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When the Religion Meets the Internet:
Focusing on Naga Images Used by Visual Art in Thailand

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Abstract

Naga, the guardian of Triratna, dominates the waters, and is an important cultural image of Thailand, as well as an auspicious symbol of ordinary life. There is a large and subtle Naga cultural heritage that includes folk literature and festivals in Thailand. Whether it is an old tradition or a new cultural creation, many cultural heritages using the Naga theme are combined with visual art, while spreading the images and beliefs of Naga through the Internet, including sculptures, murals, emoticons, animations, festivals, amulets, fabrics, exhibition artworks, and so forth. This article aims to use iconography to analyze Naga images in visual art in Thailand, and to explore the changes that Naga worship have undergone on the Internet. Research results show two important changes: (1) in terms of cultural context, the cultural meaning of Naga images has changed on the Internet, making it part of the cultural industry, which is different from previous religious connotations; and (2), in terms of the spread of Buddhism, the Internet has led to changes in the way the Buddhist doctrine is diffused, including different interpretations of Naga images, which is challenged by virtual worlds.

Keywords: Naga, Visual Art, Internet, Iconography

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Introduction

Naga is a kind of serpent worship that is widely spread in Mainland China (Yunnan Province), India, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, and Indonesia. The origin of the Naga is related to not only the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism, but also various folk beliefs. Nagas have a variety of names and images in various regions. According to Thais'concept, the Naga, a serpent with a crest, is the main guardian of the Buddha (Phlainoi, 2009, p.202). Because the Naga is the famous guardian of Buddhism, Naga images are often used in the ordinary lives of Thais to pray for protection. The Naga art is an important element in the Buddhist temples of Thailand, especially in architectural decorations, sculptures, and murals. The positions and shapes of Naga works in Buddhist temples have their own meanings, which show the coordinated relationship among Naga, the universe, the religion, and water culture. In addition, Naga images often appear in the daily lives of Thais, such as using it in Internet designs or in cultural and creative industries. Since the Naga image is an important element in Thai visual art, this study uses iconography to analyze Naga images in Thai visual art to explore the changes of Naga worship under the influence of the Internet.

Literature Review

This introductory section provides a brief overview of the origin, importance, and visual images of Naga.

1.   The Origin of the Naga of Thailand

The word "Naga" comes from Sanskrit and different dialects led to changes in the pronunciation of "Naga." For example, the pronunciations *Ngan, Ngua, Nam Ngu Ak-ngu,* and *Namngum* can be found in Thailand and Laos (Ngaosrivathana & Ngaosrivathana, 2009: 6). Nagas have a variety of images, such as the water Naga in Ahom, crocodile in Shan, water snake in White T'ai, dragon in Pa-yi, and serpent in Siamese (Davis, 1984, p.212). Consequently, the names, pronunciations, and images of Nagas vary in different areas. Since the Naga has diverse images, the important question is where did the Naga of Thailand originate? Generally speaking, there are two schools of thought about the origin of the Naga: the Indianized School and the Local School. The Indianized School suggests that the Naga came from Indian mythology, as argued by the following scholars: Sasanka Sekhar Panda (2004), Sumet Jumsai (1997), Siripot Laomanajarern (2003), and Ngaosrivathana and Ngaosrivathana (2009). Several studies in various disciplines have noted Thai–Indian cultural linkages through the Naga. Panda (2004) discusses Naga images in Indian literature and Naga sculptures in Indian temples as examples, and describes how Nagas have been presented in Indian culture through diverse forms, including the snake, half-human half-snake, and human images. From Panda's study, we know that the images of India's Nagas have the following characteristics: Nagas are the leaders of the oceans, live under the earth, bear a jewel on their heads, and some have odd-numbered serpent hoods above their heads (Panda, 2004, pp.17-18). The Indian Nagas are similar to those in Thailand. Since the Indian Naga appeared earlier, the Indianized School indicates that the prototype of Thailand's Naga came from India.

Conversely, the Local School stresses indigenous serpent worship of Southeast Asia and notes that serpent worship likely existed before Brahmanism and Theravada Buddhism came into Southeast Asia. Wongthes (2003, p.1) takes as evidence snake-wrapped graphics of archaeological artifacts, such as those at Ban Chiang, Udon Thani Province and Ban Kao,

Kanchana Buri Province, which are used as evidence that serpent worship probably existed in prehistoric times in Southeast Asia. Wongthes explains, "Indigenous serpent worship existed when Brahmanism and Theravada Buddhism came into Southeast Asia. Later, serpent worship combined with Indian religions and was transformed into new beliefs." (Wongthes, 2003, pp.5-6) Another proponent of the Local School is Phan Anh Tu who observed that serpent stories were very popular among several ethnic groups in Thailand, Burma, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam, which implies that indigenous serpent worship has long existed in Southeast Asia. As a result, Phan indicated that Buddhism peacefully fused with indigenous animism, integrated serpent worship and transformed it into Naga beliefs (Phan, 2016). Chih-Hung Yen (2005, pp. 17-18) also commented that Dvaravati (สมัยทวาราวดี) was possibly the first area where Buddha appears in Southeast Asia in the mudra of *Pang Nak Prok* (ปางนาคปรก) where Buddha is seated in meditation upon a coiled Naga whose hood protects him from the rain. This posture could relate to serpent worship at that time.

As demonstrated above, Thailand's Naga developed out of multiple sources, and is not fully Indianized. It must be noted that although the prototype of the Thai Naga comes from India, indigenous serpent worship has long been present in Southeast Asia. Simply stated, Buddhism integrated serpent worship and transformed it into Naga belief. For example, Virapaksa (ท้าววิรูปักษ์), one of the four great kings in Buddhism, is the leader of Nagas (Ngaosrivathana & Ngaosrivathana, 2009, p.1; Brahmagunabhorn, 2014, p.199; Laomanajarern, 2003, p.152).

2.   The Importance of the Naga

The importance of the Naga comes from Thai locals' concepts about sacred animals, which are related to three aspects: sacred animal worship, Buddhist literature, and the Naga totem. Sacred animal worship is a characteristic of ancient civilizations in Southeast Asia. The following passage by Wongted is helpful to understand how ancient Southeast Asians viewed sacred animal worship:

> *"Ancient Southeast Asians believed in the sacred animals, amphibians especially, such as frogs, toads, snakes, crocodiles and lizards, etc. The ancients believed that these animals could have the ability to call for rain and keep the water abundant. When these animals are found, it always happens to be rainy. As a result, amphibian images are used on murals or bronzes, like the frog sculpture decorated on the surface of the ancient bronze drum, which has the purpose of praying for raining." (Wongted, 2013, p.2)*

As illustrated previously, Southeast Asian countries generally believed in sacred animals; a frog sculpture on an ancient bronze drum from Indonesia is evidence of this. For Thai locals in particular, their culture has always been closely related to the element of water. In addition, Thais believe that amphibians have the functions of maintaining water sources and conquering evils. For that reason, they produce the deification of amphibians, carve their images, and place them at the entrances of Buddhist temples for the purposes of religion and decoration.

Regarding the relationship between sacred animals and Buddhist literature, the concept of a sacred animal in Thailand has been linked to Buddhism since ancient times, such as the statue of Dvaravati (6–11 AD), which consists of the subject of "Buddha and the magic animal." (The National Museum Bangkok; Yen, 2005, pp.19-20) The sacred animal object extends to

modern times and transforms into a kind of architectural decoration in Buddhist temples, as noted in evidence found in Nimlek's research. Nimlek compared Thai architectural vocabularies with the names of animals or sacred animals, and summarized the results into 32 categories. These architectural vocabularies are sufficient to show that animals and sacred animals are indeed closely related to the architecture of Buddhist temples in the cultural context of Thailand (Nimlek, 2014).

Since the sacred animal is important to Buddhist temples, where does the concept originate? The answer is in Buddhist literature. In the three worlds (ไตรภูมิ) of Buddhism, Buddhists believe that the Himmapan Forest (ป่าหิมพานต์) is located at the foothills of the Sumi Mountain. A variety of magic animals reside there, such as animals that are half-man, half-lion, elephant-headed animals with fish bodies, and so forth. Due to the mysterious power of these sacred animals, Thais are used to placing or painting the images of sacred animals in Buddhist temples to protect the Buddha and the locals.

Having discussed the sacredness and religiousness of Naga, the final section addresses the Naga totem related to the Lao ethnic group in Thailand. Maha Sila Viravong, a famous Lao historian, has discussed the origin of the Lao ethnic group. One of the views is that Lao people were descendants of the Naga, and the Lao people regarded the Naga as a "totem" and believed that the Naga would bless their descendants. The Naga totem has become a part of life for the Lao ethnic group. The aforementioned three factors, namely, sacred animal worship, Buddhist literature, and the Naga totem, shaped the concept of the sacred animals of Thais, which are all related to Naga and also underscores the importance of Naga.

3.   Local Wisdom and the Visual Image of Naga

As of the present millennium, "local wisdom" has begun to attract attention in the Thai academic community. So-called local wisdom is a kind of inheritance of life experiences from the ancestors. Local wisdom has underlined the need for protection and promotion in The Preservation and Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage Act 2559 of Thailand to support cultural diversity. Local wisdom is defined as follows:

> *"Local wisdom of Thailand has cultural inheritance, which is a concept, life attitude and social value, such as ideas, beliefs, knowledge and lifestyle, etc."*（Deetes, 2003: 36-47; Prajonsant, 2006: 127; Thai Youth Encyclopedia Project, 2012, p. 1）

The use of the visual image of Naga is the representation of local wisdom; Naga belongs to local wisdom. Many local governments regard the Naga as a local feature and report it to be included in the Thai Intangible Cultural Heritage List, such as the Naga folktale "Phadaeng Nang-Aii" (ตำนานผาแดงนางไอ่) which was listed as an intangible cultural heritage of Thailand in 2011, and the Nanga Festival "Rocket Festival" (ประเพณีบุญบั้ง) which was included in 2013. The reason why the Naga image is so deeply embedded in the lives of Thais is closely related to the Thai people's advocacy of their local wisdom.

Research Methodology

The research method of this study is qualitative research, using iconography to analyze Naga images in Thai visual art. This study collected diversified artworks as the analytical text, including sculptures, murals, emoticons, animations, festivals, amulets, fabrics, exhibition artworks, and so forth. The research purpose is to explore the changes of Naga worship under

the influence of the Internet.

Discussion and Results

One of the concerns of cultural studies is the discussion of cultural phenomena and context. The Naga images in the Naga narratives of Thailand reflect two major cultural systems, namely, Buddhism and serpent worship (Chang, 2017), which also appear in Naga visual arts. The Naga is the guardian in Buddhist stories; thus, much of Naga intangible cultural heritage is embodied in Buddhist temples, such as sculptures, murals, festivals, and Bai Sri. In Naga folktales, because Naga has the magical power to drive away evil spirits, Naga images are often used in Thais' daily necessities to pray for peace. Thai people believe that Naga is a guardian of the Buddha, as well as a local protector. These cultural meanings have been constructed from Naga narratives over long periods of time, and are reflected in intangible cultural heritage. Therefore, the author uses Naga images, such as sculptures, murals, emoticons, animations, festivals, amulets, fabrics, and exhibition artworks, to observe the changes produced by them, and discuss the relationship between social phenomena and cultural context, especially the influence of the Internet on the culture. Various Naga visual arts were collected in this study, as shown in Table 1.

1.   Naga Visual Art

According to Table 1, Naga images are widely used in the daily lives of Thais, especially in Thai temple architectural ornaments, where they usually appear on gable boards, murals, *hanghong* (หางหงส์), along the tiers of temple roofs, and on brackets or stairs leading to the main shrine. In the famous story, Muscalinda Sutta: About Muccalinda, Naga protects Buddha, and this has shaped Naga's image as a guardian. Because of this, in Buddhist temples, as long as things related to Triratna are common, Nagas always guard them side by side, especially at entrances, such as doors, windows, stairs, and so forth. These Naga decorations are not only beautiful, but enhance the solemn atmosphere of Buddhist temples (Bovornkitti, 2005).

Naga worship has many meanings in the Thai cultural context. Tambiah analyzed the Naga symbol in Northeast Thailand, and found that the Naga had different cultural meanings and beliefs in various Buddhist rituals and the cult of the guardian spirits (Tambiah, 1970, pp. 300-301). These folk beliefs are directly displayed in the performance of visual art. According to Sanboon's survey, in which he investigated the Buddhist temple works along the Mekong River basin on the border of Thailand and Laos, he found that the Naga was often used in the decoration of Buddhist temples (Sanboon, 2010). This phenomenon originates in serpent worship; since the Naga forms part of local traditional belief, local artists love to use Naga images as design elements in Buddhist temples, such as *Pang Nak Prok* (ปางนาคปรก, the image of the Buddha in the posture of being protected by the Naga), Naga stairs and sculptures, and so forth. As mentioned above, the Naga symbol has a religious function and could protect Triratna and followers. This is the traditional impression given by Naga visual art.

However, due to the network feature which is popular and moves rapidly, applications of Naga visual art are no longer limited to serving religious purposes. Thais believe that the Naga, in addition to the image of the Naga protecting Buddha, is also the lord of the land and can bring wealth. Hence, the guardian images of the Naga are more widely used in festival performances and on the Internet, such as in emoticons and animations, to show different

cultural contexts and meanings.

As noted in Table 1, compared with the early image of the Naga, the important change of the Naga's visual expression shows the transformation of Naga art from having a religious function to a cultural function. This means that Naga has become an art form. Although early Naga sculptures had two styles, namely Khmer style (แบบเขมร) and Thai style (or Thai painting pattern, ลายไทย), its artistic characteristics would not be highlighted. When Naga's art form is stressed, Naga art is still based on Buddhist doctrines and myths; however, it pursues multiple changes in shape. For example, the sculptures in Table 1 (see No. 2, No. 3, and No. 11) are obviously different from traditional Naga models; the former pays more attention to the creation of expressions, lines, and color.

It should be noted that Naga became a kind of art, and in the process the religious function of Naga and the mode of transmission also changed. The Naga sign has become part of the cultural industry, and was widely used in fields outside Buddhist temples, as well as on the Internet, such as in emoticons (see No. 8), animations (see No. 9), costumes (see No. 12), or in the performance of contemporary art (see No. 13). Simply put, in terms of cultural context, once Naga became a kind of art embedded in the cultural industry, it was naturally connected to the Internet. This leads to a change in the cultural meaning of Naga, which is different from previous religious connotations.

Table 1. Naga Visual Art

No.	Category	Naga Visual Art	Cultural Context	Source of Figure
1	Sculpture		Buddhism	Photo by the author, Wat Pho Si, Nakhon Phanom Province
2	Sculpture		Buddhism	Photo by the author, Wat Pa Sala Wan, Khorat Province
3	Sculpture		Buddhism	Photo by the author, Sala Keoku Park, , Nongkai Province
4	Sculpture		Buddhism	Photo by the author, Wat Thai, Nongkai Province

5	Sculpture		Buddhism	Photo by the author, Wat Luang, Ubon Ratchathani Province
6	Sculpture		Buddhism	Photo by the author, Wat Thung Sawang, Nongkai Province
7	Mural		Buddhism, Serpent worship	Photo by the author, Wat Pho Chai, Nongkai Province
8	Emoticon		Hinduism	Worawit Nu Photo Book https://www.facebook.com/worawitt.nu/
9	Animation		Buddhism	https://www.youtube.com/c/iDream945/videos
10	Festival		Buddhism	Photo by the author, Nakhon Phanom Province
11	Amulet		Serpent worship	Photo by the author, Cha studio, Nongkai Province
12	Fabric		Serpent worship	Photo by the author, Nakhon Phanom Province
13	Exhibition Artwork		Serpent worship	Photo by the author, Korakrit Arunanondchai, created in 2015, exhibited in Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts in 2019

2.   The Analysis of Iconology

Focusing on "Naga" as a sign, its visual designs, structures, and cultural significance can be understood through the analysis of iconology. Panofsky regards visual symbols as cultural symbols and explores the essence of thought behind iconography through a process "act of interpretation." It contains three levels of "pre-iconographical description," "iconographical analysis," and "iconological interpretation," which are related to each other. In this study, the author applied Panofsky's methodology to analyze the Naga images of Table 1 and organized the three levels of iconology as shown in Table 2. It presents a set of thinking processes to view Naga visual art from shallow to deep (as shown in Table 2) to understand its cultural context. The points are as follows.

2.1.   Pre-iconographical Description

This part focuses on the visual designs of the Naga sign, which are also the easiest part of understanding Naga art. There are primarily two styles of Naga, Thai style and Khmer style, as shown in the Naga sculptures (No. 1 to No. 6) in Table 1. Both styles are different as shown in the statues of *Pang Nak Prok*. The *Pang Nak Prok* statue has been popular since the Dvaravati period (6–11 centuries AD); for example, the Buddha image in the Angkor Temple belongs to the Khmer style. Northeast Thailand was once ruled by the Angkor Empire; therefore, the Khmer style of the Naga is still seen in Thailand. Thai-style was subsequently developed, which gradually replaced the Khmer-shaped Naga and became the mainstream design in Thailand.

The main difference between the Thai and Khmer styles of the *Pang Nak Prok* statues lie in the shapes of the Nagas. The heads of the Khmer style Nagas were shaped as a bodhi leaf, while in the Thai style the shape of the bodhi leaf changes into a radiating light (Fig. 1, Fig. 2). Thai Naga, a serpent with a crest (หงอน) on its head, created a new look compared with the shape of the Khmer style. In addition, Thai craftsmen always give Naga vivid expressions, and thus they do not look as fierce as the Khmer Naga. These design changes have evolved the Thai Naga into a new style.
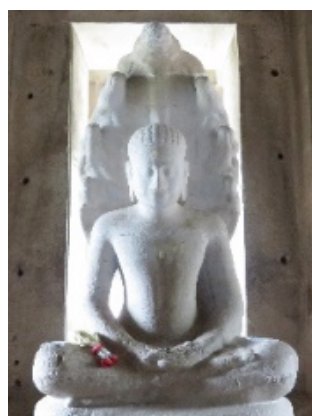
Figure 1: Khmer Style of the *Pang Nak Prok*
Source: Photo by the Author

Figure 2: Thai Style of the *Pang Nak Prok*
Source: Photo by the Author

2.2.   Iconographic Analysis

The second part is to explore the composition of the Naga sign and other structural elements. For ancient Naga arts, including in India, Khmer, and Thailand, the Naga image always

appeared with other deities, such as Buddha or Vishnu, as shown in Table 1 (No. 7, No. 8). However, the Naga images of Thailand are influenced by serpent worship; consequently, the Naga images of Thailand's narratives can be divided into two types: images from Buddhist stories, and those from indigenous stories. The main difference between the two types is the Naga's behavior after converting to Buddhism (Chang, 2017, p.19). For the locals, Naga is not only a sacred animal, but also a local protector; hence, the Naga could be made into an independent statue for worship in Thailand.

The large seven-headed King Naga statue of Nakhon Phanom (Fig. 3), built in 2016, whose structure is based on the image of Naga spraying water, is not attached to any Buddha statues. For the locals, Naga, the mythical serpent, is their guardian who lives in the Mekong River; thus, the Naga statue is situated at the riverfront area, facing the Mekong River. The Naga shape of spraying water is the sign of fertile land to symbolize that the Naga protects the local community to develop smoothly (Karnjanatawe, 2016). It is a reform of the structure of Naga art, changing the visual shape of Naga through art.

While the Naga has become the subject of art, it has been endowed with "humanism," just like the Naga images of indigenous stories with mixed feelings as people. In recent years, Naga drama has been popular in Thailand. The Naga has not only become the protagonist of TV and movies, but has also been included in popular songs, which are constantly viewed and listened to on the Internet. These creations are inspired by the Naga indigenous stories, emphasizing the humanity of Nagas. The most famous Thai drama is "Nakii" (เจ้าแม่นาคี), a story about the Naga Queen, produced in 2016 (Fig. 4). In the interpretation of the iconology, the Nakii drama displayed the interactive relationship with the human world, representing the humanism of Naga, which is different from traditional religious characteristics of the Naga.

Figure 3: Seven-Headed Naga King
Source: Photo by the Author

Figure 4: Nakii Sstill
Source: https://www.sanook.com/news/

2.3.   Iconological Interpretation

After discussing how to view the visual designs and structures of the Naga sign, the next step is to explore the cultural significance of Nagas. As far as the deep meaning of the Naga image is concerned, due to the influence of Hinduism, Buddhism, and folk beliefs, the Naga contains multiple cultural meanings under the cultural contexts of Buddhism and serpent worship. Saipan divided the cultural meaning of Naga into five categories when he researched Naga in Northeast Thailand: a creator and destroyer, an ancestor of the clan, a lord of water, a guard of Buddha, and a spiritual cultivator (Phan, 2016, p.155, 164). A variety of cultural meanings can be found in the Naga of Thailand based on Saphan's analysis, all of which are related to the two cultural contexts of Buddhism and serpent worship.

According to Table 1, the cultural meanings behind Naga images could be understood by iconological interpretation. For example, the stairs of the Buddhist temple are the entrance to the holy realm. It is said that Naga is the stair between heaven and the human realm. The Buddha once stepped on the body of Naga to Trayastrimsa to spread the teachings of Buddhism to his mother. At the same time, people believe that after death, they can go to heaven through the Naga stair (Pritasuwan, 2014, p. 5); for the reason, the Naga stair is often created at the entrance to symbolize the passage to heaven (No. 5, Table 1). Among Naga stairs, the most distinctive is the half-human half-Naga stair (see No. 4, Table 1), which is related to the folk literature of Northeast Thailand. Thais believe Nagas with magical powers could be transformed into human form. Given this legend, local artists created the human-shaped Naga stair, reflecting the imagination of the locals (Fig. 5).

Bai Sri (บายศรี, No. 5, Table 1) is an exquisite container made of banana leaves. It is often used in important ceremonies. Residents in Northeastern Thailand believe the Naga is the incarnation of a holy monk Uppakrut (พระอุปคุต) who can drive away devils (Tambiah, 1970, p.170); therefore, they often make Bai Sri in the Naga style to symbolize an invitation to Uppakrut to guard the proceedings, praying that everything proceeds smoothly during ceremonies. Meanwhile, Naga is a symbol of "power," especially for the locals that live along the Mekong River basin. Since Nagas could bless the locals, they added the Naga patterns on the fabric as a totem of protection. Thais also make fire boats shaped like Nagas to sail during the Fire Boat Festival (ประเพณีไหลเรือไฟ) to pray for Naga's protection. In addition, the emoticon and exhibition artworks shown in Table 1 (No. 8, No. 13) show that Naga images

tend to be more contemporary and cartoonish due to the influence of the Internet, which differs from the traditional serious religious spirits.

Overall, the Naga has multiple cultural meanings in the cultural context of Thailand; however, Naga has gradually become a work of art under the influence of the cultural industry and the Internet, which makes its cultural significance richer than before. At the same time, the way people perceive it is no longer limited to the definition of religion and the real world. Instead, they learn about the Naga through dramas, animations, contemporary arts, or the virtual world.

Figure 5: Half-Human Half-Naga Stair, Wat Thai, Thailand
Source: Photo by the Author

Table 2. The Analysis of Naga Iconology

Act of Interpretation	Panofsky's theoretical terminology	Explanation
Pre-iconographical description	Primary subject matter	The iconography related to Nagas
Iconographical analysis	Secondary subject matter	The structural analysis of Naga iconographies
Iconological interpretation	Intrinsic meaning	The cultural meanings of Naga

Reference source: Panofsky (1955, pp.40-41)

3.   The Influence of the Internet

On the World Wide Web, it can be difficult to distinguish actual information from legend-related material; of course, the boundary between fiction and truth has always been one of the legend's most intriguing characteristics. Blurring this boundary has become a form of play. (Tucker, 2012, p.155)

According to the aforementioned, the cultural meanings of Naga have always followed religious interpretations. The main image of Thai Nagas stems from Thai literature, especially the Himmapan forest. In the concept of the three worlds, Buddhists believe that a variety of magical animals reside in Himmapan forest, and the Naga is one of them. For Thais, the Naga is the main guardian of the Buddha, however, as society changes, the Naga has become part of the cultural industry. In order to cater to commercial purposes, the religious Naga gradually turned to artistic and dramatic development, which made people feel cordial and

affected people's cognition of the Naga. The Internet strengthened the virtual nature of the Naga, especially since many audiences now choose to learn about Naga from dramas, animations, popular songs, and works of art on the Internet, which could form some cognitive biases. These cognitive risks could cause the virtual Naga images created in the online world to be deemed believable; it could obscure the religious meaning of Naga and ignore the importance of Buddhist scriptures in the real world.

This situation is as folklorist Robert Glenn Howard explains, when the folk "express meaning through new communication technologies, the distinction between folk and mass is... blurred by the vernacular deployment of institutionally produced commercial technologies." (Howard, 2008a: 194) Howard emphasized that online media participated in and has caused a qualitative change in folk activities, because it intermingles vernacular, commercial, and institutional interests (Blank, 2012, p. 3).

In the age before the invention of the Internet, Buddhist stories and their authenticity were discussed in academic circles, and different opinions exist. For example, Nicolas Revire (2018), Donald Stadtner (2011), and others have examined Buddhist stories from the perspectives of archaeology or history. However, in the online world, the Internet has not only changed the way Buddhism is spread, but also allowed more unconstrained interpretations of Buddhist scriptures. As the Naga case discussed in this study shows, for the Naga, the Naga images are indeed influenced by the cultural industry and the Internet, making it less and less religious and more artistic, which also leads to the cultural meanings of Naga being changed on the Internet.

Conclusion

Naga is a cultural image of Thailand, as well as an auspicious symbol of ordinary life. Naga visual art is an important element in the Buddhist temples of Thailand, and is also often used in the ordinary lives of Thais. Naga visual arts could be understood through the analysis of iconology. The author used a variety of visual arts as texts to explore images of the Naga, and applied Panofsky's methodology to analyze the Naga images, which presents a set of thinking processes to gaze at Naga visual art from shallow to deep. This article aims to use iconography to analyze Naga images of visual art in Thailand, and to explore the changes that Naga worship has undergone under the influence of the Internet. Research results show two important changes: (1) in terms of cultural context, the cultural meaning of Naga images has changed on the Internet, making it part of the cultural industry, which is differs from previous religious connotations; and (2) in the spread of Buddhism, the Internet has led to changes in the way the Buddhist doctrine is diffused, including different interpretations of Naga images, which is challenged by virtual worlds.

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Literature Reviewed: Methadone Maintenance Treatment Program in China

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Abstract

The two literature I have reviewed are both studies of the methadone maintenance treatment program in China, with significant differences in their timing. The two articles are similar in that they both focus on the factors that influence clients retention, but differ in the specific subject matter. The former was undertaken in 2009 when the program was still being explored and the authors were also exploring whether the administration of methadone doses affected client retention. The latter study will be carried out in 2019, which will show how the project has evolved over the years. The subject of the study is not the client, but the staff involved in providing the service. The reason for choosing these two articles, their reasons and conclusions can be mutually reinforcing and give us a more comprehensive view of the methadone maintenance treatment program in China. While both teams understand that the drug problem in China is more of a moral issue, they focus too much on the exact data in their specific analyses, neglecting the possibility of exploring other aspects of data collection such as interviews. The methadone maintenance treatment regimens are still at a rudimentary stage in China and more research is needed on how to use them more effectively to achieve harm reduction.

Keywords: Methadone Maintenance Treatment, Harm Reduction, China

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Background Introduction

The drug problem has a long history in China, dating back to the Opium Wars. According to official data, by the end of 2016, there were 2,505,000 drug abusers in the country (excluding the number of people who had not relapsed after three years of abstinence, the number of deaths, and the number of people who had left the country). Among them, 955,000, or 38.1 percent, were abusers of opiates such as heroin (Office of China National Narcotics Control Commission, 2017).

In China, the drug problem and AIDS are closely linked. Heroin users often end up using injections to get more pleasure, and China's drug users, who are predominantly of low educational background and low wages, often share needles. This leads to an extremely high risk of HIV infection. In 2003, the news showed that drug use was still the main route of infection for 61.6% of reported HIV infections in China, but sexual transmission and mother-to-child transmission were on the rise (Gong, 2003).

Therefore, to combat the growing HIV epidemic within China's borders, the methadone maintenance treatment program has been implemented jointly by the Chinese Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Public Security, and the State Food Supervision Administration since 2004. The first batch of eight clinics was tested in five provinces between March and June 2004. The five provinces are Guangxi, Guizhou, Sichuan, Yunnan, and Zhejiang, most of which are located close to China's national borders. Four of these provinces are in the south-western part of China and have a high number of drug users because of their frequent contact with areas of the "Golden Triangle" where the traditional drug culture prevails, such as Myanmar.

There is an important premise that, for some unknown reason, the annual anti-drug report for China, which has been published every year since 1998 by the Office of the National Narcotics Control Commission of China, has become the China Drug Profile since 2018. The focus has shifted from the people who use drugs to how much of the substance drugs are manufactured and seized. As a result, according to currently available data, by the end of 2016, there were already 789 clinics with 162,000 clients in China receiving relevant drug treatment and maintenance therapy (Office of China National Narcotics Control Commission, 2017). This measure has achieved outstanding results in its first decade (2004-2014). The national HIV prevalence among people who inject drugs has fallen from 10.9% to 6.0%, and the proportion of newly diagnosed HIV infections due to intravenous drug use has fallen from 44.2% to 6.0% (National Health Commission, 2015; Wang et al., 2015).

