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Promoting Moral Values through Entertainment: A Social Semiotic Analysis of the Spring Festival Gala on China Central Television

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Abstract

The CCTV Spring Festival Gala not only entertains hundreds of millions of Chinese on their most important holiday, but also promotes national spirits and positive social values. This paper proposes a social semiotic framework to elucidate the discursive strategies for the construction of moral messages. It develops system networks to model the specific strategies for constructing articulated and embedded moral values in the Spring Festival Gala shows. The framework provides an explicit metalanguage to guide systematic analysis of edutainment discourse.

Key words: Spring Festival Gala; moral values; edutainment; social semiotics; China

Introduction

The Spring Festival Gala (SFG), broadcast live by China Central Television (CCTV) on the eve of Chinese New Year, has become an integral part of the Spring Festival celebration. According to Lv Yitao, the chief executive director of the 2014 Gala, SFG is not just an entertainment show, but a ‘national project’, which has the responsibility of not only entertaining the general public, but also constructing a positive national spirit (Lv, 2014). As Sun (2007: 54) observes, SFG was one of state media’s first successful experiments with ‘indoctrin-tainment’. Zhao (1998: 54) also notes that “in it the government has found the best opportunity to convey social and ideological messages simultaneously”.

Communication researchers have extensively investigated the social and ideological values in SFGs in the past two decades (e.g. Huang and Zhan 2008; Lu 2009; Sun 2007; Zhao 1998). From a critical perspective, Zhao (1998) identifies the ideologies packaged in the 1997 SFG, including national unity, national pride and eulogy to the party. Through the analysis of the 2008 SFG, Huang and Zhan (2008) find that a ‘national discourse’ is constructed through four

techniques: constructing an image of prosperity; connecting individual and national goals; highlighting traditional Chinese culture and socialist values; representing social problems through entertainment. Complementing previous studies, my paper argues that insights from a social semiotic perspective that elucidates the discursive mechanisms for constructing moral values are also crucial for the thorough understanding of social values in SFG. Meanwhile, rather than focusing on ideological manipulation and political control, I approach the issue from a more positive perspective of moral and civic education.

In what follows, I will first explain the social cultural context of contemporary China, especially the emphasis on moral and civic education under the new political leadership. Then a social semiotic model for systematically analysing the representation of moral values in the SFG is developed, followed by detailed analyses of different ways of representation.

New leadership in China and the media construction of ‘moral civilization’

The year 2013 occupies an important phase in the history of the People’s Republic of China, as it witnessed the new round of political reform under the fifth generation of national leaders. In the third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of Communist Party of China (CCCCPC), the new leadership, headed by President Xi Jinping, reached a consensus that China had to deepen its reform to cope with new challenges (CCCCPC 2013). Thirty years of Reform and Opening up brought China economic prosperity, but also the perceived consequence of moral decay, corruption, and environment population (Han 2013). The government has since 2012 implemented measures to address these problems. Aside from specific policies, the government needed a common value system to unite and mobilise Chinese to work toward the same ‘Chinese Dream’. As a result, Communist Party of China (CPC) proposed the notion of ‘core values of socialism’ at its 18th National Congress. As illustrated in Table 1, the core values system specifies standards of socialism at three levels: the macro level of the whole nation, the intermediate level of the society, and the micro level of individual citizens (CPC 2012). As moral education targets at citizens, I will focus on the third level, namely, patriotism, dedication, integrity and kindness, which prescribe the code of behaviour for each individual.

Table 1: Core values of socialism

Level of nation	Prosperity	Democracy	Civility	Harmony
Level of society	Freedom	Equality	Justice	Rule of law
Level of citizens	Patriotism	Kindness	Dedication	Integrity

The government attaches great importance to promoting these core values. In December 2013, the General Office of the CCCPC published ‘Guideline on Fostering and Practicing Core Values of Socialism’ and recommended using various channels such as government documents, laws and regulations, school education and mass media to maximise its publicity and persuasive effect. In terms of media propaganda, it states that ‘mass media should act as the main channel for disseminating positive social values...through news reports, comments, interviews, entertainment and so on’ (Liu et al. 2015).

