchanged, the essence of the power will remain the same and the television stations can merely make a change in their form, such as integrating a television and a network or changing a broadcast platform to a network platform or having more programmes produced by commercial companies. The internet is a space of memory and also a space of forgetfulness. What is more, there is capital behind the suppressed most-searched topics and the deleted Weibo postings; these memories would fade even faster. The internet seems to be free, but in reality, there is power manipulating backstage as well.

It seems that television has been abandoned because young people have shifted their interest from television to the internet. However, the power mechanism of TV media has not been abandoned. The choices made by young people are only the results of their pursuit of entertainment and the convenience brought by technology. Therefore, although this mode of power operation has just gone through a technical reform, the form of the power can be maintained. Although television has declined, the power/management system behind it is still stable. Some TV programmes about the Forbidden City, the Great Wall and cultural relics that are combined with entertainment elements and the participation of these young people's

favourite stars have received high audience ratings and the approval of young people, which is strong evidence that the current power mechanism of TV representations is still stable.

6.5 The Management Dilemma of TV Representation of the World Heritage Site

The interviewees answered a question about what the label 'a World Heritage Site' brings to Qufu. By analysing the answers of the interviewees, the opinions of the interviewees will be elaborated in two parts: the impact of the World Heritage Site nomination on Qufu and the management dilemma. This section explores how respondents answered the following two questions: what impact does the label of a World Heritage Site have? In what aspects (tourism, economy, city development, residents' life) and at what levels (individual, city, country, international) are these impacts reflected? In the interviews, one point of view was that the label World Heritage Site has little substantial impact beyond an impact on reputation. Although respondents believe that the value of World Heritage Sites lies at the national level, most local residents think that the city and local residents share the pride of being a World Heritage Site. Several respondents mentioned the impact of the World Heritage Site label on several aspects, such as the local economy, local tourism, and the opportunities for the heritage site to be represented in media. But in contrast, the World Heritage Site label has little substantial impact beyond an impact on reputation, which was highlighted in the interviews.

Ms Wang, a tour guide, believes that the heritage site has a lot to do with the people around Qufu. One of the benefits is the growth of tourism, which boosts the revenue of local government. Ms Wang said that without Confucius and the heritage site, Qufu would not be a city. It need to be noted that Ms Wang was referring to the impact of the heritage site, not the impact of being a World Heritage Site. Ms Wang's view is a common one in the local community. According to local residents, they all know that this heritage site is rated as a World

Heritage Site, but they don't know much about world heritage except that they are proud of this 'label' which makes them feel 'certified'. When the 'label' World Heritage Site was mentioned, they took the initiative to mention other tags, like '5A-level scenic spot' and 'national clean city'. In their opinion, the meaning of these labels for the city is almost the same. They even focus more on the label of 'national clean city', because they think that in order to get this label, the government made great efforts to clean up the environment and their living conditions became better as a result. This shows that local residents believe that being named a World Heritage Site brings only honour, but no real benefits.

The same point of view is also held by tour guides and some local managers. Tour guides and travel agencies have contact with tourists directly, and they have an intuitive understanding of tourists. The number of visitors and the reputation of the heritage site are their concerns. Judging from the expressions of the tour guides, the label 'World Heritage Site' is very important and makes them proud. However, the label is more like a 'certification' and has little other meaning beyond that. Several tour guides mentioned a phenomenon: when they told tourists that this site was a 'World Heritage Site' and a '5A-level scenic spot', tourists generally showed more interests in the latter tag and felt that the '5A-level scenic spot' was worth the ticket price. Little attention has been paid to 'world heritage'.

A few respondents felt there were substantial benefits to being named a World Heritage Site. Only one of them mentioned the impact of being named a World Heritage Site on city development and the economy. Yan Zhang, who works in the Communication Department of Qufu's Municipal Committee, said that the preservation of the World Heritage Site has limited the city's investment and economic development to some extent, when talking about the impact of being a World Heritage Site on Qufu. She regards it as a positive influence:

> There are few tall buildings in Qufu, especially in the urban area. No building more than

> three stories is allowed within a certain area of the city, which means it cannot be higher than the DaCheng Hall in Temple of Confucius. So, the impact on urban construction is profound. This is one of the reasons that the development of Qufu is at relatively slow pace. In addition to urban construction, in terms of industrial economy, we cannot bring in some industries that have an impact on cultural relics and the entire urban environment. Therefore, different from the surrounding cities, we tend to introduce cultural and educational business rather than industries, especially heavy industries, such as machinery manufacturing, which can easily cause pollution. This has a relatively large impact on economic construction. But I think this heritage site has a positive impact on the city including the ecological environment and local community in the long run.

Huiyin Jiang, who works for the Qufu City Culture and Tourism Bureau, believes that being named a World Heritage Site increases the chances of being represented in the media:

> A lot of media still is attracted by its reputation as a World Heritage Site. They plan some topics in the early stage, and assess which place is worth shooting. If there is a place that is also a county-level city like Qufu, but doesn't have a World Heritage Site, they won't go there and will definitely gravitate towards the place with the label of a World Heritage Site.

Jinying Zhang, who works at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, believes that aside from boosting reputation, being named a World Heritage Site is a booster for local tourism:

> I think the positive effect is that the more famous it is the more people are likely to come to visit. At least for domestic tourists from all over the country, it will be paid more attention, and some overseas visitors will come as well.

However, beyond the impact on the tourism industry, Jinying Zhang said it is not clear what the impact will be in other ways:

> At present, China is still pursuing a number of World Heritage Sites. After the World Heritage Sites are designated, how much can they promote a certain field or something in China? I don't know, I haven't felt any positive or direct impact on China, which can be seen in three or five years.

Mr Lin, the owner of a B&B in Qufu, said:

> This heritage site is certainly important to the whole country.……the "world heritage" label had no impact on any aspect of my life other than the income. If I don't run this B&B, then the label doesn't affect me at all.

Jinying Zhang, who manages cultural relics in Qufu, and Mr Lin, who runs a B&B, point to the fact that tourism and the economy benefit from the World Heritage Site label. However, Qufu's officials who are responsible for tourism do not see it that way. Li Zhu and Zaibin Sun, who are in charge of tourism management at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, believe that the title World Heritage Site has little impact on Qufu's tourism, and not as much as the title 5A Scenic Area, which is awarded by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in China. During the fieldwork, I interviewed Li Zhu and Zaibin Sun at the same time. Here is their conversation on this topic:

> Li Zhu: I think being a World Heritage Site has little influence on tourism. This heritage site is designated with many titles, I'll definitely see if it's a grade-A Scenic Area in the first place.
>
> Zaibin Sun added: The 5A Scenic Area corresponds to the tourist market. Domestic tourists identify 5A Scenic Area with high-standard services. So, tourists will choose a

scenic spot with a title of 5A Scenic Area, not a World Heritage Site.

Li Zhu: Yes, few tourists will choose a scenic spot because it's a World Heritage Site, unless they are experts in the field of cultural relics. But this group is quite small.

The respondents interviewed have different views on whether being listed as a World Heritage Site would boost tourism. It could be argued that the views of the managers in charge of tourism in Qufu are more in line with the facts. The opinions of other respondents who are not responsible for tourism management may be based on their subjective speculation. Although some of the respondents' opinions may be subjective speculation, they still matter when those views are more consistent with those of the public. Overall, although several respondents mentioned the positive effects of being a World Heritage Site, it was reputation and pride rather than any substantial impact that the World Heritage Site label brings, which was the dominant opinion of the groups interviewed. Because this site was already well-known before it was named a World Heritage Site, the influence that the World Heritage Site label brings is not obvious, or is difficult to measure. This could explain why only a few of the TV programmes have a sentence or two referring to the World Heritage Site label and there is no more interaction with it.

In the interviews, another important point was raised, which was that the label World Heritage Site brings more management pressure and difficulties for managers. This is a prominent point, and almost all the local managers mentioned that the World Heritage Site nomination put pressure on the local staff, which has left local staff with mixed feelings about 'media representations of cultural heritage'. The influence of the media is both positive and negative. In this case study, through the interviewees' words, we can see their recognition of the power of the media. On the one hand, considering the possible negative effects of the media, they are afraid of the media because they think the media is not always under their control. On the other

hand, regarding the positive influence of the media, the communication effect of the media is not satisfactory. This situation puts the dissemination of information about cultural heritage in an awkward position: both love and fear of the media cause a low level of efficiency of media usage. Local staff admit the power of media. In the meantime, they worry about the difficulty of controlling public opinion.

