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MA Thesis

Cultural Governance under Xi Jinping

**An investigation on Chinese traditional culture and cultural
heritage management at
a local level**

Presented to the Faculty of Humanities, Institute for Area studies

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Introduction

Presentation of the topic

As a consequence of its vertiginous development in the last decades, China has gained a new position as an international superpower. Economic development has led to drastic social changes which had an impact on the official conception of Chinese Identity supported by the government. After the Maoist era and the reforms conducted under Deng, the old communist ideology did not suit Chinese people anymore. The government has had to find new discourses on which to base the national community. Contemporary China's nationalism engages repeatedly with China's glorious past and the unique value of Chinese traditional culture. Through such themes, the government aims to build a connection between contemporary Chinese society and Chinese history, in an effort to fill the lack of ideology which followed the Maoist era. Moreover, in contemporary times China's international image has changed too; it is now one of the most powerful economies in the world, but lacks of international cultural influence. This study will investigate whether Chinese domestic cultural governance is meant to have an impact on an international level, and how such an objective would be achieved.

This research will focus on the formulation and implementation of cultural governance under the president Xi Jinping, approaching the subject in a threefold analysis: theories on Chinese identity and nation-building, international network building and cultural investments under Xi Jinping, and exemplifying case studies in the Shandong province (The Confucius Temple and Kong's Mansion in Qufu, and the Shandong Province Museum in Jinan).

Research Questions

The questions this research seeks to answer are: how is cultural governance formulated and implemented in Contemporary China? What are the theories behind Chinese nation-building strategies that engage which traditional culture? How should the governmental support to Chinese traditional culture be interpreted? Who is the audience for such narrative and what does it aim for? How does this discourse reflect on a local level, such as the Shandong Province?

Methodology and Literature Review

The first chapter of this study serves as a theoretical background for the following empirical data. I have traced my first argument on Harrison¹, to justify my claim that there is no such a thing as an ever existing national community in China. I then referred to Zhao² in arguing that Chinese nationalism in the 90's relied to a great extent on a discourse based on China's prestigious

¹ Henrietta Harrison, *China – Inventing the Nation*, (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2001).

² Suisheng Zhao, *A Nation-State by Construction – Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism*, (Stanford University Press: California, 2004).

heritage and millenary history. Moreover, I have widely relied on Callahan's study³ to discuss how the governmental discourses on Chinese history can be considered as a security issue, as it can be used as a political tool in nation-building process. Additionally, I refer to Callahan in addressing briefly the issue of national identity in contemporary China using his definition of China as a "pessoptimistic nation"⁴. I have then referred to Duara⁵ regarding Chinese nationalism and its relation to cultural heritage management.

The second Chapter focuses on contemporary China's international nation building and provides empirical evidences on the cultural investments implemented. The first section analyses the international network building China is implementing through economic strategies by analysing the data through the lenses of Crane's study. The second part focuses on cultural investments in contemporary China, using official documents as empirical evidence and referring to Xi Jinping's speeches to analyse the official narrative the government pairs with them. This chapter will focus on the goals the state aims to achieve through such investments, and whether they can be considered an attempt to enhance the Chinese international image.

The third and fourth chapter will be devoted to the investigation of cultural heritage management at a local level, through two examples of cultural sites in the Shandong Province.

Case Studies Presentation

I have chosen the Shandong Province as the suitable case for my research for several reasons. First, it does not have a strong international touristic culture. Even the main cities in Shandong do not rank high as worldwide touristic attractions. Second, Shandong Province boasts a remarkable and variegated characteristic culture as a province; from the ancient Longshan culture, to the birthplace of Confucius, to the experience of colonialism in Qingdao. Such a long history in Shandong province, might be considered as further reason for it to sponsor itself as a unique cluster of Chinese culture.

Geographic and social diversity, not to mention well over five millennia of historical experience, has left the province with a complex historical identity supported by an extensive body of historical artifacts and monuments. For the province of Shandong, public history consists of the complex negotiations between that identity, the permanent remains of history, and the efforts to control their meaning in the present.⁶

Furthermore, Shandong is particularly relevant for my research as the birth place of Confucius. In the first part of this chapter I will focus on the usage of Confucius' figure in contemporary policies, and the meaning of the Confucius Temple as a touristic attraction. The second part will be devoted

³ William A. Callahan, "History, Identity and Security - Producing and Consuming Nationalism in China," *Critical Asian Studies*, 38:2 (2006), pp. 179–208.

⁴ William A. Callahan, *China: the Pessoptimistic Nation*, (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2010).

⁵ Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

⁶ James A. Flath, "Managing Historical Capital in Shandong: Museum, Monument, and Memory in Provincial China", *The Public Historian*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Spring 2002), p.42

instead to research on the Shandong Province Museum, an investigation on “Shandong Identity” as an example of how the state manages provincial identity in China.

In my analysis of these case studies (The Confucius Temple in Qufu and the Shandong Province Museum) I have based my research on official reports on Shandong cultural heritage management, secondary literature and empirical analysis of the public websites of the two sites I focus on. Furthermore, I have conducted a parallel fieldwork study during my attendance of Shandong University in Jinan, visiting the Confucius Temple in person and leading an interview with one of the head managers of Shandong Province Museum. In the presentation of these cases, I will refer to the theoretical analysis present in the previous chapters, explaining how the national boast on Chinese traditional culture has an empirical manifestation on provincial cultural heritage management. In particular, the case of the Museum will focus on the connection between local identity and national identity.

Chapter One: theories on nationalism in contemporary China

Introduction

This chapter will provide a theoretical background for the following analysis of cultural governance in contemporary China. In particular, it will engage with existing debate in academic literature about Chinese national identity and how it is related to cultural heritage management.

Scholarly debates

The term Chinese nationalism manifests itself in many different ways. National projects design the geographical boundaries of China as a nation-state. National identity cultivates a particular vision of China and the feeling of “Chineseness”. National sentiment opposes the feeling of communion to the antagonism towards other peoples. Finally, relations of ethnicities and national minorities within the state of China need to be considered as well⁷. In spite of the many different facets and possible interpretations of Chinese nationalism, official discourse in China often promotes the notion that it is a solid nation-state with a millenary history whose tradition has remained unchanged through the centuries. In contemporary scholarly literature this concept is often challenged. This chapter will focus on how the above-mentioned conceptions of nationalism converge into contemporary China’s narratives, and where they have originated from.

Harrison criticizes the idea of an “ever existing” national community in China, tracing Chinese contemporary nationalism back to the Republican era. In her study she explores the development of Chinese nationalism as opposed to the Manchu Qing empire, founded in the seventeenth century, and the expansive British empire of the nineteenth century. In her analysis, these two factors have played a central role in promoting the rise of nationalist sentiments in the Republican era, which reached a peak under the communist campaigns, and in the Maoist era as well. In the 80’s and 90’s after Mao’s death, the ideal of nationalism was readapted again:

Much of the population, especially those born since the start of Communist rule, had been committed to socialism as a personal as well as a national ideal. That ideal had been shaken by the violence of the Cultural Revolution and was now collapsing under the pressure of the new economic system. The 1980s saw a rise in interest in a whole variety of alternative ideologies ranging from religions, like Christianity and Islam, to alternative political systems, like democracy. Nationalism was one of these ideologies and held a particular appeal for both the government and the population.⁸

In those years, nationalism served as a way of maintaining a stable social fabric. Party leaders promoted what Harrison defines as “politicized nationalism”, an idea of nationalism which is meant to support a specific political ideology. In this case it was supporting the Party’s political line. This type of politicized nationalism was spread under the name of patriotism on TV dramas,

⁷ Kevin Carrico, “Chinese Nationalism”, accessed June 24, 2018, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756223/obo-9780199756223-0139.xml>.

⁸ Henrietta Harrison, *China – Inventing the Nation*, (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2001), p. 251.

newspapers and official media, adhering to the Party policies⁹. This process proves how Chinese nationalism should not be understood as an ideal that remained fixed through the centuries, but rather as a dynamic concept that has been reshaped accordingly as the government, and Chinese society, evolved.

This theory is once again highlighted in Zhao's analysis in what he defines as "the rise of State-Led Pragmatic Nationalism"¹⁰. In his study he describes how in the 90's the state put new emphasis on nationalism as an instrument to create a modern Chinese nation-state:

It is not surprising that Chinese pragmatic nationalism is essentially contextual, without a fixed, objectified, and eternally defined content. Those in power and authority are at an advantage in creating and propagating a nationalism that would promote their own interests because they can marshal the institutional apparatus of the state. As a fragile construction of the communist state, nationalism represents only the imagined Chinese nation at the moment.¹¹

The need for nationalism as a replacement for communist dogma was a result of the dismissal of the old communist ideology, hence party leaders looked to nationalism as a means of garnering mass support¹². In an effort to provide a solid narrative to the nationalist rhetoric, several educational campaigns were launched during the 90's. These campaigns focused on linking the modern Chinese nation-state to China's non-communist past, as the previously adopted communist ideology was then in decline. Patriotism became the core theme in this narrative, interpreting China's glorious past and millenary history as a prestigious heritage shared by all Chinese citizens¹³. This version of nationalism marks a consistent shift from the narratives provided during the Maoist era and the Cultural Revolution, during which Chinese history was not considered as something to be glorified, but instead as something to get rid of.

Therefore, the state government's attitude towards China's history and tradition has been fluid. As Callahan argues, a nation is produced through national time¹⁴. The way history is portrayed through government sponsored national holidays, festivities and other performances, contributes to the shaping of a national identity. This version of national history, as narrated by the government, functions as a "security issue"¹⁵. In *Producing and Consuming Nationalism in China* Callahan seeks to demonstrate how the national practices related to the institution of the National Humiliation Day relate to this dynamic:

[...] Nationalism and security are coproduced through sovereignty performances that join questions of identity to the dynamic of traditional and non-traditional security. [...] The nation does not arise from the

⁹ Harrison, *China – Inventing the Nation*; p. 252.

¹⁰ Suisheng Zhao, *A Nation-State by Construction – Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism*, (Stanford University Press: California, 2004).

¹¹ Zhao, *A Nation-State by Construction*, p.209

¹² Zhao, *A Nation-State by Construction*, p.213

¹³ Zhao, *A Nation-State by Construction*, p.227

¹⁴ William A. Callahan, "History, Identity and Security - Producing and Consuming Nationalism in China," *Critical Asian Studies*, 38:2 (2006), pp. 179–208.

¹⁵ Callahan, "History, Identity and Security," pp. 179-208.

ideology of its leaders (at either end of the twentieth century), so much as through popular performances such as National Humiliation Day. In this way, National Humiliation Day activities go beyond producing and containing nationalism; Chinese people are also consuming nationalism as part of a symbolic economy that produces identity.¹⁶

The National Humiliation Day was instituted in the early Twentieth Century as a means of creating a feeling of “national shame”. This was meant to help achieve a sense of oneness of the Chinese people as opposed to an enemy “other”. Once included as part of the narratives aimed at building national identity in the early Republican period, it has since been revived after the Tiananmen Movement in 1989 as a further security measure for social stability¹⁷. This has been one of the most restrictive periods since the foundation of the PRC. The purpose of its implementation, Callahan argues, was to shift the focus of the protests and the public discontent away from the Chinese government and towards a foreign enemy:

According to the Party’s “Outline for Implementing Patriotic Education” (1994), the policy’s objective was to boost the nation’s spirit, enhance cohesion, foster national pride, consolidate and develop a patriotic united front, and rally the masses’ patriotic passions to “build socialism with Chinese characteristics.” The study of history is an important part of this patriotic education, especially the study of China’s modern history of being invaded by imperialists, and the study of China’s national characteristics [guoqing], especially as they are incompatible with Western democratic values.¹⁸

History can be considered a “security issue” as long as it serves the process of nation-building and the creation of a national identity. In his study Callahan highlights how history can be reinterpreted as something people consume through public events, and how this process contributes to shaping a national experience of a certain time, and to building a sense of national identity.

Callahan’s cultural and sociological studies are particularly relevant for this research as they engage with Chinese Nationalism, and what he defines as a “structure of feelings”. In other words, the way China sees itself in the global panorama and how it relates to the other international superpowers. He describes China as a “pessoptimistic nation”. Tracing his analysis back to the Century of National Humiliation, he criticizes how scholars tend to promote optimistic perspectives of China’s rise. He asserts that such view is incomplete, as understanding China’s “enduring pessimism”¹⁹ is crucial to understanding its optimism. He argues that China demonstrates both a superiority complex in its effort to prove itself as a new international superpower, and simultaneously an inferiority complex in recollecting the hurting memories of the Century of Humiliation. Both sentiments coexist in the structure of feelings:

To grasp the nuances of how this positive/ negative dynamics shapes China’s rise, we need to go beyond the statistics to examine how Chinese people understand their rise and how they present it to the outside world. China’s pessoptimistic experience shows how its goals are not merely material – a matter of catching up to the West economically and militarily –but social and symbolic. [...] While this optimistic view of China’s

¹⁶ Callahan, “History, Identity and Security,” p. 183.

¹⁷ Callahan, “History, Identity and Security,” 179-208.

¹⁸ Callahan, “History, Identity and Security,” p.186.

¹⁹ William A. Callahan, *China: the Pessoptimistic Nation*, (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2010), p.9.

positive global role is presented at home and abroad, a more negative view of national identity and the international environment is also circulated in China for the domestic audience.²⁰

Callahan is very careful in framing the policy strategies of contemporary China, including multilateral diplomacy, human rights, environmental protection and nuclear arms non-proliferation, as stemming from different ways of understanding Chinese identity. He describes them as interwoven, and with contradictory elements, like how national security is tied to national insecurities as exemplified by Century of Humiliation.

Callahan reiterates how history can be regarded as a security issue again when describing how historical narratives are portrayed in China's historical sites. The most glaring example is the Nanjing Massacre Memorial. There the feeling of hurt from the Century of Humiliation reaches its peak, with the Chinese nation represented as a defenceless woman abused by foreign male figures. Once again the aim of this representation is meant to readdress public discontent by demonizing an external enemy, and thus enhancing Chinese people's cohesion²¹.

Nationalism depends on national representation to a great extent. Callahan argues that the nationalism of a nation is often the reflection of popular performances which aim to convey a certain meaning, rather than purely on the leaders' ideology²². Public cultural sites and cultural heritage management are crucial in spreading nationalist spirit and identity awareness. In *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*²³ Duara discusses the boundary between nation-state, history and peoples' identity, arguing that cultural heritage facilities, such as museums, serve to support nationalism through the propaganda of national identity from the government's perspective. However, he does recognize that the meaning of national identity is shifting, and it is a construct where perceptions of different subgroups interact with each other:

Nationalism is rarely the nationalism of the nation, but rather marks the site where different representations of the nation contest and negotiate with each other. Second, nationalist consciousness is not, by itself, a unique and unprecedented mode or form of consciousness. Although nationalism and its theory seek a privileged position within the representational network as the master identity that subsumes or organizes other identifications, it exists only as one among others and is changeable, inter-changeable, conflicted, or harmonious with them.²⁴

In this frame of reference, how cultural heritage is managed impacts the promotion of nationalist spirit, and consequentially cultural governance as well. When Callahan describes history as a security issue, he supports his argument with examples of cultural sites where narratives on "national shame" are portrayed and supported. As the concept of Chinese identity is reinterpreted

²⁰ Callahan, *China: the Pessoptimistic Nation*, pp. 11-12.

