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A Health Risk Community or A Cultural Tourism Destination?

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Intertextual Representation of
Wanhua District in Taiwanese Mass Media Coverage of 2021
COVID-19 Outbreak in Taipei City and Official Tourism
Promotion

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ABSTRACT

This research employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how the authorised heritage discourse (AHD), health-risk media discourse, and the intertextual relations between them construct the representation of Wanhua District of Taipei City and its locals in the context of COVID-19 outbreak in 2021. Given Wanhua's mixed identities as a long stigmatised epidemic outbreak epicentre and a rising travel destination with rich cultural significance, simultaneously considering two types of discourses can be effective to delineate a more complete picture of the representation construction of Wanhua. The conceptual framework draws on the framing theory to identify the mechanisms of misrecognition, stigmatisation, marginalisation, and counter-frames to the prior three in the building of destination image and community identity of Wanhua.

By adopting Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional framework of analysing communicative events and Van Gorp's (2007) frame package as analytical framework, this research not only explores the deeper socio-cultural implications in the power relations behind the community identity construction of Wanhua, but also investigates how the intertextuality and frame competition of the ADH and health-risk media discourse reinforce or challenge such existing power relations. From analysing seven pieces of texts of official tourism promotional materials and mass-media coverage of Wanhua's COVID-19 outbreak respectively selected from before, during, and after Level 3 COVID-19 alert, the findings indicate that the stigmatisation of Wanhua remains even though the cultural heritage discourse has enhanced the public's recognition of Wanhua's cultural value for Taipei City. Such continuing discriminatory social relationships can be attributed to the constant subjection of Wanhua's community identity and regeneration strategies to elite perspectives and neoliberalism without representing the voices and cultures of the disadvantaged locals.

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INTRODUCTION

Starting from late April in 2021, one of the most severe COVID-19 outbreaks of Taiwan had taken place in Wanhua District of Taipei City. A number of confirmed cases show that the outbreak revolved around the cluster in hostess teahouses connected with the local sex industries. Responding to the outbreak, on May 15th, 2021, Government of Taiwan firstly raised the alert of COVID-19 in Taipei City and New Taipei City to Level 3, the second highest of the four-level alert system. Later, the Level 3 alert stretched nationwide from May 19th to July 23rd. Meanwhile, over a hundred of teahouses in Wanhua were forced to suspend operations by Taipei City Government as one of the very few industries inflicted by such a law enforcement. The teahouse culture in Wanhua cannot be merely simplified as providing sexual service, but has more to do with giving emotional support and a sense of belonging with affordable price for those who are with lower socio-economic status like the elderly in solitude and working class.

Back in 2003, the greatest SARS wave of Taiwan also occurred in Wanhua. The Taiwanese mass-media coverage of SARS then clearly showed the framing of stigmatisation of the locals (Hsu & Liu, 2006; Hsu, 2008). However, Wanhua has become one of the key districts in Taipei City Government's cultural regeneration objectives since 2016. In 'West District Gateway Project' and 'Taipei Ecomuseum', two main current cultural and tourism policies of Taipei City, Wanhua and its heritage are positioned as some of the most representative cultural and historic sides of the city to revitalise the city image (Taipei City Government, 2015; 2022). Wanhua has also been selected as one of the venues for the major tourism event 'Taipei Lantern Festival' and stimulated the public's attention and appreciation for the 'Old Taipei'.

This research seeks to apply Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to study how the formerly stigmatised community is portrayed in the health-risk media coverage in the context of COVID-19 while simultaneously examining how Wanhua's rising destination image is constructed in the official tourism promotional materials. Moreover, by considering two types of discourses in the same media texts together, how Wanhua's new cultural representation interacts with its epidemic-stricken image in the framing of health-risk media coverage is the

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focus of this research. More precisely, this research aims to analyse how the intertextual relations between the framing of authorised heritage discourse (AHD) and health-risk media discourse reproduce or subvert the stigmatised representation of Wanhua in the context of COVID-19, and the broader socio-cultural implications of this relations in the building of community identity of Wanhua.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review is composed of three sub-sections. The first explores the influence of *framing* on human perceptions and destination image to further elaborate on how most framing favours dominant cultural values and the lack of examination on the *counter-framing* and *frame competition* in destination image building.

The second part goes to how the *authorised heritage discourse (AHD)* limits the community identity of a travel destination singularly to neoliberal and elite perspectives, and *misrecognises* alternative interpretations of cultural heritage and the past. Related literature of this part offers insights into further investigation into the association between the framing of heritage discourse and community identity rebuilding in the context of health risk.

The last section introduces the process of *stigmatisation* that appears common in health-risk media coverage and its fundamental mechanisms of *marginalisation* and differentiation of *the self and the other*. Past literature concerning the practice of stigmatisation in health-risk media discourse shows that the socio-cultural implications of power differences between the self and the other, and concurrent consideration of discourses other than media coverage in the process of stigmatisation is worth more research.

Framing Effects and Destination Image

From a general perspective, *framing* can be defined as ‘a central organising idea or a storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events’ (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987: 143). However, Entman *et al.* (2009) specify that the definition should further include the functional characteristics of framing to gain more systematic measurements of it (175-176). The four main

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functions of framing are '*defining problems*', '*diagnosing causes*', '*making moral judgements*', and '*suggesting remedies*' (Entman, 1993: 52). In other words, studying framing is to reveal how frames *select and highlight* particular aspects of the shared realities by observing the significance, placement, repetition, and cultural associations of words in texts (Entman, 1993: 52-53). Aiming to '*diagnose, evaluate, and prescribe*', the *saliency* embedded in framing operates at four locations: professional communicators and elites; communicating texts; receivers; and culture (Entman, 1993: 52-53; Entman *et al.*, 2009: 176).

Therefore, the analysis of framing implies the power of information transfer from communicators over the consciousness of receivers (Entman, 1993: 51-52). The communication professionals intentionally create a certain belief system by following the existing schema to promote particular versions of interpretations and influence receivers' perceptions (Entman, 1993: 52-53; Entman *et al.*, 2009: 176). That is, the saliency of framing is usually in the form of dominant meanings such as common categories and stereotypes that are consistent with schema are most likely to be noticed and will sustain the way receivers process information (Entman, 1993: 53, 56; Graber, 1988). Therefore, successful strategic and journalistic framing tend to be the one employing the collectively- shared schema among a social group and frame-congruent information for story construction (Entman *et al.*, 2009: 179-180; Dunwoody, 1992: 78; Scheufele, 2006: 68).

The framing effects based on saliency can be produced in two ways (Entman *et al.*, 2009: 181-183; Druckman, 2001a; 2001b). Referred to as '*equivalency framing effects*', the saliency of framing is performed through the presentation of the logically same information in a more publicly-acceptable way compared with the relatively unpopular expression, which effectively changes receivers' attitudes (Entman *et al.*, 2009: 181-182; Druckman, 2001a: 228-231). Another way to make saliency effective is the '*emphasis/issue framing effects*' (Entman *et al.*, 2009: 182-183; Druckman, 2001b: 1042). Communicators tend to emphasise certain subsets of an event or an issue and influence the construction of public opinions (Druckman, 2001b: 1042). A more insightful implication of such a framing effect is that the promotion of one way of interpretation as more important indicates the *repression and omission* of the others (Edelman, 1993; Sniderman *et al.*, 1991). That is, in the location of communicating texts, attention to both presence and absence of particular words, phrases, and themes are equally important to better

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understand how a frame exposes receivers to a certain viewpoint and identify the missing potential counter-frames (Entman, 1993: 52, 55; Entman *et al.*, 2009: 182-183).

In the wider social context, the analysis of framing in the location of culture is also a way to identify how frames practice parts of cultural phenomenon and power relations (Van Gorp, 2007: 61; Gamson & Meyer, 1996). Frames constitute the central cultural elements and can be understood as the demonstrable form of culture of a certain social group (Goffman, 1974: 27; 1981: 63; Entman, 1993: 53). Therefore, exploring how framing takes into effect by conforming to the widely-shared stock of culture can reveal the dominance of a particular set of beliefs, norms, values, and stereotypes embedded in most frames (Van Gorp, 2007: 62, 65-66). Besides, how alternative frames are marginalised and cancelled to prevent other versions of interpretations also reflects the existing power relations (Van Gorp, 2007: 66).

Therefore, the examination on framing plays an important role in making visible the *counter-framing* in terms of the same event and issue (Entman, 1993; Entman *et al.*, 2009). In a more realistic sense, some scholars propose to take into consideration the competition of different frames rather than merely focus on the effect of a single frame (Sniderman & Theriault, 2004; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Entman *et al.*, 2009). Such a perspective not only recognises the existence of alternative ways of interpretations that challenge the dominant meanings, but also implies a more complicated picture of framing effects (Entman, 1993: 56; Entman *et al.*, 2009: 186). Instead of being directly convinced by a solitary way of framing, receivers in the real world are exposed to multiple contending frames due to the frame competition, generating more complex and fluid framing effects (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Entman *et al.*, 2009: 186). In short, such an approach indicates that a strip of events is more likely to be understood through the heterogeneity of competing frames and oppositional discourses (Entman *et al.*, 2009: 186). The journalistic texts that claim to be objective but in fact align with preferred meanings, and the strategic framing that favours certain interests are also needed to be investigated to uncover how they discourage the public from developing a more balanced view (Entman, 1993: 56-57).

In the past empirical literature related to tourism destinations, the association between framing effects and destination image has been explored. Salience involved in media framing is

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reflected in the patterned emphasis on certain destination characteristics in media coverage (Santos, 2002; 2004; Pan & Ryan, 2007; Pan, 2011; Pan & Hsu, 2014). Some of the salient elements of a destination in media texts also resonate with receivers' schema (Pan, 2011). Besides, some studies show that tourists rely on their perceptions of travel destinations to make their travel choices (Gartner 1986; Dadgostar & Isotalo, 1992). In terms of the risk perception associated with a tourism destination, past studies demonstrate that the sensationalist media coverage on uncertainties and danger taking place in a destination can have negative impacts on its image (Walters *et al.*, 2016; Daye, 2014; Hammett, 2014).

Overall, these studies only focus on the framing effects of media perspective and offer little about the competition or interaction from alternative frames on destination image building. However, Kapuściński & Richards (2016; 2022) rarely contribute to this research angle by presenting the power of tourist/audience framing that moderates the media framing effects.

The Misrecognition in Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD)

To promote the destination image for cultural tourism, one of the common strategies the local authorities of towns and cities adopt is the construction of '*authorised heritage discourse*' (AHD), constituted of the particularly selected aspects of cultural attributes of a social group to authoritatively represent and legitimise what heritage is and who has a say on the meaning of it (Richards, 2018; Smith, 2006: 29; Hallett & Kaplan-Weinger, 2010: 13). The AHD has an effect to frame what is aesthetically worth appreciation from the past and inheritance by the next generations (Smith, 2006: 29). In this sense, the AHD also acts as a cultural process of meaning-making and remaking to build a sense of identity based on the shared past to guide local people of a destination to culturally position themselves as a community (Smith, 2006: 29, 74-75). This not only implies that travel in cultural heritage itself produces culture, but also that promotion of cultural tourism has the potential to rebrand travel destinations and improve place perceptions (Richards, 2018: 12; Wall *et al.*, 2017). Heritage also provides the physical representation and material reality for cultural attributes and embodies the meaning of a destination and community (Smith, 2006: 30, 48; Lowenthal, 1985: 214; 2005: 81, 83). To promote the AHD, it has also become a trend that the local tourism governance responds to the influence of the Internet by using websites and social media to communicate with tourists and shape the

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ways how tourists experience the destination (Xiang & Gretzel, 2010; Lee & Gretzel, 2012; Bonilla-Quijada *et al.*, 2021).

An underlying orientation towards the future based on neoliberal and modernist notions can be found in the AHD because it shows the tendency to relate the present cultural preservation and promotion of the past with the future prosperity of the next generations (Sitas, 2020: 823-827; Peck, 2005; Smith, 2006: 29; Shipley & Snyder, 2013: 304). The AHD works to facilitate a sense of recognition and belonging for the locals of a destination possessing heritage and make them associate the use of culture heritage with perpetual economic growth and cultural enrichment (Sitas, 2020: 823-824; Peck, 2005; Piñeiro-Naval & Serra, 2019, section 2.1, para. 7). Such future-oriented and market-driven perspectives are particularly adopted in the discourse of culture-led urban regeneration and creative cities, attempting for the convergence of culture and economics by instrumentalising local cultural heritage as resources for the revival strategies of urban spaces and economic activities (Sitas, 2020: 821-824; Peck, 2005; García, 2004).