I think there are two possible reasons for this phenomenon. Firstly, 'fame' and 'labels' put pressure on the local department. Moreover, the Chinese government has recognised and attached importance to Confucianism. This heritage site is the birthplace of Confucianism, which has brought more attention. In addition, labels such as 'world cultural heritage' have made it more important and famous. These seemingly positive factors in turn put pressure on the local department to be more cautious when facing the media. Several interviewees made the following relevant statements about this point of view. Zaibin Sun, who is a deputy director of the Qufu City Culture and Tourism Bureau, mentioned an example:

> CCTV's Mid-Autumn Festival Gala in 2018 was shot in Nishan, Qufu, where there is a statue of Confucius that is the highest in the world. The statue of Confucius was not filmed. This should be taken into account the consideration of public opinion. The media would think about these questions: is it controversial for them to report the biggest statue of Confucius to the outside world? After all, traditional culture has two sides [there are parts that we agree with and parts that we don't agree with], what we need to promote is excellent traditional culture [the parts that we agree with]. Should other aspects of traditional culture also be reported? Does filming this statue mean your approval of all the thoughts of Confucius and this commercial [a sensitive element that needs to be treated with caution] project? People are indeed cautious when the information about the heritage site is publicised.

Local staff consider one of the reasons why the locals are more cautions of public opinions of the heritage site is that the label 'World Heritage Site' puts a lot of pressure on them. Jinying Zhang, who works at the Qufu Culture and Tourism Bureau, noted as follows:

> If there is any problem about the World Heritage Site, locals will be under great pressure. During the period that this site was not a World Heritage Site, the problems might be solved within Shandong province or even within Qufu. After this site became a World Heritage Site, in such a society with an advanced information network, negative news might make international influence within 30 minutes or even 10 minutes. So we must conduct good management in ordinary times, including taking some forewarning measures.

Secondly, the conservative thinking of local staff is also related to the region. Qufu is a county-level city, which means local departments are in lower-level administrative positions. In addition, the development speed of the economy, culture, and other aspects is relatively slow in Qufu compared with other cities in China, which leads to the conservative thinking of local staff. Compared with the Forbidden City and the Great Wall in Beijing, which has participated in entertainment programmes frequently in recent years and become an 'internet celebrity' among young people, this site in Qufu is obviously conservative in its use of media. Many interviewees acknowledged the resistance to entertainment programmes, thinking that this is a problem caused by the social environment and related to some deep-rooted ideas. They also pointed out that some changes were needed. Here is how Shuguang Chen described the conservative behaviour of local staff:

> There are some deep-rooted thoughts in our mind. Leaders often resist the connection between heritage sites and entertainment. For example, Zhejiang TV made a programme last year, explaining the same poem in different places in Mainland China and Taiwan.

> At that time, the leaders were very unwelcoming to Zhejiang TV for filming and did not want Qufu to get involved in issues about Taiwan.

However, the programme was not rejected in the end. After watching this programme, Shuguang Chen thought the programme was good, and he pointed out that it would be found that the consequences were not as serious as imagined. For local managers, the label World Heritage Site brings more management pressure, which in turn leads them to adopt a conservative approach to management. Regarding communication via the medium of TV, local managers lack the courage to change, and put more energy into regulation. Although some local officials hope to make a breakthrough, there are still many difficulties to overcome in order to make a change.

6.6 Conclusion

The previous chapter and this chapter are the analytical parts of the study. The previous chapter analysed television programmes that represent the World Heritage Site and discovered a pattern of representing a World Heritage Site on television. This chapter analyses in-depth interviews with various local groups of people in Qufu and explains the reasons behind the pattern of representation as well as how the management system has influenced the communication of information about a World Heritage Site.

The analysis of this chapter is divided into four parts. Firstly, I analyse how local managers and TV programme producers evaluate the content of TV programme representations and the reasons behind them. Through the analysis of this content, we can understand how the public understand world heritage and how it is communicated. The public's views mainly fall into the following categories: heritage is positive, the core of heritage representation should be cultural connotations, the value of world heritage is reflected at the national level, and heritage is a

serious subject. On the other hand, negative factors and views that could give rise to conflict are excluded from TV representation. This is the consensus of different groups of people.

Secondly, this chapter discusses how the transmission of information about the World Heritage Site is regulated and what roles the market and the government play in it. Through the analysis, it was found that in many cases, TV programmes about the heritage site are not market-oriented. Compared with market-oriented programmes, TV programmes about Qufu are more guided and regulated by the government. It can be concluded from the analysis of these interviews that all the influencing factors are built under the premise that the government is in power, while other factors will only be effective when they are not in conflict with the power of the government. In addition, this section also explores the issue that although local managers have implemented the relevant regulation, they believe that such regulation is passive and looks like a formality. Through the analysis of this phenomenon, it was found that the work of the local managers of the heritage site and the TV programme producers is limited by the government's management system to some extent. They cannot fully use their initiative and their work cannot adapt well to the needs of the public and the market.

Thirdly, this chapter also analyses the evaluation of various groups of people on the TV representation of the heritage site. From the analysis of this part, it can be seen that the TV communication effect of the heritage site is not good, and most of the respondents express their dissatisfaction with the content of TV programmes. Although the interviewees put forward many ideas to improve the content of TV programmes, these ideas cannot break through the limitations of the public's understanding of the value and dissemination of world heritage. In addition, under the current social system and government management system, this mode of management is stable at present.

Finally, this chapter analyses the impact of the World Heritage Site nomination and the management pressure placed on local managers. Overall, the World Heritage Site label is more about fame and pride rather than substantial effects, which is a prominent point in the interviews. This perspective helps us understand why, after being nominated to be a World Heritage Site, there is a lack of interaction with the World Heritage Site in television programmes. In addition, this section discusses the pressure placed on local management by the designation of a World Heritage Site, which leads to more conservative management of communication of information about the site and also affects the effect of the dissemination of information about the heritage site. This is one of the reasons why the content of TV programmes representing the World Heritage Site is conservative and lacks innovation.

On the one hand, the analysis of the in-depth interviews in this chapter echoes the analysis of TV programmes in the previous chapter, explaining the processes and motivations behind these TV programmes. On the other hand, this chapter also analyses how the government's management system and the public's awareness of world heritage affect the representation of world heritage. The analyses in these two chapters echo and complement each other, jointly responding to my research aim and objectives. The next chapter will summarise the phenomena described and analysed in these two chapters.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

Heritage sites exist within a heavily mediated world and are increasingly 're-presented' through various types of media. Heritage relies on being represented for many reasons, such as tourism, communication, education, management and engagement with the communities who are connected with it. In current times, very few heritage sites can escape media attention and many sites desire media attention. World Heritage Sites arguably attract more media attention, particularly if they have symbolism for other purposes. Moreover, the process of representation is open to 'misrepresentation' and distention and is subject to multiple readings by different audiences. It was against this background that I began my research. My research has examined the role of television in the representation of a World Heritage Site in China through a case study of the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu. When the World Heritage Site is represented and communicated, its value is created and disseminated, which in turn has an impact on all aspects of the heritage site, such as tourism, conservation and management. Hence, in addition to exploring television representation, this study discusses the impact of television representation on the heritage site and the relationship between media production and heritage site management. The following objectives will make the answers to the research aim more comprehensive and in depth.