At the end of 2014, drawing on successful practical experience, the National Health and Family Planning Commissions, the Ministry of Public Security, and The State Food and Drug Administration has jointly issued the Measures for the Administration of Drug Rehabilitation and Drug Maintenance Work. This is a very comprehensive document, which stipulates that the management of this work is mainly organized by provincial health and family planning commissions, and that public security organs are responsible for the registration of information on treatment personnel in their jurisdictions. Provincial food and drug regulatory authorities are responsible for the audit and determination of maintenance drug preparation units within their jurisdictions, the supervision and management of the preparation and supply of maintenance drugs, and the monitoring of drug abuse among treatment personnel. Medical institutions specifically carrying out maintenance therapy work shall, upon approval by the provincial health and family planning administrative department, promptly file a record with

the public security organ at the same level. The provincial health planning administrative department shall notify the public security authorities and food and drug supervision departments at the same level as the relevant information. The provincial health and family planning, public security and food, and drug supervision departments shall each report to the administrative department at the next higher level for the record (National Agency for Disease Control and Prevention, 2014).

In summary, the methadone maintenance treatment program in China is a highly administrative and legalized program. Any doctor, nurse, or pharmacist working in the field of maintenance therapy needs to have the relevant qualifications approved by law and to attend the required training in maintenance therapy. This has led to problems in the implementation of the methadone maintenance treatment program, as people who use drugs in China are more likely to be treated not as consumers, but as deviants who need to be corrected.

For the methadone maintenance treatment program, it is true that increasing the number of clinics offering services nationwide will enable it to reach more people who use drugs; having more comprehensive behavioral guidelines and training measures is also a necessary factor in making the project more successful. However, given that it is not the same as the traditional Chinese compulsory residential detoxification, clients are eligible to withdraw from the service without being subject to additional legal sanctions. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that clients' retention rates are increased.

The two articles I have chosen are both studies of the methadone maintenance treatment program in China, with significant differences in their timing. The two articles are similar in that they both focus on the factors that influence clients' retention, but differ in the specific subject matter. The former was undertaken in 2009 when the program was still being explored and the authors were also exploring whether the administration of methadone doses affected client retention. The latter study will be carried out in 2019, which will show how the project has evolved over the years. The subject of the study is not the client, but the staff involved in providing the service. The reason for choosing these two articles, their reasons and conclusions can be mutually reinforcing and give us a more comprehensive view of the methadone maintenance treatment program in China.

Approach

Both articles used questionnaires in their data collection. The study by Liu's team's (2009) group used a prospective cohort design. The main questionnaire used a Chinese version of the fifth edition of the Addiction Severity Index Scale (McLellan, Cacciola, Alterman, Rikoon, & Carise, 2006), plus some additional questions. Unfortunately, the article was not accompanied by the details of the questionnaire, so it is not known what the additional questions were. This was a more geo-referenced study of 1,003 clients from eight clinics in six cities in Guizhou province. They had to have been on methadone maintenance therapy for more than two and a half months and had not been transferred from another clinic. The longest-following clients in the entire study were for up to one year, the shortest for three months. The definition of retention in the study was as a client still taking methadone during the month prior to the study being completed.

The main methodological highlight of this team's (2009) study is the comprehensive examination of several variables:
Methadone dose, age, gender, education, ethnicity, religion, marital status, history of chronic

disease, history of drug use, drug use method, local residence, family support, employment, treatment goals, clinic hours of operation, clinic location, and clinic costs were the variables explored in the analysis. In the multivariate analysis, dummy variables were created for the categorical variables (p.305).

The team under Luo's team's (2019) leadership collected the data in a very different way. The survey covers a wider area than the more precise geo-analysis, with a total of four hundred and eighteen service providers in different positions in sixty-eight clinics in five provinces. The study provided written consent as the service providers were faced with a higher level of knowledge. Respondents will take an individual survey in a private room at the clinic using the computer assisted self-interviewing (CASI) method. In contrast to the objective quantification of the degree, this study, as it explores the emotional issue like stigma, respondents were mainly asked to answer a question on how they felt about a hypothetical situation:
The scale consisted of two sets of statements that were used to describe two hypothetical people (Xiao Zhang as a non-drug user and Xiao Wang as a drug user) who had both recently lost their jobs and broken up with their girlfriends. For each hypothetical person, participants were asked to read ten identical statements about whether the person deserved the adversity of his life, their empathy and understanding of the person, and their willingness to interact with the person in a different situation (p.74).

At the same time, Luo's team's (2019) research team supplemented their search for whether theoretical knowledge affects emotional judgment by asking and answering nineteen specialist questions about the methadone maintenance treatment. The research team adapted the guidelines originally developed by Caplehorn, Irwig, Saunders, and Chir (1996) to the relevant Chinese guidelines (National Health Commission, Ministry of Public Security of China, & State Food and Drug Administration, 2006), with the main aim of understanding the extent to which service providers know about these aspects of maintenance treatment goals, clients eligibility, appropriate dosage, management of overdose, and possible side effects of the methadone maintenance treatment.

I would argue that both of these methods of data collection have some shortcomings in terms of their effectiveness in achieving the objectives of the survey. In Liu's team (2009), if the main aim was to understand the difference that dose made to retention rates, what was the significance of setting so many of the remaining variables? Is it just to sort out up to a thousand respondents? I cannot see any further clarification of the relationship between the remaining variables and the dose of methadone used, are these factors influencing the dose at their compliance-related clinics? In addition, I think the starting point for selecting the six cities was to make the survey more widely used, but what is the relationship between clinic choice and dose? Do more remote clinics, for example, encounter greater obstacles to dose control and modification? Due to the cumbersome nature of the classification, very detailed data was obtained, but further links were lacking. Since there are sufficient sources of information about clients' personal backgrounds, it is also important to investigate and record their views on compliance with different methadone doses, since the methadone maintenance treatment program is a joint project between the provider and the clients.

The shortcomings of Luo's research team (2019) are all more unfortunate because I think they have made a logical error, or rather a scientifically dogmatic, mistake in assuming that the data would be more credible than the narrative. If you need to study an emotionally dimensional variable, it helps to do so by way of hypothetical situations. However, as many of the service providers are highly educated and professionally trained, it is difficult to prove that their choice

of the answer was not induced behavior when they were aware of the survey and answered the questions in a separate room on a computer, especially if the answers to the questionnaire were multiple choice. I believe that a more empirical form of research, such as field notes of service providers' specific movements and facial expressions towards clients, or one-on-one story-based interviews with them, where service providers are able to reveal more of their innermost views, would make the data more credible as a source.

Theoretical Commitment

Although the second article was published much later, the theoretical commitment behind it is a more traditional one - the phenomenon of stigmatization. What needs to be refined is that the focus of the research in this article is not on the stigma that people who use drugs feel about their behavior. The focus is on the service providers in the relevant treatment clinics providing methadone maintenance services, their perceptions of this behavior of drug use, and the stereotypical perceptions of people who use drugs, which impact specific work behaviors. The behavior of the service providers influenced client retention, which, given that it was not a compulsory process, could lead to early withdrawal from treatment and failure to achieve abstinence from the drug.

As Luo's research team (2019) has recognized, the reasons for the stigma that service providers feel towards people who use drugs are quite varied. A number of scholars have pointed out that it is because substance abuse is seen more as a moral issue than a health issue (Li, Wang, He, Fennie, & Williams, 2012), a factor that is particularly salient in the case of China. China's modern history has been marred by a drug problem, and therefore the importance of drugs has been promoted in the national education sector. In my personal experience, from primary school onwards, there is an organized program of anti-drug films, documentaries on drug addicts, and regular police visits to schools to promote the dangers of drugs. This is a rather subtle psychological influence which, combined with China's strict drug restriction laws, has created a mainstream attitude towards drugs among Chinese citizens. It is illegal to take any kind of drug anywhere in China. It is a crime to sell drugs, to allow others to take drugs, or to possess a certain amount of drugs.

Having made such a dominant attitude explicit, it can be seen that the focus of this paper is not to examine exactly why service providers stigmatize clients who use drugs, but rather to examine the extent to which it does. And whether the degree of knowledge gained through additional knowledge about the methadone maintenance treatment can change service providers' attitudes towards clients. In other words, what Luo's team (2019) wanted to reveal was whether professional medical knowledge would enable service providers to divest themselves of their established national political and economic identities and instead operate under more medically driven professionalism, which would have a significant impact on improving clients' retention.

The data from the first hypothetical scenario demonstrates that service providers have a bias against clients who use drugs and that drug users, especially heroin users, are often associated with a high prevalence of HIV. It is difficult for service providers with occupational exposure to establish a positive interaction with their clients.

But I think the first validation conclusion is perhaps not one that can be reached by hypothetical questions, the same hypothetical questions such as whether the level of sympathy for his unemployment and brokenness changes because he is a drug addict, whether he would not

allow his children to go to the other person's home and be too personal and life-affirming. The reasons for the reluctance to connect with clients on a more primary level are not clear from a service provider's point of view, for instance, Is the drug addict poorly compliant? Does he/she come to the clinic unpunctual? Is he/she not dressed neatly enough? Is it more difficult to talk to him/her than to ordinary people? Luo's research team (2019) did not carry out further research in these areas. And their supplementary question was actually based on the belief that more expertise could influence the attitudes of service providers from previous scholars (van Boekel et al., 2013, 2014).

The conclusion, however, was that there is a huge difference between theory and reality and that such a conclusion could not be linked to the knowledge quiz scores by the answers to the hypothetical questions. More specifically, whether and in what specific ways the attitude of the service provider is influenced by vocational training is the core of the question. Moreover, Chinese drug users would not be alienated or desperate or find it difficult to accept stigmatization based on mainstream Chinese values, which seems to be very different from the Western context. So, with psychological expectations, what exactly are the initiatives of service providers that can affect their retention rates? Obviously, it is not about whether the other person has enough expertise, or whether deep down they despise them. It is my belief that the idea of Chinese drug users who want to be recognized and understood by their service providers while undergoing methadone maintenance treatment have such an emotional appeal to each other is not valid.

Luo and her team's (2019) research made some creative suggestions around the further professionalization and stigma-reduction of methadone maintenance, such as directing service providers to view the drug problem more as a health issue than a moral issue, scaling up training on methadone maintenance and, in particular, adding the need for stigma-reduction.

The question is, does addressing these components really improve clients' retention, and Liu's research team (2009) early studies seem to offer a particular but more effective entry point to methadone dosing. Dose selection in the methadone maintenance treatment program was not an inherent value at the time of the survey conducted by Liu and the team's research team in 2009.

As we can also see from Liu's research team (2009) survey, they investigated different ranges. Like Luo's (2019) team, Liu's (2009) research team study also builds on a Chinese search for ideas in the West, where multiple studies have demonstrated that methadone doses are associated with higher retention rates (Booth, Corsi, & Mikulich-Gilbertson, 2004; D'Ippoliti, Davoli, Perucci, Pasqualini, & Bargagli, 1998; Faggiano, Vigna-Taglianti, Versino, & Lemma, 2003; Strain & Stitzer, 1999). In the specific investigation by Liu's team, methadone doses of less than 45 mg were notassociated with retention rates, and increasing the dose beyond 45 mg was significantly associatedwith a gradual decrease in withdrawal time. Higher doses resulted in better retention rates, and therewas a positive dose-response relationship between methadone dose and client retention.

As the specific effect of methadone is to help users of opiates such as heroin through withdrawal reactions, the choice of the dose appears to have a greater impact on retention rates than the attitude of the provider. No healthcare service is pleasure-oriented, or will not be as customer focused as commercial practices. This view is common to all clients who use drugs, and the dose of help has a greater impact on retention rates, which directly affects the clients' assessment of the effectiveness of this treatment. It is interesting to note that in the previous

research (Lin, Lan, Li & Rou, 2018) it was shown that only 15.8% of providers would not change the dose of methadone at the clients' request. This results in what I would call a correlation between the findings of the two above articles, when in fact the giving of this dose is a very mobile behavior. Even if the guideline only suggests a range of 60-80mg, the dose is often lower than recommended in practice, according to the traditional Chinese mentality of "it's the medicine that counts". Drug users do not want to move from one drug of abuse to methadone abuse, as seen in Liu's (2009) research team's study, where 88.7% of clients intended to eventually stop using methadone. This brings the relationship between dose use and service delivery into a more complex situation, and how to manage the degrees of this to create an effective link. The methadone maintenance treatment program can really help clients, rather than creating another less harmful form of drug dependence.

As I mentioned earlier, Liu's team steam collected several variable, but were not able to uncover any link between them and dose selection. Does gender, ethnicity, history of drug use, family support or lack of it, or current residence influence their desire for a dose of medication? Which ultimately leads to their different retention rates?

Even the attitude of the services provider is a variable that affects the dose, and if one provider will make changes at the clients' request, while the other does not, even rudely, treat his request, this will undoubtedly influence whether the clients drop out of the program or not. In spite of the expected stigmatization of drug users in China, they are still vulnerable and need to be protected. In the Chinese context, the willingness to participate in methadone maintenance treatment program can be seen as an attempt to "get back on track" and requires a great deal of courage, not only from the people who use drugs themselves but, as Liu's (2009) research team's study shows, from the support of 94% of the families. In a Chinese society where the individual family is the core social network and most drug users do not receive understanding from their families, the use of methadone maintenance treatment has an important role to play in alleviating family conflicts and promoting a sense of inclusion and love. In this perspective, the dose may also influence the attitude of non-drug using family members towards the program.

Therefore, in conjunction with these two studies, training on the methadone maintenance treatment program should be targeted not only at service providers but also at the families of clients who come for treatment. The tripartite relationship between dose and provider attitudes, as well as the client, needs to be further studied, and various factors such as gender, education, religion, class, should be taken into account. Although the methadone maintenance treatment is a scientific program, it is more culturally relevant in China, and emotional factors are necessary to understand and improve the program.

Conclusion

Although Liu's (2009) team and Luo's (2019) team's study differed in the specific way in which the data were collected and in the choice of objects regarding what factors influenced client retention in the methadone maintenance treatment program in China, what both studies had in common was the confirmation of the feasibility of a Chinese context for some successful Western experiences and ideas.

It should not be overlooked that Liu's team (2009) has recognized the importance of dosing on retention rates eleven years ago when the program was under construction in China and that this has led to scientific judgments on dose ranges in future guidelines. The team of Luo (2019)

recognized that the aim of a more effective methadone maintenance treatment program was not only to increase the hard power aspects, such as the number of clinics, but also the soft power aspects, such as the attitudes and professionalism of the service providers.

While both teams understand that the drug problem in China is more of a moral issue, they focus too much on the exact data in their specific analyses, neglecting the possibility of exploring other aspects of data collection such as interviews. The methadone maintenance treatment regimens are still at a rudimentary stage in China and more research is needed on how to use them more effectively to achieve harm reduction.

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Media Diplomacy: Zeng Jize's Strategic Engagement of Western Newspapers

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Abstract

For decades, scholarship on late 19th century Sino-west interaction has been greatly influenced by the impact-response paradigm while little is known about how the Chinese proactively influenced the western world. Focusing on Zeng Jize（1839-1890）, the Chinese ambassador to the Britain, France and Russia from 1878 to 1886, and especially his strategic engagement in western newspapers, this paper explores how a Chinese diplomat resisted the hegemonic narrative of western media and reshaped western public opinions about China's political and cultural image. Throughout his career, Zeng Jize perceived western media differently for various purposes. In the early days of his mission, Zeng took a conservative approach to intervening in the public opinion by dispeling rumors in western newspapers. His 1880 revisit to the Treaty of Saint Petersburg marked a turning point of his understanding of western media from a knowledge pool to a diplomatic tool. In the early 1880s Sino-French negotiations, Zeng took advantage of the relatively open press environment in France and publicly expressed his opinions to influence French public opinion on Vietnam issues. Such attempts paid off as French foreign ministry eventually resumed the suspended Sino-Franch diplomatic relationship due to the pressure of public opinion and the risk of being overthrown for parliamentary doubts. In 1887, Zeng's media diplomacy culminated in the publication of China, the Sleep and the Awakening in which he responded to and corrected the negative stereotypes of Chinese civilization in the Western world. This paper argues that Zeng Jize's media diplomacy showcased a successful dialogue with the western public and played a positive role in reshaping the image of China in the eyes of the West.

Keywords: Zeng Jize, Western Newspapers, Late Qing Diplomacy, Modern China

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Introduction

What role did the newspapers, as a new medium with profound influence in modern history, play in the communication between China and the West in the 19th century? In recent years, this issue has attracted the attention of many scholars. The history of China and the West in modern time is intertwined with each other, and the newspapers can be seen as an important bridge in this process.

It's a common sense that communication is two-way. But the "Impact—Response" model is still the main paradigm for most existing researches on media in the field of modern China studies, especially in the late Qing Dynasty. Admittedly, we can not deny that the West had played an important role in China's modernization. The earliest Chinese modern newspapers were founded by Europeans.

But is it really true that modern China has no voice to the West and no agency to influence the Western audience? Some researchers have paid attention to the communication of media organizations towards the western world led by different parties during the Republic of China (Ma, 2018; Wei, 2020; Ying, 2020). Some other scholars recognized that, at the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republic of China, though China did not have any news agency and telegraph transmission network to reach the international public, the foreign newspapers in treaty ports and concessions opened a channel for China to interact with the rest of the world (Li, 2018, p.25-43; Wei, 2020, p.14).

Along this line of thought, this paper sheds light on the writing of Chinese in the western newspapers, to study the international communication of China to the West through mass media. In previous studies, the emergence of China's self-run non-Chinese foreign media organizations was regarded as a prerequisite for such interactions. Seemingly, it was not until the end of the 19th century that China established relatively mature foreign news media (Li, 2005; Gan, 2004). However, such foreign communication could also happen with the aid of western newspapers. In fact, even in the 1930s, the Republic of China's international communication institutions still did their work with the help of the English newspapers in the concession area (Wei, 2020, p.18). In modern history, Western newspapers in China had always been an important platform for Chinese to communicate with the western world.

That's how the diplomats of the late Qing Dynasty came into my sight. Before the first Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895, the diplomats of the early late Qing Dynasty, represented by Guo Songtao, Zeng Jize, Xue Fucheng and so on, went to the west on diplomatic missions. They had a deeper understanding of the western newspapers and public opinion than the others at that time, and they were thus interacted with the western local newspapers to a certain extent.

Among them, Zeng Jize had remarkable characteristics in his engagement of western newspapers. In comparison with the other Qing diplomats who were limited by their cultural background and language ability and only introduced the west to China, Zeng featured in an opposite way. Through the western newspapers, Zeng tried to show the world what is China and succeed in shaping the image of China in the western eyes (Liang, 2020, pp.119-128).

Contacting Western Newspapers: From Comprehension to Adaptation

Zeng Jize had already known about Western-style newspapers before his diplomatic mission. His diary showed that as early as in 1872, his had already begun to read foreign newspapers

(Zeng, 1998, p.238). In his diary of the next year, in a few diaries there were more records of newsprint reading. However, until the eve of his diplomatic mission, such records were still relatively rare. It was not until the time shortly before his diplomatic mission, that Zeng began to record his reading of *Shen Bao* in his diary (Zeng, 1998, p.736).

Zeng's understanding of the western newspapers also came from his predecessor Guo Songtao. Before his mission, Zeng had seen Guo's *Shi Xi Ji Cheng* (The Records to The West). In approximately two months of sightseeing recorded in this book, there are at least eight comments about western newspapers (Guo, 1982, pp.97, 99, 101, 114, 118, 123, 130). Guo took the western newspapers quite seriously, believing that western newspapers could be helpful for him and other Chinese to comprehend the situation of the west and their experiences. He even put paper clips in his memorials to the throne (Guo, 1982, pp.123). Guo was not only Zeng's predecessor and the first ambassador to foreign countries, but also a friend of Zeng's father Zeng Guofan. No matter before or after the diplomatic mission, Zeng often had dialogues with Guo before or after his diplomatic missions. It is conceivable that Guo's attention to the western newspapers would also affect Zeng. During his eight years on a diplomatic expedition, Zeng regarded the western newspapers as an important source of news to understand the political and social developments in the west and related to China.

Understanding western newspapers and periodicals does not mean that one has adapted to the media environment deeply influenced by western newspapers and periodicals in advance. After his diplomatic mission to Britain and France, Zeng began to feel the influence of western newspapers and public opinion more intuitively. Different media have different technical attributes, resulting in different modes of communication, that could cause a deviation of the development of culture (Innis, 1999). Therefore, understanding the production technology of western newspapers and periodicals may play a very important role in Zeng's change of mind from understanding western newspapers and periodicals to truly adapting to such media environment. In April,1889, just half a year after his diplomatic mission, Zeng visited the The Illustrated London News accompanied by his translator, Macartney Halliday, and had a first-hand experience of the swiftness of printing in the Western industry. "The dexterity of the machine and the speed of the project are too great to be recorded." (Zeng, 1998, P.857) In October, he visited Waterlow and Sons, a large printing company, and marveled at its huge production scale again: "In this bureau, there are three thousand men and women in total, what a tremendous scene." (Zeng, 1998, P.922) From the big scale of western newspapers production, it is not difficult to infer the extent of its circulation. These investigations helped Zeng to develop a deeper understanding of the local media environment.

Zeng's profound Western learning background and English ability before his diplomatic mission enable him to adapt to the western media environment quite swiftly (Li, 2014, pp.18-34). Thanks to the influence of his father Zeng Guofan, one of the main supporters of the Self-Strengthening Movement, Zeng had made Western friends since he was young, and thus was quite familiar with the Western cultural environment. (Zeng, 2008, pp.147-149). When he first arrived in the West, he was able to quickly integrate into the local culture environment and carry out in-depth communication faster than other diplomats. For example, the famous British journalist Demetrius Charles Boulger recalled: "In many interviews with him (Zeng) in Protland and Folkstone......From time to time, he would signal that he already understood what I meant before the translation." (Boulger, 1908, P.305)

Zeng had experienced verbal attacked by comments before his diplomatic mission. Although

China's public opinion wasn't dominated by the newspapers at that time, the comments of officials in the court had an important influence. In 1870, his father Zeng Guofan was criticized by the court when he was dealing with a case associated with Western missionaries happened in Tianjin. In Zeng Jize's words, his father "felt ashamed to speak out and guilty about the deity", and even decided to sacrifice his own reputation for preserving the empire's interest (Zeng, 1998, p.777). Guo Songtao was also criticized by other officials' comments during his diplomatic mission (Zeng, 1998, p.777). Perhaps for this reason, Zeng had always been critical of the political comments of some officials in the court who he considered to be nothing more than eloquent, stubborn, outdated people divorced from reality (Zeng, 1998, p.161). This tendency would be further intensified on his later mission to Russia.

In a word, Zeng entered the western media environment featured by the newspapers with the general cognition of public opinion and his outstanding understanding of the west at that time. On the one hand, before his diplomatic mission, he had a deeper understanding of the western cultural environment than most Chinese people of his time, which enabled him to take the initiative to get used to the western media environment and try to make it work for him very soon. On the other hand, he still retained the cognition of the Chinese people on comments and opinion at that time, which may have affected the way in which he engages with the western newspapers to some extent.

First Contact: An Early Attempt to Influence the Western Media

After initially adapting, Zeng took the initiative to influence in the local public opinion led by the newspapers, starting from removing the rumors about China in the western newspaper. In April, 1879, Zeng heard that there were comments in the West ridiculing China for spending huge sums of money on armaments during the famine in Shanxi, so he instructed Macartney to write to the newspapers to point out that the rumors were untrue (Zeng,1998, p.860). In April 1880, *The Times* published an essay which a French journalist claimed to be from an interview with Zeng, stating that the Chinese government wanted to avoid a war with Russia "at all costs". But in fact, the interview was faked. Knowing the potential impact of such remarks when Sino-Russia relationship was in tense, Zeng quickly ordered Macartney to write letters of clarification to multiple newspapers including The Times (Boulger,1908, pp.336-341).

In January,1879, Zeng got acquainted with members of a local anti-smoking association in London, and hoped to promote the abolition of the opium trade between Britain and China through this non-governmental organization (Zeng,1998, p.834). When he received a letter from Mr.Turner, a member of the group, he wrote a carefully worded reply. But to his surprise, the letter was published in *The Times* without his consent. Unexpectedly, this became Zeng's first speech in a Western newspaper. Later, Macartney wrote to Turner to show dissatisfaction at some of the inaccurate depictions of Zeng's views in published articles (Boulger,1908, p.312).

Although this unexpected speech did not bring about any disturbance on public opinion, it can be seen that at the early stage of his mission, Zeng's attitude towards western newspapers was still conservative, and it shows that Zeng was not really ready to make his voice heard. But the comparatively complicated and liberal environment of public opinion in the West still forced him to react from time to time. Then, the treaty negotiations with Russia made Zeng further familiarize himself with the relations between the western newspapers and politics. And with the help of the press, Zeng started his strategic diplomatic attempt.

Zeng was not involved in the negotiation with Russia at the first time. Chonghou and Russia signed the Treaty of Livadiya, greatly damaging the interests of China, and then the news was sent back to the country. Such news shocked the Qing government, and hence Chonghou was dismissed from office. The mission to rediscuss with Russia for the sake of changing the treaty, fell on the shoulder of Zeng.

Zeng faced great difficulties in this mission, especially the tremendous challenge posed by Chinese and foreign public opinions. As a result of Chonghou's failure, Zeng, as his successor, had great pressure. The criticism that had plagued his father and predecessor had now fallen on him. With the domestic opinions on the treaty changing varied greatly, making Zeng to worry about following in Chong Hou's footsteps (Zeng, 2008, p.161). He once wrote a poem in private to criticize the misdeeds of some comments (Zeng, 2020, p.161).

At the same time, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs also imposed pressure on Zeng through western press. The Foreign Minister Jules François Camille Ferry believed that it was China that released the details of Sino-Russia negotiation to the newspapers, leading to "many countries' news discussion, all saying that China will have a war with Russia." (Zeng, 2020, p.9)Under such circumstances, if Russia readily agreed to change the treaty, "everyone would say that Russia was afraid of China and therefore gave away to China the land it had conquered in the past. Therefore, it is difficult for Russia to agree." (Zeng, 2020, p.19) However, Zeng seemed to think that the numerous discussions in the newspapers might be the result of Russian leaks . Therefore, in the telegram sent to the Zongliyamen on September 28, 1880, Zeng said that he planned to "imitate Russia and put rumors into news......pretending that if Russia does not return all of Ili, Kashgar will not be preserved. China will make Kashgar an autonomous country and make a treaty with Britain to protect it. That's what Russia fears." (Guo&Dai, 2008, p.6)

In this situation, Zeng began to connect his previous understanding of the political vilification from the Qing Dynasty with the public opinion of the western newspapers. During the negotiations, Zeng argued that there was something similar between the western newspapers and Qing officials' memorials from Qing officials to the to the throne in Qing(Zeng, 2020, pp.161). Of course, it is not an accurate comparison, and Zeng didn't not necessarily think so. It may be more of a negotiation strategy, but even so, this statement still revealed Zeng's thinking of association between the two objects.

Zeng's experience in Russia might have influenced his afterward attitude towards the Western newspapers during his long diplomatic career. Throughout the interaction between Zeng and the western newspapers during his eight-year envoy life, his attitude was highly pragmatic, that was, although he regarded it as a tool to achieve diplomatic goals, it did not mean that he agreed with the interaction between the western newspapers and the political circles in his heart. In fact, Zeng's sporadic confessions suggested that he was not very optimistic about the way in which everyone was in charge: "Although the newspaper often makes surprising statements, it is not trustworthy enough" (Zeng, 2008, p.170).

Zeng's experience in Russia was of great significance to his subsequent diplomatic career: in the negotiation between China and France on the Vietnam issue, Zeng used the western newspapers to implement his "media diplomacy".

Media diplomacy: Communication Practice in China-France Negotiations

In Zeng's entire diplomatic career, it was only in the negotiation with France on the Vietnam issue that he really made extensive use of the western newspapers to convey his opinion for his diplomatic goals. This has to do with the political system of France at the time. After the Great Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire, France established its democratic republic. At the same time, the main countries in Europe were still monarchies. When Zeng first went to France for the first time, he observed the uniqueness: "......Since France became a democracy, the power of the state has been vested in the upper and lower houses of parliament. The leaders of the two houses was called as president......Although the position is respected, president' power is inferior to the two houses." (Zeng, 1998, p,843) It is in this system dominated by the democratically elected parliament that the newspapers in France played a greater role than in other countries.

Therefore, Zeng sent back to the Zongliyamen excerpts, translations and reprints of Western newspaper clips, often interspersed with his own comments, far more frequently than other envoys of the same period, which showed the importance he thought of Western press. It is important to note that the newspaper excerpts sent back to the Zongliyamen were the "reshaped" ones according to Zeng's own preferences and views. The selected excerpts can be used as strong evidence to support Zeng's views. For example, when Zeng advocated to the Zongliyamen to mediate the Sino-French conflict through Britain, he selected remarks in British newspapers against the French policy to provide wordless support for his claims.