Furthermore, neoliberalism in the AHD tends to practice through developing cultural creative industries with the process of marketisation, modernisation, gentrification, and hipsterisation of local cultures, which all subject the definition of heritage to elites, middle class, experts, local tourism governance, and Global North notions (Smith, 2006: 29; Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Sitas, 2020; Peck, 2005). The culture-led regeneration discourse disempowers non-elites, especially those who have least cultural capital, from reframing the meaning of heritage and justifies the role of heritage professionals as 'stewards of the past' and their definition of cultural assets (Smith, 2006: 29-30; Sitas, 2020; Peck, 2005). In this way, the AHD shows the power of discursive construction and the nature of self-reference that continually naturalise its neoliberal ideology while excludes the conflicting ideas of heritage against the dominant aesthetics that aims for economic benefits (Smith, 2006: 30-31; Sitas, 2020; Peck, 2005). More precisely, the leisure activities and experience of elite classes usually appear more dominant in the AHD while the ones related to working class are more likely to be marginalised to the subaltern position (Smith, 2006: 35; Waterton & Smith, 2010: 12-13). Such a tendency indicates that the community of experts and elites disproportionately accounts for much more discursive

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space (Smith, 2006: 34-35; Waterton & Smith, 2010: 13). That is, other communities are oppressed and prevented from actively participating in negotiating heritage meanings, making the re-enactments of the past and heritage from multiple viewpoints less possible (Smith, 2006: 34; Waterton & Smith, 2010: 13).

In the perspective of Fraser's (2001) '*politics of recognition*', the power inequality in heritage interpretations implies the *misrecognition* and a lack of '*parity of participation*' of the excluded communities (Fraser, 2008; 2003; Waterton & Smith, 2010: 9-10). The one-sided understanding of heritage in the AHD institutionalises elite taste and even colonial perspectives by hindering the working class and local residents to gain equal voice in striving for recognition in heritage narratives or adapting heritage interpretations for post-colonial ideals (Waterton & Smith, 2010: 10-11; Gravari-Barbas *et al.*, 2021). By assimilating the dissenting heritage perceptions rather than expanding the horizon of heritage discourse for more diverse cultural experiences, the AHD helps maintain the current class hierarchies and power relations (Smith, 2009; 2006: 35; Waterton & Smith, 2010: 9-11). In this sense, the community identity under the conceptualisation of AHD is also reduced to become the object of heritage regulation and management by experts and official governance (Waterton & Smith, 2010: 11). In short, the absence of multi-vocality in the AHD leads to the unavailability of bottom-up challenges to it (Smith, 2006: 37).

In the critical approach, past literature has explored the link between heritage discourse and the exclusion of subaltern identity. Wedgwood (2009) suggests that the existing historical narratives and heritage practices led by intellectuals underrate the self-identity of working class. Villar and Vicencio (2019) propose that the socialised emotion for preferred citizenship in the AHD prompts working class to assimilate themselves into mainstream cultural norms and causes the misrecognition of the urban poor and the constant reproduction of partial heritage discourse that restrains the alternative community identity. However, the process of *how* community identity is constructed, or can be *rebuilt* and *challenged* by heritage discourse still lacks investigation (Smith, 2006: 48, 53). The exploration into the insights of tourism promotion for rebranding place perceptions in the context of health risk also has not yet been under adequate assessment (Wall *et al.*, 2017).

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The Stigmatisation and Othering Process in Health-Risk Media Coverage

Past research has shown that the othering process of the locals in the epidemic epicentre has been common in mass-media coverage and implies the effect of *stigmatisation* of the health-risk-related groups by the framing of risks (Hsu & Liu, 2006; Hsu, 2008). *Stigma* can be understood as the categorisation of certain groups or individuals because of certain attributes they possess and the reduction of them to the discredited ones, indicating that a type of social identity is not recognised in its social context (Goffman, 1963: 3; Crocker *et al.*, 1998: 505). That is, stigma is 'a special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype' that emerges when a trait appears inconsistent with social expectations of how a certain group of people should be (Goffman, 1963: 3-4). By stigmatising certain members of the society and defining the disagreeableness of some attributes, the normalcy of other characteristics can be confirmed to be in accordance with the mainstream standards (Goffman, 1963: 3, 5).

Goffman (1963) classifies the conditions of stigmatisation into three types, which are *abominations of physical deformities, blemishes of individual personalities and behaviour, and tribal stigma of devalued race, nation, and religion for generations* (: 4). Link and Phelan (2001) further conceptualise the process of stigmatisation as the convergence of four interrelated components. First, the *labelling* of human differences socially frames certain characteristics to be more salient and recognised than others with a taken-for-granted and oversimplified sense (Link & Phelan, 2001: 367-368). Link and Phelan (2001) specially replace the word 'attribute' with 'label', responding to Goffman's (1963) word choice, to question the validity of the differentiation between groups by the dominant cultural values and the following stigma of certain groups (: 368). Second, groups with the labelled traits are associated with negative *stereotypes*, automatically facilitating people's unfair perception and judgement for them (Link & Phelan, 2001: 368-370). Third, 'them' with negative labels are *separated* from 'us' (Link & Phelan, 2001: 370). Lastly, the labeled groups are to suffer from forms of inequalities deriving from *status loss and discrimination* (Link & Phelan, 2001: 370-375).

In the operation of stigmatisation, *marginalisation* plays a crucial role in embodying the subjection of those labelled, especially in the parts of separation of them from us, status loss, and discrimination. Marginalisation can be understood as an unequal power relation excluding certain groups from accessing resources, capital, and skills that would have enabled

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them to socially and politically participate in decision-making on the quality of life (Cohen, 1999: 37). Cohen (1999) represents four patterns of marginalisation according to the varying degree of preventing marginal groups from accessing resources and gaining recognition. First, *categorical marginalisation* refers to the complete differentiation between dominant and marginal groups based on ideological concepts that justify the deviance and total exclusion of the marginal from approaching resources (Cohen, 1999: 55-58). Second, *integrative marginalisation* works to permit 'a chosen few' from marginal communities who conform to dominant norms to use resources while still maintaining the hierarchical control of the dominant over the others (Cohen, 1999: 58-60). This marginalising practice indicates the intention of assimilating the marginal and the emergence of stratification within the oppressed communities (Cohen, 1999: 58-60). Third, *advanced marginalisation* seems to provide the marginal with more opportunities to integrate into dominant groups and goes further to at least the symbolic equality by aiming for expectations of formally legitimising and recognising the marginal (Cohen, 1999: 63-64). However, the marginal help reinforce the existing order by adhering to dominant norms, making radical resource redistribution less possible (Cohen, 1999: 64). Fourth, *secondary marginalisation* operates between the more privileged and the most disadvantaged marginal group members (Cohen, 1999: 70). The stratification deriving from the integration opportunity into dominant groups causes the most underprivileged to undergo the management and additional layer of marginalisation from their more advantageous fellow members (Cohen, 1999: 64, 70).

Further delving more deeply into the nature of stigmatisation and marginalisation, the binary and polarised distinction between *the self and the other* is the fundamental logic (Hall, 2001: 326). The goal of marking differences is to create meanings through relational dialogue with the other to affirm the constitution of the self (Hall, 2001: 328-330). The marked differences lay the foundation for developing symbolic order to acknowledge the 'normal' and stigmatise the unusual other (Hall, 2001: 330). To be more specific, it is the *power differences* underlying the constant reproduction of the denunciation of certain groups (Link & Phelan, 2001: 375-376). The four main practices that develop the process of marginalisation and the category of marginal groups proposed by Cohen (1999) can explain how power asymmetry is established.

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First, *identities and norms* are set up to distinguish the dominant and recognised social identity from the stigmatised one (Cohen, 1999: 38-41).

Second, *ideologies* unevenly distribute power to generate the dominant culture over the inferiority of certain groups, rationalising the discrimination against the stigmatised (Cohen, 1999: 41-43; Goffman, 1963: 5-6; Link & Phelan, 2001: 375). Third, *institutions* act as the formal measures of social control over the resource access for marginal communities (Cohen, 1999: 43-46). Lastly, *social relationships* refer to the informal interactions between groups that sustain the exclusion of marginal people even if the institutional barriers have been lifted (Cohen, 1999: 46). This practice implies that the stigmatised groups have taken in these one-sided norms against themselves from the society and develop a sense of shame for owning the 'tainted' attributes, keeping enlarging the divide between the self and the other (Goffman, 1963: 7).

Therefore, the power circulation between the self and the other is not on an equal footing (Hall, 2001: 340). Under the operation of unequal symbolic power between the powerful and the powerless, practices of *representation* are produced, further embodied as various *discourses* and systems of *knowledge* (Hall, 2001: 338-339; Foucault, 1980). Such a discriminatory social relationships are to be persistently reinforced by symbolic violence based on power asymmetry in the form of stereotypes and discrimination. However, Link and Phelan (2001) suggest two principles to change stigma. On one hand, the changing approach has to be multifaceted to deal with various discrimination mechanisms and multilevel to tackle from individual to systematic stigmatisation (Link & Phelan, 2001: 381). On the other hand, the approach has to address the origin of stigma, which is the power relations underlying the dominant beliefs against the stigmatised groups (Link & Phelan, 2001: 381).

In the past literature regarding health-risk discourses in the context of Taiwan, some research conducts thematic analysis, content analysis, and interview that merely identify the common framing practices of othering and elevating alarm in mainstream media coverage (Hsu & Liu, 2006; Hsu, 2008; Chang, 2012). *How* the mechanisms of stigmatisation and marginalisation operate in the othering process and the deeper *socio-cultural implications behind the power differences* between the self and the other lack further exploration. Some other research may deal with how stigmatised groups are marginalised in the broader social contexts and the

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ideologies behind the construction of the other, but these studies only emphasise the side of media discourse (Hsu *et al.*, 2004; Chiang & Duann, 2007; Joye, 2010). By simultaneously taking into consideration other types of discourses, how the interaction and competition of multi-discourses amplify stigma or stimulate stigma changing in the context of health risk is worth more investigation.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Theoretical Conclusions

The literature review can be summed up into four interrelated conclusions: 1) the AHD and health-risk media discourse imply a certain framing and narrative of a destination/community; 2) It is common that the AHD and health-risk discourse unevenly distribute symbolic power through the process of stigmatisation, marginalisation, and misrecognition of the disadvantaged; 3) The discursively-mediated-and-constructed destination image and community identity imply the power differences between the self and the other that reinforce the dominant ideologies and discriminatory power relations; 4) however, frame interaction and competition between the AHD and health-risk discourse may delineate a more complicated and fluid picture of framing effects on destination image and community representation.

Conceptual Framework

The four theoretical conclusions are represented in a diagram (Figure 1.) as the conceptual framework for this research. How the framing of the AHD and health-risk discourse shapes the destination image and community identity, how two types of discourses intertextually interact with each other, and how destination image and community identity relate to the wider-level cultural phenomenon and power relations through discursive practices will be analysed. The role of media in this conceptual framework is mainly demonstrated in its construction and mediation of discourses that lead to framing effects on destination image/community identity/place representation. In other words, media indirectly has an impact on

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the formation of public perceptions of a destination/community through the AHD and health-risk discourse. Besides, the mediated discourses and the higher-level power relations *mutually shape each other* since most framing tends to conform to the widely-shared schema based on dominant meanings, but also has the potential to carry alternative interpretations countering and challenging the existing symbolic order. The differentiation in word use of 'destination image' and 'community identity' and 'place representation' lies in that the latter two terms put more emphasis on the operation and involvement of the power differences.