²¹ Callahan, *China: the Pessoptimistic Nation*, pp. 31-60.

²² Callahan, "History, Identity and Security," pp. 179-208.

²³ Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

²⁴ Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation*, p. 8.

through time, and the government adapts the official narratives accordingly, cultural heritage management becomes a key factor in spreading these ideals.²⁵

Conclusion

This chapter is meant to serve as a theoretical background for the rest of this study. I started with the analysis of Chinese nationalism as a non-fixed concept, whose connotations change accordingly as the nation evolves. I have connected the issue of nationalism with issues concerning representations of national history and national identity. My conclusion is that official narratives on history, identity and heritage are crucial issues in the development of a stable society, and that cultural governance and cultural heritage management can be used as a means of spreading official narratives about identity, thus enhancing a feeling of belonging and unity in the nation.

²⁵ Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation*, pp. 6-10.

Chapter Two: The implementation of cultural governance

Introduction

This chapter will focus on China's cultural investments. I will argue that these developments have allowed China to enhance its international image, however the investments in cultural heritage management do not seem to be linked to international network building. The political discourses focus strongly on the promotion of traditional Chinese culture, but the current cultural heritage management seems to be focused solely on domestic investments.

A common economy

It is important to spend some time in mentioning how China's economic strategies have played a crucial role in its international network building.

Creating a network of countries cooperating to achieve common economic goals can inspire a sense of community, especially when achievement of these goals is perceived as having resulted from mutual support.

There are, in fact, at least three ways in which national narratives are rendered in economic terms: economic-historical experiences of *suffering* that are made into powerful signs of collective identity; economic accomplishments that can serve as emblems of shared *glory*; and assertions of an organic societal *unity* rooted in a common economic life. [...] In short, economic suffering can create a sense that 'we' are one because we have endured bad times together. Economic accomplishment can also play into national identity to the extent that it inspires a sense of common glory.²⁶

In this paper Crane refers to Chinese nation-building, but I would like to expand on his argument, put it in the context of all of contemporary Asia. There are several factors to be considered: the economic development which allowed China to become a competitor to the United States, the internationally-oriented policies, and the foundation of APEC, ASEAN, and the One Belt One Road initiative to name a few. The last two mentioned are particularly important. ASEAN creates a network of free trade among Asian nations, shaping a concrete international community based on the mutual needs of profitable trade. The One Road One Belt initiative, besides conveying a message of intercultural collaboration, includes among its goals collective economic advantages both for China and for the countries taking part in the initiative. Not only does this allow China to assume a non-patronizing position towards other Asian countries, but it also creates what we can define as "The Myth of a Common Economy":

A third way in which economic images may constitute national identity is the sense of unity that flows from the myth of a common economy. This point may seem questionable from the start insofar as economic activity, especially as it breaks down into patterns of class, divides people as much as it might unite them. Anderson sees a similar sort of fragility within his more culture-centred view of the nation: 'it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation

²⁶ George T. Crane, "Imagining the Economic Nation: Globalization in China," *New Political Economy*, 4:2, (1999) 215-232, pp 216-217.

is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship'. The same can be said for the economy. Whatever the actual experience, narratives of economic life as something that the community shares are widely asserted.²⁷

I therefore apply this concept to China's international economic relations. The core initial purpose of these organizations is certainly the pursuit of economic development, but economic development has an impact on cultural governance too, as the creation of an imagined economic community is a remarkable achievement. Another factor to take into account is that economic openness often results in new input towards globalization, which brings new bridges for the international flow of both economic and cultural strategies.

To demonstrate the existence of a relationship between economic strategies and cultural governance I will refer to a White Paper published in the State Council's website²⁸, *The Right to Development: China's Philosophy, Practice and Contribution*²⁹. The key theme of this document is the development resulting from the economic growth which affects several fields, among which cultural heritage management is acknowledged. Additionally, the fifth point of the document addresses cultural progress specifically.

The document engages briefly with historical narratives, providing a succinct overview of China's glorious past, illustrating that it was the country with the highest GDP in the world until the mid-19th century, and describing the economic growth experienced as a historical process. It strongly stresses the fact that prosperity gained through economic strategies resulted in development policies being applied to several other fields:

Through more than 60 years of effort, China's overall national strength has greatly increased; standards of living have achieved a historical leap from poverty to moderate prosperity; the people's right to development in economy, politics, culture, society and environment has been effectively protected.³⁰

The document focuses extensively on China's view that global economic governance should be based on equality, and presents the PRC as a promoter of what it defines as a "win-win cooperation" in the section titled "Promoting Common Development"³¹. In this section the importance of international cohesion is emphasized. It mentions the importance of bilateral and multilateral associations such as ASEAN and APEC, and it makes clear the goal of involving more countries in the One Belt One Road initiative³².

The data provided by this document is relevant for this research as it provides an empirical example of the theories mentioned in previous chapters. It reinforces the idea that China's economic growth has led to an increased number of opportunities to focus on cultural development. The new prosperity reached by China in the last decades has put the country in a

²⁷ Crane, "Imagining the Economic Nation: Globalization in China," p. 217.

²⁸ "Full text: The Right to Development: China's Philosophy, Practice and Contribution", The State Council – The People's Republic of China, accessed in June 28, 2018, http://english.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2016/12/01/content_281475505407672.htm.

²⁹ See Appendix: "The Right to Development: China's Philosophy, Practice and Contribution".

³⁰ See Appendix: "The Right to Development: China's Philosophy, Practice and Contribution".

³¹ See appendix: "The Right to Development: China's Philosophy, Practice and Contribution".

³² See Appendix: "The Right to Development: China's Philosophy, Practice and Contribution".

prominent position in the international panorama. Hence China is now promoting common development as an international goal. The global economic goals are presented as mutually beneficial developments, which I interpret as an empirical manifestation of what Crane defines as Myth of Common economy. The document openly declares the purpose of enhancing cultural development, however the policies implemented are mostly focused on a domestic level as the following sections will discuss.

The rhetoric of cultural governance in political speeches

The goal of spreading Chinese culture all over the world is one the main topic of Xi Jinping's public speeches currently. I will provide a few example and quotations of them to support the following analysis on public data about China's contemporary investments on culture.

Skimming through the speeches president Xi has been giving since the launching of the Chinese Dream and China's Peaceful Rise, it can be noticed how concepts such as rejuvenation of the nation, Open Doors Policy, spread of Chinese traditional culture, and upload and development of socialism are repeated.

Consider the speech "*Cultivate and Disseminate the Core of Socialist Values*", given by Xi Jinping in February 2014, during the Political Bureau of the 18th CCP Central Committee, which he was presiding over. I consider this speech as an emblematic example of the international orientation Chinese politics is taking concerning the spread of Chinese culture and enhancement of soft power resources. This speech can be defined as iconic not only due to the extremely formal occasion where it was pronounced, but also because it took place during an important moment. The beginning of 2014 was a crucial year for Xi's political career. The two core ideals of his political line, the Chinese Dream and the One Belt One Road initiative, had just been launched and needed to be promoted inside as well as outside of China's borders. The repetition of these concepts in a positive light serves this purpose, and the promotion of Chinese culture is used as a tool to achieve this goal. Indeed, in *Cultivate and Disseminate the Core of Socialist Values* the Chinese Dream and the One Belt One Road initiative are not openly referenced, but the core concepts behind them, such as Chinese identity, are mentioned:

We must take cultivating and disseminating the core socialist values as fundamental project for integrating the people's mindset and reinforcing our social foundations. We should inherit and carry forward the fine traditional Chinese culture and virtues, disseminate the core socialist values and educate the people extensively, guide and encourage the people to act according to them, to respect and follow moral standards, to pursue lofty moral ideals, and to reinforce the ideological and moral foundation of socialism with Chinese characteristics.³³

The incipit of the speech addresses the Chinese people, encouraging them to respect what Xi defines as the Chinese moral values. These come from traditional culture and should serve to educate people and shape an exemplary society. In the following part, Xi also mentions the relationship between Chinese culture and soft power:

Core values, a fundamental factor for the texture and orientation of a culture, are the soul of cultural soft power and a key to building a nation's cultural soft power. In essence, cultural soft power depends on the

³³ Jinping Xi, *Xi Jinping – The Governance of China*, (ICP International Press: Beijing, 2014), p. 24.

vitality, cohesion and appeal of the core values of a nation. Therefore, cultivating and disseminating the core values and effectively integrating the people's mindset is an important means of ensuring that the social system operates in a normal manner and that social order is effectively maintained. It is also a major aspect of a nation's governing system and capacity. [...] To cultivate and disseminate the core socialist values we must take traditional Chinese culture at the base.³⁴

In this passage we see that soft power is presented as fundamental not only to enhance the image of China abroad, but also within the Chinese border to maintain social stability. Xi presents Chinese traditional culture as a tool of governance, arguing that basing the social system on traditional values would guarantee an effective social order. This leads us to the question, "what does Xi mean by traditional Chinese culture?". According to the collected data, this term points to an ideal of Chinese culture that is a heritage of all Chinese citizens. Such an ideal is meant to create a feeling of belonging for the Chinese people. The speech then proceeds with a praise of Chinese people's long history, highlighting the uniqueness of Chinese culture as a reminder that China is different from the West, and its ethical and moral resources. These are presented as the basic elements of Chinese Identity:

Like a spring drizzle falling without a sound, we should disseminate the core socialist values in a gentle and lively way by making use of all kinds of cultural forms. We should inform the people by means of fine literary works and artistic images what is the true, the good and the beautiful, what is the false, the evil and the ugly, and what should be praised and encouraged, and what should be opposed and repudiated. [...] We should create forms of ceremonies and conduct various memorial and celebration events to disseminate mainstream values and enhance the people's sense of identity and belonging.³⁵

Chinese culture is promoted as being the base of society's moral value, and therefore it has to be included in society's routine. Through the teaching of Chinese culture people will be able to distinguish what is right and what is wrong, and create a more virtuous society. Including ceremonies and celebration events in collective social life will give Chinese people a sense of belonging that will maintain cohesive and stable social fabric.

The importance of traditional culture resonates in Xi Jinping's speech at the Beijing Forum on Literature and Art of 2014. On this occasion he asserts the importance of promoting Chinese culture through artistic production:

Xi Jinping stressed that, since reform and opening up, our country's literature and art creation has welcomed a new springtime, and produced large amounts of universally appreciated excellent works. [...] Vulgarity is not popularity, passion does not represent hope, and naive sensual amusement is not equal to spiritual cheer. The reason excellent works are "excellent", lies in their ideological profundity, artistic exquisiteness and product superiority. [...] Traditional culture is the spiritual lifeline of the Chinese nation, is an important source nourishing the Socialist core value system, and is a firm basis for us to get a firm foothold within the global cultural surge. We must integrate the conditions of new times with inheriting and carrying forward China's excellent traditional culture, and inheriting and carrying forward a Chinese aesthetic spirit. [...] Only if we persist in using the foreign to serve the Chinese, exploration and innovation, ensuring combinations of the

³⁴ Xi, *The Governance of China*, p. 32.

³⁵ Xi, *The Governance of China*, p. 33.

Chinese and the Western, and mastery through comprehensive study, will our country's literature and art be able to flourish and develop better.³⁶

The praise of Chinese traditional culture is a recurring topic in this speech as well. Here, "Chinese aesthetic spirit" is addressed as a key element in producing fine arts. Xi also affirms that traditional culture is entangled with the spirit of the nation, acting as a source of nourishment for the socialist values that create the basis for a virtuous social system.

Cultural Investments

The political line the CCP is assuming is oriented towards the promotion of Chinese culture. This can be inferred from the political initiatives mentioned in Xi Jinping's speeches, and also from the investments the party is making into cultural fields. This paragraph will provide some data to support that argument.

The Party's efforts in encouraging cultural investments is made explicit by Xinhua in the reports on central and local budgets. Although priority in the report is given to other issues facing the party, such as fiscal corruption, environmental protection and the housing crisis, the urge to invest in culture is given considerable space in the category titled *Main Policies Regarding Expenditures*:

We will support local governments in their implementation of the national standards to guide the provision of basic public cultural services. We will strengthen support for the protection and proper use of cultural relics, and support the implementation of the initiative to develop and pass on China's fine cultural traditions. We will support efforts to promote the creation and production of works of literature and art and share Chinese culture with the outside world. We will increase the level of coordination between investments, resources, and policies for non-profit cultural institutions and for-profit cultural enterprises, working to form a systematic and comprehensive fiscal policy system for the cultural sector. We will also improve the public sports facilities throughout the country and diversify the supply of services in the sports sector.³⁷

An interesting feature of the report on cultural investments is the mention of protecting "Chinese fine cultural traditions" much like the political speeches reported above. This goal will be achieved through non-profit cultural institutions and for-profit cultural enterprises. However, it is not openly mentioned to what extent the government will be involved in the process.

³⁶ "Xi Jinping's Talks at the Beijing Forum on Literature and Art", China Copyright and Media, accessed May 27, 2018, <https://chinacopyrightandmedia.wordpress.com/2014/10/16/xi-jinpings-talks-at-the-beijing-forum-on-literature-and-art/>.

³⁷ "Full text: Report on China's Central, Local Budgets", Xinhuanet, accessed May 29, 2018, http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2017-03/17/c_136136817_5.htm.

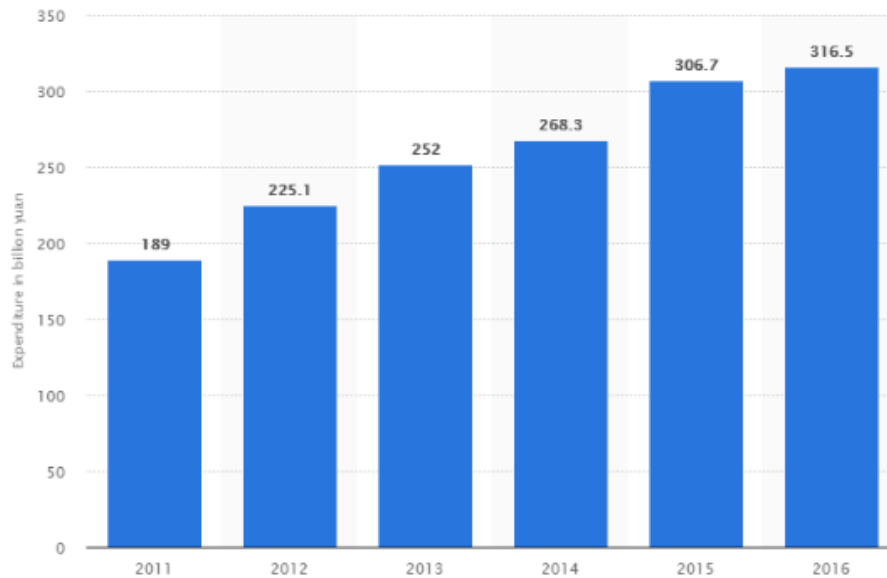


Figure 1³⁸

Figure 1 represent a graphic on public expenditure on culture and sports in China from 2011 to 2016 (in billion yuan). Here we see a constant increase of the investments made.