Zeng had a deep understanding of the political tendencies of different media. In the transcripts, he often noted that a certain article was "written by *The Times*, which often uses severe words to stir up the people" "*Le Danglais* is complicit with the government." (Guo&Wang, 2016, pp.1010, 1092) He also noted that there was a turnover of staff between the newspapers and the government, which showed that the two are inextricably linked(Guo&Wang, 2016, p.2506).

That's why Zeng tried to sway the French political situation by speaking out in the newspapers before and during the Sino-French War. He followed up the war-support rhetoric in the newspapers and took countermeasures. In this process, his outstanding western learning and social skills cleared the way for his communication with journalists. There were communication records with the newspaper staff in his diary in the early days of his mission (Zeng, 1998, p.852). As the time went by, he gradually deepened his relationship with the newspaper writers and reporters. On November15th, 1882, *Figaro* reporter said that "In the past years, people in the capital went to his tea party, all know that this gentleman understands the western customs, he is completely different from those ignorant Chinese people who are bent on denigrating the western countries." (Guo&Wang, 2016, p.646) So he decided to interview Zeng.

Zeng took this interview seriously. He said in the interview: "The current situation is urgent, and only the newspapers can enlighten the people to understand the situation." (Guo&Wang, 2016, p.647) It is noteworthy that Zeng thought very high of public opinion in his answer. He explained that the Chinese government was pressured by the public opinion of the "conservative" party which wanted to go to war, and thus had to prepare for war (Guo&Wang, 2016, p.647). Such emphasis on the influence of Chinese "public opinion", in a way that is easily understood by the French, enhanced persuasiveness.

Such a strategy, which applied outside the formal diplomatic arena, did not always work -- efforts to make voices heard in the newspapers can be easily offset by the voices of opponents. In a letter to the Zongliyamen, Zeng complained that, by his efforts, French parliamentarians learned that Vietnam was a Chinese vassal state, and because the previous war had been so costly, they gradually waned their claims to war to China.However, an article published by Prosper Marie Giquel, one of the main advocates of war with China again confused the public (Guo&Wang, 2016, p.201).

In general, the Vietnam issue became an opportunity for Zeng to move from observation to action, from passive response to active moves, and to begin to take in the political opinion space constructed by the newspapers in a more active manner. The open public opinion space in France at this time happened to be the best playground for Zeng to practice his views on the newspapers and the orientation of public opinion. As the Sino-French dispute over Vietnam intensified, this attempt became more and more important, and its importance in Zeng's "diplomatic toolbox" gradually increased.

The Second Battlefield: The Guidance of Public Opinion During the War

Zeng's diplomatic strategy of engaging media tended to become more aggressive as the situation became tense. When China and France were already fighting head-on in Vietnam, the French foreign ministry delayed and later even cut off communication with Zeng for more than one year. Under such circumstances, the public opinion circles became a "second battlefield" for Zeng to indicate his stance to the French officials and influence the civil opinion at the same time (Li, 2014, p.204).

As he observed, there had long been concerns in the French parliament that France was spending too much on Vietnam, but the government had been lying to them (Zeng, 2008, p.190). Therefore, on May 11th, 1883, in an interview with the newspapers when he went to Russia to congratulate the Tsar on his coronation, Zeng stated China's position on Vietnam on the one hand, and warned France that it might pay more than ten times the expected military costs on the other. Also, Zeng reiterated the influence of Chinese domestic warriors to strengthen his voice, he also gave many other interviews to journalists from all over the world on Vietnam issues(Zeng, 1998, pp.1251-1252).Zeng's intention to influence French diplomacy through newspapers was quite obvious when official channels were not available.

Western newspapers were quite familiar with Zeng that there was a general understanding of Zeng in the newspapers circle: "Marquis Zeng likes to discuss official issues with the newspaper staff." (Guo&Wang, 2016, p.1012)Some scholars believe that Zeng set off a "media campaign" throughout Western public opinion at the height of the Sino-French War, based on a number of anonymous articles that appeared in the British, French and American newspapers during the same period that were biased toward the Chinese position (Huangfu Day, 2018, pp.175-176). He had frequent appointments with journalists from major newspapers in his diary during this period (Zeng, 1998, pp.1251, 1254, 1255, 1261, 1271, 1277, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1293).

Since the French Foreign administration did not reply to any of the notes he sent, Zeng gave his external correspondence with France to *The Times* of London for publication. He also met with a journalist from *Le Figaro*, and accused French Foreign administration of embarrassing him for not replying his note (Guo & Wang, 2016, p.1009). French Foreign Minister Jules Ferry had questioned Zeng on the leak of diplomatic documents. Zeng claimed that he had

not given the documents to The Times, but because the date and content of the article published by *The Times* were accurate, such words could be Zeng's alibi (Guo & Wang, 2016, pp.1007-1008).

Soon afterwards, the media campaign Zeng launched caused even more trouble for the French government in Parliament. The documents disclosed by Zeng in the newspapers made the French parliament members realize that they had been deceived by the government. The French government did not tell the truth about Zeng's attitude in the previous meetings, but reassured members of Parliament that there was nothing to worry about. However, once the correspondence between Zeng and the French Foreign Ministry was reported, the previous statements of the cabinet were immediately debunked. A member of parliament thus questioned the government's intention: "Is it because they are afraid that the House will not agree if we know the truth?" He further accused the current government of violating democratic principles. Obviously, it was a very serious accusation. Another MP went even further and called for the reversal of the government. After this event, Zeng successfully brought the French government back to the negotiating table with China.

When the Qing army was losing in Vietnam, Zeng's strategy became more aggressive: He wrote to British newspapers that the war in Vietnam would affect British commercial interests there(Zeng, 2005, p.213), and in a letter to a German newspaper, he said that if France was emboldened by the Vietnam campaign, it would be able to recover the cities occupied by Germany from France, Metz and Strasbourg, and compared the war in Vietnam to the Battle of Sedan in the Franco-Prussian War (Guo&Wang, 2016, pp.1657-1658).

However, such efforts seemed to have backfired. Zeng's comparison was considered as an insult to France (Guo&Wang, 2016, pp.1657). As Britain and Germany did not appear the will of mediation, Zeng was hated by the French public opinion, so that the France took Zeng's transfer as the precondition of the peace talks between the two countries in the negotiations with Li Hongzhang in Tianjin.

Conclusion

Through his in-depth observation of the French political system and newspapers, Zeng had seen their close relationship. This transformed from conservative to active and radical, and finally became capable of setting off a "media diplomacy" in France that affected many western countries. But on the other hand, Zeng's efforts in this field still had limits, and cannot replace military forces and formal diplomatic meetings. Zeng's "media diplomacy" accompanied the whole negotiation period between China and France, but it was difficult to reverse the precipitous deterioration of the situation. In addition, public opinion could not be controlled all the time, thus Zeng's attempts to use public opinion to serve diplomatic goals were not always successful. When he tried to build momentum in the public opinion field of other countries in order to achieve the mediation of a third country, he touched the great taboo of the French instead, so that the "media diplomacy" had to come to a short end.

If Zeng Jize's "media diplomacy" during his time in France was to use the Western newspapers to serve his diplomatic goals, his article "China, the Sleep and the Awakening" published on the eve of his departure went further, attempting to defend China's political and religious civilization at a deeper level, reinterpreting China's national image in Western terms, and deconstructing the West's "Orientalist imagination" of China at that time. The article was published in the January 1887 issue of The Asiatic Quarterly Review of London. After its

publication, the article caused a great deal of reaction in English-speaking opinion circles in the West and in the Concession.

From the beginning, Zeng had some idea of the possible effects of the article. In his letter to Macartney, he mentioned that he hoped the publication of the article would improve "do good, and lead to a better understanding and appreciation of the present position of my country and the future prospects of the Western Powers. " (Boulger, 1908, p.433)

This paper argues that the case of Zeng's Jize's usage of media for diplomatic purposes responded to and changed the negative stereotypes of Chinese civilization in the Western world at the time. He refuted the Western assertion that Chinese civilization was in stagnation and decline, and by reinterpreting the meaning of the concept of "sleep" in Western discourse, Zeng use Western discourse to defend China, aiming to correct the negative image of China as stagnant and heretical that the West has created. (Yang, 2010, p.114-130; Wagner, 2011, pp.4-139; Huangfu Day, 2018, p.201.)

The publication of this article was not an isolated act. If the previous strategy was to serve Zeng Jize's specific diplomatic strategy, then this article takes it to a higher level and begins to try to represent "what is China" in the context of Western media and Western discourse. This is not just a statement of China's position and foreign policy--What is noteworthy is his interpretation of China's own civilization characteristics using Western discourse, and his attempts to clarify and dispel negative Western perceptions of China.

Zeng's views on the Western media during his eight-year mission to the West were full of traditional Chinese undertones. In Zeng's eyes, free public opinion in a democratic society sometimes would bring chaos and backlashes. On the one hand, he was apt to include newspaper opinion in his "diplomatic toolbox", but on the other hand, he had a more negative attitude toward its legitimacy. All this cannot be seen simply within the paradigm of modernization: behind the seemingly straightforward "westernization" trend, there was in fact an undercurrent of Chinese intellectual perceptions of the era.

As mentioned in the beginning of this paper, the important role played by China's Western-oriented foreign communication before the Sino-Japanese War is understudies in current historiography. This is a very important area if we want to rethink the modernization paradigm and escape the shadow of the "impact-response" model. From the perspective of global history, the mid-to-late nineteenth century was the beginning of Western civilization's "global regulation" and the "first historical scene" of the collision between Eastern and Western civilizations. And the Chinese were not silent in this process. This paper hopes to present more of the ways in which late Qing diplomats like Zeng responded to, resisted, and even counteracted the West by using the Western newspapers before China's own newspapers went global.

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Effect of Singapore's Language Education Policy on Chinese Singaporeans' Identity -
From a Survey of new University Graduates-

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Abstract

In Singapore bilingual education is being promoted due to the influence of globalization, English driven lifestyle and culture have become widespread, especially among young people. On the other hand, some are concerned about the situation in which the younger generation is gradually moving away from their ethnic language, culture, and traditions. Therefore, I conducted a survey with the aim of considering how the current language education in Singapore is affecting the younger generation of Chinese Singaporeans. The survey was conducted on five National University of Singapore graduates in 2019. I conducted a semi-structured interview survey on (1) the status of the language being used, (2) the activities of Chinese clan association, and (3) their own identity. The survey revealed that young Chinese Singaporeans have an English-driven lifestyle. As a symbol of that, few young Chinese Singaporeans knew the existence and activities of the Chinese clan association, which had been the emotional supports of Chinese Singaporeans. On the other hand, some people were worried about the current situation in which the Chinese dialect is declining as Mandarin is becoming more widespread due to the influence of the Speak Mandarin campaign. Young Chinese Singaporeans are still interested in dialects, languages of their ancestors. Regarding Singlish, which is used daily in Singaporean society, speaking Singlish seems to be related to their identity. I can clearly say that the identity of young Chinese Singaporeans is being established as a Singaporean from a "Chinese" identity, however the "Chinese" identity is not all gone, nevertheless ambivalent.

Keywords: Bilingual Education in Singapore, Identities of Young Chinese Singaporean, Chinese Clan Association, Chinese Immigrants, Singlish

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Introduction

The economic powerhouse in Southeast Asia, Singapore population is about 5.7 million as of 2019, including migrant workers, having foreigners to account for about 40% of the population and the characteristics of a multi-ethnic nation. According to the Singaporean government, the ethnic groups in the nation consist of 74% Chinese, 14% Malay, 9% Indian, and others. The main language of Singapore is Malay as the official national language, nevertheless the official languages are English, Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil, used by the ethnic group comprising the nations (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2019）.

The world is paying attention to Singapore's remarkable economic development in recent years despite of a small country in Southeast Asia. According to IMF (2019), Singapore's GDP per capital in 2020 ranks 8th in the world ranking and stays in the high ranking in comparison with developed countries in Europe (e.g., Sweden (12th), Germany (16th) and developed countries in Asia (e.g., Japan (23th), South Korea (27th)) This high position of Singapore has always been in the top 10 of the worlds in the last ten years.

The strong economic and social policies led by the state has largely contributed to such rapid economic development for more than 55 years since Singapore foundation in 1965. In addition to that, the human resource development through language education policy led by the state has done so in our view. Singapore has consistently adopted a bilingual education from elementary schools, having been rapidly developing human resources in response to the global society since its foundation (Ishikawa, 2001）.

The bilingual education is based on a policy of learning two languages, English, and the mother tongue of each ethnic group. For example, Chinese Singaporean students are learning English and Mandarin. While this bilingual education is being promoted, in recent years, due to the influence of globalization, English driven lifestyle habit and culture have become widespread, especially among young people. On the other hand, some are concerned about the situation in which the younger generation is gradually moving away from their ethnic language, culture, and traditions (Shimura, 2018）.

In the future, how will the multicultural society, one of Singapore's attractions, be transformed by such a change in an English driven lifestyle? Therefore, to consider the language education of Singapore and the transformation of people's identities, we have examined their language and identity situation.

Previous Survey on the Language and Identity of Chinese Singaporeans

Language Education Policy and Identity

There are several fact-finding surveys on the identities of Chinese Singaporeans in Singapore, including a survey on language education and a survey on the activities of the oversea Chinese clan association. In this chapter, we would like to consider their identities by reviewing their findings. The Singaporean government has repeatedly examined the ideal form of bilingual education and continued to this day since its founding in 1965. The ethnic Chinese schools, which many ethnic Chinese children attend, have gradually changed to an English school according to the needs of the times.

On the other hand, while school educations in English are becoming the mainstream, they are also educating Mandarin, their ethnic language. In that situation, there is a problem of in what language teachers teach Chinese as an ethnic language, and in what language students understand it. Takahashi (2003) surveyed the status of language education at a public elementary school in Singapore. As a result, he points out as a preparation for educational activities in elementary school as follows:

"All classes are educated in English except for the ethnic languages. Therefore, children must become able to understand English spoken not only in their daily lives but also in classes by the time of their entering elementary school."

Children in Singapore are learning two languages (English and Mandarin) in kindergartens and nursery schools, and they are naturally learning English very hard especially because it is a measure of language for taking classes. In Singapore, elementary school children take the National Examination (PSLE: Primary School Leaving Examination) at the end of the sixth grade of elementary school, and the examination results lead to in junior high schools, three courses activities, Special Course, Express Course, Normal Course to be carried out dividedly.

Since the examination subjects for this course division always include not only English but also ethnic language examinations, it is not always necessary for elementary school students to reach a high level only in English language. After that, it is necessary to acquire both English and ethnic languages to clear high hurdles of taking several examinations for Singapore students and to receive a higher level of higher education.

Essential is Takahashi's following point (Takahashi, 2003) about the declination of culture, traditions and events that the Chinese ancestry have continuously inherited from their ancestors along with the development of the language education system, when it comes to future Singapore's language education system and social policy, whilst the ability of Chinese Singaporeans consist of the majority of Singapore, to speak Mandarin as well as English is based on the bilingual education necessary to contribute to Singapore's human resource development and national development.

"From the perspective of biculturalism and multiculturalism, the bilingual education needs to be considered further in consideration of a language as a means of communication as well as a means of socializing individual identities, cultures, and regions and larger communities."

Next, to pay attention to Okumura's survey result, Okumura conducted a survey of students at National University of Singapore (NUS) in 2002 through questionnaires and free-form descriptions of the languages used in their daily lives and their identities. In the survey, most response to the questions about the languages showed that both the students themselves and their parents spoke three languages, English, Chinese, and dialects, followed by four languages (Okumura, 2009). Students in Singapore must be able to have a perfect command of English and Chinese to survive the fierce competition for entrance examinations starting from elementary school, which is also a condition for receiving a higher level of higher education. From this, we consider that many Chinese students at National University of Singapore can naturally use both English and Chinese without any problem.

What is noteworthy in this survey is existence of Singlish. The English language used in Singapore has its own language culture, as if it were ridiculed as Singlish. Okumura considers the student's response to Singlish from the survey results as follows (Okumura, 2009).

"For example, some students clearly state that the Singlish is a core part of their national identity, however, it is worth noting that none of the 280 responses state positively that the Singlish should be used as a national language for the official government documents, parliamentary exchanges, or school language of instruction. "

Okumura pointed out that a Chinese Singaporean society consists of not only some Chinese Singaporeans who speak all English fluently, but also some Chinese Singaporeans who speak Singlish mixed with Chinese and dialects. We naturally consider that the number of people speaking Singlish is expected to decrease in the future, as the number of people speaking Standard English and Mandarin increases generation after generation. With the promotion of bilingual education, a new challenge such as the English level gap between generations and what kind of language is standard English could also arise in Singaporean society.

In addition, it has been pointed out that the westernization of youth culture and the accompanying transformation of identity could occur as Singapore's English education is further promoted. In modern Singapore, especially among the younger generation, they have the internet as a part of their daily lives; it is extremely easy to interact with anyone on SNS in English. It is possible to easily access English, the standard language of the world, and the accompanying Western culture. Especially given that many of the younger generation's favorite subcultures come from the West, they are less likely to confirm their Chinese descent. Okumura describes the vague and complex identity of English-educated Chinese Singaporeans as follows (Okumura, 2009).

"It is impossible that Singaporeans who have been educated in English have the same culture and identity as Chinese on the continent. However, we may say that the Chinese culture learned in English is just the cultural identity of ethnic Chinese Singaporeans. "

Chinese Clan Association and Ethnic Chinese Identity

In considering the transformation of overseas Chinese identities, the existence of Chinese clan associations established in many communities around the world is significant. The Chinese clan association is a mutual aid organization established on immigrated land for Chinese people to spend a stable life on immigrated land (Yokohama, 2020). In Singapore, as in other countries, many Chinese clan associations have been established since the early days of British rule in the Malay Peninsula, and they have been historically supported by people all over China.

For example, large-scale clan associations such as the Fujian association and Chaozhou association are still running schools, conducting various event activities, and establishing scholarships for students, and have currently become a symbol of overseas Chinese in Singapore. The Chinese clan association, currently existing not only in Singapore but also in many communities around the world, can be said to symbolize the identities of many overseas Chinese and ethnic Chinese.

Few survey studies have mentioned the relationship between the Chinese clan association and the identity of young Chinese Singaporeans. Here, we will review the results of a survey by Goda on the participation of the Chinese clan association and youth. In 1993, Goda conducted a survey on "Chinese clan association and Chinese / Chinese culture" among 500 adolescents aged 15 to 29 (collected: 256). This survey conducted about 30 years ago, is helpful in comparing it with the current changes in education, society, and economy in Singapore (Goda,1999).

As for the survey subjects about the existence of the Chinese clan association, 70% of the respondents answered that they know the existence of the Chinese clan association, however, have never participated in the activity. 20% of the respondents answered, "I don't even know the existence of the Chinese clan association." Furthermore, according to the results of a survey of university students, Chinese clan association is not friendly place to young Chinese Singaporeans. However, 84.5% of all respondents answered that they were "interested in Chinese and Chinese culture".

What is noteworthy in Goda's survey results is about the ethnic consciousness of the respondents. Singaporeans are supposed to list their ethnicity on their ID cards, at the point they become conscious of their ethnicity. According to the survey results, more than 60% of the respondents stated that they were "proud of being Chinese." The results based on each educational background, about 70% of the younger generation of university and graduate students answered that they were" proud of their own ethnic group". Goda analyzes this result as follows (Goda,1999).

"One of the reasons is that ethnic Chinese feeling the difference from other ethnic groups in terms of advancing to higher education and finding employment have begun to have a sense of superiority as ethnic Chinese."

About 30 years after Goda's survey, Chinese Singaporean students are now educated mainly in English due to the government's bilingual education policy, and at the same time they are learning Mandarin, which is their mother tongue. We would like to clarify from a survey on young Chinese Singaporeans how the identity of young Chinese Singaporeans has changed due to Singapore's rapid economic development and changes in the social environment in recent years.

Survey on Language and Identity for Young Chinese Singaporean

More than 50 years have already passed since Singapore was established as a nation in 1965. Since its founding, the Singaporean government has promoted bilingual education; its educational activities are still ongoing. Underlying that a small country in Southeast Asia has achieved one of the largest economic developments in the world, it is not only English but also Mandarin that this state-led language education activity has been spreading all over the country.

On the other hand, as we see in the previous chapter, English is at the center of education, the interest in Chinese dialects, cultural activities, and history that Chinese Singaporean ancestors used to have, have been gradually fading out in fact.

Therefore, we conducted a survey with the aim of considering how the current language education in Singapore is affecting the younger generation of Chinese Singaporeans. The date of the survey was August 27th, 2019. The survey was conducted on five National University of Singapore (NUS) graduates who cooperated with the survey from my research collaborator, Professor Thang Leng Leng of NUS. We conducted a semi-structured interview survey on (1) the status of the language being used, (2) the activities of the overseas Chinese Clan Association (3) Singaporean society, and (4) their own identity.

The ethical considerations of the survey were as follows. Before the survey, we gave an oral description on the survey purpose, content, survey method, risk of the survey, confidentiality,

and handling of data. The survey was conducted with their consent, their understanding the descriptions and the survey consent form signed off by hem.

Survey Subjects

Table1 shows age, work, and family status of the survey subjects. The survey subjects were those who had just graduated from NUS, and the average age was 25.2 years, one male and four females. All subjects surveyed had parents (and grandparents) and siblings. The average household population was 4.4, more than the average Singapore household population of 3.16 in 2019.

	Sex	Age	Academic hisitory	Current occupation	family menber
Case 1	male	26	Bachelor's degree	Social Worker	4 (father, mother, younger sister and myself)
Case 2	female	24	Bachelor's degree	medical Social Worker	4 (father,mother,elder sister and myself)
Case 3	female	26	Bachelor's degree	Social Worker	4 (father,mother,elder younger sister and myself)
case 4	female	24	Bachelor's degree	Office Worker	6 (2grandparents,father,mother,brother and myself)
Case 5	female	26	Bachelor's degree	Social Worker	4 (father, mother, Aunt and myself)

Table1: Sex, Age, Work, and Family Status of the Survey Subjects

Results and Discussions

Situation of Family's Birthplace

Table 2 shows family's birthplace places of the survey subjects. All respondents' parents were born in Singapore. The grandparents' birthplaces were diverse, including those from Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Regarding the birthplaces of the respondents' ancestors, some respondents answered that they were coastal cities in China (Fujian, Hainan, and Guangdong Swatow city), and others answered, "I am not sure". When asked if "you have been to your ancestor's hometown," most of the respondents answered, "I have never been."

	Birth place						The place of origin of ancestors	Have you ever been to your ancestral hometown?
			Paternal		Maternal			
	Father	Mother	Grandfather	Grandmother	Grandfather	Grandmother		
Case 1	Singapore	Singapore	China	Malaysia	Singapore	Singapore	Fujian in China(Maternal side) Hainan in China(Paternal side)	No
Case 2	Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	Malaysia	I am not sure	No
Case 3	Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	China	Singapore	I am not sure	No
Case 4	Singapore	Malaysia	Malaysia	Singapore	Malaysia	Malaysia	Hainan in China (Maternal side) I am not sure (Paternal side)	grandparents' hometown in
Case 5	Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	indonesia	Singapore	Swatow in China (Maternal side) I am not sure (Paternal side)	No

Table2: Family's Birthplace Places of the Survey Subjects

Languages Used in Conversations with Parents and Grandparents in Daily Lives

Below are responses to the questions about the languages they use in their daily lives with their parents and grandparents. Many of the respondents were found to be using both English and Chinese. Looking at the answers in detail, they often used Chinese in conversations with parents and grandparents. Some used dialects in conversations with their grandparents, however, in some cases they used Mandarin because the respondents themselves could not use the dialect.

"I speak to my parents in Mandarin. I speak to my younger sister in a mixture of Mandarin and English. Usually if my sister and I are speaking about work or school related fields we will speak in English, for other matters in Mandarin." and "I speak to them in Mandarin, do not use any dialects."（Case 1）

"English and Mandarin. More Mandarin as my parents are not highly educated" and "I use very basic Hokkien dialect. Grandparents are not around anymore" (Case 2)

"English, at time Chinese. Most of the times we use English to communicate." And "Yes. at times I use Hokkien or Hakka with my paternal/ maternal grandparents." (Case 3)

"I speak in English to my brother and parents, and Mandarin to my grandparents." "I do not use dialects." (Case 4)

"English and Chinese (used to talk to my maternal grandmother in Chinese everyday life before she passed away in 2018) and I do not have chance to use dialects." (Case 5)

Language Used in Conversations with Friends

The respondents revealed that they used in conversations with their friends in their daily lives English more than Chinese, as shown in the answers below. On the other hand, the answers also revealed that they frequently use so-called Singlish, or a mixture of English and Chinese.

"I speak to them mainly in English. I will use Mandarin at times especially when discussing casual things like food. I will also use Mandarin in between my English words. "（Case 1）

"English and Mandarin. We are more used to conversing in English since we use it most of the time for our studies and work." (Case 2)

"English. Actually, we speak mostly in Singlish, a local variation of English." (Case 3)

"I use English every time." (Case 4)

"English, Chinese less often than English." (Case 5)

Speak Mandarin Campaign

In 1979, the Singaporean government launched Speak Mandarin Campaign. This campaign is a large-scale campaign encouraging mainly Chinese Singaporeans to speak Mandarin rather than the Chinese dialect in their social lives; is still ongoing. Below are the responses to questions about this Speak Mandarin campaign. Many of the responses welcomed the campaign. However, we can clearly say that modern young Chinese Singaporeans have a sense of danger about having fewer opportunities to speak Chinese dialects.

"The campaign does not have the traction against the larger trend of the lack of environment to speak Mandarin."（Case 1）

"I don't really know much about it. But I think it is a good initiative since it would be quite devastating if we were to lose one of our mother tongue languages." (Case 2)

"I think it's great because speaking Mandarin has reduced a lot and the newer generation are increasingly speaking more English than Mandarin." (Case 3)

"I wish that young people had a chance to learn dialect formally as well. It is a pity that only mostly older generations speak these dialects today, and young people do not have the opportunity to learn it properly." (Case 4)

"The Campaign aims to encourage Singaporean Chinese to speak standard mandarin Chinese and discourage the use of dialects. I think the campaign was very successful and perhaps backfire. This is because many youths are not able to speak dialect." (Case 5)

Chinese Clan Association

Chinese immigrants have created Chinese clan associations for their birthplaces in China on the land they have immigrated to, and received from the associations, life supports, job mediation, contact with their homeland, ceremonial occasions, and many other lives' supports. Even now, there are many clan associations in Singapore such as Fujian Hall, Guangdong Hall, Hainan Hall, and Fuzhou Hall, which are connected by powerful networks with clan associations in Chinese communities around the world.

Table 3 shows the responses to the questions regarding the Chinese clan associations in this survey. We can clearly say that many of the respondents were unaware of the activity. Particularly, when asked about the Singapore Federation of Chinese Clan Associations unifying oversees Singapore's Chinese clan associations as a federation, none of responders know the existence of this organization itself, except that one of the respondents was concerned that the organization would deepen relations between China and Singapore.

	Q5. Do you know some Chinese Clan associations?	Q6. Have you ever participated in some activities of clan associations?	Q7. Do you know Singapore Federation of Chinese Clan
Case 1	Yes, Teochew Association Hokkien Association.	No.I am not interested nor aware of their activities.	I am not really interested in finding out what they are. I am a little concerned they might be influenced to be too friendly towards People's Republic of China.
Case2	I know they exist but I cannot recall their names.	I have no affiliations with any of the clan associations.	No. This is the first time hearing about it.
Case 3	No.	No.	No.
Case4	No.	My Primary School was established by the Singapore Hokkien Huay Kuan, so I probably did participate in some activities associated with them in my Primary School days.	No.
Case5	Yes. Hokkien Association, Teochew Association	I have never heard of activities organized by clan associations. I am also not interested in the activities of clan associations	No. I am unsure of the role of Federation of Chinese Clan Associations.

Table3: Responses to the Questions Regarding the Chinese Clan Associations

Maintaining Singaporean Society

We asked young respondents being responsible for Singapore in the future what is important for Singaporean society. The response is as follows. Many of the responses were that respecting multicultural and multi-ethnic Singapore is essential for the society.

"Our meritocracy where everyone must be given a fair chance to excel regardless of their background. Social mobility for even the less privileged to have decent opportunities to move up. Understanding and respect across different ethnic and religious groups – that we accept

that there will be differences and that is to be celebrated.”（Case 1）

”I think Singapore is unique in its multiculturalism and this should be maintained. Growing up in a multicultural society enables us to learn more about other cultures and be appreciative and accepting of one another's differences and similarities.” (Case 2)

”I think what's important in maintaining a harmonious Singapore society is mutual understanding and respect between the different ethnic groups. More importantly, to not have censorship about real issues and instead to start real communication and conversations about issues that troubles these ethnic groups. From this, as a society we can work together in coming up realistic solutions with regards to these said problems.” (Case 3)

”I think Singaporeans need to be more compassionate towards the needs of minority groups (in terms of ethnic minorities, sexual minorities, immigrant workers etc.) “(Case 4)

”I think respect is important to maintain Singapore society. By respecting each other's culture, language, religion and way of life, we can live harmoniously.” (Case 5)

Identity

When asked about "your identity," all responses were "my identity is Chinese Singaporean." We can clearly say that their identity does not simply mean having roots in Chinese descent; their identity is necessary to have relationships with other ethnic groups in Singapore and a sense of belonging to Republic of Singapore.