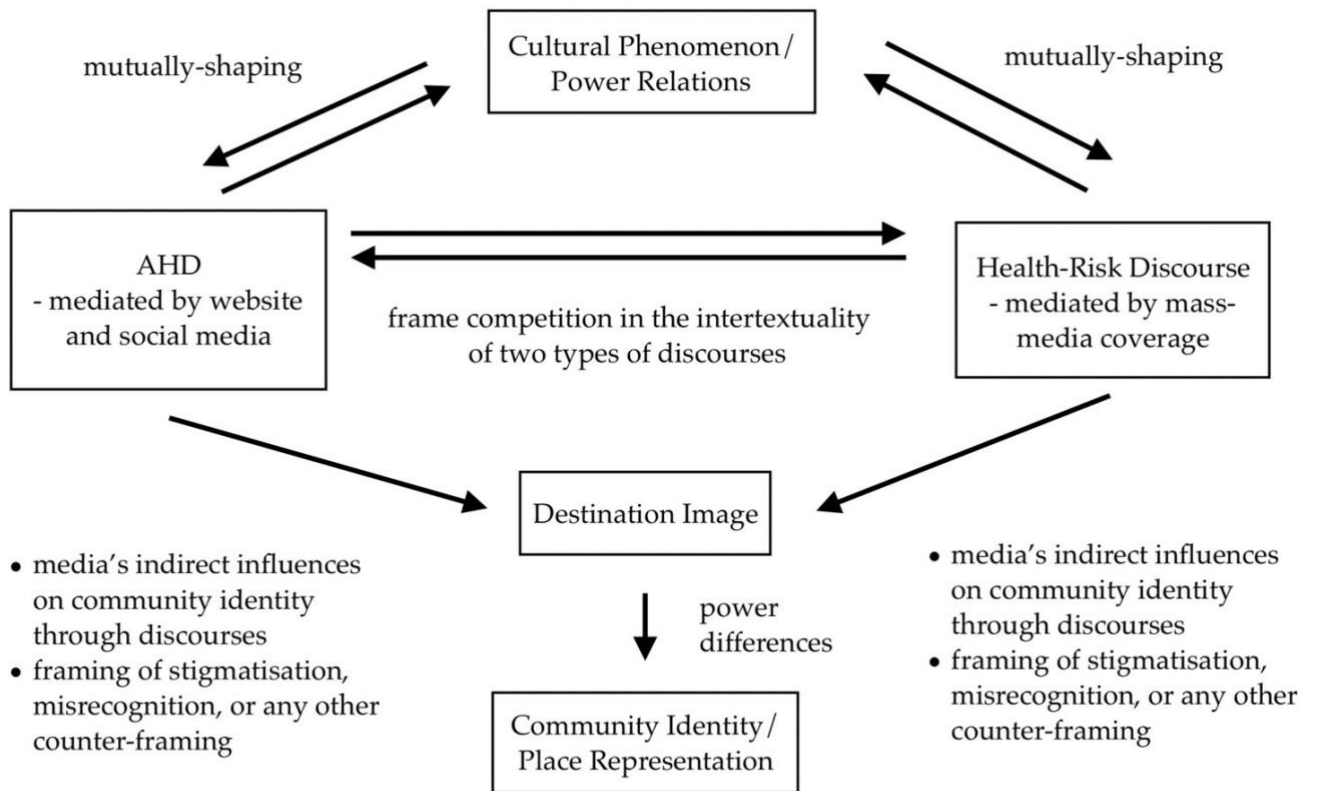


Figure 1.: Conceptual framework

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Illuminated by this conceptual framework, the potential for discourses to rebuild the community identity, place representation, and even the existing power relations is implied. Stigma can be seen as a socially-constructed identity (Archer, 1985), so the process of stigmatisation is dynamic, depending on how individuals or groups are positioned or reconstructed by the social, cultural, and political forces in a particular context (Davies & Harre, 1990). Therefore, this research aims to go beyond merely indicating the phenomenon of stigmatising or image-improving process of Wanhua within heritage and health-risk discourses, and further delve into the deeper socio-cultural implications in the power asymmetry or rebalance in representation of a destination/community through discursive practices. More importantly, in light of the lack of research on the association between biased and misleading media coverage on epidemic and discrimination against travel destination image (Wen *et al.*, 2020), health-risk media discourse and heritage discourse in the same media texts will be simultaneously considered to gain a more complete picture of how the representation of a long-stigmatised destination/community is sustained or reshaped in the context of COVID-19.

Research Questions

Thus, two questions for this research are developed from literature review and conceptual framework:

To what extent do the health-risk coverage of Taiwanese mass media on COVID-19 outbreak in Wanhua in 2021, and the AHD of Wanhua constructed by Taipei City Government improve the representation of or amplify the stigmatisation against Wanhua District?

How do the AHD and the health-risk media coverage interact with each other? What socio-cultural implications, reducing or reinforcing the stigma of Wanhua for example, do the intertextual relations carry?

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METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Methodological Approach

As aforementioned, the competition and interaction between the discursive practices of the AHD and health-risk discourse can construct destination image/community identity and imply the distribution of symbolic power between social groups. To appropriately address the research questions deriving from this theoretical conclusion, this study adopts *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)* of Fairclough (1995) on account of its presumption that discourse is a form of language use connected with *power exercise* and its research approach of *intertextuality* (54-56, 61).

Rather than a neutral means, discourse analysis presumes that language functions as a social practice that is the assembly of a certain semiotic elements amid other alternative combinations to achieve the purpose of constructing social realities and cultures (Richardson, 2007: 24; Brown & Yule, 1983; Gill, 1996: 141-142). That is, this approach is to investigate how the micro-level discursive practices enact the macro-level socio-cultural implications behind ideologies and power relations (Gill, 1996: 142; Jones *et al.*, 2015: 4). In a critical sense, CDA indicates that social practices in the form of discourses covertly exercise unequal power relations with an attempt to investigate and uncover these operations of power (Fairclough, 1995: 54). More precisely, power relations underlying discourses can produce dominance of certain social realities and discrimination against the others, and CDA is to examine whether discourses *reproduce or emancipate* these inequalities and disempowerment (Gill, 1996: 143; Richardson, 2007: 26; Chouliaraki, 2010: 103-104; Jones *et al.*, 2015: 4).

Furthermore, one of the focuses of CDA is to observe the intertextual relations of discursive components from different interpretive contexts and how the text produced by such an intertextuality reinforces or challenges the dominant ideologies (Fairclough, 1995: 61; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 6-7). However, couplings of different or even conflicting discourses and genres can contribute heterogeneity to the meanings of a text, so analysis attention to the creativity of subtle tweaking and variations between discourses is important (Matheson, 2005: 27). That is, conventional lexical presentation does not prevent the existence of subverting

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meanings and should not be always simplified as replicating dominant power relations (Matheson, 2005: 27).

Owing to the research objective to analyse how the intertextual relations between two types of discourses shape the image and identity of Wanhua in the context of COVID-19 outbreak, I choose to take on the analysis approach of *communicative events* (Fairclough, 1995). In this way, the main concern is how discourses related to a series of communicative events employ conventional framing or open up new interpretations of the events (Fairclough, 1995: 56; Matheson, 2005: 30). Instead of making a claim about the text by considering solitary dimension of its characteristics, the analysis focus is on *the hybridising role* of texts, composed of different discourses and their interpretive competition results, in both reproducing and subverting dominant social norms in different parts (Matheson, 2005: 30). To delve deeper into the entire chain of communicative events, texts related to different moments of the events can also be taken into consideration to gain a more complete picture of what socio-cultural implications that the discursive practices imply.

Therefore, this research applies CDA to analysing the power relations in the construction of destination image and community identity of Wanhua generated through the discursive practices of the AHD and health-risk media coverage. Besides, CDA's open-mindedness towards alternative interpretations by analysing the competition between different discourses in a series of communicative events also provides this research with a guide to observe how the dialectical relationship between two types of discourses creates the representation of Wanhua in the full context of the epidemic.

Reflections from Pilot Study

From the preliminary findings of the pilot study for this research, CDA is validated to work suitably to reveal the discrimination against the disadvantaged groups in Wanhua at the socio-cultural level and how the concurrent discourses of cultural heritage and health risk in media texts co-construct both the rising destination image and the stigmatised community identity. However, a common critique to CDA's pursuit for in-depth analysis at cost of the universal conclusions and the credibility in representativeness of the smaller number of analysed samples also emerges in the pilot study (Gill, 1996: 155). In response, I would like to re-

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emphasise the focus of this research is to investigate how discursive resources are used in certain interpretive contexts to shape social perceptions of a community based on the presumption of the discursive power in constructing society and culture (Fairclough, 1995: 55; Gill, 1996: 142, 155). Moreover, guided by CDA's normative expectations of uncovering unequal power relations, my subjectivity deriving from the analytical schema intending to identify the phenomenon of stigmatisation may mislead the analysis of this research (Gill, 1996: 142, 146; Wodak, 2011: 630). To reduce the interpretive leaps, simultaneous consideration of how two types of discourses interact can enable this research to remain open-minded towards the possibility of alternative framing (Gill, 1996: 146; Wodak, 2011: 630). More importantly, more reproducible and transparent operational guides for analytical framework should be designed to lessen the overly subjective judgement (Wodak, 2011: 630).

Analytical Framework

In the pilot study of this research, Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional framework of analysing communicative events that includes *text*, *discursive practice*, and *socio-cultural practice* was effectively employed to analyse three pieces of news articles about Wanhua's COVID-19 outbreak in 2021. However, the preliminary results demonstrate that it would be more insightful to incorporate Van Gorp's (2007) *frame package* owing to its focus on the social constructionist implications of framing embedded in media texts. Framing comes into effect through three parts, which are *framing devices*, *reasoning devices*, and resonating with *cultural phenomena*, from manifest to implicit level (Van Gorp, 2007: 64-66). In the real socio-cultural contexts, framing takes place in the social interactions between different actors around media content, indicating that a communicative event is interpreted through the competition of various frames of social realities (Van Gorp, 2007: 62, 64). From analysing the interaction between different interpretive ways, cultures and power relations can be brought back in framing processes to uncover how certain frames become dominant and how a limited number of alternative frames have been constrained (Van Gorp, 2007: 61-62). Therefore, by combining methodological approaches of Fairclough (1995) and Van Gorp (2007), it can be more effective in thoroughly examining the power differences between frames of destination image/community identity and the social groups they each represent embedded in textual and discursive dimensions.

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Moreover, to build up more systematic ways to lead a theory-based analysis and prevent over subjectivity, functions of framing (Entman, 1993), mechanisms of misrecognition in the AHD (Fraser, 2008; 2003; Waterton & Smith, 2010), and categories of stigmatisation and marginalisation in the othering process (Link & Phelan, 2001; Cohen, 1999) are integrated into the analytical operationalisation of this research. The comprehensive analytical framework based on the approaches of Fairclough (1995) and Van Gorp (2007) and its theory-driven operational guides are shown in Table 1.

Table 1.: Analytical framework

Levels	Presumptions	Operational guides
Text (Fairclough, 1995) & framing devices (Van Gorp, 2007)	<p>The lexical elements are cohered together as devices to organise towards a central theme and represent it saliently in the text.</p> <p>The final representation of the text is the results of certain word choices among numbers of alternative combinations, implying the prominence of a certain cultural value.</p> <p>(Fairclough, 1995: 57; Van Gorp, 2007: 64)</p>	<p>What words, phrases, grammar, sentences, descriptions, metaphors, arguments are selected and how they are sequenced together in a text; what lexical elements that could have been selected into the text are absent and omitted (Fairclough, 1995: 57-58; Van Gorp, 2007: 64).</p> <p>How health-risk discourse and the AHD contextualise the local epidemic outbreak and destination image from the perspectives of two ways of framing effects (Entman <i>et al.</i>, 2009; Druckman, 2001a; 2001b).</p> <p>What aspects of cultural attributes and social identities of Wanhua are particularly highlighted or misrecognised (Fraser, 2008; 2003; Waterton & Smith, 2010).</p> <p>Whether the practices of stigmatisation through labelling and stereotyping exist to construct the social relationships between the locals in Wanhua and the rest of the society (Link & Phelan, 2001).</p>

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<p>Discursive practice (Fairclough, 1995) & reasoning devices (Van Gorp, 2007)</p>	<p>Different types of discourses and genres are intertextually held together into a text full of heterogeneous or even contradictory meanings (Fairclough, 1995: 61).</p> <p>Statements in either explicit or implicit manner act as devices to justify and define causes and consequences of an event (Van Gorp, 2007: 64).</p>	<p>The discourse representation in quotation form with quotation marks and original tense and deictics attributes the opinion to the person being reported; without quotation marks, it generates a sense of ambivalence because distinction between voices and perspectives of the reporter and the reported is unclear (Fairclough, 1992: 107-108).</p> <p>How the four functions of framing, namely 'defining problems', 'diagnosing causes', 'making moral judgements', and 'suggesting remedies', of health-risk discourse and the AHD co-construct the representation of Wanhua (Entman, 1993).</p>
<p>Socio-cultural practice (Fairclough, 1995) & cultural phenomena (Van Gorp, 2007)</p>	<p>The mutual influence between discourses and wider socio-cultural contexts help sustain or challenge the dominant ideologies and unequal power relations (Fairclough, 1995: 62).</p> <p>Frame package takes on cultural phenomena to evoke a widely-shared schema within receivers that corresponds to the frame created by communication professionals (Van Gorp, 2007: 65-66).</p>	<p>The future orientation based on neoliberalism embedded in the AHD misrecognises the local voices and subjects the community with cultural heritage to elite and official perspectives (Smith, 2006; Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Shipley & Snyder, 2013; Sitas, 2020; Peck, 2005).</p> <p>The process of stigmatisation in discursive practices creates inequalities that discriminate against the others and cause their status loss (Link & Phelan, 2001).</p> <p>The mechanisms of marginalisation operate through four practices to generate four main categories of unequal power relations (Cohen, 1999).</p> <p>Systems of discourses and knowledge produce the practices of representation of the self and the other (Hall, 2001).</p>

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Text Sampling

Developing from the insights of pilot study, the text sampling strategies will be devised to stretch to wider time periods and more text types to better correspond to CDA's context-oriented analytical framework. Time periods before and after Level 3 COVID-19 alert of Taiwan, from May 15th to July 23rd, 2021, are included into analysis to portray a more comprehensive socio-cultural backdrop of Wanhua's struggles between the identity of a rising travel destination and an epidemic hotspot. In terms of the analysed samples, texts from Taipei City Government's tourism promotional materials are added in addition to mass-media coverage of the epidemic outbreak, so how Wanhua has been constructed as a cultural tourism destination by the AHD can be provided.