Being the most watched TV program, the SFG offers the most ideal entertainment platform for promoting core socialist values (Sun 2007; Zhao 1998). The 2014 Gala is of particular significance because it is positioned as ‘national project’ for the first time, same as the opening ceremony of Beijing Olympics (Zhou 2014). For the first time CCTV did not use its own directors, but invited Feng Xiaogang, the most renowned comedy director in China and also the box office Champaign for the last 10 years. In addition, there is significant change in terms of the messages in the Gala: from ideological indoctrination to moral and civic education. This is in accordance with CPC’s political agenda (Han 2013) and is reflected in the themes of the programmes on family value, integrity, and kindness. This change is obvious if we compare the shift of themes in a popular form of ideology carrier, mini-drama (*xiao pin*), in the Galas through the years. For example, Zhao (1998) analysed a mini-drama in the 1997 Gala titled *A Second Chance*, which portrayed two newly rich peasants, whose first chance of marriage was ruined by poverty, and a second chance came with their newfound wealth. Zhao (1998: 51) argues that the drama is an indirect eulogy to the party’s success in rural economic reforms. In the 2014 SFG, there are four mini-dramas, none of which eulogises the party or the country; instead, all are concerned with moral education.

Of the total 42 programmes, about one third contain identifiable moral values, while the

other two thirds, such as magic shows, popular songs, and dances, merely serve the purpose of entertaining. At the level of citizen, aside from patriotism, kindness, dedication and integrity, family values (in particular filial piety) are frequently represented, as the festival is the most important occasion for family gatherings. For the current discussion, the three mini-dramas and four songs with obvious moral themes are chosen. For several programmes, there is more than one value represented. For example, the song titled 'I am not asking too much' highlights kindness, integrity, dedication and patriotism (Text 1).

Text 1: I am not asking too much

Everyone is kind, even strangers smile at each other.

To be a happy man, I must act now and work as hard as a bee.

Business must operate with integrity; all evil deeds will be punished.

The happier I am, the more I love my country.

A social semiotic approach to edutainment discourse analysis

The issue of representing moral values in the SFG is situated in the broader field of edutainment, or entertainment-education research in communication and media studies (e.g. Klein 2011; Singhal and Rogers 1999, 2002; Wang and Singhal 2008). Television edutainment programs have been extensively explored from perspectives of cultural studies (e.g. Klein 2011; Wang and Singhal 1992; Zhao 1998), media effect (e.g. Papa and Singhal 2009), and communicative strategy (e.g. Henderson 2007). The representation of cultural or ideological values in television programs in China has also attracted scholarly attention. For example, Wang and Singhal's (1992) analysis of China's first domestically-produced, long-running television soap opera, *Ke Wang* (Aspirations), teases out many of the important social issues confronting the Chinese society from the show, such as status of women, social morality, family harmony. Zhong (2002) analyses a Chinese television debate, and identifies four mechanisms of ideological control behind the seeming freedom of speech, namely, content control, procedural control, semiotic control and interpretative control. Huang (2014), through analysing the *Super Girl Voice* talent show, demonstrates how Chinese youths exhibit resistance of consumerist media industry and self-expression in the developing civil society.

From a semiotic point of view, social values and ideologies are not transparent, but are carefully designed. This paper proposes a social semiotic model to elucidate how moral values reflect the broader social context of contemporary China on the one hand, and how they are realised through specific linguistic choices in the shows on the other. The previous section introduced the context and the moral messages. In what follows, I focus on the semiotic resources and discursive strategies used in the construction of moral messages.

To elucidate how moral messages are constructed, I adopt the systemic functional notion of ‘system’. Systemic functional theory regards grammar as social semiotic resources for making meaning, rather than a code or a set of rules for producing correct sentences (Halliday 1978: 192). Meaning is created through making and combining choices from *paradigmatic systems*. While we cannot claim that there is a ‘grammar’ for packaging moral values in the SFG, through paradigmatic systems, we can map the available choices in the process of meaning making (Figure 1). The system distinguishes between those moral values articulated by various characters and those embedded in the characters’ actions and plots of various programs. For articulation, the expression can be direct (using attitudinal lexis, as in ‘she is a *kind* person’) or indirect (representing the deeds or behaviour that invokes moral judgments, for example, ‘she donates all her money to the poor’ invokes the value of kindness). For embedding, the values can be represented as character attributes (e.g. kindness of the hero) or constructed through the narrative design (e.g. the good person defeating the bad person). In the following two sections, I elaborate the finer-grained systems of choice.