”My ethnicity does not dictate my political loyalty. I am a Singaporean first and foremost. My Chinese heritage merely informs the cultural practices I subscribe to. The fundamental ideals that make Singapore will come first.”（Case 1）

”I identify myself as a Singaporean Chinese. I think it is important for one to still be in touch with the cultures of your own race while still identifying as Singaporean with the rest of the nation. This helps me to embrace the fact that we are all different yet similar and how we can have a collective identity but still keep our own roots.” (Case 2)

”I personally view myself as a Singapore Chinese. I believe having this national identity as a Singaporean is important to me because it makes me feel that I have a stake in my country's matters. Therefore, it matters to me how other countries perceive Singapore as a country and Singaporeans whom are representatives of Singapore.” (Case 3)

”I feel that there needs to be more sensitivity towards other races and ethnic groups, not just by Chinese Singaporeans but also by the Singaporean government.” (Case 4)

”I think that my national identity is Singaporean. This is because Singaporean's identity ourselves based on our shared Singaporean Singlish way of speaking and our multi-racial society. In addition, our national pledge states that: we the citizens of Singapore, pledge ourselves as one united people, regardless of race, language or religion to build a democratic society… Therefore, I think national identity should not include our race. We are all Singaporeans regardless of race, language or religion.” (Case 5)

Conclusions

Everyday Languages

Regarding the language used in the family, we can clearly say that for conversations with parents Mandarin is often used and for conversations with grandparents, dialects are often used, although it depends on the individual home environment of the respondents. On the other hand, we have found that English is often used in conversations among brothers and sisters. The survey results on the languages used by the respondents' friends revealed that English is becoming more and more the main language used in a daily life in the younger generation. When asked about the language used in conversation with their friends, all respondents said they mainly used English.

From the results that many respondents had completed learning Mandarin by high school, we can more clearly say that English has become a common language in their social lives, especially among the younger generation. However, in those responses, when talking about casual topics with friends, they responded that Mandarin is included in the English conversation, and in a different response, some respondents said that they used in conversation with the friends, local English in Singapore, Singlish.

From the above, young Chinese Singaporeans learn and utilize practical English for their social lives and works, while we consider that they skillfully use Mandarin, Chinese dialects, and Singapore's unique Singlish according to the intimacy with others. One of the reasons why Chinese Singaporeans' identities are not simply "Chinese" is in our consideration due to their multilingual use in their daily lives.

Maintaining Singaporean Society and Identity of Young Chinese Singaporean

Many responses to the question about what is needed to maintain Singapore's society included Singapore symbolic aspects with a multicultural society. They often described the need for understanding and respect for multi-ethnic cultures, languages and religions, inter-ethnic cooperation, consideration for minorities, and compassion for other ethnic groups.

We think that the younger generation, being responsible for Singaporean society, said this means that the younger generation felt proud and hopeful that they had become one of the world's leading economic powers in a short period of 50 years after the founding of the country, due to the Singapore government's promotion of policies treating multi-ethnic groups equally, and the education policy centered on elite education such as bilingual education. In other words, they were considered to at least trust the government. This is also reflected in the responses to the respondents' own identity questions.

Many respondents answered to the question: What do you think about your own identity? as they were "Chinese Singaporean". However, at the same time, some respondents said that the identity of "Chinese Singaporean" is just the identity defined in the ethnic classification by the government, and that their identity is "Singaporean".

In other words, they are aware that by being recognized as Singaporeans relative to people in other countries, they can establish Singaporean identities, which in turn allows ethnic groups to unite with one single identity. Moreover, recognizing themselves as Singaporeans helps

them to become aware of the country of Singapore. As the above mentioned and as the response in Case 5 represents the young Chinese Singaporeans of today, it describes as follows.

"I think that my national identity is Singaporean. This is because Singaporean's identity ourselves based on our shared Singaporean Singlish way of speaking and our multi-racial society."

What is interesting in this description is the Singlish that exist in their lives. *Singlish* is a unique Singaporean English, but it is interesting for us that it has become a part of the Singaporean identities. For example, Yamada states that Singlish is de-Anglicized and is a type of World English (Yamada,2001）. Investigating the identities of Singaporeans' other generations and Singaporeans other than Chinese Singaporeans is naturally necessary since this survey applies to limited survey subject. We consider that Singaporeans will establish non-racial identities gradually when it comes to the identities of Singaporean being responsible for the next generation. At that time, we would like to continue to verify how the identities of Chinese Singaporeans, consisting of the large population of Singaporean society will continue to change in relation to their Chinese roots, cultures, traditions, and dialects.

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Unveiling the landscape of New Chinese migrant in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai

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Abstract

Current migratory flows from China are increasing worldwide, particularly, throughout BRI routes. Migrants from China, south country, to other south countries represent a global transforming political economy in many dimensions. This article aims to illustrate the settlement perspectives on transborder mobility among new Chinese migrants in Chiang Mai, Thailand. The finding draws on research results from mix-method tools; collecting questionnaires, conducting in-depth interviews and observing. The research finds two specific characters of new Chinese in Chiang Mai. The first group immigrates in pursuit of social escalating, both for economic attractive and lifestyle advantages. Most new Chinese sojourners in Chiangmai are categorized in this set such as language teacher, interpreter, semi to high-skilled worker, investor and interestingly parents who accommodate their international school's students. The second group is to be called geoarbitrage or those who gain advantages from the lower cost of living in a smaller town like Chiang Mai. Their status is retirement, digital workforce and freelancer who earn their income abroad. Both groups of Chinese migrants decide Chiang Mai as their destination from geography proximity, cultural linkage, social perception and low cost of living. These rationales and behaviors affirm the differences of South-North and South-South migration that the latter pattern is more associated with social factors than economic factors.

Keywords: New Chinese Migration, North of Thailand, South-South Migration, Social and Economic Impact

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Introduction

The wave of new Chinese migrants settled down abroad was after the Open Door policy in 1978. Famous destinations for early mobility were the U.S., European countries, Canada, and Australia (J & L, 2003). Later, middle-income and unskilled workers moved out to developing countries, especially along the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) countries such as Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe, and Africa (Wong, 2013). On the other side, the Chinese government aims to strengthen the Overseas Chinese network by establishing Overseas Chinese Affairs Office (OCAO) under the United Front Work Department of the Chinese Communist Party to facilitate returnees and support Chinese people abroad (Joske, 2019).

Economic interdependency in trade and investment between BRI partner countries and PRC partially generates migration channels and the flow of Chinese capital (The Belt and Road Initiative, 2015). Thailand is in the China-Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor, one of the six targeted economic corridors around China's border. Accordingly, investments from China have consecutively flowed to financial centers in Thailand, such as in the service sector in Bangkok and other regional centers and manufacturing in Rayong. The global dynamic in economic practices and the personal experiences of the new generation in China motivate a group of people to emigrate abroad for better economic opportunities and personal contentment. Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai are also listed as proper destinations because of escalating economic dependency in many sectors; tourism, service, food industry, logistics, and education.

The emerging of OCAO raised an argument on the transboundary sovereignty through Chinese ethnicities around the world. The controversial issue is the definition of overseas Chinese which eliminates the citizenship indicator but concentrates more on cultural connectivity. Another issue is the characters of new Chinese sojourners who tend to keep their Chinese norms and stick to the Chinese community rather than integrate into local society like traditional overseas Chinese done in the past (Gungwu, 2010). Consequently, diversification of culture and norms between new migrants and host communities end up in social conflict—for instance, the dispute between local Chinese and newcomers in Singapore. Even the communication and cultural roots are fundamentally similar; however, their behaviors are different. Moreover, job competition and economic sharing are other apparent issues.

Chiang Mai is more famous for its geography, regional economic hub, and the most critical factor in tourism. In comparison, Chiang Rai gain advantages from the logistic connectivity inland and the Mekong river. These two provinces increasingly attract Chinese migrants who reside both in legal and illegal means. Some of them are regulatory registered; on the other hand, some deceitfully apply nominees in operating businesses in Thailand to avoid the foreign business regulations. Therefore, Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai's diversity and specialty are the main questions about how new Chinese migrants form their community in the area. What is the landscape of the newcomers, and how they perform in terms of economic and social behaviors? Lastly, how the emerging new Chinese migrants affect the local economy and society. These questions can be implied on how to manage the upcoming of new transboundary migrants.

Objectives

Illustrate the population landscape of new Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai and their economic and social practices in order to introduce precise policy

Concept and Critical Framework

This research applied the economic concept of human capital to explain capital accumulation in various forms related to the decision procedure in migrating. The second concept is South-South migration which addresses the regional mobility from developing country to developing country. This form of migration is currently expanding in many areas. Lastly, the concept of flexible citizenship is adopted to clarify the dynamics and flexibility of global citizens over the perception of geo-sovereignty.

The migration in the Social Science approach concentrates on the inequality in the world system. The mainstream migration is still moving from south countries to higher-income countries (South-south migration); however, other forms of mobilities exaggerate, such as retirement mobility in reverse order (North-south migration). This sort of migration reflects the core evidence of the power disparity in the transboundary migration issue. People from high-income countries gain advantages from the financial differences and lower cost of living in middle-income countries. Racio (Hayes & Pérez-Gañán, 2017) addresses this phenomenon as "geoarbitrage", gaining benefits from the differences among countries. For example, high-skilled workers from Spain migrate to Latin America because of the economic crisis and the motivation to seek a higher quality of life. People from North America plan to resettle down in other affordable areas such as Ecuador to guarantee their quality of life after retirement with a limited income. Ecuador's government also promotes its country as a beautiful and affordable land for retired people to stimulate its economy. Relevant policies are, for instance, the approval of land possession for foreigners. Even though the policy can attract long-stay tourists and boost the local economy, the existence of two different ethnicities with unequal economic potential might cause conflict in accessing limited public goods. Economic and social burden certainly falls to the host country citizen because of their less power in bargaining (Hayes & Pérez-Gañán, 2017)

Flexible citizenship is applied to explain the trend of migration among Chinese people critically. Aihwa Ong (Ong, 1999) defines migration in terms of the capital accumulation in capitalism by flexibly moving to gain advantages from outside their hometown. The possibility of migrating depends on their potential and political and economic conditions. Ong criticizes Chinese overseas as flexible citizenship over the boundary of a nation-state. The dynamic of the world market and family's impulsion push Chinese migrants to move and live flexibly. Meanwhile, the Chinese state initiates policies to strengthening networks between Chinese overseas and their hometown by weaving networks through Confucius belief and the traditional Guanxi system.

Research Method

A mixed research methodology is employed to gather data and analyze the finding; a quantitative tool is mainly adopted to figure out the landscape and characters of new Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chaing Rai. Finally, 107 copies of questionnaires distributed to the Chinese sojourners in both provinces were returned. On the other hand, qualitative methods such as documentary work, surveys, and interviews were applied. Interviewees consisted of

20 new Chinese migrants, eight micro and SME entrepreneurs in a similar economic circle with Chinese investors, and four relevant organizations such as international schools, Industrial councils, etc.

Finding

The settlement of new Chinese migrants in the Northern Thailand, Chiang Mai, and Chiang Rai has occurred several times. Roughly, there are three waves of new Chinese in those provinces. The first one was after 1978 where traditional overseas Chinese induced their relatives in China to migrate to attain similar achievements. In Chiang Mai, Chinese ethnics have been established in many areas, especially downtown, Chai Pra Karn, and Chiang Dao district. Most of "Jeen Hor," one of the Chinese ethnics in Thailand locating in the districts, intensively preserve Chinese culture and language. In the meantime, Chinese ethnics in Chiang Rai are more diverse, consisting of "Jeen Hor" in Mae Sai, overseas Chinese in downtown, and Dai Lue from Xishuangbanna in many districts. These Chinese ethnics remained healthy relations with their relatives in the mainland. When the Open Door policy launched, they persuaded their families to rejoin and share their economic expertise with them. This wave is small and inconsistent, but the connection to Thai society is vital.

The second wave was after the 2000s. The majority of newcomers was a businessman who invests and operates their business in Thailand and those Chinese language teachers who work in educational institutions from government Hanban project and Confucius institutions. Chinese investment and businesses are increasing from the close economic relations between the two countries. In comparison, Chinese teachers are required from the high demand for Chinese language skills. This wave imported more flexible citizens who are attracted by economic returns. The current wave was since the 2010s with more diversity of individual's purpose in migrating. For example, a businessman in the tourism sector, construction sector, retired people, heath care tourists, students in international schools accommodated their Chinese parents, and students in higher education institutions.

Unfolding Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai as the New Alternative Destinations

Chiang Mai Province and the Advantages that Attract New Chinese Migrants

Three significant factors that persuade Chinese sojourners to Chiang Mai comprise 1) business opportunities such as tourism efficiency, agricultural production exportation, and exporting Thai products. 2) Educational opportunity, precisely, international schools which gain more reputations from recent Chinese parents' recommendations. In higher education, colleges and universities in Chiang Mai actively collaborate with institutions in China in internship projects or exchange projects. 3) Chiang Mai is a mid-size city with moderate facilitations, schools, hospitals, department stores, and logistics. Besides, living in this city is a slow-life city, full of green leisure areas, average comfortable climate, geographic proximity, and easy travel to China. The most crucial factor is the low cost of living.

Year	Chiang Mai		Chiang Rai	
	Number of Chinese tourists	Growth rate	Number of Chinese tourists	Growth rate
2012	79,952	-	N.a	N.a
2013	280,125	+250.37	N.a	N.a

2014	421,063	+50.31	N.a	N.a
2015	567,759	+34.84	70,815	-
2016	811,735	+42.97	102,781	+45.14
2017	977,607	+20.43	115,380	+12.26
2018	1,037,696	+6.15	127,071	+10.13
2019	1,204,515	+16.08	143,378	+12.83

Table 1: Chinese tourists in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai Province
Source: Thailand Tourism and Sports, Chiang Mai (Thailand Tourism and Sport, Chiang Mai, 2021)

Chinese investors involved in many sectors primarily engage with the Chinese market—for instance, the tourism sector complying with the increasing number of Chinese tourists in the area. Fruit industries, including fruit processing products, are another sector where Chinese investors invest in, such as dried Longan, canned pineapple, and Durian. The demand for processing fruits in the Chinese market is consecutively uprising, while Chiang Mai, including Lamphun, are the significant sources of qualified Longan. Chinese investors who firstly engage in the marketing and exporting process extend their business scope to other production processes in the supply chain. For example, Chinese factories with Chinese technology recently dominate dried fruit factories in Chiang Mai and Lamphun. Other sectors are in the service sector: agency services, import-export companies, and logistic operations.

Concentrating on the tourism business, the expansion of Chinese tourists is in terms of quantity and the diversity of travel objections. Chiang Mai has been developing varieties in tourism to attract more qualified tourists. Modes of tourism for Chiang Mai are, for instance, cultural tourism, long-stay tourism, healthcare tourism, educational tourism, and conference tourism. These activities have positive responses from Chinese tourists. In the meantime, Chinese investors also take the business opportunity from the emerging tourism accomplishments. In 2020, 159 joint venture companies who coped with Chinese businesses are currently operated in the hotel and restaurant sector in Chiang Mai. Total investments in the mentioned sector are 649.1 million Baht, comprising 257.2 million Baht shared by Chinese investors. Other tourism sectors are invested by Chinese joint venture companies, for example, automobile rental business, travel operation services, travel agencies, spa, and massage, etc. Chinese investments in these services are 167.64 million Baht from total investment, 261 million Baht (Department of Business Development, 2020).

The agricultural industry is another vital business sector where Chinese investors get involved. Initially, dried Longan was the very first agricultural product that Chinese investors were interested in. Longan is the second-largest agricultural product of Chiang Mai. In 2019, the total production was 232,451.4 tons (Department of Fiscal and Economic Development, Provincial Treasury Office, Chiang Mai, 2020). Chiang Mai and Lamphun are the most significant areas of Longan production in Thailand; here, small, medium, and large dried fruit factories distribute in many counties. Chinese investors who previously operate in Chinese marketing have expanded their business model to the production process. Chinese dried fruit factories have been constantly established by joint venturing, nominating, and taking over local factories for more than ten years. Apart from Longan, other agriculture industries invested by Chinese businesses are farming and insect farm; mushroom, Longan, coffee planting, and apiculture; agricultural processing industries; dried and preserved, seasoning and beverage manufacturing, food material trading, logistic operating, freezing, and storing, and trading agency. 97 Chinese joint venture companies invested 496.835 million Baht by

Chinese investors from overall 911.35 million Baht (Department of Business Development, 2020).

Apart from business opportunity, other attractive factors of Chiang Mai province are education sector. Both university and school levels are recognized among Chinese people. Expressly, the reputation of international schools in Chiang Mai is acknowledged and recommended among Chinese parents for over five years. As a result, educational migrants and accompanied parents have been increasing. For example, Payap International School currently admits around 25 percent of Chinese students. The director confirms the trend and reorganizes the school to serve students from China in the long term, such as recruit Chinese administrators and Chinese teachers to communicate with Chinese parents (director, 2020).

Chiang Rai Province and the Advantages that Attract New Chinese Migrants

Monitoring the Chiang Rai tourism sector from Table 1, the number of Chinese visitors increased from 70,815 times in 2015 to 143,378 in 2019. Most of the tourists traveled in the group operated by travel agency services. However, some entered Thailand from Chiang Rai borders through the Mekong river in Chiang Kong and Chiang Saen and cross borderlines from the mentioned barricades. Investment from Chinese joint venture companies invested 783.7 million Baht. The amount of Chinese investment shared 372.85 million Baht. From Table 2, the highest investment volume was wood and rubber industry, wholesale, retail, and vehicle maintenances, food production companies and other business. (Department of Business Development, 2020).

Sector	Chinese investment	Total investment
wood and rubber industry	126.33 million Bath	133 million Baht
wholesale, retail, and vehicle maintenances	122.89 million Baht	299.4 million Baht
food production companies	32.67 million Baht	103 million Baht
Agriculture	39.24 million Baht	81 million Baht
construction and property	17.71 million Baht	73.1 million Baht
logistic and store business	19.96 million Baht	49 million Baht
tourism sector	5.58 million Baht	35 million Baht
others	7.96 million Baht	31.5 million Baht

Table 2: Investment Volume from Chinese-Joint Venture Firms
Source: Department of Business Development, 2020

Chinese Population Landscape in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai

The initiative assumption from the document is similar to the finding from questionnaires. Before migrating, familiarity and intimacy were most selected, with an average value of 1.90 points. New Chinese migrants alter to settle down in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai because of the attractiveness of economic and social factors. Therefore, it can be implied that those Chinese who have ever lived in the northern part of Thailand might re-enter and settle down in the same area. Next is the impression on the social and cultural environment of these two provinces. The score is 1.56. The third reason is due to the existence of relatives or networks (1.37 points). Following with the opportunity in career and business (1.02 points) and lastly is the advantages from the huge overseas Chinese communities in the regions (0.92 points).
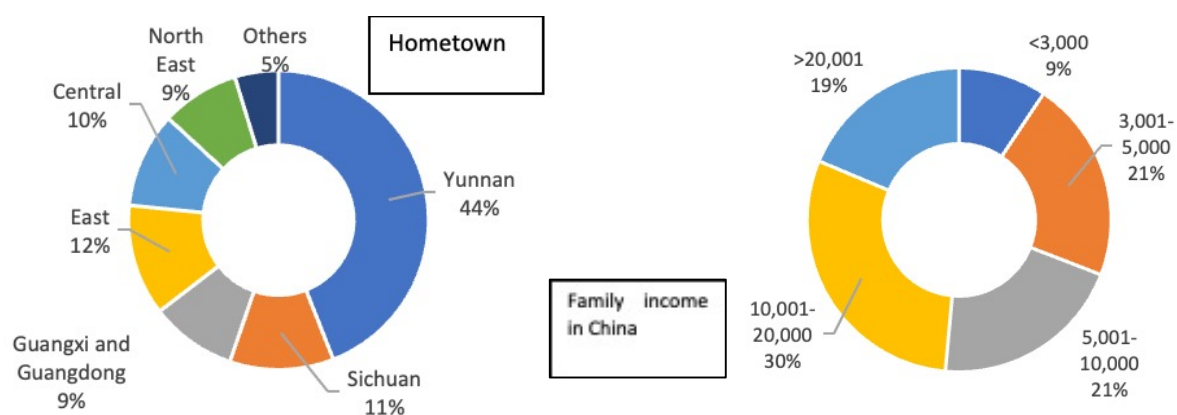
Figure 1: Hometown and Monthly Income of the Family in China
Source: questionnaires by the researcher

From the returned questionnaires, the proportion of Chinese people live in Chiang Mai is 81 percent and another 19 percent is in Chiang Rai. The shares of hometowns are as follow; Yunnan (44%), Sichuan (11.2%), Guangxi and Guangdong (9.3%), Eastern region (12%), Central provinces (10.3%), North-eastern region (8.4%), and others (4.7%). The proportions of monthly family income in China are 30 percent of 10,001-20,000 Yuan,21 percent of 3,001-5,000 Yuan, 20.6 percent of 5,001-10,000 Yuan, 18.7 percent over 20,001 Yuan, and 9 percent of under 3,000 Yuan.
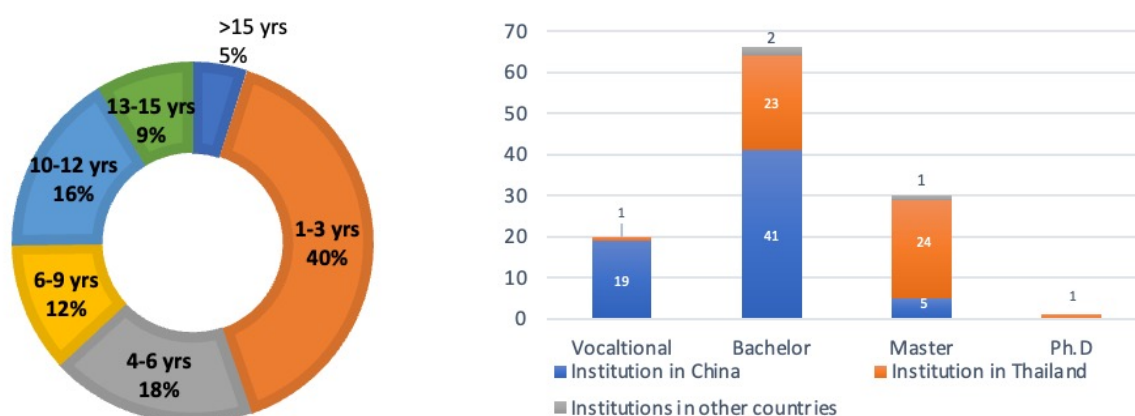
Figure 2: Period of Staying in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai and Educational Attainment of New Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai
Source: questionnaires by the researcher

Thirty-nine-point eight percent (39.8%) of Chinese migrants stayed in Thailand for 1-3 years. Meanwhile, 30.1% of them have been living for more than ten years. Living for 4-6 years shares 18.4%, and 11.7% answers "6-9 years". In terms of educational background, 61 percent of the volunteers attained a bachelor's degree. Among the undergraduate degree people, those who graduated from institutions in China comprised 62 percent, another 35 percent achieved a degree from institutions in Thailand. However, the situation is different for the graduate degree level. The data have shown that 80 percent of Chinese migrants finished their master's degree in Thailand; on the other hand, only 17 percent of them attained a degree from institutions in China.
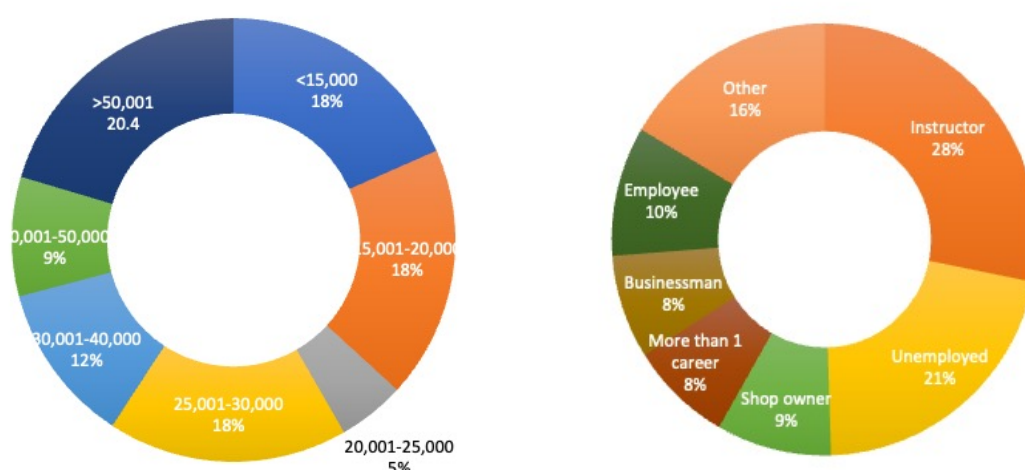
Figure 3: Monthly Income and Occupation of New Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai
Source: questionnaire by the researcher
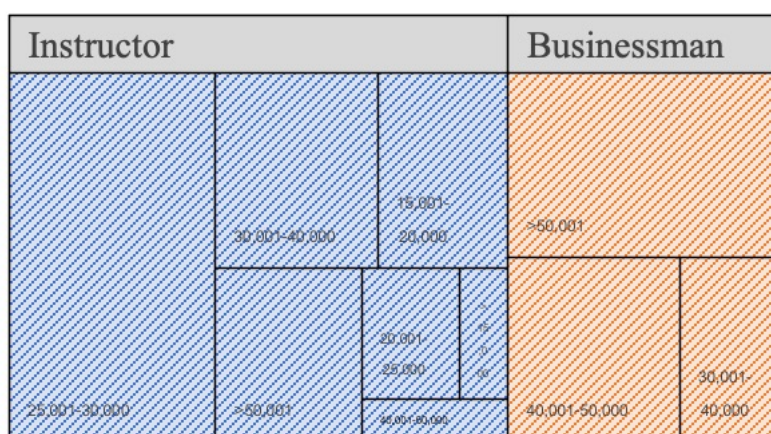
Figure 4: Income and Occupation of New Chinese
Source: questionnaires by the researcher

New Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai: Opportunity Finding and Cost Pursuing People

Under the growth of globalization, the patterns of people's mobility are more diversified. People have more choices to migrate as more countries release the migratory regulations. Migrating people are not limited only to low-skill workers like the old-fashion way. However, high-skilled workforces, retired people, international students, and digital nomads tend to migrate according to their opportunities. In addition, the new forms of migration are even more flexible from the migrants' behavior in remigrating. Chinese who moved to Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai are more diverse compare to the traditional overseas Chinese. They have more precise objectives in migrating and more flexible to move out.

New Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai can be explained in two groups; opportunity finding and cost pursuing. The opportunity to find migrants is more like those traditional overseas Chinese. This group includes business people, both large and small enterprises, who take the business chances from the economic expansion between Thailand and China,

specifically in the tourism and trading sector. Other professions such as lecturers, interpreters, and private company employees are also categorized as opportunity finding in career chances. The cost pursuing migrants refer to those who migrate because of the high cost of living or the struggle in approaching high-quality services. Therefore, they emigrate to a qualified and affordable city to benefit from the cities' social and economic gap. This sort of migration sometimes called "Geoarbitage," comprises retired people, digital nomads who work through an internet platform, healthcare tourists, elementary, high school, and higher education students.

Opportunity finding people are motivated by the economic returns. From Figure 5, 20 percent of Chinese migrants gain over 50,000 Baht monthly[1]. Compare to the staff and workers in urban entities in Yunnan; the average wage is annually 91,800 Yuan (7,650 Yuan per month) or 34,425 Baht monthly (Statistic Bureau of Yunnan Province, 2020). Income in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai are attractive, especially for investors who acknowledge the opportunity for connectivity between Thailand and China. Trading routes such as R3A, R3B, and economic corridor along BRI and the trading agreements between the two countries have been facilitated and accelerated cross border trade volume.
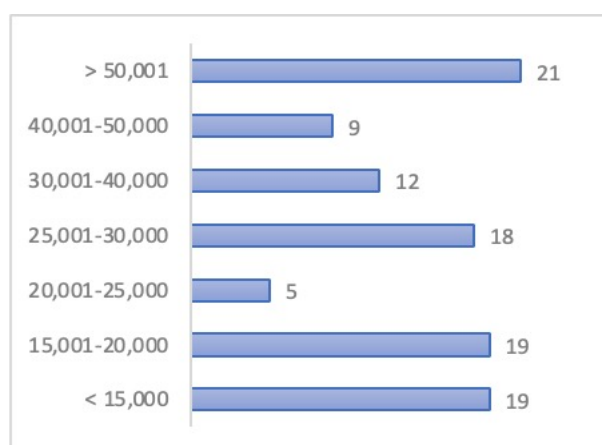
Figure 5: Monthly Income to the New Chinese in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai
Source: questionnaires by the researcher

Apart from economic attractiveness, opportunity finding migrants mostly reveal that the local mode of living is the impression on Thailand's north. Li (Li, 2020) informed that she first worked in Thailand from the Han Ban volunteer project. She finds out that Thailand is an excellent place to live because of Thai people, especially the kindness of people in the north. Consequently, Li decided to take a master's degree in Thailand to develop herself. Jinny (Jinny, 2020) moved from Bangkok because of the city's density. She altered Chiang Mai for the facilities, Chinese communities, and business opportunities from Chinese tourists. Mind (Mind, 2020) also states the business gap in tourism; she also points out the opportunity in the property sector. Mind lived with her Chinese husband, who is a tourist blocker. They have

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[1] Most selected range in "monthly income" is "more than 50,000 Baht". Occupations that earn over 50,000 Baht are businessman and instructors. The second largest ratio of income is "less than 15,000" and "15,001-20,000", these are unemployed people and others. According to the interview, the unemployed people are housewives who fully look after their international school kid. Their incomes are from abroad. The remaining ranges are 25,001-30,000 and 30,001-40,000 Baht, most of them are Chinese language teachers. Lastly, the range of 40,001-50,000 Baht are overwhelming by businessmen.

been started their tourism services for years and expand the service to property agency for Chinese customers.