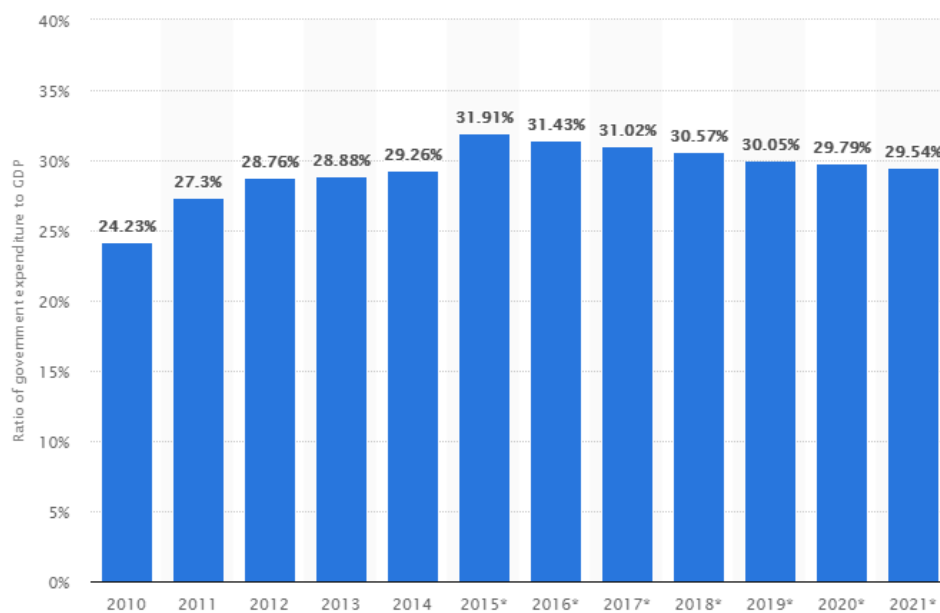


Figure 2³⁹

Figure 2is a graphic of public spending ration in China (in relationship between public spending and GDP) until the year 2015, the flowing data are forecasted until 2021. Here we see a decline of expenditure after 2015, but that is probably due to the decline of Chinese gross domestic product.

³⁸ "Public Expenditure on Culture and Sports in China from 2011 to 2016 (in billion yuan)", Statista, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/455506/china-public-expenditure-on-culture-and-sports/>.

³⁹ "China: Public Spending Ratio from 2010 to 2021", Statista, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/236299/public-spending-ratio-in-china/>.

These graphics provide concrete numerical reference for the argument led in this chapter. While the speeches and the political discourses constitute the ideological base for cultural governance inside China, the consistent investments constitute a concrete action to achieve this goal.

As the official documentation claims, “The building of a public cultural service system has been accelerated”⁴⁰, and several actions have been implemented to achieve cultural development. The government aims to facilitate the modernization of the public cultural service system, and its promotion, thus increasing the capacity of community-level cultural services:

By the end of 2015, China had 2,037 art performance troupes, 3,139 public libraries, 3,315 cultural centers, 2,981 museums, 40 provincial digital libraries, and 479 municipal and prefectural digital libraries. Continuous efforts were made to open public cultural facilities to the public for free, including public art museums at all levels, and basic public cultural services in libraries and cultural centers (stations) at all levels. By promoting projects such as Radio and TV Programs for Each Village and Each Rural Household, Town and Township Comprehensive Cultural Centers, Rural Cinema, Rural Libraries, and Rural Digital Culture, China has greatly enhanced rural cultural service capacity.⁴¹

This data seems to prove the government’s commitment in terms of investment and development of cultural heritage management. Significantly, no mention is made of investments aimed at the promotion of Chinese traditional culture abroad.

Conclusion

This chapter aims to provide empirical data on the scope of Chinese cultural governance. The first section discusses the international network building undertaken by China by addressing the construction of the Myth of a Common Economy as a means of strengthening China’s international image. Nevertheless, from the official documentation analysed, there is no evidence of internationally-oriented cultural investments. According to the political discourses, Chinese traditional culture is among the core values of contemporary China’s policies, however the focus of these claims seem to be the Chinese people themselves rather than an international audience.

⁴⁰ See Appendix: “The Right to Development: China’s Philosophy, Practice and Contribution”.

⁴¹ See Appendix: “The Right to Development: China’s Philosophy, Practice and Contribution”.

Chapter Three: The Confucius Temple and the Kong Mansion

Introduction

This chapter will be devoted to Case Study One, the Confucius Temple in Qufu, Shandong Province. The analysis will be divided into two main sections: the first section will describe the Temple's complex itself, its management organization and the events held in the complex of Qufu, and the second section will interpret the data collected in the first part of the chapter, contextualizing it in the narrative of China's cultural governance under Xi Jinping.

The structure of the Confucius Temple and Kong's Mansion

The Confucius Temple complex constitutes a considerable portion of Qufu's ancient city and is also its major touristic attraction. The complex includes three main areas: the temple, the Kong Family's Mansion and the cemetery located in the nearby forest which holds the remains of Confucius and his descendants. The Temple itself was built in 478 BC to commemorate Confucius, and since then it has been destroyed and re-erected several times throughout the centuries. Nowadays the complex is very large, consisting of more than 100 buildings; the Kong Mansion, originally small, is now a gigantic aristocratic residence that includes 152 remaining buildings, while the cemetery hosts the tombs of more than 100,000 of Confucius' descendants⁴². The Qufu complex is considered to have a high artistic and historical value for Chinese cultural heritage, not only in China but also abroad, as it has been included into the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1994.

⁴² "Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu", UNESCO, accessed 29 June, 2018, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/704>.



Figure 3⁴³. Details in Confucius Temple's architecture. Such characteristic architecture is described as expression of traditional Chinese culture.

The narrative in websites and advertisements

In browsing the Qufu Complex official websites on Baidu.com, we get a strong impression of the Temple as a vibrant and active institution, frequented by outstanding political representatives and host to several cultural events. Besides the advertisements on the homepage, there is an interactive newsletter which shows pictures from the latest events held in the Temple. I would argue that there are some recurrent symbols in the narrative provided by the website: the participation of young students and kids in the events organized, the ceremonies revival, and the visits by politicians.

⁴³ Picture taken during fieldwork observation, March 2017.



Figure 2⁴⁴. This image fits in the narrative which aims to attract the interest of young audiences.

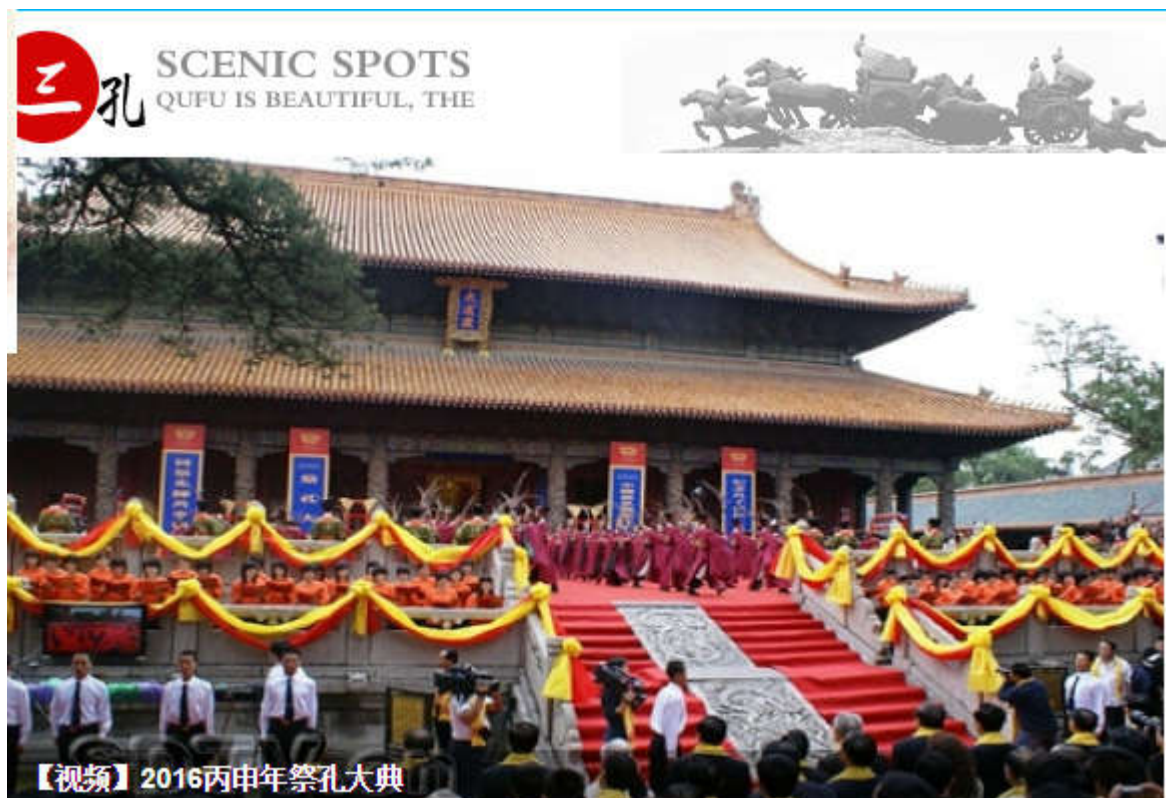


Figure 3⁴⁵. This image aims to advertise one the events taking place in the temple. It contributes to portray the temple as a lively institution.

⁴⁴ "Home page", Qufu.com, accessed June 9, 2018. <http://www.uqufu.com/>.



Figure 4⁴⁶. This image advertises the ceremonies taking place in the temple.

⁴⁵ Qufu.com, "Home Page."

⁴⁶ Qufu.com, "Home Page."



Figure 6⁴⁷. This image portrays the president Xi Jinping visiting the temple. It fits in the narratives which sponsor the governmental support to the temple.

In the Chinese website, there is also a section devoted to the interest political figures have taken in the Qufu Complex throughout the decades, from the foundation of the PRC to current times (Figure 7).



Figure 7⁴⁸

In this section of the official website⁴⁹, the politicians mentioned cover different stages of the PRC's history. First is Mao Zedong, who is presented as being involved with the city of Qufu and

⁴⁷ Qufu.com, "Home Page."

⁴⁸ Qufu.com, "Home Page."

the Complex's management. Then there is Li Xiannian, the PRC's general, the politician Zhu Ronji, premier 1998-2003, and the current president Xi Jinping, whose name is repeated in several sections of the website. The mention of the above figures reinforces the narrative that governmental support for the ancient relics and cultural heritage management has been present since the founding of the PRC, as culture and identity are prerogative values inherited by all Chinese people.

On the other hand, when browsing Baidu.com, it is hard to find a translated version of the website. The only sources provided for foreign visitors or non-Chinese speakers are secondary sources such as blogs or the mainstream western travel websites. In these websites (tripadvisor, topchinatravel, visitourchina, etc.) the main items available are pictures of the buildings inside the complex, descriptions of the temple's management and reviews of other travelers' experiences. They lack any other mention of events held in the temple, barely mention the revival of the ceremonies, and seem to have no connection at all with governmental organizations.

The narrative presented in the Chinese official website is not conveyed in its international counterparts, as they fail to include the revival of Confucian ceremonies and current political investments on traditional culture. Therefore, I argue that this narrative is domestically oriented and meant mainly for a Chinese audience, since it is hardly accessible to foreign visitors.

The novelty of governmental support

The changes experienced by Confucius' icon, and the different understandings of Confucian philosophy, reflect in the temple's past history as well. The complex of Confucius Temple and the Kong Mansion in Qufu fell prey to the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, reporting severe damages to its structure. After the 80's, the government's attitude towards the cultural relics changed dramatically, and we see examples of this progress in the Confucius Temple. During the Maoist era, the Confucian cults in the city, which had been present for centuries before, though experiencing some ups and downs, grinded to a halt⁵⁰. In those years, cultural sites were occasionally visited by state leaders, whose concerns addressed heritage preservation rather than cultural practices. The city therefore lost a significant portion of its symbolic value for that time period. The Cultural Revolution represented the most difficult period for the temple, which despite serious damage, was not been destroyed by the Red Guards⁵¹. After the Maoist era, new space was provided in political rhetoric for elements coming from traditional culture. Furthermore, in those early years, cultural heritage preservation work was carried on the so called "Three Kongs" of Qufu: the temple of Confucius or Kongmiao, his mansion or Kongfu, and the cemetery, Konglin⁵². At the same time, the rituals which used to be held before the Communists' arrival, started to proliferate again. In the year 1984 the "Confucius Foundation" was established, and

⁴⁹ Qufu.com, "Home Page."

⁵⁰ Sébastien Billioud and Joël Thoraval, "Lijiao: The Return of Ceremonies Honouring Confucius in Mainland China," *China Perspectives*, n. 2009/4, pp. 82-100.

⁵¹ Billioud and Thoraval, "Lijiao: The Return of Ceremonies," pp. 82-100.

⁵² Billioud and Thoraval, "Lijiao: The Return of Ceremonies," pp. 82-100.

started the yearly tourist program “Travel to Qufu for Confucius’ Homeland on the Occasion of His Birthday”, which included both visits to the cultural sites and performances of ancient ritual dances. In 1989, the program was abandoned and replaced with the so called “Confucius Festival” which still takes place today⁵³. In reviewing the historical developments mentioned above, it emerges that, in contrast with contemporary attitudes, the protection of Confucius Temples as an important heritage site, and the narrative that links the Qufu Complex and the governmental support, is rather a novelty.

Throughout the 90’s, the complex’s prestige kept growing steadily and gained the official support of important party leaders:

In acts of official support for Qufu, Prime Minister Li Peng and President Jiang Zemin paid visits to the site in 1991 and 1992 respectively. During Li’s visit he left a written statement that the site “derives from the essence of Confucianism and it promotes the magnificence of our Chinese culture” (Xu 1993:i). According to an official in the city’s Tourism Administration, this statement gave local officials more confidence and a clearer direction for restoring the traditional Confucius ceremony. These visits encouraged local government to believe that the state’s attitudes to Confucianism were changing, and they decided to restore more of the ceremony’s traditional features. The first ceremony took place in 1993 as part of the annual “International Confucian Cultural Festival”. In addition to the cult dancing show, the ceremony now also included homage paid by representatives of the descendants of Confucius and by several officials from the local branch of the Chinese People’s Consultative Committee. The temple door was now left open revealing the Confucius statue during the ceremonial, including during the dancing, and ceremonial activity now took place in front of the statue.⁵⁴

On the wave of these developments, Qufu’s site earned international fame, as it has been included in the World Heritage List since 1994⁵⁵. The several activities organized by the Confucius Foundation give back to the city its symbolic and cultural value. In 2008, during a session of the CPPCC, the initiative of creating a “symbolic city of Chinese culture” in Qufu’s area was launched. The project was started by the provincial authorities and was then supported by the central state, involving also Zoucheng (the birthplace of Mencius) and the Mountain of Nine Dragons, creating a whole symbolic area with the intent of emphasizing a strong Confucian atmosphere⁵⁶.