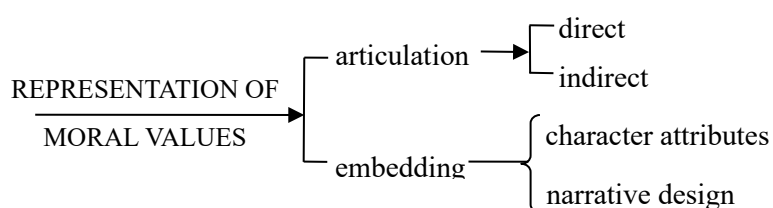


Figure 1: The multimodal representation of moral values in the SFG (the curly bracket stands for ‘both-and’ choice, and the square bracket stands for ‘either-or’ choice)

The articulation of moral values

Moral values are articulated through the attitudes towards different behaviours according to social standards. This attitude is termed *Judgment* in Appraisal system (Martin and White 2005). To elucidate how Judgment is constructed, I propose the three-staged model, which includes Eliciting Condition, the Judgment and Resultant Action (cf. Feng 2012). Eliciting Condition refers to the behaviour that causes the attitude (as in ‘she donated all her money to the poor’), the Judgment refers to the inner attitude toward the behaviour (as in ‘she is kind’), and the Resultant Action refers to verbal or nonverbal actions motivated by the Judgment (as in ‘we all need to learn from her’). This three-staged model allows us to discuss the direct and indirect representation of Judgment (i.e. the articulation of moral values) in an explicit way, as is illustrated in Figure 2 (elaborating the item of ‘articulation’ in Figure 1).

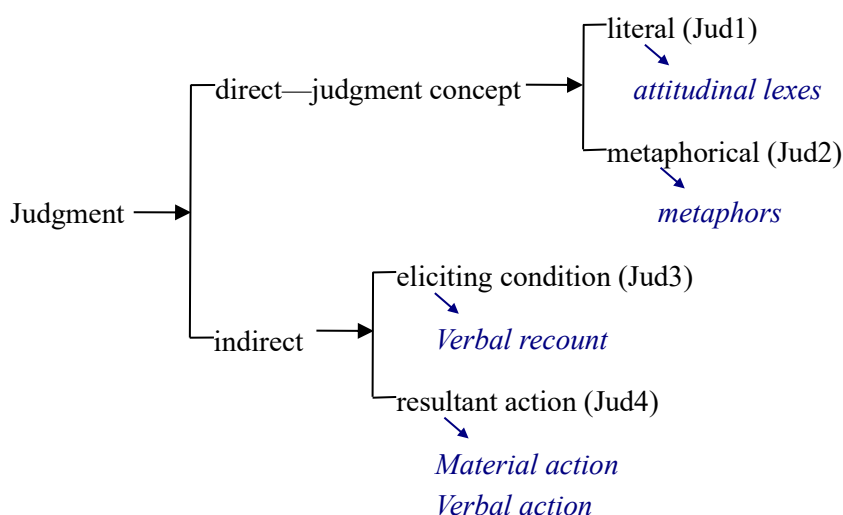


Figure 2: Direct and indirect representations of Judgment

The primary linguistic resource of direct Judgment is naturally attitudinal lexis, which inscribes Judgment in the most direct way, such as the words ‘generous’, ‘kind’, and ‘greedy’. However, there is a more complex way of encoding Judgment concepts, that is, through metaphors. Metaphors make language a more powerful tool for encoding abstract concepts, as is advocated by the conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and demonstrated in the analysis of emotion concepts by Kövecses (2000). However, the metaphorical representation of human quality such as capacity and morality has received less