1. To examine the current situation concerning television representation of World Heritage Sites;

2. To explore the influence of TV representations on World Heritage Sites;

3. To understand the relationships between media production and heritage site management.

Corresponding to these three research objectives, this chapter is divided into three parts to present my research conclusions. Firstly, I summarise the current situation of television representation of the World Heritage Site through the elaboration of three themes. The first theme is 'selection and bias in television representation of heritage'. The representation of the World Heritage Site is the reconstruction of its meaning and significance. The content of this theme introduces the rules and modes of TV representation of heritage, which involve various selections, including the content of the representation, the language of narration, the scenes filmed, and the techniques used for shooting. These selections reflect the bias of administrators and TV programme producers, which helps to understand how they understand the meaning of the World Heritage Site and how they supervise and censor the process of meaning making. The second theme is 'authorised representation and obscured reality'. Through the analysis, it is found that the representation of this World Heritage Site has the same characteristics as the concept of AHD proposed by Smith (2006). This representation is a national narrative that is in line with the purpose of strengthening the ideology of the administration, that is, the government. Moreover, TV programmes legitimise the authorised representation through moral and harmonious narration. In this process, various groups in society do not show an obvious conflict of views and contention regarding the meaning of heritage, which is different from the research conclusions of several other Chinese scholars. In addition, the reasons for this difference are further analysed. The third theme is the 'world heritageness of Qufu'. After it was nominated as a World Heritage Site, there was little interaction between the TV representation of this heritage site and world heritage. The reasons for this phenomenon were analysed. The previous three themes jointly describe the current situation of television

representation of the World Heritage Site from different perspectives. The second part of this chapter analyses the influence of TV representations on the heritage site. There is usually an assumption that television media representation will attract more attention of the public and promote tourism. This study shows that this is not always the case. This part elaborates the communication effect of television representation and the limited influence of television representation on the World Heritage Site. The third part of this chapter analyses the relationships between media production and heritage site management. The management of the World Heritage Site of Qufu is relatively strict. Therefore, the administrators seem to take the initiative to publicise the heritage site to a large extent. In fact, they have many 'negative' and 'passive' feelings in the management process. Moreover, this management mode also affects media products to some extent, making media products lack innovation and vitality driven by the audience market. In other words, under the current management system, the power of the media is recognised but as yet it does not appear to be effectively managed for mutual benefit. The interaction between media production and heritage site management still leaves a lot of room for improvement. In addition, this chapter also summarises the limitations of this study and future research opportunities.

There is a wide category of media that represent heritage sites. Although, increasingly, attention is given to social media, television maintains its influential power in China. Television media started late in China compared with in Western countries, developed rapidly in scale and has become one of the most popular mass media in China. It has been introduced in the context chapter that the burgeoning online media are subject to the same kind of government scrutiny and censorship as television stations. In fact, some new media management systems can be regarded as the continuation of television management systems. This suggests that it would seem that although the composition of traditional television stations and the livestreaming platforms for distributing content have experienced some changes, the power that they have

and the scrutiny of them have not altered much. Therefore, through the analysis of TV programmes, we can see how government represents and interprets a World Heritage Site to domestic audiences and how the media management system affects the representation of heritage sites. The analysis of TV programmes provides a good perspective for the research on the representation of heritage and enriches the research theory of heritage representation.

7.2 Selection and Bias in Television Representation of World Heritage

Heritage is "a process of engagement, an act of communication and an act of making meaning in and for the present" (Smith, 2006:1). As discussed in literature review chapter, people choose heritage in order to use it for today's society. Some scholars argue that heritage refers to those things that society wishes to inherit, which means that inheritance is selective (Ashworth, 1995; Cassia, 1999; Dicks, 2000; McCrone, 1995). The representation of heritage is the reconstruction of the significance of the heritage, which reflects the understanding and utilisation of heritage by its administrators. Through the analysis of TV programmes, we can find the rules and the mode of representation of the World Heritage Site used by TV media, which is helpful to understand how administrators understand the meaning of the World Heritage Site and how they supervise and censor the process of meaning making.

The TV representation of the World Heritage Site follows certain rules and modes, which involve various selections, including the content of the representation, the language of narration, the scenes filmed, and the techniques used for shooting. These selections reflect the bias of administrators and TV programme producers, which may come from their limited understanding of heritage, their purpose of using heritage to strengthen ideology, or from programme producers' occupational habits. For example, as Tunbridge and Ashworth (2010) argue, heritage is always seen as positive and the content of the TV representation of the World Heritage Site is always positive. Furthermore, the words used in the narration are all positive,

such as ‘fine’, ‘noble’, ‘sublime’ and ‘magnificent’, whereas negative vocabulary, or even ‘the ordinary reality’, are not be shown. From interviews with local managers, TV programme producers and the public, it is found that the positive representation is consistent with the views of the public on the representation of heritage. All respondents, regardless of which group of people they are from, agreed that the representation of the heritage site should be positive. In addition, the representation of the heritage site in TV programmes always focuses on cultural connotations. As discussed in Chapter 5 (5.3 The Built Environment Represented in the TV Programmes), the architectural objects which are represented in the TV programmes are not targeted as objects because of their intrinsic artistic value, but are selected for their association with Confucius and Confucianism. Nor does the representation focus on the architecture itself, such as the aesthetics, construction and restoration, but rather on history, the life of Confucius, Confucianism, and the consequential influence of Confucianism on the Chinese people. In other words, heritage is seen as a material carrier of ideology. Similarly, in interviews, this was the consensus among various groups: each group agreed that the focus of television representation should be on the cultural connotation of the heritage site. In a particular social culture, the public’s understanding of world heritage has certain limitations, which in turn affects the representation of the World Heritage Site. Therefore, these ‘biases’ may be unconscious and stem from the public’s ideological limitations regarding understanding world heritage within a particular social culture.

In addition to analysing the content represented by TV programmes, this study also analysed the omitted representations. Through the analysis of TV programmes and interviews with local managers and programme producers, we can find out what content is not represented by TV and the reasons behind this. These findings also reflect the understanding and utilisation of world heritage by administrators. Through the analysis, it was found that content not represented by TV programmes also follows certain rules. As analysed in Chapter 5, television

programmes are selective in their representation of heritage history. The periods in history when this heritage site was questioned are rarely introduced. Criticisms of and controversies concerning Confucianism in history, for example those during the Cultural Revolution that took place in the last century, are not the priority of the programme, and even when they are mentioned, they are briefly spoken about, with few narratives and without any commentary or details. This is a communication strategy which abandons the periods of history when interpretation of the heritage was different, makes the interpretation of heritage continuous and stable, and strengthens the way of creating an undiversified interpretation. As Labadi (2013: 71) says, "Traditions are important to associate the idea of the nation with that of symbolic stability. Different strategies have been used to identify the nominated property with such ideas of traditions and continuity." I think seeking stability is one reason that the TV programmes abandon the periods of history when interpretation of the heritage was different. Another reason is that the Chinese government's current assessment of the Cultural Revolution is that it was completely wrong in theory and practice (Ren, 2016). Statements about the mistake are not the focus of the TV programmes.

In addition to certain historical omissions, some negative content is not represented by TV programmes because it does not conform to local managers' and the public's understanding of the representation of heritage: 'heritage representation should be positive'. For example, in the in-depth interviews, there were local officials and TV programme producers who mentioned the screening of programme content: all the messy environment at the heritage site, the commercial elements of the site, the potentially politically sensitive topics, and views that are not in line with mainstream beliefs are not allowed to be shot. There is no content that emphasises business or profit in the programmes, because in Chinese society, money and profit often do not equate to a 'noble' character. Moreover, content that easily triggers social disputes and brings trouble to local managers of the heritage site is rarely shown in TV programmes.

For instance, some messy scenes at the heritage site, content involving entertainment elements, views inconsistent with the mainstream, and sensitive political topics are all likely to cause controversy and are treated with great caution by the local managers. Furthermore, the programmes do not cover issues such as those faced by the heritage site with regard to protection and conservation, the reality of whether or not more trouble is caused by excessive numbers of tourists, commercial elements within and outside the site, and other problems that exist, as they are not in line with the theme of the programmes. The objects represented in the programme, the filming techniques, and the explanatory language are all selected for a definite filming agenda.

As revealed by the analysis of television programmes and the in-depth interviews, the television programmes have been presented by the producers as what a producer/power holder wants to present through the selection of representational content and the choice of television language such as shots and text. By blocking out some of the facts that TV programme producers believe are not needed or should not be presented, they emphasise what they believe is worthy or desirable to the audience. And what is emphasised includes those parts that are divorced from historical facts and those that are detached from the perspective that a general audience can experience at the heritage site. In representing the heritage site, television programmes shape an obscured reality. As analysed in Chapter 5, the TV programmes present the heritage site that appears to be a reality but instead is the one that is detached from it. Through the language of numerous television shots, such as the use of panorama shots and high-angle as well as low-angle shots, the imagery of grandeur, spectacle and power is made possible. The light that is used during the representation of exceptional moments and the camera angles have been chosen to create an ethereal, stunning atmosphere. With a scene free of tourists and far from commerce, nobility and simplicity without distractions are formed as well. In addition to the language of the camera, the explanatory language of the programme

exhibits the qualities of a closed text, a fixed meaning, and a tendency to filter out true but ordinary descriptions. That would seem to be like installing a 'filter' on the language; the text is closed with the intention of creating a definitive meaning (see section 5.3.2).