The symbolic meaning of Qufu’s Complex

In 2007, in occasion of the 2,558th Birthday of the Sage, a series of events was organized, which can be considered as emblematic in the development of the “Confucius Phenomenon”⁵⁷. In the organization of these events, both Confucian activists and central authorities have been involved at different levels⁵⁸. In the World Confucian Conference held on September 27th, preceding the Confucius Festival, the participants formed an eclectic group: scholars and activists with different

⁵³ Billioud and Thoraval, “Lijiao: The Return of Ceremonies,” pp. 82-100.

⁵⁴ Hongliang Yan and Bill Bramwell, “Cultural Tourism, Ceremony and the State in China,” *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 2008, p. 981.

⁵⁵ UNESCO, “Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu.”

⁵⁶ Billioud and Thoraval, “Lijiao: The Return of Ceremonies,” pp. 82-100.

⁵⁷ Billioud and Thoraval, “Lijiao: The Return of Ceremonies,” pp. 82-100.

⁵⁸ Billioud and Thoraval, “Lijiao: The Return of Ceremonies,” pp. 82-100.

backgrounds and perspectives, most of them Chinese or with Chinese origins, and governmental representatives from the Shandong Province. In those days several personalities covering prominent positions in the state government were visiting Qufu, although they did not attend the World Confucian Conference but they did join other activities for the Birthday of the Sage⁵⁹. The atmosphere was solemn, with the contribution of grand speeches held by political figures such as the Governor of Shandong Province and by the Minister of Culture. The content addressed Confucius' contribution to the promotion of traditional Chinese culture, the Confucian idea of harmony, and the need to adapt such theories to the contemporary era. The official spokesman of Jining and the representative of Qufu's Kongzi Yanjiuyuan focused their contributions on Confucianism as a tool for national cohesion and highlighted the need for being aware of traditional Chinese culture to build a sense of belonging within the nation. The benefits of the tourism resulting from the Qufu's complex have been mentioned too⁶⁰.

The celebrations continued in the evening in Qufu's stadium with the inauguration ceremony of the International Confucius Festival, attended by a considerable number of governmental officials⁶¹, and surrounded by a crowd of people of different ages and background. The ceremony was held in a majestic style. Particularly significant is the theme selected for this inauguration event: the term 中华情 *zhonghuaqing*:

The expression is less common than *guoqing*, which refers to the intrinsic circumstances of the country. It is an expression of Chineseness, the fundamental character of China understood as an entity that goes beyond frontiers (overseas Chinese are also included, and maybe even all those linked to China by blood or culture) and ethnic origin (i.e., minorities are also included). Lasting slightly more than two hours, the show features a mix of choreography inspired by the past, contemporary pop music, and allusions to and praise of Confucius. The program is organised around three themes epitomising this "Confucian Chineseness": the idea of a community, respect for differences, and the dream of a grand world unity that finds its symbolic crystallisation in the Olympic Games in Beijing. Throughout the program, a triple dimension of Chinese culture is put to the fore: local (the community of Chinese people, even when they are "scattered across the four seas"), regional (the sinicised world, harmonious beyond its differences, under the benevolent influence of Confucius), and universal through the ancient Datong (Great Unity) utopia.⁶²

In this representation, the Confucian tradition is presented as directly connected to the essence of Chineseness, as it carries the ideals of community and world unity, and it is a core element of traditional Chinese culture. Through the representations provided in such events, which include choreographies inspired by the past, contemporary music, and the praise of Confucian values, the symbolic meaning of *zhonghuaqing* is conveyed. The presence of high ranking government figures adds an official atmosphere to the whole event.

The culminating peak of the celebration for the Birthday of the Sage is the ceremony held in the Confucius Temple on the 28th of September. The ceremony begins in the morning, with the gathering of the official guests outside the old town of Qufu, forming a procession along the Way

⁵⁹ Billioud and Thoraval, "Lijiao: The Return of Ceremonies," pp. 82-100.

⁶⁰ Sébastien Billioud, "Confucianism, 'Cultural Tradition,' and Official Discourses at the Start of the New Century," *China Perspectives*, no.2007/3, pp. 50-65.

⁶¹ Billioud and Thoraval, "Lijiao: The Return of Ceremonies."

⁶² Billioud and Thoraval, "Lijiao: The Return of Ceremonies", p. 89.

of Spirit (shendao) and reaching the walls of the temple. There, a short ritual takes place called the “setting the holy fire of Chinese culture” (zhonghua wenhua shenghuo). Once inside the temple, the ceremony merges to a wider crowd of people. The ritual proceeds with a reading session of the *Analects* by 1,000 young participants, guarded by a line of PLA soldiers in civil uniforms which prevent the event from slipping into chaos. The ceremony itself is held in the Dacheng Hall. Among the guests we find a CPPCC Vice-President, Shandong provincial Party secretary Yu Dan, delegations of overseas Chinese, and more. All are invited to pay their respect to Confucius. The ceremony itself is not solemn, the guests walk towards the altar when instructed to do so, divided into groups, and for each one group a couple of PLA soldiers display flower offerings by the altar. The liturgy then commands that the guest delegates walk towards the flowers to arrange them properly according the rituals, take three steps back, and bow three times (the traditional san jugong) before the statue of Confucius. Once the offerings’ display has been completed, the ceremony continues with dances performed by dancing troops. In traditional ceremonies it was usually the scholars, and especially the novices, who performed the ritual dances and music. The process then culminates with the opening of the ceremony to the public crowd⁶³.

The international organizations

The Qufu Complex, listed as “Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion”, has been included into the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1994. The purpose of the UNESCO list is mainly cultural heritage preservation, and it includes a wide range of sites with different characteristics from all over the world. Inclusion in the list grants prestige and fame to the designated cultural site.

In the case of the Qufu Complex, UNESCO offers three criteria to support the choice of inclusion into the World Heritage List⁶⁴.

UNESCO also praises the value of the Confucius Temple as the birthplace of a philosopher who as deeply influenced Chinese culture and way of thinking, and Confucian influence in Asia. It also provides a brief overview of Confucius’ life and the reasons why his contributions to Chinese culture are so outstanding, and describes the uniqueness of the Temple. UNESCO also claims integrity and authenticity to be core features of the Temple.

UNESCO defines the temple as *faithful expressions of traditional Chinese culture*⁶⁵, supporting the government’s discourse about Qufu and Confucianism complementing a static notion of “Chinese traditional culture”. UNESCO also asserts that the temple *was never disrupted in Chinese history*⁶⁶, being once again coherent with the governmental narratives which tend to omit the damages suffered by the temple during the Cultural Revolution.

⁶³ Billioud and Thoraval, “Lijiao: The Return of Ceremonies,” pp. 82-100.

⁶⁴ See Appendix: The UNESCO World Heritage List’s

⁶⁵ See Appendix: The UNESCO World Heritage List’s

⁶⁶ See Appendix: The UNESCO World Heritage List’s

It has to be mentioned that the inclusion in the World Heritage List happened in a moment of splendour for the Qufu Complex, when it started coming out of the status of semi-unknown it used to hold outside of Chinese borders. In those years the Confucius Foundation started to organize events centered around Confucian philosophy, contributing to the prestige of the complex.

The World Bank organization has supported China in its development process since the late 70's. During the reform period, relationships with multilateral agencies such as World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, supported economic growth and promoted China's openness to international enterprises in a politically neutral setting. The relationship with the World Bank specifically became broad quickly, due to the World Bank's involvement in many economic sectors, social and regional development, environmental protection and macroeconomic reforms. By the early 90's China was its largest borrower, and the World Bank became one of China's most important sources of technical assistance, although the relationship experienced some variations throughout the following decades.⁶⁷

Naturally, the nature of the relationship changed over time. The relative importance of the Bank for China declined as the economy matured, Chinese experts gained expertise and international experience, and China gained access to world capital markets and many additional sources of advice. China lost access to the Bank's soft-loan window (IDA) in 1999. Around the same time, commitments for loans on standard (IBRD) terms had to be scaled back to avoid 'over-exposure' to China on the Bank's balance sheet.⁶⁸

In the general frame, through joint studies, conferences, project financing and technical assistance, China's relationship with the World Bank contributed to its reform policy thinking, institution building and macroeconomic management.

Among the projects supported in China by the World Bank, the Cultural Heritage Conservation is an outstanding one. Since the 90's, it has produced 12 projects, which have been funded with \$1.3 billion in loans, making it the largest single-country program to support cultural heritage conservation for the World Bank⁶⁹. Another project, the "Shandong Confucius and Mencius Cultural Heritage Conservation and Development Project"⁷⁰, is entirely devoted to the Shandong province and the city of Qufu and Zoucheng, as they are the hometowns of Confucius and Mencius⁷¹.

The purpose of the project is therefore not only to benefit the site's preservation, but also to bring growth opportunities for the city of Qufu and Zoucheng through tourism, and to develop the cities' infrastructures. We see here some differences with the UNESCO World Heritage List's goals,

⁶⁷ Pieter Bottelier, "China and the World Bank: How a Partnership Was Built", *Journal of Contemporary China*, 16:51, (April, 2007): 239-258.

⁶⁸ Bottelier, "China and the World Bank: How a Partnership Was Built", p.241.

⁶⁹ "Conserving the Past as a Foundation for the Future: China-World Bank Partnership on Cultural Heritage Conservation", Open Knowledge Repository, World Bank Group, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/17389>.

⁷⁰ World Bank Group, "Conserving the Past as a Foundation for the Future: China-World Bank Partnership on Cultural Heritage Conservation".

⁷¹ See Appendix: Shandong Confucius and Mencius Cultural Heritage Conservation and Development Project Draft PAD.

which are circumscribed to heritage preservation. However, both international organizations contributed to the touristic development of the areas through the cultural site's promotion and consistent funds devoted to related development projects.

Overall, it is interesting to notice how in promoting the projects for cultural preservation, UNESCO and the World Bank seem to reproduce the narratives supported by the government, as they reinforce the temple's association with a constructed idea of traditional Chinese culture. In these projects, all the parties involved in the preservation of the cultural site, deem the site itself as a unique expression of traditional Chinese culture.

The symbols in the narrative

According to the analysis led in this research, the symbols conveyed by the heritage management strategies are coherent with the narratives encountered in Xi Jinping's speeches, and in the initiatives implemented to promote traditional Chinese culture.

We see this in the government's change of attitudes towards the Confucius Temple. It has already been mentioned above that the official support and the promotion of the Temple as a touristic destination, or the participation of high rank political figures in the ceremonies, is a novelty. During the Maoist era the Confucius Temple had been neglected and the city of Qufu had lost its symbolic value. Under the Cultural Revolution it suffered serious damages due to the Red Guards' incursions. However, since the reform period the Qufu Complex is experiencing a period of growth, both due to the events organized by the Confucius Organization and the support from international organizations such as UNESCO and the World Bank. In such a frame, the central government still holds a key role:

At present, the Qufu City Cultural Relics Administration Committee⁷² represents the government to exercise the administration over the cultural relics in the city. The admission management for the three property scenes is done by the Cultural Relics and Tourism Development Company and the Cultural Relics and Tourist Service Division. The management scope of the Cultural Relics and Tourism Development Company and Cultural Relics and Tourist Service Division, are separate from Committee, is: Confucius Temple, Forest and Mansion, Temple of Zhougong, Temple of Yan Hui, Shouqiu, Tomb of Shaohao, Confucius Temple on Nishan Mountain, cultural relics store, Stele Garden of Analects, Tourist Service Company and ancient building repair team. Their main duties are: Responsible for the safety of the cultural relics in the scenic spots and on display; the opening of the scenic sorts and reception affairs; the sanitation and greening in the scenic spots; the management of the order in the opened scenic spots; the fire safety in the scenic spots; and the operation and management of the tertiary industry in the scenic spots.⁷³

Through the action of the Qufu City Cultural Relics Administration Committee, the government can be acknowledged as the main actor in leading the investments into Qufu's relics. The consistent amount of political elements included in the Confucius Temple advertisements make this clear⁷⁴. The official website dedicates a whole section to highlighting the interests Party leaders have

⁷² This is how the Qufu Cultural Heritage Administration Committee is translated in the World Bank document, however both titles refer to the same organization.

⁷³ Yan and Bramwell, "Cultural Tourism, Ceremony and the State in China", p. 981.

⁷⁴ See paragraphs above.

shown towards the city of Qufu, implying some perpetual political support towards the promotion of the site. Starting with Mao and ending with Xi, and including other well-known figures of the Chinese political panorama, this can be considered an example of a narrative that inspires continuity between Chinese traditional culture and the ideal of Chinese identity which the government supports. Certain recurrent elements in Xi's speeches are easily found on the website advertising his visit to Confucius Temple, such as the participation of young citizens, the need to be aware of one's cultural heritage, the importance of studying Chinese traditional culture and to spread it beyond Chinese borders.

The government's presence in the ceremonies held in the temple is another important manifestation of support. The Minister of Culture attended the celebrations for the 2,558th Birthday of the Sage, and contributed to the ceremony with a speech regarding the impact of Confucianism on Chinese culture and the importance of studying it. The fact that the ceremony started with some readings from the *Analects* also shows some coherence with Xi's speeches, as they often use quotations from the classics. He uses classic knowledge to enhance his political speeches and make them relatable to an audience of educated Chinese people. The choice of the event's theme as *zhonghuaqing*, is significant because it merges elements coming from Confucianism, such as the idea of a community, respect for differences, and the dream of a grand world unity⁷⁵, to the ideal of Chineseness. In these ways, contemporary political speeches tend to promote traditional Chinese culture, an ideal which is inherited by all Chinese people and represents the quintessence of Chineseness. It reflects itself in the ceremonies held in the Confucius Temple, as they exemplify how traditional culture can be meaningful to contemporary societies.

In this perspective the central government is in fact involved in the management and the sponsorship of the Confucius Temple through administrative organizations, through the attendance of the events, and through the narratives portrayed on the official website. The governmental involvement in the promotion of cultural heritage sites such as the one in Qufu exemplifies the will to connect contemporary society to its grassroots culture in an effort to sponsor a certain ideal of Chineseness. Although the Confucius Temple is gaining benefit from such initiatives, some have criticized the ceremonies in particular:

The continuing restrictions at that time on the civilian "cult ceremony" were criticized by several local interviewees, often on the grounds that the ceremony was largely being developed as a major tourist event rather than to pay homage to Confucius and his philosophy. A local organizer of the event complained that "it was still a show put on for tourists, and it was far removed from its original political meanings". [...] In this period the local Tourism Administration was concerned that international tourists from countries with a Confucian tradition thought that Qufu's ceremony was "inauthentic", and they feared this would restrict its future tourist appeal.⁷⁶

The main goal of these events is to deploy the temple's longstanding association with Confucianism through the organization of such events. In this process, the events contribute to emphasize a static notion of traditional Chinese culture, coherently with the political narratives

⁷⁵ See paragraphs above.