The seven pieces of texts of official tourism promotional materials and mass-media coverage of Wanhua's COVID-19 outbreak are collected from the publicly accessible platforms (Appendix A to G). Each two or three are respectively selected from three discursive moments in 2021 in Taiwan with the length of total Mandarin words between 1,000 and 2,000. The English translation of the analysed texts is done by myself except the English version of Appendix E is directly gathered from the English subtitles of the publicly-circulated promotional video.

Before Level 3 COVID-19 alert (before May 15th, 2021): two excerpts from tourism promotional feature of 'Wanhua Ecomuseum' in *Taipei Pictorial* (Lin, 2019; Taipei Pictorial, 2019), a tourism promotional monthly magazine published by Department of Information and Tourism, Taipei City Government, circulated on the official city tourism website 'Taipei Travel' are selected based on the discursive themes regarding interpretations of local cultural attributes and urban regeneration measures.

During Level 3 COVID-19 alert (from May 15th to July 23rd, 2021): two pieces of media coverage are selected respectively from the media websites of *United Daily* (Huang, 2021) and *Liberty Times* (Yang, 2021), the two most prominent newspapers in Taiwan according to their social media influence in the second half year in 2021 (OpView, 2022), based on the intertextual content of the epidemic outbreak and cultural value of Wanhua.

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After Level 3 COVID-19 alert (after July 23rd, 2021): the subtitles and textual elements in the latest promotional video of 'Bangka (the north part of Wanhua) Ecomuseum' circulated on the Facebook account of Department of Cultural Affairs (Design For Taipei, 2021) and two pieces of media coverage selected from *United Daily* (Yang & Chung, 2021) and *Liberty Times* (Cheng, 2021) on the post-epidemic major tourism event taking place in Wanhua.

INTERPRETATIONS AND ANALYSIS

The analysis of the seven pieces of texts according to the aforementioned analytical framework is annotated by three colours which represent the three analytical levels respectively (Appendix A to G). By considering alongside the theories and concepts in literature review, three wider themes in each discursive moment are identified and will be comprehensively discussed further in the following paragraphs. However, the intention of this research is not to reach universal conclusions but to provide deeper insights into the context-based employment of discursive resources that affect the representation of a particular community.

Before Level 3 COVID-19 Alert: Nostalgia as a Way to Elite-Centric Urban Regeneration

The objective of heritage preservation is often related to enhancing economic benefits and local development by reusing the existing cultural resources in urban areas (Shipley & Snyder, 2013; Oktay Vehbi & Önal Hoşkara, 2009). The framing strategies of the AHD of Wanhua (Appendix A & B) resonate with this inclination by calling for reminiscences of the 'Old Taipei' from elite views and justifying the incorporation of cultural heritage into the policy of urban regeneration.

Appeal for nostalgia for the 'Old Taipei'

Since Wanhua is one of the earliest developed districts in Taipei, it is mainly portrayed as an area representing the historic side of Taipei in the AHD produced by Taipei City Government. The 'religious beliefs', 'everyday life', 'historic architecture', 'street food', and 'cultural creativity' are the five main cultural attributes of Wanhua emphasised in the AHD (Appendix B). The particularly-selected cultural characteristics collectively demonstrate the intention to

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evoke Taipei citizens' nostalgia for the 'Old Taipei', the main theme of 'Taipei Ecomuseum' and 'West District Gateway Project'. Besides using words like 'historic', 'ancient', 'cultural', and 'nostalgic' to refer to the cultural value of Wanhua, other frequently appearing words like 'everyday/ordinary life', 'uninhibited', 'genuine', 'inclusive', 'diverse' accentuate that Wanhua represents the most authentic folk cultures of Taipei and is where different groups can be integrated and lead their lives freely. More specifically, some of the cultural heritage and tourist attractions such as 'Longshan Temple', 'Herb Alley', 'Bopiliao Historic Block', 'Huaxi Night Market', 'Dongsanshui Street Market', and 'Xinfu Market/U-mkt', etc. are most regularly placed into the AHD. This implies that they are the officially-recognised cultural features that are worth public appreciation and serve for the framing of the destination image of Wanhua. As to the genre of the discourse (Appendix A), it is presented in the form of the interview of Lin Li-Ching, a local who has mixed identities of the construction worker and the author.

The whole article is larded with quotations from Lin represented with quotation marks and original deictics, guiding readers to follow the footsteps of Lin to explore Wanhua from one local cultural heritage to another. It seems that the discourse attributes the opinions about Wanhua's charm to Lin, a local's voice, but it actually implies a sense of ambivalence mixing the perspectives of Lin and Taipei City Government because the local cultural features mentioned are never outside the box of the officially-recognised ones. Furthermore, Lin acts as one of the 'chosen few' permitted by the municipal authority, to be the representative voice to define the image of Wanhua. Owing to his higher cultural capital deriving from being the author of two books about the lives of working class, Lin is designated to be the spokesperson for the local ordinary lifestyle of Wanhua. When praising the rich lifestyles and touching qualities of people in Wanhua, Lin specifically mentions the local groups like new immigrants from Southeast Asia, the elderly, and hostesses of teahouses to testify the diversity and inclusiveness there. However, these local people and their cultures are disempowered to have a voice to jointly frame the meanings of their community as oppressed communities but only endorsed by Lin with the aim to support Wanhua's destination portrayal in the AHD. On the contrary, the story of how a local coffee shopkeeper experimentally adds the sweet potato jelly, a local traditional snack, into cafe latte to show cultural creativity is more completely told at

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the end of the article, showing that only the locals with more cultural capital have a say on the interpretations of local cultures.

In brief, such an unequal access to discursive resources for community identity construction indicates the practice of marginalisation by integrating only a few people's cultural experiences from the working class into the meaning-making process of the nostalgia for the 'Old Taipei' led by the tourism governance. This results in the second stratification between the more advantageous and the most underprivileged within the working class by establishing the disparity in gaining representation and recognition in the AHD.

Culture-led urban regeneration and modernisation

In both discourses of Appendix A and B, contrast between the old and the new is frequently made to justify the urban regeneration strategies built on the rediscovery of local cultures. In the introductory paragraph of Appendix B, metaphor is used to describe Wanhua as an arena for the competition and integration between the traditional cultures and innovative trends. How the local coffee shopkeeper blends the traditional snack into coffee also corresponds with this juxtaposition of the old and the new (Appendix A). Underlying this antithesis, a sense of future orientation towards the revival of urban communities by preserving and employing the elements of local cultures and history for innovative creations, which is the very core of 'Taipei Ecomuseum' and 'West District Gateway Project', is implied and naturalised.

Such a culture-led urban regeneration strategy subjects the image and identity of Wanhua to the value of the authorities and elites while excluding the one of non-experts and working class. To be precise, the intertextuality of the local history descriptions and local development measures implemented by Taipei City Government helps produce the three main practices of the dominance of the elite and expert ideologies in the AHD (Appendix B). First of all, the accounts of how the local temples, 'Dongsanshui Street Market', and historic architecture were renovated, legalised, and registered as the official cultural heritage intend to legitimise the governmental paternalism in rearranging the local cultural attributes for the enhancement of modern image, efficient management, and economic growth. Despite the grassroots action in preserving 'Sugar Refinery Cultural Park' is slightly mentioned, the discourse orientates the success of preservation towards the official heritage registration by the government, which

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amplifies the contribution of local tourism governance and represses the voice of those spontaneously participating in the community-building movement.

Second, the discourse of revitalising traditional industries and historic sites in Wanhua by adopting the cultural creative approaches submits the cultural heritage to the elite taste and market-driven logic. The strategies to revive the business of the traditional markets like 'Dongsanshui Street Market' and 'Xinfu Market/U-mkt', religious handicrafts on 'Buddha Handicraft Street', and traditional herbal drinks in 'Herb Alley' by introducing modern aesthetics into the storefront and product design shows the hipsterisation in the image-building of Wanhua. However, in the Taiwanese context, the style of the hipster, or 'wen-ching' (文青) which means the 'cultured youth', inclines to instrumentalise and modernise traditional and folk cultures to conform to the taste of cultural elites in the name of urban regeneration and economic boost. The revival approach that outsources external enterprise-backed art foundation and art groups to open up cultural creative stores and workshops in 'Xinfu Market/U-mkt' and 'Monga-Longshan Culture & Creative B2' provides another evidence for the appropriation of Wanhua's local cultures from elite perspectives for artistic innovations and economic growth, expecting to lead to public space regeneration.

Third, a tendency towards neoliberal and modernist notions, however, with a lack of adaptation of the colonialism-related heritage manifested in the regeneration discourse of Wanhua, amplifying the perspectives of the middle class and the Global North. The descriptions of modernisation and preservation history of 'Bopiliao Historic Block' and 'Xinfu Market/U-mkt' date back to the urban management measures in the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan. Instead of redefining the theme of these colonialism-related heritage to realise post-colonial ideals, the discourse utilises the modern urban planning from the colonial rule to help rationalise the later regeneration measures led by Taipei City Government. In this way, the revival strategy to create modern landscapes based on creativity deriving from local cultures is supported by the neoliberal regeneration agenda from the Global North perspective that deems culture as a stimulant to economic development. This can lead to the colonisation of heritage in Wanhua by the neoliberal view embodied in gentrification and elite-centric consumption. Besides, the mention of the animal-protection turn for attracting international

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tourists that ends the snake eating in 'Huaxi Night Market', the promotion of the Michelin-recognised restaurant 'Tainan Dan Zai Noodles', and the introduction of new technologies into local cultural innovations at 'Monga-Longshan Culture & Creative B2' also correspond with the progressive value of the Global North.

All in all, the dominant ideologies of elites and experts practiced through gentrification and neoliberalism in culture-led urban regeneration discourse of Wanhua also selectively acknowledges certain local cultural attributes and eliminates the cultures of those most disadvantaged and deemed subaltern, including Southeast Asian immigrants, the elderly, and hostesses of teahouses, from the conceptions of the community identity.

During Level 3 COVID-19 Alert: Leverage of Cultural Value to Alleviate Health-Risk Stigma

The health-risk coverage on COVID-19 outbreak in Wanhua (Appendix C & D) has a tendency to one-sidedly attribute the outbreak to the teahouse hostesses and their customers by problematising the local teahouses. However, the juxtaposition of the cultural heritage discourse, which clearly resonates with the AHD of Wanhua, in the media texts provides the alternative frame that reminds people to recognise the cultural and historic sides of the community despite the outbreak.

Health-risk-justified local governance and scapegoating

In the discourse of Appendix C, the descriptions of the escalation into nationwide 'Level 3 epidemic alert', including its related prevention measures led by the government, succeeded with the descriptions of the rising confirmed cases from teahouses and the lockdown situation in Wanhua unilaterally and directly associate the outbreak with the local community in a sense of labelling. The following paragraphs constantly contrast between the preceding 'hustle and bustle' at some of the local tourist attractions and the 'emptiness' and 'spontaneously locked-down area' in the face of the epidemic outbreak. By the approach of antithesis, the seriousness of the outbreak is repeatedly implicated and the image of Wanhua as the epidemic epicentre is further reinforced. The detailed descriptions of the lockdown without any interview or quotation accounts for the vast majority of the discourse, which suggests the real situation under the outbreak is unevenly told from the single perspective of the reporter without referring to the local voices.

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Furthermore, the depictions of the hostess teahouses such as 'hard for the outside world to look through' (Appendix C) and 'in need of a thorough examination' (Appendix D) not only deem the local teahouses as impenetrable and problematic but also help lay the foundation of the justification of the further epidemic prevention measures. Labelling teahouses as the origin of disorder, words related to the government-led epidemic governance over the community like 'investigate', 'identify', 'examine', 'clarify', and 'rapid antigen test' are frequently mentioned in the quotations from the Deputy Mayor of Taipei City Tsai Ping-Kun in a press conference (Appendix D). Although he publicly called for avoiding the stigmatisation of Wanhua, he still inequitably and implicitly attributed the source of the outbreak to teahouses of Wanhua by indicating that the society should 'delve into the core of the problem' and be inclusive of the teahouse hostesses so they will not 'hide in disguise and continue spreading virus' (Appendix D). These remarks show the discursive practice of establishing a symbolic order that legitimises the governmental prevention measures as the ways back to 'normal', implying the unusualness and institutional marginalisation of the local teahouses.

Both of the media texts rely heavily on quotations from governmental officials. The text of Appendix D quotes remarks from the Deputy Mayor throughout the discourse without quotation marks and original deictics, demonstrating the effect of naturalising the rhetoric of the municipal governance as if it were a part of the perspectives of the 'neutral' reporter. In the discourse of Appendix C, remarks from Taiwan President and the Commander of Central Epidemic Command Center Chen Shih-Chung are quoted to incorporate epidemic prevention policies into the discourse as a response to the outbreak. The term 'person-to-person connection' that Chen had used to euphemistically indicate the relationship between a confirmed case from this wave of outbreak and a hostess of the teahouse in Wanhua is appropriated to subtly explain the emptiness of Wanhua (Appendix C). Moreover, the term is even adapted to become 'city-to-city connection' to ascribe the disconnections between cities during the outbreak to the relationships between the hostesses and their clients, including the most disadvantaged groups like the local elderly and working class (Appendix C).