It can be seen that the content of the TV representation of the heritage site is strictly supervised and censored by the local administrators, namely the government. In the in-depth interviews, for example, there were local officials and TV programme producers who mentioned that no filming organisation is allowed to enter the scenic area for filming without permission and that it is necessary to confirm with the local officials concerned and be granted permission before accessing the site. Such tight regulations have made it possible for the government to exert control over television programming. Moreover, for both state-owned television stations and local administrations, the production of programmes about heritage sites is arguably a political task rather than a market- or self-interest-driven documentation and interpretation of the society's culture. There is little freedom in the interpretation of heritage on the part of the producer under this system, which inevitably makes the cultural process of heritage interpretation become solidified and rigidified.

Alongside intentionally selective representations, there are also partly unintentional choices, with bias attributed to the programme makers because they live in a certain social culture or because they have gained experience in filming. In Chapter 6, the analysis shows that TV programme producers choose to shoot some scenes or light and shadow that are not easily seen by ordinary tourists because of their pursuit of 'beauty' and artistic quality in TV programmes. Such selection shows an occupational habit of media practitioners. In the field of heritage, which includes items such as heritage site brochures, and in the field of non-heritage, which includes elements such as Hollywood movies, there are media practitioners who are trying to make their works more 'beautiful', which is due to their professional habits. But in this study,

not all of the selection of positive aspects of heritage was due to occupational habits. More often, as mentioned earlier, it was a reflection of the public's perception of world heritage. The unconscious choices that develop as a result of living in a certain social culture can also illustrate how a society views and understands cultural heritage. The fact that television programmes choose to film buildings with a hyper-real perspective, for example, highlighting the 'spectacular' and 'beautiful' aspects of the heritage site and portraying it as having an entirely positive and flawless existence, may suggest that the government's and society's perception of cultural heritage is limited to an understanding of it as 'a great spiritual symbol of the nation and the people'. Heritage is perceived as material evidence and there is an undiversified and solidified understanding of it.

Through the analysis in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, it is found that the TV representation of the World Heritage Site in Qufu is an 'official', authorised representation that is under the supervision of the government. The interpretation of this heritage site is represented from a single perspective with a fixed meaning. Places/sites are only used as material and authoritative evidence of identity. China's symbolic approach to its heritage covers up some particular periods of history and ends up shaping a national narrative in its interpretation of the World Heritage Site on television. This 'official', authorised representation of heritage is not dynamic or diverse. On the one hand, the television representation of the heritage site conforms to the managers' and the public's understanding of heritage. On the other hand, the television representation of the heritage site also serves the official purpose of using heritage to reinforce ideology.

7.3 Authorised Representation and Obscured Reality

The representations of Confucius are analysed in Chapter 5: nearly half the programmes express the logic of understanding China through Confucius and Confucianism. In some ways,

those programmes portray Confucius as a spokesman for China and Chinese society. Furthermore, almost all of the programmes attempt to portray Confucius as a saint, representing his thoughts as a reference standard for words and actions that contain no errors. Through the way of 'canonising' a saint whose ideas are considered to represent the spirit of a nation, the image of the country is naturally represented as strong and powerful. In the meantime, whether or not the characters and plots represented are compatible with historical facts is not a concern of the programmes. As we saw in Chapter 5, for instance, information about the birth of Confucius and the preservation of Confucius' writings during the time of the persecution of Confucians is presented in a number of programmes which contain explicitly unrealistic mythology to illustrate the fact that Confucius stands out as unique and divine. Furthermore, members of the local communities featured in the programme are classified into two categories, one of which represents the transmission of 'family traditions'. For example, as introduced in Chapter 5, children and elderly people are often shown in some programmes, which reflects the significance of inheritance. Yet another category is to exhibit the legacy of Confucianism. The activities represented in the programmes are often combined with morality and Confucianism. By connecting the 'individual' 'family' and 'country' through the ideology and values expressed in 'Confucianism', the programmes generate an 'identity' that, ultimately, is directed towards a 'national narrative'. Arguably, the communication of information about the heritage site is therefore dominated by national narratives.

According to Zhao's theory (2006) on the positioning of Chinese television, it is the mouthpiece of the Party, the government and the people. Such statements classify television stations and their audience, the government and the public into groups in the same position and with the same perspective. However, in practice, the final decisions regarding the programmes are is still in the hands of the government, with TV stations and local staff working with the government to accomplish the expression of the will of the state, which has been discussed in

Chapter 6. According to Smith (2011), heritage is the moment or process of constructing or reconstructing sociocultural values and meanings in which we as individuals, communities or nations would find values and sociocultural meanings which could contribute to our understanding of the present, our identities and our physical and social environments. Smith (2011) argues that democratising heritage requires a large number of communities to drive how we think about heritage in new directions and that the way heritage has traditionally operated has silenced the voices of some communities. However, individual consciousness is to a large extent subordinated to collective consciousness in Chinese society at present.

The heritage site is utilised by the television media to reinforce the national myth. Through the dissemination of TV programmes, the state uses heritage sites as political tools to educate, manage and regulate national identity as well as civic value, taste and behaviour. As discussed by Smith (2011), the authorised heritage discourse brings about two consequences: different or opposite ways of understanding heritage are rejected; the knowledge and values that contribute to the formation of this discourse are continually legitimised. In Chapter 6, the fieldwork interviews confirm this phenomenon: different or opposite understandings of heritage are rejected by the television media. Since China's TV stations are state-run, it can be said that this is an authoritative discourse led by the state that is trying to shape the audience's/tourists' unified understanding of heritage sites. In this process, heritage becomes a tool for the consolidation of national identity in the form of material evidence.

Smith (2011) argues that people engage in 'critical identity construction' in the process of visiting heritage sites, which is the creation of heritage and meaning at the individual level. However, in my fieldwork interviews, I found that the process of audiences/tourists watching programmes or visiting the heritage site is a process of understanding national narratives in a traditional and patriotic way, a process of consolidating national identity without 'critical

identity construction'. None of the interviewees expressed dissatisfaction with or questioned the representations of a fixed, national, single perspective. This may be due to the principle of democratic centralism towards the individual in Chinese society. Sun (2015) points out that in today's China, it is not that the society will be completely self-reliant and no longer under the control of the state, as Marx (1998) said, but rather the opposite, that even the society itself will be 'nationalised'. Therefore, every 'individual' is part of the state (Sun, 2015:1280). The 'individual' obeys the dictates of his or her superiors and goes with the stream of society. He or she doesn't really take this seriously in his or her mind, but he or she doesn't strongly object to it either so as to maintain a tension-free relationship with the environment (Sun, 2015:1434). This is a reflection of the relationship between 'the individual, the collective and the state' that exists in Chinese society today (Sun, 2015). The values and ideologies of Chinese society have long been collective and national, not individual. It advocates uniformity and standards rather than encouraging individuals and diversity. This is also true in the area of cultural heritage. The interpretation of cultural heritage is dominated by the state/collective, with individuals rarely expressing different perceptions and rarely hearing the voices of a particular group.

There is a criticism in the West that cultural heritage is dominated by elites and represents the interests of elite groups. As Smith argues, "within the narrative of nation, the heritage discourse also explicitly promotes the experience and values of elite social classes" (Smith, 2006: 30). The phenomenon is different in China. Since there is no definite class in China, the contradiction between different class groups is not society's principal one. The opposite concept in Chinese society is that of the individual and the collective. In a society where individuals are subordinated to the interests of the collective, the interpretation of cultural heritage is bound to lack diverse perspectives and voices. This raises a number of problems; as Smith (2006 :30) puts it, "the heritage discourse, in providing a sense of national community, must, by definition, ignore a diversity of sub-national cultural and social experiences.

Ultimately, the discourse draws on too narrow a sense of experience of what heritage is and what it may mean to readily incorporate sub-national identities." In the current Chinese political system, it is difficult to achieve diversity of heritage representation.