attention (but see Lakoff 1996; Goatly 2007). Lakoff (1996) investigates the metaphorical expression of morality in the domain of politics. He proposes the ‘Metaphor of Moral Strength’, MORALITY IS RESISTING A PHYSICAL FORCE, which entails a set of correspondences between the moral and physical domains, including BEING GOOD IS BEING UPRIGHT, BEING BAD IS BEING LOW, DOING EVIL IS FALLING, EVIL IS A FORCE and MORALITY IS STRENGTH (Lakoff 1996: 72). I propose two general principles for the metaphorical expression of Judgment: dehumanization and concretization. That is, human beings are compared to non-human beings and attributes of human beings are compared to either substance or attributes of non-human beings. Thus, the generic-level metaphors include HUMAN BEINGS ARE NON-HUMAN BEINGS (CONTAINER/ANIMAL/MACHINE...), ATTRIBUTES ARE SUBSTANCE and ATTRIBUTES OF HUMAN BEINGS ARE ATTRIBUTES OF NON-HUMAN BEINGS. In the expression ‘his heart is full of courage and his head full of wisdom’, the person is understood as a container and his attributes are substance in it. In the expression ‘he is a chicken’, the person is understood as non-human being and the conventional attribute of chicken is projected onto him.

Indirect Judgment can be expressed in two ways, by recounting the event that elicits the Judgment or by saying/doing things that are motivated by the Judgment. In the example above, the expression ‘she donated all her money to the poor’ represents the Eliciting Condition that invokes positive Judgment of morality. Judgment may also result in various actions, including immediate material actions and more abstract verbal actions (speech acts), and they constitute the second way of indirect construction. For example, positive Judgments can be constructed by the action of salutation. Examples of resultant verbal actions include expressive speech acts (e.g. admiration, contempt) and commissives (e.g. ‘I will learn from you’, ‘I will never do business with you again’).

The four ways of Judgment construction are further explained with excerpts from four 2014 SFG programmes in Table 2. In Text 2, in lines 1, 4, 5, attitudinal lexes ‘kindness’, ‘integrity’ and ‘love my country’ are used, so they are direct literal Judgments (Jud 1); in line 2, ‘strangers smile at each other’ is the Resultant Behaviour motivated by kindness, so it constructs the value indirectly (Jud 4); in line 3, ‘work as hard as a bee’ uses a metaphor to describe ‘dedication’

(Jud 2). Text 3 is from a song dedicated to an old lady who spent her entire life helping poor people. The singer (or lyric writer) uses a variety of strategies to describe her kindness. First, metaphors of fertile land and golden heart are used in lines 1 and 3 (Jud 2). Second, our reaction to her noble character (i.e. we salute you, Jud 4), not only constructs her kindness, but also informs the public the right attitude towards such a noble person. In Text 4, the protagonist expresses his Judgment about the director and himself directly (Jud 1), and uses a metaphor in evaluating himself (Jud 2). In line 3, the protagonist's speech act of calling for integrity and filial piety is motivated by such moral orientation in him (Jud 4). In Text 5, the old lady commends the boy who helped her directly in her first clause (Jud 1), and recounts the Eliciting Condition of her Judgment in the following clause (Jud 3). Then in line 3, the passer-by also describes the Eliciting Condition which invokes the negative Judgment of morality (Jud 3), and in line 4, he expresses his attitude directly (Jud 1).

Table 2: Judgment construction in four 2014 SFG programs

Textual resources	Moral value	Construction
Text 2: Song—I am not Asking too Much		
Appraiser: The singer (Huang Bo)		
Everyone is kind,	Kindness	Jud 1
even strangers smile at each other.	Kindness	Jud 4
I must act now; work as hard as a bee.	Dedication	Jud 2
Business must operate with integrity	Integrity	Jud 1
The happier I am, the more I love my country.	Patriotism	Jud 1
Text 3: Song—Old Aunt		
Appraiser: The singer (Huang Lei)		
There is fertile land in your heart,	Kindness	Jud 2
Old aunt, old aunt, we salute you, old aunt	Kindness	Jud 4
Golden heart in glories times, planted in the soil waiting for blooming	Kindness	Jud 2

Text 4: Mini-drama—I am such a Person

Appraiser: The protagonist (Feng Gong)

Our director is moral and incorruptible.	Integrity	Jud 1
I am like a water lily, coming out of dirty mud unsoiled	Integrity	Jud 2
Friends, if you have a nice gift, never give to your superiors, they won't be happy;	Integrity	Jud 4
give your mother, she will definitely be thrilled.	Filial piety	Jud 4