⁷⁶ Yan and Bramwell, "Cultural Tourism, Ceremony and the State in China", p.982.

described. The purpose of promoting a static idea of Confucianism through the site's representation is hazardous itself. To support such claim I would refer to Goldin's study on Confucianism⁷⁷. He outlines the history of Confucianism as a philosophy, and its development: the interpretation of Confucianism as varied consistently throughout the centuries. For this reason, it is difficult to provide an exact definition of what Confucianism is. In spite of that, through the promotion of the events held in the Temple, the government's discourse provides a rather static idea of it, which reinforces a constructed notion of traditional Chinese identity.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to illustrate how the strategies of cultural governance described in the previous chapter find their exemplification in cultural heritage management, taking the Qufu Complex as a case study. I have started my analysis through a description of the Complex's arrangement and the representations on the official website to discuss their meaning and what message they are trying to convey. Then I gave a brief outline of the temple's recent history, to emphasize the fact that the government's attitude towards it has changed radically through the last decades, and in the sources which praise the value of Confucianism for contemporary society during the events, the period of the Cultural Revolution during which the temple has suffered considerable damages is never addressed. The idea of a continuous support to the promotion of culture is included into the narratives which shape cultural governance in contemporary China. I have also included an overview of international organizations contributing in the temple's management and funds as a further exemplification of how the international panorama can influence cultural heritage preservation at a domestic level: the inclusion into the World Heritage List gave prestige to the temple, and the World Bank partnership supported the site's development through consistent funds loans. It is important to notice that while being involved in the site's preservation, both UNESCO and the World Bank support the narrative proposed by the government on traditional Chinese culture.

After the observation of the data provided, I argue that the Confucius Temples represent a comprehensive example of how cultural governance is managed in contemporary China; the central government is directly involved in cultural heritage management and the official discourse on the promotion of traditional culture demonstrates this. International organizations are also involved and they provided benefits for the cultural sites' development, however the narrative on traditional culture is not as successful internationally as it is on the domestic level.

⁷⁷ Paul R. Goldin, *Confucianism*, (New York: Routledge, 2010).

Chapter Four: The Shandong Province Museum

Introduction

The Shandong province constitutes a unique example of strong provincial identity due to great historical heritage, and several archaeological sites. I have decided to examine the Shandong Provincial Museum as a case study to provide a concrete example of how the central authority acts on local cultural relics, and how this shapes Chinese and provincial identity through cultural governance. The analysis will include an overview of the museum's main characteristics and structure, as well as the results of my field observation in Shandong province and an overall interpretation of the data collected.

The Advertisement Strategies

The Museum can be considered as a flagship for the city of Jinan. It is a touristic resource as well as a proud statement of the importance of Shandong identity and Chineseness as promoted by the central government. Perhaps emphasized the most is the importance of being aware of one's people's ancient history and culture.

We see the strength of the "identity statement" the museum represents by looking at the homepage of its official website. The exhibitions most highlighted on the homepage are directly linked to the celebration of Shandong Culture.⁷⁸

Additionally, the museum introduces itself as a lively intellectual cluster that contributes to the national awareness of China's ancient history and classic culture through the organization of events and conferences. This meaning is conveyed through a newsletter which occupies a prominent position in the website's homepage, showing pictures from cultural events held in the museum.

⁷⁸"Introduction to Shandong Museum", Shandong Museum, accessed June 13, 2018, <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%B1%B1%E4%B8%9C%E7%9C%81%E5%8D%9A%E7%89%A9%E9%A6%86/1629024?fr=aladdin>.

FIGURE 2⁸⁰ THIS PICTURE IS TAKEN FROM THE NEWSLETTER IN THE MUSEUM'S WEBSITE. IT REPRESENTS ONE OF THE EVENTS HELD IN THE MUSEUM.

In spite of the low numbers of foreign visitors in the museum, a proper degree of attention for the learning experience of non-Chinese speakers is shown. This can be gathered from the website as well, as it is presented both in a Chinese and in an English version. The contents of the pages are equally exhaustive. It is interesting to notice how the historical importance of the museum, as well as support from the state government, are described as crucial for the construction of a culturally strong Shandong Province:

In 2006, Shandong provincial Party committee and government put forward the strategic objectives to construct the culture-strong Shandong province, the construction of a new Shandong Museum was brought on the agenda again, which was a major decision of the Shandong provincial Party committee and government to implement the Scientific Outlook on Development, prosper the cause of culture in Shandong, step over from a province of rich culture sources to a culture-strong province. The foundation of the new site of the museum on the Jingshi Road was laid in December, 2007, which opened to the public since Nov. 16th, 2010. Three years later, a modern museum of clear local characteristics was standing in the center of Jinan, with the main building area being of 82,900 square meters in size, and 74 meters in height. The completion of the new Shandong Museum signals a new era for the development of museums.⁸¹

This quotation highlights the collaboration existing between the institution of the museum and the central government. In my research I aim to investigate to what extent the central government has an influence on the museum's management, and how the sponsorship of Shandong identity fits into the wider frame of the discourse on national identity led by the government.

Interview's Results

I visited the Museum in January 2018, and I asked to interview one of the lead managers of the museum. Unfortunately, I was not allowed to conduct the interview in person due to my interviewee's strict schedule, but the manager agreed to contribute to my research. Thus, I sent the questions to my interviewee through email, both in English and Chinese, and he sent me his reply by email one week later. The questions in the interview seek to understand to what degree the state government is involved with the museum's management, and to determine whether it is only a source of funds or if it holds an active position in the decision making process, as well as how the sponsorship of Shandong identity contributes to strengthen the ideal of Chineseness.

The interview opens with a brief overview of the importance of the presence of a provincial museum in Shandong⁸². The discourse provided by my interviewee is similar to the views expressed on the official website, highlighting the prestigious history of Shandong Province and the history of the museum, the important contributions the museum offers to intellectual and cultural life in Shandong province. The collections presented in the museum come from various sources⁸³, ranging from ancient bronze collections discovered during archaeological excavations,

⁸⁰ "Home Page," sdmusuem.com.

⁸¹ "Introduction to Shandong Museum", Shandong Museum.

⁸² See Appendix: Interview to head manager of Shandong Province Museum.

⁸³ See Appendix: Interview to head manager of Shandong Province Museum, question n.2.

to the provincial library of Shandong, Jinan's institutions, and donations from local intellectuals. All of them are then examined by the museum's administration and eventually displayed in the appropriate collection⁸⁴. Every item is catalogued singularly on the website, which offers a complete digital version of all the collections. This information is also made available on the children's version of the website in order to promote an interest in history and to facilitate the spread of knowledge among young audiences.

According to my interviewee, the Shandong Museum is indeed investing in several means of promoting itself in order to spread the knowledge of Shandong identity. To question number 4⁸⁵, concerning the means of promotion of traditional culture, the head manager of the museum referred to the importance of attracting young students to the organization by utilizing educational events and services. He hopes to allow knowledge of traditional culture to enter schools and enterprises, and to promote the museum's influence. On the other hand, all these initiatives appear to be domestically oriented. When asked about international visitors, or collaborations between the museum and international scholars and organizations, the replies have been vague⁸⁶. The museum's manager praises its "continuous effort" to organize events and exhibitions together with international authorities, mentioning a fair list of them. However, he also affirms that the number of international visitors is not particularly remarkable, especially when compared to the domestic one. In this scheme, one might argue that the aim of cooperation between the Shandong Museum and international scholars and organization has not been successful in terms of making the museum more appealing for international visitors. However, according to the interviewee, it is indeed succeeding in providing a deeper mutual understanding of the different cultures involved in the process of promoting the museum. It has to be mentioned that many of the collaborations listed by the manager do not reach outside of Asia.

According to these claims, asserting that the Shandong Provincial Museum is meant to boost Shandong cultural heritage for domestic visitors in particular seems a justified statement to me. However, the strong influence exercised by the central government must be considered. The museum is a state institution, open to the public without any entrance fee required⁸⁷. The museum highly depends on the central government for necessary funds which are entirely provided by the central government. According to my interviewee's affirmations, the central government deeply influences the museum's administration. However, he mentions that the only requirements made by the state government concern the level of service provided. In order to honour Shandong's great cultural heritage the service provided must be "excellent"⁸⁸. This

⁸⁴ See Appendix: Fieldwork Data, Part 2: The Shandong Province Museum.

⁸⁵ See Appendix: Interview to head manager of Shandong Province Museum.

⁸⁶ See Appendix: Interview to head manager of Shandong Province Museum, questions number 5 and 10.

⁸⁷ See Appendix: Interview to head manager of Shandong Province Museum, question number 7.

⁸⁸ My translation from Chinese 高度, see Appendix: Interview to head manager of Shandong Province Museum, question number 8.

includes conforming to law, and addressing governmental business criteria and official policies, to create the fertile conditions necessary for Shandong culture to prosper⁸⁹.

Particularly significant is the last part of the interview, which is devoted to the investigation of the meaning of the expression of “Shandong Identity” and people’s awareness of it in the Shandong province. According to my interviewee, the phrase “I am from Shandong Province” means being included in a group of people who share the same history, culture, consciousness, and policies which result in a feeling of “communion” and “belonging”⁹⁰. The awareness of Shandong identity results in the pride of being part of it. My interviewee connects the importance of Shandong identity to the feeling of safeness⁹¹. It makes one closer to his ancestor and to his roots, giving work aspirations, and the will to contribute to the local economy, and to the cultural development of the area, building a prosperous local community. It is important that every citizen is aware of his roots to achieve the goal of the Great Harmony⁹², common wealth⁹³ for everyone, and the common dreams⁹⁴. Particularly significant here is the mention the Great Harmony. This term refers to a whole unity formed by several smaller unities all different from each other. Such unities, in spite of their differences, merge together in a harmonious whole. This ideal seems to be connected to the relationship between national and local identity in the mind of my interviewee: the provincial identities in China represent small unities, being all different from each other, which converge into a harmonious whole. To answer the last question about the awareness of provincial identity in Shandong culture, my interviewee concludes with a Chinese saying, “When two from the same town see each other, they walk passed with tears at the corners of their eyes”⁹⁵, to emphasize that the feeling of belonging to a local community goes beyond the physically being in a place. Rather, it accompanies people throughout their whole lifetime. The Shandong Museum is meant as a symbol of such pride and belonging.

Political narratives in the context of the Museum

In analysing the data collected during this research, it seems that there is a certain degree of resemblance between the narratives presented in the political speeches presented in Chapter 2 and the management line of the Shandong Museum. This can be noticed in several ways, the

⁸⁹See full interview in the Appendix, question number 8

⁹⁰ My translation of the Chinese “认同感” and “归属感”. See Appendix: Interview to head manager of Shandong Province Museum, question number 12.

⁹¹ See Appendix: Interview to head manager of Shandong Province Museum, question number 13.

⁹² The interviewee uses the word 大同. See Appendix: Interview to head manager of Shandong Province Museum, question number 13.

⁹³ My translation of Chinese 共同的富裕. See Appendix: Interview to head manager of Shandong Province Museum, question number 13.

⁹⁴ My translation of Chinese 共同的梦想. See Appendix: Interview to head manager of Shandong Province Museum, question number 13.

⁹⁵ My translation of Chinese “老乡见老乡，两眼泪汪汪”. See Appendix: Interview to head manager of Shandong Province Museum, question number 14.

emphasis put on the importance of studying ancient history and classic culture being one of them. It was also evidenced in the interviewee's answers, as he explained that the museum's management bases his line of promotion on the presentation of Shandong as a cluster of the earliest Chinese civilizations. However, I would argue that this strategy is mostly domestically oriented. The events organized by the museum are mostly held in Chinese, participants hold their speeches in Chinese, the topic is often concerning some aspects of classical Chinese culture such as the study of music, calligraphy, or painting, and the invited scholars are mostly Chinese⁹⁶. Under this perspective I would argue that the museum is indeed a lively institution and of high importance for Shandong Province, but its influence does not reach further than Shandong's borders. Its purpose is then the one mentioned by my interviewee when describing the feeling of belonging and safeness that derives from the awareness of provincial identity.

Another aspect coherent with the political narratives is the focus on attracting young audience. The theme of the rejuvenation of the nation is repeated in contemporary policies, and the need for young people to study traditional culture is often mentioned⁹⁷. Hence I would argue that the highlights the museum puts on the attraction of younger visitor is not casual. The visit is often perceived as weekend family activity, and many of the museum's events are organized in cooperation with state schools⁹⁸. Additionally, the data collected in my interview also confirm the museum manager's aspiration to attract students to participate in such activities.

It is particularly significant that, in order to answer some of the questions, my interviewee often used terms that are commonly found in political speeches' scripts. In an effort to convey that the knowledge of ancient history of one's people results in a feeling of belonging and connection to a community, he used expressions such as "common wealth", "Great Harmony" and "common dreams". Such terms are often used in contemporary political discourses, as they are involved with narratives concerning the Chinese Dream, the dream of prosperity which unites all Chinese People, and the rise of China as an international superpower. I would then argue that the political narratives at a national level can have a certain degree of reflection on the cultural heritage management at a local level, as is the case of the Shandong Province Museum. The Shandong Museum, as well as all the other provincial museums in China, can support political discourses in this way. As I mentioned in the previous chapters, providing people with a strong sense of belonging and a powerful discourse on identity helps to maintain a stable social fabric, which benefits an authoritarian government. As Flath argues:

Although these museums and monuments do have a legitimate claim to revolutionary history, the extent to which they support an explicitly state-centered interpretation of the past should also be seen as a consequence of their incapacity to raise independent funds. These locations are far from the present economic and cultural center of the province, and so have few opportunities to attract a share of the burgeoning tourist market. As a consequence, the exhibits continue to rely on government support, and so

⁹⁶ "Introduction to Shandong Museum", Shandong Museum.

⁹⁷ See Chapter 2

⁹⁸ See Appendix: Fieldwork Data, Part 2: The Shandong Province Museum.

are also the most likely to support the increasingly obsolete state narratives based on patriotism, historical materialism, socialism, and revolution.⁹⁹

The museum's administration relies entirely on governmental funds. This allows the government to have a strong influence on the cultural discourse held by the museum itself. Such analysis would further support the theory that museums who rely economically on the state tend to reproduce the narratives proposed by the central government. The materials collected throughout my support this claim. Although there is no mention of the ideal of Chineseness portrayed by the central government, it is clearly conveyed that the awareness of common ancient history results in communion of the people, and an aspiration to achieve common goals and support the development of the community. On this behalf I would refer to Mike Michael's work¹⁰⁰ to support my interpretation. In his study he explains how what we define as identities are not just the perception of the self, or the differentiation of the self from the others. He argues that there are non-human factors which affects the construction of identities: such as history, state, class, etc. All these actors impact on situations at a micro level, such as provincial identities. Hence, I apply this theory to my research in arguing that there is no such a thing as inherited identity, it results instead from the interaction of other factors, crafting a constructed idea of what identity is.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that the initiatives implemented at a national level to promote the spread of Chinese traditional culture also affect provincial realities which are mostly domestically oriented. I have considered the case of the Shandong Province Museum to support this theory. I have started my argument with a description of the museum's arrangement and how it is organized, to show how it is mainly focused on antiquities' display due to the significant ancient history of Shandong province and its remarkable collection of ancient findings. I have then proceeded to describe the advertising strategies implemented by the museum to promote itself, and the activities it holds, giving a brief overview of the official website's main characteristics. I have used the interview I led during my field observation activities in Shandong as a further insight into the museum's management and the narratives behind it. According to my research, the museum is connected to the central government not only economically but also in the symbols it conveys. The importance of connecting people through traditional culture is repeatedly emphasized. In this case the promotion of Shandong Identity can be considered as a minor example of the narratives the government is spreading on a national scale, as they present common recurrent themes.