My conclusion is different from that of some Chinese scholars. Yan (2015) examined the official discourse of Tulou, a Chinese World Heritage Site in Fujian province in China, and compared it to the Authorised Heritage Discourse defined by Smith (2006). He finds that while the former is the textual antithesis of the latter, which emphasises the harmony between humans' habitat and nature, in practice it is as hegemonic as the Western Authorised Heritage Discourse. He argues that "the Chinese harmony discourse tends to provide a single narrative for the site's value and privileges expert knowledge over local voices, while it empowers government by ignoring local residents' capability within heritage conservation" (Yan, 2015: 65). Yan (2015) points out that harmony discourses aimed at maintaining a harmonious society caused deep disharmony among the residents. I do not deny the existence of official representation and representation of harmony. I also agree with Yan (2015:65) that China's official representation "is as hegemonic as the Western authorised heritage discourse". Furthermore, Chinese officials tend "to provide a single narrative" about the value of the site, rather than local voices (Yan, 2015:65). However, in the TV representations of the heritage site in Qufu, different stakeholders showed no conflict of views or contention regarding the meaning of heritage; that is to say, there was no profound disharmony among the residents. On this point, I have different views from Yan (2015).

I think there may be two reasons for the difference between the Tulou site and the heritage site in Qufu. First, Confucianism has been running through China's education system for a long time, making the public accept the idea that Confucianism is what they should follow. And in the process of schooling, the public has bought into this national narrative. Second, this heritage

site belonged historically to the Kong family and belongs to the state and the public in modern times, but it has never belonged to a particular group of ordinary local residents. However, the Tulou site, studied by Yan (2015), is different. Some local residents still live in Tulou. Tulou belongs to these local residents and is directly related to their cultural inheritance, daily life and economic interests. Therefore, these local residents' understanding of the heritage site is bound to conflict with AHD, resulting in disharmony regarding heritage. Many scholars have discussed the differences in various aspects of heritage practice caused by the differences between eastern and Western societies. In fact, even within the same social system, the situation of different World Heritage Sites varies and cannot be generalised. This will be a future research opportunity and will be discussed in section 7.7.

7.4 The 'World Heritageness' of Qufu

Analysis of the TV programmes reviewed in Chapter 5 revealed a general lack of information regarding Qufu as a designated World Heritage Site. Despite being inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1994, the 'Outstanding Universal Value' of Qufu is not referred to. In other words, that which defines the site as being internationally significant is omitted from how the site is portrayed through the media of television. Beck (2006) points out, that a common paradox of world heritage lies in the tension between whether narratives convey national themes, often with ethnic or ideological agendas, and whether they convey transnational themes that attend to the 'universal' commonalities of these sites. Qufu is very much presented as a focal point for Confucianism and 'national sentiment'.

Even in the documentary *World Heritage in China*, there is little mention of the status of the site as a World Heritage Site; this is restricted to a single sentence in the form of a caption at the end of the programme: "Confucius Temple, Cemetery and Mansion in Qufu made the World Heritage List in December 1994." Moreover, in the other programmes analysed, the

label ‘World Heritage Site’ is mentioned in the narration in only one sentence or is not mentioned at all. This lack of attention to the site being a ‘global icon’ echoes Beck’s (2006) work; her study of travel guides for various European countries found that references to world heritage status were rarely mentioned.

At first sight it would seem strange that despite the opportunities that television coverage presents for heritage sites and China’s very active participation in the World Heritage Site process as a way of raising its cultural profile for a global audience, opportunities for conveying the international/’universal’ value of Qufu are not seized. However, all of the programmes that I examined were primarily made for and distributed to a domestic audience in China. Nevertheless, it appears that the value of communicating the ‘world heritageness’ to the rest of China through television is not a priority for production companies. In addition, it does not seem to be a priority for those involved at a local level in the promotion of the World Heritage Site. As discussed in Chapter 6 (page x), one member of staff from the Qufu Culture and Tourism Bureau referred to the fact that people were reluctant to finance TV programmes because previous investment in TV promotion had been costly but ineffective. Similarly, a reporter from Qufu TV emphasised that their programmes had a very limited reach and they did not have the finances to broadcast to wider audiences. Larger TV companies are well resourced and can reach a national audience but they still do not focus on the site having World Heritage Site status.

As discussed in Chapter 6, while the ‘World Heritage Site’ label is ‘desirable’ for local residents of Qufu, in practice the benefits of the label are not particularly substantial compared to other nationally awarded categorisations such as ‘National Hygienic City’ or, for tourists, the ‘China 5A National Scenic Area’ award. These more familiar indications of value ‘outrank’ the UNESCO designation. This is not uncommon, as has been identified, for instance, by

Wilkinson (1996), who examined tourist awareness of Yellowstone National Park in the USA and highlighted that few visitors were aware of the fact that it had World Heritage Site status.

Qufu has long been an important and well-visited cultural heritage site, even before it was inscribed on the World Heritage List, and it carries more weight as a national marker of heritage and identity. Consequently, domestic television programmes continue to focus on its longer-standing national symbolism and national recognition rather than its UNSECO designation. The overlooking of the site's transnational significance is not a problem for the local and provincial administration, particularly since its 'world heritageness' does not bring with it government funding directly. It could be argued that foregrounding Qufu's World Heritage Site status through the media would increase flows of visitors to the site, but this would entail more effective communication with the television production companies as to the meaning and significance of world heritage, and it remains unclear where the responsibility for such communication would lie.

It is clear from other studies that the exposure of cultural heritage sites, whether World Heritage Sites or not, though television programmes, can lead to increased exposure and thus increased levels of visiting. In most of these cases, the raising of the profile of the sites is not an outcome of strategy but a by-product of creative television production that is independent of state direction. It is also usually assisted by liberal and market-driven distribution of television programmes to international audiences. China's television output is directed in the main to its vast domestic audience through state-centred production.

My work on Qufu points to a critical issue in the post-designation period of World Heritage Site status regarding the communication of its recognised significance and specifically its 'Outstanding Universal Value'. Television programmes, particularly in China but also more generally, are an important instrument for communicating the World Heritage Site process and

label. However, as my work shows, they are not well utilised and are not seen to be stakeholders in the raising of awareness of the World Heritage Site system, as UNESCO would wish and as is enshrined in the World Heritage Convention. Arguably, China, which has significant state control of its broadcast media, would be in a strong position to raise its engagement with world heritage and communicate messages not just celebrating attainment but also about the opportunities for visiting and the need for effective site conservation and protection.

7.5 The Influence of TV Representations on the World Heritage Site

In the *Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, UNESCO states that "the States Parties to this Convention shall endeavor by all appropriate means, and in particular by educational and information programmes, to strengthen appreciation and respect by their peoples of the cultural and natural heritage" (Article 27, 1972). An abundance of examples have proven that television media has the potential to promote awareness and appreciation of world heritage. However, according to my research, the final presentation of the television programmes was not as well communicated as it could have been, and the producers and local administrators of the heritage sites expressed their dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of the television media, or rather all media, in promoting it.

In Chapter 6, evaluations of the effectiveness of TV representation by local tourism officials, publicity departments, television programme producers and tourists in Qufu have been presented. In the case of the tourism sector, it was reluctant to keep investing further in TV media campaigns because the initial inputs were costly but did not deliver effective results. Given that we are talking about a tourism sector, the effective results referred to would mainly be an increase in visitor counts. In contrast, local publicity departments have different demands and priorities from the tourism sector and are more concerned with programme content and the communication effects. Likewise, they expressed their dissatisfaction with the programmes and

suggested some strategies for improvement. For example, they think television programmes should "integrate with real life" and "tell stories of ordinary people" rather than "always tell history". They also mentioned that as times have changed, the audience and tourists have developed different demands on the programme. They believe that television programmes about this heritage site need to innovate and expand the scope of the audience. Therefore, the local managers' evaluation of the effect of the television programmes and the fact that few audiences could recall certain exact programmes indicate that the communication effect of TV programmes about this heritage site is not satisfactory. In the case of Qufu, the power of the media is recognised but as yet it does not appear to be effectively managed for mutual benefit. As a result, the influence of TV representations on the heritage site is very limited.