As a result, the media coverage of the outbreak expresses a sense of scapegoating of the community of the local teahouses by labelling it with the negative perceptions and subjecting it to the expert-centric management and interventions. The hostesses of teahouses and their

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underprivileged customers are separated from the mainstream society as 'the other' and forced to endure the following discrimination and status loss caused by this discursively-constructed power differences. More broadly, the locals from Wanhua are collectively voiceless in terms of evaluating the causes of the outbreak and prescribing the remedies to the better management of the teahouses.

Cultural heritage discourse as an alternative frame

The intertextual incorporation of the cultural heritage discourse demonstrates the alternative angle to represent Wanhua in the context of health risk. Following the delineation of the reporter, the vanishing vibrancy and liveliness at some of the most representative tourist attractions like 'Longshan Temple', 'Huaxi Night Market', and 'Ximending' are respectively brought up (Appendix C). These attractions are not only in accordance with those which are most frequently emphasised in the AHD of the 'Old Taipei', but also act as an acknowledgement of Wanhua's diverse aspects of cultural value like folk religion, street food, youth subculture, and LGBTQ+ community. Besides, the Deputy Mayor of Taipei City added the brief history of Wanhua after announcing multiple prevention measures and called Wanhua 'the cradle of Taipei', placing emphasis on its historic meanings for Taipei City and the folk cultures from early times it represents (Appendix D). Furthermore, the Deputy Mayor also intentionally mentioned the policy name 'Taipei Ecomuseum' to call for the public's revisit to Wanhua to appreciate its 'touching qualities of people' and 'culture of everyday life' after the outbreak.

It seems that the juxtaposition of the heritage discourse acts as the contending frame to reduce the stigmatisation and blaming of Wanhua by diverting the public's attention to the community's cultural significance. However, this alternative framing reproduces the same deficiencies of the AHD that it only makes visible the cultural attributes from the point of view of the local governance and still marginalises the voice of the locals, especially those who are relevant to the local teahouse culture, in defending the representation of their community by leveraging their version of cultural pride. Moreover, with the calls for solidarity to anticipate the 'busy traffic' (Appendix C) and 'rejuvenation' (Appendix D) after the outbreak, the cultural heritage discourse serves for the justification of the epidemic prevention governance over the

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community instead of playing the role of the oppositional frame. Consequently, the empowerment of the locals to participate in the negotiation of community identity and the improvement of higher heterogeneity of heritage interpretations appear ineffective even though the intertextual inclusion of the cultural heritage discourse into the health-risk context.

After Level 3 COVID-19 Alert: Neoliberal Solutions to Stigma and Economic Stagnation

The AHD and media coverage of the major tourism events of Wanhua after the outbreak (Appendix E, F, & G) still subject the representation and voice to define the cultural value of Wanhua to elites and neoliberal notions. The voice from the relatively disadvantaged local groups like the elderly, working class, and those who are relevant to the local teahouses are absent as before. Besides, the solution to change stigma and revive the community singularly orientates towards the market-driven regeneration strategies which aim for crowds return and economic growth.

Sustained subjugation of the local voices to elite perspectives

In the post-outbreak promotional video of 'Bangka (the north part of Wanhua) Ecomuseum' (Appendix E), the script also adopts the form of entirely following the footsteps of a 'chosen' representative voice, the local graffiti artist and restaurant owner Cheng Tzu-Ching, to revisit the emblematic cultural features of Wanhua as the ones in the AHD of Appendix A. The self-narration of Cheng throughout the video takes the audience to go through the 'atmosphere of the Old Taipei', 'the cradle of Taipei', folk religion, and youth culture, conforming to the officially-recognised cultural attributes before the outbreak, and therefore expresses a sense of ambivalence by containing the perspective of the local tourism governance. However, compared with introducing specific tourist attractions, more emphasis of the discourse is placed on narrating the characteristics of the community and its people. For example, the perseverance enables people to 'refuse to yield to the passage of times', innovation ability of the young and their vitality and artistic creations, and diversity and inclusiveness which 'unlock endless possibilities for any character' (Appendix E).

Although the representation of the locals becomes slightly more tangible than before in these descriptions, they are still not directly offered a share of voice to interpret local cultures in the AHD but subjected to the opinions from their fellow members with higher cultural capital.

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What's more, the promoted sides of the local cultures remain adherence to the previous officially-recognised ones without further including the multiple cultural perspectives of the relatively more disadvantaged locals, hostesses and customers of teahouses for example, making the Taipei tourism slogan 'Undiscovered Taipei' in vain.

The undiscovered parts of Taipei are actually carefully selected by excluding the ones deemed disagreeable rather than truly uncovering and recognising the previously underrepresented cultural attributes.

In the media coverage of the post-outbreak tourism events (Appendix F & G), the discussion about the effectiveness of the events in enhancing local economic benefits after the outbreak also confines to experts and elites like officials of Taipei City Government, Taipei City Council members, and the chairman of the shopping area in Wanhua. Such a singular perspective shows a tendency to exclusively advocate market-driven logic without empowering the most disadvantaged and affected groups during the Wanhua outbreak to change their stigmatised representation.

Thus, the community identity and heritage interpretations are still objectified by the local tourism management without including more diverse vocalities in the cultural heritage and health-risk discourses. Conversely, the elite perspectives are further institutionalised by the continuing discriminatory social relationships that sustain the marginalisation of the bottom-up voices.

Major tourism event as a market-led rehabilitation strategy

In terms of the strategies to revitalise the epidemic-stricken community, an inclination towards culture-led and market-led regeneration approaches still manifests and is even further accentuated. In the AHD after the outbreak, the regeneration agenda of developing cultural creative industries based on local cultures and history to generate 'the new faces of the Old Taipei' is once more implicated by recognising the refreshing liveliness that the art creations of the younger generation fill in the historic community (Appendix E).

Besides, the media coverage of the major tourism events which aim to regenerate Wanhua shows that the rehabilitation strategy is restricted to the market-driven logic that is ineffective

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in reducing stigma for the marginal groups and their cultures (Appendix F & G). Words frequently used in the coverage like 'bustling', 'attract a crowd', 'prosperity', 'revitalisation', 'business opportunity', 'sales growth', etc., keep emphasising the goal of choosing Wanhua as the venue for holding major tourism event 'Taipei Lantern Festival', which additionally coordinates with 'Taipei New Year's Eve Countdown Party', is to bring back the hustle and bustle and economic growth for the community. These tourism events also intend to mark the starting point for Taipei City's move into the 'New Normal', a state seeking to maintain economic activities despite the continuing COVID-19 epidemic (Appendix F). Moreover, the main lantern 'NEW', homophonic with the Mandarin word 'niu' (牛) meaning ox in celebration of Year of the Ox, expresses the expectation of rejuvenation of the community in consistency with the regeneration objective of the event and 'Taipei Ecomuseum' policy (Appendix F). As to the detailed activities of the Festival, the involvement of the renowned entertainers whose performances are irrelevant to the local cultures, the introduction of the new technologies into the exhibition, and the participation of the lanterns from international sister cities are merely for promptly grabbing attention and futile to effectively increase the visibility of the underrepresented local cultural attributes to change stigma (Appendix F). Besides, in the discourse of the Appendix G, the criticism of the Festival completely focuses on its ineffectiveness to stimulate sufficient sales growth and economic profit for the local business in Wanhua because of the lack of promotion of the events by the government. The single direction of the criticism also indicates the subjection of the strategy of changing stigma and rehabilitating Wanhua all to market-driven logic and neoliberal notions.

As a result, the failure to change stigma derives from the lack of multifaceted perspectives to recognise more aspects of local cultures and multilevel approaches to systematically address the distribution of symbolic power and representation opportunities between the dominant and marginal groups. The unchanged AHD and one-dimensional regeneration strategy that intends to appropriate local cultures merely for economic progress help reinforce the unequal power relations in cultural representation between social groups in Wanhua.

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CONCLUSION

This research adopts the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to investigate how the intertextual relations between the AHD and health-risk discourse in media texts co-build the power relations underlying the representation of Wanhua and its disadvantaged locals in the context of COVID-19. The findings from three discursive moments collectively demonstrate that the stigmatisation of Wanhua endures although the framing of cultural heritage discourse has raised the public's awareness and recognition of Wanhua's cultural significance for Taipei City. The continuous stigmatisation of Wanhua stems from the fundamentally unbalanced access to discursive resources for the relatively disadvantaged locals and their cultures to gain visibility as a part of the community identity in the AHD. Therefore, during the outbreak, the most underprivileged in Wanhua, who never have a say on the interpretations of their community and the local epidemic outbreak, took the full brunt of the implicit blaming from the health-risk-related remarks of the officials with the intention to justify the future governmental management. Even after the outbreak, the new official tourism material and rehabilitation approaches for the epidemic-stricken community led by the local tourism governance still one-sidedly orientated towards elite perspectives and neoliberalism. Either official tourism discourse or media discourse does not systematically enhance the representation and recognition of more diverse and alternative cultural viewpoints by fully utilising cultural heritage discourse to rebuild community identity, remake heritage interpretations, and rebalance power relations between local social groups.

Developing from the functionalist view of discourse analysis that sees language as a social practice, this research contributes to the deeper exploration of how discourses construct the destination image and community identity through the process of stigmatisation and marginalisation that imply the greater socio-cultural meanings in creating unequal power relations between social groups. Moreover, inspired by CDA's focus on the textual heterogeneity deriving from the intertextuality of different discursive elements, this research also presents the simultaneous consideration of the AHD other than health-risk media discourse to offer interpretations of the power struggles and dialectical interaction between two types of discourses. The combination of the framing effects of media views and local

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tourism promotion not only helps gain the insights into the more complicated and fluid picture of the interrelations between health risk and destination image/community identity, but also shows the open-mindedness towards the possible alternative framing against the health-risk-naturalised stigmatisation.

This research effectively sticks to CDA's main objective to uncover the discriminatory social relationships lying in discourses to examine the constant stigmatisation of the underprivileged locals of Wanhua in the context of COVID-19 following the similar othering process in media coverage during the SARS outbreak back in 2003. Building on the finding of the underprivileged groups' exclusion from interpreting the cultural heritage and health risk, future potential research can be further carried out by interviewing the locals of Wanhua, especially those who are most blamed during the outbreak, regarding the heritage interpretations and community identity from their own perspectives to complement the long absence of bottom-up voices. Hopefully, such prospect of the enhancement of representation and recognition of the marginal cultural perspectives can shed light for health-risk journalists and policy makers to realise the potential of adopting multi-discourses to create the more just place perceptions and social relationships in the future, with this research as the starting point.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A to G are the seven analysed texts for this research with the English translation of the three of them, A, C, and E, additionally provided. The annotations are included in each text to show how Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional framework and Van Gorp's (2007) frame package were operated in this research. (Green ink: text/framing devices; blue ink: discursive practice/reasoning devices; red ink: socio-cultural practice/cultural phenomena)

Appendix A

Before Level 3 COVID-19 alert (before May 15th, 2021) (A)

green: text/framing devices
blue: discursive practice/reasoning devices
red: socio-cultural practice/cultural phenomena

authentic, comfortable, tolerate, historic, cultural, nostalgia, traditional
frequently used words: everyday life, easy-going, unpretentious, diverse, inclusive, multiple, at ease

台北畫刊
Taipei Pictorial

林立青: 「真正的文化是從在地生活中長出來的。」(台北畫刊108年8月)

發佈日期: 2019-08-14 文/林佳蕙

genre: ① interview of the local Lin Li-Ching represented in quotation with quotation marks and deictics → most local people's voices are absent

以《做工的人》一書立下文壇名號的林立青, 非常接地氣, 吸引他的城市街區自然也不帶矯揉造作之氣, 而匯聚多種族群生活面貌的艋舺, 是讓他最感自在不拘束的所在, 多年來總讓他流連忘返。

② the whole article follows Lin's lead to go over the local cultural attributes → that are officially recognised
Lin acts as the "chosen few" permitted to represent Wanhua. Lin has the identity as an author, which makes him more advantageous.