Text 5: Mini-drama—To Help or not to Help

Appraisers: Old lady (Ma Li) and Passer-by (Du xiaoyu)

Old lady: You are a good boy,	Kindness	Jud 1
you are willing to help me.	Kindness	Jud 3
Passer-by: I saw an old lady fell down, but nobody helps, our social ethos has deteriorated to such an extent!	Immorality	Jud 3
	Immorality	Jud 1

This framework enables us to describe the linguistic resources for the construction of moral values systematically. It is related to Martin and White's (2005) framework of the inscription and invocation of attitude, but my distinction between literal and metaphorical in terms of direct expression, and Eliciting Condition and Resultant Action in terms of indirect expression further develops their categories based on the structure of attitude.

Embedded moral values

In this section, I shift my focus from moral values verbally articulated by performers to those implicitly embedded in characters or narrative structures. Different from articulations, they 'invoke' moral Judgment from viewers or characters. As invocations, their commitment to the speaker's attitude is lower than articulations, and the interpretation of the resources for character attributes is dependent on context (Martin, 2008). Therefore, the aim of this section is not to assign moral values to character actions and narrative stories, but rather to explain the grounding upon which they are able to encode certain moral values. I will focus on the art form

of mini-drama, which is considered the most suitable form to carry moral and ideological values (Zhao 1998). It is the only form that can tell a full-fledged story, which lasts approximately fifteen minutes, the longest among all the art forms. In the 2014 SFG, there are four mini-dramas, namely, *To Help or Not to Help*, *I am such a Person*, *You Disturbed Me* and *I will be there with Cash Gift*, occupying more than one hour (i.e. almost one fourth of the total Gala).

Moral values through character attributes

As shown in Figure 3, the primary distinction is between those attributes articulated by characters' Judgments and those *embedded* in characters' actions. I explained articulated attributes from the perspective of character Judgment in the previous section (i.e. the source of the attitude). From the perspective of character attributes, they are targets of attitudes (i.e. Eliciting Conditions of Judgment). I will briefly discuss three more examples below. In Text 6 (a), the character's description of his behaviour constructs his attribute of 'kindness', that is, it invokes the Judgment of 'kindness' from viewers; in Text 6 (b), the utterance constructs his attribute of 'integrity'; in Text 6 (c), the direct quote from the director (of a magazine) constructs his attribute of 'dedication' to work and 'filial piety'.

Text 6 Examples of character attributes

- (a) I just saw the trunk of a car is open, so I tried to catch it riding my bicycle and wanted to tell the driver—*To Help or Not to Help*
- (b) Even if you point a gun at me and force me to bribe my superior, I will not do it—I am Such a Person
- (c) The director said, 'I have worked all my life, now I am retired, I should go home and fulfil my filial piety'—I am such a Person

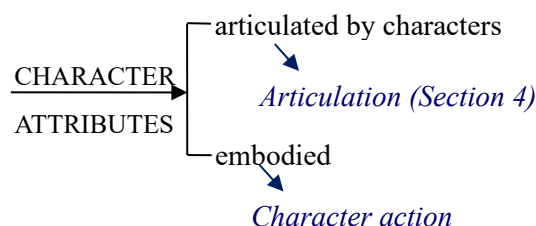


Figure 3: The representation of character attributes

My focus now moves to the embedded moral values in characters' actions. As Branigan (1992: 100) points out, 'our knowledge is limited to what is explicitly enacted by the characters. In this limited context, a character is essentially an agent who is defined by actions'. Smith (1995: 121) similarly notes that actions are an essential source of the traits that we assign to characters. However, it is almost impossible to formulate an action system denoting inner attributes, simply because there are so many things we do and say. Given the complexity of material actions, most studies only exemplify how actions construct inner attributes with typical examples. For example, Carroll (1996: 105) picks out the democratic courtesy to one's inferiors as well as protectiveness of the weak as key virtues in many films. The contribution of this study lies in the addressing of two fundamental questions regarding characters' actions and their inner attributes. First, how can different people recognise certain attributes from an action with a high degree of agreement? Second, given its complexity, how can we analyse actions in relation to character attributes?