Cost pursuing migrants are opposed to the previous group. They do not emigrate for better economic opportunity; they look for the gap from economic differences to gain lower living costs. Chiang Rai and, especially, Chiang Mai is a suitable destination. There are 54 large hospitals, 1,226 clinics and district hospitals, 19 international schools, and 965 schools (Chiang Mai Statistic Office, 2019). Chiang Mai is the financial center of northern Thailand and being a logistic hub. It is also surrounded by plenty of recreation spaces. Moreover, the perception of the quality of health care services in Thailand is acceptable. International school curriculums are also meet the standard; moreover, the diversities of nationalities in schools support students to integrate into the international environment.

The focal point represented by the interviewees is the affordable living cost. Comparing the property price in Yunnan, Beijing, Chiang Mai, and Bangkok, the average condominium price in Yunnan is 7,954 Yuan per square meter (35,793 Baht). The price in Beijing is 35,905 Yuan or 161,572.5 Baht (Statista, 2021). In Thailand, the condominium expense in Bangkok and Chiang Mai is 80,000-120,000 Baht and 40,000-50,000 Baht per square meter Regarding the Condominium Act Amendment No.4, 2008, the law declares the rights of foreigners to own rooms in condominiums only if Thai individuals or Thai legal entities own 51 percent of the property. Unfortunately, some wealthy Chinese manage to buy property abroad to distribute their assets. Several condominium projects that target Chinese clients, hence, are constructed in Bangkok, Rayong, and Chiang Mai. Chinese migrants who decide to invest in condominiums explain that they spend for living and investing. One significant factor mentioned by Chinese migrants is that Chinese land possession regulation has limited the ownership period for living to 70 years (Foreign policy, 2017).

The cost pursuing migrants not just set priority on budget, but qualified services are also the principal factor. They look for the fundamental infrastructures such as internet accessibility, recreation spaces, health care quality, including academic standards in international schools. Chinese parents who persuade their child to enroll in international schools in Chiang Mai confirm in the same direction that international curriculums in Chiang Mai are adopted effectively from high-quality programs in the U.S., U.K., and Singapore. The Payap international school director also informs that qualified curriculums in Thailand are assessed annually by assurance institutions such as the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) (director, 2020). A further advantage of an international school in Chiang Mai is the diverse international environment in which Chinese parents prefer. Other considerations are the reasonable fee and the low-stress social context, which contrast to the stressful condition in China. Chinese parents choose to raise their children in Chiang Mai, hoping that their children will have more balanced lives (Jing, 2020) (Warren, 2020) (Qing, 2020).

The quality of life expected by Chinese migrants covers the health care system. Many informants express that they have confidence in Thai public health care and well-being centres. Even the air pollution issues, particularly PM2.5, in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai are considered severe in recent years; Chinese sojourners address that the situation on the environment is worse in China. It is widely known that China has been facing environmental issues, air, and water pollutions, for a while. Smog from industrial factories, vehicles, and seasonal sandstorms have a considerable impact on people's living standard. Therefore, moving out from Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai because of the seasonal air pollution is not

considered by Chinese people. Some of them decide to temporarily move to other provinces between the crisis and return after the extrication.

Summary and Policy Recommendation

The study finds the new Chinese immigrant Chiang Mai, and Chiang Rai provinces can be described as two groups; Opportunity Seeker and Cost pursuing people. Both groups have a pattern and different ways of living in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai. An Opportunity Finder is a Chinese person who aims to work, invest and operate a business in the areas. This group shares the traditional immigration of entering through the network-based in Thailand. The educational channel, unfortunately, is the primary migration channel. Chinese students prolong their stay after graduation by finding instructor jobs. In the meantime, business people also settle down in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai from the locations' business potential. Other jobs that Chinese professionals enrolled in are interpreters, Chinese liaisons, and other service sector jobs. While the Cost pursing migrants are those who take advantage of the low living cost in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai to get a satisfying quality life at an affordable price. This group is a new trend of migrants in the capitalist world. It has a different way of living, mainly using agents, such as retirees, medium and long-term health groups, international school students and their parents, and digital workers.

Affinity on economic, trading, and investment between Thailand and China has grown steadily and has further expansion in the future following the strategies of both countries. And in the political economy that is in the transition to superpowers with technology as an essential driving engine, the preparation issue and building a network to drive Thai entrepreneurs and workers to be in line with future development directions are necessary. The new Chinese in northern Thailand have gradually settled over more than ten years; they sometimes cause negative impacts on the community and economy in the whole picture. Still, it is also an important mechanism linking trading services between Thailand and China. The relevant departments in Thailand should upgrade measures to control Chinese capital to open a channel for Thai investors to gain more substantial benefits.

Chiang Mai's strategy development in tourism, especially health tourism, is suitable for the local conditions and has a high opportunity to stimulate Chiang Mai's economy. However, the challenge of this strategy is 1) The risk of relying too much on tourists. 2) Visa regulations and visa renewing, even for the notification of 90 days of foreigners, are unclear in practice. Most of the cases are depending on the officer's consideration. 3) Lack of clear measures to control tourists' spending, such as the limited revenue sharing to Thai companies and the locals from buying a touring package from Chinese companies. Even by allowing Chinese tourists to use Chinese e-wallets, some of the income that should have been distributed to the locality was drawn back to China. These challenges should be thoroughly studied to spread more business opportunities for Thai people and the need to create a tourism part that is more sustainable than in the past.

The suggestions on tourism issues are 1) Spread the tourism market as well as offer more variety tourism formats to enhance tourism in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai. 2) Strategy to attract long-term tourists is a promising approach; however, the basic facilities and effective services must meet the expected standard. 3) Thai state agencies must be restructured to develop the state service; for instance, visa application and extension service agencies must reduce redundant regulations and provide more precise procedures. 4) Seriously control

nominees' use to open a business, including issuing additional rules to promote local products, such as requiring the tour companies to visit centers of local OTOP products, etc.

Chinese factories have advantages in production technology and marketing; Thailand gains benefit from Chinese investing from expanding the market in China. However, local small and medium-sized factories could not compete with Chinese factories because of the advanced technology and market approach. The situation is obvious in the Longan industry. Several local factories have been closed and take over by Chinese investors. Only a few Thai dried fruit factories have remained; the survived factories adapt the business strategy in co-operating with Chinese factories. Meanwhile, the local Longan farmers have been affected by the uncertain buying price, which the buyers mainly determine.

In the manufacturing sector, the government should promote the integration of enterprises in the neighboring areas to construct concrete bargaining power as well as support the modern production technology for community enterprises. To protect Thai farmers in the short term, the government should consider and set the standard purchasing price of raw materials. For a long time, the government should also study the registration of geographical indications of Longan to protect the benefit of farmers from bringing Thai longan breeds to growing and cultivation in other sources.

Education opportunity is one of the key strategies that will drive Thailand's economic growth in the educational industry. The maintaining and raising international school standards should go in rigorously. And it can also develop other levels of international education to accommodate international student groups from China and neighboring countries. Higher financial status people, Chinese migrants, might have more opportunities in accessing limited public resources, especially public health services. The higher demand in commodity consumption might result in the escalating living cost, which unquestionably affects local people. Lastly, the growth of cost pursing migrants might cause some social conflicts between Chinese and local people from the differences in socioeconomic status. To prevent those struggling, all stakeholders and the government should carefully consider the management strategy and balance between economic boost and social sustainability.

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Quantitative Study on the Street Interface Form of Beijing Historical District —Taking Dashilar as an Example

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Abstract
Streets are not only the skeleton of a city, but the label of the quality of a city's public space. Taking Dashilar, a historical district in Beijing, as the research object, this paper makes a quantitative study on the interface shape of Dashilar pedestrian street from three levels and 12 indicators. From the urban level, it mainly analyzes the street texture and accessibility; from the architectural level, it mainly makes quantitative analysis on the building uniformity, interface density, store density, fractal dimension, line sticking rate, transparency and openness on both sides of the street; from its own level, it makes quantitative analysis on the street curvature, aspect ratio and sky exposure. Thus, the morphological characteristics of Dashilar street interface are quantitatively analyzed. It also provides a reference for the future research on street vitality and the quality improvement of urban public space.

Keywords: Street Space，Development and Evolution of Dashilar，Quantitative Study, Space Quality

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1.   Introduction

1.1.   Location Analysis of Dashilar Street

Dashilar street is 275 meters long. It is a famous commercial street outside the Beijing QIanmen Street. It is located in the center of Beijing and an important part of the south central axis. It is located in the south of Tiananmen Square and the west of the Beijing Qianmen Street. (As shown in Fig1~4)

Fig.1. Beijing, China   Fig.2. Dongcheng and XichengDistrict,Beijing   Fig.3. the Qianmen District,Beijing   Fig.4. Dashilar Street

1.2.   The Formation, Development and Evolution of Dashilar

Dashilar commercial street has a history of nearly 600 years. It rose in the Yuan Dynasty and was established in the Ming Dynasty. It flourished in the Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China, and then gradually declined due to the war. This old street with commercial legend has been developed in the continuous change of dynasties (As shown in Fig5~12), and now it has become a landmark tourist resort in Beijing in the continuous restoration and transformation.

Dashilar Commercial Street in Yuan Dynasty belongs to the suburbs outside Imperial city, and it was a place for civil and military fficials to play. Temporary shops with simple structures also appeared at the same time.

In the Ming Dynasty, Ming Emperor Zhu Di moved the palace city making the Dashilar a part of the inner city, and planned the shop, called Langfang, for investment and leasing. and No.4.Langfang is Dashilar pedestrian street at that time.

In the Qing Dynasty, Dashilar Commercial Pedestrian Street entered a period of prosperity, with more types of business forms and a wide reputation.

In 1900, Dashilar was destroyed in a fire during the Boxer movement, but the Dashilar commercial street rose from the flames and flourished again.

At the early Republic of China, with the development of industry and the completion of the railway station, the further prosperity of Dashilar was promoted to a great extent.

At the early Republic of China, with the development of industry and the completion of the railway station, the further prosperity of Dashilar was promoted to a great extent.

Later, with the outbreak of war, the Dashilar Commercial Street lost its lively atmosphere and gradually became deserted and depressed.

In 2003, Dashilar was included in the key historical conservation area. In 2005, in order to improve the economic vitality of Qianmen area, the reconstruction of Dashilar area began. On the eve of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, the streets were opened to welcome visitors. Today, Dashilar is still one of the most vibrant commercial pedestrian streets in Beijing.

With the change of times and the evolution of architectural facade style, the architectural facades on both sides of Dashilar Street are a collection of traditional Chinese style, western style and Chinese and Western style. With its exquisite facade, exquisite decoration, rich business types and strong business atmosphere, Dashilar has always been one of the most dynamic commercial pedestrian streets in Beijing.
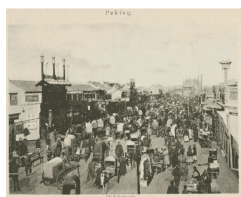
Fig.5.An Old Photo of Beijing Qianmen Street in the Late Qing Dynasty.
Photo Source: Mu Mo's Photo Diary By Ein Tagebuch In Bildern. De Alfons Von Mumm

Fig.6-7.Dashilar in The Early Period Of the Republic of China., the Flourishing Dashilar Added Many Western Style Facade.

Photo Source:Xu Chengbei. Old Beijing Variation Qianmen. Chongqing: Chongqing University Press, August 2014

Fig.8.Dashilar in the 1980s

Photo Source: haokan.baidu.com

Fig.9-12.Current Interface Form of Dashilan Street
Photo Source: Author's Own Photo

2.   Urban Level

2.1.   The Texture of Dashilar Street

Dashilar Pedestrian Commercial Street has been dominated by commercial forms since ancient times. The family based businesses integrate residence and shops, forming the management mode of "front shop and back factory" and "upper house and lower shop", and group layout; The buildings on both sides of the street inherit the traditional Chinese texture of streets and alleys in the aspects of scale treatment and back line treatment.

Due to the absence of a unified treatment of building backlines, coupled withthe attention paid to the "door and hall system" under the traditional Chinese ritual system, the facades of buildings along the street are prominent and concave at will.

From the plane (As shown in Fig.13~14), the whole street presents a dislocated and connected, uneven texture. Although the natural growth texture is not neat enough, it increases the sense of hierarchy and interest of the street space. It reflects the morphological characteristics of Chinese traditional street space.
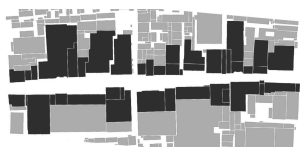
| Fig.13.The Texture of Dashilar Street | Fig.14.The Texture of Dashilar District | Fig.15.Circle Range of 10 Minutes to Reach the Destination |

Photo Source: Author Redraws

2.2.   Accessibility

Through the analysis of the traffic around the commercial pedestrian street of Dashilar, such as the bus and subway facilities, it can be seen that the traffic facilities around the pedestrian street of Dashilar are convenient, the subway and bus stops are densely distributed, and the destination can be reached within 10 minutes from the nearby traffic facilities. Therefore, the overall accessibility is strong（As shown in Fig.15）

3.   Architectural Level

3.1.   The Interface Form

Camillo Sitte believes that the use of continuous interface to form a closed space is the most basic condition for the streets and squares to achieve artistic effect. The way Chinese traditional streets deal with the interface has a lot to do with their culture and etiquette system, forming a unique interface form, prominent and concave, although continuous but uneven.

The architectural facade style brings together the traditional Chinese style, western style and post-modernism style. Although the length of the street is 275 meters, the natural texture and spatial forms as well as the diverse architectural interfaces make people feel not bored but linger. (As shown in Fig.16~23)

Fig.16~23.Interface on Both Sides of the Street

Photo Source: Author's Own Photo

3.2.   The Uniformity of the Street Building Interface

There are many shops on both sides of Dashilar, well-arranged, but not smooth. (As shown in Fig. 24.)

From the texture of Dashilar, it can be clearly seen that the buildings on both sides of the street are in low uniformity, and the distribution of buildings on both sides of the street is concave and convex. Through investigation, the widest part of Dashilar commercial street is 11 meters, the narrowest part is about 5 meters, and the average width is about 7 meters (As shown in Fig.25 ~27) The widest part of Dashilar street is the result of the retreat of the buildings on both sides, which can be regarded as the spatial node in the pedestrian street. The widest part of Dashilan street is the result of the retreat of the buildings on both sides, which can be regarded as the spatial node in the pedestrian street. The larger space node plays the role of collecting and distributing people and carrying out small social activities and so on.

Through the extraction of the contour lines of the buildings on both sides of the street, it can be clearly seen that Dashilar commercial pedestrian street does not pay attention to the back line and line sticking treatment of the buildings on both sides, and the randomness of the concave and convex of the buildings makes the space form of different width and well-proportioned appear in the street space.Which fully reflects the essence of Chinese traditional streets.

This kind of concave and convex change of street morphology is more common in Chinese traditional block space. This has a lot to do with Chinese traditional cultural concepts, urban planning ideas and architectural design culture."The door and hall system " is an important basis for Chinese architectural design. It is the embodiment of the layout and design content of different levels of buildings. In order to highlight the dominant position of the door, architects often use the method of concave and prominent layout design. which is also the direct reason for the concave and convex change of the street interface and the low building uniformity. It is also the reason that greatly increases the interest and flexibility of street space.
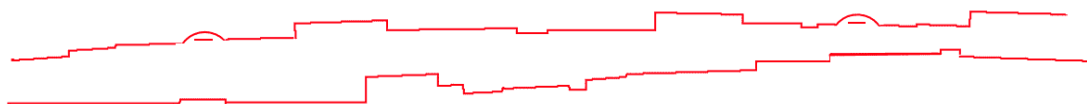
Fig. 24. Extraction of the Outline Line along the Street of Buildings on Both Sides of the Street

Photo Source: Made by Author
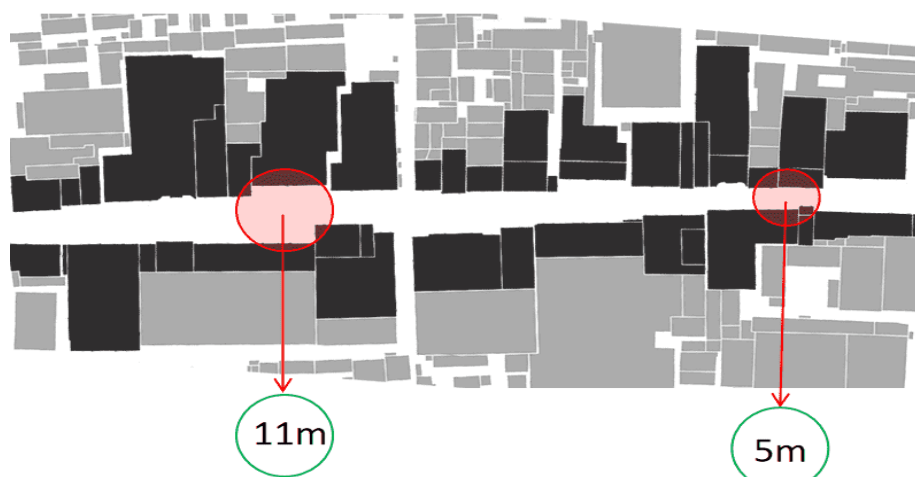
Fig. 25. The Uniformity of the Street Building Interface

Fig.26.The Widest Part of the Street   Fig.27.The Narrowest Part of the Street
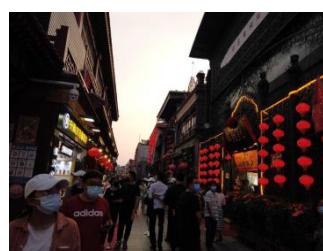
Photo Source: Made by Author

3.3.   Store Density

Store density refers to the number of commercial units per 100m of street length, it reflects the development intensity of the street. It can be expressed as follows:
Store density = total store number/sidewalk length ×100%

Jan Gale thinks that blocks with 15 to 25 commercial units or entrances per 100 meters are the most dynamic, and 10 to 14 are walking-friendly.

Through research, Chinese scholars believe that the store density of 7 stores per100 meters may be the threshold to attract tourists to stay. When it is lower than 7, the amount of commercial activity decreases obviously.

According to the survey, there are 42 commercial units on the south side and 41 on the north side of Dashilar Street. According to the formula, the store density of Dashilar is more than 30%.

3.4.   The Open Degree

The Open degree of the street interface is used to describe the state of the street being open or closed. And some studies show that there is a negative correlation between openness and commercial activities. That is, when the openness is zero, the vertical interface on both sides of the street is continuously closed.

The density of street interface is a quantitative index to characterize the degree of street interface enclosure. The density of a street interface obviously depends on the number of buildings enclosing the street, and it is further related to the building density of the block. At the same time, the continuous street interface will be interrupted by the horizontal street. Therefore, the street network density is also one of the factors that affect the street interface density.

From the above analysis, we can see that the openness and density of street interface are a pair of interrelated quantitative indicators. It reflects the same characteristics of street interface from different aspects.

The length of Dashilar is 275 meters. In addition to the two ends of the beginning and the end, there is only one alley opening in the middle. It can be seen that the openness of Dashilar pedestrian street is close to zero. (As shown in Fig. 28.)
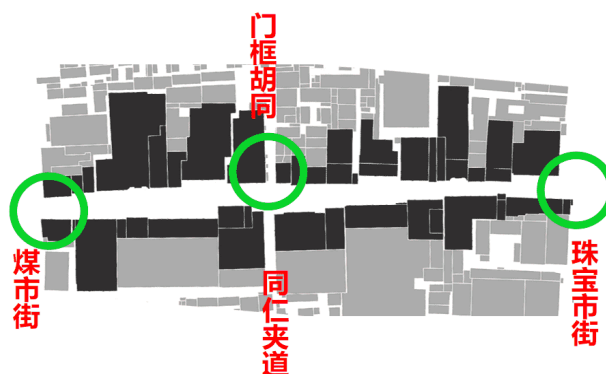
Fig. 28：Analysis on the Openness of Dashilar Commercial Street
Photo Source: Made by Author

3.5. Store Type and Function

There are 23 traditional time-honored shops in the pedestrian street, accounting for 33% of the total stores. (As shown in Fig. 29~32.)

Fig. 29-32. : Traditional Time-Honored Shops
Photo Source: Author's Own Photo

4. The Spatial Structure Of The Street Itself

People's perception of space when walking on a pedestrian street, such as cramped, spacious, crowded, unfamiliar and balanced, is closely related to the proportion of spatial structure of the street.

Camillo Sitte is the earlier one to study the aspect ratio of spatial interface. However, Sitte studies the relationship between the scale of the square and the height of the surrounding

buildings. The conclusion is that the minimum size of the square should be equal to the height of the main buildings around it. The maximum size shall not exceed twice the height of the building.

After that, in the *Aesthetics of the Ttreet*, Luranraison made a deep research on the spatial structure of the street, and clearly put forward the width-to-height ratio of street interface. The main conclusions are shown in Table 1.

2>D/H>1	With the increase of the ratio, there will be a sense of distance
D/H>=2	When the ratio exceeds 2, it will produce a sense of broadness
D/H<1	When the ratio is less than 1, with the decrease of the ratio, there will be a sense of proximity
D/H=1	When the ratio is close to 1, it will give people a more balanced feeling.

Table 1：Analysis of Street Space Structure and Pedestrian Space Feeling
Table source: Made by author

According to the investigation and field survey, The buildings on both sides of Dashilar range from 2 to 4 floors, with a height between 8 meters and 17 meters.

The width-to-height ratio (w/h=width height ratio) of Dashilar street interface includes three kinds of proportional relations:The width-to-height ratio Less than one、 greater than one and equal to one.

Different aspect ratio represents different street spatial forms, reflecting the richness of spatial structural forms of Dashilar Street and increasing the interest of street space.
Below are three selected street space nodes with different width to height ratios.(As shown in Fig. 33~36.)
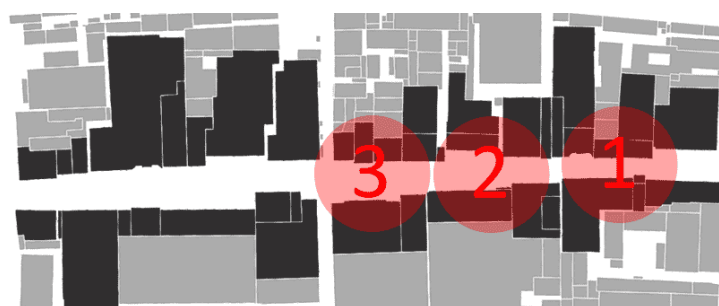
Fig. 33. Selected Three Street Space Nodes with Different Width to Height Ratios
Street Space Nodes with Different Width to Height Ratios

10m   11m
          7m

D/H<1 （a sense of cramped）

Fig. 34. D/H<1

13m　　　　10m
14m

D/H>1 (a sense of distance)

Fig. 35. D/H>1

D/H≈1 (balanced feeling)
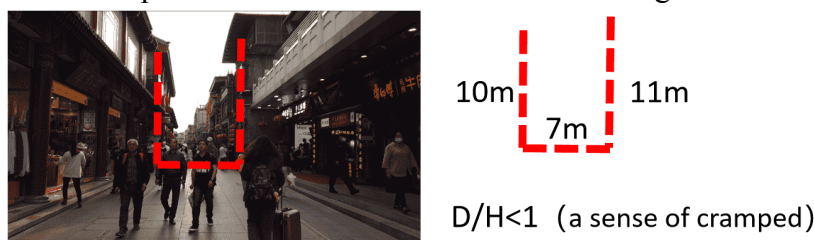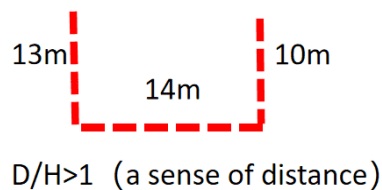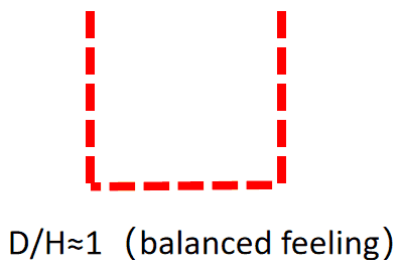
Fig. 36. D/H>1

Photo source: Made by author

5.　Conclusion

As one of the most important urban public spaces, streets not only constitute the skeleton of the city, shape the urban texture, but are also the cultural carrier and spatial quality Symbol of the city. Jane Jacobs, a famous American urban researcher, once said, "when we think of a city, the first thing that comes to mind is the street. If the streets are lively, the city will be lively, the streets will be dull, and the city will be dull. "This paper takes Dashilar as an example, and studies the interface form from three levels，in order to provide a reference for the current research on the vitality of urban streets and the improvement of the quality of urban public spaces.

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Expression in Ethnic Architecture of Hohhot

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Abstract
Public buildings are an important part of urban cultural material. Behind the image of public buildings created by means of architectural symbols, there are the grand representations of the city image and even the national image, which is particularly obvious in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region; although the architectural image created by national symbols have got People's favor, but nationality comes more from the symbol rather than the building ontology. This paper takes Hohhot Railway Station and Hohhot East Railway Station as examples, in the Metropolis of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, from the perspective of semiotics, combined with the historical background and public buildings development of the autonomous region, carding the phenomenon of separation between architectural symbols and building ontology, and analyzing its reasons; to explore the new balance among ethnic symbols, nationality and modernity in the media age, in the hope of contributing to the design of public buildings in ethnic minority areas.

Keywords: Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Public Buildings, Nationality, National Symbols, Architectural Image, Architectural Body

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Introduction

In China, a question called "medium and modern" has always plagued the architects. How to take China's own path under the influence of Western architectural thoughts has become a lingering obsession for almost all Chinese architects.

Hohhot is the capital of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the political, economic and cultural center. As the capital of the autonomous region, Hohhot has become more urgent to show and protect the national culture.

The population composition of Hohhot is dominated by the Han nationality, and the ethnic minorities are dominated by the Mongolian nationality. The history of Hohhot's construction in modern times was very difficult. In 1912, Hohhot opened a commercial port during the Beiyang government and established the Suiyuan Special Administrative Region. In 1937, the Japanese and Mongolian government formulated the urban plan of Hohhot, built a new area to communicate among Guihua City and Suiyuan City and the railway station. The Construction was suspended in 1946 due to the civil war. After the establishment of the autonomous region government in 1948, economic construction was restored, In 1951, the government of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China prepared a new urban plan, and the development of the construction industry entered a new era, in the same state as the eastern coast of China.

Buildings with ethnic minority characteristics have also continued to emerge with the development of the economy, such as the Hohhot Racecourse built in the 1960s, or the Wulanqiate theater, built in 1953. Wulanqiate means Red Theater in Mongolian. The Red Theater is an entertainment building built to celebrate the 5th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Figure 1: The Hohhot Racecourse.

Figure 2: The Wulanqiate Theater

But in this time, the definition of "national form" was more based on the "Chinese nation" rather than ethnic minorities such as Mongolia; In the anti-waste movement in 1953, the

buildings built were mainly "revolutionary modern" buildings, such as the Lianying store in the 1950s, Xinhua Bookstore in the 1960s, and the Hohhot Station built in 1969.in the Zhongshan Road, and the Hohhot Station built in 1969.

Figure 3: The Lianying Store.

Figure 4: The Xinhua Bookstore.

Figure 5: The Hohhot Railway Station Built in 1969.

Modern semiotics call things that can "represent" something except themselves as symbols. Therefore, in addition to its own meaning, the symbol also conveys some other specific meaning. For example, words and language are a kind of symbol. The Doric column symbolizes men and the Ionic column symbolizes women.

With the influence of postmodernism on China, architects strive to bring architectural forms into the intersection of culture, history and society, and use symbolic techniques to highlight the national image.The Mongolian-Yuan style, which has not been popular in the past two decades, has brought the urgent expectation for the expression of "nationality" to everyone.

The Hohhot Railway Station

Hohhot Railway Station was built in 1969. The architectural form is modeled on Shaoshan Station. It maintains an obvious "revolutionary modern" style. The building layout is three-sectioned, with the colonnade at the bottom, the glass window in the middle, and the roof at the top.The present Hohhot Railway Station was built in 1995 with the eight-sided clock tower in the middle as the core. The walls and windows form a ribbon-shaped combination of virtual and real. The building is like open arms to embrace the coming crowd.

Figure 6: The Shaoshan Railway Station.

In 2014, Hohhot Station was renovated. The middle dome was decorated with golden moiré and stone strips. The image is closer to the yurt. The exterior of the building uses a glass curtain wall to make a second-story facade, and the edges are decorated with tapes. Among them, it is easy to find that the designer hopes to use Buddhist symbols and yurt symbols to reflect the regional and national culture of Inner Mongolia, and express the theme of "prairie dome, green city".