在讓人一秒滴汗的夏天, 身兼工地監工和作家雙重身分的林立青, 穿著人稱三五牌的555內衣和牛仔寬褲, 晃悠著帶我們走進了位於萬華艋舺最核心地帶的華西街。一身透風清涼, 他得意地說, 最早是李小龍帶起555的風潮, 這種上衣現在則是習武或蹲監的人會穿, 「人家說我怎麼穿這樣, 我說你懂什麼, 真正的男人就要穿這個, 那是李小龍在穿的。」他順手指向路邊一處服飾行, 那裡, 就買得到。

像這樣走在艋舺的街道之間, 他非常自在。他認為古早時期因港口貿易而發展起來的艋舺, 和世界上許多沒落的老城區一樣, 都有包容多元文化的共通點, 「它看過大風大浪, 曾經繁華過, 也落魄過, 所以對於不同文化同理心比較高。」林立青算半個在地人, 父母分別來自加納仔和南機場兩個傳統的萬華地區, 一家人雖然在大台北地區搬遷了幾回, 但總會回來逛一逛。例如在老台北信仰中心艋舺龍山寺附近, 就有間開在華西街上、據他說是全台灣唯一的命相易經專業書店, 專賣玉璣避邪飾品的雙親每年總會出入多次, 而在網購不發達的年代, 他也常回來這裡買些五金材料, 艋舺對他來說, 即是生活。

不造作的生活感

stratification within the local working class (Lin vs others)

「我昨天才在這邊吃飯, 無聊沒事, 回來這邊東西比較好吃。這邊一百塊可以吃到吐出來, 去百貨公司地下街你能吃什麼?」林立青帶我們走過著名的蛇肉攤、越南新住民服務的修甲店、老奶奶的檳榔攤, 店家攤商的後方是茶室, 對面則是拿下來具林一星的「台南担仔」

other groups of the locals are only mentioned by Lin and not given voices

emphasising the local food recognised by the Michelin-Star Rating from the West

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麵」，一條街上呈現著舊城區生活的豐富面貌。而不遠處就是他特別推薦的「阿義魯肉飯」，飽滿的蚵仔蓋在滿溢滷肉油香的白飯上，讓人一下就可以扒完一大碗，而另一端則是超過50年歷史的「華西街珍果」冰菓店，充滿懷舊風情。

然而，平價又古早的美食，倒不是艋舺引人不斷回返的根本理由，他說：「最重要的還是人啦！這區有特殊的文化、秩序和規則，這裡的人有什麼說什麼，觀察力也比較好。只要認識3天，就可以一起去按摩、吃飯、聊天，寫作的時候，來這邊得到的刺激比較多。」

新舊交融的好滋味

這些年，林立青自己散步，也讓新朋友引路，深入大小巷弄，雖感嘆許多值得保存的老東西如涼茶攤的藥籤、舊建築工法都逐漸消逝，艋舺的地表風景慢慢在變，但這幾年，有些年輕人開始回流，把老東西帶出了新的韻味。我們走進「呆待咖啡」，年輕的女店長小時候就在剝皮寮長大，隨口就可以說上一段街區的故事，對咖啡很有熱情的她，把這一區有名的「涼粉伯」古早味涼粉店裡使用的麵茶加到了拿鐵裡，讓上一輩的飲食品項在這新舊交融中，產生出人印象深刻的香醇新味道。林立青有感而發地指出，真正的文創就得從在地的生活中生長出來，「現在是越在地越國際，像泰國的夜市就比他們的百貨公司有趣多了。」

啜一口麵茶拿鐵，這真性情的艋舺滋味，讓林立青暖心舒暢，在地生活的韻味，對他來說，就是如此對味。

The coffee shopkeeper is also the "chosen few" to have a voice to define local cultures.

Contrast between "the old" and "the new"; "local/tradition" and "trendy"

→ add the story of a local coffee shopkeeper
↓
most local people's voices are absent

a sense of future orientation based on local cultures towards culture-led urban regeneration

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台北畫刊

Taipei Pictorial

green = text/framing devices
blue = discursive practice/reasoning devices
red = socio-cultural practice/cultural phenomena

frequently used words: everyday life, easy-going, unpretentious, historic, at ease
comfortable authentic + traditional
cultural, diverse, inclusive, nostalgia
multiple tolerant

"The Real Culture is Grown From Everyday Life", Said Lin Li-Ching

genre: interview of the local Lin Li-Ching (Taipei Pictorial 2019 August)

represented in quotation with quotation marks and deictics → most local voices are absent

Posted on August 14, 2019/by Lin, Chia-Hui

→ the whole article follows Lin's lead to go over the local cultural attributes that are officially recognised

Lin acts as the "chosen few" permitted to represent Wanhua

Lin Li-Ching, who has established his literary reputation by his book "Workers", is very easy-going, so the urban blocks attractive to him are naturally the unpretentious ones. Wanhua, where the diverse lives of multiple groups converge, is the place making him most at ease and keeping him lingering for many years.

→ mixing the perspectives of the reporter and the reported

Lin has the identity as an author, which makes him more advantageous

In summertime that makes people sweat within a second, Lin Li-Ching, who has double identities of a construction worker and an author, wore the so-called "555" underwear and wide denim pants and restfully guided us to walk into Huaxi Street, the very core of Wanhua. Dressed in a cool and refreshing way, he said proudly Bruce Lee firstly led the 555 trend, and now this kind of top is usually worn by people who practice martial arts or are imprisoned, "People asked me why I wear like this. I said you know nothing about menswear. This is what Bruce Lee was wearing." Meanwhile, Lin pointed to a clothing store around the corner, where 555 can be found.

Lin always feels very comfortable walking around streets in Wanhua like this. He indicated that Wanhua, developing rapidly due to the port trade in the early times, like many other declining old towns across the world, has the characteristics of being tolerant of diverse cultures. "It has seen lots of obstacles and been through ups and downs, so it has a higher empathy for different cultures." Lin is half a local with his parents are from Ka-lah-á and South Airport, the two traditional communities in Wanhua. Although his family has relocated several times in Taipei, they occasionally come back to Wanhua for a stroll. Around Longshan Temple, the religious centre of Old Taipei, there is a bookstore on Huaxi Street. According to Lin's parents, this is the only bookstore in Taiwan that specialises in I Ching, or the Book of Changes. His parents traded in jade ornaments that can ward off evil spirits and never forgot to revisit the bookstore every single year. In the time when online shopping has not yet been a trend, Lin often came to Wanhua to buy some hardware materials. For him, Wanhua represents everyday life.

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Unpretentious sense of life

"I just had meals here yesterday. When I am bored, I come back here to eat delicious food. You can eat here with just 100 New Taiwan Dollars until you are too full to eat anymore. What can you eat when you go to the shopping arcade of a department store?" Lin led us to go through the famous snake meat stalls, the manicure shop served by the new immigrants from Vietnam, and the betel nut stands run by old ladies. Behind these stores and stalls are the hostess teahouses, and on the opposite is the "Tainan Dan Zai Noodles" that has just won one Michelin star. Within only one street, the richness of life in the old town is represented. Not far away is the "A-Yi Braised Pork Rice" that Lin specially recommended. The plump oysters cover the rice full of braised pork that smells so good that customers definitely can finish a big bowl of it instantly. On the other end of the street is the "Huaxi Street Smoothie and Juice Bar" with a history of more than half a century and full of nostalgia.

emphasizing the local food recognised by the Michelin Star Rating from the West

Stratification within the local working class (Lin vs others)

other groups of the locals are only mentioned by Lin and not given voices

However, the economical and nostalgic delicacies are not the fundamental reason that attracts Lin's constant return. "The most important reason is the people! This area has special cultures, orders, and rules. People here have a good sense of observation. As long as you know local people for 3 days, you can go to enjoy massages, food, and chatting together. When I was writing, coming here offered me many inspirations," he said.

A tasty blend of the old and the new

Over these years, Lin takes a walk by himself and also lets new friends lead the way to go deeper into the local alleys. Although Lin lamented the gradual disappearance of many old things worth preserving such as the medical fortune sticks of herbal tea stalls and traditional construction methods and the slowly changing scenery of Wanhua, the young have begun to return to the area in recent years and create new faces for the local traditional cultures. We walked into the "DD coffee". The young female shopkeeper grew up in Bopiliao and can tell any local story from the past. She is very enthusiastic about coffee and adds the sweet potato jelly from a local renowned store to cafe latte, generating the impressive new flavour for the traditional snack from the older generation. Lin emotionally pointed out that the real cultural creativity has to grow out of the local everyday life. "Nowadays, the more local cultures become more international. For example, the night markets in Thailand are much more interesting than their department stores"

the shopkeeper is also the "chosen few" to have a voice to define local cultures

→ add the story of a local coffee shopkeeper

↓
more local people's voices are absent

contrast between the old and the new, local/traditional and trendy

a sense of future orientation based on local cultures towards culture-led urban regeneration

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Sipping his cafe latte with sweet potato jelly, Lin felt warm and comfortable from such an authentic taste of Wanhua. To Lin, the charm of local life here is absolutely to his taste.

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Appendix B

Before Level 3 COVID-19 alert (before May 15th, 2021) (B)

台北畫刊
Taipei Pictorial

green: text/framing devices
blue: discursive practice/reasoning devices
red: socio-cultural practice/cultural phenomena

* intertextuality:
local cultural and historic value
&
local development measures
led by the government

萬華艋舺 #生活關鍵字
發佈日期: 2019-08-14 文 / 編輯部

using hashtag icon to emphasise the cultural characteristics
imitating the genre of a social media post

Contrast between "the old" and "the new"

Categorising local cultural attributes into 5 main themes and introducing each in the following paragraphs

萬華艋舺的文化風景猶如一場傳統建築工匠間，令人拍案叫絕的「對場作」，傳統風俗與新興創意在地方信仰、庶民日常、建築樣式、小吃飲品、文創巧思等不同生活競技場上，比拚各自的拿手絕活，並在這一來一往的回合間，讓跨界發生、共演成真，也成就萬華艋舺在這新舊與共的競合關係上，綻放恆常變動的美，成為獨一無二的人文生活場域。

employing future orientation based on local cultures and history towards new development of culture to justify the policy of "Taipei Ecomuseum" the former policy name of "Taipei Ecomuseum" metaphor: Wanhua as an "arena" for the competition and integration of the old and the new cultures

#精神信仰
艋舺龍山寺、艋舺青山宮、艋舺清水巖祖師廟

local history descriptions (orienting towards measures of local development led by the government)

艋舺龍山寺、艋舺清水巖祖師廟與艋舺青山宮為「艋舺三大廟」。自清朝時期艋舺龍山寺建寺以來，命理算命業便群聚於此，直到2004年B1地下街落成後，才以明亮、整齊的攤位呈現。另外，艋舺青山宮每年一度的靈安尊王暗訪暨繞境，俗稱「艋舺大拜拜」，繞境範圍早已不限於傳統的艋舺地域，而是北至西門町，南至加蚋仔，表現出地方信眾參與廟會活動的公共性，並被登錄為民俗類無形文化資產。 - subjecting the historic heritage to local governance

#庶民百態
東三水街市場、佛具街、青草巷

* words frequently used to emphasise the modern sides of this Old Taipei area: bright, neat, hygienic, modernisation, renovation, a sense of "hipster", innovation, artistic design, preservation, community development, cultural creativity, regeneration, revival, experiment (文青文青) (art enthusiasts) (cultured youth)

建於1935年的新富市場，當初是日本時代的公設市場，強調衛生與現代化管理，同時滿足日本人與台灣人的採買需求。市場的人潮與商機帶來流動攤販，聚集在新富市場的正門外，1986年，在流動攤販的奔走下，東三水街市場終於正式合法成立。隨著時代變遷，東三水街市場如今面臨超市、大賣場等通路強勢競爭，一些攤商的門面經過改造後，環境變得整潔明亮，甚至帶點文青味，讓更多人願意走進這裡。

subjecting the historic heritage to local governance and culture-led regeneration measures, even tracing back to the modernisation measures in Japanese colonial period in Taiwan

位於西園路的「佛具街」，以及以西昌街為中心向外擴張的「青草巷」，也是深具地方特色之處，同樣面對老店如何創新的課題：有的佛具店主打現代居家佛堂，強調設計感與空間美學；有的青草店推出便於沖泡的養生茶包，以及有如手搖飲料店的推車，販售各式青草茶，都是為了符合現代人的需求。

subjecting to culture-led regeneration measures and modern cultural creative tastes

#建築模樣

剝皮寮歷史街區、糖廊文化園區、萬華林宅

tracing back to the urban planning measures in Japanese colonial period

local history descriptions (orienting towards measures of local development led by the government)

剝皮寮歷史街區的保存，可說是個美麗的意外，北市府當初沿用日本時代的都市計畫，把剝皮寮長期限建管制，因而保留了原始的清代街道紋理與日本時代的店屋面貌。這裡因為作為電影《艋舺》的拍攝場景而爆紅，至今仍是萬華的人氣景點。

culture-led regeneration measures

糖廊文化園區原為日本時代的甘蔗製糖所，台糖公司在上世紀末原有意將這塊土地改建為大型老人安養院，激起社區居民的抗爭行動，並凝聚為長期投入大理街社區營造的地方力量，因為北市府的介入，三棟糖倉被指定為市定古蹟，戶外空間成為社區居民的遊憩公園。萬華林宅則是近年私有古蹟經營的典範之一，1、2樓由星巴克進駐經營，樓上空閒由林家後人管理並定期開放導覽，是兼顧私人產權與公共利益的嘗試。

regeneration measures which pursue economic growth

#生猛飲食

華西街觀光夜市、廣州觀光夜市

subjecting the local heritage to local governance although there has been spontaneous actions of community building from the locals (they have no voice in the story)

subjecting local cultural attributes to elite perspectives (animal protection over live show of killing snakes and eating snakes)