⁹⁹ James A. Flath, "Managing Historical Capital in Shandong: Museum, Monument, and Memory in Provincial China," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Spring 2002), p.54.

¹⁰⁰ Mike Michael, *Constructing Identities in the Social, the Non-human, and Change*, (London: Sage Publications LTD, 1996).

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to look at cultural governance in contemporary China and its implementation, considering cultural heritage management in Shandong province as a case study. To answer the research questions, I have adopted a threefold approach, organizing the chapters of my thesis according to it.

The first chapter was meant to provide a theoretical base for this research, focusing on Chinese national identity and the relationship between cultural heritage management and national identity. I have based my discussion on existing scholarly debates on the topic, highlighting how the official narratives on the Chinese national community have mutated along with the times. In particular, I have pointed out that after the Maoist era, the government was in need of providing a solid historical narrative to the Chinese people to confer a feeling of belonging and national identity. I have referred to Callahan and his studies on history as a security issue, and for its definition of China as a “pessoptimistic” nation; a country aiming forward to the realisation of its ambition as an international superpower, but looking back with shame at its past years of humiliation. This passage has been crucial to support my argument, as it points to the importance of historical narratives in contemporary Chinese nationalism. Furthermore, through his theory of the “structure of feelings” Callahan asserts that a contradiction exists in the political discourse¹⁰¹: on the one hand the national feeling of shame creates cohesion in the people, on the other hand it is inappropriate for an emerging international superpower to ask for commiseration. In conclusion to this chapter, I have referred to Duara¹⁰² to explain how the political discourse on Chinese identity can affect cultural heritage management, since cultural sites can be used by the central government to present the official historical narrative that the national community is built on. The provided literature review proves that there is not such a thing as a fixed ideal of Chinese nationalism, and that historical narratives supported by the government are meant to create cohesion among the people. Moreover, historical heritage management is a powerful tool the government can use to convey such narratives.

In the second chapter I provide empirical data to support my argument, and provide a better understanding of cultural governance in contemporary China. My analysis starts with an overview of economic strategies China is now implementing to enhance its international network and improve its position as a global economy. The aim of this section is to argue how China is taking concrete action to build connections through multilateral organizations, as it is reported in the official documents I have discussed¹⁰³. It is a fact that China has been consistently investing in culture in the last decades, and such investments are oriented towards a promotion of Chinese traditional culture, as both of the documents and Xi Jinping’s speeches assert. However, according to the data I have collected, there is no evidence that such investments are meant to create

¹⁰¹ William A. Callahan, *China: the Pessoptimistic Nation*, (Oxford University Press Inc.: New York, 2010).

¹⁰² Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

¹⁰³ See Appendix

international connections. Indeed, all of the initiatives mentioned in the official documents are circumscribed into the Chinese domestic borders. In the same way, Xi Jinping's speeches which praise traditional Chinese culture and support the spread of it, usually take place at official the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee,¹⁰⁴ where the audience is formed mainly by Chinese people. Thus, according to the empirical data provided in this section, I argue that the narratives to boast the spread of Chinese traditional culture target a domestic audience, whilst the international network building relies consistently on the economic strategies China is implementing.

Chapter Four is entirely dedicated to the case study on the Confucius Temple and Kong Mansion in Qufu. A consistent part of this chapter describes the Qufu Complex itself and the revival of the ceremonies taking place since the last decades. The key point of this section is highlighting that, in spite of the presentation conveyed through advertisements on the website, the governmental support to the Temple is a novelty. In fact, the temple has experienced a lot of up and downs throughout the centuries. For instance, during the Cultural Revolution it had been seriously damaged by the Red Guards. This demonstrates how the governmental support towards Confucianism has not been constant. Besides, it is hazardous to define Confucianism¹⁰⁵ itself, as it has had many different interpretations through history. In spite of that, the government's discourses on traditional Chinese culture refer repeatedly to Confucianism¹⁰⁶, adding boundaries to its interpretation thus complementing a static notion of "Chinese traditional culture". Such notion is further claimed by international organizations such as UNESCO and the World Bank, which introduce the temple as a "faithful expression of Chinese culture".

The Shandong Province Museum has been included into this research as an example of how the narratives of national Chinese identity reflect on local realities. The Shandong Province is a significant example due to its ancient cultural heritage which is treasured by the province administration as valuable and unique. In my research, I have highlighted three main points: the Museum's advertisement campaigns are directed towards a domestic audience, the Museum's management relies entirely on the government's economic support and the government influences the Museum's management to a certain extent, and according to the data I collected through my interview, there seems to be no contradiction between national and local identity. In fact, they both coexist within the ideal of "Great Harmony". It is relevant that my interviewee used terms which often appear in the political speeches when replying to questions about identity, such as Great Harmony, common wealth, common dream. Based on this data, I have concluded that the Shandong Province Museum constitutes an example of how the narratives about national identity are perceived in local communities; they do not interfere with the promotion of local identity. In fact national and local identity complement each other.

As an overall conclusion to this study, I would argue that cultural governance in China is indeed mainly focused on creating a connection with Chinese history before the foundation of the PRC, in

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁵ Paul R. Goldin, *Confucianism*, (New York: Routledge, 2010).

¹⁰⁶ Jinping Xi, *Xi Jinping – The Governance of China*, (ICP International Press: Beijing, 2014)

an effort to provide a sense of belonging and identity to Chinese people. This objective reflects on the strategies implemented by the government. Cultural investments are focused on boasting traditional Chinese culture, and this aim is confirmed by the narratives introduced by the political speeches. These strategies target a domestic audience, whilst the international nation building relies primarily on economic strategies. The case studies exemplify the ideal of “Chinese traditional culture” that the government aims to promote; an ever existing heritage which unites all Chinese citizens and gives prestige to the nation. However, my research has proven that such a fixed ideal of identity is a constructed one rather than a natural heritage resulting from traditional culture. In such a frame, cultural heritage management is an essential tool for the government to spread the official narratives among the people.

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Appendix

“The Right to Development: China’s Philosophy, Practice and Contribution.”¹⁰⁷

BEIJING — China’s State Council Information Office on Dec 1 issued a white paper on the right to development, detailing the country’s philosophy, practice and contribution in this regard.

The Right to Development: China’s Philosophy, Practice and Contribution

The State Council Information Office of the People’s Republic of China, December 2016

First Edition 2016

Preamble

Development is a universal human theme, providing for people’s basic needs and giving them hope of better life. The right to development is an inalienable human right, symbolizing dignity and honor. Only through development can we address global challenges; only through development can we protect basic civil rights of the people; only through development can we promote the progress of human society.

China, with a population of over 1.3 billion, is the largest developing country in the world. Development is the top priority of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in governance and national revitalization, and the key to resolving all other problems. Based on its prevailing conditions, China adheres to the Chinese socialist path and to the philosophy that development is of paramount importance. China integrates the principle of universal application of human rights with the country’s reality. While striving to enhance the people’s well-being through development and materialize their right to development, China endeavors to achieve higher-level development by protecting their right to development. In this regard, China has made notable progress and blazed a path in protecting human rights during the development of human civilization.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the CPC Central Committee with Xi Jinping as its core has highlighted the idea of people-centered development. In the course of realizing the Two Centenary Goals [Note: The two goals are to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects by the centenary of the CPC (founded in 1921) and to build China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious by the centenary of the People’s Republic of China (founded in 1949).] and the Chinese Dream of revitalizing the Chinese nation, it has focused on safeguarding and improving

¹⁰⁷ “Full text: The Right to Development: China’s Philosophy, Practice and Contribution”, The State Council – The People’s Republic of China, accessed in June 28, 2018, http://english.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2016/12/01/content_281475505407672.htm.

people's well-being, advancing all social programs, and protecting people's rights to equal participation and development. The aim is to share development benefits and achieve common prosperity among all people of the country.

On the 30th anniversary of the publication of the "Declaration on the Right to Development by the United Nations," China, dedicated to advocating, practicing and promoting the right to development, is willing to join the international community to share its philosophy and experience in this regard and to boost sound development of global human rights.

I. The Philosophy of the Right to Development Abreast with the Times

Equal access to development opportunities and development benefits are the ideals of human society wherein each and every citizen can achieve well-rounded development and enjoy full right to development.

The Chinese people are diligent, wise, innovative and progressive. In traditional Chinese culture, concepts such as "moderate prosperity" (xiao-kang), "great harmony" (Datong), "having ample food and clothing" (fengyi zushi) and "living and working in peace and contentment" (anju leye) fully reflect the Chinese people's aspiration for and pursuit of a better, happier life. In the long course of history, the Chinese people have always striven for better and shared development opportunities, conditions and benefits. In ancient times, China was for long the world leader in agriculture, and contributed to human progress with extraordinary development achievements. Studies reveal that until the mid-19th century, China's GDP and per capita GDP were the world's highest. Before the 16th century, China contributed 173 of the world's top 300 innovations and discoveries.

After the Industrial Revolution started in the 18th century, China began losing its leadership. Foreign aggression and expansion by Western colonialists completely destroyed conditions for development in China. Repeated invasions by foreign powers, particularly from the West, from 1840 to 1949, and China's corrupt ruling class and backward social system reduced China to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. There was constant warfare, an unstable society, economic depression, no security of livelihood, and extreme poverty. The Cambridge History of China: Republican China 1912-1949 describes China's situation in the first half of 20th century as follows: "... the great majority of Chinese merely sustained and reproduced themselves at the subsistence level ... the standard of life for many fell short even of that customary level." [Note: The Cambridge History of China (Volume 12): Republican China 1912-1949 Part I, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 28.] "As a system, China's economy which was 'pre-modern' even in the mid-twentieth century ceased to be viable only after 1949 ..." [Note: Ibid. p. 29.] In these 110 years, the Chinese people struggled arduously for their right to development and equal access to

development opportunity. The Chinese people are fully aware of the value of development and of their right to development.

The founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 ushered in a new era for China's development. The PRC has provided full development opportunities and conditions to the people, and vast scope to realize that right. Through more than 60 years of effort, China's overall national strength has greatly increased; standards of living have achieved a historical leap from poverty to moderate prosperity; the people's right to development in economy, politics, culture, society and environment has been effectively protected.

[...]

The rights to subsistence and development are the primary, basic human rights. Poverty is the biggest obstacle to human rights. Without the production and supply of material goods, it is difficult or even impossible to realize any other human right. Development is a means of eliminating poverty. It provides necessary conditions for realizing other human rights, and releases human potential. The right to development is incorporated into other human rights, while the latter create the conditions for people to facilitate development and realize the right to development. Safeguarding the right to development is the precondition for realizing economic, cultural, social and environmental rights, and obtaining civil and political rights. China appreciates the articulation in the UN's "Declaration on the Right to Development": "The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized."

The people hold the principal position concerning the right to development. China values the people's supremacy and regards the people as the fundamental driver of development, striving for the people, relying on the people, and sharing among the people. It takes improving popular well-being and well-rounded development as the starting point and ultimate goal, and fully mobilizes people's enthusiasm, initiative and creativity to participate in, contribute to and benefit from development. To build a moderately prosperous society in all respects and realize the Chinese Dream of revitalizing the Chinese nation means to provide better education, more secure employments, more satisfying income, more reliable social security, better medical services, more comfortable housing, and a better environment, so that all individuals can develop, contribute to society, and share the opportunity to pursue excellence and realize their dreams.

[...]

The realization of the right to development is a historical course. There is no end either to development or to realizing the right to development. The latter is an ongoing process of improvement. China is still in the primary stage of socialism and will long remain so. The inadequacy in meeting the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people because of

backward social production will remain the principal social problem. As a major developing country, China faces challenging problems and heavy tasks in development. In pursuit of more equal participation and development, China needs consistent efforts to fully realize the people's right to development.

The protection of the right to development must be sustainable. Sustainable development is a prerequisite for materializing the right to development, an embodiment of intergenerational equity. Unbalanced, uncoordinated and unequal development reflects unsustainable development, as does an extensive development model. China is pursuing a sustainable approach to production, utilization and consumption of natural resources. China now follows a sustainable and resilient socio-economic development path so as to meet the needs of both present and future generations. China has a development mindset of balance and sustainability, regarding the harmonious development between humanity and nature, between economy and society, as a new means of realizing and protecting the right to development.

The right to development must be enjoyed and shared by all peoples. Realizing the right to development is the responsibility of all countries and also the obligation of the international community. It requires governments of all countries to formulate development strategies and policies suited to their own realities, and it requires concerted efforts of the international community as a whole. China calls on all countries to pursue equal, open, all-around and innovative common development, promotes inclusive development, and creates conditions for all peoples to share the right to development. Global economic governance must be based on equality. It must better reflect the new world economic pattern, give an enhanced voice and representation to emerging markets and developing countries, ensure that all countries enjoy equality of rights, opportunities and rules in international economic cooperation, and ensure the right to development is shared.

II. The System Ensuring the People's Right to Development

China has established an integrated system of legislature, strategy development, planning, and judicial remedy to ensure its people's right to development, and makes continued efforts to improve it. The people's right to development is realized through a framework of institutions, strategies, policies and measures that are constructive, practical, efficient, and compulsory.

[...]

National Development Strategies

The world is a colorful place, with many different development patterns. Summarizing its historical experience and based on its prevailing conditions, China has chosen a socialist path. It strives to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, create a beautiful life for the Chinese people, and realize the people's right to development.

To build socialism with Chinese characteristics, China sets its national development strategies based on the need to protect and realize its people's right to development. In the early 1980s, the CPC proposed the "three-step" development strategy: First, to double the 1981 GNP and ensure the provision of basic material needs by 1990; second, to double the 1991 GNP by the end of the 20th century and bring people's living standards to a level of "reasonable prosperity"; and third, to quadruple that new GNP to the level of moderately developed countries by the mid-21st century, and bring the Chinese people an affluent life.

At the 15th CPC National Congress in 1997, the third step was made more specific, and a new "three-step" strategy for the first half of the 21st century was put forward. First, in the first decade of the 21st century, to double GNP compared to the 2000 level, raise levels of prosperity, and form a relatively complete socialist market economy; second, with ten more years' hard work, to further develop the economy and improve various institutions by the centenary of the founding of the CPC; and third, to achieve basic modernization and complete the building of a socialist country that is prosperous, democratic, and culturally advanced by the centenary of the founding of the People's Republic of China in the mid-21st century.