With respect to the first question, the answer is that most members of a society have similar attitudes towards different actions (e.g. what is kind, what is rude, and what is unethical). Most actions are recognised as culturally meaningful activities (Levinson 1992: 69), and the social standards according to which the actions are evaluated are shared. That is why individual behaviour is interpreted as 'social action' (van Leeuwen 2008) or 'social practice' (Scollon 1998), whose moral values can be easily recognised.

Second, for further understanding of the meaning potential of actions, the structure of action is considered. An action involves a conscious being bringing about some change (in his/her body, in an object, in a situation) with a given purpose, under certain circumstances. That is, actions cannot be defined in pure behaviouristic terms, but should include the actor's *intention*. It is only in this way that the actor is held *responsible* for the action and it is exactly the intention that is subjected to value judgment. As a mental state itself, the intention is motivated by more abstract and more complex mental states, or subjectivity (van Dijk 1976: 291-305). This intention or subjectivity may or may not be verbally inscribed, but it can

normally be recognised as part of the ‘action schema’, which includes behaviour and outcome.

We make judgments about these three elements according to social standards in terms of values such as patriotism, kindness, dedication, integrity and so on, as illustrated in Figure 4.

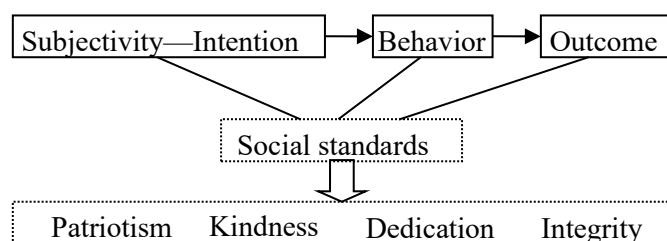


Figure 4: Action schema and the invocation of Judgment

In *To Help or Not to Help*, the protagonist Hao Jian’s intention is to help the old lady who fell down and the outcome (in the end) is that the old lady thanked him for his help. Most of us perceive this action as exhibiting the attribute of kindness. In *You Disturbed Me*, the old lady stops her grandson from increasing rent for three young, poor tenants, and the outcome is that they can stay without paying more rent. We also interpret this behaviour as kindness based on shared social standards as we can recognise her intention of helping the tenants.

Moral values in narrative design

To elucidate moral values in narrative design, I adopt the theory of character structure proposed by Smith (1995), originally for film narrative. He distinguishes two kinds of moral structures according to the feature of character attributes: Manichean and Graduated. The former refers to the clear-cut opposition between the good and the bad while the latter refers to the mixture of good and bad in the characters. The choice of extreme opposition is common in action films, where two value systems are in conflict, and the ideological position of the film is constructed by having the positive values defeating the negative ones. For example, filmmakers may promote such traits as courage, generosity, kindness and loyalty by assigning them to the protagonist and letting him/her defeat the villain who embodies traits such as cowardice, cruelty and greed. In Graduated structure, on the other hand, there is normally no opposition and intense moral conflict. Characters may have both positive and negative attributes, or the character may

change from negative to positive (or from positive to negative).