華西街觀光夜市曾經以殺蛇秀與吃蛇肉而聞名，在1980年代成為向外國觀光客宣傳的亮點，不過隨著動物保護觀念的普及，殺蛇不再是華西街的日常風景；另一個生猛飲食的代表，是今年甫榮獲米其林一星的老店「台南担仔麵」，老闆將海鮮菜色頂級化，其內部裝潢金碧輝煌，讓人遙想「台灣錢淹腳目」的昔日榮景。除了有這樣的豪華餐廳，逛夜市、探訪古早味的小吃攤與店家，例如涼粉、刨冰、肉圓、炒飯、胡椒餅、魷魚羹等吃食，是令人懷念的老台北記憶。

a sense of nostalgia

emphasising the local food recognised by the Michelin Guide Star Rating from the West; the upscale brand image of the restaurant represents the economic prosperity in old times

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#文創好店

📍 新富町文化市場、艋舺龍山文創B2

local
history
descriptions
orienting
towards
measures of
local development
led by the
government

萬華有豐富的歷史及人文內涵，隨著舊街區的復興，正要轉身成為新時代文創的孕育地。為了讓新富市場這座少數日治時期建置的市場建築免於被拆除的命運，2006年被指定為市定古蹟，修復後由忠泰建築文化藝術基金會於2017年以「新富町文化市場」的定位再生，並提供工作室，招募相關團隊或個人進駐。新富市場一角仍保留愛嬌姨的製冰室，讓人看見原本的市場生活，成為別具新意的巧思。

艋舺龍山文創B2，位於艋舺公園下方，是北市府正在活化的地下街，目前定位為在地店家與藝文團體進駐的文創基地，將萬華本身豐富的內涵與文化轉化為創作者的養分，同時透過舉辦工作坊、導覽，讓民眾參與，挖掘屬於當地的創意能量，今年更啟用數位內容實驗場，以自媒體科技來探索文化，作為文化創新的平台。

萬華艋舺貼近常民生活的草根文化，以及深厚的歷史，是其最獨有的內在特質，持續掌握地方特色，深掘傳統、翻攪新意，讓萬華艋舺長出了一條文化創意的枝幹。

subjecting to
- local governance
- culture-led regeneration measures
- elite perspectives (cultural creativity)

→ introducing
new technologies
into local cultural
development

Appendix C

During Level 3 COVID-19 alert (from May 15th to July 23rd, 2021)

(C)

green: text/framing devices
blue: discursive practice/reasoning devices
red: socio-cultural practice/cultural phenomena

聯合新聞網

被疫情放慢步調的萬華 空蕩街景是最佳防疫手段

2021-05-26 09:19 記者黃義書 / 台北即時報導

新冠肺炎本土確診病例不斷攀升，全國防疫等級拉高到三級警戒。許多店家被迫關門、餐廳禁止內用、只准外帶。室內五人、戶外十人，出門必需戴口罩的防疫規定。疫情指揮中心、總統都請民眾假日也減少外出「宅在家防疫」，展開「全民防疫新生活」。

就在三級警戒屆滿前三天，因疫情的「校正回歸」和新增的確診案例，在在顯示疫情沒有趨緩的情勢。中央流行疫情指揮中心指揮官陳時中宣布，全國第三級警戒延長至6月14日。

而此疫情的發展過程，在指揮中心公所布確診者的足跡中，大多指向萬華、三水街的「清茶館」、「阿公店」有關的區域。一時間，原本人聲鼎沸的萬華人去樓空。成了最早自我「封城」的區域。

信眾與神明沒有距離 路過雙手合十參拜

萬華的信仰中心龍山寺、青龍宮也都關起大門，謝絕信眾入內參拜。「封廟」隔離了信眾與神明的距離，似乎沒有影響到信眾合十祈福的雙手與虔誠的心。時而見到路過信眾，就在廟口、或對街停下腳步，雙手合十往內參拜，才快步離開。

確診的足跡 讓外界看見「清茶館、阿公店」景象

要不是新冠肺炎確診的足跡，外界難以窺視三水街的「清茶館」是怎樣的景象。就在短短的巷弄間，擠滿數十間的「阿公店」。現雖空無一人，而繁華市井、車水馬龍熱鬧景象不難想見。但這「人與人的連結」讓人流連忘返的溫柔鄉。在繁華退去後，所留下空空蕩蕩的街道，成了最佳的防疫手段。

quotations from Taiwan President and the government's epidemic prevention policies

quoting the announcement to move into Level 3 alert from the Commander of Central Epidemic Command Center Chen Shih-chung

**genre of the following paragraphs: detailed descriptions of Wanhua during the outbreak in the perspective of the reporter (without interviews of the locals)*

Contrast between the previous hustle and bustle and the lockdown during the outbreak

attributing the outbreak to the teahouses of Wanhua in a simplified and scapegoating way; subjecting local sex industries to further official governance

the heritage discourse serves as a different frame that reduces the scapegoating of Wanhua

representing teahouses as mysterious and problematic that should be uncovered

Contrast between the previous hustle and bustle and the emptiness during the outbreak

a metaphor of sex industries (teahouses)

quoting Chen Shih-Chung's, the commander of Central Epidemic Command Center, term that he used to refer to the association between one of the confirmed cases and a hostess from Wanhua's teahouses

sequence associating Level 3 alert with teahouses in Wanhua → labelling stereotypes

intertextuality: cultural heritage discourses are added into the health-risk coverage

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再次重創華西街小吃攤生意 西門町少了年輕人穿梭

intertextuality:
cultural
heritage
discourses
are added
into the
health-risk
coverage

就在與三水街交錯的華西街，準備正重整旗鼓的「華西街觀光夜市」小吃攤，再次重創，全數拉下鐵門「防疫」。

而臨近萬華，流行文化、潮牌時尚聚集之地西門町，少了穿著時髦的年輕人穿梭其間，店家也都多數關門休息。就在西門町「TAIPEI」彩虹意象的入口。一處紅色霓虹燈，亮起缺了一角的「台灣加油」，為所有為疫情努力的醫護及全國民眾加油打氣。

從空拍華江橋角度，看到車輛稀少的景象，期待這是「全民空城」的防疫手段，期能有效緩解疫情。讓現今沒有車流「城市與城市的連結」橋梁美景，只是黎明前的寧靜，車潮將再湧現。

appropriation of Chen's term
"person-to-person connection"
and changing it into
"city-to-city connection"

associating the disconnections between cities with the relationships between hostesses from Wanhua's teahouses and their customers, implying a sense of scapegoating

the heritage discourse serves as a different frame that reduces the scapegoating of Wanhua

a call for solidarity
→ help justify the epidemic prevention policies and governance

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聯合新聞網

green = text/framing devices
blue = discursive practice/reasoning devices
red = socio-cultural practice/cultural phenomena

Slowed down by the epidemic, empty streets in Wanhua serve as the best means of prevention

by Huang, Yi-Shu/real-time report from Taipei

The local confirmed cases of COVID-19 continue to rise and cause the nationwide epidemic alert to be raised to Level 3. Many stores are forced to close, and restaurants are prohibited to let customers eat in. Only takeaway is allowed. According to the rules of epidemic prevention, indoor and outdoor gatherings are limited to five and ten people respectively. Whenever going out, it is mandatory for people to wear a mask. Both the Central Epidemic Command Center (CECC) and the president appealed to the public to reduce outdoor activities. "stay home for epidemic prevention", and start the "epidemic new life movement". *quotations from Taiwan President and the government's epidemic prevention policies*

Just three days before the expiration of Level 3 epidemic alert, the backlog of the previously unprocessed cases and the new confirmed cases both indicate that the epidemic has not yet eased.

The commander of CECC Chen Shih-Chung announced the extension of the nationwide Level 3 epidemic alert until June 14. *quoting the announcement to move into nationwide Level 3 alert from the Commander of CECC Chen Shih-Chung*

As for the development of the epidemic, most of the footprints of the confirmed cases published by CECC point to Wanhua and its Sanshui Street, where the hostess teahouses are located. All of a sudden, the hustle and bustle of Wanhua turned into emptiness, becoming the earliest spontaneously locked-down area. *attributing the outbreak to teahouses in a simplified and scapegoating way*

*sequence = associating Level 3 alert with teahouses in Wanhua → labelling, stereotypes * genre*

of the following paragraphs = detailed descriptions of Wanhua during the outbreak in the perspective of the reporter

Believers passed by and prayed with folded hands, showing no distance with gods

Contrast between the previous hustle and bustle and the lockdown during the outbreak (without interviews of the locals)

Longshan Temple and Qinglong Palace, the religious centers of Wanhua, also close their doors and decline believers' visits. Although the "lockdown of the temples" isolates the believers from the gods, they seem not to be prevented from being pious and folding their hands for prayer.

Occasionally, the passing-by believers can be seen to stop by the entrance of the temples or the opposite side of the street, leaving quickly after folding their hands to worship.

the heritage discourse serves as a different frame that reduces the scapegoating of Wanhua

intertextuality cultural heritage discourses are added into the health-risk coverage

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attributing the outbreak to teahouses and subjecting them to further official governance

representing teahouses as mysterious and problematic that should be uncovered

quoting the Commander of CECG Chen's term that he used to refer to the association between one of the confirmed cases and a hostess of the teahouse

contrast

intertextuality: cultural heritage discourse are added into the health-risk coverage

the heritage discourse serves as a different frame that reduces the scapegoating of Wanhua

a call for solidarity → help justify the epidemic prevention policies and governance

→ associating the disconnections between cities with the relationships between hostesses from Wanhua's teahouses and their customers, implying a sense of scapegoating

The footprints of the confirmed cases offer the outside world glimpses of the hostess teahouses

If it were not for the footprints of the confirmed cases, it would be hard for the outside world to look through what teahouses are like. Between the short alleys stand dozens of teahouses. Although they are empty now, it is not difficult to imagine how bustling and crowded they had been. After the prosperity receded, the emptiness of the red-light district, which offered "person-to-person connection" and made people linger, has become the best means of epidemic prevention.

The business of street food on Huaxi Street is once again hit hard, and fewer young people appear in Ximending

On Huaxi Street, which intersects with Sanshui Street, the ready-to-reopen food stalls of the "Huaxi Street Tourist Night Market" are struck hard again by the epidemic and pull down their doors for epidemic prevention.

As to Ximending, which is part of Wanhua District and gathers popular cultures and trendy fashion, fewer young people dressing stylishly wander around, and most of the stores are closed for rest.

Right at the entrance of Ximending where the rainbow landscape "TAIPEI" is located, a red neon sign lit up "Cheer up, Taiwan", partly broken but cheering for all the healthcare workers and people nationwide who work hard for the epidemic prevention.

From the perspective of the aerially-photographed Huajiang Bridge, vehicles are scarcely seen. It can be expected as the effective prevention strategy to ease the epidemic by the "lockdown of the whole city". Let's make the current empty scenery of the bridge, which provides the "city-to-city connection", the tranquility before dawn. The busy traffic will emerge again.

appreciation of Chen's term
"person-to-person connection"
and changing into "city-to-city connection"

a call for solidarity
→ help justify the epidemic prevention policies and governance

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Appendix D

During Level 3 COVID-19 alert (from May 15th to July 23rd, 2021)
(D)

自由時報
Liberty Times Net

green: text/framing devices
blue: discursive practice/reasoning devices
red: socio-cultural practice/cultural phenomena

words frequently used to refer to various epidemic prevention measures
2021/05/25 00:00

蔡炳坤：疫情後將徹底檢討阿公店、茶藝館

It seems that there is a call for anti-stigma of Wanhua by directly mentioning the tendency of stigmatisation during the outbreak; however, bias against teahouses still shows by seeing them as problematic quotations from Deputy Mayor of Taipei City Tsai Ping-kun without quotation marks → obscuring the distinction between the reporter and the reported

(記者楊心慧 / 台北報導) 武漢肺炎 (新型冠狀病毒病, COVID-19) 疫情延燒, 台北市萬華區成全市確診人數最多的地方, 不少確診者和萬華茶室有淵源, 近日萬華更有汙名化的情況, 台北市副市長蔡炳坤受訪表示, 汙名化不能解決問題, 正本清源才是正道, 他認為現在應調查足跡、匡列個案、進行快篩和PCR, 並為確診者提供最好的治療, 但他也說萬華在疫情過後, 應徹底檢討這些存在已久的阿公店、茶藝館等, 解決所衍生的社會、治安、衛生、環境問題。

蔡炳坤坦言, 這幾天「萬華」成為大家所關注的焦點, 有人將疫情的責任歸罪於萬華, 有人為萬華抱不平, 所有這些討論, 他認為還是要回歸校正到問題的本質上, 現在最需要做的是調查足跡, 而非指責亂源。

→ justification of further governance of teahouses

面對持續延燒的疫情, 蔡炳坤指出, 調查足跡, 儘快釐清路徑、匡列個案、進行快篩、PCR, 提供確診者最好的治療, 確診者並不可怕, 可怕的是找不到確診者, 指責亂源, 只會造成二度傷害, 沒有人願意被感染, 或感染給別人, 第一時間關閉阿公店, 裡裡外外全清消, 可以做的、該做的, 都沒有放過。

→ subtly scapegoating people related to teahouses

蔡炳坤盼大家能夠用包容的心取代指責抱怨, 因為他們也是受害者, 需要愛與關懷, 藐視只會讓她們卻步, 不敢出來面對, 躲在暗處可能繼續散播病毒。

從現在受到疫情侵擾的萬華, 談到過去曾是繁華勝地的萬華, 蔡炳坤深有感觸的說, 萬華舊名艋舺, 是台北的起家厝, 「一府、二鹿、三艋舺」的台灣開發史, 歷歷在目, 近300年來的滄桑歲月, 走過繁華與沒落, 萬華始終是「千變萬華」, 是道地的老台北常民文化, 現在

words used in the heritage discourses resonate with the words in tourism promotional excerpts from Taipei Pictorial

intertextuality: cultural heritage discourses are added into the health-risk discourses → heritage discourses serve as a different frame that reduces the scapegoating of Wanhua

A Health Risk Community or A Cultural Tourism Destination?