The reason for this situation is related to China's television system. China's television media is state-owned. Although advertising revenue has become the main revenue mode of each programme, at present, the role of the market is regulated and supervised by the government. In addition, the Qufu heritage site has its own particularity, because it is closely associated with Confucius and Confucianism, which have a strong resonance with the ideology of Chinese society. Therefore, TV programmes about the Qufu heritage site are more closely related to education and publicity about the ideology. Through interviews with local heritage administrators and TV programme producers, it is found that the shooting opportunities and purposes of many programmes are carried out to complete the government's publicity tasks. Market feedback is not the most important thing for these programmes, while education and publicity are the most important purposes of television programmes. As a result, television programmes that portray the heritage site are government led and the role of the market is very limited. In this context, it is difficult to inspire TV programme producers to be motivated to create and be innovative in a way that shows vitality.

Although the local staff who are responsible for publicity work raised the issue of the need for improved TV programmes and suggested many ideas for change, there are still a few obstacles that stand between awareness of the issue and actual change, such as completing political assignments, filming taboos and lack of motivation for innovation. Bound by these constraints and coupled with the lack of incentives such as network hits or revenue, the currently weak impetus for programme producers to innovate is observable. The representation of the heritage site, in other words, under the constraints of a state-oriented and political mandate rather than a market-driven mandate, seems to have been heavily invested in but is in fact rigid and ineffective, as well as difficult to break through.

7.6 The Impact of the Management System on Media Production

The specific partnership between China's World Heritage Sites and TV programme production is brought to light in Chapter 6 through an analysis of in-depth interviews from the fieldwork. In this partnership, the authority to control and scrutinise is left in the hands of the government, with local officials acting as enforcers. In the Chinese social setting, there are both explicit yet implicit powers of control and censorship. It is apparent and uncontroversial according to the analysis in Chapter 6 that ultimate control and scrutiny rests with the government. Yet the interviews have led to the discovery that the local governments, which exercise enforcement powers, deny the power they hold. They believe that they are just being cooperative and have little authority. Regarding the ultimate censorship of the programmes, Huiyin Jiang, who works at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Qufu, noted that "there is sometimes no ultimate censorship, and even if there is, it's just a formality". While it seems as if all this censorship and regulation is rather loose, the final presentation of the programmes strictly adheres to these requirements: no filming taboos are presented at all. The seemingly contradictory phenomenon is not difficult to understand when placed in the context of Chinese society. The 'red line' has

been an established convention in this society. These ‘taboos’ can be easily understood by people in the same setting, without much training and explanation, when they step into the field of the dissemination of information about heritage sites. Moreover, people will acknowledge as well as actively stay away from red lines. That is the reason why the power therein is both explicit and implicit.

Furthermore, one of the challenges that such a system presents is making the title ‘World Cultural Heritage’ a shackle rather than an aid. For this reason, the title ‘World Heritage Site’ was mentioned as a ‘double-edged sword’ by local officials in the interviews. They worry that the attention they would get because of the ‘fame’ would make the local officials in the system more responsible for any negative problems. As a result, they tend to behave more cautiously and conservatively, preferring repetition to innovation and breakthroughs. With this system, the benefits of innovation do not outweigh the liability that comes with a problem. Therefore, the choice made by local officials is not unexpected after all.

When the security perimeter is mapped out, TV production is in a position to have free rein if it is within that perimeter, without triggering the red line (filming taboos). The government even encourages innovation as long as it is within those safe limits. A thirst for innovation has also been expressed by many government employees. However, TV producers are acquainted with the rules and routines and have an ability to stay away from the red lines. Similarly to what has been mentioned in the previous section, the media does not really have an appetite for much innovation or free play within the red lines.

There are in-depth interviews that demonstrate the local government’s desire to improve and innovate in media outreach. It would only be wishful thinking to simply encourage local governments to actively engage with the entertainment element or the commercial element, or to be bolder when it comes to sensitive topics. The socio-environmental context of World

Heritage Sites need be taken into account when considering possible ways in which they could derive greater benefit from media interaction. In the case of Qufu's heritage site, for example, even though there are certain shooting taboos, many improvements can still be made as long as they are allowed. In the programmes, for example, more consideration could be given to the value criteria proposed by UNESCO in terms of the content of the representation, involving the artistic, aesthetic and conservation aspects of cultural heritage. Also, as far as the mode of representation is concerned, the current programme shapes an abundance of representations that are detached from reality. While reality has power, getting rid of deliberate ways of shaping and presenting reality are also ways of changing that can be taken into account. There are examples of other world heritage sites in China that have reached out to entertainment programmes with a positive distribution effect, such as *What's New in the Forbidden City* and *The Amazing Great Wall*. Not all elements of entertainment and commerce must be rejected. There is space for improvement that can also be located through learning from others, so that better results can be achieved in the dissemination of information about heritage sites.

7.7 Limitations of the Research and Future Research Opportunities

For this study, which is confined to qualitative research, the sample size has been restricted and has limited coverage. In terms of the sample selection for the in-depth interviews, although the pre-fieldwork design process was designed to make the population of in-depth interviewees as broad and comprehensive as possible, there has been a considerable degree of randomness in acquiring the final sample. Since a snowballing sample acquisition method was chosen, most of the interviewees were clustered in the local area of Qufu, and thus there may be a homogeneity of views among the respondents which compromised the diversity of research perspectives. The diversity of programme types was also taken into account in the selection of the TV programme sample in the early stages of the analysis, and most of the programmes were

filmed in the last decade to capture the current conditions of the times. Nevertheless, media trends are evolving at a rapid pace compared to those in other domains. In the span of a year or two, it is possible for media trends to shift significantly. In the year or two it takes to analyse programmes and write up the results, a steady stream of new programmes is likely to reflect the new and changing trends. Confronted with the celerity of media changes, academic research is somewhat delayed due to the limitations of the work process and may not reflect the latest updates in real time.

With regard to future opportunities for follow-up research, three areas will be considered. Firstly, the research could be placed in a broader media context. Despite the fact that China's television media is still the mainstay of the official media, it is now losing ground in the race for power against the online media. In the follow-up research, it would not only be important to focus on the evolving trends of new television programmes, but also to extend the field of research to new media. There are certainly differences in the way new media represent cultural heritage, and the new media is an irresistible trend in media development. Therefore, subsequent research may consider a more extensive media context in which to place the study. Secondly, in the section titled 'limitations of the study', it has been mentioned that the interviewees are mainly localised in Qufu. Certain research perspectives could be added in later studies. For example, the staff of Shandong Provincial Department of Culture and Tourism and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of China could be interviewed to find out how to understand the relationship between world cultural heritage and the media from their perspective. In addition, it would be great to have the opportunity to work at a World Heritage Site or in a related sector to obtain first-hand information and to directly observe and understand the interaction between world cultural heritage and the media. Thirdly, the next study could go on to seek how the audience extracts meaning from the programmes and whether they are able to effectively disseminate information about the heritage site. Smith

(2011) argues that visitors are selective in their acceptance of heritage representations with their own experiences and intellectual backgrounds. In the future, researchers could target audiences' access to and transmission of the meaning of heritage. This is the last step in the communication process and the most important one that reflects the final effect of the representation. It is when we examine this step that we will have a complete understanding of the shaping and transmission of the meaning of heritage.

Finally, a series of comparative studies could be done to make the research more comprehensive and complete. First, the media representations of other World Heritage Sites in China could be used as research objects. Within the same Chinese television media system, the representation of heritage sites may take on different features as they differ in character. The heritage site of Qufu is very closely associated with Confucius and Confucianism, and its ideological influence on China is profound. As a result, the representation of this heritage site may be somewhat unique. There are some World Heritage Sites that once belonged to local people, such as the Tulou site in Fujian, where the perception of heritage sites may be more controversial among different groups and the perception of the meaning of heritage may exhibit pluralism, which then affects the representation of heritage sites. The Forbidden City, with its innovations in many heritage practices such as in the cultural and creative industry, is a hit among young people. The TV programme *New Arrivals in the Forbidden City*, which started in 2018, features Forbidden City cultural and creative product developers and popular celebrities who follow Forbidden City experts into the palace to explore the collections. They explored the precious treasures and profound history and culture of the Forbidden City, and teamed up with designers and college design students to come up with creative ideas. Each episode gave birth to a new cultural and creative derivative, opening up a new channel of two-way interaction between the audience and the Forbidden City culture, to encourage more young people to 'bring home' the culture of the Forbidden City (Wang, 2018). The programme's

representation of the Forbidden City certainly differs from the representation of the World Cultural Heritage in Qufu analysed in this study. A summary of these differences and an analysis of the reasons behind them could make the study of 'heritage representation' more comprehensive and enriching. Second, World Heritage Sites in other countries can also be studied to discover the impact of different social management systems and different media management systems on heritage representations. It is possible to make the topic of 'media representations of world heritage' more integral and comprehensive through a comparative study of different countries, different management systems and different types of World Heritage Sites.