After entering the 21st century, the CPC set itself the strategic task of building a "moderately prosperous society in all respects." Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the Party's Central Committee, with Xi Jinping as its core, has set the "people's wish for a better life" as its goal of governance, and defined the Two Centenary Goals. That is, to enable the people to live prosperous lives and complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020, the centenary of the CPC (founded in 1921), and to bring China's per capita GDP on par with that of moderately developed countries, and build China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious by the centenary of the PRC (founded in 1949) in the mid-21st century.

To achieve the Two Centenary Goals, the CPC strives to promote coordinated progress in economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological areas, and to implement the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy, viz., building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, driving reform to a deeper-level, fully implementing the rule of law, and strengthening Party discipline. Based on economic growth, the Party will continue to build the socialist market economy, promote democracy, advanced culture, ecological progress, and a harmonious society, and ensure

that the people are better-off, that the nation grows stronger and more prosperous, and that the environment is clean and beautiful, and that the people's right to development is protected and promoted in a more solid and effective manner.

Overall Development Plans

In accordance with the goal to build a modern socialist country and the associated development strategies, the Chinese government regularly makes national development plans to ensure the people's right to development. In the period between 1953 and 2001, it issued national development plans every five years addressing issues concerning the country's economy, culture, and society. After 2006 the plan has been changed to program which is less detailed, with fewer numerical targets to guide the macro-economy and social development. To date China has made 13 consecutive five-year plans (including the program starting from 2006) for the nation's economic and social development. These plans have connected the country's overall development goals to the concrete plans to implement them, and are divided into different stages to steadily promote the people's right to development, with mid- and long-term guidelines, goals and directions, basic requirements, and specific measures.

On October 29, 2015, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee approved the "Suggestions of the CPC Central Committee on Developing the 13th Five-Year Program for National Economic and Social Development." On March 16, 2016, the Fourth Session of the 12th National People's Congress approved by vote the "Outline of the 13th Five-Year Development Program of the People's Republic of China for National Economic and Social Development." Following the new philosophies on development and based on universal participation and benefits, China stresses equal opportunities, with an emphasis on ensuring basic living standards, improving the people's well-being, and realizing a moderately prosperous society for all the people. China has made breakthroughs in equal access to the fruits of development, mainly in increasing the supply of public services, carrying out poverty eradication programs, enhancing the quality of education, granting equal access to educational resources, promoting employment and entrepreneurship, bridging the income gap, establishing a fairer and more sustainable social security system, enhancing public health and fitness, and strengthening the balanced development of the people.

China ensures its people's right to development also by making national human rights action plans. It has issued the "National Human Rights Action Plan" (2009-2010), (2012-2015), and (2016-2020). In these plans, the government puts the people's right to development at the core of human rights, and strives to address the most immediate problems that are of the most concern to the public.

While promoting the sound and rapid development of the economy and society, China ensures that all members of the society enjoy the rights to equal participation and equal development.

[...]

V. Promoting Cultural Progress

The Chinese government endeavors to restructure China's cultural system, free and develop cultural productivity, so as to create equal opportunity for all citizens to enjoy benefits of cultural development and to have access to cultural development opportunities, and ensure realization of their right to cultural development.

The building of a public cultural service system has been accelerated. In 2015, the Chinese government issued "Opinions on Accelerating the Building of a Modernized Public Cultural Service System" and "Guidance for National Basic Public Cultural Services (2015-2020)," presenting an all-around plan for accelerating the building of a modernized public cultural service system, promoting standard basic public cultural services and equal access, and protecting the people's basic cultural rights and interests. China has accelerated public digital cultural programs, such as the National Public Culture Digital Platform, and the National Digital Culture Network (<http://www.ndcnc.gov.cn/>). By the end of 2015, the National Cultural Information Resources Sharing Project had completed 1 national center, 33 provincial centers, 2,843 municipal and county centers, 35,719 township and town (subdistrict) stations, and 700,000 village (community) stations. China has improved the public cultural infrastructure network and increased the capacity of community-level cultural services. By the end of 2015, China had 2,037 art performance troupes, 3,139 public libraries, 3,315 cultural centers, 2,981 museums, 40 provincial digital libraries, and 479 municipal and prefectural digital libraries. Continuous efforts were made to open public cultural facilities to the public for free, including public art museums at all levels, and basic public cultural services in libraries and cultural centers (stations) at all levels. By promoting projects such as Radio and TV Programs for Each Village and Each Rural Household, Town and Township Comprehensive Cultural Centers, Rural Cinema, Rural Libraries, and Rural Digital Culture, China has greatly enhanced rural cultural service capacity.

Literature, arts, news, publishing, radio, film, television and sports are thriving. In 2015, China published more than 43 billion copies of newspapers, 2.9 billion copies of periodicals, and 8.7 billion copies of books. The number of books published per capita reached 6.32. A total of 236 million households subscribed to cable TV, including 198 million subscribers to digital cable TV. At the end of the year, the radio coverage rate was 98.2 percent of the total population, and TV coverage was 98.8 percent of the total population. In 2015, China produced 395 TV serials totaling 16,560 episodes, 134,000 minutes of TV animation, 686 feature films, and 202 popular science films, documentaries, animation and special films. China has adopted value-added tax exemption

for revenues from rural cinemas. It has also given support to small and micro cultural businesses, and implemented policies offering construction subsidies, financial support and differentiated land designation for county cinemas in central and western regions. China has launched an “All People Reading” campaign nationwide. The 2016 “Literary China” series of activities has benefitted over 800 million participants, forming a congenial social atmosphere for reading. China has accelerated the development of the sports industry under a policy that has the combined support of government, society and enterprises. China has launched a nationwide fitness campaign, basically established a corresponding organizational network, and greatly increased the number of sports venues and facilities. In 2015 China allocated RMB 870 million in subsidies to support large sports venues and facilities to open to the public for free or at low cost. In 2014 the sales of the National Sports Lottery reached RMB 174.6 billion, and the funds raised for the public totaled RMB 45.5 billion.

Cultural programs in ethnic minority areas are developing. China has vigorously supported cultural development in ethnic minority areas. Through such programs as the Frontier Cultural Corridor Project and National Cultural Information Resources Sharing Project, China has improved the public cultural service system in ethnic minority areas. By the end of 2015, nine natural and cultural sites scattered in China’s ethnic minority areas, including the Potala Palace in Tibet, were added to UNESCO’s World Heritage List. Fourteen ethnic minority arts including Uygur Muqam of Xinjiang were added to UNESCO’s Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, and another four, including the Qiang ethnic group’s New Year Festival, were added to the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. Ten experimental zones for cultural protection in ethnic minority areas have been established. A total of 479 ethnic minority heritage items have been included in the four lists of national representative intangible cultural heritage, and 524 trustees from ethnic minority groups have been put on the four lists of national representative trustees of intangible cultural heritage. The book series of explanatory notes on ancient books of ethnic minority groups, titled Synopsis of the General Catalog of Ancient Books of Ethnic Minority Groups of China, was published in 2014. China has promoted the regulation, standardization and computerized processing of languages and scripts of ethnic minority groups. Projects have been initiated for the research and formulation of regulations on the transliteration of personal names into standard Chinese from Mongolian, Tibetan, Uygur, Kazakh, Yi and other ethnic minority languages. China has set up databanks for ethnic minority languages on the brink of extinction, and initiated and implemented the Project for the Protection of Chinese Language Resources. By the end of 2015 a total of 54 ethnic minority groups were using more than 80 spoken languages of their own ethnic groups, and 21 ethnic minority groups were using 28 scripts of their own ethnic groups. Now nearly 200 radio stations nationwide broadcast in 25 ethnic minority languages; 32 publishing houses of various types publish books in ethnic minority languages; 11 film dubbing centers, using 17 ethnic minority languages and 37 ethnic minority dialects, finished the dubbing of movies, amounting to over 3,000 versions from 2012 to 2015. In 2015, China produced many publications in ethnic minority languages, including 69.12 million

copies of 9,192 book titles, 196.09 million copies of newspapers and 12.45 million copies of periodicals.

Cultural development for the elderly, the disabled and rural migrant workers has received high attention. Relying on public libraries, cultural centers and other cultural facilities, China has opened a group of demonstration universities for the elderly to meet their multilevel cultural demands. China has also improved the environment for the disabled, encouraging them to participate in cultural and sports activities. By the end of 2015, China had more than 300,000 liaison stations for volunteers helping the disabled, with 8.5 million registered volunteers, providing 100 million interventions on behalf of the disabled. China has issued the “Outline for the National IT Application Development Strategy,” enhanced information accessibility of government websites, and encouraged nongovernmental organizations to provide individualized information services to the disabled. The official website of the State Council (<http://www.gov.cn/>) has opened a special column for services for the disabled. The China Braille Library and China Digital Library for the visually impaired went online. By the end of 2014, China had set up 1,515 reading rooms for the visually impaired in public libraries at all levels nationwide. By the end of 2015, China had set up 65,918 public e-libraries, mainly to serve the elderly and rural migrant workers.

[...]

VIII. Promoting Common Development

China upholds the principles of mutual respect, equality of treatment, win-win cooperation, and common development, and promotes the interests of its own people and the common interests of other peoples. China supports the developing countries, especially the least developed countries (LDCs), in reducing poverty, improving people’s well-being and the development environment, in order to build a human community of shared future.

[...]

Participating in the formulation of the development agenda. China was the first to voice support for the sustainable development strategy. It has supported and implemented the “United Nations Millennium Declaration,” and achieved 13 of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. While effectively improving the protection of its own people’s right to development, China has also promoted the common development of the world. It has helped the international community to pass and implement the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and issued “China’s Position Paper on the Implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development” and “China’s National Plan on Implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.” At the G20 Hangzhou Summit, China joined other countries in formulating the “G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development” and the “G20 Initiative on Supporting Industrialization in Africa and Least Developed Countries,” adding impetus to the overall development of all countries and developing countries in particular. In September 2015 China and

UN Women co-organized the Global Summit of Women, and implemented the goals related to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Expanding the path to development. Over the years, based on the principle that all countries are entitled to choose their own social systems and development paths, China has expanded its development mindset and philosophy, and joined other countries in seeking equitable, open, all-around and innovation-driven development. China strives for equitable development for all countries and for developing countries in particular, so that all countries can become participants in and contributors to global development and equitably share the interests of development. China calls on all countries, which share the same development goals yet are at different development levels, to take on common but differentiated responsibilities. China has advocated the developing countries' right to a greater voice in formulating the rules of the global governance system. China keeps the open-door policy while pursuing development. It joins other countries in upholding the multilateral trade regime and promotes the free flow of production factors around the world so that the achievements of development will benefit all parties and people in all countries. China pursues all-around development, to achieve balanced development between economy, society and environment, and to realize harmony between humanity and society, and between humanity and nature. China promotes innovation-driven development, addresses problems arising in development by means of development, and fosters new core competitiveness. China places great value on the leadership of the United Nations, encourages regional economic integration, and improves its competitive development by integrating the strengths and advantages of various parties, so as to fully release its development potential.

Furthering cooperation for development. China adheres to the principle of maintaining integrity and pursuing interests while giving priority to integrity, strives to improve the development capacity of all countries and the international development environment, partnership and coordination mechanisms for international development cooperation to realize the rights of all people to development. China propels inclusive and mutually-beneficial development, while participating in global economic governance. Regarding North-South economic cooperation as the main focus, China continues to expand South-South, tripartite, regional economic cooperation, and cooperation with emerging economies and, at the same time, explore more effective means of win-win cooperation. To realize common development the Chinese government endeavors to involve more countries and regions in the Belt and Road Initiative, relying on existing bilateral and multilateral mechanisms such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, ASEAN Plus China (10+1) Summit, ASEAN Plus China, Japan and the ROK (10+3) Summit, East Asia Summit, China-Japan-ROK Cooperation, APEC, Asia-Europe Meeting, Asia Cooperation Dialogue, Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia, China-Arab States Cooperation Forum, China-Gulf Cooperation Council Strategic Dialogue, Greater Mekong Subregion Economic Cooperation Program, and Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation. China has established the Silk Road Fund, initiated the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and set up the Lancang-Mekong River

cooperation mechanism, in order to provide financing support for the Belt and Road countries to coordinate programs on infrastructure, resource development, and industrial and financial cooperation.

[...]

Conclusion

In the pursuit of development and their right to development, the Chinese people have made strenuous efforts and significant achievements. To promote common development and to build a community with shared future, China has made unremitting efforts and played an important role. It will always be a defender of humanity's right to development, and a force to propel development and progress throughout the world.

There will always be room for improvement in human rights, and the quest to improve people's right to development is always under way. As the world's largest developing country China faces daunting challenges, characterized by pressing problems such as unbalanced, uncoordinated, and unsustainable development. To achieve a higher level of development and better protect the people's right to development, China needs to maintain its efforts. Meeting the people's growing material and cultural needs and giving everyone access to sound development are still the primary tasks of the CPC in its governance of the country.

The Chinese people are working hard to achieve the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. With the realization of these goals, China will make a historic and unprecedented leap, and the Chinese people's right to development will be further protected.

At the UN Sustainable Development Summit in September 2015, Chinese President Xi Jinping called upon all nations to mark a new starting point with the adoption of 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and unite to chart a path of development that is fair, open, comprehensive, and innovative. China will continue to work with the international community, strengthen cooperation, promote exchanges of experience, and make its due contribution to further increase the level of development of all peoples of the world and build a community with shared future for mankind.

Fieldwork Data Part 1: Confucius Temple and Kong Mansion

The following data have been collected through fieldwork observation in March 2017, during a visit to the Confucius Temple in Qufu.

The Qufu Complex has recently been a popular touristic destination, hosting several events (among which revivals of Confucian ceremonies). The entrance which accesses to the Temple is impressive, the surrounding area is wide and spotted with vendors due to the consistent touristic affluence. Indeed, together with the increasing investments on cultural initiative and cultural heritage management protection, many Chinese ancient relics have been sponsored has touristic destination, and the Qufu Complex is no exception. As a matter of fact, the provincial university, Shandong University, organizes guided visits to the temple for international students with a regular cadence. In such visits, the Confucius Temple is described has having an inestimable value for Chinese cultural heritage, an example of the finest Chinese traditional architectures techniques and materials, and having a strong symbolic value has the home of one of the thinkers who has deeply influenced Chinese traditional philosophy and culture (such statements are remarkably similar to the Unesco's criteria for being in the World Heritage List, and to the criteria for the World Bank Partnership Project, which will be discussed later in this chapter).