Figure 7: The Hohhot Railway Station in 1990s.

However, it is actually difficult for the public to get the meaning of these symbols. In the square in front of the station, we can always hear young children pointing to the "yurt dome" and yelling, "There is a golden heart on the yurt."Obviously, the moiré symbol does not convey its connotation, and the symbols drawn on the sides of the main building are also regarded as signs of bulls or horns.

Figure 8: The Hohhot Railway Station since 2014.

This is because any sign has the ontological "signifier" and the "significant" behind it. The signifier is composed of its own material representation, and the signified is the specific concept expressed behind the representation. The two are combined by social conventions. The same is true for architectural symbols.

The complexity of the content and the diversity of forms in architectural symbols lead to diversification. For this problem, the American philosopher Pierce divided the symbols into image symbols, indicator symbols and symbolic symbols. The moiré and fret in the Hohhot Railway Station are a kind of image symbol, which expresses a kind of "image similarity" relationship between form and content; the Chinese text in the railway station is a kind of indicator symbol, which expresses a correspondence between form and content. The "yurt" on the top of the building is a symbolic symbol. The pointed roof matches the white octagonal body, and it is located in the capital of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. The yurt is recognized by the people. Most interviewees will describe it as "feels like a yurt",

"like a yurt", and "should be a yurt"; although not everyone has lived in a yurt, but obviously this does not affect their perception of the image of the yurt.

Although the architectural image created by national symbols have got People's favor, nationality comes more from the symbol rather than the building ontology. In fact, in order to create a building that reflects the national image of Inner Mongolia, what kind of content and how to express it should be questions that architects should keep asking themselves instead of looking for and abstracting some historical elements and just making simple collages.

Many scholars once described a building like Hohhot Railway Station as "kitsch". "Kitsch" is a term put forward by Matei Calines. "Kitsch" is the opposite of original art. Art is original, while kitsch art uses imitating and plagiarizing original art and restricts itself to the inertial thinking process. In architectural context, Kitsch is to cater to the tastes of others and to please most people and blaspheme the soul.

Although the symbols themselves have multi-meaning attributes, research has found that those abstract symbols from the tradition in the Hohhot Railway Station are difficult for even experts in Tibetan Buddhist architecture to confirm. It seems that the architect intends to use ethnic decorations to bring good luck and blessings to the railway station., but in fact it is only wants to meet the public's perception needs of Inner Mongolia and cater to the aesthetic needs of managers.

This kind of abandoning the question of content and meaning, just blindly please the public and the decision makers is called "Chinese kitsch" by Mr. Li Xiaodong, it is a symbolization of formal language, symbolizing traditional architectural elements. Repeatedly copied in various buildings, and deliberately pursued a sense of identity in form; Li Xiaodong further explained that this "Chinese-style kitsch" deeply comes from the lack of self-confidence in one's own culture, and it is especially true for ethnic minorities whose culture is in a more disadvantaged position.

The Hohhot East Railway Station

Kitsch does not only refer to the practice of collage of image symbols as collage elements in buildings, but also includes designing buildings into symbols to cater to the public.

The Hohhot East Railway Station is located in the east side of the urban area of Hohhot. The construction started in December 2006 and began to be used in 2010. The building is a steel structure with three floors and a height of 45.5 meters.The theme is "Grassland Yurt, Winged Eagle, White Cloud Hometown, Blue City".The main color is white, and the roof is a thin shell grid system, which makes the roof lightsome. The dome is shaped like a yurt. The building walls are alternately combined with marble and glass curtain walls.

Figure 9: The Hohhot East Railway Station.

Although the building does not apply religious or ethnic symbols to the surface of the building, the shape of the roof is still easy to find the obsession with the Mongolian Yuan style. The dome looks like a hat from the Yuan Dynasty, and the pure white color matches the shape of a yurt, which is a good symbol of the yurt in the grassland under the the blue sky; The building uses this kind of symbolic sign to avoid the simple form of graphic symbol, but the symbolic sign leads to the fracture of all parts of the building. The East Station chooses to connect the roof and the wall through the shutter, which is more like a helpless way. This approach did not bring a sense of architectural integrity, such a roof shape can even be installed on any building of similar size. What's more, when people walk into the lobby, the externally created feeling is replaced by the uniform interior decoration style of the national high-speed railway station. There is only a huge roof. It is still reminding the existence of the "yurt", but such a feeling is only under a large-span roof, not in the yurt. The national feeling brought by the symbol is no longer, when people lament the magnificence of the structure.

Except for the Hohhot East Railway Station, the number of "Mengyuan" buildings in the past ten years is very large. Among them, the Inner Mongolia ethnic minority cultural and sports center is shaped like an eagle about to spread its wings, and like the armor and robes of Mongolian soldiers in the steppe, it is also a building with obvious symbolic significance, and its expression is more complete.

Figure 10: The Inner Mongolia Ethnic Minority Cultural and Sports Center.

Mongolian Yuan style, and Islamic style, have become the architectural trend in Hohhot in recent years. This reminds people of those Continental European style buildings. Developers use various means to attract the public's attention. Although these Continental European style buildings simply borrow the gable decorations and pillars of Western classical architecture, and embed it in the surface of the reinforced concrete building. It accurately grasps the psychological needs of consumers seeking exoticism and showing their cultural level.

Regardless of the Hohhot Station built in 1995 or the Hohhot East Station built in 2010, the symbols of ethnic minorities are directly collaged on the building. For these buildings, the perception of ordinary people can only stay in the surface pattern, and it is difficult to penetrate. For the media, symbols have become totems that embody national culture. How to highlight this iconic character and reflect the characteristics of local national architecture will naturally become the core of the report. Especially in conveying the symbolic meaning of the yurt, it is regarded as the finishing touch. The People's Railway News published *Records on the Construction of Hohhot East Railway Station* on its social network, in April 2011, describing Hohhot East Railway Station as a yurt with local characteristics with an architectural concept that meets the requirements of China's harmonious development and the world's advanced station building construction technology. The nationality is embellished by symbols, not by the building itself.

The New Balance

Manfredo Tafuri analyzed: Semiotics is a communication ideology. Individual individuals and social collectives need to be connected by a unit that can repair any ruptures and resolve every conflict and contradiction. Ambiguous symbols fit perfectly. The symbol treats the building to an ideal state to society and the people. For Hohhot Railway Station and Hohhot East Railway Station, the first or last buildings that come to or leave the capital of the autonomous region, its spiritual value may be more meaningful than its actual function,The symbol of national culture is not only the expect of city managers, but also the common people's need for the recognition of city characteristics.Postmodernism attempts to strengthen the communication between architecture and people through symbolic signs.

Le Corbusier once said: Decoration is sensation, inferior, and of the same level as color, and can satisfy simple-minded people and barbarians; Harmony and proportion have the ability to inspire wisdom and attract civilized people. Decoration is an indispensable part of the vulgar, and proportion is an indispensable part of the elegant. Le Corbusier explained to us the difference between professional aesthetics and popular aesthetics, so the symbolism of architecture is an indispensable element for the stability and development of every society.

As a material entity, architecture is inherently symbolic and can point to other meanings. Architecture is the space provider for people's life and production, and carries the different material and cultural lives of people in different regions, with the experience that has developed from struggle for thousands of years, traditional architecture has always been regarded as a representative of nationality. Therefore, we find that the dispute between "nationality" and "modernity" does not originate from "nationality" but "modernity". The word "modern" expresses a sense of the times, which is to mark its own existence from the relationship between ancient and modern. Without the historical critique of "modernity", that is, the linguistic demonstration of value changes and the background of the times, "modernity" will eventually be just a fictitious "ideal type"

For Hohhot, which has been eager to enter the modern, copying the existing construction results is certainly the fastest way, but we do not need to always use existing theories to discuss things. Regardless of the architectural form, the ultimate goal is to meet the needs of people. So, it is particularly important for people's inner feelings of architecture. The feelings here do not only refer to the feeling when they enter, but the life.

Conclusion

What the information age brings is not only the rapid and efficient transmission of information, but also accelerates the pace of daily life and shortens the distance between people. People's social relations are also more affected by the information age. In the "spectacular society" that "looks" better than "what" , with their own unique cultural charm, point architecture towards a common ideal vision for people.

In the information age, the meaning of the image sometimes transcends the experience of the real space. Words can make up for the shortcomings of architecture itself, lead the people's aesthetic trend, and can become a social bond that helps architects construct the "form" and "content" of symbols. Although text can make up for the inherent flaws and expressive weakness of the building itself to a certain extent, the text does not make the building itself more usable when it is used.

Since architectural symbols are inevitable, the question is what part of culture we should inherit, and what is the meaning behind the symbols. Into the user's life, architectural design is no longer just a frame and skin, and no longer an individual in a homogeneous space, but a carrier of human spirit and material. Focusing on architectural design from landscape-architecture-construction to people is the imperative.

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Distinction Between "Being or Not"-The Uninhabited Space in a Super Populous Country

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Abstract
China has the largest population in the world, so it's common and reasonable to see people everywhere. However, since 1980s, places in China have been in a dynamic state switching between "with people" and "without people". "Places without people" have gradually become places that cannot be ignored. On the macro level, due to the rapid economic development in certain regions, key cities, with unique advantages, keep attracting the population from surrounding towns, resulting in the phenomenon of "empty towns", which are "places without people" in the traditional understanding. But with the development of Internet of things, 5G technology, artificial intelligence and other technologies, a series of new places without people has emerged quietly. This new type of "places without people" can be divided into two categories based on the causes of "with human involvement" and "without human involvement". This study will, focusing on the "new places without people" generated with the development of science and technology, probe into the status quo of places without people in China and the possible spatial changes they will bring to the cities in China in the future by analyzing their causes, types and morphological characteristics. On this basis, this study attempts to explore the possibilities of integration and complementarity of "traditional" and "new" types of "places without people" in the future development of cities in China.

Keywords: Uninhabited Space, Uninhabited Space for People, Uninhabited Space for Machinery, Uninhabited Space in the Future

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Introduction

With the beginning of the "Industry 4.0[1]" era and the popularization of 5G technology, mankind has entered the era of the Internet of Everything. In order to explore the impact of this phenomenon on architecture and urban development, this paper has launched research on the "no man's land".

"Uninhabited " and "No Human's Land"

Since the building was born, people have been the main body of space service. The existing theoretical systems of architecture that guide space creation revolve around how space satisfies the human experience. Therefore, the existence of people is of great significance to space. "Uninhabited" is a state of opposition to "human being", which means that human beings do not exist in space.

In this paper, "unmanned" is equal to "Uninhabited", emphasizing a process of change, which expresses the process in which the space of human existence changes from "very important" to "unimportant", and finally "completely irrelevant". "Unmanned land", the space corresponding to it, also evolved from "many people" to "few people" inside and finally formed an "unmanned" space state.

The "no man's land" that emerged in the era of the Internet of Everything has partially realized the transformation of people from "important" to "unimportant" in space. For example, the automated production line turns many workers into a "human-machine" collaborative production line with only a few workers working; automatic express sorting dramatically reduces the number of workers in the entire logistics process by replacing manual sorting. These phenomena are the changes in people's needs and the advancement of science and technology. With the further development of 5G technology, it is conceivable that in the future, "no man's land" will realize the transition from "people are not important" to "unmanned". The impetus for the change comes from two aspects: on the one hand, the needs of people; on the other hand, the needs of facilities.

The Modern Times of "No Man's Land"

The human's demand is divided into existing demand and new demand. There is existing demand, such as the demand to "protect people" from dangerous environments and "liberate people" from labor. This demand will be greatly satisfied by developing technology in the era of the Internet of Everything. Newborn demand, such as the demand for good services, will also gradually increase due to social development.

The demand for equipment can be divided into internal demand and external demand. Internal demand refers to the need for the equipment itself to operate and maintain, such as obtaining a stable and suitable power supply. External demand refers to the demand that the equipment can provide services. For example, the database station undertakes the function of information

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[1] Industry 4.0 is a high-tech plan proposed by the German government, also known as the fourth industrial revolution. The Industry 4.0 working group formed by Siegfried Dais of Robert Bosch Co., Ltd. and Kong Hanning of the Leopoldina Academy of Sciences officially released the Industry 4.0 report at the Hannover Messe on April 8, 2013.

transmission.

(1) Protect People, Liberate People, Serve People: The "No Man's Land" for People

In order to protect their own lives, the high-risk working environment is a space where people are eager to transform it into a "no man's land". Although people can use existing technology to improve the environment or build shelters, it still cannot eliminate the life threats people face in high-risk environments for a long time. In the era of the Internet of Everything, with the development of intelligent control systems and The Internet of Things technology, people can completely free themselves from the high-risk environment. By transforming the high-risk environment into a "no man's land", humankind can realize the complete protection of life safety—for example, constructing unmanned mobile scientific research stations in the polar regions. Through the Internet of Things and 5G technology, observation indicators and experimental data from various places can be transmitted back in real-time, preventing scientific researchers from going into the dangerous polar regions to conduct investigations. Through the susceptible robotic arm combined with the remote-control system, in the future, researchers can be freed from various potentially dangerous laboratories such as radioactivity and toxic, and form an "unmanned laboratory".
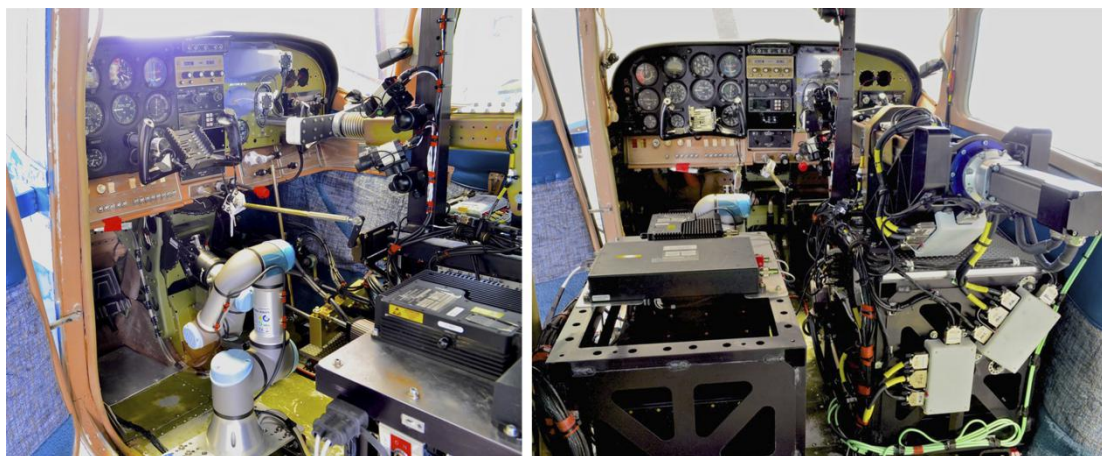
Fig 1. Relying on Robots to Perform Aircraft Test Flight Missions to Protect Pilots. Image Source: https://www.wpafb.af.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/1935442/air-force-research-laboratory-successfully-conducts-first-flight-of-robopilot-u/

People bring about the liberation of productivity by promoting the development of science and technology, which aims to realize the liberation of people while improving production efficiency. The workshop of fully automatic machine production can completely liberate workers from the production line. In this process, "no man's land" was born. At present, the development of Industry 4.0 from "few people" to "partially unmanned" under the blessing of intelligent systems has been popularized, and the state of completely "unmanned" has gradually emerged. This process of change is reflected in JD's unmanned warehouse. In 2014, JD Logistics' Shanghai "Asia One" warehouse was completed and put into production. Its warehouse management, equipment control, sorting and distribution are under the control of the information system, and more than 90% of the operations have been automated. In 2017, JD Logistics officially unveiled its full-process unmanned warehouse, becoming the first full-process unmanned logistics center that was put into use on a large scale at that time. Although industrial production's current "no man's land" has only achieved breakthroughs in some regions, it is impossible to achieve comprehensive "unmanned". However, Roland Berger pointed out that cloud-based vendors have provided open-source AI application infrastructure,

and manufacturers focusing on artificial intelligence and automation will have the ability to achieve a higher level of industrial autonomy in factories faster in the future. [0] It is expected that the development of the manufacturing industry in the future will significantly reduce the configuration cost of high-intelligence robots, and the popularization of all-robot production lines will completely liberate people from industrial production. When people are completely evacuated from the industrial production line, a completely independent "no man's land" is born.
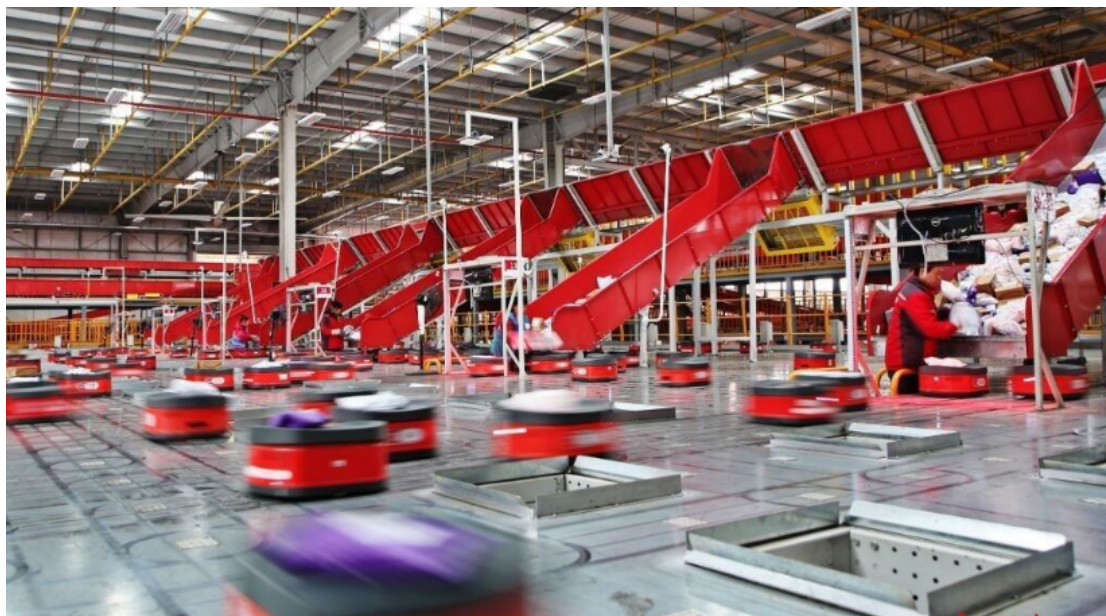
Fig 2. Jingdong Robot Running in an Unmanned Warehouse.
Image Source: https://www.sohu.com/a/330022183_800943

As machines free people from material production, people have a higher level of demand, that is, the demand for services. The "no man's land" created for "serving people" is divided into two categories, one is the "no man's land" that provides material services to people, and the other is the "no man's land" that provides spiritual services to people. The "Internet of Everything" provides people with material services, mainly focusing on providing more commodity information and a more comfortable way of obtaining commodities. The tremendous abundance of material has weakened the material properties of commodities themselves, and people acquire commodities more for the experience. Whether it is online shopping or physical retail, the existing new business models have optimized people's shopping experience regarding material information and access. In the new business model, the process of providing many services does not require the presence of service personnel, such as the unmanned retail store "Amazon Go". Amazon Go physical store is loaded with "just walk out technology [2]". A large number of cameras and sensors installed in the space can accurately capture customer behavior, thereby supporting customers to walk out of the store directly after selecting the goods. The bill will be automatically deducted by the intelligent settlement system, without manual settlement. Without monitoring employees and waiting in line for payment, Amazon Go has created a "nobody's land" while satisfying customers' needs for better material services.

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[2] "Direct leave technology" comprises modules such as computer vision, deep learning algorithms, and sensor fusion.

Fig 3. Amazon Go Unmanned Physical Retail Store.
Image Source: https://www.geekwire.com/2018/new-compact-amazon-go-store opens-door-locations-office-lobbies-hospitals/

The spiritual services that people get now mainly come from the digital cultural industry. Supported by the Internet platform, the digital culture industry has built a virtual world with abundant content for people composed of data and closely connected with reality through the screen. For example, in-network broadcast, anchors' rooms that people watch on the screen exist in a virtual form on the Internet, while anchors' rooms in real life are actual and material. If the Internet has built the skeleton of the virtual world for people, then the current breakthroughs in 3D modeling technology, the iteration of rendering engines, and the improvement of VR technology have made the image of this virtual world more and more real. The two core technologies, Nanite and Lumen3[3], showcased at the Unreal Engine 5 promotion in 2020, aim to give 3D modeling spaces a more realistic representation. All these are the results of people's efforts to obtain richer spiritual services. In the process of demand realization, the gap between the virtual "no man's land" and the reality is gradually narrowing.

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[3] The Nanite virtual micro-polygon geometry allows artists to create all the geometric details that the human eye can see without losing picture quality. Lumen is a set of fully dynamic global illumination solutions that can react to scene and lighting changes in real time without specialized ray tracing hardware. The system can render indirect specular reflections and diffuse reflections that can bounce infinitely in extensive and detailed scenes.
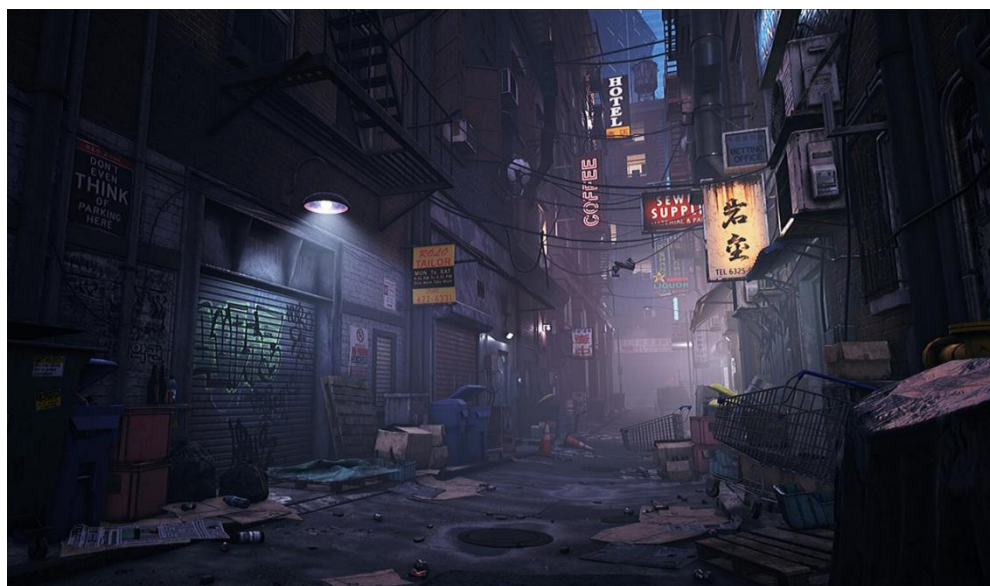
Fig 4. Rendering Effect of the Fourth-Generation Unreal Engine.
Image source: https://www.artstation.com/artwork/6arYlN
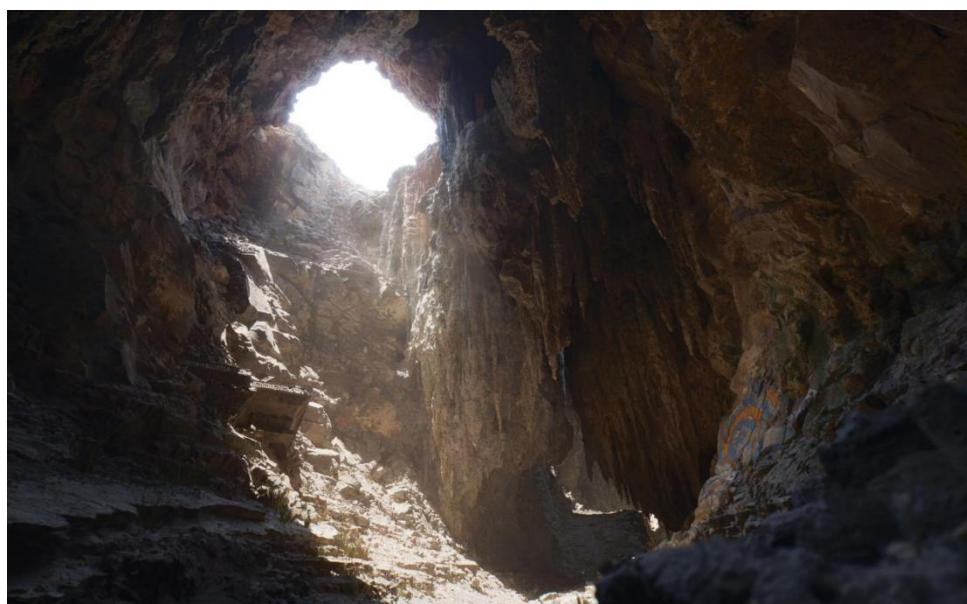
Fig 5. The Fifth-Generation Unreal Engine Rendering Effect.
Image source: https://www.unrealengine.com/en-US/blog/a-first-look-at-unreal-engine-5

By liberating productivity, "no man's land" enables people to divert more resources and energy to more creative and valuable work. The high-quality services provided by "no man's land" can enable people to face the challenges of the future world with a better mental state. Although the main theme of "no man's land" in the real world is still the cooperation between humans and intelligent machines in the short term. Once "no man's land" becomes a pure no man's space, its spatial attributes will undergo great changes.

(2) Providing Power and Transmitting Information: The "No Man's Land" of "Unmanned"

The normal operation of "no man's land" requires the support of data and energy. When looking for data operation and power support solutions, a series of "no man's land" will be produced.

Maintaining "unmanned" operation means huge and uninterrupted power consumption. From the miniature solar cells carried on the sensors to the unmanned wind power plants that provide power for data base stations, their stable power supply is necessary to ensure the normal operation of the "no man's land". In the future, as the number of "no man's land" increases, its need for power is bound to lead to the birth of a series of "no man's land". For example, unmanned charging stations or unmanned gas stations that provide energy support for unmanned vehicles, self-generating power packs that provide power for unmanned scientific research stations.
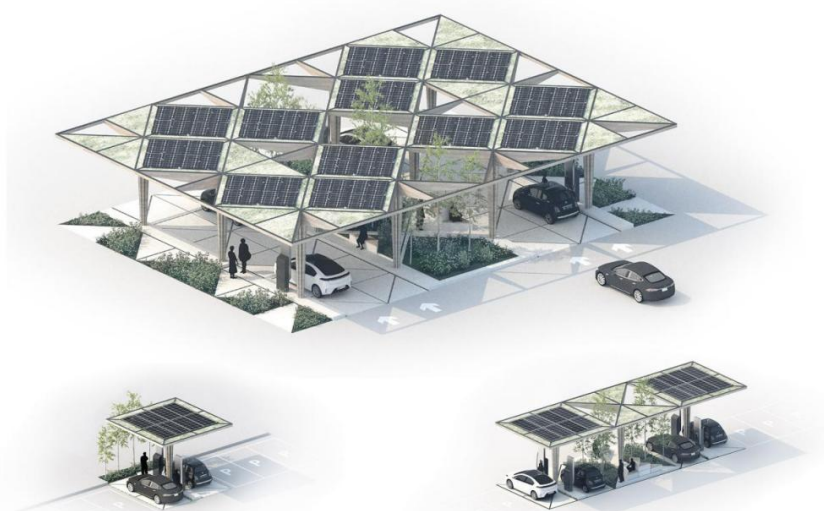
Fig 6. Electric Vehicle Charging Station Concept Designed by Danish COBE.
Image Source: https://www.gooood.cn/ultra-fast-charging-station-by-cobe.htm

The key to "unmanned" equipment being able to perform tasks smoothly is the support of data operations and smooth data transmission. The most core of these is data computing. The "Intelligent Era" is essentially a computing era, and the explosion of calculations brought about by the "Internet of Everything" has made data centers the fastest growing infrastructure in the world. The data center focuses on not humans but interconnected computers and equipment that provide a good operating environment. Workers are often far away from the data processing site and maintain the operation of the data center through a highly integrated monitoring system. Therefore, the construction of the data center reflects a highly rational feature; that is, all designs are designed to provide a safe and efficient operating environment for the computer, and any unnecessary spatial expression is regarded as waste here. As the most important " no man's land" for maintaining the operation of the "Internet of Everything", its data center has also supported the birth of more " no man's lands" as its data center continues to expand its scale.