7.8 Final Remarks

The main research aim and the objectives of the thesis have been explored and achieved through this chapter and the previous two analysis chapters. I examined the television programmes that have featured the World Heritage Site of Qufu to identify their key messages and the selective production choices that they embody. Understanding the processes and motivations behind these programmes allowed me to understand the disconnection that exists between an 'official', authorised representation of Qufu and the daily realities of its management as a heritage site with links to the local community. I explored how the media bypasses the meanings of the place as a heritage site, along with the complexities of its conservation, visitor management and community engagement, in favour of an essentially historical narrative focusing mainly on the symbolism of Confucius. My findings highlight a rupture in the understandings that lie between heritage and the media and raise questions regarding how these relationships are, and can be, shaped. In the case of Qufu, as with other World Heritage Sites, the power of the media is recognised but as yet it does not appear to be effectively managed for mutual benefit. My work revealed limited media management on the

part of the heritage site, partially as a function of the system of governance that shapes heritage–media relations. Particularly with the advent of social media and the co-production power of locals and visitors to represent heritage sites/World Heritage Sites, it is important to understand the evolving issue of media management and how this can be affected within different systems of governance.

Representation of heritage is dynamic and changes depending on the social context. In 2021, China Central Television released a documentary series on the theme of world heritage called *Memory of Humanity – World Heritage in China*. This documentary was presented at the extended 44th session of the World Heritage Committee that was held in Fuzhou, China, in July 2021. It launched its first 14 episodes in July 2021 (which did not include the World Heritage Site of Qufu). The episode about the World Heritage Site in Qufu will be filmed and produced from July to November 2021, so I have not watched it yet. But through the introduction of the documentary series on the internet, I saw a possible change in the representation of World Heritage Sites in this documentary. Xinfeng Kong, a professor at Shandong University, has commented that the documentary has a remarkable global perspective. According to Yaohua Chen, director of the World Heritage Research Center of Peking University, the production of the documentary series *Memory of Humanity* has distinctive features such as a professional context, an international perspective and an illustration of the creativity of the time, compared with the previous films introducing heritage. In terms of professional context, the standards and values of the heritage and how it is monitored, conserved and managed, as well as exhibited and utilised, are told in the context of world heritage through the participation of experts in script review and filming. As for the international perspective, there are international comparative studies in the documentary that highlight the Outstanding Universal Value of heritage, while the transmission of programmes about heritage in which there are international participants underlines the principle of the

common heritage of humanity. Concerning the creativity of the particular time, the spirit and function of that time are given to the heritage by way of the extraction of historical values, and a reference is also provided for how world heritage fits into the national development strategy of the time (Ding, 2021). As Lv Zhou, director of the National Heritage Center of Tsinghua University, said, the documentary series *Memory of Humanity* conveys to the public the value of world heritage and the holistic idea that human culture expressed by world heritage is diverse and yet they are connected to each other at the civilisational level. He also said that the documentary, by illustrating the characteristics and values of these World Heritage Sites as well as the lives of the residents, the research of conservationists, and the decisions of government departments related to the sites, presents a multi-faceted and three-dimensional view of the conservation of, research on and promotion of the local sustainable development of China's heritage sites. Several changes in the television representation of heritage are evident to me through the comments of these scholars: a greater emphasis on the Outstanding Universal Value of world heritage, a pluralistic perspective and a concern for local communities and people. Such changes are evidence that both the perception of the value of heritage and the representation of heritage are dynamic processes. Shizhong Hu, a journalist at the Qufu TV station, invited me to participate in the shooting of this documentary series in Qufu. Unfortunately, I was unable to participate in the shooting process because I was writing the thesis in the UK. I am looking forward to seeing the changes in the representation of world heritage in the new documentary, which will be new material for future research.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Participant information sheet for officials, TV programme producers, local communities and tourists.



UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

International Ironbridge Institute for

Cultural Heritage

University of Birmingham

Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT

Participant Information Sheet

I am a PhD student in Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham. My research topic is a study on the role of television representation in the communication of a World Heritage Site in China.

This research aims to explore how television represents world cultural heritage, how it communicates the value of cultural heritage and what messages does the media deliver to its audience. The project will involve four different groups of people (officials, TV programme producers, local communities and tourists) involved in several stages of the communication process of cultural heritage.

The purpose of this interview is to explore how officials understand and interpret this world cultural heritage site. You can talk about your experience of managing and your understanding of this world cultural heritage site. Your opinion will be very important and contribute positively to the advancement of my research.

Prior to the interview, I will obtain your consent. The interview will last for about 45 minutes. You are free to ask any questions relative to the research. Also, you are allowed to withdraw from the research within three months. You will be asked whether you prefer to keep your anonymity or not, however, please realize that some of the participants are easy to identify even if they're anonymous due to their job title or position which is very important to be described in my writing. You will be reassured about data confidentiality. After the interview, all data collected during this study will be stored securely in my laptop and copied on university secure hard system retained for ten years. The paper records will not be retained once they have been transcribed. The data will only be used for academic purpose.

Thank you for your reading! I appreciate if you can participant this interview that is useful for collecting information to my research.

Contact Details:

Qing Wang (Researcher)

Tel: [redacted] (UK) [redacted] (China)

Email: [redacted]

Professor Mike Robinson (Supervisor, Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom)

Email: [redacted]

Dr John Carman (Supervisor, Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom)

Email: [redacted]

International Ironbridge Institute for

Cultural Heritage

University of Birmingham

Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT

Participant Information Sheet

I am a PhD student in Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham. My research topic is a study on the role of television representation in the communication of a World Heritage Site in China. This research aims to explore how television represents world cultural heritage, how it communicates the value of cultural heritage and what messages does the media deliver to its audience.

The purpose of this interview is to explore how TV programme producers understand and interpret the communication process of cultural heritage and this world cultural heritage site. You can talk about your experience in making programmes and your understanding of this world cultural heritage site. Your opinion will be very important and contribute positively to the advancement of my research.

Prior to the interview, I will obtain your consent. The interview will last for about 45 minutes. You are free to ask any questions relative to the research. Also, you are allowed to withdraw from the research within three months. You will be asked whether you prefer to keep your anonymity or not, however, please realize that some of the participants are easy to identify even if they're anonymous due to their job title or position which is very important to be described in my writing. You will be reassured about data confidentiality. After the interview, all data collected during this study will be stored securely in my laptop and copied on university secure hard system retained for ten years. The paper records will not be retained once they have been transcribed. The data will only be used for academic purpose.

Thank you for your reading! I appreciate if you can participant this interview that is useful for collecting information to my research.

Contact Details:

Qing Wang (Researcher)

Tel: [redacted]

Email: [redacted]

Professor Mike Robinson (Supervisor, Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom)

Email: [redacted]

Dr John Carman (Supervisor, Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom)

Email: [redacted]

International Ironbridge Institute for

Cultural Heritage

University of Birmingham

Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT

Participant Information Sheet

I am a PhD student in Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham. My research topic is a study on the role of television representation in the communication of a World Heritage Site in China.

The purpose of this interview is to explore individual members of local communities' opinions about this world cultural heritage site. You can talk about your experience as living near the heritage site and your understanding of the heritage site. You are one of the people who are most familiar with this heritage site. Therefore, your opinion will be very important and contribute positively to the advancement of my research.

Prior to the interview, I will obtain your consent. You are free to ask any questions relative to the research. Also, you are allowed to withdraw from the research within three months. You will be asked whether you prefer to keep your anonymity or not and you will be reassured about data confidentiality. After the interview, all data collected during this study will be stored securely in my laptop and copied on university secure hard system retained for ten years. The paper records will not be retained once they have been transcribed. The data will only be used for academic purpose.

The interview will last for about 45 minutes. Please realize that all participants in this interview should be over 18 years old.

Thank you for your reading! I appreciate if you can participant this interview that is useful for collecting information to my research.