Min Tu

a call for solidarity → help justify the epidemic prevention policies and governance, especially those aiming at *teahouses*

我們暫時不打擾萬華的寧靜，疫情過後、浴火重生，萬華依舊是台北最有人情味的老城區，再來走讀萬華艋舺無圍牆博物館，感受常民文化的生猛有力。

intertextuality:
cultural heritage discourses, including the policy name "Taipei Ecomuseum", are added into health-risk discourses


- heritage discourses serve as a different frame that reduces the scapegoating of Wanhua.
- a call for recognising the policy "Taipei Ecomuseum"; however, such a discourse lacks the local voices

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Appendix E

After Level 3 COVID-19 alert (after July 23rd, 2021) (E)

 臺北市文化局-設計臺北 Design For Taipei
@taipeidesign · 4.4 148則評論 · 公家單位與政府機關

green: text/framing devices
blue: discursive practice/reasoning devices
red: socio-cultural practice/cultural phenomena

【+ 無圍牆博物館巡禮 | 萬華艋舺，常民文化生猛力！】

如果有虔誠的聲音 → the religious attribute of Wanhua
它便是信眾的呢喃
匯成萬華的節奏

[萬華艋舺]

鄭子靖 → the whole video follows the local graffiti artist Cheng Tzu-Ching's lead to go over the local cultural characteristics

老臺北生活的氣息 → Cheng acts as the officially-permitted representative of Wanhua

深植這片土地 → the historic value and folk culture of Wanhua

在萬華
你可以找到扎根的慾望 → narrating the perseverance of the locals

歲月從來都很公平
這裡的人們卻不會向它妥協

朝氣從來不是年輕人的專屬 → the youth culture of Wanhua the young's innovation ability

他們用手裡的作品證明 → justifying the regeneration measures by developing cultural creative industries

但萬華
遠遠不只一面
當歲月互相碰撞
老臺北的多樣
也能從新發展 → employing future orientation based on local cultures and history towards new development of local cultures to justify the policy "Taipei Ecomuseum"

生活像一場隨機地圖的遊戲

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展開萬華

你會解鎖

每個角色的無限可能 → implying the diversity and inclusiveness of Wanhua

這裡是臺北的起家厝 → the historic value of Wanhua

萬華街頭

有著驚豔眾人的

常民文化生猛力

→ Actually, only the officially-recognised aspects of Wanhua's folk cultures can be visible and have a voice.

[萬華艋舺·無圍牆博物館] → Cheng acts as the ambassador of Wanhua for the "Taipei Ecomuseum" policy

[你所未見的台北]

→ ① the undiscovered sides of Taipei are carefully selected rather than really uncover the underrepresented parts
② the "undiscovered" is actually the "rediscovered"

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green: text/framing devices
blue: discursive practice/reasoning devices
red: socio-cultural practice/cultural phenomena

【 Touring Taipei Ecomuseum | Bangka Ecomuseum, the vigorous folk culture !】

If piety were a sound, *→ the religious attribute of Wanhua*
It would be steady hum of believers' voices,
An aural indicator one has arrived in.

[Bangka Ecomuseum]

[Cheng Tzu-Ching] *→ the whole video follows the local graffiti artist's lead to go over the local cultural characteristics*

The life of Old Taipei is deeply rooted in this land.

Here,

You can find the desire to go back to one's roots.

The passage of times has always been unprejudiced,

But the people here are refuse to yield to it.

Cheng acts as the officially-permitted representative of Wanhua

→ the historic value and folk culture of Wanhua

narrating the perseverance of the locals

Vitality has never been exclusive to the young,

And they prove this with the creations cradled their hands.

However,

There is ore to Wanhua than just this.

As the old collides with the new,

New faces of the Old Taipei emerge.

Like a real-life random map game,

Enter Wanhua and you'll unlock endless possibilities for any character.

This is the cradle of Taipei.

Bangka's vigorous folk culture

*→ the youth culture of Wanhua
the young's innovation ability*

→ justifying the regeneration measures by developing cultural creative industries

→ employing future orientation based on local cultures and history towards new development of local cultures to justify the policy "Taipei Ecomuseum"

→ implying the diversity and inclusiveness of Wanhua

→ the historic value of Wanhua
→ actually, only the officially-recognised aspects of Wanhua's folk cultures can be visible and have a voice.

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[Bangka Ecomuseum] → Chang acts as the ambassador of Wanhua for "Taipei Ecomuseum" policy
[Undiscovered Taipei]

- ① the undiscovered side of Taipei are carefully selected rather than really uncover the underrepresented parts
- ⊖ the "undiscovered" is actually the "rediscovered"

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Appendix F

After Level 3 COVID-19 alert (after July 23rd, 2021) (F)

聯合新聞網

台北燈節開幕 一路熱鬧到跨年

2021-12-18 01:07 聯合報 / 記者楊正海、鍾維軒 / 台北報導

* words frequently used to emphasise the goal of the tourism events is to bring back the hustle and bustle and economic benefits: bustling, attract a crowd, prosperity, turn around

2021台北燈節「七彩八寶新世界」昨天起揭幕，活動將串連府前「台北最High新年城2022跨年系列活動」，一路熱鬧到明年。受疫情影響，這次燈節主燈區及親子區設有管制區，加上晚間氣溫驟降「爆冷」，但市府估計仍有3000人觀賞點燈。

* sequence: promoting the tourism events is for revitalising Wanhua and move into the 'new normal'

今年主燈點燈儀式在受疫情影響最大的萬華舉行，雖然近日發生中研院及防疫旅館群聚等事件，北市府因應「新常態」，仍依照既定規模舉辦活動，管制區域內人數並無設限。昨晚點燈後，展開連續10天活動，每天17時至22時在萬華火車站前廣場及康定路、艋舺大道、西園路、艋舺公園周邊登場。

aiming for the orientation towards the 'new normal' after the outbreak

柯文哲指出，從2017年台北燈節到西門町舉辦，成功繁榮西區，讓軸線翻轉，受到疫情影響，希望2021台北燈節能吸引人潮，帶動地方發展。

quotations only from officials of Taipei City Government which hosts the major tourism events (without quotation marks) → obscuring the distinction between the reporter and the reported

aiming for the prosperity of the Old Taipei (cultural regeneration, economic booming)

柯說，原本燈節應該在元宵節舉辦，因疫情延期，像在耶誕節辦燈節，不過未來10天活動，拜託大家遵守防疫規定，戴口罩勤洗手保持社交距離。

the name of the main lantern implies the meaning of rejuvenation and is homophonic with the Mandarin word "牛" (ox) → a call for compliance with the epidemic prevention regulations

昨天開幕活動由曾獲得葛萊美獎的Jamii Szmazdzinski司馬傑帶來一連串組曲揭開序幕，柯文哲現場點亮史上第一個會跳舞的主燈「NEW」，最新科技加上九天民俗技藝團與大象體操共同演出的主燈秀，令民眾感到驚豔，壓軸由搖滾天王伍佰 & China Blue登場，炒熱氣氛。

the tourism events include entertainers whose performances are not relevant to the local culture of Wanhua

introducing new techs into folk arts

introducing new technologies into tourism event

觀傳局長劉奕霆說，今年台北燈節開幕「線上X線下」混合式辦理，也有會跳舞的主燈「NEW」，是台北燈節有史以來的創舉。即日起至12月26日，歡迎民眾到艋舺一遊，除了賞燈還能嘗嘗當地小吃美食。

a call for coming to appreciate street food in Wanhua

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quotations and criticism to some of the exhibits in the lantern festival from a city council member

不過，市議員徐立信議員質疑，台北燈節卻設在龍山寺捷運公車站旁出現上海市的燈飾燈區，為何要替中國宣博？

including lanterns from international sister cities

觀傳局指出，每年都設有國際友好燈區，包括上海，另外，日本則有愛媛縣松山市、青森縣弘前市、宮城縣、茨城縣笠間市、名古屋市的燈區。

a reply to the criticism from the official response of Department of Information and Tourism, Taipei City Government

Appendix G

After Level 3 COVID-19 alert (after July 23rd, 2021) (G1)

green: text/framing devices
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自由時報
Liberty Times Net

台北燈節落幕 商家嘆有人潮沒錢潮
* frequently used words = money, revitalisation, stimulus, business opportunity, promotion, sales growth, economic benefits

2021/12/27 05:30

10天活動未帶來商機 議員批急就章 市府：續推大型活動活絡萬華經濟

(記者鄭名翔 / 台北報導) 二〇二一年台北燈節「七彩八寶新世界」昨天落幕，十天活動雖吸引民眾至萬華賞燈，卻未能順勢帶動當地商機，受疫情重創的萬華商家嘆「有人潮沒錢潮」，認為振興效果有限、且管制措施不當反惹民怨；北市議員則批，台北市政府急就章推燈節，無法串聯節慶感、宣傳又不夠力，使得活動成效不如預期。

觀傳局：商業處統計商家業績增2成
* Strategies to revitalise Wanhua and its stigma
all subject to market-driven logic

觀傳局表示，燈節結合耶誕假期推出，透過節慶氛圍吸引民眾，整合青山王祭、西門PLAY樂購町等活動串連宣傳，另外也在場域內的燈區、商圈、夜市、宮廟等設五十處電子集章點，吸引民眾走入店家，經商業處統計，周邊商家業績成長近兩成，將持續透過大型活動帶動人潮。

台北市政府首度將台北燈節移師至老城區艋舺商圈舉行，未料因武漢肺炎（新型冠狀病毒病，COVID-19）攪局，導致原訂於今年元宵節舉行的燈節一路順延至年末的耶誕節，但相隔兩個月後又要在士林舉行二〇二二年台北燈節，因此，引發部分議員質疑恐使效果大打折扣、僅淪為消化預算，但市府仍以協助萬華振興疫後為由堅持舉辦燈節。

商圈產業會：人潮未延伸至商圈消費
* The reporter only interviews elites like the chairman of the local shopping area and Taipei City Council members about the failure of the tourism events to boost economic benefits

台北市商圈產業聯合會理事長洪文和表示，此次燈節動線管制封閉南北向的康定路，導致人潮集中該處賞燈，卻未能延伸至商圈集中的大理街、廣州街等地區消費，因此儘管活動期間

較平日多出一倍的人潮湧入艋舺，但周邊商家業績成長僅近兩成，人潮未能帶來錢潮，振興效果有限。

應曉薇：無連假搭配 週末才有人

議員應曉薇認為，延期登場的燈節，無連假搭配，缺乏節慶感，以致人潮僅限於週五、週六晚上，平日稀落，且交通管制造成地方不便，加上委外製作的燈飾品質參差不齊，白天看有「恐怖感」，許多店家抱怨連連。

吳沛憶：應搭配商圈活動 加強宣傳

議員吳沛憶也說，原本當地商家期待人潮湧入，但北市府宣傳力道不足，許多民眾不知道燈節表演邀請知名藝人演出，活動效益不如預期，市府應加強宣傳、搭配周邊商圈活動，才能發揮最高經濟效益。

洪文和指出，萬華在疫情期間遭污名化，至今仍有許多民眾缺乏信心前來觀光，使得疫後的人潮復甦僅約過去五成，北市府推出振興方案「台北熊好券」、「台北購起來」對民眾消費具吸引力，盼能再持續搭配大型活動，加速振興萬華。

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