Fig 7. Number and Distribution of Data Base Stations that Have Been Built around the World by 2020
Image Source: https://www.datacentermap.com/
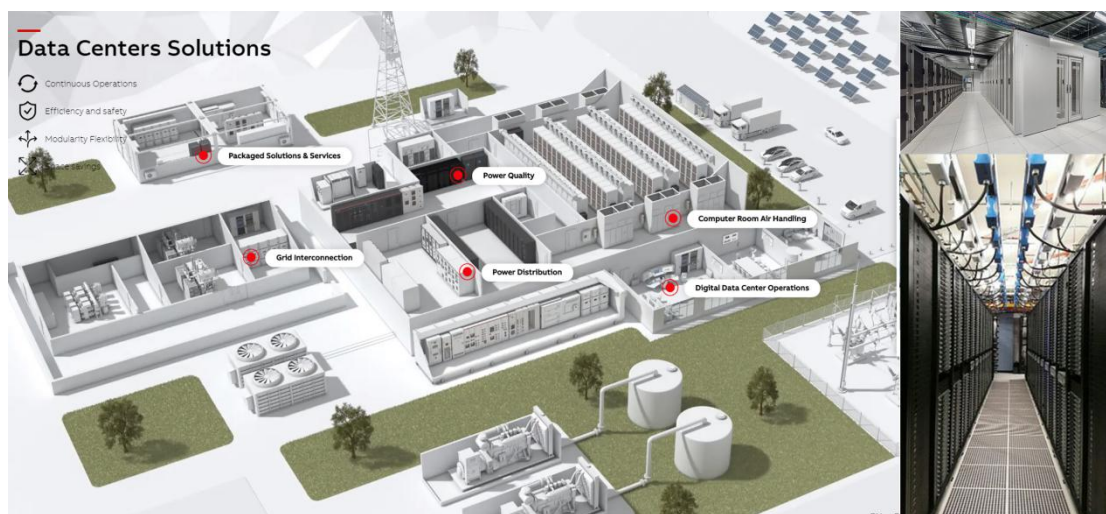
Fig 8. The Interior of the Data Center Shows a High Degree of Rationality of the Space
Image Source:
https://www.pinterest.com/yuaokun/%E6%95%B0%E6%8D%AE%E7%AB%99/

(3) Go to the Distal End: Where Does "No Man's Land" Go from Here

The development of the "Internet of Everything" technology and the generation of new needs of people make the "no man's land" in the real world and the virtual world continue to expand, which has become an established trend. The expansion of "no man's land" refers to the increase in number and the gradual emergence of new building types in the real world. People's production and living patterns will change with this trend, but the existing urban spatial pattern will be adjusted accordingly.

Because of people's demand, the virtual world of "no man's land" will be more and more involved in people's real life. While providing more and more realistic sensory experiences, the popular virtual reality technology will inevitably lead to the blurring of the boundary between the virtual world and reality. When virtual reality technology can fully simulate the real world, the boundaries of space will be broken. Like Mel can't distinguish between reality and dreams in *Inception*, the highly simulated virtual world can bring incredible sensory experience to people, but it also hides enormous risks[4].

The Distal End of "No Man's Land"

As mentioned above, when the "no man's land" develops to a certain scale, it will inevitably affect people's living patterns and living spaces. When the scale of "no man's land" grows from small to large, from "no man's land" to "no man's city" and then gradually develops into "no man's pole", its influence on architecture and urban spatial pattern also grows from small to large. Each time the scale of no man's land escalates, its impact leaps.

(1) No Man's Domain

No man's domain refers to a series of uninhabited spaces around people's lives, independent individuals with specific functions. No man's domain can be divided into two categories according to its intimacy with human life: one is closely related to people's daily lives and the other is not directly related to people's daily lives.

There are many no man's land closely related to human life, such as no man's restaurants that provide in-room food and complete independent food delivery service, no man's stores that are connected with logistics and can carry out automatic distribution and sales. This no man's power station automatically charges the driverless car. They act as "clients" and are distributed around people's lives. They exist under the human gaze. While they embody the value of the efficient and convenient application, they also need to consider the influence of spatial surface on people's perception and experience, although their spatial core is still highly rational.

The other is not directly related to people's daily life, such as no man's factories and unattended data centers. They can operate within a certain distance from people's life circle. They free up space resources while reducing interference to people's lives. This kind of "no man's domain" is far away from people's gaze, emphasizes the rationality of space, and abandons the influence of perception experience on space design.

(2) No Man's City

A "no man's city" occurs when a "no man's land" far from the "circle of life" gathers and develops into a "community" of considerable size. A "no man's city" does not have to be spatially close to a city to keep it going. In the "Internet of Everything" era, technology can break through space limitations and closely connect "no man's city" with urban space. A "no man's city" can be a collection of "no man's domain" with a single function, for example, "no man's industrial city", "no man's logistics city", "no man's ecological planting city", etc. "No man's city" can also be a mixed symbiotic ecosystem of "no man's domain" with multiple

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[4] In *Inception*, the protagonist's wife Mel stubbornly believes that the dream created by her and her husband is the "real" reality, while the real world is a dream. In the end, Mel chose to die in reality in order to travel to the "dream".

functions.

The spatial patterns of "no man's city" and cities can be roughly divided into two types, one is "decentralized," and the other is "centralized".The decentralized "no man's city" is similar to Howard's "garden city" spatial pattern". The city is located in the center of radiation, and the "no man's city" with single function is arranged outside the city, and the distribution is relatively loose. For example, the "unmanned industrial city" is located far downwind from the city, the "unmanned logistics city" is located near the port and transportation hub, and the "unmanned agricultural planting city" is close to the city to facilitate the travel needs of urban residents. The decentralized layout means that no man's city will have fewer restrictions on future expansion but will be less efficient because of the distance. Centralization means that all kinds of "no man's land" are built in a fixed area to form "no man's city", and the city is arranged around the "no man's city". Three neighboring cities plan a piece of land together and move the "no man's land" that is not closely related to people's daily lives to this land, arrange it centrally, and finally become a city intensively. The centralized layout means more efficient operations and space and considerable space limitations for future expansion of the "no man's city". Both models can utilize space and natural resources according to local conditions and optimize people's living space while improving economic benefits.
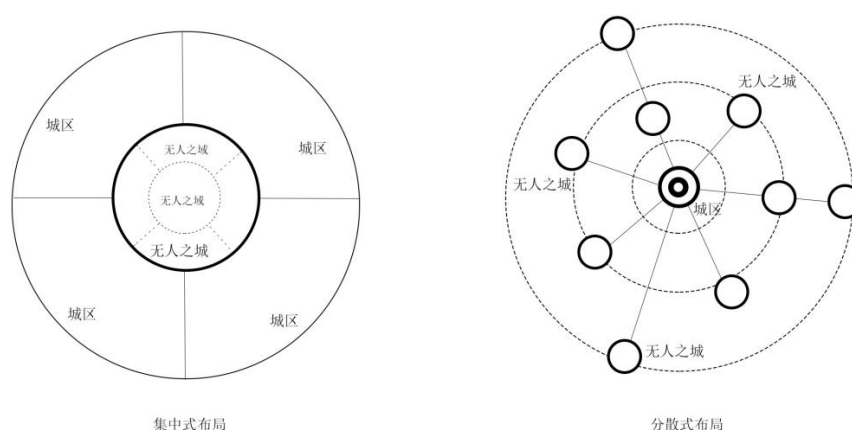
Fig 9. Centralized (Left) and Decentralized (Right) Spatial Modes of " No Man's City" Image Source: Author self-painted

(3) No Man's Territory

When the scale of "no man's city" expands to a certain extent and changes from "no man's city" to "no man's pole", its spatial pattern and existence mode will undergo qualitative changes. There are three possible trends in the development of "no man's pole": i) When the "no man's city" is large enough and does not rely on any external support, it may form a "no man's pole" that operates independently and is not affiliated to any country or region; ii) When the scale of "no man's land" exceeds the capacity of the earth's space, it will be partially transferred to aerospace and other spaces, to establish "no man's land" far away from people's living world; iii) When the "dimensional wall" between the real world and the virtual world is broken, the virtual world will no longer be attached to the real world, but become "no man's pole" that parallel with the real world.

According to the current demand for data computing globally, "no man's data city" is the most likely existence to develop into "no man's poles". This trend has already taken shape, and

internet companies are actively looking for suitable overseas bases to build data centers while building and expanding data centers in China. Data computing has high environmental and energy requirements. When the scattered small data centers can no longer meet the demand for data computing, and only "huge" supercomputing centers can solve the problem, it will make the right construction base. In order to avoid disputes, the ideal solution is to neutralize the supercomputer center and the territory it is located in and provide services to all countries, thus forming a "no man's poles".

If "no man's land" expands out of control in the future, Earth's space will no longer accommodate it, and it will expand outward to form " no man's poles". In many science fiction that represent the future world, there are scenes of polarization and separation between the living space of humankind and the "no man's land". Specifically, humans are still living on the earth's surface, and "no man's land" is built on space stations or deep underground, forming "no man's land". In controlled circumstances, people can regain control of the planet. Once people lose the control of the "reproduction" of the "no man's land" and the "no man's pole" invades the living space, the state and pattern of the existing human living space will be broken, which will lead to highly undesirable consequences.

Fig 10. The Future "No Man's Pole" May Develop into the Air

Image Source:
https://www.artstation.com/artwork/e5kd3?utm_campaign=digest&utm_medium=email&utm_source=email_digest_mailer

The virtual world is also a kind of "no man's pole" that needs to be considered. The development of existing technology has blurred the boundary between virtual and reality. When technology has reached the point where it can deceive human senses and completely confuse reality and virtuality, the virtual world, as the "no man's pole", will present a situation opposite the real world. In the movie Ready Player One, "Oasis" has a complete world structure and an independent value judgment system, as well as a similar financial system in the real world, which has become another parallel space in people's life.

Conclusion

The characteristics of "no man's land" determine that "no man's land" has two very obvious spatial characteristics: highly autonomous and highly rational. The high degree of autonomy of "no man's land" space means that there will be specific algorithms to formulate the corresponding space rules when the space is faced with different technological conditions or

functional requirements. All behaviors in the space are strictly carried out following the rules, and this process does not require human intervention and assistance. As mentioned above, the Amazon warehouse space is a highly autonomous space to deal with the fixed-point transportation of goods in the space. "No man's land" space is highly rational. The spatial expression of "no man's land" rejects all meanings. It aims to meet the requirements of technology and function, and ignores people's spatial experience and aesthetic appreciation. All redundant expressions of craft and function are unnecessary and excluded in "no man's land". In the future, the phenomenon that "no man's land" is mainly created by "human needs" may be broken, and the demand of machines will become the main reason for the emergence of "no man's land". At present, even the "no man's land" created by technological needs is still indirectly satisfying people's demand. In the future, robots like those in The Matrix will be able to renew themselves and iterate. "No man's land" may also be self-escalating and create new demands, creating a steady stream of new "no man's land".

"No man's land" will have a huge number and rich space types in the future. Current scientific and technological means are the main factor restricting the development of "no man's land", and whenever a breakthrough occurs in the "Internet of Everything" technology, more "no man's land" will be produced. Even if people's needs for "no man" are fully satisfied in the future, the number and types of no man's land will continue to grow. This means that "no man's land" includes a series of no man's spaces, which will bring significant opportunities and challenges for architectural design and urban planning.

In the future, the boundary between the virtual world and the real world will become increasingly blurred. In the long-term home isolation caused by COVID-19, software such as "Tencent Conference" and "Ding Talk" broke through the limitations of space distance on people's work and study, and demonstrated the mutual influence of the virtual world and the real world. Inspired by this, the real life of mankind in the future may more and more migrate to the virtual world. When the virtual world uses technical means to mixed the spurious with the genuine, do we want to preserve the difference between the virtual world and the real world? When the virtual world becomes a "no man's land that full of "people", and the real world "no man's land" simultaneously exist, which is "no man's land"? The possible negative impact of the virtual world in the future is a question we should think carefully about now.

The development trend of "no man's land" will make "unmanned space" an important direction of architecture research. Whether it is to study the "no man's land" in the real world, or to build a virtual "no man's land" like a "dream builder[5]", it will improve the architecture discipline. Perhaps in the near future, "no man's land" will become an important object of architecture research, and "no man's architecture" will be born.

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[5] The words come from the movie Inception. The dream architect is responsible for the general environmental framework and environmental details of the dreams at all levels of the building so that the target person will believe that it is in his dream after entering this dream.

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Won Kee: A Historico-Biographical Study of Creativity, Inter-Cultural Intervention, and Discrimination in a Nineteenth-Century Goldmining Setting in Aotearoa New Zealand

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Abstract

During the latter part of the nineteenth-century gold-mining era in Central Otago, New Zealand, Won Kee was a well-known Chinese merchant living in Cromwell. His activities centred on offering a base for supplying Chinese miners, yet at the same time he provided a link between the disparate cultures that made up this migrant setting. While little is known of Won Kee's roots, he was active in bringing the Chinese and European populations together, holding regular cultural celebrations and being effective in charitable activities that benefited all in the local community. While contributing to the re-thinking of music in the making of New Zealand, this discussion examines Won Kee's creative community activities that offered a setting for inter-cultural understanding in colonial context. This paper is a historico-biographical discussion of Won Kee in a setting of creativity, inter-cultural intervention, and discrimination. Including a short biography of what is known about Won Kee's background, the study focuses on several distinct case studies as a way of analysing discrete examples of Chinese creativity that contributed to the musical making of New Zealand in the late nineteenth century, yet is so often void in discourse on New Zealand's music history. The aim of the paper is to add a new perspective to music in New Zealand, and offer insight on the importance of understanding this sphere of the nation's musical creativity in a nineteenth-century goldmining setting.

Keywords: Chinese, Diaspora, Gold-mining, Migration, Music, New Zealand, Performance, Won Kee

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Introduction

In the south of New Zealand's South Island, the goldrush of the 1860s attracted many migrant workers seeking their fortune. By 1865, Chinese working the goldfields in Australia were invited to the Otago province to work the areas that earlier European miners had abandoned (Ng, 1993a, p. 123). They arrived in Cromwell in Central Otago in 1866. Over the next few decades, the Chinese population grew and was particularly influential in contributing to the local economy and cultural sphere.

One Chinese sojourner named Won Kee was a well-known and popular merchant living in Cromwell. His activities supported the gold industry and centred on offering a base for supplying Chinese miners, yet at the same time he provided a link between the disparate cultures that made up this multicultural migrant setting. While little is known of Won Kee's roots, he was often active in bringing the Chinese and European populations together (Ng, 1999, pp. 356–363), holding regular cultural celebrations and being engaged in charitable activities that benefited the local community.

While contributing to the re-thinking of music in the making of New Zealand (Johnson, 2010), this paper examines Won Kee's creative community activities that offered a setting for intercultural understanding in a colonial context. Including a short biography of what is known about Won Kee, the paper focuses on several case studies as a way of analysing examples of Chinese creativity and community relations. Focus is given to cases of Chinese music making, which is a topic so often void in discourse on New Zealand's music history (Thomson, 1991). The aim of the paper is to add a new perspective to historical ethnomusicology in New Zealand, and offer insight on the importance of understanding this sphere of the nation's musical creativity in a nineteenth-century goldmining setting (Johnson, 2020).

In 1881, Cromwell's population is estimated as 428 Europeans and 33 Chinese; and in 1886 there were 504 Europeans and 67 Chinese (Ng, 1999, p. 356). The division between Chinese and Europeans is based on the physical living spaces of each group: while a few Chinese like Won Kee lived in the main part of the town, the majority lived in huts by the river – the Chinese camp.

Won Kee's name was also transcribed in local newspapers of the time as Won Key, Wan Kee, Woon Key, and Wong Kee. He was a storekeeper, investor and philanthropist with his store in Cromwell's main street from 1884 to 1892 (Ng, 1999, p. 356). There are detailed Presbyterian church records of Chinese in Otago between 1896 and 1913, but Alexander Don's (1857–1934) *Roll of the Chinese* does not mention Won Kee (Ng, 1993b). While Chinese from Seiyap, Panyu and Zengcheng were known in Cromwell, Won Kee's name (i.e., Wong) "indicate[s] that he originated in Taishan county" (Ng, 1999, p. 356), all in southern China.

Even though Won Kee ran a store in Cromwell for at least eight years, he is believed to have lived in the area for 26 years ("Tokomairiro", 1897), beginning in the early 1870s. After he closed shop in 1892, his name appeared occasionally in local newspapers. In 1893, he was described as a "magnate" of the town ("Cromwell", 1893) when he constructed a dwelling. In 1897, he was described as a "wealthy Chinese storekeeper" ("Tokomairiro", 1897) when he made his first journey on a local train. The same year, readers are informed that he had now "given up business and sold his property" ("Cromwell", 1897).

Even though Won Kee did much to bring Chinese and European cultures together, by the 1890s anti-Chinese prejudice had become more apparent (Ng, 1999, p. 356). There had been a distinct anxiety expressed in the community and reported by media concerning Chinese migration to New Zealand as early 1864 (Ng, 1993a, pp. 123–132), and this led to a Poll Tax on Chinese in 1881 as a distinct act of deterring Chinese entering or returning to New Zealand.

Three key themes have emerged during my study of Won Kee: (i) business; (ii) benevolence; and (iii) celebrations. Applying qualitative content analysis on newspaper articles, the focus of my research has been on music, which has often been studied in connection with community celebrations (Johnson, 2005), but the other themes have also been central for comprehending the influences of and on Won Kee at this time in New Zealand's Chinese diaspora history. In this paper, I give emphasis to celebrations.

Business

Won Kee was known in Cromwell as a storekeeper, the town being located as a trading post for nearby mining areas. His was not the only Chinese store in the town, with several others present around the same time (Ng, 1999, pp. 356, 360). With Won Kee, however, such was the goodwill between himself and Cromwell's European residents that he became well-known and was often featured favourably in newspapers reporting on local events. Not only was he a storekeeper, but he also had other business investments that brought him into direct contact with Europeans, and it was because of these links, as well as for his benevolence and community celebrations, that he was "much respected by his European neighbours" ("Cromwell", 1897). For example, he held shares in the Cromwell Prospecting Association Limited ("To the Registrar of the Supreme Court", 1885), and in 1897 was granted water races rites near Cromwell ("Warden's Court", 1897).

Benevolence

Won Kee made a number of significant contributions to local causes that directly benefited the community. As one newspaper noted, "Mr Won Kee has on previous occasions done good service for our local institutions among his countrymen" ("Untitled", 1886). For example, among other charitable gifts, he donated "a handsome inlaid pearl writing desk" to the Lake District Rifle Association ("Untitled", 1885); and, after a win at the races, he donated 20 guineas to the local hospital ("Untitled", 1886). Further, because of his generosity to the Cromwell District Hospital, its Trustees made him a "life governor of the institution" ("Cromwell District Hospital", 1886). In 1892, in recognition of the work he had done for the local community, the residents of Cromwell presented Won Kee with a gold locket ("Lake Wanaka", 1892).

However, despite Won Kee's work in forging close ties with the local European community, in 1892 he was the subject of an invasion on his home. On the eve of the Chinese New Year, a number of so-called larrikins went on a spree around the town:

The first signs of their intended raid upon the property of respectable citizens were noticeable during the supper given by Mr Woon Key. A number of larrikins disturbed the proceedings, and having gained admittance by a back entry endeavored to "rotten egg" those present. ("Cromwell: Tuesday, February 2nd", 1892)

Celebrations

Won Kee was especially active in cultural intervention by hosting events that included performance and display for the community. His cultural activism in hosting inter-community functions and celebrations offered a distinct form of cultural negotiation in late nineteenth-century New Zealand.

Won Kee hosted many community events, particularly at the time of the Chinese lunar New Year (January of February). He was known for putting on annual fireworks displays. For example, one such event in 1886, which received a lengthy newspaper review, offers a valuable description of Chinese musical instruments and performance practice, although viewed from an ethnocentric gaze:

Mr Woon Key said he would get his countryman to sing. Seated on a box was the accompanist, with a banjo—the Chinese banjo much resembles the European one, but instead of striking the strings with the thumb they do so with a flat piece of ivory, like the bridge of a violin. After tuning the instrument, the singer commenced. What can I compare it to? Let me see, yes, I believe it was almost as nice as a cat singing the "Last Rose of Summer" over the back yard fence. . . . Songs and recitations were then given in good style, and it would be out of place here, of course, to individualise each one efforts. ("The Chinese New Year", 1886)

As well as his regular Chinese New Year fireworks displays, Won Kee hosted a concert in 1886 at the Atheneum Hall with the proceeds donated to charity. Reported in a number of newspapers, one main review of the intercultural event noted:

To European ears the performance was nothing more than a harsh discordant noise, in which a pair of huge clashing cymbals and a big gong took prominence. A drum without resonance and a squeaky instrument of the bagpipe order completed the band. The performers played with commendable vigor, and to the evident gratification of the big crowd of Mongolians who surrounded them. The Cromwell Brass Band rendered some nice pieces which were a pleasant relief to all but Celestial ears. . . . The vocalists did not seem to evoke any sympathy in the breasts of their countrymen, although at times there appeared to be vigorous appeals for the enlistment of that quality. The instrumentalists, too, went about their work in automatic fashion. There were five of these, led by Mr Won Kee on the banjo, which really was the only sort of harmonious thing in the whole Chinese programme. ("Chinese Entertainment", 1886)

As with the other review noted above, this one too offers an ethnocentric perspective on musical aesthetics. Nevertheless, within the report there is a description of musical instruments, which I have discussed in detail elsewhere (Johnson, 2020). While the use of the term "banjo" begs the question as to whether this instrument was a western banjo or a term imposed on a traditional Chinese instrument, when considering the review noted earlier where the "banjo" was described as a Chinese instrument ("The Chinese New Year", 1886), it seems certain that for this performance this was indeed a Chinese instrument.

Two years later, another celebration hosted by Won Kee was reported. Beginning with a lengthy explanation of the Chinese New Year, it continues:

Mr Woon Key, with his usual open-heartedness, invited a large number of townsmen to spend the evening at his place… The toast of the evening, "Health, wealth and prosperity to Mr Woon Key," was then drunk with musical honors… During the evening several Chinese musicians

gave an exhibition of their vocal and instrumental powers, which was much enjoyed. ("The Chinese New Year", 1888)

Again, this review helps show the importance of music and song for Cromwell's Chinese residents, especially at times of celebration.

In 1893, the year after the invasion of Won Kee's home, one newspaper report noted: "Mr Woon Kee will give his annual display of fireworks on Saturday evening . . . We hear that this will be a better display than usual, as he has procured a number of novelties" ("Untitled", 1893). The upscaling of the event was, perhaps, in response to the attack the previous year. In a review of this particular event, it was noted that Won Kee hosted "his customary entertainment to his European friends . . . There was a large number present, and a pleasant couple of hours were spent" ("Latest", 1893). Here, his links "to his Europeans friends" is clearly observed.

Such newspaper reports help portray some of the musical, celebratory and community events that brought cultures together. While there are only surface-level descriptions of the music and musical features of the events, qualitative content analysis of the non-Chinese reports do offer at least some aspects that help piece together the Chinese musical soundscape in goldmining New Zealand at the time. While some such reports have formed the focus of this discussion, it is expected that many other events didn't make the news at the time.

Conclusion

Won Kee was an interlocutor for cross-cultural relations. He was an individual who brought European and Chinese communities together. His cultural interventions inspired non-Chinese newspaper reviews of many of his events, which have included information about musical aspects of performance. Indeed, without Won Kee's interventions, such descriptions would be void in the historical understanding of music-making in the goldfields.

The three themes identified in this study (business, benevolence and celebrations) are intrinsically linked. Won Kee ran a store in Cromwell that interconnected with Europeans and Chinese; he was involved in local business and interacted much with the town's European figures; he donated to local charities; and he hosted festivities and events for the town that brought people together.

Having had active involvement in the business and cultural aspects of Cromwell in the late nineteenth century, in a somewhat poignant way, Won Kee reappeared in the media in 1937 where he was acknowledged as one of Cromwell's early residents, and it was noted that he now resides in Caversham Hospital in Dunedin and "is wheeled round at times in an invalid chair" ("Cromwell's Early Citizens", 1937). Lastly, and with a musical association, the same report comments that in Cromwell "the other traders used to foregather in his store on Christmas Eve and hold festivities, and sing for "He's a Jolly Good Fellow".

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Gross Domestic Product and Gross Domestic Happiness:
A Review of Asian Economic Development Models

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Abstract

Comparative analysis of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross Domestic Happiness (GDH) is a strategic approach towards adding value to international economic modeling. This paper is an innovation in economic thought and will discuss the concept of Gross Domestic Product and gross domestic happiness. It will present and analyze Flying Geese Model (FGM) of Asian economic development models developed by Japanese scholar, Kaname Akamatsu in 1930s as a key contributor to Asian Economic Miracle. The paper will outline the critiques GDP and analyze important variables of GDP and GDH. One key innovation in the paper is the discussion of morality and economy as a strategic Asian Economic Model, looking at Confucian capitalism. The paper analyzed data, using ordinary least square (OLS) on Gross Domestic Happiness variables of World Happiness indicators on Japan. The results depicts that GDP leads to higher happiness among citizens of the country, meaning that individuals become happier as their national economies grow. However, from the findings, the study concludes that GDP growth increases happiness over time but not always and weakly as the outcome of the results are positive, negative, significant and insignificant. The paper concluded that Asian development models are strategic deviation from conventional economic models and that Gross Domestic Happiness originated in Asian are the components of Asian Economic Models. The paper recommends Asia economic development models to African countries and other developing countries that are aspiring for rapid economic growth and development.

Keywords: Gross Domestic Products, Gross Domestic Happiness, Economic Development Models, Asian

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Introduction

Over the years, economists have started reconsidering the preconceived notions and theories about gross domestic product (GDP). One major theory that is springing up is the concept of gross domestic happiness (GDH) which originated in Asia. GDH theory is somewhat intended to fill the gap GDP theory has created. It has also somewhat originated in Asia economic development concept of shared growth which is embedded in Flying Geese Development Method, an Asian economic development models developed by Japanese scholar, Kaname Akamatsu in 1930s. Shared growth is an innovative theory, different from economic theory of classical and neo-classical economics. Shared growth is the modern theoretical application of inclusive economic growth. Gurría (2014), asserts that the OECD's vision for inclusive growth is about win-win policies that combine strong economic growth with improvements in all those aspects of life that matter for people's wellbeing – good health, jobs and skills, and a clean environment, which means improving these outcomes for all countries, all regions and all citizens.

The emerging economies in Asia based on shared growth concept depict a successful application of inclusive growth theory. Flying Geese development model is an important component of Japanese economic history which promoted the economic development of Japan and Asia economies. In essence, Flying Geese Model depicts the development pattern of economic and industrial evolution in Asia and important theory of modern Japanese economic history. Modern Japanese economic history can be dated back to 1600 when Tokugawa Ieyasu emerged as the most powerful warlord in Japan. This period, according to Kodansha International (1995) is called the Edo-Period Economy which sprang from 1600-1868 and was a period of increased agricultural production, urbanization, restricted foreign trade, and the growth of big enterprises such as Mitsui and Sumitomo. Another important period of modern Japanese economic development history was between 1868 and 1945, known as Meiji Restoration Period when Japan experienced growth of a large education population, a surplus of labor in agricultural sector, a highly monetized economy controlled by wealthy and capable merchant class, and large samurai class, capable of filling leadership and administrative positions. The major characteristic of Meiji period as regard Japanese economy are: industrial and economic modernization, private sector development efforts of *Zaibatsu* (major corporation like Mitsui, Mitsubushi, Sumitomo, Yasuda, etc), the development of the factors of production, industrial growth, and problem of Japanese economic growth such as income inequality, the Japanese depression of 1920, Tokyo Earthquake in 1923, financial crisis as a result of major bank failures, and worldwide depression of 1930-31 as result of US stock market crash, the Manchuria incident which led to Sino-Japanese War of 1937 and Japanese entry into World War II. Years preceding 1920s were defining periods for Japanese economic and technological growth and development as demonstrated in her success in Russo-Japanese War, WW1, and involvement in WWII (Kodansha International, 1995).

Most experts in economic history of Japan believe Japan entered the WW 11 in order to assert itself as world economic and technological power and also to protect Asia continents from economic dominance of European and American powers. Japan played significance role to protect Asia from experiencing the type of balkanization European did in African continent. She has also fought for against racial discrimination and domination. Referring to the outcome of Versailles Peace Conference of January 18, 1919, Bix stated that Japanese Press reported how disappointed Japan was for the rejection of its proposal on racial equality, and dispute over Japan's wartime seizure of Shandong Province in China (Bix, 2000).

Moreso, reflecting on what happened in the global economy from 1930, such as great depression, we can assume Japanese was thinking ahead of time with the publication of Flying Geese Economic Development Theory Document in 1930. It is obvious Flying Geese theory preceded the Bretton Woods System and the use of Gross Domestic Product as a modern measurement of economic activity and growth. Jhingan (2011) outlines six characteristics of modern economic growth as investigated by Prof Simon Kuznets in his theory in 1934. First of GDP characteristics is high rate of growth of per capita products and population; second, is the rise in productivity; third, is high rate of structural transformation; fourth, is urbanization; fifth, is the outward expansion of developed countries; and sixth, is international flow of men, goods, and capital. This paper will look at Global GDP indicators and Asian ranking, the GDP measurement and per capita income, the Global GDH indicators and Asian ranking, literature reviews on Asian Economic Development, looking at flying geese model of development FGM, theory of morality and economy. In the methodology, it will look at the relationship between GDP and GDH, using statistical techniques and World Happiness Report data on Japan. The results of regression analysis will be presented and the finding will be discussed. The paper will be concluded with recommendations.

Global GDP Indicators and Asian Ranking

GDP indicators outlines the variables include in its measurement. It measures products and services produced in a given country with a specific period, such as annually. When GDP is used to measure ranking of countries in global economy, United States is a leader. Flying Geese Pattern is focused on technological development of South East Asia with Japan as a leading nation.

Even before the establishment of Bretton Woods System and the use of GDP as economic measurement, Japan development experts like Kaname Akamatsu have foreseen a need for shared economic growth concept through technological transfer among nations as most sustainable economic development. In his admiration of Japan economic development approach, Kuznets opined that the outward expansion of developed countries (DC) contributed immensely in promotion of modern economic growth, even though majority of least developed countries (LDCs) failed to take advantage of the spread with the exception of Japan (Jhingan, 2011).