Contact Details:

Qing Wang (Researcher)

Tel: [redacted]

Email: [redacted]

Professor Mike Robinson (Supervisor, Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom)

Email: [redacted]

Dr John Carman (Supervisor, Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom)

Email: [redacted]

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

International Ironbridge Institute for

Cultural Heritage

University of Birmingham

Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT

Participant Information Sheet

I am a PhD student in Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham. My research topic is a study on the role of television representation in the communication of a World Heritage Site in China.

The purpose of this interview is to explore tourists' opinions about this world cultural heritage site. You can talk about your experience of visiting here and your understanding of the heritage site. As a tourist, your voice is valuable and helpful to the management and development of heritage sites. Also, your opinion will be very important and contribute positively to the advancement of my research.

Prior to the interview, I will obtain your consent. You are free to ask any questions relative to the research. Also, you are allowed to withdraw from the research within three months. You will be asked whether you prefer to keep your anonymity or not and you will be reassured about data. After the interview, all data collected during this study will be stored securely in my laptop and copied on university secure hard system retained for ten years. The paper records will not be retained once they have been transcribed. The data will only be used for academic purpose.

The interview will last for about 45 minutes. Please realize that all participants in this interview should be over 18 years old.

Thank you for your reading! I appreciate if you can participant this interview that is useful for collecting information to my research.

Contact Details:

Qing Wang (Researcher)

Tel: [redacted]

Email: [redacted]

Professor Mike Robinson (Supervisor, Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom)

Email: [redacted]

Dr John Carman (Supervisor, Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom)

Email: [redacted]

Appendix 2 Consent form

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

International Ironbridge Institute for

Cultural Heritage

University of Birmingham

Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT

CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in a research conducted by Qing Wang from the University of Birmingham in Birmingham, United Kingdom. The purpose of this document is to specify the terms of my participation in the research through being interviewed.

- I confirm that I have been given sufficient information about this research project. The purpose of my participation as an interviewee in this project has been explained to me and is clear.
- My participation as an interviewee in this project is voluntary. I understand that no payment is involved in this research and I am free to withdraw within three months after my interview without giving any reason. If I withdraw my data will be removed from the study and will be destroyed.
- I have the right not to answer any of the questions and I can ask questions if necessary.
- The interview will last approximately 45 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview. I can decide if the interview will be recorded or not.
- I understand that only the researcher will have access to the data from this interview. My confidentiality as a participant in this research will remain secure.
- I have the right to choose how the researcher will identify me on the thesis. I understand that the researcher will respect my right to remain anonymous and non-identifiable if I wish to.
- I have given a copy of this consent form by the interviewer.

1.Have you read and understood the statements of this form and voluntarily agree to participate in this research? YES/NO

2.Do you agree that the interview will be recorded? YES/NO

3.Do you mind your name to be disclosed in the research publications? YES/NO

4.If YES are you happy that your name will be removed from your interview transcript, even though this may not guarantee complete anonymity? YES/NO

Signed Date

Print name Organisation

Telephone Email

Address

Please retain your copy of the letter of information for future reference.

Sincerely,

Qing Wang

Date:

Contact Details:

Qing Wang (Researcher, PhD student in Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham)

Tel: [redacted]

Email: [redacted]

Professor Mike Robinson (Supervisor, Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom)

Email: [redacted].

Dr John Carman (Supervisor, Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom)

Email: [redacted].

Appendix 3 Interview Schedule – Indicative Questions

Interview Schedule – Indicative Questions

-**Interview questions for Officials:**

1. What is the role of your department in the management of the Site?

3. What is the role of your department in terms of interpretation of the Site?

3. What would you say is the importance of this Site for the City and for China?

4. What effect does the world heritage label have on this site?

5. What aspects of the Site do you think are worth being featured through media and what are not? What messages are worth being communicated?

6. Have you watched TV programmes about temple and cemetery of Confucius and the Kong family mansion in Qufu? What's your comment on these programmes in general? Can you briefly list and describe the programmes that impressed you? What do you think needs to be improved in these programmes?

7. What medias are used currently to communicate the Site? What are the characteristics of these medias in the process of communication? Have you encountered any problems in the process of media communication of the Site? In terms of various communication data, which media do you think have better communication effects? Which media will stay active for a long term?

8. In the process of media's dissemination of the Site, does your department supervise and guide the media's reports? What are the guidelines and procedures?

9. To what extent do you think there is a conflict of interest between the use of the Site and it being used as a site for tourism and leisure?

10. How would you like to see the Site develop in the future? What do you think are the issues and challenges for this site into the future?

11. What are the impacts of the communication upon the Heritage Site itself?

-**Interview questions for tour guides/ travel agencies:**

1. How long have you been working at this site? What changes have taken place in this scenic spot (include the scenic spot itself and the situation of tourists, such as quantity, behaviour, attitude and tourist sources distribution) these years?

2. What sorts of visitors do you get here?

3. What importance do you attach to this Site? What would you say is the importance of this Site for the City and for China?

4. What aspects of the Site do you tell visitors? What are their reactions to your information?

5. What effect does the world heritage label have on a heritage site? In the process of explaining this site, will you highlight it as a world cultural heritage site? Are visitors interested in the label of world cultural heritage? How do they understand world cultural heritage? What do they think is the difference between world cultural heritage and other cultural heritage?

6. What aspects of the Site do you think are worth being featured through media and what are not? What messages are worth being communicated?

7. Does the communication of TV programmes or other media have any influence on tourists' behaviour? When you introduce this site to tourists, do you emphasize its connection with TV programmes or other media reports? If so, how did visitors react to your introduction?

8. Have you watched TV programmes about temple and cemetery of Confucius and the Kong family mansion in Qufu? What's your comment on these programmes in general? Can you briefly list and describe the programmes that impressed you? What do you think needs to be improved in these programmes?

9. What do you think are the impacts of the communication upon the Heritage Site itself?

-**Interview questions for individual members of local communities:**

1. How long have you lived here? How has the site changed during these years? Have these changes affected your life?

2. What importance do you attach to this Site? What would you say is the importance of this Site for the City and for China?

3. Have you any personal associations with the site – what are these?

4. What does the Site represent for you?

5. What effect does the world heritage label have on a heritage site?

6. Have you watched TV programmes about temple and cemetery of Confucius and the Kong family mansion in Qufu? What's your comment on these programmes in general? Can you briefly list and describe the programmes that impressed you? What do you think needs to be improved in these programmes?

7. What aspects of the Site are worth being featured and what are not? What messages are worth being communicated?

8. What are the impacts of the communication upon the Heritage Site itself and the city?

-**Interview questions for tourists**:

1. Where are you from?

2. Would you mind telling me your age?

3. How frequently do you visit this site?

4. Why do you visit this place?

5. Have you any personal associations with the site – what are these?

6. What does the Site represent for you?

7. What are your experiences and feeling of visiting this site?

8.What importance do you attach to this Site? What would you say is the importance of this Site for the City and for China?

9. Do you know this scenic spot is a world cultural heritage site? How do you understand world cultural heritage? What effect does the world heritage label have on your tour experience?

10. Have you watched TV programmes about temple and cemetery of Confucius and the Kong family mansion in Qufu? What's your comment on these programmes in general? Can you briefly list and describe the programmes that impressed you? What do you think needs to be improved in these programmes?

11. Do TV programmes have impacts on your visit or understanding of this site?

-**Interview questions for TV programme producers:**

1. What would you say is the importance of this Site for the City and for China?

2. Why do you think the content in the programmes is worth being featured? What messages are communicated in these programmes?

3. What effect does the world heritage label have on the media representation of a heritage site? What effect does the world heritage label have on television programmes?

4. Who are the audiences?

5. What impacts do you think TV programmes of this site have on the audience, the Site itself, the city and the country?

6. Which departments does the TV station communicate with during the communication process from the preparation of shooting to the broadcasting of the programmes? What kind of guidance and advice did they give? Is there any conflict between their proposal and the creative ideas of the TV station? Are there any cases that the content was intended to be shot or has been shot, but ultimately failed to be broadcast? What are the experiences and regrets in the production process?

7. What changes do you think have taken place in the television programmes of this site during the development of the TV industry in China? Why is this happening?

8. In your opinion, how to balance the functions of education and entertainment in TV programmes?

9. What restrictions will television face in its communication of this site? Do you obtain information about this site from other medias? Do you find inspiration from other media? What are the advantages and disadvantages of different media in reporting a world cultural heritage?

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