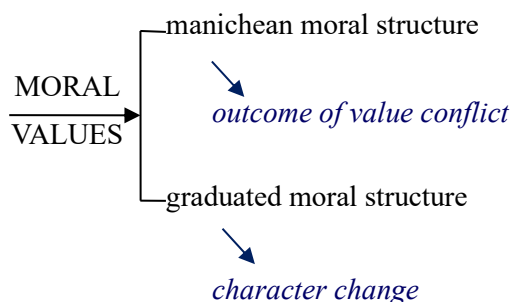


Figure 5: Manichean and graduated moral structures

Figure 5 illustrates the construction of moral values in these two structures. In graduated moral structure, the ‘moral’ of the story, which is the value it promotes or the point it intends for (van Dijk 1980: 116), is constructed via the change of characters from bad to good. At first, there is conflict, but due to some events, the character with negative attributes changes and the two conflict parties reconcile in a happy ending. In the happy ending, the characters articulate the moral message. The four 2014 SFG mini-dramas use this structure. It is easy to understand why the Gala has this preference: the overall tone should be happy, so ultimate villains and intense life-and-death conflict is unsuitable for the joyful occasion. In *I am such a Person*, the protagonist is an obscure playwright. To publish his work, he tries to bribe the magazine director with an air cleaner. However, when he learns from the director’s maid that the director has just resigned, he decides to take it away. Then he learns that the boss did not accept the director’s resignation, and changes his mind again. Each time, he tries to justify his behaviour with noble reasons, but obviously he is just a snobbish, fickle, anti-hero. In the end, the maid tells him that the director has decided to publish his work and instructed her not to accept his bribe. This plot motivates the change of the character: he realises that bribing is wrong and says, ‘friends, if you have a precious gift, never give your superiors, they won’t be happy; give your mother, she will definitely be thrilled’. This line is the ‘moral’ of the story, namely, discouraging bribery and encouraging filial piety. The protagonist articulates this moral value, but it is the narrative

in which his bribery is rejected and he is changed to a repented filial son that makes the story entertaining and educational at the same time.

In *To Help or Not to Help*, a kind young man (Hao Jian) helped an old lady who stumbled and fell, but the old lady thinks he hit her. After a series of fun conflicts, a police officer comes and explains that Hao Jian did not hit her. Realizing that she fell down by herself, the old lady commends Hao Jian: 'I wronged you like that, but you still stay here to help me! You are a good person!' Then Hao Jian says: 'Grandma, if we do not help a fallen person, our morality falls. If morality falls down, it cannot be restored'. The moral value constructed by the attribute of Hao Jian is kindness, but this value only becomes the 'moral' of the story if it is supported by the outcome. That is, if the kind man is wronged and sued in the resolution of the story, then the 'moral' becomes 'do not help others'. This immediately relates to several events in 2013: some kind people who helped the elderly are accused of hitting them and are extorted (Guo 2013). This social issue is also represented in the mini-drama. A passer-by on a bicycle saw Hao Jian and the old lady but advised him to run away quickly, as shown in Text 7.

Text 7 Excerpt from *To Help or Not to Help*

Passer-by: Did you hit her?

Hao Jian: No.

Passer-by: Run quickly. I helped three old ladies.

Hao Jian: And?

Passer-by: Let me put it this way: I used to drive Mercedes-Benz (and now I am riding bicycle).

The passer-by indicates that helping old ladies made him bankrupt because many old ladies pretended to be hit by his luxurious car and asked for unreasonably large amount of money. Such unscrupulous fraudulent events exaggerate but reflect the social issue of unethical elderly people extorting kind people. As a result, many people would just run away when they see fallen elderly. Through the character change, the story reconstructs the negatively judged scenario into a positive one: this lady just forgets she stumbled herself, not trying to extort, and after she knows the fact, she is grateful to Hao Jian. In this way, the resolution of the story conveys the moral message that the small number of unethical elderly people should not

discourage us from helping others. Such moral orientation is in accordance with the government's effort to encourage citizens to help those in need and to restore the traditional virtue of kindness (Guo 2013).

To summarise, this section provides a framework to elucidate how moral values are realised through characters' attributes and narrative designs. Using this framework, we can unveil how social values are built in narrative genres such as novels and movies. It is important to note that in story genres these two dimensions always work together to construct the moral message. On the one hand, character attributes is the building block of narrative structures; on the other, narrative design determines what attributes are assigned to different characters and how they change.

Conclusion

The Spring Festival Gala not only entertains hundreds of millions of Chinese people, but also educates them by representing explicit or implicit moral messages. Two basic modes of representation, articulation and embedding, are distinguished and system networks are developed to model the available choices for the construction of moral values.

This study complements media and cultural studies by providing an explicit semiotic framework to guide text analysis. However, the semiotic analysis is not confined to the 'text'; a three-stratum model in which moral values are seen as constituting the social cultural context on the one hand, and are constructed by multi-semiotic resources on the other is developed. It is hoped that the study will help launch further thinking about the construction of positive social values in entertainment programs, from perspectives of discourse analysis, cultural studies, and audience research, so that they can be understood more thoroughly and designed more effectively for the benefit of the society.

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