Japan is a success story of country, moving from being developing country to become a world power after defeating Russia in 1904- 1905. Describing the war that change the international status of Japan, Bix (2000), said that the two major wars fought in Meiji's name are against Ch'ing China in 1894- 95 and Czarist Russia in 1904-5 which altered the conditions of Japanese national life and changed the international environment surrounding Japan. The significance of Japanese victories in these wars is the demonstration of Japanese technological and industrial prowess, depicting a country that was willing to move from the committee of developing countries to join the developed league. The history of modern economic development of Japan can somewhat be linked to Flying Geese Method, the source of Japan version of gross domestic happiness (GDH) and share economic growth. Flying Geese is the pattern of economic development which centered on increasing economic well-being of the citizens or the happiness of the citizens and the promotion of shared growth between Japan and other Asian countries.

Looking at the global indicator, as outlined by the World Bank (2020), United States is the highest country in term of GDP. It has 24 percent of the global GDP, followed by China

(16.34 percent), Japan (5.7 percent), Germany (4.4 percent), and India (3.2 percent). From six to ten global largest economies have 12.67 percent. Eleven to fifteen global largest economies have 8.43 percent. Sixteen to twenty-five have 7.9 percent. The remaining 168 countries have 16.80 percent of global GDP. China, Japan, and India belong to first five. Only Japan belongs to this group in last few decades. There is no single African country in the first 10th largest economy. Nigeria was number 25 in the first 25 largest global economies in the GDP measurement. The ranking depicts the sources and increasing of global economic inequality as result of GDP measurement. See above figures in chart one.

SHARES OF GLOBAL ECONOMY IN GDP
25 Largest Economies and 168 Others

Countries 16-25, 7.90%
Countries 11-15, 8.43%
United States, 24.41%
Countries 6-10, 12.67%
china, 16.34%
168 Rest, 16.80%
GLOBAL GDP INDICATORS
India, 3.27%   Germany, 4.40%   Japan, 5.79%
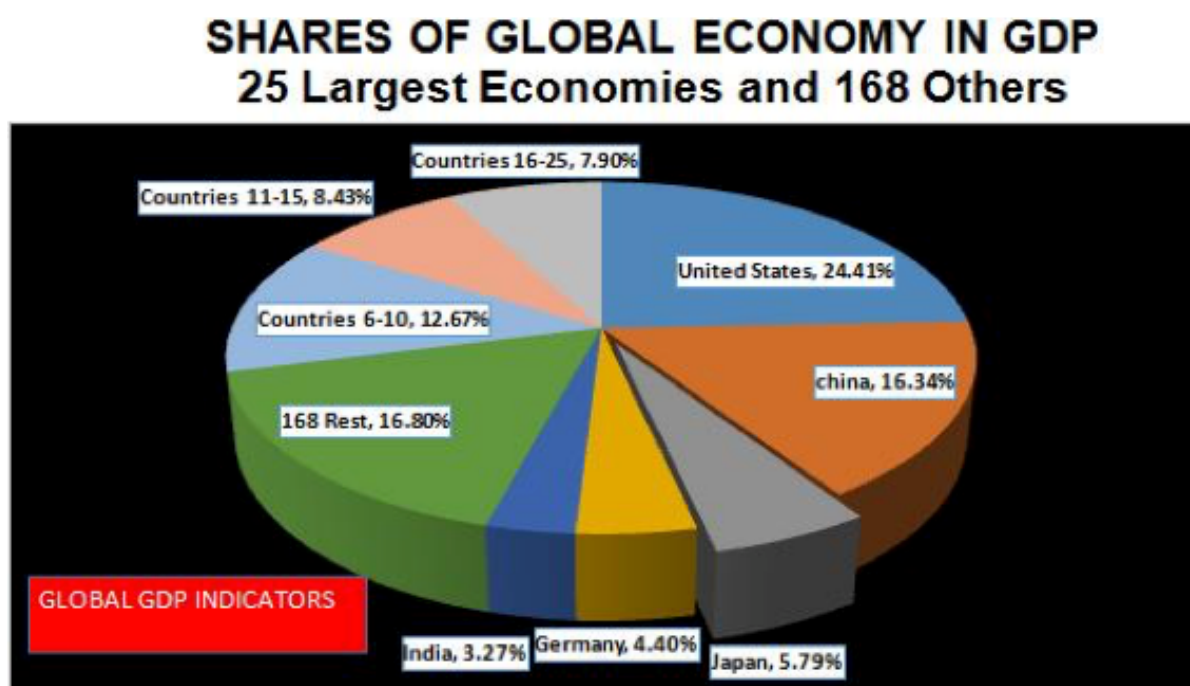
Chart 1: Share of Global GDP

Source: World Bank (2020)

Global GDH Indicators and Asian Ranking

It is somewhat difficult to state the origin of Gross Domestic Happiness (GDH)'s economic theory or measurement. However, we can assume that GDH sprang from the critiques of GDP or as a result of gap created by GDP measurement. Obviously, the official national policy of GDH can be linked to Bhutan, whose King Jigme Singye Wanchuk proclaimed the replacement of GDP to GDH as its national measurement in 1972 (Karabell, 2014). Karabell identifies booming research interest in GDH and states the Bhutan's definition of happiness is different from the definition of happiness in the Western scholars. In his view, what differentiate Western happiness and Bhutan happiness is the concept of individual happiness and collective happiness. Bhutan renounced GDP's economic theory based on output. According to Wanchuk, as stated in Karabell (2014), "The true forms of wealth are a ravishing environment, vibrant health, strong communal relationships and meaning in life and freedom to have free time." Karabell states that Wanchuks assertion is acceptable in Bhutan and sounds wonderful but it comes at the cost of renouncing growth and output, which are the core of the modern economic systems of the rest of the world. In essence, Bhutan's national policy in replacing GDP with GDH is just a replacement of output to happiness which in economic sense has less impact on other country outside Bhutan.

To discuss GDH holistically is to compare GDP's measurement of individual output, such as per capita income and collective happiness of the citizens of a particular country or a economic region, such as the impact of Flying Geese economic model in the South East Asia region. The region has experienced unprecedented economic growth and development which has moved many people out of poverty within a shortest timeframe recorded in human history.

Gross Domestic Happiness concept is somewhat the source of East Asia economic miracle which has been in existence even before Bhutan proclaimed it as its economic measurement yardstick. GDH is a marriage between morality and economy which agree with the critiques of GDP measurement. Zachary Karabell in his book, "The Leading Indicators," published in 2014, refers to early critique of Gross National Product by Robert Kennedy in 1968. Other critiques of GDP which favor the concept of GDH and somewhat promotes its ideology are: Alan Krueger, Nicolas Sarkozy, Jawaharlal Nehru, Paul Romer, Paul Krugman. In 1990, World Value Surveys brought European and American scholars together to conduct surveys in more than a hundred countries about peoples' experience, beliefs, and happiness. Nicolas Sarkozy, former French President, convened a high-level commission whose member includes: Joseph Stiglitz, Amartya Sen, and Jean-Paul Fitoussi, with the explicit mandate to rethink GDP as the measure of all measures and replace it with something akin to what that sixteen-years old Bhutanese King had set in motion in 1972. According to Sarkozy, at the inauguration of the commission, "I hold a firm belief we will not change our behavior unless we change the ways we measure our economic performance. Jawaharlal Nehru, a former Indian Prime Minister spoke for a different set of principles and metrics that could guide national success than GDP. Paul Romer, a Noble Prize winner in economics, said that preparing his Noble Lecture in 2018 prompted him to think about progress gap in the America, and his worrying trends, such as a decline in life expectancy, rising deaths of despair from suicides and drug overdoses, falling rates of labor participation for adults in their working years, growing wealth gap and increasing inequality. In his critique of GDP measurement stated that progress is not just economic growth but should also be seen in measures of individual and social well-being.

Even though the concept of GDH measurement originated from Bhutan, Japan is a success story on how a country can achieve economic success, ignoring the main idea of Western economic thinking, such as GDP measurement. According to Paul Krugman, in his book, "The Return of Depression Economics and Crisis of 2008," stated that there were two sides of why Japan was successful. One side explained the growth as a product of good fundamentals, such as excellent basic education and high savings and manufacturing of high-quality products at low cost. The other side was that Japan had developed a fundamentally different economic system, a new and superior form of capitalism.

A very comprehensive recent study of happiness among nations was done by Mark Travers, an author and psychologist, who made reference to work done by Helliwell, J.F., Richard Layard, Jeffrey Sachs, and Jan-Emmanuel De Neve, in the World Happiness Report 2021 and published by United Nations' s Sustainable Development Solutions Network. Travers outlines three insights that can be used to measure happiness in every country, such as benevolence, employment, and psychological well-being.

Travers's data depicts that people are happier in societies where there is a high degree of trust between people, with reverence to research which states that benevolence carries more than twice as much weight as what would be expected from doubling one's annual salary. On the

third indicator, Travers data analyzed what makes people happy at work by investigating 11 characteristics, such as: feeling like we achieve our goals at work; having a clear sense of purpose; feeling appreciated; feeling a sense of belonging; having time and location flexibility; working in an inclusive and respectful environment; learning at work; having a manager who helps us succeed, being paid fairly; feeling supported; and trusting our colleagues. He quoted Helliwell et al research which found that the top four drivers of workplace happiness were belonging, flexibility, inclusiveness, and purpose and that having a helpful manager was the characteristic least correlated with workplace happiness.

GLOBAL GDH RANKING

Country	Ranking	Country	Ranking
Finland	1	Canada	11
Denmark	2	Australia	12
Switzerland	3	UK	13
Iceland	4	Israel	14
Norway	5	Costa Rica	15
Netherlands	6	Ireland	16
Sweden	7	Germany	17
New zealand	8	US	18
Luxembourg	9	Czech Republic	19
Austria	10	Belgium	20

Table 1: Global Gross Domestic Happiness Ranking
Source: United Nations World Happiness Report (2020)

ASIA GDH INDICATORS AND RANKING

Country	Global Ranking	Regional Ranking
Taiwan	24	1
Singapore	32	2
Thailand	54	3
Japan	56	4
Philippines	61	5
South Korea	62	6
Mongolia	70	7
Hong Kong	77	8
Vietnam	79	9
Malaysia	81	10
Indonesia	84	11
China	87	12
Nepal	89	13
Maldives	100	14
Laos	105	15
Bangladesh	114	16
Pakistan	126	17

Table 2: Asian Countries' GDH Ranking
Source: United Nations World Happiness Report (2020)

In essence, Japan supposed to achieve high ranking looking at the three insights enumerated by Travers, especially as it relates to benevolence which is embedded in the moral education in Japan. According to global gross domestic happiness (GDH) ranking by World Happiness Report (2020), Finland has consistently over the years ranked first among ten countries, followed by Denmark, Switzerland, Iceland, Norway, Netherlands, Sweden, New Zealand, Luxembourg, and Austria. The next 10 happiest countries are: Canada, Australia, Uk, Israel, Costa Rica, Ireland, Germany, US, Czech Republic Belgium. Even though many Asia country is ranked among the highest 20. The US, which is first ranking in terms of GDP is number 18 in global ranking of gross domestic happiness.

In Asia ranking, however, Taiwan is the first, followed by Singapore, Thailand, Japan, Philippines, South Korea, Mongolia, Hong Kong, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, China, Nepal, Maldives, Laos, and Pakistan. China which is the largest economy in terms of GDP ranked number 12 in Asia and 87 in global index. Japan is number four in Asia and ranked 56 in global index while India which is the fifth global largest economy is not in the first 15th happiest countries in Asia.

GDP Measurement

One important concept of GDP measurement is the calculation of nominal and real GDP, through GDP deflator. Applying Blanchard model, the GDP deflator will help to explain the difference between nominal and real GDP. The GDP deflator shows the trends of price movement of the national economy and gives the average of output. Equation (1) depicts the relation which holds between nominal GDP, real GDP, and GDP deflator.

$$\$Y_t = P_t \, Y_t \hspace{4cm} \textbf{Equation One}$$

Nominal GDP ($\$Y_t$) is the sum of the quantities of the final goods produced times their current price. Real GDP (Y_t), on the other hand, is constructed as the sum of the quantities of final goods times constant prices. Defining the price level as GDP deflator implies that a simple relation holds between $\$Y_t$, Y_t, and P_t.

GDP rebasing is the recent measurement of GDP. It is the inclusion of some variables earlier ignored in GDP calculation. GDP rebasing does not imply any increase in national income and productivity. Various schools of economic thought criticized GDP rebasing. According to them, GDP rebasing does not alter the current poor performance of GDP in terms of poverty reduction, unemployment and inequality. That is, if a family was poor before the rebasing, it remains poor; the fellow who did not have a job, remains without one; and our wide inequality between the rich (indeed very rich) and the poor persists. In short GDP rebasing does not change the much in economic basket however it does give us a more accurate picture of the current state of our economy. It presents a more credible and contemporary report of the state of sectors within the economy and overall activity within the economy.

Another critical area of debate is the concept of economic liberalization and global economic crisis. Former U.S President, Franklin D. Roosevelt in far back as 1938 criticized economic liberalization in his address to the US Congress. Roosevelt asserted that the truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state itself (Weeks, 2018). John Williamson,

the author of the "Washington Consensus," collaborated with President Roosevelt in his article published in Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, "The Strange History of the Washington Consensus." Oleg Komlik, quotes Williamson's article as an alternative to his theory , termed, "Ten Commandment" of Washington Consensus published in published in 1989. Ten Commandments listed budget deficits, redirection of public expenditures, tax reform, financial liberalization, unified exchange rate, quantitative trade restrictions, abolition of barrier to trade, privatization, and provision of secure property rights. In modern international economy, we can assert that international economic institutions, such as World Bank and International Monetary Fund are the vanguard of promotions of international economic liberation and integration. However, their regulatory and operational strategies called to questions after series of global economic crises. In October 2008, the United Nations General Assembly established a commission, headed by Joseph Stiglitz which other members includes economists from both developed and developing countries with mandate to proffer solution to current global economic crises and mechanism to detect future crises. The commission identify flaws in institutions, in policies, and in theories. The commission identified five sources of the crisis from 2008 to 2010, such as: Laissez Affaire of economic policy, international economic interdependence, growing Inequality, global imbalance in global aggregate demand, and inability to respond to shock and new bank regulations.

Per capita income, which is GDP divided by population is one component of human development index (HDI) of UNDP. Per capita is somewhat a major measurement flaws of citizen's wellbeing. Its contribution to individual citizen's happiness is yet to be accepted by many schools of economic thought. More so is the UN's World Happiness Report being published by Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN). Even though the resolution was proposed by Bhutan, the country is not included in the ranking because most of the indicators being used in ranking relate to GDP and its components. In most recent World Happiness annual Report, most developing countries are in the least of happiness index collaborating the critique of the current measurement, especially the Gallup World Poll surveys. According to NoCamel Online publication, the results of 2021 World Happiness Report is being dominated by mostly European countries. In essence, any happiness indicator without Asian attributes will not yield globally accepted resulted. Asia is the melting point of gross domestic happiness because of its rapid and inclusive economic growth which originated from Japanese Flying Geese Development Model. See table one.

GLOBAL GDP PER CAPITA AND POPULATION

Country	GDP Per Capita USD	GDP ($B,USD)	Population (M)
Luxembourg	$109,600	$68.61	0.63
Switzerland	$81,870	$707.87	8.65
Ireland	$79,670	$399.06	5.01
Macao SAR	$54,510	$26.35	0.69
Norway	$67,990	$366.39	5.39
Qatar	$52,750	$147.79	2.76
United States	$63,050	$21,427.70	331.05
Iceland	$57,190	$20.81	0.36
Singapore	$58,480	$337.45	5.7
Denmark	$58,440	$339.63	5.84
Netherlands	$51,290	$886.34	17.28

Table 3: Global GDP per Capita

Source: World Bank (2020)

Flying Geese Model of Economic Development

Even with many of its critiques, Flying Geese Model of economic development has continued to attract policy and academic discourses in Japan, Asia, and globally. One major critique of Flying Geese Modern is its association with the concept of "Greater East Asia Prosperity Sphere, " propaganda term used by the Japanese to legitimize Japan's expansion in Asia in the 1930s and 1940s or purely analytical descriptive account of changing international division of labor during the catching up process of late industrializing countries (Schroppel and Nakajima, 2002). What makes Flying Geese critiques irrelevant is intension to interpret the model with western preconceived notion of regarding every theory outside Europe and US as primitive. The concept is Japanese origin and has many cultural and social attributes that depicts its Asian-proved. The verifiable prove is East Asian Economic Miracle, a successful economic development pattern that lifted many citizens out of poverty within a short period of time – a success never experienced since modern economic history. Flying Geese Model is what might be termed unconventional economic theory. In essence, it is innovative approach to the measurement of Gross Domestic Happiness and should be effective indicator of economic inclusiveness and inter-independence among nations. Chart 2 below depicts the economic development pattern of FGM.
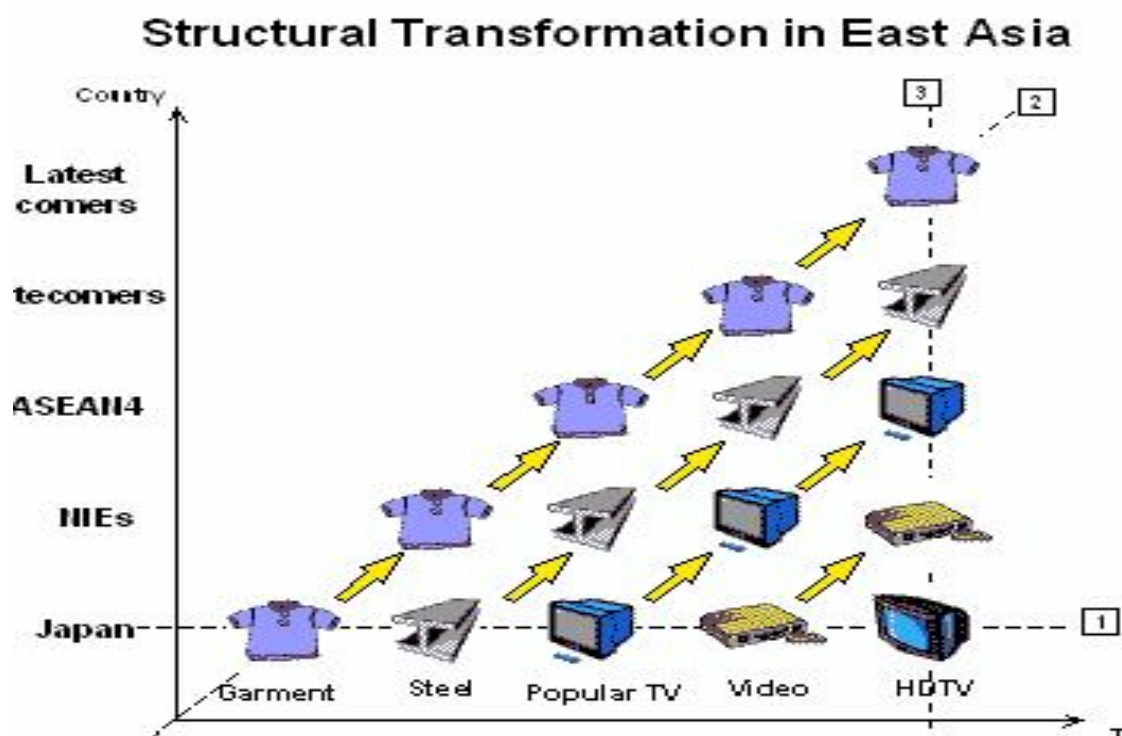
Structural Transformation in East Asia

Chart 2: Flying Geese Economic Development Pattern

Source: grips.com

Theory of Morality and Economy

Excellent application of morality and economy is what most economic assumption about Japan and its rapid economic development ignored for so long. The idea of paring economy with morality has been one of the challenges facing economists for decades. Describing economic incentives and governance, Samuel Bowles, in his book, " The Moral Economy- Why Good Incentives Are No Substitute for Good Citizens," argues that an erosion of the ethical and other social motivation essential to good government could be an unintended cultural consequences of policies that economists have favored, including more extensive and better-defined private property rights, enhanced market competition, and the greater use of monetary incentives to guide individual behavior. Bowles, further shows that these and other policies advocated as necessary to the functioning of a market economy may also promote self-interest and undermine the means by which a society sustains a robust civic culture of cooperative and generous citizens.

Low level of crime rates in Japan depicts classical example of cooperative citizens. Japan is success story of how patriotic citizens can contribute to their nation's economic development. Social norms based on Confucius philosophy can be one of the yardstick to measure the level of Japanese patriotic zeal. Kazuo Inamori, the founder of two Japanese corporate giants (KDDI and Kyocera) and the author of "A Compass To Fulfillment- Passion and Spiritual in Life and Business," believes that the issues currently confronting the human race, including environmental destruction, terrorism, and international disputes, are caused by evil thoughts that each individual harbors in his or her mind. Inamoto refers to evil thoughts as selfish, unbounded greed that has been the driving force behind the worrisome trajectory of our current civilization. In the introduction of his book written in Japanese but translated to

English and other foreign languages, Inamori criticizes conventional economic thoughts and calls humanity that it is time to earnestly explore how humanity can coexist on this planet by basing our way of life not on economic growth driven by selfish desire, but on consideration, love, affection, and altruism.

A Japanese Scholar, Dr.Chikuro Hiroike, the founder of the Moralogy Foundation, in his Treatise On Moral Science, outlines the ethical problems that present themselves in variety of connected areas, especially the economy, management, religion, and society. Dr.Hiroike, who was an ardent follower of Confucius business philosopher of Shibusawa Eiichi, advocates for business ethics based on the idea of unity of morality and the economy. In his view, organization contributes to the sound development of economic world and meant to promote business management with the principles of "San-Po-Zen (three-way virtue, meaning all involved parties are able to benefit). Moralogy Foundation is the head office for Japan Morality Business Association.

Shibusawa Eiichi is a Japanese industrialist, who helped established more than 500 companies and organizations that transformed modern Japan economic history. His major contribution to economic development theory is the introduction of join-stock corporations. Shibusawa's philosophy of economic is based on the unity of morality and economy. He cautioned against the pursuit of profit alone, derived inspiration from Confucian Analects, and a promoter of Confucius capitalism. He is regarded as a moral capitalist, who contributed to founding of Tokyo Stock Exchange, Tokyo Chamber of Commerce, numerous educational and philanthropic organizations.

Having outlined the Global GDP indicators and Asian ranking, the theory of GDP measurement, the Global GDH indicators and Asian ranking, literature reviews on Asian Economic Development, looking at flying geese model of development FGM, theory of morality and economy through the exposition of Japanese scholars and industrialists like Inamori, Chikuro Hiroike, and Shibusawa Eiichi, this research work will move on to the research methodology. In research methodology, model will be specified to find relationship between GDP and GDH, using statistical techniques.

Methodology

In this section of the study, we are going to look at the comparative analysis of GDP and GDH, applying statistical methodology. We start by presenting a chart of Japanese Gross Domestic Happiness with data from World Happiness Report 2020.

Year	Life Ladder	Log GDP Per Capital	Social Support	Healthy Life Expectancy At Birth	Freedom To Make Life Choice	Generosity	Perception of Corruption	Positive Effect	Negative Effect
2005	6.510	10.529	0.928	73.2	0.860		0.639	0.739	0.153
2007	6.233	10.558	0.938	73.44	0.798	-0.08	0.803	0.731	0.207
2008	5.911	10.546	0.887	73.58	0.772	-0.135	0.818	0.71	0.191
2009	5.145	10.491	0.888	73.68	0.73	-0.21	0.74	0.705	0.168
2010	6.057	10.532	0.902	73.8	0.772	-0.14	0.77	0.827	0.188
2011	6.283	10.532	0.837	73.98	0.814	-0.052	0.734	0.778	0.181
2012	5.968	10.548	0.905	74.16	0.753		0.692	0.777	0.171
2013	5.858	10.57	0.824	74.34	0.821	-0.147	0.66	0.794	0.175
2014	5.923	10.575	0.9	74.52	0.838	-0.138	0.827	0.742	0.188
2015	5.88	10.588	0.923	74.7	0.832	-0.155	0.654	0.768	0.178
2016	5.855	10.585	0.9	74.8	0.838	-0.082	0.688	0.78	0.182
2017	5.911	10.618	0.882	74.9	0.848	-0.208	0.659	0.74	0.178
2018	5.794	10.623	0.886	75	0.773	-0.261	0.627	0.703	0.185
2019	5.908	10.632	0.878	75.1	0.809	-0.255	0.827	0.743	0.184
2020	6.118	10.58	0.887	75.2	0.809	-0.258	0.603	0.742	0.186

Table 4: Japan GDH Indicator

Source: World Happiness Report (2020)

Model Specification

Model specification is used specify the models and find out the relationship between GDP and GDH. Objective is to find out whether GDP Contributes to GDH. Ex-post factor data analysis will be applied in the study, using selected variables from Japan's GDH indicators.

Due to lack of exact single data that can define GNH, various proxies were used, hence, the following four equations which were used to examine each proxy of GNH against other variables

SS = f(LGDP, HLEX, FC, PC)
HELIX = f (LGDP, SS, FC, PC)
FC = f (LGDP, SS, HLEX, PC)
PC = f (LGDP, SS, HLEX, FC)   **Equation Two**

SS (Social support), HELIX (Healthy Life Expectancy, FC(Freedom), PC(Corruption Perception)

Presentation and Discussion of Result of the Finding

SS = f (LGDP, HLEX, FC, PC)   **Equation Three**

From the OLS result for equ.1, LGDP has a positive and insignificant impact on social support with coefficient and p.value of 0.277990 and 0.0848 respectively. The insignificant

impact could be as a result of using aggregate measure (LGDP) for individual level performance. The implication of the result as supported by Inglehart et al. (2008) is that material growth, in terms of GDP per capita, is welfare-improving measure in developing countries, as it takes people out of poverty which does not translate to meaningful impact in the developing societies, like Nigeria and some developing economies in Africa, where survival is taken for granted and human development becomes the only valuable goal. However, many economists and social scientists have concluded that, in developed countries like Japan, economic growth has little impact on well-being and should therefore not be the primary goal of economic policy (Oswald, 1997).

HELIX = f (LGDP, SS, FC, PC)   **Equation Four**

GDP per capita has negative and significant impact on health life expectancy with the coefficient of -1.11E-11 and probability value of 0.0114. it is undeniable that overall there is no progress in quality of life without GDP growth, but a negative factor implies that poor economic performance could be inhibitor to healthy life expectancy, leading to increase in infant mortality and child death which are measures of life expectancy.

FC = f (LGDP, SS, HLEX, PC)   **Equation Five**

GDP per capita has positive and insignificant impact on Freedom of choice. This means that there is positive effect of increased income on gross national happiness through freedom of choice, but not significant. This is supported by the coefficient of 0.398312 and p.value of 0.1918. Greater income per capita always comes with increased labour productivity, which means a greater choice in time-use for those who are concerned. As argued by Sen (2001), it is because it enhances the freedom of choice (by enlarging their set of capacities) that growth is expected to raise people's well-being. Identically, GDP growth is known for being associated with demographic transitions in developing countries.

PC = f (LGDP, SS, HLEX, FC)   **Equation Six**

The growth of domestic economy exhibit positive significant impact on Perception of corruption with coefficient of 0.94450 and probability value of 0.0020. The result could be justified by the ill practices that emanate at the point of increased well being of most people. This result is against the apriori expectation that corruption has negative impact on GDP of any country.

Correlation

From the correlation result, it can be deduced that LGDP has both positive and negative relationship with gross domestic happiness in Japan, as can be seen in the proxies (SS - 0.3616000, HLEX – 0.82834547, FC – 0.38833069 and PC -0.5741513).

Generally, as depicted by the statistical result, higher income leads to higher happiness, meaning that individuals become happier as their country grow richer. However, from the findings, the study concludes that income growth increases happiness over time but not always and weakly as the outcome of the results are positive, negative, significant and insignificant.

Conclusion

Over the years there have been resenting voices against GDP as instrument of measurement of economic success. Some arguments against GDP are: most developing countries remain poor as inequality among nations has continued to expand; per capita income growth does not transform to per happiness, even in some developed economies; GDP rebasing does not solve the problems of poverty reduction, increase in unemployment and problem of inequality. Most economists are concerned about economic liberalization as promoted by the capitalists and its contribution in constant global economic crises. Notable critiques of GDP and western economic theories are: Joseph Stiglitiz, Nicolas Sarkozy, Amartya Sen, and Jean-Paul Fitoussi, Alan Krueger, Zachary Karabell, Jawaharlal Nehru, Paul Romer, Samuel Bowles.

Asian economic development models are analyzed through Flying Geese Model, developed by Kaname Akasumatsu and the theory of morality and economy as posited by the philosophies of Kazuo Inamori, Chikuro Hiroike, and Shibusawa Eiichi.

Through methodology, the studies analyzed Japan; s Gross Domestic Happiness data from World Happiness Report. From the correlation result, it can be deduced that LGDP has both positive and negative relationship with gross domestic happiness in Japan. The study proved the efficacy of Asian home-grown economic development models and recommends the applying of Asian these models by other developing countries.

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