Once inside the complex, the presence of a guide can really make the difference in the visit of the temple: not only for the non-experts of Chinese culture and architectural styles, but also to understand the arrangement of the buildings inside the structure: especially during the ceremonies held in contemporary times, their purpose is a functional one. The open areas with small altars are often arranged with incense and offers, and Chinese visitors often stop to bow in front of the altars with the offers. In occasion of the ceremonies, no particular decoration is provided for the temple and the altars, but participants often wear the traditional Chinese custom from Confucius times¹⁰⁸. The Temple covers an area of 50 acres, surrounded by an outer wall with four towers at each corner. It hosts several structures, among which the Kuiwen Pavilion, Thirteen Stele Pavilion, Xingtian Pavilion, Dacheng Hall, Hall of Confucius' Wife and Shengji Hall. The structure designed for ceremonies is he Great Pavilion of the Constellation of Scholars, whilst in Dacheng Palace is where libations and sacrifices are offered to Confucius¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁸ Fieldwork, March 2017

¹⁰⁹ Fieldwork, March 2017

Criterion (i): The group of monumental ensembles at Qufu is of outstanding artistic value because of the support given to them by Chinese Emperors over two millennia, ensuring that the finest artists and craftsmen were involved in the creation and reconstruction of the buildings and the landscape dedicated to Confucius.

Criterion (iv): The Qufu ensemble represents an outstanding architectural complex which demonstrates the evolution of Chinese material culture over a considerable period of time.

Criterion (vi): The contribution of Confucius to philosophical and political doctrine in the countries of the East for two thousand years, and also in Europe and the west in the 18th and 19th centuries, has been one of the most profound factors in the evolution of modern thought and government.

Integrity

As a heritage site embodying the core value of traditional Chinese culture—Confucianism, incorporating the Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion, the property area covers all the necessary elements for demonstrating its historical values and setting. The Temple reflects the paramount position of Confucianism in traditional Chinese culture. The Cemetery, as a graveyard for Confucius and his descendants, provides integral and most important material evidence for the development of the Kong Clan. The Kong Family Mansion, as the office and residence for the direct descendants of Confucius, testifies to the eminent status enjoyed by the Kong family in traditional Chinese society because of Confucianism.

Authenticity

The maintenance and protection of the property, which was never disrupted in Chinese history due to the property's great significance, reflect traditional Chinese conservation intervention methods. The property possesses high authenticity in terms of design of the building complex, building materials used, continuity in construction technology, preservation of historical condition and as deliverer of spiritual values, which are all faithful expressions of traditional Chinese culture. Qufu, as the hometown of Confucius, has always been the most congregated inhabitation of his descendants, and today, the surroundings of the property still provides the most important residence for the offspring of Confucius. This social phenomenon and situation also contributes to the authenticity of the property.

¹¹⁰ "Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu", UNESCO, accessed 29 June, 2018, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/704>.

Protection and management requirements

The Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion were included in the first group of State Priority Protected Sites in 1961 and the property is protected under the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics. The official institution responsible for the protection and management of the property is Qufu Cultural Heritage Management Committee. A multi-source and stable fund guarantee system has been established, with specific funds allocated for heritage conservation each year. The enactment and efficient implementation of relevant national and local laws and regulations provides strong legal protection to the property.

The property boundaries and buffer zone were clearly designated in 1986. In 2003, the Master Plan for Qufu City was drawn up, and the Regulatory Plan for the Ming City of Qufu was made in 2007, regulating protection of the setting of the property. These documents provide legal, institutional and management guarantees for safeguarding the authenticity and integrity of the property. Now the protection of the heritage has been integrated into the social and economic development plan, the urban and rural construction plan, the fiscal budget, the system reform and the leadership accountability system of Qufu.

Systematic periodic and daily monitoring has been carried out, while the complete heritage monitoring system and documentation database of the property are being developed. Survey, design and implementation of intervention projects are conducted strictly in accordance with relevant laws, regulations and technical specifications, while charters relating to world cultural heritage protection have also been observed. Further measures will be taken to ensure the authenticity and integrity of the heritage and its setting, and to strive for rational use and sustainable development of the property.

Shandong Confucius and Mencius Cultural Heritage Conservation and Development Project Draft PAD.¹¹¹

The purpose of the project is to assist Shandong Province in enhancing cultural heritage conservation and sustainable tourism management, including the provision of improved infrastructure services, in Qufu and Zoucheng. The historic cities of Qufu and Zoucheng are the hometowns, respectively, of Confucius and his disciple, Mencius, two great philosophers of ancient China. The temple, cemetery, and family mansion of Confucius in Qufu are inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The project supports (1) the conservation and presentation of key cultural heritage sites, (2) infrastructure upgrading in the historic cities, (3) historic city regeneration and management, (4) sustainable tourism development, and (5) training for communities in tourism-related income generation.

¹¹¹ “Conserving the Past as a Foundation for the Future: China-World Bank Partnership on Cultural Heritage Conservation”, Open Knowledge Repository, World Bank Group, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/17389>.

Fieldwork Data, Part 2: The Shandong Province Museum

The following data have been collected through fieldwork observation in January 2018, during a visit to the Shandong Province Museum in Jinan

The museum is mainly focused on historical relics. Present day Shandong Province once contained one of the earliest civilizations in China, the Longshan culture, and this is one of the causes of the Museum's prestige and uniqueness in China. The historical collection includes pieces from Dawenkou and Longshan cultures, ritual bronzes from the earliest dynasties in China, the Shan and Zhou, and paintings from the Han, Ming and Qing dynasties¹¹². The permanent exhibitions include the Exhibition of Buddhist Art, the Exhibition of Han Dynasties Pictorial Art, the Exhibition of Cultural History of Shandong Treasures, the Exhibition of Selected Cultural Relics Unearthed from King Lu's Mausoleum in the Ming Dynasty, the Exhibition of the Results of Archaeology, a section on Introduction to Archaeology, as well as the Exhibition of African Wildlife Grand Migration.

The location of the museum is per se significant: it is not in the city centre but at the feet of the so called Thousands Buddha Hill, one of the symbols of the city of Jinan, and also a fairly popular touristic destination for visitors in Shandong Province. The building has is a modern one, as the Museum has moved in it only since 2010. The structure is meant to impress the visitors: once entered the entrance gates, the guest finds himself included in a gigantic building, whose central dome is the focus. Perpendicular under the dome we find the escalators which brings to the different floors of the structure (three, entirely dedicated to the exhibitions except for a gift shop on the second floor). The ground floor is devoted to the ancient relics exhibition, which constitute the metaphoric (and actual) base of the Museum, on the second floor there is a natural exhibition and the top floor is occupied by paintings and calligraphy exhibitions¹¹³. The general arrangement of the exhibitions is minimal: the walls are painted with neutral colours and the items are exposed inside of glass cases, with short explanations by them.

The entrance in the museum is free of charge for both domestic and foreign visitors, although foreign visitors will have to provide their passports at the entrance gate for registration. Along the exhibitions only a small portions of the panels are provided with an English translation, however the guests who do not speak Chinese can require an audio guide to be provided with a better learning experience during their visit.

Description of the museum's arrangement

The Shandong Museum, similarly to other cultural sites in China, experienced historical ups and downs depending on governmental changes. Although the institution of the museum was founded in 1954, the contemporary museum, with its current collections, has been opened to the public

¹¹² Yingju, Jiang; Changfu, Zhou; Qiang, Yan; Yan, Zheng, *Outline of Shandong Museums*, (Beijing: Zhongguo Guangbo Dianshi Chubanshe, 1993).

¹¹³ Fieldwork observation, January 2018

since 2010. It has considerably vast dimensions; the building area covers 1,940 m², in which the display area covers 800 m². The collections focus mainly on ancient relics, of which there are 105,000, but there also spaces devoted to 27,000 modern and contemporary relics and 8,000 natural specimens. The Museum's management is organized into different departments: the Natural Science Department, the Displaying Department, the Storage Department, the Technical Department, the Mass Work Department, the Research Institutes, the Reference Room, the General Work Office, the Political Section, the Security Section, and the Retired Staff Section.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Jiang; Zhou, Yan, Zheng, *Outline of Shandong Museums*.

访问山东博物馆的领导人

1.在中国身份有自己省城博物馆。为什么省城博物馆是一个重要的存在？

每一个国家都有自己的首都，中国的首都是北京，北京是中国的政治、经济、文化中心。中国的每个省，也都有自己的省会，省会是一个省的政治、经济和文化中心，代表着一个省的形象和发展。山东博物馆座落于山东省的省会城市济南，我们的建馆历史最早可以追溯到 1909 年，至今已经接近 110 年。从创办之日起，山东博物馆就享有省内的优质资源，拥有丰富的馆藏基础，其馆藏汇集了全省文物之精华，是全省的文物收藏中心和展示中心，承载着保护历史文化、传承精神文明、增强民族文化自信的重要作用，对全省文化发展有着重要的意义，是全省最重的文化平台和对外交流宣传的名片。

2.在博物馆博览的产品是怎么入选的？入选的经过参照产品的可选还是别的条件？

山东省博物馆建馆之初，藏品来源主要有以下几个方面：一是调拨了原山东省图书馆金石保存所收藏的青铜器、书画、善本书等一批文物；二是接收了原济南广智院历年来搜集的动植物标本、古生物化石以及各类文物藏品；三是接收了原解放区山东人民政府古代文物管理委员会在抗日战争和解放战争时期收集保护的各类文物；另外还接收了部分二十世纪五、六十年代人民群众捐献的传世文物。现在，山东博物馆的藏品每年都有所丰富和提高，入藏途径一般为征集或接受捐赠，征集和接受捐赠的物品要经过专家鉴定，达到入藏标准的才可以收为馆藏。

3.山东省博物馆的鼓舞产品特别有名。博物馆的行政部门有没有考虑过补充一个新的部门，为了暴露现代产品？为什么？

山东博物馆是一个包括历史、自然、艺术等多门类的新型综合性博物馆，以历史类文物见长，也拥有较丰富的近现代藏品，目前近现代藏品有专门的部室保管，会配合不同题材的展览不定期进行展示。

4.山东省博物馆怎么保持现代社会对中国传统文化的兴趣？

山东博物馆通过多种途径，创新工作形式来吸引观众，提高观众来馆参观的热情。首先是举办题材新颖、形式多样的陈列展览，展现文化魅力，传承文物价值。同时加强与省内外各大博物馆的交流与合作，引进或推出展览，加强宣传展示效果、扩大齐鲁文化的影响力。为吸引青少年观众，不断探索适应青少年特点的教育服务项目，结合历史、自然、传统岁时节日开展丰富多彩的教育体验活动。为扩大观众群体，以“流动博物馆”、“文化大篷车”等“接地气”的文化传播形式，推动优秀传统文化走进校园、走进社区、走进乡村、走进企业、走进军营，以扩大博物馆的影响力，同时提升观众的参观热情。

5.来游览博物馆宾客的数量一年四季恒定吗? 在正常宾客其中还有外国人吗?

山东博物馆现在的建筑是从 2010 年 11 月 16 日正式向社会开放的, 自新馆开放以来, 年均游客量在 150 万人左右。四季的游客量并非完全恒定, 相对而言节假日和旅游旺季人流较多。近年来, 来馆的外国人逐年增加, 有普通的外国观众, 也有与馆内有合作项目的外国友人, 山东博物馆配备有英、日、韩语人才, 可以满足多国观众的参观和访问需求。

6.山东省博物馆怎么推广自己?

近年来, 山东博物馆注重加强与各大媒体的合作, 通过电视、网络、报刊等形式加强宣传和展示效果。不断拓展线上传播手段, 推动“互联网+中华文明”落地扎根生效, 对官方网站进行改版升级, 不断丰富文物魔墙、微信、微博等新媒体发布内容, 依托网络拓宽宣传途径, 不断提高自身的影响力。

7.山东省博物馆被中国政府受到捐款吗?

山东博物馆是纯公益性博物馆, 全年免费对外开放, 运营所需全部资金均来源于政府财政拨款。

8.中国对山东博物馆的管理有没有影响?

中国对山东博物馆的管理有着极大的影响。中国对文化发展的要求, 是山东博物馆要达到的高度; 中国对文化发展的期许, 是山东博物馆的努力方向; 中国政府制订的与文化相关的法律法规, 是山东博物馆要遵守的行业准则; 中国政府出台的文化类扶持政策, 是山东博物馆发展的有利条件和肥沃土壤。一言以蔽之, 中国对山东博物馆的管理有着决定性的深远影响。

9.山东省博物馆常常跟中国文人合作为了举办文化活动吗?

博物馆不但有收藏、展示文物的功能, 还具有教育和研究的功能。因研究功能的存在, 博物馆经常会与中国的学者接触, 开展各类学术活动。例如配合展览, 邀请专家和学者, 举办相关的学术研讨会, 以加深对文物的研究深度, 延伸展览的文化内涵。

10.山东省博物馆会不会跟外国汉学家举办一些活动? 如果会的话, 请您呢个不能出一个例子?

山东博物馆近年来, 不断加强与国外各大博物馆及外国学者的交流与合作, 每年都会推出富有齐鲁文化特色的专题展览到国外展出, 同时引进国外的优秀展览, 丰富本馆的临展内容。例如, 近两年来, 与法国、立陶宛、美国、墨西哥、波兰、韩国、日本的学者合作, 在各国成功举办了《山东鲁绣精品展》、《孔子的智慧》图片展、《中国文化遗产瑰宝—山东古代石刻拓片精品展》、《中国山东木版年画展》、《孔子和他的故乡:

山东》、《山东杨家埠木版年画展》、《中华服饰艺术展》等精彩展览，成功地将齐鲁文化推向了世界，促进了山东博物馆与世界博物馆的接轨。

11.山东省博物馆会怎么收益跟外国专家和社团的合作？反过来，外国专家和社团会怎么收益跟山东省博物馆的合作？

山东博物馆与外国专家或社团的合作，多为举办展览，所需费用取之于展览用之于展览，如果有借展费一般用于文物的包装、运输、保险、陈列展览设计等。

12.“山东身份”是什么意思？

“山东身份”从字面意思可以通俗的翻译为“我是山东人”，是从地域方面对公民进行的归类。往深层里说，“山东身份”可以延伸到历史、人文、精神、政治等各个领域。在相同的政治、人文环境里，受历史传承的影响，人们会对当地的历史、文化、生产和生活习俗产生相同的认知，从而对自己所生活的省份和人群形成一种认同感和归属感，这种认同与归属就是对自己山东身份的一种确认。有了对自己身份的确认，反映到精神领域就会产生“我是山东人”的自豪之情，进而催生出为山东奉献的动力。

13.在中国现代社会，有“省份的身份”的意义重不重要？

应该说是比较重要的，人们有了“省份身份”的意识，才会产生对所生活省份的认同，从而有归属感和安全感，有踏踏实实在此地生活和工作的意愿，进而产生为生活地的经济、文化发展做贡献的形为和动力。每个公民对自己身份的小认同，将会汇集成社会的大同，形成一股伟大的精神力量，推动社会发展，使人们感受到相同的美好，实现共同的富裕，完成共同的梦想。

14.山东省的正常公民意识自己“省份的身份”吗？

山东省的公众对自己的“山东身份”还是比较有认知的。有句俗话说“老乡见老乡，两眼泪汪汪”。所谓老乡，狭义上是指对具有相同或相近的习俗、风俗、方言、口音等文化背景的同胞的称呼，广义上指对来自同一地区或同一省区的同胞的称呼。无论身处何处，一句“老乡”就可以拉近两个人心与心的距离，归根到底就是源于人们对省份身份的深度认同。